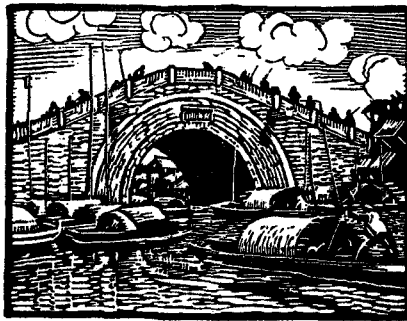


China Unconquerable



by MADAME SUN YAT-SEN

HUNDREDS of books and thousands of articles have been written on the subject of the Sino-Japanese conflict. But it seems to me that most of the authors overestimate the Japanese strength and underestimate the Chinese power of resistance. And, if one examines the policy of the Chinese Government during the past ten years, that impression will be strengthened. Concession after concession has been made to the Japanese. It was only necessary for Japan to make some new bluff, and her aim was achieved. Japan had only to threaten the Chinese by landing some troops and a handful of airplanes, and immediately the Chinese Government made new concessions.

The unfortunate policy of the Nanking government, which followed the course of internal pacification before resistance of external aggression, has even more played into the hands of the Japanese militarists. But during the past year the situation has changed. The anti-Japanese movement of the people reached a high level, and it became no longer possible for the Japanese to obtain their aims by threats and bluffs. The Chinese people have realized that it is possible for them to resist. They are no longer afraid of their "friendly neighbor."

Mass opinion has made itself felt in China. In the growing demand of the people for resistance to the Japanese, all political differences have become of secondary importance. Military satrapy has given way to the rise of an intense patriotism, which gives hope for a genuine unification of the country.

From my viewpoint, the most important task before China is the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principle of democracy. To guide us in the Chinese revolution, Sun Yat-sen gave us three principles — democracy, nationalism,

and the people's livelihood — and three policies, which are the instruments by which these principles can be achieved. The democratic nations have witnessed how neglect of the first principle during the past ten years has brought great calamity to China. There have been endless civil warfares; the country has been devastated; millions of our people have perished and millions more been rendered destitute and desperate. The best minds of China have always demanded the cessation of civil warfare and conciliation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Long ago public opinion condemned the insidious belief that before resisting Japan we must first crush the communists. Naturally, this policy was provoked by Japan.

As a result of ten years of internal warfare, many parts of the country have been ravaged. And, far from being defeated, the communists have become the advance guard of the anti-Japanese resistance. From the articles of Edgar Snow, correspondent of the *London Daily Herald*, who recently visited the Red regions, we know the actual conditions there and realize what a lot of nonsense and false propaganda were written by persons who had never ventured within speaking distance of the "out-law." In fact, it is quite probable that most of this propaganda originated with Japan.

It is a matter of congratulation that General Chiang Kai-Shek has stopped further civil warfare and that the Kuomintang at last, in a recent plenary session, discussed the question of reconciliation with the Communist Party. But it is very regrettable that, in the manifesto of this plenary session, conditions for conciliation with the Communist Party have been laid down which will make a ready compromise

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difficult of achievement. There are such unreasonable demands as that the Communists cease propagandizing and abandon their political program of class struggle. How can the Communist Party renounce propaganda and the class struggle when those are the basic reasons for its existence? In France and elsewhere the communists have not renounced propaganda and the class struggle, and bourgeois parties are successfully co-operating with them. Chinese communists have repeatedly declared that they would not attack the government if the latter would really resist Japan. To work hand in hand to save the country is their only condition.

Therefore for reconciliation with the Communist Party it is necessary only to put into action Dr. Sun's principle of democracy, convoke the National Congress, change the electoral system so that the people could really participate and have a voice in the government, release the political prisoners, grant freedom of press, organization, and assembly, mobilize the masses for reconstruction of the country and resistance of Japanese militarists.

The sincerity of the communists in wishing to co-operate with the government was proved clearly through the Sian coup. They exerted every effort to maintain peace between the central government and the northeastern army. It was the communists who sponsored the release of General Chiang Kai-Shek and the peaceful settlement of the Sian affair. They have done their utmost to preserve unity in China. Therefore if the Kuomintang desires to follow Dr. Sun's policy of alliance with workers and peasants, it must not reject the assistance of the communists in saving the country. Co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is absolutely essential. All forces must be united.

II

REGARDING China there are many untrue opinions in circulation, to the effect that China is so weak that she cannot stand against Japan. It is my confident belief that China not only can resist every and any Japanese aggression but that she can and must prepare to recover her lost territories. China's greatest strength lies in the awakening of her masses. If, some time ago, the Japanese imperialists had hopes of making the Nanking government their tool

to subjugate China, this fond hope must now disappear. Every new act of Japanese aggression strengthens Chinese resistance more and more. The Japanese policy of dismembering China is a failure. On the contrary, there can no longer be a government in China which would dare make new territorial concessions to Japan. Popular indignation rose very high when leaders of the National Salvation Association were arrested last year by the Nanking government, as well as when there appeared signs that the government was considering making new concessions to Japan. The growth of the anti-Japanese movement has made possible financial reforms, caused the peaceful settlements of the threatening Kwangsi and Sian affairs and the cessation of civil warfare. All these are indisputable evidences of the new strength of China.

China must now prepare to recover her lost territories. There must be preparation of the masses politically and militaristically. Freedom of speech, press, and assembly will arouse the masses. Military training of the able-bodied population must become compulsory. China's defense cannot be built up to resist the aggressor on the basis only of the standing army, which is deficient in technical equipment. But behind this army stand the masses of the people, prepared to give the last drop of blood for their homes and their country. Fighting in guerrilla warfare, they would be an invincible force before which Japanese militarists must tremble.

To give living reality to Sun Yat-sen's economic policy, the mass movement of the people must be given free expression. This is also a prerequisite for the reconstruction of the country, the firm establishment of our industries and communications, and the improvement of our rural economy. This basic upbuilding of our country can come only when genuine democracy is achieved.

Dr. Sun advised China, in her conduct of foreign policy, that she should ally herself with those countries who treat her on a basis of equality. There is no doubt that Japanese aggression has aroused world-wide sympathy for China and serious dissatisfaction in other nations with her imperialistic policy. Japan is in an isolated position. The attempt of Japan to fight a way out through the German-Japanese agreement has also ended in complete failure.

THE FORUM

In Japan herself there is growing dissatisfaction with this move. The Chinese people have never entertained aggressive designs but the Chinese people will no longer remain homeless slaves, driven from their native abodes, or endure the taunt that China is the sick man of Asia.

III

TO APPRECIATE the strength of any country we cannot do better than to analyze her economic possibilities and the strength of her social structure. Economically Japan is a weak country. Her chief weakness lies in the poverty of raw materials — such as iron ores, cotton, oil, nonferrous metals, gold, and platinum — which Japan is forced to import in great quantities every year. This poverty in raw materials is a most dangerous weakness for Japan in case of war, because she will then be dependent on other countries, who at any moment might cut off her supply.

There is no possibility of Japan's establishing great reserves of these raw materials in a period of peace, because of her lack of capital. She cannot invest huge sums for that purpose. To cite a few statistics: Japan now expends from 200,000,000 to 250,000,000 yen yearly to import raw materials for her metallurgical works. Let us imagine how much she must expend in wartime when the requirements will be increased many times. And all the gold reserves of Japan amount to only 600,000,000 yen. Of the total volume of Japanese imports in 1934, raw materials comprised 70 per cent; in 1935 they were 80 per cent; while in 1936 82 per cent of her total imports consisted of raw materials. If we consider the steel industry, which is the basic factor in war industries, alone, we see that in 1936 40 per cent of the raw materials (iron, iron scraps) had to be imported. The weakness of Japan becomes even more evident when it is noted that in 1936 87 per cent of all iron ores used were imported. And most of these imports were secured from China. If we take another important raw material — oil — we discover that Japan produces only eight per cent of her requirements and must import the other 92 per cent. Of other raw materials, such as tin, cotton, wool, quicksilver, and antimony, Japan must import 90 per cent of her requirements.

For all these immense imports, Japan must

pay with her exports. It is most difficult for her to do this even in peacetime. Her difficulties increase every year, and last year her adverse trade balance was approximately 130,000,000 yen. Thus it is quite evident that Japan's industrial basis is not sound, especially for waging a war.

If we turn our attention to Japanese agriculture, we see, according to the latest statistics, that the volume of production is decreasing year by year. In 1929 it was 4,500,000 yen; at the end of 1935 it was 3,200,000 yen. A growing discrepancy between market prices of agricultural and industrial products becomes ever sharper, rendering conditions more and more unfavorable for agriculture. In 1936, the impoverished farmers accumulated debts amounting to 5,000,000,000 yen, while Japan had to import one fifth of the foodstuffs necessary to maintain her already low standard of living. The Japanese peasantry is suffering from three different kinds of exploitation. Landlords take from 50 to 60 per cent of the crops in rent, while the state has increased taxes each year in order to pay for military expenses, and, lastly, industrial capital is impoverishing the peasantry by sponsoring high prices on industrial products.

The Japanese newspapers are discussing this problem of an impoverished peasantry, and the Japanese themselves are pessimistic over their rural districts. Since 70 per cent of the soldiers come from those districts, the Japanese militarists themselves are conscious of the danger and are worried. Social unrest in the villages is evident, and herein lies one of the weakest points of Japanese imperialism. In the last Diet there was proposed a new six-year rearmament program, to cost 3,000,000,000 yen. And this year, in 1937, the Japanese military budget was increased more than 300,000,000 yen over that of 1936.

Most of this money will again come from the villages. This means added financial burdens on the already impoverished peasantry. It will impose new difficulties and new strains on an already weakened structure.

Japanese economic and social conditions are not robust enough for a long war. And certainly the Japanese militarists cannot hope to conquer China in a war of short duration. If peacetime Japanese economy is strained to the utmost and her social structure is threatened

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by unrest, how could these weakened structures withstand a great war on the Asiatic continent?

It is no longer even an open question whether China can be defeated by imperialistic Japan. Japanese efforts to expand their control in North China have failed. In Suiyuan, Chinese troops have successfully repulsed Japanese bandit encroachments. Japanese demands to our government have been rejected. Japan is losing face in China. New bluffs of Japanese militarists, threatening the Chinese with military invasions, can have only one result: to promote China's unification and strengthen the

determination of the country to struggle for her independence.

With the spontaneous desire of the Chinese people to mobilize themselves, with China's immensely vast territory, rich in natural resources, with a population of 400,000,000 people, the might of Japan becomes a mere paper tiger. Japanese economic and social structures cannot hold out in a long war with the Chinese people.

No! China could not be defeated even if she had to fight Japan single-handed. And China will not be alone. For China has the sympathy of the world.

What Price Infidelity?

by NANCY WYNNE

NOW THAT IT is all over, perhaps I can talk about it. Perhaps I can even set it down on paper, and it may be that somewhere, some other woman, whose feet are hesitating at the first step along the path I've taken, may learn something of the road which awaits her. She may be moved by my example to turn back. She may, on the contrary, decide that she can be stronger or more reckless — or perhaps just luckier — than I have been. That is for her to determine. So much depends on the individual temperaments involved in any human relationship. The personal equation is far too potent a factor to lend itself to easy generalities. Indeed, even in my own case, I do not yet know whether the heartbreak and the mental agony have quite overbalanced the sum of happiness. I believe that the ultimate value of any profound experience can be gauged only after considerable time has intervened, and, at the moment of writing this, I have not come far enough to have attained a true perspective on all that has happened. I am still bruised, bewildered, and (I may as well admit it) resentful against the circumstances and individuals that have brought me to this state.

To begin with, let me make it clear just what sort of people we are, who have become involved in this vortex of emotions. Our place in the economic scale would fall, I imagine, in what statisticians call the middle-income group. We are people who own or rent modest, comfortable homes in the suburbs of a large city. Our children, although they go to the public schools, are healthy and well cared for. Our tastes are simple but not mediocre. The furnishings of our lives, like those of our homes, while not pretentious, are chosen with a certain sense of discrimination. Our amusements are few (we too were hit by the depression). But we read worth-while books and occasionally hear good music. For the rest, an infrequent movie or the riotous debauchery of bridge and a few cocktails shared with congenial spirits constitute our entertainment program. We are not, you will observe, examples of the Idle Rich. You may, in short, picture us as very average Americans in the early thirties — people whom you would never look at twice, on the street. Strict moralists to the contrary notwithstanding, I firmly maintain that we are *not* fiends in human form. . . .