

## JAPAN PUTS HER CASE TO THE LEAGUE<sup>1</sup>

### *A Plain Tale*

WITH the recognition of Manchukuo as an independent state by Japan, matters in the Far East have taken a definite turn. The rest of the world have now to decide what stand they are going to take. China is indefatigable in protest and complaint, but 'mark now,' said Prince Henry to Falstaff, 'and see how a plain tale shall put you down.' It is in this spirit that the Japanese assessor to the League of Nations Commission has gone about his task. By the process of dispassionately piling known fact on known fact he has presented the world with a case which is unanswerable. China is revealed in all her incompetence, and the justice of Japan's actions and claims made clear.

In the past ten years there have been two hundred and forty-five outrages committed<sup>1</sup> on foreigners. Thirty-nine persons have been murdered, over one hundred and fifty abducted, of whom the fate is still uncertain. For some the bandit-communists, whom the so-called Government is unable to put down, are responsible. A large proportion, however, can be directly attributed to the anti-foreign spirit which has been deliberately fostered by the authorities ever since the Kuomintang obtained control. Hatred of the foreigner is one of the lessons regularly taught in the schools. It is done mainly through text-books teaching the 'Three Principles' of Dr. Sun Yat Sen—a com-

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Japanese Assessor to the Lytton Commission.  
*Document A.* The present condition of China.  
*Document B.* Relations of Japan with Manchuria and Mongolia.

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pulsory subject in all schools under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government. But anti-foreign ideas are instilled wherever possible—in the teaching of the national language, in history, geography, composition, and so on.

From time to time prizes are offered for anti-foreign slogans, elaborate tables are prepared showing China's 'humiliations' and foreign injustices, on which lectures are given, drawings by pupils, depicting foreigners in a hostile and insulting light, are displayed; in penmanship children are made to copy characters and phrases expressing hatred of foreigners—and the better specimens are exhibited. So one could go on citing instance after instance of this poisoning of the mind of young China. Adult education, so far as it exists, follows the same lines, and the workers are subjected to a constant stream of propaganda. Middle school and university students are encouraged in every form of anti-foreign activity. They organize themselves into student volunteer corps, hold anti-foreign demonstrations and meetings, and are the most active in instigating and carrying out boycotts. Meanwhile, the representatives of the Government that is responsible for all this profess nothing but friendship to the other Powers, and one honeyed insincerity from Mr. Quo Tai Chi and his like outweighs with the British public a dozen of their murdered countrymen.

China's favourite method of indulging her anti-foreignism in recent years has been the boycott, and no matter how unquestionable in theory, in practice it becomes in China nothing but organised intimidation. It is not the simple, spontaneous, popular combination to refuse to buy, which it is depicted as being by Chinese propagandists, but a movement aiming at the severance of all economic relations. It is accompanied by acts of violence against foreigners, the destruction and pillage of their shops and property, and the burn-

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ing of foreign goods. Penalties are imposed upon Chinese who deal in foreign goods, while servants, cooks, and factory hands are compelled by threats to strike or leave. The writer's own house-boy is permanently scarred by vitriol thrown at him in 1927 because he refused to desert his then master. Sometimes foreign children are attacked on the way to school, and often foreign residents are denied even the supply of daily provisions. Such is the nature of the boycott that has been directed against Japan, and is being directed. I pick up to-day's paper and read: 'Another Bomb Thrown.' This is the third such outrage in two days. The local *Blood and Soul Corps* has taken to hurling bombs into shops which come under its suspicion. The boycott has, too, an undeniable official character, being inspired and directed by the Kuomintang, which is the National Government under another name. It is perfectly idle, therefore, for officials to disclaim responsibility for it, and to allege they cannot prevent it. The boycott, in fact, as conducted by the Chinese, is a distinctly hostile act, and one for which the Government can justly be called to account.

At the same time that Nanking is cultivating this anti-foreign spirit and encouraging its manifestations, it is neglecting its first duty of restoring order and prosperity to the country. In 1929 over fifty per cent., and in 1930 over seventy per cent., of the national revenue was expended on military purposes, yet the bandits and communists are a bigger menace than ever. Every army sent against them is defeated—often in fact it deserts *en masse* to the opposing side. In Kiangsi the 29th Division lost ten thousand in this way, and in Wuhan the troops, who had received no pay for months, went over almost in a body. As to exercising real control Nanking is powerless. War lords with their private armies are still the most important local factors.

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China's claims to be regarded as a sovereign state are unwarranted. Here, for example, are the figures for piracy in Chinese waters. In the years 1929-31 there were twenty-four major cases reported, in addition to many that must have gone quite unrecorded. That there are not more is due entirely to the measures ships have been forced to take in their own defence. The only naval forces that accomplish anything are those of the Powers, and they cannot do much, for inside the three-mile limit they would be infringing on China's sacred sovereign rights, and that would never do. Fuss enough is made about the British gunboats on the Yangtse, despite the fact that they are there by treaty, and it is only they who keep it safe for navigation above Nanking.

In contrast with China's record of civil war, banditry, disunity, and chaos, Manchuria's during the last twenty years has been one of order and progress. That it has been so is mainly due to the fact that that district has been kept free of Chinese influence as a result of the efforts of the Japanese. Between 1908 and 1929 the area of land under cultivation increased from 18½ to 33 million acres, and the population from 15½ to 29 million. In the same period the volume of goods carried by the South Manchurian Railway rose from 1½ to 18½ million tons. Although railway development started nearly forty years later than in China, the total mileage is now almost the same, and is over seven times as great per 100 square miles, and over five times per 10,000 of population. This progress is almost entirely due to the presence of Japan. She has introduced new industries, established experimental agricultural stations, financed settlers, given the country a sound financial unit, the Yen, in place of the ever depreciating paper currency turned out from the printing presses of the local Chinese war lords, maintained over twenty schools and twenty-two

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hospitals, and by her sanitary provisions has kept the country free of the epidemics which ravage the rest of China.

Ever since she succeeded to Russia's rights in 1905, Japan has insisted on the maintenance of peace and order in Manchuria, and it is due entirely to her that the constant civil wars which have afflicted China proper have not extended north of the Great Wall. Such contests would have been bound to involve the S.M.R. zone, and she made it abundantly clear when the danger arose, as it did in 1925 for example, and in 1928, that this she would not allow. The extortions of the military chieftains, such as Chang Tso Lin and his son Chang Hsueh Liang, she could not of course prevent, nor could she altogether suppress the banditry which was the consequence. Her active authority was confined to the three eastern provinces, and there to the railway zone. This, however, did much to diminish the evil, since it broke up the bandit forces and prevented large scale operations.

In recent years Japan was faced with a China determined to obstruct her in every conceivable way. Instead of working with Japan for the common good, China made her exclusion the keynote of her policy. She disregarded her own treaty undertakings, constantly infringed on Japan's treaty rights, and with the alliance of Chang Hsueh Liang with Nanking, and the consequent entrance of the Kuomintang, things grew worse than ever. Over fifty leading cases have been tabulated of the deliberate flouting of treaty obligations by China. The Japanese have the right, for example, to reside, travel, and carry on trade in Manchuria in perfect freedom, but it is rendered useless by the action of local authorities. A typical case is that of Tunhua. There all the Chinese who had let houses to Japanese were arrested, and only released on condition that they turned out their Japanese

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tenants. Other rights, such as mining rights, are similarly nullified by local administrative acts and decrees under the obvious inspiration of higher powers.

It has always been recognised that Japan, as compared with the other powers, has very special interests in Manchuria. In the first place it stands to her much as the Low Countries have stood to England. Just as England has fought to prevent that strip of coast over against the mouth of the Thames falling into the hands of a dangerously powerful neighbour, so Japan fought in 1905 to prevent Manchuria falling into the hands of imperial Russia. To-day she is not prepared to see it go the way of China proper, and lapse into chaos and disorder, with sovietization but a matter of a not too distant future. A red Manchuria, for one thing, would be far too great a menace to her own institutions—as it is, communists already find it too convenient a base for their operations.

Not only for political but for economic reasons a prosperous and progressive Manchuria is essential to Japan's national existence and security. She is experiencing a growing shortage in the necessities of life and of raw materials for her industries. Manchuria can make up that shortage and more. Similarly, she needs a market, and Manchuria can be that market. This is what she means when she says that Manchuria is her 'life line.' Without peace and order, however, Manchuria cannot progress. It is not that Japan desires to make territorial acquisitions, but she insists, as she has always insisted, that law and order must be maintained there, and she insists also that her own particular rights and interests shall be respected. China, as everyone with any acquaintance with the position knows, does not and cannot fulfil those conditions, and it is for that reason she has had to go. She was given repeated warnings, but such was her attitude of mind that she would not heed them. Hence

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Manchukuo, hence Japan's recognition of Manchukuo—and hence, it is to be hoped, the world's recognition of Manchukuo.

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[Editor's Note. BLACKFRIARS publishes this article, not because it has taken sides in the Manchurian quarrel, but because it recognises that the Japanese case has been inadequately presented in this country.]

## BROADCASTING CATHOLICISM

THERE has been a good deal of discussion lately about religious broadcasting. Some people will not have wireless at any price, think it is undermining our lives like the rest of the mechanical inventions, and would not have Catholics touch the accursed thing. Unless wireless is in itself wrong—and the example of Vatican City seems to settle that—there is a good deal to be said against the withdrawal of Catholic broadcasts, but it is not the purpose of this article to try to say it. Other people object to the way it has to be, or at any rate is, done. They criticise the matter of broadcast sermons, and resent what they regard as interference with Catholic worship. Father Martindale has several times explained, and again recently in *The Southwark Record*, that Catholics are free to present the whole faith, but the impression seems to remain that they do, in fact, water it down for wireless audiences.

Like most discussions, this is best—if not most warmly—argued by people with knowledge, and the knowledge required is not perhaps possessed by the ordinary layman. He knows what his own acquaintances think of Catholic broadcasts and what he him-