

No 2590

E 2590

Def. Doc. # 927

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

Telegram December

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Dec. 29, 1938. Hanoi, French Indo-China

Regarding the reasons for China's resistance at present there was a paragraph, which follows, in the statement issued at the Extraordinary National Congress held in April this year: "It was in the hope of avoiding military actions and carrying out the following two tasks by peaceful measures that China, in spite of all unbearable humiliations, has been carrying on negotiations proposed by Japan since the conclusion of the Tangku Armistice Agreement in 1934 (the 9th year of Showa). The tasks were firstly insuring the security of all the provinces in North China and secondly a reasonable settlement of the pending problems relating to the Four North-Eastern Provinces. Namely, the minimum political demands we made were the inviolability of foreign rights and interests in China, the guarantee for China's independence and the territorial integrity and, economically, on the other hand our principle was for materializing reciprocity and equality. However, the outbreak of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937 taught us that the above-mentioned hopes for a peaceful settlement could not be realized and

compelled China to take up arms to fight against Japan." But in the statement of Premier KONOYE (in the form of conversation) of December 22, Japan made public her basic principles regarding the re-adjustment of the Sino-Japanese relations. The first point on which he laid stress was the policy of good-will and friendship. According to the statement, Japan demands from China neither territory nor reparations at all.

Japan has a great regard for the sovereignty of China, but in order to secure China's complete independence, Japan, as is suggested by the policy carried out in her Meiji era, is prepared to agree to the return of her settlements to China and to abolish extraterritoriality as a price for the assurance that Japanese may freely reside and engage in business transactions in this country. Once the Japanese Government solemnly announced such a declaration, not only will the security of the North China provinces be assured by peaceful measures, but also those areas which have been lost in the course of the Incident will be recovered, and consequently, our territorial sovereignty, administrative independence and territorial integrity will be established. Such being the situation, in accordance with the declaration of the Congress, we must decide our attitude and take some measures for a reasonable settlement of the problems relating to the Four North-Eastern Provinces. This matter has

so often been proposed by the Japanese Government in the last several years.

We have suspected that such cooperation with Japan against the Comintern might lead to Japan's interference in our military and political matters, but such suspicion may well be thrown away now that Japan most clearly announced that the Sino-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact should be concluded in the same spirit as that of the Italian-German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact. Since the Anti-Comintern Pact just aims at checking and overturning international conspiracy of the communists, the Pact should not be allowed to bear upon China's relations with the U.S.S.R. Moreover, the Chinese Communist Party which has already promised to follow the Three Principles of the People, should stop the work of organization and propaganda of the party and abolish its Border Government and its special military organization and, at the same time, should absolutely obey the laws and institutions of the Government of the Chinese Republic.

The Three Principles of the People is the fundamental principle of the Chinese people, so that, in order to fulfil our duty, we who defend our country must voluntarily and actively suppress any organization or propaganda contradicting the principle. The third point is the economic cooperation. This also has been often proposed by the Japanese Government

in the past several years. Until today we have been of the opinion that so far as political confusion is left unsettled, the economic cooperation is out of the question. Now the Japanese Government has solemnly declared that Japan will respect the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of China and will neither aim at an economic monopoly in China nor demand that China restrict the rights and interests of any third Power. More than that, Japan has promised to stand on the principle of equality for economic cooperation between China and Japan. Such being the case, in principle we should agree to that proposal, and on this basis produce various concrete terms. After a thoughtful deliberation I have come to believe as follows:

The National Government should, as soon as possible, exchange views with the Government of Japan on the basis of the above three points with a view to a speedy restoration of peace between them. We should now remember the fact that in the statement on Nov. 3 the Japanese Government has changed its former attitude that was expressed on Jan. 16 this year. A road to negotiations can be opened if only the National Government will begin a peace discussion on the basis of the above three points. The object of China's military resistance is to secure her national existence and independence. The country has suffered a heavy blow in the course of more

than a year of this war. If we can successfully restore peace acting on justice, the existence and independence of the country will be maintained, whereby we ^{have attained} will ~~will~~ our object of military resistance. These three points are consistent with the spirit of peace. As for the terms of peace, we must give thoughtful deliberation to them to make them valid. The most important of all is that a complete withdrawal of Japanese forces from China should be carried out rapidly and simultaneously everywhere. And then, the so-called specific zone, as proposed by Japan in which to station her forces while the Sino-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact is in existence, should be restricted only to Inner Mongolia and vicinity. This stationing of troops will indeed bear upon the sovereignty, political independence and territorial right of China, but the above restriction will help China to carry out her post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction work.

In view of the neighborly relations between the nations around Japan and China, it is quite natural and necessary for China and Japan to be on terms of good-will and friendship. The present situation which is far from being normal should be thoroughly re-examined and both parties ought to realize clearly their respective responsibilities in this matter. For the purpose of laying a cornerstone for a permanent peace between us, China should so change her education policy

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as to be consistent with the friendship principle, while Japan should establish a new pro-Chinese education policy casting away her traditional scornful attitude toward China as well as ~~her~~ her thoughts of conquest of China. This alone is what we should endeavor for for the welfare of East Asia and at the same time, for ^{the} secure peace and safety not merely of the Pacific but of the whole world, we should cooperate with every country concerned for the common cause of international friendship and the promotion of our mutual interests.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I wish to make these proposals as stated above and heartily wish that they will prove acceptable.