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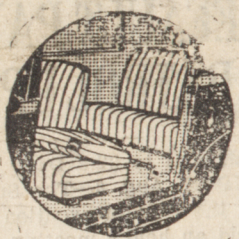
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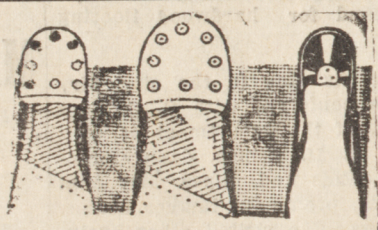
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CHINA: WHAT IS IT, WHO RUNS IT, AND CAN IT FIND ITSELF BEFORE SOVIET OR JAPAN TAKES IT OVER?

Regime Is More Than a Government — It's a Revolution, and, Despite Loss of Nearly Half of Territory and Fifth of Population, Ideals of Sun Yat-sen Are Still Felt Through Nanking.

Whatever the outcome of the present Far Eastern crisis, there can be but little doubt that any solution derived from it will be only temporary until China either finds itself or is swallowed up by her neighbors—Japan and Russia. A strong China would hold the balance of power in the Eastern Hemisphere; a weak China is a constant temptation to imperialist ambitions. So long as ambitions of European nations and of the United States cancelled one another out, there was a stalemate of sorts, an approximation of the open door. But the involved and dangerous European situation has removed that check, and the destinies of the Orient are in Eastern hands.

But what is China? That question is easier to answer now than ten years ago, but it still presents some puzzling contradictions. According to the Chinese Ministry of the Interior China is a vast subcontinent, with an area of nearly four and a half million square miles—as large as the United States and all her possessions, with Mexico thrown in. The population is not far short of half a billion four times that of this country. And even this represents a falling off from the peak of Chinese dominion, when Korea, Formosa, Siam, Indo-China and Burma sent tribute to the Emperor at Peking.

What Nanking Really Rules

However, present-day figures, as presented by the Chinese government, are misleading. Nearly half the land area of the country, while de jure under Chinese sovereignty, is, de facto, completely out of her control. Outer Mongolia is a Soviet state, dominated by Moscow. Sinkiang, China's far western province, is in virtually the same position. Tibet, the land of the lamas, is a theocracy, ruled by Buddhist prelates and monks, under the more or less open hegemony of the British. And the puppet state of Manchukuo in the north is, despite the diplomatic disapproval of most of the world, as Japanese as strong garrisons can make it.

This reduces China to about 2,300,000 square miles and a little more than 40,000,000 people—impressive enough. But the writ of the Nanking government does not run through all this land by any means. It is disputed in many sections by survivors of provincial governors, functionaries who had immense powers even under the Empire, and who were able to carve out semi-independent domains during the troubled times which succeeded the revolution of 1911. Szechwan, for example, the most populous of the provinces, containing more inhabitants than France and Belgium combined, is under the sway of Governor Liu Hsiang. Nanking recently attempted to assert its authority in Szechwan; it will be interesting to see the attempt proves successful.

The south of China, the cradle of most of its revolutions, represent the country's most radical opinion. The Nanking government stems from South China, but it is doubtful whether the present regime is altogether in favor there. The Communist army, which is also a product of the south, though now controlling parts of the northwestern provinces, is in alliance with the central government, but it does recognize the paramount authority of Chiang Kai-shek. The three provinces of Inner Mongolia are debatable ground among the pretensions of the Communists, the Chinese and the Japanese.

Further Cleavage in North

A further cleavage is apparent in the north. Hopei, the province in which Peking is situated, and Chahar, one of the Inner Mongolian provinces, have been joined into a semi-autonomous government to form a buffer state between China and Man-

chukuo. Japanese influence is strong in this state, particularly in the demilitarized zone of Eastern Hopei, where another autonomous government has been erected. This is almost wholly under Japanese control. Japanese ambitions are said to look to a consolidation of Hopei and Chahar with the three provinces lying to the south and east, Suiyuan, Shansi and Shantung, to form another state on the pattern of Manchukuo. Japanese commercial interests are strong in all five provinces, especially in Shantung, which Japan claimed as spoil of the World War after her capture of the German port of Tsingtao.

All these factors work to restrict the power of the Nanking government to a tithe of the vast expanse of territory which was hers historically and which she still claims. But the present regime in China is more than a government—it is also a revolutionary movement, and while the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek has altered the course of the revolution, and dampened the enthusiasm of many of its former adherents, it is by no means certain that its impetus has been altogether lost. Just as Japanese railroad and commercial activities have enlarged Nippon's sphere beyond the boundaries of her political control, so nationalist propaganda gives Nanking a strong, if indefinite, influence even in those territories where her direct authority is not recognized.

Chiang Kai-shek is the heir of the great Chinese revolutionary leader Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He inherits the political organization which Sun, with the help of the Soviet emissaries, Adolf Joffe and Michael Borodin, evolved in 1923. The organization was typically Russian, its program typically Chinese, and out of them both Chiang has developed a dominion which is almost purely personal.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist party, dates back to the evolution of 1911. In the bad days following the war, when China was a congress of jealous, greedy military state under provincial governors, the party had tended to become only a personal clique or Sun Yat-sen. In 1923 Sun came to an understanding with Joffe. The latter agreed that China was not yet ripe for Communism, and that the first duty of patriotic Chinese was to fight foreign imperialism and erect a stable nation. Sun, on his side, agreed to permit Communists to enter his party, and to accept Soviet assistance.

A reorganization of the Kuomintang followed, and an active campaign of proselytizing and propaganda. Sun divided the reconstruction of his country into three periods; first, the period of military government, while the revolution was in active progress; second, the period of political tutelage, an intermediate stage, during which only Kuomintang members would take part in the government; third, the constitutional era. The resemblances to the Soviet system are apparent.

Sun's political philosophy envisioned a state on Chinese lines. It would be governed by experts with an ultimate check by the people, represented in People's Congresses summoned at three-year intervals. The administration would be divided into five sections, three of them resembling the western executive, legislative and judicial branches, but the

necessary experts for government, would be an examination Yuan (Council) which would set up standards for the civil service. Then there would be a supervisory, or censor Yuan, which would have charge of auditing and the power to impeach unfaithful officials. Both of these are relics of the Chinese imperial system.

How Chiang Came to Power

The armies of the Kuomintang and its propaganda were remarkably successful. Chang Tso-lin, the old marshal, ruler of North China and strongest military leader in the country, was defeated and assassinated; his son, Chang Hsueh-liang, who last year kidnapped Chiang, turned Manchuria over to the Kuomintang. Meanwhile, Sun had died in 1923, and trouble developed between the right and left wings of the party. Chiang Kai-shek, best of the Kuomintang military leaders and a member of its conservative faction, finally liquidated his communist assistants and set up, in 1928, the dictatorship of the Kuomintang on straight nationalist lines.

The party dictatorship during the period of political tutelage thus inaugurated was intended to follow, in the main, the lines laid down by Sun Yat-sen. A supreme national council, with the five subordinate Yuans—executive, legislative, judicial, examination and supervisory—was to function as an administration, checked by party congresses. But only three of these party congresses were ever called. In practice, Chiang, as head of the executive Yuan, a position corresponding roughly to that of prime minister has been virtual dictator during the period of political tutelage, which is still going on.

The end of the transition period was announced for last year. A constitution was drawn up and published, retaining the five-fold structure of administration, and calling for a People's Congress to be chosen from the country at large, instead of merely from party members. This Congress was to choose a president and members of the executive and legislative Yuans. It was to convene once every three years, unless summoned at more frequent intervals by a vote of two-fifths of its members. The president was given the power to govern by emergency decree, but these had to be passed on within three months by the legislative Yuan.

Constitutional Era Put Off

The election for the first People's Congress was to have been held last November. But a month before Chiang suddenly announced that his countrymen were incapable of holding national elections and postponed the voting indefinitely. China's constitutional era has not yet arrived.

But the party machine of the Kuomintang still functions. Borrowed like the Fascist and Nazi organizations from that of the Soviet, it is an efficient means of spreading propaganda and of integrating the party strength. There are two types of party members, regular and preparatory.

The smallest unit of the organization is the local assembly. This sends delegates to precinct assemblies, and selects a committee to act as local executive. The same system of conventions and committees is followed through the hierarchy of precinct, district province and nation. The national party executive committee is virtually the government, and, as Chiang Kai-shek controls that committee, it has become an instrumentality of his personal reign.

TOKYO, Aug. 5.—The War Minister in conference today stated that he was doubtful whether the Japanese troops could maintain their present peaceful attitude, if the Chinese troops in northern China continued their warlike intentions.

(Special to The Daily Mail)

SPAIN, Aug. 5.—Insurgent troops today claimed to have secured very great successes and having inflicted heavy losses on Government forces.



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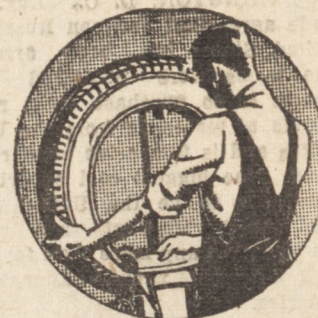
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