

- Lecture Title: China as a Divided Republic [分割されたの共和国] (1912 – 1928)

- The sudden **toppling** (倒す) of the centuries-old (何世紀にも) Qing dynasty (清王朝) in late 1911 and early 1912 took the foreign powers by surprise (驚きました).
- For the US, France, Germany, and the UK, the priority (最優先) was keeping their benefits and privileges (特権) in China. Japan was worried about the change but decided to take a wait and see approach (様子を見よう). After receiving promises (約束を受けること) from Peking (北京), the Western powers (西洋) eventually (結局) accepted the new republican government (共和政体).
- The stability (安定) of the new Chinese political system was however **short-lived** (短命な). Rivalry between Sun Yat-sen's (孫文) **Kuomintang Party (KMT)** (the Chinese Nationalist Party - 中国国民党) and Yuan Shikai's (袁世凱) supporters [see photo] soon became violent (暴行) after protests about how Yuan was using his political power (独裁者としての支配).
- Yuan defeated (敗北) his Kuomintang rivals (ライバル) in a power struggle (権力闘争), and by November 1913, Sun Yat-sen (孫文) escaped to exile (亡命) in Japan. In 1915 and 1916, Yuan tried to become a new 'Emperor (皇帝) of the Chinese Empire (中国の帝国)' but he failed (失敗した).
- When Yuan died in June 1916, his death symbolized (象徴した) the end of China's brief experiment (短い実験) with democracy (民主主義). As Cohen stated, 'The age of the **warlords** [軍閥の時代] [1916 – 1928] had dawned [始まりました]; regionalism [地域主義] triumphed' [成功した] (Cohen, 2000:315).

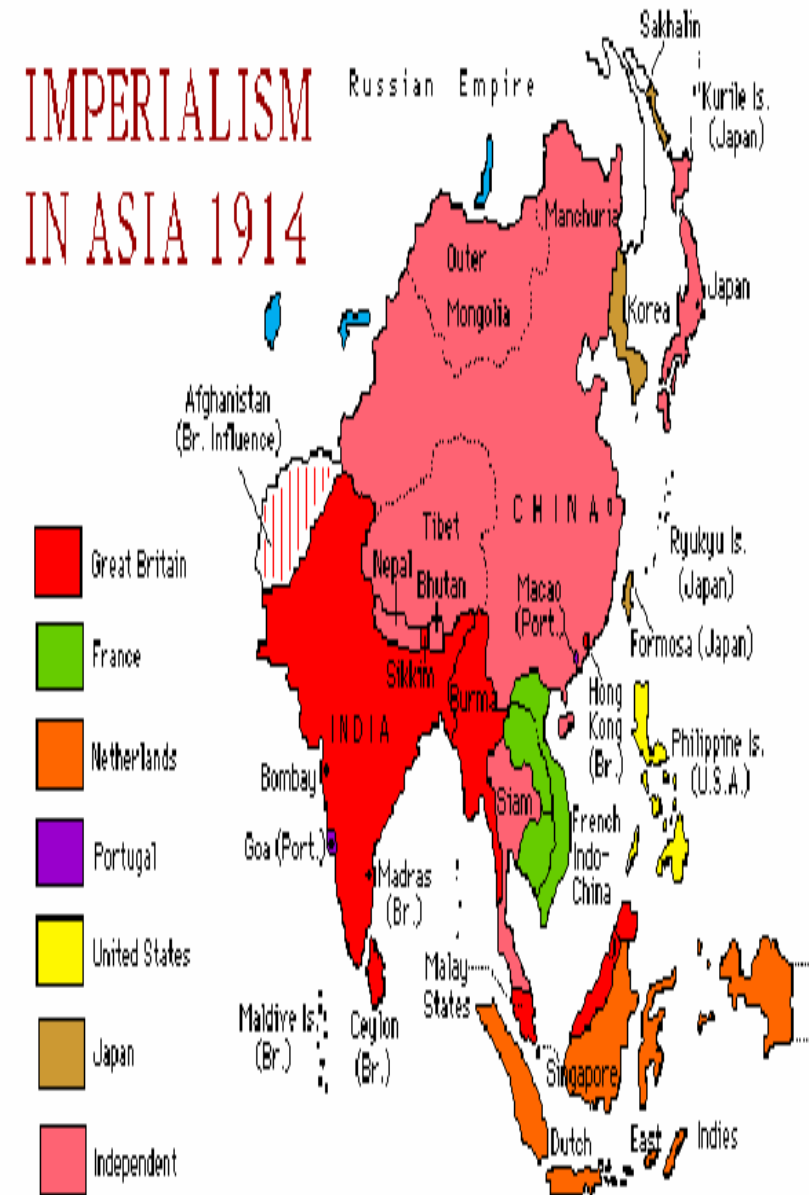


The ‘Twenty-One Demands [対華21カ条要求]’ (1915) and the ‘Age of the Warlords [軍閥の時代]’ (1916 to 1928)

- After Yuan’s death, Chinese politics was characterized by (...に特徴づけられました) by rival regional (地域の) military leaders (群雄が割拠して相対していること) who all wanted to become the number one leader inside the country. These deep divisions (派閥主義) inside China created serious political instability (不安定). In that era (その時代の), China’s negotiation strength (交渉の強さ) continued to be undermined (弱体化する) by serious internal divisions (国内派閥主義) as Chinese nationalists (民族主義者), communists (共産主義者), and warlords (軍閥) throughout the country (全国で) all plotted (たくらむ) against and fought each other for power (派閥主義は政治の発展の妨げとな).
- The First World War (1914 – 1918) (第一次世界大戦) in Europe [see the map] also had a major influence (大きな影響) on China’s security. The war was a serious distraction (気が散る) for the European powers (欧州列国) with interests (国家の利益) in China (for example the UK, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia) [see maps on Pages 2 map and Page 3].
- The Japanese however largely had a free hand (行動の自由) in East Asia during the war and used their 1902 alliance (日英同盟) with Great Britain (イギリス) to take possession of (自分だけで物を所有する) the territories of Germany (ドイツ帝国の領土) (Great Britain’s enemy -イギリスの敵) in East Asia, most notably (特に) on the Shandong peninsula (山東半島) in late 1914.



- In early 1915, the Japanese sent Yuan Shikai (袁世凱) a secret document (秘密の記録), which listed 'Twenty-One Demands (対華21カ条要求).'
- The Japanese wanted the Chinese to recognize (外交的に認識すること) Japan's control of Shandong (山東半島) as well as their other possessions (大日本帝国の領土) in Manchuria (満州). There were also many other demands (要求).
- Japan insisted (主張した), **under the threat of force** (暴力、または脅威で強制する), that China immediately accept (すぐに受け入れる) most of (ほとんど) the demands. Yuan Shikai (袁世凱) had no choice but to accept (そうする以外にない).
- In 1916, the US, who was thinking about participating in (に参加すること) World War One (第一次世界大戦), asked China to contribute to the war effort in Europe (第一次世界大戦の戦争運動に貢献した). This would allow the US to openly help China (何かが公式に起こるのを許します).
- The Chinese believed that their sacrifice (犠牲) in the war would be rewarded (褒美を貰う) at the post-war (戦後の) Paris Peace Conference in 1919 [パリ講和会議] (see also the Treaty of Versailles [ベルサイユ条約]), and a desirable outcome (望ましい結果) for Chinese requests to end its semi-colonial status (半植民地的な国), particularly (特に) in relation to Japan (に関して).



- However, during the negotiations (交渉), the Chinese found out (見つけ出す) that Japan had already signed [すでに署名されていた] secret treaties (秘密条約) with Japan's World War One allies (日本は日英同盟に基づき連合国の一員として第一次世界大戦に参戦した).
- In China, this humiliating treatment (屈辱的な処置) caused outrage (狼藉). Beginning on May 4th 1919 in Peking (北京), hundreds of thousands (何十万) of **enraged** (激怒した学生) students participated (に参加すること) in massive **nationwide** (全国の) demonstrations (大規模デモ). **The May Fourth movement (五四運動)**, as it was known, organized a successful boycott (不買) against Japanese products (日本製品) inside China (see photo of Chinese students burning Japanese products [日本の製品]).
- The movement helped to **galvanize** (刺激する) the Chinese people in protest against the humiliation (国辱) of the Treaty of Versailles (ベルサイユ条約), and to urge (説き勧める) all Chinese people to end internal disorder (国内の無秩序) and to work together (一致団結する) to resist foreign interference (外国の干渉に抵抗します).
- The movement also proposed (申し入れる) a radical change (激変する) in Chinese society and politics by completely rejecting (背中を向けるようにさせる) traditional Chinese and Confucian (儒教的) values and customs (社会的な習慣, 社会的価値). Instead they called for major social and intellectual (知的な) changes, which they hoped would help to modernize (現代化する) and 'civilize' (文明開化する) China.



Soviet (ソ連) Russia Develops Ties with the Chinese (。と友好関係を築こうと働いていた)

- The **Russian Revolution** (ロシア革命) of 1917 resulted in the end of Imperial Russia [ロシア帝国] (1721-1917) and the **founding** (創立すること) of the world's first communist (共産主義) government.
- One of the key objectives (主な目標) of **Vladimir Lenin's** (ウラジーミル・レーニン) communist government (see photo) was to spread communism (共産主義を広げること), particularly inside the powerful and industrialized (工業国) West (西洋), and to topple (倒す) **capitalist** (資本家) governments around the world (whom communists viewed as greedy imperialists -貪欲な帝国主義者).
- In March 1919, the first congress (貪欲な帝国主義者) of the **Comintern (the Communist International)** [コミンテルンという、超急進的共産党の国際組織] included China's fight against Japanese imperialism (日本の帝国主義) as one of the world's major struggles (争奪戦) between an oppressed people (圧制された国民) and an imperial power (帝国の大国).
- In July 1920, the Comintern decided to adopt a strategy (戦略を採択した) of actively supporting anti-imperial rebellions (反帝国の反乱) in '**oppressed**' countries (虐げられた国) all over the world, including China (国民を支持して、助けます).



- The Soviets (ソ連 /ソビエト) also presented themselves as a **counterweight** (分銅 /釣合い) to Western and Japanese power, and as a powerful communist state (共産主義の大国) which would defend and speak for [代弁する] the poor people of Asia (アジアの貧しい人々).

The Nationalist Revolution (国家主義的な革命) in China

- By the early 1920s, the Soviets and influential (影響力のある) Chinese political and intellectual elites (政治的、知的なエリート) had developed close ties (関係が深い). In July 1921, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) [中国共産党] was founded (設立されました) in Shanghai. In 1922, the nationalists (民族主義者) and the communists (共産主義者) in China also formed an alliance (同盟を結ぶ) aimed at destroying the warlord (軍閥) regimes (国共合作という、中国における政治連合).
- Soviet Russia (ソ連 /ソビエト) also began a formal (正式な) relationship with Sun Yat-sen (孫文) and the Kuomintang (KMT or Chinese Nationalist Party) (中国国民党) [see photo of KMT leaders and a Soviet adviser (顧問)].
- Moscow's reasons for developing ties with the Chinese were not only ideological (イデオロギーの). The Soviets had major strategic and economic interests (主要な戦略的な国益と経済的な国益) in China. Most notably (特に), Soviet Russia was afraid of (...が怖い) a powerful anti-communist Japan (反共産主義の日本) on the USSR's border (ソ連の境界) in areas such as Manchuria (満州).



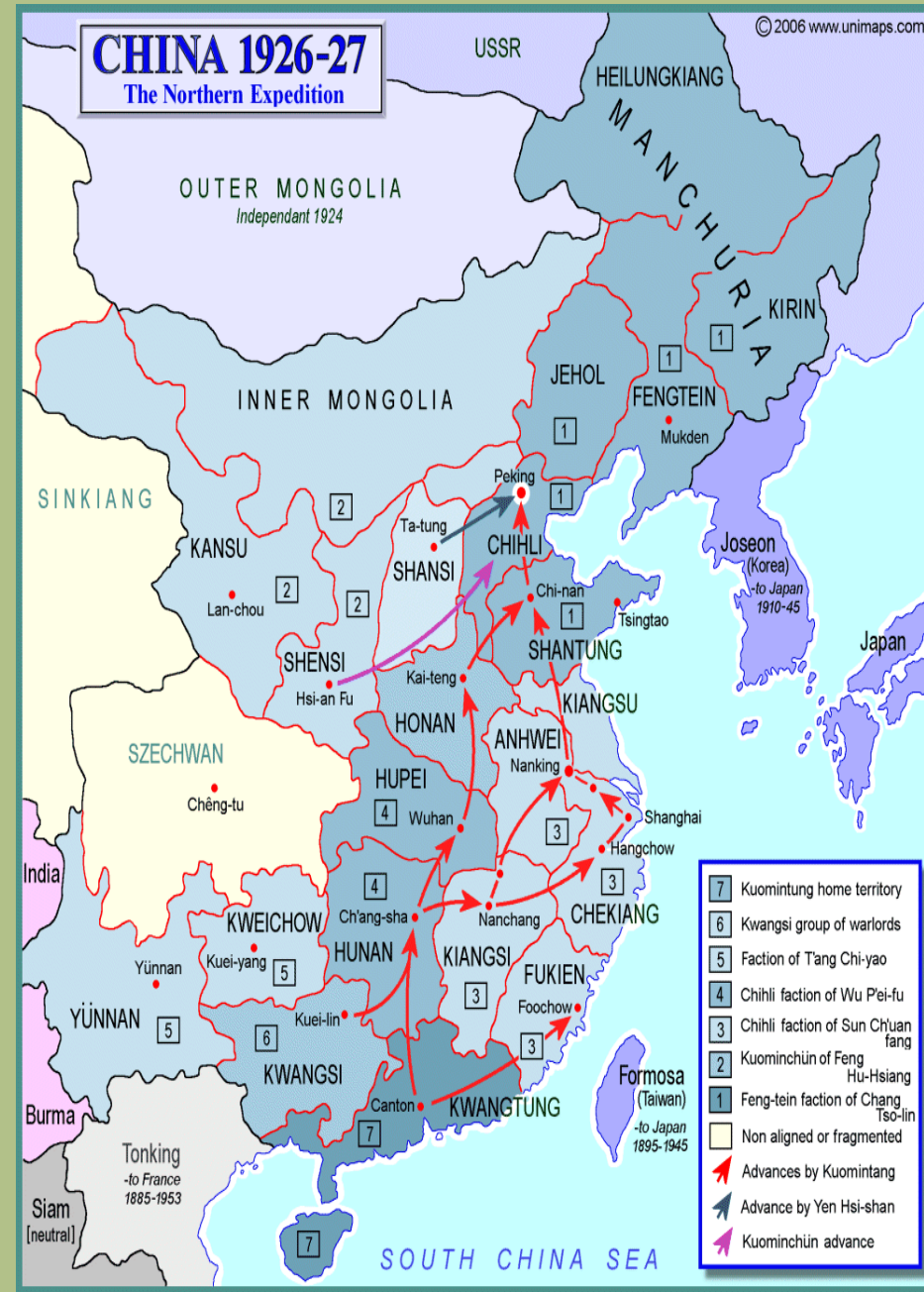
- Moscow's (モスクワ) strategy (戦略) was to make anti-Japanese armies (反日軍) inside China stronger so that the Chinese could challenge and resist (抵抗する) Japanese power and therefore weaken Japan's ability (勢いを弱める) to threaten (脅す) Soviet Russia.
- A major result of these efforts by Moscow was the signing of a **joint-declaration** (共同宣言) in 1923 in which the Soviets accepted Sun Yat-sen's belief that China was not suitable for communism (共産主義にふさわしくない) but where Moscow would nonetheless (それにもかかわらず) send financial and material assistance (お金と戦争物資を送る) to Sun's KMT party.
- Under this new arrangement (手筈), Sun sent one of his best KMT leaders, **Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) [蒋介石]** [see photo], to Moscow to learn about the Red Army (赤軍) and its tactics (戦術). Sun Yat-sen (孫文) died in 1925.
- The financial and material aid from Moscow also helped the new leadership of nationalist China (国家主義の中国), and Sun's successors (後継者), such as Chiang Kai-shek ([蒋介石]), to strengthen (強くなること) and train the Kuomintang army (国民党軍), to defeat (敗る) local warlords (中国南部の軍閥), and to extend KMT control and influence (統制を強化した) throughout southern China (中国南部中で).
- As a result of such actions (そのような行動の結果として), the Kuomintang (中国国民党) and the communists (共産主義者) enhanced (強化した) their popularity (好評) and **reputation** (評判) throughout China.



- After 1925, the Kuomintang (KMT) [中国国民党] government (which was based in Guangzhou [広州]) used its popular support [大衆の支持] to reinforce its power (増強する) in southern China [see map].
- The KMT also started to seriously develop a plan (計画を作成すること) to send a military **expedition** (味方の軍から遠く離れて敵地に入り込んだ軍隊) to northern China to unite (統一する) all of the country under Kuomintang control. This plan was known as the ‘**Northern Expedition**’ (北伐).
- Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang nationalists (中国国民党の民族主義者) however were worried about possible foreign intervention (外国の干渉) from Japan or the West (西洋) because of the KMT’s alliance (同盟) with the Chinese Communists (中国の共産主義者) and the Soviet Union (ソ連).
- The KMT party was also **troubled** (困っています) by internal rivalries and divisions (政治的な派閥主義). After Sun Yat-sen (孫文) died in 1925, opposition (反対) amongst powerful KMT elites (強力なエリート) to close ties (関係が深い) with the Soviet Union (ソ連) intensified (反対は激化した). As a result (上記の理由から), there was a major split inside the nationalist party (中国国民党の分裂).



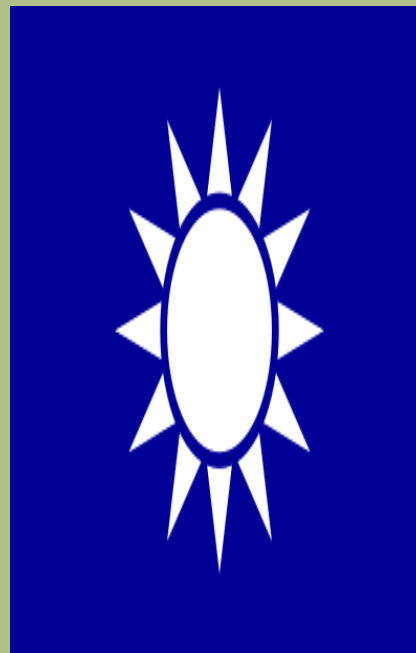
- By January 1926, Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) and his supporters had isolated (孤立した) the anti-Soviet faction (反ソ連派) and then expelled (追放した) them from the KMT (中国国民党).
- In March 1926 however Chiang accused (罪を問う) the Chinese Communists (中国の共産主義者) of trying to take control (..の支配権を握る) of the Chinese army (国民党軍).
- As a result of these actions (そのような行動の結果として), Chiang reinforced (増強した) his position as leader of the Kuomintang's military forces and therefore as the KMT's most powerful leader.
- In July 1926, Chiang Kai-shek launched a military campaign (軍事行動), the **Northern Expedition** (北伐), into the warlord-dominated (軍閥に支配された) northern half (北部) of China. The first half (半期) of the campaign was a success with the warlords defeated in central China and forced out (追い出した) of the strategically (戦略的に重要な) and economical important (経済的に重要な) Yangtze (揚子江) valley [see map].
- By March 1927, Chiang's forces captured (奪取した) the key cities (重要な都市) of Shanghai and Nanjing (南京)..



- In late 1926 and early 1927, the UK and USA made moves to revise (改訂する) the 'unequal treaties' (不平等条約体制).
- In the same period, Chiang ordered his soldiers (彼は兵士たちに命令した) to arrest (逮捕する) and murder (謀殺罪を犯す) hundreds of communists (共産主義者), Soviet Russians (ソビエト), and possible sympathizers (同調者) in Shanghai. Chiang's goal was to remove the communist threat (脅威を取り除く) to his power. [Photo – KMT supporters beheading (首を切る) a communist in Shanghai in April 1927].
- Many foreign powers had a favorable opinion of (...をよく思う, 信用する) Chiang Kai-shek (蒋介石) because of his strong anti-communist (反共産主義) and anti-Soviet (反ソ連) Russian beliefs (政治信念).
- In the first half (半期) of 1927, major disagreements (主要な意見の相違) developed between the right-wing (右派) and left-wing (左派) KMT (中国国民党) members and Chinese Communists and their Soviet (ソビエト) advisers.
- This bloody (流血の) campaign of arrest and murder against Chinese communists was known as the 'White Terror' (白色テロ / 上海クーデター).



- Chiang's (蒋介石) KMT army (国民党軍) took control (支配権を握る) of Peking (北京) and Shandong (山東), and eventually came to control most of China (中国のほとんど). As a result, foreign powers started to diplomatically (政府がある地位を承認する) recognize Chiang's government as the legitimate government (合法的な政府) of China.
- By late 1928, all of the world's major powers (外国の大国) recognized the nationalists (民族主義者) as the new government of China [新政府を承認する] (see the Republic of China (中華民国 – 1912-1949) flag that was officially adopted (公的に採用されている) by the KMT regime (政權) in 1928 .
- For the first time in many years, China was united [連合しました](at least nominally - 名目上), under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, and the Chinese were experiencing some success (努力が実る) in undoing (取り消す) the 'unequal treaties' ((不平等条約体制). By 1928, it looked like the era of imperialism (帝国主義の時代) and humiliation (国辱) in China might come to an end (終わるかもしれません). As we will see in next week's class, these hopes were to be short-lived (短命な).



Key Points:

- In the years from 1912 and 1928, domestic divisions and rivalries (政治的な派閥主義) were a major obstacle (大きな障害) to unifying (統一する) and stabilizing (安定させる) China. This was especially true during the Age of the Warlords [軍閥の時代] (1916-1928). Foreign powers (外国の大国) such as Japan in particular (特に) took advantage (つけいる) of these divisions (派閥主義) (for example, the 'Twenty-One Demands' in 1915 (対華21カ条要求)).
- The establishment (設立) of the Soviet Union (ソビエト連邦) in 1922 was a very significant (重大な) development for the future of East Asia. In order to weaken Japanese influence (勢いを弱める) in China, the Soviets developed ties and provided assistance (...と友好関係を築こうと働いていた) to both the Chinese nationalists (the Kuomintang/KMT) [中国国民党] and the Chinese Communist Party (中国共産党) after the early 1920s [see Soviet (ソビエト) poster celebrating friendship between Stalin (ジョセフ・スターリン) and Mao Zedong (毛沢東)].



- After the mid-1920s, Chinese nationalist (中国国民党の民族主義者) suspicions (疑いをもつ) and fears (懸念を懐く) of the Chinese communists (中国の共産主義者) resulted in a very violent (暴行) and bloody (惨い) campaign against communists and Soviet advisers (ソビエト・アドバイザー) in China (see picture). Hostile divisions (激しい敵意) and difficult truces (休戦) between communists and nationalists in China would be a characteristic of Chinese politics [中国の政治の特徴] for the next twenty years (note the Chinese Civil War [国共内戦] from 1927 to 1936 and from 1946 to 1950)
- The Kuomintang's [中国国民党] defeat [敗北] of the major warlords (主要な敗北) by the late 1920s brought some unity (挙国一致) and stability (安定) to China, along with international recognition (国際的に認められている) of the new nationalist government. China however remained very vulnerable (非常に脆弱であった) to foreign interference (外国の干渉) especially from Japan and the Soviet Union.
- 「Picture: 日本は、皮膚の病気です。病気が治せる。共産主義者は魂の病気です。全身に影響を及ぼす疾患。」

