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国際平和運動における新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦の役割

(研究課題番号 12610332)

平成12年度～平成14年度
科学研究費補助金 基盤研究(C)(2)
研究成果報告書

平成15年3月

研究代表者 ヌノカワ 布川 弘

(広島大学総合科学部 助教授)

広島大学図書

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はしがき

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研究組織

研究代表者 : 布川 弘(広島大学総合科学部助教授)

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研究発表

(1) 学会誌等

- 布川 弘 「港湾労働者から見た兵庫と神戸の近代」
『歴史と神戸』220号, 2000年6月, 31～36ページ
- 布川 弘 「宮島の遊郭」
『日本研究』「厳島」特集号, 2001年3月, 57～74ページ
- 布川 弘 「大正期の地域社会における教育と天皇制—大崎下島を事例に—」
『史学研究』第232号, 2001年6月, 1～18ページ
- 布川 弘 「近代日本における首都の役割と特質」
『日本史研究』466号, 2002年4月, 70～86ページ

(2) 口頭発表

- 布川 弘 近代日本における首都の役割と特質
2001年度 日本史研究会大会 2001年11月18日

研究成果

(1) 研究の目的

新渡戸稲造が国際連盟および知的協力委員会の設立にどのように関わったのかを具体的に明らかにし、その背後にあった新渡戸の国際平和に関する理念を探り出す。さらに、そうした理念が賀川豊彦の思想と社会運動・平和運動にいかなる影響を与えたのかを明らかにする。

また、彼等の理念形成にあたって、ノーマン・エンジェル、H.G.ウェルズ、ジョージ・ランズベリー、アルベルト・トーマラ、当時活躍していた欧米知識人の思想と運動がどのように関わったのかを明らかにする。

新渡戸・賀川の両者は明治という時代が育んだナショナリストであったが、同時に日本人としては最も早い時期に国際的な道義の重要性を自覚し、欧米やアジアにおいて様々な知識人と交流しながら、具体的な社会運動・平和運動を担った数少ない人物の中の二人であった。ナショナリズムと国際的な道義を両立させることは、現代世界においても大きな課題であるが、そうした課題に取り組んだ先駆者の思想と行動を明らかにすることによって、現代がかかえる難問の一つに答える糸口を見出せる可能性があると考えられる。

また、彼等が日本人であったということのもつ重要性がある。確かに戦前においては彼等の理念が実現されることはなかったが、戦後世界に息づく国際的道義を形成する上で大きな役割を果たし、「軍国日本」と対抗した「平和日本」の大きな水脈であったことが明らかになることによって、日本の近現代史の多様性が浮き彫りになり、国際社会における日本の未来像を提示する手がかりになる。

従来の日本近現代史研究の領域では、国際的な平和運動に対する関心は希薄であり、そうした運動の「敗北」を前提として、国民がいかにか戦時体制にとりこまれていったのかという点に研究の関心が偏っていた。しかし、戦後の国際的な秩序のあり方やその中での日本の位置をにらんだ場合、戦前における平和運動を明らかにすることは重要な意義がある。

こうした関心の偏りは、多分に、戦時下における厳しい検閲にさらされた史料に依拠して研究がなされてきたがために生じた、ある意味で必然的な成り行きであった。それ故、厳しい情報統制の中で日本では見ることのできなかつた海外の史料を精査し、従来の国際平和運動の歴史に対するイメージを修正することが不可欠である。

また、日本近現代史研究の領域では数は少ないにせよ、戦前の国際的な平和運動に関する研究があるが、それらは対支非干渉運動など左翼インターナショナリズムを中心とした平和運動に関する研究が主であり、ナショナリズムと国際的道義の統一という関心で取り組まれた平和運動に関する研究はほとんどない。

さらに、欧米の知識人との関わりで、日本の平和思想をとらえた研究もほとんどなく、国際的な観点で日本の近現代史を把握するという点でも重要な意義がある。

(2) 研究の経過、ならびにその成果

ア、平成12年度 国際連盟及び知的協力委員会の設立に果たした新渡戸稲造の役割と思想の特質を踏まえ、それが太平洋会議の舞台でどのように具体的に展開されたのか、また、その問題と賀川豊彦の平和運動との関わりを明らかにすることを目標として、以下の作業を行った。

①国内の研究機関が収集・所蔵している史料の調査

賀川豊彦記念松沢資料館(東京都世田谷区)、一橋大学(東京都国立市)が収集・所蔵している資料を、当該機関のアーキビストの協力を得ながら、調査し、必要なものを複写した。

②海外の研究機関が収集・所蔵している史料の調査

ロンドンの The British Library の Newspaper Library が収集・所蔵している、The China Weekly Review, The Far Eastern Review, The British Weekly, The Christian World, The North China Herald, The China Press などの新聞史料、及び London School of Economics and Political Sciences(L.S.E.)に付属する British Library of Political and Economic Sciences(B.L.P.E.S.)が収集・所蔵している、Peace Year Book, No More War, The New World, Peace などの雑誌・新聞史料を調査し、必要なものを複写した。

イ、平成13年度 太平洋問題調査会(Institute of Pacific Relations, IPR と略す)と太平洋会議(Pacific Conference)における新渡戸稲造の役割、および Fellowship of Reconciliation(FOR と略す、日本支部は日本友和会)を中心とした平和運動における賀川豊彦の役割を明らかにするため、以下の調査を行った。

①国内の研究機関が収集・所蔵している史料の調査

賀川豊彦記念松沢資料館(東京都世田谷区)が収集・所蔵している『友和会パンフレット』などの史料、盛岡市先人記念館(岩手県盛岡市)が収集・所蔵している新渡戸稲造書簡などの史料、一橋大学(東京都国立市)が収集・所蔵している大窪憲二コレクションの史料、東京大学教養学部アメリカ研究資料センターが収集・所蔵している高木八尺コレクションの史料などを、当該機関のアーキビストの協力を得ながら調査し、必要なものを複写した。

②外国の研究機関が収集・所蔵している史料の調査

ハワイ大学図書館(University of Hawaii at Manoa Library, Hamilton Library)が収集・所蔵し

ている太平洋問題調査会関係史料のうち、京都会議と上海会議における Pacific Council および IPR Conference のフォルダーを調査し、必要なものを筆写した。

③史料データベース作成の準備作業

史料データベース作成の準備作業として、British Library が所蔵するなどの新聞史料を、パーソナルコンピュータに入力した。

ウ、平成14年度太平洋問題調査会(Institute of Pacific Relations, 略称 IPR)と太平洋会議(Pacific Conference)における新渡戸稲造の役割、および日本友和会(Fellowship of Reconciliation, FOR)を中心とした平和運動における賀川豊彦の役割を明らかにすることを研究の目標とした。そして、主として国内の研究機関が収集・所蔵している史料の調査を行った。とりわけ、平成12年度及び13年度における海外調査で収集した史料と付き合わせる作業を完成するための史料調査に重点を置いた。具体的には、一橋大学図書館が収集・所蔵している大窪愿二コレクションの史料(Nd-A880 PACIFIC COUNCIL, 1927, 1929, 1931)、東京大学教養学部アメリカ太平洋地域研究センターが収集・所蔵している高木八尺文庫の太平洋問題調査会関係資料を調査し、必要なものを複写した。

太平洋問題調査会と太平洋会議は、国際連盟において新渡戸稲造が確立した国際的な知的協力による国際平和の実現という理念に基づいて開催された。とりわけ、1929年に開催され新渡戸が議長をつとめた京都会議と、1931年に開催された上海会議は、満州事変を間にはさんで、日中関係を基軸に国際関係が大きく転換する時期に開催されており、そこでの議論の内容とその帰趨は、当時の国際平和運動の特質を考える上で、格好の分析対象である。本年度は、その二つの会議における議論を分析し、新渡戸の考え方を明らかにすると同時に、新渡戸が設立した日本友和会を中心とする日本国内での平和運動との関係、及びそこでの賀川の役割を明らかにし、報告書にまとめた。報告書では、満州問題をめぐる議論において、国際平和主義の立場に立つ新渡戸ら知識人が一貫して日本の立場を弁護し、中国の代表団と激しいやりとりを繰り返しており、当時最も優れた国際感覚をもっていた日本の知識人ですら、大きな限界をもっていたことを強調した。

(3)残された課題

新渡戸の国際平和に関する理念については太平洋問題調査会の活動を中心に考察し、さらに日本友和会の結成などを中心に、1920年代中ごろから満州事変期までの時期においてそうした理念が賀川豊彦の思想と社会運動・平和運動にいかなる影響を与えたのかを明らかにすることができた。その結果、満州事変前後の緊迫した東アジア情勢の中における太平洋会議とその母体である太平洋問題調査会(Institute of Pacific Relations, 略称 I.P.R.)に関わった日本の知識人たちが、国際紛争の只中で構想していたインターナショナリズムのあり方を具体的に明らかにすることができた。しかしながら、次のような課題が残された。

欧米や中国側から見た新渡戸や賀川の国際平和運動太平洋問題調査会の活動の位置づけについては、ロンドンのThe British LibraryのNewspaper Libraryが収集・所蔵している新聞史料である程度把握することができたが、当該時期の欧米の平和運動をささえた理念を総体として明らかにするまでには程遠く、したがって、その中で新渡戸や賀川といった日本の国際平和主義の立場に立つ知識人の思想の位置づけについても不十分なものとどまった。また、太平洋問題調査会に関する一次史料は、ハワイ大学、東京大学、一橋大学などに保存されており、ここ数年の調査でその主要なコレクションに直接触れることが出来たが、また、第一次世界大戦後の国際平

和その中でもとりわけ、ハワイ大学のHamilton Libraryそれらの膨大な史料群の一部に触れたとどまっており、前述の残された課題を明らかにするためにも、さらなる史料調査と研究が必要である。

はじめに

第一次世界大戦の悲惨な経験は、国際平和を求める世界的な世論の高揚をもたらし、国際紛争を仲裁し戦争を抑止する機関として国際連盟が設立された。さらに、国際連盟に加盟していなかったアメリカなどの大国も参加してパリ平和条約(The Kellogg Pact)が締結された。そして、国際連盟規約やパリ平和条約を支えとしながら、様々な傾向をもつ平和運動が取り組まれた。それらの中で拙稿が目指したいのは、「心」の国際交流によって平和を実現しようとした運動である。新渡戸稲造は、国際連盟のもとに各国の指導的知識人よりなる「国際知的協力研究所」を設立したが、その目的は宗教・教育・学術文化など精神的な面での国際交流を進展させることによって平和を実現することにあり、フロイトとアインシュタインの平和に関する公開論争などに取り組んだ¹。さらに、「知的協力」や「心」の交流という発想の根底には、協同組合(co-operative)の思想があった。即ち、個人の意志で参加し、全体に利益が還元されるように運営すべきであるという思想である。また、この平和運動は愛国心を否定するものではなく、むしろ各国民国家の価値を是認することから出発していた。この思想は、第一次世界大戦後に結成された様々な国際平和運動団体²に大きな影響を与え、太平洋問題調査会(Institute of Pacific Relations, 略称IPR)もそうした団体の一つであった。

こうした平和運動に対する評価は概して低い。もちろん、その最大の理由は第二次世界大戦を阻止できなかったことにある。しかし、あえて拙稿がその運動に注目しようとするのには理由がある。一つは、第二次世界大戦との関わりだけで評価するのではなく、戦後の国際政治への影響、さらには今後のあるべき国際関係との関わりで、そうした平和運動がもっていた重要な意義を救い出すべきだと考えたからである。二つ目は、最初の理由の前提をなす考え方なのであるが、国際関係を規定しているものにある種の道義的な原則があり³、それを形成する上で右の平和運動が重大な役割を果たしたと考えるからである。

拙稿はこうした平和運動を日本で担った人物として新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦を分析の対象とした。新渡戸は発足間もない国際連盟の事務局次長として国際知的協力研究所の設立などに活躍し、国際連盟を退任したあとは、1929年～1933年までIPR日本委員会の理事長をつとめた。新渡戸はIPR日本委員会の「影のような存在であり続け、彼の国際認識はその活動のいわば支柱をなしていた」のである⁴。賀川は神戸「新川」スラムでの社会事業や労働運動・農民運動などの社会運動における指導者として知られているが、欧米ではさらに平和主義者(pacifist)としての高い評価を得ている⁵。そして、この両者の思想と運動は強いつながりをもっていた。

拙稿は、とりわけ満州事変前後の両者の活動と発言に注目した。欧米の世論は満州事変を世界平和にとって深刻なダメージを与える問題として認識し、中国の知識人たちは、満州事変が中国の国民のみならず、すべての諸国民に対する挑戦として位置づけた⁶。そうした中で、新渡戸はIPRの活動においてその思想と運動の真価をためされ、賀川も同様に大きな試練に立たされた。当該期における両

¹ 入江昭『二十世紀の戦争と平和』、東京大学出版会、一九八六年、九三～四頁。

² 日本で結成されたそうした団体については、緒方貞子「国際主義団体の役割」(細谷・齋藤・今井・蠟山編『日米関係史3 議会・政党と民間団体』、東京大学出版会、1971年)を参照。

³ 小林啓治「近代国際社会から現代国際社会への変容についての一試論」、歴史と方法編集委員会『歴史と方法1 日本史における公と私』、青木書店、一九九六年。

⁴ 中見真理「太平洋問題調査会と日本の知識人」、『思想』728号、p.106。

⁵ 米沢和一郎『賀川豊彦の欧米での評価』、コープこうべ・生協研究機構、賀川豊彦研究会、一九九五年(以下、米沢A論文と略す)。同「暗い時代の真実の叫び—平和主義者賀川豊彦の言動—」、『火の柱』第五三六号、一九九四年七月(以下、米沢B論文と略す)。

⁶ C. Y. W. Meng, China Disappointed by League's Action, China Weekly Review, 10/10/1931.

者の思想と運動は、戦前における日本の国際主義を考察する試金石になると考えられる。当該期の日本国内における国際主義者の動向については、それほど詳細な分析がなされていない⁷。そうした中で、新渡戸と賀川 の思想と行動を明らかにすることは、戦前日本の国際主義について新たな知見を付け加えることになる。

一、第一次世界大戦後の国際平和運動と日本

賀川の欧米での高い評価は、既に 1920 年代には定着していたようである。それは必ずしもキリスト教会という枠内にとどまらなかった。例えば、ロマン・ロランは 1924 年 12 月、詩人尾崎喜八にあてた手紙の中で次のように述べている。

私は独逸系瑞西の雑誌でトヨヒコ・カガワに関する論文を読みました。君は彼を個人的に知っていますか。彼の道徳的個性と社会的事業とは讃嘆すべきもの、やうに思はれます。たゞ然し私は、人が皆基督の印璽の下に置かれる事を遺憾とします⁸。

ロマン・ロランが「讃嘆すべきもの」とした社会事業とは、神戸「新川」スラムにおける救済事業に他ならない。シカゴにハルハウスを設立してセツルメント運動を展開したジェーン・アダムスも早くからその事業に注目しており、1923 年に来日した際、「新川」の賀川のもとを訪れている⁹。

「新川」での救済事業は、ガンジーやシュバイツァーと同列に置かれて評価された事例もあるように¹⁰、欧米の少なくとも良心的な知識人からは大きな共感をもって迎えられた。むろん、「新川」での体験を綴った自伝的小説『死線を越えて』が爆発的な売れ行きを示したように¹¹、日本でも賀川の事業は共感をもって迎えられたのであるが、欧米の場合はその事業の基礎にある思想的なものへの共鳴がより強くみられるように思われる。即ち、ロマン・ロランが「道徳的個性」と表現したものの内容である。そうした思想の中に「隣人愛」、賀川の表現を借りれば「善き隣人」という思想があり、キリストが十字架にかけられたことに示される「贖罪愛」の思想がある。この思想は、「贖罪愛」の対象である点において、あらゆる人がその人格を尊重され、人として平等でなければならないという思想につながっていく。さらに、平和と非暴力の主張の核となっている¹²。

こうした賀川 の思想を理解した欧米の識者が、賀川を国際平和に大きく貢献しうる人物と判断したとしても全く不思議ではない。それは、具体的な形であられた。1925 年ロンドンで強制徴兵制度に反対する識者の署名が行われ、やがてそれが世界各国に要求されて国際連盟に提出されたのであるが、その署名者の中に、ガンジー、タゴール、ノーマン・エンジェル、アインシュタインなどと並んで賀川豊彦がいた¹³。また、国際友和会(The International Fellowship of Reconciliation、以下 FOR と略す)と賀川との関係も重要である。FOR は、第一次世界大戦に際し、イギリスの絶対平和論を唱えるキリスト教徒たちが 1915 年の初めにケンブリッジのトリニティ・ホールで結成した組織で、大戦中に支部を世界各

⁷ Ian Nish, *Japan's Struggle with Internationalism*, Kegan Paul International, 2000.

⁸ 米沢和一郎「ロマン・ロランが記した賀川豊彦一書簡抄訳原稿の紹介」、『賀川豊彦記念・松沢資料館ニュース』一五号、1987 年 7 月 1 日。

⁹ 『大阪朝日新聞』は次のように報じている。

斯くて女子(ジェーン・アダムス一筆者註)は更に自動車飛ばして新川の貧民窟に賀川豊彦氏を訪れた。女子は賀川氏の事業を倫敦トインビーホールの副主事にして賀川氏の親友キャッチホール氏から聞いて知っていたのである(大正 12 年 6 月 22 日)。

¹⁰ Kenneth Saunders, *Whither Asia?—A Study of Three Leaders—*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

¹¹ 横山春一「『死線を越えて』の記録」、『賀川研究』第四輯(ガリ版刷り)、1942 年 5 月。

¹² 例えば誠静怡は、「賀川博士にとって十字架上のイエス・キリストはキリスト教の核心であり、それは神の人類に対する愛の表現である」と述べている。(A Letter from Dr.Cheng, Religion and Politics in China, The Christian World, June 4, 1931)。

¹³ 米沢前掲論文。

国に広げ、1920年8月にはオランダのビルトホーベンで第一回国際大会を開催している。日本では、1926年2月23、24の両日、鎌倉の松岡旅館での会合が行われ、同年3月29日に東京小石川の新渡戸稲造邸で、約25名が会合し、日本友和会(F.O.R.日本支部)が結成された¹⁴。日本友和会の結成の経緯については、友和会の運動に深く関わった高良とみが次のように回想している。

1926(大正15)年2月に、私を含めた日本のクリスチャンは、新渡戸稲造氏や賀川豊彦氏に呼びかけられ、鎌倉の新渡戸氏の別邸で、「日本友和会」という組織をつくりました。「日本友和会」の名つけ親は私です。組織はFOR(The Fellowship of Reconciliation)というキリスト教徒による平和団体の日本支部という形をとりました。FORとは、自ら戦争を拒否するだけではなく、お互いに憎しみあっている敵同士を和解させようという絶対平和の思想を意味し、この団体はヨーロッパやアメリカを根拠地として活動していました。第一次世界大戦前後に良心的兵役拒否や、孤児救済など多彩な活動で注目をあび、当時日本にもFOR関係の外人宣教師ギルバート・ポーレスやウォルサーらが数多く来ていたのです。私ども日本のクリスチャンも時どき彼らと集会を持っていましたが、ぜひともこれらの活動に加わる必要を感じ「日本友和会」の設立に至りました。会長は小崎道雄氏に決まり、私は書記長をつとめることになりました¹⁵。(傍点は筆者)

新渡戸や賀川の呼びかけで日本友和会が発足したとすると、新渡戸や賀川はそれ以前に国際友和会と深い関わりをもっていたと推測できる。キリスト教徒を中心としながら、第一次大戦を契機に国際平和運動の潮流が生まれ、国際知的協力研究所や徴兵制度拒否の署名に見られるように、各国の著名な知識人を核としながら運動が展開し始めていた。そして、そうした国際的な平和運動を日本に根付かせるべく媒介となったのが、新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦であった。そして、彼らはその後の日本の中国侵略に対して否応なく直面し、その平和運動の真価を試されることになった。

1927年から翌年にかけて田中義一内閣は北伐に対抗して三次にわたる山東出兵を断行した。それに対して賀川らは1928年に全国非戦同盟(The National Anti-War League)を結成して、無産政党的の協力を得ながら反戦運動を展開した。この運動を警戒した政府は賀川の身柄を拘束した¹⁶。

賀川が弾圧を受けながらも中国侵略に抵抗しようとした背景には、国際平和運動への連帯という立場と同時に、国際平和を協同組合運動によって実現しようとする独自の考え方があり、中国のキリスト教会と連帯しながら既にその運動に着手し始めていたという事実があった。賀川はロッチデール型の協同組合(co-operative societies)を各国・地域に組織してその連帯を実現することが、世界の経済生活にキリスト教精神を浸透させて、国際平和を実現する最も確実な道であると提唱していた¹⁷。そして、その前提としてクリスチャン・コーポラティブ・インターナショナル、即ち世界的なクリスチャンの協同運動を組織しようとしていた。その日本における具体化が「神の国運動」であった。1930年4月の賀川の論説によれば、「やがて、この協同の仕組みは組織されたクリスチャン・コーポラティブ・インターナショナルとして、中国、朝鮮、インド、アフリカに広がっていくに違いない」と述べている¹⁸。そして、こうした賀川の提唱に積極的に呼応したのが、中華民国基督教連盟であった。誠静怡(C. Y. Cheng)は連盟の結成に指導的な役割を果たした人物で¹⁹、当時連盟の総幹事であったが、賀川に期待して次のように述べている。

日本の賀川博士の訪中は関心と期待に満ちた一つの出来事であった。この聖職者は20年以上にもわたって神戸のスラムで活動し、もてる才能と資力を貧しい人や不幸な人を助けるためになげうってきた。彼は無産者の友人である。彼はキリスト教が実生活に役に立ち得ることを世界に示してきた。(中略)この東洋の聖人は

¹⁴ 友和会『友和会パンフレット(二) 友和会とは何か』、1929年。

¹⁵ 高良とみ『非戦を生きる 高良とみ自伝』、ドメス出版、1983年、67頁。

¹⁶ Katsuo Takenaka, Kagawa As a Pacifist, The World Tomorrow, December, 1931.

¹⁷ Galen M. Fisher, Kagawa and co-operative societies as an economic panacea, International Review of Missions.

¹⁸ Toyohiko Kagawa, 'Evangelism, Education, and Social Organization,' a working program for this Kingdom of God movement, Friend of Jesus, Vol. III, No. 1, April, 1930.

¹⁹ Letter from China, The Christian World, November 10, 1927.

昨年夏に杭州で我々の集まりに参加し、今年春再び上海、蘇州、済南、青島で我々の集まりに参加した。会議と静修会が中国のキリスト教会によって賀川のために催され、彼は中国の様々な宗派の指導者からなる選ばれたグループに対して話す機会が与えられた²⁰。

誠静怡は東洋の人々の相互理解を念願しており、賀川の訪中がその大きな契機になることを期待していた。何故ならば、誠静怡は賀川の唱えるクリスチャン・コーポラティブ・インターナショナルの考え方に共鳴しており、「近い将来に中国、朝鮮、日本、フィリピン、タイ、インドや他の東洋諸国に精神的な結びつきが形成され、定期的に共通の問題を考えるために集まることを希望」していたのである。そして、賀川の「神の国運動」と呼応して中国で「五カ年運動」に取り組んでおり、その一環として賀川を招いたわけである。中華民国基督教連盟をはじめ、中国のキリスト教会は蒋介石とその夫人である宋美齡をばじめ国民党政権の要路と強い結びつきをもち²¹、蒋介石と宋美齡はクリスチャンであった。中国のキリスト教会の動向はそうした意味で無視できない。

誠静怡が述べているように、賀川は1930年の夏と翌31年の春に中国を訪問しているのだが、その際、上海の大学生たちに説教を行い、次のように述べている。

我々がキリストについて学ぶべきものは、寛容の精神です。そして、その精神において私は私と日本に対するあなたがたの許しを乞います。あなたがたの多くは、日本が恐ろしい国であると思っているかもしれませんが、私はあなたがたに日本の過ちが軍部の過ちであるということをよくお考えいただきたい。私は軍国主義者ではありませんし、日本人の多くもそうではありません²²。

この発言は、山東出兵を念頭に置いたものであるが、日中関係の現状に鑑みて、自分の立場を明確にした上で説教を始めたのである。その立場とは、軍部の過ちであるとしながらも、自分と日本に対する許しを乞うものであり、明確な謝罪の立場である。ここで注目すべきなのは、自分と日本に対する許しを乞うという姿勢の中に、自分が日本国民であるという自覚があるという点である。こうした姿勢は満州事変の中でより明確に表明されることになる。

二、満州事変

1. 太平洋問題調査会の上海会議

太平洋問題調査会は、1931年の太平洋会議(Pacific Conference)を中国の杭州で開催することになっていたが、その直前の9月18日に満州事変が勃発した。中国では上海を中心に反日運動が高揚し²³、日中関係は極度に緊張した。そうした中で、太平洋会議の開催があやぶまれ、電報の誤訳が原因だったのであるが²⁴、日本の代表団が不参加を表明したという誤報が流れた²⁵。しかし、I P Rの中国委員会は、太平洋問題調査会の国際団体としての責任を果たすために積極的な姿勢を示し²⁶、場所を上海に変更して開催することになった。その際、蒋介石が示した行動が注目される。国民党の一部には、太平洋問題調査会は「帝国主義列強の道具」に過ぎないという認識から、太平洋会議の開催に反対する動きがあった。蒋介石はそれを叱り付け、「中国に友好的な諸国の政府とは協力すべきである」と述べて、太平洋会議に積極的な姿勢を示したのである²⁷。蒋介石は欧米の国際世論を強く意識しており、それを味方にできるかどうかを中国にとって重大な意味をもつと考えていた。それは、満州事変における国際連盟への提訴という行動にもつながっていく。太平洋会議に関しては、反日運動が最も激しく展開されていた上海をあえて開催地に選んだことそのものが、そうした認識をあらわしている。そう

²⁰ 注12に同じ。

²¹ Japanese and Chinese Christian, How They Regard The War, The Christian World, March 10, 1932.

²² 注16に同じ。

²³ Anti-Japanese Meeting, The North-China Herald, September 29, 1931.

²⁴ Annex 1, Pacific Council Minutes, October 21, 1931.

²⁵ Japanese Stand Aloof From I. P. R., China Weekly Review, October 10, 1931.

²⁶ 同前。

²⁷ Chiang Kai-shek Backs Pacific Institute, China Weekly Review, September 19, 1931.

した国民政府指導者の意向を背景に、太平洋会議においては、I P R 中国委員会の代表団は、日本の満州侵略の不当性を強く訴えていくことになり、さながら日中対立の舞台になっていった。

太平洋問題調査会はいくまでも表向き民間の調査研究団体であり、組織の理念は政治的中立を謳っていた²⁸。上海における太平洋会議(以下、上海会議と略す)においては、満州事変をめぐる政治的な議論を回避することが目指されていた²⁹。しかしながら、太平洋会議の議論の場は、国際世論に対する有効な宣伝をする場であるという認識は広くあった。例えば上海のフランス当局は、太平洋会議に参加する中国の代表団が、租界の状況について衝撃的な暴露をするのではないかと恐れていた³⁰。

上海会議において、日本の代表団の共通認識として、「満州は中国のものであることを認める」と表明しており³¹、満州に対する潜在的な中国の主権を容認していた。総合部会の第二分科会で、中国の代表団の一員が、国際連盟において日本の代表が財産と生命を守ると言っておきながら翌日錦州を爆撃したのは、日本政府の態度をどう理解したらいいか混乱すると述べた。それに対して、日本の代表団の一人であった鶴見祐輔は、「あなたの意見は正しい」と認めている³²。すなわち、関東軍の独走とその国際社会における不当性はよく認識していたと思われる。

しかし、一方で鶴見は、中国には「近代的な政府が存在しない」と述べており³³、この考え方は日本の満州をはじめとする中国への内政干渉を正当化する根拠として、日本の代表団に受け入れられていた。さらに鶴見は、満州の現状を混乱させたのは、中国の日本を排斥しようとする行動と熱望であり、「満州を攻撃しているのは中国である」という間違った認識を表明している³⁴。満州事変に関する事実誤認は、日本の国際主義者にとって手かせ足かせとなったのである。当然、そのような認識に対して中国の代表団は強く反発した。問題はさらに遡及し、日本の関東州租借の根拠となっていた21か条要求の妥当性についての激しい議論も展開された。また、関東州租借地における日本の警察権とその行使の実態についても激しい議論が展開されている³⁵。議論の詳細な紹介は別稿に譲りたいが、事実認識の根本的な違いが随所に見られる。

日本代表団の団長であった新渡戸は、太平洋問題調査会の理念である政治的中立を守ろうとして、満州問題をめぐり中国代表団の日本に対する攻撃に対して、不快感を表明した³⁶。しかし、新渡戸自身も日本の立場を代弁していることは否めなかった。満州事変直後の上海会議に見られた日本の国際主義者の認識は、関東軍の行動への懸念は確認できるものの、満州における日本の権益を擁護すべきであるという点で一致していたのである。

2. 上海事変後の賀川と新渡戸

満州事変の勃発は、クリスチャン・コーポラティズム・インターナショナルの構想と運動にとって重大な障害となった。満州事変が勃発すると間もなく、当時日本基督教連盟の総幹事であった海老沢亮は、中華民国基督教連盟に対して個人として次のような電報をうった。

満州事件の勃発を遺憾とす。熱心平和的解決を祈る。貴政府委員が水難の救護を拒絶されしを聞き悲しむ。吾等は両国民間の連鎖として民族超越の基督教的協同奉仕を希望す³⁷。

それに対して、中華民国基督教連盟の総幹事であった誠静怡は次のように返電した。

²⁸ 中見前掲論文、p.104。

²⁹ Pacific Relations Institute Conference to be Held Here, China Weekly Review, October 17, 1931.

³⁰ Frederic Wakeman, JR., Policing Shanghai 1927-1937, University of California Press, 1995, p.393, note 50.

³¹ 10/27/31 R. T. 4, 「上海会議議事録{7} China's Foreign Relations」, p.5.

³² Second Session, General Session at 12, 同前, p.60.

³³ General Conference – China's Foreign Relations, 同前, p.9.

³⁴ 同前。

³⁵ Round Table No. 1, October 29, 1931, 同前, p.47-56.

³⁶ General Conference – China's Foreign Relations, 同前, p.22.

³⁷ 『神の国新聞』第 667 号、1931 年 10 月 14 日。

御通電を深く感謝す。支那領土を侵し国際的紛議を定むるに武力を用いられたることを痛く悲しむ。重大なる結果を恐れ公正にして平和なる解決のため日本の基督教が最善なる努力を献げられんことを請う³⁸。

海老沢の電報には、日本の軍事侵略に対する謝罪の意識があまり感じられないのに対して、誠静怡の返電は武力侵略の不当性を正面から問題としている。クリスチャン・コーポラティブ・インターナショナルの理念に共鳴していただけに失望も大きかったであろうと想像される。おそらく満州事変勃発直後の日本のクリスチャンも、関東軍の行動に対する危惧はもちながら、上海会議の代表団と共通の認識にたっていたと思われる。ところが、上海事変が勃発すると積極的な行動が展開されるようになる。

賀川とともに関東大震災後のセツルメント運動などに取り組んでいた高橋元一郎は、「全国千七百六十の教会、十七万のクリスチャン団結せよ、平和のために」というスローガンを掲げ、クリスチャン平和連盟を組織した。その委員長には賀川豊彦、副委員長には杉山元治郎、小崎道雄、久保白落実の名が、また、顧問には尾崎行雄、新渡戸稲造、田川大吉郎、安部磯雄、吉野作造の名が揚げられていた。そして、軍縮・日華親交・国際連盟支持の基本方針を掲げた³⁹。この団体の最初の目立った活動は、第一次上海事変後に「平和請願書」を犬養毅内閣に対して提出したことである。その内容と署名者は以下の通りである。

平和請願書

我等は現時日華間の紛争、特に上海事件の一日も早く平和に解決することを熱望し、政府が国際協調の精神を以て平和的解決の道を進まれんことを請願す。

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署名発起人(ABC順)

林歌子	広瀬庫太郎	帆足理一郎	市川房枝	賀川豊彦	柏木義円
菊地酉治	小崎道雄	高良富子	木村米太郎	河井道子	加藤高子
丸山伝太郎	親泊康永	鈴木安邦	高橋元一郎	竹村豊太郎	田島進
竹中繁子	矢部喜好				

事務所 東京府荏原郡松沢村上北沢六百三番地 賀川豊彦方⁴⁰

署名者の中に、小崎道雄や高良富子の名前があがっていることから、日本友和会とこの運動との関わりが考えられる。さらに、アメリカに紹介されたこの運動の記事の中では、21人の著名人が参加していると記されていて、請願書の署名人より1名多い⁴¹。その1名とは、新渡戸稲造である。日本友和会設立以来の流れが見て取れる。しかし、クリスチャン平和連盟の副委員長であったはずの杉山元治郎、久保白落実、顧問であったはずの尾崎行雄、田川大吉郎、安部磯雄、吉野作造らの名前が署名発起人の中にないのは不思議である。吉野作造は1931年11月27日の「日記」の中で来訪者の中に高橋元一郎の名前をあげ、括弧を付した上で、「賀川豊彦君の助手と称する人 先達満州出征に憤慨して手紙を寄越したが一つの平和運動を起こしたいとの事也」と記しており、高橋元一郎とそれまで面識がなかったことがわかる⁴²。おそらく、名前を貸す程度の顧問であったと見てよい。他の顧問については参加の事情が不明であるが、吉野と同じである可能性がある。この運動は、高橋元一郎が主導し、賀川の人脈を使いながら組織されたと考えられる。高橋の運動は確かに積極的であった。例えば、『平和の種子』というパンフレットを発行し、さらに中華民国基督教青年会に出向いて上海事変を詫びている⁴³。

請願書が要求している「平和的解決」という言葉の内容は極めて曖昧である。また、上海事変を特に

³⁸ 同前。

³⁹ 本田清一『街頭の聖者 高橋元一郎』、関谷書店、1936年、216-7頁。

⁴⁰ 『神の国新聞』第689号、1932年3月16日。

⁴¹ The Voice of Peace Heard in Japan, Federal Council Bulletin, May 1932.

⁴² 吉野作造『吉野作造選集 15 日記三』、岩波書店、1996年、p.327。

⁴³ 本田前掲書、p.218-220。

危惧している点に注目すべきである。即ち、満州占領は棚上げしておいて、欧米との利害衝突を危惧して、その可能性のより高い上海に重点が置かれているように見えるからである。あるいは、上海が中華民国基督教連盟の活動拠点であり、軍事衝突によって多数の犠牲者が出たことも影響している。

平和請願書の中で満州占領という事実に対してあまり表だつた批判がないことは、極めて重要である。確かに日本基督教連盟は、満州占領という事実を棚上げしながら、その後教化政策の一環として満州伝道を積極的に展開していった。例えば、次のような論説が掲げられている。

基督教による満州国教化の急務 伝道権の獲得と実践へ！！

最近満州国の視察をとげて帰来された某氏の談話に曰く、満州国の要路の大官で、我国人の基督者某氏に会見した時、要人某は同氏に対して心から慨嘆していふには、元来支那満州は官吏の墮落する国と相場が決まっている。

満州国に雇われる日本人も、その人選を得ざるのと、環境が、墮落するように出来ているので、日浅きにかゝはらずもう不仕だらな地金をあはす者枚挙にいとまない程である。このまゝ打すてゝをいては由々しき大事であるとおもふ。

かかる状態をして再生せしめるの力は、キリストの十字架の宗教を措いて他にないことを私は信じている。どうか満州国を靈的に更生せしめるため満州国伝道を強化していただきたい。(中略)そして満州が野心家や、暴力や卑俗な風俗の侵入によって毒されることなく、信仰的復興のよき国を建設するやう祈り関心し、励みたいものである⁴⁴。

ここには、満州占領を批判するどころか、よりよい満州国を建設すべきであるという考え方が明白に出ている。また、日本メソジスト教会の伝道局長であつた吉岡誠明は、満州人を巻き込んで満州教化・伝道を進めるために、日満基督教懇談会なるものを組織したりしている⁴⁵。

しかし、こうしたことから、当時の日本の基督教会が進んで満州教化に協力していったと見るのは早計である。日本国内で表明される当時の様々な発言は、強い圧力がかけられたもので、必ずしも真意を伝えているとは言い難い。それは、欧米に流れた情報を見るとよくわかる。例えば、横浜にいたフィッシャー牧師は、1931年12月に世界バプティスト連盟によって配布されたナショナリズムに関する質問用紙に対する日本人クリスチャンの回答を素材としながら、シカゴの『バプティスト』紙に日本人クリスチャンの苦悩を伝える次のような報告を寄せている。

これらの回答は、この多くのクリスチャンの内面における不満ないしは恥辱の感情までも明白に表明するものである。さらに、中にはそうした感情をはるかに越え、あいまいな要素の全くない言葉で、軍部のやり方すべてを非難しているものもある。もちろん、彼らは自分の感情や思想を表現することを強く抑制されているに違いない。というのは、官憲が非常に厳格だからである。

しかし、こうしたこと述べたからと言って、全てのバプティストが中国で進められていることに反対しているわけではない。中には、匪賊に対する自衛というみせかけのもとに全てをとりつくろつ新聞の宣伝の餌食になっている人々もいるし、全ての公式な批判を忠義を汚すものとみなす人々もいる。

日本の指導的なバプティストが質問用紙に対して寄せた回答の一つのは次のように述べている。「日本のクリスチャンは、帝国主義とキリスト教の原理との間の相剋を認識し始めており、後者の理想を実践しようとしている。彼らは、キリスト教婦人矯風会、日本友和会、日本国際連盟協会などの組織を通じて、国際的な平和運動を受け入れつつある。しかし、キリスト教会全体としては、同情的ではあるが、国際平和を進めるためにほとんど何もしていない⁴⁶。

当時の日本人クリスチャンの複雑な状況を、その内面的苦悩にまで踏み込んだ的確にレポートしている。おそらく前述の平和請願書に表明された曖昧な言葉も、こうした状況の中で綴られていたと思われる。この報告を前提とするならば、日本に於ける国際平和運動の運命はいくつかの組織や人物にゆ

⁴⁴ 『神の国新聞』第737号、1933年2月15日。

⁴⁵ 同前、第759号、1933年7月19日。

⁴⁶ Japanese and Chinese Christians, How They Regard The War, The Christian World, March 10, 1932.

だねられていたと推測しうるのである。このレポートに揚げられた組織名と前述の平和請願書をめぐる人物とを重ね合わせてみると、キリスト教婦人矯風会と林歌子、日本友和会と新渡戸稲造・小崎道雄・高良とみ、そして、日本国際連盟協会と新渡戸稲造などの組み合わせが出来る。とりわけ、そうした組織や人物と深いつながりを持ち、人脈の核とも呼びうる新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦の役割が浮き彫りになってくる。

新渡戸は、1932年2月4日、講演のために松山に赴き、そこで、「わが国を滅ぼすのは共産党と軍閥である」と発言し、上海事変についての当局の説明は「詭弁」であると決め付けた⁴⁷。新聞記事にしないという約束での発言とは言え、新渡戸の上海事変についての強い危惧があらわれており、とりわけ上海会議でも表明されていた軍部への憤りがはっきり述べられている点が重要だと考えられる。

賀川への期待は、日本国内のみならず、欧米や中国の良心的知識人の期待でもあった。例えば、1932年に満州を視察して傀儡政権の実体をレポートしたスタンレー・ジョーンズは、次のように述べている。

私は、全ての日本人が他国を侵略する政策に賛成しているわけではないことを認識している。私は、中国に於ける日本人賀川について話すことができたし、中国人は好意と尊敬をもってそれに応えたのである⁴⁸。

また、こうした賀川への期待と役割を最も恐れたのは、日本の官憲であった。1931年10月、警察は賀川夫妻が関わっていた雑誌の全ての版を没収するとともに出版禁止とした⁴⁹。その後も身柄を拘束するなどの厳しい抑圧が続く。

しかし、こうした弾圧の中で、賀川は内外の世論の期待に対して、出来る限り応えていこうとした。この同じ時期にフルタイム・ピースワーカー⁵⁰であった高橋元一郎に積極的に協力していること自体がその証拠なのであるが、さらにそれをよく示すものとして、賀川の中国におけるこの時期の発言の代表的な事例をあげてみたい。最初は、一九三四年に賀川の著作『愛の科学』の中国語訳が出版されるにあたり、それに寄せた賀川の序文である。

『愛の科学』の訳本に“はじめに”の文章を頼まれたとき、私は悲しかったです。何故ならば、我々日本人が中国に対し、愛の法則を破壊し続けてきたからです。

私は日本を愛しているのと同じように、中国を愛しています。さらに、私は中国に平和の日が早く来るように祈り続けてきました。日本軍のあちこちでのいやがらせで、私は異常なほどに恥じました。ところが、中国の方々は日本がどんなに凶暴だったかにもかかわらず、私の本を翻訳してくれました。私は中国の寛容さに驚かずにはいられませんでした。例えば私が日本の替わりに百万回謝罪しても、日本の罪を謝りきれないでしょう。それで、私はこの“はじめに”の文章を書く勇気さえなくなりました。

私は無力すぎます。私は恥じます。私は日本軍閥を感化することができませんでした。中国の読者の方、私を無力者と思って、私を侮辱してもかまいません。それは私が受けるべきことです。

しかし、もし日本が悔い改めて中国と永久的な友好関係を結ぼうと思ったら、それは愛の法則を借りるほか道がないのです。

いいえ、これは日本と中国の関係だけではなく、もし世界中のあらゆる人種の国民がもっと先進的な文化がほしいと望むなら、それも贖罪愛の原理に頼るほかに道がないのです。贖罪愛の法則は宇宙の法則です。

クロバトキンが言った本能愛だけでは足りません。

本能愛は民族を越えることができません。

民族を越えられるのはイエスの力強い贖罪愛です。それは宇宙の意識を持ち最も悲しい運命のなかに陥れた人類を救出するためのある種の力です。

日本民族はこの極めて大きな贖罪愛を知らないから、私はエレミアと同じような悲しみを感じています。

⁴⁷ ジョージ・オーシロ『新渡戸稲造－国際主義の開拓者』、中央大学出版部、1992年、

⁴⁸ E Stanley Jones, What I Saw in Manchuria, The Christian World, November 3, 1932.

⁴⁹ Kagawa and Manchuria, The Christian World, March 10, 1932.

⁵⁰ 同前。

孔子や墨子を生み出した国民の皆様よ、お許してください。

日本民族は鉄砲を棄て、十字架の愛の上で目覚める日は、きっといつか来るでしょう。

現在私は謝罪することしかほかに何にも考えられません。もし中国の方々がこの本をめくって読んでくれたら、日本にも多くの青年の魂が、私と同じように悔やみ改めながら本気で謝罪を申しているということを忘れてないで下さい。

一九三四年二月八日 於フィリピン ルソン海上

賀川豊彦⁵¹

この序文の中には、賀川の謝罪の発言が溢れている。そして、その謝罪とは日本人として日本が中国を武力侵略したことについて謝罪するのみならず、日本の軍閥を感化できなかったこと、そして、日本国民に贖罪愛の思想を伝道しきれなかったということについての謝罪なのである。自分が国際平和運動の中で背負っている大きな役割と責任に照らして謝罪している。

このような賀川の姿勢に対して、欧米や中国の識者は強く共感した。賀川はこの年フィリピンから帰国する途中上海に立ち寄り、フィッチ・メモリアル教会での説教を依頼された。フィッチ・メモリアル教会は、中国で最も大きな教会の一つで、上海事変の際に牧師夫妻らが日本の海兵隊に暴行を受けた場所であった⁵²。反日気運の強い上海の、しかもそうしたいわくのある教会で説教を頼まれること自体、賀川に対する期待を示すものなのであるが、そこでの賀川の説教の内容が様々な反響を呼んだ。説教の内容は次の通りである。

親愛なる兄弟・姉妹、私は主に対してここに私を立たしめたまうことを祈りました。もし、私たちがキリスト教の信仰をもっていなかったならば、私がここに立つことはできなかったのです。私自身、我々が日本国民としてしまったことを残念に思います。あなたたちはクリスチャンであり罪を許す心をお持ちなので、私をこの説教壇に立たせてくださいました。(中略) 私たちが愛の心を持ち、罪を許す心を持つ時、平和への道が敷かれます。それはイエスの精神です。イエス・キリストのみが、中国と日本の間にある壁をうち破ることができます。イエスは二つの人民と国民を一つにしてきたし、また、することができるのです。

世界中の軍国主義者は聖霊を理解しません。彼らは軍事侵略と植民地拡大の精神をもっています。私たちが他国に属する領土を侵略している時、私たちは神の国を侵しているのです。私たちは確固として神の精神に立たねばなりません。神の声が世界で聞かれ、そして戦争と軍国主義と革命がなくなることを祈りましょう⁵³。

軍事侵略がキリスト教の精神を侵すものであることを明確に述べ、日本国民として軍事侵略に対して責任があることを自覚した上で、クリスチャンとしての連帯の重要性を説いている。

賀川の説教が行われた教会は、激しい雨にも関わらず、中国のクリスチャンの会衆で埋め尽くされた。その会衆の中に次のような人物がいた。

彼はやはり上海事件で愛する母と子を殺されてしまった。その恨みが心に燃えてどうしても消えない。憎い日本、恨めしい日本人といふ心はいよいよ高まった。その時、賀川豊彦氏がヒリツピン伝道のかへり道に上海に立寄ると聞いて、日本人である賀川も憎いとおもった。しかし同じ神を信ずる同志をにくいと思う心を反省して悶えた。

キリストの福音は平和の福音であり、愛の福音であり、愛敵の福音である。それを今の自分はどうか？ 恨みとにくしみで一杯になっている、これでよいのか、そこでまたなやみになやんだ。彼はつひに二十日といふものは一生懸命に祈りつづけた。祈りに祈っている中に、キリストの十字架のゆるし、あがなひの真理がひらかれ、「我等につみをおかすものをわがゆるすごとく、われらのつみをもゆるしたまへ」とある主のいのりを心からいふことが出来て、心はかつてない平安にみたされた。

賀川氏が上海に上陸したときには、かがやいた顔をして、同信同志として心から迎へることが出来た。そして講演会には、自ら通訳者として壇上に並んで日本語を支那語へ移すのであった。賀川氏はその時、キリス

⁵¹ 米沢 A 論文、p.12。

⁵² A Charge Against Japan, The Christian World, April 14, 1932.

⁵³ Kagawa's Sermon in China, The Christian World, 1934.

トの十字架のあがなひとゆるし、救ひを説いた。説くものも、通訳するものも、きくものも涙にむせんでキリストの十字架による大なるめぐみに濡らされた⁵⁴。

これは、日本で発行されていた『神の国新聞』に掲載された記事なので、信仰美談として脚色されている可能性もあり、また、賀川の軍事侵略を否定した発言が見事に削られている。しかし、中国人の識者の中で賀川の発言にわずかな救いを見た人がいたことに注目したい。クリスチャン・コーポラティブ・インターナショナルの灯火が、わずかに賀川に守られながら消え残っていた。

おわりに

以上の分析から、満州事変期における新渡戸と賀川思想と行動に関して、次のようにまとめることができる。

第一に、関東軍の独走に象徴されるような軍部の行動に対しては強い憤りをもち、時としてそれを表明する場合もあったが、日本の満州権益を否定する発言はほとんど見られない。これは、中国に明確な謝罪を表明した賀川にしても同様であった。満州権益は、日本の国際主義者にとって、手かせ足かせの役割を果たしたことが確認できる。

第二に、にもかかわらず、国際紛争の軍事的な解決については一貫して否定的であり、「心の交流」を中心とした国際交流こそが国際紛争を防ぐ最も重要な手段であるという強固な認識をもっており、上海会議や中国における宗教活動においてそれが生かされた。

今回は報告書の末尾に掲載した蒐集資料を十分活用できなかったが、以上の分析の到達点をふまえながら、今後細部にわたって新渡戸と賀川の国際平和運動における役割を検討していきたい。

⁵⁴ 『神の国新聞』第 796 号、1934 年 4 月 4 日。

資料

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Sep 19, 1931. p.119

Ching Kai-shek Backs Pacific Institute

Speaking at the headquarters of the Central Kuomintang, at Nanking, September 14, General Chiang Kai-shek bitterly scored certain Kuomintang branches in China which, he said, were strongly opposing the coming conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Hangchow.

General Chiang definitely announced that the Conference would be held next month in Hangchow upon the invitation of the National Government.

"I have learned," said President Chiang, "that some members of the Kuomintang bitterly oppose the coming Conference on the ground that it is the tool of Imperialistic Powers. This is mere childishness. We have a wrong way of judging foreigners. Before the Boxer Rebellion Chinese viewed with contempt all foreigners, after the Boxer troubles Chinese viewed them with fear. While we should oppose those governments which have Imperialistic designs, we must co-operate with those governments and people who are friendly towards China.

"While the plan to hold the coming Conference in China was initiated by a number of Chinese Y.M.C.A. members, the actual invitations were sent by the National Government."

September 19, 1931

Delegates Begin to Arrive For Pacific Institute

According to a report issued by the secretarial office of the Institute of Pacific Relations which has been established at 20 Museum Road, Shanghai, approximately 150 delegates of Institute groups in Australia, Canada, China, Great Britain, New Zealand and the United States, are expected to arrive shortly for the purpose of participating in the Fourth Biennial Conference which is scheduled to be held in Hangchow, capital of Chekiang province between October 12 and November 4. And in addition to the official delegates representing branches or "groups" in the various member countries there also will be delegations of observers from the Dutch East Indies, the Phillipines and Korea, and in addition a number of observers from the League of Nations at Geneva.

The American group will be headed by Jerome D. Greene, partner in the firm of Lee Higginson & Company, New York bankers, and chairman of the Pacific Council of the Institute, and will include Dr. Willis J. Abbott, editor of the "Christian Science Monitor," Paul Hopkins, Shanghai Power Company; Miss Ada L. Comstock, President of Radcliffe College; Isaiah Bowman, Director of the American Geographical Society, New York; Edward C. Carter, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Council of the Institute; Chester H. Rowell, journalist, Berkeley; Joseph P. Chamberlain, Professor of Public Law, Columbia University; Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the California Federation of Labor; Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Vice-Chairman of the New York State League of Women Voters.

The Hawaii group will be represented by Dr. David L. Crawford, President of the University of Hawaii, and E. C. S. Handy, ethnologist, Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Members of the British group include

Dame Rachel Crowdy, formerly head of the Social Section of the League of Nations; Dame Adelaide Anderson; Sir Reginald Johnston, former Commissioner of Weihaiwei; Archibald Rose, British American Tobacco Company, Shanghai, G. E. Hubberd, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Shanghai; Lionel Curtis, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London; Professor T. E. Gregory, London School of Economics; Professor Roxby, University of Liverpool; G. W. Sheppard, Jardine Matheson Company, Shanghai. It is hoped that the British group will be led by Lord Noel-Buxton.

The Hon. Vincent Massey, former Canadian Minister to Washington, will head the Canadian group which includes Henry Birks, President, Henry Birks and Sons, Montreal, former president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce; C. A. Bowman, editor "The Citizen," Ottawa; Hon. Fleming S. McCurdy, former Minister of Public Works; Harry Sifton, journalist, Toronto; Colonel Charles S. MacInnes, barrister, Toronto.

The Japanese Council of the Institute is sending 30 members. The complete list of names is not yet available but it is understood that the group will be led by Dr. Inazo Mitobe, Member of the House of Peers and former Under-Secretary General of the League of Nations. Other probable members are Dr. Shiroshi Nasu, Tokyo Imperial University; Professor Kenzo Takayanagi, Tokyo Imperial University; Soichi Saito, secretary of the Japanese Council of the Institute; Dr. M. Anesaki, Librarian, Tokyo Imperial University; Kiyoshi Kanai, Japanese Government Railways Office, Shanghai; T. Funatsu, Japanese Cotton Mill Owners Association, Shanghai.

Four members will represent the New Zealand Council and twelve will be sent by the two Australian groups. Among the latter are A. H. Charteris, professor of International Law, University of Sydney; Sir Harrison Moore, President-Emeritus, University of Melbourne and former Australian representative in the League of Nations Assembly; H. W. Cepp, former chairman of the Austrian Development and Migration Commission; Miss Eleanor Hinder, social worker, Y. W. C. A., Shanghai; Dr. E. Stuckey, Tientsin.

The China Council, which is acting as host to the conference, will probably be led by Dr. W. W. Yen of Tientsin, former Premier and Foreign Minister of China, and Hsu Sin-loh of the National Commercial Bank, Shanghai, will represent the group on the Pacific Council of the Institute. Franklin L. Ho, Professor of Economics, will be the Chinese member on the research committee at the conference. Other probable members of the local group are K. P. Chen, General Manager, Shanghai Commercial and Savings Banks; Chiang Chia-su, Governor of the Bank of China; Y. W. Wong, General Manager of the Commercial Press, Shanghai; Chang Po-ling, President of Nankai University, Tientsin; Hu Shih, Peking; Y. T. Tsur, Peking; C. L. Hsia, President of Medhurst College, Shanghai; L. T. Chen, executive secretary of the China Council; Ta Chen, Professor of Sociology, Yenchin University; Joshua M. Bau, Peking Law College; Sophia Chen Zen, Peking National University, Hsu Shuhsi, Yenching University; Herman Liu, President, University of Shanghai.

Local arrangements are in the hands of a preparation committee headed by Yu Ya-ching, member of the Shanghai Municipal Council.

October 10, 1931

Japanese Stand Aloof From I. P. R.

Word was received end of last week by Jerome D. Greene, Chairman of the Pacific Council, the governing body of the Institute of Pacific Relations, from the Japanese Council of the Institute, expressing deep regret that the Japanese could not attend the conference of the Institute, scheduled for October 2 to November 4. After a meeting of the Pacific Council, attended by representatives from Australia, Britain, Canada, China and the United States, it was, however, announced that the Pacific

Council had voted unanimously to proceed with the arrangements for the Conference, but in a modified form emphasizing the scientific and research aspects of the Institute's work.

"The China Council," Mr. Greene said, "had previously proposed to me to recommend that the Pacific Council postpone the Conference in view of the recent development in Sino-Japanese relations. "The China Council, however," Mr. Greene continued, "readily joined the ultimate decision because it found itself faced with the following facts: First, to postpone the Conference would make it impossible for the Institute to assume its serious responsibilities as a permanent international body entrusted with a permanent program that goes on year after year, — a program involving the maintenance of a permanent international secretariat, a coordinated research program in half a dozen countries, the maintenance of an international journal and other publications, and the constant interchange of research students between the different countries. The cumulative documentation for the study of the problems of the Pacific, which now holds a recognized place in some of the principal libraries of the world, would be seriously interrupted. Second, to abandon the Conference would give the erroneous impression that the principal business of the Institute was to deal with current political issues. Third, in response to the invitation of the conference hosts, namely the China Council, over one hundred members from distant countries had already completed their long journeys and had arrived in the Far East."

"The Pacific Council," Mr. Greene proceeded to state, "having very fully considered the statement of the Chinese Council, voted unanimously to proceed with the arrangements for the Conference, but to hold it in a modified form. The situation called for a fresh emphasis on the research function of the Institute, and for a fuller discussion of the wider and more fundamental problems (Pacific Trade and Cultural Relations, Diplomatic Machinery of the Pacific, Race and Migration Problems, etc.), which really underlie the crises of the moment and on which a great deal of cooperative study and preliminary discussion have already been directed by the various groups. The Program Committee had already been instructed by the Pacific Council to give full weight to these questions in formulating the agenda of the meeting, which would thus primarily a research Conference. Furthermore, in the drafting of discussion topics and the presentation of the data, the Committee would take due account of the absence of the Japanese group.

"In order to remove any misconception as to its nature and objectives, the Pacific Council had requested Mr. Greene to call attention to the fact that the Institute is an unofficial body existing for the study of the conditions of the Pacific peoples, with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations. This object it seeks to attain not by the methods of political controversy, but of carefully organized group discussions, preceded and followed by a continuous process of study and research. Any particular conference such as it is now proposed to hold is thus only a link in a chain. In no sense is the Institute an international tribunal passing judgment on particular issues.

"The Institute will bring together men and women in a mood of inquiry rather than of conflict. Its discussions will aim to review the research of the past six years, with a view to planning for the studies and discussions which must be instituted during the coming two and four years. It is to be a serious attempt to apply scientific method, both in research and discussion, to the problems of the Pacific area. Recent events only emphasize the importance of these principles. Materials for the prepared and further avenues of inquiry are being explored. It is along these lines that the Institute can fulfill its true function and make a fruitful contribution to international amity."

October 17, 1931

Pacific Relations Institute Conference to be Held Here

At the close of the meeting of the Pacific Council, the governing body of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at the Cathay Hotel, Shanghai, October 13, the chairman, Jerome D. Greene, stated that the modified conference announced on October 2, would be held. Mr. Greene emphasized the scientific and research aspects of the Institute's work. The speaker stated that representatives from Australia, Canada, Britain, Japan, New Zealand and the United States were in attendance at the preliminary meeting of the council, the international research committee and the international program committee.

The October 13th meeting was attended not only by members of the council, the research and program committees, but also by all those who arrived here of the forthcoming conference, including representatives of the League of Nations, the International Labor Office and the Netherlands.

Brief oral reports summarizing the activities of the different national groups were presented by Sir Harrison Moore for Australia, Archibald Rose for Great Britain, Norman MacKenzie, in behalf of Vincent Massey for Canada, L. T. Chen for China, Dr. Inazo Nitobe for Japan, J. E. Strachan for New Zealand, and Edward C. Carter for the United States.

October 24, 1931

I. P. R. Conference Being Held in I. R. C. Premises

Through the courtesy of Hsu Sing-loh, chairman of the China Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the officers of the club, the premises of the International Recreation Club, 722 Bubbling Well Road, have been made available to the Institute for the two-week period of the Conference. The first conference was held Wednesday October 21. Conference headquarters, business offices, round-table rooms and general meeting rooms are located within the Club building.

Any impression that the discussion of problems affecting Manchuria has been banned from the discussions of the Institute is not correct, according to a statement by Jerome D. Greene, Chairman of the Pacific Council, the governing body of the Institute. "On the contrary," said Mr. Greene, "express provision has been made for the consideration of all these problems, and there has been no change of policy in this respect. The problem of food and population, as it affects Manchuria, will be discussed at the meeting which considers food and population generally. The same will be true of diplomatic machinery, extraterritoriality, settlements and leased areas, economic developments, foreign investments and interests, and all the other questions which affect China generally, but some of which just now are most acute in Manchuria.

Dr. Hu Shih in his opening address October 21 said, "It is only in the spirit of the humble seeker after truth that we may hope to achieve at least a small measure of success," Dr. Hu brought out that the conference had been made possible by a tardy realization on the part of its Japanese and Chinese members that, whatever calamities may have befallen their respective countries through the folly of their rulers, some good may yet result from the coming together and the thinking together of the enlightened men and women of the various nations."

Round table discussion took place on "Trade Relations in the Pacific," during which the question of protective tariffs and the fall in silver was discussed.

Congratulatory messages were read from the heads of the various nations represented at the conference. Among those sending messages were President Herbert Hoover, General Chiang Kai-shek, Prime Minister Bennett of Canada; Premier Baron Wakatsuki, Viscount Shibusawa and Baron Sakatani, of Japan; Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, of Great Britain; Prime Minister George W. Forbes of New Zealand, and the Prime Minister of Australia.

The chairman of the four round table discussions at the opening season were R. J. Corbett, of the

Standard Oil Company; Dr. V. K. Ting, director of the Bureau of Geological Survey; Archibald Rose, of the British American Tobacco Company, and the Honorable Vincent Massey, formerly Canadian Minister to the United States.

A group of 40 members of the Institute led by the Chairman of the Pacific Council, Jerome D. Greene, proceeded to Nanking during the week and placed a wreath on the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen on behalf of the Conference membership.

October 31, 1931

Institute Delegates Visit Hangchow

Although because of the disturbed political situation in the Far East, the "Hangchow" Conference is being held at Shanghai, practically the entire membership of the Institute of Pacific Relations proceeded to Hangchow, Saturday, October 25. Dr. Hu Shih made an address on the place of Hangchow in Chinese literature, after which the delegates in a body visited the principal temples, monuments and villas of the city.

The party was taken to Hangchow on a special train leaving Shanghai Saturday afternoon and arrived in time for a banquet given by the provincial and municipal authorities, at which the chairman of the Provincial Government and the Mayor of Hangchow were hosts. On their arrival at Hangchow, Mayor Tchou and representatives of the provincial government and the Chamber of Commerce met their guests at the railway station and escorted them to the New Hotel and the Lakeview Hotel where all were comfortably accommodated. Chairman Chang Nan-hsien of the Provincial Government presided at the dinner, and made a cordial address of welcome, referring particularly to the timeliness of the Institute's efforts to procure intelligent discussion of important subjects now engaging their attention.

October 31, 1931

Leaders of I. P. R. Conference Explain Objects in Opening Speeches

Below are given the texts of the speeches made at the opening of the Institute of Pacific Relation Conference in Shanghai, October 21.

Text of Speech by Jerome D. Greene, Chairman of the Pacific Council

On behalf of the Pacific Council and of the entire membership of this conference I offer my heartiest thanks for the welcome we have received. The local preparations for a meeting of this character are inevitably long and laborious and they make a large demand on the time, the energy and the goodwill of many persons. That this demand has been met so generously we may take not only as showing the characteristic hospitality of the Chinese people but also as a direct service of the highest value to the prime object of the Institute — the promotion of that friendly contact between members of the Pacific family of nations which we recognize as the only way to mutual sympathy and understanding.

In fact, Mr. President if an occasion of this kind can bring together from the various countries of the Pacific men and women of intelligence and understanding, in the mood of open-minded inquiry and patient study, their meeting is an assured success, whatever the problems for discussion may be. The formal agenda promote orderly urgency; and the resulting increase of knowledge is of great value. But I venture to assert that there are two by-products of even greater significance. The first is the gain in perspective as, perhaps for the first time, we are enabled to look at a problem through eyes other than our own.

Differences of view and conflicts of interest may remain when the discussion is over but opposing position sincerely, frankly and courteously maintained inevitably create mutual respect, and an atmosphere as different as possible from that which, without such contact, results from long range

exchanges of partisan assertions. The second by-product is the help which co-operative study, as distinguished from a purely nationalistic approach to controversial subjects, gives to the present-day effort of all civilized nations to fix the habit of war. Surely there is no good reason why national psychology along the path which leads to reliance on the social mechanisms of law and judicial procedure as substitutes for private warfare. Such a change cannot experience; yet the tendency is already to be noted, and the conclusion of the Pact of Paris has put the signatories under a solemn obligation to promote it.

Laying Foundation

It is a curious and regrettable fact that men are much less hopeful, adventurous and determined in harnessing Nature to their purposes in the field of human relations than they are in the world of applied science. Yet these moral qualities, surely more than any other factor, account for the triumphs of modern engineering, as indeed they do for all scientific progress. Imagination, vision and the will to succeed have created the concepts of the new mathematical physics and won the triumphs of modern medicine. They have laid the foundation of great bridges through treacherous quicksands; they have made hearing and seeing around the world possible; and they have created machines for nearly every kind of labor. The fact that these things had not been done before was a challenge to do them rather than an excuse for not attempting them. On the other hand in the field of human relations, despite the manifest fact that the progress of civilization has been marked by the invention of such mechanisms as governments and courts, or, in the voluntary field, such devices as guilds, trade unions and chambers of commerce, each new advance or hopeful experiment is too often hindered or prevented by the unthinking acceptance of the statement that the thing has never been done and, therefore, never will be done; or that you cannot change human nature. Competition and the instinct for self-preservation, it is said, have, always led to war and always will.

Such statements rely for their force on the specious fallacy that social engineering can work only by annihilating the forces of nature. Flood embankments, irrigation ditches and hydro-electric plants do not suspend the laws of rainfall or river-flow but merely direct them to harmless or useful ends. In individual relations laws and judicial procedure have not abolished selfish or predatory instincts; the latter work themselves out through courts or arbitration instead of through private warfare. One may well ask whether the skepticism found in all countries but most unhappily expressed by the attitude of my own, as to whether the League of Nations can be a safe and effective agency for international co-operation and not become the tool of malign forces, if not due after all, to a lack of courage and self-confidence rather than to wise patriotism. If the countries which belong to the League and those which do not, all equally desiring peace, should lend the whole force of their influence and resourcefulness to making it function, in the spirit of the engineer or the laboratory worker who allows no difficulty or failure to daunt him, one cannot but believe that the League would become the effective instrument of the people of the world for the complete abandonment war as an instrument of national policy.

Social Experiment

In our Institute of Pacific Relations we have an experiment in social engineering directed toward the same end. We too have encountered our skeptics and our critics. It is not strange that there are people in all our countries who either do not understand what we are trying to do or who doubt the integrity of our motives. As to neither class of opponents should we be unduly concerned. It will suffice if we hew straight to the line we have drawn and subject our discussions to a self-discipline that will hold us inflexibly to a scientific attitude of mind and restrain us from any tendency to use an instrument of inquiry as an instrument of policy or propaganda. This is not always an easy matter, for each of us has

the not unnatural desire to make his own view prevail. Let us not forget, however, that we are not here to win dialectic triumphs, and that the fruits of such triumphs will be bitter and sterile if they conduce to irritation rather than to knowledge.

The experience of the six years since the first conference of the institute has, I think, convinced us all of the value of our combined program of conference and research. The list of our publications has reached remarkable proportions and one sees them more and more frequently cited in other authoritative works. While few of them are of a character to obtain a wide popular reading, they are being read by publicists, journalists and scholars and in this way the level of popular knowledge and comment on international affairs is being visibly raised. A demand for good bibliographies on Far Eastern topics is evident in many quarters for the use of individual students and study groups and this demand is being met in good measure by the Secretariat at Honolulu and by all the national councils. It is gratifying to be assured, as we have been, that statesmen and other leading men in Europe have been watching our work and studying our technique, in the growing belief that a private international organization for conference and research, working in a strictly scientific spirit, may come to be regarded there, as well as here in the Pacific, as an indispensable complement of the cooperative studies of the League of Nations and other governmental agencies.

There can be no question but that a private organization, each of whose members is without any corporate responsibility to restrict his freedom of thought and expression, has certain advantage over governmental bodies, whether national or international, the members of which must work within limits prescribed by political considerations and often quite properly under pressure to arrive at conclusions. My distinguished predecessor Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, to whose enthusiasm, forcefulness and humor the institute owes so large a debt, expressed these ideas characteristically in the aphorism, "A diplomat's thinking stops where his instructions begin" — a little rough on the diplomats but an exaggeration that need only serve to underline the obvious truth it contains. From such limitation we are happily free, but our freedom will be little avail unless we use our utmost endeavors to set a high standard of competence in our membership and of scholarship in our research.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, the primary object of the institute is the improvement of our mutual relations. To do that we do not shrink from attacking the most delicate and controversial questions. For that audacity we make no apologies. By the very definition these are subjects that stir the nationalistic emotions of our respective peoples, and if we have any function at all it is to see that when national attitudes crystallize into national policy it is on the basis of knowledge rather than of ignorance. But controversy is not a good object in itself and its causes often lie deep in cultural factors the better understanding of which would go far to forestall international friction. Every great civilization has contributions of art, literature and general culture which are its free gift to the world.

To be availed of this gift requires an interchange of contact, study and graphic materials between countries on a far larger scale than has yet been realized. As regards the function of the mere collector of paintings, sculpture and objects of art, whereas but few examples of the best Western art have found their way into hands of Eastern collectors. This disequilibrium has, however, been somewhat redressed by the far greater resort of Oriental visitors and students to Europe and America than of Europeans and Americans to the East. But leaving out of account the exchange of artistic materials, the gross discrepancy between Western scholarship in the culture of the Orient and Oriental scholarship in the culture of the West is a profoundly humiliating fact. Europe has a handful of first-rate scholars but it is doubtful whether there is in America one native-born scholar in the fields of Oriental literature, linguistics, philosophy, religion and art who is capable of engaging in original studies in any of these fields with a knowledge of the linguistic tools such as would be an elementary requisite to a study of the

ancient or modern civilizations of Europe or such as could possibly be compared with the equipment of a Chinese or Japanese scholar. The language barrier is of course formidable, one that we could hardly expect to see surmounted by more than a select few; but those few are sorely needed to discover and interpret the vast treasures of art and learning which China and Japan are ready to disclose. Is there room for doubt that if the literary culture of the East were half as accessible to us as is that of Greece or Rome, many of the mysteries and obscurities that now block our mutual understanding would be dissolved? Such institutions as the American Council of Learned Societies, the China Institute of America and the Society for the Promotion of Japanese Studies are making an attempt, as yet feeble but not without promise for the future, to attack this formidable task by encouraging publication, and by enticing into the field of Oriental scholarship at least a small number of competent young persons.

Doubts Expressed

Some doubts have been expressed, based upon the experience of former Conferences, as to whether the subject of cultural contacts and exchanges lends itself to roundtable discussion so much as to an expository form of treatment less appropriate to such meetings. I dare say there is a basis for such doubts. Yet there is surely room for discussion regarding the ways and means of promoting cultural interchange, the extent to which the overcoming of the language barrier is practically feasible, and the extent to which, owing to that barrier, temporary or permanent reliance must be placed upon the mediatory and interpretive role of Chinese, Japanese and a few Western scholars or writers, through lectures, translations or the creation, at second best, of a new literature of the East in the vernacular of the West.

Not to labor this point unduly, let me conclude by saying that while there may be difficulty in finding the solution of this problem of cultural interchange, in the measure that our efforts enable us to understand each other's character and motivation the problem goes to the very vitals of international relations. We cannot possibly afford to ignore it.

The happy precedent established by our meeting at Kyoto last time and our presence here today are a partial answer to the problem. Now as we travel through this wonderful country we can look upon the benign face of ancient China and read in its lineaments something of the history and the spirit of its marvelous people. We are even tempted to abandon our cold objectivity and to ask our Chinese hosts, for the all too brief moment of our stay, to transform us by some subtle Oriental magic into Chinese ourselves and let us for once look through their eyes at this complex modern world and its problems. The Conference, as an occasion for manysided discussion, might leave something to be desired, but the miracle would be almost worth it; for I am sure there would remain, as we resumed, each his national character, some vestige of that momentary illumination to lighten the darkness of our prejudice and ignorance. Chinese friends, we offer ourselves as willing subjects of your benevolent necromancy.

Text of Speech by Dr. Hu Shih, President of Conference

As late as a few days before the opening of the preliminary sessions, it looked almost certain that the fourth biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations would be postponed.

As we now look back, all the doubt and hesitation, all the emotional outburst and despair, were perfectly excusable. We are human and subject to the frailties of the race. A sudden and overwhelming international situation was thrust upon us to test our faith in an ideal, and we were caught unprepared. The crisis was too great for us frail beings of little faith! I am sure that the whole Chinese delegation will join me in expressing to all the members of the visiting delegations our most humble apologies for the state of uncertainty and suspension and the practical difficulties and inconveniences to which you must have been subjected during these unfortunate weeks.

But today we are gathered here to inaugurate the first day of the fourth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is a modified conference in respect to the place of meeting, in respect to some of the

suspended formalities, and in respect of some slight reduction in the membership of certain delegations. Nevertheless, as I have said, this is the conference.

Rescued From Wreckage

I beg to take this occasion to point out that this conference has been rescued from a very precipitous wreckage solely through the patient, wise, philosophical and statesmanlike effort of the members of the Pacific Council, and in particular of our philosopher-chairman, Jerome D. Greene. Never despairing and never reproachful of our weakness, but always sympathetic and understanding, they have, through watchful waiting and patient persuasion succeeded in bringing together all the dissenting and recalcitrant elements in the Institute and making them realize that they are indispensable members of an organization, the very inception of which was consecrated to the great ideal of seeking to solve international problems and disputes by means of thinking and deliberation. This conference has been made possible by a tardy realization on the part of its Japanese and Chinese members that, whatever calamities may have befallen their respective countries through the folly of their rulers, some good may yet result from the coming together of the enlightened men and women of the various nations, and application of the scientific method both in research and discussion in international affairs.

Ladies and gentlemen, we may now congratulate ourselves that so far the institute has successfully passed a very severe test and has courageously met a very powerful challenge. The challenge as I look at it, has been this: Dare we give up thinking in the face of great emotional upheavals in times of national crises? Is the ideal and method of the institute only good for peaceful times when people can afford to be polite to one another?

It is not saying too much that opening of this conference today will long be remembered, not only in the annals of our own institute, but also in the history of all sister institutions of an international nature, as having set up a splendid precedent that all those who in peaceful times pride themselves as being internationally-minded discussion at a time when folly reigns and passions carry the day.

But, fellow members of the conference, let us not be too easily comforted by the small successes at this stage of the conference. The conference is still young, and we have we have ahead of us a great many thorny problems waiting for our analysis and, if possible, our solution. We shall still fail in our spirit and methodology if any of us approaches these problems with the erroneous attitude of proselytizing the rest to biased views. We shall fail if we allow our passions and prejudices to blind us from seeing the other fellow's point of view. We shall fail if we enter this hall in the spirit of the defender of a particular creed or the apologist for a particular cause.

Let us, on this first day of our labors, try to have a clear understanding of the nature of our problems of nations and peoples. And our job is to think for nations and peoples.

October 31, 1931

Rival Interests in Manchuria Discussed at I. P. R. Meeting

In a discussion of "Diplomatic Machinery in the Pacific" at the session of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Shanghai, October 27, three of the five Round Tables were upon "Dependencies and Native Peoples." The discussion was conducted in the most cordial spirit. Japanese and Chinese members taking a leading part. A Chinese member inquired why the Japanese objected to the reference of the question to the League of Nations. Japanese members replied that Japan was far from unfriendly to the League of Nations, and had co-operated with it actively from the beginning. The Manchurian question, however, was one peculiarly requiring direct negotiations between China and Japan, particularly because of the nature of the question and especially because of the impossibility of a meeting of members of the League of Nations, necessarily inadequately informed, deciding in a day and night upon questions

involving the realities of so complicated a situation. Even a commission of inquiry sent to the scene could not acquire this familiarity with the question in the brief time of its investigation. On the Japanese side, there is not nearly the long and complex structure of the facts, but also an intense sentimental interest embodied in the phrase "blood and treasure" applied to Japan's outpourings for a whole generation into the production and the development of its interests in Manchuria.

To this a Chinese replied that there is a sentimental side in China's interest also, and if Japan's sentiment goes back to the Russo-Japanese War. China's goes back at least 300 years before that.

The question arose how far the Pacific area can be treated as a region for purposes of diplomatic machinery and international action. The Washington Conference Treaties have to some extent so treated it, but have not set up adequate regional machinery for carrying out this conception. Even the Board of Reference provided in one of those Treaties has not yet been set up. Moreover, while local questions in any region are important to that region, the great importance of the questions of the Pacific is that they now affect the entire world. As a Chinese member pointed out, the present crisis at Geneva is determining not merely the immediate issue, but the whole question of the fate of the League of Nations itself, and of the possibility of organizing the world for peace and the settlement of international questions around the council table, or the disorganization of its forces.

League and the Orient

This led to the question whether the League of Nations should not have an office of its Secretariat or affiliated with its Secretariat, located somewhere in the Orient; whether the Council of the League of Nations should not have a special committee on Far Eastern questions; and whether the Council itself ought not to hold an occasional meeting in the East. The League, it was pointed out, already has a centre at Singapore, and at the invitation of China, various representatives of the Secretariat have come to China to look into special, health, and economic questions. If the League were thus in closer and continuous contact with the Orient, the lack of confidence in its knowledge, expressed by the Japanese, would probably be greatly lessened.

The question also was raised whether regional international discussions of any sort can well be carried out in any region in which one power is greatly stronger than others in the same region. This affects the usefulness of the League of Nations in the Pacific by virtue of the absence of the United States and the Soviet Union from membership in the League. A Japanese delegate remarked that the absence of the United States from the League decreased by fully one-half its value to Japan. It was thought that if some regional centre of the League were established in the Orient, the co-operation of the United States and even of Russia with at least that centre of the League's activities might be facilitated.

Machinery of Treaties

The machinery of treaties, bilateral and multilateral, in the Far East for the settlement of international disputes, is less than that in other parts of the world. The Washington Conference Regional Treaties are, perhaps, the only exception to this rule. There is only one bilateral treaty of arbitration to which a Far Eastern nation is a party, and that is between Japan and Switzerland. Neither Japan nor China has signed the optional clause of the World Court; China, it was stated, because other matters were more urgent and this could be postponed, and Japan on account of certain internal constitutional difficulties. China, it was also explained, hesitates to enter too far into arbitration or juridical agreements for fear that certain issues which China regards as political will be regarded by others as juridical.

The question was also raised whether there are psychological difficulties to intellectual disarmament in the Pacific, such as the prevalence of fear and the lack of knowledge of fundamental policies underlying questions of disarmament and arbitration. The technical question as to the recent action of the League of Nations was also raised. If that action were under paragraph 15 of the Covenant of the League, it would

have the authority of the Council and would imply, if not any positive obligations on League members, at least a negative obligation to abstain from certain actions. If, however, it was under some previous section, and especially section 11, it might not be obligatory without a unanimous vote.

November 7, 1931

Future of Shanghai Is Discussed by I. P. R.

Among the topics discussed by the Institute of Pacific Relations October 31, was "The Future of Shanghai." The round table on the Future of Shanghai discussed somewhat fully the Feetham Report and the various proposals for the transition period looking toward the complete rendition of the Settlement which it was agreed is the ultimate goal. As to the judicial part of the problem, the proposal was discussed of applying Chinese law in the present foreign courts. Difficulties in doing this, however, were found in the fact that while the Chinese codes are now written their interpretation has to be made in the light of the whole background of Chinese customary law. It was suggested that applying the same law under different interpretations might produce at least as much diversity as the present situation. The new courts which are proposed to be introduced next year with Chinese judges and foreign counselors are in the line of the suggestions made to the Institute two years ago by Professor Shotwell. It was suggested that these courts be tried as an experiment and the next step be based on experience with them.

Another suggestion on the administrative side was that a system of provisional government for the transitional period be tried out first in the so-called "outside area" of Greater Shanghai, composed of departments headed by Chinese, with foreign advisers appointed in consultation with the National Government, the government of Greater Shanghai, and the present administrative bodies of the Settlements. Thus some organization might be worked out to which the government of the whole city could be turned over when rendition takes place. Various difficulties in carrying out this plan were pointed out, including limitation resources, the very small number of cases that would be likely to arise for the courts of the new organization, and the fact that many of the Chinese best adapted to undertake this responsibility in the first instance might not be residents of the district affected. At any rate, if such a provisional system were tried, it should be with a definite agreement in advance that it should give way to an elective system at some early and fixed date. The Feetham Report proposals were also criticized on the ground that they provide for only a minority representation of Chinese in the provisional government with no arrangement for an increase which should produce an absolute majority at an early date and certainly as preparatory to rendition. It was felt that conference between groups of responsible Chinese and foreigners was an essential step to the question of adjustment, but it was suggested by the Chinese that initiative should come from the foreigners.

I. P. R. Conference Comes to an End

The Institute of Pacific Relations brought its Conference (held in Shanghai instead of at Hangchow as originally intended) to a close November 2. The final session was held at 9.15 in the evening, when Chester Rowell gave summary of the work of the conference. This final sitting was open to the public.

A dinner in honor of all the members of the conference was given at the Cathay Hotel on the night of November 1 by Jerome D. Greene, chairman of the Pacific Council. Speeches were made by Dr. Hu Shih, president of the conference; Sir Harrison Moore, chairman of the Australian Group; and Dr. Inazo Nitobe, chairman of the Japanese Group and president of the Conference at Kyoto in 1929.

Mr. Greene expressed the thanks of the conference to the China Council, the members of the staff, the International Recreation Club, and others whose labors and hospitality had contributed to the smooth working of the conference.

Dr. Hu Shih described the main service of the Institute as Education, giving himself as an example. He

had come to Shanghai convinced that the conference ought to be postponed, but as a pupil of its "philosopher chairman," Mr. Greene, he had been converted to the contrary view, and experience had, he said, now vindicated the correctness of that view.

II THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

November 10, 1927

LETTER FROM CHINA

The First General Assembly of the Church of Christ

The most recent union of Churches is that of the mission churches comprised in the Church of Christ in China. Its first General Assembly has just been held at Shanghai (October 1-11), in school buildings generously loaned by the American Anglican Mission, although that Church is not yet one of the uniting Churches.

Just before the Assembly of the new Church was held, the Presbyterian Assembly held a meeting to dissolve with a view to entering the new Church, along with the mission church organization connected with the London Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational), and the Reformed Church in the U.S.A. (German origin), and Reformed Church in America (Dutch origin), together with some other bodies in the Canton section of the field where seven or eight missions are united in the same fellowship.

The United Church of Canada sent greetings, and its representative expressed the hope that soon its missions in China will join in the movement and so bring former Methodist Mission Churches into the Church of Christ in China. Even now this movement contains, and these are organized into 47 district associations or presbyteries.

Fraternal delegates were also present from some sections of the L.M.S. and A.B.C.F.M. fields in North China not yet in the union, and also from the English Baptist Mission churches in Shantung. Should these link up — their impression of the Assembly has been very favourable — then other Baptist and Congregational areas of China missions will gladly link up also. I had written "come in," but on the advice of an Anglican visitor to the Assembly we were strongly urged to use the expression "link up" rather than take the "swallow up" point of view when thinking of other bodies, and so avoid one of the angularities of his Church.

The basis of union, so far as government is concerned, is a recognition of local autonomy in most things, with the use of higher courts to deal with matters that concern the welfare of local groups in their relationships within larger areas, and thus reach a common mind. During the meetings, which lasted for eleven days, the Assembly reached the decision that it will make no distinctions between Chinese and Westerners, men or women. All alike are eligible for the offices of the Church. Fitness for office it may be not be expedient to use this liberty on a wide scale yet "in Christ there is neither male nor female" when thinking of the ministry or even of the Moderatorship. Liberty worship is given to each congregation as to the ordering of its services and as to the mode of administration of baptism, and a service of dedication of infants has been sanctioned for use in cases where parents prefer to reserve for later years the rite of baptism for their children.

The Assembly met as a Church that is passing through the fires of persecution. It was reported that more than one pastor of the Church had been killed since last Christmas. The Church at large is bearing the "cross of perpetual insecurity," and is marked by this experience. There were ninety-two delegates, of whom one fifth were British or American, and in spite of differences between North and South, and

East and West, the fellowship of believers was a very real thing. Although we discussed some of the fundamental topics about which Churchmen differ, yet there was a harmony of spirit and unity of purpose that much impressed visitors and made one proud to belong to such a Church.

The personnel of the Assembly was a gathering of the choicest fruit of Christian missions. Dr. Cheng Ching Yi, an outstanding pastor of the L.M.S., was elected first Moderator, and proved himself a master of assemblies. Dr. Zia, of Ningpo, an ex-Presbyterian, was another leader. Pastor Hsu, of Amoy, is the fruit of English Presbyterian missions. Mr. Pao Kwang-lin, of Peking, a L.M.S. leader, was trained at New College. Mr. R. Y. Tom, of Canton Union Theological College, is a delegate to the Jerusalem Conference next spring, and will then visit England and America. Pastor Chang Fong, of Nanking, who drafted the "Call to Solidarity" issued to the members of the united Church, is the product of American Presbyterian missions. Pastor Kung, of Hankow(L.M.S.), the Moderator of the Provisional Assembly which met in 1922, and who presided over the opening session of the Assembly and preached the Assembly sermon, is a man who has been a tower of strength during the persecutions in Central China.

The Assembly by a rising vote, thanked Dr. F. Price (American Presbyterian) and Rev. C. G. Sparham (L. M. S., who ought to receive a doctorate) for outstanding service in organizing the union movement. It is significant that in times of anti-foreign agitation a missionary was elected general secretary with a Chinese associate secretary, and thus the new Church is carrying out its resolution to make no distinction between races.

The fact that such a large body of leaders was able to gather and constitute with no atmosphere of fearfulness is a tonic to the faint-hearted and those who tend to be depressed about the prospects of missionary work in China. The Assembly, whilst working for complete self-support, yet desires the missions continue their help as mission-in-aid to the Church of Christ in China, and the hope is expressed that for at least five years grants and gifts in money and staff will be continued on the present scale. Indeed, the Assembly desires that the West will be able to continue for as long as required the sort of service by Westerners that the Church desires and can use.

A new era of missionary enterprise has now begun, characterized by release from denominational and racial limitations that have hitherto prevailed. There are about one hundred and thirty denominational and missionary organizations in China. The process of unification has now well begun.

FREDERICK G ONLEY.

Shanghai.

August 18, 1927

THE CHINESE AND MISSIONS

Nationalist Government's Attitude

Rev. Frank Lenwood sends us a manifesto, dated June 29, drawn up by a group of L. M. S. missionaries at Tingchow — Miss Kate H. L. Keen, Miss E. Marjorie Rainey, B. A., Rev. H. Marsden, and Rev. E. R. Hughes — defending the Nationalist Government of China from aspersions cast upon it as to its treatment of missions and religion generally. During the last six months, they say, headlines in the newspapers have conveyed the impression that a deliberate policy of suppression of Christianity is being ruthlessly carried out by the Nationalist Party. They challenge justice of any such general conclusion. The Yangtze basin, whence the news in question is sent to the English papers, is not the only part of China under the Nationalist Government. The four signatories have personal knowledge of what has been happening during the last nine months in South Fukien, especially in the south-west section bordering on Kwantung and Kiangsi, and they submit that what they have seen throws a very different

light on the Nationalist Party, its Government, policy and methods generally.

"In September last, for example, one wing of the Revolutionary Army, advancing from the South, took possession of this district. Throughout the month or more during which the troops were in the city, neither mission nor church was occupied or molested. In October one of us met one section of the Southern Army on the road; there was no ill-will or rudeness whatever; on the contrary, at the rest-house at the top of the pass they all sat together and the officers shared their refreshments with him. During the last nine months we have traveled for days, passing through important towns, using trains, launches, public motors, and in no instance have we met with insult or inconvenience. In January the mission staff here felt that there was so much cause for mutual suspicion as between the Nationalist Party and the British that the only businesslike, as well as Christian procedure was for us to get into direct communication with the County Party Executive. We accordingly approached them and were informed that the party had no vendetta against British citizens as such, but was implacably opposed to imperialism. We stated that we regarded ourselves as guests in China and wished to order our actions accordingly. They suggested that, if we wished to consolidate the situation, we should appoint representatives to meet with theirs. This was done, and a courteous, though frank, interchange of views took place. They asked us to state to our British officials authority, as also our support of the demand for the revision of Treaties. Since both these points embodied our own convictions, we were able to comply.

"In educational matters there is every evidence that confidence can be established on a basis of disinterested service coupled with frank sincerity, and where it is so established, the educational authorities and the party officials are not prevented from acting with due regard for their own honour and the honour of the Chinese Government.

"As regards the Government's attitude towards the Chinese Church, official representatives of the Church interviewed the magistrates in three different counties. These all stated that the new Government stood by the article in constitution of the Republic affirming religious liberty. The Nationalists have been in control of this area for over nine months, services have been held as usual in every church, and there has not been one instance of interference with public worship, or of persecution of Christians. With regard to the occupation of churches by Nationalist troops, we have only had one case. Anyhow, our experience leads us to discount the gravity of such acts. It is not only churches. Any public buildings, such as temples and schools, are regarded as fair game.... From other parts of South Fukien, an area of over 20 counties, in which there are 300 organized congregations and over 80 missionaries having dwelling-houses in 11 cities outside the international settlement of Kulangsu, we have not heard of one single instance of molestation of missionaries in person.

Feb 18, 1932 p.3 Chinese Christian Praying for Peace

General Chiang Kai-shek, who, when President of China, was baptized as a Christian, has been combining with leading Christians in China to pray for peaceful settlement with Japan. At the end of September, Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek held a prayer meeting in her home in Nanking, and in December General Chiang Kai-shek gathered together twenty-five Chinese and foreign Christian leaders, including four Roman Catholic, to pray for a settlement of the Manchurian dispute. "China," Chiang Kai-shek said, "was at the cross roads, one road leading to peace and the other to Bolshevism." Expressing Japanese trouble, the Christian ex-president declared his faith in Christianity to lead in the path of light and righteousness. Afterwards General Chiang and his wife joined, with the Christian leaders, in prayers for both China and Japan.

Apr 7, 1932 p.3 A Japanese St. Francis

A month ago Kagawa, the Japanese Christian leader, appointed Motoichiro Takahashi, of Tokyo, for whom he and Mr. Kagawa secured some tents and meager subsistence to keep them alive until the weather got warmer and there was more work and more food available. On most of these days there was little more to give them than some rice-dough and potato peelings, one blanket apiece for bed, and the doubtful comfort of a small charcoal fire. Yet while acting as mayor of this tended village Mr. Takahashi completely changed the habits of this crowd of down-and-outers. Many of them had families somewhere in the rural districts; the father were doing their best to find work in the city and to provide for their children. All this was later dramatized and ran for a time at one of Tokyo's downtown theaters.

Apr 14, 1932 p.10 A CHARGE AGAINST JAPAN

Details of a grave charge against Japanese marines in Shanghai have been sent to England by Mr. George A Fitch, general secretary of the Shanghai Foreign Y.M.C.A. The charge concerns Revi Chiang Shih-hsu, pastor of the Fitch Memorial Church, one of the largest Chinese churches in the city, built six years ago partly with American funds. It is alleged that a party of Japanese marines and civilians arrived at the church on January 29, demanding admission to search for bombs. Pastor Chiang and his wife were beaten with rifle-butts and subsequently marched off, with their hands bound behind their backs, together with pastor's son, nephew, secretary and two menservants. Nothing has been heard of the prisoners since. Appeals to the Japanese Admiral and Consul-General drew only a flat denial of any such arrests; and a search of the Japanese prison camp failed to reveal any traces of the captives. There is a grave suspicion that they have been put to death. The facts are supplied by Chinese gentlemen of high standing in Shanghai, and they ought certainly to be inquired into at once by representatives of the British Government.

May 19, 1932 p.18 A.C.E. CONFERENCE IN JAPAN

It has been arranged for four Japanese Christian leaders, and four missionaries (three American and one English) to spend a week or ten days in Japanese in conference with Chinese National Y.M.C.A. secretaries. The Chinese letter of invitation said: " We feel it is extremely important for us to plan to get together at this time when our countries are involved in a conflict which, if allowed to continue, would certainly mean untold miseries to the people of the two countries for decades, besides the immediate destruction of life and property. We may look helpless and insignificant in the face of the gigantic war-machine which has been put into motion, but as Christmas we should not shirk our responsibility in bringing about even a small measure of better understanding. " The Japanese leaders are prominent men: S. Kakei, general secretary National Y.M.C.A.; Hampei Nagao, ex-M.P. and president of the National Temperance League; Akira Ebisawa, secretary of the Japanese National Christian Council; and M. Matsuzawa, of the Student Department, National Y.M.C.A.

May 26, 1932 p.10 JAPANESE CHRISTIAN AND PEACE

The National Christian Council of Japan has addressed a memorandum to the Japanese Government calling upon it to take adequate measures to remove the tendency that has risen, on account of recent events in Manchuria and Shanghai, to regard Japan as having damaged her reputation and violated the Covenant of the League of Nations.

We sincerely hope [says the memorandum] that they will make clear both at home and abroad that the attitude of our people is one of regard for the League of Nations, the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, and we pray that in their spirit a speedy settlement of the present dispute may be found. We would

emphasize this spirit and method, for we are confident that by it the good name of our country will be enhanced, a lasting confidence in its international dealings will be maintained, and the permanent peace of the Far East will be made sure.

The Council has at the same time sent out a message to Christian organizations in all lands, expressing sincere appreciation of the spirit of love shown by the prayer and sympathy of the Christian bodies of all nations who have shared their distress in recent months, and asking for “ the prayer and sympathy of the Christian bodies of all nations who have shared their distress in recent months, and asking for “ the prayers and co-operation of our friends in Christ in all nations.”

III The North China Herald; weekly edition of the North-China Daily News

Nov, 1931 p.149 Institute of Pacific Relations

The informal conference which has been proceeding, mainly in Shanghai, under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, comes to an end this week. Delegates will scatter, some to their own homes others to the extension of their personal acquaintance with China and others will remain to develop their knowledge of Shanghai. Although the original plan to hold the conference at Hangchow was frustrated the delegates are believed to be very satisfied with the result of their deliberations. Old hands at the game declare that, in many respects, this is the most successful of the conference hitherto held. In an electric atmosphere it was not to be expected that the Conference would entirely avoid personal clashes. Yet only one of any importance occurred; that happily was satisfactorily disposed of a frank apology on the one side and a generous acceptance on the other. It is believed that some of the delegates have been very shrewd in their summing up of the discussions. Indeed it must by no means be taken for granted that they have been unable to distinguish facts from fantasies. This may be attributable in no small degree to the growth of the conference habit which has thereby developed the faculty of winnowing the grain from the chaff at short notice. Moreover many of the delegates, in their ordinary avocations have been trained in the art of evaluation which can unerringly discriminate between rhetoric and logical exposition.

Nov 10, 1931 p.204 PACIFIC COUNCIL, CLOSES FINAL SESSION

Naming of Next City for Convention Deffered

Deciding to permit the different national units to designate by mail where next international meeting will be held, the Pacific Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations finally completed its last outstanding business on November 3 and declared the Shanghai 1931 Conference officially closed.

It has been the custom at previous conferences for the Pacific Council, which is the governing unit of the Institute, to agree on a meeting place for the following year. In view of a constitutional change, the council decided to refer the matter to each of the national bodies and rest on the majority decision. The other business transacted at the final gathering was of an executive nature.

From now on the delegates to the conference from the various countries with interests bordering on the Pacific Ocean, will scatter, some returning directly to their home lands and remainder taking advantage of their presence in China to proceed on sightseeing and educational tours to other cities. It is expected that, by the end of this week, the last of the delegates will have departed from the Cathy Hotel, which was the residential head quarters for the convention.

I PEACE YEAR-BOOK 1927-1931

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National Council for Prevention of War

39 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W.1

[PEACE YEAR-BOOK 1927]

EDITORIAL NOTE

THE 1927 PEACE Year-Book—the first issue since 1921— has been prepared with a view to serving as a book of reference for Peace Workers and Speakers for foreign visitors to England in order to provide them with information on the position and activities of the British Peace Movement; and for all students of the Peace Question, in order that they may learn where and how official information on any subject bearing on Peace may be obtained. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the various contributors of articles and to the Secretaries of Societies for their very valuable assistance.

Part I PEACE AND WAR, 1921-26

League of Nations

Part II PEACE MOVEMENT ABROAD

p.50 Part III PEACE MOVEMENT AT HOME

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p.65 Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Tel., Holborn 2470. Chairman, Rev. Leyton Richards, M.A.; Treasurer, A. Harper Bond; Secretary, Percy W. Bartlet.

Purpose: To unite with one another people of all races, churches, nations, and classes. The Fellowship believes that the Kingdom of God on earth is the alternative to the present world-system, and the only permanent form of human society. To belong to the Fellowship, therefore, means to be part of an international brotherhood within which there can be no more war. Its members take no part in waging war.

....

Local branches, twenty; address from secretary. The Fellowship is part of the International F.O.R., which has groups in more than twenty-five countries.

[PEACE YEAR BOOK 1929]

p.5 PART I PEACE AND WAR 1928— Its Contribution to Peace W. ARNOLD -FORSTER

....

THE PACT OF PARIS

The Pact has been signed, and will, presumably, soon be ratified; but (as this book records) it has only been accepted subject to interpretative declarations which greatly weaken its effect, and even challenge the principles of the Covenant itself. The Pact should have a most valuable effect on public opinion; it should ease the problem of sanctions; it should, if applied without reserve, have the effect of closing the

notorious "gap in the Covenant"; it should facilitate solution of the problems of "Freedom of the Seas" and of disarmament; it should clear the way for acceptance of means of peaceful settlement and peaceful change. It should help us to realize the gravity of the choice before us. As Mr. Baldwin said at the Guildhall, "We either keep faith with the spirit of the Pact we have signed, or in time we go down the steep places together, like the Gadarene swine, and perish eternally."

ARBITRATION

The Pact binds its signatories never to seek a solution of their differences except by peaceful means; but it does not attempt to indicate what these peaceful means should be. Here the League's General Act should help us. This Treaty, which has been recommended by the Ninth Assembly and opened for signature, is designed for non-members as well as members of the League. It can be accepted as a general or as a bilateral treaty; bit by bit, or as a whole; and with or without reservations. If accepted as whole and without reservations, it provides for peaceful settlement of all international disputes of whatever kind. All legal disputes are to be submitted to legal judgment (through the disputants may, if these choose, try reconciliation first). All non-legal disputes go to a Conciliation Commission; and if this fails, then in the last resort they go to an Arbitral Tribunal, whose decision is binding and final. The Treaty permits of the reservation of any dispute, or any clearly defined kind of dispute. If States avail themselves of this liberty, they may, of course, stultify their signatures; but this danger is mitigated by the provision that disputes concerning the scope of the reservations and the classification of disputes shall be submitted to the Permanent Court.

The Treaty, though complicated in form, is simple in principle, and should be of much value to the peace movement. It has already been welcomed by the Labour Party and the League of Nations Union, etc., etc.

The year has been the conclusion of several important arbitration treaties (see the list on page 33).

Two more countries, Spain and Hungary, have signed the Optional Clause, and the Greek Parliament has authorized signature. Great Britain has again recommend signature to others, but has done nothing herself. In Canada and Irish Free State opinion in favour of signature seems to be strengthening.

p.22 The Pact of Paris FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR

The text of the Pact signed in Paris on August 27th, 1928, is as follows; — The (here follow names of Signatories).

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the were of mankind; persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their people may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this Treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and, by adhering to the present Treaty as soon as it comes into force, bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

Have decided to conclude a Treaty, and for that purpose have appointed as their representative plenipotentiaries; ... Who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles; —

ARTICLE I. — The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare, in the names of their respective

peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II.— The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement of solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

ARTICLE III.— The present Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at...

This Treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at... And the Treaty shall, immediately upon such deposit, become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other Powers parties there to

...

p.23 ADVANTAGES OF THE PACT

(i) It has changed the status of war. No signatory is now free to begin war to gain its ends, even if peaceful procedure breaks down. Private war is branched as no better than murder.

(ii) Its signature has brought Russia and the U.S.A. into closer contact with the society of nations.

(iii) It should strengthen the authority of the League of Nations in two ways;

First, a signatory to the Covenant who resorts to war in defiance of the League will now, if he is signatory also to the Pact, be breaking a pledge given to America and can hardly rely on her support in flouting League sanctions, thus making it more unlikely that these sanctions will have to be used.

Second, under Article XV of the Covenant, if the League Council fails inside six months to reach unanimous agreement, the disputants are free to fight after three months' further delay. Art.2 of the Pact says that solution of disputes may never be sought except by peaceful means, and if applied without reserve this loophole for war (known as the gap in the Covenant) would in effect be closed.

(iv) So far as it is successful in outlawing war as an (p.24-) instrument of national policy, it abolishes the *raison d'être* for competing national armaments.

(v) It abolishes, to the same degree, the strategic assumptions on which much of our policy has been based, i.e., in regard to Suez Canal, the Singapore Base and the Rhineland Occupation.

(vi) The acceptance of clause (2), never to seek solution of disputes except through peaceful means, compels us to ask what the peaceful means should be. There should now be no objection to the acceptance by this country of the League's Model Treaty of Pacific Settlement in toto and without reservations.

(vii) When war is ruled out as an instrument of national policy it will be both easier and the more necessary to think out peaceful means of effecting changes, and the way of international co-operation will be easier.

RESERVATIONS

The British, French and American declarations concerning their signatures do not amount to alterations of the Pact itself, and can be withdrawn; but they are of great importance as an evidence of the Governments' interpretation of their obligations, and may, unless withdrawn, be used to stultify the Pact and imperil the principles of the Covenant.

(i) League obligation, i.e., freedom to co-operate in sanctions against a Covenant-breaker. This is implicit in the Treaty and is formally admitted by Mr. Kellogg.

It may be noted in passing that the Belgian note of 18th July reserved both "the rights and obligations" of the Covenant. Presumably, however, it is not intended by this formula to maintain the Covenant's

conditional right of private war.

(ii) Existing Treaty Obligation. — France reserves liberty to fight in fulfillment of any previously existing treaty obligations; that is to say her system of exclusive alliances against private enemies, with their secret military conventions, remain unaffected. She declares them to be compatible with the Pact.

(iii) The British “Monroe Doctrine.” — The British Foreign Secretary declared that there are certain regions, “the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety.” Interference with these regions “cannot be suffered.” The Government has three times refused in answer to questions in the House of Commons to specify what these regions are. Article XI of the Covenant says that “any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not” (this covers Egypt and Afghanistan who are not yet members) “is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.” As Mr. Arnold Foster pointed out in a letter to the Manchester Guardian, dated 26th May;

“We have to choose between two antagonistic principles — the principle of international solidarity embodied in the Covenant, and the principle of Imperialism implied in this paragraph 10 of the British reply.... If we try, by this wretched paragraph 10, to make condemnation of war serve as a means of securing general recognition of British domination in Egypt and other ‘regions of the world’ unspecified, we shall do more than wreck the Kellogg Treaty. We shall be giving fresh life to all that was worse in the old international anarchy.”

The Foreign Secretary justifies this reservation by saying; “Our doctrine is exactly comparable to that of the American Government,” but it should be noted that America has hitherto avoided making any reservation in regard to her Monroe doctrine. Further, America is not a member of the League and has not signed — as we have signed — Article XI of the Covenant quoted above. The abandonment of this reservation must be urged on the Government.

(iv) Self-Defense. — Mr. Kellogg said; “Every nation is free at all times, regardless of Treaty provisions, to defend its territory from attack or invasion. It alone is (p.26-) competent to decide whether circumstances requires recourse to war in self-defence.”

The British and French Governments have welcomed Mr. Kellogg’s definition of self-defence, but in doing so they ignore their obligations under the Covenant of the League in which they pledge themselves to acceptance in advance of peaceful procedure before resort to war, i.e., to delay a declaration of war during the cooling-off period provided for by Article XV. In its simple form the Pact means renunciation of the right to begin private war even if the League’s conciliation machinery breaks down. America, who is not a member of the League, may be entitled to adhere to the anarchic individualism of pre-war days, but members of the League are not entitled to use the Pact to sabotage the principal obstacle to war which it provides. The reservation on self-defense is the most damaging of all the reservations and its for to quote Sir Austen Chamberlain: “It is not a doctrine of aggression... but a pure measure of self-defence.”

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DIRECTORY of Peace and Kindred Organizations Abroad

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JAPAN

AMERICA-JAPAN SOC.: Imperial Hotel, Tokyo.

ASSOCIATION CONCORDIA: Dr. M. Anesaki, 117 Hakusan Goten, Koishikawa, Tokyo.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION: Rev. M. Kozaki, Reinanzaka Church, Akasaka, Tokyo.

FRIENDS' SERVICE COMM. (QUAKERS): G. Bowles, 30 Kouncho, Mita, Shiba, Tokyo.
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS: S. Saito, c/o Y.M.C.A., Mitoshirocho, Kanda, Tokyo.
INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION: Tobei Nakamura, House of Representatives, Tokyo.
JAPANESE AMERICAN RELATIONS COMM.: Viscount E. Shibusawa, 2 Kabuto-cho, Nihonbshi-ku, Tokyo.
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOC., and JAPAN PEACE SOC.: S. Okuyama, 13 Nakadori, Marunouchi, Tokyo.
STUDENT ESPERANTO AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS GROUPS: Susuma Aibara, Marunouchi-C-13, Tokyo.
WOMEN'S PEACE ASSOC.: Mrs. Hama Tsukamoto, 76 Sanbancho, Kojimachi, Tokyo.
WORLD ALLIANCE OF CHURCHES: Rev. P. T. Tsuga, 63 Hitotsugi-Cho, Akasaka, Tokyo.

[PEACE YEAR BOOK 1931]

p.5

PART I . PEACE AND WAR 1930-Its Contribution to Peace

WICKHAM STEED

The profit and loss account of peace, 1930, is not easy to balance. The year began with the London Naval Conference and ended with the adoption of the Draft Disarmament Convention at Geneva. The one was a mitigated failure, the other a potential success. Of neither can the exact value yet be fixed. Talk of future war was more insistent in 1930 than it had been during any twelve month since establishment of the League of Nations. On the other hand, the year was marked by an increasing perception of the essential conditions of peace.

THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE.

The London Naval Conference, in which the British Commonwealth, the United States, Japan, France and Italy took part, met on January 21st and adjourned on April 22nd. Its achievement was a Five-Power Treaty, covering a Three-Power Pact between Britain, the United States and Japan. The covering Treaty provided for a "holiday" in the building of capital ships until 1936, thus avoiding the construction of ten British, ten American, six Japanese, three French and three Italian battleships which, under the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, might have been built during the next six years. The size and armaments of aircraft carriers and submarines were also regulated, and it was agreed that submarines shall conform to the same rules of international law as surface vessels.

The Three-Power Pact limited the building of British, American and Japanese cruiser (other than battle-cruisers, which come under the Washington Treaty), destroyers and submarines; extended to these vessels the principle of Anglo-American "parity"; and maintained,

p.6

roughly, in regard to them the 5-5-3 ratio between Britain, the United States and Japan.

France and Italy declined to enter into any similar agreement. A "safeguarding clause" was therefore inserted in the covering Treaty to allow Great Britain to adjust her limited naval programme to any disquieting increase of French and Italian naval strengths, it being understood that the United States and Japan would then be free proportionately to increase their strengths.

The practical effect of the London Naval Treaty thus remains uncertain.

THE IMPLICATION OF THE KELLOGG PACT

If the London Conference succeeded, technically, in defining methods of naval limitation, it failed to

deal with, or even to consider, the naval problem in the light of the Briand-Kellogg Pact for the Renunciation of War. On paper, fifty-seven nations have renounced war as a means of promoting their national aims. Thus, in theory, the world is warless. In such a world, the purpose and the necessity of heavy national armaments on sea and land obviously require to be defined and justified, as does the conception of "neutral rights." Neutrality, and "the freedom of the seas," have no meanings save in time of war. If the Kellogg Pact is broken by one of its signatories, can its other signatories claim neutral rights in favour of the violator? Are they not bound to regard the violator as an outlaw, even if they do not lend active assistance to a victim of attack?

The French Government raised these issues incisively in the following passage of its Memorandum of December 20th, 1929, on the eve of the London Naval Conference:—

Only in proportion to such assistance as they may be able to rely upon from outside can the nations be in a position actually to reduce their armaments. Just as a general technical agreement upon armaments implies a previous political agreement, so does a complete naval agreement presuppose an understanding upon the question of the freedom of the seas, defining the rights of belligerents and the rights of neutrals, and providing for the prospective co-operation of other fleets against that of an aggressor country.

p.7

SECURITY

Neither the British Government nor that of the United States, which had been jointly responsible for convening the London Conference, was willing to face the position as thus stated. Consequently, the London Conference did nothing to abate the embarrassments which the question of "security" involves on sea and land. No solution of this question is likely to be found in the direction of the precise military of naval commitments which France seems to have in mind; but something was gained, in 1930, by growing recognition that the whole problem of disarmament may be simplified by acceptance of the principle that the renunciation of war entails the renunciation of neutrality.

On this point three important utterances during the autumn of 1930 deserve attention. In a broadcast address to the United States and Britain on the ratification of the Three-Power Naval Pact at the end of October, the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Hamaguchi, said:-

One cannot but feel that the moment is favorable for a wide extension of the policy of disarmament embodied in this (Naval) Treaty. Now that the Pact of Paris, initiated by M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg, has definitely outlawed war, it is clear that any breach of that solemn engagement must rally the whole world against the aggressor. Whether other Powers come forward to offer active help or not, it is hardly conceivable that they would allow the pledge-breaker to interfere with their trade and to enjoy the other privileges of a lawful belligerent.

This Japanese declaration was followed, on November 10th, by Mr. Arthur Meighen, the former Prime Minister of Canada, in a courageous statement to the Armistice Day Convention of the American Branch of the World Alliance at Washington. Mr. Meighen said:-

The United States holds, as does no other Power, the key to the safety of the world, and the United States is arming, not for an aggressive war — we all know that — but arming for the purpose of neutrality, arming to preserve its rights in neutrality when a great war comes again. Armaments multiply in every quarter of the globe, armaments that carry with them the menace and well-nigh the certainty of the war. The one supremely important task before the world is to bring about an organization against war. And this cannot be done without the United States. Destiny hangs on the acceptance by the American people of the truth of this statement.

Though President Hoover would go no farther, in his Armistice Day Address to the same Convention,

than to admit some day come about, his Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, afterwards suggested the setting up of "an impartial conciliation commission" to investigate the rights and wrongs of any dispute and, by endeavoring to fix responsibility, to mobilize public opinion against an aggressor.

More striking was an address simultaneously delivered by Admiral Pratt, the professional head of the United States Navy, to the American "Institute of International Problems." Speaking with assent of President Hoover, Admiral Pratt declared that, taken together, the Kellogg Pact and naval parity with Great Britain have placed upon American shoulders a great responsibility which might entirely change the American "stand upon neutrality." He added:-

Can we afford to be responsible for the destruction of our form of civilization, if the matter comes to that pass, in order to say that we had preserved our neutrality? With parity in fleet strength we become a first-class world Power, and, with all its advantages, this carries with it obligations which we must learn to think about in order that, when the time we may act intelligently and quickly, and not be guided entirely by formulas which may have lost their force.... Of course we may refuse to accept our responsibilities; but is this a dignified course for a great world-State to take? Can we change the course of our destiny by holding back here when we have pushed forward, or have been forced ahead, in so many other ways?

Admiral Pratt spoke as a professional fighting man, not primarily as a lover of peace. All the greater, therefore, is the significance of his recognition that the traditional American "stand upon neutrality," or refusal to accept responsibility for the maintenance of peace, may be a main obstacle to the organization of the world for peace.

However unpalatable the fact may be, it is nonetheless true that the prospect of effective disarmament depends upon the willingness of peace-loving nations to run risks for the sake of peace. Since the United States turned its back on the League, the principle which President Wilson recognized during the Paris Peace Conference — that the "freedom of the seas" had ceased to exist because "there would be no neutrals" in the League of Nations — has ceased to be fully valid. Today, a restatement of this principle would involve the admission that "the signatories of the Kellogg Pact cannot be neutral towards its eventual violator."

Of the importance of this principle, and of its bearing upon the problem of security, British policy has hitherto seemed to take too little account. Its thesis, that security must come after, and through, disarmament — a thesis which Mr. Henderson strongly upheld in his speech to the League Assembly last September — has been regarded rather as a denial of the French counter-thesis, that security must come before disarmament, than as a positive contribution to a settlement of the disarmament problem itself. At Geneva the British Government made effective acceptance of new instruments (such as the Convention for Financial Assistance) designed to complete or to strengthen the machinery of the Covenant on the side of security, conditional upon a large measure of actual disarmament. Lord Cecil, its chief representative on the League's Preparatory Disarmament Commission has, however, since appealed publicly to the people of this country to show that they desire peace through disarmament, that they are resolved to fulfill the obligations of the Covenant to help other nations which may be attacked, and to make any sacrifice to secure the supreme blessing of peace.

In making this appeal, immediately after the adoption of the Draft Disarmament Convention by the League's Preparatory Commission on December 8th — as a basis for an International Disarmament Conference in 1932 — Lord Cecil was assuredly not referring to the kind of "security" which some French and other continental (p.10-) statesmen contemplate when they ask for definite pacts or pledges of military or naval assistance. He had in mind a clear undertaking that Great Britain and other members of the League will not shirk their responsibilities under the League Covenant, should war be brought on

by violent action on the part of any country. The partisans of military "security" do not see, or think they cannot afford to admit, that their armed preparations against the eventuality of war may encourage other countries also to arm for war, and may keep the nations of Europe within a vicious circle from which there can be no ultimate escape, by present methods, save through bloodshed and ruin.

.....

(p.11-) AN INSTITUTE OF PEACE RESERCH

At Geneva last September Professor James T. Shotwell — the Research Director of Institute of Pacific Relations which has succeeded, during the past few years in abating, by scientific enquiry, international animosities in countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean — made a valuable suggestion to this end. He drew up, and presented unofficially to many of the leading delegates of the League Assembly, a draft scheme for the establishment of a European Institute of Peace Research.

[PEACE YEAR BOOK 1932]

(p.5-)

PART I . PEACE AND WAR. 1931—A REVIEW. W. ARNOLD FORSTER

1931 is likely to be remembered as the year of the great anxiety, and as the prelude to a great crisis.

In the East, China's appeal to the League against the impatient violence of Japan has put to a terrible test the sincerity of her fellow-signatories of Covenant and Pact, whilst India's claims to self-government, half-formulated yet insistent, have continued to test the sincerity and statesmanship of the British Commonwealth.

In the West, the easing effect secured for three Powers in 1930 by the London Naval Treaty has not been extended. Franco-Italian differences remain unreconciled, and the Franco-German conflict over the fundamental principle of equality of status in regard to disarmament, etc., has become more evident.

In Germany, the demand for repudiation of the policy of "fulfillment" of the Versailles Treaty seems to be going strength, and the prospect of enduring a mid-European winter on low wages, with reduced social services, and with an unemployment roll of six or seven millions, has quickened fears of a despairing revolution. With her staggering load of Reparation payments, Germany becomes more and more like a Samson shaking the fragile pillars of the world's edifice of credit and finance. The desperate efforts made in the summer of 1931 to avert a German collapse, graver than any known since 1923, did avail for the moment, though they did, nothing to cure the trouble itself: yet those very efforts soon resulted in the extension of some of Germany's trouble to Great Britain.

Britain herself has had to abandon the gold standard, and at the time of writing, the pound floats without anchorage (though its position is radically different from that of the German mark in 1923). And now, after a panicky General Election, in which (with the help of a gambler's electoral system) Parliamentary opposition has been almost wiped out, Britain herself is abandoning the Free Trade she has long championed and is adding yet more to the barriers which are blocking the world's commerce.

Unemployment in Great Britain has reached an unprecedented figure, but the proportions in Protectionist Germany and the United States are more disastrous still.

Accumulation of gold has not availed to save the United States, or France, the countries which between them now hold three-quarters of the world's supply, from sharing the general trouble. In America, for instance, three have been nearly 2,000 bank failures, great and small, in the year, and the prospective budget deficit is 560 millions pounds. In France the adverse balanced by deceptive devices.

Everywhere throughout the capitalist world the primary producers are having to curtail, withhold, or

even destroy their produce; whilst at the same time consumers have been urged and compelled to economize and reduce consumption. Never before has the system so apparently failed to deliver the goods which the producer wants to sell and the consumer would like to by if he could. In 1931 the question has been posed, more insistently than ever before, "Is the world's system of currency credit and finance adequate to modern needs? Is the capitalist system of production and distribution, which has achieved so much, but which now fails us so disastrously, rotten at the heart? Will the statesmen of 1932 seek to solve these problems by collective, universal action, with a view to the world's prosperity and peace: or will they seek, by exclusive, (p.7-) nationalistic action, to secure purely national advantages and supremacies, regardless of the injury and insecurity of others? That is the great issue, which the events of 1931 have helped to clarify, and which is likely to become plainer still in the crises of 1932.

.....

(p.8-) Peaceful Change. Nothing has been done to work our methods of peaceful change. One of the gravest issue in the League's history, still undetermined at the moment of writing, is whether the League's policy towards Japan in the Manchurian dispute will prove to be sufficiently firm to demonstrate change will not be tolerated and can be frustrated by the commonwealth of nations, even when practiced by a Great Power.

.....

(p.12-) Conclusion. To sum up, 1931 has been a year of prelude to an even graver crisis. Will the league, 1931, have succeeded in proving its good faith and its capacity to awakening China, and to every nation apprehensive of violence from a mighty neighbor: or will Japanese militarism be suffered to achieve its end?

(p.14-) LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1931.

(Contributed by the League of Nations Union.)

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(p.19-) (4). Intellectual Co-operation. It has taken some time for the League's work for intellectual co-operation to get into its stride. For the subject is as vast as it is important — leading the old and young of all peoples to share their best thoughts, to try and think out things together to break down mental barriers, and to reach a common understanding. But the past year's progress has been remarkable. The whole organization has been recognized on a more effective basis, and has now been officially recognized in all its branches as part and parcel of the League's permanent machinery. All the request of the Chinese Government the League has sent three professors to Nanking University, and a Commission of four educationists, English, French, German and Polish, to advise the Government on the reconstruction of the system of national education. This is surely intellectual co-operation par excellence. The Paris Institute, at the request of the British Government, is to undertake an enquiry into the educational aspects of broadcasting. A detailed plan has been drawn up for promoting international co-operation between the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Institutes for the Scientific Study of International Relations, which hold a Conference each year and undertake the study of current political and economic problems.

(p.21-) THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS

(Contributed by the League of Nations Union.)

The Situation

...

21st, China appealed to League under Article XI to restore status quo and fix indemnity;

...

(p.24-) Council reminded Japan and China of Kellogg Pact obligations.

...

(p.27) Commentary.

Points about this crisis were:

(i) Japan. The Japanese Government did not order the occupation and tried to stop it, but was disregarded by the army in Manchuria, and afterwards had to back its army. The League problem was to strengthen the peace party against the war party at Tokyo. Thus Japan had to be spared any public humiliation which would have weakened the Cabinet.

(ii) China. China was helpless, with a weak Government, resources exhausted by the floods, and armies useless against Japan. War feeling ran high. The Chinese Government showed great sense in refusing to fight and appealing to the League.

(iii) The Council was strengthened by unanimity of all European Powers and help of United States, a new thing in a League political case. But distance of Manchuria, conflicting accounts of events, complication already established, and ill feeling of long standing made dispute especially difficult. It was easy to determine the Covenant breaker, if one side demurred to League settlement. A weak nation had to be supported against a great Power. If Japan withdraws, the most serious threat of war since 1914 will have been averted. But the Manchurian problem will remain unsolved.

(p.33) THE GENERAL ACT

for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes

(Adopted Geneva, September 26th, 1928)

The present century has witnessed the steady growth of the acceptance of the arbitral principle in the solution of international disputes. Before the Great War, States had begun to conclude with one another bi-lateral agreements which expressly provided for the settlement of particular disputes by a third and neutral party and during the War, Great Britain actually concluded with Uruguay a treaty which provided in advance for an ultimate arbitral judgment in all kinds of disputes whatsoever. The Covenant of the League not only strengthened this growing tendency, but provided essential arbitral machinery; the conclusion of a large number of bi-lateral agreements felt to be a need for some open convention which would afford States members an easy means of accepting the principle of obligatory pacific settlement and which would provide a predetermined procedure for the handing of any dispute which might arise. According the League Committee on Arbitration and Security, acting on the instructions of the Eighth Assembly, drew up a group of Model Treaties relating to arbitration and conciliation.

In 1928 the Pact of Paris renounced war as an instrument of national policy in all circumstances and, as a logical consequence, it became necessary still further to strengthen the facilities for the pacific settlement of international disputes. It is true that the signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice afforded, to any State that took advantage of it, the benefits which would accrue from the signature of a general Treaty for the submission to the World Court (with or without reservations) of legal disputes with (p.34-) any other State which had accepted a similar obligation.

But the Optional Clause binds States only as regards legal or justiciable disputes (that is to say, disputes hinge upon the interpretation of any point upon which it is possible to give a ruling based upon a rule of law or upon an interpretation of recognized agreement).

There remained uncatered for non-legal or non-justiciable disputes, disputes, that is to say, of a political character, in which neither party can plead a rule.

So in this same year, 1928, the Ninth Assembly decided to evolve out of the group of Model Treaties a

single instrument, the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, which, embracing as it does in its competence both justiciable and non-justiciable disputes, was intended to provide a comprehensive method of settling by pacific means all international disputes of whatever character.

The operative portion of the Instrument consists of three Chapters dealing respectively with Conciliation, Judicial Settlement, and Arbitration. Although States may accept only some of the Chapters, it is necessary to accept them all if an ultimate settlement of all disputes go to a permanent or special Conciliation Commission, composed of five members, one chosen by each of the parties to the dispute from among their respective nationals, and three appointed by agreement from amongst the nationals of third Powers. Under Chapter II, justiciable disputes go to the Permanent Court of International Justice unless the parties agree to have recourse to a special arbitration tribunal and to a preliminary procedure of conciliation.

(p.35-) The General Act will run for a term of five years from the first accessions. Since these took effect in 1929, the General Act will be binding upon those who now accede to it up to 1934, when it may be either continued in its present form or revised. The Act is, of course, binding only as between States which have acceded to it. The Contracting Parties may benefit by the accessions of other Parties only in so far as they have themselves assured the same obligations.

Under Chapter IV, a party to the General Act may make his acceptance conditional upon reservations. These reservations may be such as to exclude from the procedure described in the Act:

- (a) Disputes arising out of facts prior to the accession of either of the Party making the reservation or of any Party with whom the said Party may have a dispute.
- (b) Disputes concerning questions which, by international law, are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of States.
- (c) Disputes concerning particular cases on clearly specified subject matters such as territorial status or disputes falling within clearly defined categories.

The following States Members have acceded to all the provisions of the Act without reservations: -

- Denmark (April 14th, 1930).
- Finland (September 6th, 1930).
- Luxemburg (September 15th, 1930).
- Norway (June 11th, 1930).

The following States Members have acceded to all the provisions of the Act with certain reservations:

- The United Kingdom (May 21st, 1931).
- Canada (July 1st, 1931).
- Australia (May 21st, 1931).
- New Zealand (May 21st, 1931).
- India (May 21st, 1931).
- Belgium (May 18th, 1929).
- France (May 21st, 1931).
- Italy (September 7th, 1931)
- Greece (September 14th, 1931)
- Spain (September 16th, 1930)

The following States have accepted to Chapter I, II and IV only of the Act: -

- Netherlands (including Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao), (August 8th, 1930).
- Sweden (May 13th, 1929).

[PEACE YEAR BOOK 1933]

(p.7) 1932 — A REVIEW

G. P. GOOCH

1932 was an even more difficult and critical year than 1931. What President Hoover has called "the greatest economic emergency in all history" held the world in its strangling grip. The crisis in the Far East grew ever more acute. In Europe the Disarmament Conference revealed the obstacles to concerted action more problem closer. Though a few fitful rays of sunshine were visible, the skies were dark and the earth seemed to tremble under our feet. Our best comfort lay in the hope that a community of suffering might teach us the lessons that we refused to learn in any gentler school.

The Sino-Japanese Dispute

When the storm in the Far East suddenly burst on September 18th, 1931, with the seizure of Mukden by Japanese troops, the League of Nations was confronted with the greatest task in its history. It had stopped or prevented collisions between small states. But what would it do — what could it do — if a Great Power were to run amok? It was posed the League fumbled and deffered a reply. Looking back it seems clear that action ought immediately to have been taken along two lines. In the first place a Commission of Inquiry should have been dispatched at once to the scene of trouble. And secondly, a resolution of non-recognition of any changes effected in violation of treaty obligations should have been passed without delay. It was only on December 10th that the Council (p.8-) of the League, seemingly paralyzed by disunion and fears, decided to appoint a Commission.

At the opening of 1932, Lord Lytton and his companions — a Frenchman, a German, an Italian and an American — sailed for the Far East and reached Tokio on the last day of February. For many weeks the savage Japanese attack at Shanghai diverted attention from the conquest of Manchuria; but with the withdrawal of their forces in the south the large drama in the north once again absorbed the interest of the world. Stimulated by example of Washington, a Special Assembly of the League met in March and — better late than never — passed a resolution of non-recognition. Japan took no notice and pursued the course she had marked out for herself. By the summer the whole of Manchuria lay at her feet, and the puppet State of "Manchukuo" resting on Japanese bayonets, was set up. The Lytton Report was almost ready for publication and Japan determined to face the world with a *fait accompli*.

The League Commission justified to the full the exceptions which its appointment had aroused. It was unanimous, tactful, constructive. It accepted the Japanese premise that Chinese Government was unable to maintain order in Manchuria, but it rejected the Japanese conclusion that in consequence it should cease to form part of China. Categorically dismissing the contention that "Manchukuo" was a spontaneous creation, it recommended that Chinese sovereignty should remain. The status quo ante, however, was not to return, and Manchuria was for a time to be governed with international aid. Neither Chinese nor Japanese troops were to be allowed, and order was to be maintained by a local gendarmerie under officers of foreign Powers, including, of course, Japan. It was a statesman like plan — not a compromise for the sake of compromise, but a scheme for meeting the difficulties of a complicated situation. China was not to be robbed. Manchuria was not to be misgoverned. Japan was not to be humiliated. The Lytton Report is a landmark in the history of international relations, and its authors have been rewarded by the gratitude of mankind.

The second act in the drama opened in November with consideration of the Report by the Council and its transmission to the Special Assembly summoned for the purpose. The outcome of the discussions is unknown when these lines are written; but we can already note some of the reactions of by far the greatest event of 1932. Japan has alienated sympathies which she had previously enjoyed, particularly in Great Britain. Interest in the Chinese People and a desire to help them in their difficulties have

notably increased. The League has lost prestige by its failure to cope with the situation in its early stages. America, always friendly to China and suspicious of Japan, has been more deeply stirred by recent events in the Far East than by anything outside her borders since the World War. The apparent success of "war as an instrument of national policy" struck a staggering blow at the Disarmament Conference and at the ideas which led to its convocation. And finally the spectacle of a Great Power ignoring with impunity its obligations under the Covenant, the Nine-Power Pact and the Treaty of Paris, has compelled us all to think once again about the problem of sanctions. Should the League have an armed force at its disposal? Should economic pressure be applied to offenders, and, if so, to what extent?

America and the Far East.

America responded to the challenge when, on August 8th, Mr. Stimson, in the most important speech delivered by any statesman in 1932, reminded the world that war was now illegal and that war-makers must be treated as law-breakers. The Pact of Paris — the so-called Kellogg Pact — involved consultation between its signatories in the event of its obligations (p.10-) being ignored. Henceforth, neutrality in the old sense was out of date. The Pact was four years old when this momentous interpretation was announced, and it required the crisis in the Far East to provoke it. The tendency of America to closer co-operation with the rest of the world was strengthened by the manifold experiences of 1932. Realizing that she was unable by herself to cope with the crisis in the Far East, she was as glad of the support of the League as the League was grateful for her aid. Isolationism is breaking down as the world rapidly shrinks in size. The economic sufferings of Europe and America, she is beginning to understand, are vitally connected. She can no longer point a disdainful finger at the follies and confusion of the old world, for her own people are suffering as they have never suffered since the Civil War.

...

(p.20-) Humanitarian Activities

(1) Health

...

(p.21-) It has co-ordinated the campaign against the spread of epidemics in China, as a result of the vast migration of destitute populations who fled from their homes owing to last year's floods, in which over 130,000 lives were lost. The Chinese Flood Relief Commission, under Sir John Hope Simpson, succeeded, with the help given by many governments in response to the League's appeal, in arresting the floods by repairing 3,500 kilometers of dykes. Many refugee camps were organized, in one of which alone at Hankow there were 150,000 souls, and hospitals were arranged at strategic points for the reception of workmen and their families.

(4) Opium and Drugs. The Committee on the Traffic in Opium held an important Conference at Bangkok in November, 1931, where it concluded an agreement supplementing that of 1925 to regularize the production, sale, distribution and smoking of opium in the Far Eastern countries where it is at present temporarily authorized. Seven states, including Great Britain, have ratified the 1931 Convention for limiting manufacture. For the Convention to come into force twenty-five states must ratify before April, 1933. Preparatory work has been undertaken for a Conference on limiting and supervising poppy and coca cultivation. The extent of the illicit traffic in dangerous drugs and the difficulties of the problem, point to the imperative need of unifying all the League's efforts in its campaign of suppression.

...

Intellectual Co-operation

...

(p.23-) Another matter of importance is the dispatch, at the request of the Chinese Government, of a mission of educationists to advise on the re-organization of education in China as a result of whose report a mission of six Chinese educationists is at present touring Europe and came to this country just before Christmas.

A report containing the above information was adopted by the Thirteenth Assembly.

...

(p.26-) THE FAR EASTERN SITUATION
(Contributed by the League of Nations Union)

The Situation

The 1932 edition of the Peace Year Book contained a chronological survey of the earlier stages of the Manchurian crisis, beginning with the incident of September 18th, 1931, when the Japanese troops advanced from the railway zone to the occupation of Mukden up to 10th December, 1931, when the Council of the League of Nations passed a resolution reaffirming the statement of 30th September, calling upon the parties to avoid further fighting and appointing a Commission of Enquiry of five members, which was subsequently to present the Lytton Report. The chronological narrative is continued as follows:

...

(p.27-) III. SHANGHAI

International settlement and Chinese city. Centre of the Chinese trade boycott of Japan. Japanese warships in river Yangtse reinforced on October 8th and later. Acute tension between Japanese and Chinese in Shanghai.

...

(p.29-) February 5th, 6th, 7th. Japanese plane bombed a camp of flood refugees. Fifty sick people killed. Sir John Hope-Simpson, Refugee Commissioner, protested to the League.

...

(p.30-) IV THE LEAGUE COUNCIL

...

(February) 12th. China asked the Council to refer the dispute to a special Assembly at an opportune time.

17th. The non-disputant Council Members appealed to Japan to exercise forbearance and restraint at Shanghai. They regretted that Japan, however justified her grievances, had not used the Covenant methods of peaceful settlement. China had throughout agreed to the League proposals. They reminded Japan of Article X, especially as it appeared to them that no infringement of territorial integrity and no change in political independence brought about in disregard of this article ought to be recognized as valid and effectual by League Members. They recalled also the Kellogg Pact and Nine Power Treaty.

...

(p.35-) IV. NEGOTIATIONS: SHANGHAI AND GENEVA

Negotiations for armistice at Shanghai under chairmanship of British Minister, Sir Miles Lampson. Japanese refused to withdraw to the Settlement without satisfaction of conditions first stated as suppression of the boycott modified to security for Japanese life and trade, later to "normal conditions." Chinese adhered to March 4th Assembly resolution pledging Japan unconditionally to withdrawal before negotiation for settlement.

March, 17th. Two appeals by China to Assembly Committee of Nineteen. First appeal against Japanese demand for conditions before withdrawal.

...

(p.36-) January to April. Result of Japanese Invasion of Shanghai: -

(a) At Shanghai. Material damage 95,000,000 pounds worth of property destroyed. Homes of 160,000 families destroyed. (Chinese estimates.) Trade of port stagnant.

Casualties: Japanese soldiers killed, 188; wounded, 1,387. Chinese soldiers killed, estimated, 100,000. Chinese civilians killed, 6,080; wounded, 2,000; missing, believed killed, 10,040.

(b) At Hangchow. Casualties: Chinese civilians killed, estimated, 8,000.

Japanese forces partly withdrawn, 37,000 still at Shanghai.

...

VII. MANCHURIAN DEVELOPMENTS

(p.38-)...

NOTE. — The anarchy and fighting consequent upon the Japanese invasion prevented the Manchurian peasants from cultivating their crops. South Manchuria, it was reckoned, would have no exportable surplus of crops. North Manchuria, which formerly grew 11,000,000 tons of corn, consumed 8,000,000 and exported 3,000,000, would only produce 5,000,000. Unless Manchuria imports food, famine is therefore certain.

(p.39-)

IX. JAPANESE POLICY, WORLD OPINION, AND THE LYTTON REPORT

(p.40-)

August 8th. Speech by Mr. Stimson, American Secretary of State, which can be summarized briefly: the United States make the Kellogg Pact a definite plank in their foreign policy, thus putting an end once and for all to the old doctrine of neutrality, for war is now the concern of every nation, and no longer the subject of rights: if two nations engage in armed conflict, either one or both must be wrong; in case of violation the Pact implies mobilizing world opinion against the aggressor; and in 1929 and 1931-2 in the Far East the United States have taken up this initial obligation; they have also gone on to project a new doctrine, "they will never recognize a title to possession of territory gained in violation of peace pacts." The speech was welcomed at Geneva and resented in Tokyo. In both places it was interpreted as a pledge by the United States to support League action in defense of China.

October 1st. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

(p.41-)

PRINCIPLES OF SETTLEMENT should be:

- (1) Compatibility with the interests of both China and Japan.
- (2) Consideration for the interests of Russia.
- (3) Conformity with existing multilateral treaties: Covenant, Kellogg Pact, Nine-Power Treaty.
- (4) Recognition of Japan's interest in China.
- (5) Establishment of new treaty relations between China and Japan.
- (6) Provision for the settlement of future disputes.
- (7) Manchurian autonomy.
- (8) Internal order and security against external aggression.
- (9) Encouragement of an economic rapprochement between China and Japan.
- (10). International co-operation in Chinese reconstruction.

p.117 PART III

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AT HOME

Its Work in 1932

The year under review was one of special significance for the National Peace Council, as, indeed, for all organizations working for peace. The World Disarmament Conference, the dispute between Japan and China in the Far East, together with the general problems raised by the financial and economic crisis, presented to the Council and its affiliated societies an exceptional challenge and responsibility. The Council sought strenuously throughout the year to fulfil its particular function — which is the co-ordination of the activities of individual Peace organizations — both in regard to the Disarmament Conference and in regard to the Sino-Japanese dispute.

Conference and Meetings

No National Peace Congress was held during the year, but the Council organized four successful Conferences attended by representatives of all its affiliated societies and of other sympathetic organizations. The first of these Conferences was held in February, 1932, and was summoned to give members of interested organizations an opportunity of considering the problems underlying Sino-Japanese relations, as well as the immediate aspect of the dispute between the two countries. Dr. F. W. Norwood presided and speeches were delivered by Professor Alfred Zimmern, Professor Arnold Toynbee and Sir Frederick Whyte. In the second Conference, held in April, 1932, the Council returned to the consideration of the prospects of the Disarmament Conference, which had been in session two months. In the afternoon session, speeches were made by Mr. W. Arnold-Forster, Major Victor Lefebure, Miss K. D. Courtney, Sir Leo Chiozza Money and the Rt. Hon. C. N. Barnes (who discussed the question of an International Police Force), with Dr. Norwood in the chair. In the evening session, Mr. George Lansbury, M. P., and the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil were the chief speakers.

In May, the Council summoned a limited Conference of the representatives of peace organizations for a beginning of the reconsideration of the problem of war-prevention in the light of the Sino-Japanese conflict. Representatives were present from all the leading peace societies, and introductory speeches (in two sessions) were delivered by Professor Alfred Zimmern, Mr. Carl Heath, Professor Gilbert Murray and Miss Ruth Fry. Dr. F. W. Norwood presided. The fourth Conference of the year was held in December. In two sessions — afternoon and evening — the Conference considered the international economic situation in anticipation of the World Economic Conference, and the general international situation with particular reference to the Disarmament Conference and the League's handling of the Lytton Report. Speakers and chairmen at either afternoon or evening sessions included Sir Arthur Salter, the Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, M. P., Mr. G. D. H. Cole, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil and Dr. G. P. Gooch. Notable among the special meetings arranged by the Council was that held in the House of Commons on June 9th, when between two and three hundred representatives of peace and associated organizations heard an address from Sir Arthur Salter, for many years head of the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations, on the international economic situation, with particular reference to the Lausanne, Ottawa and World Economic Conference. Mr. G. Le M. Mander, M. P., presided.

p.126 Sino-Japanese Dispute

Throughout the earlier part of the year, the National Peace Council was continuously active in regard to the dispute in the Far East involving Japan, China and the League. At various stages of the crisis it sought to set down, so far as it was possible, the attitude of the peace movement to each particular

phase of the dispute, and in this way gave guidance to its affiliated organizations in their consideration of the problem. The Executive Committee at each of its monthly meetings and the full meetings of the Council in January and March, gave consideration to this problem and communicated resolutions at various periods to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, and to Lord Lytton, as head of the League of Nations Commission to the Far East. An emergency meeting of the Executive Committee was held on February 3rd at one of the most critical periods of the dispute. Towards the end of that month the Council encouraged its affiliated societies and a great number of national organizations outside, to make representations to the Foreign Secretary, urging him to redouble his efforts to secure the cessation of hostilities. Reference has already been made to the special Conference to discuss the problem of Sino-Japanese relations, which was held in the Livingstone Hall in March, 1932. In addition to the work recorded above, the Council distributed memoranda relating to the situation in the Far East, as circumstances required.

p.132 FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

The year 1932 was crowded with activity and gave cause for much thankfulness. There was various collaboration with the National Peace Council and other bodies, and also independent service. Because the constant call on all its resources there has been a noticeable deepening of the spiritual life to the Fellowship.

In January the secretary, Percy W. Bartlett, and Eric Hayman, a member of the General Committee, decide, with the backing of the Committee and other friends, to pay a short visit to India in company with Hilda Cashmore. They spent two months in India, travelling 6,000 miles by railway, and met people of all classes and views, both official and non-official. An appeal for a new effort towards peace put into their hands by the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and a response from Mr. Gandhi, were published in *The Times* and other papers; and on their return to England further efforts were made to bring the Government into closer sympathy with the aspirations of India, and persuade it to try (p.133) to dispel the widespread distrust. The opportunity afforded by the further Round Table discussions in London has been used to continue reconciliation work.

p.143 Other Work

From time to time, as occasion seems to demand, statements are issued to the press usually signed by influential members and supporters. An example of this kind of work was the statement on Japan and the League published in a number of papers on November 22nd. Mr. H. G. Wells, Earl Russell, Dr. G. P. Gooch, Mr. George Lansbury, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. W. M. Citrine were among the signatories to this statement which put forward the following important point:

"If Japan should take the extreme course of withdrawing from the League, it should be made clear that she does not cease to be bound by the Covenant by taking that action unless, as stated in paragraph three, Article One: 'All its international obligations and all its obligations under the Covenant should have been fulfilled at that time of its withdrawal.'

"Such an extreme course might still be avoided if the British Government would show that it was prepared to stand firm by the Nine-Power Treaty and with the United States."

p.177 ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS IN 1932

p.186 INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation, a radical and constructive Christian Peace movement,

with national movements or groups in some fifteen countries, was founded 1919. The Fellowship rests on the conviction that war is wrong and must cease and that the way of sacrificial love as seen in Jesus, is practicable in every department of life.

p.187 ; the groups in China and Japan have maintained mutual contact, as well as working for peace within their own borders.

Toward a Christian International, the history of the I. F. O. R., can be obtained, price 1s.

p.228

National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: 12, Nichome, Marunouchi, Tokyo.

Pan-Pacific Good Relations Club: Y. M. C. A., Motoshirocho, Kanda, Tokyo.

Pan-Pacific Union: House of Peers, Hibiya, Tokyo.

Pan-Pacific Women's Conference: 10 Omote Sarugakucho, Kand, Tokyo.

Student Esperanto and League of Nations Groups: Susumu Aibara, Marunouchi-C-13, Tokyo.

War Resisters' International: Mr. Takatsu, c/o Mr. S. Maguda, No. 88 Hisaka-Machi Koishikawa, Tokyo.

Women's Committee for International Relations: 10 Omote-Sarugaku-cho, Kand, Tokyo.

Women's International League: Mrs. Tskamoto, 52 Shinsaka-Machi, Akasaka, Tokyo.

Women's Peace Association: Miss Michi Kawai (President) 52 Shinsaka-Machi, Akasaka, Tokyo.

World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches: Rev. K. Matsno, 26 Kasumi-Cho, Azabu-ku, Tokyo.

World Peace Union: Mrs. S. Line Hibino, Botanical Laboratory, Taikoku, Formsa.

p.272 V BIBLIOGRAPHY

p.274 SINO-JAPANESE DISPUTE

Summary of the Lytton Report, with observations by the Earl of Lytton. League of Nations Union. 3d.

An Eyewitness in Manchuria. W. M. Holmes. Martin Lawrence. 6d.

The Lytton Report. An abridgement. The Economist. 1s.

Official documents of the League Nations on the Sino-Japanese dispute are obtainable from Messrs. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

II No More War

ORAGAN OF THE NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT

(British Section War Resisters' International) 1d. Monthly

Vol. V. No. 12 SEPTEMBER, 1926

p.4 JAPANESE STUDENTS AND MILITARY TRAINING

At Meiji Gakuin College, in Tokyo, 117 students voted against the introduction of the military training has not been introduced. At other Japanese colleges military training is becoming increasingly unpopular.

Vol. VI. No.2 NOVEMBER, 1926

p.7 GREETING FROM JAPAN.

The following messages has been received from our Japanese comrades: — "We peace workers wish to hoist a pure white flag on the summit of world-famed Mount Fuji as a starting point our desire to co-operate with fellow-men throughout the world, whom we ask to try to hoist the pure white flag in every land as an indication of the desire for peace and goodwill for humanity. We shall be very much obliged if anyone who may be in sympathy with our desire, will most kindly append his name and address and send to us." — The World Peace Society, Jiso Iwami, No.9, Omote cho, Koishikawa, Tokyo, Japan.

III The New World
JOURNAL OF THE NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT

Vol.2. No.7. NOVEMBER, 1931.

p.3 The Month in Retrospect

THE LEAGUE'S FIGHT FOR PEACE IN MANCHURIA

by Dr. Hilda Clark

League's Authority at Stake

I issues of grave moment have been occupying the League of Nations at Geneva. The most delicate problem before the League has been the dispute between China and Japan in Manchuria.

The Chinese Government appealed to the Council on account of the occupation by Japanese troops of places in Manchuria outside the railway zone where in Japan has treaty rights to maintain them. The Japanese delegate denied that there was any question of war and insisted that his Government wished to settle the long-standing and intricate dispute by direct negotiation with Chinese Government.

The Chinese refused to negotiate while their territory was occupied and while hostile acts were being committed. The Japanese claimed that they were already withdrawing troops and could not do so completely on account of the hostile behaviour of the Chinese people which endangered the lives of Japanese in Manchuria. China restrained her army and asked for League supervision of the withdrawal of the Japanese troops.

IV Peace
A monthly review of Peace Movement

VOL.1. No.3. JUNE, 1933

p.10 Books on Review

SCIENCE AND WAR

WHY WAR? Albert Einstein and Siegmund Freud.

Allen & Unwin

Two years ago the League of Nations Permanent Committee on Arts and Letter, anxious to associate representative thinkers with work of intellectual co-operation, asked the International Committee "to

encourage an exchange of letters between leaders of thought on the lines of those which has always taken place at the great epochs of European history." The present volume, containing a letter from Professor Einstein to Professor Freud, and a reply, is the second publication in this series, and is being distributed in this country for the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation by Allen & Unwin.

VOL.1. No.5. AUGUST, 1933.

p.6 Notes and News at home and abroad

p.7 JAPAN

The old League of Nations Association of Japan has changed its name to "The International Association Japan." In a statement issued by the association it is regretted that its former name and the objects contained in its rules were apt to be "misconstructed by the public." The association had often been "mistaken for something that devoted itself to the blind and indiscriminate support of the Geneva institution or as a branch of the League of Nations itself. The association has been regarded as having little or nothing to do with international problems or cultural work other than the work of the League of Nations." The change of name was made in spite of a strong sentiment for the retention of the old.

p.8 The Peace Congress AT OXFORD

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE PACIFIC

The Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Hewlett Johnson) took the Chair at the evening session, and told, from personal observations on the spot, of the flood relief and reconstruction work carried on in China, where 20 millions of people had been involved in an area of 900 by 40 miles.

Dr. Sherwood Eddy described the situation of China as between Japanese aggression on one hand and Communism. Unemployment, famine, floods— it was a soil ready for Communism. He deplored the dilatoriness of the League in speaking out, and suggested that one of three things might now happen: Japan might go bankrupt, or Russia and China might conquer Japan, or the world might insist on calling a halt to Japan and establishing a neutral state in Manchuria.

Sir Frederick Whyte recalled that Japan had formerly looked to Prussia, and that after Russia's defeat she accepted the League. The sudden change in her attitude came in 1930-1, when Great Britain terminated the Japanese Alliance as an obstacle to close co-operation with America.

Mr. Hawkin urged the immediate need of providing for the neutralisation of the Caroline Islands, now under Japanese mandate.

Mrs. Puffer Morgan made an interesting contribution to the debate, on the American position throughout the Far Eastern crisis, recalling that the strong American lead had not been supported at Geneva.

VOL. II. No.3. JUNE 1934.

p.5 THE LEAGUE -

INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

III- A Great Experiment with China

BERTRAM PICKARD

The League of Nations has initiated a new and more wholesome tradition, which is illustrated in a unique way by the technical co-operation between the League and China. This question, moreover, is of great topical interest and importance in view of the recent declaration by the Japanese Government concerning its attitude towards China. The story is told by Dr. Rajchmann in his Report, as Technical Agent of the Council, on his mission in China (C.157 M.66, 1934) published at the beginning of this month.

It is a story where tragedy and hope commingle. This is not the place to recount the epic and renaissance. Suffice it to recall that at the Washington Conference China's efforts Nine-Power to put her own house in order were recognised and promoted by the conclusion of the Nine-Power Treaty; and that in its admirable Outline of Recent Developments in China the Lytton Commission states that "in spite of difficulties, delays and failures, considerable progress has in fact been made."

With the intention of further consolidating its position and pressing forward the work of reconstruction, the National Government telegraphed to the League, in the spring of 1931, its decision to set up a National Economic Council, and appealed for the collaboration of the League's technical organisations. At its meeting on May 19th, 1931, the League Council unanimously agreed to give the desire help.

It was only some months later (November 15th, 1931), however, that the National Economic Council was officially inaugurated. By then two grave events had immensely complicated the task of the National Government: first a flood of unprecedented magnitude in the Yangtse Valley; second, the Japanese occupation of Manchuria beginning at Mukden on September 18th. To the disasters of flood and armed conflict was soon added the paralysing influence of the world economic depression. Thus it was under gloomy auspices that this hopeful experiment in international co-operation began.

The reconstruction work carried out under the general direction of the National Economic Council falls under the following heads: (1) Agriculture and water conservancy; (2) Cultivation of cotton and silk; (3) Roads; (4) Health; (5) Education.

I. AGRICULTURE AND WATER CONSERVANCY

Owing to the depressed state of agriculture, much attention has been paid to the problems arising from its low yield, and from the system of taxation, rent and ownership of land. Efforts at agricultural improvement have been concentrated, though not exclusively, in the North-West and Kiangsi; whilst special attention is being paid to credit facilities and to the development of rural co-operation. Several experts, nominated by the League, have made important agricultural surveys, notably Professor Dragoni (Italy) and Monsieur Briand-Clausen (Denmark).

Flood control in some areas, and irrigation in others, are matters of the utmost importance for China. In June 1931 the League's Transit and Communications Committee agreed to provide technical assistance in connection with plans for improving various Chinese rivers. But before three engineers (Messrs. Coode, Perrier and Sieveking - English, French and German) arrived in China (January 1932) the Yangtse floods had disastrously affected the lives of some 25,000,000 people over an area of 70,000 square miles, the total loss being estimated at \$ 2,000 million! A National Flood Relief Commission with a League nominee (Sir John Hope Simpson) in command proceeded to build 7,000 kilometers of dykes, employing at one time no less than a million men. In the summer of 1932 the National Economic Council was charged with the completion of this emergency work in the Yangtse valley, and undertook important flood prevention work along the Hwai river, as well as two or three irrigation schemes in the north-west.

p.6 2. CULTIVATION OF COTTON AND SILK

China is probably destined to lead the world some day in the cotton industry. Unlike Japan and Great Britain, China is not only suited for the weaving and spinning cotton, but can grow the raw material as

well. At present, however, large imports of raw cotton are made. In October 1933, the National Economic Council set up the Commission for the Cotton Industry representing the interests of cotton-growers, merchants and manufacturers. Poor Lancashire!

Between 1928 and 1933 the Chinese export of silk fell 67 percent. Yet, so it is claimed, China has natural advantages for sericulture greater than those of any other country. Something had to be done about it. Hence, Signor Benito Mari (Italy), by nomination of the League's Economic Committee, has been analysing, during 1933, the cause of the trouble. On January 1st, 1934, the National Economic Council established a silk commission which is to tackle both the production and marketing of silk.

3, ROADS

In 1927 it was estimated that there were less than 30,000 kilometres of roadway accessible to motor traffic. But during the last two years 4,000 kilometers have been constructed in various provinces with the help of the N.E.C., bringing some 12,000 kilometres into effective use, since the policy is to link up existing roads. Roads are considered as feeders to railways and rivers. The Roads Bureau of the N.E.C. has enjoyed technical help and advice from the League's Transit Organization, notably that of Mr. Okechi (Poland).

4, HEALTH

In October 1931 the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation dispatched to China a distinguished Commission of educational authorities (including Professors Langevin and Tawney) to study the educational system of China. In its report (July 1932) certain proposals were made.

The same year a Chinese group of educationalists paid a return visit to Europe. In December 1933 the League was asked to send an authority to China to discuss the practical application of suggestions resulting from the two visits above referred to ; someone, moreover, who could act as permanent liaison officer in Europe between China and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Monsieur Frenand Maurette, Assistant Director of the I.L.O., was accordingly sent, and has only just returned from his mission. As the result of M. Maurette's consultation, it is proposed to set up an Employment Bureau for Intellectual and Technical Workers which will function not only as a sort of Labour Exchange in China, but also as guide to Chinese students abroad.

What of the future? The National Economic Council's budget for 1934 is \$ 15,000,000, three times the amount spent during the preceding two years.

Dr. Rajchmann suggests that future collaboration should follow the general lines laid down 1931 and 1933 (when he was appointed the Council's Technical Agent to co-ordinate the League's part in the enterprise). "It will be carried out," he says, "with the elasticity permitted by the constitution of the League technical organization." "It will aim," he continues, "at associating the national technical services of the China with those engaged in a similar endeavour in other countries; and by so doing to contribute, at the same time, the strengthening the foundations and the function of national machinery for the economic development of China. Who reading about this great experiment in international co-operation but will approve Dr. Rajchmann's use of the "future" rather than the "conditional" tense? The League has set its hand to the plough. There must be no turning back. The new tradition of "service not exploitation" must be fostered and upheld by the League and by public opinion.

November, 1934

p.14 AROUND THE WORLD

JAPAN

Toyohiko Kagawa, the well-known Japanese Christian, recently told a correspondent of the *Nofrontier*

News Service that he can no longer have anything to do with the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Japan "because foreigners are also members." Instead, he says, "We will launch our own peace movement."

July-August, 1935

p.68 PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST

In response to Mr. Arnold-Foster's request for suggestions as to ways in which the West could assist China, the Chinese Ambassador said: "As China is now bent on putting its own house in order first, any help along the line of economic development would be appreciated. There is a glut of capital and goods in the West: China needs capital, and goods, and credit, and freedom for their exchange should be given."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn declared that as far as Australia was concerned the Japanese were "not interested in emigration, but in markets," and that it was in Australia's interest to develop trade with Japan for the sake of her own woolen industry. Any policy based on the idea that Far East is a convenient market for Great Britain, however, was bound to fail.

Speaking in the discussion on "The Problems and Policies of Japan," Professor Masaharu Anesaki said: "We Japanese have learnt many things from the West, believing them to be vital to our existence. During the last three decades of the last century and the first decade of this, we have been earnestly learning from the West — from its industry, its science, its agriculture, and, I would say, unfortunately, from its Army and Navy too.

"Industry in the modern world means machine industry. This point brings me in touch with a point in Mr. Davis's remarks. You have been told that we have been and remain an agricultural people, particularly a rice-eating people. Perhaps it is beyond your understanding how this rice-eating is part of our life. So long as we are rice-eating people, we shall remain largely an agricultural people. Yet in order to feed our increasing population we have had to adopt modern mechanical industry. And there arises a difficulty, out of this conflict between agriculture and industry, which affects all our habits and life and mental attributes. The filtering of the population between these two ways, but it has its difficulties. Psychological effect manifest themselves in various ways."

Dealing with the impact of modern civilization on Japan, Mr. Anesaki declared that confusion and chaos were taking place not in spite of that civilization but because of it.

"Science and democracy are vital elements in that civilization, but at the same time we see confusion and chaos. Our problem is how to go through this transition... How this new civilization, new for us, is to go forward, how we, together with other nations, can work for the future of civilization in which the true soul of mankind could work and manifest itself.

September, 1935

p.102 AROUND THE WORLD

JAPAN

A correspondent in Tokyo writes: "Although it is difficult to discover indications that Japan is again turning toward Geneva, there are evidences that the connections will not be completely severed, even though Japan has withdrawn from the League.

"The International Association of Japan, which for years did effective educational work as the League of Nations Association of Japan, has decided to cancel its decision of withdrawal from the Federation of League of Nations Associations. It now appears that the reason for last year's decision to withdraw was financial, as the low exchange rate of the Japanese yen makes the payment of the annual dues a heavy

burden. It was a wise and courteous move on the part of Federation to offer to lighten this burden.

“The acceptance of this offer by the Japanese Association, with the expressed purpose (p.102) of remaining in the Federation, will be a service to the cause of international thinking in Japan.”

《Hawaii University, Hamilton Library, Hawaiian and Pacific Center》

Material 0004, Section B, IPR Conference

Box-3, Conferences-Kyoto, 1929-Proceedings

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[1]. The Third Biennial Conference of Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan

Pamphlet, First Announcement, March 1, 1929

p.8 2. China

The first conference, convened by the Institute in July, 1925, listened with sympathy and appreciation to the aims and aspirations of the representatives of Young China. The second conference held in 1927, reinforced by the presence of a representative British group, devoted more attention to the problem of China's relations with foreign powers than to any other subject. It was generally felt that notable progress was achieved towards an understanding of the issues involved. Since that conference closed great events have happened in China. After nearly twenty years of struggle the cause of Nationalism has been triumphant and China today, including the three Eastern Provinces, has the measure of unified administration for which the powers stipulated as a necessary precondition of the revision of unequal treaties, a fact which has been officially recognized by the powers. Tariff autonomy went with the assent embodied in treaties of the major powers concerned. Revision of the "unequal treaties" is well under way. The settlement of outstanding international incidents has also been achieved, and the military and naval forces stationed in China have been substantially reduced.

The 1929 conference of the Institute will undoubtedly wish to proceed further to discussion of the issues still outstanding. The government of foreign concessions and also of the concessions that have recently been returned to Chinese or to mixed Chinese and foreign administration will be the subject of discussion and inquiry. Information will be sought concerning the progress and difficulties of China's political and economic reconstruction. This whole group of problems affords a domestic in character but which have important international implications and in which people of other countries have a lively and sympathetic interest.

Under this general heading also comes consideration of the political and economic development of China's three Eastern Provinces known as Manchuria, of the so-called rights and interests of several nations therein and the consequent international complications which threaten to arise. The members of the Institute who meet at Kyoto in November will have before them carefully prepared statements of the economic and political problems involved. Specialists have been at work for some time in China, Japan, and also in Great Britain and the United States analyzing the issues and tabulating the facts. The round tables of the Institute will use this material in an effort not so much to solve the problems at issue as to understand them.

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4. Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific.

The final point towards which the discussions of both the conferences so far held by the Institute have inevitably trended, is the adequacy of inadequacy of the diplomatic machinery available in the Pacific

for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. When the various problems of food and population, of industrialization, of China or of Manchuria have been discussed, and the possibilities of international misunderstanding and conflict latent in them have been revealed, the question inevitably arises: What machinery is available by means of which the Pacific governments may eventually come to an understanding upon these issues?

This heading includes a consideration of League of Nations activities in the Pacific, existing treaties, war prevention policies, the perfection of machinery for peaceable settlement of disputes, disarmament and security in the Pacific, immigration exclusion and the Latin-American policy of the United States.

[2] Letter from Joseph Ward (Prime Minister of New Zealand)

[3] Letter from Minister of Education of New Zealand

[4] Letter from Minister of Education of New Zealand

[5] Telegram, from Herbert Hoover to Edward Carter, Washington D. C., Oct. 25, 1929

[6] Telegraph from Chian Kai-shek to Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Shanghai, Oct. 28, 1929

[7] Translation of the Prime Minister's Address Read at the Opening Ceremony of the Third Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, October 28th, 1929.

[8] Telegraph from Whyte in Honolulu to Institute of Pacific Relations in Kyoto, October 28th, 1929.

[9] 電報、谷嘉兵衛より太平洋會議委員長宛、1929年10月28日。

[10] 演説原稿の英訳、佐上信一京都市長、1929年10月28日。

[11] Japanese Individuals and Groups who have shown courtesies to the Third Conference of The Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto-November 9, 1929

[12] Message from Dr. Chengting T. Wang, Honorary Chairman, China Council.

[13] Message from Minister of Education in New Zealand, to children of Japan.

[14] Telegraph, from Etat Eggleston Conference, Canberra, to Institute of Pacific Relations Kyoto, Japan, Oct. 26, 1929.

[15] Telegraph, from Junnosuken Inoue to Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Chairman the Institute of Pacific Relations, Miyako Hotel, Kyoto, Oct. 28, 1929.

[16] Telegraph, from Ramsay MacDonald in London to Nitobe, Pacific Conference, Kyoto, Japan, Nov. 1, 1929.

[17] Telegraph, from Suzau, Shanghai, Vicechairman, China Council, to Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Nov. 5, 1929.

<fd2>a

"Biennial Report of the General Secretary, Submitted to the Pacific Council by J. Merle Davis, October 23, 1929 at Nara, Japan

p.8 Through conversations and correspondence between the Institute secretariat and officials of the League of Geneva, the Chinese Research Committee has been stimulated to prepare a study on the cotton industry of China, embodying data useful both to the League and to the Institute.

p.14 The new associate general secretaries have brought strong leadership and wide experience in international affairs to the Secretariat. Dr. Hawking Yen has been connected with the Foreign Office of China. He was China's first representative at the League of Nations, served as Secretary General of the Chinese delegation at the Washington Arms Conference and was Secretary of the International Tariff Revision Commission in Peking. Dr. Yen was formerly President of Tsing Hua Indemnity College and was founder and editor of "The Chinese Political Science Journal" of Peking.

<fd2>b

"Report of Address by Chester A. Rowell, at Bishop Hall, Punahou, Honolulu, T. H., January 31, 1929, at 8 o'clock p.m."

p.5 The next meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as you know, is to be held, not in Honolulu, but in Kyoto, in Japan. That is by invitation of the Japanese group. They wanted us there and they were brave men to want us there, because they must have known that the habit of this Institute is to talk straight out in meeting. It is habit to be frank. We have had meetings in this room, and in the room downstairs in this building, in which the very leaders of the movement in America for Japanese exclusion told the Japanese why they did it, and the Japanese themselves why we should not have done it, and everybody told the truth as he saw it, without reserve, without bluntness, but with intelligence and decency to precisely the persons to whom it was most difficult to tell it.

<fd3>

[1] Opening Exercises of The Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations

[2] Minutes of Meetings, Pacific Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, October 23 - November 9, 1929, Nara and Kyoto, Japan

*MINUTES Meeting of the Pacific Council, Oct. 25, 1929 - 9 a.m. Nara Hotel

p.1

I. PRELIMINARY REPORT OF PRESS COMMITTEE

...

2. The suggestion embodied under Section II, "Other Meetings," that the Program Committee be asked to recommend a procedure which would make it practicable to admit the press and limited number of other spectators to forums, was approved and Chair referred the question to the Program Committee for a report. In this connection Dr. Nitobe asked that every opportunity for putting the work of the Institute before the Japanese public be utilized and especially requested that cooperation of conference members in accepting invitations to address public meeting.

...

p.2

...

III. KOREAN GROUP

1. The Chairman presented a letter dated October 19, 1929, and signed by five members of the Korean group, supporting the previous request of that group for an amendment of the Constitution (Art. III, section 2) intended to confer the status of a fully autonomous group upon distinct racial groups existing within the territory of a sovereign power having a National Council in the Institute.

2. Mr. Greene reported that members of the Japanese, British and American groups recently passing together through Korea en route to Japan had been met by members of the Korean group and had discussed with the latter the question of their attending the Kyoto Conference. It had appeared that the Korean group was in some doubt as to whether they could attend even the Kyoto Conference on the basis of the position now attributed to them under constitution. In the course of a prolonged discussion the representatives of the Japanese, British and American groups had unanimously and in the most friendly terms urged the Korean to come to Kyoto in their present constitutional status, leaving it to them to decide, in accordance with their own feelings and judgement, whether the action eventually to be taken by the Pacific Council on the proposed amendment (which could be supported by them in person before the Council) should prove to be such that they could thereafter continue to be affiliated with the Institute. It did not appear at the time of the visit and discussion above referred to what the decision of the Korean group would be.

3. Upon the presentation of the facts above stated, it was unanimously voted that the Pacific Council associates itself with the cordial attitude shown and the advice given to the Korean group by the visiting members of the Japanese, (p.3) British and American members, and hereby expresses its hope that the

Korean group will attend the Conference on the terms indicated by those members.

4. It was unanimously voted to send to the Korean group the following telegram:

"Pacific Council by unanimous resolution mailed today cordially invites the Korean Group to attend Kyoto Conference on present constitutional status and assures opportunity to them in that event to present arguments in favor of proposed amendment at meeting of Council reserving to group entire liberty of action after Council's decision reached on proposed amendment upon which no discussion has yet been held."

*PRELIMINARY REPORT OF PRESS COMMITTEE, Presented to the Pacific Council, October 25, 1929

(Korean Memorandum presented to the Pacific Council at Nara, October 25, 1929)

Central Y.M.C.A.
Chong-no, Seoul, Korea
October 19, 1929

To the members of the Pacific Council, Nara, Japan

Sirs:

In the memorandum which the Korean Group attending the 1927 Conference presented to the Pacific Council, it was proposed to use the word "countries" in place of the words "sovereign states", thus making Korea eligible to the membership of the Council. With the same object in view we cabled to the Secretariat requesting the insertion of the words "or racial group" after the words "autonomous state" in the Constitution, Art. III, Section 2.

In making these requests, all we contend for is that no political accidents can ever annul the fact that the Korean race or nation have lived on the Pacific shores for the last forty centuries. Moreover, we are a nation of homogeneous millions having what Webster gives as the typical characteristics of a nation, viz. "a single language...., a common religion, a common tradition and history, and a common sense of right and wrong, and acompact territory." We ask to be admitted to an Institute whose object "is to study the conditions of the Pacific peoples" by the incontestable right of being a Pacific People.

We are glad that you have your political rights. But what does that have to do in this Institute which claimed from the beginning that it is not a political organization? The members are not even supposed to represent any existing organizations. We have heard it said again and again that it does not intend to be a League of Nations around the Pacific. Does the Institute intend to keep itself as a non-political organization for the purpose of study and understanding of one another? Then why does it set up an artificial standard of membership? We are confident and still are that this Institute will never become another League of Nations in order to do the good which the League of Nations cannot do and yet which the present mankind needs to tremendously.

Having thus stated our motives and reasons, we shall leave the case in your hands, being confident that you will do what is right and fair without fear or favor.

Sincerely yours,
T. H. Yun
Helen K. Kim
Chin Woo Song
Kwan Soo Paik
U. K. Yu

*MINUTES Meeting of the Pacific Council, November 4, 1929 - 3:30 p.m., Miyako Hotel, Kyoto

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IV. PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE III, SECTION 2.

1. It was moved by Mr. Greene and seconded by Dr. Nitobe that Article III, Section 2, of the Constitution of the Institute of Pacific Relations be amended to include racial groups as a category under which National Councils of the Institute may be organized. Dr. Nitobe and Mr. Greene explained that they proposed this amendment in order to satisfy the constitutional requirements for the consideration by the Pacific Council of the amendment desired by the Korean group; and that they did so without reference to their individual attitudes as Council members towards the amendment.

2. At this point the Korean delegation were invited to attend the meetings and present their arguments in favor of the amendment. Mr. T. H. Yun and Miss Helen Kim spoke for the Korean group, supporting the position outlined in the memorandum of the Korean group to the Pacific Council and read to the Council by Dr. Yui at Nara, October 25.

3. In response to a question by Mr. Curtis, Mr. Yun stated that the Korean were not primarily interested in having a representative on the Pacific Council but in securing recognition for their group as an independent unit of the Institute; and that the Korean group would be agreeable to an affiliation with the Institute under a provision of the Constitution which would accord such recognition without providing for Korean representative on the Pacific Council. The Korean group withdrew.

4. Dr. Shotwell stated that during his recent visit to Korea he had endeavored to turn the attention of the Korean group to the possibilities for cooperation with the Institute in cultural problems and in the research program, with the hope that some satisfactory basis for participation might be found along these lines.

5. Baron Sakatani pointed out the fact that it was becoming more and more difficult to define Koreans on racial criteria, due to their inter-marriage with Japanese.

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6. It was voted to request the committee on constitutional amendments to study the proposed amendment and make a report to the Council. Dr. Shotwell was asked to confer with the committee.

(Memorandum presented to the Pacific Council by the Filipino Group at Kyoto, November 4, 1929)

*MINUTES Meeting of the Pacific Council, November 7, 1929 - 12:30 P.M., Miyako Hotel, Kyoto, Japan.

*REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE TO THE PACIFIC COUNCIL, November 7, 1929

Appendix "A"

DATA PAPERS

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Chinese Council

"The Civil Code of the Republic of China" (Book 1)

Bau, M. J. - "Relinquishment of Extraterritoriality in China"

- Bau, M. J. - "Tariff Autonomy of China"
- Buck, J. Lossing - "Studies in Chinese Rural Economy"
- Fong, H. D. - "Tientsin Carpet Industry"
- Ho, Franklin L. and Fond H. D. - "Industrialization in China: A Study of Conditions in Tientsin"
- Ho, Franklin L. and Fond H. D. - "Extent and Effects of Industrialization in China"
- Hsia, C. L. - "The Status of Shanghai"
- Hsiao, C. - "Manchuria"
- Hsu, Shuhsi - "The Manchuria Question"
- Hsu, Paul C. - "Rural Cooperatives in China"
- Lieu, D. K. - "China's Cotton Industry"
- Lieu, D. K. - "Foreign Investments in China"
- Ning, E. C. - "Historical Account of the Laio-ning Province"
- Pan Quentin - "Chinese Colonization in Manchuria"
- p.3
- Wang, C. F. - "A Syllabus of Mining Conditions in the Three Eastern Provinces"
- Wu, Ding-Chang - "International Economic Cooperation in China"
- Yui, David Z. T. - "Opening Statement"
- Japanese Council
- Asari, J. - "Outline of the Conditions of Employment of Women and Young Persons in Factories and Mines in Japan"
- Funatsu, Tatsuiichiro - "Nationalist Attitude Towards Foreign Industrial Establishments in China"
- Komura, Shunzaburo - "The New Pacific and Mediterranean Treaties as a Means of Furthering the Peace of the World"
- Nagao, Hampei - "Machine Age and Religion"
- Nasu, Shiroshi - "Land Utilization in Japan"
- Nitobe, Inazo - "Japan's Preparedness for international Cooperation" (Opening Statement)
- Shibusawa, Viscount, - "Peace on the Pacific: Japan and the United States"
- Matsuoka, Yasuke - "An address on Manchuria: Its Past and Present"
- Odagiri, M. - "Japanese Investments in China"
- Penrose, E. F. - "Agricultural and Mineral Production in Japan"
- Royama, Masamichi - "Japan's Position in Manchuria"
- Tamoeda, T. - "A Short Remark on Shinto"
- Yasutomi, Captain M. - "Naval Disarmament"
- "Western Influence in Modern Japan" - A Series of 21 Papers on Cultural Relations (No.13 in mimeographed form)
1. Nitobe, Inazo - "Two Exiotic Currents in Japanese Civilization"
 2. Yoshida, Kumaji - "European and American Influences in Japanese Education"
 3. Kaneko, Umaji - "A Survey of Philosophy in Japan, 1870-1929"
 4. Takayanagi, Kenzo - " Reception and Influence of Occident Legal Ideas in Japan"
 5. Kuwaki, Ayao - "Development of the Study of Science in Japan"
 6. Anesaki, Masaharu - "The Religions of Japan"
 7. Dan, Ino - "Art"
 8. Ichikawa, Sanki - "Foreign Influence in the Japanese Language"
 9. Saito, Takeshi - "English Literature in Japan: A Sketch"
 10. Suzuki, Bunshiro - "Japanese Journalism"

11. Hishino, Ai - "The Education of Women"
12. Shinobu, Jumpei - "The Diplomatic Relations of Japan"
13. Yoshino, Sakuzo - "Recent Political Developments in Japan"
14. Inouye, Junnosuke - "Economic and Industrial Development of Modern Japan"

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15. Asari, Junshiro - "Development of the Social Movement and Social Legislation in Japan"
16. Nagao, Hampei - "Communications in Japan"
17. Nagao, Hampei - "The Railways of Japan: Past and Present"
18. Kono, Tsunokichi - "The Japanese Army"
19. Mizuno, Kotoku - "The Japanese Navy"
20. Noguchi, Gensaburo - "Sports in Japan"

*MINUTES Meeting of the Pacific Council, November 8, 1929, - 9:30 A.M., Miyako Hotel, Kyoto, Japan

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I. COMMITTEE REPORTS

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D. Constitutional Amendment

The Constitutional amendment drafting committee submitted the following report upon the amendment to the Constitution proposed by the Korean group:

1. The committee had before it by reference from the Pacific Council, the formal motion for Mr. Greene, seconded by Dr. Nitobe, proposing for the consideration of the Pacific Council the amendment submitted by the Korean group, ??e. the addition in Article III, Section 2, of the words "racial group" after the words "autonomous state," and after full consideration of the above proposal, having in mind its possible implications affecting not only one national council, but others as well, feel unable to report in favor of amendment. In coming to this conclusion the committee have clearly in mind the provisions of Article III, Section 3, which were expressly intended by the Institute the participation in conferences of racial or territorial groups which might otherwise be less adequately represented.

2. The Committee have considered with unanimous approval the suggestion that Article III, Section 3, should be amended in such a way as to provide that the participation of racial or territorial groups in the conference of the Institute should be arranged by direct communication between the Secretariat and such groups by unanimous consent of the Pacific Council instead of by action by the National Council directly concerned. In coming to this decision, the Committee were governed by general considerations of policy in regard to applications that might come up for consideration from other countries rather than by the particular circumstances of the Korean case.

3. To give effect to the above provision, the committee proposes the following amendments:

Amend Article III, Section 3 as follows:

Strike out the words "fullest self-expression" and substitute the word "representation":

Strike out the words "an eligible country as defined in Section 2 of this Article" and substitute the words "or under the jurisdiction of a country having a national council of the Institute:"

Strike out the words "the Pacific Council and;"

Strike out the words "with the assent of the National Council of such country" and substitute the words "by unanimous vote of the Pacific Council:"

so that the Section as amended shall read:

"3. To encourage at Conferences of the Institute the representation of distinct racial or territorial groups existing within or under the jurisdiction of a country having a National Council of the Institute, the Secretariat may by unanimous vote of the of the Pacific Council enter into direct relations with such groups in making arrangements for their representation and participation in Conference."

4. The Committee further recommend that the Pacific Council express to the Korean group by unanimous vote (but not otherwise) the earnest hope that the Institute may have the benefit of that group's regular participation in the years to come.

On motion by Mr. Greene, seconded by Dr. Nitobe, the report of the constitutional amendment drafting committee was approved by unanimous vote of Council. In view of the fact that the Constitution requires that a Constitutional amendment be proposed to the Council at least two months before action is taken, it was unanimously voted to accept the amendments proposed by the committee for consideration by the Council at its first meeting following the expiration of the time requirement of the Constitution.

*MINUTES, Meeting of the Pacific Council, November 9, 1929 - 3p.m., Miyako Hotel, Kyoto, Japan

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PROGRAM COMMITTEE

*PROGRAM COMMITTEE, Nara, Friday morning, October 25, 1929

p1.

I REPORTS OF SUBCOMMITTEES: Mr. Loomis reported on Diplomatic Relations as follows: The committee used the outline prepared by the Japanese group as a basis and drew up the attached questions for consideration. The question was raised whether or not A-3 was too comprehensive and complex to be included in another round table as suggested by the committee and whether or not there was enough data material on the subject ready this conference. The Japanese have prepared material on these topics but Mr. Tsurumi and Prof. Takayanagi suggested that they be dropped. It was the sense of the Committee that this topic be dropped this year with the exception that it might be brought up in the round table on "Diplomatic Relations"; that the question be referred to the Secretariat in order that they keep it in mind as a possible topic for the 1931 program; and that the Research Committee be notified of this action so that they might outline their work accordingly. Mr. Loomis was asked to report the action of the Program Committee to the Research Committee.

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QUESTIONS CONCERNING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN THE PACIFIC

A. The subcommittee suggests that these questions should be discussed in a round table under the following head:

1. What are the obligations of the Pact of Paris?
2. What is "War as instrument of National Policy"?
3. What, if any, are the sanctions of the pact of Paris?
4. What are the peaceful means which are the only means of settlement now permitted? Do they include the so-called measures of constraint short of war?
5. In what way could the obligation under the Washington Four power Pact, to come to conference, be articulated with the Pact of Paris?
6. In the light of the Pact of Paris, of the nonparticipation of the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the League, and also in view of the present international situation in the Pacific area, can any steps be profitably taken for the improvement of the machinery of peace? If so, what steps can be taken for the

improvement of the existing machinery or the creation of a new arrangement general or regional?

7. What steps towards disarmament can now be taken in the Pacific and how?

A2 We also suggest that the following head should be included, if possible, in one of the other round table discussions;

1. What legislation is now in force in Pacific Countries in regard to ownership and leasing of land by aliens or by nationals of alien race --- other economic rights of aliens --- naturalization, etc.? How is such legislation enforced --- and what steps can be taken to solve the difficulties, if any? Is there any discrimination against aliens in fact through the administration of laws which are not ostensibly discriminating?

<fd5>

CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

<fd6>

[1] CHINA AND PACIFIC RELATIONS DURING 1927-1929, Dr. David Z. T. Yui, Chairman of the China Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations

[2] OPENING ADDRESS OF THE NEW ZEALAND DELEGATION

[3] PROGRAM COMMITTEE, Kyoto, Monday Morning, October 28, 1929.

[4] DAILY BULLETIN FOR OCTOBER 28, 1929

[5] ADDRESS BY J. MERLE DAVIS AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE THIRD BIENNIAL CONFERENCE, KYOTO, OCTOBER 28, 1929

<fd7>

MACHINE AGE AND TARDITONAL CULTURE, Report of Round Table No.1, Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1929, at 9:20 a.m.

Leader - Mr. Keppel

Recorders - Martin, Matsumoto, Rockefeller

<fd8>

MACHINE AGE AND TARDITONAL CULTURE, Report of Round Table No.2, Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1929, at 9:20 a.m.

Leader - Kilpatrick

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[1] MACHINE AGE AND TARDITONAL CULTURE, Report of Round Table No.3, Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1929, at 9:20 a.m.

Leader - Mr. L. K. Tao

[2] SUPPLEMENT TO SUMMARY STATEMENT, Round Table No. IV, October 29, 1929

E. F. Penrose

<fd10>

[1] PROGRAM COMMITTEE, TENTATIVE TIME TABLE FOR ROUND TABLES

[2] THIRD BIENNIAL CONFERENCE, KYOTO, TENTATIVE TIME SCHEDULE ISSUED OCTOBER 29, 1929

[3] GENERAL SESSION, Tuesday, October 29, 1929, MIYAKO HOTEL DINING ROOM

Chairman: Lord Hailsham

Topic: Machine Age and Culture.

Speakers:

Prof. Masaharu Anesaki, The Early Contact of the Christian Religion with Japan.

Prof. J. T. Shotwell, The Machine Age and Culture.

[4] DAILY BULLETIN FOR TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1929

[5] PROGRAM COMMITTEE, Kyoto, Wednesday morning, October 30, 1929.

[6] EVENING FORUM, October 30, 1929, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND LABOR

Chairman: T. Mayeda

[7] DAILY BULLETIN FOR WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30th, 1929

[8] INDUSTRIALIZATION, Report of Round Table No. III., Wednesday, October 30, 1929.

Leader: T. Mayeda.

[9] INDUSTRIALIZATION, Report of Round Table No. IV., Wednesday, October 30, 1929.

Leader: Archibald Rose.

<fd11>

[1] PROGRAM COMMITTEE, Kyoto, Japan, Thursday morning, October 31.1929.

[2] EVENING FORUM, Tuesday, October 31, 8:00 p.m., MIYAKO HOTEL DINING ROOM

Chairman: Lord Hailsham

Topic: THE OLD CULTURE AND THE NEW KNOWLEDGE

[3] DAILY BULLETIN FOR THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1929

[4] FOOD AND POPULATION, Report of Round Table 1, Thursday, Oct.31, 1929, 9:20a.m.

Leader - J. B. Condliffe

[5] FOOD AND POPULATION, Report of Round Table III, Thursday, Oct.31, 1929, 9:20a.m.

Leader - Quiney Wright

[6] FOOD AND POPULATION, Report of Round Table IV, Thursday, Oct.31, 1929, 9:20a.m.

Leader - Mr. Wright

[7] FOOD AND POPULATION, Report of Round Table VI, Thursday, Oct.31, 1929, 9:20a.m.

Leader - George Lawn

<fd11>

[1] FOOD AND POPULATION, Report of Round Table No.6, Thursday, Oct.31, 1929, 9:20a.m.

Leader - George Lawn

[2] PUBLIC MEETING, Dr. Nitobe, President of the Conference, Friday evening, November 1., 7:30.p.m., HINODE AUDITORIUM.

Chairman: Hon. Masanao Hanihara

Speakers:

Dr. D. C. Wu: "The Contribution of the Press to International Relations".

Prof. A. J. Toynbee: "Where we stand in International Relations".

James G. McDonald: "some Unsolved Problems".

[3] PROGRAM COMMITTEE, Kyoto, Japan, Friday morning, November 1, 1929

[4] DAILY BULLETIN FOR FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1929

[5] CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS - EXTARITY, Report of Round Table 1, November 1st, 1929.

Leader: Mr. James McDonald

<fd13>

[1] EXTRATERRITORIALTY, Report of Round Table No.2, Friday, Nov. 1. 1929

Leader: Lord Hailsham

[2] CONCESSION AND SETTLEMENTS, Report of Round Table No.2, Saturday, Nov. 2, 1929
9:30-12

Leader - Lord Hailsham

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[1] EXTRALITY, Report of Round Table No. III, Friday, Nov. 1, 1929, 9:30-12:15

Leader: N. Rowell

<fd15>

[1] EXTRALITY, Report of Round Table No. IV, Friday, Nov. 1, 1929, 9:30-12:15

Leader: R. W. Boyden

[2] Concessions and Settlements", Report of Round Table II, Saturday Nov.2., 1929

Leader: Lord Hailsham

[3] DAILY BULLETIN FOR SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2., 1929

[4] PROGRAM COMMITTEE, Kyoto, Japan, Saturday morning, November 2, 1929.

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IV MANCHURIA SYLLABUS: Mr. Carter reported that the Subcommittee on "Manchuria" produced a syllabus which seemed a little too involved and which might take more than three days to follow it through and that they had prepared a new one, a copy of which is attached. Mr. Kilpatrick pointed out that they had merely made a simplified draft, including all the essential points. The question of discussing the Chinese Eastern Railway situation was again raised as the subcommittee has arranged for this discussion to come under the heading of "miscellaneous". Mr. Toynbee explained that the British group was very desirous of having the question discussed as they felt it was a matter which concerned to others than the parties involved and was of general interest to those present. Mr. Tsurumi raised the question of precedent and said that at the first conference the Chinese raised many questions regarding the policy of the British in China, but that they were not discussed as the British were not present. At the second conference the British group wished to have the Manchurian question discussed, but as the U.S.S.R. was not represented, it was not brought up. He felt that the same rule should apply at this conference as there is only an observer from Russia. The general concensus of opinion of the Committee was that the railway dispute should be made a major topic and that the revised syllabus for the time being would be for the convenience of the leaders. Mr. Tsurumi was asked to see Messrs. Royama, Sakatani, and Matsuoka, and if they had any objections to the wording, the confer with Prof. Shotwell.

[5] DAILY BULLETIN FOR SUNDAY, Nov.3, 1929.

[6] NEW DRAFT, November 4, 1929, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN THE PACIFIC

[7] PROGRAM COMMITTEE, Kyoto, Japan, Monday morning, November 4, 1929.

[8] GENERAL SESSION, Dr. Nitobe, President of the Conference, Monday, November 4, 8:00 p.m.,
MIYAKO HOTEL DINING ROOM.

Chairman: Lord Hailsham

Topic: Manchuria

Speakers:

Mr. Yosuke Matusoka.

Dr. Shushi Hsu.

Mr. Lewis L. Lorwin: Population and International Relations

[9] DAILY BULLETIN FOR MONDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1929

[10] STATEMENT By Masanao Hanihara, At The Round Table of Nov. 4th, 1929 -about Manchuria

[11] THE PROBLEM OF MANCHURIA, Joint Conciliation Board as a Means of Solution, by Shingoro Takaishi, Editor-in-Chief, the Osaka Mainichi

<fd16>

[1] Report of Round Table No.1, November 4th, 1929

Leader: Mr. J. G. McDonald

[2] Manchuria, Report of Round Table No.1, November 4th, 1929

Leader: Mr. J. G. McDonald

[3] Report of Round Table No.1, "THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION" November 4th, 1929

Leader: Mr. J. G. McDonald

<fd17>

[1] MANCHURIA, Report of Round Table No.2, November 4th, 1929

Leader: Lord Hailsham

<fd18>

[1] MANCHURIA, Report of Round Table No.III, November 4th, 1929,
9:30-12:15

Leader: Mr. Rowell

<fd19>

[1] MANCHURIA, Report of Round Table No.IV, November 4th, 1929

Leader: Roland W. Boyden

《一橋大学図書館 大窪憲二コレクション》

<Nd-A880 PACIFIC COUNCIL, 1927, 1929, 1931> (複写本)

*Program Committee Documents 33

REPORT OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE

November 3, 1931

- I. The Committee has endeavored to base its recommendations on the four following considerations:
 1. The Institute's experience of the past six years;
 2. The implication of the research of the past four years and the proposed research program of the next two;
 3. Participation of new groups (Philippine Islands and U.S.S.R.) in the next conference;
 4. The material emanating from (a) the national group meetings, (b) the four critique round tables on November 2, and (c) the critique general session immediately following.
- II. The Committee recommends to the Pacific Council that the time span of the next Conference

be fourteen days, with an interval in the middle of two days, completely free of round tables, general sessions, committee meetings and organized excursions.

1. The foregoing recommendation is made on the assumption that the Pacific Council will make adequate provision for meetings of the Pacific Council, the Research Committee, specialists and the Program Committee beforehand and in the case of the three committees, after the Conference.
2. The Program Committee recommends for consideration by the Pacific Council and subject to their approval, the desirability of a simultaneous meetings of the Pacific Council, the International Research Committee, the International Program Committee, between this Conference and the next biennial Conference. This recommendation is made subject to such alterations as the Pacific Council and the Program Committee may make in the light of the recommendations of the young secretarie's memorandum, the recommendations of the Gevenal Secretary and the importance of the selecting a place of meeting which will meet the maximum possible convenience of all member groups.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Monday, October 12, 1931---9.30-11.55 p.m.

Cathay Hotel - Shanghai, China

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Attendance

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Place and form of conference

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ANNEX 1

Pacific Council Minutes

October 12, 1931

Jerome D. Greene's Statement to the Press of October 2nd, 1931

Word was received yesterday by Jerome D. Greene, Chairman of the Pacific Council, the governing body of the Institute of Pacific Relations, from the Japanese Council of the Institute, expressing deep regret that the Japanese members could not attend the conference of the Institute, scheduled for October 21 to November 4. After a meeting of the Pacific Council attended by representative from Australia, Britain, Canada, China and the United States, it was, however, announced that the Conference, but in a modified form emphasizing the scientific and research aspects of the Institute's work.

"The China Council," Mr. Greene said, "had previously proposed to me to recommend that the Pacific Council postpone the Conference in view of the recent development in Sino-Japanese relations. The China Council, however, " Mr. Greene continued, "readily joined in the ultimate decision because it found itself faced with the following facts: First, to postpone the Conference would make in impossible for the Institute to assume its serious responsibilities as a permanent international body entrusted with a permanent program that goes on year after year, - a program involving the maintenance of a permanent international secretariat, a coordinated research program in half a dozen countries, the maintenance of an international journal and other publications, and the constant interchange of research students between the different countries. The cumulative documentation for the study of the problems of the Pacific, which now holds a recognized place in some of the principal libraries of the world, would be seriously interrupted. Second, to abandon the Conference of the Institute would give the erroneous impression that

the principal business of the Institute was to deal with current political issues. Third, in response to the invitation of the Conference hosts, namely, the China Council, over one hundred members from distant countries had already completed their long journeys and arrived in the Far East.

"The Pacific Council," Mr. Greene proceeded to state, "having very fully considered the statement of the Chinese Council, voted unanimously to proceed with the arrangements for the Conference, but to hold it in a modified form. The situation called for a fresh emphasis on the research function of the Institute and for a fuller discussion of the wider and more fundamental problems (Pacific Trade and Cultural Relations, Diplomatic Machinery of the Pacific, Race and Migration Problems, etc.,) which really underlie the crises of the moment and on which a great deal of cooperative study and preliminary discussion have already been directed by the various groups. The Program Committee had already been instructed by the Pacific Council to give full might to these questions in formulating the agenda of the meeting, which would thus become primarily a research Conference. Furthermore, in the drafting of discussion topics and the presentation of the data, the Committee would take due account of the absence of the Japanese group.

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"In order to remove any misconceptions as to its nature and objectives, the Pacific Council had requested Mr. Greene to call attention to the fact that the Institute is a unofficial body existing for the study of the conditions of the P

acific peoples, with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations. This object it seeks to attain not by the methods of political controversy, but of carefully organized group discussions, preceded and followed by a continuous process of study and research. Any particular conference such as it is now proposed to hold is thus only a link in a chain. In no sense is the Institute an international tribunal passing judgement in particular issues."

"The Institute will bring together men and women in a mood of inquiry rather than of conflict. Its discussion will aim to review the research program of the past six years, with a view to planning for the studies and discussions which must be instituted during the coming two and four years. It is to be a serious attempt to apply scientific method, both in research and discussion to the problems of the Pacific area. Recent events only emphasize the importance of these principles. Materials for the investigation of the wider problems have already been prepared and further avenues of inquiry are being explored. It is along these lines that the Institute can fulfill its true function and make a fruitful contribution to international amity."

Note: The statement that the Japanese could not attend the Conference was due to a misinterpretation of cables received from Japan, and was superseded by a subsequent announcement which indicated the presence of Japanese.

ANNEX 2

Pacific Council Minutes

October 12, 1931

Press Release of October 13

This morning at eleven o'clock the biennial meeting of the Pacific Council, governing body of the Institute of Pacific Relations, will open at the Cathay Hotel to deal with administrative problems of the organization. The Council will be in daily session for the coming week, hearing the reports of national councils and the departmental reports of the international activity for the next two years.

At this morning's opening session members of the International Program and Research Committees will be present as guests, together with other conference members who happen to be in Shanghai. During the week the Program and Research Committees will be working separately on their respective

agenda.

(Following this statement was given a list of the attending members of the Pacific Council, the International Research Committee, the International Program Committee, the International Secretariat, and the various arrivals on recent steamers).

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ANNEX 3

Pacific Council Minutes

October 12, 1931

Official Statement Approved by Pacific Council, October 12, 1931

At the close of the meeting of the Pacific Council, the governing body of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Chairman, Mr. Jerome D. Greene, stated that the modified conference which he had announced on October 2nd would be held, emphasizing the scientific and research aspects of the Institute's work. He was happy to be able to state that representatives from Australia, Britain, Canada, China, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States were in attendance at the preliminary meetings of the Pacific Council, the International Research Committee, and the International Program Committee.

The meeting of the Pacific Council commenced at eleven o'clock in the morning, and was attended not only by members of the Council, the Research and Program Committees, but also by all those who have already arrived in Shanghai for the forthcoming conference, including representatives from the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and the Netherlands.

Brief oral reports summarizing the activities of the different national groups were presented by Sir Harrison Moore for Australia, Archibald Rose for Great Britain, Norman MacKenzie on behalf of Vincent Massey for Canada, L. T. Chen for China, Dr. Inazo Nitobe for Japan, J. E. Strachan for New Zealand, and Edward C. Carter for the United States.

The sessions of the Pacific Council and of its committees are now being held in Shanghai, and it was decided by the Pacific Council that to meet the convenience of the members now almost daily arriving in Shanghai the ordinary sessions of the conference will continue to be held here.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Tuesday, October 13 - 11 a.m. to 12:55 p.m.

Cathay Hotel - Shanghai, China

Attendance

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6. Observers

It was announced that observers for the coming conference would be as follows:

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The League of Nations - Captain Frank G. Walters, S. Aoki, Col. Liang

The International Labor Office - Camille Pone, Iwao F. Ayuzawa

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Tuesday, October 13, 1931 -- 4:00-5:50 P.M.

Cathay Hotel—Shanghai, China.

Attendance

...

3. Discussion of Controversial Questions

The Chairman stated that he had asked the acting chairman of the Program Committee to appoint a small advisory committee to make formulation of the principles which should guide the Conference in handling questions of current controversy with a view to coming to a clear understanding of those questions which should be profitably discussed, and those which should be eliminated.

Mr. Carter replied that he had made this proposition to the Program Committee, but that the members who had taken part in the discussion felt that such formulation was unnecessary at this time and could be dealt with informally by the chairman in conversation with the leaders of all the round tables.

4. Modifications in Conference

Mr. Chen raised the query as to what is meant by "modified conference." The Chairman stated that his position from the time he arrived in Japan enroute to Shanghai has been to go just as far toward accomplishing a full Conference as circumstances would permit. Mr. Carter stated that the Program Committee had in mind four points regarding a "modified conference":

1. Change of place
2. A rather firm ruling out of discussion of current provocative incidents
3. Opening speeches replaced by progress reports of national groups
4. On the positive side that the round table discussions were not to be held just for the sake of discussion but to clear up our minds regarding the underlying problems and those requiring research.

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7. Filipino Group

The Chairman presented the request of the Filipino group, that they be admitted to the Institute as a National Unit as comprehended by Article III, Section 1 of the Constitution. The reports of the American Council and communications from Prof. Takayanagi, Chairman, and the Honorable F. W. Eggleston of the Special Committee appointed by Mr. Greene were received. On motion of Mr. Rose, it was voted:

That the informal communications expressing the views of the members of the committee be accepted in lieu of a report of their committee, and that the committee be discharged with thanks.

On motion of Mr. Carter, it was voted to admit the Filipino group to the Institute according Article III, Section I of the Constitution and the Secretary was instructed to notify Conrado Benitez by cable of the Council's action.

8. Amendment to Article IV, Section 8

It was voted to amend the Constitution in conformity with Article X (Amendments), the following addition to Article IV become Section 8 of that Article:

8. A resolution signed by each member of the Pacific Council as hereinafter mentioned shall have the same force and effect as if it were a resolution passed at a duly constituted meeting of the Pacific Council. For the purpose of this section the General Secretary on receipt of a proposed resolution signed by two members of the Pacific Council, shall transmit a copy of the same forthwith to each national group and if within three months of such despatch he shall receive a copy of such resolution signed by each member of the Pacific Council or his alternate, such resolution shall be entered in the minutes as a resolution of the Pacific Council.

Nd-A881 (タイプ印刷・原本)
PACIFIC COUNCIL
SHANGHAI 1931, BANFF 1933 MINUTES

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
Pacific Council Minutes
October 12 to November 3, 1931

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Monday, October 12, 1931 -- 9.30 - 11.55 p.m.

Cathay Hotel - Shanghai, China

Attendance

1. The member of the Pacific Council attended dinner together at 8 p.m., and adjourned at 9.30 to the room of the chairman, Jerome D. Greene. After an informal discussion of an hour, the Council decided to go into formal session.

The following members and alternates were present:

Jerome D. Greene, Chairman
Sir Harrison Moore, Australia
Tristan Buesst, Australia
Archbald Rose, Britain
Lionel Curtis, Britain
C. J. Burchell, Canada
Norman MacKenzie, Canada
Hsu Singloh, China
L. T. Chen, China
Inazo Nitobe, Japan
Tamon Maeda, Japan
J. E. Strachan, New Zealand
E. C. Carter, United States
C. F. Loomis, Secretary of the Council

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October 13, 1931

CONSTITUTION of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATION

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Institute of Pacific Relation

10/12/31

Mr. MacKenzie stated that he wished to receive an assurance from the China Council that if the meeting was hold in Shaghai, it would not impair the future work of the Institute of Pacific Relations in China. Mr. Hsu Singloh replied that the China Council would like to meet in Hangchow as planned because of the fact that it had been selected for the conference site, and also because it was an ideal place for such a conference; but that the China Council was quite ready to fall in line with to Pacific

Council if it should be decided to hold the conference in Shanghai. He felt that the general public would understand the reasons for the change. He did not think that it would endanger the future work of the Institute in China.

Mr. Rose suggested that some formula be worked out so that we could still refer to this as the Hangchow conference, but Sir Harrison Moore thought that in the present situation, there were positive advantages in meeting in Shanghai. Mr. Chon stated that if for good reasons we decided to change the place, the only consideration should be what would work for were made to have a modified conference, it should be as different as possible from the one originally planned for Hangchow.

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ANNEX I

Pacific Council Minutes

October 12, 1931

Jerome D. Greene's Statement to the Press of October 2nd, 1931

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9. Amendment to Article III, Section 3

It was voted in conformity with Article X (Amendments), to make certain amendments of Article III, Section 3

This section now reads as follows:

Article III, Section 3

3. To encourage at Conferences of the Institute the fullest self-expression of distinct racial or territorial groups existing within an eligible country as defined in Section 2 of this Article, the Pacific Council and the Secretariat may, with the assent of the National Council of such country, enter into direct relations with such groups in making arrangements for their representation and participation in conferences.

The amendments proposed are as follows:

Strike out the words "fullest self-expression" and substitute the word "representation;"

Strike out the words "an eligible country as defined in Section 2 of this Article" and substitute the words "or under the jurisdiction of a country having a National Council of the Institute;"

Strike out the words "with the assent of the National Council of such country" and substitute the words "by unanimous vote of the Pacific Council;"

so that the Section as amended shall read;

To encourage at Conferences of the Institute the representation of distinct racial or territorial groups existing within or under the jurisdiction of a country having a National Council of the Institute, the Secretariat may by unanimous vote of the Pacific Council enter into direct relations with such groups in making arrangements for their representation and participation in Conferences.

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11. Attendance of Korean Group

The Chairman presented the request of the Korean group for admission to the conference under Article III, Section 3 as amended. The Chairman explained that this request did not mean that Korea should be admitted as an autonomous group but merely as a racial or territorial unit in accordance with Article III, Section 3. After discussion it was moved that:

The Korean group be authorized to communicate with the Secretariat with regard to their attendance at the Conference.

Motion was lost.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Wednesday, October 14, 1931 - 11. a.m. to 12:30 a.m.

Cathat Hotel, Shanghai

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5. Report of the Research Committee

Dr. Shiroshi Nasu, Acting Chairman of the International Research Committee and Mr. W. L. Holland, Acting Research Secretary, submitted a supplementary report of the Committee, containing the following recommendations:

- (a) "It was moved by Professor J. P. Chamberlain and seconded by Mr. H. F. von Haast that Committee recommend to the Pacific Council that Mr. Charles P. Howland be re-appointed as Chairman of the International Research Committee for a further two years, and that the Committee express its deep appreciation of Mr. Howland's work on behalf of the Institute's research work. The proposal was carried unanimously."
- (b) "It was moved by Professor Norman MacKenzie of Canada and seconded by Mr. von Haast of New Zealand that the Committee recommend to the Pacific Council that in future conferences a period of time be allotted during and after the conference for the meetings of the International Research Committee. The motion was carried unanimously."
- (c) "It was moved by Dr. Nasu and seconded by Professor MacKenzie that the Committee recommend that the Pacific Council consider the advisability of holding research conferences at some central point, preferably Honolulu, in the interim between the biennial conferences, in order to give an opportunity for the International Research Committee and the various interested research workers to meet to discuss and compare methods of study. The motion was carried unanimously."

The first of these recommendations was reserved for reference to the Nominating Committee to be appointed.

Upon motion of Sir Harrison Moore, it was voted that the Pacific Council should take note of the proposal of the Research Committee regarding meetings during and after conferences and refer it to the General Secretary for appropriate action when the plans for the next Conference are adopted.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Wednesday, October 14, 1931 -- 2.45 - 4.05 p.m.

Cathay Hotel—Shanghai, China

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Thursday, October 15, 1931. - 10.45 a.m. - 12.25 p.m.

Cathay Hotel - Shanghai - China

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PHILLIPPINES GROUP

4. Mr. Loomis read a cable from Rafael Palma acknowledging with thanks the action of the Pacific Council, admitting the Filipino group as a national unit of the Institute and announcing the names of members who would attend the conference.

CONFERENCE GUEST

5. Mr. Loomis reported that Camille Pone, official observer from the International Labour Office had asked permission for Mr. Jennings Wong, his colleague in China, to attend the conference. The Council agreed that Mr. Wong should be admitted as its guest.

VISIT TO NANKING

6. Mr. Hsu Singloh then placed before the Council a telegram from the Minister of Finance, Mr. T. V. Soong, asking if October 20 would be a satisfactory time for their proposed visit to Nanking. On motion by Mr. Carter it was voted that:

Members of the Pacific Council and other designated members of the conference proceed to Nanking on the evening of the 19th in order to pay their respects to the National Government.

At the suggestion of Mr. Hsu Singloh it was agreed to limit the number from each National group to four. It was also agreed that it would be appropriate for the Council to place a wreath on the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the name of the Institute.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Thursday, October 15, 1931 - 4 to 5:15 p.m.

Cathay Hotel, Shanghai, China.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Friday, October 16, 1931 -- 10:30-11:30 A.M.

Cathay Hotel—Shanghai, China.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Friday, October 16, 1931 2:00 3:30 P.M.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Monday, October 19, 1931 -- 11:00 a.m.-12:05 p.m.

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PACIFIC COUNCIL MINUTES

Sunday, October 25, 1931 -- 7:40-8:10 a.m.

Lakeview Hotel, Hangchow, China

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2. Pacific Committee of the U.S.S.R.

At the request of the Chairman, the Honorable Vincent Massey read a memorandum which Mr. Edward C. Carter had prepared on the history of the relations of the Institute of Pacific Relations with the scientific workers in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic. It was voted to annex this memorandum to

the Minutes of this meeting and action was taken as embodied in the following Minute:

The Pacific Council at its meeting at Hangchow on October 25th, 1931, learned with profound satisfaction of the formation in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic of a Pacific Committee of the U.S.S.R. After the study of a memorandum on the relations of the Institute with the scientific workers of the U.S.S.R. and to the Pacific Committee recently formed as an affiliate of the Institute of Pacific Relations in the Soviet Union it was voted unanimously:

- (1) that the chairman having received notice on March 10, 1931, from the said Pacific Committee of the U.S.S.R. indicating that it had been duly organized as a national unit of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Acting Committee of the U.S.S.R. as such national unit,
- (2) that the Acting General Secretary be authorized to communicate this decision to the Pacific Committee of the U.S.S.R. with the request that it appoint a representative on the Pacific Council and
- (3) That the Acting General Secretary be requested to continue to cooperate with the U.S.S.R. Committee and to carry out as far as possible the suggestions (Annex I) made members of the Institute of Pacific Relations to Moskow in September, 1931.

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Appendix C

Memorandum on Cooperation between the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS and the NEWLY FORMED INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATION GROUP IN THE U.S.S.R. (presented to the Shanghai Conference, October 25, 1931)

On behalf of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the General Secretary addressed a letter to Dr. Bogoraz of the Leningrad Academy inquiring whether it would be possible for one or two observers from the Soviet Union to participate in the 1927 Honolulu Conference. No reply was received to this letter. It was subsequently discovered that the letter had failed to reach its destination. During the period from 1927 to 1929 three members of the International Secretariat, Mr. J. Merle Davis, Mr. Charles F. Loomis, and Dr. J. B. Condliffe, visit Moscow for the purpose of establishing personal contacts between the Honolulu office and the scientific workers in the Soviet Union. And again in 1929 an invitation from the General Secretary in Honolulu was sent to President of the Society for Cultural Relations in Moscow inviting that society to send observers to the Kyoto Conference in the hope that that might result in the formation of an I. P. R. group in the U.S.S.R.

Several members of the 1929 Conference took advantage of the fact that they were travelling to Kyoto via Moscow in order to reinforce this invitation. This informal group consisted among others of Professor Charles K. Webster and Miss Eileen Power of Great Britain, Professor Siroschi Nasu of Japan, Mr. Jerome D. Greene, Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, Mr. Roland W. Boyden, Mr. Lewis L. Lorwin, Dr. W. H. Kilpatrick, Mr. Frederick V. Field, and Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Carter of the United States. Informal conferences took place between members of this group and several Soviet scholars under the chairmanship of Dr. Fefor N. Petrov, the newly elected chairman of the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS). Dr. Petrov is known in the scientific world as the editor of the Soviet Encyclopedia. These conferences were mutually advantageous because they offered the opportunity for discussion of the basic philosophy of the Institute. They also served to clear up several misunderstandings which has resulted from the following fact. It was discovered that whereas in "Problems of the Pacific" - The Proceedings of the 1927 Honolulu Conference-reference had been made to the pros and cons of Soviet participation in the Institute, there had not been published in that volume the minute embodying the final decision of the Pacific Council at the end of the 1927 Conference, which

definitely authorized the General Secretary to invite observers from the U.S.S.R. to attend the Kyoto Conference in 1929.

Dr. Petrov expressed sincere satisfaction that the position had been clarified and said that though the time was exceedingly short, an effort would be made to designate an observer who could be at Kyoto a month later. Arrangements were made according to which Mr. Vladimir Romm attended the Kyoto Conference as an observer and was accompanied by his secretary, Miss Posdneev.

At the session of the Pacific Council held in Kyoto on November 14, 1929, the Pacific Council adopted the following report which had been submitted by the Honorable Hugh Wyndham on behalf of the Committee on New Member Groups:-

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Dr. Novomirsky's cable was amplified in a letter to Mr. Charles F. Loomis dated May 23, 1931, as follows:

THE U.S.S.R. SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Moscow, 69

May 23, 1931

Mr. Charles F. Loomis

Acting General Secretary

Institute of Pacific Relations

Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Loomis:

I have your letters dated March 10 and 11 as well as that of April 13, in which you inform us of your departure for Shanghai on June 30th, so I hope that this letter will reach you at Honolulu.

Our Pacific Committee under the chairmanship of Professor Petroff has gathered several prominent scientific workers from almost all scientific institutions in Oriental Affairs. Among these are the Academy of Science, Leningrad, the Communist Academy of Science, Moscow (which now unites the most important Scientific Research Society (Chairman- Professor F. N. Petrov), the Trade Board, Tsentsosoyus (all Union Federation Cooperatives), several of the biggest newspapers and publications and so on.

I am sorry to tell you that the question of our participation in the forthcoming conference has not yet been definitely settled and I have strong fear that favorable decision of this question may be difficult to reach owing to the place where the conference is being held.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

DANIEL I. NOVOMIRSKY

Acting Anglo-American Section.

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On August 8, Mr. L. T. Chen on behalf of the China Council wrote Mr. Novomirsky as follows:

《東京大学アメリカ太平洋地域研究センター高木八尺文庫 太平洋問題調査会関係資料》

No.52 上海會議議事録〔3〕 China's Economic Development(1)

Morning General Session Oct. 24, 1931.

Shanghai -- 11 A.M.

p.1

China's Economic Development

Round Table II. W. L. Holland

The distinctive feature of round table II is that it did not follow closely the agenda but confined itself throughout the three days to the agricultural and rural problems of China, no doubt realizing that they were the fundamental problems. On the first day we had a description from several Chinese members of the work being done in Chinese colleges and high schools in research in these questions.

Cooperative

Discussed rural cooperatives, especially in North China where they have been functioning partly under the auspices of the International Famine Relief Commission and partly under the universities. The difficulties of setting up these cooperatives were described.

Greater utilization of hill land

Foreign members urged that greater use could be made, while the Chinese pointed out that the Chinese used this country for woodlands and fuel, and until the fuel problem could be otherwise solved it seemed wise to continue to use these regions for fuel.

Railways

C. S. Liu said that most lines charged absurdly high rates for transporting agricultural products, and stressed the need of linking up roads and railways in some kind of a system.

p.2

The second day we had a good statement from foreign member on the part played by a foreign firm in Swatow in giving out seeds and information. In discussing rural industries it was pointed out that these industries could survive in spite of machine competition.

The statement was made by a foreign member that foreign markets were closed by tariffs but it was pointed out that there was a large home market. It is significant that rural industries have not been so hard hit by the economic depression.

Today's round table concentrated on communist activities in China and the influence of communist ideas on the Chinese economic system. The small Soviet states in Honan and Kiangsi were used as illustration of the bearing the question of communism has on the tenant problem. It was shown that the spread of communistic activities is very much related to the economic conditions and the problem of tenantry.

We concluded with the question as to whether China could follow the capitalistic system and whether we should not investigate other systems first before exmarking upon it.

Round Table III. Prof. Adams

The first day the round table considered that there [p.3] were two questions which underlay the problems before the round table. In view of the fact that you have some 50,000,000 small farms and that the farms are very small in area, two questions arose. (1) the question of migration—is there a deeprooted unwillingness to move from the ancestral land. There was a discussion of the effect of movements into Manchuria and other movements about China, breaking old links. It was felt that this question should be looked into further.

2). A fundamental point was the question of the consolidation of these small holdings—the fact that the holdings are broken into many small parts. Is there a possibility of consolidating these small holdings as has been done in othre countries. We got very valuable evidence from the Japanese members and also evidence from other countries. It was pointed out that consolidation was happening to some extent voluntarily, though usually a government agency was required. In Japan various influences could be

brought to bear. Both of these problems require much more investigation.

The second day the question of agricultural cooperation was brought up. The first point was that this question of agricultural cooperation was in many respects the key question to the solution of the question. It is important that the work should be done thoroughly and there should not [p.4] be a policy of spreading the movement quickly. There should be educational work of a very simple kind—getting right down to the villages by people who know the villagers and can arouse the spirit of cooperation among them. It was pointed out that there are many elements of cooperation already in Chinese rural life. The importance of cooperative educational work was stressed.

The particular problem of credit was brought up as the central approach, but it was pointed out that credit can be abused in cooperative societies, which must be regulated to prevent such abuse. In the same way, with regard to the problem of machinery, it was felt that the mere consolidation of small holdings would not in itself extend the use of machinery. But with development of cooperation, there might be an extension of simple labor saving machinery. Cooperation was felt to be the central point. It was felt also that the improvement of live stock and crops must be studied with a view to development along existing lines.

...

p.5

We considered the question as to whether or not China must travel the industrial road. I do not know whether or not we came to any conclusion. On the question of transportation I need not say much. But we had a very clear exposition of the existing transport system, including roads, canals and railways. It was felt that these three were essentially complementary and roads should not be built parallel to the railways but in other directions. It was considered important to investigate the problem of the missing links in the transportation system.

Round Table IV. Archibald Rose

The deliberations of Round Table IV followed to a great extent the lines recorded from other groups, but I will use these few minutes to touch upon one particular phase which I think stood out very clearly. It is this—that the real fundamental economic problem of China is, unlike that of the West, the problem of production. Over production is not a problem which has overtaken China or is likely to do so in the near future, and the job before us was to consider whether there were any ways in which production could be increased and the standard of living put on a higher basis. The main [p.6] thing which stood out was I think something like this—In the Yangtze Valley China should concentrate intensively of flood prevention and conservancy, while in North China conservancy and irrigation were the essential points. The rivers there offer problems of their own.

...

Taxation

Figures were given showing the annual income of the average farmer. It was extraordinarily low. It was shown that a man could be kept alive for a dollar a month and that millions of farmers have little margin beyond that. It was also shown that taxation that falls on the farmer often indirectly through the depreciation of paper currency is having destructive effect on the rural population.

These points covered the direct program for the increase of production. We proceeded to an indirect matter. It was shown that in China particularly production and [p.7] distribution were very closely linked together, and that now that the machinery of distribution has largely broken down or become emaciated through the run down condition of the railways, the rehabilitation of the railways would be an important means to the raising of the standard of living. The question was how is it going to be done. It involves the peace and security of the country, and a strong government. Until you get those things it is

impossible to consider these greater things.

Various measures for cooperative credit and land tenure were discussed but there was a rather clear view in our group that China had such a strong traditional machinery regulating those things that while it had been helpful, it was now time to concentrate on these greater problems of increasing production.

Lionel Curtis

...

Mr. Kanai gave a treatment of the railway problem which [p.8] produced two impressions, (1) mainly from the point of view of profit, there was greater scope for railway development and improvement in China than in any other country. (2) no substantial improvement or extension could take place except in so far as peace, order and strong government could be established in this country.

Now in researches of this kind I submit that the principle which should govern everything which we do is to look for the key problems—those problems which have to be solved before you can apply solutions. Personally I come to these conferences not to tell China what to do in her own country. I do come to try and find out and I believe all foreigners do, what ought to be done to help this country to get on its legs. (This remark is addressed to foreigners) We come here to study the conditions of China for one object only, to ask in our own minds whether there is anything we could do to help China solve her problems, which are on a scale greater than those of any other countries and to ask ourselves if anything is being left undone which we might do.

I come back to what Mr. Kanai and every other speaker has said—that the key problem is how China can get a strong government and the question which I suggest that foreigners should put quite bluntly to ourselves is this: do we or do we not want China to realize for herself a strong government? [p.9] And answer it publicly when we get back to our own countries. I am going to assume for a moment that we do, because if we don't, we had better go home straight away.

Therefore I come on to the further question, what can we foreigners, our countries and our governments, do to help China? I have got no clear answer to that question. I want to suggest to you why. After all, if you take a country like America, Japan, France, Great Britain, and you come to a great question of public policy relating to a foreign country, the first man you look to for advice is the minister that you accredit to that country, who should be in real communication with the government to whom he is accredited. I ask you if that is the position in China. Our Government took the deliberate step three years ago of recognizing Nanking. We recognized that government as responsible for engagements made for the whole of China and the man we are accrediting to that government we are keeping some 600 miles away from the government.

Rightly or wrongly, it is my conviction that if there had been the wrong kind of ambassador in England from America in 1914 and 1915, my country would have drifted into war with the United States. The one man who did most to save our country was Walter Page. How did he do it? by teaching our government how to handle his own. We English ought to [p.10] appreciate what a country in the hour of its need can owe to a great foreign envoy. I am perfectly certain that Mexico would say the same of Mr. Dwight Morrow.

One of the most astonishing things about the three conferences which I have attend is that this question did not occur to me at the first two conferences. But I had not been here a fortnight before it occurred to me. I have never heard anyone raise the question of what ought the capital of China to be. I suggest we devote some thought to that topic. It is one question on which I want the Chinese view—what ought the capital of China to be? and second, whatever the capital of China is—have foreign governments any right to be keeping their representatives 600 miles away.

Tsurumi

After listening to Mr. Curtis' very interesting and suggestive talk I want to speak not on behalf of the Japanese delegates but just to unload my heartfelt sentiment, as well as idea, in regard to the fundamental question raised by Mr. Curtis, -- the psychology of the attitude of foreign countries in regard to China. I myself think there is something fundamentally wrong about the mentality—not the actual problem of this or that—but the fundamental approach to the Chinese problems. Particularly with regard to Japan. I do not think the problems of North China are problems of a political or economic nature. It is problem of our [p.11] mentalities in China and in foreign countries and in particular in Japan.

I want to call to your attention one impressive fact. That is this. I think many of you have read the world famous book written by famous Frenchman, "Les Inconnus." I remember the author's impression of England in that remarkable book. After reading that book I came back 5 years later to China, to find that I had entertained an entirely wrong notion about China. I had proceeded unconsciously from a very simple standpoint—that China and Japan were people who by sharing the same traditional culture, having intercourse for 2,000 years or more, were one and same stock in mind and culture. It dawned on me suddenly in 1922 that China to a Japanese traveller is a totally unknown country. And from that moment I started to make new research in my own heart to get correct bearings on the problems of China.

I think the Chinese and Japanese have been looking at problems from different angles, because of the assumption that we are similar peoples in our outlook. I think our education in Japan was wrong in measuring the things of China by our standards. We have had solid national life, looking up to a pivotal center, and we try to measure progress in China by that standard. Our rulers have been brought up to look at China from that standpoint of machinery of government and [p.12] order. We must get away from that. At the same time I must be very frank about my impression of the mentality of China. We in Japan have great deal to do in overcoating our approach to the problems of China. And at the same time I should be frank to say—is there not something wrong in the mentality of our Chinese friends in looking at the problems of Japan? If we do not get over this difficulty we cannot get to any solutions. From the same mistake we have a peculiar resentment in tackling the programs of China with our Western friends. We think the problems of China can be settled between us—we are distant cousins. At the same time, let me take our Chinese friends into our confidence. I think a well constructed statement from Japan and China might cause the Japanese to reorientate our attitudes (?). If we stick to this narrow minded nationalism, we will have conflicts because our interests are identical. But we must approach the problems from a different standpoint.

I sincerely hope our Chinese friends will share their attitude with us—to change our attitude toward the whole world. Unless we get some basis of mental respect and confidence we cannot reach any solution. In regard to the need for a strong China, I can speak for the whole Japanese nation. Japan from both the materialistic as well as from [p.13] the cultural and spiritual standpoint needs a strong united China. About that I hope the Chinese will have no suspicion. And if there are any others who have such a view, they will die before long, and the rising generation will have no such attitude.

Hu Shih

Apparently the discussions have had a very bad effect. The discussions have apparently made us impatient with academic economic problems so today we have fore-shadowed the future round tables on foreign relations, and probably educational problems, which are to be taken up in the round tables, even to the concrete proposals regarding the location of the Chinese capital. These problems will be discussed in future sessions. I am sure we all appreciate the frank statement and the candor of the two speakers on

the more fundamental questions which are not in direct relation to the problems of China's Economic Development. As to Japan's desire to have a strong China, I will point out to you that Mr. Tsurumi's first name is Yuan Shi-Kai, which shows his alliance.

I would like to point out that so far as the division of topics is concerned, Round Table I has set up a good example in dividing the topics into 3 groups: (1) agricultural, (2) subsidiary industries, and (3) international [p.14] implications of China's economic development. I think that this three fold division practically covers all the problems discussed at the 4 round tables. The results show a slight difference in the emphasis of the 4 round tables, largely due to the individual qualifications of the members.

I think China's economic development is essentially a question of agricultural development because this is essentially an agricultural country. As to the summarizing of the trend and importance of discussion, I think round table IV has had a very good summary made by Mr. Rose. If I may point out, all these problems may be summed up under the heading of the problem of production—how to increase the productivity of the Chinese farmer and his group has pointed out the five roads to the increase of productivity: and connected with that is the problems of distribution.

I may add that from all these discussions the conviction is very strong in every one of us that without a strong belief in the efficacy of modern science, all this progress cannot be. Whatever may be said against Soviet Russia, the leaders in modern Soviet Russia are religiously inspired by science. They are making the best possible use of science. Today if we wish to solve these problems of the increase in productivity of the Chinese in every direction, we have to bring this home to every one of the leaders.

[p.15]

Take the problem of subsidiary industries. Last night in a very illuminating lecture I think you will agree that the Chinese farmer is essentially a mono-crop farmer. There is almost no pastoral farming. Those of us who know Chinese literature well very readily realize that ancient China was closely related to pastoral culture. It is filled with rural words, humble expressions related to oxen and sheep, etc. showing that the people were closely related to pastoral farming. How has this died out? Probably through the absence of an advanced veterinary science. Farmers cannot afford to risk their stock in the event of contagious disease among the stock.

[p.16/p.1]

October 23, 1931.

Round Table No.1.

China's Economic Development

Chairman -L. K. Tao

...

[p.17/p.2]

LASKER: Said that the movement of capital between countries with a comparatively equal standard of living was not injurious, but that in the case of a country like China with a low standard, theofmight be very severe against countries with a high standard.

HUBBARD: Said that China's Industrial Development seemed likely to progress according to plans outside the control of government. Given peace and security, the trade of China was likely to become attractive to foreign investment.

...

[p.18/p.3]

HUBBARD: Said that it was not yet in the power of China to choose what form her industries would take, and that she must import such products as have become necessities from foreign countries until such time as she could develop her own technical skill. Speaking of the British Trade Mission (?) to

China, said that the Mission recognized the fact that Great Britain must look forward to radical changes in the nature of her trade with China and that piece goods from China must give way to highly specialized products.

...

ARAKI: Pointed out that foreign loans are essential to China's Industrial development, but said that International financial confidence must be recovered before the loans could be obtained. As Mr. Tao has said, there had been [p.19/p.4] no foreign loans since 1922, and that China had loans to the extent of 673 million gold dollars, based on the Peking Tariff Conference of 1925, not yet paid. He considered that it would not be impossible for China to repay these loans if she deducted for her purpose a part of her Customs Revenue Duty on fixed schedule.

ARAKI: Said that Mr. Uchida considered a conference on international loans necessary.

HUBBARD: Said that the Policy of the China Consortium included the principle Prof. Araki had mentioned, that a necessary preliminary was the settlement of outstanding debt. Last year at a conference of diplomatic representatives at Nanking, China had endeavoured to deal with the subject. Civil war had prevented further development. Mr. Hubbard said that it was hoped that the question of the division of capital among foreign lenders would be resumed, when China's finances have stabilized, and when provision could be made to reduce accumulated debt.

TAO: Said that he understood it was not the policy of the national govt. to borrow too much from abroad.

F. HO: Said that in the first place, foreign credit was indispensable for China's economic development, and that [p.20/p.5] if China was in a position to secure such credit it would be desirable both for China and for other countries. Secondly, Dr. Ho said that any fair minded Chinese would not expect to obtain loans from foreign countries without taking steps to safeguard her problem of security. Said that the govt. recognized that necessity thoroughly. Said that he wondered whether, even before the settlement of Chinese loans, industrial loans might not be taken up which would be cooperative loans between Chinese banks and Chinese industrial institutions, for the assistance of new industries?

HUBBARD: Said that Gt. Britain had supplied material for Chinese Railway up to the sum of 5 million dollars, and this material so far had not been paid for, even though the Chinese Railways were making profits. Said that this fact was extremely discouraging to the British govt.

HO: Spoke of the possibility of furthering financial cooperation between financial institutions on one hand and the Chamber of Commerce on the other so that work might be on a better planning basis.

HUBBARD: Said that the attitude of the countries was that cooperation was essential and that the question of foreign finance for China must be along the lines Dr. Franklin Ho [p.21/p.6] mentioned. Said that his foreign bankers group in the consortium had tried to bring in a group of Chinese banks - Bank of China, Bank of Communications, etc.- for the arranging of foreign loans, but that loans came from the public, and that the Consortium only had this arrangement...

CHAMBERLAIN: Asked whether private loans would not, but effecting a change, react injuriously on the power of the Govt. to promote big loans?

KANAI: Joined the Round Table to discuss questions 8 on the agenda. What should be the relation between the programme of railway and road development and what is their place in the total scheme of communications in China? "Said that Chinese railways if well managed and under normal conditions would be extremely profitable because the Chinese public was satisfied with bad accommodations. Express trains are slower in China than in other countries. Good expresses are very expensive because for speed they necessitate bear on rails and also the sacrifice of many other trains. Said that the wages of Chinese employees were very low and gave extracts from papers on Revenue and Expense Accounts of

Chinese Govt. Railways in the period 1915-30. And a paper on railway.....in China..... Said that many foreign forces thought that the best way to stop war was to stop [p.22/p.7] funds for economic purposes, such as railways, but that notwithstanding the Treaty forbidding the supply of ammunition and weapons, many smaller powers did supply them.

C. S. LIEU: Spoke on the inter-relationship between railways, roads, Said that road building now had 3 guiding principles - 1. roads are to be constructed so as to connect capital centres of all provinces with center in Nanking. 2. roads are to follow the old trade routes. 3. To cooperate with existing railways as branches of communication to and from important railway stations. 4. To coordinate with planned railways. 5. To connect thickly populated villages for the improvement of the economic conditions of the village people. In reply to question V. Massey as to the employment of troops, said that the employment of disbanded troops was the aim of the whole country and every province. In Shangsi, in the North, road building was largely by troop labour, also in Chihli, and Honan. In the south he said that the majority of new roads were being built by troops.

[p.23/p.1]

October 22, 1931.

Round Table No.1 - China's Economic Development.

Chairman: Dr. Tao

...

[p.25/p.3]

ARAKI: Three things were necessary if Chinese agriculture was to be improved - 1) Chinese farms would have to be run on capitalistic lines. 2) Railways would have to be thoroughly developed, for big markets had to be found, and without well-organised transport this was impossible. 3) The Chinese did not appear to desire foreign help. If they wished to make progress they would have to accept foreign help and experience, and not be so self-sufficing. 4) Political peace would have to be gained and therewith a reformed and stable currency.

TAO: Chinese experts had constantly been urging the acceptance of foreign help. As to the question of political unrest, a study of China's history would reveal a constant recurrence of civil wars and political unrest. There was a theory that the unrest resulted from over-population and consequent scarcity of food; a war was necessary every few years to relieve the strain of over-crowding. The theory was that of a Mr. J. S. Li and was voiced in the China Journal of Science and Arts.

No.57 上海會議議事錄 [7] China's Foreign Relations

10/27/31 R.T.4.

...

[p.2/p.3]

CHEN: The League is now discussing Manchuria. Apart from Manchuria there are many longstanding problems which the Chinese and Japanese cannot agree on. For example, the 21 demands. These issues are not capable of a satisfactory solution if left to the two countries concerned. The League must take a very active part. It must look to the fundamentals of the question.

...

CHEN: I brought this question up first because the League is dealing with it and secondly because it provides a practical case study of the workings of the League and the Kellogg Pact and 9-power Treaty.

...

[p.3/p.4]

CHAIRMAN: The hesitation on the part of China and Japan to appeal to the League is due to (1) China from past experience fights shy of international combines. (2) The League had not made great efforts to get its purpose understood in the Far East. There has been a great improvement in the last two years, beginning with the arrival of the health officers. Asked two questions, What is the Japanese attitude towards the League? and Why does Japan object to the League acting in the present Manchurian dispute?

SIR REGINALD: Pacific countries are showing more desire to co-operate. Does Japan really object to the League taking part?

CHEN: Japan has resisted the League sending information.

KANAI: What I have to say is my personal, not the governmental, point of view. First of all we must try to deal with one another as brothers in the Far East. In China there is a proverb which is translated : Fight fire with fire, or [p.4/p.5] sometimes poison with poison (after the round table I was told that it was more commonly translated: Set one barbarian against another. Recorder's note). When China has had a dispute with another country X, she has always tried to bring in country Y, and the eventual results has been that X fights Y.

...

[p.5/p.6]

TAKAYANAGI: There is confusion of ideas (1) The temporary question in Manchuria, (2) The permanent question as to whether Geneva is too remote. As far as Manchuria is concerned, Japan has co-operated with the League in a very earnest and efficient manner. We are trying to develop Peace machinery. Manchuria is the stumbling block. It is so complicated and delicate a question that it is difficult to analyse and cannot be appreciated without great knowledge. China's aspiration is to realize the concept of a modern sovereign state and to extent that idea to Manchuria. Japan has admitted that Manchuria is Chinese.

The Japanese view of the question: Japan has three interests: (1) a sentimental attachment due to the Russo-Japanese war, commonly referred to as Blood and Treasure, [p.6/p.7] (2) the feeling that Japan has a vital economic interest, (3) fear of Russia. We do not know whether her future is war or peace.

This feeling is so wide-spread that it is very difficult for practical statement to disregard these facts. At Kyoto a conciliation commissio was suggested to study and report. This suggestion has not gone through and conflict has arisen. The opinion in Japan would be in favour of a permanent Far Eastern branch of the League. There must be more light on the triangular conflict between Japan(capitalistic), Russia,(Communistic) and China (in a state of development). The greatest difficulty is the uncertainty as to Russia's future.

L. T.CHEN: Any liberal minded Chinese fully appreciates Japanese sentiment and any open minded Japanese appreciates that the Chinese have an even stronger sentiment. The Japanese sentiment and any open minded Japanese appreciates that the Chinese have an even stronger sentiment. The Japanese sentiment is 25 years old, the Chinese at least 300. So China cannot but feel that her own sentiment is much stronger. I have come to the conclusion that so long as these opposing sentiments last, these sentimental nations cannot come to an agreement. A detached third party must be called in. China is not fighting poison with poison, but appealing to the League as a last resort.

CHEN(cont.) Without an impartial body no permanent solution is possible. As a member of the League China's proper course is to appeal to it without fighting.

SIR REGINALD: We still want to know whether the machinery is adequate. China is willing to try. Japan feels that it is not necessary to invoke the League, so the question has not arisen.

S. BATES: The League has had two main functions: (1) constructive work of a technical nature. This

has been successful. Is this not the right way to begin in the Far East? Using the I. L. O. as a nucleus, an information branch could be built up to collect and distribute information. (2) Political functions. One of the great values of the League has been that no problem has been treated as purely regional one. A world point of view has been adopted. There would be great danger in division.

KANAI: There are so many things that the League should know. We spend a great deal of time studying Europe and America. Do you study us? The League does not know the essentials of the Far East question as yet, but it wishes to decide about it over night.

SIR REGINALD: This shows the necessity for a Far Eastern branch. Had China and Japan been asked to settle the [p.8/p.9] Alsace-Lorraine question before the War, Europe would have seen the futility of it.

SMITH: At Kyoto the idea was broached of a joint commission to deal with routine problems. Has this been followed up? What are the objections to it? It might prevent the accumulation of many out standing difficulties.

TAKAYANAGI: The Japanese was in favour of it but the Chinese showed little enthusiasm. Has there been a change of opinion recently?

L. T. CHEN: No. From the beginning the Chinese have enthusiastically approved of a standing commission. As the discussions went on at Kyoto, the Japanese conception was shown to be impracticable. The idea of a League commission, an out growth of this idea.

SMITH: Does this idea conflict with the League?

KANAI: I started the private committee in Kyoto was years ago. Both sides foresaw this crisis but there were so many difficulties that nothing happened.

October 28, 1931.

General Conference—China's Foreign Relations

Chairman. Hu Shih.

[p.9/p.1]

Shishu: The most important issues in China's Foreign Relations are the questions of Shanghai and Manchuria, the former of which will be take up later. The resolution of October 24 passed by the Council of the League of Nations bears only upon the METHOD of settling the Manchurian problem, which the Council is entirely capable of deciding. Of the hundreds of cases of provocation alleged by Japan, most resulted from China's invalidation of Treaties of 1915. A few cases concern railways (questions of the validity and legality of the existence of Sino-Japanese agreements). Japan has no "special" interest in Manchuria, as frequently claimed, as whatever such interests she may once have had were repudiated by the Washington Conference (Lansing-Iahii Agreement). There is no substantial basis for Japanese fear of Russia, and anyway there can be no justification for the erection of Japanese lines of defense in Chinese territory. China's sovereignty cannot be doubted, as it has long been both established and recognized. The present controversy presents the most critical period in international relations since the world War. China has no intention of excluding Japanese coopertion in Manchuria for purpose of development [p.10/p.2] but Chinese sovereign rights must be preseved.

Tsurumi: Japan seeks the settlement of fundamental problems before they become too difficult, and agree with the object of the League of Nations but not with the method employed. Nevertheless, Japan continues to support the League. The Japanese people demand the stand taken by the government. Misgovernment causes war (Cuba) or intervention. Manchuria has experienced deteriorating government for 20 or 30 years during which order has not been maintained. A modern government is practically non-existent, so that unnatural situations are created in which conflicts arise between Japanese, Koreans, Manchus and Chinese. It is unfortunate that China, Russia and Japan have not solved this problem before now. In China a rising tide of nationalism is seen. Sun Yat-sen was one of the few

Chinese respected by the Japan so people, who were sympathetic with his aspirations. That sympathy prevented a rupture following the Nanking Incident, as the Japanese people thought a new structure was emerging. Responsible Chinese statesmen have assured an aggressive attitude toward the Manchurian problem, and have irritated and worried Japan concerning the future there. Japan feels that China is the aggressor in Manchuria because the status quo is disturbed by Chinese actions and by the Chinese desire to eject the Japanese. Japan wonders on what [p.10/p.3] ground China challenges Japanese rights there. Decent government will leave Manchuria with the departure of Japanese contract. The psychological aspect of Japan's national perception of Manchuria is very important. The roots of the present lie deep in the past when Japan was forced to recede Liaotung in 1895, under pressure of Russia, France and Germany whose fleets were at Chefoo. Many Japanese liberals were disillusioned then. In 1905 100,000 men were killed and ¥2,000,000 spent in safeguarding Japanese interests (20,000 men buried in Mukuden) cannot be overlooked. Japan's rights in the country were taken from Russia, not from China. China sabotaged Japan through a secret alliance with Russia a few years earlier. The lack of sovereign power in China permitted Russian encroachment, concernign which Japanese feeling was intense. Even now the fear persists that Russia may resume her aggressive policy. In 1915 Japan tried to find a way to settle things and the validity of the treaties of that year is acknowledged by most jurists. In 1919 at Paris the Japanese delegates frankly presented the actual facts to the Big Three who were infuenced thereby. Also at that tme the League of Nations was established, Japanese cynics believing that their delegates had been misled and hoodwinked into approving it. Manchuria offers a necessary outlet for Japanese population and goods and [p.12/p.4] a source of needed raw materials which Japanese cannot afford to lose. Peaceful penetration is preferred, with but a reasonable degree of control over territory. Many vacant regions around the Pacific are closed to Japanese. Birth control has been suggested, but it requires time to stop (not like a Ford). Japan's fundamental policy is to cooperate with the liberal powers of the world (Naval disarmament an instance) but many rebuffs have produced skepticism which may rebound in future years. Reiterated the no territory is coveted—only a market for manufactured goods and a source of raw materials.

Hu: Emphasized changeability of national feelings, as toward United States after return of Boxer Indemnity and optimistic future Sino-Japanese relations if statesmen think right.

Morning Meeting. October 30, 1931.

China's Foreign Relations

...

[p.14/p.2]

Tsurumi: I take exception to what Mr. Chen has said (1) none of the things he said today were discussed at the round tables; (2) what he reffered to is in contradiction to my impression of the accepted agreement of the Institute. [p.15/p.3]

Chen: I did not say that I was reporting the discussions of any round table. It is the general consensus of opinion which I am sensing that I expressed. In the second place, I will leave it to the conference authorities to say whether I am violating any principles.

Takayanagi: I am rather perplexed now, after Mr. Chen's talk. It was substantially an inditement against Japan, and the question comes up in my mind whether or not I shall deal with each item which he brought against Japan. I think that is a foolish thing to do. All those things should have been discussed in the round tables and I would rather stick to the instructions of the chairman that I make my own impression of the subject discussed in the round tables, namely China's Foreign Relations. I do not answer the charge that it is a design of the Japanese Government or the Japanese nation to become as Germany before the Great War—Deutschland uber alles. I will not answer the charge that the Japanese

think that China is not a sovereign state. Nobody has made such a statement. Perhaps he referred to my speech last night, but I may add that I have categorically denied that either the Japanese Government or the nation as a whole or myself personally believe that China is not a sovereign state. It was the logical conclusion of an eminent British jurist.

I would rather speak in answer to Mr. Chen's speech, [p.16/p.4] but my own impressions on the problems discussed in the round tables on China's Foreign relations. The essence of China's foreign relations is extra-territoriality and various problems connected with that idea of extraterritoriality in its widest sense. Now it seems to me that the whole situation comes out of the contact between the occidental type of culture on the one hand and the oriental type of culture on the other. I think China had a legal order, just as occidental countries had a legal order. It was a different type. We understand that point very well because it was only 50 or 60 years ago that we had that type of legal order. The law was mostly customary—not by legislation or judicial precedent but by the custom of popular action and disputes were decided mostly by conciliation, not by judicial settlement. I am referring to criminal cases. Civil law was mostly customary and disputes were mostly decided out of court by conciliation. Of course Japan has developed a kind of judiciary law. And that is a distinguishing point between China and Japan of the Tokugawa period.

A distinguishing characteristic of western law is the development of a legal profession. Occidental civilization has the tradition of Greek orators and Roman orators and the growth of the modern legal profession in England. If you examine the oriental systems from Babylon, Egypt, to [p.17/p.5] China and Japan, we find a very slight development of a legal profession. But the legal order nevertheless existed. So we have the conflict between this type of legal order and the European type. Modern commerce which European carried on could not be carried on with oriental type of legal order. Extraterritoriality was a *modus vivendi*. So when China retained her older civilization, this was all right. Now there are two types in China—old China and modern China. We see much of old China when we go to the countryside. Much of new China is Shanghai. This new China developed nationalism. You have the transition from the old type of society to the new type of society and there came the conflict. Re-adjustment was necessary but the difficulty is great because there is a conflict. There is a sharp conflict between these Chinese aspirations to become a modern state and the realities of the Chinese people, who rather stick to the traditional culture. In other words, China does not become a modern state in a day. Of course my firm conviction is that China's nationalism will win. It was Japan's experience and I am inclined to think China will follow. But in the meantime there will be difficulties all through. Here Japan and the Western powers have similar problems to face.

As I indicated in my speech last night, the interests of Japan outside Manchuria are similar to those of the other [p.18/p.6] powers in China. Now that interest cannot be protected under the old type of legal culture, and adjustments are being made adequate to protect its interests according to the Western method. But the difficulties will be great.

But in Manchuria our capitalistic interests are concentrated as Mr. Rose has mentioned, and moreover we have proletarian interests in nearly 1,000,000 Koreans, and also because of geographical contiguity, there are not lacking strategic interests. In that respect, Japan's interests in Manchuria are a little bit different from the interests in South China, and in the adjustment of these new relationships lie the roots of all the difficulties

But I think the problem of extra-territoriality can be solved only two factors—one is for the foreign powers, including Japan, to understand the real aspirations of the Chinese people to become a modern state, really to understand the psychological factors involved. On the other hand, for China to understand really, not superficially, the situations in which other countries are placed—the nationals of other

countries in China; really to seek after the welfare of those people.

...

Leighton Stuart

...

[p.19/p.7]

Extraterritoriality complicates the Manchurian problem.

...

[p.20/p.8]

Shih: I feel really very sorry for what has been said. I think there was a misunderstanding on the part of some of the members as to the instructions of the program committee which met just before this session this morning. It was the intention of the committee to have three statements not as summaries but as personal views. Mr. Chen was asked, Prof. Takayanagi, and Prof. Stuart all were asked to make statements. This was not intended to be an inditement but to be a slightly provocative opening statement, and Dr. Takayanagi has responded very wisely. I think Prof. Takayanagi presented a very fruitful suggestion in that the foreigners must come more and more to understand China's legitimate aspirations; and that the Chinese should look at the situation more realistically. This note is a note which will be at the root of all solutions.

Young Mr. Macdonald, son of the Prime Minister of England, was here two years ago, and one statement he made with reference to Shanghai, I remember. He said that he wished that foreigners would be less legalistic and more practical and the Chinese could be less emotional and more legalistic. I think that I do not remember the exact wording but that was the sense. I think his statement corresponds very well to the sentiment very well expressed today by Prof. Takayanagi, and if we have not reached any fruitful solution to all these questions presented to us at these [p.22/p.10] round table, we certainly have gained enough heat and light in these two days to give us food for thinking. And I think the line suggested by Prof. Takayanagi will be a fruitful one.

If there is any further misunderstanding, I as chairman of the conference express very strong regret.

Nitobe: I wish to reserve my opinion as to the utility of the Institute of Pacific Relations if an opinion like that we have just heard can be expressed in a public meeting, because I cannot take the charges Mr. Chen has made in a light way. I take it as an insult to my country and if this is the spirit in which the delegate come here, I wish to reserve my opinion of an Institute like this.

Chen: I am sorry indeed that my Japanese friends did not take my remarks in the right spirit. I can assure you that I intended no offence. I was expressing an analysis of the situation as far as I could see it. If the truth is put a little too baldly, I am sincerely sorry for it. You know that you are all our guests and if I may be pardoned, I would say that probably I have labored more than anyone on the China Council for your comfort and for your welcome, so it would be the last thought in my mind to hurt anybody's feelings. As I said, I am sincerely sorry if my friends misunderstand my motive. If any feelings are hurt I can [p.23/p.11] assure you that it is entirely unintentional and right here I would be willing to offer my very sincere apology to all in the Japanese delegation.

Sato: While all Japanese here have been most peaceful, in their attitude, our Chinese friends, I am sorry to say are taking a very antagonistic attitude. (stopped by conference as out of order).

Morning Meeting, October 31, 1931

[p.24/p.1]

Dr. Nitobe (following reading of letter from L. T. Chen by Chairman)

We have all learned from our childhood that it is a part of the nature of man to make mistakes. We have learned also that it is the part of a gentleman to make amends when mistakes are made. It is equally the

part of a gentleman to forget when amends are made and speaking on behalf of the Japanese delegates, I wish to express my hearty appreciation of the good and gentlemanly words in which Mr. Chen has made amends. I know how hard it is. At the same time if I may say so, he rises in the estimation of our people over so much higher by the honest and sincere apology that he has made. I see demonstrated in the action of Mr. Chen a lesson which his forefathers have given to our people. Your handsome and generous avowal of a mistake is the best proof of what we learned from your people, Mr. Chairman, from Confucius. A real gentleman. And I wish that conference will forget everything ugly that happened yesterday morning. I do wish that we shall all feel that we have learned a new lesson. After the rain, the soil gets firmer, and so the little rainy weather that we had yesterday will prove to make our discussions more useful. In the remaining few days of our conference here I do sincerely pray for the truth of that adage. I should like very much to shake hands with Mr. Chen in real good will.

[p.25/p.2]

Takayanagi: May I take this opportunity to express my sentiment of regret in regard to certain parts of my address on Wednesday evening. My remarks seem to have created an unhappy impression in the minds of some of our Chinese friends that either myself or some Japanese jurists entertained the belief that China was not a sovereign state. I may assure my Chinese friends that no Japanese jurist that I know of nor the Japanese people nor the Japanese government entertains such a view. I have gone through the stenographic notes of my speech and as a scientist, I am in duty bound to oppose every word of that statement.

But now I find that I made two failures which were the cause of the unhappy impression created in the minds of my Chinese friends. First, I failed to mention the fact that the jurist was not of Japanese nationality, and thus not unreasonably created the impression that certain sections of Japanese jurists entertained that sort of theory. Second, I failed to expound my own theory at adequate length, as I said in my humble way, on the philosophy of law. In other words, my conclusion was stated without explanation of adequate length, thus not unreasonably lending itself to the constitution that the theory of the jurist was wilfully emphasized without emphasizing the opposing theory which I actually [p.26/p.3] entertained. I take this opportunity to express my sincere regret that such an unhappy impression has been created by above two sins of omission in connection with my subject.

No.57 上海會議議事錄(7) China's Foreign Relations

[p.27/p.1]

October 29, 1931

Round Table No.1. China's Foreign Relations

Sir Harrison Moore

General preliminary question whether obligation of state to protect aliens whether their own moral standard is high or low (Conferred of Codification merged through discussion of responsibility of state. Too much consideration given to lawyers studying international law and not enough to extraterritoriality and rights of foreigners. Foreigners always have the right to appeal to own government as well as state where they are aliens. If failure of justice in Courts still have recourse to own diplomatic machinery. Not necessarily finally settled by decision of courts of country, but can go to own government and demand rights. International tribunal-cases usually settled by claims commission.

[p.31/p.5]

Tsurumi

Japanese feel there is a difference between China and other nations in concept of law. In Japan, when codifying laws, every article should be enforced; in China, not every article, only ideal. In Japan there is never the idea of a private concern's having the power to enforce law, e.g., as the Shanghai anti-Japanese bodies. In Japan such bodies would be run by the government.

[p.42/p.8]

Tsurumi

Spoke at some length on the difference between the Chinese concept of law and that of other nations. In China, he pointed out, the concept is ideal, and that enforcement need not be carried out. In Japan when once a law is codified, it must be enforced—that when a law is altered in Japan the part that is removed is struck out and no longer printed. Likewise in Japan no private bodies can function in China. Said that there were some reasons for Japan's fear of immediate abolition of extraterritoriality.

[p.47/p.1]

October 30, 1931

Round Table No. 1. China's Foreign Relations.

Chairman (L. T. Chen)

Yesterday covered ground on general aspects of ex-ter. Suggest that ex-ter has special signification in Manchuria. since its application quite different there. E. G. Japanese government maintains that according to ex-ter provisions entitled to station consular police along railway and in R. R. settlements. This deserves study. Has any particular study been made by Japanese Council?

Tsurumi

Shinobu has made a special study. You have several points to bring up?

Shinobu

It is first necessary to look at the legal aspect of the whole Manchurian problem not at the political aspect. It is very complex. (Reads paper on general basis of Japan's treaty rights in Manchuria, with later particular attention to consular rights, which he admits has no legal basis, but is accepted as fait accompli and recognized as reasonable by third parties.) (Reads another extract especially on the subject of consular police.) Has been called corollary [p.48/p.2] of ex-ter, to be relinquished at same time. Japan cannot agree to this, for the necessity of policing will not cease at that time. Chinese police discipline has not reached degree which civilized nation, such as China claims to be, should reach.

Chairman

Do I understand that the ground for maintaining police in Manchuria is due to China's imperfect police system?

Shinobu

Yes. Practical, not legal basis.

Chairman

Then does Japan feel that police system is better in rest of China? Or why does not Japan attempt to police all China?

Shinobu

No information on that point. But most Japanese reside in Manchuria.

McClure

Concentration of population is reason. Amoy example of Japanese consular police intervening to

preserve order.

Chamberlain

With consent of Chinese authority? (Yes) – then a different case from Manchuria.

Yen

I understand that the Manchuria police system is better than in any other part of the country.

Shinobu

That is your personal opinion. Opinions differ.

Chamberlain

Are Japanese police used all over Manchuria or only in certain places?

Shinobu

There are two kinds; those in the railway zone, and [p.49/p.3] consular police in concessions.

Chamberlain

I understand consular police arrest only Japanese and bring before consular courts – never Chinese. Then their purpose is to bring order among Japanese only?

Yen

In Manchuria Japanese police have full powers in railway zone, but anywhere beyond they may exercise it if they wish. (At end of his statement some confusion as to exact situation.)

Chairman

The question to be cleared is do Japanese police ever arrest Chinese? What is your experience?

Yen

I know many cases of Japanese activity in Chinese territory in country places and these arrested and brought directly to Japanese courts.

Shinobu

I will explain. Outside the railway zone there are no police stations at all, only in territories under consular jurisdiction. If an incident takes place on border road near concession, the problem is who is to arrest the criminal. There are occasionally practical cases like this, but in theory Japanese police never arrest Chinese. Within Chinese only of Mukden there is no single policeman.

Chairman

This differs from my knowledge. I have seen a Japanese police station on the main street of the city of Mukden.

Yen

(Reads Hsu's printed statement – data paper – re numbers [p.50/p.4] of police stations located where) Personally I know this well, since I live in Mukden.

Shinobu

The conclusion is the same whether there are stations or not; sometimes Japanese police must arrest on practical necessity, but never in theory.

Chairman

I have raised this special issue because it is one connected with practice of ex-ter, and because it is a source of serious trouble between Chinese authorities and Japanese. It is generally admitted that ex-ter is to go; granted that pending final settlement re abolition. All powers are requested by ex-ter Commission to do away with all irregular practices. Japan should comply, since these police are the most fruitful source of friction in Manchuria.

Shinobu

If Japanese police withdrew, then the problem would be more difficult and complicated by disorder. My esteemed friend, Hsu, has the idea of constituting a conciliation commission. My observation on that

is that such a commission must necessarily restrict itself to new disputes and can do this only after all pending disputes are cleared away. It is advisable to create instead or first a "clearance commission," to which all underlying causes of friction (e. g. cons. police, rights and obligations not fulfilled, etc.) could be brought and impartially examined, from the legal point of view and [p.51/p.5] regardless of policy. Result – a balance sheet of debit and credit for each country. Personnel should be Chinese and Japanese and observer if desirable. Reports to be submitted to 2 governments as guide to diplomatic negotiations.

Chairman

On consular police subject, have come to disagreement of facts; more facts needed. One hand it is stated that there are many known cases of Japanese arrest of Chinese.

Yen

There was a painful case this year in Loyang. A Chinese was arrested for suspected murder of a Japanese women. Japanese police treated him brutally and he died (Usual way Japanese police treat Chinese). Examined by Scotch hospital doctor and proved poisoned.

Chamberlain

In Chinese territory?

Yen

Yes.

Tsurumi

Have asked Sahara, living on spot, to help us in cases of fact.

Sahara

Five years resident in Mukden, and to my knowledge Japanese consular police have taken action against Japanese subjects only, not Chinese. But if a suspect within the zone runs outside, arrangements have been made with Chinese officials for Japanese police to follow him. I know nothing [p.52/p.6] of Loyang case. If true, why did you not sue?

Yen

There are always possibilities of mistakes and individual police may do wrong.

Yen

Many hundreds of cases like this causing constant hatred (Sahara attempts to interrupt, heatedly, but Yen continues for sometime).

Chairman

Now that difference of opinion have been brought out, nothing is to be gained by discussing individual grievances.

Chamberlain

In such a case as cited, what recourse for the injured Chinese-to what court, what compensation?

Shinobu

Depends on diplomatic negotiation – no legal proceed.

Chamberlain

Suggest, then, impartial judicial commission to which claims of this sort, on both sides, could be brought, to establish facts; set up along side of police commission proposed.

Chairman

Been told 300 pending in Manchuria. Sure are more than that, on both sides. Course of wisdom is to lesson cause of friction so that no more will occur to add to them.

Yen

(interrupts) Chinese are ready to settle all these, if possible to do so on equal basis. Why are these "pending cases" never referred to the Nanking government? Japan's policy of years is to treat only with

local authority.

[p.53/p.7]

This policy should not be continued, since national government exists; beyond power of local.

Shinobu

(With heat) To that remark I expressly say that protests have often been made, but always disregarded by China. It is as if we were pushing our fists against stone. Most disputes come from China's neglect of treaty obligations. (Reads 10 kinds of grievances) Always lodged protests against non-fulfillment of obligations, not only to Nanking but loca.

Chairman

Some points need clarification, i. e. term "parallel lines," so often heard. This term appears in no treaties, but merely in discussion at time of negotiation. Minutes show reference to such discussion, but this only mention. Other grievances mentioned pertain to the 21 demands which up to the present China does not recognize (laughter) and to "treaty of 1915 which in Chinese minds does not exist. (Shinobu smiles good-naturedly). There are Koreans freely living in large numbers all over Manchuria – with diff. growing out (i. e. Wanpaosan case of last summer.)

Tsurumi

(interrupts) Will answer Chen's remarks by the following 3 points: (1) "Parallel lines" – in Peking Treaty, Art. 3, expressly reads "engagement not to construct any main line near or parallel" S. M. R. (2) Regarding Treaty of 1915 which Chen says does not exist, vast majority of [p.54/p.8] jurists of world agree it is valid, peace treaty of Paris and instances of Chinese government having acted on basis of that treaty. (3) Korean disturbances arose out of iniquitous treatment of Koreans in Manchuria. When Koreans succeed in improving leased land they are driven out on basis that not allowed to lease. No use discussing these cases, however.

Shinobu

What did you mean about Koreans living peacefully in Manchuria? (Some heat)

Chairman

What I said was that Japanese and Koreans are living freely in all parts of Manchuria.

Shinobu

Permit me to read translation of a Chinese Mukden government ordinance re necessity of expulsion of Koreans, promulgated since Wanpaoshan trouble (reads also July 1931 local ordinance – "all possible pressure to cause Korean to withdraw--" prohibition of land sale or lease (Reads 3rd ord.) These ordinances speak for themselves. So it is not true that Chinese are permitting the Koreans to live freely in Korea (excitedly).

Yen

Why did Liaoning government adopt such policy? Because constantly faced with trouble from Koreans, or because Japan uses Koreans to create trouble. Wherever Korean goes, consular police follow. Another problem is naturalization. This is not permitted in Manchuria by the Japanese government. [p.55/p.9] If the Koreans could become Chinese citizens, no trouble at all.

Hsia

This discussion brings out one of the basic reasons for today's trouble. Status of alien property rights in China. We have treaty basis, diplomatic negotiations, police and troops, yet on top of all this there are extra-legal measures undertaken by Japan. Under all this burden, China is expected to exercise normal function of protecting aliens who instead are taking steps for protecting themselves. The situation is very complicated. Must clear away some of these misunderstandings. Thina is prepared to offer protection if permitted to exercise jurisdiction.

Shinobu

(Reads statement on naturalization of Koreans)

Chairman

Let me point out that ordinances are perfectly natural when we realize that Chinese government does not recognize treaty on which so-called rights are based. Yet large numbers of Japanese and Koreans are living there, anyway, owning large tracts of land. You are right to say that the Chinese government is inconsistent in encouraging immigration. The reason is that rice culture new to Chinese in Manchuria and the Koreans were encouraged to exploit the country. But the experiment failed. Always trouble. Chinese authority tried to come to arrangement with Japanese government as to how Korean problem should be handled. [p.56/p.10] No result, so Chinese authority driven to issue these ordinances. Significant that issued no earlier than this year.

Tsurumi

The whole thing reacts on three points:

- (1) Fundamental difference between Japan and China re Manchuria itself – or position of 2 countries therein. Japan thinks that if they were not there, it would be Russian.
- (2) Conditions of foreigners in China, particularly in Manchuria, are very precarious, so Japan forced to come in to protect selves.
- (3) Validity of 1915 treaty, which Japan thinks accepted by rest of world, cannot be ignored.

SECOND SESSION – 11:15 – 12 (General Session at 12)

Chairman

Asks Hsu Shuhsi to explain re secret protocol on parallel lines.

Hsu

So far as I know there exists no such agreement. There is an alleged agreement, referred to by Tsurumi. Question was raised in Peking Conference, 1905, by Japanese delegates. China said impossible unless can specify distance defining parallel lines. Japan said uniform rule impossible, as nature of country differs. No result. No such agreement appears in the only existing visible treaty. In 1908 T'ang Shao-yi, in America, was asked about its existence and [p.57/p.11] heartily repudiated. There is an alleged secret protocol of same year, but you can allege anything. (Momentary confusion of voices) If there should be such an agreement, would it apply to particular case now in hand? No. Lines built earlier were not objected to as parallel. Why not?

Yokota

Answering the legal question regarding the existence of treaty, though kept secret. Being secret is no reason why it does not exist or is not valid. After establishment of the League of Nations it was made public. Hsu spoke of discussion at the Peking conference regarding distance construing term "parallel." The very fact of this discussion is strong evidence of the fact that there was a treaty. So I think this treaty did exist. Never officially denied by the Chinese Government.

Hsu

If you analyze alleged secret treaty you will see nothing important in it. Then why kept secret? This is good evidence it was not genuine. China did officially repudiate it through Tong Shai-yi at Washington.

Tsurumi

China denied the existence of secret Chinese-Russian treaty by Li Hung Chang later found to exist. So we do not take seriously Tong Shai-yi's denial.

Hsu

(Interrupting) Very different. That was an important defensive treaty, and must be kept secret, and denied. Why could China deny an inimportant treaty like this alleged one [p.58/p.12] on parallel lines? Excuse me for using blunt term, but Japan used this to -- -----.

Chairman

I think we should let Mr. Tsurumi finis.

Tsurumi

(Explains economic importance of parallel line issues.)

S. M. R. cannot compete with unfair lower rates of parallel carriers of soya beans. There are many pinpricking instances of other unfairness on the part of Chinese railway authorities. These the reason for friction between two R. R. systems. Officially stated that Japanese government kept treaty secret – must be believed.

(Another confusion of voices)

Chamberlain

One question re double nationality before Mr. Yokota leaves: Many countries have double nationality, but can a country protect its citizens residing in nation of acquired nationality?

Yokota

Discussed at conference at Hague by League of Nations on Int. codification last year and cleared. Treaty signed but not yet enforced relating to this.

Chamberlain

I differ. Older principle enforced in many cases. Example – Peruvian and Italian nationality case – distinction between treatment in country of acquired nationality, where must submit to laws of that country and where laws of own nationality cannot interfere. Know of no case where ex-ter rights can be maintained after [p.59/p.13] naturalized.

Chairman

Enough attention to Manchurian legal matters. There are still many important questions regarding leases, concessions, settlements, and all of 10 minutes to devote thereto!

Yen

(Interrupts – going back to Manchuria) Japan says no political ambitions in Manchuria, yet what are they doing there? Creating disorder constantly. There is no sign of giving back what they have snatched. Japanese say also no order or safety. This is not true. There was safety and peace until the Korean trouble was stirred up. Over 100 Chinese were killed in Korea, but the Koreans not badly treated in Manchuria. If there were no order or police management in Manchuria, I fear that the same thing would have happened to Japanese and Koreans in Manchuria, since Chinese are so stirred up. Japanese government uses this so called lack of peace and order as pretext.

Nasu

I am not a politician, but am simply presenting views of most Japanese at home. They think that if peace and order are to be found in Manchuria it is because Japanese police are there. Were several thousand cases of grievances on the part of Japan and Korea before unfortunate Wanpaoshan incident. There is no value in going into these here, but can be cited in document if desired.

Tsurumi

Should take word of responsible Japanese ambassador [p.60/p.14] on point of “no political ambitions.”

Chen

Under normal conditions, such word should be taken. Now, puzzling situation. As late as September 18, Shigemitsu (responsible ambassador) reported that all Sino-Japanese differences were being cared for by negotiation; and on 19th this unfortunate incident happened. Then at the League the Japanese delegate

said all measures taken to protect life and property, and the next day Chinchow was bombarded. It is very confusing to us to know what is the attitude of the Japanese government and what we are to believe.

Tsurumi

You are right. The same puzzlement exists in the Japanese mind. Shidehara's friendly policy was inaugurated and right after came the Nanking incident. Japan thinks what is the situation? However friendly we are to China, these things happen, say J. Richards: so strong policy strengthened. Being near neighbors these cases of friction are more serious. It would be easier if between China and America where distance lends ease.

Chairman

I hope you do not compare Nanking and Chinchow, for Chinese government immediately repudiated former.

Chamberlain

Impressed with knowledge of no similar incident in our history which could have been as amicably discussed by both nationals. Impressed also with fact that this Manchurian situation is of world importance. Difficult to [p.61/p.15] localize if it goes too far spirit of discussion. Hope China and Japan will not consider others of us impertinent for inquiring into what may very likely become of world concern if it goes further. That is why we have tried to reconcile differences in statement of fact here presented. Difference in legal interpretation not many. When we recognized existence of differences in fact, then must recognize necessity for a disinterested commission of inquiry.

No.57 上海會議事錄〔7〕 China's Foreign Relations

[p.103/p.1]

October 30, 1931

Round Table II. China's Foreign Relations

Chairman: Dr. Mackintosh Bell

Secretary: Mr. Holland

Recorder: Miss A. Norwood, Mr. E. M. Hayes

Lowe

The share so far granted to Chinese residents in the government of Shanghai has been conducive to friendlier relations.

[p.105/p.3]

Dame Rachel

What is the difference in this respect between Shanghai and many other cities in Europe – London or Paris?

[p.108/p.6]

Nitobe

Has the presence of a Settlement like Shanghai or Tientsin been of any use pedagogically? In Japan we have no city like this, but I have read about "cultural cities" in former times from which natives could learn a great deal. Every year we send young men to England to study municipal administration. Here

you have a chance to learn without going abroad. Have you been able to take advantage of this opportunity?

Miss Tseng

In Changsha we have a foreign settlement from which we have learned. We have learned also from Shanghai and Hankow. Communism in Gangsha has three stages: (a) before 1925, mostly bandits; (b) between 1925 and 1927, many bandits; (c) between 1927 and 1930. This was really communism made up of all the organized forces that opposed the present government.

Sato

Mr. Lowe said that Chinese residents don't participate in the city government in Dairen. I have been told by my Chinese friends that there are some Chinese who do take part in the city government.

Lowe

As far as I know the Chinese have no voice in the city government in Dairen, yet both of us had better check up.

Ning

I don't think that there is a single Chinese on the City Council in Dairen.

[p.116/p.1]

October 29, 1931.

Round Table No.3. – China's Foreign Relations

Chairman. V. Massey

Secretary. Prof. Quigley

Recorder. W. Leon Godshall (Arrived at 9:15)

Quigley

Emphasized that foreigners had been invited to expect adequate protection.

Rowell

Asserted that it frequently happens that states afford greater protection to foreigners than to their own citizens.

Yokota

Distinguished between two schools of thought, one of which holds that a state is responsible for protection of alien within its borders, and the other rejects that promise. Prominent among the second group are the Latin-American states and China. A State must afford a certain amount of protection to aliens under existing conditions throughout the world.

Quigley

Secretary of State Stimson has recorded conspicuously from the Coolidge position of protection for American citizens in the Caribbean region. He raised the question whether foreigners should receive more protection than citizens of a given state.

Rowell

American policy in this regard is different in the Caribbean region than elsewhere. The U. S. "maintains" the sovereignty of Nicaragua, although it sometimes may not [p.117/p.2] appear to respect it.

Shushi Hsu

Discussing point No. 2 of Part I of the suggested agenda, he wondered what is mean by "regional governments."

Massey

The term probably applies to such conditions as prevail in outlying districts of China under soviet governments.

Hsu

The emphasis on regional governments in China is exaggerated, as is the question propounded in the agenda. Most foreigners live in the treaty ports where this question would not arise.

Curtis

Took exception to Mr. Hsu's estimate of the no. of foreigners outside treaty ports, and spoke of missionaries scattered throughout the country.

Massey

Is justice impeded by provincial authorities?

Hu Shih

Bandits, communists and revolutionists naturally do not respect extraterritorial rights, so to that extent disorder and disregard may prevail in certain regions.

Curis

Are extraterritorial rights of any practical value outside the treaty ports?

Stuart

The foreigners would be better off without any extraterritorial rights, which do much harm and are of no practical value. The present ogv. of China is basically public opinion, which constitutes the only protection for foreigners. Foreigners have no right in China unless they are willing to [p.118/p.3] risk the same degree of protection (or lack of it) which the Chinese receive. Foreign governments are unable to afford adequate protection anyway.

Massay

Would the implication of those statements apply to Parts B of question 2, as well as part A?

Stuart

Probably a few individual foreigners would suffer injustice for a time, but the total gain would be greater. Even now, some foreign business corporation (B. A. T. Co.) prefer to discard all territorial rights at an early date, and ask the Chinese government and people to co-operate in protecting American lives and interests until stable conditions prevail. It is better to do it sooner, graciously, than later, grudgingly.

Hsu

The abolition of extrality would not affect the protection of foreigners in China.

Kanai

Disagreed with Mr. Hsu's estimate of the no. of foreigners outside the treaty ports, mentioning specifically 800,000 Japanese subjects (mostly Koreans) in Manchuria. Furthermore, 20 years ago a foreigner could travel safely in the interior, carrying his national flag, but not now. At the present time foreigners are in greater danger than the Chinese people and it is unsafe to make journeys inland. Under the treaties of 1915 Koreans enjoy extraterritorial rights.

Hsih

The Koreans are in a peculiar position in that some [p.119/p.4] have accepted Chinese nationality and other retained dual nationality (Chinese and Japanese). The treaties of 1915 have been repudiated by the Chinese government. The Koreans are actually so similar to the Chinese that there exists no need for possession by them of extraterritorial rights. As Japanese subjects, they are prohibited by Japan from accepting Chinese naturalization, although other Japanese may do so.

Carter

Understand that the reason for the Japanese attitude on this point was old Korean tradition which

opposed divesting themselves of nationality. The same tradition prevails in other countries, notably causing friction between Russia and U. S. in the latter part of the 19th Century.

Curtis

What is the exact position of this issue in international law? When Korea was annexed, did Koreans acquire the treaty rights of Japanese subjects and citizens?

Quigley

They became subjects with no civil rights, but that distinction probably had no effect on their possible naturalization by other countries.

Rowell

Should China decide to confer citizenship on Korean residents in Manchuria, a dual citizenship would arise from the fact that they cannot divert themselves of their Japanese nationality. Thereupon, as in other countries, China (the [p.120/p.5] country of residence) could control them so long as they remained within its borders.

Yokota

Japanese concessions cover only the right to reside and to trade in selected spots, whereas extraterritorial rights extend to all Japanese subjects wherever they may be in China. This is not a matter of mere customary international law but of specific treaty provision.

Rowell

Is dual control of residence within a country a matter of specific treaty or international law (generally speaking)?

Itani

Japan objects to the alienation of Koreans because no adequate protection can be afforded them by the Chinese authorities in Manchuria. Although some Koreans believed that acquisition of Chinese citizenship would be beneficial in a material way the cost appurtenant thereto (8 yen) is too high for their means and standard of living.

Curtis

Do the Japanese courts operating in the Manchuria Railway zone extend their jurisdiction to Korean in Manchuria?

Hsu

Yes, through Japanese consuls, with appeal to the Japanese provincial court in Kwantung Province.

Kanai

Reciprocal arrangements have been concluded whereby Japanese and Chinese police may pursue offenders into the territory of either party for mutual convenience.

Hsu

The 1915 treaty definitely grants extraterritoriality to [p.121/p.6] Koreans. The Japanese army and navy overshadow Chinese efforts to apply Chinese law in Manchuria, so that it would be difficult to apply the suggestion implied in Mr. Rowell's comment upon possible dual citizenship. Furthermore, the Koreans have been in Manchuria since 1870 but no difficulty about protection arose until after Japanese annexation in 1910. Probably (apparently) is it but a Japanese trick to maintain control over Manchuria.

Kanai

In the opinion of the Japanese, Korea and Koreans are happier under Japanese control because it is thereby possible to prevent the rise of insurrections in Manchuria with a purpose to eject the Japanese from Korea. Also, such control prevents the use of Manchuria as a refuge for Korean agitators and revolutionists.

Rowell

A similar situation prevailed in the U. S. when naturalized Irish-Americans conducted revolutionary campaigns and propaganda against British rule in Ireland. Likewise, Russian revolutionists have taken advantage of security from arrest by Russian authorities by fleeing from the U. S. However, neither case is exactly analogous to the Manchurian situation, because the Atlantic ocean intervenes.

Herman Liu

From his contact with Korean students, he is convinced that the educated Koreans do not want the Japanese rule either in Korea or Manchuria. They greatly prefer independence, [p.122/p.7] and complain that the Japanese have acquired most of the valuable land. Apparently the policy is to drive the Koreans out of Korea into Manchuria, so that protection may be afforded from there with an ultimate aim to the annexation of Manchuria.

Yokota

A different interpretation of the treaties of 1915 is held by Japan in that they do not establish any new extraterritorial rights except in small area of Chientao.

Stuart

Extraterritoriality has been used for extraneous purposes. In the case of Manchuria, it is a blanket for preserving Japanese interests and in Shanghai it protects immense foreign interests.

Hsu

In the earlier treaties in which extraterritoriality was conceded, it was expected that foreigners would reside in treaty ports, with occasional travel inland. In Manchuria, however, Korean residents have settled in such large numbers as to completely change the original plan.

Hu

The Japanese apparently greatly fear Korean revolution originating in Manchuria. The in Chientao district 500 million Koreans reside and there are 25 Japanese police stations despite the fact that the territory is Manchuria. The whole situation is very complicated and deserves a special investigation by the I. P. R. into the status of Koreans in Manchuria and especially in Chientao.

[p.123/p.8]

Kanai

The Chinese authorities frequently interfere unduly with the Japanese and Korean activities. Warmly supports Dr. Hu's suggestion.

Hsu

Japanese police are commonly used to protect Koreans in Manchuria, with the subversive purpose of effecting political control of the region. Actually, Manchuria is a large Japanese concession.

Saito

Within the scope of the inquiry proposed by Hu Shih attention should be directed to taxation of a discriminatory sort, directed against Korean residents.

Yokota

In consideration of point 3, part I of the agenda, the question as worded is very vague. Ordinarily, "extraterritorial" privileges refer only to consular jurisdiction.

Massey

Wider interpretation probably was intended, including all rights of foreigners in China.

Yokota

Answering the question as to the origin of exemption of foreigners from taxation the French treaty of 1858 is the basis.

[p.144/p.1]

October 30, 1931

Round Table No. III. China's Foreign Relations.

Chairman. Mr. Massey

Secretary. Mr. Quigley

Recorder. Mr. Gibbons

(The discussion began with Question 7 of Agenda.)

Quigley

In most states the property rights of aliens parallel those of citizens except those of real property, and participation in corporate enterprise.

Shank

Don't they rise out of statutory rather than international law?

Quigley

Yes, but domestic law tends to follow these principles.

Yokota

According to our law, foreigners can enjoy all rights except fishing, mining and some methods of transportation, e. g., railways and coastal navigation.

Curtis

Are we confined to the legal question? (No) There is a feeling in Japan there may be no legal restrictions but that in practice it is impossible for a foreigner to start a business, for instance, a friend of mine wished to start an enterprise in Dairen. He was unable to secure suitable building because of the obstruction officials. Because of this Dairen is being strangled in its competition with Shanghai.

Kanai

In the S. M. R. the higher authorities try to enforce the open door but sometimes the employees discriminate against foreigners in the handling of trade, etc. We are not afraid [p.145/p.2] of foreign competition in Manchuria. In fact, we should welcome it. If Manchuria were internationalized the solution would be much easier.

Quigley

What are the property rights of aliens in regard to land in Manchuria?

Kanai

I shall look this point up.

Massey

Let us pass on to Question 8. This question refers to China outside the treaty ports.

Hsu

May I ask why Japan holds the S. M. R. with a large body of troops?

Kanai

We hold it until conditions are fulfilled. One, that the Russians withdraw from the C. E. R., two, that there be political stability. There are so many bandits all over China that at the moment several foreigners are being held for ransom. There are not necessarily more bandits in Manchuria, but than in the rest of China. But along the railway there is more property. We can't guarantee the safety of passengers without troops.

Hsu

Kanai makes two points: the legal and the practical. What is the legal right? Does the Japanese promise to withdraw the troops give them any right to stay there?

Yokota

As long as there is political instability Japan has the right to stay.

Hsu

Before 1905 the Chinese started the railway. In 1906 [p.146/p.3] Japan reserved the right to protect the railway with troops, on the condition that

1. If China could get Russia to withdraw, Japan would be likewise.
2. If the post-war anarchy disappears, Japan would withdraw.

We have plenty of bandits in China, but attacks even on the C. E. R. which runs through hilly country are very rare, and the S. M. S. runs through thickly populated country. The main line of the Peking-Mukden Line has never been attacked. The Japanese not only protect the railway with their troops but interfere with the internal politics of China. They are a menace to the Chinese government.

Mrs. Morrison

(What are the comparative statistics of railways holdups in China and the U. S.?)

Hsu

Of course the Peking-Mukden line is being attacked now, not only by bandits but also by the Japanese.

Kanai

Hsu's statement is full of mistakes. If there is any danger, even on a branch line, we must protect that line. All Chinese railways have their railway police. There are about 2000 on the Tsinan Railway, which is about 250 miles long. That about the necessity of protection. 25 years ago we promised to withdraw if two conditions were fulfilled, only one has been.

Massey

How far have property rights been limited lately? [p.147/p.4] I understand that mission lands are now held on a different tenure.

Stuart

Churches are allowed to buy land everywhere. How they voluntarily give up this rights. There was a general realization that it was a continual irritation.

Liu

We have had troubles with the Catholics because they have bought land not for direct religious use but for investment purposes. Many towns in Chekiang are almost completely owned by the Catholic church.

Curtis

Can we get at the legal position. May foreigners acquire property outside treaty ports? (no)

Curtis

In abolition of extraterritoriality will this be continued?

Shih

This is one of the inducements for the abolition of extraterritoriality. These nationals who have no extraterritorial rights can live and buy property anywhere in the country.

Curtis

If that is the Chinese policy, it is a very important point.

Saito

I doubt whether this is correct.

Yokota

I am not sure but I don't think that the Chinese would agree to open the interior (Dr. Hsia came to round table to give legal position).

Hsia

The position of the government: On the abolition of extraterritoriality foreigners will be allowed to own land, e. g. the Belgium Treaty provides that Belgians can own land. Because [p.148/p.5] of the most favored

nation clause, the Germans are on the same footing. In Manchuria the situation is complicated by Japanese domination.

Curtis

What is the law regarding Germans?

Stuart

They are buying land.

Mrs. Zen

What is the law in America and Europe regarding the acquisition of land by aliens?

(In England, they can buy land; in the United States, it varies according to states; in Canada, there are no restrictions.) (Dr. McClure comes to round table to give views re: position of Germans)

McClure

I don't know. I couldn't find out whether Germans had legal rights. So far local agitation has prevented the selling of land to foreigners. I know of no German holding land but of many who want to.

Yokota

Aliens can generally own land with exception of Russia, China and some Western states in America.

Hsu

When extraterritoriality is given up the prejudice against selling land to foreigners will die down.

McClure

If Germans could buy land freely, it would disrupt the economic situation in China.

Burchell

As the Belgium Treaty is not yet in force the Germans haven't yet the right to buy land.

Kanai

Bring up the question of protection.

[p.149/p.6]

Herman Liu

There is now a strong anti-Japanese feeling which is quite spontaneous.

Massey

Keep to the underlying principles. Do not discuss the immediate crisis. We should like to know what protection is afforded to property in the interior.

Curtis

What is China's ability to protect foreigners throughout China? Where is the capital to be? The physical conditions under which you work are more important than the paper constitution. Why did Japan change her capital? It was in order that the government might meet the foreigner at the place of contact. Japan's problem would never have been solved if the government had been buried in Kyoto.

At Nanking I noticed that the government offices are scattered. The main problem for constitutional government is to hold together. In England this would be impossible were the government offices not centered in Whitehall. China is too big for one government. Compare the U. S., where great portions of the functions of the government are decentralized. To strengthen a central government divest it of everything that can be done locally. There is way in which the foreigners could help. This is, by bringing their legations to Nanking. The technique of constitutional government is far more difficult than of a railway or electrical system. Were the Chinese leaders [p.150/p.7] able to meet the representatives of the Powers daily a great deal could be done to help them. Compare Morrow in Mexico, Page in England and D'Abronzon in Germany.

(Recess)

(Mr. Duesst will continue the recording of this round table)

[p.192/p.1]

BRING THIS TO THE ROUND TABLE

October 29, 1931

Institute of Pacific Relations

China Conference

SUGGESTED AGENDA for the Round Tables on CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

The following is recommended by the Programme Committee as an outline for discussion:

- I. Status and Property Rights of Aliens in China
 1. What are the obligations of a state under international law to protect resident aliens? By what means are these obligations usually fulfilled?
 2. Is China's fulfillment of such obligations rendered more difficult by:
 - a. the dispersion of authority between regional governments?
 - b. treaty commitments exempting foreigners of certain Treaty powers from Chinese jurisdiction?
 3. What extraterritorial privileges are claimed by foreign powers in China?
 4. If extraterritorial privileges are relinquished, to what judicial organization will foreign residents become subject? What progress has been made in the provision of modern courts and prisons? In the completion of legal codes? In establishing the independence of the judiciary? In extending the effective control of the regularly constituted law courts over all sections of the population, including the military forces, and in preventing the exercise of arbitrary authority by irresponsible or self-appointed bodies?
 5. What has been the experience of foreigners not possessed of extraterritorial privileges as defendants in Chinese courts?
 6. What bearing have recent missionary experiences upon:
 - a. the relinquishment of special missionary privileges?
 - b. the question of extraterritoriality generally?
 7. What in general are the property rights in which all alien may expect to be protected by a modern state?
 8. In what main respects do the property rights hold by foreigners in China go beyond those commonly granted by states in:
 - a. nature and extent?
 - b. manner of acquisition?
 - c. measures taken by foreign states for their protection?
 9. Does China limit the rights usually given to foreigners?
 10. What facilities does China possess for protecting the property rights of foreigners and how effectively are they being exercised?
 11. What is the effect of the existence of foreign property rights, and of the measures taken by foreigners to protect them, upon:
 - a. the economic development of China?
 - b. the political development of China?
 12. What solutions can be proposed of the problems arising from the foregoing questions?
- II. Coastal and Inland Navigation
 1. What are the specific privileges granted in various treaties in regard to coastal and inland

navigation?

2. Does present practice exceed treaty privileges?
3. What have been the economic and political effects of foreign participation in the coastal and inland carrying trade of China and what is the present position?
4. To what extent and by what methods does China at present discharge her responsibilities in such matters as:
 - a. surveys of ports, pilotage, coastal lighting, harbor improvements and [p.193/p.2] landing facilities?
 - b. regulations of navigation, police measures, examination of ships, maritime law?
5. How far does extraterritoriality affect coastal and inland navigation:
 - a. in respect to ships and cargoes?
 - b. in respect to personnel?
6. What would be the effect of the withdrawal of foreign ship?
7. What solutions can be proposed of the problems arising from the foregoing questions?

III. Leases, Concessions and Settlements

1. What has been the effects, in such areas as the British concession at Tientsin and the International Settlement at Shanghai, of the admission of Chinese residents to a greater share in the government of the areas?
2. What has been the effect of rendition, in the areas that have been handed back to Chinese control, in such matters as efficiency in government, taxation, trade, public works and improvements? To what degree have abnormal conditions in certain regions at certain times complicated the administration of restored areas?
3. What is the nature and working of municipal administration in such Chinese cities as Canton, Greater Shanghai, Peiping, and Hankow?
4. Does the report of Mr. Justice Feetham give a complete and satisfactory analysis of the situation in Shanghai?
5. What light does the Feetham Report throw upon the problem of the future municipal government of Shanghai? What is the value of Mr. Justice Feetham's proposals in regard to the problem? What practical steps towards its solution can be taken in the immediate future?
6. Are similar steps applicable also to the remaining foreign concessions and settlements which have not yet been returned to China?
7. What light does the recent working of the restored Chinese Court at Shanghai throw upon:
 - a. the policy of rendition?
 - b. the general problem of extraterritoriality?
8. What is the present situation with respect to the leases still held by foreign power?

It will be understood that this agenda is planned as a guide only, and is subject to revision by the Programme Committee, by the chairmen of the round tables, or by the round table members themselves. Conference members are invited to make suggestions to their round table chairmen or to the secretary of the Programme Committee.

Data Papers on this Topics:

Syllabus – China's Foreign Relations

British

The Status of Aliens in China – Member of the British Group
Survey of International Affairs, 1930 – A. J. Toynbee

Chinese

The Foreign Press in China – Thomas M. H. Chao

Questions relating to Manchuria – Shuhsi Hsu

The Status of Aliens in China – J. M. Bau

The Manchurian Dilemma, Force or Pacific Settlement – Shuhsi Hsu

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Suggested Agenda for R. T. on China's Foreign Relations – 3.

United States

Foreign Flags in China's International Navigation – J. P. Chamberlain

Extraterritoriality in China – W. H. Mallory

A Syllabus on Diplomatic Relations in the Far East – Harold S. Quigley

[p.211/p.1]

October 30, 1931.

Round Table No. 4. China's Foreign Relations.

Chairman. Mr. Takayanagi

Secretary. Mr. Rose

Recorder. Mr. Lockwood

[p.215/p.5]

Liu

One element is the excitement among common people, due to the presence of foreign soldiers. The presence of Japanese marines in Shanghai is an irritation.

Mayeda

It is arguing in a circle whether Japanese marines irritate situation or irritation causes the situation. Who is to say?

Yui

A specific case – are Japanese property and life safer before September 18 or since September 18? It seems to us there has been less safety since Sept. 18. I think –

Mayeda

You cannot generalize in my opinion.

Ho

Security of our foreign merchants in China depends more upon goodwill of Chinese rather than upon the presence of soldiers. While there may be occasions for a small force, [p.216/p.6] yet there is no occasion for such large numbers.

von Haast

How about in case of banditry?

Ho

This may be occasionally needed but the provision has gone much further than required.

Yui

Minister Henderson said that there cannot be trade without friendship.

Matsumoto

A agree with Dr. Ho in general, but there must be the keeping of certain laws and treaties. It is difficult not to go to extreme. It is subjective somewhat.

Lasker

The trouble is subjective. Unfortunately it is the subjection of the militarist.

Shenton

Reads an extract from Mr. Henderson's speech.

von Haast

Is not the question whether the time has arrived when the foreigners' interests can be turned over to the Chinese government for protection?

Yui

An absolute guarantee for all times and place is impossible in any nation of the world.

von Haast

Is there any arrangement of Japanese with Shanghai Municipal Council for consultation before military action is taken?

Shenton

Two notes have been recently published by Dr. C. T. Want, Foreign Minister, with American authorities, showing that there is collaboration on such matters.

Yui

Is it true that the action in Manchuria was caused by [p.217/p.7] younger Japanese military, as published in Chinese and Japanese papers?

Mayeda

It may have been at the moment, but the government has taken responsibility.

Shenton

In relation to Germans, they have the privilege of residence and purchase of property in China since abolition of extrality.

Yui

These are considered as special rights and the most favored nation clause does not obtain. Will they be granted to other under same conditions?

Yin? Yes.

As to 10 protecting rights of foreigners in China, we think that these are provided.

Shinobu

My opinion is that China has been deficient in facilities to protect life and property. If there were not guards on railway, the life of both Japanese and Chinese could not be guaranteed. My idea is that Shidehara policy is too weak. The Chinese take contemptuous attitude toward Japanese soldiers in Manchuria. The attitude of Chinese soldiers is the same towards railway guards. I saw personally a few Chinese boys mistreating Japanese soldiers. Recently Japanese soldiers have been aroused by this treatment. This is the cause of the recent incident. China's case has rested on an academic position. The security of [p.218/p.8] life and property guaranteed in Treaty of 1905 cannot be realized in Manchuria. Railway guards are there under the treaty. The establishment of consular courts in the interior, not on such clear basis. It rests upon necessity. China does not possess facilities for protecting property rights of foreigners.