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THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA

AND

ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO THE CHRISTIAN FORCES IN CHINA AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

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INTRODUCTION

WHEN the people of the West face something rather difficult to understand, they often amuse themselves by calling it 'a Chinese puzzle.' The present situation in China is, doubtless, to many people the most baffling of Chinese puzzles. My task this evening, which is both pleasant and difficult, is to help you to understand the conditions in my country to-day, and to grasp their significance to the Christian forces in China and throughout the world. In other words, we are together to try to solve the Chinese puzzle before us.

To begin with, I wish to express my deepest sympathy with you as you try to follow the march of events in China in the midst of almost insuperable difficulties, and also my genuine appreciation of your perseverance. Even we, who are immediately concerned, often find ourselves in a labyrinth of confusion and chaos, and are at times quite unable to see our way out. The changes in China are too kaleidoscopic and rapid, and are all happening at the same time. Means of communication to supply reliable information are inadequate and often fail entirely. Meanwhile, persistent and highly prejudiced propaganda, especially of foreign origin,

which does not hesitate to stoop to utilizing falsehoods and mis-statements for selfish and sinister purposes, is making confusion worse confounded.

The sun, by working hard enough, often succeeds in breaking through banks of dark clouds, and sending its welcome rays upon the earth. Similarly, students of affairs in China by their indomitable spirit in search for truth not infrequently are capable of overcoming various difficulties and perplexities, of tracing out the lines of development, and harmonizing them into one comprehensive plan of reconstruction. In our efforts to-night we should be able to achieve the same result if, at the very start, we could, among other things, assume a frame of mind with the following characteristics :

(a) In order to judge and appreciate a painting we have learned by experience not to stand too close to it, or to look at it from a wrong angle, as an examination at close range will show nothing more than a mass of meaningless colour, and a wrong view-point will spoil the perspective. It is important for us to stand at a certain distance and at the proper angle, and then the painting will be in correct and full view. In order properly to understand the present situation in China we should take similar precautions. Fortunately, we are meeting in this Holy City, and we could not have chosen a better place to make the study. Our examination is also being conducted under the auspices of the highest type of Christian leadership from all over the world, which supplies the most appropriate angle. In this way the picture of China can be seen to full advantage.

(b) 'The higher you go the wider your horizon.' This free rendering of the Chinese proverb suggests

another helpful way of studying the present situation in China. We need to survey the present conditions in China from a higher point than we ordinarily do. From the top of the Mount of Olives, which really forms an ideal place, we should be able, not only to take the longest view of the Chinese situation but also to gain the proper perspective.

(c) I am a Chinese nationalist ; but I do not belong to any political party. At the same time I am an internationalist and a Christian. I am speaking this evening in the spirit of being concurrently a nationalist, an internationalist and a Christian ; and I am confident that I am receiving a most hearty response from this company of world-citizens. It is this spirit of great harmony which I am strongly persuaded will help us to understand, sympathize and cooperate with one another, and which must prevail if we ever hope to achieve a better world-order. The importance of a clear, comprehensive and sympathetic understanding to the welfare not only of China, but also of the entire world can hardly be exaggerated.

SOME VITAL QUESTIONS

In treating my subject I do not propose either to philosophize or to burden your minds with lengthy descriptions or much detail. I shall simply deal with a few of our vital national and international issues by trying to answer some questions, which are often asked, and are probably uppermost in your minds. In my answers I shall make clear some of our problems, difficulties, aspirations and hopes. You will be able also to see the significance of the present situation to the Christian forces in China and throughout the world.

I

Many people are asking, *What is your explanation of the civil war in China? What are the causes? Why do not the leaders settle their differences in some peaceful way?*

It is very important for us to know, at the start, that the civil war in China is not a war waged by the people of one section of the country against those of another section; nor is it a people's war on great national issues. The civil war is mainly a war or a series of wars among our military and political leaders. We regret exceedingly to say that most of these men are not fighting for any worthy national cause, and that they cannot and do not want to stop, because their interests clash and are mutually exclusive.

The civil war is, thus, being fought mainly between political parties, namely, the Peiyang party, lately under the leadership of Wu Pei-fu; the Moukden party, of which Chang Tso-lin is the central figure; and the Kuomin party, whose moving spirits are Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yü-hsiang. These parties used to enter into different combinations among themselves and against one another. Recently the Peiyang party, owing to internal disintegration, was temporarily eliminated. The civil war since last year has been fought largely between the Moukden party whose territory now embraces Manchuria and large parts of Shantung and Chili which includes Peking on the one hand, and the Kuomin party which has jurisdiction over most of the Eighteen Provinces on the other. The Moukden party charges the Kuomin party with being a radical and revolutionary influence which should be exterminated, while the Kuomin

party seems to be determined to continue the northern expedition, in order to free China from any vestige of militarism and feudalism, which constitutes its charge against the Moukden party. With the return of the spring weather, we are sorry to say, the clash between them will probably be resumed.

When and how will this tussle, which is doing such great harm, be brought to an end? It may terminate by a decisive victory which will give one party the right of way to rule the country. To unify our country by military force, however, has not yet proved a success. Or the fighting may stop, either on account of mutual exhaustion between the two parties, or because of sudden serious dangers to our national integrity from outside. Either way will probably spell great ruin for our country. Or the leaders of the warring factions may, in some special way, be persuaded to settle their differences by a conference, which will be dominated by a spirit of consideration and reconciliation. Although messengers of peace have failed in the past, yet we must continue to look upon the conference as a good possible method.

The civil war is not a war of the Chinese people, who have as a rule followed a policy of neutrality and indifference. But during the last few years the war or wars have become far more serious and widespread, and the damage is becoming greater and more devastating. The fortunate element in an unfortunate situation in China is that these wars have at last awakened the people to a nation-wide consciousness of their responsibility in national affairs, which they must neglect no longer. Last year, as the nationalist army was feverishly sweeping over the country from Canton to Hankow, Nanking and

Shanghai, the people throughout the whole country were practically all lending their whole-hearted support to the Kuomin party. At one time the popular sentiment was so strong that the ever-victorious nationalist army could have taken Peking almost over-night. Just then fatal and costly blunders were made; the sad Nanking incident was perpetrated, and the much feared cleavage within the Kuomin party finally resulted. The golden chance of speedily unifying the country was thrown away, and the people became bitterly disappointed. Nevertheless the people, despite their feeling of disillusionment, still look upon the Kuomin party as being far more hopeful than anything else in the country and are taking a larger interest in it.

By our political experiences of the past sixteen years we have learned a most valuable lesson, namely, it is the people who are and should be the deciding factor in all our national questions. In order to end our civil war properly and quickly, our most reliable hope is so to enlighten and stimulate our people that they will take a greater and more active interest in our national issues, and will assert their full rights to settle them in such ways as are in the highest interests of the country. We already see good progress on every hand.

II

A second group of questions is, *Have the Chinese people accepted communism? Has the Kuomin party succeeded in uprooting all the communistic elements in its own ranks? How much influence does Soviet Russia still exert in China?*

Communism is nothing new in China. Centuries ago our people tried it and it failed. Our people

have neither accepted nor rejected communism ; rather, their attitude towards it is one of indifference. Moreover, the emissaries of Soviet Russia this time did not even try to introduce communism, which as a system they declared to be too high for any people to try at present. What they have actually taught our people is the system of effective propaganda and the power of terrorism. Our recent experiences of the 'communitic nightmare' can hardly induce us to accept either communism itself, or the system of terror under the guise of the communistic doctrine.

It is not communism, let me point out, that led us to enter into diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. What actually persuaded us was the proffer of her apparently disinterested friendship, which was substantiated by her espousing the cause of the Kuomin party, especially its foreign policy, by voluntarily giving up her extra-territorial privileges in China, and by lending her assistance to help carry on the northern expedition and set up an efficient political organization. The Kuomin party quickly became a real power to be reckoned with. Remarkable victories in warfare, as well as in diplomacy, were achieved. Our sense of appreciation cannot and should not be mistaken to be acceptance of communism on our part. I wish to point out emphatically that our people in general do not want either foreign help for or interference in our national affairs, but prefer to work out our own salvation.

Soon it became clear that the help from Soviet Russia was not given out of disinterested friendship for China but as a means of gaining control of the Kuomin party so as to turn China into an experimentation ground for the spread of the programme

of the Third International in the world. When resistance was offered, a reign of terror was set up which is too painful to relate and which culminated in the terrible massacre in Canton last December. The Nationalist Government finally severed its relation with Soviet Russia. All the Soviet consulates in the nationalist territory were closed down, and the Soviet official banks and business firms were suspended. The Kuomin party conducted a most vigorous campaign to purge its ranks of the communistic elements. Since these vigorous steps were taken there has been a distinct sigh of relief all over the country.

While I sincerely believe that our people are too practical to be allured by communism, and that their recent experiences are too painful for them again to befriend Soviet Russia, I must admit that certain appeals of the communistic propaganda are too powerful to ignore. Our farmers and labourers have been told of the horrors of capitalism, which have been more or less supported by their personal experiences, and of the better days ahead if they would only unite themselves to effect its overthrow. Are we surprised at seeing their eagerness to rid themselves of the terrific economic pressure, and to better their own conditions? Our students have been taught that the aggressions and exploitations of foreign powers in China are such as to make it impossible to revive ourselves until the death-grip of foreign imperialism upon the throat of our nation is removed. Concrete instances have been given in abundance. As long as these economic, social and international problems remain unsolved, they will lend themselves to increase the appealing power of the communistic propaganda. To that extent, the

influence of Soviet Russia will continue to exert itself in China. The remedy lies not so much in keeping out that influence as in providing no food on which its germ may feed and ferment from within.

III

Still another set of questions asks, *Why are the Chinese people so actively anti-foreign and anti-Christian to-day? Are not the anti-Christian leaders under Soviet influence or perhaps even under its direction? Do the Chinese people really want to discontinue their foreign relations and to put a stop to Christian work?*

I wish frankly to admit that there are extremely radical persons in my country who are uncompromisingly anti-foreign and anti-Christian and who would not hesitate to put a stop to all our foreign relations and to Christian work. You cannot reason with them. To discourse with them on international relations is the same as to hold a red rag before a bull. They most bitterly resent international encroachments, exploitations and injustices, and believe that each nation or race should live by itself and have no intercourse with any one else. There are, I suppose, people of this kind in other countries too. Whether or not these people are under the Soviet influence or direction, it seems to me, is really unimportant.

Equally frankly do I wish to state that the Chinese people as a whole are not blindly anti-foreign or anti-Christian. On the other hand they do appreciate and value in foreigners and Christians those things that are good, true and beautiful. At the same time they are decidedly anti-foreign and anti-Christian in the sense that they are vigorously

opposed to any foreign aggression, domination and control. Among other things they have been agitating and working for the abrogation of the unequal treaties, which certainly do not fit present-day conditions and relations. Certain influential groups of foreigners in China, absolutely refusing to see the writing on the wall, are working for the indefinite continuance of these treaties, because they do not want to give up the special privileges guaranteed by them. They are trying to make the world believe that the Chinese people who are not under the Soviet influence are as anxious as foreigners to maintain the *status quo* and do not concern themselves about the unequal treaties, and that the agitation against the special privileges is carried on only by a handful of sovietized radical Chinese. What the foreign powers need to do, according to their ideas, is simply to 'sit tight' and to quash the agitation. What blind and deceitful reasoning! Based on it a harmful propaganda is being promoted, especially by the foreign press in China.

Of course you can easily find fairly large numbers of ignorant people in China who apparently take no interest in the unequal treaties. We may even find a very small minority of Chinese who, because of their economic dependence upon the continuation of these treaties, may express their natural desire that their 'bowl of rice' should not be taken away from them. But can we regard them as typical? No nation is ever led and controlled by its ignorant people, and China is no exception. The articulate voice in my country, which is backed up by intelligence and fair-mindedness, is altogether in favour of an early revision of the existing treaties, so that our relations with the foreign powers will quickly be

placed on an equal and reciprocal basis. The sooner we heed this voice and introduce the necessary changes the better it will be for all concerned.

Is it thinkable that the Chinese people will wish to sever all their foreign relations, and to stop all Christian work? We should guard ourselves against the work of propagandists. The Chinese people know full well that China can never resume her isolated life. Were she to try the experiment she herself would be the heaviest loser. The people know perfectly well that much of her growth and progress of the past century China really owes to the introduction of modern education, medicine, science, social reforms, industry, commerce and above all the Christian way of life for the regeneration of our individual lives and for the transformation of our country. Our appreciation is absolutely sincere. We wish therefore to say from the bottom of our hearts that we wish our foreign relations to continue, and of course, in accordance with present-day conditions, these should continue on an equal and reciprocal basis. Likewise our people will sincerely wish the Christian work in China not only to continue but also to improve and expand. Missionaries will be entirely welcome. Their status and further contributions will, however, need to be carefully studied and, in the light of present developments along nationalistic lines, the administration of the Christian work should more and more be vested in Chinese Christians.

IV

Not a few are asking, *Is not the unification of China your most important and urgent task? Who is your leader around whom the whole country will unite?*

What is being done to produce and train the much-needed leadership?

A speedy unification of China which will let us begin our real task of reconstruction is what our people have been devoutly praying for. Our civil wars have been looked upon as an effective means of unification. But the indecisiveness of their results tends even to prolong our troubles and difficulties. Several times our goal seemed almost within reach, only to be thwarted at the last minute. This was surely the case when the nationalist army took Nanking in March of last year. Several attempts to unify our country by peaceful means were also made at different times, but unfortunately they all proved unsuccessful. I do not believe that our disappointment is too bitter to discourage us to wish to try it again, and we may yet succeed by it.

What do we mean by 'unification'? If we mean that China be unified under the strong leadership of an individual as dictator, then there is no chance for success. Even under the emperors our country was never united in that way. The provinces always enjoyed an extraordinarily large measure of autonomy and freedom from interference by the central government. Lack of adequate means of rapid communication and transportation made any centralization of authority for the entire nation utterly hopeless. More important than that, our people are too democratic and self-reliant to submit themselves to any dictatorial rule. Dictatorship is impracticable in my country. Besides, it is most difficult to find the man around whom the whole country will unite.

The unification of China, if we wish it to succeed, will have, in my private opinion, to assume the form of provincial autonomy and federation of the pro-

vines. By provincial autonomy I mean that each province will be an autonomous political unit, and have its own legislative, executive and judicial councils. Each province will be made up of towns and cities, each of which will enjoy self-government. By federation of the provinces, I mean to suggest that these autonomous provinces will voluntarily unite themselves to create a central federal government, to which all governmental functions affecting the nation as a whole, such as tariff, foreign affairs, army and navy, will be delegated. In order to achieve unity in China we shall, I firmly believe, have to set our faces to work in this direction.

Our problem is really not to find one man whose leadership will dominate and who will be able to hold the whole country together. If we did succeed in finding such a man and enthroning him as Dictator for a short while, and anything happened to upset his dictatorial administration, then we should be plunged into greater upheavals than ever. Certainly our immediate task is to produce and train many leaders, who will each have a distinct contribution to make and who will unite themselves, heart and soul, in unifying and reconstructing our country. This important work of training has been going on in our colleges and universities. While many of the government schools are being more or less interfered with by our civil wars, which is disheartening, it is most encouraging to see the rapid growth and development of a very large number of elementary and middle schools and also institutions of higher learning under private auspices. The training of our future leaders is still being carried on and we cannot allow it to be seriously interrupted. Again, for the last quarter of a century we have been sending our choice

sons and daughters to be educated in foreign countries. Japan in one year had as many as 15,000 Chinese students in her institutions of learning. For the last ten years we have been maintaining about 2500 students in American colleges and universities each year. The technical schools and universities in Great Britain and the continental countries of Europe have between them at least another 1000 students. Do you suppose that, upon return to China, these men and women, with their wider outlook, better education and training and richer experience, will exert no important influence on their national affairs ?

Some people have openly expressed their keen disappointment in the students who have returned from foreign lands. It must be acknowledged that some returned students are even worse than disappointment itself. But on the whole they have not yet had an adequate opportunity to prove what they are and what they can do for their country. We have ever so many men and women with excellent modern education who, if given a chance, will have very important contributions to make. While we should continue to provide the younger generation with the best possible education and training, both in China and abroad, our immediate task to-day is really to search for the well-educated and well-trained men and women whom we already have, and to relate them to opportunities of service. When these men and women are in their right places the unification and reconstruction of our country will soon be a reality.

V

Some are asking, *In democratizing China, what forces now at work among, for and by the people can give us substantial hope ?*

I shall briefly mention ten.

1. **THE RENAISSANCE MOVEMENT** in China is making at least two very important contributions. First, it aims at creating a scientific attitude in the student mind, which is helpful in breaking the shackles of old traditions and conventions, in overcoming mental inertia accrued for centuries, and in stimulating our minds to greater activity, originality and adventure. This is very much needed. It likewise is making the simple national spoken language also the universal written language of the people, instead of the written language of highly literary style. This sounds like a simple matter but its significance is tremendous. Those who know something of the difficulties of the Chinese literary language and realize how far it is beyond the ability of the overwhelming majority of our people to learn to understand, will at once appreciate what a great boon the new universal written language is to them. Education, which was formerly of necessity limited to the fortunate few, is now made possible for the masses.

2. Some eight years ago, after several successful experiments in different parts of the country, the Y.M.C.A.'s of China launched the **MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT**. One thousand of the most commonly used characters or words were carefully selected, simple text-books on different subjects were written within the range of these characters and up-to-date pedagogical methods for adults were employed. An average illiterate, irrespective of age or sex, can learn to read, write and use the thousand characters in three or four months. What a powerful key we are placing in the hands of the masses to unlock the world of knowledge for their betterment

and edification! Despite our troublous times, this campaign for the enlightenment of our masses still carries on whenever and wherever possible.

3. Having lived under an absolute monarchy for many centuries, our people have as a result lost much of the sense of responsibility for our national affairs. Sixteen years ago the monarchy was completely overturned and the Republic was established in its place. This colossal and sudden change imposed very large responsibilities upon the people, for which no preparation was made. Democracy could not grow and thrive in China or elsewhere unless her people were gradually and systematically educated for it. Meanwhile the nation was drifting. About six years ago the Y.M.C.A.'s of China started the **CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION MOVEMENT** for the purpose of preparing our people for democracy. Classes were organized in many cities to teach people civics, principles of municipal government, as well as our economic, social and international problems. Today the movement is fast gathering strength, and the people's sense of responsibility is steadily increasing.

4. In any account of our efforts to enlighten and educate the masses of our people the work of the **CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN CHINA**, which has been so generously supported by the Christian movements of the West, deserves special mention and the sincere gratitude of the Chinese nation. For more than a century the Christian movement, through its educational, medical, social, philanthropic and religious work, both among men and women and for boys and girls, has been exerting a most steady, enlightening and uplifting influence. By preaching and revealing God as our Father and Jesus Christ as our Leader

and Saviour, the Christian movement, I firmly believe, can be depended upon not only to fight and defeat the forces of evil but also to build our Republic on the permanent foundation of moral and Christian character.

5. Many of us remember how narrowly China in 1919, through the patriotic efforts of the students, was spared a most humiliating experience. Immediately, the STUDENT PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT was organized and has ever since been fostering a patriotic zeal in all classes of people and also holding them up to certain patriotic standards. In recent years the patriotic activities of the students have been mostly to serve in the nationalist army, to carry on political propaganda and to help supply the much-needed leadership in the labour and farmer unions and in other popular organizations. On account of lack of adequate education and experience and also of the impulses of youth on the part of the students, politicians from time to time manoeuvre them to their own advantage, which we greatly deplore. Nevertheless the pure patriotic motive of the students and their sacrificial spirit continue to make the student movement a real power both to guard and to promote the highest interests of the country.

6. On account of the lack of organization the Chinese people have often been ridiculed as a tray of sand, absolutely devoid of any cohesion and most difficult to muster for any organized effort. It should be pointed out that the better educated people do have their own organizations, such as Chambers of Commerce, Educational Associations, Guilds of various kinds and different Christian organizations, which are social institutions of real strength. During

the last two or three years, however, a most important change has taken place. LABOUR UNIONS, FARMERS' UNIONS, UNIONS OF SMALLER MERCHANTS, and many organizations of men and women have sprung up like grass after a refreshing shower. Their objectives may not yet be clear; their organizations may not be complete; and their leadership may not be strong. Nevertheless these unions of the masses of the people have come to stay and prosper, and their influence on our national affairs cannot be ignored.

7. The PRINTED PAGE is always looked upon with respect and regarded as a very powerful instrument for the dissemination of information and knowledge. Unfortunately, on account of various reasons, it was reserved very largely for the educated small minority of our people. The commoners had very little to read, either to amuse or to enlighten themselves—hence their dense ignorance. However, during the last eight or ten years newspapers have been started in many cities; weekly, ten-day, bi-weekly and monthly magazines and bulletins; also pamphlets and books on every conceivable subject have grown up like mushrooms. Many of these, being edited in the new universal written language, are easily readable by and intelligible to the masses. The effectiveness of the printed page in arousing the national consciousness of our people and also in creating and crystallizing public opinion on national and international questions can hardly be estimated at this time. The influence is both spreading and penetrating.

8. The lack of adequate and rapid means of communication and transportation is another of the important conditions to account for the backward and

isolated conditions of our national life, which the introduction of railways, telegraphs and post-offices and steam navigation has of late years done much to correct. Most of these require a comparatively heavy outlay of capital and have been almost altogether in the hands of government or semi-government organizations. Recently a few friends started the **GOOD ROADS MOVEMENT** for the single purpose of promoting the building of good macadamized roads throughout the whole country. As in the case of many other enterprises, the good work of this movement has been much interrupted by our civil wars. Nevertheless thousands of miles of good roads have already been constructed, particularly in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Shansi, Shantung, Chihli, Szechuen, Kiangsu and Chekiang. What good roads will mean to our agricultural, industrial, commercial and social life—also to the unification of China and the closer knitting together of our entire population it is not difficult for us to see. Our people are already freely travelling from one section of the country to the other. The increased travel due to better roads will exert a beneficent and powerful influence on the development of our country.

9. The Chinese people were formerly charged with having no conception of what a nation is and being therefore wholly lacking in national spirit and patriotism. The truth of the matter was that we deemed our country—the Middle Kingdom—to be the only civilized nation on this earth, and looked down upon the foreign barbarian as altogether unworthy of enjoying intercourse with us and entirely incapable of competing with us in any sense as a nation. There was nothing which necessitated the development of a national consciousness on our part.

However, our experiences with the foreign powers for the past century taught us the importance of developing a NATIONAL SPIRIT OF OUR OWN. We learned and applied the lesson and marked progress has been made especially during the last fifteen or twenty years. Who would have dared prophesy even five years ago that the tragedy of 30th May 1925 in Shanghai could as in a flash set the whole country in a patriotic conflagration which would burn deep in the hearts and souls of our people? Our foreign critics to-day deplore the fact that the Chinese people are becoming too nationalistic, as we begin to try to retrieve our national humiliation and to recover our national rights. Our national consciousness is rapidly increasing in strength and will doubtless constitute a most important factor in our national life and in our international relations.

10. PUBLIC OPINION has always been playing a very important part in our national life. When China was still under the monarchical rule public opinion was regarded of great importance. In our government system an independent position of no small importance was occupied by censors, whose duty it was to memorialize the throne as to what the people were thinking on different questions. Not infrequently the opinions of the people were circulated in the form of popular songs or sayings in the streets, which the government could not ignore. The officials themselves sometimes encouraged the people to submit in writing their views on current questions. When Yuan Shi-kai wanted to become emperor he attempted to manufacture a public opinion in his favour, which effort of course met with utter failure and brought ruin to himself. In recent years public opinion has become an important factor

in deciding the fortunes of our civil wars. Almost invariably the side which enjoys the support of public opinion wins, even under most unfavourable circumstances, while the side lacking it is usually doomed to failure. The various factors or forces which I have briefly mentioned above are contributing substantially towards broadening the base of public opinion in China and enhancing its power. It requires no keen imagination to see the increasingly important place which public opinion will occupy as democracy gains a more permanent position in China.

VI

An important question which keen minds ask is, *What would you consider to be the chief difficulties and dangers confronting your national development?*

I should not be true to myself or to you were I to fail to answer this question. We want frankly to recognize our difficulties, regard them as important factors which will make us what we aspire to be and find adequate solutions for them. Mencius has clearly taught us that difficulties, trials, sufferings and dangers oftentimes are not meant to tantalize or crush us, but if we face them in the right way they will stiffen our backbone, stimulate our mind and sober and sweeten our spirit. I shall mention ten difficulties and dangers, which I am thankful to say are really challenging the very best qualities in us.

1. PROBLEMS WITH FOREIGN POWERS. The Chinese people among themselves are divided in many things, but they are one and united in agitating for the abrogation of the unequal treaties. The actual procedure will probably be that China and the foreign

nations concerned will agree separately to revise the existing treaties in such a way as will delete the objectionable features, and also place the contracting parties on an equal and reciprocal basis. The difficulties attending this task are indeed numerous and great. But for the sake of better international relations, and also of the peace of the world, the sooner the task is satisfactorily accomplished the better. But there is here a vicious circle which we must find some way of breaking. The foreign powers have been saying that they are willing to revise the existing treaties provided the Chinese people can re-establish peace and order and organize a responsible and efficient government. On the other hand, the Chinese people claim that, until our country is freed from various foreign chains and fetters we cannot begin to evolve order out of the present chaos, nor can we establish a responsible government for the whole country.

While we recognize that the problems growing out of our relations with other nations should engage our immediate attention, many of us hold that some of our domestic problems are decidedly more serious and dangerous. It is only when we can solve our internal problems that we can truly hope that our nation will be placed on a firm and enduring foundation, and our international issues will be settled to our satisfaction and to the mutual advantage of all concerned. I should make clear that China does not claim to have a monopoly of the difficulties which I shall mention, for many of them are really the problems of the world.

2. **ILLITERACY AND IGNORANCE.** Despite our efforts at bringing education to the masses of the people, and disseminating information for general

improvement, illiteracy still remains high in China as compared with other countries. Illiteracy and ignorance love each other's company, and are as incompatible with democracy as is darkness with light. In order to give democracy in China a real opportunity to grow and fructify we must rid ourselves of these two deadly and tenacious enemies as soon as possible.

3. **MILITARISM.** Militarism is harmful everywhere, but China has fallen a hopeless prey to it, and is struggling hard to free herself from its death-grip. Practically all of China's resources are under the supreme command of militarism, and even her future in some instances is mortgaged to no purpose. We must kill this Goliath of militarism before we can hope to restore and reconstruct our country.

4. **POVERTY.** It may sound paradoxical when I say that China is both rich and poor. She is rich in the sense that she can still boast of splendid natural resources. She is also poor because these resources being undeveloped are of no profit to the people. The development of industries has been more or less checked. Farmers, on account of the lack of rapid transportation, cannot send their produce to the market. Unemployment is fearfully prevalent. One illustration will suffice. A few months ago our office inserted an advertisement for a single day in one or two local papers in Shanghai for a Chinese copyist at \$30 per month. As a result more than one thousand written applications came. The wolf at the door must be driven away. We cannot make any real progress with a poverty-stricken people.

5. **SEGREGATION AND ISOLATION.** Lack of rapid and adequate means of communication is largely

responsible for many of the undesirable conditions in our country. It actually takes longer time to get from Shanghai to Chengtu than to New York City or to London via Siberia. We cannot reach Yunnanfu quickly except by the French railway in Annam. China can start to develop her immense natural resources for the betterment of the life of her people only by quickly improving and increasing her means of communication.

6. **INSANITATION AND DISEASE.** The sanitary conditions of living among our people are far from what they ought to be. Hence, there is much disease, which takes a high toll in our country. Not a few of our leaders die young or in early middle life. With proper sanitary conditions, their leadership might have been spared for a much longer national service. Every country either has passed, or will pass through this experience, and China is no exception. The Council on Health Education in China, together with other popular organizations, has been fighting vigorously against this evil.

7. **PREJUDICES AND OLD CUSTOMS.** China, having a civilization of several thousand years, naturally has not a few prejudices, traditions, customs and conventions. Some may still be useful and should be retained, others are perhaps outworn and tend to block any progress. The shackles of our harmful prejudices and customs should be quickly removed, and the inertia which has accrued from these things for centuries should be overcome. How difficult it is to conquer these things is well expressed in a proverb that it is much easier to remove the rivers and the mountains than to change our habits and established practices.

8. **BREAKING DOWN OF MORAL SANCTIONS.** The

foundation-stone of the Chinese civilization is both ethical and moral. It is the principles of the moral life which among other things have held our people together and given us a marvellous continuity of national life for over four thousand years. Among the great changes now taking place in China, which are decidedly harmful, is the breaking down of our moral sanctions. Something should be done definitely and early to uphold those moral principles which are of permanent value, and also to add to them those that are necessary to modern life.

9. DISHONESTY AND SELFISHNESS. These are two of our worst enemies. They are responsible for our civil wars, for the political divisions in the country, for suspicion and lack of cohesion and for much suffering and poverty in our country. As long as these two evils retain their sway in the minds and hearts of our people, and in fact of any people on earth, there will be neither peace nor goodwill.

10. MATERIALISM AND AGNOSTICISM. In China we have a proverb which says 'Calamities do not come singly.' On top of our difficult problems and dangers which have already occupied so much time to-night we are sorry to have to add two new enemies of no small strength, materialism and agnosticism. They are familiar to us by their results. In China to-day, they seem to have a peculiar charm over our people. The god of worldly prosperity is all important. The spiritual interpretation and values of life are condemned as superstition, and are regarded as contradictory to science, and should therefore be relegated to oblivion. Religion is said to be nothing but an opiate with which to poison our people.

VII

A very practical question, often asked, is, *What do the civil wars in China, the terrorism under the guise of communism, the anti-foreign and anti-Christian propaganda, the peoples' activities and the most difficult domestic and foreign problems indicate? What are you trying to accomplish?*

What is actually going on in China is the greatest revolution the world has ever known. It involves one-fourth of the human race. It revolutionizes not only the political but also the social, economic, industrial, rural, moral and spiritual phases of our life. This is not enough. Concurrently we are seeking to solve our international problems which are indeed fraught with immense difficulties and grave dangers. Can we point to another revolution in the world's history that can begin to compare with the present Chinese Revolution in the combination and variety of its objects and difficulties?

The present situation in China represents a supreme effort on the part of our people to make a new nation out of ancient Cathay. We are building a new nation by revolutionary methods. How can we erect a new building on an old site without tearing down the ancient edifice? Of course, great care should be exercised in saving as much of the old materials as possible. Old treasures should be equally valuable in the new structure. I shall now present to you the four main objects of the revolution. In other words, the new nation which we are now **making** will rest on the following foundations:

1. The political unification of China and the establishment of an efficient, honest and democratic government.

2. The abrogation of the unequal treaties, which do not fit existing conditions and relationships, and in their place the making of new treaties on an equal and reciprocal basis, to be early concluded with each of the friendly powers.

3. The amelioration of the economic, rural and industrial life of our people by means of agricultural, industrial and commercial improvements.

4. The revising and raising of the standards of the social, moral and spiritual life of our people.

Some people may criticize these objects as being too idealistic and therefore incapable of fulfilment. Should we, then, drop our ideals down to the dead level of our actual life? A race which had no ideals of its own high enough to inspire and to spur it on from progress to progress even in the face of almost insuperable difficulties would quickly disintegrate, decay and disappear from the face of the earth. Another criterion is that our ideal should be built upon a real situation, and be inspirational and helpful. Our four objects are the crystallization of our experiences, ideas and aspirations, and are, I firmly believe, worthy of our supreme efforts and sacrifices to attain.

Again, some friends may wish to point out that what is actually taking place in China is, in some ways, different from what these four objects purport to be. Instead of becoming unified China seems to have broken up into more pieces than ever. We do not see much sign of a government which is really honest and democratic and also efficient in maintaining peace and order. The agitation for the abrogation of the unequal treaties seems to be the only activity of the people, and this often assumes very violent forms of expression. At the same time no

real preparation is being made for the negotiation of new treaties. The condition of the people appears to go from bad to worse.

In so far as these conditions are found in my country, our people sincerely grieve over them, and wish to put a stop to them. But I cannot agree to the implication that the setting forth of these four objects of our revolution is intended to cover up our mistakes, shortcomings and our sinister purposes. Who can point out to me any revolution in the world's history which, especially in the early stages of its development, was entirely free from such phenomena as those mentioned? Have not many crimes been committed in the fair name of Liberty? While we do not want to ignore the presence of unfortunate and harmful elements in the situation, we should not allow them to blur our vision of the true purpose of the gigantic revolution which is now enacting before us a most important chapter of the world's history.

Once again, certain critics may call attention to the fact that the objects of the revolution are in the main the People's Three Principles, or 'San Min Chu I,' worked out by the late Dr Sun Yat-sen. As his book contains so many glaring mistakes in the light of authentic history and of economic and political science, we should not take the People's Three Principles too seriously. Moreover, the fourth object of the revolution as stated is not included by Dr Sun in his book.

I wish to make two points clear. First, I am not here to explain Dr Sun's book. It will take care of itself. We should not, however, disregard it altogether just because of the inaccuracies in its detailed suggestions. To use a Chinese proverb, we should

not give up our meal merely because of hiccough. I wish to point out that the People's Three Principles have actually succeeded in crystallizing the experiences, ideas and aspirations of our people as regards the first three main aims of our revolution as I have stated them, and also in uniting the whole country on them. Again, it is not my purpose to defend the People's Three Principles of the Kuomin Party, I am simply trying to state to you what I firmly believe to be the fundamental ideas of our people as regards the revolution. The fourth object, namely, 'The revising and raising of the standards of our social, moral and spiritual life,' is, as our people are convinced, the most vital of the four objects. It is the very cornerstone of the foundation on which we are trying to build up a new nation.

Some well-wishers may question if the Chinese people, by trying to carry out the four objects all at once, are not really attempting too much. Why do they not try their hands on the four objects one by one, and thus make more sure of success? We appreciate the goodwill behind this question, but, on account of the interlocking and interdependent relations of these objects, we are compelled to work on them all together, although in actuality they may advance by different stages. They will require time for their consummation. The Chinese people have learned to be patient, but are determined to carry out these principles, cost what it may. China's real hope lies in their fulfilment.

VIII

In closing let me deal with the following questions: *Is the Christian Movement in China growing weaker or stronger under the present strain? What*

principles shall guide the further co-operation of the Christian Movements of the West in China? What is the significance of the present Chinese situation to the Christian forces?

During the past eighteen months, especially when the nationalist troops were sweeping northward, the Christian work and leadership in many places in the war zone was subjected to very severe trials. On account of anti-foreign and anti-Christian propaganda by the communists missionaries were suddenly ordered by their respective consuls to evacuate their stations on a wholesale scale. In many instances there was no time for consultation or conference to arrange for transfer of responsibility. The work which was always done by missionaries suddenly fell upon the shoulders of Chinese Christian workers, most of whom had rather meagre training and experience. In not a few places Christian property was occupied, confiscated or destroyed. Some phases of work had to be suspended or temporarily stopped. A few missionaries and Chinese Christian workers even met with martyrdom. The Christian movement as a whole lost much of its prestige. How did the Christian movement in China stand this terrific onslaught and strain?

Our hearts are filled with sincere gratitude to our Father in Heaven for the wonderful way in which He has led us out of grave dangers, and for His having given us endurance, strength and a new vision of His work in China. On the whole, the Chinese Christians have nobly met the requirements of these most trying times. Their courage, loyalty and capacity for responsibilities are often referred to with pride by their missionary colleagues. We can truly say that the Christian movement in China not only

has not been weakened by the stress and strain, but has, like a tree which has successfully weathered a storm, been sending its roots deeper into the soil, and this certainly means greater growth and fruitage in the near future. God's work can never be destroyed and He is improving every opportunity.

The greatest hope which the present situation has created in the minds of the Christians of China is, doubtless, their renewed vision of a Chinese indigenous Christian movement which will be best adapted to meet the religious needs of our people, most congenial to Chinese life and culture, and most effective in arousing in Chinese Christians the sense of responsibility and the determination to help to translate this vision into reality according to God's own appointed time. The Christian movements of the West will rejoice with us, I am sure, at the heralding of this new era in Christian work in China, especially as it has come much sooner than our most courageous minds had dared to dream.

The Christian movements of the West, in these circumstances, are doing the right thing in asking for suggestions of objectives and principles which may guide them in their further co-operation in the work in China. We Chinese Christians most sincerely appreciate this attitude, and the spirit behind it. Responding to this desire I wish to state briefly what I deem to be the main objectives and a few of the guiding principles.¹

1. *Objectives.* (a) To impart greater and fuller revelations of God our Heavenly Father and His infinite love for all mankind on an equal basis, and of the power of the living Christ as exemplifiable

¹ For a fuller statement, see my chapter in *China, Her own Interpreter*. London: Student Christian Movement, 1928.

and exemplified in personalities and in actual everyday life, and to make such knowledge and life experience blend with and enrich the Chinese ideals of life and religious experience until it actually becomes a vital part of the life of the Chinese people ;

(b) To make the Christian movement church-centric and not mission-centric. Devolution from the mission-centric to the church-centric basis should be pressed forward in China until the Chinese Christian movement and the Christian movements of the West enjoy a normal mutual relationship, when they will be in direct communication with each other, will co-operate heartily, will trust one another fully, will share each other's happiness as well as suffering and will constantly be united in their fellowship with God through Christ.

2. *Principles.* (a) To do everything possible to assist in heightening and deepening the spiritual life of the Chinese Christian movement in every phase of its work and in all its relationships.

(b) To encourage and co-operate with the Chinese Christian leaders in their efforts to build up a Chinese indigenous Christian movement with Christ Jesus as its Head and Leader.

(c) To continue to send missionaries, either for temporary or for permanent service, who will in their own lives and in their relationships bear living testimony to the Christian faith, and who will serve with their Chinese associates on an equal basis, under the direction of the Chinese Christian movement.

(d) To desist from any efforts which will tend to minimize the best elements in Chinese civilization, or to divert attention from those things in life

which are vital and of permanent value, or to impose on the young and inexperienced Christian movement in China forms, customs, conventions, rituals, organizations and administrative systems which are peculiar to western life but prove of no special help to China, or to stir up misunderstanding, jealousy and rivalry, or to create division and schism among the young Christians.

(e) To continue financial co-operation on a new agreed basis : (1) that existing work shall be subsidized wherever possible on a gradually decreasing scale ; (2) that care will be taken that such financial help does not in any way hinder the development of self-reliance and sense of responsibility ; (3) that it may be made a means of spiritual blessing, inspiring the Chinese Christians to greater self-sacrifice ; (4) that it shall be given upon terms mutually acceptable but without administrative control.

(f) To regard all Christian property in China, whether bought, erected, owned and controlled by the Christian movement of the West, by the missions, or by the Chinese Christian movement, or by the Chinese and the western Christian movements jointly, as intended for the permanent use of the Chinese Christian movement, and as soon as the Chinese Christian movement proves itself legally and safely capable of holding, controlling and disposing of property, to transfer the use, control and ownership to them upon terms mutually agreeable and satisfactory.

As my time does not permit a fuller treatment, some of these statements may seem bald and curt. What I do wish to emphasize is the fact that present conditions within and without the Christian movement

in China demand, in the spirit of Christian statesmanship, an early re-study of the question of further co-operation from the Christian movements of the West, so that such co-operation may be utilized to the fullest advantage, and also be duly appreciated. Such a study should be made in China, where a majority of wise and strong Chinese Christian leaders will be available, and should also be made on broader than denominational lines.

Finally, let me say something of the relation of Christianity to politics in China. I conscientiously look upon the present situation in China as the most vigorous and searching challenge that the Christian forces have ever faced, a challenge which they still have a chance to accept and sanctify to the glory of God. To begin with, we fully agree that we should not 'meddle with politics,' if by that we mean an impertinent interference in the concerns of others. We do not desire to repeat in China the bitter struggle between the Church and the State in the Middle Ages of European history. Nor do I suggest that the Christian movement in China as such should join any political party, or occupy any position under the government.

As the entire Chinese population under the Nationalist or People's movement is uniting to prosecute the revolution, and to build up a new nation, which practically means that every person or institution, if Chinese, must in one way or another join in the supreme efforts now being made, I fail to see how the Chinese Christians and the Chinese Christian movement can exempt themselves from their patriotic duty. On the other hand, I am fully aware of the tremendous dangers in this new course of action, and also of our limited experiences along

this line. I earnestly pray for God's guidance, that we be spared the dangers and be led to achieve those things most pleasing to Him. Nevertheless, I am strongly persuaded that our failure to respond to the call of our nation and our God to do our duty would lead to disastrous results.

There is much misunderstanding concerning the Nationalist movement. Often it is mistaken to be the Kuomin party, also sometimes known as the Nationalist party. Some people wrongly charge the Nationalist movement with being the Communist party. The Nationalist movement is an unorganized movement of the people, which has no recognized leadership, but which is largely dominated by two sentiments, and sentiments are powerful things. The first sentiment is what I have given as the four main objectives of our revolution. The second sentiment may be briefly summed up as a strong feeling on the part of the Chinese that they are one great continental people, and that the revolution, not despite, but because of, the tremendous difficulties and grave dangers, will surely succeed in giving birth to a new nation for which we have been making both supreme efforts and sacrifices. It is our nation's call to duty that Chinese Christians and the Chinese Christian movement should join, and lay their distinctive offering on its altar. How can we turn a deaf ear to this clarion call! We are in duty bound to respond by each doing his 'bit' in his own special way.

Our inadequate conception of the relationship between Christianity and politics is very obvious. I wish to affirm that we must not meddle or interfere with partisan politics. But are we to agree that Christianity as a religion should exert no influence

on the political life of our people? Shall we permit our politicians and our people in their political life to break any or all of God's laws? Can we rightly rule God so completely out of the political realm? Personally, I firmly believe that God is All in All and is concerned with our whole life, be it individual or collective, political, spiritual or otherwise. God reigns supreme in the universe. He cedes no portion of the world to any one else. Politics is no reserved area and cannot declare independence from Him. It is, I believe, God's call to us that we project our Christian influence into the realm of our political life, purge it and add it to His glory. Shall we disobey?

The revolution in China, and our efforts to build up a new nation are political matters. But they are much more than political because they also vitally touch our economic, rural and industrial life and our relations with the foreign powers. I do not think that these relations should be permitted to remain on a merely materialistic and diplomatic plane, but should be lifted to a high spiritual level. It is on this higher level that a true success will be assured, and such a success will prove to be a real blessing not only to the Chinese people but to the rest of the world.

In conclusion, friends, the Chinese people are now engaged in prosecuting the most gigantic revolution in the world's history, with the definite and confident hope that a new nation will soon be born. We sincerely grieve over our mistakes, shortcomings and crimes committed in the name of Liberty, Justice and Democracy. We feel greatly encouraged by our achievements thus far. We fully realize the long, narrow and thorny path immediately ahead of us over which we must tread. We are not lacking in a

realization of our almost back-breaking responsibilities. We will continue to make supreme efforts and sacrifices until we actually succeed.

At the same time we are confident that, as our entire people, with our own civilization, culture, natural resources, physical stamina, mentality, moral fibre, as well as our spirit of determination, give themselves to the present task, our fond hopes will soon be consummated. We are equally confident that, when our national cause is better known to the world, we shall surely enjoy its sympathy and support. Above all, our greatest confidence is our faith in God Almighty, who cannot but be pleased with our efforts at creating a new nation, and who will always help those who are willing to help themselves in such a noble cause. But God must do His work in co-operation with men. The gauntlet of the present situation in China has already been thrown at the feet especially of the Christian forces in China and throughout the world. Will the challenge be declined by them or be accepted, and its acceptance be made to glorify God and His Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour ?