Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

PROPOSED BILL

An Act to promote Land Clearing in the Province of British Columbia

1. This Act may be cited as the "B. C. Land Clearing Act."

2. This Act shall be administered by the Department of Agriculture.

3. It shall be the duty of the Deputy Minister of Agriculture:

(*a.*) To have the supervision of Boards of Trustees appointed under this Act:

(*b.*) To enforce the provisions of this Act:

(*c.*) To cause copies of this Act to be furnished gratuitously to Boards of Trustees:

(*d.*) To prepare suitable forms and to give such instructions as he may judge necessary and proper for making all reports and conducting all proceedings under this Act:

(*e.*) To investigate, with due diligence, every complaint made to him respecting the mode of conducting any election of trustees or any proceedings or decisions of such Boards of Trustees, and to report the facts to the Minister of Agriculture:

4. In any district where there are three hundred, or more, settlers in road communication with one another, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, on receiving a petition signed by ten qualified voters of such district shall cause notices to be posted of a Public meeting to be held within ten days of the posting of such notice. Such notices to be posted at all Post Offices in the area concerned.

5. Such meeting shall be empowered to:

(*a.*) Elect a Land Clearing Board of Trustees:

(*b.*) Thirty qualified voters of such district shall be deemed to form a quorum:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE B.C.

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File 46
Printed Material 1931-1937

(*c.*) Should the majority present at such a meeting be against the forming of a land clearing district, no further meeting shall be held until. twelve calendar months have elapsed:

(*d.*) In the event of a tie arising the chairman shall have the casting vote.

6. Trustees elected at such meeting shall respectively hold office as follows:

(*a.*) The trustee receiving the largest number of votes shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the Board and for two years thereafter and until his successor has been duly elected:

(*b.*) The trustee receiving the next largest number of votes shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the Board and until his successor has been duly elected:

(*c.*) The trustee receiving the next largest number of votes shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the Board and until his successor has been duly elected.

7. A trustee shall be elected to office at each ensuing annual meeting of the Board in place of the trustee whose term shall have expired, and the trustee so elected shall continue in office for the next ensuing three years and until his successor is duly elected.

8. Any trustee whose term of office has expired or is about to expire, if he is otherwise qualified, shall be eligible for re-election.

9. Any trustee may resign his office by giving written notice of his resignation.

10. Any trustee elected to fill a vacancy in a Board of Trustees shall hold office only for the unexpired term of the person in whose place he has been elected.

11. It shall be the duty of the Board so constituted:

(*a.*) To appoint one of their number chairman of the Board:

(*b.*) To fix a day in every month to consider all applications for land clearing and any other business concerning the Board:

(*c.*) To hold an annual meeting at a date and time to be decided by the Minister of Agriculture for the purposes of:

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6
Land Material 1931-1937

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2. Preparing a report of all operations carried out by the Board. The report to be forwarded forthwith to the Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

(*d.*) To appoint a Secretary to the Board, who shall not be a member of the Board:

(*e.*) To appoint a thoroughly competent tractor driver, who shall have charge of all equipment.

12. It shall be the duty of the Secretary:

(*a.*) To receive all applications for land clearing and personally inspect the land to be cleared:

(*b.*) To submit such applications to the Board at their monthly meeting:

(*c.*) To submit on the 31st day of December to the Provincial Assessor a full report of the amounts chargeable against lands under the provision of this Act.

13. A Land Clearing Board having been properly constituted, the Minister of Agriculture shall cause the Board to be supplied with:

(*a.*) One thirty horsepower tractor, two-drum type:

(*b.*) One ripper or breaking plow, and one scraper:

(*c.*) Such other rigging necessary for the efficient clearing of land.

14. Should some other type of tractor be deemed more suitable to the area concerned, substitution may be made at the discretion of the Minister.

15. A land owner wishing land cleared, shall:

(*a.*) Make application to the Secretary of the Board, in writing, specifying the amount of land to be cleared and the nature of the clearing to be done:

(*b.*) On his application being approved by the Board, it shall be the duty of the land owner or his representative to supply sufficient help, for the efficient operation of the equipment supplied by the Board, when notified to that effect.

16. The charge against such land shall be:

(*a.*) The actual cost of the operation of the tractor and equipment:

(*b.*) A reasonable amount to cover depreciation and wear and tear.

Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

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17. The Provincial Assessor, having been notified of such charges, shall apportion the payments as follows:

(*a.*) One acre (or less) to two acres. Ten equal payments.

(*b.*) Two acres to five acres. Fifteen equal payments.

(*c.*) Five acres or more. Twenty-five equal payments.

18. Such payments shall be applied annually to the land tax.

19. The land owner may pay off his indebtedness at any time during the periods specified above.

20. No second land-clearing operation shall be carried out on a property until the first has been paid for in full.

21. No land-clearing operation shall be carried out by the Board on land showing arrears of taxes.

22. In remuneration for his services the Secretary shall receive ten per cent of the gross value of the work carried out in his district, not inclusive of moneys personally expended by the land owner on such operation.

23. The Minister of Finance shall, on the first day of June and the first day of January, having received proper vouchers, pay to the Secretary ten per cent of the values specified during the six months elapsed.

24. The tractor driver shall be paid monthly on a per diem basis; the wages to be fixed annually by the Legislature.

25. The Minister of Finance, on receipt of proper vouchers, shall remit to the tractor driver his wages monthly.

26. Should any dispute arise between a land owner and the Board, they shall each appoint an arbitrator. The Minister of Agriculture shall appoint a third. The decision of these arbitrators shall be final.

27. It shall be the duty of the Land Clearing Board of Trustees to at all times guard the interests of the community as a whole, and see that no operation is carried out which in their opinion would cause loss to the Government.

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT ELUCIDATED

1. What Japan Wants to Say.
2. Significance of North China Problem.
3. Statement of Japanese Government.
4. Address of Japanese Foreign Minister.

Canadian Japanese Association
Vancouver, B.C.

October 1, 1937.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, B.C.

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

The Members of the Canadian-Japanese Association, loyal residents of Canada, many of them British subjects, are desirous that the traditional goodwill between the country of their origin and the country of their adoption shall be preserved and maintained. Resident as they are in British Columbia, they feel that as the business outlook of this Province must in the future lie to a great extent toward the Orient, there is a special duty upon them in this regard.

They publish this pamphlet, therefore, in the interests of truth, to meet unfair and untrue propaganda, and in an effort to clear away misunderstandings which may have arisen, so that the people of Canada may feel that there is no reason why the mutual trust and friendship between Great Britain and Japan which has continued for over half a century should not flourish and grow throughout the years to come.

THE CANADIAN JAPANESE ASSOCIATION.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

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Material 1931-1937



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WHAT JAPAN WANTS TO SAY

Introduction

The very regrettable and unhappy situation in the Far East is one which must sometime face the light of open discussion and the Japanese people feel secure in the knowledge that what must be said will be received by the readers in this country with that spirit of fair play, that dispassionate consideration, which is inherent in the people of Canada as it is in all who follow the British tradition no matter where they may be found scattered throughout all quarters of the globe. It is considered advisable therefore that certain hitherto unknown facts regarding China should be made public.

The friendship between Japan and Great Britain,and of course between Japan and Canada, has been of such long standing duration that it would be only for the gravest reasons and upon the most convincing evidence that British subjects would by thought or deed do anything which would be likely to endanger the cordial relationship which has existed for so long. When Japan decided that the enjoyment of the isolated but peaceful culture of many centuries was not sufficient in a world of progress and that some contribution to world affairs was expected of her both culturally and industrially, Great Britain was the foremost nation to which she turned for her education in many of the things which have gone to make her a progressive nation. Since that time the paths of the two nations have been directed side by side. They stood together during the Great War and there must be many living on the Pacific Coast today who will remember those dark days in August, 1914, at a time when invasion was expected from the raiding enemy battleships, and perhaps that remembrance will recall the gratitude which was felt and expressed at that time for the fact that the chief bulwark on which British Columbia then relied was the presence of our Japanese cruisers and the goodwill which their presence implied. It is the duty, therefore, of all those who regard themselves as friends of these two amicable nations to endeavour, so far as lies within their power, to disabuse the minds of the people of any misunderstandings which may have arisen in connection with the situation in the Far East, — misunderstandings which are bound to arise when the scene of activity is so far distant, propaganda is rife, and an attempt is made to muddy the clear waters of logic and truth by the injection of the foul waters of partisanship.

The Japanese are poor propagandists—possibly the poorest in the world. Those who remember the days of the Great War, will remember also the power of propaganda. When the fact that the Chinese are expert propagandists is recognized, it will be realized that there is more of the story to be told than one is able to glean from the news columns of the daily papers. This is not the fault of the newspapers—rather the fault lies in the fact that the Japanese people have been backward—possibly negligent—in seeing that the world at large was given the facts upon which it might base its judgments. The following should assist those who will spare the time to read it, to an appreciation of the true state of affairs.

To deal with the matter frankly and as concisely as possible the various charges which must be answered, in the main, are as follows:

1. That the Japanese are conducting a war of aggression, and an unprovoked war of aggression at that.
2. That they have not declared war and have entered into battle without the usual formal declaration.
3. That they have shelled and bombed defenceless cities which have no strategic or military importance.
4. That they have interfered with Chinese shipping and have sunk defenceless ships without provocation.

Japan's Denial

The answers to these various points are shortly as follows:

1. That there has been provocation of the most insidious and dangerous kind and that it is because of such provocation that the Japanese forces have entered China,—that the action of Japan was necessary to save the whole of the East, including Great Britain's own India — that ready subject for revolution—from the advancing epidemic of communism which, creeping from the North, has threatened the peace and welfare of the Far East.
2. With regard to the allegation that there has been no declaration of war, it may be pointed out that there was no responsible Chinese Government upon which such declaration might be rightly served, and that the war is being fought against the anti-Japanese element, not against the whole Chinese people.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

3. That our military activities against the cities which we have shelled and bombed have not been different from the military activities of both sides in the Great War and that all the cities were enemy strong points where troops were massed, where military supplies were stored or which were used in some other way for military advantage. That civilians were killed and wounded is most unhappy and unfortunate, but while wars are permitted, such things are bound to happen. They happened during the course of the Great War on all fronts and in the cities of Belgium and Germany and even in peaceful London and the resorts of the East Coast of England. The charge should be against War as an institution and not against the participants. As Great Britain's Admiral Fisher has said: "It is impossible to carry on a humane war." The whole of the Japanese nation deeply regrets the fact that innocent people suffered as they always must suffer in the case of war, through the activities of belligerents. Although it is really beside the issue, it might be pointed out that the greatest individual loss of life to civilians was that caused in Shanghai by the bombing of parts of the city by Chinese aviators.

4. With regard to shipping, everyone knows that the Chinese seas are infested with Chinese pirates just as the Chinese land is infested with Chinese bandits. The armed junks of the pirate chiefs were those which have been dealt with by the Japanese forces.

In short, Japan has for years been under the necessity of having to deal with a country, by land and sea, in a state of lawlessness and anarchy.

Abnormal Conditions in China

The fundamental cause of the present conflict between Japan and China lies in the abnormal status of China's internal politics. By her very nature China is the seat of continuous internal disturbances. These continual disruptions in the life of the country, however, bear no direct relation to the people themselves, but are purely private battles among the warlords. The great masses of the population at large are not a party to this warfare; as a people they gain nothing one way or the other, but are always worse off under each new regime, as they are only used as tools to fill the pockets of these warlords who need more and more money to finance their battles and, therefore, tax the people more and more heavily.

Looking back over the past twenty years it is difficult to mention any one year in which there has not been a disturbance of some kind or another in China. For example, to mention only some of the important events in recent years, there has been the continued antagonism, and resultant military operations, between the Peiping and Nanking Governments, also between the Canton and Nanking Governments, to say nothing of the incessant battles going on between the Communist Army and the Nanking Army. It is very painful for Japan to see such a state of affairs in a country which in the ordinary course of events should be considered her sister nation. Because Japan is situated very close to China it can be readily seen, even looking at it purely from the standpoint of their economic relations, that it is most discouraging for Japan to view China undergoing such strife and tribulation. Is there any other country which could have more reason to wish for the true unification of China and the re-establishment of peace and security throughout her vast territories?

It has been said that in China there have been soldiers killed numbering more than a million and a half, since the foundation of the Republic of China, purely through the antagonism of one lord toward another, and the intermittent fighting which goes on as a result of this dissention and it is undoubtedly true that the number killed in this fashion during the past ten years,—since China was, generally speaking, brought under the regime of the present Nanking Government,—is not less than half a million.

There may be some who will remember that at the Washington Conference in 1921, a very famous delegate of a European Power raised the very significant question, "What is China?" Even today, fifteen years later, this same question can be pertinently asked. For thousands of years China has continued her existence under the yoke of many dynasties, sometimes even being governed by rulers of other tribes, such as Mongols and Manchus; sometimes harassed and tortured by warlords and rulers who have risen from her own people. Through the centuries the Chinese people have grown used to living under these abnormal conditions and, in adjusting themselves to the strange circumstances of this kind of life, they have developed an extraordinary social attitude, peculiar to China alone, and have perfected to a high degree the ability to live their own social lives entirely apart from the disturbing elements of government and legislation to which they have been subjected under the everchanging and perilous rule of the war lords.

There is an age-old proverb in China that "good iron should not be made into nails and good men should not become soldiers." This proverb gives one some idea of the moral standing of the Chinese soldier from the viewpoint of the Chinese people themselves. It is now said that recently among the troops which have been trained by the Nanking Government there are some who have attained a comparatively high standard of morality, but it is generally conceded that the great

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Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Box 5 File 49
Material 1931-1937

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majority of the Chinese troops have an extremely low moral standard. That this is clearly realized by the people is evidenced in the tendency shown by the cities of China to avoid at any cost having new troops stationed within the limits of the towns. It is a common thing for cities,—so unwilling are they to have the soldiers within their environs,—to give large amounts of money to the leader of the army to avoid having the troops enter the city limits.

An example of this was seen just before the Shanghai Incident of 1932; the merchants in Shanghai were so afraid that the 19th Route Army was going to be stationed around Shanghai that the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Shanghai collected a large sum of money and tendered it to the Chief of the Army with an appeal to keep the soldiers at a considerable distance from Shanghai. There is also a remarkable, and more terrible story that will tell the nature of the Chinese troops,—one which is already common knowledge. At Tungchow, 12 miles east of Peiping, four thousand Chinese soldiers, on the night of July 27th, suddenly attacked the Japanese residents, numbering three hundred and eighty, killing practically all of them regardless of age or sex. Men and women, old and young, were slaughtered alike. This was a massacre, perpetrated in the absence of the Japanese troops at the instigation of the Nanking Government agent.

Chinese Propaganda

During the present conflict between Japan and China many persons who are in a position to make only superficial observations, believe that the anti-Japanese feeling is so deeply rooted in the Chinese masses that it cannot possibly be eradicated; but this viewpoint is fundamentally wrong. Some foreigners who are only temporary visitors to China, and who can see China only in part, are at first glance apt to judge conditions there from what they appear to be on the surface. It is regrettable that this sort of thing cannot be avoided, especially as the Nanking Government is very successful in deceiving the whole world with false propaganda.

Japanese are very diligent students of affairs in China, but even among them there are many who give up after several years of study, admitting that China is very difficult to understand. Any person who has had an ordinary education in a western country and who has the average knowledge of political and social organizations of such countries, cannot help but completely misunderstand the real China, as they naturally look at things and judge conditions from their accustomed angle. This method is useless; they must first discard their preconceived notions and then study China from the primer, as it were, if they wish to arrive at any true conclusions regarding the fundamental character of the life there. Naturally the foreigner's misunderstanding of China may lead also to a misunderstanding of Japan's attitude in relation to China. Such is often the case, and the very nature of things prevents us from informing those people regarding their misunderstanding of Japan and the unselfish aim which is really motivating her activities in the Far East.

As was mentioned before, the fundamental cause of the present conflict lies in the abnormal state of China's international politics, and in the fact that China is the seat of continuous internal disturbances. In amplification of this statement it may be said that it is quite usual for the Chinese warlords and the leaders of different political factions to resort to any conceivable measure just to make their own positions stronger, regardless of the harmful effect on others. If this is not so, how can one explain the fact that in the present conflict Chinese troops used Japanese flags, British flags, American flags and flags of other nations; that they used the mark of Japanese aeroplanes on their own planes; that several times they bombed hospital ships of Japan,—which can be clearly identified by their appearance; that they bombed the *President Hoover*, which could never be mistaken for a Japanese boat; that the Chinese aeroplanes many times dropped bombs in the International Settlement and French Concession; and especially that they dropped many incendiary bombs on the International Settlement and on many British factories. Can such actions be explained by saying that they were done in a moment of desperation?

Whole World Deceived By Chinese Propaganda

The spokesmen for the Nanking Government have spread so much false propaganda throughout the entire world, and have denounced Japan in such sweeping and irresponsible manner that the Japanese, who are not clever in the art of spreading propaganda, are quite at a loss as to how to retort such attacks. Many items which are daily reported in the newspapers here are of such origin. For instance, the other day some very sensational news was sent out from Hongkong by the Reuter news agency,—that Japanese submarines torpedoed many Chinese junks full of refugees, killing several hundreds of women and children. This is a complete fabrication. What a combination it makes!—Women and children!—Attacked by submarines!—Ruthlessly torpedoed to death! This is a translation of the Lusitania incident in the Chinese way,—to invite the hatred of other countries against Japan.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

Even correspondents who themselves have keen powers of observation cannot escape the influence of the Chinese propagandist. Onlookers who do not know the actual circumstances applaud the reported valiant resistance of the Chinese troops, but how many know that just behind the front line of troops is a second line of so-called "supervising troops" which are ordered by the high command to shoot from behind any soldiers of the front line who show signs of relaxing or retreating? This state of affairs really exists for it has been reported from the front lines of the Japanese troops that very often they have seen the retreating front line troops of the Chinese being fired upon by their second or "supervising" line and returning that fire so that they may be free to continue their retreat.

Persons who have been near the scenes of battle know that the Chinese troops often open and continue fire on spots where there are no Japanese troops, causing great danger to civilian Chinese and foreigners alike. Such has been the case in Shanghai. This inexplicable behaviour was made clear by the confession of Chinese prisoners of war who said their excuse for this unwarranted firing was that the only way the Chinese troops were permitted to retreat safely was by consuming all their ammunition. They admitted to their captors that they were firing at random just to finish off their ammunition so they could retreat without being shot.

Japanese March Not Invasion

As for the statement that the Chinese troops are the machines of the ruling classes of China, and that the rise and fall of such ruling classes is of little interest to the Chinese people in general the fact that wherever Japanese troops march on in North China there is no overt or covert resistance by the citizens or villagers proves it to be true. Instead they welcome the Japanese troops, hoisting Japanese flags of their own making. These people say Japanese troops give and Chinese troops loot.

This is not conquest by force; if it can be called conquest at all, it is rather conquest through the confidence and reliance of the people themselves. The Japanese troops in North China are outnumbered many times by the Chinese troops, and behind the Japanese troops are tens of millions of Chinese people. Even though Chinese civilians may be powerless in some respects, with the small number of Japanese soldiers,—80 thousand scattered along a front of more than a 100 miles, — it can be readily seen that if the Chinese masses at the back of the Japanese troops really thought of them as their vital enemies, the march forward of 100 miles already accomplished by the Japanese could not possibly have taken place. These facts prove that Japan's march is not an invasion. It is believed by many that if there were no further propaganda from the Nanking Government, and that if no further force from that source oppressed the Chinese masses, the people themselves freely recognizing the real intent of Japan there would be no more conflict.

The following is an episode which supports this contention. Only recently there were more than 1,000 wounded Chinese soldiers who were being looked after by Japanese nurses, side by side with the wounded Japanese soldiers in a hospital in Tientsin. About 300 of these Chinese soldiers were only slightly wounded and after recovering they spontaneously offered their assistance for the cause. The Japanese Army officials decided to make a test and employed these 300 soldiers as paid laborers. The result of their work was very fine and the Japanese authorities in North China were so pleased with the success of their experiment,—which proved them to be right in the belief that they could find even among the Chinese troops who were supposed to be anti-Japanese, many who would gladly work with them — that they forgot the high price they had already paid for their small success and were looking forward to the time when there would be no more conflict and they would all be working together towards a bright future in a happy and prosperous North China.

As has already been said, the propaganda of the Nanking Government are not to be credited. There appears to be no limit to the extent to which that Government will deceive the Chinese people to achieve their own selfish aims. The Nanking Government is very much afraid at this stage that the real state of affairs may become known to the people and they are trying their utmost to suppress any news of it. If the Chinese propaganda were true, more than ten Japanese battleships have been sunk; nearly all the Japanese soldiers have been annihilated; and there are now very few planes remaining on the Japanese side. The reported attacks of Japanese troops on Chinese civilians are also fabrications of the Nanking Government propagandists whose intention is to arouse feeling among the Chinese people; and to invite the sympathy of other countries as well.

Who Rules China?

One must go deeper to find the real reasons behind the present developments in Chinese policy. Not by studying merely the present but by reviewing the last twenty-five years, since the birth of

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The Blue Shirts

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Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

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the present Nanking regime, can a clear picture of the situation be obtained. The revolutionary dreamer, Sun Yat-sen, pushed over the tottering structure of the Chinese Empire. He proclaimed the People's Three Principles, and in their name he demanded the abolition of unequal treaties and of foreign rights acquired allegedly by conquest. An age of chaotic civil wars followed. The Chinese National Party had to cope with powerful war lords and barely extended its rule over a part of Canton. But a new power arose. The Bolshevist party ruled the millions of the old Russian Empire. From the Kremlin spread a campaign to bolshevize the world. And Moscow's help was extended to the Nationalist Party of Cantonese origin.

With the aid of Russian man and money, the Canton Revolutionary Government waged an economic war on what it chose to call British Imperialism which, it contended, was holding Hong-kong by the throat. Then, under the leadership of the cadets from Colonel Chiang Kai-shek's Whampao Military Academy, the revolutionary armies swept to the north to stop at Hankow. There a split occurred: Chiang Kai-shek broke away from the left wing of the party and his Communist advisers and the Nationalist party set out to conquer China.

Ten years have elapsed since those hectic days. Under the slogans of 'Down with Imperial-ism!" and "Scrap the unequal treaties!" China's Nationalist Party fought its way to power, uniting the people in a common hatred of "foreign imperialists." Fierce hatred of the foreign powers was the common link between the peoples of different languages and customs of the South, the Central Provinces and the North. British and American Imperialism so-called was attacked, and boycotts declared. Students were killed on Nanking Road, in the Shanghai Settlement. American women were attacked in Nanking. Great Britain abandoned her concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang.

Then the Nationalist Party turned on Japan. Up to 1931, several boycotts were declared. The Nationalist flag was hoisted in Manchuria, where Japan had vital interests for which she had already staked her existence in two wars, in 1894 and 1905. Nationalist Party agitation began there too, menacing Japan's legitimate interests. The Japanese diplomats, pursuing the policy which had prompted the Washington agreements, made an effort to help China to stand on her own feet, exerting utmost forbearance and showing amity; but the Nationalist Party pursued its "revolution-ary policy",—the unilateral abrogation of irksome agreements and the capture by force of legitimate interests. Japan could bear no more, and in September, 1931, the Manchurian affair broke out.

The Blue Shirts

It was after this affair that the most formidable political power in China came into being.

In reaction against the corruption which was spreading in the ranks of the victorious Nation-alist Party, a group of young officers, graduates of the Whampao Military Academy in Canton, organized a secret society in order to carry out the ideals of the Revolution which they claimed was war against imperialism, abrogation of unequal treaties, and destruction of the military caste. They offered the leadership to their former director at the Academy, Chiang Kai-shek. This movement responded to the latter's ideals as well as to his ambition. In the party he held but a low rank compared with the veteran politicians of the Revolution. His dream of reaching the pinnacle seemed hardly realizable. As head of the new organization he could wield a power which was beyond his grasp as a member of the Nationalist Party. So General Chiang gladly accepted the offer of his old pupils and subordinates and started to build a fascist party—the mightiest weapon of power that China, the land of secret societies, has known since the days of Taiping.

The Blue Shirts, as the Society is known (although it has no official name), today really rule China. Their nucleus is formed of some thirty-four men, all but one, graduates of Whampao Military Academy. These men, active, devoted to their ideals and their chief, hold key positions in the party, the Administration and the Army. The commanders of Chiang's crack "Personal" division are Blue Shirts; the spiritual guidance of the armed forces is in the hands of Chiang's personal representatives, among them Ho Chunghan. Money they have too, either derived from their positions or supplied by the opium transit dues, which are levied by Chiang's men and go directly into his war chest.

The membership of the society now totals about 10,000, although it aims at 2 million. But these ten thousand are the pick of the nation, for Chiang will admit only those who are willing to become soldiers, to work and suffer, obey and sacrifice, never seeking official position or personal privileges, and are able to labor at least 12 hours a day. And also an oath is taken always to fight Japan bitterly by all and any means. In fact anti-foreignism—what the National Party called the revolutionary policy"—has always been a weapon of internal politics in faction-ridden China. It is not to be wondered that the Blue Shirts seized on this,—certain to win popular support—but this time with Japan as its object.

This is one of the hidden powers that Japan has to face in China. This society has been working up the tide of antagonism all over the country, through the official sections of the Nationalist Party and the countless secret societies which are in existence. This activity was the reason that Japan

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

demanded the withdrawal from North China in 1935 of all Blue Shirt organizations. With their retreat, productive co-operation was again made possible.

Blue Shirts Allied With Communists

The Blue Shirts in their campaign against Japan were to have been helped by an ally which until recently, they openly fought—the Communist Party.

In 1935, at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern held at Moscow, a new line of action was set. Attempts at direct revolution in the European countries were to be abandoned for the moment, as they had provoked strong reaction. The masses were to be won with the help of the Second International, and the Communists were to rally the socialists and radicals to their side and form a People's Front, and then take the leadership of the Government. In another resolution passed by the Congress, Poland and Japan were singled out as countries against which efforts were to be especially directed.

The success reaped by the People's Front policy has been seen in France and Spain.

In China, following Moscow's orders, the Communists made a skilful move. Cleverly taking advantage of the prevailing anti-Japanese sentiment, which the Blue Shirts had already done so much to intensify, they attempted to take the leadership of the campaign, and under the slogan of "fight Japan" to build the People's Front, and renew the alliance of 1927 between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party.

The feud between the Blue Shirts and Communists subsided—temporarily at least. Sun Yat-sen's widow, who lives in Shanghai, told friends she now dared to go out of the French concession, as she no longer feared assassination by the Blue Shirts.

These were the allies that the Blue Shirts found particularly active in North China when they secretly filtered in again some months ago. Since that time order was again disturbed; and the fruitful and harmonious co-operation between Chinese and Japanese destroyed. Resentment and hate were being fanned into flame. And one day shooting broke out at Lukouchiao.

Anti-Japanism Wrongfully Encouraged as Matter of Expediency

Such is the situation Japan has had to cope with in China, where anti-Japanese sentiment has been kindled and cultivated as a matter of policy. Whether this sentiment itself is justified or not is beside the question. Wilful incitation to hatred against any country is not in the interests of humanity. It certainly has made relations between the two peoples born to be friendly neighbors bitter in an unbelievable degree, bringing with it a train of sorrow and hardships. And herein lies the fundamental problem in the relationship between China and Japan. Will the leaders of China keep pursuing, for reasons of internal expedience or of national intent, a consistent policy of hatred against Japan? Reaction follows action. One clash leads to a counter-clash. It is the privilege and duty of statesmen to stop, even at a sacrifice of so-called "national pride" or personal disadvantage, the lumbering march of nations to disaster.

Japan Wants Co-operation, Not Territory

Premier Konoye declared, on July 27th, in the 71st special Diet session that what Japan wanted of China was not her territory, but her co-operation. Even the most nationalistic elements in Japan reject as utterly foolish the idea of conquering China with her 400,000,000 people. Not even a single voice urging anything resembling the conquest of North China has ever been heard in Japan. Such a demand would run against the policy of the Japanese Government and would not merit even casual attention.

Japan at heart sympathizes with China's cardinal national policy of internal unification and reconstruction of the country on a unified basis. However, Japan is opposed to a policy of co-operation with the Comintern or a People's Front; as its only and natural result is to disturb the peace of the Far East and the international relations of that part of the world.

May the Chinese people take a true and realistic view of their country's position in the world and seriously set themselves to the task of China's unification and reconstruction primarily by their own initiative and effort. World sympathy—and particularly Japan's—is theirs. But let them not be made to believe that a wilful policy of hatred and contempt towards any Power will heighten the esteem in which their constructive efforts are held.

If China is really awake to this, the present crisis can pave the way towards Sino-Japanese reconciliation and co-operation, and so prove to be a worthy contribution to peace in the Far East and in the World. Then the heavy price being paid by the two countries and the sacrifices they are making will not have been in vain.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF NORTH CHINA PROBLEM

The immediate cause of the North China incident was the sudden firing on the night of July 7th by Chinese soldiers stationed at Wanping-hsien on a small unit of Japanese troops belonging to the North China Garrison, which was engaging in night manoeuvres near Marco Polo Bridge. The fundamental causes which led to the outbreak are to be found far back in the history of Japan's relations with the Nationalist Government and deep in the state of mind long prevailing in China. Thus, in order to grasp intelligently the significance of the North China problem, it is of paramount importance to return, at least, to the conclusion of the Tangku Truce of 1933, and from that point to trace the subsequent developments in relations between the two countries.

From Tangku Truce to Exchange of Ambassadors

These relations were gradually improving during the period of two years from the establishment of the Tangku Truce on May 31, 1933, to the exchange of Ambassadors between Japan and China on May 17, 1935. In China, during that period, General Chiang Kai-shek, who, as Chairman of the National Military Council, was in supreme command of all Chinese forces—land, sea and air—and Mr. Wang Ching-wei, who was directing affairs of state as Chief of the Executive Yuan, collaborated in a double-edged policy of resistance and peace. While acting toward Japan with as little harm and offence as possible, they strove not merely for readjustment of North China affairs, which were in turmoil after the Manchurian incident, but also for the promotion of internal unity within the republic.

The Chinese leader who was directly responsible for solving problems pending between the two countries was General Ho Ying-chin, then Chairman of the Peiping Branch of the Military Council, and whose responsibility was subsequently taken by Mr. Huang Fu, as Chairman of the Peiping Political Readjustment Committee of the Executive Yuan. Due in part to the efforts of these leaders, what was known as the Peiping Agreement had been reached in November, 1933. This was the first and basic step achieved in improving affairs in North China in respect of their relations to Japan and Manchoukuo. The agreement, in reality, proved to be the foundation for realizing various plans of co-operation between Manchoukou and North China in terms of transportation and communications, as well as for solving the outstanding problems between Japan and China. Other major events along the same line are enumerated here.

1. Taking Over of the Great Wall Gates

Beginning in February, 1934, Japanese forces gradually withdrew from the districts coming under the Tangku Truce (see map), to the line of the Great Wall. The administration of this area, covering approximately the territory now under the rule of the East Hopei Autonomous Government, was taken over by Chinese authorities.

2. Railway Connections

The problem of through train service between Peiping and Mukden, which had been suspended since the Manchurian outbreak, was settled through Sino-Japanese talks; the service has been resumed since July 1, 1934.

3. Postal, Telegraph and Telephonic Communications

The Manchurian incident gave rise to a number of difficult problems relating to the postal service between China and Europe via Manchoukuo, to the considerable disadvantage of the general public. These difficulties, however, were practically eradicated on January 10, 1935, as a result of a joint agreement. Like measures affording practical solutions were followed in respect to the other two services. The only question still pending is that of connections by air.

In view of these circumstances, it was but natural that Japanese relations with China should begin to improve. The most noteworthy event, in this connection, was the speech of Mr. Koki Hirota, then Foreign Minister, before the Imperial Diet in January, 1935, in which the speaker acknowledged in a most frank manner that opportunities existed for making moves to break the Sino-Japanese deadlock. This speech of the Foreign Minister apparently had favourable repercussions in the neighbouring republic. On February 1st, General Chiang Kai-shek made public through the Central News Agency an unofficial statement which was in the nature of a response to the aforesaid speech. All Chinese papers of February 2nd published this statement which may be summarized as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6 Printed Material 1931-1937

Since it can be discerned that the Japanese Foreign Minister spoke from the depth of his heart, the whole Chinese nation, both government leaders and people alike, must try to appreciate all that he meant. Our Government has taken continual and consistent steps to curb anti-Japanese movements which have arisen in certain quarters of our nation because of stimuli repeatedly received. That both sides should mutually speak and act in good faith in accordance with the principle of equality is, to my mind, the only means of going forward on the road toward a bright future, clearing away clouds of doubt and suspicion. It is highly essential, therefore, for the improvement of relations between the two countries that the anti-Japanese sentiment which, on our part, has been entertained in the past, and the sense of superiority on the part of Japan should be rectified at the same time.

This remarkable expression of friendly attitude by the Generalissimo was followed by the promulgation of a decree for control of anti-Japanese movements by the Nanking Government, a move which may be accepted as a change in its official attitude towards Japan. The Japanese Government consequently took the lead in assisting China to realize its long-cherished desire for the exchange of ambassadors. Thus the two countries promoted their respective legations to the status of embassies on May 17th, and Mr. Akira Ariyoshi, then Japanese Minister to China, was appointed the first Ambassador. Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France (the Soviet Union and Italy already had ambassadors in China) followed Japan's lead, and for this the Nationalist Government greatly appreciated Japan's good offices.

The Darkest Period: After the First North China Incident

Extremely regrettable, however, were the successive recurrences of anti-Japanese activities towards the end of that two-year period in which an improvement in the situation had discernibly taken place, as has been described. This turn of the tide can never be too strongly lamented as jeopardizing the peace of East Asia and, in consequence, that of the whole world.

The anti-Japanese sentiment in China has been deep-rooted in the minds of her people as the result of the years of education to that end from their childhood; as such, it is not of so simple a nature as to be eradicated by a single decree. This well-nigh inborn sentiment has been utilized by the Nanking Government, which has encouraged it, while paying lip service to the contrary, for the consolidation and extension of its power and influence, especially since the outbreak of the Manchurian incident. It accounts precisely for the successful movement of the Nationalist Government in the direction of internal unity. The eradication, therefore, of anti-Japanese sentiment cannot be expected until the time when the Nanking Government has been so strengthened that it can stand on its own feet without depending on such artificial forces as the sentiment against Japan. In other words, it appears as though the Nanking Government were essentially inseparable from the disastrous sentiment.

The Blue Shirts, to whom reference has already been made, gradually acquired a strong anti-Japanese colouring; and since the time when overt acts of an anti-Japanese nature became difficult under the Chiang-Wang regime, they have gone underground, resorting to measures of terrorism to nip in the bud forces working toward an improvement in Sino-Japanese relations.

On May 2nd and 3rd, 1935, two Chinese proprietors of pro-Japanese newspapers in Tientsin were assassinated in quick succession; and it was found, as the result of thoroughgoing investigations conducted by the Japanese Consulate General in Tientsin, that in both cases the Blue Shirts pulled the wires. These murders constituted what was called the first North China incident. The Japanese authorities on the spot lodged an energetic protest with the Chinese authorities, upon which the latter accepted all demands in full. Accordingly the armies under the direct command of the Central Government and under General Yu Hsueh-chung withdrew from Hopei Province, and anti-Japanese organizations and institutions such as the local branches of the Blue Shirts, the 3rd Corps of the Gendarmerie, and the Political Training Section of the Peiping Branch of the Military Council—both of which were under the control of the Blue Shirts—were ordered either to dissolve or to move out of Hopei Province. These demands and their acceptance, then, really form the basis of the Umezu-Ho Agreement.

No sooner had the first North China incident been settled than another incident occurred. This was known as the Chahar incident in which a Manchoukuoan official of Japanese parentage was shot at Tungchatzu, in Jehol Province, by soldiers of the 29th Army under command of General Sung Che-yuan—the army which caused the present affair. An important result of this incident was that an area adjoining to the west, the demilitarized zone under the Tangku Truce, was established, having approximately the same status as that zone. At the same time the so-called Doihara-Chin Te-chun Agreement was concluded, under the terms of which an area called the Six Hsiens of North Chahar eventually came into being.

Then the Second North China incident took place. The incident itself was simply that a commanding officer of a corps of Chinese constabulary was shot to death at Langchow station. Inci-

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dentally, a Japanese gendarme standing nearby was seriously wounded. Here again, investigation by Japanese authorities revealed that the Blue Shirts were basically responsible.

The facts particularly to be noted here are that acts of anti-Japanese terrorism were not confined to North China but had spread throughout the country, and that the nature of the outrages became increasingly malicious and underhanded because of the participation of communistic elements. Reference has been made to the seventh Congress of the Comintern. At this congress Japan was designated as an immediate objective of the coming campaign and new strategy was adopted for this purpose. According to the strategy, the uncompromising attitude toward other organizations of different ideologies, which had characterized communistic strategy in the past, was to be completely abandoned; the so-called popular front was to be organized in collaboration with various democratic organizations; and even nationalistic organizations were to be approached and utilized. As had been anticipated, this new strategy bore fruit in China, giving birth to the anti-Japanese popular front movement and stirring up anti-Japanese sentiment in the people all the more, by working upon such a rightist, nationalistic organization as the Blue Shirts.

Another incident, serving as a further illustration of the pertinency of the foregoing analysis of the situation, occurred on November 1, 1935, in Nanking. This was the attempt to assassinate Mr. Wan Ching-Wei, who, as chief of the Executive Yuan, had rendered valuable contributions in bettering the Chinese attitude during the previous two years and a half. The attempt was made while he was entering the site of a plenary meeting of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees of the Nationalist Party. Wan was seriously wounded and had to resign from his important office. This attempt was followed by the assassination of Tang Yu-jen, his right-hand man, who was actually engaging in negotiations with Japanese diplomatic representatives for better relations. Tang was shot to death at his home in the French Concession in Shanghai. These two incidents practically shattered all hopes for improving Sino-Japanese affairs.

Meanwhile, acts of terrorism directed towards Japanese were spreading over all of China. The following list includes the major cases: the Nakayama incident in Shanghai[1]; the Swatow incident[2]; the Kayabu incident in Shanghai[3]; the Chengtu incident; the Pakhoi incident; the Hankow incident[4]; the Taminato incident in Shanghai[5]; and the Takase incident in Shanghai[6].

Of these incidents, the Chengtu and the Pakhoi were most characteristic of Communist-Nationalist instigation. A brief account of the Chengtu incident is that on August 24, 1936, four Japanese who happened to be staying in the city—Kozaburo Watanabe, a staff correspondent of the *Osaka Mainichi*; Keiji Fukagawa, a staff correspondent of the *Shanghai Mainichi;* Takeo Tanaka, of the Shanghai office of the South Manchuria Railway Company; and Hisashi Seto, a merchant residing in Hankow—were attacked by an anti-Japanese mob consisting chiefly of students. The incident resulted in the slaughtering like animals of the two men first mentioned, and in the inflicting of serious injuries upon the latter two.

The Pakhoi incident is noteworthy in that Junzo Nakano, a Japanese merchant who had lived at peace among Chinese for more than twenty years and who was married to a Chinese woman, was murdered most ruthlessly by a mob of the same nature. In all these uprisings the wire-pulling of the Third International was evident; they serve as the most adequate illustration of the nature of activities of the Third International.

The Tungchow incident, to which reference has already been made, may be regarded as the culmination of this series of terroristic acts. It is, in reality, a disgrace to civilization and to humanity—a disgrace which, in respect to the atrocity and number of victims, has had no precedent in the history of Sino-Japanese relations extending over the past 1,500 years. Thus, this period of the past three years beginning with the first North China incident certainly constitutes the darkest page in Far Eastern history.

North China and Japan

The statement that the principles underlying Japan's policies towards China are none other than the establishment of peace in East Asia based upon the co-existence and common prosperity of the two nations, has been reiterated in the clearest possible terms on every relevant occasion. It

1. On Nov. 9, 1935, Sueo Nakayama, first class seaman of the Japanese Marines in Shanghai, was shot to death.
2. On Jan. 21, 1936, a Japanese police officer named Tsunoda was shot to death on the way to the Police Station in the morning.
3. On July 10, 1936, a Japanese merchant residing in Shanghai was shot; he subsequently died from the wound.
4. On Sept. 19, 1936, a Japanese police officer named Yoshioka was shot to death in broad daylight while on duty in the neighbourhood of the boundary line of the Japanese Concession.
5. On the night of Sept. 23, 1936, Tomomitsu Taminato, a first-class seaman; Yoshitane Yawata, a first-class seaman; Yoshimi Izuriha, a second-class seaman—all of the crew of the Japanese warship, *Izumo*, were shot while taking a walk in the International Settlement in Shanghai. Taminato died instantly and his two companions were seriously wounded.
6. On Nov. 11, 1936, Yasuji Takase of the crew of the *Kasagi Maru*, a Japanese merchant vessel, was shot to death.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6
Printed Material 1931-1937

is idle, therefore, to dwell upon these policies again. Let us however, recall one instance of Japan's consistent endeavours along these lines. When her foreign policies were being directed by Baron Shidehara, Japan appreciated, ahead of other Powers, the necessity for development of China's nationalism ,and co-operated with her in endeavours to make herself a united and organized nation. The fact that Japan took the lead in recognizing tariff autonomy in China was a manifestation of her idealism in foreign policies. In what way did her neighbour respond to this action of friendship? China's response took the forms of the Nanking and Tsinan incidents and of the demands for the restoration of Port Arthur and Dalny and the dissolution of Japanese rights and interests in Manchuria. This state of affairs gave rise to the Manchurian incident.

It is the irrevocable determination of the Japanese people to promote the healthy growth and safeguard the independence of Manchoukuo, which has been created by the upheaval. Against any activities, therefore, jeopardizing the existence of the new State, the Japanese people are determined to rise in one body, at all costs. If the Nationalist-Communist United Front against Japan constitutes such forces against the new State—as it undoubtedly does—it is a matter of vital necessity for Japan to demand the establishment of a sort of buffer zone in North China, with a view to neutralizing and averting those disastrous forces. Recognition of Manchoukuo by China will satisfy Japan most. But if this step is not immediately possible, China should give tacit consent to the existence of the new State, and enforce in all sincerity strict measures against anti-Japanese and anti-Manchoukuoan activities—a policy which will be eminently satisfactory to Japan. Since, however, the Nanking Government has neither power nor will to carry out any of these policies, Japan can act in no other way than to establish and maintain a buffer zone in North China, resorting to force if necessary.

What Japan demands is none other than this buffer zone. Accordingly, she has no intention whatsoever toward territorial aggression. Nor has she any hope for the emergence of an independent state such as Manchoukuo. What the whole of the Japanese nation desires is the realization, purely and simply, of a state of close co-operation for peace and prosperity in North China among the three countries, Japan, Manchoukuo and China.

THE STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

DATED AUGUST 15th, 1937

The Imperial Japanese Government, in its desire to secure permanent peace in East Asia, has always striven to promote friendship and co-operation between Japan and China. However, an atmosphere of hostility towards Japan has been created throughout China by anti-Japanese agitations used as an instrument by the Nanking Government to arouse public opinion and to enhance its own political power. The Chinese, over-confident of their national strength, contemptuous of our power, and also in league with the Communists, have assumed toward Japan an increasingly arrogant and insulting attitude. Herein lies the cause of all untoward events which have arisen repeatedly during recent years.

The present Incident is but the inevitable outcome of this situation. Dynamite has been ignited; the inevitable explosion merely happened to occur on the banks of the Yunting. The terrible Tungchow massacre is also traceable to the same cause. In South and Central China, Japanese lives and property have been so jeopardized that our people have been compelled to evacuate, abandoning everything they had acquired after years of incessant toil.

As has been frequently declared since the outbreak of the present incident, the Japanese Government, exercising utmost patience and restraint, has steadfastly pursued a policy of non-aggravation of the situation, and has endeavoured to reach a settlement locally and in a peaceful manner. In the Peiping and Tientsin area, our garrison, in the face of countless Chinese provocations and lawless actions, has done no more than was absolutely necessary to secure lines of communications and to protect Japanese nationals there.

On the other hand, our Government advised the Nanking Government to put an immediate end to all provocative acts, and to refrain from obstructing the negotiations being conducted on the spot. The Nanking Government not only refused to follow our counsel, but proceeded toward the completion of war-like preparations against us. In flagrant violation of solemn military agreements, the Chinese moved vast armies northward menacing our Garrison, and concentrated troops in and around Shanghai. Their provocative attitude became more clearly defined at Hankow. Finally at Shanghai, the Chinese opened fire upon our naval headquarters and bombed our warships from the air.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File #6
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In this manner have the Chinese insulted our Government, committed acts of unpardonable atrocity against our country, and gravely endangered the lives and property of our nationals throughout China. They have eventually exhausted the patience of the Japanese Government. It has thus become imperative to take drastic measure in order to chastise the lawless Chinese troops and to impress upon the Nanking Government the necessity for reconsideration of its attitude toward Japan.

That matters should have come to this pass is deeply deplored by the Japanese Government which earnestly desires the maintenance of peace in the Orient and sincerely hopes for the attainment of common prosperity and public welfare in Japan and China. The aim of the Japanese Government is none other than the realization of Sino-Japanese co-operation. Its only desire is to eradicate the anti-foreign and anti-Japanese movement rampant in China, and completely to eliminate the fundamental causes of unfortunate incidents such as the present one, with a view to bringing about truly harmonious collaboration among Japan, Manchoukuo and China.

Needless to say, the Japanese Government harbours no territorial designs. Its sole intention is to bring to reason the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang Party, both of which have persistently incited anti-Japanese sentiments among the Chinese people. The Japanese bear no ill-will toward the innocent Chinese masses. In conclusion we hereby state that the Japanese Government will spare no efforts in safeguarding foreign rights and interests in China.

ADDRESS OF FOREIGN MINISTER KOKI HIROTA

AT THE 72nd SESSION OF THE JAPANESE DIET,

September 5th, 1937.

Ever since the beginning of the present China affair, the Japanese Government, in pursuance of the policy of local settlement and non-aggravation exerted every effort to effect a speedy solution; the Nanking Government, whose prompt reconsideration was invited, failed to manifest a grain of sincerity but concentrated armies in North China to challenge Japan, while in the Yangtze Valley and elsewhere in South and Central China they embarked on an anti-Japanese campaign of the most vicious kind which not only prevented our Nationals in that region from engaging in peaceful pursuits but also jeopardized their very existence. In these circumstances the Japanese Government, still desiring to avoid a disturbance of peace as far as possible, ordered the evacuation of all Japanese residents in Hankow and other points along the Yantze River. Shortly after that, on August 9, at Shanghai, Sub-Lieut. Oyama and Seaman Saito of a Japanese landing party were murdered by the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps. Even then Japan, adhering to a peaceful course, sought to settle the affair through the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps and the removal of all military worker that had been erected in violation of the 1932 Truce Agreement.

China refused to comply with our demands under one pretext or another and proceeded instead to increase her troops and to multiply military works in the prohibited zone and finally launched an unwarranted attack upon the Japanese. Thereupon, as a matter of duty, our Government despatched small naval reinforcements to Shanghai as an emergency measure to ensure protection in that city.

In view of these disquieting developments in Shanghai, Ambassadors of five powers at Nanking, Great Britain, America, France, Germany and Italy sent a joint request on August 11 to both Japan and China that the two countries do all in their power to carry out effectively a plan to exclude Shanghai from the scope of any possible hostilities so as to safeguard lives and property of foreigners there.

Our Government replied through Ambassador Kawagoe to the effect that, while Japan was most solicitously concerned over the safety of lives and property of all foreigners as well as Japanese in Shanghai, China should, as the first prerequisite, withdraw outside striking distance her regular troops and Peace Preservation Corps that were advancing on the Settlement and menacing Japanese and remove military works in the vicinity of the International Settlement, and that Japan would be prepared to restore her forces to their original positions provided China agreed to take the above steps. The Ambassador was also instructed to request the powers concerned to exert their influence toward inducing China to execute those urgent and appropriate measures which, however, were flatly rejected by China. On August 11, the Consuls General at Shanghai of Great Britain, America and France submitted a certain concrete plan proposing that Japan and China enter into direct negotiations for the purpose of averting the impending crisis. The text of the proposal was received in Tokio at midnight on August 13, but in the afternoon of that very day the Chinese armies that have been pouring into the Shanghai area took the offensive and

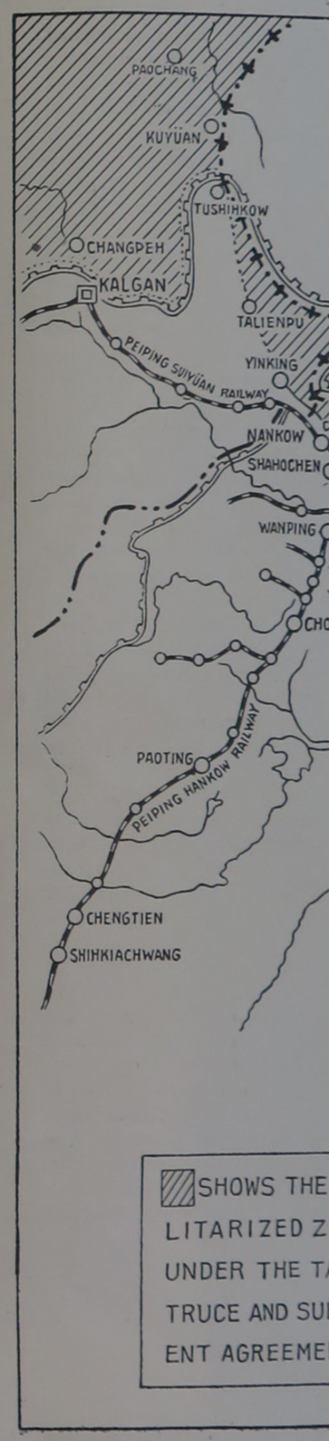
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Minister of Finance and Agriculture.

Box 5 File 16 Printed Material 1931-1937

on August 18 their warplanes dropped bombs not only on the headquarters of our landing party, our warships, and our Consulate, but also over the International Settlement. No longer could we do anything but abandon all hopes of peaceful settlement and fight for the protection of our 30,000 Nationals in Shanghai. I regret to say that the earnest efforts of the Powers concerned were thus nullified by Chinese outrages, Shanghai having been converted into a theatre of hostilities. Grave concern was naturally shown by the Powers who have vast amounts of capital invested and large numbers of their Nationals residing in the City. Great Britain notified both Japan and China on August 18 that if the Governments of the two countries agreed to withdraw their forces mutually and entrust to foreign authorities the protection of Japanese subjects residing in the International Settlement and on Extrasettlement roads, the British Government was prepared to undertake the responsibility, provided other powers co-operate. The next day, August 19, we were informed by the French Government of their readiness to support the British proposal. The American Government also previously expressed hope for the suspension of hostilities in the Shanghai Area. Japan, having as great interests in Shanghai as these powers, is equally solicitous for peace in the City. But, as has been stated above, actions taken by the Chinese in and around Shanghai are plainly in violation of the Truce Agreement of 1932 in that they illegally moved their regular troops into the zone prescribed by that agreement and increased both the number of armaments and the Peace Preservation Corps and in that relying on their numerical superiority they challenged the Landing Party and civilian population of our country. Therefore, in its reply to the British proposal our Government explained in detail Japan's successive efforts toward peaceful solution as well as the truth regarding the lawless Chinese attacks and stated that the hostilities in Shanghai could not be brought to an end save through the withdrawal of Chinese regular troops from the prohibited zone and of the Peace Preservation Corps from front lines. At the same time, our sincere hope was expressed that Great Britain, as one of the parties to the Truce Agreement, use her good offices to bring about the withdrawal of the Chinese troops outside of the prescribed zone. Similar replies were sent to France and America. As for North China, in willful disregard of various pledges and agreements, the Chinese Central armies moved northward to indulge in a series of provocative actions and large forces began to pour into the Province of Chahar. Our Government, therefore, has had to take determined steps. The true hostilities now spread from North to Central China, and Japan finds herself engaged in major conflicts with China on extended fields. I am deeply pained to say that 50,000 Japanese residents in various parts of China have been forced to evacuate, leaving behind them their huge investments and their business interests acquired through years of arduous toil and other interests, while not a few of them have been made victims of hostilities. It is also to be regretted that the Nationals of other countries in China are being subjected to similar trials and tribulations. All this is due to no other cause than that the Nanking Government and also local Militarist Regimes in China have for many years in the past deliberately undertaken to incite public opinion against Japan as a means of strengthening their own political power, and, finally, with communist elements, still further impairing Sino-Japanese relations. Now our loyal and valiant soldiers, with the united support of the nation behind them are engaged in strenuous campaigns night and day amid indescribable hardships and privations. We cannot but be moved to hear of their heroic sacrifices as well as their brilliant achievements.

It is hardly necessary to say that the basic policy of the Japanese Government aims for the stabilization of East Asia through conciliation and co-operation among Japan, Manchoukuo and China for the common prosperity and well-being. Since China, ignoring our true motive, mobilized her vast armies against us, we can do no other than counteract it by force of arms. The urgent need at this moment is that we take a resolute attitude and compel China to mend her ways. Japan has no other objective than to see a happy and tranquil North China and all China freed from danger of recurrence of such calamitous hostilities as at present, and Sino-Japanese relations so adjusted as to enable us to put into practice our above-mentioned policy. Let us hope the statesmen of China will be brought to take a broad view of East Asia and that they will speedily realize their mistakes and that turning a new leaf they will act in co-operation with the high aims and aspirations of Japan.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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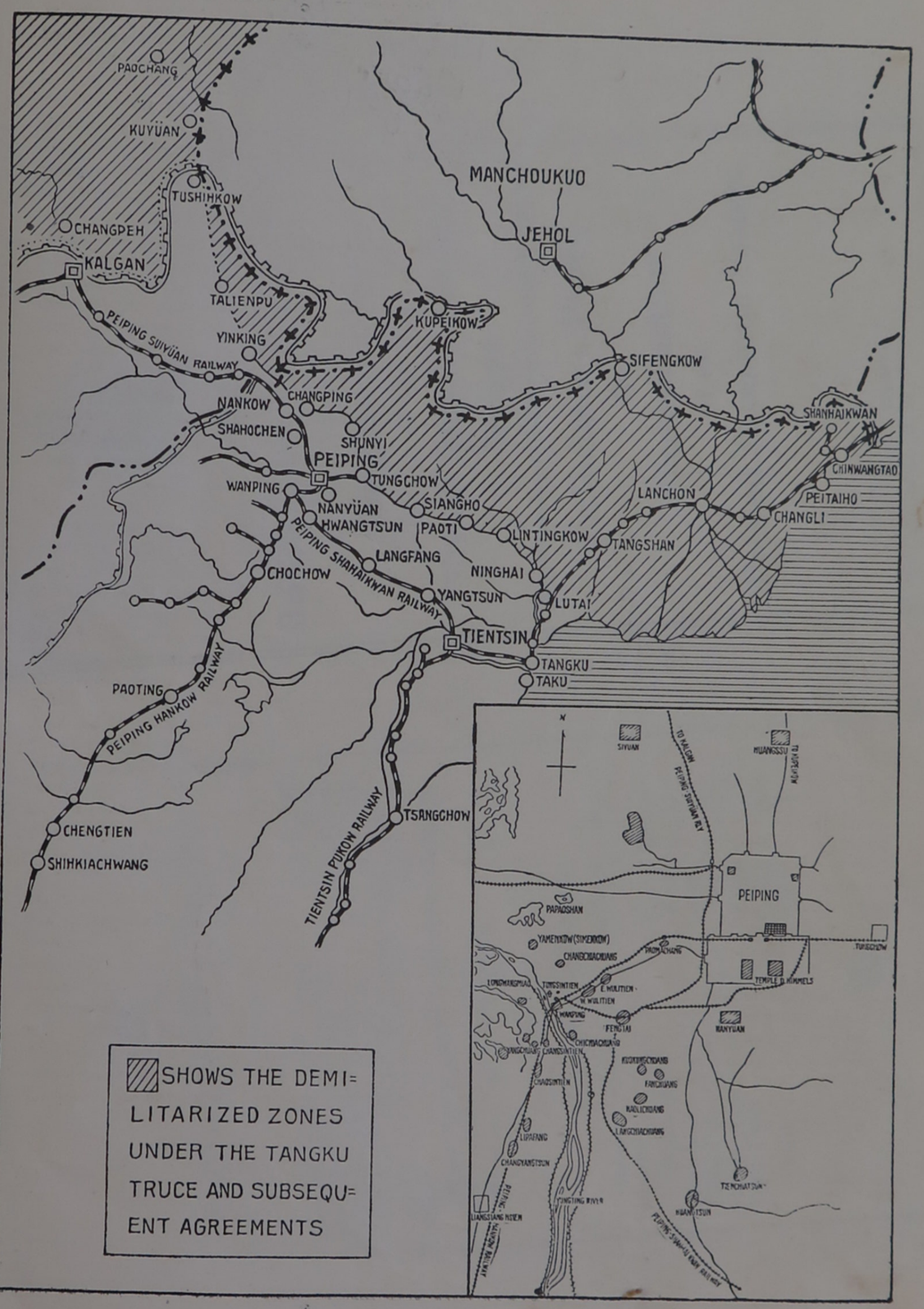

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