Contents

EDITORIALS:

Spiritual Awakening .............................................................. 151
Frank B. Kellogg ......................................................................... 152
What is the Limit? ...................................................................... 152
A Year to be Remembered .......................................................... 153

SPECIAL ARTICLE:

Bitter Lessons of the War—By L. I. Tsok ........................................ 155

NEWS OF THE WEEK:

Rape of Nanking ......................................................................... 156
Nanking Horror .......................................................................... 156
Shanghai Pledges Support ......................................................... 157
Generalissimo's Interview ......................................................... 157
Franco-Japan Discrepancies ....................................................... 157
Peiping Group Not Recognised .................................................. 157
Generalissimo's New Plan .......................................................... 158
British Protest .......................................................................... 158
U.S. Navy Report Panay ............................................................. 158
Soviet Ambassador in Hankow .................................................... 158

The China Critic, published at 749 Bubbling Well Road by The
China Critic Publishing Co., Shanghai Cable Address: "SINO-
CRITIC," Shanghai, Telephone No. 33627.

American Office: WORLD WIDE NEWS ASSOCIATION, 20,
West 43rd St., New York City. Orders for advertisements and sub-
scriptions from U.S.A. may be placed through this office.

Subscription rates including postage as follows:
China 3 months $2.00  6 months $4.00  12 months $7.00
Foreign 3 months 7 shillings 6 months 12 shillings 12 months $1

All manuscripts must be addressed to the Editor, and typewritten,
double-spaced, on one side of the paper only. Chinese writers are
requested to give their names also in Chinese.

No manuscript will be returned unless accompanied by a self-
addressed envelope with full return postage.

KWEI CHUNGSHU (桂中樞) Editor
SUNG I-CHUNG (宋以忠) Associate Editor

Contributing Editors

V. T. BANG (彭立廷) L. T. CHEN (陳立廷)
T. K. CHUAN (蔡律勳) C. Y. K. KWONG (蔡耀坤)
KAN LEE (陳錦) YUEN-LI LIANG (梁錦立)
D. K. LIU (劉大錦) LIN YUTANG (林錦堂)
LOWE CHUAN-HUA (羅傳華) FRANCIS K. PAN (潘光遊)
QUENTIN PAN (潘光旦) WEN YUAN-NING (溫源寧)
JOHN C. H. WU (吳維翰) SU-LIN C. YUNG (楊維翰)

P.K. CHU (朱少屏) Business Manager

Spiritual Awakening

ONE of the outstanding phenomena of this undeclared war has been the emigration of large sections of the population, including members of the intelligentsia and leading men in all walks of life, from the large cities and coastal districts to the interior provinces of China. The occupation by Japanese troops of Tientsin, Peiping, Shanghai and Nanking, as well as large slices of territory in the north and along the coast, undesirable as it may seem in many ways, has been a blessing in disguise. Hitherto, the best talents as well as the greater part of the wealth of the country have been concentrated in the great cities to the detriment of the rest of the country. This condition was the direct result of the unsettled political situation, the constant dangers of civil war and banditry, the almost complete lack of communication facilities and the general backwardness of the people. During recent years, with the gradual stabilization of conditions, the government has come to realize that China's only hope of survival as a modern state lies in a program of economic reconstruction and national rejuvenation. Modernisation had been taking place in the large cities, but the interior provinces were hopelessly behind. The prosperity of the larger cities was proving a drain upon rather than a help to the resources of the country. A movement was set on foot by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to improve communications and to divert the talent and wealth of the nation into more productive channels. A nation-wide program to revive the national consciousness of the people was also drawn up. Unemployed college graduates, who had become a serious problem to the government, were recruited and trained for this work. However, the work has been all too slow and great difficulty has been experienced in securing the services of men of outstanding ability who were best qualified to direct this work. Many of them hesitated to give up reputable and remunerative positions to face the difficulties of breaking new ground in unknown places; others who might have been willing to go felt that their obligations did not allow their leaving. Now with the complete destruction of the commercial and industrial life of the great cities and the peculiar conditions existing in those areas which make it impossible to carry on any kind of educational or professional work, as well as considerations of personal safety, these people have been forced to go to the interior. The number of people who have recently gone to Hunan, Szechuen, Yunnan, Kweichow, Shensi and Kansu are inestimable. Nothing could have been more fortunate. Many of these provinces have vast untapped resources, which need only enterprise and effort to bring to the surface. The human material could not be better. In this part of the country are to be found some of the sturdiest and most intelligent types of the Chinese race. The removal of the seat of the Central Government to Chungking, Szechuen, is also of great significance. These things are all to the good. Whatever the outcome of the present war, the future of these provinces will be great. As long as
these provinces remain, China’s heart will be intact, no matter what happens to the rest of the country. If the war should turn in our favor, we shall have a greater and better China, for no longer will there be complete reliance on the treaty ports and larger cities, but China will know that her real strength lies in her vast interior. In any case, China will never be the same as before. The impact between the best minds of China and the people of these far-flung provinces cannot but have great and far-reaching effects. We foresee a great spiritual awakening and the birth of a great hope in the hearts of the Chinese people. Japan could not have served China better. In attempting to crush the revolutionary spirit of modern China, she has produced those very conditions which may set aflame a revolutionary ardor that will sweep everything before it.

Frank B. Kellogg

THE death of Frank B. Kellogg last week removed from the world the greatest statesman of the past 19 years. Some one has said that Chopin’s Funeral March was suited to the fall of a soldier, Beethoven’s to the death of a poet, and Wagner’s to the collapse of Napoleon. If such comparisons can be accepted, we can find none that is suitable for the occasion of the end of the author and primum mover of the Kellogg Pact, the greatest human document ever penned by man which in labor and deliberation can perhaps be compared with the Great Wall of China. But unfortunately in the present age of materialism, militaristic nations have lost their respect for the higher ideals of mankind. Wars are now being freely waged without declaration, a contingency which neither Kellogg nor Briand, his equally noble colleague, had foreseen. They both lived to see their masterpiece wantonly torn to pieces hardly three years after it had been signed by its subsequent violators in Paris on August 27, 1928. The democratic and peace-loving world now mourns the loss of this great man and we are sure that if he could see us from the other world, he would mourn for us too. He must have died in great uneasiness. He died amidst the crematory process inflicted upon the last vestiges of his famous Pact. We will miss him, but missing him in our yearning for peace, mankind will follow the workings of some mysterious spiritual alchemy and will reproduce another of his kind. His work will go down to posterity as the greatest effort in rescuing humanity and civilisation from a return to primitive savagery. Although it is regrettable that he did not live to see his great vision come true in his own life-time, future historians viewing the stupidity, the backwardness and the dark age of the present era will sigh at the long and tedious stages that will have to be gone through to finally bring Kellogg’s vision to reality—for, although the builder of peace is dead, his vision will live after him so long as humanity is not extinguished from this planet.

What is the Limit?

At the Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang in 1935, General Chiang Kai-shek, when commenting on China’s foreign policy vis-à-vis Japan and the entire Sino-Japanese question, said: “While there is the slightest hope for peace, we will not abandon it; so long as we have not reached the limit of endurance, we will not talk lightly of sacrifice.” Later in July 1937, after the outbreak of the Luokouchiao Incident, when it seemed that the limit of endurance must have been reached, General Chiang declared: “Even at the very last second before we abandon all hopes of peace, we would still be hoping for peace, we would still be seeking a solution through proper diplomatic channels. .. We seek for peace, but we do not seek for peace at any cost. We do not want war, but we may be forced to defend ourselves.” On August 13, 1937, the last “limit” was reached, with the result the world knows only too well. Today the same words are on the lips of British and American statesmen. The long series of incidents, involving British and American interests and prestige in the Far East which have been caused by the Japanese since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, have sorely tried the patience of both countries. “Outrage, Apology, Outrage” was how the British press greeted the news of the Panay and Wuhu incidents. Both countries, in their desire to preserve world peace, have been extremely patient with the Japanese under the greatest provocation, but it seems that this patience is fast coming to an end. Public opinion in both countries is greatly incensed and is demanding full satisfaction from the Japanese militarists. In his important statement before the House of Commons on December 21, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, said: “We are still anxious to serve the cause of peace by any honorable means open to us, but it must not be thought that our desire for peace or patience under repeated provocation means that we are either indifferent to our international obligations or forgetful of our duty to protect British interests. It is now for the Japanese Government to show that they in their turn are not unmindful of the rights and interests of foreigners, and that their assurances and apologies mean something more than words.” In the United States, where for a long time there appeared to be a great divergence of opinion among the various political parties as to how far the United States could or should go in order to restore peace in the Far East and in case of further threat to American interests and prestige, the whole nation seems to be rallying in support of President Roosevelt’s declaration of foreign policy in which he made clear that the United States rejected a policy of “peace at any price”. Mr. Alfred M. Landon, former Republican presidential candidate also created quite a stir in sending a telegram to President Roosevelt in which he gave his full support to the administration’s strong declaration on foreign policy. Concluding, he said, “I congratulate you on your firmness in saying ‘No’ to proposed legislation that would take away the power of Congress to declare war. You and I both know the American people want peace, but we want a peace that will enable us to maintain the respect of other nations of the world.” The United States press has also taken a very stern attitude. Newspapers throughout the country are warning Japan that American sentiment might swing suddenly in favor of war in the event of further “provocations” such as the recent Panay incident. The Washington Times in big headlines proclaimed, “United States Break with Japan Threatens”. In a leading article, The Washington News declared that “peace may depend upon an attempt to gauge