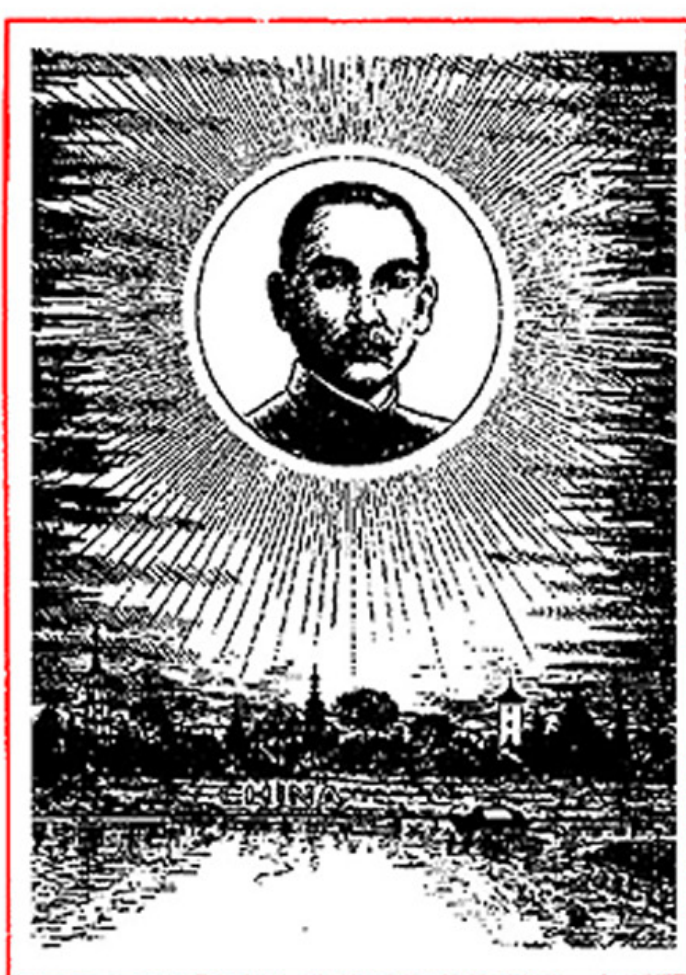


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THE RETURN OF SUN YAT-SEN to

power in South China is much more than a mere personal triumph, we are assured by his adherents, who say that it is "a sign of the times which merits the thoughtful consideration of the Great Powers in their rôles of guardians of the Far East." In *The China Review* (New York), whose editor, Ma Soo, is the Canton leader's American representative, we read that the fate of China rests in the ability of those responsible for her future "to reach a fundamental understanding, not with each other, but with the Great Powers standing at the door to peace and lasting concord." Altho the dominance of Chinese politics may seem to lie with the military leaders, we are told their day is waning and the Powers themselves are "seeing the handwriting on the wall." Naturally this Sun Yat-Sen organ holds that its party and program is the strongest factor to-day in China, because the Constitu-

WHAT'S REALLY THE MATTER WITH CHINA



"The clouds have rolled by."
—*The China Review* (New York).

tionalists have kept to the creed and practise through long troublous years that the Chinese Republic must "maintain its observance of the organic law of the land." We read then:

"Without the support of the Great Powers no Government can survive and carry through the tremendous task of reconstruction. None sees this clearer than Sun Yat-Sen and the leaders supporting the Constitutionalist cause. They know that unless the Powers will give their moral support to the Republican party all hope of settlement at this time becomes dim indeed.

"The crux of the situation, however, is not the position of the Great Powers. It is the attitude of one of the principal nations concerned with Pacific destinies.

"The condition of success or failure for the Republic of China at this time lies in a large measure in the hands of Great Britain. For it has been the British diplomat, trader and banker who has cost the Constitutionalist cause so dear in these days of civil war. There need be no illusions on either side. This is a business proposition and Great Britain is not unaccustomed to dealing in business terms. With four hundred million Chinese at stake, the logic of events forces an understanding even if it would seem to those who traffic principally in words that we are coming to terms with our most relentless foe."

The editor of *The China Review* goes on to say that China has looked across the Pacific to the New World and "looked in vain" for help to "bring a government of the people, by the people and for the people into China." He asserts that "patiently have we listened to long protestations of friendship and generous promises of aid, but there seems little prospect of these ever being materialized." In the meantime China remains undeveloped, so he tells us that China must turn elsewhere, and adds:

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"It seems to us advisable that we should now try to enlist the aid and cooperation of Great Britain in the development of China's immense resources. Being eminently practical, both the British and the Republican leaders of China must have realized by this time the futility of continuing further a policy of hostility toward one another. The time has now come for them to adopt a saner policy whereby the legitimate interests of both parties can best be served. Never has there been a time in the past ten years when feeling between the British and the Chinese in South China has been so good as at present. The more liberal treatment recently accorded to Dr. Sun by the British officials in Hongkong and the rousing welcome extended to that great Chinese patriot by its inhabitants have softened down much hard feeling and prepared the way for a better understanding and a closer cooperation. We look to the statesmen of London and Canton to seize this opportunity and utilize it to the greatest advantage.

"The leaders of the South China Government have been reproached with being merely idealists, without constructive ability or practical statesmanship. Let them now turn this opportunity to the best account and demonstrate to the world that their idealism is not of the utopian but a practical order. They can do this without being inimical to those Powers that have always been friendly to China or false to the principles they have so tenaciously held, for in seeking British aid in the development of China, they are but serving China's best interests."

The charge that Sun Yat-Sen and his followers are impractical and visionary, of which mention has just been made, is uttered by some French writers in China, who picture Sun Yat-Sen at his worst as "a dreamer, a schemer, and unscrupulous Bolshevist of the worst type." Nevertheless they concede that Sun Yat-Sen will probably achieve his aim of being returned to the presidency, yet they express the fear that "he will only do what he did before in his political career, namely create as much trouble as he can, until he is again rejected by the very people who are ready to receive him to-day." China, according to these French observers, needs "not only foreign help" but "also foreign control." A French missionary, Père Robert, who has lived in China many years and is considered to have expert knowledge of the political situation there, argues for the idea of foreign control of China in the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire* (Paris). The chief fault with the Chinese Republic, he believes, is that its guides and administrators have been "inexperienced, clumsy or ignorant." The country became a republic as it were by surprise, he tells us, and thought that of course legislators and administrators would immediately be forthcoming. "Even in our Republic of France, which is comparatively old, we know how very numerous are the ambitious and how very few are the competent," confesses this French authority and he continues:

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A SHANGHAI VIEW.

This Chinese cartoonist would punish corrupt legislators who sell their votes to office hunters, by immortalizing them in bronze statues, with tablets showing the record of their scandalous transactions.

—Shun Pao (Shanghai).



CARTOON PHRENOLOGY.

"The skull of the typical Chinese legislator shows strong desire for dollars in the forward part, behind which lies a 'black heart.'"

—Shun Pao (Shanghai).

"Under the old régime all the offices were held by perhaps a hundred persons, of unquestioned selection. Now under the present régime there has risen an ardent body of youth, without tradition and without experience, which sees only too often in political power the means of personal enrichment, and rather rarely the opportunity for working for the public good. What China needs is to be directed and wisely supervised, to have foreign control. But I must admit that this is what she fears the most, and what she has until now merely tolerated, despite the fact that she realizes the happy results of European control of the salt tax, of the customs collections and the post-office department. But these satisfactory experiences will not convince China that foreign control should be extended to cover her finances and other departments of the state. Nevertheless that is just what is needed for her salvation, unless she prefers to sink deeper into the financial state of incoherence in which she is at present laboring."

Looked at from the British angle, as it is revealed in the *Shanghai North China Herald*, the root of all trouble in China is that "whereas there used to be one government, there are now eighteen or twenty." Superfluous soldiery, want of money, disregard of treaty stipulations, multiplication of taxes, prevalence of bandits, recrudescence of opium, all these, we are told, are "only symptoms of this fundamental disease." This condition of eighteen or twenty different governments should be kept in mind by the foreigner, declares *The North China Herald*, "because he never knows with whom he is dealing." The ministries that "succeed each other with such bewildering haste, like views in a kaleidoscope, are nothing but the creatures of this or that military faction in the provinces," and we read:

"No conceivable remedy will cure China's sickness which ignores the patent fact that the government in Peking is no government, is hardly even to be reckoned one of the eighteen or twenty governments of the country. Still less can be hoped of a scheme which accepts that ghastly sham as representative of anything but its own lusts and deceptions and tries to inject life in it by streams of gold. The policy of intervention in China, open or camouflaged under a pitiful pretense of 'providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government,' is too vast, complex and discouraging to be attempted. The only alternative is the policy of rigid abstention."