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MR. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 25 minutes to the

gentleman from Montana MR. MANSFIELD

Mr. Mansfield of Montana, Mr. Chairman,

Mr. Speaker:

I rise today to speak on ^{CHINA +} the Far East and I feel that the sentiments which I am about to express are ~~not only those of your those Committee on Foreign Affairs as a unit, but they are the sentiments of the great majority of the American people, as well.~~ ~~Dr. Judd, the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota gave us a talk last week on China that went to our hearts. He knows whereof he speaks and we are honored to have him as a member of this House and to have his experience at our disposal.~~ We, on the ^{Foreign Affairs} Committee, have interrogated many witnesses about aid to China and while we have received no concrete satisfaction we have received assurances from Mr. Stettinius, Dean ^{J. FRANKLIN} Acheson, Mr. ^A Ray and others that we will not stop until all our ingenuity and every effort is expended to move more aid into China.

Before I go into this matter of the importance of the Pacific I want you to know something of my background. During the last war at the age of 14 I enlisted in the U. S. Navy for the duration. After that I served a year in the Army and, later, several years with the Marines in the Far East. Since that time I have had ten years of teaching experience at Montana State University especially in the fields of the Far East and Latin America. I feel I am here not only representing those who live in my District whether they be Republican or Democrat, but also those of our boys and girls who are fighting and serving in all parts of the globe. While we sit here and argue about all too many ^{"wooden" +} ~~minor~~ ^{personal} matters those young folks are giving their lives for us. The least we can do is to help them win this war just as quickly as it is humanly possible.

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The war in the Pacific area is ^{just as}~~just as~~ ^{more} important and ^{more}~~just as~~ significant ^{than} is the war in the Atlantic area. In this struggle the matter of distance is of great importance. The Pacific is the greatest of the world's five oceans. It measures almost ten thousand miles from east to west at its broadest point and about seven thousand miles from north to south. It has an area of roughly sixty-eight million square miles or nearly one-half the total water surface of the globe. Along its northern rim the Soviet Union and the United States are only a few miles apart. It is flanked by three British dominions: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, by eleven American Republics in addition to the U. S., and by the more than four thousand volcanic islands that form the Japanese archipelago, and by China, the Philippine Islands, and the Netherlands East Indies. It is a tremendous depository of wealth and commerce, the crossroads of a dozen trade routes, the scene of many adventures in national policy and at the present time the conflict in that area ~~may~~ will settle our future for generations to come.

In respect to the Pacific we should not lose sight of the fact that we are extremely fortunate to have China as our friend and ally. Many of us wonder why this great nation has not been given more of an opportunity to assert herself as she very much desires to do against our common enemy, the Japanese. I know there are questions in your minds. You think of the almost insurmountable difficulties of flying supplies across the Himalayas from India to China. You think of the fact that all of China's coast line is now under the control of Japan and many of you say to yourselves, "It is impossible to do more than we are doing!"

thoroughly disagree. Nothing is impossible any more. It was ~~impossible~~

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for Japan to conquer Singapore, Malaya, Burma and the Dutch East Indies in the short while she did. It was ~~impossible~~ for the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor, the most strongly fortified position in the world. It was ~~impossible~~ for a small second-rate nation like Japan to tackle, and for the time being, successfully tackle, a great, proud, and mighty nation like the United States. But was it? This war is going to be won by doing the impossible and this war will never be won by fighting along 1918 lines. It will be won by men who have vision, courage, the audacity to dare, and the realism to look into the future. This war will be won by tearing down the preconceived ideas of brass hats, both in the Army and Navy and giving to younger men the opportunity to assert themselves and prove their worth. This war will be won by an increase in the development of air power, through the use of the military cargo and transport plane, ~~through the development of such ideas as those advanced by Glenn Martin and Henry Kaiser, and through an evolution in old thinking processes.~~ Many of our leaders have looked upon the Japanese as a people easy to handle and easier to conquer. Today they are awake to their mistaken calculations and they should realize now that Japan is our most dangerous and particular enemy and that the Japanese will be ~~the~~ ^{most} ~~extremely~~ difficult to defeat. Who are these Japanese whom we fight today? They are a fanatical, determined and brutal people. They consider themselves semi-divine, they are ruled by an Emperor, Hirohito, who is the direct descendent of the Sun Goddess and the 126th ruler in a divine dynasty. They consider their ^{islands} ~~land~~ the ^{choicest} ~~best~~ on the face of the earth and the closest in location to Heaven.

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little larger than the state of Montana, from which I come, and the population is approximately 75,000,000 million. Not more than 20% of the Japanese land is arable and the country is poor in natural resources. The present policy of expansion is nothing new for the Japanese, but is in effect the continuation of a policy years in the making. This war did not begin with Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939. It began with the September 18 incident, on the night of that date in 1931 when the Japanese invaded Manchuria. In that month and year the Japanese began their drive into Manchuria and since that time a well-defined pattern has been developed leading to the present struggle. Prior to that, in 1927, Premier Baron Tanaka is supposed to have presented a Memorial to the Emperor in which he stated that it was the duty of Japan to conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. When that was accomplished China could be conquered. When that was done the South Sea area would be taken and when that was done Japan would conquer the world. The authenticity of the Tanaka Memorial has been denied by the Japanese Foreign Office but events since 1931 give more than a grain of proof to its ^{supposed} contents.

Although the Emperor is, in theory, the head of the Japanese government, as a matter of fact the control lies not in his person but in the hands of a military clique. In Japan the soldier has always occupied and still does, the highest position in society, in contrast to China where the soldier, until comparatively recently, occupied one of the lowest rungs in the social structure. The Army of Japan is an army trained on the German model and its morale is high. Military training in effect begins down in the high school and in some cases in the late grades. Very few of the Japanese men are able to evade some sort of military training and whether or not the Japanese army is a really good or bad army we cannot as yet definitely state. We do know that on the basis of its career to date that it has performed extraordinary deeds and we likewise realize that before this war is over we are going to be in a position to thoroughly and completely evaluate the Japanese military machine.

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As many of us well know, the Japanese have expanded tremendously since their country was opened to the outside world in the middle of the last century. Up to the outbreak of December 7, 1941 they had acquired control of the Loochoo islands just south of the Japanese Empire proper, the island of Formosa, ^{the Pescadores} the Kwantung tip of the Liaotung peninsula in Manchuria. They acquired the southern half of the island of Sakhalin known as Karafuto, they annexed Korea. They took over the Mandated Islands, the Carolines, Mariannes, and Marshalls. In 1931, as you ~~will~~ know, they took over Manchuria and precipitated the present conflict because immediately after that Hitler moved into the Rhineland and Mussolini moved into Ethiopia and brought about its temporary subjugation. The pattern continued down to 1939 when Herr Hitler invaded Poland. In 1937 Inner Mongolia was taken over by the Japanese, in 1938 Canton, in 1939 the Island of Hainan, and the Spratley group, and in 1940 French Indo-China was brought under its control.

Broken down the figures show that 99,792,535 people and 1,222,060 square miles were brought under Japanese control from the period 1879 to 1941 inclusive.

Since the outbreak of the present conflict insofar as our participation in it is concerned, the Japanese have acquired control of Hongkong, Thailand

Malaya, Shanghai, Sarawak, Brunei, Borneo, the Phillipines, Singapore, Sumatra, Celebes, Java and Madura, New Guinea, Solomons, New Britain, Timor, Andamen Islands, Burma, China in which must be included the period before and after December 7, 1941, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and the Islands of Attu, Kiska, Little Kiska and possibly Agattu in the Aleutian group, islands which are American possessions and islands which represent a direct threat to our Pacific Northwest. Incidentally, Attu

^{when we consider that}
is only 1300 miles by air from Tokyo, the capitol of Japan, we begin to see that the Aleutians are not only the surest + quickest route to Japan but the most logical road to launch an offensive against our enemy.

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What do these figures since December 7, 1941 mean? Well, they mean for one thing that the Japanese have conquered 2,070,530 square miles of territory containing 262,698,919 people. Compare these figures with the area of the continental United States at ^{roughly} 3,000,000 square miles and a population of 132,000,000. From the viewpoint of economics we know, as Madame Chiang Kai-shek pointed out to the members of the House ~~week before~~ ^{2 1/2 months} ~~ago~~, that Japan now has practically everything it needs to wage a war for many years to come. She cannot be starved into submission because she is able to get all the food stuffs she required, especially in places like ~~Burma~~, Thailand, and French Indo China. She has all the rubber and tin that she will ever need to carry on a war of long duration and insofar as such metals as copper, iron, gold, and others are concerned she has sources in the Philippines and elsewhere upon which she can now draw to her heart's content. Before this war broke out Japan could not supply 10% of its needs in oil. She was dependent in that respect upon the development of shale deposits in Manchuria which were too expensive and too difficult to work, and also on agreements with the Russians for the

buying of oil from the northern half of the Island of Sakhalin, and agreements with the Royal Dutch people in the Netherlands East Indies. Since the occupation of the Netherlands East Indies Japan is entirely self-sufficient in oil and is no longer dependent on outside sources.

These figures mean a great deal because they show that for perhaps the first time in its ^{modern} national existence Japan is living on a solid **economic** foundation, and that alone will make it appear that the Japanese are going to be difficult to overcome.

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From the viewpoint of strength, the Japanese conquest of so many of these areas has allowed them to develop unhindered the resources which are now in their hands and while they have extended these conquests considerably they have done so very possibly with the idea of buying time

for the development of basic material needs. *JAPAN is closer to consolidating her gains for years to come than she ever dared dream our stupidity would permit. The war in the So. Pacific* has given us successes in Guadalcanal and in the Papuan portion of New

Guinea but those victories were hard won and long drawn out. Those victories took over six months to achieve and they were confined to relatively small areas. The Japanese troops in Papua and Guadalcanal did fulfill the missions they were evidently sent out to do. They kept much of our air, sea, and land power in the Pacific tied up for a long period and that time was invaluable to Tokyo in allowing it to organize and exploit the reserve of basic materials in the other sections under Japanese domination. In

retrospect it would appear that we are, in spite of splendid victories at *GUADALCANAL, CORAL AND BISMARCK SEAS,* Midway, ~~Midway~~, and Papua just getting by in the South Pacific, and

while we are concentrating our ^{small} forces there, ^{perhaps} ~~and justifiably so~~, the Chinese are being starved out and worn out because of our inability to get materials to them. It is not a matter of too late and too little for China, it is a matter of almost nothing at all. When we think of the

struggle in the Pacific, we think of China more and more these days and so far as I am concerned I have been emphasizing China's need - great need - both before I came here and since I have been in Washington. It is nothing new with me. I am not a new-found friend of China but I am one who realizes the tremendous significance of giving China the weapons and the material to bring this war in the Pacific to a conclusion.

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The Chinese have accomplished wonders in their five and one-half year fight against Japan. They constitute a huge population - the estimate is 475,000,000 - but they have little developed resources. They have been defeated time and time again but they remain unconquered. However, China cannot go on indefinitely without outside aid. She may, if starved of necessary materials, cease to fight. In that case I need not point out to you the perilous consequences to us. It is gratifying indeed to hear Mr. Stettinius ^{the very able administrator of Lend-Lease,} say in regard to China that ^{7/4} Everyone concerned with Lend-lease

aid programs has been struggling for more than a year with the problem of developing new routes from India into China. Now more planes are being made available and air-borne shipments into China are increasing. Transportation and other difficulties have made it seem impossible to step up the flow of aid to China. But we must do the impossible, and every human effort and ingenuity will be exercised to get Lend-Lease supplies into China. At the same time, no stone is being left unturned to aid China by other military means.

Before this war is over we shall be fighting side by side with the Chinese, depending upon the Chinese to a greater extent all the time, making China's war our war and considering China as a full-fledged Ally and ^{As she should be now,} on a par with Great Britain and Russia. It may be that before this war is

over China will become our most important Ally because it is ~~about~~ a foregone conclusion that the war in the Pacific will take far longer than the war in Europe. It is up to us to get just as much help to our gallant friends in China as we possibly can and if it means performing the impossible, well, we can do it. For instance, we are producing, according to News Week, standard transport planes, in quantity, that can carry six-ton cargoes at 200 miles an hour. It is not fantastic to foresee planes that will carry 100 tons at a speed of 400 miles an hour. These flying boxcars may well be our answer to China's cry for aid. Whether help will be flown directly over the Himalayas or sent in perhaps by way of Alaska ~~or Russia~~ is something which will have to be determined by the American and Chinese High Commands.

In the FAR EAST we find, also, that Russia
in the matter of Russia we find that she occupies a very important

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position in the world today. Many of our people seem to think Russia should be fighting Japan or at least let us use her Siberian bases. From the Russian point of view and perhaps the long-range Allied point of view they are justified in what they are doing. They are fighting a successful war on the European front; why wage a perhaps unsuccessful war on two fronts. The Russians and the Japanese are going to war. It is not a question of "if", it is only a question of "when". Russia has around 800,000 of its best soldiers on the Manchukooan-Korean frontier - they haven't fought except in limited numbers in Europe. Japan has ~~over~~ ^{around} 600,000 soldiers - and they are Japan's best - on the Siberian frontier. These Russian and Japanese troops are located where they are for one purpose and that is to come to grips when war breaks out.

The Japanese and Russians are realists. The Japanese know that when war comes the 60 or 70 submarines located at Vladivostok will be able to do tremendous damage in the Yellow and adjacent seas, they know also that Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya and the other centers of Japanese industry are located from 600 to 700 miles by air from the underground airdromes of the Russians at Vladivostok. They know, too, that their ~~paper and wood~~ cities could easily be razed by incendiaries ~~→~~ ^{Blockbusters} so, they hesitate. Russia knows also that in case of hostilities Vladivostok would not last ~~more than a week~~ ^{very long} because the Japanese would immediately converge on it and put it out of the war. On the basis of what has been said it should be easier to appreciate and understand the

Russian point of view. Further, we might learn something from Russia when we consider that she, with 192,000,000 people, is fighting on one front only

So much for this brief and inadequate survey of the situation in the Pacific and the Far East. Today we are Democrats and Republicans secondarily; Americans first. Our primary object is to win this war. It is a cause that stands above everything else, above party, above viewpoint, above affiliations, above all other loyalties. It is a matter of life or death. Since Pearl Harbor every man, woman and child is involved in this war deeply and irrevocably. Nothing much will matter for them and for generations yet unborn if we lose this war. ~~It doesn't make the slightest difference, for the time being, how we get in but the crucial question is how we will come out and we must come out on top.~~

while the U.S. with 132,000,000 is fighting all over the world. Have we the resources ~~to continue~~ ^{to continue} such a policy? I think not!

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With our production up we are rapidly reaching the stage where we will have to assume the offensive. The President has told us, and rightly, that we are in this war all the way, not just to fend off and hit back, but to hit often and hit hardest. That means that everyone must dig in

and do his full share. Words wont win this war but hard fighting will. Sniping at each other wont win the war but national unity and hard work will. We are here as the representatives of the farmers, the businessmen, the housewives, and the workers of all America and we have a job to do in behalf of them and our country.

This is total war. It will be fought unfortunately not only in the Pacific and the Atlantic, in the jungle and the desert, but also in every home, every office, every factory and every farm of all America. The final result will be decided in large part by the help which we send under this Act being considered today to our Allies in all parts of the globe. We must produce everything possible for victory or perish in the sea of our failure. We must all work as one and with national unity we must cultivate the spirit of individual sacrifice. What matter tires, taxes, canned beans or coffee if we can maintain our liberty ^{yes?} We who stay at home should think it disgraceful even to mention these little things which we have to undergo. We have come a long way in the ^{since Dec. 7, 1941} ~~last two years~~ but the fact remains that the way ahead is longer and tougher and more exacting than any we have travelled thus far. ~~Victory~~ ^{Success} will come for this country only if all of us shake off our dreamy optimism, our sleepy reasoning, and face realistically the shortcomings which must be overcome and the need for working together, all of us, in one cause and that is final and complete victory.

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Territories taken by Japan, 1879-1900) A.C. or

Date	LAND	Territories AREA (sq. mi.)	TAKEN by Japan, 1879-1900		Nationality
			Population THEN	Population NOW	
(3)	17.12 (17.12)	5 (5)	9 1/2 (9 1/2)	11 1/2 (11 1/2)	10 (10)

Date	Land	Territories area (sq. miles)	Population		Nationality
			then	now	

) sample

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		570,000	Japanese
1895	FORMOSA 13,807	5,870,000	Japanese, Aborigines, Chinese

S.C. (TERRITORIES TAKEN BY JAPAN SINCE 1900)

Year	Area	Area (sq. mi.)	Population		Nationality
			Year (4)	Year (4)	
1905	Kwantung	1,221	2 157,720 (1906)	3 1,225,570 (1938)	Manchurian
1905	Karafuto	4 12,489	4 12,361 (1906)	331,943 (1935)	Siberian
1910	Korea	85,246	17,264,000 5 (1920)	22,633,851 (1938) (1938)	Korean
1914	Mandated Islands: Carolines Marianas Marshalls	7 829	6 655,000	30,915 (1935) 44,025 (1935) 10,446 (1935)	German-Malay, etc.
1931	Manchuria (19.12)	503,013	8 29,969,000 (1932)	8 39,454,000 (1939)	Manchurian.

3 sample
 (Carolines 3,6307) 6
 (Marianas) 5
 (Marshalls) 5
 8 9 1/2
 9 1 1/2
 10

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Year	Area	Area (Acres)	Population	Nationality
1937	Inner Mongolia: Jenoi (S) Chohar	304,508	2,123,000	Chinese-Mongolian
1938	Canton	12	1,145,285	Chinese
1939	Hainan	14,000	2,500,000	Chinese
1939	Spratley Islands	247 (acres)		French
1940	French Indo-China	286,000	23,853,500 (1939)	Malay, etc.
1941	Hongkong	391	1,800,256	British-Chinese
1941	Thailand	200,148	14,464,489	Thai
1941	Malaya	27,540	2,169,313	Malay, etc.
1941	Shanghai	320	3,703,430	Chinese
1942	Sarawak	50,000	450,585	British-Malay
1942	Brunei	2,226	30,135 (1940)	British-Malay

(3) (1937) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20)

1942	289 13 Borneo	237,785		2,439,084	British, Dutch Malay
1942	The Philippines	114,400		16,356,000	Filipinos
1942	Singapore	220		750,805	British- Malay
1942	Sumatra	164,147		7,677,826	Dutch-Malay
1942	Celebes	72,986		4,231,906	^{Do.} Dutch-Malay
1942	Java and Madura	51,032		41,718,364	^{Do.} Dutch-Malay
1942	New Guinea	69,700		388,977(1939) #	Australian- Malay
1942	Solomons	3,910		46,482(1939)	^{Do.} Australian- Malay
1942	New Britain	14,600		93,219(1939)	^{Do.} Australian- Malay
1942	Timor	24,449		1,657,376	Dutch- Malay

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~~17.12~~

17.12

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~~10~~

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Date	Land	Area (sq. mi.)	Population		Nationality
			Then	Now	
1942	289 14 Andaman Islands	2,508		(4) 21,028 (1940) #	British- Indian
1942	Burma	233,492		14,667,146	British- Burmese
1942	Yunnan	123,539		11,994,549	Chinese
1942	Chekiong	39,780		21,230,749	Chinese
1942	Total China	1,000,000 (?)	11,140,000	150,000,000 (?)	Chinese
1942	Gilbert Islands	166		28,265	British- Malay
(3) 1942	(17.12) Ellice Islands	(5) 14	(96)	112,420 (?)	(10) British- Malay
1942	Aleutian Islands:				American- Aleut,
	Attu	295 ¹⁵		12 ¹⁷	}
	Agattu	95 ¹⁵		50 (?) ¹⁷	
	Kiska	102 ¹⁵		20 (?) ¹⁷	
	Little Kiska	4 ¹⁶			

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(alt row)

1. All statistics, unless otherwise noted, are from The Statesman's Year Book, 1941. > Malay is used generically for all Polynesian races.
2. The New International Year Book 1907, New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1908, p.445.
3. The Manchukuo Year Book 1941, Hsinking, The Manchukuo Year Book, Company, p. 116.
4. The New International Year Book, 1907, p. 704.
5. The Japan Times Year Book 1933, p. 274.
6. The New International Year Book 1916, p. 121.
7. The World Almanac 1942, p. 245, gives the area for all three groups.
8. This is inclusive of the South Manchurian Railway Zone. The Manchukuo Year Book 1941, p. 116.
9. The area occupied around the city is approximately 10,000 sq.km., see footnote 11, infra.
10. The Chinese Year Book 1940-1941, p. 46.
11. These figures are from an official government source, the identity of which may not be disclosed.

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12. The Chinese Year Book 1940-1941, p. 121.
13. Ibid., p. 49.

14. This figure is a rough estimate of the territory enclosed in a line drawn through the westernmost cities occupied by Japan. The control is actually only nominal in this district which represents one-tenth of Chinese territory. Actually there is only 3 per cent of Chinese territory under effective Japanese administrative control.
15. The Division of Maps, Library of Congress.
16. The Alaskan Branch of the United States Geological Survey.
17. The New York Times, Aug. 16, 1942, p. 17.

11a acres.

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11/15/51

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1,036,676

167,720,672