

any person, "that person may notify the author or editor, as the case may be, and ask whether it was intended to refer to him. If the author or editor states that it was not intended for the person in question he may not be sued."

Appeals for the collection of funds to defray fines and costs imposed as penalties, or acknowledgment of receipt of such contributions is prohibited in France, Germany and other countries. Hungary provides legislation regulating the economic relation between the publisher and his salaried staff. The law states that "the term for which notice can be given, unless the parties be jointly agreed upon a longer period, is fixed for the responsible editor at one year; for the sub-editor and collaborators employed in important work as well as for all collaborators on the permanent staff who have been employed for more than five years, at six months, and for all other employees, at three months."

The countries which are listed as having no Press laws include the rather incongruous group of Abyssinia, Argentina, Mexico and the United States. In the United States it is said there are neither Federal nor State laws dealing specifically with the Press, though recent legislatures have shown designs in that direction. The issue which might arise are covered by the common law concerning civil and criminal libel slander and the use of the mails, being similar to British practice.

On the other hand, nowhere else in the world, not even in England, is so great freedom or legitimate criticism allowed and protected by law as in the United States, and none of the states is more liberal than New York in this respect. The Constitution of the United States provides: "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the Press."

The Constitution of New York State provides: "Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all criminal prosecutions or indictments for libel the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous is true and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact."

As I have stated, we want Press Laws. But we hope that in some future generation, there shall be no limitation on the "freedom of the Press." Primitive society recognized three ways in which an injured person might obtain redress: First, by self-help; second, by the help of their gods or minister; and, third, by the help of the State or political organization. To these, we have added a fourth, publicity. Out of this fourth there comes a new remedy for the injured and distressed.

The things that make for permanent journalistic success are not the mechanical things; they are the human, changeable things, which are found in the intellect and convictions of honorable men, which can neither be traded, bartered or sold. A newspaper soon becomes a personality. It acquires a reputation, good or bad. It wields an influence, weak or strong. It proves a force or a failure. It is judged by its conduct, as is a man. It makes friends or loses them, as does the individual. From a determined public verdict of condemnation there is no appeal. This is the only limitation that should be placed on the "freedom of the Press."

## Causes of China's Disintegration

By Frederick Hung (洪 紱)

Since the disintegration of central authority following Yuan Shih K'ai's unsuccessful monarchic scheme, all military and political efforts toward national unity have failed, all patriotic appeals to union have proved of no avail; and the disorganization of the nation seems almost inevitable. The internal discord is indeed so sharp that even the recent war with Russia which has stirred up the whole world did not deviate the attention of the war-lords and intriguing politicians from their petty quarrels to the common dangers of the country. Instead of effecting compromise and internal union, the Soviet menace precipitated a general rebellion of all dissatisfied generals and politicians, contrary to all patriotic expectations and to Chinese historical precedence, with the result that the Manchurian defence, which had been offering heroic resistance to the invading Red Army for several

months, was completely demoralized by the news of the outbreak of the suicidal civil war, and went down to a crushing defeat. When even a national catastrophe cannot induce the warring factions to stop fighting between themselves, the only conclusion we can draw from it is that civil wars have apparently become a permanent institution, in spite of wide-spread popular indignation.

When civil wars become so uncontrollable and so chronic in character it is then evidently necessary to look at the problem from other than purely political, military or moral viewpoints. It would be a mistake to assume that so and so are the fundamental causes of disunion, or that the unification of China is obstructed by the unsurmountable differences existing between the different factions. Civil wars have indeed been waged

without left and right wings, without "Reorganizationists" and "Christian generals." Rebellions seem to be periodic affairs in Chinese history and prolonged civil turmoil, a Chinese institution, which alternates with short periods of precarious peace under exceptionally strong rulers. In other words, the fundamental fault seems to lie in the structure of the nation itself, and to understand the present situation it is necessary to examine the very foundation of the state which is the result of long history and evolution.

Many people are inclined to think that the Chinese nation is founded on racial unity, in other words, every Chinese is so much like every other Chinese that their conglomeration into a state must be indivisible. There is no doubt that racial uniformity contributes to the solidarity of nations. For example, when the World War broke out, British sons from all dominions, commonwealths, and colonies all over the world were in arms for defending the Empire. The animating power was the feeling of kinship so well set forth in the famous expression that "blood is thicker than water." China, however, is neither composed of one single race, nor effectively dominated by a homogeneous one. First of all, the Chinese Republic is a heterogeneous conglomeration of diverse races who do not mix readily and often love each other none too much. Outside of the "Han" or Chinese race, there are Mongols, Turks and Indo-Europeans in Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan, Sifans, Tanguts, Kalmucks and other uncivilized races in Tibet. The Mussulman population, famous for two historic rebellions of gigantic scale, are composed principally of Arabs, Turks and Persians, and are widely distributed in Kansu, Shensi, Yunnan, Kweichow and even Peiping. They do not intermarry with Chinese, and keep well aloof from them, in spite of the fact that they are considered as full-fledged Chinese citizens, and can hold any office from the village "Ti-pao" to the presidency. Then, we have the famous Miao-tze of Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan, a barbarous and warlike people whose customs, language and habits differ widely from those of the Chinese. They vigorously refuse to be assimilated by superior civilization and are often disposed to rebellions, the most famous of which occurred in 1860-1869. The Lolos of Szechwan, Yunnan and Kweichow, said by some one to be of Aryan origin, are another group of aborigenes who have absolutely no respect for Chinese authority. It often occurs that Chinese travellers are captured by them as slaves. The Sifans of Kansu, Szechwan and Sikiang, famous for the Rebellion of 1906, is another unassimilable stock. In Hai-nan Island there are one hundred thousand of Li people who have been independent of Chinese rule for two thousand years. The Ikiyas, Tungkias of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi who are often held in contempt by ignorant Chinese, offer difficulties to the unity of judicial, educational, and financial administration. Some of them acted as guides to European gunboats and soldiers in the foreign wars of the Nineteenth Century!

These diverse and isolated races offer very real obstacles to the unity of the Republic, and may even go so far as to threaten its crumbling and ruin. History is crowded with instances of massacres of Chinese population by these alien races through misunderstanding or through instigation by foreign political agents. Cities were destroyed to the ground, thousands of Chinese murdered in cold blood, in revenge of past wrongs, real or imaginary, committed by Chinese and Manchu generals. It will be well for the Chinese population concerned to remember that the Mussulmans, for instance, would not forget the high-handed manner of Tso Tsung Tang, the Chinese general who tried to exterminate all Mohammedans in China, nor will they forgive the atrocities committed by Yang Yu Ko who cut off the head of the rebel Sultan in Yunnan and sent it in a jar of honey to Peking along with twenty-four baskets of human ears of the rebels. We will have to purge ourselves of the sins of the past and present Chinese generals before we can hope to regain their loyalty which we need so much now more than ever.

Less alarming but just as serious is the class of revolts known as independence movements. In nine out of ten cases they are inspired or instigated by foreign nations with the ulterior object of annexing the territory concerned or of establishing a protectorate therein. One of the most famous instances of this type of treachery is the Mongolian Independence movement of the so-called nationalists of Outer Mongolia, who have created a republic since 1921 with financial and military backing of Soviet Russia. Few people seem to realize the potential dangers of the situation, which may develop into another Mongol conquest of China.

Another source of danger is the creation of traitorous disturbances in time of national crisis. Thus, recently when the National Government was engaged in a life and death struggle with the Russian invaders the perfidious Mongolian "nationalists" actually attacked their Chinese brethren from the rear, thus causing the collapse of the Chinese Army. If we cannot devise means of preventing embarrassing contingencies of this sort, we may be faced with a general rebellion of all non-Chinese races in case of a prolonged foreign war.

Even if there should be no considerable rebellion all the time, these nomadic and untamed stocks offer constant hindrances to Chinese immigration and colonization through their insidious attacks and molestations, thus constituting a serious obstacle to the free circulation of population, a thing so essential to Chinese unity and so necessary to prosperity.

Turning to the other side of our racial structure we find that the "Han" race can hardly be called a homogeneous stock. Northern and Southern Chinese do not show complete ethnological uniformity, and there is even appreciable difference between certain provinces. The Northern Chinese seems to have been modified by



Mongolian and Tungut blood whereas the Southern type probably has intermingled with the original indigenous tribes. Thus, the man of Tientsin or Shantung is taller, better built, more vigorous, firm, often conservative, while the Southern type is more shrewd, supple, progressive and enterprising. Richthofen, the famous German geologist and traveller, has justly remarked that very often in getting from one province to another one hears another dialect, notices another sort of construction, and an altogether different mentality. Provincial isolation widens the ethnological gap, and we have today the anomaly that a man is sometimes more conscious of his province than of his nationality! Intermarriage between people of different provinces was indeed rare till recent years.

The people of one province resents the rule of officials who happen to be natives of another province, and may even feel like a conquered people bent on rebellion. It is not infrequent to see civil wars carried on a considerable scale between generals, politicians and mercenary soldiers of one province against those of another. Of course, we must not exaggerate the ethnological difference between provinces, or even that between North and South, but we simply must not persuade ourselves that we can count on racial solidarity as a solid foundation of the Chinese Republic.

Besides the force of racial unity a people may be united by strong religious bonds. Thus, a Mohammedan, no matter where he is or to what state he owes allegiance, is always first of all a Mohammedan. On the other hand, lacking in religious unity may cause serious dissensions, as in the case of India, the country of eternal religious feuds. As a nation China has no strong religious bonds because we are generally moderate on religious views, and do not feel the driving force in our faith which calls for united warlike action against aliens with different views, such as we see in the Jews and the Arabs. By way of illustration, the Chinese never call other peoples such irreverent names as heathens or pagans, nor do we make crusades to kill people of antagonistic religious faith. When the European Powers combined to punish the "Boxers" in 1900 appeals were made for the defence of European civilization and Christianity against the "yellow peril," and very fruitful results were obtained. China, on the other hand has never resorted to nor will ever be able to make a similar exploitation of religious forces for an ulterior end, because there is no national religion, and neither Confucianism, nor Buddhism could give as much war stimulus as Christianity. What is worse for China, she has been constantly menaced by uncompromising religions, existing right in the heart of her domain such as Mohammedanism in Chinese "Middle West." The Islam rebellion of 1861-1878 caused the death of ten million souls, and took seventeen years to crush it. The Panthay Revolt of 1856-1872 was well nigh wresting Yunnan from the Chinese Empire, and the effects of these rebellions are still visible in West China to this very day. Another considerable Islam revolt as recent as 1929 broke up in Kansu to complete the destructions of

Chinese interests and population. The prevention of future contingencies of this kind, the pacification of the fanatic Islams, and winning of their loyal allegiance constitute a really delicate problem upon which the life and interests of a quarter of Chinese population depend.

The spoken language is another determining factor of union or of division, and to a lesser extent, the written language exercises the same function. The classic example of linguistic bond is the maintainance of French traditions, customs, and national sympathy among the French Canadians through the perpetuating force of their language, which remains the common spoken tongue to this day, after more than one hundred sixty years of British rule. On the other hand, radical differences in dialects and languages are a persistent differentiating force. In Fukien where the dialect of the northern part of the province is entirely unintelligible to the natives of the south, the people of Amoy resents the rule of Foochow mandarins, and the feeling of antagonism is so intense that recently a coup d'etat was organized by the northern generals and politicians against the officials and friends of the southern faction. Another example is that the gentry of Hopei (Chili) was much offended when Chekiang and Hunan magistrates were sent up to North China following the Nationalist advance of 1928. Another political anomaly due to linguistic differences was that the Foochow dialect was for many years the semi-official tongue of the Chinese Navy, as this institution was for a long time completely manned and officered by Foochow people, with the result that resentment grows in Canton and Shantung; a similar coup d'etat was made, and at present there are three separate naval units under three different commands. Indeed linguistic differences are so strong that we actually find separate Chinese chambers of commerce speaking different tongues, each representing the interests of a certain linguistic group among the Chinese settlers in Malaysia and Indo-China.

The chief causes of linguistic differences is geographical isolation, which by itself alone would constitute the greatest obstacle to political unity. We all know that geographical unity is the most important instrument of union. Thus it is mainly through geographical unity brought about by a centralizing system of railways that Russia escaped prolonged civil war following the Bolshevik Revolution. By way of illustration let us compare the geographical peculiarities of China with those of the United States of America which comes nearest to China's size and geographical position among the big nations of the world. To begin with, our sister Republic is much less mountainous than China, and does not present such geographically isolated parts like the Szechwan Basin, the access to which is compared to "climbing up the sky, or the Plateaus of Yunnan, Kweichow and Shansi, to say nothing of Tibet, Turkestan or the Gobi Desert. What is more, railways and telegraphs are so numerous as to make the United States the most united of all great nations in history. China, on the other hand, is very inadequately provided with means of communications, —the most important requirement of unification.

The unavoidable result of geographical isolation is provincialism, which seems deeply rooted in the heart of almost every Chinese. All Chinese institutions, from government ministries down to main-street restaurants, seem to be permeated with the spirit of provincialism and to such a ridiculous extent that nationalism is sometimes considered an illegitimate child! Provincial rivalries, intrigues, and prejudices are so well known in Chinese politics, education, business, and even foot-ball circles that it would be superfluous to enumerate them to persons familiar with Chinese life.

We all know that high mountains, deep gorges, difficult passes and virgin forests make military operations troublesome and costly, as they give excellent shelter to bandits, outlaws or rebels. Thus it is not difficult to understand that the Mohammedan Rebellion, with their shelter in Kansu and Turkestan mountains, took as long as seventeen years to put down, in spite of the overwhelming military superiority of the Imperial troops under the capable command of Tso Tsung Tang. That following the fall of every dynasty, a prolonged period of civil war, chaos and anarchy never fails to set in is due precisely to the geographical isolation of different parts of the country which make the Chinese Empire the most cumbersome and unweildy of all nations in history. The reverse of this also explains why Russia is able to enforce unification in the Communist Revolution in the short period of five years throughout a territory twice the size of China, whereas with us the conditions are only getting from bad to worse after twenty years of political struggles. The basic reason is not that Soviet politicians are less treacherous, nor that the Bolshevik government is more popular with the people, but that Russia has the geographical advantages for unification which are wanting in China.

Modern science is reducing distances so considerably that the world is virtually getting smaller and smaller, and we may almost say that it is now not as big as the Chinese Republic. Going from Foochow to Sinkiang takes no less than six months of combined travel in steamships, railways, mule carts, sedan chairs, wheelbarrows, riding on donkeys and camels, and no little amount of walking. In the same period of time, and with much more safety and comfort, the busy European is able to make eight world tours by combined aeroplane, railway and steamship services or thirty trips between New York and London by ocean liners. Colonel Lindberg made a tour of all the states in America in several week's time; an equally ambitious Chinese traveller in trying to make a tour of China will take a life time, and at the risk of being robbed by soldiers, chased after by bandits, eaten by famine-stricken cannibals, or captured as a slave by Lolos!

Turning from the historical and geographical side of the problem to a study of modern Chinese society we

cannot help being struck by its utter lack of harmony. There is neither the social coherence of old China, which for a long time has been the foundation of the nation, nor yet the modern economic solidarity of the advanced countries in Western Europe or America. Of the three factors of Chinese stability—the family, the village and the emperor—the “son of Heaven” has disappeared, the family system is fast disappearing, and the medieval village is bound to disappear under the impact of industrialism. On the other hand, the so-called modern Chinese society is really neither modern nor Chinese, and has nothing of the nature of social structure as existing in America or Europe. In America, for instance, there is no such wide difference of social castes as that between the self-styled gentleman, and the “coolie,” nor can we find such unbearable contrasts as between millions of people living on or below the margin of starvation and the colonies of fat militarists and politicians, with their train of parasites and their ill-gotten wealth in Dairen, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hongkong and Tokyo.

Our society is hopelessly divided into three hostile camps: the strongly conservative farmers and merchants, the fanatic younger generation bent on radicalism, and a small number of progressives, consisting of bankers, industrialists, the learned professions (excepting of course the more ambitious professors who consider teaching as a stepping stone to politics), this third group is tightly sandwiched between the frenzied radicals on one side and the “die-hard” conservatives on the other. The conservatives place the blame for all evils on the Revolution; to them all undesirable things, from militarist and politicians down to Charleston dance, are brought in by the Republic. On the other side, young agitators think the only way to save the nation is to make half-baked school boys judges and governors, and that a strong and prosperous China could be brought about by parades, strikes and supernumerous holidays. The endless squabbles between the radicals on the one side and the conservatives on the other accentuate the chaos of Chinese politics, and drains the energy of the so-called educated class, the traditional rulers of the Middle Kingdom. In a word, modern Chinese society as it exists to-day is incompatible with peace and national unity.

The intellectual confusion has destroyed all commonly accepted ideas. The abolition of the literary examination system, or K'o-Chu, removes one of the most important forces of unity, which for many centuries gave the Chinese literat a remarkably uniform mentality, and serves at the same time as a safety-valve for the nation's ambitious elements. To-day, all our common ideals are discarded by the younger generation. There is no figure for national reverence like the Mikado of Japan; nor for national admiration like Lindberg or the Prince of Wales, nor even a national comedian comparable to Charlie Chaplin. There is no common base



of decency, little regard for each other. Everybody attacks publicly or privately all his neighbors and colleagues on personal, social or political grounds.

This social and intellectual confusion is due no doubt in a large measure to the absence of a national press which could inform the public of the same trustworthy news, make enlightened criticism, on politics and social changes, and bring the readers better "au courant" with world affairs and progress in general. The unifying influence of the press is best illustrated by the American press. Here like a melting-pot, all races and languages are moulded into the most homogeneous unity in the whole world chiefly through the newspapers, ably assisted by the American motion pictures. China, on the other hand, does not possess either national news agencies comparable to those existing in Europe and America or good local papers sufficient in number for the growing reading public. We find fewer copies of newspapers in the whole of China than those of either Tokyo or Osaka alone; and of these, the overwhelming majority are run and edited for political ends only. The government has done nothing to promote the progress of the press either in the way of reducing the high postal rates or in making telegraph charges less prohibitive. As to the press itself, very few of the journalists and reporters realize their responsibilities as leaders of the thinking public, and the power of the press has been so recklessly abused that the people in general are utterly disgusted with the newspapers. Thus when we compare the Chinese press with those in America or Europe we find that the former has become political tools and hence, an agency of discord in China.

We have now examined in a schematic manner the basis of Chinese unity or rather the lack of it. We can hardly deny that the old forces of union have disappeared or are waning, and in the meanwhile, new foundation of unity has not taken root, with the result that the nation is drifting towards disintegration. If the combined forces of racial and religious diversity, linguistic differences, social strife, intellectual confusion, and the worst of all, the geographical isolation of her provinces are allowed to do the destructive work it is not improbable that the oldest country of the world may never become a united nation again!

## NOTICE!

The attention of the reader is hereby called to the

"Scheme for Improving China's Telegraph System",

by Mr. J. T. Chwang, Director-General of Telegraphs and Telephones, Ministry of Communications.

The scheme is published in the Public Forum section of this issue.

## FACTS & FIGURES

### PEIPING POPULATION

The following figures, compiled by the Bureau of Statistics, Legislative Yuan, from various sources, all of which are official, show the steady growth of population in Peiping since the first year of the Republic. It is a pity that the 1928 data are unavailable, while the 1929 figure includes population in the suburbs, and therefore not quite comparable with the rest.

1912	725,035
1913	727,803
1914	769,317
1915	789,123
1916	801,136
1917	811,556
1918	799,395
1919	826,531
1920	849,554
1921	863,209
1922	841,945
1923	847,107
1924	872,576
1925	841,661
1926	816,133
1927	878,811
1928	data unavailable
1929	1,369,386

(Including the suburbs)

### SOCIAL EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROVINCES AND MUNICIPALITIES

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
Kiangsu	56	14	26	5	57	17
Chekiang	120	76	5	41	14	20
Fukien		20				
Kwangtung	61	25	2	21	30	6
Kwangsi		21				
Szechwan		21				
Kiangsi	204	28	2	24		12
Honan	93	40	3	9	11	30
Shantung	175	55	2	56	50	14
Shansi		31				
Hopei	278	38	4	107	119	18
Heilungkiang		1			7	
Kirin	14	4	11	23	7	
Chahar	6	6	1	4	10	
Nanking	31	3	1	1	10	
Shanghai	78	17		1	2	2
Tientsin	104	5	1		31	2
Peiping	50	3	3	12	11	1
Total	1270	408	61	304	359	122

(a) Province or Municipality (b) School for the Masses (c) Public Libraries (d) Public Museums, etc. (e) Public Lecture Halls (f) Public Reading Rooms (g) Public Recreation Grounds.

The above statistics are compiled by the Ministry of Education on the basis of figures available. In the table Shanghai refers to the Chinese Municipal Government of Shanghai, and the 78 schools for the masses, 17 public libraries and five other institutions are all outside the Settlements. In the Settlements all such facilities are conspicuous by their absence. Reference to the next table will show that there are 179 public primary schools maintained by the Chinese Municipal Government against the three or four maintained by the Settlement authorities, although the Chinese pay much heavier rates to the latter.