REPORTS
TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
by the Committee of Representatives at Shanghai of
certain States Members of the League Council appointed
to report on
EVENTS IN SHANGHAI
AND NEIGHBOURHOOD
Shanghai, February 6 and 12, 1932.

Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The following Interim Reports have been supplied to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and by him laid before the Council of the League as part of the material which is being collected with a view to a Report being drawn up on the Sino-Japanese dispute. The rest of the material to be considered, including the written statements of the case of both parties, with the relevant facts and papers (as called for by Article 15 of the Covenant) have not yet, it is understood, been furnished to the Secretary-General. The Chinese Representative claimed on the 12th February to transfer the further consideration of the dispute from the Council to the Assembly, and the Council acceded to this request on the 20th February, intimating that a special Assembly would be called together on the 3rd March. The materials for reaching a determination by the League are therefore still in course of collection, and the dispute is necessarily sub judice.

J. S.
Reports to the League of Nations by the Committee of Representatives at Shanghai of Certain States Members of the League Council Appointed to Report on Events in Shanghai and Neighbourhood.

First Report.

(Telegraphic.)

Shanghai, February 6, 1932.

Committee appointed by Secretary-General of the League of Nations to report on events in Shanghai and neighbourhood has established, on the basis of its own information, following first report, which may require subsequent correction in detail or amplification, and will be followed by report on subsequent events. Committee met with the co-operation of Mr. Cunningham, Consul-General United States.

Present Committee has been asked to report on causes, facts, developments, events, Shanghai and neighbourhood.

Anti-Japanese boycott existing since July, result of Korean affairs increased by occupation Manchuria and stringently enforced, caused enormous damage to Japanese business. Boycott, fostered by the anti-Japanese Boycott Association(s) formed by various Chinese collaborating organisations, included picketing shops, seizure Japanese manufactures, fining, imprisonment of Chinese using or dealing in such goods and other illegal acts for which no redress obtainable through courts. Spirit bitter hostility was developed. Student manifestations and demand for war declaration against Japan increased Chinese feeling against Japan. In this state great tension incidents of violence frequently occurred. There was in addition derogatory references by Chinese to the Emperor of Japan which infuriated Japanese, and demands by Japanese to their Government to take direct action to put end to intolerable position became insistent.

On 18th January, five Japanese, some of them being Buddhist monks, whilst passing in front of Sanye Towel Factory in Chapei were attacked by Chinese, some of assailants being probably members of organised anti-Japanese Volunteer Corps. Chinese police arrived too late to arrest culpables. Two Japanese seriously wounded, one of them, Buddhist monk dying from wounds subsequently.

On 20th January about 50 members of Japanese Youth Protection Society with knives and clubs, proceeded to Sanye Towel Factory, set building on fire and on the way home clashed with Settlement Municipal Police. Three Chinese police seriously wounded, one of them dying from wounds; three Japanese shot by police, one dying from wounds,
Same day mass meeting Japanese residents held at Japanese Club protested against attack against monks and against disparaging references by the press to the Japanese Emperor. Meeting passed a resolution asking Japanese Government send war vessels and military units for complete suppression anti-Japanese movement. About half of them proceeded first to Japanese Consulate then to the naval headquarters in order to present resolution. After seeing Japanese Consul who asked them leave matter with him clashed with International Settlement Police on the way to naval headquarters, one British probation police wounded. Japanese authorities expressed regret. Seven Japanese subsequently surrendered to the Japanese authorities and were arrested by them to be tried for the offences in Nagasaki in accordance with Japanese law.

Afternoon of the same day Japanese Consul presented the chief secretary of the Mayor of Greater Shanghai following demands concerning events occurring 18th January:

First, formal apology by Mayor.
Second, immediate arrest culpable.
Third, payment indemnity hospital bills.
Fourth, adequate control of anti-Japanese movement.
Fifth, immediate dissolution all anti-Japanese organisations actively engaged in fostering hostile feelings and anti-Japanese riots and agitation.

During the morning of 21st January the Mayor of Greater Shanghai communicated to the Japanese Consul readiness to consider first three points but had difficulty in complying with last two. Later during the day communication from Admiral commanding Japanese naval forces published in the press, sent copies to Settlement authorities, Public Safety Bureau, Greater Shanghai, stating that should the Mayor of Greater Shanghai fail to give satisfactory reply to Japanese and fulfil demands without delay Admiral was determined to take necessary steps in order to protect Japanese Imperial rights interests.

On 24th January Japanese naval reinforcements arrived at Shanghai. Rumour also current Chinese troops in Chapei were being reinforced. Same day Japanese Consul communicated to Mayor that if no reply was forthcoming within reasonable time or if reply unsatisfactory Japanese Government reserved right to take action as required by circumstances. Meanwhile Mayor, who had expressed to neutrals his intention making every possible concession to avoid clashes, was trying to induce leaders of local Chinese to stop anti-Japanese boycott associations and agree to delete words "anti-Japanese" from the title other body, these words being considered by Japanese as national offence. Resulted association was closed and various offices were seized by Chinese Police during the night 27th–28th January.
On 27th January Japanese Consul notified Mayor of Greater Shanghai that, without fixing definite date, he would expect preliminary reply by 28th January.

On 27th January Japanese Consul informed Mayor that he must have satisfactory reply to demands by 6 P.M. next day, failing which Japanese would take necessary steps in order to enforce them.

January 28, 7:30 A.M. Japanese Admiral notified Commanders other national defence forces he proposed to take action following morning if no satisfactory reply been received from Chinese. Municipal Council of International Settlement held meeting during the morning and decided that state of emergency should be declared as from 4 P.M. This decision was taken by the Municipal Council on their responsibility. Declaration of state of emergency is effective notice to Commanders of various national forces that they are expected to be prepared to defend their sections.

Same day, early afternoon, Mayor of Greater Shanghai transmitted to Japanese Consul reply accepting entirely Japanese demands. At 4 P.M. Japanese Consul informed Consular Body of receipt this reply, which said entirely satisfactory. He added that it remained to be seen whether Mayor would be able to enforce terms accepted, but he admitted that demands had been carried out to a large extent, and for the time being no action would be taken. In spite of this change in the diplomatic situation there was a popular belief that the Japanese Naval authorities were determined to take direct action in any event. Inflammatory statements were appearing Japanese press, "Union Bulletin," to the effect that Chinese did not intend to carry out their promise, and that they were preparing to attack Japanese. It was also anticipated that there might be a revolt amongst Chinese population against acceptance by the Mayor of the Japanese demand. These considerations made it advisable in the eyes of the Defence Committee that the State of Emergency should be, nevertheless, enforced as from 4 P.M.

It is to be noted that the International Settlement Defence Committee composed of garrison commanders, Chairman Shanghai Municipal Council, (?) Shanghai Municipal Police, and Commandant Shanghai Volunteer Corps, and presided by the Senior Garrison Commander, is not considered to give orders to the various commanders as to detailed measures they are expected to take in defending their sections. It simply allots sections, helps in co-ordinating action taken by various commanders, and fixes main principles defence.

British and American troops started to occupy their respective sections soon after declaration State of Emergency. Italian troops occupied their section 29th January.

Japanese section consisted of whole North-Eastern area of the Settlement, limited on the Western side by North Honan Road. Comprised also, from the point of view Shanghai Defence [0627]
Committee, area outside Settlement limited on the West by North Kiangsi Road and Woosung Railway, on the North by the Northern border of Hongkew Park, on the East by a line joining roughly North-East corner of Hongkew Park and Harbin Road Police Station.

Many Japanese live in the region of Hongkew Park. The park itself and North Szechwan Road, Dixwell Road, although outside Settlement, are properties Shanghai Municipal Council and normally policed by it. Does not appear that the Chinese authorities previous to events starting at 11 p.m. had received any communication about this outside Japanese section. Japanese made no attempt to occupy extra Settlement Section when State of Emergency came into force, but it must be understood that Japanese marines have always maintained posts along above-mentioned Municipal road in this area for the protection of their nationals, and their naval headquarters are situated towards the end of this salient.

11 p.m. Japanese admiral issued two proclamations, copies of which were served on the Mayor, who declared he had received them at 11.15 p.m. One of these referred to State of Emergency and said Imperial Navy, feeling very anxious regarding situation in Chapei, where Japanese nationals lived in large numbers, decided to send troops to this section for the enforcement of law and order in the area. Under the circumstances he hoped Chinese authorities would speedily withdraw Chinese troops stationed at Chapei to the West of railway and remove all hostile defence in that area. Other proclamations stated that in the area given to Japanese in order to preserve order in the Settlements any action considered necessary for the proper execution of duties involved in State of Emergency would be taken.

Japanese marine and armed civilians having mobilised (one word indecipherable) at naval headquarters forces advanced along North Szechwan Road, dropping parties at entrances to alley ways as they went along, and at midnight at a given signal all these parties advanced Westwards and Northwards in the direction of railway. The final party of about 100 marines, accompanied by armoured cars, attempted to pass through gates dividing Settlement from Chinese territory at the end of Honan Road, but were prevented by Shanghai volunteer corps in whose section gate situated. This gate leads to railway station.

Chinese military authorities had not complied with Japanese admiral's demands to withdraw their troops. Would appear moreover even had they decided to comply with this demand, would have been impossible in short time at their disposal to arrange for the actual withdrawal of Chinese troops in that area. One should take into account also tension created by situation of previous days which would induce Chinese authorities to interpret measures taken by Japanese naval authorities as representing part of larger military operations. Japanese marines consequently met with resistance on the part of Chinese regular troops. They succeeded in reaching
railway line so far south as Paoting Road, but do not appear to have succeeded in reaching line south of that point and their line then ran east of railway until it reached Settlement boundary between North Honan and North Szechwan Roads. Japanese were harassed by Chinese armoured train, which issued from station and patrols Woosung line. Subsequently it took refuge in the station, which was also strongly defended by Chinese troops. Thereupon Japanese during 29th January bombarded station and destroyed train by aeroplanes. Other buildings along Paoting Road also burned by incendiary bombs and it is generally thought this was done deliberately in order to destroy vantage post overlooking Japanese lines, casualties not known, but believed considerable loss of life resulted.

Mayor, Greater Shanghai, had lodged protest against the Japanese action with Consular authorities. Japanese authorities contended that their action was not connected with demand they had made and which had been accepted, but was based necessity protecting Japanese population living in part of area occupied. Also maintained that action, which met with armed resistance, and for which they took full responsibility, was within limits admitted, if necessity arose, by the International Settlement defence plans. Fighting continued during greater part of 29th January.

In the afternoon of 29th January at the request of the Mayor of Greater Shanghai, American British Consuls succeeded in arranging for truce which started from 29th January at 8 P.M. Truce amounted only to an agreement to refrain from further firing.

On 31st January, at a meeting held between Japanese Consul, Admiral commanding Japanese naval forces, Mayor Greater Shanghai and Commander local Chinese troops, in presence of American and British Consuls, it was agreed that Japanese Consul should report to Japanese Government a suggestion that Japanese troops should be withdrawn from the salient. If reply was unfavourable Chinese would refer to their Government and until final reply was received both sides agreed that they would not fire unless first fired upon.

CIANO,
Chairman, Committee.
Second Report

(Telegraphic.)

Shanghai, February 12, 1932.

I am requested to transmit following second report, Shanghai Committee.

By 8 P.M. 29th January, that is, after beginning of arranged truce, firing had died down, but next day Japanese Admiral protested to American and British Consuls-General that Chinese armoured train in the railway station reopened fire. This Chinese denied, alleging, on the other hand, that it was Japanese who had fired.

During the morning of 31st January, seventeen Japanese aeroplanes flew over Shanghai and Chinese positions, but without any bombardment. Japanese naval authorities contended this demonstration was effected as a result of fresh breach of truce by Chinese. This was warmly denied by the Chinese. On this day took place the meeting referred to in last paragraph of first report, at which suggestions for a neutral zone were made, and it was agreed that the truce should continue, pending final reply both sides.

February 1. Truce was more or less observed, though there was again some intermittent firing.

February 2. Japanese Commander again alleged breach of truce by the Chinese on previous days, adding that as it seemed clear that Chinese were assembling forces with a view to surrounding Japanese, he was going to send up aeroplanes to reconnoitre.

About midday, Japanese aeroplanes flew over Shanghai and Chinese positions. They were fired upon by the Chinese, whereupon aeroplanes dropped bombs and in a short time general firing both sides recommenced. About 3 P.M., that is, after fighting had reopened, Japanese Consul-General informed consular authorities that the Japanese Government had rejected proposal for neutral zone referred to above.

Same day, the Mayor of Greater Shanghai sent to consular authorities a letter, received by them 3rd February, referring to request for an armistice meeting 31st January, and stating Japanese had repeatedly broken this agreement by bombarding them from the air as described in the preceding paragraph.

February 3. Japanese naval authorities announced, as the Chinese authorities had consistently failed display sincerity in the carrying out of their engagements, Chinese troops must be withdrawn sufficient distance from Chapei, and to effect that object Japanese aeroplanes might be forced to bombard Chinese positions. Later on same day Japanese Consul-General informed consular authorities that three Japanese destroyers had been fired upon from the Woosung forts, and Japanese therefore intended occupy forts. This was again denied by the Chinese.

Since 3rd February state of open war exists, any pretence truce being abandoned. Firing continues intermittently, both in Chapei and Woosung area, with the use of artillery and, on the side of
Japanese, by aerial bombardment. Offensive is entirely in the hands of Japanese, whose declared object is to capture Woosung forts and drive all Chinese troops considerable distance from Shanghai.

It must be noted, in relation to any question of breach of truce, that complete truce never really existed, and also that, in the absence of foreign observers in the fighting lines, it is impossible to establish which side should be held responsible for breaking truce. Individual units on either side, even "agents provocateurs," may have been responsible.

Apart from question of resumption of hostilities between regular troops on the fighting line, it is necessary to recall briefly events, internationally important from the point of view of the status of settlement, which during this period were occurring inside Japanese section.

From the beginning of the Japanese movement on the night of 28th January, Japanese section was invaded by Chinese plain clothes troops, who concealed themselves inside, or on roofs of houses, whence they fired on the Japanese patrols in the streets with automatic pistols. It should be mentioned that the Japanese, who seem to have had insufficient regular forces for the defence of the area they occupied, had mobilised and armed all their so-called reservists, who wore civil clothes distinguished by brassards.

Marine and reservists responded to the sniping of the Chinese plain clothes soldiers by machine-gun fire, and also by house-to-house search in order to locate snipers, in course of which very considerable damage was done, houses even being set on fire in order to get rid of snipers.

Japanese naval authorities took complete control Hongkew district, inside Settlement, barricaded streets, disarmed police, and paralysed all other municipal activities of the Settlement authorities, including fire brigade. Police posts were prevented from all communications with their headquarters. Shanghai Municipal Council was forced to evacuate schools and hospitals. Numerous excesses, including summary executions, were committed by marines, reservists and . . . last mentioned, who had not official standing, being actuated probably merely by spirit of revenge against Chinese for earlier anti-Japanese activities. Reign of terror resulted, and almost entire non-Japanese population of area ran away.

Owing to large number of Chinese who were believed to have been arrested or put to death by the Japanese, and of whom no trace could be found, Municipal Council 5th February asked Consular Body to approach Japanese authorities with a view to enquiry. Japanese Consul admitted that excesses had been committed by his nationals at a time when feeling was running high and chaotic conditions prevailed, but the situation was greatly improved and he agreed that persons arrested as suspect by the naval authorities within the Settlement should be handed over to municipal police. This was accordingly done, but the number of Chinese still
unaccounted for is very large. Municipal police have already collected details of about 100 cases.

Sniping has been now greatly reduced, but Japanese control is still severe and police and other municipal functions can only [sic] assert themselves. Japanese authorities were much concerned at the excesses committed by their nationals, and considerable number of undesirables have been deported to Japan.

Shanghai Committee do not propose for the time being to send any further reports unless they come in possession of some fresh information which will necessitate corrections of previous statements, or until it is required to amplify or supplement any particular point in statements made in their first and second reports.

CIANO,
Chairman