

these troops to help their frontier troops. So Japan will want to attack the second line of the Red Army in order to gain a victory. If these two places, Chita and Upper-Utinsk, are taken by Japan the front line of the army of Russia will be destroyed entirely. It will mean that Japan will gain a complete victory.

The road which Japan will follow to attack these two places is an important matter which affects our national sovereignty. Without Inner Mongolia being occupied Japan can't attack the rear of the Russian Army. If we open the map we shall learn that there are two highways connecting Inner Mongolia and Russia. One is from Tolun (多倫) to China. Tolun is an important city of Chahar province, and it is in the hand of Japan already. It proves that Japan is preparing her strength to attack the rear of the Russian Army, when war breaks.

The other highway is from Kalgan to Kolun (庫倫), an important place of Outer Mongolia; then from Kolun to Upper-Utinsk. The second line of the Russian Army guards this place. So, if Japan wants to conquer the troops of Russia, she will utilize this highway. If this is the truth of the strategy of Japan, Russia cannot keep silent and merely wait for her enemy. She must utilize her spheres of influence in Outer Mongolia in order to defend herself against the invaders. There is no doubt that Inner Mongolia will be used as the battlefield by these two devils.

What shall we do if war breaks? The Japanese must ask our government to lend them the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway and the two highways in order to send their troops to fight. Do we want to lend any of them to them? If we do not allow them, they will do what they like as they did in Manchuria. Now I want to ask the government, are we preparing our strength at this frontier, in order to protect our sovereignty? If we have no strength to answer might, Inner Mongolia will be a second Manchuria.

6. The Drama of Triangle Love:—From previous statements, we see that Inner Mongolia resembles a lady, who is surrounded by three youths, and the love affair among them brings the problem into prime importance of today. We understand very well that a leader is a representative of a tribe. Therefore the idea of Prince Teh will be the idea of the citizens of Mongolia. Prince Teh is in favor of China, but only the Central Government does

not bring him satisfaction. If the Central Government understands our Mongolian brothers and looks after their welfare, they will be honest to her, but if they are neglected, it will be regretted.

We know very well that Prince Teh neither favors Soviet Russia nor Japan, but if the Chinese neglect him he will go to Henry Pu-yi, which means surrender to Japan in an indirect way. In appearance he does not surrender to a foreign country, but he surrenders to the past emperor of China, and this will be his excuse. There is a reason why Prince Teh can't favor Soviet Russia and that is, a number of princes of Outer Mongolia had come into Inner Mongolia when Soviet Mongolia was established. They had described to him the danger of such kind of government.

Under such circumstance we must study each other for the sake of understanding each other, Chinese and Mongolian, in order to do the best for the Republic of China. Otherwise China will be rejected lover in this drama of triangle love.

7. Conclusion:—The interview between Princes Teh, and Yun and General Chiang recently in Inner Mongolia is quite important concerning the future of our country. This interview brings a great comfort to the Mongolian brothers. Prince Teh says, "This is the first time in two hundred years that a true leader of China visited Mongolia." From these few words we shall understand how glad the prince was to see the Chinese leader in order to promote good will between China and Mongolia.

In this interview both of them understood each other very well and General Chiang agreed to the conditions that Prince Teh had asked. This is quite an optimistic view for China.

At the end of this article the writer wants to tell you some more about this problem. Some people say that Inner Mongolia will be independent, and the Autonomous Government is its first step to leave China. It is not true. The Mongolians are nomads. They can not exist by themselves. They must co-operate with another nation. Without co-operation with others they can not live. How can a nomad live in its nomadic ways without the supply of daily goods from the others? So the writer will say the existence of the Autonomous Government is for the purpose of finding someone to co-operate with and help them. Under such kind of conditions, if we, the Chinese, neglect them, they will turn their head toward someone else.

## Fascism And China

By HOMER S. WONG (王湘元)\*

### I. The Theoretical Basis of Fascism

1. Fascism is not built on a sound legal ground:—Fascism being a rule of man instead of law is not suitable for China where her people become more and more legally sensible. Primarily, it violates the second article of our

\*The author, as introduced in these columns before, is a student in the Comparative Law School of China who is widely admired for his scholastic attainment in spite of his complete loss of sight in early youth.—Editor.

constitution. The whole country, especially the students body will be aroused, as we learned from 1927 to 1928. For in spite of the various vicissitudes, the idea of the rule of law took deep root thousands of years ago when Kwantse (管子) said "Law is superior to the ruler," and Han Feh Tse (韓非子) said, "Law is a permanent criterion of virtue."

2. Fascism has a wrong conception of Democracy:—As the rule of man might be suited either to primitive tribal aggregations of people or a mass, in which as Polybius reasoned in his political cycle, democracy falling into the hands of some corrupt military rulers, gives way again to despotism. So we are led to conceive whether democracy especially in China is a failure or not. Definitely not. Democracy in China is still in its infancy which should be developed instead of being controlled, and it is the very thought of having Fascism in China that will corrupt and suppress democracy and lead us to further calamities. That is why V. F. Calverton said, "Fascism is not a movement of a democratic protest functioning within the legal limits of a political party. It is a belligerent uprising that is from the start contemptuous of democracy and scornful of legality of every form."

3. Fascism misconceives the idea of the nature of the State:—Of all the political systems of the past, present and what they are considered ought to be, none has committed such a blunder regarding the state as Fascism has. The Confucian school said even in the epoch of despotism that the state should exist for the people. Plato said that the state's nature is to satisfy our wants. Aristotle said that a state is a community, well being, and an aggregation of family for the sake of perfect and self-sufficing good life. Even Stoic universalism, the legalistic ideas of the Romans, the spiritual universalism of Aquinas, Dante and Marsilio, the unlimited monarchism of Bodin, the limited monarchism of Locke the republicanism of Montesquieu, Rousseau, socialism of Karl Marx and the San Min Chu Yi of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, all attribute to the people a certain reasonable position for whom the state exists. On the other hand, Fascism effected a counter-revolution and made the state beyond individuals, "State Fascism, state party, state people, state nation, state culture and state fatherland. Everything is in the state, nothing without it or against it." State therefore degenerates into an abstract existence like Mollach, to whom human sacrifice is offered in order to satisfy his vain lusts.

4. Fascism usurps Sovereignty.—A little contemplation will show us that the Fascist theory of sovereignty is not evolved through reason or practice. It is altogether irrational besides being illegal. Were Aristotle to live, he would blame that in Fascism, sovereignty is not located in the people, for whom the state exists. The Roman legalists who considered the voice of the people being the voice of God would blame it as not representing the whole or the majority of the people. Even the Roman emperors and kings were subject to the burgesses, the fons et origo of people's sovereignty. Fascism finds itself unbound by the laws of nature, the moral duty, and convention. To criticize it with a viewpoint of the compact theory, the hypocrisy of Fascism is unveiled. For the law given up, is to the community as a whole, without

unlimited or uncontrollable right. Since supremacy belongs to that which is to the fullest sense the embodiment of that will of society, people can remove the legislative if the latter is not trusted. As this cannot be attained in a Fascist state, how can life, liberty and property be unalienable? Wilson said, "Sovereignty is the daily operative power of framing and giving efficacy and originative direction of governing power." Then the higher originative organs of a Fascist state can be found in none other than the dictator, who is beyond individual, everything is him, nothing without or against him. "L'Etat c'est moi." So usurpation of sovereignty will anticipate a risk which China by no means should run.

5. Fascism is not built on an ethical policy:—Fascism begins always with a reign of terror and then through ruthless and unmoral means, it drives the whole nation to struggle for some ends considered good subjectively by the leader. And it ends in despotism with a rigid hierarchy sans liberty, sans equality and sans fraternity. Our government must answer our needs, our national characteristics and ethics. That was why the Confucian school made jen (仁) the foundation of good government, and Hanfehtse found the ratification of law in "lee" (禮). Men are after all ethical, intelligent, freedom-loving and political animals, therefore only an ethical, rational, liberal, and tolerant government can reign. Liang Chi-chau (梁起超) said that China has had her ethics unseparated from politics; why should China kill her own individualistic merit for something unsuitable?

6. Fascism is psychologically speaking, hypnotism:—Let us have some constructive criticism. Both in Italy and Germany, Fascism has been hypnotism appealing only to the people's sentiment. Remember the day on which Hitler was appointed chancellor (Jan. 30, 1932,) the burning of the Reichstag on Feb. 27, the election on March 5, the day of Potsdam on March 21, the anti-Jew boycott on April 1, the day of German labour on May 1, and the frequent gatherings of the sturmabteilungen throughout that summer all offered the Nazi splendid opportunities to squeeze dry other events for its propaganda. The luxuriant shows of the party convention in Nuremberg with the most stupendous shows ever staged, the exhibition of the peasants' day, the day of the withdrawal from the League, and his own declaration before the workers as having been from their class, made a similar affect on the German people as the March on Rome with all its pomps did on the Italians. The crowds were elated in the conviction that the third Reich with its Fuhrer and the grand Roma with her Duce are consummations of a divine development. Why? Was it not Hitler who wrote in his autobiography, "With a smart and continuous application of a propaganda, a people can be made to believe that heaven is hell and hell is heaven, and that the most miserable existence is a paradise." Whether such political superstition, emotional trance, and hypnotism are more realistic than a proper educational guidance will be left to your sagacious judgment.

## II. The Political Basis of Fascism

1. Fallacy of the Fascist idea of government:—The Fascist idea of government is a demogogy in itself. In Italy, where Fascism was first conceived, the reins of the body politic are held in the hands of one ambitious individual, His Excellency Signor Benito Mussolini, Chief of government, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Corporations, Secretary to the Partito Nazionale Fascista, concurrently Secretary to the Gran Consiglio del Fascimo, Il Duce of the Italian nation, et cetera, et cetera. . . .

Basing upon the Constitution of 1848 granted by King Charles Albert to his Sardinian subjects, the so-called "anachronistic" parliament in Italy consists of a Senate of a handful of feeble feudal princes and a Chamber of Deputies with its members nominated by the National Syndicate Confederations and selected by the all-powerful Fascist Grand Council.

In a speech before the National Council of Corporations in November 14, 1933, the Duce announced in sweeping terms the legal burial of the lower chamber, with a view to incorporating its legislative powers into the formal body, an institution composed of economists, rather than jurists.

Thus we may deduct the technical loopholes of the "Totalitarian" government as follows:—

(a) The legislature is not representative of the people. It is a selection from above rather than an election from below. During the last elections of March 24, 1929 (or "paper games" as the Fascists put it) only 8,661,820 or about 20 per cent. of the whole population (40,445,000) participated in the balloting. This apparently leads one to the belief that the Fascists prefer bullets to ballots.

(b) The executive power is excessive and unstable. It is concentrated on one man, who may be a jack of all trades but master of none. Much as Italy may be benefited by Sig. Mussolini's rule, the question of succession has been raised by many a thoughtful man. In England, it is said the king never dies (In Anglia non interregnum est), but will Italy be given another man of Mussolini's calibre in the event of his demise? Decidedly not. History has told us to the contrary. Cromwell, Napoleon and Bismarck were not followed by Cromwells, Napoleons and Bismarcks.

What is more, there is every indication that an entity under a dictatorial rule may swerve into an autocracy. Is it necessary to point out to you that Mussolini has to assume the Italian throne before the world could pronounce him an autocrat? Prof. Dott. Gaetano Salvemini of the University of Florence tells us in his book "The Fascist Dictatorship" that ever since the March on Rome, King Victor Emmanuel III has been virtually a political prisoner under the thumb of Mussolini. By the Penal Code promulgated in 1923, persons compassing Mussolini's death are punishable with death.

(c) The judiciary is not independent. Owing to a strict authoritarian and one-party rule the Italian judi-

ciary has ceased to function and become the tool of the party. Instead of upholding justice, it has helped defeating it.

The passing of the notorious Rocco laws in 1926, meting out severe punishments to those who dared to oppose Mussolini as an aftermath of the brutal slaughter of Matteotti has been an eyesore to the new régime and a disgrace to the Italian people at large. The wholesale slaughter of the intelligenzia, especially lawyers, were connived at, rather than punished by the judiciary.

(Would you, ladies and gentlemen, the future lawyers of China, like to be murdered in cold blood in the event of a Fascist uprising in China?)

2. Fascism and international politics:—Owing to a fanatic craze of nationalism, the diplomatic tendencies of fascist states are not in the least calculated to promote international good will and understanding. The "Juda Verrecke" (Down with the Jewry) movements of the Brown Shirts, the futile struggle for parity before the Disarmament Conferences of the Reich, culminating in her dramatic withdrawal from the League Assembly, the imperialistic design of Anschluss on Austria, the Four-Power Pact inaugurated of late under the auspices of Sig. Mussolini and Italy's strained relation with the Vatican, all stand out in bold relief the nefarious Fascist idea of what Mr. Gedye calls "A brotherly love against a hostile world."

China, under no circumstances, would be in a position to embark upon such a course of national hara-kiri.

3. Political impracticability of Fascism in China:—  
(a) Lack of leadership. The Fascists as we know, gained power through two elements, a strong leader who is given carte blanche in politics and a closely knitted party swearing inviolable allegiance to him. In China, however, it remains yet to be seen whether a strong, honest and capable leader will emerge from the rank and file of militarists and neo-militarists who can conquer the rest vi et armis or coax the rest to bury their hatches and rule the state with an enlightened conviction and a self-sacrificing party behind him.

True, without a leader any Fascist movement in China would be in an unique position of the horse seeking the rider and not the rider, the horse.

(b) Teeming population and vast territory. The teeming population and vast territory would make Fascism an utter failure. China's area of 3,853,560 square miles is in no way parallel to that of 119,744 sq. M. in Italy and 185,899 sq. M. in Germany. China's population of 474,787,000 would dwindle into nothingness that of 41,806,000 in Italy and 65,300,000 in Germany. (World's Almanac, ed. 1934).

The "Fascio di Combattimento" and the "Sturmabteilungen" as militant machineries responsible for the Italian "Marcia su Roma" and the German "Putsch" had been, and is still able to mobilize in twenty-four hours. Would that be possible in China?

(c) Failure in history. Last but not least, history has proved that dictatorial rules have been definitely

unwelcome in China. The autocratic rules from Tsin Shih Huang (秦始皇) to the Empress Dowager, the unsuccessful coup d'état and subsequent dissolution of parliament by Yuan Shih Kai in 1914 have served as living proofs to the world that what the Chinese people ardently desire is not a strong hand but a government of the people, for the people and by the people.

### III. The Financial, Social, And Cultural Bases Of Fascism

1. The financial basis of Fascism:—Corporationalism is but compulsory syndicalism. Fearing lest the workers should revolt against it the Fascist state set to work inaugurating a corporative system—a system which involves the compulsory subordination of all workers to the political organs of the Fascist party. Workers are in fact compelled to join the corporazioni, the administrative agents of which are entirely Fascists.

The Fascist system by and large means oppression to the workers. For, although its work is to settle disputes between capital and labour, its chief supporters are originated from industrial magnates, those very persons against whom one of the principle shafts of the Fascists' quiver—the socialization of all industries—is directed. It is therefore clear as daylight that the ultimate aim of Fascist finance is to oppress the working class to enrich the Fascist state. The present low wage of laborers is no other gesture of the Fascist than to soft-soap the capitalists. Yet on the other hand, in order to check the predominance of the capitalists, a specific type of state capitalism or state interference as a check to the time-worn doctrine of laissez-faire is employed. So we can logically conclude that corporationalism is only an economic means employed to attain political ends.

The ground for such a rash economic principle is the fact that Italy is a poor agricultural state, with a total area of arable land only comparable in size to a few counties in China. Italy decides to turn physiocratic only for the reason that she is highly industrialized, but such a system will not be practical in China before she has undergone a stage of thorough industrialization. Statistics tell us that during the fiscal year of 1933 a drop of sixty per cent. in export and twenty to thirty per cent. in production of cotton has occurred in Italy. In China the conditions are exactly the contrary. We are importing foreign cotton, whereas we have a surplus production of rice.

Says Prof. Frederick Ogg (in the Current History Nov. 1932,) "To preach Fascism.....is to commit a double error of attributing to government a power of working magic in the economic world which it does not possess, whatever its form, and of rocking the boat at a juncture when what we chiefly need is intelligent and sympathetic coöperation under the political institutions that have so long served us."

2. The social basis of Fascism:—The Fascists owe their successes in the main to the large body of militant and disgruntled middle class which found (before the

Fascist uprising) themselves sandwiched between the high-handed capitalists and the fanatic proletariat in a position not better than the homme blasé 'twixt the devil and the deep. The situation is adequately described as the "post war neurasthenia" when Italy was downtrodden by the fattening industrialists and the régime that would have been bolshevik.

This self-same white-collared worker, verily, is a missing link in the revolution or evolution in China. There is no doubt that we have a large populace of poverty-stricken people, but from a dispassionate view we gather that they are not made poor by a rigidly composed hierarchy of blood-sucking capitalists. If we ever need social reform, the object of reform is evidently the farmers, not the middle class. Whether the farmers will go Fascist without a taint of socialism remains to be seen.

Furthermore, the clannish instinct of the Chinese people who would rather fight among themselves than to resist alien aggression, furnishes a great drawback to the practice of Fascism which calls for a strong nationalist sentiment rather than narrowminded provincialism.

The fundamental idea of Fascism is to eliminate class struggle. As a student of sociology we are prone to remark the society since time immemorial has been divided into well defined strata which no force, spiritual or temporal can amalgamate. This is especially true in old Cathay where traces of feudalism are still not obliterated—the poor are getting poorer, the rich, richer.

3. The cultural basis of Fascism:—The people under Fascism is entirely robbed of its initiative. Fearing that their propaganda would not bear the results as expected, the Fascists try to have recourse from the church by signing a concordat with the Pope, thus giving Italy a machine-made religion. Italy, for instance, has gone back to confessionalism in order to create a sort of obedience and subordination in the people to consolidate her power. The people are supposed to take in total blindness the dose that is offered them whatever the contents maybe.

Owing to their goal of extreme patriotism, the cultural end of a Fascist state gives place to anti-social and non-individualistic results accomplished by unscientific, uncultural and uneducational means, that have often diverted the real meaning of civilization or culture to militarism and ignorance though not illiteracy. Compare what Mussolini said about a perfect Fascist "A book and a rifle make a perfect Fascist" to the policy of Mohammed. Even if Fascist wins the whole country, what has it to do with our culture and civilization? Did not the Caliphs control three continents? As the Fascist belief is that idealism has an important influence on the development of personality, everything must be in accordance with the established system. There is no room left for individuality, variety and selection. The school boys have been inoculated with all sorts of Fascist fancies since their first lessons. "Italy," said the father to the boy in one of the stories of the first year text,

## OVERSEA CHINESE

EDITED BY LIN YU

## THE LITTLE CRITIC

## The Chinese Language In The South Seas

**A** NEWS report that came to us by way of Singapore stated that the Philippine Legislature resurrected once more the book-keeping law, which was signed by Governor Murphy and became effective on December 5. The law requires all firms in the Philippines to keep their day books in English, Spanish, or the Philippine dialect. This is obviously unjust to the Chinese who still control no less than 50 per cent of the retail business and well over 70 per cent of the wholesale. These figures ought to be sufficient proof, if proof must needs be, that if there should be any official business language in the P. I., it ought to be the Chinese language, and yet out of the four languages which have any chance of becoming so, it is the only language that was ruled out of official standing. So long their political leaders at home act like this, it is of no use for its official or unofficial spokesmen to speak as Mr. Farolan did. For afterward actions speak louder than words.

The law will surely mean an extra burden to many of our small business men who can, especially at this time of business depression, ill afford to bear it. It will be an untold suffering to our retailers in the P. I. Is there any way out? Surely our compatriots in the P. I. and our foreign office know the way. Let them cooperate to remove this unjust law.

**A**FTER the law requiring that all classes, except three hours a week, must be taught in Siamese had been enforced, a compromise was reached, by which the Chinese schools might have "compulsory classes" in Chinese after fulfilling the requirement of the Siamese ministry of education. The name is a misnomer, because these classes were not required of all the pupils. The Siamese school inspectors regularly attended these classes, and found no fault with them. Further, students taking these compulsory classes were found to be not behind others in standing according to the results of government examinations. But all the same a ministerial order was recently issued to these schools to discontinue these classes. The education section of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, as well as the school

"is great, strong, powerful and feared, and you, my boy—" and he was interrupted by the boy who said, "and I, I am an Italian, how fortunate." The thought of aggression is introduced while the child still reads by syllables. A lesson in the second year text said, "Father, do you know the soldiers who died in the war, whose names are inscribed in the monument?" "Certainly." "And who killed them?" "Our enemies the Austrians and Germans, and you will vanquish them." To become a soldier is a child's chief duty.

## New Year 1935

**T**HIS year, New Year's Day falls on February the fourth. I celebrate only one kind of New Year, because there is only one that I can celebrate with any real feeling. Now, to write about the New Year on the New Year's Morn is, to the Chinese mind, an indescribably inhuman torture. All my bones ache against it. I should be taking a walk in the wheat fields with my children at this very hour. The morning, at half past four, I woke up to the noise of "bomb—bang!" made by firecrackers. Sometimes, it was like a fusillade of machine-guns, and sometimes it was like the intermittent shots of stray snipers. This went on till I could see the grey light of the dawn outside my window curtains. Then I got up, with still the flavour of last night's domestic revels fresh in my head and in my heart, and came down, and had my dragon-eye tea and chicken noodle and received the curtsies of my servants and amahs. And then came the overpowering consciousness that I had that "Little Critic" to write before the guests come for the New Year lunch. Confound *The Critic*! It was the only time I did not feel affectionate toward *The Critic*. I suppose no one, except a Chinese, can quite understand my torture. At this very moment, when my servant comes in to hand me tea, I am aware that the noise of my type-writer is giving him a shudder. "Poor Lao-yeh!" I know he is thinking in his mind.

For the traditional idea about the New Year's Day is that it should be a Day of Great Idleness. One should be magnificently, imperially idle. You ought to see Ah-Ching, my "boy" (although five feet ten), with his blue gown sleeves coming about six inches below his hands. I know his idea, and all the Chinese peasant class's idea—to be idly respectable, or respectably idle, on this day of

authorities, was reported to be studying the case and how to appeal to the Siamese minister of education for a reconsideration of the order.

**T**HE realization that in union is strength has dawned upon not only our overseas in the Netherlands Indies, but those in Malaya as well. Two of the biggest civic bodies in Malacca, S. S., were recently amalgamated in order to carry on their work more effectively.

**D**R. LIM Boon-keng, president of the Amoy University, went to Singapore and started a campaign for contributions to the University and our compatriots there responded as one man. Already over \$150,000 have been subscribed.

But our compatriots in Malaya are mindful not only of the educational institution at home. In Penang, S. S., the Chung Ning Middle School launched a campaign for \$100,000 for the construction of its new school building and before long the subscription reached the \$70,000 mark.