

广州政府与 英国的政治交涉研究 (1918~1926)

——以关余、杯葛问题为中心

徐静玉◎著

A STUDY
ABOUT
THE NEGOTIATIONS
BETWEEN
THE CANTON GOVERNMENT
AND GREAT BRITAIN
(1918-1926)



社会科学文献出版社
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Abstract

This book is a study about the negotiations between the Canton Government and Great Britain from 1918 to 1926. In the 1920's, the relation between China and Great Britain was in an important era of change. After the First World War, because of the diminishing of its power, gradually sliding from the status of top Power in China, the Great Britain had to defend its interests in China by relying on the coordination of Big Powers. After the May Fourth Movement, the nationalist movement grew in China, accompanied by anti-imperialist movements rising one after another. Moreover, the confrontation between the Beijing Government and the Canton Government compelled Great Britain to face the dilemma. The Beijing Government tried to raise the status of China by legislative methods with little success. On the contrary, supported by the people and the Soviet Russia, the Canton Government carried out revolutionary national diplomacy. Great Britain was heavily defeated and had no choice but to change its policies about China. The negotiations about the Customs surplus, Shakee Massacre and the anti-Britain boycott constituted the essential aspects of the negotiations between the Canton Government and Great Britain. Therefore, this book mainly discusses the negotiations about the Customs Surplus, Shakee Massacre and the anti-Britain boycott movement between the Canton Government and Great Britain. The text is divided into six chapters.

The first chapter focuses on the negotiations during the military government period. First, it provides an overview of the origin of the Customs Surplus, the illegal control of the foreign Powers and the main position of Great Britain in this issue. Secondly, it discusses the first effort of the Canton Government for the Customs Surplus, and the policy of Great Britain. Thirdly, in order to defend her own interests, Great Britain tried her best to push the North to consent to

circulating one part of the surplus to the South Government, and the South Government greatly benefited from the surplus. Lastly, the negotiations over the Customs Surplus happened after the reestablishment of the Military Government. At the same time, the national diplomacy was dated back to its origin.

The second chapter focuses on the negotiations over the Customs Surplus during the Sun Yat-sen as the Marshal of the Canton Government. Firstly, it discusses the policy of the Canton Government about the Customs Surplus, the struggle of the Canton Government for the Customs Surplus and the support of the people, discovering the beginning of the national diplomacy. Secondly, it discusses the policy of Great Britain and the differences among the Powers. Thirdly, it analyses the disappearing of the crisis and the significance of the negotiations over the Customs Surplus.

The third chapter focuses on the rise of the boycott movement. Firstly, it discusses the negotiations over the Shakee massacre, narrating the attitudes and policies of the related parts and discussing the development of national diplomacy. Secondly, it discusses the effect of the anti-Britain boycott and the origin of the boycott. Lastly, it discusses the formulation and enforcement of the policy to isolate Britain and the countermeasures of Great Britain.

The fourth chapter focuses on the initial negotiations for settling the boycott. The Canton government formulated the policy of settling the boycott movement, while Chinese businessmen from Hong Kong strove to mediate the boycott movement. After the new Governor of Hong Kong Sir Cecil Clementi took up the official post, the policy of Great Britain also changed. So, several informal negotiations were carried on between the Canton Government and Great Britain. But, because of the differences in the standpoint and policy between the two parts, the negotiations finally crushed.

The fifth chapter focuses on the second round of negotiations over the boycott movement between the Canton Government and Great Britain. The mission from the Soviet Union helped the Canton Government formulate the policy to settle the strike and boycott movement. Around the May 20th incident, the Canton Government and the Great Britain carried on several negotiations. Then the two parts firstly carried on a formal negotiation to settle the strike and boycott

movement. But for many reasons, the negotiation never reached an agreement.

The sixth chapter focuses on the end of the boycott after the North Expedition. In order to support the North Expedition, in spite of different views in the revolutionary camp the Canton Government decided to settle the boycott movement. Suffering great losses, Great Britain also discussed several policies to settle the boycott movement, and decided to take up a limited military policy. Finally, the Canton Government put forward and enforced the method of taxes on imported and exported goods in order to end the strike and boycott movement. Great Britain acquiesced in the method, and started to think about new policies towards China.

This research shows that during the nationalism movement the Canton Government strove for the support of the people and struggled to promote the new diplomacy, i. e. the national diplomacy. Having striking revolutionary spirit, the diplomacy of the Canton Government obtained important achievement. But, because of the turbulence of the political situation and the immature diplomacy, the diplomacy of the Canton Government had some deficiencies. Because of the struggle of the Chinese people and the reluctance of the other Powers to take union actions out of consideration for their own interests, Great Britain had to give up some interests and brewed a new policy about China. But it must be remembered that suffering heavy losses, Great Britain conceded on some less important subjects in order to defend its main economic and political interests in China, without changing its principle of the policy towards China. Therefore, the struggle of China to obtain national independence and freedom still had a long way to go.

Key Words: Canton Government; Great Britain; Political Negotiations; Customs Surplus; Boycott Movement

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绪 论

一 选题意义

中国和英国都是对世界历史发展进程有着重要影响的国家。中国曾对人类文明做出重要贡献；英国则是现代化的领路人，开创了全世界的现代化之路。虽然分属东西半球，远隔万水千山，中英两国之间的关系源远流长。13世纪，一度作为蒙古都城的和林是盛极一时的东方国际都市，城中不仅有畏兀儿、回回人、波斯人，而且有匈牙利人、福勒铭人（居法国西北部）、俄罗斯人，甚至还有法国人和英国人。1287年，中国的景教徒畏兀儿人苏马，充任伊利汗国阿鲁浑汗的特使前往罗马和巴黎，并游历欧洲。在法国西南部港口城市波尔多，苏马谒见了以远征威尔士和苏格兰统一英伦著称的英国国王爱德华一世。^① 17世纪，随着两国通商贸易关系的建立，中英之间的联系日益密切。

从19世纪开始，中英交往的规模和深度都达到了前所未有的程度，“其性质却以英国发动鸦片战争为标志而发生了根本性逆转。”一百多年来，英国成为对中国的政治、经济、文化和社会的发展变化具有重大影响的西方大国。第一个以坚船利炮轰开中华帝国大门的英资本主义侵略者，在列强环伺、争相攫取在华权益的侵略活动中，长期充当着为首列强的角色。正因如此，从第一次鸦片战争到1927年国民革命期间武汉国民政府收回汉口、九江英租界，“为英帝国主义侵略中国与中国人民反抗英国侵略、中英矛盾最为集中和尖锐的时期。”^② 此时段的最后十年，即20世纪的10~20年代，由于国际形势的变化以及两国政治经济思想文化诸多方面的发展演

① 沈福伟：《中西文化交流史》，上海人民出版社，1985，第238~239页。

② 王为民主编《百年中英关系》，世界知识出版社，2006，《序言》第9~10页。

变，中英关系再次走到了转折的关口。研究这一时期中英关系的发展变化，不仅内容丰富，而且可以向世人提出许多令人深思的新问题和解决国际问题的新方法。

20 世纪前夕，大英帝国仍然是世界头号强国。就其涵盖的地域而言，包括“亚洲、非洲和部分美洲以及大洋洲的大不列颠治下的和平超过了罗马治下的和平”^①。其人口和陆地面积占全世界人口和陆地面积的 1/4，令所有竞争对手相形见绌。然而，衰落的种子也正悄然萌发：英国的经济霸主地位越来越受到美、德两国的挑战。19 世纪末 20 世纪初，美国在工业产值和主要工业品的生产方面超过了英国，德国也直逼英国。“但英国从殖民地和国外投资场所攫取的利润远远超过了美国和德国，它的经济实力仍是最雄厚的，伦敦仍是世界金融中心，英镑仍是世界上最坚挺的硬通货，英国船队仍然给英国带来巨大的利润，英国银行家仍然能向外国政府和企业界提供最大数额的信贷。尽管如此，绝对优势毕竟丧失了。”^② 第一次世界大战使大英帝国付出了沉重的代价：“英国经济力量受到削弱，失去了国际金融最强国的地位，英镑的稳定地位也发生动摇，实际上结束了传统的金币本位制度。大战摧毁了英国商船的 70%，海军在海战中也大为削弱，由此失去了海军第一大国的实力。这两张王牌本是大英帝国维持其全球殖民体系的最重要保障。”而且，“战后遍及殖民地的革命浪潮冲击着大英帝国殖民主义堤坝，英国在加强镇压措施的同时，不得不开始采取适应战后新形势的新统治策略。”^③ 随后的几十年里，由于经济实力和军事力量的相对衰落，殖民地、半殖民地民族主义运动的高涨，加上难以与人口和幅员占优势的大陆强国竞争，大英帝国的根基逐渐受到侵蚀。20 世纪，英国的外交政策基本上是不停地调整其目标，以适应其实力下降的现实。在远东，由于国力明显衰落，传统势力范围又遭到美国和日本的渗透，英国丧失了原有的优势，在侵华的各帝国主义列强中，逐渐从为首变为次等的地位。为此英国不得不更加借重与其他国家的协调，来维护其既得权益。

辛亥革命后，中国在从传统社会向现代社会转型过程中出现了一个过

① [美] 罗伯特·A. 帕斯特编《世纪之旅——七大大国外交风云》，胡利平、杨韵琴译，上海人民出版社，2001，第 37 页。

② 钱乘旦等：《日落斜阳——20 世纪的英国》，华东师范大学出版社，1999，第 101 页。

③ 高岱、郑家馨：《殖民主义史（总论卷）》，北京大学出版社，2003，第 72 页。

渡性的政权——北京政权（北洋政权）。“这段时期是传统政治与现代政治矛盾冲突的畸形政治形态，是新与旧、保守与进步、传统与现代混杂并消长反复的时期。……北洋政权执政者，由于忙于争权夺利或维护小集团的利益，缺乏保障国家民族利益的政治理念和建设国家改造社会的目标、纲领和措施，因而没有凝聚各种社会力量的号召力，也无法取得广大民众的信任和支持，其政治统治势力被赶下政治舞台也是历史的必然。”^① 伴随北京政权日趋衰落的，是南方革命政权的日渐壮大。1917年至1926年，中国国民党人先后多次在广州建立革命政权：1917年，孙中山南下护法，就任陆海军大元帅，建立了中华民国军政府；1920年，粤军自闽返粤，孙中山恢复军政府，翌年孙中山就任大总统，设立中华民国政府；1923年，孙中山组织“讨贼军”，驱逐了陈炯明，设立陆海军大元帅大本营；孙中山逝世后，大本营于1925年7月改组为中华民国国民政府。1926年12月，国民政府停止在粤办公，北迁武汉。上述政权名称各异，但同为革命政权，彼此间自有其内在、难以割断的联系，本书将其统称为广州政府。十年间，广州发生了许多影响久远的大事，第一、二次护法运动，第一次国共合作以及轰轰烈烈的国民革命。十年间，广州政府由小变大，由弱变强，从偏居广州一隅，发展到势力席卷大半个中国，将国民革命由珠江流域推进到长江流域，日渐显露取代北京政府成为全国性政权的发展趋势。

就外交方面而言，这一时期在中国外交史上处于一个十分重要的阶段，“它上接疲于应付的晚清外交，下连国民政府的改订新约和抗日外交。近代中国外交从被动应对列强的权益要求到主动提出废除和修订不平等条约的转变正是在这一时期。”^② 经五四运动的洗礼，中国民族主义潮流持续高涨，北京政府试图通过合法的外交途径，修订不平等条约改变中国的国际地位；广州政府在苏俄的影响与帮助下，打出了废除不平等条约的旗帜，“其基本原则不仅是废除现有一切不平等条约所应当遵循的原则，而且也是恢复中国在国际间自由平等地位的正确途径。”^③

作为侵略中国的领头羊，英国与近代中国一系列权益的丧失密切相关，长期维持着对华贸易的优势地位，势力范围囊括最为富庶的长江流域，还

① 张宪文等：《中华民国史》（第一卷），南京大学出版社，2005，“导论”第10~11页。

② 金光耀、王建朗主编《北洋时期的中国外交》，复旦大学出版社，2006，“前言”第2页。

③ 石源华：《中华民国外交史》，上海人民出版社，1994，第281页。