

Although the English text is authoritative, it would be helpful to discover the true meaning of the word "effected" by studying the Chinese character, which is "hsin" (行). Now "hsin" means to go, to proceed, to be going to be,—in short, a verb or verb-form signifying continued or continuing action. It certainly does not connote the sense of completion, conclusion or termination. Were the latter the case, the Chinese expression would not be "wei-hsin" (未行) but "shang-wei" (尙未), as anyone who has a knowledge of the Chinese language would easily recognize.

That nothing more than the presentation of the demand for revision from China and that nothing more than the commencement of proceedings for such revision were expected by Japan herself to take place during the first six months is also proved by the actual fact that the latter agreed time and again, without hesitation and as a matter of course, to the prolongation of the period of negotiation. If Japan honestly believed that she was entitled to the renewal of the Treaty for another

ten years by the terms of Article XXVI, because revision was not "completed" within six months, she would have made that claim immediately after the lapse of the first half-year. So far as one knows, Japan is hardly celebrated for yielding a job or title of her "rights" at any time or in any land. If she did so, it was because she realized that her claim was without justification or beyond all reason.

Finally, it must be remarked that in agreeing formally to the revision of other matters of treaty revision in addition to the tariffs and commercial matters, Japan has herself at the same time agreed to the nullification of the clause in Article XXVI as to the six months' time limit. For admitting in entirety the interpretation of the Japanese Government, the six months' time limit can surely only apply when revision took place of only the tariffs and commercial matters. The six months' limit ceased to be valid, the moment Japan agreed to revise all matters dealt with by treaty between her and China.

## Peking or Nanking?

By Li Tz-hyung

With the fall of Peking, for centuries the capital seat of the aged monarchic China, it became clear to all the world that Nanking would be the permanent capital of Nationalist China. This change of capital, like every other change in human affairs, has met with opposition and complaints from not a too large group of Chinese and foreigners as well. No one need be surprised at this. Apart from all other considerations, man is by nature a conservative animal. He hates changes. He will not change unless he has to. That the said change affects the population of the old metropolis cannot be denied. The city is clouded with a gloomy prospect. Of ordinary business there was not much apart from the contracts with the government and these have gone with the government. The once gay and crowded hotels are deserted. House rentals have considerably dropped. The ricksha business, which is the most precarious of all, is badly hit. All cannot but be true, and all the sympathy of the nation must be expressed for this unfortunate situation. Nor will the Nationalist Government spare anything which is within its power to ameliorate the situation.

But it is no argument to say that the change must not be allowed to come to pass because such change would spell misery to the inhabitants of a single metropolis, regardless of national welfare. Furthermore, the effects of the change upon Peking inhabitants have been much exaggerated by Chinese, and more so by foreigners. The fact that the revolution was ever started at all must not be lost sight of. It was perfectly within the knowledge of the exponents of the revolution that such revolution would mean loss of lives, destruction of property, stoppage of trade and industry, indeed everything which was not conducive to our immediate happiness and blessings. Nevertheless, it had to be started in view of the significant and far-reaching future prospects, and rightly or wrongly it

has gone through. The same cannot but apply to the change of the seat of the capital which would mean misery to a number, quite insignificant in proportion to the 400,000,000, and on a scale which has dwindled into nothing in comparison with the nation-wide effects of the revolution. Provinces like Hunan and Kwangtung wherefrom no seat of capital has ever been shifted to anywhere else have been worse sufferers than the Peking inhabitants from that deadly thing—"red terrorism." During the past two years, the whole nation went through trying times. The people, rich or poor, have invariably suffered. Our men that fell in the battlefields amounted to hundreds of thousands. Widows and orphans in great numbers have been left behind by the fallen veterans. All these, however, we have willingly endured as a price for that intangible ideal—making of a modern democracy on the ruins of the aged and much worn-out monarchy. Apart from any consideration of either our success or failure, which it is still too early to say, we have been sincere and pure in our motive and earnest at the task. We are not unaware of the immensely difficult task confronting our people and the government. There seems almost to be no way out. Yet some way must be found. In this difficult time of adjustment, the virtues of patience and confidence cannot be too strongly urged. Mutual trust and sincerity of purpose will go far to entrench ourselves. There must be a willingness to sacrifice personal, regional interests for the greater and nobler interests of the nation. Businessmen have contributed their hard-earned cash to finance the North Expedition. Landowners have been heavily taxed. In short, no one has been free from the effect of the great change. The Peking inhabitants who have been the least touched by the direct effects of the war are also hit by the change of the capital. But all these become nothing, when compared with the poor-fed, poor-clad, and the under-

paid soldiers who took their lives in their hands ever since the march from Canton to fight for the noble cause—"independence and equality" of China. They fought with their stout hearts and saw the task through with militarism eradicated and imperialism paralyzed. Finally, they marched victoriously to Peking. What did they get? Who else have made such supreme sacrifice as these worthy veterans? The government is at its wit's end after having financed the North Expedition. The armies have to be reduced through disbandment. Hundreds of thousands have thus been temporarily thrown out of work. Our sympathy needs necessarily first to be for these men. If any body is to be provided at all, they should come first and foremost in this list. In view of this touching fact, the citizens of Peking need to be more patient and seek gradually to adjust themselves to the changed conditions.

The change of capital is absolutely necessary and its meaning is deep and far-reaching. Since the first shot was fired in the outbreak of the revolution in 1911, Dr. Sun had it in his mind that the capital of the future republican China should be in Nanking. In 1912, he, as the first or the provisional president of the Republic of China, actually chose Nanking as the capital seat. Later, he urged Yuan Shih-kai to come down to Nanking to resume his presidency, when he himself resigned in Yuan's favor. It was Dr. Sun's idea for the infant republic to get as far away as possible from the ancient capital which savors of monarchism, mandarinism, and worst of all, foreign imperialism. Yuan readily found some flimsy pretext to refuse compliance with Dr. Sun's suggestion and insisted on keeping the capital seat in Peking. His ulterior purpose was obvious. The causes of future war were foreseen even then. The retaining of Peking as the capital seat has been responsible, primarily if not solely for the incessant warfare of the last seventeen years, for a bad beginning made for a bad end. There was no genuine change of heart on the part of the then northern military leaders. The liberal thoughts of republicanism had their breeding place in the south. The presidents in Peking under the daily spell of the neo-monarchic politicians were bereaved of the privilege of keeping themselves abreast of the thoughts of the time. In the course of the previous fifteen years' warfare, Peking had been invariably the bone of contention. The northern militarists raced for the ancient capital and were ever ready to seat themselves on the Dragon's Throne. Chang Tso-lin did not abandon his ambition of the Throne until his last breath. To him, Peking meant infinite charm and glory. No one can tell that how many there are in this land in whose mind monarchism still looms large. The lessons of the French Revolution suggest such prediction. We must count ourselves as fortunate if the young republic can thus stand on its feet. But caution is forever needed to guard against the unforeseen. There must be a distinct break with monarchic associations of every description. If we fail to look into the fundamental phases of things and take the line of least resistance, we are in danger of undoing the work of hundreds of thousands of men who fell in the noble

cause of democracy. Let it be said that we made the change on the basis of sentiment. But the truth that no historical movement can be successfully pushed through without the sentiment of the mass will also hold. Dilapidated as Nanking may be and inadequate its equipments and accommodation for government offices, it is still cheaper and more economical to build a magnificent capital in keeping with its dignity in due course of time, than to spend hundreds of millions on war which the retaining of Peking as the national capital may easily bring.

From the standpoint of history, evidences are numerous that speak well of the change. Japan transferred her capital from Kyoto to Tokyo as a signal of her determined restoration of the Mikado. Kyoto with its associations of feudalism and Shogunate, representing only a semblance of royal authority, must be abandoned once for all as the national capital. A new start was to be made elsewhere towards the promotion of nationalism. Tokyo was selected for that purpose. Recently, Moscow took the place of Petrograd as the Russian capital. The change was at once convenient and revolutionary, for Moscow, situated at the heart of Russia is the center of communications. The victorious Kemalists torsook Constantinople, for centuries the strongholds of Sultanate and Caliphate, and the much-hated international imperialism. They abandoned the strongholds of the old order, as well as the old order itself, at all cost and by all means. They had such a strong prejudice against the magnificent city of Constantinople that they preferred as their capital, Angora, a squalid town in the heart of Asia Minor. The change was completely revolutionary and was much to the disgust of the foreign representatives who have been rendered less convenient to call for their gunboat protection at Angora than at Constantinople. It is about in the identical spirit in which Nanking was substituted for Peking as the national capital of New China. It was Dr. Sun's idea that the capital of future China should be in Nanking—an idea which he held fast throughout his life, which can be proved by the fact that he gave directions on his death-bed that his body should be buried on the "Purple Mountain." There cannot be the slightest doubt about Dr. Sun's stand for the new capital. Whosoever wants to shift the capital so as to suit his individual convenience cannot but betray the late leader on this particular point. The Boxer Protocol which has remained for so many years an untoward disgrace to the nation must be made to go once for all. The stationing of foreign troops right in the national capital can be tolerated no more. Not a few of the foreign representatives have expressed their disapproval of the plan and complained of having to leave their beautiful palaces in Peking, safely guarded by their own troops. It must be made clear that our plan is not to be shaken by any consideration of this sort, and if the foreign representatives are determined to stay where they are, that is their private affair. Of course, those who desire to keep in close touch with the Nationalist Government by coming down to the new capital cannot but be heartily welcomed.