

LECTURE V

LESSON XVI

THE main topic of this lecture is how to revive nationalism. On account of our loss of nationalism, we were slaves to the Manchus and now are slaves to all the powers. Our sufferings increase daily. If we find no way to revive nationalism, we shall lose our national independence and perhaps even our existence. There are two ways in which to revive nationalism. The first is to make everybody conscious of his present position. We are now on the verge of national extinction. If we realize the danger we will struggle for our life as a nation.

It is hard to know and easy to do. This is my theory. Because we did not know our danger before, we lost independence. "A country will come to ruin when it has no enemies and is not liable to be attacked from outside." "Difficulties make a nation prosperous." These two old sayings show the mental attitude of the nation concerned. When we say that we have no enemies and that there is no possible danger of attack from outside, it simply means that we think that we are safe. We think that we are such a large and

powerful nation that no other country dares to attack us, and thus we need no defense. So as soon as troubles come, we fall. When we realize that we have difficulties, we make efforts to cope with them; and so long as we are prepared, no danger can overtake us. Thus the nation becomes prosperous.

The first thing we must do, therefore, is to awaken to our dangers. We have seen that the political pressure of the powers is upon us. Their economic pressure holds us down. The growing populations of certain countries also exert a pressure upon us. So our danger is imminent.

Now, political pressure alone is sufficient to put an end to our independence. How did the Sung dynasty fall? It lost the battle of Yaimên to the Mongols. How did the Ming dynasty fall? The loss of the battle of Yangchow to the Manchus caused it. The battle of Waterloo ended the empire of Napoleon I, and that of Sedan the empire of Napoleon III. So just one battle can end our national life. It can occur any day. Since we make no preparation for national defense, we are open to possible foreign invasion all the time.

The nation that can attack us best is Japan. She has a standing army of one million and at the time of war the number can be increased to three million. Her navy is also strong and almost

rivals those of Great Britain and of the United States. The Washington Conference limited her battleship tonnage to three hundred thousand tons. Japanese men-of-war, such as cruisers, submarines, and destroyers, are all powerful. The two destroyers sent some time ago to Paitam, for instance, are larger than any of our men-of-war; yet Japan has more than a hundred of them. Just by sending these destroyers to us, she can easily break down our defense and put us to death. As she is so near and we have no large forts along the coast to resist her, she can take China at any moment. It would take Japan at the most ten days to prepare for war. So within any ten days we might die at the hands of the Japanese.

The United States is farther away in the east. Before the Washington Conference, her navy was three times the size of that of Japan. Now it is limited to five hundred thousand tons. She has more submarines, cruisers, and other new-type boats. As military education is almost universal in the United States, she can within a short time raise a large army. When she entered the European War, she turned out two million men in less than a year. It would take the United States only one month after the declaration of war to subdue China.

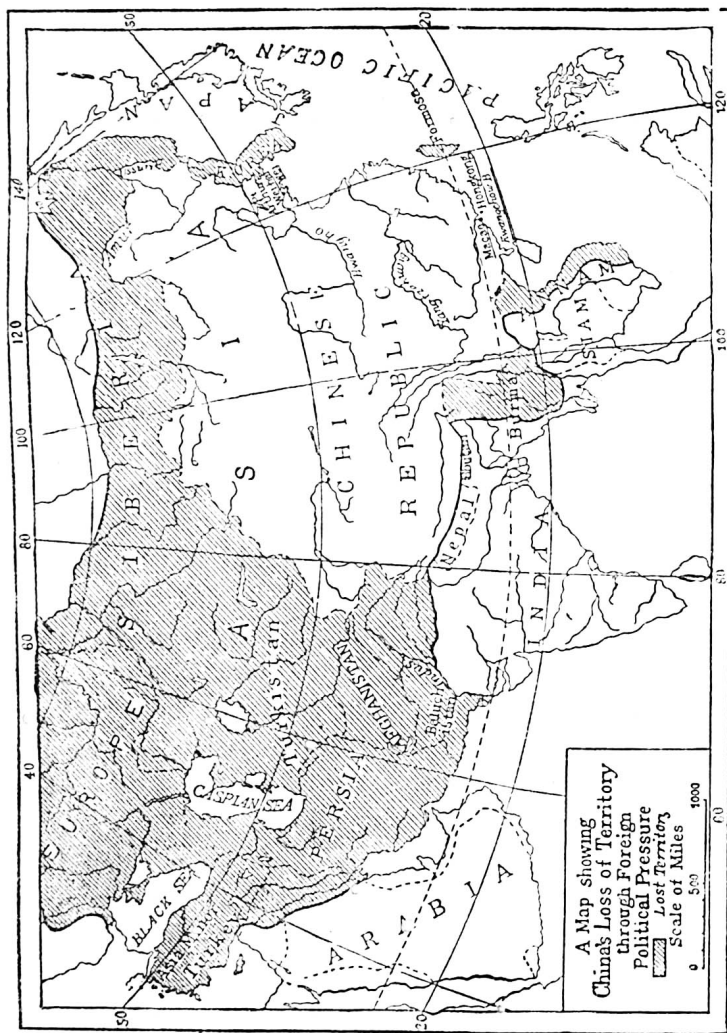
Going farther eastward we find Great Britain. She is the queen of the seas. Her navy is the strongest in the world. Since the Washington

Conference her naval tonnage has been limited to five hundred thousand tons. She has the most cruisers, submarines, and destroyers. It would take her army only forty to fifty days to reach China. Moreover, she has a stronghold in Hongkong. The island is a strategic point for several of the southern provinces of China. She has both a navy and an army at Hongkong. Although these might not be able to control the whole of China, still she could send such military forces as those stationed in India and her other colonies to attack China. So it would not take her any longer than two months to conquer China.

On the Continent of Europe we find France, whose army is now the strongest in the world. She has three thousand military planes, and in time of war the number can be increased. She has her Oriental base in Annam. A railway runs from Annam to Yünnanfu. If she should declare war upon China, it would take her but forty or fifty days to begin her attacks on China, and in less than two months our country would have fallen completely into her hands.

LESSON XVII

FROM the foregoing statements we can see that any power in the world could subjugate China at any moment if it wished to do so. Then



how has China been able to maintain her independence up to the present? The reason does not lie in her ability to defend herself, but in the mutual jealousy of the several powers. Thus has China been enabled to exist, as it were, under a balance of power. Some people are foolish enough to think that the powers will always be jealous of one another and we can therefore live forever under this balance of power, and that we shall never have to depend upon our own strength to continue to exist as a nation. But how absurd this thought is! The powers, it is true, do not wish to see the European War repeated in China. They saw clearly that a war to dismember China would be disadvantageous to all of them. So they tried to solve the problem at the Washington Conference by limiting the naval tonnage of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan to the ratio of 5:5:3.

The limitation of armaments, however, should not be taken by us to mean that we are no longer in danger. There are two ways in which to solve the China problem: by military power and by diplomacy. If military force is applied we may make some resistance; but if diplomacy is used we may not even know it. The Washington Conference was attended by Chinese delegates. The Conference apparently was for the good of China. But soon after the Conference we read in foreign

newspapers of a proposal for the international control of China.

This proposal is gaining ground every day and the powers will some day think of a perfect method whereby to solve the China problem. Once the diplomats of the powers dip their pens into ink and lightly set their names to an innocent sheet of paper, that day the map of China will change color. It would take scarcely a day to do it. Poland was dismembered by Russia, Germany, and Austria in that way. Our present position is indeed as dangerous as that of Poland a century ago.

The second danger lies in foreign economic pressure. In a previous lecture I have estimated that the loss to China is twelve hundred million dollars a year. This loss is increasing daily. For instance, in ten years the excess of imports increased two and a half times, from two hundred million to five hundred million dollars. Then twenty years from now the figure will be three billion dollars. Were this amount distributed among the population, it would mean \$7.50 per capita. That is, we would be paying a poll tax of \$7.50 per capita to foreign nations. Of our population, however, one half are women. They are incapable of paying this tax. So the burden of each man is doubled. Again, of the remaining number, one third are children and another third are old men.

They are dependents. Then the whole tax would fall upon the shoulders of the remaining bread-earning one third of the population. The actual poll tax per capita would then be \$45. Would this not be a fearful burden? If we allowed things to go on like that, in less than ten years, even if foreign diplomats should sleep all the time, our nation would still be ruined. We are already in great poverty. Ten years from now, if our burden should be increased by two and a half times, could we avoid national bankruptcy?

Now let us grant that the powers do not wish to have another war like the World War, and thus we need not fear military aggression. But can we as easily avoid political pressure? Suppose we say that fortunately enough we shall be able to avoid political pressure; shall we not still have economic pressure to contend with? If we continue to be blind to our situation, how can we expect to escape national ruin?

The third danger is population. Our population has had no increase during the past century. Unless there are ways to increase it, the figure will probably be unchanged a hundred years from now. But when we examine foreign populations, we see that the American population has increased ten times; the Russian, four times; the British and the Japanese, three times; the German, two and a half times; and even the French has increased, one

quarter. If they continue to increase and we do not, our history teaches us that our race will cease to exist as natives of this land.

LESSON XVIII

SINCE we may lose our independence any day through political pressure, in ten years through economic pressure, and in a century by the increase of the populations of other countries, our danger is really great. We should tell one another of this great danger. Remind one another all the time, so that all may know and remember. Then when we realize the danger, we shall make a real struggle for life, as a beast that is driven into a corner. This is why we should advocate nationalism. Students, soldiers, and politicians are all leaders of society. It is their duty to tell the masses of this danger so that all may unite and stand for nationalism.

‘ Foreigners always say that our people are like loose sand. It is true that because of our lack of nationalism we are not united. But have we really no group spirit? Yes, we have it very markedly in the form of family and clan groups. Whenever one person meets another on the street who happens to be of the same surname, he at once becomes friendly with the other, because, if traced back far enough, they are of the same

family. By extending this spirit of family love to the nation we have nationalism. A large body in order to be strong must be built up of small bodies. The clans are a good foundation for the building up of a strong nation. Another spirit we can make use of is the love of one's native place. It is always easy for people of the same native village or district to unite. This spirit is another good foundation for nationalism.

Foreign nations, on the other hand, build their communities on the basis of individuals. Their laws protect the rights of parents, brothers, sisters, husbands, and wives, individually. There is no other step of organization between the individual and the nation. This organization is not so strong as ours, because in our country the family plays an important rôle. Whenever anything occurs, the head of the family is the first to be concerned. Some say this is a bad system ; but I think that having clans formed of families and the nation formed of clans would be an orderly organization. It would be solid. The step towards unification, from clan to nation, would be easy. But taking individuals as bases of the nation would mean dealing with four hundred million units. It is a difficult job to make so many units pull together.

In China, there are about one hundred surnames. Although the long line of generations has caused increases and variations of these surnames,

we have still no more than four hundred clans. Each family can usually be traced back to tens or even hundreds of generations. Foreigners doubt the use of this system. They do not know, however, that the idea of respecting ancestors and continuing the family line has been so deeply rooted for thousands of years in the minds of our people that we would put up a desperate fight if we were forced to discontinue family sacrifices to our ancestors.

The family spirit is best shown in the clan wars in Fukien and Kwangtung. Lives and property are willingly sacrificed in avenging a slight insult of one clan by another. Although this is barbarous, still the principle is good when applied to the nation. If we can realize that unless we unite into a strong nation our country will fall, all the clans will disappear like the aborigines of this land, and the family sacrifices will be certain to be discontinued, we will do all we can to save our country. The barbarous clan wars will consequently be stopped and a strong nation formed.

LESSON XIX

IN OUR work to build up a strong nation, let us begin with the clans. Take the people of one clan from villages, districts, provinces, and from all over the country and unite them, then we shall

have a large body formed of this one clan. For instance, if we unite the Chens of all villages, districts, and provinces, within three years they will form a large body. In a similar way the people of other surnames may be united, and then we shall have a few large clan bodies. Make them see the danger impending, then they will unite into a strong nation. What is to be feared when there is a solid nation?

The "Classic of History" tells us that Emperor Yao by his virtues cultivated friendship among the nine clans. When the clans were on good terms he brought peace to the hundred families. When the families were prosperous, he brought good will to all states. In this we have a good example for the uniting into a strong nation against foreign aggression. If we took the four hundred million individuals as our bases, we would not know where our work should begin. This use of the clan system to unify China is similar to the use of the feudal system by Japan years ago.

When there is organization, there are ways of defending ourselves against foreign aggression. India, for instance, can do nothing politically against the British because they are under British control; but economically the method of non-coöperation proposed by Gandhi is effective. What is noncoöperation? It is, what the British demand, the Indians would not supply; and what the

British supply, the Indians would not demand. For instance, if the British needed labor, the Indians would not work for them. If the British sold goods, the Indians would not buy them, but would use their native products.

At first Great Britain paid little attention to Gandhi's propaganda, but gradually noncoöperative bodies increased and the British were greatly affected economically. They put Gandhi in prison. How can noncoöperation produce results?—By the united action of the whole nation.

If India, after losing her independence, should still be able to unite and carry out a passive resistance through noncoöperation, why cannot China while she is still independent? It would be easy not to work for foreigners, not to buy foreign goods, and not to use foreign paper money. It would be easy to cut off our foreign economic relations.

As to the pressure of increased foreign population, we can put up a defense by using the clan bodies as our foundation to build up a great, strong nation. There is no need for us to fear the pressure of foreign military and economic power and the increase in their population, if we do what is most essential for us to do — unite in one strong government.

The first method I have proposed is positive. It is to awaken the spirit of nationalism, and by

it solve the problems of democracy and livelihood. The second method is passive. It is non-coöperation. By this means we can limit foreign imperialistic actions, and thereby maintain our national position.