

LECTURE IV

LESSON XII

BEFORE the World War European nations were all poisoned by imperialism. What is imperialism? It is a principle that justifies the invasion of a weaker nation by one with greater military power. It was because of this principle that there were many wars in Europe; a small one almost every ten years and a great one every hundred years. The war a few years ago was the greatest. It is called the World War because almost every nation was involved. The causes of this war were two. First, the Anglo-Saxons and the Teutons were vying with each other for supremacy on the sea. Germany had rapidly risen to the position of the second greatest naval power in the world; and Great Britain did not want to have a rival. Second, the European nations were struggling for the possession of Turkey, which was a weak nation. The intention to dismember Turkey had been going on for a century and the European powers tried to solve the problem once for all by going to war. Had Germany won the war, Great Britain would have broken up like the

Roman Empire. But Germany was defeated, so her imperialistic plans failed.

The World War lasted for four years. There were forty to fifty million men under arms. Even near the end of the war there was no indication as to which side was going to win. The Central Powers began with an alliance between Germany and Austria. Turkey and Bulgaria joined later. The Allies at first were composed of Serbia, France, Russia, Great Britain, and Japan. Italy and the United States joined later.

The United States joined purely for racial reasons. During the first two years of war, Germany and Austria got the upper hand. Paris and the English Channel were on the verge of falling into the hands of the Central Powers. The English were in great anxiety and looked to the United States for help, because she is the only other Anglo-Saxon nation. The appeal of racial danger moved the United States.

In turn, the United States induced other nations to join in with the Allies through Woodrow Wilson's proposal of self-determination for all nations. As Germany oppressed her allies, Wilson's appeal succeeded in arousing the smaller and weaker nations to fight Germany. India fought on the side of Great Britain, and Annam on the side of France, though both of them hate the yoke of their masters. For the same reason, Poland,

Czechoslovakia, and Roumania joined the Central Powers. Even China finally entered the war. Though she shipped no soldiers over to Europe, she sent several hundred thousand laborers who went over to work in the trenches for the Allies.

The famous Fourteen Points of President Wilson were all agreed to by the Allies during the war; but when peace negotiations took place, England, France, and Italy, finding that the points conflicted with their imperialistic privileges, used various ways to cheat Wilson. The final conditions of the treaty greatly disappointed the smaller and weaker nations. Not only did these nations get no liberty and self-determination, but the oppression upon them was even heavier. The great powers would not let go their grip. They were unwilling to see the revival of smaller and weaker nations. They advocated cosmopolitanism and laughed at nationalism as being too narrow an ideal. In reality, their cosmopolitanism is imperialism in disguise.

The weaker nations, realizing that they were cheated, started in to work out their own salvation. Annam, Burma, Java, India, the Straits Settlements, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, and many weaker European nations all rose up in an effort to gain self-determination. The European War failed to quell imperialism, because it was a war between imperialistic powers, not

between barbarism and civilization, between right and might or between democracy and autocracy.

A great hope, however, was born of this war. It was the revolution in Russia. There was one in 1905, but it did not succeed. The European War gave it an opportunity to win. Russia was formerly one of the Allies. During the war she turned out more than ten million strong. If Russia had not joined the Allies, the western front of Europe would long before have been broken by Germany.

The Russian people awakened, however, in the middle of the war, to the fact that they were merely helping a few powers to fight against one power. The result could not be satisfactory, so they made a separate peace with Germany. There was no real conflict between Russia and Germany. The only conflict was imperialism. Because of Germany's aggressive policy, Russia had to protect herself by joining the Allies. To solve the problem the Russian people rose against imperialism in their own country and at the same time came to terms with Germany.

Later the Allies also made peace with Germany, and with Germany they fought Russia. Why should the Allies have fought Russia? It was because the Russian people had now a new consciousness. They knew that their troubles of former days came entirely from imperialism. To

get out of trouble it was necessary to crush imperialism and advocate self-determination for all nations. The powers objected to this principle, so they warred against Russia. The Russian principle, incidentally, is the same as Wilson's proposal. It advocates liberty and self-choice for all nations. Therefore, out of the Russian Revolution a new hope has dawned for the weaker nations.

LESSON XIII

OF THE fifteen hundred million people in the world, the four hundred million white people are the most powerful. It is their intention to destroy the colored races. The red Indians of America are gradually being reduced in numbers, as are the African negroes. The brown race of India is fading out. The Asiatic yellow races are being oppressed by the white and will soon lose their racial existence.

But a great turn has been made in history. The one hundred and fifty million white Russians are defying the aggressive policy of the white race. They have joined with the weaker Asiatic nations in a stand against the onrush of the powerful white race. So there are now only two hundred and fifty million white peoples with imperialistic motives left. They still hope to subjugate the twelve hundred and fifty million. Though their

number is smaller, they are politically and economically far stronger. These two forces are the weapons which they use against the weaker nations. These two forces are used jointly as are the two hands of a person.

Fortunately Heaven has made Russia take this stand for justice. The powers attacked Lenin because they hated to see this great prophet of mankind being recognized. 'The world knows now that the rumors spread by the powers were sheer lies. This proves that the political thought of to-day is much more enlightened.

It is our present duty to revive nationalism and use the power of our four hundred million to right the wrongs of the world. Being afraid that we might adopt a principle like that, the powers try to fool us with a fallacious doctrine of cosmopolitanism. They say that the human mind should progress, and views should be broadened. Our youths, being fooled by them, try to oppose nationalism. Young minds do not see that cosmopolitanism is unfit for an oppressed nation. We must regain our liberty and equality before we can talk about cosmopolitanism. It should be known that cosmopolitanism comes from nationalism. To develop the former, it is necessary to strengthen the latter. The former lies in the latter as the lottery ticket was inside

the bamboo pole. If we throw away the latter, we follow the example of the coolie who threw away the pole with the winning ticket in it.

Since our national position, as I pointed out in a previous lecture, is even worse than that of Annam and Korea, how can we give up nationalism and adopt cosmopolitanism? Historically we have come along the road of imperialism. Though our economic power was limited, we oppressed small nations with political power. Our civilization began much earlier than that of Europe. European civilization was at its best in the time of the Greek and Roman empires, especially the latter. The Roman Empire existed about the time of our Han dynasty. By that time our political philosophy was already quite advanced. All great thinkers of the day opposed imperialism. Much literature of this nature appeared. It opposed the aggressive policy of China in trying to seize the land of the southern barbarians. This shows that even at the time of Han we had given up the idea of war. Our peaceful philosophy was fully developed. So by the time of the Sung dynasty, we had even lost the power of self-defense. This was why China was so easily conquered by the nomadic Mongols. It was not until the time of the Mings that we regained our independence.

LESSON XIV

THE Ming dynasty was, however, not at all imperialistic. The small Asiatic nations became tributaries to China not through force but because of their own willingness. They considered allegiance to China an honor. They admired Chinese civilization. We did not oppress them. Malaysia and the South Sea islands, for instance, were proud of being permitted to become a part of the Chinese Empire.

What has been the experience of the powers to-day with their dependencies? The United States, for instance, actually spends every year a great deal of money to improve communication and education in the Philippine Islands; and allows the Filipinos to have their own legislature and civil officers at home and to elect representatives to Congress at Washington, but the Filipinos are still dissatisfied. They are fighting hard for independence. Again, Great Britain sends a large amount of money to Nepal every year because she is afraid of the valor of the Gurkas. These brave people would not yield to the British. But even up to the first year of our Republic they of their own free will paid tribute to China.

Over a decade ago the foreign minister of Siam said to me in his office that should China pass through revolution and become a strong nation,

Siam would be willing to become a province of hers. He did not speak it for himself, but for all the Siamese. This shows that Siam still holds a high esteem for China. Within the last ten years or so Siam has revised her treaties with the powers and is now enjoying liberty and equality. Her position among the nations has also been raised. She may no longer desire to become a part of China in the future.

Here is an interesting story. When we set up the government at Canton for the defense of our constitution, an English consul came to see me in the generalissimo's office. He was trying to persuade me to join the Allies.

"Germany seized Tsingtau by force," said he. "If you declare war against her now, you can take it back."

"Tsingtau is rather far away from Canton," I replied. "If we wanted we would take back Hongkong. Or, if we went a little farther we could take back Burma, Bhutan, and Nepal. Whose territories were those places? Aren't you still trying hard to get Tibet? Tsingtau is but a small place. Burma and Tibet are much larger. If we wanted to take back our lost territories, we should take back the larger ones first."

The man became very angry, saying, "I came here to talk business."

"I am talking business," I retorted.

For a long time we sat facing each other without a word.

Then I said to him: "Our civilization is two thousand years older than yours. We want you to catch up with us. How can we go back to meet you? We advocated peace and gave up imperialism two thousand years ago. You say the aim of this war is to get peace. Of course we like peace; but how can you make peace by fighting? You believe that might is right. That is barbarism. We will wait until you get tired of fighting. Then peace will come. Then and only then will we join you. I oppose China's joining in the war primarily because we do not want our nation to stand for might.

"Then you say if your military officers come to China to train our men, in six months we can get three to five hundred thousand well-trained soldiers ready for the trenches in Europe. They will be able to defeat Germany. Now, you have sent many millions of men to the front and fought hard for several years, but still you cannot defeat Germany. If, as you say, the few hundred thousand Chinese soldiers should be able to defeat Germany, then by using these veterans to train more soldiers in China we soon could have millions of trained soldiers. This would certainly be most disadvantageous to you. A small Japan once armed has become a great power and a fear

to Western states. How would it be if a nation ten times larger than Japan should become armed! I am afraid the whole world would not be large enough for her to conquer.

“Since our civilization is two thousand years ahead of yours, we no longer care for barbarous wars. We are really a peace-loving people and we want to preserve our peaceful virtues. This is why I oppose joining in the war.”

That consul was greatly impressed with what I said and remarked as he took leave, “Were I a Chinese I would think the same as you do.”

LESSON XV

REVOLUTION is a matter of bloodshed. Even the revolutions of emperors T'ang and Wu, though they were said to be Heaven's will and relief for the people, shed much blood. How much blood was shed, however, in the 1911 Revolution?—Very little. It was because of our love of peace, a great virtue of our people. I have always advised other nations to follow China in the cultivation of this virtue. Now the Slavs have joined our side. So the one hundred and fifty million Russians should join hands with the four hundred million Chinese, a people who are not only the most civilized, but also the most peaceful in the world, in bringing the gospel of peace to mankind.

Anarchism and communism are political ideas thousands of years old in China. The political philosophy of Laotze is anarchism. Liehtze, a follower of Laotze, said: "The state of Hwa Shu had no king, no law. Everything followed nature." Is this not anarchism? Modern Chinese youths, knowing nothing of the philosophy of their own country, think that anarchism and communism are the newest philosophies in the world. To Europe these ideas are new, but to China they are thousands of years old.

Russia did not adopt true communism. She only adopted Marxism, which is not true communism. The theories of Pierre Joseph Proudhon and Michael Bakounin are true communism. In foreign countries communism has never been put into practice. In China at the time of the Taiping Rebellion, however, it was actually carried out; because the economic policies of Hung Shiu-chuan were truly communistic.

The reason why Europe is now better off than China is because of material civilization, not philosophical or political. European nations provided for all human necessities and developed speedy methods of communication and transportation. The equipment of their armies and navies is also powerfully destructive. All these have been developed by science. Science was developed by the discoveries and inventions of

Such men as Newton, Bacon, and others. The growth of material civilization has been one of only two centuries. Before that period Europe was in an even worse condition than China. So what we have to learn of Europe is in the sciences. These we do not have. But philosophy and politics the European powers must learn from us. The Germans are the most advanced students in Europe; and yet they are now studying the philosophy of China and even the Buddhism of India.

Cosmopolitanism is new in Europe, but in China it is already two thousand years old. It is because we have lost nationalism that our national virtues cannot be made known to the world. European cosmopolitanism still takes might for right. They say, "Might is right." The Chinese have, however, long ago given up the idea of resorting to force. This is a good virtue, because the appeal to force is barbarism. The virtue of loving peace is the foundation of cosmopolitanism. The latter has to be built upon nationalism. The Russians may, therefore, be the foundation of European, and China of Asiatic, cosmopolitanism. "In order to bring peace to the world, it is necessary first to put the nation in order." So let us recover our lost nationalism before we start talking about cosmopolitanism.