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The Sino-Japanese
conflict and
its causes

南洋協会

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THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT
AND ITS CAUSES



THE SOUTH SEA ASSOCIATION
MARUNOUCHI, TOKYO
JAPAN

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I. The China Incident as Seen by Foreign Peoples

The so-called people's goodwill envoys, who had been despatched to America for the purpose of clarifying Japan's stand in East Asia, especially in connection with the recent China Incident, came home only to report to us, almost with one accord, that wherever they went they were sure to be asked, "What does Japan intend to do with China?" Evidently those who asked the question had come to the conclusion, though greatly mistaken, that Japan alone was responsible for the current China hostilities. Hence this country is apt to be regarded as an aggressor while China enjoys universal sympathy.

America alone, however, does not entertain such misconceptions regarding the present China hostilities. With the exception of a very few countries which have rightly understood the actual situation in East Asia, the world at large seems to fancy that the outbreak of the present China incident was due to Japan's territorial ambitions in North China, according to the contention of most foreign newspapers. They jumped at the conclusion that the mere local incident at Lukouchiao developed into the present large-scale hostilities, according to Japan's premeditated plan.

These misleading reports of the foreign press have been influenced by skilful propaganda emanating from Chinese circles; blind sympathy for the underdog; and intentional distortion of 'war-news' and other reports with selfish objectives involving rights and interests. It is, after all, beyond doubt that these misleading foreign press reports have done a great deal of harm by stirring up anti-Japanese feeling among the peoples of the world and thus causing Americans to ask our goodwill envoys, "What is Japan going to do with China?"

What brought about the present China hostilities? Before answering this question, let us briefly recall the rude behavior of Chinese soldiers during the past one year and a half to the Japanese,



whom they often treated as inferiors. Here are only few of the many incidents in which the Japanese suffered outrages at the hands of Chinese soldiers and civilians.

In North China

1. The Chaoyang Incident—On January 5, 1936, Chinese troops of the 29th Army fired on Japanese soldiers stationed at Chaoyang.

2. Wrecking of a train conveying Japanese troops—On May 29, 1936, at Tientsin, a bomb was thrown at a train transporting our troops, completely destroying it.

3. Detention of a Japanese army captain—On July 26, 1936, at Fengtai, the 29th Army illegally detained Captain Kohno and his party who were attached to the headquarters of the Japanese garrison.

4. Chinese assault on the Chosenese—On August 21, 1936, some Chosenese were attacked without reason by Chinese soldiers of the 29th Army.

5. Chinese soldiers' provocation at Fengtai—On September 18, 1936, soldiers of the 29th Army deliberately ran into the commanding officer of a company of Japanese soldiers and after addressing him in violent language, provoked the latter to fight.

6. A Japanese acting consul unlawfully subjected to personal search—On February 21, 1937, soldiers of the 29th Army unlawfully searched the person of Acting Consul Nakano as well as his personal possessions at Changchiakou Station.

7. Illegal search made on the person of Police Sergeant Hara—On March 20, 1937, Chinese troops belonging to the 29th Army, in spite of regulations forbidding such action, searched the person of Police Sergeant Hara at Nankou Station on the Peiping-Suiyuan line.

8. Japanese newspaperman illegally searched—On March 13, 1937, Mr. Kagawa, a Japanese newspaperman, was illegally searched at Nankou Station.

9. Head of the Special-Service Military Office unlawfully subjected to a personal search—In the latter part of March,

1937, the Head of the Japanese Special-Service Military Office at Changchiakou and Colonel Mutaguchi of Peiping were both unlawfully searched at Nankou Station.

10. Assault on a Japanese—On May 1, 1937, Mr. Iwasaki, a Japanese resident merchant at Changchiakou, was assaulted by Chinese soldiers of the 29th Army and his possessions illegally inspected.

11. Japanese fishing boats fired on by Chinese soldiers—On May 23, 1937, two Japanese fishing boats, the Nagasumaru No. 1 and the Shimato-maru No. 7, were fired on near Paihokou by the surveillance boat of the Chinese custom-house, wounding the captain of the former boat.

In Central China

1. The Nakayama Incident—On November 9, 1935, Mr. Sueo Nakayama, a marine of the Japanese landing party, was shot to death in Shanghai by Chinese.

2. The Swatow Incident—On January 21, 1936, Policeman Tsunoda was shot to death by Chinese.

3. The Kayafu Incident—On July 10, 1936, Mr. Kayafu was shot to death in Shanghai.

4. The Changsha Incident—On August 20, 1936, some Japanese were wounded when a bomb was thrown into the billiard-room of a Japanese-owned hotel at Changsha.

5. The Chengtu Incident—On August 24, 1936, two Japanese pressman, a Japanese merchant and a Japanese clerk of the South Manchuria Railway Company, were attacked at Chengtu by Chinese, two being killed and the others seriously wounded.

6. The Pakhoi Incident—On September 3, 1936, Mr. Junzo Nakano was murdered by Chinese.

7. The Hankow Incident—On September 19, 1936, Policeman Yoshioka was shot in the Japanese Concession of Hankow.

8. The Tienchiang Incident—On September 23, 1936, three Japanese seamen of the warship Izumo were shot at by Chinese, two being instantly killed and the other seriously wounded.

9. The Hsiangtan Incident—On November 27, 1936, the

office of the Nisshin Steamship Company at Hsiangtan was set on fire by some Chinese.

10. The Takase Incident—On November 11, 1936, Mr. Yasui Takase, a member of the crew of the Kasagi-maru, was shot to death by Chinese.

11. Japanese fishing boats illegally detained by Chinese—On March 11, 1937, at a place near Kaochiao, Shuntung, two Japanese fishing boats were illegally seized and detained while at anchor.

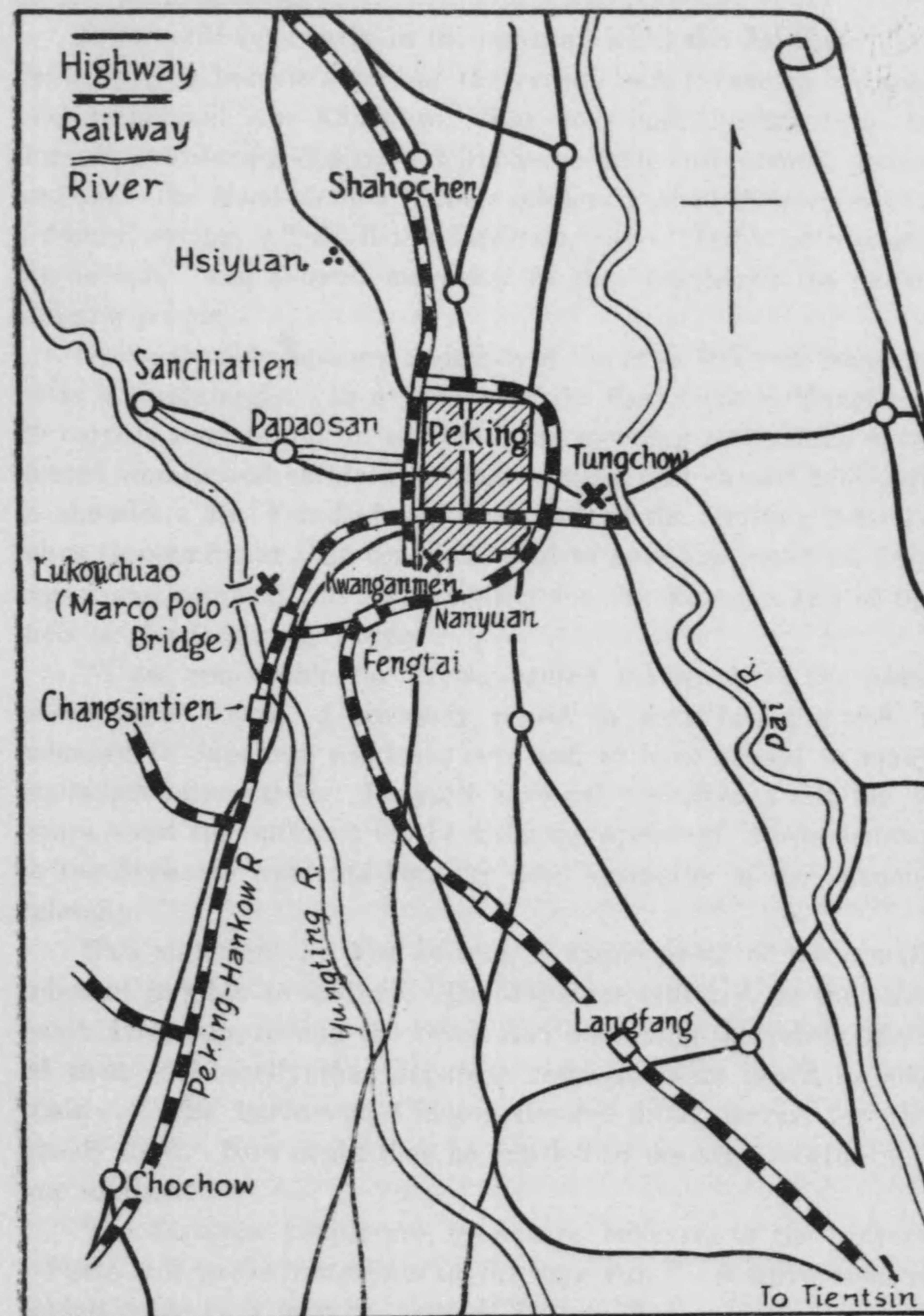
12. The Aoyama Incident—On May 22, 1937, Policeman Aoyama of the Japanese consulate at Swatow was unlawfully kept in custody at his own house and subjected to outrages by Chinese policemen.

In spite of repeated illegal acts by Chinese soldiers, Japan had always tried to bring them to a satisfactory settlement through pacific means, by using great patience and forbearance in its endeavor not to aggravate matters. From the very beginning, the Japanese made every effort to reach an amicable solution by regarding the Lukouchiao incident merely as a local affair, though it proved to be the immediate cause of the present China hostilities. But the Chinese, who regarded our military strength as inferior to theirs, ignored our demands and went on perpetrating outrageous acts until the Japanese troops were forced to resort to arms as a last means of self-defense.

The Tungchow Massacre, in which so many Japanese residents were murdered in cold blood, is ample proof that the Chinese military leaders greatly under-estimated our strength.

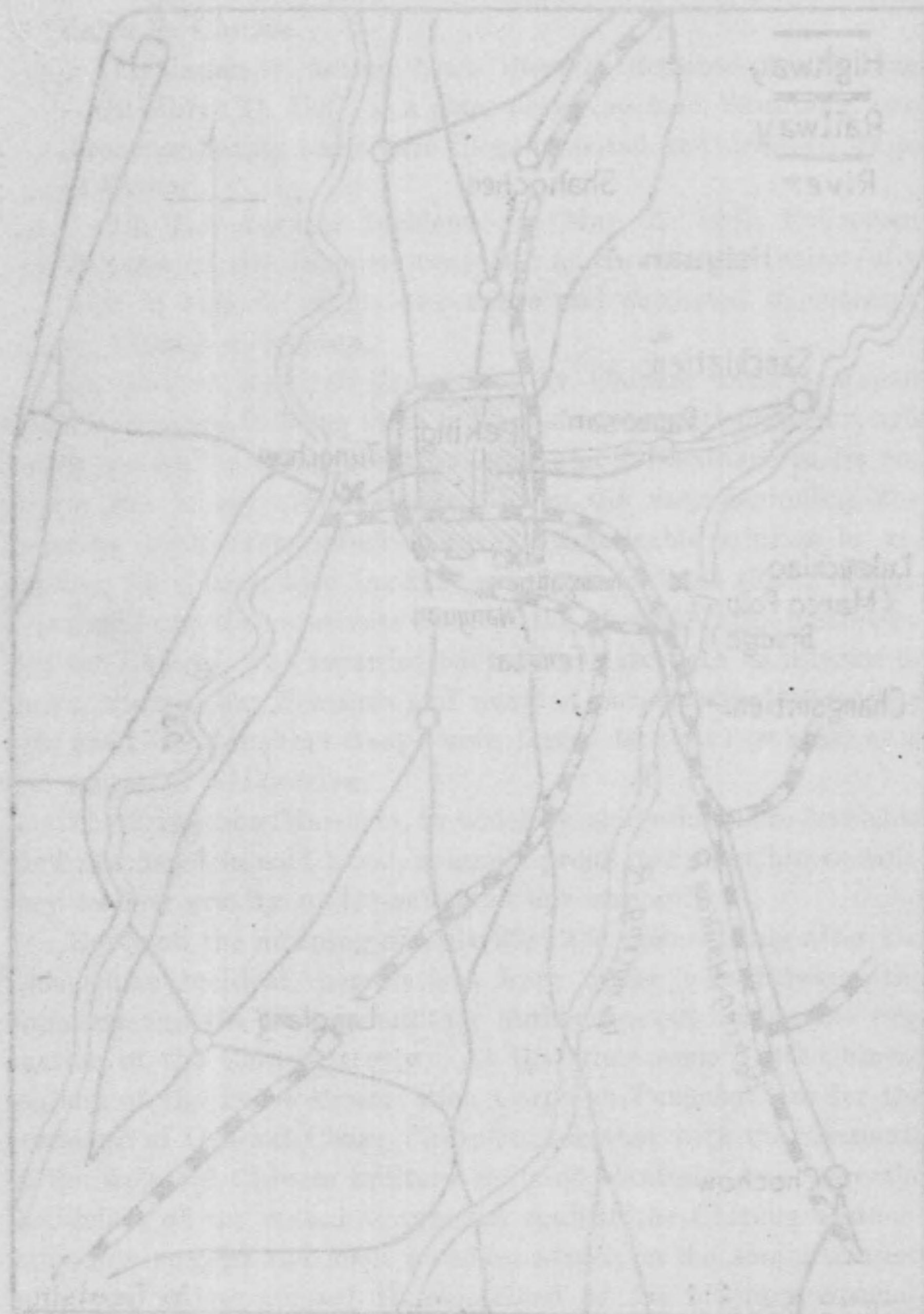
Early on the morning of July 29, 1937, immediately after the Lukouchiao incident, negotiations were under way between the Japanese and the Chinese military authorities concerning the evacuation of the Chinese troops. At that time some 5,000 Chinese soldiers of the Peace Preservation Corps at Tungchow, under the command of General Chang Ching-yu, together with the remnants of the defeated Chinese military units of Nanfang, who were the instigators of the massacre, rebelled against the Chitung Autonomous Government and made a sudden attack on the administration buildings. Lieut.-colonel Hosoki, Head of the Military Special-

LUKOUCHIAO AND TUNGCHOW ARE INDICATED BY CROSSES



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Service Office there, Captain Muraio, adviser to the autonomous government, and Mr. Kennosuke Miyawaki, financial adviser, besides several Chinese authorities there, were murdered in cold blood, as the world knows.

It was still very early in the morning when the Japanese residents, having become aware of the revolt, took refuge in a Japanese restaurant, the Kinsui-ro. The mob rushed after them in pursuit, murdering defenceless Japanese men and women, young and old. The blood-stained Chinese soldiers worked themselves into a frenzy, crying, "Kill all the Japanese," and "Don't let a single one escape," and showed no mercy as they butchered the panic-stricken people.

Out of the 500 Japanese residents of the town 365 were massacred in a single night. In a pond near the East Gate of Tungchow 29 corpses were found on the following morning and among them floated women and children, a ghastly sight that caused beholders to shudder. Mr. Yin Ju-keng, Chairman of the Chitung Autonomous Government at that time, was said to have expressed his deep regret and assumed full responsibility for the inhuman acts of the mob in the following words:

"I am responsible for having caused the revolt of the peace preservation corps. I sincerely regret to have brought such a calamity to Japanese residents here and to have caused so many casualties among them. I myself have not yet taken a bite for 30 hours, since the outbreak of the unhappy uprising. Please convey to the Japanese residents here my deep sympathy at our common calamity."

This statement by Yin Ju-keng is ample proof of the cruelty inherent in Chinese soldiers. The Japanese military, on the other hand, after suppressing the revolt and disarming the rebels, treated them so liberally that Japanese residents were heard to complain: "The barbarous Chinese deserve little mercy for this bloody deed. How could they be entitled to the kind treatment of our soldiers?"

The Japanese people are, by nature, believers in the proverb, "Facts will prove victorious in the long run." A mere rumour, unjustifiable as it may be, matters little to them and they think it

below their dignity to vindicate themselves. One of the most popular 'waka' poems, "When one's heart seeks after truth, God will guide him right no matter how seldom he prays," aptly expresses the essence of the Japanese spirit. The Japanese military, always inspired by this magnanimous Yamato spirit, paid little attention to intentionally-distorted press reports and Chinese propaganda, believing that time will solve everything.

The Kuomintang government, in the meantime, taking full advantage of the liberal Japanese mind, concentrated its efforts on propaganda as the most powerful means of turning the world's sympathy from Japan to China. Naturally foreigners, lacking first hand knowledge of the actual situation in East Asia, began to entertain doubts regarding Japan's humanitarian intentions, as they were blindly depending on Chinese propaganda and purposefully distorted 'war-news'.

Though it may seem out of place here to dwell upon the causes of the present China conflict, we shall try to explain in brief how it was brought on and what has caused it to spread to the present armed conflict with a view to assisting those who wish to obtain a correct idea of the China Emergency.

II. How Did the China Conflict Break Out?

The Lukouchiao Incident, which took place on the night of July 7, 1937 and which was the immediate cause of the current hostilities, has come to be known throughout the world, though not always in its correct aspects. A company of Japanese soldiers happened to be engaged in a sham battle not far from the Marco Polo Bridge, when Chinese soldiers of the 29th Army began firing at them without warning. This, according to Chinese propaganda, was due to the nightly manoeuvres, unlawfully held by Japanese troops. But the truth is that the Japanese were doing what they had always done hitherto and on this occasion they had taken special precautions by informing the 29th Army beforehand.

According to Article 9 of the Protocol (1901) signed at Peking by the Powers and the Chinese government immediately after the Boxer Troubles, Japanese soldiers are entitled to make manoeu-

vers whenever necessary.

"Article IX. The Chinese government has recognized the right of the Powers, through the Protocol attached to the letter of January 16, 1901, to occupy certain points, which shall be determined among them, for the maintenance of uninterrupted communication between the capital and the sea."

According to the Official Note exchanged between China and the Powers in connection with the restoration of Tientsin (July, 1902) the Japanese military units are given full right to stage a sham battle whenever desirable.

The Official Note (Original in French and Chinese). "Foreign troops stationed here are fully authorized to make military manoeuvres or to hold target practice, although, in that case, they are requested to report of it beforehand to the Chinese authorities."

The place where the Lukouchiao Incident broke out was especially preferred by the Japanese troops because there are few houses to hinder military manoeuvres. It was not the first time that they staged a night sham battle. Moreover, they were at that time expecting their annual military inspection, which was of the utmost importance to them. They had probably been carrying on manoeuvres day after day and night after night to make preparations for the coming inspection. Under such circumstances it is clear that Chinese soldiers fired at the Japanese garrison troops contrary to the regulations quoted above, while the night manoeuvres carried out by Japanese troops were absolutely justifiable.

Our garrison troops, therefore, summoned the 29th Army to withdraw from the spot immediately and apologize for their unlawful conduct, but they paid little attention to our demands. Instead, they became so bold that on the following morning they opened fire upon the Japanese troops with rifles and mortars from an elevated place near Changsintien, and the Japanese were compelled to reply in self-defense.

The Japanese military, however, who did not desire to make the matter worse and cause more trouble and misery to innocent Chinese people, did their best, with extreme patience, to 'localize' the Lukouchiao Incident. They were at the same time very desirous to reach a quick settlement, so that Japanese residents there might

not lose their 'spheres of activity' for the establishment of which they had spent so many years of privation and hardship.

The Chinese, on the other hand, who had behaved so outrageously towards the Japanese, did not show any sincerity in satisfying our demands and became so bold that their defense line along the Yungting River was tremendously strengthened with a view to challenging the Japanese military there. This was too much for the Japanese to bear.

While affairs in the north were going from bad to worse, very regrettable acts were taking place in central China also. The so-called Lieut. Oyama Incident took place in Shanghai, in which a naval officer and a sailor were murdered by members of the Peace Preservation Corps stationed on the outskirts of the international port city. A letter written by Sir Francis Lindley, formerly British Ambassador to Tokyo, which appeared in the London Times at that time, greatly helps in clarifying the real situation over there. Sir Francis' letter is in substance as follows:

"1. To observers who have been paying attention to what is going on in East Asia it is clear that the Chinese motives for extending the armed conflict in the north down to Shanghai are twofold.

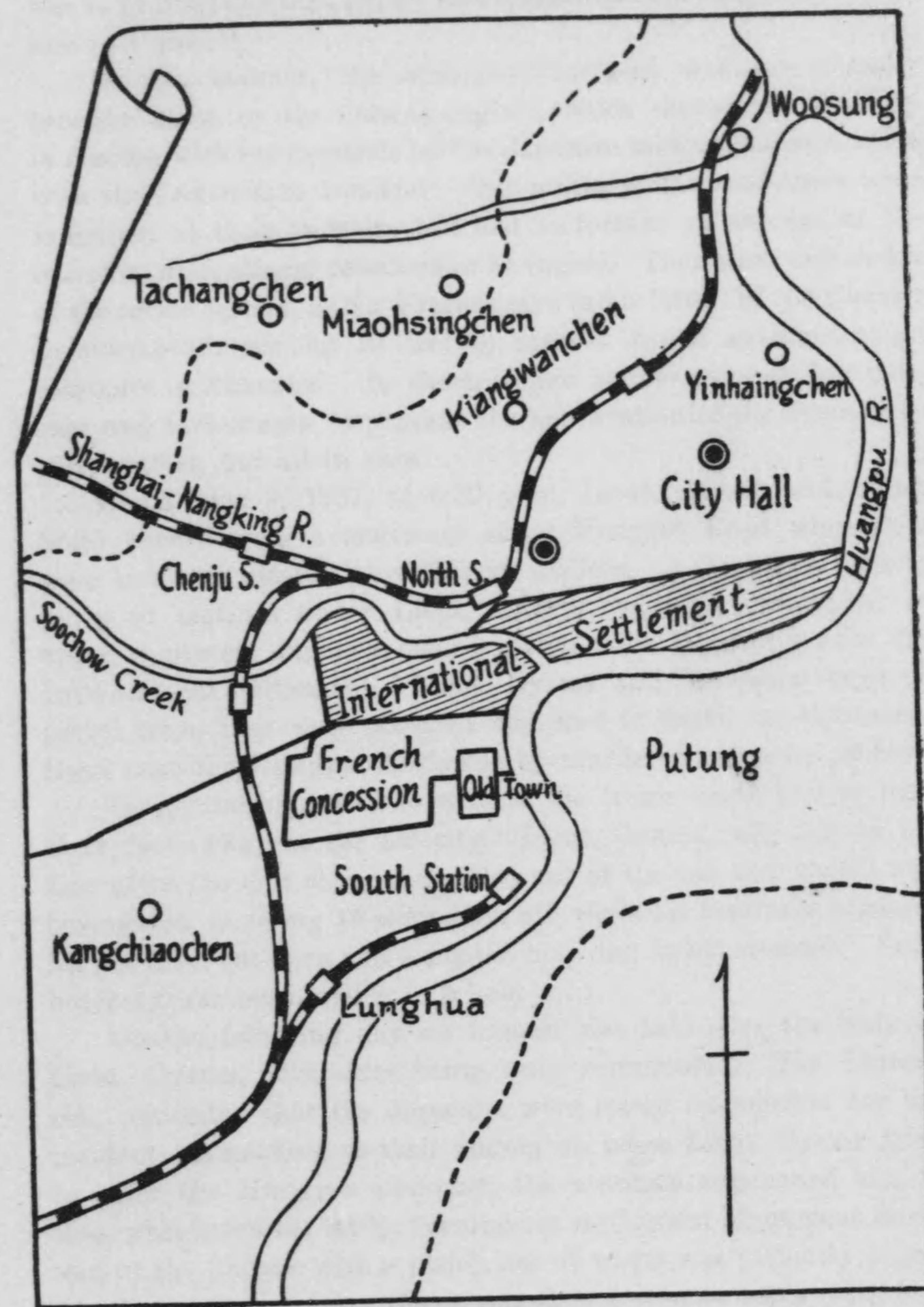
2. First, in order to extend the Japanese battle line so as to prevent Japanese military units from concentrating their strength; second, in order to stir up anti-Japanese feeling among foreign residents of various nationalities in Shanghai.

3. China has so far been successful in gaining her first objective and she will also succeed in obtaining the second if we (Europeans) are inclined to listen only to those who have not received correct information regarding the existing situation in the Far East."

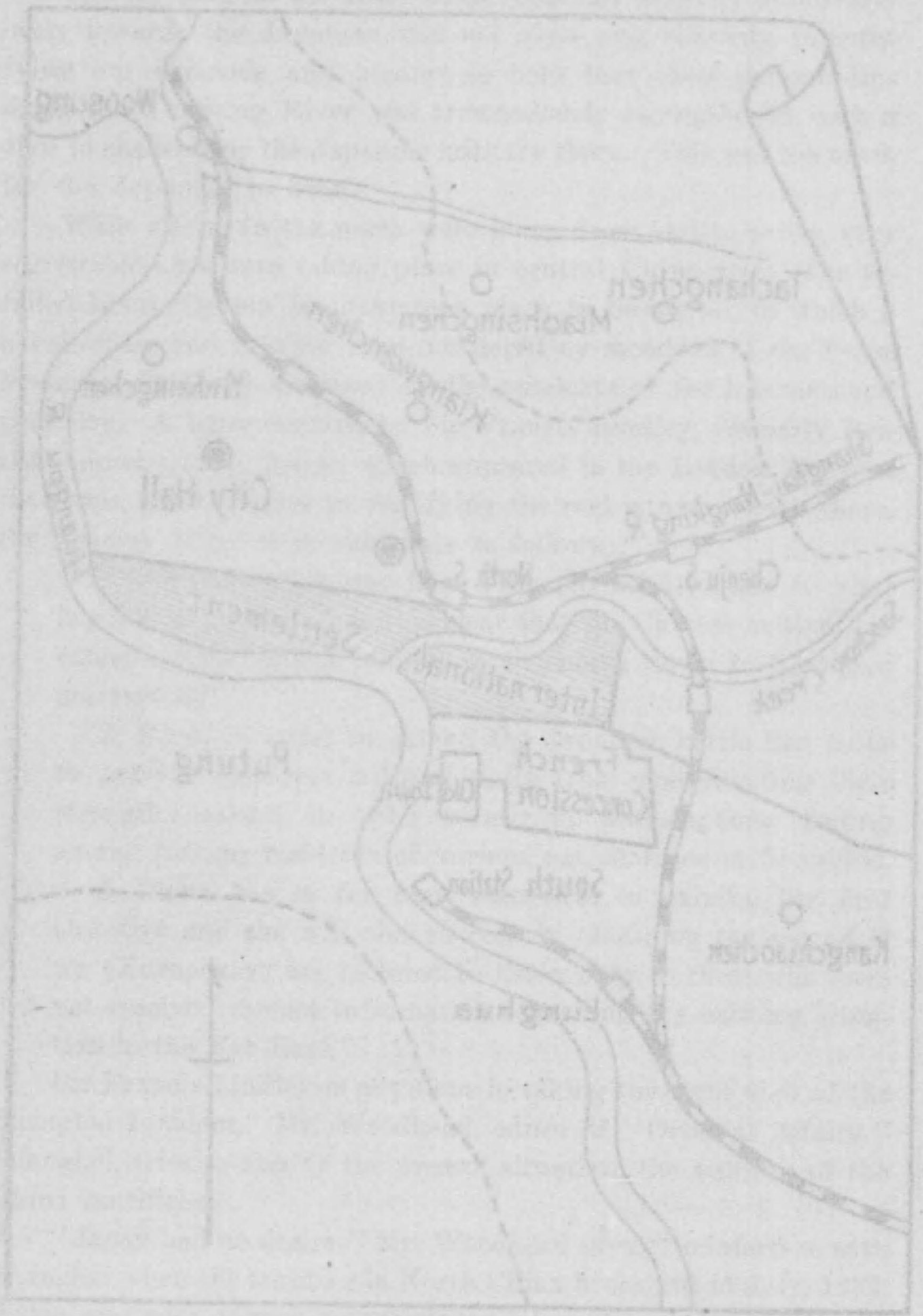
Sir Francis Lindley is not alone in taking the right view of the Shanghai Incident. Mr. Woodhead, editor of "Oriental Affairs," Shanghai, tries to clarify the present situation, the outcome of the China hostilities.

"Japan had no desire," Mr. Woodhead says, "to interfere with Shanghai when the troubles in North China broke out in July, 1937. Japan was wise enough to anticipate international complexities if

MAP OF SHANGHAI AND ENVIRONS



MAP OF SHANGHAI AND ENVIRONS



Shanghai was to be involved in the Sino-Japanese conflict, and therefore she intended to avoid it as much as possible. But China was so provocative that Japan was compelled to broaden her battle-line in China."

In this manner, the Shanghai Incident was intentionally brought about by the Chiang regime, which showed no sincerity in dealing with the demands by the Japanese military in connection with the Lukouchiao Incident. Our military stationed there were indignant at their audacity but had to forbear on account of the complex international relations in Shanghai. They were also aware of the secret scheme, as Sir Francis says in his letter, of the Chinese to attempt to stir up ill feeling against Japan among foreign residents in Shanghai. In short, Japan had to exhaust her patience and forbearance to prevent the aggravation of the Sino-Japanese conflict, but all in vain.

On August 9, 1937, at 6.30 p.m., Lieut. Oyama and Sailor Saito were driving a motor-car along Hungjao Road when they were suddenly attacked by Chinese soldiers. A Japanese landing party of marines under Lieut. Oyama had been despatched in order to protect Japanese-owned cotton mills situated within the International Settlement. Lieut. Oyama and the sailor were on patrol when they were attacked and shot to death on Monument Road near the Hungjao Airdrome by murderous Chinese soldiers.

Those who happened to witness the tragic scene had to turn their faces away at the atrocity. Lieut. Oyama, who fell on his face after the first shot, was pulled out of the car and kicked and bayoneted, receiving 18 wounds in all, while his head was crushed, his abdomen cut open and a jagged hole dug in his stomach. Such butchery was too horrible to behold.

On the following day an inquest was held over the body of Lieut. Oyama, both sides being duly represented. The Chinese side contended that the Japanese were solely responsible for the incident. According to their statement, when Lieut. Oyama tried to enter the Hungjao airdrome, the sentinels summoned him to stop, whereupon the latter, turning his car toward Monument Road, shot at the Chinese with a pistol, one of whom was instantly killed. The Peace Preservation Corps was thus forced to reply with bul-

lets, killing both the Japanese.

One Chinese was found killed nearby with several bullets in his body, but the investigation conducted immediately after the tragedy revealed that Lieut. Oyama carried no pistol that day, and that Saito, who carried a revolver contained in a sack, evidently could not use it as he was driving the car. The two bullets extracted from the body of the Chinese soldier, proved, on examination, to come, one from a rifle, and the other from a machine-gun. It is clear that the poor Chinese soldier was killed at the hands of his own countrymen, a victim to the Chinese plot to ascribe the crime to the Japanese.

This outrageous act on the part of the Chinese greatly angered our marines, especially the younger officers, and something ominous seemed impending. Under the circumstances, the Japanese demanded that the Chinese troops should be withdrawn at once from the demilitarized zones. Instead of complying, the Chinese began to fortify their defense line even inside the settlement, and on August 12 began to besiege the Japanese quarters, ignoring the truce agreed upon by both countries.

In spite of the Chinese illegal act and their immediate threat to the Japanese residents in Shanghai, the Japanese naval authorities tried to settle the question by pacific means, demanding the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps, and organizing at the same time a pacification committee for the purpose. On August 13, however, the Chinese soldiers actually began attacking our troops.

Our marines were therefore compelled to return fire and fight in self-defense. Even when a Chinese airplane flew at low altitude over the international settlement, the Japanese marines refrained from shooting it down if it was not a bombing plane. It was quite natural that our young naval officers could hardly restrain themselves after the outrageous act of the Chinese soldiers. Then on August 14 Chinese military airplanes in great numbers raided our settlement, the headquarters of the Japanese marines and even our consulate-general. Thus war broke out in Shanghai at last.

III. China's Underhanded Anti-foreign Conspiracy

What has just been stated is the direct motive of the present incident, but behind it all there lies a fundamental cause which is even more significant although it lies in the distant past.

In order to strengthen its internal position, the Chinese Nationalist Government has for many years been showing resistance to Japan, finally adopting an anti-Japanese policy. Recently, however, having completed its military preparations, the Nationalist Government, in proportion to her military power, gradually shifted her policy from resistance to anti-Japanism, and later to a policy of insincerity. She has shown her lack of faith in keeping the treaties and conventions entered into with Japan by repeatedly breaking them, and in many other ways shown her intention of excluding Japan from China. This is clearly demonstrated by the anti-Japanese boycotts which took place from 1905 to 1932. The following is an account of some of the most important cases.

1. Anti-Japanese boycott concerning the Tatsu-maru II Incident—The Tatsu-maru II, a Japanese-owned vessel, was seized off Aomen by the Chinese authorities on January 26, 1908. As a result of the strong protestations from the Imperial Japanese Government, several boycott movements were started with Canton and Shanghai as the centers, and it was agreed that, insofar as transactions with Japanese merchants were concerned, the Chinese should be prohibited from making new deals with them or loading Japanese vessels.

2. Anti-Japanese boycott in relation to the Reconstruction of the Antung-Mukden Railway—A Sino-Japanese memorandum concerning the reconstruction of the Antung-Mukden Railway was concluded on August 1, 1909. Nevertheless, a part of the populace, voicing strong disapproval, staged a huge demonstration in the Peking-Tientsin districts, and launched a boycott movement against the Japanese, which gradually assumed nation-wide proportions, all Manchuria, Canton and other places in South China being included in the movement.

3. Anti-Japanese boycott in connection with the Twenty-One Demands—On the opening of Sino-Japanese negotiations concerning the Twenty-one Demands in January, 1915, anti-Japanese feeling became rampant and tense. On March 16, the Home-made Goods Promotion Association was organized and, acting as the central organ for the boycott of Japanese goods, instigated boycott movements throughout the nation. At Changsha a Japanese store was mobbed with the result that eleven of our nationals were either slightly or seriously injured. Again, in the same area, Japanese goods in transit were seized, ransacked and burned, and the Taishengchang Branch Office of the Japanese Shipping Company at Yuan-chiang was pillaged by a Chinese mob, many of the Japanese employees being injured.

4. Anti-Japanese boycott following the Shantung Incident—As soon as the unfavorable news concerning Shantung reached China from the Versailles Peace Conference in May, 1919, the student body at Peking staged grave riots, being instigated by the politicians of the anti-Government side. From this riot developed a movement to expel Japanese goods; and in Foochow, Tsinan, Nanking, Suchow, Hanchow, and Swatow, it was strictly prohibited to deal in Japanese goods, Japanese vessels were seized, and Japanese stores were looted or destroyed.

5. Anti-Japanese boycott relating to the Return of Port Arthur and Dairen—China, having witnessed our conciliatory attitude in the Shantung and the other related issues and growing a bit presumptuous, decided on regaining Port Arthur and Dairen from the Japanese on January 17, 1923. On March 10, 1923, she made overtures to Japan—with a resolution she had adopted at the Nationalist Convention—to abrogate the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1915, but Japan remained adamant and strongly rejected this move. At about this time two factions, those of Chihli and Fengtien, were engaged in a dispute over power in China. The Chihli faction, which, under pretense of instigating anti-Japanese acts, contrived to bring about the downfall of the Fengtien faction and, assisted by

those merchants whose secret designs were for personal gains, brought about a salvation movement on March 25, and commenced an anti-Japanese demonstration movement on a nationwide scale. There followed the severance of economic relations, inspection and confiscation of Japanese goods and obstruction of the supply of the necessities of life, which seriously affected the Japanese nationals.

6. Anti-Japanese boycott concerning the Shanghai Incident of May 30—Due to the labor disputes of the Naigai Cotton Mill Company, a clash between the Japanese managers and the Chinese employees took place. In this clash many strike-instigators and students participated, thereby greatly extending the anti-Japanese movement. Crying for the abrogation of all unequal treaties, protesting against consular jurisdiction, and demanding the surrender of maritime customs rights, this mob inflicted injuries on the lives of Japanese nationals and caused damage to their property.

7. Anti-Japanese boycott on the occasion of Japan's Shantung Expedition—In May, 1927, following hostilities between the northern and southern forces of China in the Shantung area, Japan despatched an expedition to protect her nationals residing there. In spite of this, the southern forces, fancying that Japan's despatch of troops was for aiding the northern military clique, raised their cry against treaty violation and encroachment on Chinese sovereignty, and launched an anti-Japanese movement. Thus, all kinds of organizations in Shanghai got together on June 6, sponsored an Economic Boycott Conference to oppose the Japanese and organized an Economic Severance Union with a view to activating the anti-Japanese-goods movement, threatening to punish all those dealing in Japanese goods. As the Government authorities failed to check it, the situation became very grave.

8. Anti-Japanese boycott at the time of the Tsinan Incident—Soon after Japan had despatched troops to Tsinan in 1928 to protect her nationals, a universal pillage was perpetrated by the southern revolutionary forces on May 3 of the same year, and a massacre of many Japanese residents there was

committed, a clash taking place between the Japanese and Chinese. Taking advantage of this situation, the Chinese commenced an extensive anti-Japanese movement which not only extended to the Yangtze valley and the important cities in South and North China, Manchuria and Mongolia, but also to Singapore, Bangkok, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines, where a great many Chinese nationals lived.

9. Anti-Japanese boycott at the time of the Manchurian Incident—In July, 1931, the so-called Anti-Japanese Protection Association was organized in Shanghai. It declared the severance of all economic relations with Japan and among other things demanded of the masses in general, (1) not to purchase or use Japanese goods; (2) to boycott Japanese currency; (3) not to deal with Japanese banks and warehouses; (4) not to serve under Japanese; and (6) not to supply Japanese with food and other necessities of life. Later the name of the organization was changed from that of the Anti-Japanese Protection Association to that of the Anti-Japanese Salvation Association and adopted as its slogan, "permanent severance of economic relations."

According to Article 1 of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, (1896), between Japan and China, ". . . their respective subjects (Chinese and Japanese), who shall enjoy equally in the respective countries of the High Contracting Parties full and entire protection for their persons and property," and Article 4 of the same treaty reads: ". . . They (Japanese) are at liberty to proceed to or from any of the open ports with their merchandise and effects, and within the localities at those places which have already been . . . set apart for the use and occupation of foreigners they are allowed to rent or purchase houses, rent or lease land . . ." In spite of the above guarantees, the Kuomintang has, upon each successive incident enumerated above, enforced anti-Japanese boycotts, inflicted injuries on the persons, caused damage to the property of Japanese nationals and checked the supply of the necessities of life, making it impossible for the latter to reside there. Again, notwithstanding Article 7 of the same treaty which stipulates that "Japanese subjects residing in the open ports of China may take into their service

Chinese subjects, and employ them in any lawful capacity, without restraint or hindrance from the Chinese Government or Authorities," the anti-Japanese groups have, by violence and threat, intimidated Chinese employees to strike, thereby making it impossible to employ Chinese.

Though the above are some examples of the Chinese treaty violations seen through their anti-Japanese boycotts alone, there have been many more incidents involving the infringement, violation, and wilful disregard of treaties, agreements and other documents exchanged between Japan and China.

IV. Anti-English Uprisings Extending Over 3 Years

In 1924, after the Kuomintang had joined hands with the Chinese Communists, China spurred on her anti-foreign policy by, internally, inciting labor movements, and, externally, busying herself in what she termed a revolutionary diplomacy for the recovery of her national rights. The anti-British strike in Canton and Hongkong and the movement to reclaim by force Hankow and other English concessions were in reality the result of the joint efforts of the Kuomintang and the Communists.

The events leading up to this incident took place in May, 1925, under the following circumstances. A labor dispute provoked by Communists and labor agitators in the Naigai Cotton Mill developed into a riot and the municipal police had to check it. This was the beginning of the clash between the English and the Chinese. The agitators, seizing the opportunity, stirred up anti-Japanese and anti-British sentiments, and paraded the streets in organized groups. The streets of Shanghai were the scene of disorders which finally resulted in a clash between the police and the mob. The Shanghai municipal police attempted to check a group of turbulent student followers, while another group of students made street speeches and threw about anti-English bills. The latter finally attacked the police, who were compelled to fire, resulting in the injury and death of many people. In this manner the anti-Japa-

nese and anti-British movements became general. Attacks, pillaging and destruction were committed by them upon the Japanese residents in the cities of Nanking, Wuhu, Kiukiang, Hankow, Changsha, Chungking and in the Yangtze valley. South China also reverted to a state of turbulence, and on June 2, a general meeting of Anti-Japanese and Anti-British Demonstrators was held at Canton at which 5,000 people decided to sever all economic relations with the Japanese and the English, strike against foreign employment, expel foreign soldiers and officials, reclaim customs and revenue rights and regain foreign settlements. On the 18th, with the situation growing graver due to strikes by common seamen on British vessels plying between Hongkong, Canton and Amoy, and the prompt execution of a strike put into effect by Chinese seamen on foreign vessels, England was forced to land her marines. This act aroused the Chinese populace all the more, and on June 23, 100 or more troops, including students and laborers, in a mass demonstration parade, fired on all the foreign concessions from the shore. The military forces of the Powers returned the fire, resulting in many hundreds being killed and wounded on both sides. In order to quell the uprising England effected an economic blockade of Canton, and prohibited the export of provisions and of gold and silver currencies. In July she prohibited the export of kerosene, alcohol and coal, and ordered the expulsion of all unemployed Chinese from Hongkong. Efforts were also made to end the stubborn anti-British movement by appealing to the mother country for the protection of English residents in Hongkong.

An alliance between the Nationalist Party, which backed the Canton Government, and the Chinese Branch of the Third International was made at this time with the latter's leadership. Thus the firm policy of the English was taken advantage of by the Communists and gradually the anti-British movement became stronger, eventually resulting in severance of the English economic relations with China. The Federation of Industry and the Strike Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Hongkong unanimously passed and declared the following anti-British resolutions:

1. To prohibit all discharge of cargo at Canton from vessels

plying between Hongkong, Macao and Canton.

2. To prohibit the unloading or loading of cargoes in the province of Canton on British vessels, as well as on those in transit between Hongkong and Amoy.

3. Those vessels not calling at Hongkong and Macao may carry on commercial intercourse in Canton, so far as they are not of British nationality or carrying British goods.

4. Transactions of stored goods in Canton which are not of British origin or owned by British firms may be carried on.

In retaliation England despatched two gunboats on Sept. 4 to Canton harbor, landed a detachment of marines and seized all vessels used by pickets.

However, England's pressure policy had a contrary effect, and in the latter part of August, 1926, at Wanhsien, Szechwan Province, gave rise to an incident, the seizure of an English vessel by General Yang's army, which developed into a movement for the recovery of the English concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang. On January 24 England despatched to Shanghai a contingent of 23,000 comprising 3 brigades of Indian infantry and marines. The Powers also landed troops in order to protect their special interests. Gunboats of England, the United States, and France, co-operated in an attack on the revolutionary nationalist forces in Shanghai by incessant bombardment. The Chinese anti-foreign movement gradually showed signs of weakening, and when Japan despatched troops to Shantung in June the same year, the movement again reverted to its former anti-Japanese character.

When the Chinese people joined hands with the Communists, the anti-Japanese movement assumed a very serious character.

The Kuomintang government, which was rather elated by the success in thus torturing England, taking advantage of the assistance of the Communist International, bore arms against Japan, hoping to place her on the sacrificial altar. She was then held to be the weaker in resistance. However, the anti-Japanese groups of China are composed not only of the leftists under the direction of Comintern, but also of the rightists. The Blue Shirts and the C.C. Society also belong to them, while the Peace Preservation Corps, which was responsible for the murder of Lieut. Oyama, is

likewise rightist. The 29th Army, which fired on Japanese troops at Lukouchiao, is a representative of the leftists.

From the facts just mentioned, it is supposed that the present incident, apparently anti-Japanese, was the first step of China's premeditated anti-foreign movement, and not the result of a mere accident.

V. What Japan Desires

In this manner Japan, having been provoked by China to fight, has been forced to rise in self-defense. It must be made plain that she is merely fighting those militarists and leaders of the Nationalist Government who oppose her and not making war on the masses of people who are suffering so much under the misgovernment of the present regime. She is engaged in the cause of future happiness of the four hundred millions of Chinese, and she has not the slightest intention of either invading the territory or trespassing upon the interests and rights of other nations. That was made clear immediately after the outbreak of the incident by the wording of the Imperial Rescript which was granted at the opening ceremony of the Extraordinary Session of the Imperial Diet. It reads: "We have always endeavored to safeguard the stability of East Asia and maintain mutual prosperity in co-operation with China. The latter, however, did not understand our real intentions and, to our great regret, she has stood against us and brought about the present hostilities."

For those people whose national history reveals that their own nation has been engaged in wars of territorial acquisition, it would almost be impossible to grasp the true meaning of Japan's present cause. They would like to ask: "Why does a nation which has no territorial ambitions needlessly sacrifice so many lives of the people in fighting?" It is, however, nothing more than a mere deduction from their own histories.

Indeed, Japanese territory is very much limited in area, and her natural resources meagre. On the other hand, her population is large and consumption is increasing in proportion. For this reason it may be led to assume that Japan desires to invade others'

territory, but it is sufficient for her to receive supplies of raw materials from China, manufacture them into commodities, and sell them there as finished articles. For China it would mean no more than the exploitation of the undeveloped resources of China, the increase of her national wealth and prosperity, and at the same time the bringing about of mutual prosperity of the two countries.

It is claimed that mining, stock-breeding and salt-refining industries, cotton plantation and other agricultural and industrial enterprises are very promising in North China. Hitherto, excepting in a few cases, China had scarcely undertaken any enterprise. If China joins hands with Japan in economic co-operation and opens undeveloped fields to joint enterprises, the Chinese people will certainly reap vast profits. This is amply proved by what has lately been taking place in Manchoukuo. Here is a story that came from North China recently.

The people living along the coast of North China depend much upon the salt fields for their living. These coastal salt fields are expansive, but due to prohibitions placed upon the export of salt by the Chinese Government, which inevitably led to a curtailment in production, the masses who depended upon the manufacture and sale of salt were completely deprived of their means of livelihood. It is said, however, that those Chinese inhabitants have been highly gladdened and are now quite happy, ever since Japan restored the salt fields and decided to purchase 1,000,000 tons of salt every year. When institutes such as the newly organized Sino-Japanese Economic Conference actually begin their activities, mining and agricultural production will also present like conditions and activity. Accordingly, China will probably reap huge profits, and at the same time Japan, recipient of these supplies of raw materials, will also be placed in a profitable position. It is in this direction that we can best practise the principles of co-existence and co-prosperity.

At the outset of the World War Japan, making great sacrifices, succeeded in controlling Kiaocho Bay, Germany's Far Eastern base, and occupying Tsingtao. In spite of these great sacrifices paid for gaining these areas Japan returned them to China intact for the sake of Far Eastern peace. The Sino- and Russo-Japanese

Wars were fought for no other reason than to check foreign invasions calculated against the peace and happiness of the Far East. When it comes to realize these actual facts, the National Government will finally be able to understand the true intents of our country; and consequently it will naturally become clear that there is no reason for the Kuomintang to resist Japan.

VI. Why Does Japan Fight?

The Chinese masses, stirred by the anti-Japanese policies of the National Government, have called Japan an aggressor, and become indignant at her as an enemy of their fellow-countrymen. They condemn Japan for having seized Manchoukuo, but the fact is that Manchoukuo has become an independent State and the people are far happier than they were. No one has stolen anything!

Manchoukuo is Japan's "life-line," strategically speaking, and for this reason she has helped Manchoukuo gain her independence. In order to maintain peace in the Far East, Japan helps Manchoukuo secure her progress and development, so that the former, to whom the latter is a strategic "life line," cannot remain indifferent to the Bolshevization of China.

At the annual meeting of the Communist International held in August of 1935 the following resolutions were adopted:

1. To direct the main effort of Bolshevization on Japan, Germany, and Poland, and in order to realize this objective, to act in concert with capitalistic nations such as England, America, and France, each adopting the disintegrating stratagem.

2. To aid China advantageously as a first step to realize the schemes to make Japan the center of communistic activities.

These resolutions must not be regarded as mere threats. Ever since then the so-called Popular Front movement has become conspicuously active. With France and Spain as its centers in Europe, and China in the Far East, this movement took on ever-increasing momentum and has come to rage like a tempest in all its red fury.

The principle of Communism, it is needless to repeat here, has for its main purpose the disintegration of the world, and therefore can in no way harmonize with our national Constitution.

Japan holds in China a number of special rights and interests. And since Manchoukuo, which is Japan's "life-line," shares with North China a common border line, it is the latter's gravest concern to safeguard the peace and tranquillity of these regions as well as to maintain the confidence of the masses. If China becomes a communistic nation she will, politically and militarily speaking, become a part of the Soviet Union, and the Japan-Manchoukuo alliance of defense will be tremendously menaced.

Thus, in order to rectify the deceitful acts of Chinese militarists and leaders who have been made a cat's paw by the Comintern, Japan has risen in a justifiable stand of self-defense and has nothing to do with territorial ambition or encroachment on China's sovereignty.

VII. English Cognizance of the New Situations

England has enormous sums of money vested in China, and from the standpoint of foreign trade China is her largest customer. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese Incident, it is, therefore, no wonder that England has come to fear the infringement of these interests. In order to preserve the integrity of her investments and commercial rights England has devised various means. This happened to cause our military lots of troubles and difficulties, and thus our national feeling rose exceedingly high.

However, since the outbreak of the incident the Japanese Government has made it clear, by issuing a statement, that she will respect the rights and interests of other nations. This act, plus the new state of affairs in China, which greatly relieved England's anxiety over her rights and interests there, has gradually changed her policy in favor of Japan. The successful conclusion of the Shanghai Maritime Customs issue pending since November of 1937 is one evidence. In fact it designates a radical change insofar as the relations between Japan and Great Britain over the China issue

are concerned.

As the Chinese customs duty furnishes security to foreign loans, most of the staff of the customhouse have hitherto been British, and the money coming from the revenue been deposited in the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Due to the new agreement, however, deposits are hence to be held in the Yokohama Specie Bank. It has also been decided that the reparation in connection with the Boxer Troubles, borrowed from Japan in 1931, as well as other foreign loans, will be paid from this customs revenue in the future.

The successful conclusion of negotiations over the Shanghai Maritime Customs issue has brought a storm of censure on England by the Chinese newspapers, which have all been at one in their condemnations.

"The 'realistic' diplomacy of England is difficult to grasp," was their bitter criticism. "She may any time take it upon herself to demand Sino-Japanese peace negotiations based on conditions that we by no means can bear. We must be on our guard!" Nevertheless, England has made herself quite clear by issuing a statement in relation to the revenues, which reads: "We have implicit faith in this arrangement as the highest guarantee for the protection of the creditor who depends upon the revenue as security." The Powers also have come to realize the fact that it is at present quite impossible for them to harbor designs of intervention in China, utterly ignoring Japan's influence. Under the present circumstances it may be expected in the near future a great turning point in the affairs of the Far East insofar as the diplomacy of England and other Powers in East Asia is concerned.

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