

PEARL S. BUCK

221 PAGES

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September 8, 1938

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Miss Pearl S. Buck  
386 Fourth Avenue  
New York, New York

Dear Miss Buck:

A friend has called my attention to your article entitled "Ransom" which appeared in the October issue of Cosmopolitan Magazine and I want you to know that I have just had the opportunity of reading your story. It immediately impressed me with your keen understanding of human nature, as did your book "The Good Earth."

As I read the story of the young people and their children I again lived the horrors of kidnaping as I have on innumerable occasions in the past through actual cases and while the story, of course, was fictional, nevertheless I suffered with the young parents. While we of the FBI have been through many kidnaping cases, nevertheless each brings a new experience, one that almost tests one's faith in human nature and it is difficult to understand how anyone can take a helpless child from his cradle.

I feel the moral of your story is particularly good. It is so hard to tell a parent whether he should or should not pay the ransom in a kidnaping case and while I, of course, cannot comment upon the pending legislation which would prohibit the payment of ransom in kidnaping cases, nevertheless I feel that it would be most difficult to successfully legislate in matters involving human nature.

On your next visit to Washington if you have the time I should be very glad indeed to arrange for you to take a special tour of inspection of the facilities of the FBI.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
SEP 16 1938 P.M.  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- Mr. Tolson .....
- Mr. Nathan .....
- Mr. Tamm .....
- Mr. Clegg .....
- Mr. Coffey .....
- Mr. Crowl .....
- Mr. Dawsey .....
- Mr. Egan .....
- Mr. Foxworth .....
- Mr. Glavin .....
- Mr. Harbo .....
- Mr. Lester .....
- Mr. McIntire .....
- Mr. Nichols .....
- Mr. Tracy .....
- Miss Gandy .....

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Mr. Tolson.....	✓
Mr. Nathan.....	
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....	
Mr. Clegg.....	
Mr. Coffey.....	
Mr. Crowl.....	
Mr. Dancy.....	
Mr. Egan.....	
Mr. Foxworth.....	
Mr. Glavin.....	
Mr. Harbo.....	
Mr. Lester.....	
Mr. McIntire.....	
Mr. Nichols.....	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....	
Mr. Tracy.....	
Miss Gandy.....	✓

209 The Manor,  
333 E. 43rd Street,  
New York City.  
September 15, 1938.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
U. S. Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of September 8. I found the kidnaping story extremely difficult to write because the facts on such things are so limited. My idea for many years has been that people should not pay ransom if their children were kidnaped. But after I had talked with people who had worked on kidnaping cases and found that your department makes no such clear recommendation, I had to revise my own thinking.

I shall be very glad to accept your invitation to visit the Federal Bureau of Investigation when I am in Washington again.

Sincerely yours,

*Pearl S. Buck*  
Pearl S. Buck.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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# The Case of Pearl Buck

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By James S. Allen  
I.

Pearl Buck is looked upon as a leading American advocate of the national aspirations of the Far Eastern peoples. Her identity with China for many years and her activity in this country in behalf of China, India and the Negro people have given her a special position of authority and prestige, which goes beyond her fame as a novelist. Because of her public activity she has won respect not only among her countrymen, especially in progressive circles, but throughout the colonial and semi-dependent world.

Miss Buck may also be considered as representative of an important sector of liberal opinion in this country, reflecting its trend and mood.

It therefore becomes important to understand the motives and the root causes which led her to assert before a gathering of Nobel Prize winners that this was no longer a war for freedom and that in her opinion it would be followed by still another war which would be the "real liberation war." Miss Buck could not have failed to realize the serious implication of her remarks and their possible effect upon the political morale of liberal and petty-bourgeois circles at home and abroad.

And it is unfortunate, as she evidently failed to take into consideration, that her speech provides heavy ammunition for the Axis propagandists, especially at this serious juncture in the war when Japan is gathering her forces on the Indian border and the Berlin-Rome Axis is attempting desperately to undermine Anglo-American positions in Africa.

To those acquainted with Pearl Buck's utterances during the past year her latest speech comes as no surprise. Her position is characterized by a number of basic misconceptions and deeply-rooted illusions with respect to the war and the various nations and forces involved.

To begin with, she has not understood fully the relation between the Pacific Front and the decisive European Front, and therefore does not agree with the concept of global strategy as it is being developed

by the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition. In her opinion, the main battlefield is in Asia and it is only here that the war of freedom can be fought. She goes to the extent of dismissing Europe completely as a traditionally decrepit civilization, able to contribute nothing, even after victory, to world progress.

This aspect of her reasoning is closely linked with a misunderstanding of the real role of the Soviet Union—its historic accomplishments as a Socialist federation of free nations, its place in world relations and particularly its decisive contribution to the winning of the war and the defeat of Hitler and hence the destruction of the Axis.

Outside the passing references to the absence of race prejudice in the Soviet Union, Miss Buck in her utterances shows, among other things, an underestimation of the

great anti-imperialist influence of the USSR and the progressive nature of its relations to the colonial peoples. From her first-hand knowledge of China, she should be aware of the relentless struggle of the Soviet Government against all aggression and against the policy of appeasement, as well as the consistent material aid given China during all her years of struggle for freedom.

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At the root of her misconceptions lies a distortion of the basic relations between the colonial world and the capitalist powers. This relationship she has always oversimplified in purely racial terms, as the colored peoples versus the white peoples. This is a very dangerous oversimplification, indeed, the kind upon which the Axis bases its propaganda among the subject peoples.

Hence, it is not surprising that with this approach, Miss Buck comes to the conclusion that the "real war of freedom" will have to be fought between the white and colored peoples, and it is this kind of war which she has in mind when speaking of the new war which will follow the present one.

Early this year, as Japan was completing her initial successes in the South Pacific, she wrote:

"Our colored allies . . . know that it may not be the end of the war for them even when Hitler has gone down and Nazism is crushed and Japan returned to her isles again. The colored peoples know that for them the war for freedom may have to go on against the very white men at whose side they are now fighting.

" . . . The white peoples ought now to realize the truth, too—that war may not be ended for them either, when Nazism falls. They must face the question: will their colored allies then become their enemies? That they may be very terrible enemies is no idle threat."

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12-16-42

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(American Unity and Asia, John Day, p. 21.)

How is it possible that a person acknowledging such broad responsibilities as Miss Buck should permit herself utterances which can be misinterpreted and seized upon by our enemies to incite race war and disunity?

It can be explained only by her failure to understand the essence of the struggle for national liberation, which has for its aim the overcoming of internal feudal and patriarchal barriers to evolution as a nation and freedom from foreign, imperialist control. White chauvinism, of course, plays a role in establishing autocratic and arrogant methods of rule, but it is the excrement and not the essence of imperialism.

Her approach, arising largely from a deeply-felt but confused reaction to racial injustices, is illuminated further by her concept of democracy as a "state of mind." In her opinion, the Chinese are the greatest democratic nation in the world because the individual Chinese "state of mind" is intrinsically democratic.

Her admiration for the Chinese people arises not primarily from their great advance towards nationhood as a people and their heroic struggle against aggression, but from a misreading of Chinese history. She mistakes the paternalistic family relations established in a pre-capitalist form of social organization for the "true" democracy. Instead of seeing in the new forces arising in China the reliable promise of people's democracy, she tends to view these as a threat to the "state of mind" established by feudalism.

Her writings are pervaded by a deep nostalgia for the sluggishness of the old society unmarred by factory sirens and the turbulent awakening of modern class forces.

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### 3. The Case of Pearl Buck

By James S. Allen

(This is the third and last of a series of the speech delivered by Pearl Buck at the Nobel Prize Winner's dinner held in New York City.)

#### III.

FAR more important than any formal, documentary pronouncement of freedom to be obtained, as important as this is for political mobilization, are the possibilities—actual and potential—which are inherent in the people's war itself and in the forces it sets into motion.

China, for example, as a result of the national cohesion she has already won by her own efforts and because of the military necessity of the United States to defeat Hitler and destroy the Axis, can never again be returned to a state of partitioned dependency upon the great capitalist powers.

And India will be free, because it is both a requirement of United Nations victory on the Pacific Front and already a predestined outcome of a war which is being fought against the most aggressive and tyrannical imperialism and which therefore also engenders over-all anti-imperialist results.

To attempt to discount the whole war simply because the British Diehards controlling colonial policy are blind enough to place the privileges of empire above the national necessity for victory is to miss the bus.

The best answer to Pearl Buck is being given by the people's leaders and organizations of India, prominently among them the Communists, who understand that freedom, even if it is a military necessity, will not be handed down to them on a silver platter. If the Colonel Blimps arrogantly refuse to permit the Indian people to defend their own country because this entails recognizing their national aspirations, well then, say the Indian people, we will mobilize the

Indian people against the enemy despite the Blimps and if necessary against them.

THE action of the British reactionaries against India does not change the character of the war, although it does make victory more difficult.

Only an incurable purist, lacking completely a sense of reality, would demand that the war be "entirely" just and "free" of all contradictory imperialist phenomena before he supports it. The war is not taking place in a vacuum, nor did the peoples choose the conditions and the relations under which the war of liberation is being fought. We could think of many ideal relations to replace existing ones which theoretically would make winning the war as easy as driving up Fifth Ave. But we have to win the war with what is at hand and with those additional favorable conditions which can be created by the peoples with the help of the "iron necessities."

Another thing which Miss Buck does not grasp is that the failure on the part of Britain and the United States to do what is required in the colonies to win the war creates new compulsions at home. In Britain, for example, the failure of the Cabinet to grant India's demand for a National Government, agitates large and growing sections of labor and the people, who themselves become a force which cannot be ignored in the reformulation of national policy.

PEARL BUCK'S speech reflects a mood of gloom and despair which is now setting in among certain sectors of bourgeois liberalism.

This arises fundamentally from the misconceptions and illusions which we have discussed. But it would be a serious oversight not to realize that their despair and panic is also being fed by the continued

weaknesses, waverings and contradictions of Anglo-American policy and action in the war and at home.

To a certain degree Miss Buck's speech may be taken as a sensitive barometer of sentiment among important circles in the colonial world and among middle class sectors in our own country.

This merely indicates that it is necessary for labor and the people to press much more boldly and energetically for the further strengthening and rapid implementing of our United Nations policies. The decisive thing is to hurry coalition warfare against Hitler in Europe, to strengthen the Anglo-Soviet-American Alliance, to take full advantage for the purpose of a rapid and conclusive joint victory of the historic achievements of the Red Army.

The immediate response aroused throughout the world by the African offensive, although somewhat stifled by the stench of Darlanism, shows that offensive military action is the best generator of popular enthusiasm and political morale.

Pearl S. Buck

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Simultaneously, it is necessary for labor and the people in their struggle against "America Firstism," defeatism and Munichism, to press constructively for a real coalition policy with China for the Pacific Front. The necessity for the people to speak out, in the interests of all the United Nations, on behalf of the demands of the Indian people is by no means less than last August and September. And labor, especially, has the "iron necessity" to fight for the democratic rights of the Negro people at home, while seeking to develop closer ties of unity with the peoples of Latin America and the colonial world.

Our friends, the liberals, and broader circles among the middle class masses can be rescued from moods of panicky despair by the greater self-assertion and self-activity of labor on all questions of the war.

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# 2. The Case of Pearl Buck

By James S. Allen  
II.

To the basic misconceptions of the war and international relations, which gives Miss Buck her peculiar approach, must also be added certain illusions which prevail in the liberal mind.

In her talk to the Nobel Prize winners, she found that the war stopped being a war for freedom six months ago. It was about that time that the British Government rejected the demands of the Indian people and embarked upon its present campaign of repression.

It was also about that time, and partly as a result of the Indian crisis, that relations between China and the Western members of the United Nations had reached a critical point. China was deeply dissatisfied with the failures of the Allies to develop a coalition policy with her for the Pacific Front and to send her sufficient war supplies for her own front against Japan.

Since Miss Buck believes that it was a war for freedom up to six months ago, it is apparent that in her opinion it stopped being a war for freedom when the Indian demands were rejected and China was not given her rightful place of full equality in the councils of the United Nations.

By these actions, or lack of action, the United States and Britain, in the opinion of Miss Buck, had reduced the war to "merely" a military struggle against the Axis. The Western Powers presumably had permitted their prejudices to place them in the same political camp as Hitler. This was a condition which Miss Buck pictured back in February when she wrote:

"If we plan to persist as we are, then we are fighting on the wrong side in this war. We belong with Hitler." (American Unity and Asia, p. 33.)

THE war is first and foremost a struggle on the part of the United Nations to save themselves from subjugation at the hands of Hitler and the Axis. This is as true for Britain and the United States as it is for the Soviet Union and China. It is the compulsion of national salvation; applying to colonial as well as capitalist and socialist countries, which makes possible the realization of an alliance among diverse nations for the defeat of their common enemy.

Even if the war were "no more than" a struggle to defeat the Axis, it would still be a people's war of national liberation. For that is an aim worthy enough and basic enough to enlist the endeavors of all peoples fighting to defend themselves against the threat of fascist enslavement or fighting to liberate themselves from the Axis yoke.

But the necessity to engage in the war until the final defeat of Hitler and the Axis, which is the signed pledge of all the United Nations, also brings with it other necessities. The war for national survival creates what Earl Browder has termed its own iron necessities. Among these is the need for full cooperation with the Soviet Union, which fights courageously and relentlessly on the decisive front of the global war.

Another is the necessity of full cooperation with the peoples of the subjugated countries of Europe in their fight against the Hitler tyranny.

Still another is the military necessity for victory in the Pacific of assuring the partnership of the Indian people in the defense of their country against aggression.

And the requirements of the Pacific Front make it a military necessity to develop an equal partnership with China, who holds the main front against Japan, in full-scale coalition warfare.

THESE are "iron necessities" because without doing the things the national existence of both Britain and the United States are endangered.

And the main significance of the Atlantic Charter, the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, the American-Soviet understanding, the Sino-American Lend-Lease Treaty, the Anglo-American commitment to abrogate all special privileges in China, is that these documents are an official recognition on the part of England and the United States on some of these war necessities and of the need to continue and strengthen their collaboration with the Soviet Union also after the war.

But Miss Buck suffers from the illusion that the recognition of an "iron necessity" is equivalent to its realization, and therefore becomes easily "disillusioned" when the demands of the Indian people are not immediately granted. Even more, it is sufficient cause for "disillusionment" if the necessities of the war in terms of national freedom are not fully proclaimed in a formal document as "war aims."

According to this approach, the Atlantic Charter has no meaning because it is not being implemented extensively now, and presumably the war has no meaning as a war for freedom because there is no greater world-wide charter of freedoms.

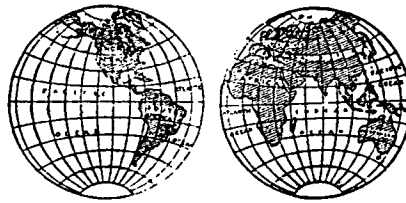
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# FREEDOM FOR ALL



By  
PEARL S. BUCK

THE POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL  
112 East 19th Street      New York City

Price 10c

OF the two articles which comprise this pamphlet, the first was written in March, 1942, and the second in November, 1941, just before the United States entered the war. Since these articles were first published together by the Post War World Council in April, 1942, events have moved with lightning swiftness. Nothing has occurred, however, to change the validity of the basic theses which Miss Buck presents; indeed, much that she has written has received new confirmation. It is with some pride, therefore, that the Post War World Council issues this, the fourth printing of "Freedom for All."

December, 1942

## TINDER FOR TOMORROW

By PEARL S. BUCK

**T**HE Japanese weapon of racial propaganda in Asia is beginning to show signs of effectiveness. This is not because of peculiar skill in the way it is being used, but because it is being presented to persons who have had unfortunate experiences with English and American people.

Race prejudice continues unabated among white people today, the Japanese are saying. Tokyo radio programs daily send their broadcasts over Asia in their campaign to drive out the white man. They dwell upon white exploitation of colored troops and cite mistreatment of Filipinos by the American military and similar treatment of Indian troops by the English. Germany is helping Japan to stir up race hatred in Malaya, India and the Philippines by insisting that the interests of Asia lie with Japan and not with England and the United States. "The colored peoples," Japanese propaganda says over and over again in a thousand forms, "have no hope of justice and equality from the white peoples because of their unalterable race prejudice against us."

### Human Stupidity

It will be better for us if we acknowledge the danger in this Japanese propaganda. The truth is that the white man in the Far East has too often behaved without wisdom or

justice to his fellow man. It is worse than folly—it is dangerous today—not to recognize the truth, for in it lies the tinder for tomorrow. Who of us can doubt it who has seen a white policeman beat a Chinese coolie in Shanghai, a white sailor kick a Japanese in Kobe, an English captain lash out with his whip at an Indian vender—who of us, having seen such oriental sights or heard the common contemptuous talk of the white man in any colored country, can forget the fearful bitter hatred in the colored face and the blaze in the dark eyes? Who of us can be so stupid as not to see the future written there? The most dangerous human stupidity has been that of the white race in the baseless prejudice through which even the meanest of white creatures has felt he could despise a king if his skin were dark. Yet, if this stupidity were limited to the mean, how easily it might be cured! But among us even some who are able, even some who are good, are sometimes so blind.

The effect therefore of this Japanese propaganda cannot be lightly dismissed. It lies uneasy in the minds and memories of many at this moment who are loyally allied with Britain and the United States, in the minds and memories of colored peoples of Asia. Yes, and it lies uneasy, too, in the minds and memories of many colored citizens of the United States who cannot deny the charge and must remain loyal in spite of it. For such minds realize that, though Nazism may give them nothing but death, yet the United States and Britain have given them too little for life in the past and not even promises for the future. Our colored allies proceed to war against the Axis not deceived or in ignorance. They know that it may not be the end of

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the war for them even when Hitler has gone down and Nazism is crushed and Japan returned to her isles again. The colored peoples know that for them the war for freedom may have to go on against the very white men at whose side they are now fighting.

In common sense, if for no other reason, the white peoples ought now to realize the truth, too—that war may not be ended for them either, when Nazism falls. They must face the question: will their colored allies then become their enemies? That they may be very terrible enemies is no idle threat. If the colored peoples fight with reservations in this present war against the Axis and if the white peoples fight with no reservations, the colored peoples will have the greater residue of strength. There may be no interval between this war and the next unless we give proof now of our sincerity.

#### End of Imperialism

We must realize, we citizens of the United States, and this whether Britain realizes it or not, that a world based on former principles of empire and imperial behavior is now impossible. It cannot exist. We must make clear our determination for real democracy for all peoples with mutual responsibility demanded of all to fulfill its conditions. Nor can we postpone such decision for democracy by saying, "Let's win this war first." We cannot even win this war without convincing our colored allies—who are most of our allies—that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing superior over colored peoples. The deep patience of colored peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the

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same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will.

We can of course utilize the force of this will if we have the wisdom. Nothing would so nerve our colored allies abroad to put forth their whole effort now as the conviction that white leaders mean what they say about democracy. There is hope even in India that England would mean what she said if she could be got to say it. There are few simple things in this world, but at the moment the simplest, if one is at all familiar with mass thinking among the peoples of Asia, is that our allies there will fight with all their strength for real democracy. But if they are not soon convinced, and by unmistakable means, of the sincere democratic determination of the English and Americans, if they fear that they must be reduced one day to fighting for themselves, there will be many thoughtful men and women who will declare openly what they are now thinking and saying secretly, "Will it not be better for us to come to terms, not with Hitler, who is after all a white man of the most arrogant type, but with Japan, and utilize the military and modern resources of that country to free us from white rule?"

#### Majesty—Justice—Peace

It takes no great practical sense for any colored people to see that even if Japan took the position over them of conqueror it would be easier to get rid of one victor than of several. There could have been nothing reassuring or comforting to our Asiatic allies in the closing words of

Churchill's first speech in Washington, "The British and American peoples will for their own safety and the good of all walk together side by side in majesty, justice and peace." An England, a United States, "walking together in majesty," can only mean to the colored peoples a formidable white imperialism more dangerous to them than anything even a victorious Japan can threaten.

The advocates of an American Union Now with the white, English-speaking portions of the British Empire, "with such other peoples as may be found ready and able to unite," are heading us straight into the gravest war we can yet imagine. What can China, the oldest and most pragmatic of democracies, think of a white, English-speaking Union which excludes her at the very start? We may as well present Japan with battleships and bombers as to go on with a union which denies democracy in this fashion. Only Atlantic-minded persons can fail to see that in so limited a union we should already be sowing the seeds of the next war. It does not do to be only Atlantic-minded at this moment.

The United States and England are at a very critical moment in this war. Our allies, India, China, the Philippines and Malaya, are waiting for us, whether they tell us so publicly or not, to make clear the stand of the white peoples toward them. Are we all-out for democracy, for total justice, for total peace based on human equality, or are the blessings of democracy to be limited to white people only? The answer must be made clearly and quickly. To evade the question, to delay the answer, is to reply in the negative. And the United States must now take the lead.



### Cannot Trust English Leadership

For we cannot now trust to English minds, however we admire them, nor to English leadership, however strong. We must think and act for ourselves. If our allies cannot be assured, America may find herself deserted in the Pacific when she supremely needs allies there. It is only natural that England should think first and most of Hitler, the wolf at the door. It is to be expected that English minds cannot take seriously enough the full threat of Japan also to us. Why should they when Americans themselves have not taken Japan seriously enough and do not now take any Asiatic people seriously enough? Pearl Harbor and Manila are today awful witnesses of our ignorance. There will be other witnesses as stern before we are done with this war. If England cannot understand fully our danger in the Pacific, let us not ourselves be misled. We Americans face the Orient as well as Europe, and we face it not as the ruler of a great subject people held under military power. We face an Asia in which we have no long-established power. It is too dangerous for us to accept any estimate of the Pacific except our own. We must for our own sakes give our allies in the Far East confidence in our leadership toward full democracy.

But can the United States provide such leadership? This also the Far Eastern allies are asking. Japan is busily declaring in the Philippines, in China, in India, Malaya and even Russia that there is no basis for hope that colored peoples can expect any justice from the people who rule in the United States, namely the white people. For specific proof the Japanese point to our treatment of our own colored

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people, citizens of generations in the United States. Every lynching, every race riot, gives joy to Japan. The discriminations of the American army and navy and the air forces against colored soldiers and sailors, the exclusion of colored labor in our defense industries and trade unions, all our social discriminations, are of the greatest aid today to our enemy in Asia, Japan. "Look at America," Japan is saying to millions of listening ears. "Will white Americans give you equality?"

Who can reply with a clear affirmative? The persistent refusal of Americans to see the connection between the colored American and the colored peoples abroad, the continued, and it seems even willful, ignorance which will not investigate the connection, are agony to those loyal and anxious Americans who know all too well the dangerous possibilities.

### The Peoples of Asia Wait

Today the peoples of Asia are still waiting, still watchful. But they are lending an ear to what Japan is saying because they know there is truth in it. For once Japanese propaganda is more than propaganda and they know it. Lies can be laughed off but truth is a sober thing. Who can blame our colored allies if they have reservations toward us, if they doubt our democratic intentions toward them? Our ignorance of how they feel is dangerous as the ignorance of England is dangerous, as the ignorance of France was dangerous even to destruction. But ours is a peculiar danger, for one tenth of our own nation is colored. Our relation

to the colored peoples and democracy does not even lie so far off as Africa or India. It is just outside our doors, it is inside our homes. The deepest loyalties today are not national.

But even if Americans realize our danger, our responsibility, our peculiar position, can we produce the necessary leadership for democracy? What is this division between our belief in democracy for all and our practice of democracy only for some? It is not hypocrisy. We Americans are not hypocritical except in small, amusing ways. Talk to any dirt American and he honestly believes in equality and justice and in giving everybody democratic rights. But mention to him the colored man and you will not believe your own ears. This cannot be the same man talking, you will say. No, the colored man cannot have the same treatment as the white man, it seems. "Why?" you inquire. The white American scratches his head. "Well, it just don't work that way," he says, and thereby gives huge comfort to our present enemies the Japanese.

#### Split Personality

What is the matter with this American? It is clear enough. He suffers from what is called in psychology a split personality. He is two distinct Americans. One of him is a benevolent, liberty-loving, just man. The other one of him is a creature who may or may not be benevolent but who is certainly undemocratic in his race attitudes, and who, on this subject, throws justice and human equality to the winds as completely as any Fascist.

Who can reconcile these two personalities into an inte-

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grated being fit for democratic leadership in the world today? If the two personalities were to be found always in separate individuals it would be simple enough—we could go to the mat for the one we want. We could even have a civil war again. But the reason why the other civil war we had never really gave the colored man freedom and democracy is still the reason why we do not give them to him today. The split personality which is America is found not in separate individuals but in most of the individuals of our nation. We are divided in our individual structure.

This division in personality is desperately serious at this moment when millions of people in the world are looking for leadership in democracy from us. If we cannot assemble ourselves and provide it, leadership will be found elsewhere. Japan may supply it or Russia may supply it—Russia is justly proud of her freedom from race prejudices. But let Americans be sure of this—unless we can declare ourselves wholly for total democracy now, we shall lose our chance to make the world what we want it to be, we shall lose even our place in the world, whatever our military victories are. For most of the people in the world today are colored.

#### Golden Age of Democracy

How can we integrate ourselves for democracy? The first step toward unifying a split personality is to realize that there is the split. The next step is to reject the undesired self. We must be willing to see that our inner division has the gravest relation now to outer events, to the success of this war for us, to world events which will shape an entirely

new era. Whether it will be a golden age of democracy depends on whether we choose democracy now.

We know this better than we are willing to acknowledge. It must be sternly said that it is the white peoples who have the deepest race prejudices. This is in itself a sign of insecurity and fear. And we do well to be afraid if we intend to persist blindly in our prejudices. If we plan to persist as we are, then we are fighting on the wrong side in this war. We belong with Hitler. For the white man can no longer rule in this world unless he rules by totalitarian military force. Democracy cannot so rule. Democracy if it is to prevail at this solemn moment in human history can do so only if it purges itself of that which denies democracy, if it dares to act as it believes.

(Reprinted from ASIA MAGAZINE, March 1942)

## DEMOCRACY AND THE NEGRO

By PEARL S. BUCK

**T**HE editorial in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 12, "The Other Side of Harlem," denies the basic cause for the situation in our country of which the new manifestation of crime in Harlem is only a symptom slight enough for what it signifies. Nor are the constructive measures proposed sufficient. It would be impossible for any accumulation of social welfare work to solve the situation which produces crime in Harlem. We all know that merely to make arrests and impose jail sentences can be nothing but an emergency measure and one which promises no fundamental improvement for the future. But equally palliative are the efforts of welfare workers on the basis upon which they are now organized.

The reason why colored Americans are compelled to live in ghettos, where they are helpless against high rents and miserable housing, is the segregation to which race prejudice compels them. Race prejudice compels colored people to take what work they can get because there are so many jobs Negroes cannot get. Race prejudice makes and keeps Negroes' wages low because some labor unions will not admit colored labor on the same basis as white labor. Race prejudice and race prejudice alone is the root of the plight of people in greater and lesser Harlems all over our country.

Serialized by The Pearl Books

### Hope Becoming Despair

As a result of the effects of race prejudice a very serious conviction is gradually becoming settled in the minds of colored Americans all over our country. They are coming to see that what they have been taught and have believed is not true—namely, that if colored people can be patient and good and show themselves obedient and humble they will inevitably prove themselves worthy citizens and will therefore receive the rewards of full citizenship. They are beginning to believe, and this in very large numbers, that individual or even collective worth as human beings gains ~~them nothing so long as they are Negroes.~~ The hopefulness natural to their race is now changing to despair. Colored leaders are saying today that no amount of achievement will gain anything for the colored people as a whole, and that, moreover, they no longer believe the people of the United States will fight for democracy. Americans may fight to live and do as they like, they say, but not for democracy.

This conviction of some colored leaders and many more colored people is rapidly permeating the whole twelve millions. When hope is taken away from a people moral degeneration follows swiftly after. Young colored men and women today are giving up hope for justice or security in their own country. When this hopelessness reaches down to certain strata in any society, outbreaks of crime are inevitable. We must expect it in many places besides Harlem. It has already occurred in other cities.

The swiftness with which this long-gathering despair has come to a present head is due, perhaps, more than to any

Scholarship?  
Preceded

other immediate cause, to the refusal of the majority of defense industries to employ colored labor on anything like an equal basis with white labor. To the colored American this is final proof of the hopelessness of his plight, that even in the defense of his country he is not allowed his share of work.

#### Segregation Curbs Patriotism

And yet it may be a mistake to say that this denial of the chance at jobs is more to blame than the resolute segregation in the Army or the practical limitation in the Navy. The colored American, thanks to an education in democracy, now really wants to see his country a democracy. When he defends the United States of America he does not want to do so segregated and limited. This contradicts his idea of a democracy. He has grown up a good deal since the World War. And he has not forgotten that war. He is willing to fight and die again, but not for something he does not possess anyway.

The white American is conscious of this feeling now seething and mounting in the hearts of his colored countrymen. But the white American sedulously avoids acknowledging or indeed even facing it. With the same curious blindness which none of us could understand in France, we white Americans avoid the reality in our own country. We do not want to discover the real truth about the colored American, which is that our race prejudice denies him democracy. We refuse to face it because we do not want to change the status of the colored person. We wish to keep him the servant of the white man.



Frank Smith?

### Hypocrisy Seen

I am, I think, realistic and objective on this matter of race, having lived most of my life among colored peoples. My own ancestry is entirely Southern, and I am very familiar with the problems of white and colored in the South. I do not, however, believe their solution is to be found in what the average white Southerner says, in the familiar patter, that the Negro is a childish creature, delightful enough in his place, who only wants to be taken care of and fed and sheltered and treated kindly. That the Negro in the South often glibly falls in with such assertions means nothing; that Negro is afraid of his white master and says what the white man wants him to say. The same Negro quickly expresses himself in totally different terms as soon as he changes his locale and is relieved of his fear.

But be that as it may, the real point is that our democracy does not allow for the present division between a white ruler race and a subject colored race, and we ought to make up our minds as to what we want and then move to accomplish it. If the United States is to include subject and ruler peoples, then let us be honest about it and change the Constitution and make it plain that Negroes cannot share the privileges of the white people. True, we would then be totalitarian rather than democratic; but if that is what we want, let us say so and let us tell the Negro so. Then the white Americans will be relieved of the necessity of hypocrisy and the colored people will know where they are. They may even settle down into a docile subject race, so long as we are able to keep the weapons of rebellion from them—and these include education.

Salvage?

As an American I should deplore any such thing, and yet the world needs this sort of clarification. Democracy now suffers from vagueness because of the lack of relation between principle and action. With all the evils that Hitlerism has, at least it has one virtue, that it makes no pretense of loving its fellow-man and of wanting all people to be free and equal. Everybody knows where Nazism stands and what to expect of it. Cruel as it is, and dangerous as it is to civilization, it is less cruel, and it may be even less dangerous in the end, than the sort of democracy which is not real enough or strong enough to practice what it preaches. To destroy hope utterly is kinder than to allow it without intending to let it be fulfilled.

#### Patience Waning

The importance of facing the situation between white and colored people in our own country is twofold—it is upon this rock that our own ship of democracy may go down first, and upon this rock, too, that all peoples may divide into the ultimate enmity. Everywhere in the world colored peoples are asking each other if they must forever endure the arrogant ruling white race. They feel they have been very long patient, but they cannot be patient forever and they will not. In India such men as Nehru, now again in jail at the hands of white men fighting for democracy in Europe; in our own country colored Americans, as intelligent, and well educated as Nehru, barred by their color alone from an equal chance with white Americans to earn their living or to defend democracy—there is a deep, subtle, dangerous relationship between them. We are foolish if we do not realize it.

Citing to war?

For in many educated colored Americans hopelessness results not in simple crime but in a rejection of patriotism. There are those, and some of them leaders, who favor Japan in the present crisis, seeing in Japan the future leader of all colored peoples in the world. There are those who prefer Hitler to British imperialism, feeling that if English rule over colored races can be destroyed, then Hitler can be dealt with afterward as the less established evil. At home and abroad the white race has the choice to make—whether it will follow the totalitarian principle of ruler and subject races, even to the inevitable end of rebellion and the worst of wars, or whether peoples of all colors will decide to work out ways of living in mutual harmony and freedom.

#### Crisis Near At Hand

Such is the situation between colored and white peoples at this moment. It is idle to say that the crisis is two steps off and let us attend first to defense and the present war. Crisis between white and colored is not two steps off—it is close, inextricably mingled with this war, because the war against Nazism carries race equality or inequality as one of its main issues. It does no good that we ourselves keep the issue hushed and hidden and apart from the thinking of the mass of the white people. The crisis approaches, whether white people are willing to know it or not. It approaches in the world, and with that inexorable march our own people are keeping step.

What then should we do if we are honest believers in the democratic way of life? We must move swiftly and at

once, and our President should not fear so to move, to do away with the effects of race prejudice upon colored Americans. Race prejudice cannot be taken out of people unfortunately by surgical operation, although it is an evil and foreign growth. Children do not have it until they catch it from older people. I have frequent proof of this, the most recent being through the 12-year-old son of an American friend newly returned from China.

This white child goes to public school in a New Jersey town. When a class picnic was to be held it was found that the place chosen excluded colored people. To his deep indignation the boy found that his teachers, instead of changing the place, accepted the exclusion and managed by "tactful ways" to see that no colored children came to the picnic. The white boy was shocked to the soul at this injustice in his own land to which he had long looked with love and pride while he was growing up in China. His hurt was personal, too, because his own best friend happened to be a fine colored boy. "I won't go if Henry can't go," was his right decision.

#### Adolescents Little Prejudiced

Nor do adolescents have race prejudice in anything like the degree that older people have. Recently in Texas there were a champion white football team and a champion colored team at high schools in the same city. Of course their managers and coaches would not schedule them to play each other. But the white team went out one morning by secret arrangement and played the colored team. They said to their coach when they returned: "We just wanted to

see which of us was better." As it happened, it was a tie game, and though there is symbolism enough in that ideal ending, the significance of the incident, and of plenty of others like it, is that the boys, colored and white, had no prejudice against each other.

Intelligent white people seldom suffer from race prejudice so severely as ignorant ones, and there are many who would if they dared, acknowledge that they have none whatever. But too few dare. For wherever the disease of race prejudice is found it is bitter and incurable and dies only with death.

But if nothing can remove race prejudice from those in whom it is ingrained, they should not be allowed to violate our nation's democracy. At least, our government can and should see to it that all Americans shall have equal economic opportunity and that colored people in this democracy shall not suffer insult because of their color. It can and should insist that colored citizens shall share responsibility with white citizens for the welfare of the nation, and thus remove the chief reason for the half-tolerant, wholly patronizing contempt of the white for the colored and thereby build in the colored citizen belief in himself. Democratic government must keep apace of science and realize that there is no basis beyond prejudice for the belief that one race is intrinsically superior to another. Continued injustice may make any one inferior, temporarily, regardless of his color.

#### Conquer Race Prejudice

I read with complete approval of every plan to better the conditions under which colored people must live and work. But until race prejudice is conquered and its effects removed,

*The Negro teaches it every where,*

the bitter fact remains that the colored American knows he will not get a better job for being better educated and better housed or for having in his childhood more playgrounds. He will not be given an equal chance with the white American of his class and ability. Race prejudice will still deny democracy to him.

Are we Americans to go on accepting the stupidities of race prejudice? I know of the oft-repeated wearisome defense. Intermarriage is the fearful specter behind everything. On that there is but one answer. Are we to deny to 12,000,000 Americans the rights and privileges of our country, and are we to risk our very democracy itself, by maintaining a determined ruler-subject relationship between white and colored, because some day a few white and colored individuals may choose to marry each other?

Is democracy right or is it wrong? If it is right, then let us dare to make it true.

Perkasie, Pa., November 14, 1941.

*Example - The woman  
who jumped into Patomas with  
the two half Negro babies and  
the Negro inmate men, free when  
she confessed marrying a  
white man,*

(Reprinted from THE NEW YORK TIMES, November 15, 1941)

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Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

- I enclose \$..... for my yearly dues. Regular membership \$5.00. All members receive the Monthly News Service. Please send me also the following, for which I enclose \$.....
- "Democracy and Japanese Americans" by Norman Thomas
- "Freedom For All" by Pearl S. Buck
- "Perspectives" by Stuart Chase
- "Freedom for India Now" by Pearl S. Buck, Lin Yutang and others. 10c. each  
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- "World Federation" by Norman Thomas
- "Disarmament in the Post War World" by Oswald Garrison Villard
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NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman Executive Committee  
 OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Treasurer  
 MARY W. HILLYER, Executive Director  
 VIRGINIA WILLIAMS, Acting Director

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March 19, 1946

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7/9/84  
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PEARL SYDENSTRIKER BUCK  
(Mrs. Richard J. Walsh)

91-1150  
CLASSIFIED BY SP6 [redacted]  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1/6  
3/18/96

BACKGROUND:

Pearl Sydenstriker Buck, the well-known American authoress, is the wife of Richard J. Walsh, principal officer and president of the John Day Publishing Company, 40 East 49th Street, New York City. A review of the 1944-1945 issue of "Who's Who in America" revealed the following information concerning Pearl S. Buck: She was born Pearl Sydenstriker at Millboro, West Virginia, on June 25, 1892. Her parents were Abaelon and Caroline (Stulting) Sydenstriker. She graduated with an A.B. degree from Randolph-Nason Women's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1914. She also received an M.A. degree from Yale in 1923, a Doctor of Literature degree from West Virginia University in 1939, and LL.D. degrees from Howard University, Washington, D.C., and the St. Lawrence University in 1942.

She married John Lossing Buck on May 13, 1917, and of this union two children, Carol and Janice, were born. She later divorced Mr. Buck, and on June 11, 1935, married Richard J. Walsh. Shortly after her marriage to Mr. Walsh she adopted Richard Stulting, John Stulting, Edgar Sydenstriker and Jean Comfort.

Pearl S. Buck was employed as a teacher at the University of Hanking, Hanking, China, from 1921 to 1931. During this period she also taught at the Southeastern University, Hanking, China, from 1925 to 1927, and at Chung Yang University, Hanking, China, from 1928 to 1930. As recognition of her outstanding work in the literary field she was awarded the Pulitzer prize in 1932, the William Dean Howells's Medal in 1935, and the Nobel Award in Literature in 1938. With respect to her membership in organizations, she has been President of the East and West Association since 1941, is a member of the American Institute of Arts and Letters, the Kappa Delta Society, Phi Beta Kappa, and of the Cosmopolitan Club in New York City.

She was a Presbyterian missionary to China. In 1921 she wrote a book entitled "The Young Revolutionist." When this book was published she entered into a rather long controversy with the Missionary Board of the Presbyterian Church, and following her divorce from her first husband was not returned to China as a missionary. In a memorandum to Mr. Nelson dated September 8, 1938, Mr. W. B. Nichols stated: "It is the writer's recollection that the Board of Missions at that particular time was very fundamental and that Miss Buck was a little too liberal for them."

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Miss Buck's present address is listed as R.D. No. 3, Parkside, Pennsylvania.

B.

COMMUNIST AFFILIATION:

No information is contained in the Bureau's files which would indicate that Pearl S. Buck is a member of the Communist Party or that her activities are influenced or controlled by Communists. All of her activities tend to indicate that she considers herself a champion of the colored races, and she has campaigned vigorously for racial equality. Although it is not believed from the information available that Miss Buck is a Communist, her active support of all programs advocating racial equality has led her to associate with many known Communists and other individuals of varying shades of political opinions. ^

[REDACTED]

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C.

MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS:

① The Japanese-American Committee for Democracy

The Japanese-American Committee for Democracy, formerly known as the Committee for Democratic Treatment for Japanese Residents in the Eastern States, was formally organized in the fall of 1940. Its greatest activity occurred, however, after December 7, 1941. This organization had its headquarters in New York City, and

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[REDACTED]

Miss Buck has been a member of the Advisory Board of this organization since its inception. In an article in the New York World Telegram dated February 11, 1943, Frederick Woltman charged that the Communists had taken complete control of the Japanese-American Committee for Democracy, and mentioned the fact that Pearl Buck was a member of the Advisory Board.

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This organization held a mass victory rally at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City at 8:00 P.M. on April 15, 1942. Speakers at the meeting, in addition to Miss Buck, were: Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, then New York City Councilman and editor of the "People's Voice," a Negro publication in New York City, and presently Congressman from New York City. [REDACTED] Also on the platform at this meeting was Liu Liang-shao, chairman and leader of the Chinese Defense Chorus. [REDACTED]

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On the evening of December 6, 1941, the JACD held a Rally for Victory in the Far East at the Center Casino, New York City. The rally was dedicated to the gallantry of the Japanese-American soldiers. The theme of the meeting was "The Liberation of the Japanese People," and the purpose of the rally was to lend impetus to the democratic development of the people in the Far East and to rededicate the Japanese-Americans to the side of the Allies. The speakers at this rally were listed as: Pearl S. Buck; William B. Gailmor, radio commentator; and Michael J. Obermier, secretary of the New York Local Joint Executive Board of the Hotel and Restaurant Union, A.F.L. [REDACTED]

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② The East and West Association

The East and West Association is a nation-wide membership organization established to promote better understanding between the peoples of the East and the West by means of literature, radio programs, lectures, and motion pictures. Its official organ is "Asia" magazine, published by Miss Buck's husband, Richard J. Walsh. Under the sponsorship of this organization Miss Buck has held lecture classes and forums at which well-known members of Communist front organizations have spoken. [REDACTED]

7  
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She has through the East and West Association distributed Russian literature, but it should be noted she has also distributed literature propagandizing India, China, and other Eastern countries.

Miss Buck has been President of this organization since its inception on June 30, 1941, and she and her husband were among the original incorporators. [REDACTED]

b2

③ The American Civil Liberties Union

Pearl S. Buck was a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union from 1939 through December, 1945. It is very probable that she still holds this office. Although the American Civil Liberties Union was not Communist controlled, the Communists used, whenever possible, branches of this organization in various parts of the country to further their own interests. No active investigation has been conducted by the Bureau regarding the American Civil Liberties Union since November 30, 1942.

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In May of 1942, a committee of the American Civil Liberties Union under the chairmanship of Pearl S. Buck solicited support to enable that organization to carry to the United States Supreme Court an appeal which had been made by various members of the Socialist Workers Party who had been convicted at that time in Minneapolis, Minnesota, for their activity in connection with the Socialist Workers Party. This committee also advocated the elimination of what it termed "racial discrimination" in the armed forces, and pledged itself to assist various committees and individuals on the Pacific Coast in attempting to obtain a more reasonable administration of the evacuation order which affected German aliens and American citizens of Japanese descent,

[redacted] b2  
The May 12, 1943, issue of the "People's World" carried a news story to the effect that Pearl S. Buck, Chairman of the Committee Against Race Discrimination of the American Civil Liberties Union on May 11, 1943, at New York City, had announced a nation-wide movement to wipe out all race discrimination in the war effort.

[redacted] b2  
The June 24, 1943, issue of the "Daily Worker" mentioned Pearl S. Buck as Chairman of the Committee Against Race Discrimination in the War Effort of the ACLU. The news story indicated that in a telegram to President Roosevelt, Miss Buck had called for an FBI investigation of the "wave of mob violence against Negroes and other minority groups spreading across the country."

④ The Indian League of America

[redacted] of the Indian League of America, was interviewed by a Special Agent of the Bureau under suitable pretext in August of 1944, at which time he stated that Pearl S. Buck was Honorary President of the League. [redacted] said that this organization was endeavoring to have the immigration laws of the United States changed in order that citizens of India might enter this country and become citizens of the United States. [redacted] said that the Indian League of America confines its activity solely to spreading propaganda concerning Great Britain's harsh, imperialistic treatment of the peoples of India.

Information received from the War Department concerning the Indian League of America indicated that conversation with Miss Buck gave the impression that the Indian League was anti-British, anti-ally, and un-American in sentiment. The Soviet Union was praised for its offer to help establish a free India after the war. The tactics of Miss Buck and her organization gave every appearance of Third International technique, ignoring completely the real Indian question, namely Moslem. According to the information received from the War Department, Miss Buck also stated that the Indian League would play an important part in postwar activities by giving support to Soviet Union ideology.

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ACTIVITIES WHICH LED TO COMMUNIST ASSOCIATIONS:

① Association with Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico

In connection with the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, Miss Duck, on October 10, 1944, along with a group of Continental Americans who favored independence for Puerto Rico, organized the National Committee for the Independence of Puerto Rico in New York City. The objectives of the committee were to awaken public interest in the United States regarding independence for Puerto Rico and to influence and encourage legislature to that effect. Although the Communist Party attempted to use this organization, no information is available which would indicate it was Communist dominated or controlled.

Miss Duck's interest in the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was brought about through her sympathy with its leader, Pedro Albizu Campos. In order that the background of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico may be better understood, there is set out as follows a brief history concerning two of its most active members:

Pedro Albizu Campos and Luis F. Velazquez were convicted in the United States District Court at San Juan, Puerto Rico, on July 31, 1936, for "conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force," "conspiracy to incite rebellion against the United States," and "conspiracy to recruit soldiers to fight against the United States." Both were sentenced to serve six years in the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia. On November 4, 1941, both were offered conditional releases which they refused. Both men were released from Atlanta Penitentiary on June 3, 1943, and on June 9, 1943, Campos entered Columbia Hospital in New York City. He refused to accept the conditional release which had been offered, stating he considered it humiliating and dishonorable to submit to further supervision by the United States Government. On September 17, 1943, Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party in the United States, wrote Campos at the Columbia Hospital and assured him the Communist Party would cooperate fully in his cause.

[REDACTED]

Miss Duck later interested Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in Campos' case.

② Council on African Affairs

The headquarters of the Council on African Affairs is located in New York City and has been in existence since 1941. It is a successor to the International Committee on African Affairs, and was organized ostensibly for the purpose of studying conditions of life and work in Africa and to prepare publications acquainting the public with such conditions. This organization was dominated by the Communist Party almost from its inception.

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The Executive Director of this organization is Dr. Max Yergan, a Negro, and the Chairman is Paul Robeson, also a Negro, both of whom, according to information received from the Military Intelligence Division in New York City, are Communists.

b7c

On April 8, 1942, Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] of the New York Field Division attended a meeting at Manhattan Center, New York City, which had been called by the Council on African Affairs. In addition to Miss Back, the speakers at this meeting were: Max Yergan; Lillian Hellman, well-known playwright; Joseph Curran, President of the National Maritime Union, CIO; Herbert Agar, Editor of the Louisville Courier Journal; Paul Robeson; and Chesning Tobias, a close associate of Max Yergan. It is said an audience of approximately 3,000 middle-class Communists attended this meeting. In addition to the above-mentioned speakers, Ferdinand Smith, Secretary of the National Maritime Union, CIO, [redacted] was also on the speakers platform. In their addresses Robeson, Yergan and Curran all urged the immediate opening of a second front in order to aid Soviet Russia in its great struggle.

(3) Institute on Minorities

On April 30, 1943, Pearl S. Back spoke to the Institute on Minorities which was held under the auspices of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Youth Committee for Democracy. The latter group was a well-known Communist-front organization.

In speaking of leadership in the postwar period, Miss Back stated: "The United States is not in a position to lead the rest of the world in social problems because it has an unsolved problem in several minority groups here at home."

(f) Common Council for American Unity

In 1942, Pearl Back was a member of the Advisory Editorial Board of the quarterly publication "Common Ground." This publication was the organ of the Common Council for American Unity which, until late 1939, was the Foreign Language Information Service in New York City. This organization was financed by a Carnegie Foundation grant.

During this same year Miss Back headed a panel of speakers at the Nobel Anniversary Dinner in honor of twenty-eight Nobel prize winners then living in the United States. "to commemorate Alfred Nobel's awards for the benefit of humanity, symbolizing the ideals of freedom and creative achievement which are at stake in the war." The dinner, held on the anniversary of Nobel's death in 1896, was under the auspices of the Common Council for American Unity, and the sponsoring committee of the dinner included Presidents of 235 American colleges. The theme of the dinner was: "The world we fight

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for and American unity." Other Nobel prize winners who spoke were: Sir Norman Angell, Sigrid Undset, Arthur H. Compton, Harold C. Urey, Otto Loewi, and Thomas Mann. The gathering was held at the Waldorf-Astoria on December 10, 1942, and Miss Buck, in her speech, stated in part that the war "has ceased to be a fight for freedom," and is now "not even a war to save civilization but only a war to save a European civilization...The people of Asia are farther from us today than they have ever been. They are realizing soberly that they must find their salvation in themselves, and not with us. Allies we are, to a certain guarded degree for a moment, for a while, but they cannot trust us. They see that while this first stage of the war must be won against the Axis, there will be another war, following hard upon this one, a greater war, a real war for freedom, in which none yet sees clearly either friend or foe. It is not now so certain what this war will gain us. Perhaps it will not even save civilization for us. For it is in wars that civilizations are lost, if they go on too long."

⑤ Freedom Rally at San Francisco b2 [REDACTED]

The San Francisco Office advised in September, 1943, that the Communist Party in that city was considering the advisability of staging a "Freedom Rally" similar to the mass Negro rallies that were then being held in New York City.

Through the medium of a technical surveillance on the Festus Coleman Defense Committee, a Negro Communist group in San Francisco, it was reported that the name of Pearl Buck was mentioned by the comrades as a possible speaker at such a rally. It was stated, however, that she did not rate too highly with the Communist Party because she had not approved of the movie "Mission to Moscow." b2 [REDACTED]

⑥ The Writers' War Board

The Writers' War Board was formed in December, 1941, by a group of members of the Authors League of America, Inc., to serve as a means by which members of the Authors League of America could aid in the war effort.

b7D, C [REDACTED]

Such members as Pearl S. Buck, Clifton Fadiman, Quentin Reynolds, Louis Adamic, Louis Bromfield, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Carl Van Doren, and Clifford Odets are familiar in this regard. It is significant to note that the name of Langston Hughes appears with the Advisory Council. [REDACTED]



X

[REDACTED] On August 10, 1943, the Writers' War Board arranged a radio forum broadcast on the subject, "Can America Get Along with Russia Now and After the War?" Arthur Upham Pope and Walter Duranty were the speakers. These two men are well known for their pro-Russian sympathies. Pope [REDACTED] has written articles for the "Daily Worker."

37C

⑦ The March on Washington Movement

In June of 1945, [REDACTED] Unit of the March on Washington Movement, reportedly conferred with [REDACTED] of the Civil Liberties League in New York City. [REDACTED] had previously been in St. Louis and had encouraged the March on Washington Movement to continue to fight against discrimination in downtown department stores. According to [REDACTED] promised him that she would get some of the outstanding white people of St. Louis to go along with Pearl Buck to help in the effort. The Civil Liberties League then sent an investigator from New York to Missouri to measure the racial tension in St. Louis, and, according to [REDACTED] an "open door" organization was to be set up in St. Louis by [REDACTED] and Miss Buck at a future date. The "open door" plan effected by Pearl Buck in New York City was reportedly doing fine work according to McNeal.

It should be noted that Miss Buck was asked to join in a parade held by the March on Washington Movement and that she refused the invitation because of the fact that white people generally had not been invited to take part in the demonstration.

E. OTHER ACTIVITIES:

[REDACTED] b2

On May 25 and July 4, 1944, the Office of Censorship advised the Bureau that Pearl S. Buck had received copies of the publication "Yoks" through the mail from Soviet Russia. [REDACTED] b2

An article which appeared in the "Daily Worker" on January 8, 1937, advised that Anna Louise Strong, a Communist, was on her way to this country after having visited the Spanish battle fronts. Upon her arrival in the United States she was to attend a banquet partly in her honor and partly for the support of democracy in Spain. This banquet was to be held at the Opera House in New York City. According to the article, Pearl S. Buck was to be among the speakers and honored guests at the banquet. Another article concerning the return of Anna Louise Strong which appeared in the January 12, 1937, issue of the "Daily Worker" reads as follows: "The occasion will bring together many of the early travelers to the Soviet Government of two decades ago."

[REDACTED] b2

⑧

X

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An article appeared in the "Washington Post" under date of April 9, 1941, to the effect that William Allen White and Pearl Buck, as well as a large group of other prominent writers, had offered to organize a group to urge that the deportation proceedings against Jan Valtin, author of "Out of the Night," be dropped. [REDACTED] b2 ③

In January of 1937, Pearl S. Buck was said to be either an executive of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom or was one of the signers of its mandates. This mandate was entitled, "The People's Mandate to Governments to end Wars." It was stated at that time that the general aims of the Women's International League were to promote neutrality legislation, to limit embargoes on credit ammunitions to warring nations, to limit armaments, and concern itself in general with the peaceful solution of international problems. [REDACTED] b2 ②

Pearl Buck was one of 150 guests invited to celebrate the October Revolution at the Russian Consulate, New York City, on November 7, 1943. [REDACTED] b2 ①

In the publication "Soviet Russia Today" for March 10, 1942, there appeared a brief article concerning messages from American women to Soviet women. This brief item was signed by a group of American women, including Pearl S. Buck. [REDACTED] b2 ④

The East and West Association of which Pearl Buck is President cooperates in the preparation of a comic sheet entitled "The Twain Shall Meet." This copyrighted feature has for its purpose the featuring of understanding between peoples of the world. While no information has been received that this comic strip is Communist propaganda, it is definitely the type of material the Communist Party would capitalize on and use if possible. [REDACTED] b2 ⑦

BOOKS WRITTEN BY PEARL S. BUCK [REDACTED] b2

Pearl S. Buck has been a prolific writer. There are set out below the titles of some of her better known works and the year in which they were published:

- "East wind - West Wind" published in 1930
- "The Young Revolutionist" published in 1931
- "The Good Earth" (awarded the Pulitzer prize) published in 1931
- "All Men are Brothers" (translation of the Chinese classic Shui Hu Chuan) published in 1933
- "The Mother" published in 1934
- "The Exile" published in 1936
- "Fighting Angel" published in 1936
- "The Patriot" published in 1939
- "The Chinese Novel" published in 1939
- "Dragon Seed" published in 1942
- "American Unity in Asia" published in 1942
- "What America Means To Me" published in 1943
- "Talk about Russia with Masha Scott" published in 1945

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Fighting Angel" in 1942 was on the approved reading list of an organization known as The Southern School for Workers. This school was reportedly organized and operated by the Communist Party. (12)

[REDACTED] (14) b2

In addition to the above-named books, Pearl Buck has written numerous pamphlets which have dealt mainly with the question of racial equality. Two of these pamphlets, "Freedom for All" and "Mass Education in China," were criticized as possible Communist propaganda. A review of these two pamphlets, however, did not reveal any definite Communist views or tendencies. It should be noted, however, that the Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois, the policy of which is controlled by the Communist Party, maintains in its library a copy of the pamphlet "Mass Education in China." (13)

The Philadelphia, Pennsylvania School of Social Science and Art, a Communist dominated institution offered at its fall 1944 term, instruction in literature, music and the arts. A course in Current Books, given by [REDACTED] emphasized, according to the school's catalog, the novels of authors who reflected and helped shape the world's struggle for democracy and peace. The authors used included Howard Fast, Richard Wright, Anna Seghers, Ruth McKenney and Pearl Buck. (12)

Although as has been previously stated in this memorandum, no information is available which would indicate that Pearl S. Buck is a Communist, her activity in connection with her fight for racial equality led her to cooperate with many organizations and to participate as speaker at many functions which appeared without much doubt to have been strongly influenced, if not actually controlled, by Communists. (10)

[REDACTED] b2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

C. S. Heinrich

February 12, 1951

J. F. Backs

83937

K2-1

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
MEMORANDUM - R

Pearl Book

PURPOSE:

To place photostatic copies of documents obtained from Alfred Kohlberg in the case files of individuals mentioned therein.

DETAILS:

As you are aware, [redacted] has made numerous allegations to the effect that the Institute of Pacific Relations was infiltrated by Communists and slanted its writings to conform with the Communist Party line. [redacted] according to his own statements, has made a study of the articles appearing in the IPR publications, "Pacific Affairs" and "Far Eastern Survey" as well as the authors of articles appearing in these two magazines. On May 3, 1951, he furnished agents of the New York Office with numerous photostats of documents which, he stated, he had obtained through his research as mentioned hereinbefore. These documents have been furnished the Department.

b7D

b2ib7c

RECOMMENDATION:

Photostatic copies of these documents should be placed in the case files of the individuals to whom they refer.

R

P  
b2ib7c  
ENCLOSURE

[redacted]  
Pearl Book (Attachment)

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under the provisions of the  
Executive Order 12958

ORIGINAL FILED IN



# OUR LAST CHANCE IN CHINA

by PEARL S. BUCK

**W**E HAVE NOW solidly laid the foundations for future wars in Asia. We have laid them in the two most important countries, China and India; but we have not wholly neglected Russia. Should Russia be dissatisfied with us in the future, a thing always possible, she will find two potential allies, numbering between them most of the world's population. It may be, if industrialization is rapid enough, that Russian leadership will not even be necessary.

For we have laid the foundations of future wars with masterful thoroughness. We have neglected no insults, we have been ruthless in our denials. Under able English direction we have completely scorned India, first by our silence during the Cripps mission and by our acquiescence in the suppression of human rights to a degree which has not been matched, in its ruthlessness, outside of Fascist-owned Europe; second, by careful and total ignorance about her famine, again under direction, and third by our recent refusal at Bretton Woods to agree that India has the right to spend her own money as she likes. Scrupulously careful always, we have chimed in and agreed with England that the unfreezing of Indian credits in London can be no part of any international agreement.

This disposes pretty thoroughly of India. For a long time to come she will not believe in us.

Our fine ideas and sentiments now ring completely hollow to her. She believed in them before this war. Now she knows better. Like the Atlantic Charter, they do not apply to her.

The foundations have not been so easy to lay in China because that country is not quite in the position of India. But in spite of all difficulty we are succeeding there too in alienating the people and in building up dismay and distrust, ready for the next war. As Walter Lippmann has said, it is now very necessary for us to keep close to Britain. We have followed British policy so faithfully that we have lost our own opportunity in this generation for taking a leading part in the affairs of Asia, perhaps of the world. Britain and Russia will tie for the place of highest power in the peace. In any event, we will come in third.

This has been the result of our own ignorance not only of Asia and the world, but our ignorance of ourselves, our own strength, and the strategic place in which this war put us in the world. With the greatest industrial machine in the world, the greatest army and navy and air force, our diplomacy, always subject to Britain, has now put us into third-rate position among the powers. One feared it with the loss of India as an ally, for no one can call a people as sullen as half-starved slaves an ally; one fears it still more in the deep

# Mrs. Pandit Seen as West's Envoy, Too, to Russia

## India's Ace Diplomat Likely to Interpret Both Systems to Each Other, While Building Indian-Soviet Peace Without Puppet Status

By Pearl S. Buck

India is sending her most noble woman to Soviet Russia as ambassador. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit is a sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, but this is not the reason she has received this high post. She has achieved her position in her own right, by many years of devoted service to the cause of Indian independence, even by many months in jail as a political prisoner, by her successful career as a member of the ministry in her home province and by her brilliant statesmanship as head of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, where she made the cause of equality for the Indians in South Africa her special care. Those who followed in the American press her fearless speeches at that time know how well she conducted her case. She is the true daughter of her father, one of India's greatest lawyers and patriots, Motilal Nehru.

It is interesting to think that this beautiful, gifted, astute woman will represent India in Soviet Russia. It is difficult to think of any one less Communist than she in background and training. The Nehru family is one of the most wealthy in India, and she has always been accustomed to luxury. She and her brother are both Conservatives in the Congress party, not even belonging to the moderate Socialist group. Moreover, although Mrs. Pandit, like her brother, has always worked for India's freedom, yet she, again like him, has been educated in the English tradition and has many English friends. She speaks English as her own tongue.

### East-West Link

Yet all of us who know Mrs. Pandit feel that it is a wise choice to send her to Soviet Russia. She belongs to both East and West, and, understanding both, she will be an interpreter to the Russians, not only of her own country but of the Western nations. She knows the English well; she knows Americans, too, for she has twice visited the United States for long periods, traveling far among our people. Perhaps she will be able to explain some of the things which the people of Russia do not understand about us.

But her first task will be to weld firm bonds of friendship between India and Soviet Russia. Here is the most delicately difficult post in the world. Without being in sympathy, either politically or economically, with Communism, Mrs. Pandit is much too wise a statesman not to know that India must have good relations with Soviet Russia, regardless of differences in their society and in their forms of government. With her world point of view, Mrs. Pandit will be able to see each country, her own and Soviet Russia, in its world setting, as well as in relation to each another and to Asia. It is sure that she will cement peace between India and Soviet Russia. To her anything else would be unthinkable folly.

I cannot refrain from consider-

able pride in the fact that a woman has been chosen for this most important post. Perhaps only an Asian country would send a woman in such a case. Women in Asia have held higher honor than they have in the West. Their wisdom, their humanity, their wit, their shrewdness have been valued there for centuries. Women have held equal place with men in modern political India, and there are many distinguished women there besides Mrs. Pandit.

But that she has been chosen indicates several points of significance. It means that India considers Soviet Russia worthy of her best; it means, too, that India does not yield anything of her own independence and dignity to the stronger power—no one who knows Mrs. Pandit can imagine her yielding anything without being ready to do so, for good reasons of her own and for the welfare of her country.

### Will Learn From Russia

Mrs. Pandit's appointment means, too, that India intends to learn from Russia all she can which may help her with her own manifold problems of a variety of peoples, illiteracy, poverty and lack of industrialization. Indeed, India today has many of the same problems that Russia had after the first world war, when an imperial form of government was removed and the people of a vast, inchoate population found themselves faced with the necessity for a new kind of government, one whose emphasis was upon the practical matters of enough food, education, public health and industries, all to be assured as quickly as possible. But Russia worked under the terrible pressure of threat of war, and In-

dia, it is to be hoped, does not face the same danger.

India can, it is true, learn the solution for some of her problems from us, too, but she has not been satisfied with our continuing practice of discrimination against darker peoples. Our system of society would scarcely do in India, where the people vary in color from the fair Aryans of the north to the dark Dravidian stock of the south. The mingling there has gone on for centuries. Also, our economic conditions are too different. We are highly industrialized, and India must now set about her industrialization. Yes, Mrs. Pandit will have much to learn in Soviet Russia that may be of practical value to India.

### Comparison With U. S.

But I venture to say that she will in turn teach Soviet Russia a good deal. India is not in a state of revolution. While the English government was not a democratic one in India, the English are nevertheless a people reared in the great traditions of democracy and they have carried out the highest tradition in their relinquishment of India. Mrs. Pandit will not need to learn revolution in Soviet Russia, and she will perhaps be able to teach Soviet Russia something of what democracy really means. She is a good example of it in her own person.

All in all, it is the case of a highly interesting person put into a highly interesting place. This one woman holds much in her hands. She is something more than a bridge between two countries. She may be the pilot light toward understanding between East and West.



Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's new Ambassador to the U. S. S. R., shown with her brother, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian leader, at the opening of Constituent Assembly in New Delhi, last December.

Buck, Pearl S. Here



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ADVERTISER

MAR 31 1947

### Her Fiction Preferred

Pearl Buck, who sprang into literary fame some years ago by writing that Pulitzer prize-winning novel on Chinese life, "Good Earth," has made the startling discovery that there are only two men in all the world who can keep this nation out of war—our own Henry Wallace and the Norwegian, Trygve Lie.

Without going into the qualifications of Mr. Lie, who is secretary-general of the United Nations, we must say that she couldn't have made a worse choice than Mr. Wallace.

The former Secretary of Commerce does have a formula for keeping us out of war, and it is a very simple one. All he wants to do is to let Russia have her own way in her relations with this country and her European neighbors. His plan might prevent war, but it would be at the cost of the freedom of everybody in the world. Mrs. Buck will do well to keep out of world politics. She will win more friends and influence more people by sticking to her fiction.

## Legend Wallace Can Avert War

Writer Terms Them the  
Only Leaders Equipped  
to Stop 'Head-on Rush'

PRINCETON, Pa., March 24 (UP).

—There are two men—and only two men—who can save the world from "the crisis toward which we are rushing," Pearl S. Buck said today.

These two men, the Nobel Prize-winning author told The United Press in an interview, are Trygve Lie, Secretary-general of the United Nations, and Henry Wallace, former Vice-President and now editor of "The New Republic."

"There is time, but not much time to stop our head-on rush toward war," Mrs. Buck warned. Adding that "as things are now going, war is fast becoming inevitable."

Fighting Communism and fighting Russia are not the same thing, she said, arguing that Communism took root in Russia from revolution, and "revolution came out of the misery of millions of people oppressed by a decadent aristocracy." She predicted trouble in China and India from the same cause, and pointed out that the Balkans have been "festering" for decades.

### Urges "Reflective" Action

Urging that "if there are effective plans in Washington for real democratization, they should be announced at once," Mrs. Buck said. "Certainly it is not fighting Communism on any national or world-wide scale if our government moves into a country with arms and supplies available only to the decadent oppressors."

"The American debacle" in China and Korea, she said, does not indicate that Washington has any plans for "real democratization," and she expressed fear that a continued "let-ought-rip-Buddha" policy might "continue until it goes that swirling, downward and vertical course into rebellion."

In a war with Russia, she said,



## Food for China

PEARL S. BUCK

(From the third of six film strips on China produced by Telefilm, New York, and presented by the East and West Association)

**W**HEN I think about food in China, I have a sense of warm pleasure. Chinese food is good, Chinese cooking is a great art. Chinese people eat to live, but they also eat to enjoy, and this is true from the simplest family meal to the rich man's feast of thirty and forty dishes.

But let us start at the beginning. Food comes, of course, from the land. Because food is so highly appreciated in China the farmer has had a high position, traditionally, in Chinese society. The feeling of the farmer for his land is profound. No one sells land willingly. The family divides the farm through inheritance, but seldom except under necessity, by sale. Inheritance has divided the land into tiny plots and farms in China look like gardens and are

tended as carefully, so great is love of the land. Generations of the same family upon the same land have developed good farm practices, considering the lack of scientific knowledge. All waste, animal and human, has been returned to the land. Sometimes silt is used from rivers and canals, and the soil of China is fertile after thousands of years.

Yet there is hunger in China, for too few have money for food. And when there are floods and famines, there is no food even for those who can afford it. Every year, somewhere in the vastness of China, there are refugees from war or disaster. These refugees from hunger go usually to big cities and they build themselves shacks of reeds and mats. They beg or try to get a little work.





The Commission and some of its members—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimoissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimoissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

# 'The Darkest Hour' in China's History

There is what Pearl Buck calls the present order, but also the historical background.

By Paul H. Baker

**N**OW that we are approaching the end of another bout at our national parking, the question and credit of heroes, it is time to see what is left in China. With their usual forgetfulness of exactly this hour, the Chinese are endeavoring to maintain their equilibrium. To maintain the self unchanged, in the midst of ten thousand changes, is a favorite saying of Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese are managing to do this, in spite of the fact that now is the darkest hour in their history. They did not trust our former exultations and they do not despair at our recent denunciations. They have full knowledge of their own faults, being a people abnormally little given to self-deception, but they have no sense of guilt. They know they have done the best they can in this war.

It is necessary, before considering what comes next in China to re-estimate just what this war has been in the past. The Chinese believe this to be their darkest hour for three reasons. The first was their unpreparedness for this war, owing primarily to their historic aversion to militarism and to their ignorance of the rise of militarism in other nations, and secondarily to the lack of American lend-lease materials. The aversion to militarism is the fruit of their long civilization, which is based on humane and non-aggressive relationships between peoples. The fact that they were not sufficiently advanced in science has only added to their disaster.

The second reason for China's darkest hour is the internal situation in China. China has within herself another nation, with a separate Government and a separate army. It is exactly, as has often been pointed out, what the United States found at the time of our own Civil War.

We then felt the division intolerable and resorted to arms to cure it.

Chiang Kai-shek made the same decision in 1927 and fought a long and vigorous civil war thereafter, backed by Chinese and foreign capital. He was on the brink of victory when Japan invaded. This threw China into the same position in which we might have found ourselves in the year 1861 or thereabout had we been invaded by a near-by enemy.

A hasty reconciliation would have been pitched up here and one was patched up in China. Had China been given her proper place in this war, the reconciliation might have held and developed into real unity. But it was not strong enough to hold when China's condition was steadily worsened after the United States entered the war.

**T**HE Chinese people have been so happy over their internal situation as over their external one. All have known that substantial crimes were being laid on both the Government and Communist side, against one another, instead of being against the common enemy. Moreover, although representatives from the Kuomintang and the Communists held conferences in Sian and Chungking in an attempt to reach unity, the Chinese people were dissatisfied with the merely attending these meetings, and they have felt that they were ill-treated about their own troubles.

But the third and equally important

reason for China's darkest hour is in her foreign relations. The Chinese people are anxious to improve their relations with Russia, and by pushing the country to their own Communist but by friendly and mutually understanding relations between the two countries. The Soviet Ambassador to China, Mr. Pavlovskii, has been at the post for a long time, and recently only representatives has been in the hands of a change of Chinese in Chungking. Chinese are asking what Moscow will do after the fall of Berlin.

China finds her relations with England and the United States are equally unsatisfactory. Her claim in this war has been presented here in the United States, at least by Americans, is equipped to do so, mainly because they were newcomers in China and did not speak or read Chinese. Chinese representatives have been put into the United States and American have taken the very same which are our journals and military men have given us. These war-time talks had always understood, have, nevertheless, been misunderstood and misused by Americans.

And, there, at it will always remain deep in the Chinese mind that China was not asked to sit in at the Quebec conference, when Churchill and Roosevelt, alone, decided the plan of the war against Japan. Moreover, this rejection of China is attributed to China it will remain unappreciated. The Ambassador there were the respective Chinese officials in Washington of the time who would have spoken

for their Government—Dr. H. H. Kung. The President of the Executive Yuan, and Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, at the Chinese Embassy in Washington, to the United States.

That China was not represented at this conference, after her long, lonely years of war against Japan, has had an effect in the whole of Asia second only to the absence of the United States at the time of the Cripps mission in India. Both events were taken and are taken in Asia as a forecast that the United States intends to stand with Britain for empire over Asia.

**W**HAT has followed in recent months in the United States and more particularly in recent weeks, in the grinding to dust of that former hero, Chiang Kai-shek, has followed, in Chinese opinion, as a matter of course. In some ways the Chinese welcome the passing of romantic idealism and sentimental affection from our relationships with them. Idealism always makes the Chinese uncomfortable, when it is applied to themselves. They are the least idealistic people in the world and the most tolerant, therefore, of the faults of others.

Then, the Chinese regret the injustice. In some respects, of our course of Chiang Kai-shek, a man now falling along in years, whose faults they have always known very well and have not tried to hide, but whom they hold in affection, nevertheless, as the Russians do Stalin and the English do Churchill, and even as we do our own Roosevelt.

In many ways, indeed, Chiang Kai-shek and Churchill are strikingly alike, after all, and point adds the fact that Chiang is a soldier primarily and Churchill the leading exponent of one. (Continued on Page 46)

# Our Dangerous Myths About China

**We have many misconceptions, says Pearl Buck, and they prevent adoption of a sound policy.**

By PEARL S. BUCK

**O**UR American policy toward China today is in an interesting state of flux. No one knows quite what it should be, and therefore no one can do more than guess what it is going to be. It may be wise enough for us to do nothing for a brief space, during perpetually so far as China is concerned, but equally wise would it be to do some preparatory attic cleaning meanwhile in our own minds, for there is an amazing amount of trash in our mental attics when it comes to the Chinese.

Age-old fragments of misinformation jostle clutter our thinking, and added to the hazy accumulation is new misinformation, larded out by persons who have been in China very recently, very briefly, and who have gone there with a job to do, a purpose to accomplish—a fatal atmosphere in which to approach any people. No one who goes with a mission to a people ever learns anything about them, neither what they are nor what they want. It is inevitable that most missions, re-

**PEARL S. BUCK**, Nobel prize winner, lived in China for many years. For "The Good Earth" she received the Pulitzer prize in 1932. Her latest novel is "Kai-fah," published early this year.

MAGNET OCTOBER 23, 1941

ligious, political and military, are usually failures.

It will not be possible very soon to clear our attics entirely of the residues of a century or so, but certain large and cumbersome myths might be cast into the bottom of the sea for good and all. First of all I would reject the myth that China's basic problem is hunger. It will be a myth difficult to relinquish, for it is an easy explanation of China's troubles. A hungry man can always be handed bread and the bread then becomes a debt. Did I not feed you when you were hungry? Thus bread turns into debt.

**T**HE actual fact is that hunger is not China's chief problem. Anyone who lived in China before the last war knows that in spite of the overthrow of one government and the setting up of a new military government under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, never thoroughly accomplished,

and in spite of consequent continued regional civil war, the Chinese fed themselves heartily and well as they have done for a very long time indeed. True, there were occasional famines, of which Americans heard very much through other Americans, mostly kindhearted missionaries. But these famines were not the result of basic food shortage. They were caused by catastrophe, by flood or drought. Flood and drought are not always preventable but they are always local.

China's vast territory, much larger than ours, can easily remedy any local famine, were there roads enough. Lack of communications is a basic problem in China and has been for a very long time. In my own experience it was often cheaper and actually easier in some famines to ship wheat across the Pacific Ocean from the United States and Canada than it was to bring it over three hundred miles of

Chinese country road on donkey and man back.

During the eight years of the last war, of course, many farm families fled and the food situation was disrupted, and local disruptions will continue until the country has peace. Yet in spite of war and disturbance the Chinese farmer even now produces vast quantities of food which he would be glad to market more widely were it possible. The Chinese earth is rich in food production, and the Chinese farmer is skilled in conserving the soil.

**T**HE Chinese are farmers of forty centuries and there they have much to teach the rest of the world. They need help in scientific seed selection and in disease and insect control, which can easily be given them. The primary need of the Chinese farmer, therefore, is not food but more markets for the food he has.

The abundance of food production in China is more than the result of necessity. The Chinese are centuries' masterful in their outlook on life. Centuries before Fleming's way set the fashion for naturalism, far America's young men and women the Chinese were naturalists. Every *Continued on Page 88*

*James Nov 13/49  
Q. U. N. Areas would utilize knowledge  
giving food to people in war*



## Letters

### CHINA'S FOOD

To THE EDITOR:

It was indeed heartening to read Pearl Buck's "Our Dangerous Myths About China," which contained the gratifying information that China is practically bursting with food.

Thus apparently exploded the argument advanced by agricultural scientists to the effect that approximately 2 1/2 acres of arable land are required for the comfortable preservation of each person. According to government statistics, China possesses about half an acre of arable land for each person.

J. T. BULLMAN  
Washington

OR American policy toward China today is in an interesting state of flux. No one knows quite what it should be, and therefore no one can do more than guess what it is going to be. It may be wise enough for us to do nothing for a brief space, during perplexity, so far as China is concerned, but equally wise would it be to do some preparatory attic cleaning meanwhile in our own minds, for there is an amazing amount of trash in our mental attics when it comes to the Chinese.

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PEARL S. BUCK, Nobel prize winner, lived in China for many years. For "The Good Earth" she received the Pulitzer prize in 1932. Her latest book is "Kinko," published early this year.

MAGAZINE, OCTOBER 23, 1941.

# Letters

## CHINA'S FOOD TO THE EDITOR:

It was indeed heartening to read Pearl Buck's "Our Dangerous Myths About China," which contained the gratifying information that China is practically bursting with food.

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J. T. BULMAN.  
Washington.  
[Miss Buck replies: Not acreage, but what can be produced on acres, is of course the pertinent point. Chinese cultivation is much more intensive than, for example, ours; Chinese land has a far greater fertility. I have recently been informed that a study for the Foreign Missions Conference of North America on precisely the point raised in my article fully bears it out.]

## TRADITION

We have many misconceptions, says Pearl Buck, and they prevent adoption of a sound policy.

By PEARL S. BUCK

ligious, political and military, are usually failures.

It will not be possible very soon to clear our attics entirely of the rubbish of a century or so, but certain large and cumbersome myths might be cast into the bottom of the sea for good and all. First of all, I would reject the myth that China's basic problem is hunger. It will be a myth difficult to relinquish, for it is an easy explanation of China's troubles. A hungry man can always be handed bread and the bread then becomes a debt. Did I not feed you when you were hungry? Thus bread turns into stone.

THE actual fact is that hunger is not China's chief problem. Anyone who lived in China before the last war knows that in spite of the overthrow of one government and the setting up of a new military government under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, never thoroughly accomplished,

and in spite of consequent continued regional civil war, the Chinese fed themselves heartily and well, as they have done for a very long time indeed. True, there were occasional famines, of which Americans heard very much through other Americans, mostly kindhearted missionaries. But these famines were not the result of basic food shortage. They were caused by catastrophe, by flood or drought. Flood and drought are not always preventable but they are always local.

China's vast territory, much larger than ours, can easily remedy any local famine, were there foods enough. Lack of communications is a basic problem in China and has been for a very long time. In my own experience it was often cheaper and actually easier in some famines to ship wheat across the Pacific Ocean from the United States and Canada than it was to bring it over three hundred miles of

Chinese country road on donkey and man back.

During the eight years of the last war, of course, many farm families fled and the food situation was disrupted, and local disruptions will continue until the country has peace. Yet in spite of war and disturbance the Chinese farmer even now produces vast quantities of food which he would be glad to market more widely were it possible. The Chinese earth is rich in food production, and the Chinese farmer is skilled in conserving the soil.

THE Chinese are farmers of forty centuries and there they have much to teach the rest of the world. They need help in scientific seed selection and in disease and insect control, which can easily be given them. The primary need of the Chinese farmer, therefore, is not food but more markets for the food he has.

The abundance of food production in China is more than the result of necessity. The Chinese are extremely modern in their outlook on life. Centuries before Hermon, they set the fashion for naturalism for America's young men and women. The Chinese were naturalistic in their very marrow. Every. (Continued on Page 85)

Pearl Buck

interprets the chaos in China

# The People Will Be Free

THEIR IS NOT A CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGIES  
BUT A BIRTH STRUGGLE  
TO GAIN THE GREAT RIGHTS OTHER MEN  
ELSEWHERE HAVE BUT NEWLY WON . . .  
TO LIFE AND LIBERTY AND THE POSSIBILITY OF HAPPINESS

**S**LOWLY and painfully the lesson of our times is being writ so large and plain that even the politicians of the world can read it. *The peoples will be served.* That which has become explosion in China took place quietly in England at the end of the war, has just taken place in its fashion in the United States, is still struggling to take place in Europe. In India, too, the people are watching and waiting. They are giving their own government a chance. If it should fail them, if it does not serve them, the mighty uproar would burst forth there, too. Latest of all will it come in the countries of South America and in Africa. But even there it has begun. The people everywhere are waking to the knowledge that they have the right to live, the right to be

free, the right to pursue happiness. Seeds planted centuries ago in Europe, seeds brought first from Asia, and then to the New World, are now coming to flower and fruit, in this, the greatest age which the human race has ever seen.

Those seeds, some of them, came from China. The idea of the sovereignty of the people and the duty of government to serve them is as old as Confucius himself. It is entirely fitting and to be expected that the most spectacular flowering, therefore, should be in China today. What is happening there is no sudden push of political adventurers. Adventurers always seize their chance in any disturbance, and they may do so now. But only the superficial mind can see in China today, or in the world, a

conflict between two ideologies. It is not even a conflict—it is a struggle not by two but by one—and that one is the people, of China as of the world—to emerge into a place where they can live. If Communism serves, Communism may continue. If Communism, too, fails the people, then it will be cast away and the struggle will go on, not against other peoples, not between peoples, but for life itself. The people of any and all countries do not want wars of mutual destruction. They are all struggling separately and even blindly toward the same goal, as plants, weak and strong alike, struggle with irresistible force toward the light. This is the lesson of our times and it remains to be seen who learns it first. The ones who do will have the power of shaping the new age. But they will keep this power only so long as the people, any and all, have hope of their being served.

China is huge, and whatever happens there happens on a massive scale. A little over twenty years ago Chiang Kai shek, still young and vigorous, arrived in Nanking to set up a new government. The people of China received him with welcome. He had his chance. They give anyone a chance. They have given him twenty years to prove that his government could serve the people. Today they are on the search again, in search of what the government he formed has not been able to give them. They are hungry and none has fed them. They are ragged and none has clothed them. They are sick and not healed, they are ignorant and not taught. All this they know and they are on the march again. It is not yet an active march, in spite of rice riots and refugees. Most Chinese are still at home. They stay until the last moment in their villages and market towns and little cities. They seem passive until despair is complete, they seem indifferent even as the Communist hordes threaten and overwhelm. But they are neither passive nor indifferent; with furious determination they are actively searching for those who will give them their rights.

What shall we do? What can we do? When I say we, I mean first the bewildered and even terrified nations who behold this mighty spectacle in China. The United Nations, perhaps, can do nothing, since they have not yet forged the arm of supra-national cooperative government, which alone would be able to act at this moment.

Upon the United States, in the meantime, will fall the responsibility of action or no action, and the responsibility is equally heavy whatever is done.

What then, can the United States do in the vacuum created because the United Nations cannot yet move with power?

First of all, Americans can and must realize that what is going on in China is not an ideological struggle, except in the minds of a few intellectuals and politicians who cannot themselves understand their own people. Unless Americans understand fully that all ideologies are now merely incidental, anything they do will be of no significance. It will be wasted as the billions of American dollars poured into China since V-J Day have been wasted. Some Chinese armies, equipped with American trucks and American weapons, have deserted wholesale to the Communist side. To give money and equipment to those whom the people have rejected is folly indeed.

If the United States chooses, nevertheless, to persist in this folly with any hope of success, it will be necessary to commit it on a grand scale. It will be necessary to send American armies to China to fight those whom the Chinese will not fight. This would be at frightful cost. It might, indeed, be the beginning of the Third World War. What would make such action the ultimate folly, so far as the American people are concerned, is that the Chinese people would not support the American armies. The United States would find itself in the ridiculous position of going forth to "save" those who do not want such salvation because they do not believe it will really save them. Americans would find themselves on Chinese soil, fighting Soviet-backed forces on one front and the Chinese people on the other. It is too late for this sort of help. What Americans have failed to understand is that it has been too late ever since the end of the Second World War. All that has been done so far has not served the Chinese people.

Realizing, then, that the present war in China is not a war of ideologies, we may proceed to a plan of definite and constructive action to serve, not an ideology, but a people.

Like people in any country, the Chinese cannot and will not set up a new government for themselves. They act by rejection. They know what

they want and if the government they have does not give it to them, they reject it. If they reject their present government, there are two possibilities of a new government to be set up out of the present war. The first is a Nationalist government so reformed that it amounts to a new one, even to coalition of present opposing forces. The second is the emergence of a group of men who would declare themselves victors and assume power. Whatever the new government, it would probably be made up of men inexperienced in such power. They would not know how to make a government or to govern. They may know what the people want but it is doubtful whether they will know how to give it to them. They may have controlled segments of the people in rough-and-ready, semi-military fashion, but of the organization and administration of a nation they can have no conception.

And the people will be impatient. Twenty years they have given to Chiang Kai-shek, but this time there will be no 20 years. When Chiang came to power the people were still fairly well off. Today they are desperate. A new government will be compelled to work quickly—far more quickly than it can possibly do, unaided.

#### WHAT THE FUTURE CAN BRING FOR CHINA AND FOR THE US

Aid must come from somewhere, and it will come. If the United States pursues a short-sighted policy and refuses aid except on ideological agreement, then Asia is lost to the West. But if somewhere can be found a few American men who understand the meaning of what is going on in China and its full significance in a world of peoples moving in the same direction, then they will somehow and over all obstacles get aid to the Chinese people, by whatever government there is. They will send food to China in such quantities that the centers of starvation will be quieted. They will send technicians to put communications into working order so that the supplies of food which China has can be distributed. They will organize and set up engineering projects which will make possible further production of both food and goods. They will in short make the government function as swiftly as

possible, without stopping to quibble over ideologies or even to count the cost.

Only thus can the people be won, and that new government, whatever it is, will know it. Its very existence will depend upon swiftness. And that is America's chance. The investment will be repaid a thousandfold in world stability. For inevitably that new government will learn through the thorough-going and practical aid which Americans alone, out of their plenty, can give. The new government will become dependent upon this aid and long before they can function independently they will have become shaped by it.

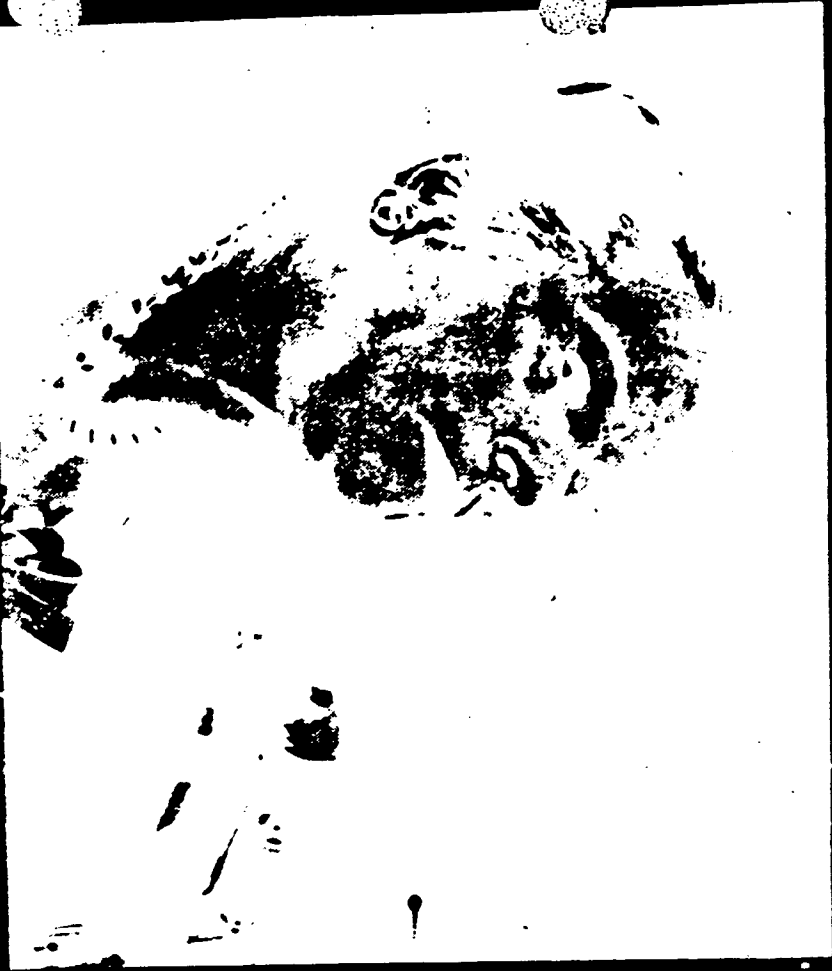
The alternative is no American aid. Short-sighted and reluctant persons may say, "Why not let the new government fail, especially if it should be Communist?" Why not? Because if it is Communist, others will not let it fail. If it is not supported and thereby shaped by American aid, it will be supported and shaped by aid from Soviet Russia.

Americans, however, have the edge in goods and techniques, and if these are used with the utmost and therefore the most prudent generosity in speed and quantity, the Chinese people themselves will decide against Communist ideology. For ideology alone is the stone which a man gives his son for bread. Ideology cannot feed the hungry or heal the sick or visit the man who is in prison. It is only when ideology begins to do these practical things that it becomes dangerous—or effective, as the point of view may be. Americans themselves ought to know that now, after these years of seeing their own ideology fail, even when backed up in other countries by American arms.

There is still another possibility. Chiang Kai-shek may retreat to the South and China may be divided into two parts. What then? If Americans still think in terms of ideology and war, they will aid only the South. If they think in terms of China, however, they will send aid to all China's people, under whatever ideology they live for the moment. Ideologies come and go, but the people are eternal.

I write these words in the small dark hours of a certain night. As surely as I know I write them I know that the dawn will come. The people will be served. Who knows that first and acts upon it first will win the new day.

Monday Nov 16 1949



PEARL BUCK, famous author of "The Good Earth," "Peonia" and many other novels on China, addresses Friends of the Library at a meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the Hempstead Public Library in Hempstead High School last night.

## Reds Seek Firm Grip On China: Pearl Buck

Hempstead—China will undoubtedly retain a communist government if present officials are clever enough to adopt a modified form of Red rule, Pearl Buck, noted novelist on life in China, said last night.

Communism will survive in the nation as long as the government has something to offer the people in the way of economic security, Miss Buck stated. Since they received nothing from the Nationalists they will be satisfied with very little and, she added, western countries will probably have to learn to live with a Communist China.

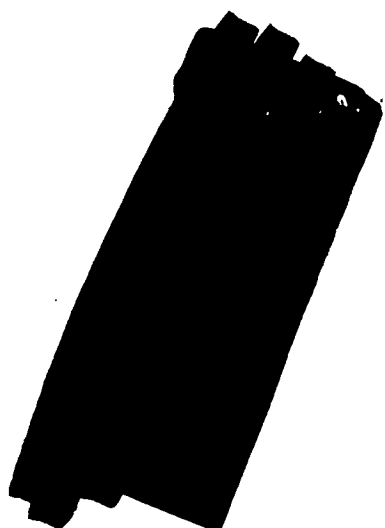
Speaking at a meeting of the Friends of the Hempstead Library in the High School auditorium, Miss Buck declared that the Chinese will not accept the strict party line of Soviet Russia because the Oriental people are not characteristically revolutionary.

The collapse of the Nationalist government was inevitable when Miss Buck said "as always in

China's history, the price of rice went beyond the reach of the average man."

The downfall of the former regime was caused chiefly by the weaknesses of Chiang Kai-shek as a ruler, Miss Buck stated. Militarism was evident in all phases of the government. In addition, she said, he tried to impose democracy from above instead of letting it grow from the villages, and people lost confidence in his government because of the corrupt officials around him. Chung was not a corrupt man himself, Miss Buck said; he was a mistaken man.

The speaker was introduced by Mrs. Lillian C. Van Meter librarian, during the meeting which marked the 60th anniversary of the Hempstead Library.



## Book Events

American Argument, by Pearl S. Buck with Eslanda Goode Robeson. New York: John Day Company. \$3.00. Reviewed by William Henry Chamberlin.

Anti-American Argument might have been a better title for this book. For American political and American institutions and ideas are subjected to violent attack by Mrs. Robeson and get very feeble and faltering defense from Mrs. Buck. Mrs. Robeson is the wife of the famous singer, Paul Robeson, whose talent in his art is combined with what must be a world's record for joining Communist front organizations. There is, to be sure, some pattern of argument in the book. Eslanda Robeson is a vehement, dogmatically convinced collectivist. Pearl Buck is an apologetic, defensive individualist. So on this very important issue of individualism versus statism one gets the impression of a sham verbal conflict because Mrs. Buck does not seem to know how good her case is.

Mrs. Robeson might not recognize the phrase; but she is in sympathy with Rousseau's conception of the volonté générale, that mystical overriding popular will which the Jacobins invoked as justification for setting up the guillotine as the most effective means of dealing with dissenters. When the two women get around to Russia, Mrs. Robeson discusses the subject in an atmosphere of dogmatic ignorance and fellow traveler euphemisms and clichés. Mrs. Buck offers timid reservations which are largely vitiated because of her obvious lack of precise factual knowledge.

Mrs. Robeson is quite ready to take "liquidation" in her stride. "I'm not so afraid of liquidation as you are", she says. "I regret it, of course, I would avoid it if I possibly could. I like dogs, but I wouldn't hesitate one moment to liquidate a mad dog." Just who is to decide the rather important question of who is to be the liquidator and who is to be the liquidatee and who is fair game as a "mad dog" remains obscure. There is the further suggestion from Mrs. Robeson that it would be an improvement "to switch over to a good dictatorship, in order to make things more democratic". Here, of course, is the supposed justification for every totalitarian regime since World War I; Lenin's and Stalin's, Hitler's, Mussolini's and all their minor satellites and imitators.

No reasonable person will dispute that American Negroes and Americans of Mexican, Oriental and other ethnic strains sometimes suffer from unjust discriminatory treatment. But she very much overstates the case in this field. She never asks herself, and Mrs. Buck never asks her, why, if Negroes and other "minorities" are so desperately badly off in America, they do not pack up and move to the Soviet Union where liquidation and everything else are so admirably ordered, in Mrs. Robeson's opinion. Whatever may be America's faults, it is not and never has been a jail or a concentration camp for its own citizens. One of the many missed points in this informal dialogue is that, apart from the Negroes, who were the victims of a great historical wrong -- the legalization of human slavery -- every other "minority" group came to America of its own free will and, by and large, found better conditions and more opportunities here than it left behind.

Pearl Buck is less dogmatic than Eslanda Robeson. But her mind seems to operate in a haze of wishful thinking and high sounding phrases and she overworks intuition as a substitute for precise knowledge. It is a mere stab in the dark to suggest that all our troubles began because we sent "little men" to the San Francisco Conference. Equally wide of the mark is her thought that "the Third World War began with Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri". There was a rather long series of Soviet aggressive actions that preceded this speech.

This book is more valuable for the dissent it should inspire in readers with reasonable knowledge of the American scene and the world situation than for any contribution it makes to objective understanding of either.

1 means better training, better pay and better professional status to get and to keep better men—are urgently required.

As the greatest world power, the United States can afford the best diplomatic force. It cannot afford to entrust its blue chips to amateurs or second-raters in a game where the stakes are the peace of the world.

Headline: "Dirty City Streets Laid to Residents." Maybe so, but don't let's blame them for the very noticeable neglect of too many subway stations and cars.

### # Buying Off Communists.

Apparently the notion will not die that the free world can buy off totalitarianism by practicing appeasement and paying blackmail.

That theory was employed at Munich. It has failed to buy a live-and-let-live understanding with Communism. Yet there are those who would keep on trying.

Among them is Pearl Buck, who hails the dawn of a "new day" in China as the Red tide sweeps toward the Yangtze.

Writing in the United Nations World, she urges that we throw our support behind the Communists. If and when they take over.

"Short-sighted and reluctant persons may say, 'why not let the new government fail, especially if it should be Communist?'" she remarks. "Because, if it is Communist, others will not let it fail. If it is not supported and thereby shaped by American aid, it will be supported and shaped by aid from Soviet Russia."

That, in our opinion, is nonsense.

How much policy-shaping did our money do in Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary or Albania? It was used to make Communism a going concern, and then the Communists kicked us in the teeth. Why should we repeat that experience in China?

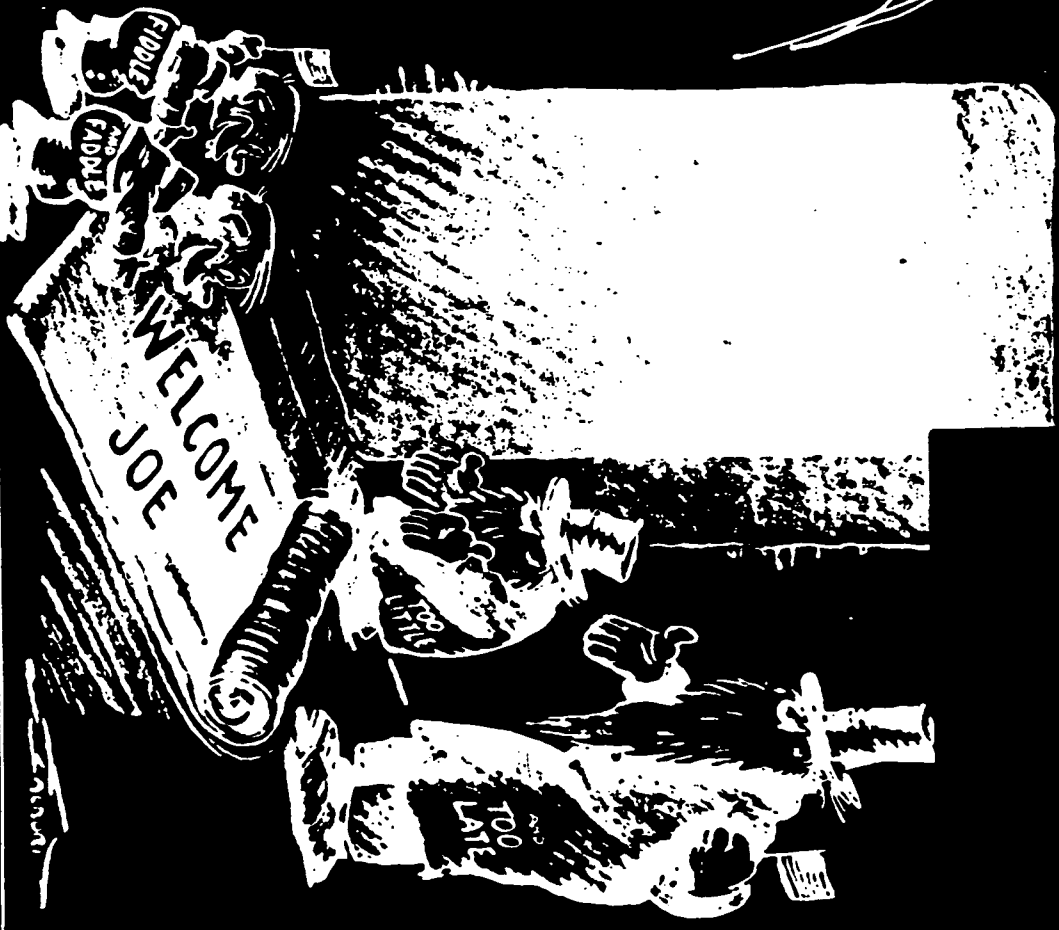
Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communists, made his position clear the other day. He pledged his followers to complete solidarity with Russia as a "bulwark" against "American Imperialists." He rejected any middle-of-the-road compromise as "utter hypocrisy and bankruptcy," which it is.

Is Miss Buck kidding herself, or trying to kid the American people?

Isn't it about time that those in the so-called arts and sciences ~~who~~ are not smart enough to write

# CHINA A

Rolling Out the Red Carpet



admirer



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
October 21, and thereafter

"WHILE THE UNITED STATES IS FRANTICALLY TRYING TO RESCUE WESTERN EUROPE from Russian domination, Asia is passing almost by default into the Russian camp," Harold R. Isaacs, veteran Far Eastern correspondent and author of No Peace for Asia, said in an interview here yesterday. "Communist gains in Asia," he said, "are due more to American failures than to Russian action. People in Asia are losing faith in the quality of American world leadership."

Isaacs was interviewed at the offices of the East and West Association (62 West 45 Street), of which Pearl S. Buck is president. He will serve as moderator on a series "AMERICA AND THE RISING PEOPLES OF ASIA," sponsored by the Association, and beginning at 8:15 p.m. next Tuesday at the Theresa Kaufmann Auditorium of the YWCA, 92nd Street and Lexington Avenue. The series will bring together some of the most prominent American students of Far Eastern affairs and representatives of many Asian countries for a full report on America's problems in Asia.

"There is nothing more tragically preposterous," Isaacs said, "than the idea that guns and dollars alone can cope with the problems of Asia. The incoming Republican administration evidently plans to increase the flow of guns and dollars to China," he added, "and this program," he flatly predicted, "will fail. The problem is not one that can be met by military mentality. The peoples of Asia wanted to join us in making a new world. All we have done is place obstacles in their path. It is high time the American people realized that there are titanic battles being fought and lost in Asia. No matter what happens in Europe, these struggles will mortally affect our whole future. We have to remember that few Americans were even conscious of Asia's existence, and then came Pearl Harbor, and Americans were suddenly dying because the problem of poverty in Asia had not been met. That is going to happen again unless we grasp the fact that the revolution in Asia can be a democratic revolution and that we can and must help it along by every means in our power."

Isaacs and Pearl Buck will be the featured speakers at the opening meeting next Tuesday evening. Among the representatives of the new countries of Asia will be Dr. Soemito, Financial and Trade Representative of the Indonesian Republic, and Dr. Diosdado Macapagal, President of the Philippine Lawyers' Association, Burma, Ceylon, India and Vietnam will also be represented.

AN INFORMED INTERPRETATION OF THE PRESENT MOOD OF CHINA

# Pearl Buck Offers

A NOTE ON THE PRICE OF RICE (and power)



PEARL BUCK knows China as few Westerners do. She often knows what is going to happen there before it happens.

THE Chinese people in their age-old common sense have never rushed to rid themselves of tyrants. They are not hurrying now. They believe that Heaven and Nature will perform the act. How do they know when Heaven has decreed against a tyrant? By the simple fact that the price of rice has gone higher than the average man can afford to pay. A good ruler keeps the price of rice down. When he is no longer able to keep it down, it is time for him to go.

Chinese democracy is symbolized in the family, now as always. The Chinese conceive of the relationships of the people to the ruler and his advisers as the same that hold in a family, between the father-head, older brother subordinate-heads and the other members. Chinese democracy, when it takes final shape, will not rest on political machinery but on paternally democratic individuals; and a fatherly man will be the head, to continue in office so long as he is able to hold the respect and trust of the people by keeping the price of rice down.

The essential quality of the Chinese concept of democracy may be found in the rejection of the idea of wholesale merchandising. Two ounces of spring melon, the old story goes, sold for three small cash an ounce. When a rich man said, "What will the price

be on a hundred times two ounces?" the answer was, "It is still three small cash for two ounces." Why should the rich be able to buy more cheaply than the poor and so use up all the necessities of life? China is naturally organized against monopolies. Such accumulations as have been made were made under the corrupting conditions fostered by foreign taxes and customs.

At present, the price of rice in China is fabulous, far above the ability of the people to pay. Rice is the basic commodity, and all other commodities are related to it. It is comparable to steel in the United States. Since the Nationalist government can do nothing, apparently, about reducing prices, it is, in the opinion of the people, doomed to fall.

They have watched with interest the efforts of the Americans to bolster this decaying regime. Had the bolstering been able to reduce the price of rice, it would have had significance. But this would have taken many billions of dollars, in fact the taking over and complete reformation of the whole Chinese economy. The Chinese knew that the Americans were not prepared to go so far. Therefore, they have known from the beginning that the present regime was doomed, in spite of small delays.

## THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNISTS

The Chinese, having seen that the price of rice has risen above all precedent under the present leaders, know that it is time to look for others. They are scanning their horizons with full confidence. Leaders have always risen from the people and will

always rise. It is a question of time. The time has been unduly stretched because of the interference of foreign nations, notably the United States, but the end will come.

What about the Communists?

The question the Chinese people ask is—what sort of men and women are they? Are they Chinese first or Communists first? The Chinese people believe that there are both kinds. The Communists who are Chinese first are those who have got their Communism second-hand, who have never left their native soil. The Communists who are Communists before they are Chinese are the returned Russian-trained students. They "have drunk Communist milk from the breast of Soviet Russia."

The Chinese people believe, generally speaking, that the first group will come back into Chinese life, bringing with them ideas which may revivify their country. But the returned-student Communists will never again be trusted to be loyal to China.

Is it likely, then, that the new leaders will be Communists of the first sort? The Chinese people say Nature forbids. These Communists are men who understand peasants and peasant life but they have no experience in government. Traditionally Chinese government lies in the hands, not of peasants, but of men of learning and philosophy. The new leaders will rise from these again, and in their wisdom they will call upon others who understand peasant life to help them but not control. Again the test will be the price of rice.

The Chinese people are thinking these things, and they wait as they have waited sometimes for a hundred years. They wait until again Heaven and Nature guide their way.

# Japanese American Committee for Democracy

72 West 52nd Street, New York 19, N. Y.

PLaza 8-2600

July 19, 1948

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*San Francisco Chronicle,  
San Francisco, Calif.*

KATHERINE TERRELL  
*Panora, Iowa*

Miss Pearl S. Buck  
R. D. 3  
Perkasie, Pa.

Dear Miss Buck:

In answer to your letter of July 14, 1948, we wish to inform you that your name is not being used in any way, nor has it been used in the recent past, by our organization. Since your resignation from our Advisory Board, your name has been duly omitted from our list.

We regret that you have been misinformed and hope that the enclosed letterhead of last year (we did not have any printed this year) will reassure you.

Sincerely ours,

Japanese American Committee  
for Democracy

per \_\_\_\_\_

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 21, 1946

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: PEARL SYDENSTRIKER BUCK  
(Mrs. Richard J. Walsh)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

Pursuant to your request, there is attached hereto a memorandum which contains a summary of the information set forth in the Bureau's files concerning Pearl Sydenstriker Buck.

While no information has been received which would indicate that Pearl S. Buck is either a member of the Communist Party or is controlled by the Communists, she has through her militant activity in furtherance of all programs designed to secure equality for the colored races associated herself with many known Communists and other individuals of varying shades of political opinions.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/9/91 BY sp-tp/jp

Attachment

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OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*Please bring up to date.*

*[Handwritten initials]*

See Me \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

For Your Recommendation \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

What are the facts? \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE 2/11/84 BY [signature]**

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*94-4-234-6X*

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~~94-4-52917~~

SAC - Pittsburgh

March 4, 1947

Director - FBI

PEARL BUCK  
Information Concerning

33932

There is being submitted herewith a photostatic copy of a memorandum dated January 22, 1947, that sets out certain information concerning the background of Pearl Buck and remarks which she made at a meeting in Pittsburgh on the evening of January 21, 1947.

This memorandum was furnished to the Bureau by an unknown outside source and if incorporated in an investigative report, it should be appropriately paraphrased.

Enclosure

mpd

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DATE 7/9/88 BY sp/tpj/pe

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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAR 4 3 48 PM '47

MAR 4 2 47 PM '47

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 7  
MAR 1 1947 P.M.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Gandy

FEB 17 1955

*Handwritten signatures and initials*



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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: June 17, 1947

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
EAST-WEST ASSOCIATION  
PEARL S. BUCK

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In accordance with your request, there are attached blind memoranda containing information available from public sources with regard to the captioned organizations. No investigation of Pearl Buck has ever been conducted by the Bureau. With regard to the two above organizations, limited inquiry has been conducted.

Attachments  
3 (28)

mpd

*Memo for Tolson  
6/24/47  
NAC.*

June 17, 1947

PEARL SYDENSTRIKER BUCK  
(Mrs. Richard J. Walsh)

Summary

Background

Pearl S. Buck, the well-known American authoress, is the wife of Richard J. Walsh, president of the John Day Publishing Company, New York City. She was born Pearl Sydenstriker at Hillsboro, West Virginia, on June 28, 1892. She graduated with an A.B. degree from Randolph-Macon Women's College in 1914. Mrs. Buck also received an M.A. degree from Yale in 1933, a Doctor of Literature degree from West Virginia University in 1939, and LL.D degrees from Howard University, Washington, D. C., and the St. Lawrence University in 1942.

She married John Lossing Buck on May 13, 1917, and has two children by this marriage, Carol and Janice. She later divorced Mr. Buck and on June 11, 1935, married Richard J. Walsh. Shortly after her marriage to Mr. Walsh, she adopted Richard and John Stulting, Edgar Sydenstriker and Jean Comfort.

Pearl S. Buck was employed as a teacher at the University of Nanking and Southeastern University, Nanking, China, between 1921 and 1931. She also taught during this period at Chung Yung University, Nanking, China. In recognition of her work in the literary field, Mrs. Buck was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1932, the William Dean Howell medal in 1935, and the Nobel Award in Literature in 1938. She has been president of the East-West Association since 1941, is a member of the American Institute of Arts and Letters, the Kappa Delta Sorority, Phi Beta Kappa, and the Cosmopolitan Club of New York City.

Activities

The Daily Worker for January 8, 1937, stated that Anna Louise Strong, a reported member of the Communist Party, was on her way to the United States after having visited the Spanish battlefronts and that upon her arrival she was to attend a banquet, partly in her honor and partly for the support of democracy in Spain. This article stated that Pearl S. Buck was to be among the speakers and honored guests at the banquet. Also, concerning the above banquet, the Daily Worker stated, on January 12, 1937: "The occasion will bring together many of the early travelers to the Soviet Government of two decades ago."

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] mpd

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The publication "Soviet Russia Today" for March 10, 1942, carried a brief article concerning messages from American women to Soviet women. This item was signed by a group of American women, including Pearl S. Buck. [REDACTED] b2

The New York World Telegram dated February 11, 1943, contains an article by Frederick Weltman, which charged that the Communists had taken complete control of the Japanese American Committee for Democracy and mentioned the fact that Pearl Buck was a member of the advisory board of this group. [REDACTED] b2

The "People's World," dated May 12, 1943, reported that Pearl S. Buck, chairman of the Committee Against Racial Discrimination of the American Civil Liberties Union, on May 11, 1943, had announced a nationwide movement to wipe out all race discrimination in the war effort. [REDACTED] b2

The Daily Worker of June 24, 1943, mentioned that Pearl S. Buck, chairman of the Committee Against Race Discrimination in the War Effort of the ACLU had sent a telegram to President Roosevelt calling for an FBI investigation of the "wave of mob violence against Negroes and other minority groups spread across the country." [REDACTED] b2

Among the better known works which have been written by Mrs. Buck are the following:

- "East Wind - West Wind" published in 1930
- "The Young Revolutionist" published in 1931
- "The Good Earth" (awarded the Pulitzer prize) published in 1931
- "All Men are Brothers" (translation of the Chinese classic Shui Hu Chuan) published in 1933
- "The Mother" published in 1934
- "The Exile" published in 1936
- "Fighting Angel" published in 1936
- "The Patriot" published in 1936
- "The Chinese Novel" published in 1939
- "Dragon Seed" published in 1942
- "American Unity in Asia" published in 1942
- "What America Means To Me" published in 1943
- "Talk About Russia with Masha Scott" published in 1945.

(94-4-2391 p.9)

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : H. H. CLEGG

SUBJECT:

DATE: June 24, 1947

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

In keeping with the provisions of the attached approved memoranda I talked this morning in detail with Congressman Everett Dirksen concerning the background and affiliation and activities of

I also left with him memoranda concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations, the East-West Association and Mrs. Pearl Sydenstricker Buck, copies of which are attached. He expressed his deep appreciation.

He stated that they were inclined to go forward with the investigation even if all they did was to expose \_\_\_\_\_ for they hoped it would have the salutary affect of alerting the people throughout the country with respect to their school systems and Communist infiltration thereof and with Washington being in the public eye a showing that such a person as \_\_\_\_\_ was invited to appear before the Student Body of a high school would within itself have considerable significance. I informed him that this might be as far as they got but that the whole question as to whether they would or would not conduct the investigation was one for him and his committee to decide. He seemed to be inclined toward making the inquiry.

*V. H. C.*

*1 ENCL 69*

Attachments

*PPJ*

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September 2, 1947

The Director

D. H. Ladd

PEARL SYDENSTRIKER BUCK  
(Mrs. Richard J. Walsh)

In accordance with your request, there is attached hereto a memorandum which contains a summary of the information available in the Bureau's files concerning Pearl Sydenstricker Buck.

The Bureau's files do not contain any information which would indicate that Pearl Sydenstricker Buck is a member of the Communist Party or that she is controlled by Communists. She has continually, through her militant activity in furtherance of all programs designed to secure equality for various racial groups, associated herself with many known Communists and other individuals of varying shades of political opinions.

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Attachment  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SE 37

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~~94-1-2391-10~~

RECORDED & INDEXED 37 OCT 21 1947

EX-93

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Original cannot be located and is not on record. When original is received in Files Division it will be filed either with this copy or may be given a new serial.  
10/18/47 G.F.S.

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- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease

FEB 17 1955

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CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) b7c  
DATE: 12/11/96

September 2, 1947 1/13/97

PEARL SYDENSTRICKER BUCK  
(Mrs. Richard J. Walsh)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BACKGROUND

Pearl Sydenstricker Buck, the well-known American author, is the wife of Richard J. Walsh, principal officer and president of the John Day Publishing Company, 40 East 19th Street, New York City. A review of the 1944-1945 issue of "Who's Who in America," revealed the following information concerning Pearl S. Buck: She was born Pearl Sydenstricker at Millersburg, West Virginia, on June 26, 1892. Her parents were Absalom and Capeline (Stulting) Sydenstricker. She graduated with an A. B. Degree from Randolph-Macon Women's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1914. She also received an M. A. Degree from Yale in 1913, a Doctor of Literature Degree from West Virginia University in 1939, and LL.D. Degrees from Howard University, Washington, D. C., and the St. Lawrence University in 1942.

She married John Lossing Buck on May 13, 1917, and of this union two children, Carol and Janice, were born. She later divorced Mr. Buck, and on June 11, 1935, married Richard J. Walsh. Shortly after her marriage to Mr. Walsh, she adopted Richard Stulting, John Stulting, Edgar Sydenstricker, and Jean Comfort.

Pearl S. Buck was employed as a teacher at the University of Hanking, Hanking, China, from 1921 to 1931. During this period she also taught at the Southeastern University, Hanking, China, from 1925 to 1927, and at Chung Yang University, Hanking, China, from 1928 to 1930. As recognition of her outstanding work in the literary field, she was awarded the Pulitzer prize in 1932, the William Dean Howells Medal in 1935, and the Nobel Award in Literature in 1938. With respect to her membership in organizations, she has been President of the East and West Association since 1941, is a member of the American Institute of Arts and Letters, the Kappa Delta Society, Phi Beta Kappa, and of the Cosmopolitan Club in New York City.

She was a Presbyterian missionary to China. In 1931 she wrote a book entitled, "The Young Revolutionary." When this book was published she entered into a bitter long controversy with the Missionary Board of the Presbyterian Church, and following her divorce from her first husband, was sent returned to China as a missionary. In a memorandum to Mr. Tolson dated September 3, 1950, Mr. L. B. Nichols stated: "It is the writer's recollection that the Board of Missions at that particular time was very fundamental and that Miss Buck was a little too liberal for them."

- Tolson
- E. A. Tamm
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Carson
- Egan
- Gurnea
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Pennington
- Quinn Tamm
- Nease

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Declassify on: OADR

94-3-4-2125

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D [REDACTED]

Miss Buck's present address is listed as R. D. No. 3, Perkasia, Pennsylvania.

94-4-2391-5

RACIAL ACTIVITIES AND ATTITUDE

No information is contained in the Bureau's files which would indicate that Pearl S. Buck is a member of the Communist Party or that her activities are influenced or controlled by Communists. All of her activities tend to indicate that she considers herself a champion of the colored races, and she has campaigned vigorously for racial equality. Although it is not believed from the information available that Miss Buck is a Communist, her active support of all programs advocating racial equality has led her to associate with many known Communists and other individuals of varying shades of political opinions.

b7D [REDACTED]

94-4-2391-5

The New York Times, issue of March 5, 1942, page five, carries a news item captioned, "Group Here Seeking Negro Help in War." The article states that a group calling itself "Democracy in Action," was being formed in New York to rally Negro support in the war and its first activity was to raise funds for the British and American Ambulance Corps. The article states that this group sent a telegram to Miss Pearl Buck, novelist, as a response to her message asking Negroes to stand by the democracies as the clearest hope for true democracy after the war.

b2 [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

The Daily Worker, issue of April 8, 1942, contains an article on page five captioned, "Robeson and Curran Join at Rally Tonight." This article states that on April 8, 1942, there was to be held a mass meeting sponsored by Max Yergan and the Council on African Affairs at Manhattan Center, New York City, at 8:00 P. M., for the purpose of combatting discrimination. The article states that among the principal speakers would be Dr. Max Yergan, Paul Robeson, Pearl Buck, Joseph Curran, Lillian Hellman, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, and Herbert Agar.

b2 [REDACTED]

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On August 22, 1942, an article appeared in "The Michigan Chronicle," a newspaper, announcing that a mass rally for the purpose of "clarifying" the Russia situation to the largest possible number of people was planned by the Negro Youth Committee for Victory and Democracy, which was to be held at a later designated place, on August 30, 1942. The article stated that the principal speaker would be either Ferdinand Smith, Max Yergan, Paul Robeson, or Pearl S. Buck.

b2 - [REDACTED] b2  
Through the assistance of a technical surveillance on the Communist Party Headquarters in New York City [REDACTED] it was ascertained that on December 12, 1942, Robert Minor, then Acting Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, conferred with one Jack, whom this informant believed to be Jack Stachel, a functionary in the Communist Party, at which time he asked Jack when he was planning to release an article on Pearl Buck. Jack stated that he would advertise it as soon as he received the manuscript from Minor. (X) u

b2  
The Daily Worker of December 15, 1942, on page one, contains an article written by Robert Minor captioned, "About Pearl Buck's Speech - This is a People's War." This article states, "The speech of the famous novelist Pearl Buck last Thursday has been exploited with distorting effect by the press. A few words of unexcited comment are due in order to allay the charges."

Minor then repeats Pearl Buck's experiences in China and her speeches on behalf of oppressed peoples. Minor states that Pearl Buck achieved her standing as an anti-imperialist and particularly as a friend of China. Minor states that,

"The picture presented by the press reports of her speech is as though a long-established friend of China offered the solemn opinion that the cause of the United Nations in the war against Hitler Germany and Japan is not a just war; that the peoples of Asia have no reason to regard it as a struggle for freedom, and cannot trust the United Nations but must follow a course which is called relying solely upon themselves; that this war only leads to further war, presumably between present members of the coalition of the United Nations; and that our military successes are of little or no value."

Minor states that the speech of Pearl Buck, which was not published in full in the public press, did not express such a view and that it was well known that she does not hold such views. Minor states that, "The truth is that Miss Buck's speech was very easy to misinterpret, by tendentious quoting, into exactly the meaning attributed to it by the press." [REDACTED] b2

The Negro newspaper, "Baltimore Afro-American," issue of January 2, 1943, carries a news article captioned, "Can't Have Jim Crow and Democracy - Pearl Buck: Pearl Buck Talks with Afro 3 Hours," by Michael Carter. This article states:

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"Pearl Buck says that although all people should join the struggle to win the war, she cannot blame a colored man for refusing to serve in our Army. 'I am simply against Jim Crow anywhere, and the sooner we get rid of it the better off we shall be.'

"I have every sympathy for any colored man who refuses to serve under Jim Crow conditions. I think those who refuse are making a mistake, but I can understand their reasons. . . ."

"Nobody is going to give you equality. You have to fight for it."

Carter then quotes Pearl Buck as saying that the Negro has a tendency to become too subjective and that,

"To overcome subjectivity you must join in trade unions, inter-racial groups, and everything else that affords a chance of getting together."

"Sometimes I am ashamed of being white. I have seen white people do so many cruel things. Sometimes I want to hide my face in shame."

b2

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b2

Through the Office of Censorship it was determined that [REDACTED] New York, New York, corresponded by letter dated April 9, 1943, with [REDACTED] Chengtu, China, in which was enclosed a letter to Hewi Alley, stating as follows:

b7C

"After the meeting, Pearl Buck took me aside and told me about a plan she is now working on. She is in touch with a group of middle West manufacturers, owners of small factories who have built them up and developed them themselves. They are working out a system whereby

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