"The Chinese people have been deprived for years of means to sustain a government; they have had fastened on them obsolete and unjust treaties, and they have had revolution, which always means turmoil. But national feeling in China will compel respect. Warships and Gatling guns and dead students may mislead some, but the forces which determine the actions of the great nations lie deeper."

—William E. Borah.

Bulletin No. 6
Issued by
The American Committee for Fair Play in China
May, 1927
A CENTURY OF CONQUEST AND CHANGE IN CHINA

1840-42—The "Opium War" between China and Great Britain. Results: Hongkong ceded to Great Britain; Shanghai, Ningpo, Canton, Foochow, and Amoy opened to foreign trade; indemnity of $21,000,000 paid by China.

1852-64—The Taiping Rebellion against the Manchu Government, originating near Canton and advancing northward as far as Nanking. Ultimate suppression in 1864 by northern forces with English and American volunteer assistance.

1858—Sino-Russian treaty by which China yielded about 360,000 square miles of territory bordering Mongolia and Manchuria. Invasion by Great Britain and France, resulting in the opening up to trade of Tientsin, Newchang, Tengchow, Chiungchow, Chaochow, Kiukiang, Hankow, and Chinkiang; toleration of Christianity; payment by China of 4,000,000 taels, and legalization of the opium traffic.

1873—Opening up for trade of Ichang, Wuhu, Wenchow, Pehai, and Chungking, in response to demand of Great Britain.

1887—Macao seized by Portugal.

1894—War with Japan. Results: Formosa ceded and indemnity of $100,000,000 paid by China.

1897—Darien and Port Arthur leased to Russia.

1898—Kwanchow-wan leased to France for 99 years as reparation for the murder of a French missionary.

Wei-hai-wei leased to Great Britain for 25 years.

Kowloon leased to Great Britain for 99 years.

1899—The "Open Door" policy (all nations to respect China's territorial and political sovereignty and to enjoy equal opportunities for trade with China) declared by the United States, all Powers agreeing.

1900—The Boxer Uprising, and its suppression by an allied force of eight foreign powers. Results: Indemnity of 450,000,000 taels to be paid to the foreign powers involved; permission to maintain military guards at various points, (the Peking legation quarter, the Peking-Tientsin railway, etc.). During the last twenty years the foreign powers beginning with the United States in 1904 have remitted their portions of this indemnity.

1904—Invasion of Tibet by Great Britain.

1911—Establishment of the Chinese Republic with Dr. Sun Yat Sen as first president.

1915—Imposition of the Twenty-one Demands upon China by Japan.

1916—Participation of China in the Great War.


1921—Washington Conference. Subsequent restoration to China of Shantung and promise of future grants.

1923—Relinquishment by Russia of her unilateral treaty rights in China.

1925-26—The Customs Conference, which was to consider means of achieving customs autonomy for China. No definite result.

1926—The Nationalist Army begins its northward campaign of unification. Report of the Extraterritoriality Commission, which suggested certain reforms in foreign administration in China, but did not advise any drastic steps towards the abolition of Extraterritoriality. The British Memorandum, advising reforms in foreign policy in China. No appreciable concessions actually made.

1927—Passage in the House of Representatives of the Porter Resolution urging revision of unilateral treaties between the United States and China. No further action. British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang formally turned over to Chinese administration. Eight foreign nations dispatch "defense" forces to China as a result of the Nationalist advance.
A FEW RESULTS

China is passing through one of the great crises of her whole long history, perhaps the greatest of all. Events of the last century have made revolutionary changes in her government, in her standards of industry, and in the intellectual and national consciousness of her people. These changes have been hastened and crystallized by the steady penetration of foreign nations in China, a process accompanied by territorial depredations, by political and economic domination, and the forced introduction of trade. Out of them have emerged China's two great problems today: the unification and reconstruction of her political and social fabric; and the campaign towards liberation from oppressive foreign control.

Present Treaty Status Between China and the Powers

The basis from which the majority of these changes have proceeded, either directly or indirectly, lies in the provisions of the treaties negotiated between China and the foreign powers. Aside from territorial grants, the four main privileges thus won from China, are: extraterritoriality or immunity from Chinese law; the right to determine the import and export taxes; foreign concessions in treaty ports; and permission granted to foreign warships to patrol Chinese inland waters under the jurisdiction of their own governments.*

These privileges have furthered the development of foreign industrial and commercial interests, and the introduction of western ideas; on the other hand, they have contributed to China's political and economic demoralization, and to a growing rebellion on the part of her people against treaty restrictions, and against the psychology which has assumed that the prestige and prosperity of the West in the East must be achieved at all costs.

Diplomatic Relationships Among the Powers

During these years mutual suspicions and jealousies have grown up among the foreign powers in China. England and Japan are rivals for Chinese trade. England has led in volume of trade with China, and has consequently had the right to appoint the director of the Customs Administration. Japan holds second place and challenges England's leadership on a technicality. These facts have influenced the policies of both countries. Japan and Russia have coveted Manchuria in the past. Japan still guards against any movement from Russia which could be interpreted as an invasion of Manchuria. While England has felt obliged to maintain a "strong" front in China not only for the sake of her interests there, but for the effect on her Indian Empire. The Indian Nationalist Party is outspokenly friendly towards Nationalist China.

At present England's policy is largely dictated by her distrust of Russia. Other nations with similar interests in China cannot fail to be affected by England's stand. Her enterprises have penetrated most deeply into Chinese soil and institutions; British investments top the $1,000,000,000 mark; her trade is estimated in round figures at $500,000,000, and last, and perhaps most important of all, the majority of all news from China comes through British controlled news agencies,* or through correspondents who, through

*A more detailed discussion of these treaties is contained in bulletin No. 5, "The Unequal Treaties."

*The Associated Press, for example, cooperates formally with Reuter's (British) News Agency in China.
the lack of better organized news sources, are obliged to depend upon the British.

The Chinese Renaissance

We in the west are prone to measure China's national life in terms of religion or trade, of political changes and civil war. These are only gauges in the tide of a vast Renaissance, which, stimulated by the events of the past century, has been reshaping social, literary, and political values. The reign of the Manchus saw the gradual disintegration of effective government and a growing revolt against ancient tradition. The advent of the foreigner forced an earlier turn in the current. Dr. Hu Shih, of Peking National University, today's acknowledged leader of this renaissance movement, describes it thus:

"Young China is awakening to the need of criticizing the traditional values of centuries, and is bringing to China a renaissance such as Europe went through. Within a decade there has been telescoped the conscious culmination of this movement. All of Chinese tradition, ancestor worship, the family institution, has been subjected to instance and earnest criticism, much of which has resulted in definite protest. Nothing is too sacred to be submitted to the scrutiny of intelligent criticism. It is an age of transvaluation of values." (It is interesting to note in this connection that the Chinese have subjected not only Christianity but Buddhism and Confucianism to criticism and restrictions.)

The Revolution of 1911 was an attempt to create a new government which should be strong enough to cope with aggression from without, and to conquer the forces of reaction within. "It failed," continues Dr. Hu Shih, "because there was never a revolution in the sense that the French Revolution was a revolution, or the Russian Revolution was a revolution. It did not touch the fundamental life of the people. It never touched the thought, the beliefs, the ideals of the people. It was merely a change of government, a change of dynasty. But during these last ten years we have seen the gradual spread of an intellectual reformation which affects the religious life, the social life, the family customs, and the fundamental attitude in scholarship and in thinking.

"The Literary Revolution has succeeded in revolutionizing the whole language of China, has succeeded in rewriting all the textbooks in the schools, has succeeded in producing a literature capable of being understood by the vast majority of the people.

"The Youth Movement of 1919, which arose as a protest against the action of the Paris Convention on German possessions in China, found expression in this new language, and in 1920 the government was persuaded to require its use in all newly printed textbooks. The development of this new language is but one phase of the Chinese Renaissance, which is the conscious development of an unconscious movement that has been gathering force for two thousand years."

THE RISE OF THE KUOMINTANG OR NATIONALIST PARTY

Since 1911 the government at Peking has exercised little actual power. This has for the main part been usurped by a succession of military governors who have ruled their several territories despotically and from time to time striven for control of the central government. On the other hand, in Canton and the adjacent territory the spirit that precipitated the revolution
has gradually created an orderly and progressive government, controlled by
the Kuomintang, the political party created by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the first
president of the Chinese Republic. (Since 1925 Canton has consistently main-
tained its independence of Peking.)

To speak most briefly and generally: the Kuomintang Party is committed
to the San Min doctrine of Sun Yat Sen; Min Tsao, or the principle of
national equality; Min Ts’uan, or the principle of democracy including free
speech, free press, and free assemblage; and Min Sen, the principle of indus-
trial and economic justice. It has steadfastly discouraged corruption and
bribery in the administration, and public revenues in the territory controlled
by Canton have doubled and tripled. All possibly available funds are diverted
to public improvements, (aeroplane service, improvement of public utilities,
dikes, roads, etc.) Discipline has been maintained in the Nationalist armies,
and the military, civil, and judicial functions have been kept separate in so
far as possible. Control is vested in Councils and Committees, (the Military,
Financial, Central Executive, etc.) instead of in individuals. One may justly
say that the Nationalist Party has won the approval of all politically
conscious China.*

The Campaign Towards Unification

According to Kuomintang doctrine, the Revolution is divided into three
periods: the military period, or the movement towards unification; the period
of tutelage, or the process of education and organization; and the constitu-
tional or democratic period. The present military campaign of the Nation-
alists is an attempt to realize the first of these vast undertakings. Late in
the summer of 1926 the Nationalist Army started northward under the leader-
ship of General Chiang Kai Shih. It encountered little resistance during
the first few weeks for it bore with it a strong popular appeal. Many divi-
sions from the armies of northern leaders, (Wu Pei Fu, Sun Chuan Fang,
and others) have deserted to its ranks. This is partially due to the very
successful system of propaganda established by the Army. Slogan companies
precede the main troops and weaken opposition to the Nationalists by
spreading these and other similar doctrines:
China for the Chinese.
Get rid of the foreign yoke.
Save China from our own militarists, who sell our riches to the
foreigners.
No man is too bad not to have enough rice, and no man is so good as
to have too much.
(The work of these slogan companies was especially effective in the
capture of Shanghai).

When the army arrived in the Yangtse Valley, conflict between Chinese
and foreign interests became inevitable. Six great cities with a total popu-
lation of approximately 4,000,000 have passed from the control of the northern
forces to the Nationalists within the last six months. Naturally commerce
has been affected, and industries and communication have been interrupted
from time to time. We in the United States have heard dire stories of
attacks on foreign concessions, of impending massacres of foreigners, and
so on. The facts are very unsensational.

Hankow, the seat of the Nationalist Government since last November,

* A future bulletin will deal more in detail with the Kuomintang Party.
is one of these supposed storm centers, yet no foreigner has been killed in Hankow. There have been strikes and a steady effort to improve labor conditions, (incidentally wages in Hankow have been raised from $1.50 a month to $3.75, according to an article in the Nation). Attempts on the part of the British to break up demonstrations finally provoked a scuffle in which one Chinese was killed. Later a mob surrounded the British concession and demanded its surrender. The British eventually agreed to this, and the concession has since been administered by a council made up of an equal number of Chinese and British. Anti-British posters were removed; "it seems, in fact, to be a determined policy of the Nationalists here to see to it that the former concession does not deteriorate in any particular under the new council." (Stanley High in the Christian Science Monitor.)

In Shanghai foreigners have shown even greater alarm over the advance of the Nationalists. A general massacre of foreigners was foretold and bombing of the city. Defense forces approximating 25,000 were concentrated there, and forty-odd warships rode in the harbor; the International Settlement was thoroughly barricaded. Yet from all standards the transfer of Shanghai from the northern to the southern forces was accomplished with a minimum of bloodshed. The northern troops looted and burned portions of the Chinese section of the city before the Nationalist army arrived. Labor unions in Shanghai organized armed resistance to the Northerners, who retreated when, on March 21, the Nationalist army entered the city. **Again no foreigners were killed.** An Associated Press dispatch records a total of forty-three Chinese killed by British. (An article in The Nation, April 27, 1927, mentions more than two hundred.)

The Nationalist army pursued the northerners to Nanking. Here, on March 24th, undisciplined Chinese troops and local rowdies looted foreign and Chinese dwellings, killed four foreigners, and wounded six more. American and British warships in the river bombarded the city in protection of their nationals. At least a hundred Chinese were killed. Property damage has not been conclusively estimated. Foreign nationals were evacuated the following day.

The charges, attributed by the press to refugees, that the Nationalist soldiers were the chief offenders at Nanking, have not been substantiated. Looting had been progressing in the city for three days prior to the arrival of the Southern army. The northerners were still in the city when their pursuers entered. Impartial testimony credits the northerners with a majority of the outlawry committed. A note from a dispatch republished in a Honolulu newspaper states that "The foreign office said that British information confirmed advices received at Washington that the Cantonese forces are not fleeing, and that **northern troops were responsible for the outrages at Nanking.**" When the Nationalist commander entered the city late in the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, all disorders were suppressed; 120 Americans, who spent the night at a building on the university campus under the protection of a Nationalist guard, were escorted in safety the next morning to the riverfront.

Formal apologies and regret were expressed immediately by representatives of the Nationalist Government, while 52 Chinese commercial organizations cabled their regret to Washington. However, the five major powers—England, the United States, Japan, France and Italy—prepared and deliv-
ered identical notes to Nationalist officials at Shanghai and Hankow, "under instructions of their home governments and the direction of their ministers at Peking," calling for: (1) Adequate punishment of the commanders of the troops responsible for the injuries done to foreigners at Nanking and also of all persons found to be implicated; (2) Reparation for all injuries and damage done; (3) Apology in writing from the commander-in-chief of the Nationalist army and an express written undertaking to refrain from all forms of violence and agitation against foreign lives and property.

Eugene Chen, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, replied that his government was prepared to make all reasonable reparation for damages committed by the Nationalist forces, and proposed that an impartial commission be formed to investigate the trouble. He suggested further that the removal of the fundamental cause of the present troubled relations between Nationalist China and the Powers, that is, the unequal treaties, would be the most effective means of protecting American lives and property.

It is unfortunate that the Chinese were not able to protect foreign lives and property at Nanking. Still it is difficult to see how the loss of four foreign lives in a city from which foreigners had been warned to withdraw, justifies the killing of 100 Chinese; or how, proceeding from this basis, foreign governments have the right to ask for further reparations. The Powers are considering a second note to the Nationalist Government, apparently without the clause regarding exaction of penalties should the Chinese prove unable to carry out their agreements fully. This last is due to the refusal of the United States and Japan to cooperate in exacting penalties. One hopes that the Powers will not try to maintain by force a stand which has neither justice nor a comprehension of realities to commend it.

Division in the Kuomintang

Since the occupation of Nanking, interest in the military situation has been temporarily superseded by the crisis in the Kuomintang Party. A definite break between the two outstanding factions in the Party has been impending for some time. The Kuomintang has included in its active members about 3,000 communists (the estimate given by Dr. T. Z. Koo, in a recent article). This group has been carrying on the work of labor organization and propaganda, while the "moderates" have until recent months controlled the political organization. At present, however, the Communists, although still a minority are very strong politically. Dissension has been growing in the Kuomintang in spite of attempts to curb it. Early in April representatives of the communist and moderate factions published at Shanghai a joint manifesto stating that China's great need at present is a democratic government by all classes and not a dictatorship of the proletariat; that the foreign concessions shall not be retaken by force; and that both factions will support the original Kuomintang platform. In spite of this apparent harmony of interest, a considerable number of the "moderates" headed by General Chiang Kai Shih, withdrew shortly thereafter, and established a rival Nationalist Government at Nanking. (Shanghai is also controlled by them.) A civil administration has been created, the foreign policy remains unchanged, while the army is continuing its main campaign against the north, at the same time carrying on an expedition against the Hankow Government. General Chiang explains this action on the grounds that he cannot cooperate longer with the Hankow Government, which, he claims, is controlled by the
Communists. The Hankow Government, on the other hand, accuses Chiang of disloyalty to the People's cause and of personal ambition. The break has probably been precipitated both through personal and party differences, the latter not so much of immediate purpose, (i.e., the removal of foreign privilege and domination, and the creation of a united, representative government, on which both factions have agreed), as of methods employed in achieving that purpose.

Since the appearance of this rift in the Party, forty-two foreign warships have been concentrated in the Yangtse at Hankow. In view of the fact that no foreigners have been killed there, and that a considerable number have left the city, one must wonder at their presence. The Hankow Government has not changed its policy during these few weeks. It has adjusted difficult situations with a minimum of danger in the past; the warships will not help it towards further peaceful solutions.

THE PRACTICAL POLICY OF THE POWERS

War is in the air—perhaps war with China, perhaps war over China. The Powers declare their desire to avoid conflict and to respect Chinese sovereignty. They have chosen strange means of doing this. The last tally of foreign warships in Chinese waters is 172, 76 of which belong to Britain and 30 to the United States. Vessels of other types of course increase these figures. Britain is credited with a force of about 20,000; the United States with about 12,000, and other countries with lesser forces. We have dispatched twelve aeroplanes and a platoon of light tanks. Attempts to disperse unarmed demonstration meetings during the last eight weeks have resulted in deaths of Chinese at Hongkong, Shanghai, and Hankow. 35 Chinese were drowned at Wuhu when a British steamer rammed a Chinese boat. Five villages near Canton were bombarded by British forces a few weeks ago. The British report that this was a chastisement of a pirate settlement. If this is true, it is still not a happy way to maintain friendly relations with China, or to respect Chinese sovereignty. The Nationalist Administration at Shanghai has formally protested to the British consulate on the following points: 1. British aeroplanes have been flying over Chinese territory outside of the International Settlement, including Chinese military headquarters. 2. The Great China University was searched by a force of some 200 British soldiers, some of the students beaten and two seriously injured. The Nationalist flag was removed from the gates and torn to pieces. 3. British soldiers have cut telephone wires and interfered with Chinese official business. 4. British outposts have been established beyond the limits of the Settlement in defiance of Chinese sovereignty.

In mid-April the American Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai cabled to Washington, urging cooperation with the other foreign powers, towards the restoration of "conditions favorable to the maintenance of a responsible government," thereby achieving "security for foreign lives and property in all the treaty ports and recovery of all foreign properties which have been destroyed or confiscated." Naval activity from Shanghai to Hankow was suggested, which should "practically cut off the North from South China and render the Nationalists unable militarily or otherwise, to operate through a British blockade along the river." According to a dispatch from the Nationalist news agency in this country a member of the Chamber of Commerce admitted that this message was prepared by the Executive Com-
mittee, comprising the heads of the Standard Oil Company, the British-American Tobacco Company, and the banks, and that it was not submitted to the membership. Correspondents were pledged not to publish the message in Shanghai for fear of arousing criticism.

This course of blockade and intervention has not yet been sanctioned. It is a bit high-handed for justification even under that elastic policy of “protecting foreign lives and property.” The fact remains that foreign warships are patrolling the Yangtse, and that the fleet of forty-odd is anchored opposite Hankow. Their presence can only be interpreted as an attempt to coerce and intimidate the Hankow Government. It is quite logical that they should be fired upon occasionally. Such a situation in any other country would have provoked open war long ago.

Events tending further to shatter the neutrality of the Powers took place when Soviet diplomatic headquarters at Peking and Tientsin, both under foreign guard and jurisdiction, were raided in mid-April by Chang Tso-lin's guards. Whether this was only an attempt to enlist Japanese help for the northern faction by provoking a declaration of war from Russia; or a more grandiose undertaking with the purpose of aligning the Powers and the northern faction against Russia and the Nationalists, one can only surmise. The foreign powers, headed by England, have long been influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the fear that Russia's prestige in China will diminish their own power. But even this immediate issue has not served to unite them. Russia did not deliver her expected ultimatum; the United States has declined consistent joint action on any pretext; while the Japanese Emperor invites the Soviet Embassy to luncheon! After all, Great Britain is the only power that could benefit, even temporarily through the defeat of Russia in the Orient. Foreign trade with China, the most valuable asset possessed by the other powers,* would be destroyed for many years. An empire may be preserved by force—if the force is great enough; but the day is past when China could be driven to buy and sell at the point of a gun.

The anti-Russian policy demonstrated in this raiding of diplomatic headquarters, involves other complications. An American-owned journal, the China Weekly Review, comments thus: "When foreign powers grant Chang Tso-lin permission to enter the diplomatic quarter to loot the Soviet Embassy, it becomes an international incident of far-reaching character... The next Chinese faction at Peking may wish to loot the American, British, or Japanese legation. Thus does the whole Boxer Protocol fall to the ground."

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES

Public opinion in the United States is still more friendly than unfriendly towards Nationalist China, in spite of attempts to secure American cooperation towards intervention. For months British and American newspapers have carried lurid accounts of misfortune and violence in China, and of the growing danger to foreigners. The majority of these accounts are either false or grossly exaggerated. In many cases conjecture and personal opinion have been substituted for news. William Philip Simms, writing for the Scripps-Howard papers says in this connection: "Today Britain is leaving no stone unturned to induce America to join her to prevent the success of the Nationalist cause. Every trick of the diplomatic trade is being used to

*State Department figures.
that purpose—playing upon our vanity and sentimentality; appealing to our well-known belief in Anglo-American solidarity, racial unity, community of interests, and so on. A perfect avalanche of clever and well-timed propaganda is being loosed upon us credulous Americans, tending to make us believe the new China is the devil himself, hair, hide, horns and tail. France already has found it necessary to utter a semi-official warning against alarming, exaggerated and false reports put in circulation by the British authorities. Says the Government organ, Le Temps: ‘It has become necessary to warn the public against misleading news from English sources sent from China, which in no way corresponds to realities.’

We are told from time to time that the Chinese are anti-Christian, that they wish to expel foreigners, that those who are not sold to the militarists of the north are controlled by Russia through the Nationalist Government at Hankow, supposed to be all the more dangerous now that some of the “moderates” have set up their government at Nanking. We can make no better reply to this type of propaganda than to quote from a recent statement made by the Chinese Students’ Alliance in the United States:

“We, the Chinese students in America, sharing the same views with our fellow citizens at home, feel it our duty to issue the following declaration . . .

“We are not anti-foreign. We welcome foreigners. We like to have them stay with us. We have no objection whatsoever to their business and professional work in our country. But we do resent the arrogant and bumptious imperialists who grow fat by exploitation of Chinese labor, or by virtue of treaty rights.

“We have no desire to fight against Christianity. Traditions in China emphasize religious tolerance. We have no fault to find with the missionaries as a class. We like them and we believe they have done a great deal of good. The occasional mob attack on missionaries in recent days is an ephemeral phenomenon incident to a rage intensified by the presence of foreign gunboats and troops.

“The United States is our traditional friend. She has done incalculable good to China. We appreciate her friendship. We have great faith in your Government, the birth-place of modern democracy. President Coolidge’s and Secretary Kellogg’s statements formulating their intention to negotiate a new treaty with China were lauded with enthusiasm. But our gratitude will never ripen unless your Government immediately carries out the intention of the White House and the State Department by sending at once to China a special delegation for the purpose of drafting a new treaty on the basis of absolute equality and reciprocity.

“For all these years we have been waiting—waiting to see reason and justice prevail—but in vain. We have lost faith in the Powers and we are now at the end of our patience. We have failed in words; we have failed in hope; the only thing left for us is to act, if we wish to survive at all.”

IN CONCLUSION

The United States has temporarily committed itself to a policy of inaction in China. At least we are confining ourselves to stationing defense forces in China which we are told will not be used in the joint bombardment of any unfortified Chinese cities unless absolutely necessary; and to informal sanction of raids on embassies. Unfortunately we have done nothing towards the revision of our treaties with China, the one thing which will release the tension in relations between the United States and China, and serve to disprove the charges made against us by Russia and the more radical elements
in the Nationalist Party. The State Department has justified its inaction by declaring that it does not know with whom to negotiate. Mr. Porter, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, replies to this argument in his report of the hearing on his resolution towards the revision of Sino-American treaties: "Whether or not the Chinese Government is sufficiently well organized to appoint duly accredited agents with authority to bind by treaty the Republic of China, can be determined in only one way, that is, by the United States making the necessary proposal and thereby ascertaining the facts. WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO REMAIN INACTIVE FOR REASONS WHICH ARE BASED ON ASSUMPTION."

Business and cultural interests in China representing the bulk of our total financial investment of $150,000,000, have supported the move towards treaty revision in the last Congress.* A few American interests, notably in Shanghai, have resisted it. It is unfortunate that their opinion and not that of the more comprehending majority should have dominated our practical policy thus far. We go on, drifting "stern foremost" into a new world war. Friendly assurances from our Government may relieve our anxiety temporarily. One is not so reassured, however, on recalling that during the early days of the Boxer uprising, it was a FRIENDLY United States which was forced by the press of circumstance to join the punitive expedition of the Powers against Peking; or that the first act of war, the razing of the Taku forts by the Powers, was done in the face of the protest of the American Admiral in charge of our forces. Today the Powers are resisting not the forces of reaction, but the force of a progressive national idealism. If the United States yields again to the pressure of events and influences, and enters a war on a Chinese battle ground, we shall betray a trust we have nourished for a quarter-century, we shall win neither honor nor prestige, and we shall jeopardize the future of our country. The United States we believe has the power either to prevent this war or to be an instrument for its furtherance. We do not believe that our people further the latter course. We do not believe that they favor a war with China, nor do they favor in any measure their country's acceptance of the responsibility for an Asiatic war. Both possibilities are dangerously near.

Publications Committee

SUGGESTIONS FOR SECURING A FAIRLY ACCURATE EVALUATION OF FUTURE EVENTS IN CHINA

1. Consider sources of information.
2. Read later and less conspicuous accounts.
3. Follow developments in other countries, especially in Japan, Russia, the United States, England, and India.
4. The majority of English and Russian press reports of events in China are valuable not so much for the information they purport to give, but as an indication of policies and opinions in those countries.
5. Read articles on China in the financial section of the news.
6. In so far as possible, supplement this reading with the news bulletins of the Foreign Policy Association, 18 E. 41st St., New York City; The American Committee for Justice to China, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City; and the Chinese Information Bureau, 65 Belgrave Road, London, England.
7. The New Republic, the Nation, Asia, and the Literary Digest carry excellent articles from time to time.
8. The dispatches of Thomas F. Millard from Shanghai to the New York World, (Mondays); of William Philip Simms from Washington to the Scripps-Howard papers, and of Stanley High from the Yangtse district to the Christian Science Monitor, are the best we know of.
9. We shall be glad to supplement this information with our own facts or to furnish references or material on special subjects.

We urge that our readers follow the course of events in China, and that, through meetings, public appeals, and direct communication with the State Department, they strive to crystallize and strengthen the desire of the Administration to maintain our friendship with China. Past experience has proved that we cannot maintain the policy of the olive branch and the sword indefinitely.

*Report of the House Committee on Foreign Relations.
So far 175 voluntary contributors and a small group of voluntary workers have carried on the work of the American Committee for Fair Play in China. More financial aid is absolutely essential if we are to serve our full purpose in connection with the present situation in China. We need your help now. Please fill out the card below for any amount which you are able to pay and forward to us at once.

- I approve of the purpose of your Committee and desire to receive all literature.
- I will distribute such literature as you may send me and will do all I can to spread the truth in the interest of fair dealing with China.
- I enclose contribution of $______________ to help carry on the work of the Committee; or
- I pledge $______________ to be paid ________________

Name ____________________________

Address ____________________________

(Make checks payable to L. M. BACON, Treasurer.)