

RUSSO-CHINESE DIPLOMACY

BY

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TO

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MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE
NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF CHINA, A PILLAR OF THE PARTY AND A DEFENDER
OF HIS COUNTRY'S RIGHTS, THIS BOOK IS
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

FOREWORD

IN not a few respects China is one of the most interesting and important countries of the world as a subject for study by the international lawyer and by the historian of international relations, and this interest and importance has been testified to by the extensive literature which exists relating to international rights and obligations as applied to China, and to the history of the relations between China and the other powers. However, much remains to be done, especially in the way of monographic treatment of specific topics, and especially is it desirable that Chinese scholars should more fully occupy this field, for, to undue extent, has China had her domestic history and institutions as well as her international relations and rights dealt with by foreigners. What Chinese scholars can do when their attention is directed to their own country is seen in the published writings of such scholars as Wellington Koo, M. T. Z. Tyau, P. W. Kuo, M. J. Bau, S. Y. Cheng, P. C. Hsieh, C. L. Hsia, in the various monographs by Chinese authors which have appeared in the *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* of Columbia University, and in the scholarly contributions of the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, which has completed its eleventh volume.

First, in point of time, of the countries with which China has entered into formal treaty relations, and among the first in point of importance in her international relations, has been Russia. Yet, until the appearance of the present work by Dr. Weigh, no other writer, except Dr. C. T. Hoo, had attempted to deal in any comprehensive manner with the international relations between these two vast and contiguous

countries,—and Dr. Hoo's "*Les Bases Conventionnelles des Relations Modernes entre la Chine et la Russie*" is now nearly ten years old, during which period there have been not only important developments, but the rendering accessible of additional information regarding the earlier years. It may be expected, therefore, that a hearty welcome will be accorded to Dr. Weigh's volume in which, in a scholarly manner, he has dealt both with the essential facts of his subject and with the significance of those facts. Especially, in this latter connection, will the reader find much to interest and inform him in the chapters dealing with White and Red Russian intrigues in Mongolia, Bolshevism in China, and the part played in Sino-Russian relations by the Chinese Eastern Railway. The time is rapidly approaching, if, indeed, it has not already arrived, when the relations of China with all the other powers will have to be placed upon an entirely new basis, and the answers to the questions as to why this new basis is needed, what its character should be, and the way or ways in which its establishment should be brought about, are largely to be found in a knowledge of China's past experiences in dealing with the other powers. Information such as Dr. Weigh supplies in the present volume cannot, therefore, but be of practical as well as of historical value.

W. W. WILLOUGHBY.

PREFACE

WELL-NIGH two years ago the author's interest in Russo-Chinese affairs was occasioned by the sweeping victories of the politico-national Revolution going on in China, the preponderance of Russian influence in its successes, and the alleged Communist tinge which the Western world characterized the whole movement, thus giving umbrage to all kinds of apprehensions and misgivings that China was being converted to the vicious doctrines of Moscow and that in no time would the whole country be turned into an oasis of Communism. Hence this book, which is but an outline of the diplomatic relations of China and Russia, covering a period from September, 1689, when was concluded the Treaty of Nertchinsk, the first international engagement entered into by the Celestial Empire with a foreign power on the basis of equality and reciprocity, to May, 1924, when was signed at Peking China's last important treaty, the Agreement on General Principles, with the same power on the same basis. It is interesting to note that it was Russia that concluded this first and last bilateral treaty with China.

Since writing, so many great events have taken place in China and the conclusions then arrived at, though being, in the main, correct predictions of the trend which present events would take and of the probable outcome that is given birth to by the contact of two of the world's greatest political and social forces, namely, Nationalism and Bolshevism, have, nevertheless, to be redrawn and amplified. In the concluding chapter of this book the author insists that what was thought to be Bolshevism was a misnomer for Nationalism, that China was merely using the

Bolsheviks as a means to an end in the realization of a politically liberated China, free from the shackles of the internal and external enslavers of the people, and that Soviet Russia was using China as a means to an end, also, in bringing about the world Soviet revolution. Thus, between the Chinese Nationalists and the Russian Communists a grim kind of "hide and seek" was being played, each trying to outwit the other in the attainment of its designs and purposes. For, we know, the Chinese Nationalists, though believing in national liberation, do not believe in a social revolution in China; while the Bolsheviks, believing in national revolution, believe also in a social revolution.

We find, therefore, that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, when at the lowest ebb of his political power, sought alliance with Soviet Russia, she being the only nation then treating us as equals. He also opened the portals of the Kuomintang to the Communists, who, it should be clearly understood, were taken in not with their badge of Communism on their arms but as individuals with no political affiliations, as it was the hope of the leaders of the Party that, while availing themselves of the Communists' sacrificing spirit and methods in reaching the masses, they might bring them in the meantime within the orbit of assimilation to the tenets and principles of the Party. But contrary to their expectations the Communists not only refused to be "Kuomintangized" but sought to pollute the true principles upon which the Party was founded in order to carry out their radical ideas. Fortunately, these motives were detected in time, which led to the break with Hankow and the establishment of a new government at Nanking under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek in April, 1927. The Hankow régime was amalgamated, however, with the Nanking administration, in September of the same year, after the Wu-Han leaders had awakened from their Communist

delirium and had come to a realization of the fact that to save the Party and the Revolution they must needs break with the Communists.

The separation of Nationalism from Communism was thus complete, overtly at least, but the root of trouble had not yet been extirpated. Driven from Hankow, the Communists made their way to Canton and availing themselves of the use of the Soviet Consulate and the Soviet State Commercial Agencies as an asylum and headquarters, they staged on the eleventh of December, 1927, the horrible *coup d'état* which culminated in the forcible occupation of all government offices and in the unprecedented massacre and plunder in the annals of the city. This drove the Nationalist Government to the end of its patience. On December 14, 1927, in a Mandate it declared:

The Nationalist Government has, for some time, been informed by various reports that the Soviet Consulates and the Soviet State Commercial Agencies in areas within the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government have been used as headquarters of red propaganda and asylum for Communists. An exposure of these facts has been so far withheld by the Government in view of the international relations existing between China and Russia.

On the eleventh of the present month, an uprising took place in the city of Canton culminating in the forcible occupation of the city by the Communists who cut off all communications, and burnt, plundered, and massacred throughout the city. This startling event with all its disastrous consequences is mainly attributed to the fact that the Communists have availed themselves of the Soviet Consulates and Soviet State Commercial Agencies as a base to direct their operations. And the fear is entertained that occurrences of like nature may take place elsewhere.

With a view to maintaining peace and order and to preventing the further spreading of such disasters, the Government feels that such a state of things, fraught with incalculable dangers to the Party and State, can no longer be tolerated. Therefore it is hereby ordered that the recognition accorded to the Consuls of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stationed in the various provinces shall suspend their functions, in order that the root of evil influence may be eradicated and a thorough inquiry instituted.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is instructed to superintend its subordinate organs and to act in conjunction with the other government authorities concerned to put into execution this Mandate with all due care and to report thereon.

In reply to this Mandate of the Nationalist Government, Mr. B. Kozlovsky, Soviet Consul General in Shanghai, communicated on December 17, 1927, to Mr. Quo Tai-chi, the Shanghai Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, for transmission to the latter's government, the following Note from Comrade Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U. S. S. R.:

(1) The Soviet Government never has recognized the so-called Nationalist Government at Nanking in whose name the Note of December 15 was handed to the U. S. S. R. Consulate General in Shanghai. The "Nationalist Government" must be acquainted with the fact that all the Consulates of the U. S. S. R. exist on Chinese territory in consequence of the treaty concluded between China and the U. S. S. R., and signed in Peking in 1924 and that all the appointments of the Consuls for Shanghai as well as in any other place in China were made with the knowledge and consent of the Peking Government. The Shanghai authorities as well as all other local Chinese authorities have only taken notice of these appointments. In consideration of these facts the statement in the Note of the "Nationalist Government" concerning the cancellation of the recognition of the Consuls in the different provinces can only mean that the Generals who have seized the power in Nanking under the pressure of the imperialists have thought it advisable to have in the territory under their domination especially the Consuls of such Powers as are maintaining the "unequal treaties" with the Chinese.

(2) The Soviet Government has to repudiate in the most energetic manner the completely unfounded statement contained in the Note of December 15 to the effect that the Consulates and the State Commercial Agencies are to be considered responsible for the "Red propaganda and as an asylum for the Communists." We have to repudiate especially in the most energetic way the allegation that our Consulate in Canton was guiding the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in Kwangtung. It is an old attempt to consider the revolutionary movement of

the workers and peasants in China as a consequence of the activities of the Soviet official institutions. For years already the enemies of the Chinese people, the imperialists of all countries have considered the great revolutionary movement of the Chinese people as a consequence of the intrigues of "exterior forces." The fact that the "Nationalist Government" in Nanking is repeating now the counter-revolutionary legends of the suppressors of the Chinese people proves better than anything else whose will the "Nationalist Government" is actually performing now.

(3) The Soviet Government is convinced that the attitude of the Chinese authorities in Shanghai will do harm first of all to the Chinese people and to the national interests of China and the people who so lightly start a hostile policy against the U. S. S. R. will be the first who will feel the damaging results thereof.

This document speaks for itself. The Soviet Government has at last discarded its cloak of hypocrisy and revealed its true self. It proves once more the insincerity of the much-advertised reiterations and repeated avowals of Soviet Russia's friendship for China. Whether the Nationalist Government has been accorded recognition by the Soviet Government is a matter of little material importance, as the latter itself is yet an outcast in the society of nations. But what passes our understanding is that against this severance of diplomatic relations, the Soviet Government should have protested with the Nationalist Government which it had not recognized and not have protested with the Peking Government which it had recognized.

The more unreasonable and unfounded is the assertion of the Soviet Government concerning the alleged pressure which was brought to bear by the imperialists upon the Nationalist Government in arriving at its decision, in as much as the Nationalist Government has never been dictated to and does not expect to be now or any time in the future; and, as a government of the people it will give expression to no word or deed that is not the popular will.

That the Soviet Government would repudiate in the most energetic way the accusation that the Soviet Consulates and the Soviet State Commercial Agencies had been used by the Communists as an asylum and base to direct their operations was not unexpected, for few willingly admit of their mistakes. But the fact remains that the wrong is done and no amount of legal ingenuity is able to refute what evidence purports to be against them. That Soviet Russia was involved in the Canton catastrophe is now conclusively established, as may be proved from a partly burned document taken from the Soviet Consulate in Canton and now in the possession of the Nationalist Government. This document numbered 12857 and indorsed by the Seventh Enlarged Plenary Executive Committee of the Communist Third International, besides explaining how the Communist Party must take command of the peasant movement in accordance with the program of the Agrarian Revolution, instructs, among other things, the disarming of the "Mintuan," or the Citizens' Volunteer Corps, and other forces of the gentry, at the same time arming the proletariat to form an army.

The threat as veiled in the last paragraph and the document as a whole would have been no surprise to the Chinese people if it had emanated from one of the imperialist powers, but that it should have come from a government that has professed time and again its sympathy for the cause of the Revolution surpasses truly the compass of an average person. It is very well for the Soviet Government to hurl all epithets of revilement upon such powers as are maintaining the unequal treaties with China; the Soviet Government is, however, to be reminded that the Chinese people consider that power which seeks to destroy the political and social institutions of China and to drag the country into an intolerable state of chaos and anarchy as a hundredfold more dangerous to the

national interests of the Chinese people than any number of imperialists, and that such an inimical policy simply cannot be tolerated.¹

However, as far as we are concerned, the Rubicon is at last crossed. We have finally come to the parting of the ways with Bolshevism. While we may congratulate ourselves for having finally arrived at this decision, we have, nevertheless, cause to commiserate ourselves for having to come to this decision at all and for the price we have paid in coming to this decision. Had not the Communists machinated the dissensions within the Party, the wounds of which have not yet been healed, and had the Communists not disturbed our equilibrium in the rear, our vanguards would have taken Peking long ago and the Revolution would have been a *fait accompli*.

¹Considering Comrade Chicherin's Note as "a bit of propaganda which those familiar with Soviet methods have quite expected under the circumstances," and therefore unnecessary for the Nationalist Government to make a reply, Dr. C. C. Wu, the Nanking Minister for Foreign Affairs, in an interview, gave his opinion about the Soviet Commissar's three points as follows:

"(1) Although the Soviet Government has had many dealings with the Nationalist Government, it is true that the Soviet has not recognized it as the Government of all China, just as the Nationalist Government has never recognized the Soviet Government. But the fact remains that the consuls appointed by the Soviet Union and stationed in territory under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government, have been recognized by the Government as such and permitted to function.

"But the Government, having discovered that the Consulates, contrary to international practice and fair dealing, have been used for other than consular purposes, namely, Communist propaganda and agitation, dangerous to the safety of the Government and indeed of society, as witness the recent reign of terror at Canton, has considered it necessary to withdraw recognition from the Soviet Consuls and expelled them.

"These are matters of fact and political action. Mr. Chicherin's note as to nonrecognition, as well as the view of the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo that Nanking's declaration has no validity from the legal point of view, are therefore both beside the point.

"(2) As regards the denial of Mr. Chicherin that Soviet Consulates and State Commercial Agencies have been used for Communist propaganda and that the Soviet Consulate in Canton has had anything to do with the recent Red uprising, we are in possession of documents, taken from the Soviet Consulate in Canton, which prove conclusively the Soviet's complicity in the Canton catastrophe.

"A partly burnt document, numbered 12857, and indorsed by the Seventh Enlarged Plenary Executive Committee of the Communist Third Inter-

That Bolshevism is not suitable to China has been dealt with at length in the last chapter of this book. The author's convictions have since been strengthened, however, by what he saw with his own eyes in Russia during the trip he took to that country in the past spring, after the conclusion of his studies in America. With a view to informing his countrymen that even in Russia itself the Bolshevik experiment has been a failure, he ventures to avail himself of this opportunity to tell of some of his impressions gathered during this short sojourn in Moscow.

It is needless to say that only those who profess, apparently at least, a sympathy for the Soviet cause

national, explains how the Communist Party must take command of the peasant movement in accordance with the program of the Agrarian Revolution, and instructs, among other points, the disarming of the "Mintuan," or Citizens' Volunteers, and other forces of the gentry, at the same time arming the poor and middle class peasants to form an army.

"Mr. Chicherin has labored the point that Soviet Russia signed the 1924 Agreement with the Peking, and not with the Nationalist Government. This new-born enthusiasm for the Peking militarists is amusing, and may be significant as a new orientation of Soviet policy, but I think the Soviet Commissar might have pursued the point further.

"Article 6 of the Agreement provides that each government pledges itself not to engage in propaganda directed against the political and social system of the other. He might, instead of a flat denial of complicity in events in Canton, have said that since the Soviet Government did not recognize the Nationalist Government, therefore this article had no application to Canton which was under Nationalist jurisdiction.

"(3) The friendship which the Nationalist Party and the Nationalist Government had in the past exhibited towards the Communist Party and the Soviet Government had been due to the belief that the latter were sincere in their sympathy for the Chinese Nationalist movement seeking freedom from bondage within and without and an unimpeded development of China's national destiny.

"Recent events have fully expressed attempts to denationalize the Nationalist movement and to convert China into a mere appendage of the Soviet Union, and their methods of destruction. Elementary considerations of self-defense require the removal of centers of hostile activity.

"In June last I informed the Soviet authorities that while we were compelled to take steps against Chinese Communists who were obstructing and endangering our national revolutionary movement we hoped that friendly relationship with the Soviet Government would be continued. Although I was of course aware of the intimate connection between the Chinese Communist Party, the Third International, and the Soviet Government, I had hoped that my statement would be taken as a warning. It seems that the warning had had no effect. In taking this purely defensive measure, it is immaterial to us to whom such action happens to please or displease."

and have filled a lengthy questionnaire touching the most minute details of their public and private life to the satisfaction of the Soviet authorities, can hope to enter Russia. Comparatively good fortune awaited the author, however, at the station in Moscow when his train pulled in. At the booking office in London he had learned that the only hotel available for English-speaking people was the Savoy Hotel. To his delight, when he alighted from the train a most dignified gentleman, white-haired and gray-bearded, came to meet him and greeted him in perfect English. On the way to the hotel he took the author into his confidence and revealed to him that in the good old days he was professor of international law in one of the big imperial universities and that it was because of his ability to converse fluently in English, French, and German that he was now employed by the government as an usher of the hotel at a barely subsisting wage.

Such was the fate that came upon the so-called bourgeoisie in Russia. Similar incidents might be multiplied. A stroll on the streets would bring one's attention to women selling fruits and other sundries, and should one purchase make a purchase one might at times meet with responses which only the most cultured and educated would be able to engage in. These, as the author was told, were none other than some of the remnants of the nobility of Imperialist Russia. Again, no matter where one should go one would see here and there boys and girls with a stick in one hand and a bag in another and faces that had long ceased to see the cleansing touch of the soap loitering around and clustering in gangs. These, the author's friend and guide pointed out, were some of the protegy of the bourgeoisie who had either been exterminated or had fled abroad. This element calculated by the Commissariat of Public Health numbers no less than two million in

Russia. It is the policy of the government, as the author understands, to let these helpless younglings alone and to perish of starvation and cold. It was indeed a pitiable sight as he rode along the Siberian Railway to see these children in every station and many of them begging for a free ride on the train to take them to where better fortune might be waiting but only to be refused admittance by the Soviet guards.

Economically, Communism has not only done away with the incentive for work which is the only key to progress and prosperity, but it has upset the whole economic structure of society. With the ascendancy of the Soviets, as every one is aware, all lands, industries, buildings, etc., were nationalized. Though private enterprises are permitted and every one may go to the government for an appropriation of land, yet, as seventy per cent of the net profits have to go to fill up the coffers of the state, little cultivation may be seen and few engage themselves in business. It is true that in the days of the empire the *ispravnik* used to take a score of eggs from the farmers, but now the *tovalistji* take not only the eggs but the hen as well. Again, labor in a Communist society, theoretically speaking, should be the most benefited. It is not so, however, in Soviet Russia. With all the industries paralyzed, capital eliminated, and profit reduced to the minimum, the inevitable result is unemployment, and those who are employed get so little that they have lost all interest and pride in craftsmanship.

Such being the economic order of the day in Russia, the social condition is no pleasanter. When one cannot be allotted more than sixteen cubit feet of space to live in, home life in Russia can well be imagined. People live all together in a genuine communistic collection regulated by the so-called "Rules for Living Together," some of the provisions of which stipulate that pigs, goats, sheep, rabbits, pigeons, or birds of any kind, should not be kept in the dwelling

except in a cage; that wood should not be sawed or chopped in the room; that tenants are obliged to take measures to get rid of parasites, and that screams and disputes are prohibited from 11:30 P. M. to 9 A. M.

Theoretically speaking, the communism of wives does not exist in Russia. But practically there is no giving nor receiving in marriage. Pairing is given the least conventional considerations and a couple becomes husband and wife upon putting their names on the police register of the district in which they choose to live. Separation and divorce may be effected at will and upon no cause whatsoever. Prostitution is non-existent, but a large percentage of the population is stricken with venereal diseases. From these facts we cannot infer, however, that there are no good women in Russia. Faces that beam with the purest maidenliness may yet be found everywhere, and Russian girls must be given the credit that they are more independent and more equal to men than their sisters in other lands. Aside from taking their places with men in the offices and other walks of life they go unescorted and with heavy bundles or luggage in the long-distance trains.

Politically, the Soviet Government is undoubtedly a successful experiment. But it is the most despotic government in the world, operated by force and maintained by a small minority, — the leather-legged and spurred Communists, who are arrogance *in excelsis*, and are far mightier than the reviled bourgeoisie. They alone are the élite and all below them are in the deep and are more downtrodden and oppressed than the lower class had ever been in the days of the Czar. It is the only government in the world that has no opposition. Those who are not in sympathy with the policy of the government have the option either to keep their mouths shut or pay the penalty which the state chooses to impose. Hence politics is not a topic of daily conversation. The government decides what

the people shall read and what the people shall hear. Foreign newspapers and other anti-Communist literature are forbidden to be imported. A strict censure of mails coming in and going out of Russia is enforced. Propaganda on behalf of the Communist cause is broadcasted by day and night. Students are taught nothing that is against Bolshevism. No one can move about from one abode to another without first obtaining a permit from the government. The Soviet idea of equality or proletarianism exists only in theory as may be evidenced from a single incidence that instead of all being one class as in the American system, the Russian railways are divided into the first, second, third, and fourth classes, with the nepotic Soviet Bureaucrats always occupying the best quarters.

From what has been said, it is obvious that Bolshevism is not a panacea of all ills as the Communists have claimed it to be. On the contrary, it has economically paralyzed all industries, thereby increasing unemployment and draining the wealth of the nation; socially, it has lowered the standard of womanhood and done away with the institution of the home, which is so dear to the hearts of all peoples; and politically, with its carefully coördinated system of espionage and surveillance, it has made the country the most despotic of its kind in the world and the last place in which a decent person would choose to live. If one is not mistaken, dissatisfaction seems to be written on every face,—a sign which presages that the Soviet order will not long endure in Russia.

In concluding these prefatory remarks there remains for the author to perform the pleasant duty of making due acknowledgment of the assistance which he has received in the preparation of this work. First of all, he feels under the greatest obligations to Dr. W. W. Willoughby, Professor of Political Science of the Johns Hopkins University, formerly Legal Adviser to the Chinese Republic and Technical Expert and

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K. S. W.

NANKING,

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