

On the morning of October 11, 1911, the Chinese revolutionary leader and head of the **Revolutionary Alliance**, Sun Zhongshan walked downstairs from his Denver hotel room to eat breakfast in the grand dining room. A wanted man in China with a price on his head, Sun was on a fundraising tour of the United States seeking financial support for China's revolutionary cause. The Qing government had put considerable pressure on foreign governments to hand Sun over, as they had with many other top revolutionary leaders who had fled the country. As he waited for his breakfast that morning, he opened the local newspaper to see the headline: "Chinese Revolt is Menace to Manchu Dynasty" (the headline in Denver's other paper more typically reflected the concerns of the era: "Foreigners Throughout Empire in Deadly Peril"). Sun scanned the article and quickly confirmed that a group of young revolutionaries and sympathetic army units had taken Wuchang, one of three cities in the tri-city metropolis of **Wuhan**. The uprising had been in the planning stage for some months. After more than ten abortive attempts, the long awaited revolution to topple the Qing government had begun, and not a single major revolutionary leader was anywhere near Wuhan.

The revolt was ignited prematurely, quite literally, on October 9, 1911. A young activist's cigarette got too close to a bomb that a group of revolutionaries was making and set the entire building ablaze. The ensuing explosion attracted the attention of the Qing authorities. In their investigation they discovered, among other things, a list of pro-revolutionaries, including supportive individuals within the Qing army. Faced with the choice of waiting to be arrested or of going forward with their revolutionary plans, renegade army units seized the government munitions depot on **October 10, 1911**. The Qing governor and governor-general hastily fled, allowing the revolutionaries to gain control of the city. Their success in turn triggered provincial declarations of independence across the empire and crippled Qing authority.

Back in Denver, Sun faced a dilemma. At that precise moment, as he waited for his breakfast, Sun sat 6,000 miles and nearly two-weeks travel time away from China. While the unexpected timing of the revolt may have caught Sun unaware, his absence from the center of the Wuhan revolt was not unanticipated. The price on his head and the revolution's need for funds had made it imperative that he seek support abroad. Sun immediately checked out of his Denver hotel and headed east. He made several stops in the United States before traveling to London and Paris. This itinerary suggests a premeditated plan of action or, at the very least, a clear-headed appraisal of what measures he needed to take prior to his return to China.

Sun had legitimate reasons to be worried about the Western capitals' response to the actions of the revolutionaries. Given the millions in loans and unpaid indemnities owed by the Qing government, it was conceivable that the Western powers might intervene against the revolutionaries in order to prop up a weak Qing monarchy. With this perspective, Sun's primary goal was twofold: 1) to assure the Western governments that the new republican government would honor all treaties and debts to foreign powers; and

TONGMENG HUI (REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE SOCIETY)—A political group forged out of several competing parties in 1910. By joining forces they became the largest Chinese revolutionary party and the forerunner of the Nationalist party, the Guomindang.

WUHAN: The tri-city area of Wuchang, Hankou and Hanyang situated at the confluence of the Yangzi and Hanshui Rivers. Site of the October 10, 1911 Wuchang uprising which sparked the Chinese Revolution.

WUCHANG UPRISING (1911)—The uprising that began on October 10, 1911 as a result of the accidental detonation of explosives by Tongmenhui members. It started the Chinese revolution, which led to the fall of the Qing dynasty and the founding of the Republic of China.

NATIONAL DAY—The Wuhan Uprising on October 10 (or "Double-10"), 1911 marked the beginning of the Chinese Revolution and is still celebrated as National Day in the Republic of China [Taiwan]. The anniversary of the founding of the PRC on October 1, 1949, is National Day in the People's Republic of China.

2) to lay the groundwork for diplomatic recognition, and where possible, future loans for the fledgling government. Sun stopped in Chicago where he showed his fundraising prowess by raising \$10,000 from Chinese Americans to promote the revolution. His efforts with the Western governments were not as successful. He received no firm financial or political commitments from the American, British, or French leaders. He did extract a useful promise from the British and French not to make any additional loans to the Qing government. After doing what he could overseas, Sun arrived in Shanghai on December 25, 1911. A week later, on New Year's Day, he took the train to Nanjing, the new capital of China, and that afternoon was sworn in as the provisional president.

Today, both the People's Republic of China (mainland) and the Republic of China (Taiwan) revere Sun as the "Father of the Nation" (*guofu*). However, there is debate among many scholars as to how the events of 1911/1912 should be portrayed given the fact that the "revolution" involved relatively little military conflict.

In early 1912, Sun Zhongshan and the Provisional Government in Nanjing faced several unpleasant realities. Their leadership and support was almost entirely composed of southerners with virtually no assistance from the Qing military based in the greater Beijing area. Nor, as they had hoped after the Wuchang Uprising, did the political events compel the Qing emperor to abdicate and acknowledge Nanjing as China's new government. The National Assembly in Beijing continued to assert that they were China's legitimate constitutional body. Although the provinces had exhibited uniformity in their declarations of independence, there was virtually no agreement on what form the Republic of China should take, or if Nanjing should continue as the capital. The reluctance of the emperor to abdicate confused the situation further.

Many key individuals of the new provincial government soon began to wonder if the skills Sun Zhongshan had employed as a revolutionary agitator were sufficient to lead modern China through its difficult initial phases of nationhood. He had spent most of his adult life outside China and had no military or political experience in an established government. There were serious organizational issues needing to be resolved.

With this political stalemate, **Yuan Shikai**, a political and military official who had broad ties with both the Qing court and the military forces, emerged as the only individual who, it seemed, could break the deadlock, negotiate an end to the Qing dynasty and transform China into a republic. In exchange for taking on this critical role, he demanded the office of president. Many Chinese felt he was the only person capable of peacefully bringing an end to Qing rule as well as preventing a civil war. And so Yuan Shikai assumed leadership as China's first president. His leadership proved to be a political disaster that did not save China, but only served to hasten China's political disintegration and to usher in a period of deep disunion. As the pressure mounted, and just six weeks after accepting the provisional presidency, Sun Zhongshan agreed to resign from office to make way for Yuan Shikai. He would never serve as president of a unified China. He would, however, remain active in China's political development.

1911 REVOLUTION

The suddenness of the October 1911 revolution surprised virtually every constituency vying for power within China. Each political group, from the radical revolutionaries to the conservative constitutional monarchists, scrambled to position themselves and profit

YUAN SHIKAI (1859–1916)—Staunch Qing loyalist and commander of the powerful Beiyang Army which allowed him, in 1912, to broker the abdication of the Qing in exchange for the presidency of the new republic. His term as president was plagued by corruption, extortion and a misguided attempt to proclaim himself emperor before his death in 1916.

from the Wuchang Uprising. In November the National Assembly, a body formed by the imperial court in accordance with the Constitutional timetable but not yet given full parliamentary rights, promoted the creation of a political structure similar to the constitutional monarchies of Japan and Great Britain (7.1). The revolutionaries, who had focused on abolishing the Qing dynasty and forestalling any monarchy, had no common vision of the future or of how to force the abdication of the Qing emperor (7.3). Within six months of the Wuchang Uprising, China's first attempts to form a solid democracy would falter and quickly disintegrate into disunity and infighting among the revolutionaries, provincial leaders, and the former imperialists.

7.1 DEMANDS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, SUBMITTED IN A MEMORIAL TO THE THRONE (NOVEMBER 3, 1911)

In the weeks after the Wuchang Uprising, the National Assembly sought to persuade the imperial court to make parliamentary concessions by agreeing to maintain the monarchy and to establish the emperor as the ceremonial head of government. For most revolutionaries, however, the time for such half-measures had already passed. As the memorial below suggests, the National Assembly sought to attain legitimacy through an imperial mandate, and not through popular or “revolutionary” activity. This approach would produce a China with two competing political bodies: the National Assembly, maintaining a connection with the Qing, and the Provisional Government, rooted in revolution and headed by Sun Zhongshan in Nanjing. The two political groups claimed authority through radically different processes, and neither was based on an open and comprehensive selection process.

Questions

1. What aspects of the following demands would have been threatening to the throne? Why?
2. Why does the National Assembly seek to retain the emperor?

1. The Qing Dynasty shall be maintained in perpetuity.
2. The person of the Emperor shall be inviolable.
3. The prerogative of the Emperor shall be limited by the Constitution.
4. The succession to the Throne shall be prescribed in the Constitution.
5. The Constitution shall be drafted and determined by the National Assembly and promulgated by the Emperor.
6. All amendment of the Constitution lies within the province and power of Parliament.
7. Members of the Upper House of Parliament are to be elected by the people from specially qualified classes.
8. Parliament will elect but the Emperor shall appoint the Prime Minister, on whose recommendation the other members of the Cabinet shall be appointed by the Emperor; but Imperial princes shall be ineligible for any ministerial office or for the governorship of a province.
9. The Prime Minister may be impeached, whereupon either he shall ask for a dissolution of Parliament or shall resign.
10. The Emperor shall be in supreme control of the army and the navy, but when this control is exercised in respect of domestic matters it shall be subject to such limitations as may be imposed by Parliament.
11. Imperial Edicts shall not have force of law except in emergencies, and even then under special provisions and only for the carrying out of what has already been determined by law.

12. No treaty with a foreign Power shall be concluded without the authority of Parliament, but the conclusion of a peace or the declaration of a war may be made during the session of Parliament without the consent of Parliament being obtained until afterwards.
13. Standing orders of an administrative character shall be settled by Acts of Parliament.
14. If the budget should fail to be accepted by Parliament the Government shall act upon the preceding year's budget, but no further expenditure shall be added thereto and no special financial measures shall be adopted.
15. The determination of the revenues and expenditures of the Imperial Household shall be within the power of Parliament.
16. The Imperial Household Laws shall not violate the Constitution.
17. The two Houses of Parliament shall jointly establish Administrative Courts.
18. The Emperor shall promulgate all the laws enacted by Parliament.
19. The National Assembly shall exercise all the authority vested in Parliament by Articles 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 18, until Parliament is duly elected and opened.

7.2 FIRST PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION (JANUARY 2, 1912)

Sun was sworn into office the day before issuing his first proclamation. His speech clearly sought to remold his *Three Principles of the People* (5.11) to fit the immediate exigencies facing the nascent Chinese Republic. While it may seem a smooth summary of the events, it offered little in the way of concrete measures to resolve the challenges facing a nation that did not have a consensus for shaping its political future. Having no public mandate and a non-existent military force to leverage his position, Sun had no viable means for leading China to accept the political framework he outlined.

Questions

1. What did Sun see as the major challenges facing China?
2. What actions did he intend to make to resolve these problems?

In the beginning of the formation of the Chinese Republic [I], though unworthy, have been elected the provisional president and I am day and night taking great care, fearing I could not meet the desires of our People. The abuses of the despotic Government of China have been going from bad to worse during the past two hundred years. When, however, once our people determined to overthrow it, it has taken only several dozen days in restoring over a dozen provinces to our cause, which success is unprecedented in any history.

Without any organ to control or any body to meet with foreign Powers it is impossible to carry on our work and therefore we have to organize a Provisional Government. I am not going to do a thing by professing my own individual merit but I do not hesitate to attend to the organization of the Provisional Government to serve the People by carrying out our duties. By serving the People we can wipe out the bad habits of despotism and establish republican government to

benefit the People, to attain the aim of the Revolution, to satisfy the minds of the People commencing from today. Thus I proclaim my own idea frankly. I say the foundation of a state is the People. The different races such as Hans, Manchus, Mongols, Muslims, and Tibetans are now to be united as a nation. This is what I call the unity of our Races.

Since the fighting at Wuchang commenced, over a dozen provinces have proclaimed independence, and by independence has been meant to be independent from the yoke of the Manchu Qing dynasty; but to join hands with the provinces which are on the same side, and to amalgamate Mongolia and Tibet for our cause, are part of the same plan and therefore it becomes necessary to form a Government to unite them. This is what I call the unity of our Territories.

Once the righteous army commenced fighting for our cause many men of arms arose in the said provinces, but the armed forces are not under one control and they are not in uniform organization though

their arms are the same. They should be combined under common command and for common cause. This is what I call the unity of our Military Administration.

The area of the State is wide and the various provinces have their own ways and the Manchu Government has tried to effect centralization of power under the false name of constitutional government, but now it is to be arranged that each province be self-governed, and all shall be federated under a common central Government. This is what I call the unity of our Internal Administration.

Under the Manchu Government, in the name of enforcing constitutional Government, many taxes have been raised from poor people, but hereafter the national expenditure will be fixed in accordance with the principles of finance with a view to maintaining the happiness of the People. This is what I call the unity of Finance.

These are our principal policies and we are going to carry these principles out properly. The principle of revolution is the same all the world over and revolutionary movements have failed often, yet foreigners all took notice of our real aim.

Since we first rose in October last all the friendly nations have maintained strict neutrality and the newspapers and public opinion of foreign countries are quite sympathetic with our cause, for which I have to express our deep thanks.

With the establishment of Provisional Government we will try our best to carry out the duties of a civilized nation so as to obtain the rights of a civilized state. Under the Manchu Government China has been obliged to be under humiliation and had anti-foreign feeling, but all these should be wiped out and we should aim at the principle of peace and tranquility and to increase our friendship with friendly nations so as to place China in a respectable place in international society, to follow in the steps of the other Powers of the world. Our foreign policy is based on this point.

In establishing a new Government for a country there are many affairs to deal with, either international or internal, and how could I be able to carry on these important complicated affairs? Yet this is a Provisional Government. This is a government in a time of revolution. In the past decades all those who have been engaged in the revolutionary movements have been doing their work with a spirit honest and pure, and we have fought many difficult obstacles; and the further we proceed the more difficulties will lie before us, but we shall continue with our revolutionary spirit to carry out our aim to the last and if we could establish the foundation of the Chinese Republic, the duties of the Provisional Government would be at an end; then we may be pronounced to be “not guilty,” in the eyes of the nation and the world. On this day when I meet our People I frankly declare what is my view.

7.3 THE LAST EMPEROR’S ABDICATION EDICT (FEBRUARY 12, 1912)

The following is one of several carefully orchestrated exchanges of edicts between Yuan Shikai and the imperial throne. Yuan Shikai had commanded the **Beiyang Armies** and been a firm proponent of the imperial throne. By the end of 1911, as the dominant military leader in northern China, many revolutionaries believed that only he could prevent the disintegration of China into competing regional armies. His long service to the throne also positioned him as one of the few people who could persuade the young emperor (and his advisors) of the need to abdicate. In exchange for such services, Yuan Shikai demanded that Sun Zhongshan step aside and allow him to replace Sun as the provisional president. Although Yuan Shikai issued a statement pledging loyalty to the republic, promising not to move the new capital back to Beijing, and pledging to allow China to adopt a full constitutional government—within months he would go back on each of these assurances.

BEIYANG ARMY—A Western-style army forged from Li Hongzhang’s Anhui Army in the 1880s and led by Yuan Shikai after Li Hongzhang’s death in 1901. It was funded by North China customs’ revenues, first used to build the Beiyang (“Northern Ocean”) fleet, hence the name. The Beiyang Army remained intact until the Republican era, first led by Yuan Shikai, then the conservative warlord general Zhang Xun.

Questions

1. What reasons does the Qing leadership give for succumbing to the rising political pressures?
2. What role does Yuan Shikai play as presented in the edicts below?

25th day, 12th month, 3rd year of the Xuantong reign [February 12, 1912]

We have today received from the Empress Dowager Longyu an Edict stating that on account of the uprising by the Army of the People, with the cooperation of the people of the Provinces, the one answering to the other as the echo does to the sound, the whole Empire has been as a boiling cauldron and the People have endured much tribulation. We therefore specially appointed Yuan Shikai to instruct Commissioners to confer with the representatives of the Army of the People for the summoning of a National Convention at which the future form of Government should be decided. There was wide divergence of opinion between the North and the South, and each strongly maintained its own views, and the general consequence has been an entire stoppage of trade and suspension of ordinary civil life. So long as the form of government remains undecided, so long will the disturbed condition of the country continue. It is clear that the minds of the majority of the people are favorable to the establishment of a republican form of government, the Southern and Central provinces first holding this view, and the officers in the North lately adopting the same sentiments. The universal desire clearly expresses the will of Heaven, and it is not for us to oppose the desires and incur the disapproval of the millions of the People merely for the sake of the

privileges and powers of a single House. It is right that this general situation should be considered and due deference given to the opinion of the People. I, the Empress Dowager, therefore, together with the Emperor, hereby hand over the sovereignty to be the possession of the whole People, and declare that the constitution shall henceforth be republican, in order to satisfy the demands of those within the confines of the nation, hating disorder and desiring peace, and anxious to follow the teaching of the sages, according to which the country is the possession of the People.

Yuan Shikai, having been elected some time ago president of the National Assembly at Beijing, is therefore able at this time of change to unite the North and the South; let him then, with full powers so to do, organize a provisional Republican Government, conferring thereon with the representatives of the Army of the People, that peace may be assured to the People whilst the complete integrity of the territories of the five races, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Muslim Chinese [Hui], and Tibetans, is at the same time maintained, making together a great state under the title the Republic of China. We, the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, will retire into a life of leisure, free from public duties, spending Our years pleasantly and enjoying the courteous treatment accorded to Us by the People, and watching with satisfaction the glorious establishment and consummation of a perfect Government.

7.4 SUN ZHONGSHAN'S REPLY TO YUAN SHIKAI AND RESIGNATION (FEBRUARY 12, 1912)

Sun Zhongshan, on February 12, 1912, resigned his position as provisional president. His contradictory feelings toward Yuan Shikai are manifest in the following documents. Like many of his revolutionary cohorts, he saw no alternative to allowing Yuan Shikai to replace him as president. Sun's fears that Yuan Shikai had little commitment to a democratic government were quickly validated when Yuan Shikai failed to honor numerous

promises and moved the capital back to his powerbase in Beijing. Yuan's presidency was characterized by placing his cronies in power, bribing those outside his control, and assassinating those resistant to his despotic leadership.

Questions

1. What elements of his resignation disturbed Sun Zhongshan?
2. Why do you think Sun only lasted six weeks as leader of China?

Dr. Sun to Yuan Shikai, dated Nanjing, 12th February, 1912.

Tang Shaoyi has telegraphed me that the Qing Emperor has abdicated and that you will support the Republic. The settlement of this great question is a matter of the utmost joy and congratulation. I will report to the National Assembly that I agree to resign the office of President in your favor. But the Republican Government cannot be organized by any authority conferred by the Qing Emperor. The exercise of such pretentious power will surely lead to serious trouble. As you clearly understand the needs of the situation, certainly you will not accept such authority. I cordially invite you to come to Nanjing and fulfill the expectations of all. Should you be anxious about the maintenance of order in the North, would you inform the Provisional Government by telegraph whom you could recommend to be appointed with full powers to act in your place as a representative of the Republic? Expecting your reply to this telegram, hereby again extend to you our cordial welcome to Nanjing.

Resignation of First Provisional President. Dr. Sun to the National Assembly at Nanjing, 12th February, 1912.

Today I present to you my resignation and request you to elect a good and talented man as the new President.

The election of President is a right of our citizens, and it is not for me to interfere in any way. But according to the telegram which our delegate Dr. Wu was directed to send to Beijing, I was to undertake to resign in favor of Mr. Yuan when the Emperor had abdicated, and Mr. Yuan has declared his political views in support of the Republic. I have already submitted this to your honorable Assembly and obtained your approval. The abdication of the Qing Emperor and the union of the North and South are largely due to the great exertions of Mr. Yuan. Moreover, he has declared his unconditional adhesion to the national cause. Should he be elected to serve the Republic, he would surely prove himself a most loyal servant of the state. Besides, Mr. Yuan is a man of political experience, to whose constructive ability our united nation looks forward for the consolidation of its interests. Therefore, I venture to express my personal opinion and to invite your honorable Assembly carefully to consider the future welfare of the state, and not to miss the opportunity of electing one who is worthy of your election. The happiness of our country depends upon your choice. Farewell.

WARLORD ERA

Yuan Shikai's death in 1916, although welcome in many quarters, further destabilized China's already precarious political situation. In the months after his demise a power struggle for political control of the government in Beijing ensued. There was even one attempt to restore the emperor to his throne (7.6). The following year, Sun Zhongshan founded the Military Government of the Republic of China with its capital in Guangzhou. Numerous other provinces instituted various degrees of self-rule, often

7.6 ZHANG XUN'S REASONS FOR RESTORING THE MONARCHY (1917)

In 1916, a dispute broke out between China's President Li Yuanhong and Premier **Duan Qirui** over China's entrance into World War One. The parliament voted for his resignation, and President Li Yuanhong obligingly dismissed Duan Qirui. A supporter of Duan Qirui, General **Zhang Xun** (1854–1923), marched with his military forces into the capital on the pretext of reinstating Duan Qirui as premier. Zhang Xun was a fervent monarchist who retained his queue and was known as the “Pigtail General.” Instead of helping Duan, General Zhang Xun decided to reinstate the former emperor, Puyi. On July 1, 1917 a coronation ceremony officially restored the emperor to the throne. Within a week the military tide had shifted again, and Duan Qirui defeated Zhang Xun's forces. On July 12, Puyi was, for the second time in his life, forced to abdicate. Zhang Xun sought and received asylum in the Dutch consulate. He was eventually pardoned the following year for his “treasonous” anti-parliamentary acts. The following is a long manifesto posted by Zhang Xun on July 3, 1917.

Questions

1. What critical characteristics does Zhang Xun attribute to the parliamentary system?
2. What does Zhang Xun suggest is as “great as the distance between heaven and earth?”

Ever since the uprising at Wuchang and the establishment of the republic peace and order have been cast to the winds and good reliable people have been nowhere to be seen. Anarchists have been holding sway while unscrupulous people have been monopolizing the power. Robber chiefs are called heroes and dead convicts are worshiped as martyrs. Parliament relied on rebels for support while Cabinet Ministers used biased parties as their protection. Unscrupulous borrowing of foreign money is called finance; and bleeding the

people is termed revenue-raising. Oppression of innocent people is considered self-government; and defaming old scholars is considered civilization. Some spread rumors under the pretext that they are public opinion while others secretly finance foreigners and call it diplomacy. All these are treason practiced under the fine name of statesmanship, and corruption under the mask of legislation. They even advocate the abolition of Confucianism and thus call down the wrath of God. ... In name we are a Republic but nothing is known of

DUAN QIRUI (1864–1936)—A prominent warlord whose power base was centered in Beijing. He served as China's premier during Yuan Shikai's presidency. His later political activities were tainted by his close relationship with Japan, though he continued to be active politically in the Beijing government as well as in the Anhui warlord clique.

ZHANG XUN (1854–1923)—A prominent warlord during China's Republican era and a noted Qing-loyalist known as the “Pigtail General” who attempted to restore the last Qing emperor to the throne in 1917.

the citizens. People are called citizens but they know nothing about their country. Now the people are poor and financial resources exhausted, the foundations of the country begin to shake. All this is the result of the bad form of government. . . . Look at the matter at its root, we find that Republicanism is the source of all the evil. . . . Compare this with the continuous reign of a monarchy, wherefrom the people may enjoy peace for tens or hundreds of years, the difference is at once seen to be as great as the distance between heaven and earth. . . . Carefully weighing present conditions and the tendency of the people it is preferable to expel party politics and establish a firm monarchy than to invite ruin by adopting the empty name of a Republic. . . . Our Emperor, who is in his boyhood, has devoted himself

to study and learning to be calm in obedience to the demand of the day. The country has passed many great upheavals but in the palace there has always reigned peace and calm. Recently His Majesty has made marked progress in his sacred studies and his virtuous reputation has spread far and wide. It can thus be seen that Heaven has smiled on the Qing dynasty by conferring His Majesty with unusual wisdom so that he might be able to rise at the proper moment to stop disorder and revert to right. . . . [Zhang] Xun and others have been accumulating their energy with their weapons near at hand for the last six years. . . . On this day we have jointly memorialized His Imperial Majesty to again ascend the throne in order to establish the foundation of the country and to consolidate the minds of the people.

7.7 GENERAL WU PEIFU AND OTHER WARLORDS (1924)

By 1924, China's internal hostilities had been ongoing for more than ten years. Articles would periodically appear in the Western press discussing the latest peace proposals. At the time this article was written, Wu Peifu seemed the most likely warlord (or "dujun" as the article refers to them) able to cobble together an alliance between the northern and southern cliques within a government of national unity. Known as the "Scholar General" because of his literary background (he had passed the provincial level *xiuca*i degree under the Qing), Wu Peifu appeared by 1924 to have finally brokered an agreement between the major military and political factions. His success prompted *Time* magazine to publish a feature article on China's warlords with Wu Peifu gracing the magazine's cover—the first Chinese ever to appear there. Just weeks after the article was published, one of Wu's allies, Feng Yuxiang, suddenly reversed his military offensive into northeast China and attacked Wu Peifu's army in Beijing. The breakdown of Wu Peifu's alliance with Feng was typical of the period, in that warlords relied on military allegiances forged through weak personal ties rather than alliances based on the construction of coherent political programs. The following document shows both the "score card" mentality needed to keep track of the shifting warlord scene and the growing American interest in Chinese politics.

Questions

1. What area of China seems most affected by the inter-warlord violence?
2. What role does Sun Zhongshan play in the warlord conflict? Did any area escape warlord rule or excesses?

WU PEIFU (c. 1874–1939)—A major figure and leader of the Zhili clique during the Warlord era, often referred to as the "Scholar General." In 1924, Wu was nearly able to broker a peace agreement among the various factions, but ultimately failed. He resisted overtures from both the Guomindang and Japanese during the 1930s and died in suspicious circumstances in 1939.

China was threatened last week by a civil war of considerable size. Troops were massed upon the border between Zhejiang and Jiangsu, two maritime Provinces in the middle of China's long seacoast. Reports were issued to the effect that fighting had started, but no confirmation was obtainable.

Actors

Gen. Wu Peifu, Dujun of Zhili Province. He is the ablest military mind of China. Under his control is the whole north and centre of China, except Manchuria. He is the Lord Protector of Beijing, which is in his province. Although a democrat, he aims at reunifying China by the sword, which policy has brought him into conflict with the Dujun of Manchuria and Dr. Sun Zhongshan, of the South. One of the anomalies of the situation in Beijing is that President Cao Kun was once an enemy of Gen. Wu. At the time Cao Kun was made President of the Chinese Republic, Gen. Wu made no opposition and it was alleged that he had been "bought off." Apart from being a military genius, he is a man of culture, scientific and literary. He studies hard. Recently he began to learn English, employed a tutor, gave him his only spare hour—4:30 a.m. to 5:30 a.m. He is known as a "man who speaks softly and carries a big stick."

Gen. Qi Xieyuan, Dujun of Jiangsu, friend of Gen. Wu.

Gen. Lu Yongxiang, Dujun of Zhejiang, once military commissioner of Shanghai, an enemy of Gen. Qi. He is about 57 years of age. After he became Dujun of Zhejiang, he had Gen. He Fenglin appointed to the Shanghai post, although Shanghai is not in his Province.

Gen. He Fenglin, Military Commissioner of Shanghai, in the Province of Jiangsu. He is about 47 years of age and is under the influence of Gen. Lu.

Marshal Zhang Zuolin, Dujun of Manchuria, an avowed Imperialist—that is, a Monarchist. He is a young man of great brains and tremendous power, but

no match for Gen. Wu, who once sadly defeated him. Manchuria is about the size of Texas and Colorado, forming enough territory in northern China to make Marshal Zhang's title of War Lord of the North no empty epithet.

The Row

The cause of the present trouble in China centers in Shanghai. So numerous have been the reasons for the rumpus that they have varied with the political complexion of each sinologue interpreter.

The immediate cause is that Gen. Qi wants Shanghai under his thumb. As it is, he thinks the Military Commissioner in Shanghai ought to be a man of his choice. Having tried peacefully to oust Gen. He from the Commissionership, he is now resolved to do it by force, which brings him into conflict with Gen. Lu, who is equally determined to preserve his influence in Shanghai.

The general cause of the dispute is inherent in the political chaos which besets China. The Dujuns, who exercise almost sovereign power in their Provinces, are split up in many factions, due largely to personal jealousies. The immense power which the Dujuns wield is naturally the greatest obstacle to the reunification of China. China as such is internationally little more than a geographical expression. Nothing short of a civil war between the Centre under Gen. Wu, "biggest man in China," the South under Dr. Sun Zhongshan, and the North under Marshal Zhang can ever clear away the political strife which for years has thrown the country into annual turmoil.

Warning

Sir Ronald Macleay, British Minister to China and Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps. sent the Chinese Foreign Office a note from the Powers reminding the Government of China that it would be held responsible for loss of life and damage to property of foreign nationals. The note read:

ZHANG ZUOLIN (1875–1928)—Warlord nicknamed the 'Old Marshal' who controlled most of northeast China (Manchuria) from 1916 until 1928 when he was assassinated by a Japanese military officer.

“We, the undersigned representatives of Great Britain, Japan, France, and the United States, learning of the grave danger of hostilities breaking out between the provincial authorities of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, feel it our duty to repeat and reaffirm in the most solemn manner the obligations of the Chinese Government in the present crisis, to prevent loss of life and property to members of the foreign community in and around Shanghai.”

Foreign Forces

The principal Powers that are diplomatically represented in Beijing keep military and naval forces in China for the protection of foreigners, who are not subject to the laws of China but to the laws of their own countries, and who are under the jurisdiction of their consulates.

With trouble brewing around Shanghai, ten warships were sent to the harbor to watch over the inhabitants of the city and its outlying area. Rear Admiral David Murray Anderson, of the British Navy, was designated Commander-in-Chief of all foreign vessels: four American, three British, three Japanese.

Peace

It has been said, perhaps too often, that money has frequently stopped a Chinese War. Perhaps with that in view, the Shanghai merchants essayed to bring about agreement between the threatening troops. The chances of success were said to be small.

Attempts were also made to induce both sides to designate a neutral zone surrounding Shanghai. It was not known if they were successful.

8.5 THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE (MARCH 6, 1921)

Sun Zhongshan delivered the following speech on his Three Principles at an executive meeting of the Guomindang in March 6, 1921. His three principles (or at least what he emphasized within each of the three principles) had evolved considerably over the years

HUANGPU (WHAMPOA) ACADEMY—A military academy founded by Sun Zhongshan in 1924 (often romanized according to Cantonese pronunciation as Whampoa) outside of Guangzhou. Many of China's top military leaders of the 1920s and 1930s, regardless of party affiliation, were educated or served at the academy.

JIANG JIESHI (1887–1975)—Born in Zhejiang, he attended numerous military schools before joining the GMD, serving as commandant of Huangpu Military Academy in 1924. After Sun Zhongshan's death in 1925, Jiang Jieshi became the military commander who organized and led the Northern Expedition. From 1928 until 1949 he served as President of China. After the GMD's retreat to Taiwan he served as president from 1952 until his death in 1975.

(compare with 5.14). Gone are the references to ridding China of the Manchus, and in its place are calls to keep all parts (Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolia) of “China” unified. Sun deftly weaves in the popular appeals of the May Fourth Movement and rising demands for redistribution of land. His notion of “People’s Livelihood” remains essentially unchanged from his earlier versions, yet it takes on a much more prominent place in this speech.

Question

1. Do you find Sun’s solutions more or less realistic than those he proposed fifteen years earlier (5.16)?
2. What does Sun suggest by his term “equal appraisal of land” with regard to his land reforms?

Dear Comrades:

[...]

Three Principles of the People. What are the Three Principles of the People? They are Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood of the People. When the Manchus occupied China, revolutionaries focused exclusively on achieving a nationalist revolution with little attention given to democracy and livelihood. A constitution composed of five powers is an imperative policy to establish a country. Prior to the overthrow of the Manchus, our Party members assumed once the Manchus had been deposed, the goal to achieve the national power and people’s welfare would occur spontaneously. Only now is it finally understood that the mistake came from the earlier single-minded focus on the nationalism while neglecting the other two principles of democracy and livelihood. This is our Party’s unrealized duty. It is important to understand that without implementation of the other two principles, even if nationhood is achieved it will not be stable; not to mention, we have not yet reached our goal of nationalism!

I. *People’s Nationalism.* What do we mean when we say that we have failed to achieve the goal of nationalism? When the Manchus conquered China over 200 years ago, we—the Han Chinese people—were subjugated. Today, even though the Manchus have been overthrown and a Han-rule reinstated, our people (*minzu*) have still not achieved their independence. This is because our Party continues to play only a passive instead of active role [in the revolution]... Our Party must take the blame for this. Since the [1911] revolution, only the former Qing officials, recalcitrant conservatives and the revisionist parties, clustering together and claiming to have founded a Republic of Five Nationalities (*wuzu gonghe*).

Few fully comprehend that the fundamental misunderstanding lies precisely on this point. For when one speaks of the five peoples, there are only four or five millions Tibetans; less than one million Mongolians; several million Manchus; and a large number of Muslims; but the majority [of China’s population] are the Han Chinese. If we examine the current situation, Manchuria is under Japan’s sphere of influence; Mongolia is under Russian influence; and Tibet is almost completely under British control. Obviously they are unable to defend themselves and we Han must come to their aid. There are four hundred million or more Han Chinese, if we cannot establish an independent all-Han nation, it is truly a great disgrace to us as a Han people. This is why our Party has not succeeded in achieving our goal of nationalism.

It is for this reason, our party must continue to work hard to achieve nationalism, to ensure that the Manchus, Mongolians, Muslims and Tibetans are assimilated into the Han Chinese, in order to create a great nationalist country.

[...]

- II. *People’s Democracy.*... Direct democracy includes the following four electoral rights: universal suffrage, the referendum, the initiative and the rights of recall.
- III. *People’s Livelihood.* Here again let me speak about People’s Livelihood. Today People’s Livelihood means socialism. Gentlemen, reflect for a moment, when did I first begin to broach the notion of People’s Livelihood? It is already too late to start to talk about socialism today. But the theory of socialism arrived in China not too long ago, so that is it quite proper for me to have

translated “**socialism**” as “people’s livelihood” in the past. . . . The solution is in “land” and “capital”. People who are aware of the current situation nowadays often say there are no capitalists in China that there is no need to talk about socialism; or let’s not start to talk about socialism until we have capitalist production. This is not the right approach.

[. . .]

As far as People’s livelihood concerns, I already have one solution that is “equal distribution” (*pingjun diquan*) of land. When the Republic of China was established in Nanjing, I advocated the proportional distribution of the land, trying to implement our Party policy of People’s Livelihood, which met opposition from some of our comrades. I asked them: haven’t you all taken oaths to uphold Party’s ideology?

Because of inequality, we must implement People’s Livelihood. What do we mean by inequality? In ancient times, although the distinction between rich and poor existed, the difference was not as marked. Today the rich own all the land, while the poor do not even own a little piece to step his feet on. The reason for this inequality is the huge difference in productive power. For example, in ancient times tools that timber-cutters used were axes, knives and saws. That the ancient saying goes, to accomplish one’s work, one must first sharpen the tools. Whereas nowadays industry is greatly developed, machines have replaced human labor, and the result is that a much greater

quantity of products is obtained with much less human energy. . . .

[. . .]

Now that we have established the Guangzhou branch of the Guomindang Party, which has been designated as the primary office to carry out propaganda. From this we can expect the future to be unlimited. Guangdong province will become the experimental center for us to implement our party’s policy and the starting point for democracy. We can push our Party’s ideology from Guangdong to the whole country, the Yangzi and Yellow River regions. You gentlemen must understand we have to practice and propagandize our Party’s ideology promptly because, although the Republic is ten years old, common people do not understand the meaning of republic and they do not consider themselves as citizens, but subjects. They are still waiting for the Son of Heaven [the emperor] to appear and preparing to become royal subjects in a peaceful world. I ask you to try to imagine how could we even implement a popular election for a county commissioner? To avoid future failure, we must actively practice Three Principles of the People, rely on Our Party members to govern Guangdong. All is depending on our party members’ effort and the familiarity of Three Principles of the People. After that we must actively implement the Constitution of Five Powers. The ‘Three Principles of the People’ and the ‘Constitution of Five Powers’ are the fundamental ideology of our Party, which from Guangdong we must spread throughout the country.