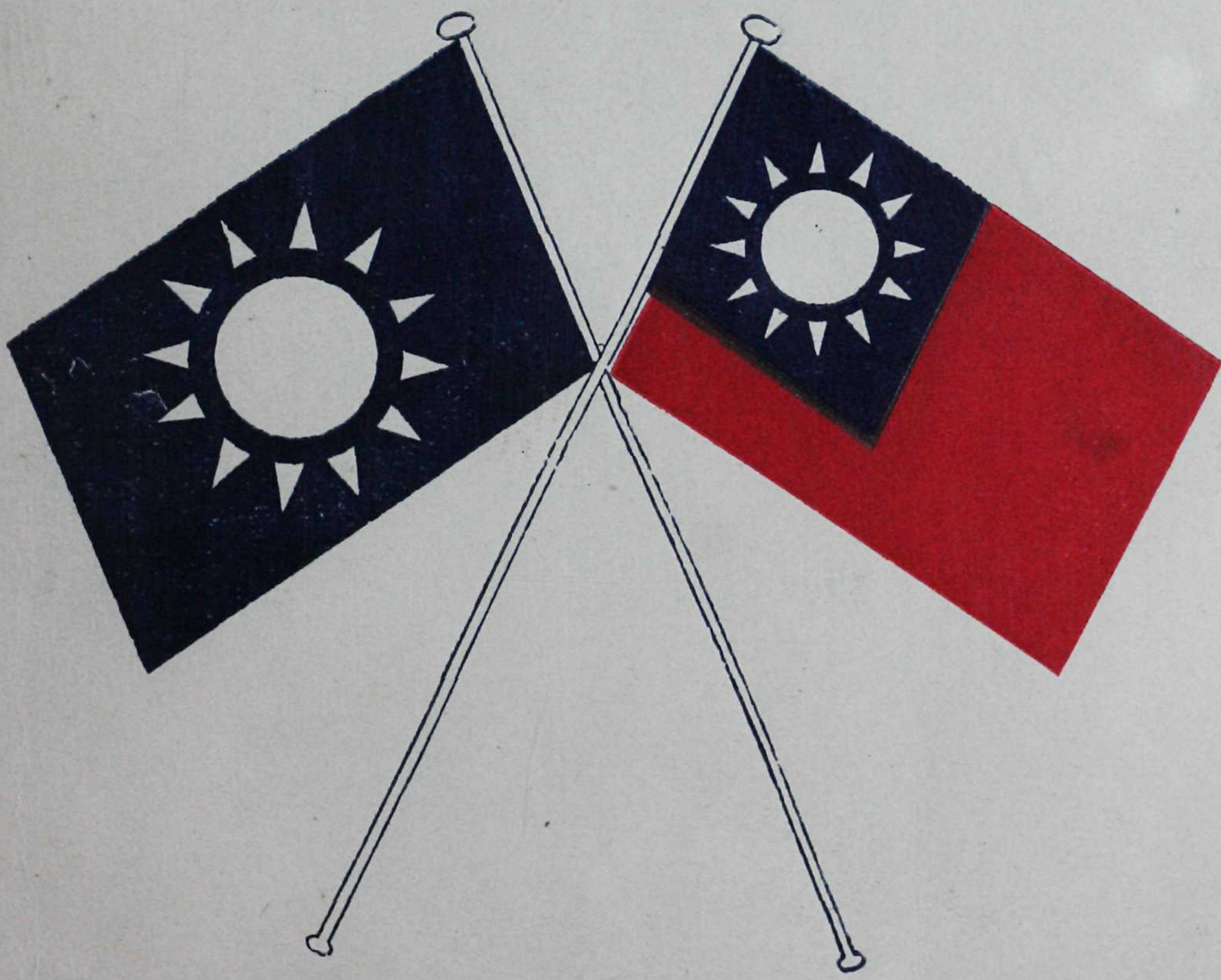
國民的中國

NATIONALIST CHINA



中央政治會議廣州分會秘書處出版
PURLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT,
THE KUOMINTANG OF CHINA,
THE CENTRAL POLITICAL COUNCIL,
THE CANTON BRANCH.
CANTON, CHINA.

(1866-1925)

The late Dr. Sun Yat=sen,

The Founder of the Kuomintang and
The revered Father of the Republic of China.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Parting Message.

For forty years, I (Dr. Sun) devoted my life to a revolutionary cause in an attempt to elevate China to a state of freedom and independence. My experience of these eventful years has absolutely convinced me that to attain this cherished goal we must enlist the support of the great mass of people at home and work in cooperation with those nations which treat us on the basis of equality.

The revolutionary movement has not as yet succeeded, and it is therefore imperative that all my fellow-workers should do their utmost in order to realize my "Reconstruction Plan," "Outlines of Reconstructive Policies," "The Three Principles of the People," and the policies enunciated in the manifesto of the Kuomintang at the first national convention.

Fight on, my fellow-workers, with renewed vigor to bring about a People's Convention for the solution of our national problems and to abolish the unequal treaties with foreign nations. These things must be done in the shortest time possible.

(Signed) Sun Wen (Dr. Sun Yat-sen)

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NATIONALIST CHINA

PREFACE

The object of this pamphlet is to give our foreign friends an intelligent insight into the recent Nationalist Movement of China. It is hoped that with better International Understanding between China and the World Powers, genuine goodwill and sympathy will exist, and Justice and Liberty will finally triumph in this world of ours!

The contents embrace the important phases of Nationalist China, and they may be summarized under the following Main Topics:—

(A) The Nationalist Government at Nanking.

(B) Foreign Policy.

(C) Purge the Party Movement.

(D) The Revolutionary War.

(E) The Nationalist Party or Kuomintang.

In order to give our readers a concise idea regarding the Nationalist Movement of "a living Chinese Nation," it is necessary to emphasize the following facts of each phase for serious consideration:—

(A) The Nationalist Government at Nanking.

Because of the "general welfare of the Nationalist Party, of political expediency, military strategy, and geographical convenience," the Nationalist Government was formally moved from Wuchang to the historic capital of China, Nanking, on April 18th, 1927.

The Government, guided by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People," has faithfully pledged to "Preserve the Kuomintang and Salvate China."

The Chinese people are wholeheartedly supporting this Government, which constitutes the real Government of the Chinese people, by the Chinese people, and for the Chinese people.

(B) Foreign Policy.

In accordance with the will of four hundred million Chinese people, the Nationalist Government has decided to adopt a foreign policy, the important points may be briefly stated as follows:

1. To use legitimate means to abrogate the unequal treaties.
2. To appeal to the Foreign Powers to conclude new treaties immediately.
3. To give proper protection to foreign life and property.
4. To bring China into the position among nations to which her four hundred millions, natural resources, and four thousand five hundred years' culture entitle her.

The treaties that bind China with the Foreign Powers are unequal, anachronistic, and humiliating. In the name of Humanity, Justice, and Freedom, will the Foreign Governments display "farsighted statesmanship and practical wisdom," in altering these existing treaty relations?

(C) Purge the Party Movement.

This so-called movement entitled in Chinese "Ching Tang" aims to purge the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) of anti-revolutionists—the Communists, Opportunists and the other undesirable elements.

The Communists led by the aggressive methods of Borodin, seized important cities as their centres and usurped the power of the Kuomintang. This action is detrimental not only to the Nationalist Party, but also to the Revolutionary Cause and the Chinese Nation as a whole.

The Nationalist Government therefore calls upon Marshal Chiang Kai-shih and the entire Chinese people to rid China of all anti-revolutionists, in order to solidfy the Nationalist Party, carry on the Revolutionary Cause to a successful end, and gain Freedom, Independence and Equality for China.

(D) The Revolutionary War.

The Revolutionary War is a revolution of the Chinese people. It is really a war between the progressive Nationalists on one side, and the reactionaries, militarists, and imperialists on the other.

The entire Chinese people are eagerly hoping for the complete realization of its aims, which are to secure Justice, Independence, Freedom, and Better Livelihood, and which would completely eliminate Foreign Imperialism, the Militarists, and the Anti-revolutionists.

This is a mighty task indeed, but there is every confidence that ultimate triumph will soon come, as Nationalists China now controls two-thirds of China proper, including "the richest, most populous and most progessive cities and provinces."

(E) The Nationalist Party or Kuomintang.

The late Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the Founder of the Kuomintang, a Party possessing nobles principles and sublime policies.

Nationalism, Democracy and Social Welfare constituted "The Three Principles of the People" or "San-Min-Chui-I" and these principles have been "formulated in the light of existing conditions in China and the experience of Western Nations."

The Kuomintang program may be summarized as anti-militarism, anti-imperialism and social reform.

Throughout Nationalist China, the Kuomintang, which constitutes "the brain and nervous system of China," is making itself felt as a liberating, energizing and elevating force.

The various phases have heen frankly and briefly discussed, so that the readers may have a clear conception of the Nationalist Movement in China.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that while Nationalist China is contriving to solve her serious problems in this great National Movement for Unification, Liberty and Reconstruction, it is earnestly hoped that the World Powers will be solidly against armed intervention in the internal affairs of China.

Thus along the path of National Progress, will dawn a New China, unified in thoughts and actions, and imbibed with noble principles and sublime purposes, which will make for World Peace and Brotherhood!

The Secretariat,
The Kuomintang of China,
The Central Political Council,
The Canton Branch.

May 1927.

Canton, China.

Marshal Chiang Kai-shih's Proclamation Announcing Policy of The Nationalist Government at Nanking

(May 1927)

"At the present time when the revolution of the people is taking a rapid development, and when the people are hoping eagerly for the complete realization of the aims of the revolution, the Nationalist Government, in accordance with the wish of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and with the opinion of the majority of members of the Kuomintang, and also based on the resolution of the Central Execution Committee, was formally moved from Wuchang to Nanking on April 18, 1927.

The reasons for this measure are obvious. From the points of view of the general welfare of the Party, of political expediency, of military strategy, and of geographical convenience, Nanking occupies a much more important position than Wuchang.

In the midst of the wave of revived imperialism, made still more dangerous to the Nationalist movement of China through such instrumentalities as foreign troops, compradores, etc., coupled with the destructive machinations of the Communists Party which have proved disastrous to the revolutionary cause the responsibility of the Nationalist Government has become more extensive and heavy.

But at this critical moment there is, as has always been, one course of action open to the Government, and that is continually to follow the principles laid down by Dr. Sun and to execute the policies of the Party.

On the one hand, while the Government is bringing all the nation's revolutionary elements under the Party's "Three Principles of the People" so as to make concerted action possible, on the other hand, it aims at the uprooting of all foreign imperialism, militarism, and other anti-revolutionary movements.

The convening of a People's Congress, the abrogation of unequal treaties, and the execution of "The Three Principles of the People" and the other matters which the Government is striving to bring about within the shortest possible period.

In order to enable China to become an independent nation, and the Chinese to become a free people possessing a government, for the people, of the people and by the people, "The Three Principles of the People" will necessarily have to be carried out in full. It is not only China's sole means of salvation, but also the way to a new world.

The Government, therefore, seeks the thorough execution of this principle and cannot but regard those opposed to it as well as those opposed to the Nationalist Movement with the purpose of creating class distinctions, as anti-revolutionary.

The Government has faithfully pledged itself to the principles laid down by Dr. Sun, to the preservation of the Party, and to the salvation of China, and has assumed the full responsibility of putting an end to all obstacles to the complete realization of its policies.

Such revolutionary principles are:

First, a close co-operation between the people and the army;

Secondly, the establishment of an honest and clean Government;

Thirdly, the promoting and protecting of China's industries, and

Fourthly, the consolidating of organized agriculture and labour and assistance in its extension.

These are the declared policies of the Nationalist Government which will be carried out accordingly.

The Government, therefore, calls upon its military commanders, leaders, and the whole nation to purge the territory now under its jurisdictions of all anti-revolutionists in order to solidify its organization, to unify law and to maintain order, to unite in one with the express purpose of carrying out "The Three Principles of the People" under the direction of the Party.

Those opposed to the principle must be extinguished and the misguided elements set right, so that the malevolents have no excuse for being anti-revolutionary and the misguided may be brought to their proper places.

Let "The Three Principles of the People" be the guiding principle of the Government. Let it pave the way for a new world. Make this Government the real government of the people.

May the strength of the Revolutionary army destroy imperialism from abroad and do away with militarism and anti-revolutionists at home. May the Nationalist Government in the shortest possible time accomplish this mighty task."

Statement of Foreign Policy

The Following Official Statement has been Issued By Dr. Chao-Chu Wu, The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government at Nanking:

WITH the removal on April 18, 1927, of the seat of the Nationalist Government to the historic capital of China, Nanking, another stage has been reached in the Chinese Nationalist movement. The opposing forces, Progress and Reaction, which came to grips in 1911, have continued their struggle up to the present time, but there can be no doubt as to the ultimate triumph of the cause of Progress which has been consistently championed by the Kuomintang. The principles of the Kuomintang have moulded the thought of new China, and the Government founded on these principles has in the short space of two years extended its jurisdiction from Canton to more than half of China including the richest, most populous, and most progressive cities and provinces.

The rest of China will in the near future also be delivered from militarism and misgovernment. The presence in the party of communist influence at variance with the precepts of the Kuomintang has during the past few weeks brought what hitherto has been an internal schism to an open split. Nevertheless, as these influences are small, there is every confidence that they will very shortly be completely eliminated and that solidarity will be re-established in the ranks of the followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

The installation of the Nationalist Government at Nanking affords an opportunity to make a public statement of its foreign policy. The Government guided by the teachings of Dr. Sun considers it its paramount duty, in accordance with the will of the entire Chinese people, to emancipate China from her state of international bondage and to secure for her an equal status in the family of nations. a status to which her civilization, resources, and population entitle her. China is fettered on every hand by treaties and conventions modelled after those imposed upon her nearly a hundred year ago. There are few agreements between nations, even when concluded on terms of equality, which have survived after the lapse of a century: is it reasonable to insist upon China's observance of antiquated and unequal treaties when the political, social, and economic conditions of the country, affecting both Chinese and foreigners, have undergone fundamental changes?

These treaties have on the one hand seriously impeded the development of the nation, on the other hand they have failed to accomplish the supposed object of protecting foreign interests and promoting foreign trade. Foreign interests are best protected and foreign trade best promoted by mutual good-will, and genuine good-will cannot exist so long as anachronistic and humiliating treaties are enforced. In the common interest of Chinese and foreigners alike, a fundamental readjustment of the existing treaty relations is imperative.

The Nationalist Government addresses itself to the task of the abrogation of the unequal treaties, and will employ for that purpose all legitimate means. It has taken note of the statements emanating from authorised spokesmen of the foreign governments as to the inapplicability of the existing treaties and their readiness to meet the wishes of the Chinese people. With every confidence in the good intentions of the foreign governments, this government earnestly hopes that negotiations with a view to the conclusion of new treaties will immediately be opened. Technicalities should be discarded in order to achieve, in the shortest possible period, the aim of restoring harmonious relations between China and the foreign nations.

Meanwhile, the Nationalist Government will do all in its power to protect foreign life and property according to the generally accepted rules of international law. The resentment of the Chinese to the foreigner is not to him individually but to the system under which he lives. The Chinese object, not to the presence of the foreigner, but to his position of privilege. They consider that the foreigner should be placed on a footing of equality with the people among whom he has voluntarily chosen to live and trade.

In the forthcoming negotiations for the abrogation of the special privileges of foreigners in China, the Nationalist Government trusts that the foreign governments and peoples will display farsighted statemanship and practical wisdom in the solution of the outstanding problem of the world to-day. The Chinese people, irrespective of geographical situation and political creed, are all united in demanding international justice and fairplay. In the interest of the peace and welfare of the world, such a simple and reasonable request by a quarter of the human race ought ~~our~~ not to be made in vain.

Nanking, May 11, 1927.

Mr. Hu Han-Min.

One of the most prominent figures in the Nationalist Government at Nanking is Hu Han-Min, chairman of the Central Executive Council of the Nationalist Government. Mr. Hu is a faithful adherent of Marshal Chiang Kai-shih and was one of the first prominent Chinese to proceed to Nanking when the Nationalist Government formally moved there.

Mr. Hu, as a member of the Central Administrative Committee, the Political Assembly, the Committee of the Nationalist Government, and Chief of the Central Propaganda Department is taking a prominent part in political matters at Nanking, together with Wu Ching-han, Li Sek-chan and Tsa Yu-pei.

Nanking was the place selected by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the capital of China. It was there that Dr. Sun was inaugurated as the first president of China. Mr. Hu has always been an ardent disciple of Dr. Sun, and had a distinguished career under the famous leader, having acted as secretary to Dr. Sun at the time the latter was inaugurated in 1912. After Dr. Sun's resignation Mr. Hu returned to Kwangtung, where he was elected Tutuh and Civil Governor. At about that time the Kuomintang succeeded to the party previously known as the Tung Men Hui and Mr. Hu became the party's leader in Kwangtung.

During the intervening years he has had a distinguished career, always a firm upholder of Dr. Sun's "Three Principles of the People," and it is a foregone conclusion that his influence and ability will be used at Nanking for the uplifting and guidance of the Chinese people.

(The China Weekly Review.)

Mr. Wu Ching-han's Document to the Central Control Committee of the Kuomintang of China

(Issued on April 2nd, 1927.)

Translated by (Mrs.) Leung Yih Su-chi, M. A.

Editor's Note: Mr. Wu, a member of the Kuomintang Central Control Committee, was Director of the Headquarters of the Central Political Department in Nanking. He was foremost in issuing such an urgent appeal, and pointed out that immediate and extraordinary steps must be effectively taken to stop the demolition and treachery of the Communists in order to "Preserve the Kuomintang and Salvate China."

The full text consisting of about four thousand Chinese characters is a startling disclosure of the treacherous plots of the Communists in China. The following translation which is an important summary of the Document merits careful reading:—

When the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang in 1924, Dr. Sun opened the Kuomintang ranks to admit the Chinese Communists. The Communists were admitted on the following explicit terms:

(1) So long as the actions of the Communists are not treacherous to China and the Kuomintang, the Communists will be allowed to study their doctrines freely.

(2) Those Communists who were ready to give up their Communistic belief, were allowed to be members of the Kuomintang, on condition that they would be bound by the discipline of the Kuomintang.

Dr. Sun himself formulated "The Three Principles of the People," in the light of China's existing conditions, because he was quite aware of the fact that Communism was positively unfit for China. But the Communists, after being admitted into the Kuomintang, gradually planned treason which was evidenced by the following facts:

(A) In the Manifesto of the Hupeh Communist Party to their Comrades on October 10th, 1927, these treacherous statements were issued:

1. The Double Tenth Anniversary (National Day of the Republic of China) should be commemorated, but at present it is not worth commemorating, because internally the Traitors are not yet completely eradicated. In the future, when the "Soviet Russia Revolution Day" is achieved, then it is really worth commemorating.
2. The steps taken for Communistic Expansion in China should be as follows:
   a. At the outset, besides winning over the proletariat, it is necessary to try to win the confidence and support of the bourgeoise and the intelligentsia, in order to hasten the overthrow of the Militarists.
   b. To organize "Specific Groups" within the Kuomintang in order to superintend politics; then utilize politics to direct military tactics.
   c. After the Militarists were swept aside from the political arena, to utilize the proletariat to deal freely with the bourgeoise, the intelligentsia, and finally the Kuomintangnites.
   d. To use the dictatorship of the proletariat (laboring classes) merely as catpaws in the program. Eventually, get rid of the proletariat, so that the "purely Communistic Elements" will establish Communism in China.

(B) On March 6th 1927, at 8 p.m., I myself (Mr. Wu) and two comrades called on Chen Tu-shiu, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party. In the course of conversation, Chen Tu-shiu made this abrupt statement: "In twenty years China will practice the Communistic Doctrines of Lenin."

(C) Recently, the Hunan Provincial Kuomintang, under the influence of the Communists, has issued Slogans supporting Borodin.

Thus taking into careful consideration, (A) The Hupeh Communist Party Manifesto, (B) The Statement of the Communist Leader, Chen Tu-shiu, and (C) The Slogans Supporting Borodin, it was positive that the Communists were planning Treason, namely, that after twenty years' time, China will be forced to practice Communism, and that the Kuomintang of China will be exterminated. This will be the greatest catastrophe to China, the consequence of which the true Chinese Nationalists should never overlook !

It is ascertained that Borodin was a convicted criminal, and has frequently changed his nationality. Borodin was not his real name, but only a name in disguise. His position in the Soviet Communist Party was a Commissioner of the Inflammatory Committee. Consequently, his plots of instigation and segregation in the affairs of China have been both malicious and treacherous. Borodin's manner seemed to be kind and congenital, but it was all being "put on." He is inclined to tell lies, so Falsehood must be advocated in Chapter One of the "Communist Testament."

Borodin usurped the power of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government. In Hankow, he exercised his sway, unhindered and unchallenged by the group of Chinese "Political Opportunists" who affect to speak with the voice of China.

The above evidences have pointed out these positive facts ;

(1) That Borodin has already been administering the part of China under the Nationalist Government.

(2) That when the power of the Communist Party is strengthened and unified, China will be forced to practise Communism under the sole administration of Soviet Russia.

The all impelling consciousness of the danger has driven me, (Mr. Wu), to sound the Note of Warning to the entire Chinese Patriots, and utter the following statements in conclusion:—

(A) The Kuomintang of China absolutely refused to be exterminated by the Communists. Therefore it is necessary to stamp out the treacherous schemes of the Communist Party.

(B) The Kuomintang of China absolutely refused to allow China to degenerate to the undignified status of a mere appanage of Soviet Russia. Therefore it is necessary to prevent this Inequality and Disgrace by exposing and denouncing the imperialistic machinations of the Communists in China.

It must be noted that the Imperialistic plots of Soviet Russia threaten the sovereignty of China and strike at the very root of Chinese Political Freedom. Also they threaten to retard the consummation of the Nationalist Cause.

Thus the Treachery of the Communists are detrimental both to the Kuomintang and China. Extraordinary steps must at once be taken to prevent the occurrence of this great calamity, in order to "Preserve the Kuomintang and Salvate Nationalist China."

"Ching Tang"—Purge the Party of all the Undesirable Elements

OFFICIAL STATEMENT BY KUOMINTANG

(April, 1927.)

To understand clearly the objects of the movement for the purification of the Kuomintang Party, it is necessary to know first the actual conditions of the present time. We have not yet accomplished the aims of the Revolution. We are only at the beginning of the task; and while victory is already in sight, it is of the utmost importance at this juncture to carry on the Revolution to a successful end. We must stand together and face the common cause with a united mind. The slightest neglect on our part will not only defeat the Revolution, but will also make it impossible to attain the objects of liberty and equality for the Chinese nation.

Therefore, all members of the party must know the gravity of their responsibility. At this critical moment, the undesirable elements are unscrupulously and untiringly doing the work of destruction, and if we do not check it in an effective manner, it will not only mean the fall of the Party but also the failure of the Revolution. With this in view, we adopt the following for the purification of the Party. First, to purge the Party of the Communists, and Secondly, to purge the Party of the opportunists and other undesirable elements.

It will be remembered that when Dr. Sun Yat-sen admitted members of the Communist Party into the Kuomintang, he was quite aware of the fact that Communism was not fit for China. But as the Communist Party were ready to give up their Communistic belief, and willing to be directed by the Kuomintang in order to co-operate in the work of the Revolution, it was only natural that they should be admitted into the Party. But since the beginning of the Northern Expedition, while members of the Kuomintang have been labouring faithfully either on the field of battle or elsewhere, and while the militarists of the country have been gradually eliminated, the Communists, taking advantage of our success, have seized important cities as their centres for propaganda and usurped the power of the Party. Our military successes are being utilized by them to inflame the undesirable sections of the populace to undermine our forward move and to create disturbances in the rear.

Aside from the Communistic members who are to be condemned, there are also the opportunists and other undesirable elements in the Party. It is they who shamefully steal the name of the Party for their selfish gains, and it is also they who falsely use the power of the party for their personal activities and aggrandisement. Theirs is a crime no less serious than that of the Communists.

For the welfare of the Revolution as well as that of the Kuomintang, we are forced to adopt this strong measure to purge the Party of all the undesirable elements.

Purge the Party Slogans for the Chinese People.

THE FOLLOWING SLOGANS, PREPARED BY THE PUBLICITY COMMITTEE OF THE KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL SPECIAL KUOMINTANG, ARE AN EMBODIMENT OF THE AIMS AND SPIRIT OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

(May, 1927.)

1. Down with the Chinese Communist Party, which is treacherous to our late director, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

2. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which is against the San-Min-Chui-I, "The Three Principles of the People."

3. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which is destroying the People's Revolution.

4. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which is undoing the work of the Northern Expedition.

5. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which is utilizing bandits and labor usurpers to oppress the Peasants and Labourers.

6. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which is insulting and disgracing our late Director, Dr. Sun.

7. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which is plotting the downfall and destruction of the Kuomintang.

8. To be against "The Three Principles of the People" is to be a Counter-Revolutionary.

9. To be against the Kuomintang is to be a Counter-Revolutionary.

10. All power and authority belong to the Kuomintang.

11. All true and loyal comrades of the Kuomintang must unite and rise.

12. Down with all Counter-Revolutionaries.

13. Down with all Opportunists.

14. Concentrate the powers of the Kuomintang.

15. Down with all forms of Imperialism.

16. Down with the Fengtien clique of Militarists.

17. Eradicate all corrupt officials, greedy gentries, and unscrupulous merchants.

18. Purge the Kuomintang of all anti-revolutionists.

19. To call a Strike against the Kuomintang is Counter-revolutionary.

20. Those who refuse to come under the direction and guidance of the Kuomintang are not Revolutionaries.

21. The masses of the people must rise and clean up the Counter-revolutionary Chinese Communist Party.

22. The masses of the people must rise and support the Chinese Kuomintang.

23. Support the Central Government at Nanking.

24. Support the advancing Nationalist Forces.

25. Down with the bogus governments at Wuhan and at Peking.

26. Down with the most devilish Chinese Communist Party.

27. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which massacres the Kuomintang members.

28. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which gives up the Special District of Hankow.

29. Down with the Chinese Communist Party which compromises with the Fengtien militarists.

30. Down with the Cninese Communist Party which utilizes the masses of people as tools.

31. To clear out all the Chinese Communists who are in ambush.

32. To clear out all the Chinese Communists who are in disguise.

33. The true revolutionary soldiers must rise up and overthrow the Chinese Communist Party.

34. Down with those bad characters who take vengeance under the pretext of the "Ching Tang" Movement.

35. Down with those dishonest Kuomintang members who tolerate the Communist elements.

36. Execute Hsu Chien, Tang Yen-ta and others who betray the party and the country, and frustrate the Northern Punitive Expedition.

37. Execute those who are unworthy and covetous and who betray the Party and the country.

38. Execute Borodin who courses and disturbs China and the Kuomintang.

39. To clean up all the corrupt officials and political opportunists.

40. To clean up all the covetous officials. attendants, local Sharks, and unscrupulous gentries.

41. To deal severely with all the reactionaries.

42. To dismiss those who betray the party, endanger the country and are ungrateful to the masses of the people.

43. "The Three Principles of the People" are the principles for national salvation.

44. To realize all the party principles of the Kuomintang.

45. It is only the Kuomintang which can realize the welfare of the peasants and labourers.

46. To reclaim all concessions, leased and ceded territories.

47. To emancipate the Tibetans from the oppression of the Imperialists and the Mogolians from that of the Communists.

48. To unite all the revolutionary and oppressed People and make joint efforts to overthrow imperialism.

49. Long live the Success of the National Revolution.

50. Long live the Kuomintang of China.

Marshal Chiang Kai=Shih's Manifesto to the Nation

(August, 1926.)

China is very backward because of Imperialism. Imperialism is preventing China's economic development, bleeding her to death, to fatten its own capitalists, and further, to control her economic destiny. By her economic, political, educational, and other methods, it is cutting off our territory, opening ports, controlling customs, forcing the acceptance of unequal treaties, the carrying away of China's products, forcing delivery of raw materials at minor prices, reducing our country to a mere market place of the Imperialists. Imperialism is using our militarists to create confusion, and to destroy development of industries in China. This is done to further protect their own special powers. The militarists succeed to the ideas of the ancient monarchists, join with Imperialists in sacrificing the interests of the people and the industry of the nations.

Now in recent decades Yuan Shih-kai tried to be Emperor and Chang Hsun tried to restore the Emperor. Feng Kuah-chang and Hsu Hsi-chang tried to destroy the constitution, and Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu usurped positions and robbed the country. These all have trodden down the people so that China has become almost a feudalfief.

The purpose of the revolutionists is to break down Imperialism and Militarism and to create a free and independent nation, in order to protect the interests of the State and of the people. This has been the life idea of my Master, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Therefore our party has held the First and Second National Assembly and so I myself make this declaration.

Imperialism and Militarism keep each other, hence if we want to accomplish our work we must break down these. To do this we must unite the efforts of all the people to sweep away the militarists of the country and the influence of the Powers that oppose the revolution. When my Master was about to die he urged that we should go to fight with the Reactionaries. The aim of his declaration is not only to put down Tsao and Wu, but also to make once for all a clean sweep of all anti-Revolutionists, so that there might be no successions, not only to break down the militarists but also to strike down Imperialism on which the militarists rely. This must be done to root out all anti-Revolutionists forever, that China may come out of her feudalism and become a free and self-governing nation.

Also in my Master's declaration it is plainly said that after our victory we must use the power of the Revolutionary Government to sweep away all powers and influence of the anti-Revolutionists, to set free the people and to seek self-control, as regards foreigners, by abolishing all unequal treaties, and the bringing about of mutual self-respect, thus to sweep away all Imperialism in China that she may be elevated to a position of international equality.

The following are the concrete principles that are necessary and which must be realized:

1. To call a preparatory National Assembly of citizens, through which a true National Assembly of citizens may be called to solve the problem of the country, and to establish a unified National Government.

2. With regard to foreign countries, to abolish the unequal treaties, to revise or make equal treaties mutually honouring each other's sovereignty.

3. To evacuate all the foreign soldiers and warships which are domiciled in the interior of China.

4. To cancel consular jurisdiction.

5. To take back the Concessions.

6. To take back Customs autonomy.

7. To standardize the church schools, and to take back the rights of education.

8. To see that all foreign nations, unless having secured the permission of the Government of China, are not allowed freely to purchase and maintain any property or to institute any bank or to issue banknotes.

9. To organize a clean and pure Government, and drive away covetous officials and foul magistrates and clear out all accumulated corruptions of the former Government.

10. To confirm definitely the complete freedom of the people, as regards public assembly, organizing societies, and freedom of speech, of free press, and free residence and religion.

11. To unify the national finance, and to sweep away the corruption of likin.

12. To abolish the sur-taxes on agricultural land, to discontinue the collecting of the revenue in advance, to do away with all miscellaneous extortions, and to prohibit the assessing of military deficits on the poor people.

13. To remit all the revenue of debts in the famine areas, and place limits on rates of interest.

14. To prohibit the planting, transporting and smoking of opium.

15. Strictly urge co-operation between the armies and people, and to forbid billeting of soldiers by force upon the people or in the schools.

16. To develop the public natural sources of raw products, both national and provincial, and to develop industry.

17. The Government must find some means to grant certain amounts of money to relieve the people from flood, drought, catastrophe and famine, and keep low the price of rice, and to confiscate the property of rebels and enemies for relief.

18. To uphold and strengthen the organization of the bodies and their development of workers, farmers, merchants, and students, and by force to do away with all obstacles to their political rights.

19. All the provinces, having settled their military problems, may immediately give orders, according to my Master's principles for the founding of the nation, to establish local self-control, to carry out the election by the people of Provincial Civil Governors, the Magistrates, and Village Self-Controlling Bodies, and to arrange for the calling of town meetings, district meetings and the Provincial Assemblies in order to change and improve the political condition of each town, district and province.

20. To change and improve the system of tenure of agricultural land, and to determine by law the maximum limit of tax and rent, in order to improve the living conditions of the farmers.

21. To establish laws for labourers, and manufacturers, and the rules of the labour unions, to determine the minimum wages of labourers, and prohibit the cruel treatment by both foreign and Chinese employers and factory foremen; and to improve the sanitation of factories and especially protect the children and women workers.

22. Definitely fix educational expenses and disallow anybody to take or borrow school funds for any purpose; and to increase the salaries of the teachers of the primary schools, and decrease the tuition of students.

23. Improve the living conditions of soldiers, to provide for better education of the soldiers, and to confiscate the property of rebellious opponents to be used in part for the old, impotent, and maimed soldiers,

24. Definitely fix and increase the salaries of the sub-officers of the National Executive and Educational bodies and recognize their organizations.

25. To urge equality between man and woman and to enfranchise woman and established her right to hold office and all other legal rights on an equality with those of men,

26. To make a thorough census.

27. To make accurate survey of agricultural land.

28. To organize local militia in every village or country for self-protection.

29. To build highways in every district.

30. To repair and deepen the rivers.

31. Reforestation.

32. To improve the system of currency and prohibit the excessive issuing of banknotes.

33. To give Government aid to co-operative societies among the common people in order to provide for co-operation as between producers and consumers.

Of the above objects, all possible should be at once put into practice, and of the remainder I and my fathers and brethren pledge ourselves to the utmost for their accomplishment. To all our people (fathers and brethren) I state that the Revolution is for the benefit of both the country and the people, and it is truly of the people themselves. The people are the foundation of the revolution. The goal of the revolution is to strike down Imperialism. To do this we must have the support of all the people. Now the gathering together of the Armies at Wuchang is to break down Imperialism. To strike down Wu Pei-fu and a few other militarists cannot be regarded as the sole end of the Revolution. Hence, fathers and brethren, quickly come together under the "Blue Sky and White Sun" (the revolutionary flag) and give yourselves to this cause, for your own great benefit, to the organization of revolutionary bodies, for the strengthening and establishment of the army and of the Kuomintang Government. Also all those people who are not yet under the sway of the Kuomintang army should quickly organize and promote the work of Revolution. Do not sit still, but accomplish your revolutionary duty."

A Circular Telegram, Jointly Signed by Marshal Chiang Kai=shih and Marshal Feng Yu=hsiang.

(Hsuchowfu, June 21, 1927.)

Editor's Note: As a result of the Hsuchowfu Conference, the following telegram was issued as a further testimony to the complete agreement between the two Nationalist Commanders. The joint statement reads as follows:

"For 40 years our late leader had devoted his energy to Nationalist revolution, that national sovereignty and international equality be secured for China.

"This aim was almost realized in 1911, when the Manchu Dynasty fell and when the Republic of China was established—which, as a matter of fact, must be considered as the initial step leading to ultimate liberation of our 400,000,000 brethren.

"Yet out of the dynastic vestige which was still then evident autocratic militarism reared its head. From the date of Yuan's ascension, in alliance with foreign imperialism, it had wrought such havoc among our people that for more than a decade their existence had been vegetating between fire and water.

"Out of their intense suffering, the people came to realize by whom they have been victimized, and have, on the present occasion, given expression to their righteous indignation in popular uprising.

"It is in compliance with such earnest demand of the people and in perpetuating the unfulfilled wish of our late leader that the Northern Punitive Expedition was launched. We, Chiang Kai-shih and Feng Yu-hsiang, in the company of our martial comrades, have not been unsuccessful in this effort; in the campaign which covered the distance of tens of thousands of miles, these erstwhile formidable, militaristic robber-barons in turn met with their just desert.

"But for one day the militaristic partisans of imperialism still exist, for one day, we and our martial comrades should consider that our duties remain undischarged.

"At this most critical juncture, when our armies are gathering on the Honan-Shantung border to administer the last blow in exterminating militarism, therefore, we deem it important to declare again our attitude in all sincerity to our brethren:

"That we, Chiang Kai-shih and Feng Yu-hsiang and the tens of thousands of officers and soldiers under our command, are fervent believers in "The Three Principles of the People."

"That in the company of the other revolutionary armies, we solemnly pledge to fight to the last man for "The Three Principles of the People."

"That we would not be moved by whatever temptations; would not dodge, however, overwhelming be the difficulties, and would not flinch, however costly may be the sacrifice that we are called upon to make. For, we are determined to wipe out the tools of the Imperialists off this fair land of ours.

"For, we are determined to bring the Nationalist Revolution to a successful conclusion.

"Be our armies the armies of the People, be our success the success of the People.

"This, we reverently address to our brethren.

"Chiang Kai-shih."

"Feng Yu-hsiang."

Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang's Telegram to Hankow.

(June 21st., 1927.)

Editor's Note: A message has been sent to Wang Ching-wei, Teng Yen-tah and others in Hankow by Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang as a result of the Conference at Hsuchowfu with Marshal Chiang Kai-shih and other officials of the Nanking Nationalist Government. Marshal Feng's firm stand against Communism clarifies the Nanking Northern Offensive, aids the plan to continue the Northern Campaign, and thus hastens the consummation of the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. The text of Marshal Feng's Telegram is as follows:

"When I met you gentlemen in Chengchow, we talked of the oppression of the merchants, other members of the gentry and of labour oppressing factory owners and farmers oppressing land owners. The People wish to suppress this form of despotism. Many soldiers fighting at the front have been suffering from having their families mistreated in Honan and elsewhere in Central China. In the name of the Nationalist Party many things have been done which are wrong. There is an effort now being made to throw the country into further confusion merely for the personal benefits of a few individuals. Many of the radical element have worked their way into the party organization in an effort to control the Kuomintang movement and have done all the unlawful things they can do.

"Members of the higher party organizations have sought to stop this reaction of unrest in the party but radicals have refused to obey orders.

"We also talked of the remedies for this situation. The only solution which we discussed, is as I see it as follows: First, Borodin who already has resigned should return to his own country immediately. Secondly, those members of the Central Executive Committee of the Hankow Regime who wish to go abroad for rest should be allowed to do so. Others may join the Nationalist Government at Nanking if they desire.

"In Hsuchowfu I discussed this problem with the officials of the Nanking Nationalist Government. When they heard the results of our conversations in Chengchow they were both joyous and sad. They have welcomed the above suggestions. Both Nanking and Hankow, I believe, understand their mutual problems.

"I do not need to remind you gentlemen, of course, that our country is facing a severe crisis, but in view of this I feel constrained to insist that the present is a good time to unite the Nationalist factions in a fight against our common enemies. It is my desire that you accept the above solution and reach a conclusion immediately. Individual conflicts may be easily overcome so that the revolution may succeed in the shortest possible time, and so that Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of People" be put into effect, since they are the only salvation for our country.

"We must revere the memory of Dr. Sun, and we must remember those brave soldiers who have given their lives in the cause and who have not yet been buried, and our wounded have not yet been healed. Thousands in the North still under the heels of the militarists are anxious for our help. We must unite forthwith.

"General Tang Seng-chi is patriotic and is still a revolutionary so he should send troops to Cheng-chow immediately to co-operate with me in order to capture Peking and complete the task of our Northern expedition. I sincerely feel these suggestions and expect you to accept them."

Marshal Chiang Kai=shih's Reply to the Various Organizations

(April, 1927.)

Below is a reply by Marshal Chiang Kai-shih to The General Labour Union of Kwangtung, The Mechanics Labour Union of Kwangtung, The Revolutionary Workers Joint Federation of Kwangtung, The Oil Workers General Union of Kwangtung, The Students Union of Kwangtung, The Students Union of Canton and The Women's Movement General Alliance:—

"I have received comrade Hu Ching-an and duly noted your letter. You have given me a quite clear account of the root of the troubles in the present situation as well as the evil intrigues of the extremists. The measures to deal with same as proposed by you are also practicable. You have therefore my highest esteem for your enthusiasm towards the party and the nation.

Out of respect for the wishes of our late Director in admitting the Chinese Communist, I have, since the North Expedition been treating them with sincerity without discrimination, hoping that we could work hand in hand to accomplish the National Revolution. Quite unexpectedly, some elements of the C. P. were of different opinion. They tried to disturb the rear and to discourage our forces when the fighting was at its height before the capture of Shanghai and Nanking.

Being entrusted by the Party with a great responsibility, I cannot throw my duty over under such vexatious circumstances. All I have to do is to adhere to my original resolution of sacrificing myself for the revolution and to support the "Three Principles of the People" in order to console the spirit of our late Director in heaven. I have again to thank you for your appreciation and hope that you will unite yourselves strenuously to save the party and the nation."

General Li Tsai-sum's Circular Telegram

During forty years of work, our late director, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was able to organise the Kuomintang, so that comrades who follow his uncompleted work may persevere in the struggle. By sacrifice and struggle we have been able to extend our influence over more than half of China. Just at this time when rejoicing that success has at last been attained, China will surely not entangle itself in trouble. A telegram has been received from Marshal Chiang Kai-shih saying that since Mr. Wang Ching-wei's return they have had many talks together and plans of National and Party importance have been made by Marshal Chiang and Mr. Wang. Marshal Chiang Kai-shih and Mr. Wang Ching-wei having obviously shown themselves in the past to be great leaders of the Kuomintang, my opinion is that they should act together to accomplish the unfinished purpose of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and to save the nation.

(Signed) Li Tsai-sum.

(April 15th, 1927.)

A Proclamation.

HEADQUARTERS TWENTY-SIXTH NATIONALIST ARMY.

Our Chinese workmen have been admired by the world for their endurance and obedience, but with the increase in industrial activity there has come a menace in the form of strikes and walkouts.

When Shanghai was recently taken by our armies, many workmen were induced or forced by mutineers to leave their employment and to parade and join various unlawful associations, and to otherwise countenance unlawful activities.

Through my advice to workers and other steps which have been taken many factories are again running. There are cases, however, where simple-minded workers are still deluded by agitators. To them I wish to offer this advice:

1. The manufacturing and commercial conditions of China are quite different from those of Europe and America. Because of this difference the treatment accorded to workmen must be different. Chinese workmen, consequently, cannot expect the same treatment as that accorded to workmen in other countries.

2. Chinese workmen are fortunate in that they can if they wish make China a real industrial nation by gaining full knowledge of the industries with which they are affiliated. This fact has apparently been lost sight of in following professional agitators who are very selfish and who are seeking to sacrifice the laboring classes only for their own benefit.

3. If, in following the advice of these agitators and law violators, a strike occurs, the loss of valuable time and the money which that valuable time would bring to the workmen is the only result. Although some of the workmen who go on strike have money for the rainy day, others have not. These last starve themselves and starve their families. It is absolutely foolish to strike, for it is both unlawful and a loss of livelihood.

4. When a strike is in effect the factories are closed. Consequently the Nationalist government and the Nationalist armies are forced to buy foreign made goods merely because there are no native productions. This is death not only to the country's commerce, but to patriotism as well.

From the above four points it is plain that strikes are not only harmful, but they have not a single advantage.

The Nationalist Government is now facing and executing the task of clearing away the bacteria which causes the disturbances in the laboring classes—and making the source of this disturbance clear.

Hereafter when professional agitators or others in the laboring classes plan to induce otherwise good workmen to strike, commit unlawful acts or violence we ask that the factories and the good workmen report them to the headquarters of this army that they may be severely punished. Only by doing this may we be able to protect the good workmen and see that they are well treated.

April 22, 1927.

Chow Vung Chee,
Commander of The Twenty-Sixth
Nationalist Army; and
Vice-Cmmander of the Shanghai
and Sungkiang Defence Area.

Mass Meeting to Celebrate the "Ching Tang" Movement and the Removal of the Nationalist Capital to Nanking

"The mass meeting to celebrate the "Ching Tang" Movement and the removal of the Nationalist capital to Nanking was held at East Parade Ground Canton, on April 28th commencing at noon. Brilliant sunshine favored the celebration which was attended by over 50,000 people, including laborers, peasants, students, merchants, soldiers, and people of all classes.

Various platforms were erected on the Parade Ground. On every platform was hung the picture of Dr. Sun Yat-sen surmounted by the Party and National flags. After the formal ceremony of three bows and recital of Dr. Sun's Last Will, addresses were delivered by high officials of the Party and Government expressing the determination of the leaders and the people to adhere to the principles of Dr. Sun and the Kuomintang which were the supreme authority behind the National Revolution.

The following resolutions were read and enthusiastically supported by the meeting.

1. Support the Executive and Control Committee of the Central Government at Nanking.
2. Support the C. P. Elimination Movement decided by the Central Executive and Control Committee.
3. Support the removal of the National capital to Nanking.
4. Support Marshal Chiang Kai-shih's continuation of the Northern Expedition.
5. Repudiate all proposals passed at the illegitimate conference at Wuhan.
6. Appeal to the Central Executive Control Committee to prohibit the announcement of the slogans of the Left and Right elements, since they tend to split the Kuomintang.
7. Issue a circular telegram to call for united action of all the people of China to rid China of Communist elements.
8. Support the Special Committee of Kwangtung.
9. Oppose armed intervention of the foreign Imperialists.
10. Spread the "Ching Tang" movement in Kwangtung, so as to be rid of Communists and reactionary elements completely.

Following the meeting the gathering formed into a procession; the parade, led by a military and naval band, started from the East Parade Ground, passed

through Wai Oi Road, Wing Hon Road, The Bund, Tai Ping Road, and dismissed at Sai Kwa Yuen at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

All shops and stores, restaurants and tea-shops, were closed for the day. A public holiday was declared, and the city was beflagged."

The Revolutionary War.

The present war now waging in the central part of China and elsewhere is a war between progressive Nationalists and reactionary militarists and NOT between the North and the South, as invariably described by foreign imperialists and "running dogs" of imperialists. China is one nation—one whole undivided nation. There is no line of demarkation between the North and the South. In fact there is no such thing as the North and the South, for China is one and inseparable. Moreover, there is no such thing as Northern militarists and Southern militarists. Militarists like Chang Tso-lin, Chang Tsung-chang, Sun Chuan-fang, Wu Pei-fu and others are merely militarists and must be gotten rid of. No matter from what part of China they come, they are militarists. Why should they be differentiated into Northern militarists and Southern militarists?

Foreign imperialists and all the reactionary "running dogs" of foreign imperialists use such terms to beset our revolutionary plans, to keep our country weak and in a divided condition for their own selfish exploitation and to create antagonism among our people of the various parts of our country. Such has been and still is the aim of foreign imperialists. Foreign imperialistic newspapers of Hongkong and elsewhere have always glibly and intentionally used the words "War Between the North and the South," "Northerners," "Southerners," "Cantonese," and various other misleading terms. As far as the people are concerned, China is not any more divided than any other country. To use such grossly misleading terms is really a fantastic perversion of facts.

This being the case, then what are we fighting for? In other words what is this Revolutionary War? For what purpose is it waged? and against whom?

Correct answers to these questions are found in facts. The present Revolutionary War is the people's Revolutionary War. The people are fighting for their own political rights and justice which have been taken away from them by these

viscious foreign imperialists and reactionary militarists. They are fighting for their territorial integrity and political independence. They are fighting for their very freedom and better livelihood. They are fighting against their immediate oppressors —the cruel and reactionary militarists, land sharks, greedy merchants and local ruffians. In short, they are fighting for the realization of the noble and sublime principles and policies of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Founder of the Kuomintang and the revered Father of the Republic of China.

This being the purpose of the Revolutionary War, there is and there should not be the slightest differentiation as to localities. No matter what part of China one is from, if he is a real faithful member of the Kuomintang, a loyal and true follower of the late Dr. Sun, and practices the principles for which he stood, he is a Nationalist. We repeat: a person with these qualifications is a Nationalist. It matters not where or what part of China he is from. He may be from Peking, in the very territory of the bandit warlord Chang Tso-lin; yet he is a Nationalist.

From this it is very clear that the present Revolutionary War is NOT a war between the North and the South, as foreign imperialists and others would glibly say and have us believe. It is really, a war between progressive Nationalists and reactionary militarists. Hence it is absolutely and literally incorrect to say that it is a war between the North and the South.

Editorial, The Canton Gazette.

May 23, 1927.

Greetings of The Women's Movement General Alliance of China to The Federation of Feminist Organizations of Other Countries.

CANTON, CHINA.
May 24, 1927.

Dear Friends:—

The Women's Movement General Alliance of China cordially sends Greetings to The Federation of Feminist Organizations of Other Lands.

We acknowledge with thanks the letter (dated April 25th), and the far-sighted resolutions of The British Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. We wish to express our heartfelt appreciation for your friendly greetings, sympathy and goodwill in China's Nationalist Cause. The dawn of a New China is approaching; and our hope for Peace and Freedom is just as earnest as yours!

The Chinese women as a whole, have joined the ranks of the world feminists in the Fight for Freedom and Equality. Thus we wish to take this opportunity to introduce ourselves to The Feminist Organizations of Other Lands.

We pledge to do our utmost for the Salvation of China and the Kuomintang. We concern ourselves with better International Understanding between China and the Powers, so that genuine goodwill shall be achieved. We assist in the women's emancipation movement; we help in the education of the masses; and we participate in the National Revolution, which aims to elevate China to a state of Freedom and Independence, and to promote the general welfare of the Chinese people.

To-day, China is in the midst of a titanic struggle to take her entitled place among the Family of Nations. The World will be better for a modern, progressive, and independent China, hence the following points in regard to the relations between China and the Powers, merit your serious considerations:

(a) Observance of strict neutrality in the internal affairs of China.
(b) Avoidance of any threats or provocative displays of force and war measures.
(c) Abrogation of the unequal and humiliating treaties.
(d) Saving the world from "Gigantic Blunder" in China.

In conclusion, we cordially invite your cooperation with us in the endeavour to solve China's greatest problem by practical wisdom, and peaceful negotiations with The Chinese Nationalist Government at Nanking. Surely an intelligent and reasonable solution will contribute a great deal towards World Peace and Freedom!

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) (Mrs.) Leung Yih Su-chi, M.A.
On behalf of the Executive Committee.

Origin and Aims of the Nationalist Party

BY CHANG WEI CHIU

Outside China the Kuomintang, or People's Party, which is now showing its strength in so remarkable a manner, has been of late regarded as a Bolshevist organization for the simple reason that it has accepted assistance from Soviet Russia. To what extent the Kuomintang has been Bolshevized is not known. Even the extent of material aid in money, munitions and strategists is a matter of conjecture. In the meantime, however, it is possible to clear up some of this "Oriental mystery" by an exposition of what the Kuomintang stood for before—and therefore quite independently of—any possible Bolshevist influence.

As a party the Kuomintang is more than thirty years old. It was first, though known by another name, a secret revolutionary organization under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Until 1911 China was a monarchy under the tyrannical grip of the non-Chinese Manchus, who were impotent to deal with both the internal and the external problems then confronting China. Within were political corruption and racial hatred between Chinese and Manchus; without were designing and aggressive foreign nations. The disintegration of China seemed imminent. To avert this impending catastrophe Dr. Sun led his party in a revolutionary movement to overthrow the Manchu monarchy. The revolution had been brewing since 1895, and in 1911 the Manchu monarchy was deposed, in its stead a modern republican form of government was inaugurated.

From 1911 to 1912 the Kuomintang played a conspicuous part in the formation of the republic, of which Dr. Sun was the first President. Indeed, the party was so powerful that Yuan Shi-kai, Dr. Sun's successor, "dissolved" it. With hundreds of his party associates Dr. Sun was thus exiled to Japan, where he reorganized the party on a revolutionary basis to rescue China from the reactionary mandarin forces that had their centre in Peking Since 1914 the Kuomintang has gone through varied experiences—experiences which have served to make clear to its leaders the necessity for continuing its revolutionary activities so as to establish China on the basis of certain definite principles.

These principles, which have been formulated in the light of existing conditions in China and the experience of Western nations, are as old as the party itself. They are three in number—"The Three Principles of the People," as they are popularly called in China. There is nothing strange to an American about them. Dr. Sun, when an exile in the United States, being once asked to explain to an American inquirer what "The Three Principles of the People" were, answered simply, Government of the Chinese people, by the Chinese people, for the Chinese people.

The first principle is nationalism, that is, the emancipation of the Chinese people from foreign rule or control, and equality of all racial groups within China. Before 1911 the rallying cry of the party was "Down with the Manchus." When, however, the Manchus were overthrown, the party had to face a greater peril—European and Japanese imperialism. Hence the formulas, "Down with Imperialism" and "China for the Chinese"—in other words, "government of the people"—the Chinese people. In this formula we have the key to the rise of the new nationalism—a new impulse in China which has had a cultural but not a national consciousness, "patriotism," as it has been understood in the West.

In defining political democracy, the second principle, Dr. Sun made the distinction between direct and indirect democracy. By the former he meant the rights of initiative, referendum and recall; by the latter the right to vote. "These," he declared, "are the four essential rights of the people in a democracy, in which the people not only vote candidates into offices, but, if need be, also recall them after they are seated, and possess the right to initiate laws or to vote upon them after these laws have passed the Legislature." Government under Dr. Sun's principles is to be divided into five branches—the Legislature, the judiciary, the executive, the civil service (with selection of both civil and military officers by competitive examination) and an impeaching body, or censors (to bring any guilty official, even the highest in the land, to the bar of justice). "The establishment of this independent impeaching body," Dr. Sun declared with emphasis, "will tend to lessen particularly the corruption practiced at elections prevailing in the so-called parliamentary democracies in the West. The modern democratic system has become a convenient tool of one class of the people, the capitalist class, to exploit the poor. But under the principle of the Kuomintang we will establish a political democracy not for the benefit of the few rich men but for the benefit of all. Ours is a government by the people, the common people."

The third principle is that of economic democracy; which again has two aspects, the re-adjustment of land-ownership and the regulation of capital. The National Government, according to this principle, should make laws regulating the rent of land, land taxation and the use and value of land based upon report of the landowner himself. As, Dr. Sun put it, "A landowner will neither underrate nor overrate his land, because if he underrates it he must sell at that valuation, while if he overrates it he must bear the added burden of taxation." In an attempt at ridding China of the tenant evil the Kuomintang principle calls on the Government to provide land for those in need of it, and also the establishment of rural credit banks. With regard to the regulation of capital, the party holds that all enterprises of a monopolistic nature or conducted on such a scale as is beyond the financial resources of individuals (for example, railways, banks and shipping) should be undertaken by the National Government. These two economic proposals aim at securing "government for the people."

THE KUOMINTANG PLATFORM

The present policies, or platform, of the Kuomintang, formulated at the national convention of the party in January, 1924, reaffirmed at the last convention in February, 1926, are as follows:

(A) FOREIGN POLICIES

1. All present treaties not based on the principle of equality between China and any foreign power to be abrogated (thus conveying extraterritoriality, foreign control of tariff, "spheres of influence" and all other political privileges enjoyed by foreign powers at the expense of China,) and all other future treaties to be based on such equality.

2. Any nation voluntarily relinquishing such special privileges is to be treated by China as in actual fact a "most favored nation."

3. No foreign loan made to China to be repudiated unless detrimental to the political and economic rights of China, or contracted by an irresponsible government for illegitimate uses.

4. A national convention of such groups as chambers of commerce, banking associations and educational associations, to be called to advise ways and means to free China from economic bondage to foreign powers by refunding foreign loans.

(B) DOMESTIC POLICIES

1. The Kuomintang advocates a middle course between a centralized and a decentralized form of government.

2. Each Province to have the right to establish its own constitution and elect its own officers as it sees fit. Whenever the National and the Provincial constitutions are in conflict, the former prevails. The Governor of a Province to have a dual function as executive of the Province and as representative of National Government."

3. A *Hsien*, or district, shall be recognized as the local administrative unit for self-government, electing and recalling its officers thereof, and initiating and voting upon laws.

All taxes from lands and revenues from water power, forests and mining to go to the Treasury of the *Hsien* Government.

The National Government to give grant-in-aid to any *Hsien* for certain public purposes.

Each *Hsien* to contribute to the Treasury of the National Government a certain percentage of its receipts, from 10 to 50 per cent.

4. A universal suffrage law to be enacted, replacing the existing election law based upon property ownership.

5. A civil service system to be established.

6. Compulsory military conscription to supersede the present recruiting system, and the economic and legal status of the army and navy to be raised, and agricultural and vocational training to be given to soldiers.

7. The right of the people to assemble, to organize and to express themselves in speech or in writing to be guaranteed; and the right of residence and freedom of belief to be protected.

8. The idle and the vicious to be put to compulsory work.

9. Land revenues and rents to be regulated by law, and unnecessary taxes such as *likin* to be abolished.

10. A census to be taken; arable land conserved; and both production and consumption of the people regulated, so as to distribute equitably the wealth of the nation.

11. Labor laws to be enacted; working conditions improved, and labor organizations protected and encouraged.

12. Equality of sex in the legal, economic and educational fields to be promoted.

13. Universal education to be provided.

14. Industrial enterprises of a monopolistic nature or beyond the financial resources of individual entrepreneurs to be undertaken by the National Government.

These are the minimum demands of the Kuomintang, and "constitute the first immediate step to the salvation of China." That the Kuomintang is a nationalistic party is evident. The enthusiasm and vigor which the party has recently manifested in its opposition to the Peking Government and to the foreign imperialistic powers, show no direct inspiration by Bolshevism. Other reasons plainly account for the present hold of the Kuomintang upon the Chinese people. The salvation of China has been the party's definite and positive purpose from its beginning. The Canton Government, which has been under the control of the party, has evidenced a degree of efficiency, honesty and progressiveness in striking contrast to the dilapidated Peking Government. Furthermore, the Kuomintang has tenaciously and successfully boycotted the Hongkong Government—in Chinese eyes, the only bright page in the history of China's foreign relations.

THE INSPIRATION OF SUN YAT-SEN.

Perhaps the most important reason for the phenomenal growth of the Kuomintang is the inspiring personality of its founder, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, patriot and fighter, who dedicated his life to the cause of China. To members of the party Dr. Sun is a martyr, the focus of a new national religion. His principles are being taught in schools, including the missionary schools in the Province of Kwangtung, as a required course, and are daily preached to the youth, to the army, to

workingmen and to the people as a whole. Whenever and wherever the Kuomintang holds sway, Dr. Sun's parting message is recited before the opening of any meeting. Particularly in the Province of Kwangtung the daily routine of the school children invariably begins with a bow to Dr. Sun's picture and a recitation of his parting message. This message, which is being thus graven on the minds of so many millions of Chinese, reads:

For forty years I (Dr. Sun) devoted my life to a revolutionary cause in an attempt to elevate China to a state of freedom and independence. My experience of these eventful years has absolutely convinced me that to attain this cherished goal we must enlist the support of the great mass of people at home and work in cooperation with those nations which treat us on the basis of equality.

The revolutionary movement has not as yet succeeded, and it is therefore imperative that all my fellow-workers should do their utmost in order to realize my "Reconstruction Plan," "Outlines of Reconstructive Policies," "The Three Principles of the People," and the policies enunciated in the manifesto of the Kuomintang at the first national convention.

Fight on, my fellow-workers, with renewed vigor to bring about a People's Convention for the solution of our national problems and to abolish the unequal treaties with foreign nations. These things must be done in the shortest time possible.

(SIGNED) SUN WEN (SUN YAT-SEN)

Nationalism, not Bolshevism, is the driving force that moves China to-day.

Two Interesting Proclamations Issued by the Nationalist Government in Nanking.

(May, 1927.)

(a) Dealing with the Foreigners Generally.

"The aim of the Anti-Northern Punitive Expedition is to wipe out the militarists in order to put into practice throughout China "The Three Principles of the People" laid down by our late President, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and to free our Northern brothers, from bondage. It is not

our policy to make foreigners our enemies. Military officers and soldiers naturally love their country, as do the people as a whole, and it is undesirable that there should be actions which tend to strain the friendly relations existing now between the Nationalist Government and the Powers. All concerned are hereby warned not to fire on foreign gunboats or merchantmen, not to interfere with or molest foreigners, and not to endanger the lives and properties of foreign residents. The Nationalist Government will not tolerate any such acts. The authorities will be held fully responsible for the protection of the lives and properties of foreigners and all steps must be taken to strengthen the friendly relations now existing with the Powers. All are hereby warned to take note."

(b) **Dealing with the Christian Religion.**

"The public is hereby notified that special care must be taken to discriminate between the slogans "Down with Imperialism" and "Down with Foreigners and Religion." While it is the duty and the aim of the Nationalists to fight Imperialism, it is also the duty of the Nationalist Government to afford to the public the right of freedom of religion, be they Chinese or foreigners. All concerned are hereby warned that any action adopted with a view to causing trouble with missions will not be allowed to pass with impunity. The local officials are hereby ordered to take note to this proclamation and to take special precautions to see that it is obeyed to the letter."

Marshal Chiang Kai-shih's Address at the Reception held at The Shanghai Chinese General Chamber of Commerce,

(July 7, 1927.)

"I consider it is a glory for me to be the guest of honour to-day. At the time when I first started the anti-Northern expedition all communists condemned me, saying that I would surely establish a Government which would be under the influence of capitalists. In order to avoid the struggle amongst the different classes of people, it is absolutely necessary to overthrow the communists. I have long been

impressed that our merchants are in a similar condition as labourers. Merchants are undergoing the same hardships as labourers. Without the assistance of merchants we can never make the revolutionary work in China a success, and bring about the unification of our country. The teachings of "The Three Principles of the People" are entirely different to those of communism. If the work of the citizens' revolution comes to a conclusion, the communist party is sure to collapse and each and every member of the communist party must be got rid of. This is simply because the teachings of "The Three Principles of the People" are exactly contrary to the communistic principles. The former allows each individual the right of preserving his property, while the latter does not.

"What is the object of the present revolution? Our object is to attain financial independence and racial equality. If we succeed in obtaining financial independence we can then secure racial equality. China is under the oppression of imperialists. We must, therefore, carry out revolutionary activities. During the period of the revolution our object is to secure freedom and equality for each individual. The principle of the communist party is to produce class struggles amongst people in various walks of life. In the meantime communists are endeavouring to injure the revolutionary movement.

"Shanghai is the commercial centre in China. Communists have detailed a number of men to Shanghai to carry out propaganda, to foment struggles among people in various walks of life, thus disturbing peace and good order in this locality, and hindering the progress of the revolutionary activities. Not only merchants have suffered at their hands, but our national organization is also greatly affected. Therefore, we have no alternative but to overthrow the communists.

"Look at the perilous situation in which our country is at present! Foreign countries have despatched warships to China. They are oppressing us harshly. How can we avoid lamenting under such circumstances? Foreigners have resorted to such activities on the plea that they desire to offer protection to their nationals, but in reality they are hindering the progress of the revolutionary movement. They are of the opinion that if once China succeeds in her revolutionary work, she would undoubtedly demand financial independence, and should China succeed in securing financial independence they would no longer be able to carry out their oppressive policy. Therefore, the act on the part of

foreigners in despatching warships to China is directed towards endangering the success of the revolutionary work in China. The are barring the progress of our 400,000,000 people.

"As regard fighting at the front, it is a very easy task. The army comrades in the front dye their heads with blood. What appears to be the most serious of problems is the que-tion of finance. If we have no financial support, not only we could gain no victories, but the revolutionary work is likely to end in failure.

"In conclusion, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to you all for the welcome you have shown me and the Mayor of the Shanghai District Government. I am confident that Mayor Wang will observe the directions of the late Chief of the Kuomintang Party in order to secure freedom and equality for the Shanghai people. I presume in less than three years our object of restoring foreign settlements can be attained on amicable terms."

Compliments of the Kuomintang of China,

The Central Political Council,

The Canton Branch,

Canton, China.

To dear brother Mow.
From Sister Susan.
(Note: I had the responsibility of being the sole "editor" of this pamphlet. what do you think of it, brother dear?)

The Revolutionary Movement has not as yet succeeded,

All my fellow-workers should fight on with renewed vigor!

.....Dr. SUN YAT-SEN.