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MOVING TOWARDS ANNEXATION

DEC 15 1932

From THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW. P. C.

Unless a miracle occurs in the Manchurian discussions in the League Assembly, which began on December 6, the Sino-Japanese crisis will in all probability be left in the position which it now occupies. Which is another way of saying that nothing constructive will be accomplished as a result of the long debates and diplomatic intrigue which have taken place in Geneva on this important matter of world concern since September, 1931. With the last major Chinese organized resistance in North Manchuria crushed and the Japanese war-lords shouting their "Banzais" all over the Chinese northeastern provinces, it is obvious that Imperial Japan will make no concessions either to China or world sentiment. This fact was conveyed in a Reuter message from Tokyo on December 5 which quoted high Tokyo authority as declaring, "Under no circumstances will Japan alter her stand regarding the legality of any steps she has thus far taken, nor will she agree that the League interfere in the question of the future status of 'Manchukuo,' as that concerns only Japan, China and 'Manchukuo'."

The Japanese victory over General Su Ping-wen and the other loyalist Chinese commanders in North Manchuria will also have important repercussions in Japan, in that it probably will enable the Japanese military clique to put over its complete programme in the forthcoming session of the Imperial Diet, the most important phase of which is enormous expenditures for increased armament to enable Japan to hold and consolidate her new possessions.

Of outstanding interest is the obvious fact that Japan is moving inevitably toward the annexation of Manchuria. "The Times" correspondent in Tokyo on December 1 wired that "if the experiment of a 'Manchukuo' government should break down, Japan would be compelled to annex Manchuria outright, or declare a protectorate." The correspondent stated that Japan would be forced into this position owing to the internal economic situation in Japan and the necessity of protecting her economic rights in Manchuria. The dispatch concluded, "If the League of Nations in Eastern Asia is feeble now, it will flicker out entirely if Japan ceases to be a member." Evidence that Japan is moving in the direction of annexation or outright control is indicated in numerous recent developments. The United Press on December 1 in a dispatch from Tokyo stated that the "Manchukuo" government

"would shortly be asked to lower the customs duty imposed upon Japanese cotton-yarn and piece goods; that the Japanese government should extend substantial aid to "Manchukuo" in the construction of roads and other improvements." Also, on December 1 the Japanese military authorities at Changchun announced the text of new regulations designed to cope with the activities of anti-"Manchukuo" elements. The new regulations which are similar to the so-called "dangerous thoughts" laws in Japan, stipulate that all organizers of anti-"Manchukuo" movements will be executed; all persons taking part in such movements will be liable to not less than ten years' imprisonment; all persons found guilty of anti-"Manchukuo" propaganda will be liable to terms of imprisonment of not less than ten years; all found guilty of enrolling foreigners in the ranks of the anti-"Manchukuo" organizations are liable to the death penalty or not less than ten years' imprisonment; and any person found guilty under the new law is liable to have his property confiscated by the state. Of further interest in the same connection is the enforcement throughout Manchuria of the well known Japanese domestic regulations against the taking of photographs in forbidden (military) zones. The enforcement of this regulation on November 1 had an amusing result in that the first victim was George Gorman, correspondent for "The Daily Telegraph" whose career in the Far East has been marked by intimate connection with the Japanese as editor of their propaganda paper in Peiping and later as contributor to the Japanese propaganda organ in Dairen. Gorman was arrested at Changchun for taking pictures in the

neighborhood of the Japanese barracks and was held for several hours before his identity could be established and his release effected. The formal appointment of General Muto, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army, as "ambassador" to "Manchukuo," was announced on December 1. On December 3 the Japanese inaugurated throughout Manchuria a new system known as the "good conduct licence" which provides a system of guarantees for every five families. In the event of any of the five families being found guilty of harbouring a loyalist or volunteer, all are held responsible. Chinese villagers will be required to produce their "good-conduct" licences when travelling to places outside their home neighbourhoods.

THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT AND DISARMAMENT

DEC 16 1932

A Geneva View. P. C.

Disarmament and Manchuria.

GENEVA, November 12.—(By Mail, through Havas.)—The connexion that is believed to exist between the Sino-Manchurian dispute and the difficulty of settling the great problem of disarmament, is a favourite topic of conversation at Geneva. We say "the great affair of disarmament", for, as a matter of course, we are "speaking European"; but we have a strong suspicion—we, dwelling here under the shadow of the League of Nations—that this "great affair", as we, wrongly perhaps, regard it, is to the peoples of the Far East, indisputably, a secondary matter.

Be that as it may, to expound the thesis that disarmament is impossible until the Manchurian conflict is settled in accordance with the stipulations of the League Covenant, has become lately a sign of good manners,—unless it is a political manoeuvre. Such was, notably, the meaning of a curious article published by "*Le Journal de Genève*" on October 23, which, as was ascertained through personal interviews undertaken by Havas, reflects the sentiment of a fairly great number of persons.

Over-Zeal for China Penalized

China has many friends at Geneva, as well as elsewhere in Europe, but they are not always listened to by the public or even by certain governments. Their zeal, most assuredly disinterested, invoked the displeasure of certain potent influences of the moment, and it is related in

Geneva, on the sly, that the present disgrace of some of high officials of the League had no other cause than their persistence in endeavouring to attain, through the League, the redressing of wrongs done to China.

We simply repeat these rumours; we do not take upon ourselves either to confirm or invalidate them. The more so as there are diplomats at Nanking,—as well as at Tokyo,—who are well versed in these things and might teach us on this matter should they like to do so.

The question that arises to-day, i.e. at the moment when the Disarmament Conference and the Extraordinary Assembly are going to overlap one another, so to speak, is to see whether the Manchurian affair is really of such a nature that it might facilitate or render impossible disarmament, according to the solution brought to the conflict.

It is to be admitted that the arguments of the friends of China are impressing.

The Problem for Japan

They say in the first place that, if the Manchurian affair is not settled in favour of China, it will prevent Japan disarming. Indeed, it is a known fact that the military budget of Japan for 1933 will be increased by 250%. This is hardly reassuring, even taking into consideration the depreciation of the yen. It is clearly evident that, in order to occupy Manchuria and envisage possible international complications, which are rendered possible, and perhaps even prob-

able, Japan does not intend to disarm. Now, the non-disarmament of Japan would entail the non-disarmament of the United States, and, subsequently, the non-disarmament of Great Britain and France. It is absolutely logical. The deduction is that the Manchurian affair prevents the disarmament.

The Example of Germany

Next argument: the contagious influence of the example on Germany. See the facts as they are and not as it would be liked they were. Indeed, the fact of the matter is that the uncompromising attitude of Germany with regard to disarmament has increased tenfold since she saw the impotence of the League of Nations in the face of the Japanese "aggression". As long as the crime of September 1931 remains unpunished, other crimes against peace will be brewing and gaining ground. A German official of the League said recently in all simplicity that, when he visited his country some time ago, his compatriots of the nationalist party strongly reproached him for collaborating with an institution based on the Versailles "dictat"; but since the Sino-Japanese conflict the attitude of his compatriots has fundamentally changed: they do not blame him now for being member of an institution which causes all evils. They simply guffaw when he refers to Geneva, the League of Nations, the League Covenant, — these scarecrows for sparrows: the Manchuria events gave birth to this sentiment.

The Psychology of France

The last argument is drawn from the psychology of France in the face of the important problem of the disarmament. How could France decide upon

a disarmament of herself on a big scale, a scale which would practically establish the parity claimed by Germany, when she has no confidence in the respect of Pacts, particularly in those same so called protective articles which were invoked by China against her aggressor: art. 10, 11, 15, etc... And was it not because of it, in order to find grounds in favour of her disarmament, that France has of late drawn nearer to the American thesis, and that her information press is publishing articles and reports on the Sino-Japanese conflict more inspired by the attachment to international obligations.

Now or Never

There is a lot of truth in all this, it must be admitted.

It is true, and it becomes more and more evident, rendering at the same time the conflict more dramatic, that the reasons of mere fact brought forth by Japan, though not without their value, are opposed by the reasons of principle which strongly support the Chinese position. The Great Powers, with the exception of one or two among them, are afraid above all of a failure of the Disarmament Conference, which, it is generally believed, might lead to war. Thus it is expedient for China and her friends to identify the Chinese cause with that of the Disarmament. Now or never is the occasion to recall the advice of moderation and wisdom given by the ancient poet: *In medio stat virtus.*

CHINESE VOLUNTEERS ENGAGED IN WAR AGAINST JAPANESE AND "MANCHUKUO" NOT OBTAINING ARMS FROM BRITAIN

United Press

DEC 20 1932

N.C.S.

London, Dec. 18.—Chinese volunteers who are engaged in guerilla warfare against Japanese and "Manchukuo" troops in Manchuria are not obtaining their arms and munitions from British firms, according to figures published here today.

British exports of arms and ammunition to China in recent months have been very little higher than in previous periods. Total exports to China during the first nine months of this year have been comparatively light, about enough to keep one small battle going for one afternoon.

In accordance with an Anglo-Chinese trade agreement concluded about two years ago the British Board of Trade will not license the export of war materials to China without the written approval of the Chinese Minister in London. The bulk of Japan's arms purchases from Great Britain are shells for big naval guns.

Invasion of Jehol By Japanese Feared

DEC 20 1932—P. C.
Fierce Fighting between
Japanese and Volunteers
Reported from Feng-
cheng.

Northeastern C.-in-C. urges
Nanking to Dispatch Expedition
to Manchuria

Kuo Wen

PEIPING, December 19.—Two thousand Volunteers clashed with Japanese troops near Fengcheng district on Saturday afternoon, and severe fighting is in progress, according to telegrams from Antung.

Rumours are rife again in Peiping with regard to the alleged invasion of Jehol by Japanese forces. The Chinese papers published this morning reports saying that Japanese reinforcements are arriving in Chinchow in preparations for the attack on Chaoyang, Jehol.

Villages Bombarded

Japanese armoured trains at Nanling fired more than a dozen shots into the villages between Chaoyang and Sanpaoyingtze on Saturday morning, according to reports received by the "Shih Chieh Jih Pao."

It is not stated how many persons were killed, but many houses were badly damaged.

The paper adds that information has been received from Jehol saying that the Japanese are bringing up reinforcements and large quantities of military supplies to the Jehol border and are planning to invade the province.

Tang sends Envoy

Owing to the tension in Jehol province, General Tang

Yu-lin, chairman of the Jehol provincial government, has sent his representative to report to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang. The delegate left Jehol last night and is expected to arrive in Peiping today.

Dispatch of Expedition Urged

Reuter

PEIPING, December 19.—General Feng Kuan-yung, Commander-in-Chief of the National Salvation Army on the Mongolian border of the Northeast and his deputy commander, General Liu Yu-kang have addressed a joint telegram to the Third Plenary Session of the Central Kuomin Tang in Nanking, urging the dispatch of an expedition into the Three Eastern Provinces for the recovery of the lost territory.

The telegram also says that the Government should render support to the Chinese Volunteers operating in different parts of Manchuria against the Japanese.

Exodus from Shanhaikwan

According to the Chinese press, rumours of a very alarming nature have been in circulation at Shanhaikwan during the last few days with the result that the Chinese residents there are greatly agitated and have started to leave in large numbers. The exodus is described as "unprecedented in recent years".

The "Shih Chieh Jih Pao" reports that at seven o'clock on Saturday morning a Japanese armoured train stationed at Nanling fired scores of shots in the direction of Chaoyang and Sanpaoyingtze.

Several shells landed in the defence lines of General Tung's brigade but they did not explode. The Japanese ceased firing at nine o'clock. The alleged reason for the firing

was the suspicion of the Japanese that General Chu Chiching's Volunteers had penetrated into Chaoyang.

A representative of General Tang Yu-lin, Chairman of Jehol, is reported to be arriving from Chengteh this evening to make a report to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang.

CHAoyang BOMBED BY JAPANESE PLANES; HEAVY DAMAGE DONE

DEC 21 1932—P. C.

Twelve Japanese military planes flew from Yi Hsien to Chaoyang, an important city on the Jehol border, and dropped over twenty bombs on December 18, according to a message received by certain quarters here. There were a number of casualties and heavy damage to property. Two planes returned on December 19, and dropped more bombs.

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS

DEC 28 1932

Being Notes from the Chinese Press

P. C. *The subjoined translations, made specially for THE PEIPING CHRONICLE, are given as representative of current Chinese press opinion, and not as representing our own views.*

"DIRECT CONFLICT"

"Min Pao", Shanghai

Though the draft resolution of the Committee of Nineteen is empty and is severely criticized by public opinion in this country, Japan cannot agree to even such a document. Mr. Matsuoka has threatened the Czech delegate, the chairman of the drafting committee of the special body, with the words "Withdrawal from the League" and "Direct Conflict". The four points in the instructions of the Tokyo Government to its delegate at Geneva are equivalent to an explicit non-recognition of the existence of the League of Nations. Japan has been reckless and insolent enough regarding her obligations.

The "direct conflict" between the League and Japan has been inevitable from the moment of the reference of the Manchurian case to the League by China several days after its outbreak. The acceptance of the Chinese submission of the case by the League marked the beginning of this conflict. The League has the solemn obligation to settle any dispute among its members and point out who is the aggressor. If the aggressor does not choose to repent, is a direct conflict avoidable? Throughout the past year, whenever the League has had the impulse to uphold justice, it should have boldly entered upon the stage of direct conflict with Japan, and

thus the ambition of Japan would have been prevented from further aggravating the situation long ago, instead of enabling her to establish and solidify her puppet organization.

Unfortunately, however, the leading members of the League, though quite aware of the right and wrong involved in this case, have considered it advisable to hesitate so as to avoid any direct conflict with the aggressor. They have been trying to escape their duty. This weak point on the part of the major Powers was well known to the Japanese, who on every occasion of emergency, threaten the world with "withdrawal from the League", knowing that the withdrawal cannot be effected by a unilateral expression. The leading members of the League have realized that if Japan were really forced to withdraw, they must deal directly with the Island Power, to maintain the Covenant of the League and to save its face. The hesitation and evasion of the Western Powers have admirably served the Japanese, who in the past year have tested them more than once. Now again Mr. Matsuoka threatens the Chairman of the drafting Committee with the same talk. The victory gained by the Japanese this time was vividly expressed by a cablegram to the Nippon Dempo Agency, which described the Czech delegate as pitifully perplexed after Mr. Matsuoka's remarks.

The Lytton Report cannot be repudiated under any circumstances, for that document

is the only result of the year's labours at Geneva. It is but natural for the Drafting Committee to insert in its resolution some sentence, applauding the work of the Commission. Nevertheless, in the fourth point

JAPANESE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES.

"Shun Pao", Shanghai

At the end of last month, there was only Yen 420,000,000 worth of gold in the Japanese Empire. Though the Japanese militarists have successfully invaded China and misled their people by phrases like "Time of Emergency" and "Armed Self-Defence", the Nippon Ginko (Bank of Japan) has had to issue additional paper money, totalling Yen 100,000,000. Though commodity prices have risen which in other countries would mark the return of prosperity, the financial difficulties of Japan have not been eased. The peasants have failed to benefit from high commodity prices, because the harvest for several years has been none too good. Though more labourers have been employed recently, their average wages have been lower and their difficulties increase as commodity prices increase. Therefore social unrest and a psychological paralysis prevail throughout the Empire. It has become clear that even the forcible seizure of the "granary" of Manchuria has failed to avert the collapse.

What surprises us most is the drastic fall of savings in the Japanese Postal Bank. Between August and November, the decrease amounted to Yen 144,000,000. There was a further fall of Yen 16,000,000 between December 1 and 10, just ten days ago. Yen 170,000,000 at least.

will have been drained away before the New Year. The Tokyo Government's plan of credit cannot be carried out unless another big amount of inconvertible paper money is issued.

Though it is still possible to continue the inflation policy, the foreign exchange will slump further. With the surprising fall of the Yen, Japanese economic life has suffered greatly by the fall in imports, such as American and Indian cotton. The friends of Japan are alarmed at this situation.

Owing to the continuous necessity of large sums for military expenses, the Japanese, faced with a gloomy situation, are now driven mad in a search for gold. A commission was dispatched to the mountains of Formosa some time ago to investigate the amount of gold there, after the industrial and government authorities had been informed that there was gold in the island. A year has passed and none has been found. Recently another fantastic dream took the form of trying to get the gold bars in some foreign vessel which, many years ago, sank off the coast of Japan. The Islanders are also anxious to dig for gold in North Manchuria and in Hokkaido. These things show the desperate financial straits condition of Japan.

But all the gold in the world will not enable Japan to conquer China, because the Chinese people are none too desirous to be their slaves.

of the Japanese instructions, the findings of the Report have been altogether defied. The League now has reached the stage when there is no more room left for it to yield any longer.

Military Heads, Visiting Here, Hold Conference

DEC 28 1932 — P. C.

Proceedings Kept in Strict Secrecy; No News from Jehol

Many Generals arrive During
Week-end; Marshal Chang
Inspects Troops

Router

PEIPING, December 27.—
Chinese circles here attach
considerable importance to the
regular meeting of the Peiping
Political Council this morning.
In addition to the resident
members all the visiting mili-
tary leaders, including General
Han Fu-chu and General Sung
Cheh-yuan, Chairmen of Shan-
tung and Chahar respectively,
were present.

The proceedings are kept
strictly secret but it is general-
ly believed that the meeting
discussed the situation in Jehol
and measures for coping with
it.

General Han is reported to
be returning to Tsinanfu either
to-morrow or on Thursday as
he desires to be back in the
Shantung capital in time for
the New Year. Last evening
he was the guest of honour at
a dinner given by General
Wan Fu-lin, while Madame
Chang Hsueh-liang entertained
Madame Han at dinner in her
Shuncheng Tsinanfu residence.
Marshal Chang attends Meeting

Later reports this afternoon
indicate that the Council did
not discuss the Jehol situation
owing to the fact that no
reports had been received from
General Tang Yu-lin, Chair-
man of that province.

Mr. Hsiung Hsi-ling made a
report on the affairs of the
Palace Museum. The meeting
also considered General Yu
Hsueh-chung's report on the
administrative and financial
condition of Hopei. General Yu
is at present making an inspec-
tion tour of various districts in
Hopei.

Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang
also attended the meeting
which lasted from 10 o'clock
until noon.

Marshal inspects Troops

Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang,
accompanied by General Wan
Fu-lin and General Tang Kuo-
tseng, the Managing Director of
the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway,
went to Nanyuan yesterday
afternoon and inspected the
Mukden troops stationed there.

Arrival of Shang Chen

General Shang Chen, former
chairman of Hopei and Shansi
and now commander of the
32nd army stationed at Shun-
teh, arrived here from Nan-
king this morning. General
Shang went to Nanking about
two weeks ago to attend the
Third Plenary Session of the
Central Executive Committee
of the Kuomin Tang.

General Shang is calling on
Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang
this afternoon when he will
make a report on the work of
the recent Kuomin Tang con-
ference. General Shang will
return to his garrison post late
this week.

Sung Cheh-yuan arrives

The arrival of General Sung Cheh-
yuan, the Chairman of Chahar, from
Tsin yesterday afternoon has
revived the rumour in Chinese circles
that he has agreed to withdraw his

resignation and return to Kalgan.

Interviewed by representatives of the local Chinese press General Sung stated that he was still uncertain when to go back to Kalgan. It is, however, generally believed that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and General Han Fu-chu are making a determined effort to persuade him to withdraw his resignation.

As regards the question of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang's position Chinese reports are conflicting. Some say that he is determined to remain at Kalgan, while others declare that he has consented to leave so as to facilitate the return of General Sung, who formerly served under him.

It will be recalled that General Sung tendered his resignation from the Charhar governorship because of the presence of Marshal Feng at Kalgan.

PEIPING, January 1.—Mr. Tan Kuo-yuan, chief secretary of the Jehol Provincial Government, has arrived in Peiping as the representative of General Tang Yu-lin to make a report to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang on the situation in the province. Mr. Tang was received by the Young Marshal last evening.

Interviewed by the representatives of the local press, Mr. Tan said that save for the daily reconnaissance flights of Japanese planes over the Jehol border things are quiet

suppressing the activities of a society known as Pai Hui, which has its headquarters at Linnan on the Jehol border.

This society has been very active since last summer in instigating the people not to pay taxes. A number of instances have occurred where tax officials were attacked by the members of the society.

Garrison Force Inadequate

General Tang in his telegram to Marshal Chang says that for a time the local garrison succeeded in suppressing the society but during the last few weeks it has renewed its activities and there are now indications that unless action is taken at once, these activities will attain alarming proportions. In conclusion he declares that as the local force is inadequate to cope with the situation reinforcements are needed.

According to the same Chinese news agency, Marshal Chang has sent a certain brigade to assist the local garrison force.

COMMENTS ON JEHOL SITUATION

JAN -4 1933 P. C.

Points Out Necessity of
Strong Resistance by
Chinese

Tang Yu-lin's Envoy Here to
Report to Marshal Chang and
To Seek Financial Relief

Reuter

NANKING, January 1.—A spokesman of the Chinese Government points out to-day the necessity of Chinese forces making strong resistance if the Japanese Army invades Jehol, which he says represents China's last stronghold of authority in Manchuria.

The occupation of Jehol by Japan would constitute a serious menace to the permanent peace of North China, especially the Peiping and Tientsin area.

Tang's Envoy Here

Reuter

in the province. But the financial situation is very serious. Owing to the partial failure of crops at Kailu and Chaoyang the people are in a very deplorable plight. Mr. Tan added that the Japanese are taking advantage of this to spread disaffection among the ignorant people and this is causing considerable worry to the provincial authorities.

Mr. Tan said that he came here to seek financial relief for the provincial government as well as to report the border situation to Marshal Chang.

Anti-Tax Society Active

According to the Shih Wen News Agency, General Tang Yu-lin, Chairman of Jehol, has telegraphed to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, Acting Chairman of the Peiping Branch Military Council, asking for the despatch of troops to assist him in

(Continued on page 9 col. 2)

CHINA TO GIVE UP JEHOL

JAN -4 1933

N.C.D.N.

Prophetic Comment in Chinese Students Manifesto Issued in Britain

In the manifesto issued in November by the Chinese Students' Association in Great Britain on the Lytton Report on Manchuria, the full text which follows, the commentary on Jehol is of interest in view of the present warfare in that area. Also of interest is the assertion in the manifesto that the Lytton Report is in reality a plan of the world imperialism to partition Manchuria as a first step to the international control of China as a whole.

The appearance of this manifesto at this moment calls for little explanation. Almost a year has passed since we issued our last one in which it was pointed out the utility of the non-resistance policy taken up by the Chinese Government in the hope of securing the good office of the League of Nations to restore the lost territories and in which the real character of the League of Nations was exposed. This contention is unhappily fully borne out by the events which followed the September incident in 1931. In face of a growing menace of the Japanese Imperialism to North China, a process of consolidation of power acquired in Manchuria, and an organised butchery by Japan of the Chinese in Shanghai, the League of Nations which wears a pretence of being the upholder of International justice and of world peace, has done nothing except the indirect assistance offered to the Japanese Imperialism to gain a firm control of Manchuria. The manner in which the League of Nations has conducted itself serves as an ample proof that the policy of the Chinese Government has on the whole been impotent and futile, and that no hope is to be entertained to free the Chinese population in Manchuria from the Japanese oppression through the League of Nations.

Biassed to the Extreme

In September last the Report of the Lytton Commission which had been sent out to investigate into the Manchurian question has been issued. After a careful analysis

of the whole content of the said Report, we have arrived at the conclusion that the Report is biased to the extreme, that it misinterprets the question as well as the general political situation in China, and finally the recommendations which purport to solve the Sino-Japanese dispute are unacceptable to China. We also deplore the fact that no declaration against the recommendations of the Report has been made by the Chinese Government.

In what is to follow, the salient features of the Report are briefly analysed to show the manner in which the question is handled by the Lytton Commission:

1. Instead of confining its attention to the Manchuria question proper, the Report goes a long way to describe the internal political situation in China, and attempts to trace back its history to the Revolution in 1911. While leaving out completely the causes which lead to the successive civil wars between the militarists, which, coupled with the systematic exploitation of China by the Powers, result in the wholesale bankruptcy of Chinese agricultural economy and the retardation of her industrial development, it condemns China as a nation of banditry, and sees in it the main cause which renders the Government incapable of protecting the foreign rights and privileges in China.

Boycott Emphasised

As to what these rights and privileges are, it is apparently unconcerned. The legality of the acquired rights is no doubt taken for granted. In order, therefore, to protect the foreign rights and privileges, it is recommended that international co-operation is necessary, which would render help to the central government to suppress the internal opposition. This makes it evident the idea of international control of Chinese economic and political life, through the instrument of the League of Nations.

2. The whole of the fifth chapter is devoted to the Chinese boycott movement, which it deems to be the

cause of international frictions. It criticises it for two reasons: firstly that it is illegal, or the suppression of which the Government has not been capable; and secondly, that it violates treaty obligations entered into by China with the Powers. The burden of the blame is not put on the Japanese Imperialism which has been mainly responsible for the boycott movement, but on the excessive Nationalism of the Chinese people. Their recommendation respecting this aspect of the question is no less fantastic than the first. China, it says, is to conclude with Japan new treaties, in which the former is obliged to declare herself responsible to suppress, by every means in her power, the future outburst of boycott movement. It seeks, in other words, to remove the only "political weapon against" the foreign oppressor possessed by China. What the report is aiming at is in reality nothing more nor less than to demand the Chinese Government to undertake to coerce the people to buy commodities which they do not want. It is attempting to interfere with the freedom of the Chinese people in the very details of their daily life.

Japanese "Rights"

3 The satisfactory solution of the Manchurian question, in the opinion of the Commission, would be as follows: First, China should recognise the "rights" of Japan in Manchuria. Second she should conclude with Japan a new Treaty so as to legalise Japanese position in Manchuria. According to the Report, the so-called Japanese rights in Manchuria include the Twenty-one Demands which China has never regarded as legal. In recommending that such rights should be recognised by China, the commission is taking up a position to which it is not entitled: that is to say, it is speaking as though it possessed the statute of an International Arbitrary Court. It can be inferred from this attitude of the Commission that every foreign right is to be recognised and protected, the satisfactory execution of which is to be the foremost task of the Chinese Government. This is contrary to the principle of Neutrality, which is supposed to be the statutory position of the Commission. It speaks for the various imperialism whose interests and rights in China are its main concern.

4 With regard to the Government of Manchuria the Report recommends that China should declare the institution of a Special Government of Manchuria, to safe-

guard the Japanese interests and rights in Manchuria and Mongolia. This declaration, it is suggested is to be distributed to the member-states of the League of Nations, as well as to the signatories of the Washington Treaty. Is it not asking China to renounce her sovereignty over Manchuria and Mongolia and declare the territorial and administrative disintegration of China?

Manchurian Autonomy

Moreover, the newly created Manchurian Government is, according to the Commission's recommendation, to possess a large measure of Autonomy. The power of the Central Government is henceforth to be exercised in two spheres only, and that has to be jointly discussed and agreed upon with the Japanese Imperialism! These powers are that of appointing the chief of the administration, collecting the salt tax, the administration of postal and custom services. This concession to China is apparent rather than real, when it is remembered that these services are mainly under the control of the foreign interests and the revenues, such as the salt tax and custom dues, are the principal items by which the foreign loans and claims are secured. This is to say, this concession is intended for the equality of security and gain for the various powers and the Chinese Government is at once reduced to the position of a tax collector for the foreign capitalists. To argue, therefore, that Manchuria is thus restored to China is a pure absurdity. It would, if it is carried, make Manchuria a protectorate of Japan with certain amount of international control. The League of Nations to which the Chinese Government has repeatedly appealed has finally, in fact, advised China to renounce all her claims in Manchuria.

This idea of international partition of Manchuria, with Japan enjoying the lion's share, is made still more evident when it is suggested that in the new State of Manchuria, the task of preserving peace and order are to be invested in the gendarmerie, which shall, be administered by the Japanese officers. During the period of transition, the meaning of which has not been stated in clear terms, the Autonomous Government is to be advised by the Japanese officials; foreign advisers are to be engaged to administer the police forces, and the control of finance as well. The Central Bank of Manchuria should be managed, and advised by foreigners appointed by the Council of the

League of Nations. All these innumerable clauses, or terms of solving the Sino-Japanese dispute aim at, it is evident, the annexation of Manchuria at the expense of China.

Extrality Rights

(5) Dealing with the problem of the rights of Settlement by the Japanese and the Koreans, which brings in its train the whole question of extra-territorial rights of these settlers, the Commission arrives at the conclusion that the best solution is to be found in attaching at least two foreign advisers to the Supreme Court, and additional advisers to the other courts, so as to make the administration of the Provinces so efficient as to render the extra-territorial statutes no longer necessary. It is taken for granted, then, that China must consent to grant the right of settlement to extend to the whole of Manchuria and Jehol, to Japan. This is a step towards the disorganisation process of the agrarian population, by permitting the Japanese effect of driving the peasants from the land by economic and political pressure.

From the above analysis, we arrive at the conclusion that the Lytton Report is in reality a plan of the world imperialism to partition Manchuria as a first step to the international control of China as a whole. Our belief is once more confirmed that the League of Nations, of which the Lytton Commission is its mouthpiece, is the instrument of the powers by which their colonial policies are systematised; and that, it is therefore partial and biased towards China, an attitude which crystallises itself in the recommendations that we have remarked previously. The past experiences, moreover, ought to have convinced us that the Chinese Government's policy of non-resistance and reliance upon the League of Nations is absolutely illusory, and positively detrimental to the interests of the Chinese people.

If the Chinese Government is representing the people, let it show its sincerity by reversing the foreign policy, and organise the people into a solid mass to fight against aggression and exploitation. Let it embark upon a forceful policy which aims at the emancipation of the Chinese nation from foreign domination, and the first step is to denounce and refuse to accept any proposal contained in the Lytton Report. For, it is only by this means, and by this alone, that emancipation can be hoped for. With or without the government, the masses will gather together to rally against the Imperialism that hinders China's future."

Patience of P. C. China at End

Declares Quo

JAN - 5 1933

League Must Abandon Its Policy of Not Helping This Country, He says

Chinese Envoy, Interviewed in
London, says Japan wants to
Put Pu Yi on Throne

Havas

LONDON, January 4.—Interviewed before his departure from London for Geneva, Mr. Quo Tai-chí, the Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James's, declared "the attack on Shan-haikwan by the Japanese is part of their ambitious programme of Asiatic conquest. Japan wishes to re-establish her hegemony by establishing the Young Emperor on the throne which he lost years ago". The Minister to London also stated that it was obvious that Japan intended invading that portion of China, north of the Yellow River, and that if China was disappointed at Geneva she would be forced to adopt a totally different policy.

There was no possibility of an understanding with Japan, said Mr. Quo, as it was evident that Japan would continue to carry on this disguised form of warfare, a form of warfare that was crueller than the Great War as so many innocent civilians were the victims of the Japanese attacks.

Economic Aspect Ignored

The Minister declared that the Central Government had long feared an outbreak of Japanese activity in the neighbourhood of Jehol, but he was sure that this latest adventure would react against Japan. "Japanese militarists have acquired the habit of ignoring the economic aspect of their actions and they will find themselves faced with an obstacle such as they met at Shanghai", declared Mr. Quo.

Asked as to the steps that the Chinese Government proposed taking, Mr. Quo said that he was not in receipt of any instructions as yet but that if the Government at Nanking considered that the situation could be

helped by the convocation of the Committee of Nineteen he felt sure that they would meet as soon as possible.

Decision Necessary

Whilst China was far from losing confidence in the efficacy of the League Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, it was evident that the League would have to abandon its present policy of not assisting China. A decision was necessary especially by those Powers whose voices could be raised with authority at Geneva. They were faced with the question of the maintenance or rejection of the dogma of collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

The Western Powers had hitherto shirked their responsibilities fearing that Japan would withdraw from the League, and Mr. Quo said that he asked himself whether perhaps the League was not under the heel of Japanese militarism.

"Our patience is at an end. The disappointment and dis-

illusion we have experienced at Geneva may have provoked a reaction which the Chinese Government would have difficulty in avoiding", said Mr. Quo.

Many Generals Offer Help to Marshal Chang

JAN - 6 1933

Tsai Ting-kai is "Ready to Leave for North with Troops" P. C.

Han Fu-chu and Shansi Generals Urge Marshal to Resist Aggression to Last Man

Router

PEIPING, January 6.—General Han Fu-chu, Marshal Yen Hsi-shan, General Shang Chen and General Sung Cheh-vuan sent a joint telegram to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, requesting him to resist Japanese aggression to the last man and offering to lead their men against the Japanese.

According to Chinese telegraphic advices from Hongkong, General Tsai Ting-kai, the commander of the famous Nineteenth Route Army, who defended Shanghai against the Japanese last spring, now Pacification Commissioner for Fukien, has sent a telegram to the National Government, inquiring if the Government has made up its mind regarding the situation in the North, and whether Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang is determined to offer resistance.

General Tsai expresses indignation at the fall of Shanhaikwan and adds that he is ready to leave for the North with his troops to resist the "enemy".

Salvation lies in Resistance

M. Hu Han-min, former Chairman of the Legislative

Yuan, who is at present in Hongkong, is quoted as saying that the Japanese attack and occupation of Shanhaikwan did not come to him as a complete surprise. He said that the object of the Japanese militarists is the annexation of the whole of China, and that the occupation of Shanhaikwan is their first move towards the conquest of North China.

Mr. Hu declared that the hope of China today does not lie in the authorities of Nanking and North China but in those enlightened commanders in the North who are willing to resist Japanese aggression to the last.

Referring to the hope entertained in certain Chinese quarters of a second World War, Mr. Hu said that if China could offer effective resistance to the Japanese, there was hope for the salvation of China, but not otherwise.

Ho Cheng-chun Ready

Kuo Wen

SIANFU, January 5.—General Ho Cheng-chun, commander of the bandit-suppression troops in Shensi province, in a telegram to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang yesterday stated that he is ready to order his troops North to resist the Japanese invasion. The telegram lauds the courage and brave stand taken by General Ho Chu-kuo at Shanhaikwan and urges the Young Marshal to use every means to check the further advance of the Nipponese forces.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8, 1933.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR!

The world can hardly be said to be enjoying a very Happy New Year. Japan, for whom the New Year festival is the most important in the year, has presented the world with an explosion that has not merely blown in the gateway to China but has almost rocked the world to its foundations. European press messages are unanimous in regarding the events at Shanhaikwan as almost unprecedented in significance. The League is not in session, as Japan was doubtless aware, and is not due to reconvene for another nine days; and in the meantime anything may happen. Instinctively, however, everybody is turning to the League, or almost everybody. This is very significant. Had the League not existed, there would have been far greater alarm felt than is actually being manifested throughout the world today. Many thoughtful people fear that the Manchurian outrage, capped by the outrage at Shanhaikwan, is the prelude to a new world war, in spite of the League. Had there been no League, it is possible that world war would already be raging. So much to the League's credit, then.

But the League is not going to justify itself merely by playing a part in putting off an evil day. For nineteen months now the League has been seized of the main facts, for five months of many of the details, on which to form a judgement and formulate a policy; but it cannot be said that it has shown any alacrity to deal faithfully with the issues before it. The root of the trouble is that it cannot make up its mind; and this is because its individual members are afraid to face the facts, still more afraid to take their courage in their hands and act on their convictions. It is just possible that they have no convictions. Instead of convictions they have prejudices that are the survivals of the fore-war era of secret diplomacy, entangling alliances, secret treaties, just as the human body has rudimentary, that is to say crude, organs that are survivals from a lower evolutionary stage. The human body has learned to curb these crude creatures, to render them innocuous. The members of the League are still to some considerable extent under the dominion of these crudities. That we are not already in the midst of a new world-war is due to the fact that we are living in a world that is to some extent Wilsonized.

III

That we may still be plunged into such a war is due to the fact that the world is not yet Wilsonized sufficiently.

The long delay of the leading members of the League in making up their minds is producing in this country a very serious development in public opinion. For twelve months at least there have been many of the leading minds of the country convinced that the appeal to the League would be futile. Today the number of those who hold this opinion is very greatly increased. The conviction is growing that to risk all would be better than to surrender all, and it would seem that nothing short of a definite, bold declaration at Geneva, with the certainty of real action to follow it, can prevent—if it come in time—complete collapse of confidence in the League, not merely in this country, but throughout the world. The League could at least take steps to prevent the export of arms and ammunition from manufacturing countries, for such export favours the wealthier side; and it could do this without its being necessary for this country to appeal under Article XVI. We take it for granted that the Chinese delegation will invoke this Article, not merely reviving the invocation in respect of last year's outrages, but invoking it *ad hoc* in respect of the Shanhaikwan outrage. Some such step is absolutely necessary, for it is evident that the League is avoiding any commitment of itself. Only some such action will clarify the situation, for it will involve a vote, and a vote cannot achieve the equivocation of, for example, Sir John Simon's speeches. By whatever process may be possible, an unequivocal declaration must be secured.

If the Powers would only see it, it would pay them to be frank. To take an example: Sir John Simon's speech in December produced a very bad impression, not merely in this country. It produced so bad an impression that, apparently, a counter-pronouncement had to be made to the effect that in his speech Sir John had been trying to win over the Japanese, but was nevertheless prepared to resort to stern measures with Japan if necessary. The counterblast was repudiated, but it seemed to us a very formal repudiation of what was really a calculated indiscretion. We still felt this to be so until there came along, as will be seen in today's telegrams, a suggestion that Sir John had been party to a bargain with Japan, to which the French authorities were privy and were also indeed a party, that if she withdrew her forces from Shanghai Britain and France would play only slow and soft music during the Manchurian funeral ceremonies at Geneva. There may, of course, be nothing in all this, but if there is suspicion and rumour and indeed indignation, the Powers have nobody to blame but themselves. They have dilly-dallied too long. They have deliberately avoided, for the sake of a conciliation that has daily become more impossible, the performance of the plain duty, placed on them by the terms of their membership of the League, of asking the jury to frame and pronounce a verdict. If the duty is shirked much longer the League and all its works will be laughed out of existence by the "inextinguishable laughter of gods and men".

III

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1933.

ON TWO FRONTS.

P. C.

Today's telegrams are of a very significant character. The most important of them come from two widely distant fronts, the Geneva front and the Shanhaikwan front. The messages from Chinwangtao, from Reuter's observant correspondent, appraising things with the eye of an expert, are eloquent testimony to the morale of the Chinese troops. The message under date of the 12th begins and ends with the same note: "Fine spirit . . . under very severe conditions", and "In spite of weather, hardships and so on, the spirit of all ranks remains undaunted and discipline is excellent"; and between these two sentences is a pithy description of the severe conditions, the more than economical clothing, rationing and billeting, obtaining in a terrain where the temperature is below zero. That the description should begin and end with references to undaunted spirit, under such conditions as are detailed in between, is some measure of the change that has come over Chinese armies since the days of umbrellas and birdcages. The whole picture is one of high efficiency, within the limits determined by material resources; and of unlimited mettle. It is a picture that the world should ponder, for there are literally hundreds of thousands more such men as these available if it should come, as well it may, to war on a wholesale scale. The very mettle of men who go bathing in the open air with a zero temperature spells an appalling holocaust if the worst comes to the worst, and no man who has any spark of humanity would raise a finger or speak a word that would precipitate a large-scale conflict except in a last extremity; but there are limits to human patience, and the signs are that the last extremity may not be so very far away after all.

It is from the other end of the line that some of these signs come. It is too early to know whether the report, evidently circulating in Geneva, that the Chinese delegates have sent a telegram to Nanking urging the Government to rush troops to Shanhaikwan, is true; but it would hardly be surprising if it were. "The Chinese delegates obviously were becoming impatient with League delays". Not only

III

were the Chinese delegates becoming impatient of delays, but the Chinese Government and people are becoming impatient also. The Chinese contention that China has kept within the League Covenant whilst resisting aggression is absolutely sound; and the further contention that lost territory, particularly territory within the Wall, may and indeed should, be recovered by force if necessary can hardly be construed as inconsonant with general League principles, which recognize self-defence as legitimate. The wayfaring man cannot escape the conviction that the League has dillydallied with this whole question in the interests of one of its big members; and if the great mass of Chinese feel this they are in no sense to blame. If, feeling this, they also feel that Heaven helps those who help themselves, whilst the League helps nobody, they will naturally be anxious, after these months of bitter experience, to try helping themselves.

This, quite clearly, is the present temper. The messages from as far away as Canton and Szechwan clearly indicate that the whole country is ready, if need be, to resort to the final arbitrament. Mr. Wang Ching-wei's statement published at Geneva sums up the general Chinese feeling at the present time. Shanhaikwan is a challenge both to China and to the League. China, evidently, is preparing to take up the challenge if it finds the League hesitant. The League is getting its last chance. It must choose within a few days whom it will serve, whether the unrighteous mammon of might, as embodied in the Japanese ravishing of Manchuria, and wrecking of Shanhaikwan; or the ultimate power that makes for a peaceable and peaceful world, embodied in covenants and pacts and understandings. This is the choice, and if it be not made within the next four or five days, there will be no choice left; for we shall have all the horrors of war on us, and the League of Nations, dissolving like the baseless fabric of a vision, will leave not a rack behind.

Japan's Reply to Protest Received

JAN 14 1933 — P. C.

Insists Chinese Troops are Responsible for Incident; Nanking to Send Another Note

Reuter

NANKING, January 12.— Japan's reply to China's protest regarding the Shanhaikwan affair was delivered to the Foreign Office this morning. As reported, the reply insists that Chinese troops are responsible for the incident. Gov't to Refuse Communication
Kuo Wen

NANKING, January 12.— Following the receipt of Japan's reply to the Chinese protest of January 4, the Nanking Government is making preparations to dispatch another note to Tokyo in reply to the present communication, which was handed to the authorities here this morning.

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS

Being Notes from the Chinese Press

The subjoined translations, made specially for THE PEIPING CHRONICLE, are given as representative of current Chinese press opinion, and not as representing our own views.

TWO MEANINGS OF "RESISTANCE"

"Shang Pao", Tientsin

"Resistance" has proved to be the settled policy of the Chinese Republic today. However, we find that there are two different meanings to this widely used word: one is "resistance for the mere postponement of an impending catastrophe; another is "resistance throughout the existence of the nation". In the first aspect it is designed to avoid the repetition of the dramatic "Mukden" type of incidents, the first meaning being passive in nature and negative in sense. In the second aspect it is active in nature and positive in sense, and means the liquidation of the total illegal acts done by the Japanese military, or in other words, driving the Japanese out and recovering our lost territory.

We have been sadly impressed for over a year by the fact that "resistance" differs from "non-resistance" only in that the former is followed by loss of territory but with fighting. Therefore today we feel it incumbent on us to ask whether the present cry means the passive, or the "Chinchow" type resistance. If so, the Chinese troops will refrain from doing anything more than defending the Shih Ho; and our lost territory will simply be altogether forgotten. The "Chinchow" type of resistance is extremely risky. If the present status between Shanhaikwan and Chinwangtao be maintained, if the Japanese turn their spearhead into

Jehol, and if the same type of resistance be tried in that province, the Imperial army will easily swallow up the whole of China by seizing one area after another in several successive gulps.

"Resistance" should, indeed, be interpreted to mean "to launch an attack on the Japanese army outside the Great Wall, so as to do our utmost to drive off the invaders and recover our lost territory". Since our policy of resistance has been decided upon, to wait to be attacked and to attack our enemy at once are just the same thing, as far as the resultant sacrifice is concerned. The Japanese were given a good opportunity to attack China Proper when the troops under Su and Ma were driven into Russian territory, un-assisted. If we begin our positive attacks simultaneously on the Shanhaikwan and Jehol fronts, and we have the dependable co-operation of the Volunteers, the Imperial forces will easily be routed both strategically and financially.

SUGGESTIONS TO THE AUTHORITIES.

"Ta Kung Pao", Tientsin

During the present serious crisis, with hundreds of our fellow-countrymen slaughtered by the Japanese at Shanhaikwan, the people in that district are doubtless panic-stricken. Any one of us would be glad to give our lives for our country, but the authorities are not without responsibilities, and we make the following suggestions to them.

(1) That reliable reports be issued of what is happening, so that the people may know exactly what to be prepared for. The Newspapers get all the news they can, but they are not infallible, and the authorities ought to help them rather than hinder them.

(2) That the authorities should have full plans worked out for every possible emergency, so as to guide the movements of the people. Had this been done at Shanhaikwan, many of the civilians there could have saved their lives. Plans for the evacuation of Peiping and Tientsin, if necessary, should be fully worked out.

(3) That the Government should keep the people fully informed of its intentions and purposes, not of course disclosing military secrets or anything of that kind.

We would further urge that the authorities do not overlook the immense importance of Peiping and Tientsin. The people will be willing enough to sacrifice themselves for any good cause, but they ought to be able to look to the Government for initiative.