CHAPTER THREE

THE DEEPENING EFFECTS OF THE UNEQUAL TREATIES

1. Their Effects on Government and Law

Our Nationalist Revolution had its origin in the state's distress and the suffering of the people. If the Revolution fails, the state's distress and the people's suffering will deepen. During the Revolution of 1911, China was unable to transform destruction into reconstruction. During the First World War, she was unable to throw off the bondage of the unequal treaties and attain freedom and international equality. The Peking Government was unable fully to grasp the opportunity and wage an active struggle for the reconstruction of international relations in the Pacific when the chance was first offered by the Washington Conference of 1921. Although the "Nine Power Treaty" established the principles of the "Open Door" and "Territorial Integrity," the specific abolition of privileges specified in the unequal treaties, such as the recovery of concessions, the abolition of extraterritorial rights, and the withdrawal of foreign garrisons, were either vetoed or postponed. In particular, the signing of a treaty between China and Japan for the settlement of pending problems in Shantung met with successive difficulties that were not fundamentally solved. Moreover, the principles of the "Open Door" and "Territorial Integrity" only deepened the indolent psychology of the Chinese people and increased their dependence upon foreign countries, since they now felt confident that China would not be partitioned.

After the Treaty of Tientsin [1858], the despotism of the Manchu dynasty and the aggression of imperialism no longer
opposed each other but were in league with one another. After the Revolution of 1911, the relations between the corrupt warlords and the imperialists advanced another step. Yuan Shih-k'ai's monarchy and Japan's "Twenty-One Demands" were interrelated. Okuma Shisenoba's interview [published in the press under the title "Supporting China's Monarchy"] obviously stimulated Yuan Shih-k'ai's ambitions. This is a concrete example that is familiar to us all.

The imperialists, in addition to employing all sorts of coercion and bribery to win over the warlords in order to obtain special privileges, intervened directly against China, particularly in regard to border questions. Outer Mongolia was dominated by Czarist Russia, and in 1911 it declared its independence [of China] and the control of all internal and external affairs in Outer Mongolia fell into Russian hands. After the Russian Revolution, the Mongols abandoned their independence and were planning to renew their allegiance to China. At that time, the Japanese, taking advantage of the so-called "Sino-Japanese Military Agreement," incited the Mongolian bandits and White Russians to carry out espionage activities in Outer Mongolia. The Tibetan problem was similarly subject to foreign influence. The British likewise took advantage of the conflicts between the Tibetans and the Szechwanese and Yunnanese. Their manipulation and control of the Dalai Lama was exactly the same as the Russian use of the Panchen Lama. [The last two sentences in this paragraph were omitted in the revised edition.]

In the first year of the Republic [1912], I publicly stated in the magazine, The Voice of the Army: "To conquer and pacify Mongolia and Tibet, one cannot look only at the ease or difficulty of the immediate circumstances, the advantages or disadvantages of the situation, and adhere to a fixed military strategy. We must carefully examine the present circumstances of Britain and Russia and their relations to Mongolia and Tibet and then make our decision accordingly. When Britain and Russia insist on intervention, our country,