

rosity. Very likely it is due to both, because practically all his former political enemies, even of the bitterest description, have sooner or later come to shake hands with him and work harmoniously under the same government of which he is the head.

One thing only remains to be said, and that is about his foreign policy. The foreign policy is made by the entire government. He should not be blamed for it in one way or another. But still as the most powerful man in the government, he is responsible for it in more ways than one. The foremost question confronting the Chinese nation at present is the policy *vis-a-vis* Japan. Until recently there has been a more or less unfounded suspicion over his attitude toward Japan. He was severely taken to task by irresponsible elements because he would not declare war on Japan, when the Japanese question became very acute, as it had occasion to be more than once in the course of the last few years. Now, I think the nation as a whole has been convinced of the correctness of his position, and even the loudest claimant for war has not been so noisy lately. As I understand it, he is not afraid of war but he does not ask for it, and in fact tries to avoid it if possible. He does not do this because of personal but because of weightier considerations. His conduct in the course of the last ten years or so, and as has been noted above, has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that he is not concerned over his personal safety. Had he cherished any selfish purpose, he could have become the most popular hero overnight by declaring war. The resources of the entire country as well as those of tens of thousand of Chinese residents abroad would be at his disposal. Yet he does not choose such a spectacular course to fame by risking the entire future of the country. The best argument in favor of war is that until a war is fought, no one can tell what the outcome will be. As Patrick Henry has put it: "The battle . . . is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave." In other words, had a war been always in favor of the strong, then the Spanish Armada would not have been destroyed, William of Orange would have had no chance against Philip II, the Thirteen Colonies would have been vanquished, Napoleon Bonaparte would not have had to beat a retreat from Moscow,

to mention only a few evidences from history. With four hundred million people, with an army of well-nigh two million strong well experienced in local warfare which the disturbances in the last 25 years have kept always on the *qui vive*, the advocates of war tell us, our cause is not absolutely hopeless. But the strongest argument against any reckless precipitation in war is that China cannot afford to lose. If war ever comes, we will have to win or at least fight to a stalemate. But no matter what the outcome of the war is, a good part of the territory and many of the cities will suffer irreparable damages, as the war has to be fought in our territory. Such a war will set the forward movement of the nation back at least 50 years; while it would affect Japan probably to the extent of only ten or twenty years because of the development of her industrial system and the organization of her government. Therefore, the odds seem for the moment against us. In fact ever since 1895, the year of the Sino-Japanese War, there has been a kind of Hundred Years' War going on between the two countries with victories to Japan so far. The reverses that we have suffered so far and which our compatriots have found to be so galling are nothing as compared to what we shall endure if we make a wrong move at the wrong moment. This being the case, we should not talk lightly of war and may accept it only when it is inevitable. I believe this is the policy of the government.

The work that the generalissimo has done for the country is so momentous that one fails to imagine what the country would be without him. Had it not been for him, the country might have gone on for another 50 years without hope of seeing itself united under one government as it now is. If Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as father of the Revolution, is the Washington of China, as he is usually said to be, then Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, as one that brings order and union to a war-torn and divided country, should be regarded as the Lincoln of China. If the accomplishments of the generalissimo had belonged to a man of a different age, we would have worshipped him as the greatest of the heroes. What is it then that prevents us from worshipping someone that lives in our midst and is actively working for our own interest?

The Spirit of China

By MISS LIN YIN-FENG (林引鳳)

ON the occasion of General Chiang Kai-shek's birthday, one may perhaps express the love and hopes of the Chinese overseas for their mother country and the man who stands pre-eminently as its leader and hero. Overseas Chinese are indeed its most loyal and devoted citizens. No matter how long they may live and work abroad, they remain staunch to the homeland. Often the objects of ridicule since the days of her ancient glory are past, they long fervently for the motherland to take her place amongst the great nations of the world.

The majority long and plan to come back, if only for a visit. Most of the older generation labor diligently

through long, hard years, saving enough money to come home—even if it is only to die.

For, to them, China is always 'home.' No other country can take her place in their affections. Friendship cannot bind ties strong enough to hold them against the overwhelming desire to return. Making good friends, building up steady businesses and reputations for honesty is still not enough. Perhaps they may come to love another country, but it is not as they love China.

Over four thousand years of uninterrupted history—an insistent call swelling through the ages—holds them fast. Sometimes it is in school, or maybe from parents

that they catch the spirit of the race. Even if no schools are available, they learn in many ways. Travellers who have visited here return enraptured over the beauties they have seen, and the quaint wisdom and customs of the people.

Struggles, wars, conquests and triumphs crowd through the pages of history in heart-stirring sequence. Tales of greatness that leapt and waned, and rose anew to further heights. Even without facilities for learning, something of the same spirit emerges in everything of Chinese manufacture or origin they touch. The soil, wherefrom all things come, impregnates them with undying faith in China.

Inevitably, China calls.

If there is flood or famine, each gives to his utmost resources to help her fight the loss. Should trouble threaten, they cry 'Let us help. Tell us what to do, how we can aid.' And stand ready, regarding all sacrifices as less than duty, for such are made willingly.

The period which followed the end of the Manchu regime, before the coming of the present central government, was an anxious and humiliating time. The glories of ancient China were stripped, and nothing could be done to stop it. The new regime had not evolved sufficiently to control the chaos which spread throughout the country. Other nations refused to recognise China as a power.

There was a gigantic upheaval in every way. The old traditions were looked upon with disfavor. The old concepts lost meaning. Politeness and ceremony were regarded with suspicion, as being of the old dynasty days. Young students forgot we had ever contributed to science, learning and art.

Peoples of other countries forgot the splendid achievements of our past, and looked only at the seeming wreck of another great empire. Chinese living out of this country were forced to endure insults, and worse, pitying contempt. Remembering the brightness of former power, and the culture and art we had achieved in bye-gone ages, this was hard to bear.

Yet they kept these memories alive in their and their children's hearts, nursing the hope that such glory might come again. Maybe not in a decade or a century, but eventually. They took comfort in the records of our history, with its successive tales of being conquered. And the conquerors are now no more, but China remains.

Again, comparatively recent world history tells of almost every nation undergoing revolution, upheaval and change, to rise as strong united entities. 'It will take time,' they agreed. 'But it will be worth the strife.' This hope and firm belief was a bright flame burning steadfastly against every unbelief.

With the coming of a central government its power extending all over the country, these hopes took fresh fuel. 'It cannot be a new China so soon,' they thought. 'Smaller nations took a hundred years to recover power. And China is so big—there are so many people. It will take much longer with us.'

But even in a few short years, despite terrible, disheartening handicaps, steady progress is noted and the

flame of hope burns brighter. There have been devastating floods, drought and famine, bandits and communists have harrassed the countryside, sovereign rights have been usurped, and the puppet state of 'Manchoukuo' set up by the Japanese.

These troubles have been added to the determination of our leaders to succeed in bringing together the people of the various provinces under one strong central control. In unity there lies strength and power. The difficulties which beset and tormented the new government have been unable to daunt their unerring faith. 'Under the heavens, there is no difficulty which cannot be overcome by someone who uses all his heart.'

The central government is not content merely to formulate new laws, and govern the country. It has begun to build up new traditions to take their place side by side with the best of those from olden days. These modern officials believe that the welfare of the lowly people is as important to the greatness of China as the comfort of the rich. So they have started welfare and health work to help them to live, and then to raise their standards of living. They are bringing to the people of the nation a realisation of their importance, striving to relieve the oppressive taxes levied long ago, combating misunderstanding and distrust between the provinces with literacy and knowledge.

Relief agencies work to help the victims of flood and famine. Doctors fight disease; farmers are helped to start anew on the land which is all the trade they know.

More than this.

The first beginnings of the republic found the temper of the people opposed to things of ancient days, which were connected in their minds with oppression and suffering. There was more than a decided influence towards the west in learning, science, wearing apparel, machinery and ways of thinking. Foreign standards of living were introduced and eagerly assimilated by Young China. There was a turning from almost all the old traditions and art. Young Chinese sought to copy the habits of people of more successful and powerful nations.

Now there is again a change.

Not back completely to the old days, for our leaders have realised that these are modern times, and things must change and keep pace with the progress of the rest of the world. They have sought to retain the best that Old China could offer, and combine the best of the younger civilisations' discoveries. Of course there have been mistakes. But perfection is not immediately possible.

There is a great cry to use native-made goods. To wear Chinese styles. To appreciate Chinese art and literature. Here in Shanghai, in Kiangwan, we have a perfectly planned Civic Centre, which I have been told by world travellers, is world-famous. Beauty, dignity, use and intelligent planning have been combined to make the place typically Chinese, yet efficiently modern. This is but a single example of the greater plan.

From the troubles of 1931 and 1932, and more recently, during the past few months, to the astonishment of some, and the expectation of other nations, we have

emerged as one whole-entity, willing to fight and sacrifice together for the good of our country.

Again we must thank our leaders.

More especially this applies to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who is the central vital figure around whom the whole revolves. For we are used to following and obeying one man in former days, the emperor of China. Now it is General Chiang, who has fought and drawn to him some of the greatest leaders from all parts of the country, to work together with one heart for the good of the Homeland.

Together, they have built up a united China, and are determined it shall remain so.

Once more, the Chinese living overseas can be proud of the Homeland. The new discovery of our art, literature and wisdom by westerners gives them more cause to thrill at the name CHINA. The united allegiance sworn by leaders from all over the country gives every confidence she shall take her rightful place amongst the nations of the world very shortly. Recognition of this importance is already exemplified by the success in being awarded a seat on the council of the League of Nations.

It is evident we have regained the regard of other nations, not merely as a country which has been powerful, great and worthwhile in the past only. They acknowledge we are rapidly approaching equality with them.

Not only the arts and crafts of olden days stand high in their estimation. Those of today are worthy of consideration also. The philosophy and wisdom which has come to us from our forefathers, evolving with our history, and tempered by the fire of the struggles we have gone through, is a revelation to philosophers of the western world.

And the thinkers of today honor our contemporary thinkers and writers. Some are world-renowned, and have created still another wonder to give them thought. The whole of the literary world does them honor, and not only the literary world, but the thinkers of all nations.

The trials we have undergone have but spurred these men, as our other leaders, to fresh determined efforts, to force the rest of the world to acknowledge China.

We have now their sympathy and moral support. They are endeavoring sincerely to come to an understanding of us, and to offer friendship. There has been a great change in twenty-five years. In our history, it is a short period. But it is one milestone more.

The Republic of China has celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has passed his fiftieth birthday. The Chinese overseas see the bright flame of a greater China than ever before rising rapidly—a beacon and symbol of their faith.

The spirit of China leaps high.

Foreign Views on General Chiang

By RANDALL GOULD

FOR any single foreigner to presume to speak with full authority upon how foreigners in general regard such a man as General Chiang Kai-shek would be presumptuous. It is, however, possible to trace some lines of thought which have been obvious during recent years, and to center these upon certain present conclusions, if it be permissible to deal with the matter clinically and to avoid the extremes either of flattery or bitterness.

During the period before the fall of Wu-Han and the establishment of the national government, few foreigners knew a great deal of General Chiang. Those who learned something of his military achievements during the successful northern drive inclined, for the most part, to credit a considerable share of his strategy to the keen brain of "General Galen", now Bleucher, commander-in-chief of Soviet Russia's Far East armies. It was obvious, also, that the Russian-guided advance propaganda among the people of China contributed a great deal to the steady advance of the southern troops during that period.

When the national government at Nanking was established, General Chiang was obviously in the center of the picture, but no impartial analysis of the then position can ignore the support of the Shanghai Chinese bankers and of conservative foreign opinion. More abroad than in China, perhaps, a rather considerable number of foreign observers felt lingering sympathy with Wu-Han and the things for which it stood or had been deemed to stand. Many foreign Leftists felt a real

animus toward General Chiang, and it is probable that among radical thinkers this attitude continues.

The position of neither General Chiang nor his (it was felt to be "his" though such an attitude was combatted) government was felt to be particularly secure, and in the years immediately following 1927 there were frequent foreign forecasts, both in China and in other countries, that an overturn must soon happen. General Chiang himself periodically withdrew from active participancy and this puzzled many foreign observers who hardly know what interpretation they might place upon such courses.

But the national government kept on. In general its courses met with foreign approval, though there were criticism in detail. One important detail of its administration was the fact that it dealt in summary fashion with the age-old China problem of civil warfare. After the 1932 Shanghai hostilities with the Japanese—foreign opinion credited General Chiang with keeping his government clear of a potentially disastrous mess in that connection—Nanking went in heavily for building up an air force, and the generalissimo utilized airplanes to check the Foochow rebellion. The generalissimo was given personal credit for pushing the communists out of Kiangsi. Estimates of his military capacity definitely went up, in foreign eyes, and they seem to have gone up quite steadily whenever occasion has offered for testing General Chiang's abilities as a soldier.