

Russia after the revolution of 1917 was in a state of chaos and was no longer looked upon as an influence in the Far East. The *raison d'être* of the alliance had long ceased to exist, and its termination called for no heroic sacrifice on Britain's part. The rapid strides which Moscow has since made in national industry and in military defence have once again elevated Russia to the rank of the major powers. She has become not only a great nation in peace but also a potential foe in war. She has regained the position once occupied by imperial Russia and has in addition achieved a national unity unknown in the days when court intrigue and official corruption played havoc with her national destiny. If Russia of yore was to be dreaded, then much more so must be the Russia of today.

Than for Britain the alliance is even more vital for Japan. Her recent dispute with Russia along the Chinese-Russian frontier in the northeast has precipitated a crisis which may culminate in nothing less than an armed conflict though, as observed in our last issue, Japan would be ill-advised, in the present state of her aerial defence, to embark alone on a war with Russia. If an alliance can be entered into with Britain, it may serve at least to reduce the feeling of security on the western front which Russia must have felt as the result of her rapprochement with France and, through France, her little allies. It

will, in other words, help to reassure Japan of the moral support of a great power in a war on which her imperial régime so much depends.

It would appear plausible for Japan to argue for the renewal of the alliance, but it is hoped that British statesmanship will assert itself in detecting the sinister motive cherished by her erstwhile ally. Indeed, the proposition is so one-sided that it is impossible to think of its acceptance by a nation noted for its shrewdness in international affairs.

The first effect of an alliance, if ever consummated, will be the alienation of American sympathy with British efforts in other directions for the maintenance of universal peace. It will manifest itself again in the preliminary conference on naval armament. In China the effect will be equally disastrous, and it may even be discerned in the remote possibility of an entente with Russia.

Worst of all, Britain will be a principal victim in the end. As long as her assistance is desired by Japan, her nationals may be suffered to trade in Manchuria, but when the fortunes of war are over, Japan, if victorious with British support, will be all the stronger to eliminate British interests from the three Eastern provinces, all the richer to invade British markets everywhere.

Confucius Re-discovered

LIKE a football star, a champion swimmer or an ace of the sky, Confucius has emerged a national hero. On his birthday last Monday a holiday was declared and observed. High dignitaries who had read his "Four Books" (not to mention others) and the others who had never caught sight of them, those who had always worshipped him and the others who had always denounced him proceeded together to Tai Shan to pay him homage at the sacred temple bearing his name. This year has been designated as the Native Goods Year, and it may also be properly called Confucius Year; and just as this nation has bought more imported goods in this Native Goods Year, it is likely to be less Confucian-like than ever in this Confucius Year.

For unlike a football star, a champion swimmer or an ace of the sky, Confucius stands in full glory not on the wave of mob psychology or mass worship. He does not become smaller in stature because popular prejudice leads to his denunciation, and his name will not shine brighter because one important functionary or another has taken a fancy to him. Like the North Star, to paraphrase himself, around which all the lesser lights will eternally revolve, he will remain the sole fountain of Chinese civilization and culture. He will live through the ages, long after those who embarked upon the recent pilgrimage to his mundane abode and the paper on which this is being written will have vanished into ashes.

As a journal which has never wavered in its respect for and faith in China's greatest sage, *The Critic* is naturally happy to witness its respect and faith echoed

by the nation's highest officials and intelligentsia. The only disturbing factor is the likelihood that the present manifestation may turn out to be just another movement, not born of conviction but fostered as a political gesture.

There is not the slightest doubt but that China is sadly lacking in the qualities of manhood which Confucius has taught us. The danger of foreign aggression is scarcely comparable to the danger of moral disintegration so widely present. The virtues of honor, honesty, chastity, filial piety, loyalty to friends, and consciousness of shame have been swept away with the inroad of an alien civilization at its worst. The nation is being remade, and in the process of re-making it seems to have lost its soul.

But Confucius' greatness does not lie in the abstract principles, however fundamental they may be. He is by no means a visionary; his is above all a practical genius. He does not relish the things which do not concern our daily life; he does not demand the impossible of human mortals.

In religion, for instance, he does not preach the worship of the unknown. Religion for him is the religion of one's own goodness. It is well said by him, "if one does not know life, how is one to know death?" and "if one cannot serve the living, how is one to serve the dead?" In Christianity or Buddhism he will perhaps find little use, for to him this earthly world of ours is worthy of the best in us. He does not look for reward for the good one does, for the reward is in the act itself of doing good.

Confucius is practical in another sense; he does not attempt to make hypocrites of human beings. Though he counsels one not to do to others what one does not wish done to one's self, he does not go to the extent of urging one to turn one's right cheek when one's left cheek is slapped. Instead, he teaches us to return good for good but to do justice to grievance. His philosophy is one not of extremes but of the medium. He may not be Christian or Buddhist, but he is human at the best.

Confucius is practical in still another sense; unlike many of our living luminaries, he does not claim to be omnipotent. Thus when he is asked about farming, he frankly admits to his disciple that he is not qualified to speak as a farmer; when he is asked about gardening he frankly admits that he is not qualified to speak as a gardener. His modesty is further exemplified by his inquiry with Laotse on the question of rites, and is likewise illustrated by his famous saying, "of three people walking together there must be some one from whom I may learn." Herein perhaps lies his greatest virtue, for unlike many another great teacher, he does not proclaim to the world, "come unto me, and thou shalt be saved." Rather would he say, "be a good king, a

good subject, a good father, a good son." He does not claim that sins can be forgiven by professing faith in him; he believes that the effect of sin can be counter-acted only by doing good by one's self.

Confucius is practical yet in one more sense; he is, as Mencius says, the sage of the age. He does not eulogise the past simply because it is past; he does not ridicule the contemporary simply because it is contemporary. To him realities are all important, and he is as competent in dealing with exigencies as he is in discoursing on ideals and principles. He is great because he can discern goodness in the bad and badness in the good. As a historian, one word of praise from him is worth more than the purest gold and one word of denunciation mightier than a sword. When one looks at him in the distance, he is stern; when one approaches him, human sympathy radiates itself. He is not an idol to be feared; he is thoroughly human, and humanly practical. In him China's salvation lies, and his re-discovery, we hope, may embody a permanent blessing to a race which has strayed in endeavoring to re-discover itself.

The Revised Draft Of The Constitution*

By CHEN CHIH-MAI (陳之邁)

THE Legislative Yuan has been very cautious in drafting the constitution. On March 1, 1933, it published the first draft which received many criticisms from the public. These criticisms seemed to have received their due attention in the revision, which was recently published for public criticism. For such open-mindedness we have nothing but admiration.

The first draft is unusually unsatisfactory, and in my criticism of this version I regarded it as "a marvel of copy work and a masterpiece of compromise." But the second version contains many revisions, mostly improvements upon the first. Of these improvements, I will mention the following:

(1) *Those concerning the People's Congress*—(a) In the first draft it is provided that the People's Congress is to be composed of one delegate from each district (hsien) or municipality (shih) in the provinces, and delegates from Mongolia, Tibet, and overseas Chinese; but there is no definite provision as to how the delegates of the latter category are to be elected. This provision using the district as the election unit is based on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's doctrine, but under the present condition it will work out most unequitably. For in nearly every district the conservative farmers will out-vote their more progressive townspeople, and this will have a most undesirable effect on the makeup of the People's Congress. The revised draft uses the size of the population as the basis to determine the number of delegates to be elected to the Congress. This is a great improvement.

(b) The first draft provides that the Congress "meets once triannually for one month" with no provision for extension. The revised draft lengthens the term of office of the delegates to four years and provides the convocation of ordinary sessions once every two years for one month and also for the extension of another month if necessary. Further, the revised draft adds to the Congress's long list of powers and functions a new one to take referendum on budget, declaration of war, etc. which gives increased importance to the congress and greater complexity to its task. As the congress has nearly 2,000 members and meets only once every two years for only a short session, it is not an organ fitted to exercise important and complex powers and functions. I should like, therefore, to see that the congress meets once in every four years for a longer session and the delegates end their office with the end of the session. My reasons may be briefly set forth: (1) the term of office for all the high officials elected by the congress, according to the revised draft, is four years; (2) when the congress is not in session, its powers and functions may be exercised by the People's Committee; (3) when something of extraordinary importance happens, a special session of the congress may be convened; (4) an interval of four years between two elections of people's representatives cannot be considered too long; and (5) the large travelling expense of the delegates may be reduced. Because of these reasons, I believe my proposal suits the present condition better and will save a good deal of expense.

*Translated from the Independent Review Aug. 5, 1934—Editor.