

THE PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST

by

SOBEI MOGI

and

H. VERE REDMAN

LONDON

VICTOR GOLLANCZ LTD

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**“ To centralize wealth is to disperse the people,
to distribute wealth is to collect the people.”**

Great Learning, Ch. xv. 9.

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PREFACE

THE FAR EAST is not an old but a new world. The problems it faces at present constitute a new phase in social development evolved from the impact of tradition and modern rationalization. Personal as well as impersonal factors are intermingled in its present driving forces which are based partly upon a revolutionizing East and partly upon Eastern revolt against Western imperialist policies. The problem of the Far East arises from the economic distress of Japan and the political and economic subjugation of China. The former has chosen policies of nineteenth century imperialism as a solution of her internal difficulties, whilst China has passively resisted both Eastern and Western imperialism by means of skilful diplomacy and an intolerant nationalism.

The creation of the League of the seventy-odd sovereign states of the world has not altogether made for the freedom of the Eastern nations but rather has driven them into a position in which their hope of liberal emancipation appears doomed. The liberalism of the great Western Powers is limited by their desire to set up a *status quo* peace which will allow them to continue to accumulate wealth from the natural resources or personal efforts of the coloured populations. Indeed, as we drive our argument to the root of the facts of international treaties in force to-day, the dynamic motive is seen to be nothing but the establishment of an international balance of power through collective guarantees in order to check the aggression of one Power against another.

On the other hand, the progress of democracy all over the world came to a halt in 1933, when the accumulation of national wealth, as a result of "systematized" capitalism

and the driving force of *laissez-faire* economics, reached its limits so that the acquisitive impulse and the protective instinct coalesced in conservatism. The paradox of over-production allied to the impossibility of effective capitalist rationalization brought about increased unemployment and destitution. The post-war economic readjustments within one decade have revealed the difficulties of attaining an equilibrium between the collective prosperity of trusts and combines and the poverty of agricultural communities.

Since the world war the Western Powers have lost their free open markets, while the rise of new countries of a lower standard of living in the international trade field has upset the long-established routine and technique of free trade, causing a reversion to artificial trade protection by all highly industrialized countries. In the frustration of capitalist practices no room is left for international economic co-operation since the narrow scope of goodwill limits the extent of collaboration among the sovereign states. The jealousies and suspicions in present-day nationalism are only reflections of our social dynamics which are permeated with a competitive complex as a result of the acquisitive sense nurtured by capitalism. With such enmities existing, no genuine social reconstruction can initiate a lasting world peace. Any "real revolution" of the competitive mind must have as a prelude a "formal revolution" by means of which the co-operative mind will be free to plan a complete programme of social reconstruction.

With the Far East now struggling beneath the impact of a descending capitalism, China endeavours to emancipate herself from imperialist enslavement, whilst Japan works to attain security and promotion of her own existence on a higher standard of living. The relationships between the East and the West have been those of subordination and imperialism in which the Westerners' temper of superiority has provoked an Eastern inferiority complex, expressing itself in diffuse resistance compound of chicanery and force. Whether or not reason is to be given priority to force, it is clear that without the aid of a creative democracy evolved

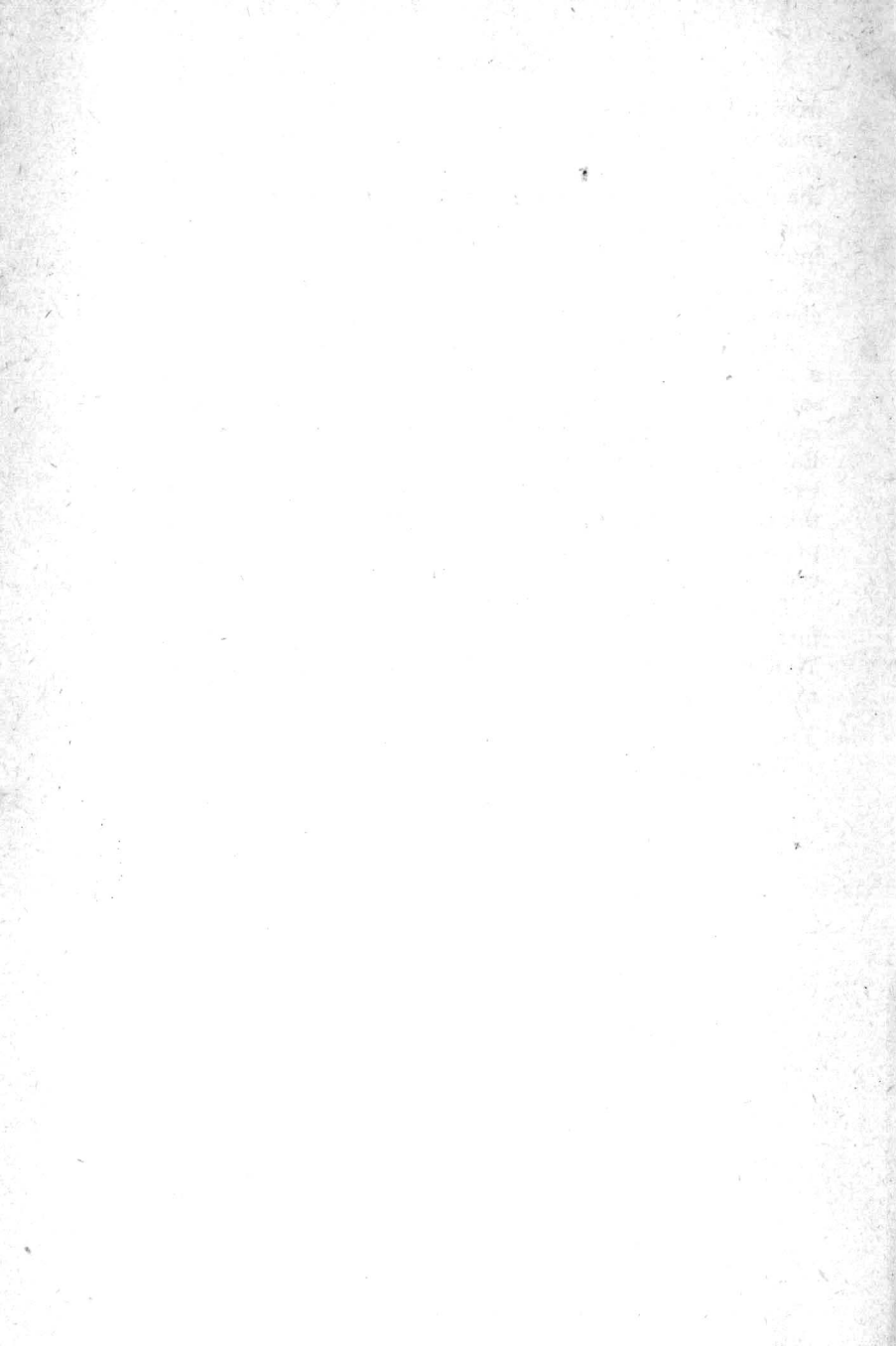
from a harmonious synthesis of reason and force, nations must remain blind to the vainglory of imperialism. In this connection it must be emphasized that the foundation of the fashionable fascisms is force, and that there can be no true justice, equality, or liberty in a society which is class-interested and partial. Fascism has developed as a means of maintaining a static capitalist prosperity for the ruling classes.

The Far East, still only semi-capitalistic, is able to offer a better solution of its new problems—not the mirage of some modern utopia, but the reality of a planned and rationalized socialist world state. The peace of the Far East is not the responsibility of Asia alone, but of the entire world. This work aims to present the present problems of this region. Since the Far East, especially China, is changing practically every day, attention has been confined to events occurring up to the end of 1934.

Thanks are due to friends in China and Japan for furnishing valuable information, and to Miss Gertrude Wellington who assisted in the compilation of the manuscript.

January, 1935.
Tokyo, Japan.

S. M.
H. V. R.



GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Survey of the Far East. The large amount of undeveloped natural resources and the ample reserves of the human forces of labour and brain have constituted, and will continue to constitute, the new Far Eastern problem in world affairs, whether they are used for the service of the capitalist aim or for the creation of a new social order. The area of the Far East consists of Japan, China and Siberia, amounting to 10,337,640 square miles, covering 20 per cent of the land area of the world and 63 per cent of the continent of Asia. It has a population of 569,969,000 ; i.e. 28 per cent of the world population and 51 per cent of that of the Asiatic continent.¹

CHINA:	Area	Population	Density
China Proper	1,532,800 s.m.	419,643,373	266 \per 1 s.m.
Manchuria	442,627	33,697,920	76·2
Mongolia	1,367,953	1,800,000	1·3
Sinkiang	550,579	2,519,579	4·5
Tibet	700,000	3,000,000	4·2
Total	4,593,959	460,660,872	100·3

JAPAN:	Area	Population	Density
Japan Proper	147,641 s.m.	64,450,005	436 per 1 s.m.
Korea	85,228	21,058,305	247
Formosa	13,889	4,592,537	330
Sakhalin	12,024	295,196	24
Kwantung Territory	1,438	1,328,011	923
South Sea Mandatory Territory	960	69,627	72
Total	261,180	91,793,681	313

¹ *League of Nations, Statistical Year Book, 1931-1932, Geneva, 1932, pp. 19-23. Japan Year Book, 1929, 1933 ; China Year Book, 1932, 1933 ; Soviet Union Year Book, 1926, 1930 ; Statesman's Year Book, 1933-34.*

SIBERIA:	Area	Population	Density
Kazak	3,039,001 s.km.	6,163,172	2 per 1 s.km.
Turkmen	491,216	1,137,900	2
Uzbek	340,346	4,685,400	14
Tazhik	145,100	1,174,100	8
Far Eastern Region	2,333,500	1,593,400	7
Yakutsk	4,023,300	308,400	0.07
Buriat-Mongolia	389,100	575,000	7.5
Western Siberia	1,304,800	8,767,200	6.6
Eastern Siberia	3,179,400	2,568,400	0.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>15,245,763</i>	<i>26,972,972</i>	<i>1.7</i>

The economic resources in the Far East lie in the vast continental areas, China and Siberia, which require the constructive planning of industrial rationalization and efficiency in the use of capital and brains. Insular Japan, however, is so poorly equipped in natural resources, except those of surplus labour and brains, that without free access to the material supplies of her neighbours there is no possibility of her complete industrialization being achieved.

In the table on pp. 16-19 is the economic geography of the Far East.

China, an Historical Survey. Historians describe the original Chinese as constituting an "agricultural patriarchal co-operative society" under benevolent dynasties of "heroes of culture." Land economy was the basis of productive resources upon which the country's material civilization was founded and upon which the people's culture and wisdom depended. This physiocratic economy led to the establishment of the self-governing guild system on the one hand, and to patriarchal family conservatism on the other.

The conquest of nature came to a halt at the stage of agrarian co-operative patriarchal peasant, and rural artisan, guilds. The benevolent despotism of Yü, traditionally regarded as the "Son of Heaven," and of the T'ang dynasty, with the ideal of the generosity of true kingship,

from 2205 to 1154 B.C., founded Chinese civilization to which the conventionalization of the culture of the great Chou Dynasty (1150-249 B.C.) in its first period (1150-750 B.C.) gave the flavour of an oriental humanitarian democracy with freedom of speech and a variety of state socialist experiments under the growing solidarity of the mandarinates.

During the long reign of the Chou Dynasty, the opening of the era of Chinese feudalism saw the periods of territorial expansion and also that of the Great Sages (750-250 B.C.) when the Chinese philosophical ethics were evolved to form the code of private and public morality. The philosophical imperative of Confucius and the democratic ethics and politics of Mencius laid the foundations of the Chinese code of politico-morals in accordance with the laws of the benevolent king. The only resistance to this code was offered by the anarchism of Lao Tsu, which was merely sophistic speculation evolved from the subtleties of Eastern wisdom.

The great Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, first Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty (249-210 B.C.), began the unification of all China, the greatest imperialist experiment ever accomplished in the Far East. The ultimate failure of the Ch'in and the rise of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) brought a consolidation in the governmental administration and social peace and order which produced a revival of learning as well as the introduction of Buddhism about 67 A.D. The Age of Romance, from 220 to 618 A.D., was the result of the collapse of the ancient imperialist Han Empire. In this period the heroic feudalism of "The Story of the Three Kingdoms" developed. This chivalrous feudalism—which may be contrasted with the material influences operating in the development of the Japanese "Bushido" code of knighthood—paved the way for the feudal militarism which has dominated China until the present century. The Augustan Era in Chinese history was that of the T'ang Dynasty (618-905 A.D.), which reigned over a territory extending from the western borders of India

TABLE OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE FAR EAST

CHINA:

NORTH CHINA :	rice, wheat, tea, silk, cotton, eggs, tobacco, ground-nut, kaoliang, sesame, ramie, jute, barley, maize, millet, beans	coal, iron, gold, sulphur, pottery-clay, lime-stone	hide, fur, skins, bone, wool, cattle	cotton-yarn
CENTRAL CHINA :	rice, wheat, tea, silk, cotton, eggs, tobacco, ground-nut, ramie, sesame, vegetable-oil, medical-plant	coal, iron, tin, gold, molyb- denum, silver, tungsten, manganese, zinc, lead, salt, antimony, petroleum	hide, bristles, timber	cotton-yarn, flour, pig-iron, steel
SOUTH CHINA :	tea, silk, spice, tobacco, ground-nut, wax, lac, camphor, sesame, anise, ramie	copper, tin, zinc, lead, molyb- denum, salt, tungsten, antimony, manganese, petroleum	fresh fish, fish, timber	vermicelli, macaroni