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The Origin and History of the  
Anti-Japanese Movement  
in China

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Anti-Japanese Movement  
in China

The Origin and History of the  
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in China

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## FOREWORD

The world is at last beginning to take a serious view of the problem of anti-foreign boycott in China. This is highly satisfactory, because without a fairly good knowledge of this subject it will be impossible for anybody to form an adequate mental picture of the background to the drama now being enacted on the Far Eastern stage. It, indeed, forms the most conspicuous element in the make-up of the historical background to the present Sino-Japanese entanglement.

The present importance of this subject derives from its bearings upon the issue between Japan and China. But essentially it is a world problem, for few of the leading Powers with important interests in China have escaped from being made the target of this peculiar form of Chinese hostilities. The United States was the first to suffer from it, while the ruinous Canton boycott of 1925 against Great Britain is still fresh in the world's memory.

Strange to say, in spite of its grave importance, this subject has hitherto received comparatively little notice on the part of the ever increasing writers on the Far Eastern affairs, this being true even in Japan which is the chief sufferer from the application of the objectionable policy in question.

Recently, however, a fairly comprehensive survey of the subject, mainly in so far as it concerns Japan, has been prepared at the Press Section of the War Department. It is with much satisfaction that we are

now able to present to the reading public of the world an English translation of this opportune publication. The translation has been done at this office, and we trust that, whatever faults it may possess, it may at least lay claim to being a fairly accurate rendering of the important document.

It will be observed that during the past twenty-four years, the Japanese goods have been boycotted in China just eleven times, the duration varying from three to thirteen months. Since 1925, there has been not a single year in which the boycott was not enforced against Japan. In each case the occasion was some diplomatic or military action on our part which China conceived to be unfair or derogatory to her national honour. In other words, it was an official act of reprisal against injury, real or fancied, done to her by Japan.

It is far from us to maintain that China has had no ground for complaint against Japan, for we know that our past record has not been free from mistakes and blunders. And for that matter, what nation on earth is free from shortcomings in its dealings with other peoples?

If, however, we have sometimes erred, the reprisals to which we have been subjected, as shown by the official investigations, have been in extent and severity out of all proportions to whatever offence we might have been guilty of. In considering this question, it must be remembered that the material injuries which economic boycotts have inflicted upon us, immeasurably great as they are, by no means represent the

whole damage done us. Almost equally serious and vexatious is the harm done us through a long line of outrages incidental to boycotts—outrages caused by the war psychology of a varying degree of intensity which a boycott inevitably evokes in China. An extraordinary list of such by-products of boycotts is presented in the Supplement to the present volume.

Another point which the present publication brings out clearly deserves notice. That is that during the five years preceding the Mukden outbreak of September last there had been practically a continuous state of boycott psychology against Japan not only in Manchuria but throughout China.

The Chinese statesmen and their spokesmen have told the world again and again that the anti-foreign boycotts in their country are popular movements with which their Government have no connection, and for which, consequently, it has no responsibility. Nobody who knows anything about conditions in China is deceived by these explanations. But for the benefit of those not well acquainted with realities in China, it may be well to refer to what Rodney Gilbert, the well-known authority on China, recently stated on this subject in an interesting article in the *New York Herald-Tribune*. This is what he says in part :

To get anywhere in China a boycott movement must, therefore, be officially inspired, or officially licensed, or tacitly tolerated by the local officials—particularly by the military officials. In modern China the medium of propagating a movement which the central or local government indorses is the Kuomintang; this is the party organization from which the government derives its authority and from whose hierarchy the highest officials are selected.



When the word to start something comes to a branch of the Kuomintang, in an interior city, let us say, the heads of the local unit go to the local official if he is friendly to them and get his consent or promise of support. If his attitude is doubtful but not so openly hostile as to entail serious risk, it is decided to bring a little pressure on him through a demonstration, and this nowadays always begins with the students, ever ready to leave their classes and agitate.

Handbills and posters are composed in a hysterical jargon calling on the "400,000,000 brethren" to rise and strike down imperialism or to strike down militarism, or to wipe out the national shame. Then one fine morning a test procession of cotton-gowned youths files solemnly through the main streets of the city, shuffling at a funeral pace, giving out their violent literature and droning out their slogans in a singularly doleful and uninspiring monotone. The populace is pleased with the spectacle but cold. They are waiting for a hint from higher ups.

Referring to the latest boycott that is directly and indirectly responsible for the Shanghai affair, he says:

Under open Kuomintang auspices the intensified boycott started almost simultaneously in Nanking, the capital, in Shanghai, Hankow, Canton, Foochow, Swatow and a dozen lesser commercial centers. In Hankow the Chinese Chamber of Commerce resisted stoutly for a time, but official pressure finally forced them to at least a show of support. In Canton it took some weeks to bully the merchants into severing relations with Japanese banks, importing houses and shipping companies, but a financial boycott was finally imposed about the middle of October, and there was a good deal of agitation, though no such devastating effect on trade as at Shanghai.

There, under the immediate direction of the highest Kuomintang organs, the movement developed at once an organization like the Russian OGPU, whose terroristic acts put all thoughts of resistance out of the minds of Chinese merchants. The paid agents of the "anti-Japanese and Save-the-Nation Association" searched all Chinese shops impounding Japanese goods, arrested delinquents high and low and carried them off under the noses of the police for trial and punishment, pounced upon Japanese cargo in the streets and held it, with the support of the courts, in defiance of Japanese protests.

Thousands of Chinese employees of Japanese firms were forced to resign their posts. No Chinese were allowed to board Japanese steamers, and incoming passengers were mobbed. Chinese banks refused to handle Japanese bills, drafts, checks or other papers, and all Chinese accounts were withdrawn from Japanese banks. Within a month the tightest imaginable net had been drawn around the Japanese business community, the cotton yarn, piece goods, sugar and rape-seed business went down to an absolute zero, and the time even came when it was almost impossible for Japanese residents to buy food.

To get this effect in Shanghai and elsewhere, however, the emotions of the mob had to be released; so the boycott shortly came to be characterized, wherever it was really effective, by every form of criminal violence—petty persecution, assault, murder, looting and arson. In no really fervent community were the Japanese given adequate police protection.

In some communities Chinese suspected of being lukewarm were publicly tried and sentenced in the courts. The Japanese government holds scores of official letters in which the suppression of criminally active societies or the prosecution of individual criminals is flatly refused.

The cue for the character of the boycott was undoubtedly given at Nanking at a mass meeting attended by government officials on September 23. The mobs in Shanghai immediately began to assault Japanese. Within a short time ninety-one cases in which Japanese school children had been stoned were reported at the consulate. As a matter of course, a few civilian Japanese were killed by mobs in every port when enthusiasm was sustained. It was such an incident in Chapei, the killing of a Japanese monk, which stirred the ruffianly Japanese element in Shanghai to reprisals, brought the Japanese marines to handle the situation and "break" the boycott, and thereby indirectly prompted the spectacular conflagration.

MOTOSADA ZUMOTO

Tokyo, April, 1932.



# The Origin and History of the Anti-Japanese Movement in China

*(Translation of a Pamphlet Issued by the Press Section  
of the War Office)*

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## 1. Introduction

The Chinese anti-foreign ideology is not of recent origin. It is simply an outgrowth of the same psychology that made the Chinese from ancient times to look down upon all outside peoples as barbarians. Anti-foreignism, however, has grown in intensity in recent times, especially since the revolution of 1911.

At the time of the Sino-Japanese war, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen organized in Hawaii a secret society called Hing-chung Huei with the object of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. "China," said he at the time, "has been subjected to foreign pressure since the War of Opium, and the only way to free the country from this incubus is to get rid of the Manchu regime which is so weak in its foreign policy." This marks the inauguration of the policy of "Down with the Manchus and the Foreigners," which has had such fateful consequences upon the recent history of China. The ultimate objective of the new foreignism launched under such powerful

auspices was not only to raise China to a position of equality with the other countries, but to make China a Power of commanding influence in the world. In a word, it was a revival under modern garb of the traditional idea of China being the centre of the world.

The downfall of the Manchu regime having been accomplished by the revolution of 1911, anti-foreignism has since become the sole guiding principle of China's national policy. It is to the attainment of this end, that strenuous efforts are now being directed. The World War having eliminated Russia and Germany as possible objectives of China's national policy of anti-foreignism, the whole brunt of Chinese antagonism has recently been turned against Japan and England, which are most heavily interested in that country. It was England that had to suffer first, and after her it has been Japan's turn. It is interesting to notice that China's anti-Japanese movement has passed through several phases. Negative unfriendliness, which characterized the initial stage, was followed by contempt, which in turn gave way to protest, while the latest phase is marked by aggressive provocations. It was sentimental at first but grew into a conviction; it changed from sporadic to organized activities, from a local to a national movement.

It must be admitted that the anti-Japanese movement in China presents to us a most knotty problem. What shall we do about it? Can the malady be cured by the application of some diplo-

matic assuagement? Or will concession on our part lead to a satisfactory solution? If past experience is of any value as guidance, it must be said that neither of these remedies will be of any avail. It is true that during the initial negative stage of anti-Japanism, that is to say, prior to the emergence of the Kuomintang, concessions on our part might have had more or less favourable results. But no such result can be hoped for now that China's antagonism to Japan is active and aggressive. Concessions on our part at the present moment, so far from conciliating China, will only serve to encourage her to stiffen her attitude in the expectation of still greater concessions. So it looks as though there is no way out, unless either China abandons her anti-Japanese policy or Japan koutows before insolent China. However deeply Japan may sympathize with China's national aspirations, it goes without saying that in the present state of things in that country it will be fatal to her best interests as well as our own to please her humour. It only remains for us, therefore, to call China's attention to the serious consequences of the policy of extreme unfriendliness and hostile provocation she is pursuing toward us. It is only in this way that the relations between the two countries can be brought back into a normal condition, so that the permanent peace of Eastern Asia can be securely reestablished.

In the following pages attempts will be made to examine the guiding principles of contemporary

politics and the anti-foreign education and training in China, with a view to tracing her anti-Japanese movement to its sources. Endeavours will also be made to follow the history of that movement with particular reference to the features that distinguish it from the movement applied against other Powers. Such a study, it is hoped, will present this important subject in a new aspect.

## **2. The Guiding Principle of Contemporary China and Anti-foreign Movement**

The anti-Japanese movement which has so badly poisoned the relations between the two leading Asiatic nations, originated with the Chinese obsession about the recovery of national rights, which forms the cornerstone of China's foreign policy under the Kuomintang regime. It will, consequently, be useful to make a reference to Sun Ya-tsen's *San Min Chui*, which is the guiding principle of Chinese politics, and to the political platform of the Kuomintang.

1. *The San Min Chui*: The *San Min Chui* is the essence of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles, and jointly with the Five Rights Constitution, constitutes the watchword of the Chinese revolution. Sun's convictions, ideas and aspirations concerning the national revolution are all embodied in it.

The three principles enunciated by Sun Yat-sen, consist of the principle of nationalism, the principle

of popular rights, and the principle of people's livelihood. Reference will be made here only to the principle of nationalism, which is closely connected with the policy of anti-foreignism. The principle of nationalism supplied a guiding principle for the national revolution. This section of Sun's book also deals with the practical procedures for achieving the independence of the Han people. Much emphasis is laid upon their emancipation internally and externally.

Internally, a strong plea is made for the unity of all peoples in China, who shall be entitled to equal rights without any discrimination in all political, economic and social matters. United and emancipated as just mentioned, they should, it is pointed out, by their combined efforts create such a strong nation as may be fit to take a proud position side by side with the Powers of the world. As for the external policy, Sun urges that the Chinese nation should endeavour to brush aside all illegal and unreasonable oppressions imposed by foreign Powers and thereby emancipate China from the position of semi-colony into which she has been reduced by foreign arrogance. With a view to calling forth such national consciousness, recourse is had to the use of slogans like "Down with Imperialism" and "the Abolition of Unequal Treaties."

On this subject it is further stated as follows: "The principle of nationalism insists, above any thing else, upon the removal of all forms of



imperialistic invasions, irrespective of the classes of people affected. For example, unless the principle of nationalism prevails in economic circles, the domestic industry will never be able to free itself from the baneful influence of foreign economic oppression. Or again, if the labour world should be devoid of nationalistic consciousness, the ignorant workers will be enslaved by imperialistic influences, with the result that our present militarists will combine with domestic and foreign capitalists in sucking our very blood. Therefore the war of national emancipation is to be fought in the interest of the masses, and its motto should be 'Opposition to Imperialism'."

(2) *The Principles and Foreign Policy of the Kuomintang*: The principles of the Kuomintang are identical with those enunciated in Sun Yat-sen's "San Min Chui." The party considers these principles to be indispensable for the salvation of the country. The Republic of China established upon the basis of the principles of the "San Min Chui" and the provisions of the Five Powers Constitution, the party aims at (1) the assurance of livelihood for the masses, (2) the establishment of popular rights, and (3) the carrying out of the principle of nationalism. The party at the same time aims at revising the treaties with the foreign Powers, with a view to securing the country's independence upon the basis of perfect international equality. According to an official statement issued on January 10, 1923, the

Kuomintang's foreign policy includes the following items :

(a) All unequal treaties and agreements, such, for instance, as the consular jurisdiction, the control of the Customs by foreigners, and all other political powers exercised by foreigners, and which infringe upon China's sovereignty, shall be abolished, and their place be taken by treaties of mutual equality.

(b) China shall give the most favoured nation treatment to any country that voluntarily offers to give up all special privileges it enjoys in China or that agrees to the abolition of such treaties as may encroach upon China's sovereignty. China shall give Russia a specially favoured treatment.

(c) All treaties concluded between China and foreign Powers and which are deemed inimical to China's interests, shall be revised.

(d) The foreign debts owed by China shall be speedily paid back within limits not injurious to China's political or economic interests.

(e) The people of China shall be free from all obligations in regard to the foreign loans contracted by irresponsible governments, such, for instance, as the Government which functioned at Peiping under a President who owed his election to corrupt means.

(f) A conference of the delegates representing the business organizations in the various provinces shall be convened, with a view to providing the ways and means of repaying the foreign loans.

Chen Kung-po is a well-known and influential left-wing leader of the Kuomintang, and his writings form an invaluable source of information concerning the inner life and aspirations of that party. Here we shall confine ourselves to quoting only such passages as may throw light upon the inner story of the origin of China's anti-Japanese movement. In his work on "The Principles and Practice of Political Reorganization," he discusses China's foreign relations as follows:

"The World War has ushered in a new epoch in the relations of the foreign Powers toward China. Prior to that war, the countries that influenced China by means of force were England, Germany, France, America, Japan and Russia. But now those that can materially influence China's revolution, are only four, namely, England, America, Japan and Russia. Moreover, England failed in her policy of butchery, and has ever since pursued a conciliatory policy toward China. As for America, her interests in China are confined to 70 million yuan worth of imports into this country, so that her policy is comparatively moderate, her chief concern being to have the door kept open. It is quite different with Japan. She considers our revolution as a fatal blow to her, for in the event of our revolution proving a success, she would lose her acquired rights not only in the three Eastern Provinces but in Shantung also. But that will not be the worst. Korea and Formosa will become independent, and further, apart from being a

fatal blow to her economic independence, it may even render the preservation of her Imperial dynasty problematical. Lastly, the Soviet Union, in view of the Far Eastern policy of the Comintern, is very anxious to extend the Bolshevik influence and rob China of her political powers by utilizing the Chinese Communists. We thus see that both Japan and Russia pursue a vigorous policy toward China, while the British and American policy is weak.....

“ But for the moment the imperialistic objectives before us are Japan and England. We should make Japan the main object of our offensives for the present, reserving a defensive attitude for England and trying to make America preserve a neutral policy toward us. As for Soviet Russia, we should make it our object to restore relations with her on the common ground of anti-imperialistic aspirations, on condition that she shall strictly abstain from communistic propaganda.

“ In short, imperialism is unalterably determined upon frustrating a successful accomplishment of our revolution, while the Comintern is also committed to a similar line of action, its wish being to let the Communist party gain political powers in China. In order to assure the success of our revolution and the continuance of the Kuomintang, it is necessary for us to build up a new International based on the principles of ‘San Min.’ Diplomacy is a kind of warfare in peace time, and it must not be forgotten that the organization of the new

International will be the surest means of laying a foundation for our revolution. To put it in one word, what we have got to do are

“(a) To set up a new International of the oppressed peoples in the shortest possible time, and

“(b) To form an alliance with all the oppressed classes in Europe and America.”

Discussing the military problems of Revolutionary China, the same Chinese writer says as follows:

“Finally we are confronted with the necessity of formulating a newly reconstructed plan of our foreign military policy. A national defence must be based upon a well-defined objective, but we fail to discover any such objective in the military policy of the Nanking Government. For instance, the National Military Reorganization Conference merely decided upon the delimitation of six Reorganization Areas, and it entirely failed to designate any objective for our national defence.

“We consider the Japanese imperialism as the objective for our national defence. Unless the Japanese imperialism is successfully disposed of, our revolution will be doomed to a failure. We, therefore, consider it important that the following points should be decided upon:

“(a) North of the Yellow River, our military establishment should be planned according to an offensive strategy, while south of that river defence should be the main consideration. The directions of our strategic lines, should be from the north to the south and from the east to the west.

“(b) In consideration of the fundamental principle of our national strategy mentioned above, our first line of importance should be the three Eastern Provinces, and the Provinces of Hopei, Shantung, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and Kuangtung. As for the remaining Provinces, they will only be needed for the second and third lines of national defence.

“(c) As for the defence of the coastline, considerations of time and financial requirements make it impossible for us to build the needed warships within a period of ten years. It will, consequently, be necessary for the present to concentrate our attention upon the construction of submarine boats and aerial planes.”

From what has been remarked above, some light, we hope, has been shed upon the ideas and sentiments that are moulding China's political development. These ideas and sentiments, viewed in conjunction with China's deep-seated attitude of hostility to and contempt of other peoples subsisting from the beginning of history, make it easy for us to understand how deep and strong is the sentiment of anti-Japanism among the Chinese people. There are people who think that, if Japan agreed to China's demands for a commercial treaty on the basis of absolute equality, the abolition of extra-territoriality, the recognition of customs autonomy, and the abandonment of rights of coasting trade and of navigating inland waters, the immediate result would be the restoration of friendship

between the two countries. Nobody who knows the ideas lying deep in the hearts of the Chinese people and who bears in mind the guiding principles of the Kuomintang, will be prepared to agree with such a light-hearted view of the situation.

### 3. Education and Training in Anti-foreign Movement

Appreciating the value of popular education and training as a means of securing the success of the anti-foreign movement, the Kuomintang is directing its attention in this direction on a conspicuous scale. Its endeavours in this respect take various forms, but the most important are the inculcation of anti-foreign, especially anti-Japanese, ideas and sentiments in schools and colleges, and the training of the masses in public demonstrations. These methods will be briefly described in the following paragraphs.

1. *Anti-foreign (Particularly anti-Japanese) Education*: Since the San Min Chui Revolution, the Kuomintang has devoted a great deal of efforts to the teaching of the San Min principles to the people as the most efficient means of developing its party strength. Particular effort has been made to instil into the minds of people the idea of recovering national rights in accordance with the principle of nationalism. In this way it has become

possible to make use of very concrete objectives upon the subject of nationalistic spirit. By the time the Kuomintang forces advanced into the Yangtze-valley, the ground had been fairly well prepared, so that the cry of national rights recovery spread like the wildfire. England succumbed to it, and attention has since been chiefly directed against Japan, recourse being had to a most intensive cultivation of anti-Japanese sentiment through the medium of school education. This has been carried out so efficiently that the impressionable minds of Chinese young men and women and children are now filled with hostile feelings against Japan.

The educational institutions throughout China are, by Government orders, teaching San Min principles and other ideas sponsored by the Kuomintang. The text-books contain lessons on the so-called unequal treaties, foreign imperialistic oppressions, the recovery of rights and privileges. Considerable skill is noticed in the way these pernicious lessons are prepared. In the majority of cases, Japan is represented as the worst offender in oppressing China. The more serious of the offences Japan is accused of are politico-military invasions, economic encroachments, the pressure of over-population, and cultural invasion.

In the field of politico-military invasions, the claim is made for the abolition of the "unequal" treaties, and strong criticisms are offered concerning the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the settlement of the Boxer trouble, and the negotiations of the so-called



Twenty-one Demands. At the same time a strong demand is made for the recovery of Loo Choo (Okinawa), Formosa, Korea and the Leased Territory of Kwantung. Prominence is given to the observance as National Humiliation Days of May 4 (Peking affair), May 9 (the signing of the Twenty-one Demands treaty) and May 30 (Shanghai affair). Attention is also called to the importance of arresting Japan's advance in Manchuria and Mongolia, the Tsinan affair is bitterly criticised, and the abolition of consular jurisdiction is strongly advocated.

As for the economic invasions, they are said to follow military invasions, and they are stated to be more dreadful than forcible invasions. An eloquent plea is made for the recovery of customs autonomy. Complaints are also made of the enormous losses China is alleged to suffer on account of the investment loans, taxation in the settlements, the right of aerial navigation, the maintenance of post offices, and the carrying on of special enterprises by the Japanese such as railways, mines, and cotton spinning industry. By way of reprisal, the severance of economic relations with Japan through the boycott of Japanese imports is advocated. Strong appeal is necessarily made for the purchase of Chinese made goods in preference to those imported from Japan.

With regard to the problem of population, it is stated that Japan pursues a policy of territorial invasion in order to relieve the congestion of

population in her small area. Japan is blamed for incursion into Manchuria and Mongolia, and Shantung. Much sympathy is professed for the Koreans and Formosans, who are instigated to form a federation of minorities.

Finally in connection with the cultural invasion, it is maintained that foreign enterprise in education and religious propagation has injurious effects upon the minds of the Chinese people, because such enterprise is really intended for transplanting of imperialistic influences. It is, therefore, argued that all the establishments connected with the enterprise in question should be handed over to the Chinese. For the same reason, Japan's cultural work in China is branded as an illegal cultural invasion.

An examination of the text-books on anti-foreign education reveals the fact that their authors never hesitate to repudiate the logical sequence of historical events whenever it is unfavourable to their arguments, while they acknowledge its truth when by so doing they can strengthen their arguments. They in effect show little compunction in distorting historical truth. They ignore altogether wrong doings on the part of their country, confining their attention only to alleged persecutions by foreign nations. In this way Chinese children and youths are nurtured on a dangerous diet of one-sided accusations of the most misleading tendency. One cannot help shuddering when one thinks the consequences of such a system of education upon the relations between Japan and China.

2. *Training in Anti-foreign Mass Movement:*

Apart from the anti-foreign and anti-Japanese education in class-room, every encouragement is given to fostering the movement by taking advantage of memorial days and other occasions when students gather together in large numbers. On such occasions, speeches by instructors and students are largely on subjects connected with anti-foreignism.

Propagandists are also sent out from the Kuomintang headquarters to the factories under foreign management to talk on the question of boycotting foreign made goods and instigate strikes. These propagandists very often organize factory hands into societies under their control for the purpose of creating an anti-foreign atmosphere. Kuomintang delegates are also attached to the armies, charged with the duty of giving political instructions to the men according to the principles of the San Min doctrine. The tenor of such instructions is decidedly anti-foreign.

Another noticeable method of training the masses in anti-foreign demonstrations, is the observance of the so-called National Humiliation Days. The people at large are required to observe these days as National Holidays. These days commemorate the occasions when China was subjected to humiliating treatment at the hands of foreign nations. The object of commemorating these dates is to keep their unpleasant memories ever fresh in

the minds of the people in order to stimulate the hatred of foreign nations. On these days, care is taken to organize parades by students and workers, and lecture meetings are organized, where addresses of a highly inflammatory character are made. Dangerously anti-foreign posters are exhibited at all busy quarters. The one object kept in all these activities is to incite and foster anti-foreign feelings by means of highly distorted explanations of the particular historical events commemorated.

The more important of these Commemoration Days are:

Day	Event Commemorated
January 3	Recovery by force of the British concession at Hankow, 1917.
May 3	Tsinan affair, 1928.
May 4	The Student Demonstration at Peiping, 1919.
May 9	Approval of "21 Demands," 1915.
May 30	Collision of Chinese students with foreign police at Shanghai, 1925.

Beside those mentioned above, there are several other events listed for commemoration. Among them are the British-Chinese conflict at Shamien, Canton, 1925, the alleged British massacre at Wan-hsien, 1925, and the humiliating settlement of the Boxer trouble, 1901.

#### 4. History of Anti-Japanese Movement

A national characteristic of Chinese people, is to be meek like sheep to the strong but overbearing like despots to the weak. It is this trait in the Chinese character that forms the basic principle of the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods. In other words, the Chinese argue in this way: "Japan is

deficient in raw materials, for which she has to look to China, and at the same time it is to China she has to export her manufactures." So arguing, the Chinese convince themselves that they have us at their mercy, and consequently they proceed to boycotting our goods whenever they want us to behave. But they fail to realize that, although their trade with us amounts to 40 percent of their total foreign trade, our trade with them represents only 20 percent of our foreign trade.

The application of boycott against our goods was carried out for the first time in connection with the steamship Tatsu Maru affair in 1908. It has since been repeated several times during the past 24 years. It has always been resorted to in relation to some political events, like, for instance, the negotiation of the "Twenty-one Demands" or military expeditions into China. It is thus obvious that boycott has always been resorted to by China as an instrument of national policy.

Arranging them in chronological order, mention may be made of the more important of these anti-Japanese boycotts. It will be observed that a steady improvement has taken place in their size and technique.

1. *Tatsu Maru Affair*: On February 5, 1908, the Japanese steamship Tatsu Maru was seized and her cargo confiscated by a Chinese gunboat at Canton on suspicion of smuggling arms. The matter was vigorously taken up by the Japanese Government, with the result that it was settled by

an apology by the Chinese Government on five points. Japan's strong attitude as well as the Chinese Government's inefficiency angered the Chinese people who started a boycott against Japanese goods, which, starting at Canton, finally assumed almost nation-wide dimensions. It was continued for over eight months from March to November in 1908.

2. *The Antung-Mukden Railway Affair*: On August 8, 1909, Japan notified China that she had decided to rebuild the railway between Antung and Mukden, in virtue of the Peking treaty of 1905, and obtained China's consent to an Agreement consisting of five articles. A movement in opposition to this Agreement was started by the Chinese students in Japan. It gathered strength in the three Eastern Provinces in the form of a boycott of Japanese goods. The boycott spread to North China, where it acquired great strength under the patronage of the educational institutions and the officialdom. It finally became almost nation-wide. In response to a strong protest from Japan, the Governor-General of Manchuria issued an ordinance prohibiting the boycott. It had its effect, and the boycott which had started in August subsided in October.

3. *The "Twenty-one Demands"*: On May 25, 1915, the treaty of the so-called Twenty-one Demands concerning South Manchuria and Inner Eastern Mongolia was concluded. Japan's attitude in negotiating this treaty aroused a strong hostile

movement throughout Middle and South China. The incident was utilized by the Southern Government in its opposition to the Northern Government. The result was that the boycott lasted for nearly eight months.

4. *Paris Peace Conference*: In January, 1919, the Chinese Delegation to the peace conference at Paris, tried, with America's support, to get the Kiaochow concession, Shantung Railway and other interests Japan had wrested from German hands, restored to her direct from the Peace Conference. But at the session of April 30, it was decided that all matters concerning Shantung should be settled by direct negotiations between Japan and China. The receipt of this news in China was a signal for the initiation of a double-headed agitation, that is to say, an anti-Japanese boycott on the one hand, and on the other hand the denunciation of the Tuan Cabinet, especially the new Communication clique, and other politicians friendly to Japan.

On May 4 a large body of students in Peking, numbering several thousands, attacked the residence of Tsao Ju-lin who was considered to be the leader of the pro-Japanese group. At the same time Japanese goods were piled up in the streets of Peking and burned. The anti-Japanese movement, which had spread to Shanghai, Canton and other large cities throughout the country, acquired a fresh impetus on May 9, the National Humiliation Day (on account of the signing of the Treaty of the Twenty-one Demands). In June the movement

lost much of its fire, as Tsao Ju-lin and the other pro-Japanese officials were dismissed, but it again acquired a new momentum in July by the return of the Chinese delegates from Paris. It was not until April, 1920, that it finally died out.

Because this movement lasted for a year, the students felt a new confidence in their own power. They sanctified it by calling it a patriotic or a cultural agitation. In carrying on this movement, the students received help and assistance from foreign missionaries, while the other Powers regarded Japan's discomfiture with pleasure. In this way the balance of Powers vis-a-vis China was completely disturbed, which naturally in turn added much to the violence of China's anti-Japanese movement. It is also worth remarking that the movement in question incidentally served to open the eyes of the Chinese leaders to the fact that the condition of their country's relations with the Powers was far from satisfactory. The feelings of insecurity and dissatisfaction thereby engendered naturally disposed the Chinese people to adopt an attitude of hostility to the outside Powers in general.

5. *Agitation for the Recovery of Dairen and Port Arthur*: At the Washington Conference in 1921-1922, the treaty status of the leased territory of Kwantung and of the South Manchuria Railway was reaffirmed. But Japan had to give up her preferential position in Manchuria, and as if that was not enough, she had to sign on January 30, 1922, a treaty for the rendition of Shantung. Such whole-



sale concessions on her part only resulted in China's increased contempt for her, and side by side with the growing spread of the ideas of freedom and equality among the Chinese people, the anti-Japanese movement in China acquired increasing strength.

On August 17, President Li issued a statement concerning the recovery of Port Arthur and Dairen, which roused a widespread response in China. On November 1, the National Congress voted that the treaty of the Twenty-one Demands was null and void, and called upon the Government to demand the restitution of Port Arthur. On March 19, 1923, the Peking Government made a formal demand upon the Japanese Government for the restitution of Port Arthur and Dairen, a demand which was rejected by Japan four days later. The immediate result was a widespread anti-Japanese movement in various parts of China. It is a noteworthy fact that the slogan "the economic boycott of Japan" was used for the first time. The boycott of Japanese goods lasted till August, 1923.

6. *May 30 Trouble of 1925*: So far the anti-foreign agitations had been chiefly engineered and conducted by students without much outside guidance. Consequently, these agitations, though at times violent, lacked persistency. But about 1921 a special current in China's thought life turned it into a general anti-foreign movement. In other words what had been more or less vague and sporadic became organized and centralised. The new thought current which produced this remarkable change in the

movement was the idea of communistic revolution. In 1923 the Kuomintang definitely adopted the policy of a close association with the Soviet Union and decided upon accepting the communistic principles. Sun Yat-sen maintained that there was no essential antagonism between communism and the principle of the mass life enunciated in his San Min Chui. As the result of this open affiliation with the Soviet Union, labour movement spread in China like a wildfire, and the valour and efficiency shown by labour organizations was a source of new inspiration to the student movement.

It was in a social atmosphere like this that the historic episode now known as the May 30 Affair took place at Shanghai in 1925. It will be recalled that during a demonstration in connection with the strike of Chinese operatives at a local Japanese cotton mill, a group of students came into collision with the municipal police of the International Settlement at Nanking Road, resulting in the death of a number of students. This led to a general strike at Shanghai on June 1, followed by anti-foreign demonstrations at Peking, Hankow, Canton and other cities. Especially disastrous was the one at Canton on June 23, when a collision occurred at Shameen between Cadets of the Hwangpu Military School and the British settlement garrison, resulting in over 140 casualties. Taking advantage of the unfortunate situation thus created, Lian Chung-kai, chief of the industrial workers' department of the Kuomintang, acting in cooperation with Borodin and

Chen Tu-hsiu, started an economic crusade against Great Britain and Japan. At Hongkong the agitation was conducted through the Chinese Strike Committee (organized upon Soviet pattern), the men going on strike reaching the formidable number of 200,000. On July 21, the Chinese hands at the Japanese Cotton Mills at Tsingtao went on strike, while at Tientsin the Yutai Cotton Mill was attacked by a mob on August 11. Throughout this period Manchuria also was a scene of violent anti-Japanese demonstrations which were effectively fanned by the Chinese officials who issued repeated instructions for the persecution of Japanese and Korean residents. It was only in October that the anti-Japanese movement subsided.

The following year, when Chiang Kai-shek succeeded in July in getting as far as Hankow in his war of crusade against the northern warlords, fresh international troubles occurred there, which led to an anti-foreign agitation of a most virulent character with Great Britain as its chief objective. Most of the British settlements along the Yangtze were recovered by China, and as a price of the cessation of this movement, the foreign Powers gave a tacit recognition of the illegal taxation of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  percent, thus creating a precedent for treaty infringement with impunity. England had to send to Shanghai an army of 17,000 men for the protection of her vested interests there. But the coming into power of a Labour Cabinet led to a more weakened policy toward China, which instead of mitigating

the bitterness of the anti-British movement has only been productive of contrary results.

The Communist party, as is evident from what has been remarked above, dominated the thought world of China and directed practical movements of various kinds for six years since 1921. On April 16, 1927, the Kuomintang repudiated its connection with that party by a coup d'état at Shanghai, and adopted a more moderate policy. But it cannot so easily shake off the leftish ideas and tendencies it had acquired under the Communist tuition. Moreover, consideration of party interests makes it stick with greater vigour to those Communist slogans which appeal to the anti-foreign sentiment of the Chinese, such, for example, like the cries of "Down with imperialism" and "Away with the unequal treaties." The Kuomintang's attitude on these questions is so uncompromising that it insists on a one-sided termination of the existing treaties in case their revision in a way satisfactory to it is not otherwise practicable. It is an attitude hardly compatible with the principle of international faith.

7. *Kuo Sung-ling affair of 1925*: On November 23, 1925, Kuo Sung-ling raised a standard of revolt against Chang Tso-lin at Lanchow, and by December 1 he had passed Shanhaikwan and continued his march upon Mukden. Order and peace in Manchuria being thus threatened, our garrison there had to be strengthened. This led to anti-Japanese agitations in various parts of China. Anti-Japanese manifestoes were distributed throughout the country from the

headquarters of the Anti-Japanese Association at Shanghai. The anti-Japanese boycott was most virulent at Tientsin and Changsha, where it lasted until April, 1926. In Manchuria itself, the local authorities took steps to suppress all forms of anti-Japanese agitations, but the students conducted demonstrations at various places.

8. *Expedition to Shantung, 1927*: The year 1927 witnessed a series of regrettable incidents. On March 24, our Consulate at Nanking was attacked by the Southern revolutionary troops, who committed almost every form of atrocity. The Consul and some of his staff were killed or wounded, and the honour and dignity of the Empire was completely trampled under. On April 2, a collision between a sailor from a Japanese warship and a Chinese mob at Hankow, led to the invasion of our settlement there by infuriated mobs. The situation became serious enough to make it necessary to ask for a landing party for the protection of the Japanese residents.

On May 29, the Chinese at Linkiang, on the northern bank of the Yalu, a place opened for foreign trade, objected to the entry of our Consul's party to take up their post there, and set fire to the Consulate building, razing it to the ground.

About the same time, or more correctly on May 28, Japan despatched a military force to Shantung, because the northward expedition of the southern revolutionary army threatened to disturb

peace and order to the imminent danger to Japanese lives and property.

The Kuomintang headquarters at once engineered a country-wide agitation against Japan. Not only the party, but the various Government organs, including the police department, openly took active parts in it. The Kuomintang headquarters at Nanking issued on June 7 the celebrated Manifesto of 15 points, which the provincial headquarters were ordered at once to carry out. The 15 points are as follows:

“ (1) We are opposed to the invasion of China by the Japanese militarists.

“ (2) We are opposed to Japan's military expedition to Shantung.

“ (3) The Japanese militarists have followed the example set by the British imperialists.

“ (4) China's rights of freedom and equality do not go hand in hand with the Japanese imperialists.

“ (5) Down with the Japanese imperialists who assist the Manchurian militarists.

“ (6) Eliminate the Manchurian militarists who ask for Japanese help.

“ (7) Turn out Japan from Shantung.

“ (8) We call upon the people of Japan to oppose the militarists who have sent troops to Shantung.

“ (9) Down with the Japanese imperialism that disturbs the peace of the world.

“(10) Japan’s military expedition to Shantung exposes her imperialism.

“(11) Those who send troops to China are imperialists.

“(12) Japan’s military expedition to Shantung is an obstacle to China’s revolution.

“(13) Enforce economic boycott against the imperialists of Japan.

“(14) The militarists being supporters of imperialism, they are doomed to extinction.

“(15) Why does Japan consort with imperialism?”

The provincial Kuomintang issued instructions on the following points in July the same year:

“(1) Enforcement of economic boycott against Japan.

“(2) Alliance with oppressed minorities like the Koreans, the Formosans, the Loo Choo (Okinawa) people, the Annamites, etc.

“(3) Demolition of the combined front by the British, Japanese and American imperialism.

“(4) Extension of the counter-propaganda against the Japanese invasion of North China.

“(5) Interruption of the Japanese trade with other nations. (By means of alliance with foreign seamen, and sympathetic strikes throughout the world.)

“(6) Helping the Japanese colonies like Korea, Formosa and Loo Choo to liberate themselves from the Japanese dominancy.

“(7) Down with Chang Tso-lin.”

Of the above mentioned items, particularly noteworthy is that relating to the prevention of concerted action between Japan and Great Britain. It is interesting to notice that the Chinese concentrate their attention upon these two Powers having the largest interests in China. As for the rest of the Powers, the Chinese are well aware that there is little chance of combined action among them, as their interests in China are divergent. They therefore plan to deal separately with Britain and Japan, hoping thereby to dispose of them more easily. Another point worth noticing is that these instructions as a whole are conspicuously marked by a Communistic flavour.

9. *Second Shantung Expedition*: In the spring of 1928 the Nanking Government's army sent on an expedition against Peking, steadily pushed northward, and the commotion caused thereby threatened peace and order along the Shantung Railway and the vicinity of Tsinan. Consequently, with a view to protecting the lives and property of the Japanese residents on the spot, the Imperial Government despatched troops to the regions in question toward the end of April. On May 3, the Southern Chinese troops commenced looting, and our forces had no alternative but to fight them. The result was the so-called Tsinan Incident.

When Japan despatched the second expedition to Shantung, China protested against it on the various grounds such as the violation of international law, encroachment upon territorial rights and so



forth. In this way she tried from the start to stir up an anti-Japanese agitation among her people. The Tsinan Incident added fuel to the fire of the anti-Japanese agitation thus started. On the National Humiliation Day commemorated on May 4, violent anti-Japanese demonstrations took place at Chinkiang, Ichang and other Yangtze ports. The Nanking Government took advantage of the situation to renounce the Sino-Japanese Commercial Treaty, and try a compromise with the Mukden authorities. These actions on the part of the Nanking Government added greatly to the bitterness of feeling against Japan. The anti-Japanese movement, with Shanghai as its headquarters, now spread to the whole of the Yangtze basin, the provinces of Kwantung and Fukien in the south and to Kirin in the north. It continued till May, 1929.

Various features about the anti-Japanese agitation just mentioned are worth notice. (1) It was far better organized than any previous agitations; (2) it was openly directed by the Government; (3) there was the Communist influence at the back of it; and (4) it was powerfully assisted by the cry for "the use of domestic goods."

10. *Attack upon Chinese in Korea, 1931*: In 1931 the persecution of the Korean farmers at Wangpaoshan in Manchuria by Chinese officials and farmers, led to collisions between Chinese and Koreans in Korea. The result was a fresh anti-Japanese movement under the leadership of the Kuomintang headquarters of Shanghai. On July

15, a communication was sent out to the different parts of the country in the name of the Anti-Japanese Merchants' Association of Shanghai, urging a wholesale economic rupture with Japan—a suggestion, which, it is needless to say, was regarded as an order from the Kuomintang, and which was, consequently, widely acted upon. The Imperial Government having brought this to the notice of the Nanking Government, the latter promised to stop the movement. But that was only a pretence; in reality the Nanking Government gave encouragement to the movement, which accordingly increased in its extent and intensity and continued till the outbreak of the Manchurian incident.

In starting and fanning the anti-Japanese movement, the Kuomintang and the press of China resorted to all sorts of unfounded allegations. For instance, the Kuomintang headquarters of Shanghai stated in a manifesto thus: "The attack upon Chinese residents in Korea did not proceed from the real intentions of the Korean people. The latter were simply victims of Japanese instigation, so that, far from regarding the Koreans with enmity and anger, they should be regarded with pity and sympathy. Standing on the common battle ground of the oppressed peoples, we should try to call forth their revolutionary consciousness against imperialism, to the end that we may have them as our comrades in our long and heroic struggle for existence against Japan." Similarly in a message issued by the propaganda section of the

same headquarters, the Chinese people are urged "to arouse the revolutionary spirit of the Koreans, so that they shall join our people in an anti-imperialistic fight against Japan." It will not be difficult for anybody to discern the red hands of Communist agitators in these attempts to stir up Korean revolts against us.

11. *Since the Manchurian Trouble, 1932:* Upon the outbreak of the Manchurian trouble, the anti-Japanese agitations in various parts of China received a strong impetus. These agitations were conducted under the well-ordered guidance of the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Society. Acts of violence against Japanese residents became more and more frequent all over China. The National Salvation Society not only enforced the prohibition of the sale and distribution of Japanese goods, but compelled the repudiation of all existing contracts, the stoppage of all transactions with the Japanese, and the strike of all Chinese in Japanese service. In short, it was a complete severance of economic relations with Japan that the National Salvation Society demanded. In order to secure an efficient execution of all these plans, recourse was had to a forcible inspection of stores, intimidations and all sorts of violent sanctions. Even sentences of death were meted out to rebellious spirits. In these and other ways, not only the freedom of our people to reside and trade in China were seriously interfered with, but even their right of subsistence was denied them. It was in short a warfare without

recourse to actual hostilities. It was something not essentially different from a severance of relations between the two countries.

As a matter of fact, our Consulate at Chungking, Chengchow, Chengtu and Hankow had to be evacuated, together with our residents, because it became impossible to attend to business in safety. Brutal assaults upon our people grew frequent at all important centres like Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Canton, Hongkong and so forth.

The Imperial Government repeatedly requested the central and provincial authorities of China to exercise proper control over the anti-Japanese agitations. But the National Government of China never showed itself willing to comply with our request. On the contrary, it was inclined to regard these illegal activities of its people and officials as expressions of patriotic sentiment, and encourage such activities. Anti-Japanese agitations grew more and more violent. From Canton, Tsingtao, Foochow and other places came reports of Japanese residents murdered, Japanese officials insulted, and the Japanese Imperial family abused by Chinese journals. Provocative activities were most frequent in Shanghai, where the climax was reached on January 18, 1932, by the murderous assault upon a party of Buddhist priests of the Nichiren sect, killing one of them and more or less seriously wounding the others. This incident enraged the Japanese residents to the limit. It was while feeling thus ran high among the Japanese that the fire was opened by

the Chinese troops upon the Japanese landing party in a very provocative manner. Thus was started the Shanghai affair, which has eventually led to the despatch of military forces. The hostile sentiment still running very high among the Chinese, the situation does not warrant any optimistic view.

The anti-Japanese agitations mentioned above may be tabulated for purposes of easy reference as follows:—

No.	Year	Occasion	Regions affected	Duration Months
1	1908	"Tatsu Maru" Affair	South China	8
2	1909	Reconstruction of Mukden-Antung Railway	Manchuria	3
3	1915	"21 Demands"	All China	6
4	1919	Shantung Problem	All China and S. Seas	8
5	1923	Port Arthur and Dairen recovery agitation	N. and M. China	5
6	1925	Shanghai Affair	All China	5
7	1926	Kuo Sung-lin Affair	N. and M. China	5
8	1927	First Shantung Expedition	M. and S. China	5
9	1928	Tsinan Affair	M. and S. China and S. Seas	13
10	1931	Korean Affair	All China	—
11	1931	Manchurian Emergency	N. M. and S. China and S. Seas	—

## 5. Observations upon Anti-Japanese Agitations

1. *Anti-Japanese Sentiment Deep-rooted*: China's anti-Japanese movements are really not of a temporary nature, but they are fundamentally the outcome of

the deep-rooted traditional sentiment of anti-foreignism. Of late, especially since the revolution of 1911, they have been organized into systematic state activities for the purpose of realising the basic objectives of the revolutionary diplomacy, such as the abolition of unequal treaties and the repudiation of imperialism. These agitations are thus deep-rooted in their origin and are carried out with a determined spirit. Unless the Kuomintang changes its fundamental policies or it ceases to exist, there is no hope of these state controlled agitations being stopped. When we remember that all children and youth in school are systematically taught and trained in anti-Japanism, we cannot but help shuddering to think of consequences of such education upon the future relations between Japan and China.

2. *Anti-Japanese Agitation as an Instrument of National Policy*: Anti-Japanese agitations in China are instruments of national policy conducted under the direct or indirect supervision of the Kuomintang, which, under the existing system of government in China, it is difficult to dissociate from the Administration. These agitations can never be regarded in the same light as activities conducted by individual free will. They not only contravene the letter and spirit of the existing treaty provisions between Japan and China, but they are contrary to the ideas of justice and friendliness. They are acts of hostility without the use of military force; they are more treacherous than open warfare.

Anti-Japanese agitations, as is obvious from

what has been stated in the preceding chapter, are started in connection with political or diplomatic questions, such, for instance, as the negotiations of the 21 Demands treaties or the despatch of military expeditions, the object kept in view being to bring pressure upon Japan's economic interests and thereby facilitate the carrying out of national policies.

3. *Motives not Always Clean*: These agitations being started in connection with politico-diplomatic questions, the Chinese pretend that they are nothing but expressions of patriotism. But when closely scrutinized, it will be found that the motives behind them are in many cases far from clean, as in the cases described below:

(a) Disgruntled Chinese politicians or hostile militarists instigate students and ruffians to start anti-Japanese agitations, ostensibly for patriotic objects, but really to further their political interests at home or abroad.

(b) A small group of Chinese capitalists engineer a boycott of Japanese goods, with a view to getting the better of their Japanese competitors and disposing their stock at enhanced prices.

(c) Other nationals are not slow to take advantage of these agitations for creating a profitable market for their own national goods.

4. *Anti-Japanese Agitations as a Trade*: A successful conduct of these agitations not only benefits ambitious young men as an aid for a rise in their social standing but brings them no small

amount of pecuniary profits. No wonder, then, that an increasing number of young people join these agitations to get honour and profits. As a matter of fact the conduct of an anti-Japanese agitation has become a trade and profession. It would require strenuous exertions on the part of the Government to extirpate so lucrative a profession. It will, therefore, most probably continue to attract to it a large number of ambitious young men.

5. *Duration of Anti-Japanese Agitations*: As may have been noticed from the table printed on a preceding page, anti-Japanese boycotts have not lasted very long. They have, in the past, come to an end after a few months or at the most about a year. The reason is, because the stock of the necessaries of life imported from Japan soon gets exhausted and the Chinese themselves begin to feel the pinch. But the boycott of Japanese goods is now inevitably accompanied by a movement for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. In addition to this, the method of the party control over anti-Japanese boycotts are being steadily improved, so that it is not safe to conclude that the duration of boycotts will not increase.

6. *Intensification of Boycotts*: Reference has so far been made only to the anti-Japanese boycotts of periodic durations. It must not be inferred therefrom that anti-Japanese boycotts will always be periodic affairs. Anti-Japanese organizations have become permanent institutions, and as a boycott has become a profitable trade, the pressure



brought to bear on the resident Japanese is growing more and more unbearable. The sufferings occasioned are beyond the power of the pen to describe. The spread of an anti-Japanese movement, it must be remembered, virtually deprives the resident Japanese not only of the freedom of residence and trade, but of the very right to live. It is, indeed, an act of inhumanity of far reaching consequences.

7. *Boycott and Third Parties*: It is China's time-honoured policy to play one power against another or, to use another hackneyed Chinese expression, to make friends with distant powers and attack near neighbours. Even today essentially the same policy is resorted to by Chinese whenever she finds herself confronted by international trouble. So long as there are third parties making gestures which may be interpreted as favourable to China, anti-foreign movements will never be eradicated in that country. It seems likely that all the Powers with important relations with her are fated one after another to be victimized by this historic diplomacy of China.

8. *Centre of Anti-Japanese Movements*: From the table mentioned elsewhere, it may have been observed that anti-Japanese movements have so far been mainly confined to China proper, particularly Middle and South China. In other words, they are most frequent where the Kuomintang influences are strong, whereas in Manchuria, which is comparatively free from such influences, anti-Japanese

movements formerly seldom took place, and in the rare cases where they did occur they have never been of a virulent character. This is of great significance in view of the fact that contentious problems have always been of frequent occurrence in Manchuria. But the situation changed when Chang Hsueh-liang came upon the scene. Under his ill-omened regime, matters grew steadily worse until at last the climax was reached in the Mukden incident which led to the present Manchurian situation.

9. *Anti-Japanese Movement and Communism*: The communist revolutionary ideology which was introduced into China during the days of alliance with Soviet Russia, has permeated the party consciousness of the Kuomintang. It expresses itself conspicuously in the slogans of "down with imperialism" and "abolish unequal treaties." Its influence is particularly felt along the whole line of the anti-Japanese movement. The principle of communism which aims at demolishing capitalism and establishing in its stead a proletarian dictatorship possesses a delicate bond of sympathy with peoples struggling to free themselves from the yoke of an imperialistic state. The Comintern, as a matter of fact, is concentrating its energy on its attempts to utilize the anti-foreign psychology of the Chinese people for the purpose of attaining its own ends. In any case, it is impossible not to be struck by the presence of a communistic taint in the anti-Japanese movement.

10. *China is not a Law Ruled State*: For a

private organization like the Anti-Japanese Association to impose punishments upon individuals according to regulations not recognized by the law of the land, is tantamount to repudiating the authority of the state. The Anti-Japanese Association, for instance, compels merchants to boycott Japanese goods, and in case they refuse to obey its orders, they are subject to most cruel punishments in addition to the confiscation of the goods dealt in. Against such cruel and lawless actions on the part of private organizations, there is no security of person or property. Such an anarchic condition in China inevitably lowers her credit among nations, and forms a serious impediment to the attainment of her object in regard to the recovery of foreign settlements, and the abolition of the consular jurisdiction. The existence of conditions like that in China is a source of no small disappointment to those who sympathize with her nationalistic aspirations.

11. *Anti-Japanese Movement and Japanese Military Prowess:* It is a historical fact that localities with memories of Japanese military prowess are as a rule free from anti-Japanese movement. For instance, at Tsinan in Shantung where people still retain a vivid impression of the heroic achievements of the 6th Division in 1928 there has not been witnessed any serious attempts at boycotting Japanese goods in connection with the present Manchurian crisis. On the other hand, the anti-Japanese movement has been very strong in the

Yangtze valley, where the people as a whole have never had an opportunity of personally witnessing the might of Japanese army and consequently feel contempt for Japan.

12. *The Results of Anti-Japanese Boycott*: An anti-Japanese boycott is accompanied by a decrease of exports to China, a decline in the shipping trade, and a blow to Japanese enterprises in China. What demands special attention on our part in connection with a boycott, is the fact that it is nowadays accompanied by a movement for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. It seems important for our business world to make strenuous efforts to recover the lost ground when the boycott is over, by producing goods which in price and quality surpass Chinese commodities. It is scarcely necessary to add that it will be unwise for our business men to rely too much upon political settlements through governmental machinery.

13. *Stoppage of Boycott and Resumption of Sino-Japanese Negotiations*: The cessation of the economic boycott against Japan, should precede the resumption of negotiations for restoring the Sino-Japanese relations to a normal condition. In order to secure a definite cessation of the boycott, it will be necessary for China to abolish the anti-Japanese education and permanently interdict anti-Japanese movement. In other words, either the Kuomintang should reconstruct its party platform, or the Chinese people should undermine the Kuomintang and free themselves from the evils of the dictatorship of that party.

## SUPPLEMENT

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### Introductory Note

The object of this Supplement is to furnish in a convenient form reference material in connection with the investigation of the subject dealt with in the text of the present pamphlet. It has been considered advisable to list only the more important of the incidents that have taken place during the past few years.

Considerable difficulty has been experienced in collecting necessary material. The compilers regret that material for the year 1931 is particularly incomplete. It may, however, be interesting to remark that the anti-Japanese movement had by that year become so widespread and at the same time so cleverly interwoven into the daily life of Chinese people that it is very hard to single out anti-Japanese actions from the general run of normal Chinese doings.

## Illegal Actions Committed Against Japan in China

(June 1925—October 1931)

No.	Date		Region
1	June 2, '25.	Mob attacked Japanese Volunteers at Shanghai and looted Japanese residences.	Middle China
2	" 4, '25.	Mob broke into Japanese cotton spinning mill at Shanghai and committed violence.	"
3	" 7, '25.	Anti-Japanese students looted a Japanese hotel at Chungking.	"
4	" 11, '25.	Mob destroyed 8 Japanese shops at Hankow, one Japanese being killed.	"
5	" 12, '25.	20 Chinese soldiers assaulted a Japanese police officer in the railway zone near Tsaohokou on the Antung-Mukden railway.	Manchuria
6	" 13, '25.	Thousands of Chinese forces moved into the British Concession at Kiukiang and destroyed and looted the Japanese Consulate and other places.	Middle China
7	" 15, '25.	Mob committed violence in Chungking.	"
8	" 18, '25.	Mob threw stones upon the Japanese Consulate in Chungking and committed violence.	"
9	" 21, '25.	Japanese residents in Canton were shot to death and plundered.	South China
10	" 22, '25.	A Japanese was assaulted at Wuhu by Chinese coolies on strike.	Middle China

No.	Date		Region
11	June 23, '25.	Anti-foreign agitators assaulted the Customs at Ningpo.	Middle China
12	" 24, '25.	Coolies at Wuhu under pretention of anti-foreign movement looted and committed violence.	"
13	" 25, '25.	Mob assaulted the Japanese Consulate at Chungking.	"
14	" 26, '25.	Chinese soldiers and workmen assaulted Japanese naval men in Chungking.	"
15	July 1, '25	Anti-Japanese agitators in Swatow looted and committed violence.	South China
16	" 2, '25.	Chinese soldiers raided Japanese residences at Tsinan and committed violence.	North China
17	" 8, '25.	Members of the National Revenge Society at Changsha interfered with coaling and victualling a Japanese warship.	Middle China
18	" 14, '25.	Coolies assaulted a Japanese subject at Wuhu.	"
19	" 15, '25.	Japanese merchants in Nanking had their goods seized.	"
20	" 15, '25.	Japanese merchants were assaulted in Nanking.	"
21	" 21, '25.	A Japanese physician was assaulted in Nanking.	"
22	" 24, '25.	Coolies at Mawei, on intimidation by students, went on strike to bring landing and loading of ships to a standstill.	South China
23	Aug. 11, '25.	Chinese workmen assaulted the Yutai Cotton Spinning Mill at Tientsin, destroying machinery, etc.	North China
24	" 19, '25.	Chinese students sank a Japanese boat at Foochow	South China

No.	Date		Region
25	Sept. 12, '25.	Chinese military guards at Tsinan unlawfully broke into Japanese residences.	North China
26	Oct. 18, '25.	The Mukden army at Chenkiang placed a Japanese boat under detention.	Middle China
27	" 31, '25.	Soldiers belonging to General Yang Sen unlawfully boarded a Japanese ship at Wanhsien.	"
28	Nov. 14, '25.	The Chinese naval authorities at Shanghai issued an order prohibiting nightly movement of foreign shipping.	"
29	" 18, '25.	General San Chuang-fang ordered seizure of the Salt Gabelle in Shanghai.	"
30	Dec. 7, '25.	Japanese were plundered in Chinchow by soldiers of the Mukden army.	North China
31	" 12, '25.	Sergeant Namba was taken prisoner by Chinese soldiers while repairing telegraph line at Yangtsun, and killed after imprisonment.	"
32	" 15, '25.	The strikers in Canton subjected a Japanese boat to a search.	South China
33	" 20, '25.	The Nationalist army cut off the Japanese telegraph line near Tangku.	North China
34	" 23, '25.	The Japanese destroyer "Tsuta" was fired upon below Tientsin.	"
35	" 25, '25.	Students in Nanking, having passed a resolution against the Japanese military expedition in Manchuria, interfered with Japanese employing horse carriages and rikisha.	Middle China
36	" 26, '25.	Students in Nanking threatened to attack the Japanese Consulate.	"



No.	Date		Region
37	Jan. 1, '26.	The Japanese Consulate at Changsha was demanded to take down the national flag.	Middle Chi
38	" 13, '26.	The Japanese shipping at Swatow were deprived of labour for handling cargo.	South Chi
39	" 27. '26.	Sergeant Tanaka was arrested by Chinese soldiers while repairing the telegraph line at Changli.	North Chi
40	Feb. 10, '26.	The Nationalist army dropped a bomb upon a Japanese steamship off Taku.	"
41	" 16, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Tokei Maru" was detained by strikers of Canton.	South Chi
42	" 22, '26.	On account of strikers seizing goods landed from ships, the Canton Customs announced its closing.	"
43	" 22, '26.	The National Avenge Society of Changsha began boycotting Japanese goods.	Middle Chi
44	" 28, '26.	A workman employed by a Shanghai cotton spinning mill was assaulted and killed by strikers.	"
45	Mar. 3, '26.	The telegraph line laid by the Japanese army was cut off between Lanchow and Tangshan.	North Chi
46	" 8, '26.	General Yeh Kai-hsin's army opened fire on a Japanese steamship proceeding down stream near Hsiangtan, causing it to stop.	Middle Chi
47	" 9, '26.	The Nationalist Army blockaded the Taku water-way.	North Chi
48	" 12, '26.	The Nationalist Army began to inspect Japanese merchant marine at Taku.	"

No.	Date		Region
49	Mar. 12, '26.	The National Army at Taku opened fire on a Japanese destroyer.	North China
50	" 25, '26.	Anti - Japanese agitators in Changsha, in course of a demonstration, broke into the Japanese Consulate and committed violence.	Middle China
51	" 28, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Genko Maru" was fired upon by Chinese soldiers at Yochow.	"
52	Apr. 8, '26.	A bomb was thrown into the Japanese Consulate-General at Shanghai.	"
53	" 9, '26.	At Wanhsien harbour dues, and trade protection tax were unlawfully imposed, with also orders for loans for military expense.	"
54	" —, '26.	Beginning this month all Japanese shipping plying on the Chungking line were ordered to transport Chinese soldiers free of charge.	"
55	" 24, '26.	A steam launch belonging to Tai Sheng Chang was interned at Yochow.	"
56	" 28, '26.	Anti-Japanese agitators broke into the Japanese Consulate-General at Chengtu and committed violence.	"
57	May 9, '26.	A Japanese civilian resident at Hweili was shot and killed by a Chinese soldier.	North China
58	" 29, '26.	A mutiny occurring at Chulu, Fengtien Province, Japanese residences were looted.	Manchuria
59	" 30, '26.	Crowds, observing the anniversary of "The May 30th Incident" in Shanghai, flowed into Nanking Road and assaulted trams and motorcars.	Middle China

No.	Date		Region
60	June 5, '26.	Workmen committed violence at the Naigai Cotton Spinning Mill, Shanghai.	Middle China
61	" 22, '26.	A Chinese boat hired by the Japanese gunboat "Toba" was plundered at Wanhsien.	"
62	" 24, '26.	Workmen committed violence at the Naigai Cotton Spinning Mill, Shanghai.	"
63	" 25, '26.	Chinese soldiers boarded the Japanese steamship "Unyo Maru" at Chungking, demanding to be carried free of charge.	"
64	July 12, '26.	The steamboat "Ashido Maru" belonging to the firm of Tai Sheng Chang was fired upon by Chinese soldiers near Changsha.	"
65	" 12, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Kogen Maru" was fired upon on the lower Yangtze.	"
66	" 26, '26.	The same steamship was subjected to inspection by Chinese military men at Hsiangyin.	"
67	Aug. 2, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Unyo Maru" was fired upon at Wanhsien.	"
68	" 3, '26.	The army under General Tang Sheng-chih issued an order restricting the traffic of foreign shipping on the Yangtze river.	"
69	" 10, '26.	A second notice was given for restriction of the traffic of foreign shipping on the Yangtze river.	"
70	" 20, '26.	The Japanese gunboat "Sumida" was fired upon below Yingtien.	"
71	" 23, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Ryobu Maru" was fired upon while moving downstream from Changsha.	"

No.	Date		Region
72	Aug. 24, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Genko Maru" was fired upon at Hsinti.	Middle China
73	" 25, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Dai-kichi Maru" was subjected to inspection at Chenglingchi.	"
74	" 25, '26.	The commander of the Southern army at Yochow issued a notice restricting water traffic at Chenglingchi.	"
75	" 26, '26.	Notice was given of mines having been laid on the Changsha route.	"
76	Sept. 4, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Nanyo Maru" was fired upon near Huangchow.	"
77	" 5, '26.	The Provincial Government of Honan issued a notice restricting traffic on the Changsha line.	"
78	" 8, '26.	The Japanese gunboat "Kata-da" was fired upon near Hanyang.	"
79	" 9, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Gakuyo Maru" was fired upon near Huangchow.	"
80	" 9, '25.	The Canton Strikers' Association began to inspect ships' log-books and fine them for having entered Hongkong.	South China
81	" 15, '26.	A bomb was brought into the Japanese Consulate-General at Shanghai.	Middle China
82	" 16, '26.	The Southern Army issued a notice restricting river traffic with a view to blockading Wuchang.	"
83	" 16, '26.	The Southern Army at Hankow began to inspect postal correspondence.	"
84	" 16, '26.	The Cantonese Army issued a notice restricting the entry of foreign shipping into Swatow.	South China

No.	Date		Region
111	Nov. 18, '26.	The Japanese steamship "Shoko Maru" was caused to stop by gun fire about 45 miles below Changsha and was demanded to pay \$15,000. The captain was then carried off as prisoner.	Middle China
112	Dec. 14, '26.	About 20 soldiers of the Szechuan Army broke into the Nisshin Steamship Company at Ichang.	"
113	" 17, '26.	Bluejacket Katada was shot dead at Ichang by soldiers of the Southern Army.	"
114	" 19, '26.	The Chinese troops at Chuangte demanded the Japanese residents to pay for military expense.	"
115	" 28, '26.	A Japanese resident at Hankow was carried off by Chinese bandits.	"
116	Jan. 7, '27.	Armed police men and students at Hankow entered the Japanese Concession and committed violence.	"
117	" 12, '27.	The Peking Government declared imposition of a 2.5 percent super-tax by the Chinese Customs.	North China
118	" 13, '27.	The Mukden authorities notified imposition outside the open port of double and consumption taxes.	"
119	" 14, '27.	Kiukiang began to levy a super-tax of 2.5 percent.	Middle China
120	" 24, '27.	Armed Chinese soldiers unlawfully boarded the Japanese steamship "Shoko Maru" at Shasi.	"
121	Feb. 1, '27.	Changsha began to levy a 2.5 percent super-tax.	"

No.	Date		Region
122	Feb. 1, '27.	Chinese military troops tried unlawfully to board the Japanese steamship "Buryo Maru" at Ichang.	"
123	" 5, '27.	The Southern Army notified renewal of inspection of ships at Chenglingchi.	"
124	" 5, '27.	Kiukiang began to levy an additional tax for use of the wharf.	Middle China
125	" 9, '27.	The Japanese steamship "Shoko Maru" was fired upon by Chinese soldiers below Ichang.	"
126	" 10, '27.	The Japanese steamship "Katsuragi Maru" was subjected by threat to inspection near Nanking.	"
127	" 11, '27.	A super-tax began to be compulsorily exacted at Tientsin	North China
128	" 14, '27.	Chinese soldiers caused themselves to be carried free of charge between Kiukiang and Hankow by the Japanese steamship "Daikichi Maru"	"
129	" 17, '27.	Chinese soldiers boarded the Japanese steamship "Joyo Maru" for unpaid passage between Kiukiang and Hankow.	"
130	" 19, '27.	The General Industrial Association of Shanghai began to strike.	"
131	" 20, '27.	Chinese soldiers boarded the Japanese steamship "Joyo Maru" for free transportation between Kiukiang and Hankow.	"
132	" 22, '27.	Chinese soldiers boarded the Japanese steamship "Hoyo Maru" for free transportation between Kiukinag and Hankow.	"
133	" 24, '27.	Restriction was notified of navigation at Woosung.	"