

may be, as Trotsky said, that the Japanese dynasty like the Russian, may find its grave there. A policy of waiting and seeing if Japanese action in Manchuria will be able to reduce chaos to order and improve trading conditions is, therefore, short-sighted. The essential question is to restore peace to China, and who can doubt that once that is done the needs of its enormous population in their present undeveloped state will lead to a very much greater scope for genuine business expansion? To attempt to impose peace by arms is to invite its opposite. On the other hand, to fall back in a vague way upon the League of Nations and to expect it to produce a solution out of the blue will result in nothing being done. The League is not a supernatural organisation, but merely a committee of governments, and unless these are inspired by a knowledge of the goal to aim at and a willingness to move in that direction, then the results of the League's discussions will be exactly nil.

If the aim of supporting stable and peaceful government in China is recognised, then the Powers interested in China will have some common ground of action at the League when the Lytton Commission's report comes up, and public opinion will have a yardstick by which to measure the present situation and any proposed remedies. The situation is perhaps beyond remedy. The setting up and recognition of Manchukuo with Japanese "advisers" and Japanese officers in military control merely means Japanese control of Manchuria. Whether Japan will be prepared to modify her position in face of a united front from the other Powers, if that were possible, is very doubtful. Count Uchida, the Foreign Minister has defended Japan's action on the ground that peaceful methods were impossible in view of the chaotic conditions prevailing in Manchuria, and stated categorically enough that Japan would never consent to any solution which invested China with authority over Manchuria, because that would merely reproduce the intolerable conditions previously existing. Worse still, public opinion in Japan has been worked up to support this view. Mr. Mori, for example, the Chief Secretary of the late Cabinet, has exhorted the Government to stand by its policy even at the cost of isolation and a further deterioration in its relations with the United States. If Japan is uncompromising, China is no less so—"There will be no peace or prosperity in Manchuria," said the Chinese Foreign Minister, "until all the Japanese troops are withdrawn." In Washington, also, where this problem is creating the greatest attention, a firm attitude is being maintained. Mr. Stimson has declared that the United States interpretation of the Kellogg Pact precludes the recognition of territory seized by force of arms, and promises support for the Lytton report. It is clear, therefore, that the incoherent policy of the Powers interest-

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MADAME SUN'S STATEMENT ON CIVIC LIBERTY

I am astounded that all those who have come to the defence of Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu, far from protesting on the grounds of general political terrorism exercised by the Nanking Government, have not even said a word about the eleven men arrested with him.

Those who have come to the defence of Mr. Chen, his Chinese friends, and such organs as the *Shanghai Times*, the *Journal de Changhai*, and the *China Critic*, have done so largely on the grounds that Mr. Chen has disassociated himself from the revolutionary movement and because, according to these papers, he has called Communists "bandits." That is no reason for me to come to his defence. Quite to the contrary. However, I protest against the arrest of Mr. Chen and his eleven colleagues, only because these arrests are another manifestation of the Terror, which the Kuomintang wages unceasingly against the Chinese working class, the peasants, and against students and revolutionary intellectuals, and occasionally against fractions within or close to the Kuomintang which even enjoy the support of some of its most influential members—as appears to be the case with Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu.

As an example of the fact that the present defenders of Chen Tu-hsiu are attempting to avoid the basic issue of political terror, we have the statements of individuals like Mr. Kwei Chung-shu who sought to give the impression in a recent article that those liberal Chinese and foreigners who came to the defence of Paul and Gertrude Ruegg did so only because they were foreigners and not because their arrest and persecution involved fundamental political issues, both national and international. They don't even point out now that among the thousands who fell before this Terror, were two sons of Chen Tu-hsiu himself who were members of the Chinese Communist Party. Mr. Kwei sneer-

ed in China due to a failure to understand the real goal of policy, has led to the present almost impossible position. Until the Lytton report is published and until it is understood how far Japan is prepared to move, if at all, it is impossible to suggest a line of action, but one thing is certain: if the Powers, including Japan, value their business relations with China, they will have to make their aim a concerted policy of supporting a stable and peaceful Government.

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ingly asked if Mr. Chen, like the Rueggs, had any children over whom sympathy could be aroused. Yes, he had two sons, both educated abroad, both labor organizers and one of them a poet of power and promise. They were shot to death by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927.

Men like Mr. Kwei and his fellow intellectuals remained silent then, and have remained silent through these ghastly years of the Terror against the Chinese people. But foreign workers of every land have not remained silent. In huge demonstrations and in their press everywhere they have repeatedly denounced the Kuomintang terror and declared their solidarity with the cause and aspirations of the Chinese workers and peasants. They have raised money and formed committees, not only for the Rueggs, but, for the past six years, for their tens of thousands of Chinese brothers. The hard-earned pennies of foreign workers have given food and clothing for Chinese prisoners in Kuomintang prisons. Have Mr. Kwei and his ilk ever done a fraction as much? Hardly—and they are now trying to skirt the whole, fundamental issue of the Terror in China.

Against this Terror we need to wage an uncompromising struggle, and to make a start toward organizing this struggle I am ready to participate in the formation of a general committee in defence of all political prisoners, all victims of the Terror, and to such a movement I am ready to lend all my efforts and all my energies. I invite all the intellectuals of China, all friends of the Chinese people, to associate themselves with this Committee in a struggle against all political persecution.

(Signed) SOONG CHING-LING,
(MRS. SUN YAT-SEN).

A LETTER TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY FROM THE SHANGHAI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

(Continued from No. 39.)

Japan has, in utter disregard for international obligations to respect the sovereign rights of another nation, forced China, at the point of the sword, to sign treaties giving away vital rights and privileges; but she, herself, does not hesitate to trample under foot the very same treaties, refusing to observe the little that has been her part of the undertakings and going beyond the limits she herself has set. And, while condemning China's demand for the abolition of the 1915 Treaty as a disrespect for international obligations, she has no