

philosophies is to prevail, with the accompanying possibility of a complete exclusion of the other from China.

Even the limited collaboration for prosecution of the war against Japan has created new problems. The Communists are based upon Yenan, but most of their activities are prosecuted by guerrilla warfare far behind the Japanese lines. The Nationalists complain that in these activities the Communists have excluded Nationalist influence, so that as China is progressively liberated increasing areas will come under Communist control. The Communists retort that Nationalist China has not paid their armies the promised subsidies, has withheld practically all supplies, and maintains a large and well-equipped army on the borders of Communist territory for the purpose not of fighting the Japanese, but of observing and checking the Communists. This is an explosive situation which has more than once led to outbreaks of warfare. It has further implications, also. If the Communists were responsible for the liberation of Chahar, Jehol, and Manchuria, they would possess wide and productive territories adjoining those of the Soviet and of Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia. All parties are conscious of the possibilities of this situation. In the past the attitude of the Soviet to Nationalist China has been a helpful one. It was to the Nationalists that supplies were formerly sent overland. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the Soviet will be as friendly to the Nationalists in the future as she has been in the past.

What can be said of the structure and political outlook of the Kuomintang? It is not the least of the ironies of recent history that a party which, in the early days of its development, was regarded in the West as dangerously Left in its orientation (even after the departure of the Soviet advisers) should now be suspect for asserted Right Wing, or even Fascist, tendencies. Of course, it may be that the party has shifted to this extent during the last sixteen years, but the probabilities are against it, having regard to the fact that the party's programme is based on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles.

In the first place, it is worth while remembering that so far China has not experienced anything remotely resembling Western democratic government. When the early reformers attempted to establish such a Government after the collapse of the Empire, it dissolved almost without trace. When the Kuomintang came to power, therefore, it declared that democracy (social as well as political) would be achieved in three stages. The first was a purely temporary party dictatorship, which ended almost immediately after the close of the Civil War. The second period was described as the period of political tutelage, during which the State would be governed by a single party—the Kuomintang—and during which certain essential reforms would be achieved, and the people would be progressively prepared and educated for democratic government. It would close with the promulgation of a complete and democratic constitution.

It should be observed (1) that Kuomintang doctrine itself has always freely conceded that the achievement of democracy is one of its main aims, following which the Kuomintang will abdicate its monopolist position and become simply one of several parties operating the constitution; and (2) that a Draft Constitution had been prepared and would in all probability have been put into operation in 1937 but for the war with Japan.

This constitution itself has been criticized as an undemocratic document. It divides government into five sections—legislative, judicial, executive, examination, and control. By the latter term the Chinese understands supervision of other Departments of government, including the duties of audit and impeachment. It is contemplated that the organs discharging each of these functions should be staffed by experts. Above them all will be a People's Political Congress of 2,000 representatives which will meet for about a month every three years.

It is true that this does not look overwhelmingly democratic, but China's experience since 1911 has been a bitter one, and it is worth while comparing that constitutional draft with, say, the present government of India. It can scarcely be