

battalion commanders, fallen in battle as in this current war with Japan.

The names of many of the fallen men may never be known even after the war is over, but their tombstones, without a doubt, will commemorate the sons of every province of China. Yunnan, Szechwan and many other provincial army divisions, for example, are now fighting shoulder to shoulder on the south Shantung front for the first time in China's history.

The *esprit de corps* among the servicemen, be they from the west, south, north or east, could not be better, and among them there has developed miraculously an iron bond of comradeship born of common adversity. They no longer ask one another "why are we here?" as they used to do in the days of endless internecine strife. They take orders from one commander-in-chief, no longer asking the origin of his birth. In a recent interview on the Tsinpu front, a Yunnan soldier, when asked whether he came from Kunming, replied: "That is no longer important. First of all I am a Chinese soldier."

Another unknown soldier, writing from the front to his mother somewhere in Hunan, said: "Ten thousand pardons if I fail to come home to do my duties as any filial son will do. On my way to the front I thought constantly of you, of my son and his mother. But now holding my rifle pointing to my enemy camp, and seeing all my comrades resolutely doing the same, I think only

of one thing—my duty to my country. For the first time in my life do I feel now that it is a far greater honor to be a loyal soldier than to be a filial son."

Last March two Szechwan divisions were entrusted with the duty of defending Tenghsien in south Shantung, under commanders Wang Ming-chang and Chen Li. Wang was killed while Chen was seriously wounded. When the latter arrived in Lincheng on a stretcher and was told that Divisional Commander Wang, Deputy Divisional Commander Sui, Brigadier Commander Lu had all died with their posts at Tenghsien, he wept and said: "I'm ashamed of myself," forgetting that having been wounded in action he had done as loyally as his comrades who had died.

It is true that the Great Wall, built twenty-two centuries ago for the purpose of stemming invasion from outside, has failed in its purpose in this new era of warfare. But unconsciously a greater Great Wall is rising up to take its place, a wall built of the sturdy and plucky common soldiers of China. It may yet prove to be the Waterloo of her invaders.

For, again as *The New York Herald Tribune* said: "Whatever comes of the present Sino-Japanese conflict, whatever local victories Japan's armed forces may or may not register by virtue of superior equipment, superior sources of supply, and larger body of officers trained in the technique of mechanized warfare, the onlooking world will never again credit her gains to any superiority of spirit and fighting capacity in her rank and file."

What's Wrong With China's New Culture Movement?

BY E. E. LIU

THE beginning of the Chinese new culture has been usually ascribed to the May 4th movement of 1919. However, like all historical events, its early signs are to be traced long back in a series of individual attempts of reformation by a few statesmen in the Tsing dynasty which culminated in the abortive constitutional movement of 1897 under Emperor Kwang Hsu (光緒). From the Sino-British war of 1840 to the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, China suffered a long succession of national humiliations which exposed in a most glaring light the deterioration and impotence of the Ta Tsin regime. A patriotic movement slowly gathered force among a few of the more enlightened ministers then steering state affairs to re-appraise and, as far as possible, to adopt the unwelcome intruder, the so-called "western civilization", which they had scorned so much before. Famous statesmen like Chang Tse-tung (張之洞), Li Hung-chang (李鴻章), Tseng Kuo-fan (曾國藩) and Hsueh Fu-chen (薛福成), all came to a painful realization that if China was to survive and shun the fate of extermination, they should no longer bask in the peace and self-content of the so-called eastern culture. For this culture, this spiritual heritage, which had guided the foot-steps of their fathers and their fathers' fathers for centuries back, did not teach them how to defend themselves against foreign aggression. They believed that China must learn her applied science from the West in order to build up more railways and more steamships, to lay open her abundant

resources, and what seemed most important, to improve her army and navy to fight the foreigners with their own guns and warships. In other words, they expected to benefit only materially from the Westerners; as in other fields such as literature, philosophy, ethics etc., they did not doubt in the least that China had already attained the highest mark of human perfection.

There were, however, a few exceptionally brilliant thinkers who even at such an early date already discerned a superiority in western culture to eastern culture not only in science, but also in political thought. Not the least interesting figure is perhaps to be found in the radical reformer, Tan Tse-tung (譚嗣同). Mr. Tan was a follower of the once famous scholar, Kong Yiu-Huai (康有為); and while the latter was planning a *coup d'état* for a constitutional monarchy with the connivance of Emperor Kwang Hsu, he became a staunch supporter of the movement and played an active and important role perhaps only next to that of Liang Chi-tso (梁啟超). But what singled him out most conspicuously in the eyes of his contemporaries was the fierceness and outspokenness with which he criticised the old Chinese culture, as well as his uncompromising attitude in championing the cause of the new western culture. Although the constitutional movement was nipped in the bud by a handful of reactionaries led by Empress Dowager (慈禧太后) and resulted in the martyrdom of seven leaders including Mr.

Tan, the hostile and rebellious spirit he exhibited towards many pernicious elements in Chinese culture and every kind of bondage or barricade of conservatism went deep and wide and heralded the revolution of 1911. If all the previous acts at reformation up to Kong Yiu-huai's constitutional movement are to be considered as indications of a partial leaning towards the western thought, then the overthrow of the Manchu government and the proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1911 might be called a complete negation of the Chinese thought.

The success of the Chinese revolution was of course never thorough. It brought about certain superficial changes only in the political structure, but left untackled many fundamental causes of corruption and unrest. Nevertheless, there was one distinct advantage in that, for a time at least, it won complete freedom for the intelligent class to explore and research in the rich field of western culture, including many things previously considered profane and therefore prohibited by the monarchic regime. Not only were books of natural science and political theory translated and delved into, but also works on western philosophy, western logic, western sociology, western economics and western literature. Thus, though lacking a self-conscious leadership or any organizational work, the ground was being gradually prepared for the coming of a great epoch, the awakening of a national consciousness to strive for more truth and enlightenment.

Regarded in the above light, the May 4th movement of 1919 may truly be called, as it is sometimes, the Chinese renaissance. Originating from a purely patriotic movement, like all its predecessors, by the students in Peking against the Japanese presentation of the notorious 21 demands, the spark soon grew into a conflagration sweeping over the whole surface of Chinese cultural life. As the cadres of the movement were composed chiefly of intellectuals, instead of men of active politics, their objective was of a much more fundamental and far-reaching character as being aimed at the accomplishment of certain essential tasks left undone by the revolution. They could not be satisfied with a mere change of the political complexion; but they believed that at the bottom of all China's troubles was the thousands of years old Chinese culture which must be swept off and substituted by a newer and healthier culture to be borrowed from abroad. This movement was luckier than all the preceding ones in that in addition to other more favorable conditions, it found leadership in such eminent scholars like Mr. Chen Tu-shiu (陳獨秀), Dr. Hu Shih (胡適) and many other faculty members of Peking University whose resourcefulness and undaunted spirit are something to be marvelled at even at present. One of the greatest achievements of the movement was that Chinese intellectuals ceased to talk vaguely about one's literature or one's scholarship as something embracing the whole field of human intellect from fine arts, and belles-lettres to the most technical knowledge like medical science or astronomy; but began to know how to differentiate literature from philosophy, philosophy from politics, politics from history and so forth. This meant

a complete change in the Chinese attitude of learning without which it would be well-nigh impossible for China to re-assort her old cultural inheritance and to absorb the essence of foreign culture. One dominant feature of the movement which grew to such proportion as to almost overshadow the whole phase of the movement and usurp its name was the so-called literary revolution. As announced in the journal Hsin Tsin Nien (新青年), the chief mouthpiece of the revolutionists edited by Mr. Chen Tu-shiu, to which nearly all the leaders of the movement like Dr. Hu Shih contributed amply, the purpose of the revolution was the abolishing of Ku Wen (古文), (i.e. the difficult classical Chinese essay,) and the installation in its place of Pai Hua (白話), (i.e. the easy daily-spoken Chinese or mandarin as it is sometimes called,) as the instrument of expression. It aimed simultaneously at the destruction of the crotchety, aristocratic and euphuistic literature with all its pernicious content and the creation of a realistic and democratic literature with a fresh and healthy outlook on life. This revolution, though comparatively more fruitful, was again partly successful (which we shall see later.) But there can be no doubt that it is chiefly due to the adoption of the living tongue, Pai Hua, as a means of expression, that a new zeal for learning, a broadened and revolutionized mental outlook, and a youthful and creative spirit have been distilled into the rising generation of the Chinese intelligentsia.

The above survey of the Chinese new culture movement from its early infancy to its ultimate efflorescence in 1919 reveals at least one characteristic; that is: the total absence of the general masses. While the early attempts of reformation were motivated and led exclusively by a few aristocrats who were holding the reins of government, the activity and influence of the May 4th movement extended only to a part of the bourgeois intellectuals, namely, the student class. In both cases, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people played no part whatsoever.

Take, for instance, the new literature movement of 1919—comparatively the most successful endeavor of the May 4th movement. It was primarily a movement to popularize literature; that is, to create a literature of the masses, instead of a literature of a few intellectual élite. Undoubtedly, since the introduction of Pai Hua or mandarin, literature has come to fulfill a very different function and has made its way into a much wider circle than before. Yet, even here, the cause for pessimism is not lacking. First of all, the new literature failed to make a clean sweep even in the intelligent class. Among the Chinese literate circles to-day, there still remains a large number of adherents to the old school who read and write exclusively classical Chinese, worship Confucianism and scorn everything that cannot boast of a Chinese origin. And then, the new literature movement has never produced any real "popular literature." Of course, it has to be admitted that there is a kind of popular literature in China which is widely circulated and enjoyed by the Chinese petty bourgeoisie, the working class, the shop assistants and even the farmers; and yet the role here is not filled by any revolutionary writers as it should be, but by a band of mercenary writers who mentally and

intellectually owe a very close alliance to the old school. These mercenary writers possess an expert knowledge of the taste of the general masses. They produce novels, plays, poems, songs and picture-stories (a series of pictures depicting the events of a story) which flood the market in cheap editions and practically monopolize the "road-side book-stalls" which is a most accessible form of literary recreation for the poorer classes and even the elementary school children. They treat invariably a few old favorite themes, such as romance in which the idea of polygamy is not only tolerated but sometimes even glorified; fairy tales that excite the superstition in the ignorant; adventure stories the instill belief in the supernatural power of the art of Chinese boxing and fencing; adaptations of newspaper headline stories written and moralized from a purely philistine point of view; and all sorts of cheap and funny stories not much above the clap-trap comedy type. What is worse is that their hold on the masses is further strengthened by an army of professional public entertainers such as story-tellers, singers, jokers etc. who draw their material from such literature and carry all the pernicious elements of it to the stage, to the screen, and even to the tea-houses in the remotest country-side. Thus, through these channels, superstition, polygamy, obscurantism and every form of philistinism are spread into both the under-educated and even illiterate classes and strike a deep root there without meeting any obstruction. Now the petty bourgeoisie, the working classes, the shop-assistants and the farmers breathe in a different atmosphere, believe in different creeds and live in a different world—totally different from that of the new culturists.

If anything is wrong with the new cultural movement in China, it is this growing estrangement, this widening gulf between the masses and the new intelligentsia. In the year 1919, two watch words were suggested by the new culturists as representing the chief creed of their movement. They were science and democracy. By science, they meant to deal a death blow to all forms of mysticism, idolatry and superstition so as to foster a scientific attitude to re-appraise the Chinese cultural heritage and to absorb the superior qualities from the western culture. And by democracy, they meant to sweep away every remnant of autocracy and eunuchism from Chinese mentality by upholding the theory of equality of mankind, freedom of thought, and a government of the people, by the people and for the people. First and foremost, it was their mission to save the masses from ignorance and illiteracy in order to prepare them for the new duty that had been thrown on their shoulder by the revolution. Hence, the advocacy of Pai Hua was really a long stride towards their goal. Their campaign to demolish Ku Wen which had enjoyed hegemony in Chinese literature for thousands of years was of course beset with many obstacles. By the persistent efforts of Dr. Hu Shih and other leaders of the movement, Pai Hua slowly gained its ground and came to share its honor with Ku Wen. Text-books, and books on natural or social sciences began to be written in Pai Hua, while newspapers, government manifestoes and official correspondence still stuck to the classical style. If the movement had been further pushed

ahead with sufficient zeal and effort as in the beginning, the break-down of the remaining citadels of conservatism might have been realized. Unfortunately, however, before the new culturists could make their first gains secure and thorough, they deviated from the main course, split up among their own ranks and came to blows with each other. A period of confusion and decentralization ensued. First, in the field of philosophy, came the clash between idealism and materialism, pragmatism and dialecticism. In literature, romanticism came first to supersede classicism, and then in turn was itself superseded by naturalism and realism. In the domain of politico-sociology, there has been a complete reiteration of all the revolutions from individualism to collectivism, and from democracy to international socialism. And even in the point of modernization of written Chinese, some of the advocates of Pai Hua have come to urge a "simplified type Chinese" (i.e. Chinese character with its strokes simplified,) while many others demand the complete abolishing of hieroglyphical Chinese in favour of a phonetic system to be borrowed and adapted from a foreign language. Thus, in the heat of their race for leadership, the young intellectuals of China have outdistanced the masses by such lengths that they have both lost sight of each other. These new culturists who profess to be fighting for the cause of the masses have themselves become a new aristocracy, no less estranged from the masses than the old aristocracy. All the changes and revolutions in ideology during the last twenty years have been exclusively a matter for the intellectual élite, while the main sea of Chinese thought underneath remains calm and unruffled with all its sediments of mediaevalism, as was the case before 1911.

Now after the lapse of more than twenty years, since the first battlecry of the May 4th movement shook the nation from its lethargy, the young intelligentsia of China find themselves confronted with exactly the same problem they had tried to solve twenty years ago. How to smash up the remaining citadels of conservatism in the intellectual circle, how to stamp out this band of mercenary and philistine writers who are now monopolizing the popular literature, and how to overcome the prejudice of the great masses of people so as to win them over to the side of a new culture and rescue them from the tightening grips of reactionaries and philistines are the problems awaiting solution. The Chinese intellectuals must go back to the point they deviated from twenty years ago. They must write popular stories, popular dramas, popular poems etc. to fill up the roadside book-stalls. They must get into the closest cooperation with the story-tellers, singers and other public entertainers; and what will be still better, they themselves should go to the stage or the cinema to become real publicists of new culture. One of the chief troubles with the Chinese new intelligentsia has always been the extreme pride and solicitude with which they regard their own prestige. Chinese students after graduation invariably go into politics, business or educational circles for a career or a living; but they would rather face unemployment and starvation than to become an actor or a public entertainer which

they consider as beneath their honor. If they come to write or paint, they make it a point to choose their subject matter from what represents the highest standard of taste and cultural accomplishment, fearing that the least sign of vulgarity would drag them down from the respectable heights of scholarship. This perverted psychology is partly responsible for their estrangement with the masses. They seem to have overlooked the fact that to preach for the cause of a new culture and to enlighten the masses is the most sacred mission of the Chinese intelligentsia to-day, and it does not matter how and where do they do it. As the standard of the Chinese masses does not come up to theirs, it is their duty to go over to them and bring them round bit by bit. If the gulf now separating them is not bridged at once, they are bound to drift further and further apart from each other as they have been doing these many years.

Last, the urgency of working out a simple and easy system of written Chinese in order to enable the masses to learn and master this necessary instrument of expression within a short time should be fully realized. For thousands of years, this complicated system of Chinese has barred off millions and millions of intelligent Chinese from acquiring a minimum education necessary for daily use, not to say their total deprivation of any chance for

more advanced intellectual pursuits. The task now being undertaken by a group of linguistic scholars to work out an elaborate and convenient phonetic system to substitute the present hieroglyphic Chinese should meet with sincere encouragement and cooperation from every side. However, the task will inevitably require a long time of assiduous research, careful selection and constant improvement. And yet before such a new system of Chinese is available, the new cultural movement should be pushed ahead with redoubled force and determination. For instance, one knows that neither the advocacy of *Pai Hua* nor the simplification of the present Chinese characters is a fundamental solution; but as both represent one step forward towards the final goal, they deserve the strongest support of every far-sighted Chinese. The Chinese masses to-day are impatient to know what is going on in the world, and what is happening to their own country; and they demand to know right now what to think and what to do about these things. They cannot wait to acquire their education till the time when a new and simple Chinese will be ready for use. If the new culture leaders can not satisfy their immediate demands, they shall have to turn away and look for guidance elsewhere and most probably, from the opposite camp. In that case, it will be an end to the new culture movement—and an end to the one chief bright hope of whole China.

College Undergraduates

BY MIAO LIANG (繹良)

IN every big street of a large city one may always find swarms of people jostling against one another. Among such crowds men of different grades of society exist. There is, however, a particular type of human biped, next conspicuous to the mendicant class and very easy to identify. Such men are usually around the golden age, tall and smart, with dress well buttoned and hair carefully brushed in an artistic way. They walk in a haughty manner, with eyes like searchlights seeking constantly for young and beautiful ladies. Apologies are never available when they happen to bump into a passer-by. College undergraduates!

Comparatively, the first year students are most different. They are but fresh graduates of high schools and the university they have entered is yet new to them. They experience for the first time that their instructors are called professors instead of merely teachers. A sort of overwhelming dignity in the mere pronunciation of the word seems to impress them, and inspire a kind of profound esteem in their very hearts. They admire students of higher classes, respect their professors and obey the college restrictions to the utmost. But at the same time they confess that they are better qualified than the high school students in appearance, knowledge and what not. Though they are humble in comparison with the other undergraduates, they feel haughty enough in the presence of school-boys.

Second year students are more or less different. They like to exhibit in every possible way that they are college undergraduates. They do not pay much attention to stu-

dents of a high class for they realize that their turn will soon come. The abilities of the various professors and their lectures are discussed, and criticism is poured upon them behind their backs. They begin to disregard the college laws and start to be interested in social matters such as connect themselves with young women. However, a serious defect is common to both freshmen and sophomores, namely, they are never keen on going to the speeches or lectures of prominent people until too late. The dollar required would seem enormously big to them and dozens of excuses would arise. They would console themselves by waiting a second time—a free admission, perhaps—which might never come.

A summer vacation of two months, and Lo, Juniors! These Juniors, who, having been taught some technical knowledge, seem to know everything in their line. They embark on criticism on anything they come across. They despise teachers and are fond of breaking the laws of dormitories, etc., to watch the reactions of the directors, knowing quite well that no severe punishment will ever befall them. The board of directors or the principal of the college may very well expect their curses for the bad equipment and the poor instructors. Nothing is more valuable to them than their own worthy selves, who they think, are full of talent and capacity.

The graduating class, however, presents a sharp contrast. The problem of life enters their brains. They are ambitious to become engineers or other smart men in business. They no longer feel secure unless they get ac-