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宮岡法律事務所用紙

有恩先般小生ヨリ雅書依音韻ニ依リ維油ノ平和雜誌
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 五月十一日
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CHINESE REVOLUTION AND WORLD'S PEACEBy Count OKUMA.

The general tendency of the world to-day is in the direction of peace. This tendency is more particularly noticeable in the relations between nations that have attained about the same degree of civilisation. Such nations are making every effort to avoid war and to preserve amicable relations among them. This is a matter for which mankind is to be sincerely congratulated; but if we turn to those regions of the globe that are inhabited by peoples who have not attained an equally high degree of civilisation and who on that account lack the necessary power of resistance, the stability of peace is not so well ensured. The fundamental cause of the disturbance of peace lies, in my opinion, in the difference which exists in the degrees of civilisation attained by different peoples. Wherever a high and a low civilisation come into contact with each other, there is always present an element of danger to the maintenance of peace. The effect produced by such contact is similar to what we see in physical nature when a vast expanse of moving water in its forward march comes suddenly to a plane of lower level. The force of the civilisation of a higher level precipitates itself upon the peoples of lower civilisation who are not equipped with a sufficient power of resistance.



A superficial observer would say that the source of peril to the maintenance of peace lies in the lust of conquest, the insatiable desire for expansion on the part of the great peoples. To my mind this appears to be taking the perspective from the wrong end. In this world to-day there is not one dominating Power but a number of strong nations. They naturally act and counter-act against one another as checks and balances. The line of vulnerability to the maintenance of peace do not run along the great Powers. That line lies precisely in those regions where peoples of lower civilisation can not hold their own in the face of the irresistible force of higher civilisation. When the tide of influence of a strong Power commences to flow into regions inhabited by a weaker people, other strong Powers do not merely look on but assert their influence at once. The confluence of such antagonistic forces produces diplomatic eddies and whirlpools. Herein lies the danger to peace. The volcanic eruptions of the diplomatic world do not occur in the midst of strong Powers, but in such regions as the Balkan Peninsula, Africa or China where the power of resistance is manifestly inadequate. The diplomatic history of Europe for the last one hundred years chronicles many important events; but an analysis of that history will bear testimony to the soundness of my theory. We are confronted with a practical exemplification of this theory in the present situation in China. That country has not even the necessary power of resistance,

much less the power to take positive offensive action toward the disturbance of international peace. It is precisely because China is weak that there is the danger of her becoming the vortex of international complications. The whirlpool if produced will be the result, not of the action of China, but of the assertion of conflicting influences on the part of the Powers. We have already had one of the most convincing demonstrations of this truism in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Opinions will differ as to the smaller contributing causes. Some will claim that the responsibility for that war rested entirely with Russia. Russians may say that Japan courted that war. The two Powers may, perhaps in different degrees but jointly, be responsible for that ghastly carnage; but there can be no question that in the final analysis that war was caused by the inability of China to move abreast with the rest of the world in the general march of civilisation. China has more than one-fifth of the total population of the world. She is a great nation whose written history runs back for thirty centuries. The ability or inability of China to assimilate herself to the rest of the civilized world and thus enter into the Council of Nations will have a determining influence on the maintenance of peace in the Orient, and consequently on the maintenance of the peace of the world.

To all outside appearance the Chinese Revolution has come to an end; but in reality neither in her internal admin-

istration nor in her diplomatic relations can we see much light ahead. Indeed China will have to steer through darkness of night and over rough seas and many difficult passages before she will come to discern the light of peace. Should the Powers in the meantime attempt to satisfy their territorial ambitions at her cost and take actions tending toward the dismemberment of that vast Empire, complications the results of which can not be foreseen will ensue.

During the period commencing in 1884 and terminating in 1892 the Powers of Europe divided Africa among themselves. That allotment was accomplished without serious difficulty, because by far the larger portion of the dark continent was not the abode of man at all or was inhabited only by wild savages. In China, if the Powers were to make a similar attempt, they will have to deal with entirely different conditions. That country has a population very nearly equal to that of the whole of Europe with a highly developed form of civilisation. To attempt a division of this Empire in much the same way Africa was divided among the Powers, is an operation fraught with danger. Such an attempt will give rise to a general clash of conflicting interests among the Powers. Even the preponderant position in Manchuria which Japan had obtained as the result of her war with Russia gave rise at one time to various surmises and suspicions. Indeed it was even rumoured that Japan's relations with the United States

were strained owing to the former's failure to observe the principle of equal opportunity and open door in those regions.

If such un auspicious suspicions and rumours can be started with respect to the relations of two Powers which for historic, economic and political reasons stand as close to each other as any two Powers formally allied to each other can stand, it can well be imagined what would be the result if the Powers were to take advantage of the present unsettled state of affairs in China and to make attempts to establish their respective spheres of influence by intervening in her domestic troubles or by despatching large bodies of troops. Unfounded reports would give rise to more rumours, suspicions would breed further suspicions; and the outcome of them all would be to place China on the vortex of international strife. It, therefore, behooves Japan and Great Britain, which of all the Powers of the world have the largest interest at stake in China, to take every possible measure for the preservation of her territorial integrity. For this reason I earnestly hope that of all the Governments of the world the cabinet of Tokyo and of London will meet the Chinese situation with the strongest determination to uphold her territorial integrity and maintain the status quo in the regions of the Eastern Asia. If the principles of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance are asserted in an emphatic and unequivocal manner, there will be no room left for the play of ambition or for the engendering of suspicions on the part of the Powers. There can

be no better means of saving China from the impending ruin and of protecting at the same time not only the interests of Japan and Great Britain but the common interests of all nations.

The Government and people of the United States of America which are so active in promoting all that make for peace, will doubtless cordially join in the maintenance of the principles of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The American people will recognize how mistaken they were when they harbored doubts and suspicions regarding the intentions of Japan toward China and her territories. If misunderstanding on the part of some of the Americans can thus be cleared and if the present Revolution will serve as the key to lead China on the road to moral and intellectual rejuvenation and give an opportunity to Japan to realise her cherished ambition to promote those interests which she has in common with China, then a great misfortune will have been turned into a source of happiness.

I repeat that the menace to the stability of the world's peace is not found among the strong Powers. The point of vulnerability lies where the standard of civilisation is low and where, in consequence, there is not the requisite amount of resistance. Nearly the whole of Africa has already been divided among the Powers, and by that division a balance of European power has been established on that continent. The Moroccan question has been settled by the arrangement concluded between France and Germany. The fate of Tripoli will no doubt

be shortly determined by the result of the war in progress between Italy and Turkey.

The chains of diplomatic volcanoes, therefore, no longer exist in Africa but only in the Balkans and in China. The Balkan Peninsula seems to be fast approaching a condition which may be compared to that of extinct volcanoes. On the other hand, China is very much like a volcano on the eve of eruption. Should that eruption take place, the disaster will extend all over the world. It is only by leading China on the path of progress that she can be saved from the catastrophe. It is only by that means that the imminent danger to the stability of international peace can be averted. It is, therefore, my earnest wish that the nations of the world shall unite in one common effort to uplift China to a higher plane of civilisation. Indeed the Powers would be lacking in the discharge of their manifest duty if for any reason they failed to make their supreme effort in this mission of peace.

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