

## Japan's record and world security

United Nations Information Office.

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**JAPAN'S RECORD  
AND  
WORLD SECURITY**



**10 cents**

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**UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION OFFICE**  
**610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N. Y.**

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The governments of Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Greece, India, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, The Philippines, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia, the Danish Legation; and the government of the United States of America.

*If it had been suggested to the average person in 1931 that an incident at Mukden was the opening stage of a Second World War, a war in which the British, American, Chinese, Russian, and, in fact, the people of every free nation, would be fighting desperately for their very existence, such a suggestion would have been facetiously or scornfully dismissed. . . . We did not properly understand the essential character of Japanese imperialism, its inherent causes, its insatiable ambition. We thought, perhaps, that aggression could be stalled by appeasement. And so when war flared up in the Pacific we were not by any means prepared for the immense responsibilities suddenly thrust upon us.*

—Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States, 1943.

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*2700 information of the  
Japan's unconditional surrender*

# Japan's Unconditional Surrender Necessary to World Security

## I—The Race Superiority Myth

1. Now, to fulfill the vision "to conquer the world and embrace the universe as our state," so as to pacify Emperor Jimmu's desire "greatly to nourish and increase" our ambition, has been our traditional policy. If the actions of any of the powers are not conducive to our imperialism, our blows shall descend on that power. . . . Our imperial morality, which is the embodiment of the combination of the true spirit of the Japanese state with the great ideals of the Japanese people, must be preached and spread over the whole world. All obstacles standing in the path of this must be resolutely removed, even if it is necessary to apply real force.\*

—General Sadao Araki, *Japanese War Minister, 1933. (In a pamphlet, translated from "Ta Kung Pao," May-July, 1933.)*

2. War is the Father of Creation (*Sozo no chichi*) and the Mother of Culture (*Bunkwa no haba*). Rivalry for supremacy does for the State what struggling against adversity does for the individual. It is such impetus, in the one case as in the other, that prompts the birth and development of Life and Cultural Creation (*Bunkwateki sozo*).

—*Japanese Ministry of War pamphlet, 1934.*

3. Japan is the sole nation qualified to convey to the world the blessings of the Way of the Sage-King, and on the realization of this ideal mental equilibrium and moral calm will be restored to afflicted humanity. . . .\*

—*Chikao Fujisawa, member of Japanese Government Research Institute and Professor at Great Oriental Culture College of Tokyo, 1935.*

4. . . . It is in the hope of relieving the Orient from this world state of disorder and confusion, and thereby contributing to a new world peace and order, that Japan engaged herself in the Manchurian Incident and now in the China Incident. Of all the nations in the Orient, Japan alone can be found capable of carrying out this mission with responsibility. Because it is she that has best assimilated the modern world culture, it is neither India, nor China,

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\*This and other excerpts from *Japan, A World Problem*, by H. J. Timperley, and *Tokyo Record*, by Otto Tolischus, by kind permission of Messrs. John Day, Inc., and Messrs Reynal and Hitchcock, respectively.

but Japan herself that is preserving as the essential elements of her national life the cream of Oriental civilization, the Buddhist culture of India and the Confucian culture of China.

—*Lieut. General Kenzi Doihara, Chief of Japanese Army Aviation, in "Chuokoron" ("Central Review"), November, 1938.*

5. I firmly believe that the great mission which Heaven has imposed on Japan is to save humanity. In conformity with the great spirit in which Emperor Jimmu founded the empire, Japan should take over the management of the continent on a large scale, propagate Hakko Ichiu (literally translated, "eight corners under one roof," meaning that all the world is one household) and the Way of the Emperor, and then extend it all over the world.

—*Yokosuke Matsuoka, Former Foreign Minister, quoted in "The Times," London, July 17, 1941.*

6. The Manchurian Affair was a violent outburst of Japanese national life long suppressed. Taking advantage of this, Japan in the glare of all the Powers stepped out for the creation of a world based on moral principles and the construction of a new order. This was a manifestation of the spirit, profound and lofty, embodied in the Empire-founding, and an unavoidable action for its national life and mission. . . .

The ideals of Japan are to manifest to the entire world the spirit of her Empire-founding, represented by the principle that "the Capital may be extended so as to embrace the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof." There is virtually no country in the world other than Japan having such a superb and lofty mission bearing world significance. . . .

Japan is the fountain source of the Yamato race, Manchukuko is its reservoir, and East Asia is its paddy field. . . .

In order to put an end to this chaotic situation of the world it is imperative to bring to light the great cosmic life centre, which was heretofore hidden from mankind for some mysterious reasons. It is indeed Sumera Mikoto, or Tenno, who embodies in Himself this infinite cosmic life-centre, His lineage having started from the very Genesis and never suffering any interruption in the course of our long national history reaching back to time immemorial. . . . It is the first and foremost axiom of the Way of the Gods that without Sumera Mikoto no nations of the world would have ever come into existence, because he proves the sole successor to the Progenitress of the whole cosmos—the Sun Goddess. Inspired by sheer parental love for all beings, Sumera Mikoto is deeply concerned with the attainment of their welfare and prosperity. He cares for all individuals and all nations as if they were born as his own beloved children; he beseeches them to assist him wholeheartedly in the accomplishment of His divine mission bequeathed by his deified forbears. However, should any perverse nation dare obstruct Sumera Mikoto in the carrying out of his celestial undertaking, he will resort, though reluctantly,

to arms for the purpose of constraining that nation to come back to the right path and to collaborate with Sumera Mikuni once more with fidelity. It is just as a mother chastises her naughty child into obedience so that his conduct may be duly rectified. . . .

—*Chikao Fujisawa, Member of Japanese Government Research Institute, and Professor at Great Oriental Culture College of Tokyo, in booklets "The Way of Subjects" and "The Divine Mission of Nippon." The former, published in 1941, was distributed by the Ministry of Education to all schools; the latter, published in 1942, became the text-book of many leading generals and others.*

## II—The Belief in Invincibility

1. The fundamental character of Sumera Mikuni so far clarified will be held to account for the mystic invulnerability of our Sacred Isles to whatever attempt at invasion ever made by other nations. The Chin dynasty of China, the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns, who dared to assail their motherland,\* defying the inviolable cosmic law of blood priority, could not escape the divine castigation of suffering deadly blows. It is, therefore, quite evident that any Power harbouring sinister designs to hurt Japan in any way will sooner or later meet the same fate.

—*Chikao Fujisawa, "The Way of Subjects," 1941.*

2. The rise of militarism is largely attributable to the Japanese myth of the invincibility of the Japanese Imperial forces. The best way of opening the eyes of the Japanese people to the horrors and realities of modern war and of restoring to them a sense of decency and proportion is to shatter that myth by Allied Military occupation of their hitherto never invaded territory.

—*Liang Han-choo, Chinese Minister of Information, August 24, 1944.*

## III—Japan's Plans for World Conquest

1. Having carefully studied the question of perpetuating the national existence of our Empire and consolidating its position as a first-class power, I., S. Honjo, have come to the conclusion that unless we actually occupy Manchuria and Mongolia, which we have developed for three decades, and attain the object which we had when we despatched a military expedition to certain places in Siberia in the 8th year of Taisho, so as to unite the above places and Korea with our interior as one piece of territory, during this opportune moment when the world is facing an economic depression, when the five-year scheme of Soviet Russia is not yet completed, and when the unification of China is not yet accomplished, we cannot expect to effect the consoli-

\*i.e., Japan, which is assumed to be the motherland of all other peoples.

dition of the national foundation of our Empire in the present-day conditions of the world. I shall now report in detail the result of my investigations so far made.

The renaissance of China, the continuous existence of "Red" Russia and the eastward advance by the United States on the Pacific Ocean, are all anathemas against the national policy of our Empire. But in order to be able to prevent the eastward advance of American influence, we must first consolidate our national defenses on the land and attain a position of independence as far as material supplies are concerned. Therefore, before declaring war on America, we must strive to gain a superior position for our military strength both in China and in Russia. We must aim to cripple China and Russia once for all; or in case we should be unable to destroy their power entirely, we must at least reduce them to temporary impotency so that they would not be able for some time to attack us or to regain their feet. Our Empire would thus be enabled to seize hold of vast quantities of rich natural resources in our newly occupied lands. When profitably applied, they could be the means of strengthening our sea defenses, and driving the American influence to the east of Hawaii. Then there could be no question at all that the Philippine Islands would fall into our control. We could then be the sole master on the Pacific and nobody would be in a position to compete with us or to make a protest.

Having vanquished the American influence in the East, the British influence in Singapore and Hongkong would not be potent enough to do us any harm; moreover, it would soon be destroyed by our navy also; while the South China Sea would likewise come under our jurisdiction. Thus, all the 400 counties of China would fall into our hands, while the unification of the whole of Asia and the subjugation of Europe would both prove to be tasks quite feasible and not difficult to be carried out. . . .

—*General Shigeru Honjo, in letter to Japanese War Minister, quoted in "China Critic," Shanghai, December 3, 1931.*

2. The true spirit of our national construction and the Imperial Way, which is the crystallization of the great ideal of the Japanese people, considering their nature should be proclaimed to the end of the Four Seas and developed to the limit of the universe. Hence anything which proves to be an obstacle to their propagation, no matter what it is, should be wiped out with all our might.

—*General Sadao Araki, Japanese War Minister, 1933, in pamphlet quoted above.*

3. Let the people of Europe and America realize, let the whole world recognize, that Japan is here and now shouldering the whole responsibility of Asia. If we do not possess even this strength and conviction, then do we deserve to be called the Great Japan of Asia in the Far East? Last year in the League of Nations we battled alone against 13 nations. This time we might

have to fight single-handed against 56 of them. No matter what she is to the entire world, since the present condition in Asia is as such, and for the protection of the peace in Asia as well as for the welfare of the whole Asiatic race, Japan, vanguard of the Asiatic battle front, must uphold our imperial house, which lives and dies, rises and falls, with its supreme principle of justice and mercy, which, extending to the corners of the four seas, will stand as does humanity, and, meeting the test of the ages to come, will be embraced by all without hesitation. Should there be any one here thwarting this our undertaking, no matter who he is, he should by all means be pushed aside. And in order to let Europe and America know of this our spirit we must act in the same way, as the first manifestation of our soul in dealing with the Manchurian question today.

—*General Sadao Araki, Japanese War Minister, ibid.*

4. Let us observe the international situation that is changing before our eyes. The progressive change in the international situation may be regarded as a movement against the tyranny and high-handedness of the white people. It may be regarded as the beginning of a racial war for emancipating the colored people, who form the greater part of the human inhabitants of the world, from the enslaving oppression by the whites, and realizing equality and peace for all the human beings on earth. It may also be regarded as the beginning of a spiritual war for rectifying the material civilization of the West by the moral civilization of the East.

These two great missions from Heaven are the natural obligations which our Japanese Empire must bear. Japan has already taken the initial step towards the fulfillment of the obligations by assisting the new State of Manchukuo, withdrawing from the League of Nations, and abrogating the Washington Naval Treaty.

In order to fulfill the great missions imposed by Heaven, our Japanese Empire must keep herself strong and upright. For it will be impossible for her to care for others if she herself is weak, and perpetual expansion for her nation will be impossible if she does not properly employ the strength she has.

—*Major-General Hayao Tada, Commanding Japanese Forces in North China, in "Peking and Tientsin Times," Tientsin, China, October 9, 1935.*

5. Viewed in the light of its historical precedents and character, and also in the light of its cultural mission, expansion on the continent is the destiny of our race.

—*Tatsuo Kawai, Japanese Minister to Australia, in "The Goal of Japanese Expansion," 1938.*

6. The Japanese themselves avow the boundlessness of their ambitions. The center of those ambitions is the conquest of China, but they include the

overrunning of all East Asia, the carving up of the whole Pacific area, and unlimited aggression throughout the world. The attack on China, therefore, cannot be considered apart from the worldwide aggression contemplated by the Japanese militarists. Whether they say "a conclusion to the China Incident," or "to the south the defensive; to the north the offensive," or "to the north the defensive; to the south the offensive," it is only a matter of sequence in the steps of their great scheme. Tanaka declared: "If China be completely conquered by us, Central Asia and Asia Minor, India and the South Seas, with their heterogeneous peoples, will certainly fear and yield to us; the world will be given to understand that East Asia is in our possession." He also spoke of the inevitability of war between Japan and America and Russia. "The rich resources of China," he wrote, "will become instrumental to the conquest of India, the South Seas, Central Asia and Asia Minor and Europe."

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, October 10, 1940.*

7. Japan is often called in our poetic language "Sumera Mikuni," which conveys somewhat the meaning of a divine clime all-integrating and all-embracing. By keeping in mind its philosophical implications one will be able to grasp the keynote of the Imperial Rescript issued on September 27, 1939, at the time of the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact. Therein our gracious Tenno proclaimed solemnly that the cause of great justice should be extended to the far end of the earth, so as to turn the world into one household and thus enable all nations to secure their due places. This significant passage in the Rescript will clarify the very character of our August Sovereign, ever anxious to act as the head of an all-embracing universal family, in the bosom of which all nations shall be allotted their respective posts in a dynamic order of harmony and co-operation. It is incumbent upon our Tenno to do His best to restore "the absolute cosmic life-centre" and to reconstruct remote antiquity; by so doing, He wishes to transform the present-day lawless, chaotic world, where the weak are left to fall prey to the strong, into one large family community in which perfect concord and consummate harmony shall prevail.

This is the objective of the divine mission Japan has been called to fulfill from time immemorial. In a word, it is to permeate the whole earth with one cosmic vitality embodied in our Divine Sovereign, so that all the segregated national units may be led to re-unite themselves spiritually with the sincere feeling of brothers sharing the same blood. Only in this way will all the nations of the world be induced to abandon their individualistic attitude—which finds expression first of all in the current international law—instead of indulging in the pursuit of self-interest.

—*Chikao Fujisawa, in "The Divine Mission of Nippon," 1942.*

8. From now on the war will be long, with much difficult fighting. It is our duty to take back all our Pacific Islands and expand even as far as Aus-

tralia, thus rescuing our brothers of Greater East Asia and spreading the spirit of universal brotherhood. You, as the rising generation, must study and work hard so that you may, in future, rescue the people of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. You must keep the fighting spirit alive within you.

—*Admiral Takahashi, Former Commander-in-Chief of Japanese Navy.*  
*Quoted in "Australian News Summary," October 2, 1944.*

## IV—The Japanese Have Been Aggressors for Centuries

The origins of the Japanese ambition to conquer China are to be traced far further back than September 18, 1931. Even in Ming times the predatory proclivities of the Japanese had become fully apparent. In those days Toyotomi Hideyoshi gave expression to the idea of "crossing the mountains and the seas, entering the land of Ming and making ours its four hundred counties." Later there was wild talk from one Shusin Soejima of "seizing lands from Ching (the Manchu Empire)" and of "making one province of the Ching domains a base on the Continent." So we see that the covetous desire for Chinese soil took root some three hundred or more years ago. At the time of the invasion of Korea and during the subsequent war with China the Japanese made the possession of our North-East their objective. When in 1904 they entered upon the war with Russia they were intent on the same prize. The humiliation to which they have subjected China goes back three centuries, to the days when their pirates marauded on our coasts; tales of their deeds are still current among the people of those districts.

September 18, 1931, however, is a date that marks the point at which Japanese aggression took on full definition of its enormous scope, being seen, as the Tanaka Memorial put it, to seek "the conquest of China, Asia, India and the South Seas" and "the domination of East Asia as a means to conquest of the world." The first step was the seizure of the North-East to serve as a field headquarters in the campaign of global aggression. The history of conflict between China and Japan is written about the theme of the North-East. Those powers resolved to prevent Japan's encroachment upon Asia and other parts of the world can ill afford to neglect the importance of the Northeast. That the leaders and publics of all countries should be properly aware of the relevant facts is as necessary as knowledge of them among the Chinese people. The loss of the provinces to China would inhibit her national reconstruction, and in Japanese hands they would be utilized not only in the destruction of China but also in the prosecution of aggressive expansion elsewhere in the world. Our survival and world security alike demand the expulsion of the invader from the North-East and its integral restoration to the Chinese state.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, September 18, 1941.*

## V—Failure To Deal with Japan's Criminal Acts in Manchuria Encouraged Further Aggression

1. . . . Since that thunder of gunfire in the north and the fall of Mukden, since that outrage and affront was laid on our entire people, nine years have rapidly passed away. . . . The people now living under the puppet Manchurian regime have no power, and giving and taking life or anything else rests in the hands of the Japanese. The slightest motion cannot escape their strict surveillance and control. . . .

The occurrence of September 18 nine years ago formed a prime factor in upsetting international peace and order in the world. The present war in Europe may be put down to the Japanese militarists as the prime movers responsible. Now, the wilder they wax the more diplomatically isolated the Japanese become, and the course before them the more perilous. The saying, "The perpetrator of many wrongs must at last bring on his own ruin," will apply to the inevitable outcome of Japan's actions—her boundless ambition will issue in self-destruction. It is for us at once to be revenged and to rid the world of this universal enemy.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, September 18, 1940.*

2. Although the first shots of war were fired at Marco Polo Bridge on July 7, 1937, the global conflict actually began as far back as thirteen years ago, in 1931, when Japan invaded Manchuria with impunity. The breakdown of collective security encouraged the aggressors and brought about this world-wide conflict. It is well known today that Japan's blueprint for world conquest sets forth the scheme for the conquest of China as the prelude to the conquest of the world. Thus the fall of Manchuria led to the attack at Marco Polo Bridge which, in turn, prepared the way for the outrageous attacks on Pearl Harbor and Singapore.

—*H. H. Kung, Vice Premier of China, July 7, 1944.*

## CHAPTER TWO

# Punishment of War Criminals

### I—Japanese Violation of the Laws of Humanity

1. What I do want to emphasize is the barbarism of the Japanese militarists, a barbarism which would wipe out these basic human qualities that Heaven has implanted in men. This barbarism affects the whole future of mankind, and cannot be passed by. Since we began our resistance to the enemy countless industries and vast quantities of raw materials, at the front and in the occupied areas, have been totally destroyed, and young men and girls, women and children, the old and the weak, have been subjected to unspeakable horrors, to rape and plunder and burning and death.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, July 7, 1938.*

2. Nothing has been left of the "Soul of Yamato" and "Bushido," of both of which your country had been so proud. Poisonous gases are relentlessly used. Opium and narcotics are publicly sold. International treaties and principles of Justice are trampled under the feet of your invading army. They massacred innocent civilians and wounded soldiers. They slung these poor creatures together by the hundreds and mowed them down with machine-gun fire. In some instance, they drove scores of people into a room and set fire to it. At other times they made competitions among themselves to see who killed most, simply for fun.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Broadcast to the People of Japan, July 7, 1938.*

3. In 1932 at Shanghai, when the Chinese and Japanese had agreed in principle on certain conditions and were on the eve of signing an agreement, that very night the Japanese bombed and set fire to the sleeping suburb of Chapei, and tens of thousands of people were killed and wounded. Just before the outbreak of the present Pacific hostilities, while the Japanese Ambassador in America and Kurusu were carrying on conversations with Mr. Hull, the Japanese similarly without warning struck at Pearl Harbor.

Do you know what happened in Nanking? After our troops had withdrawn, the Japanese rounded up every able-bodied man they could find there, tied them wrist to wrist, made them walk out of the town, beat them and bayoneted them. Later on the Japanese did not even take the trouble to bayonet or shoot them, but made them dig their own graves and buried them alive.

What did they do to our children? They captured them and took their

blood for the purpose of blood transfusion. They also sent boatloads of our children to be trained as traitors to their own country. We have found many little spies who told us that they had been trained by the Japanese to work against us. This happened especially after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1932, when these children were carried off in thousands and specially drilled to work against their fatherland.

When the Japanese occupy and seize a city they are not only out to loot everything but they try to kill the very soul of the people, they do everything to deaden body and soul. In cases when some of the surviving population were employed as laborers by the Japanese they received as part payment injections of opium and heroin. The Japanese are an incredibly cruel and inhumanly callous enemy.

—*Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, February 12, 1942.*

4. So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by the Japanese militarists are beyond description. The suffering and oppression which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since their subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December 1937 is a case in point. Over 200,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population of Free China has been subjected almost daily to bombings from the air and bombardments by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by Japanese troops, men, women, and children were either assaulted or killed. The young men and the educated people received their special attention, with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools and domestic animals, have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation, rape, rapine, incendiarism, murder are frequent occurrences. Moreover they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill-fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not found in countries invaded by other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eyewitnesses.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Farewell speech in India, February 21, 1942.*

## II—Crime Must Not Pay

1. Japan has run up a long account, a very long account, of evil-doing; and that account must and will be settled.

These thoughts lie deep in the consciousness of every one of us in this

country, however close and menacing the German scourge may be. . . .

There is in our hearts a fixed and grim resolve to teach Japan once and for all the lesson that co-prosperity is not achieved by cruelty and oppression, and that he who draws the sword shall perish by it.

We of the British Commonwealth and Empire have a duty to our own people in the Far East who are imprisoned and enslaved by the Japanese.

. . . For the defeat of Japan, if it is to lead to lasting peace, means not only the physical defeat of her armed forces, which in itself will involve no mean effort, but also the defeat of those ideas which for more than a decade have been cultivated in the minds of the Japanese by their militarist leaders to the exclusion of everything that is reasonable and humane.

To those leaders Japan is indebted for the suppression of so-called "dangerous thoughts"; by which significant expression they mean all liberal tendencies and any trend which might lead the Japanese people away from the militarist programme of shameless aggression and exploitation.

To those leaders again Japan is indebted for the creation of a police force and gendarmerie which rival the Gestapo in barbarity.

These evils flourish today, and so thorough has been the eradication of sane thought that the Japanese armed forces, representing as they do all classes of the nation, fight in the blasphemous conviction that they are inspired by some divine spirit in their orgies of destruction and slaughter.

We are committed to the destruction of those forces and we shall destroy them. . . .

—*Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, July 7, 1943.*

2. In China, it has been realized long ago that it is not merely futile to expect civilized behavior on the part of the Japanese militarists, but also criminal foolhardiness for the governments of the United Nations not to describe in clear terms the type of enemy we have to fight against. Words have never impressed Tokyo and there are no indications that they will. The only way to square the criminal account with Japan is to see that justice is effectively brought to bear on the authors after the war. To hasten that day, the war against Japan must be pressed with renewed determination and vigor and with all we have.

—*Hollington Tong, Chinese Vice-Minister of Information, Chungking, China, January 30, 1944.*

3. . . . Japan must disgorge all her territorial conquests. The Cairo declaration has made it definite that Japan must surrender all territories which she has taken by violence and greed. She must restore the independence of Korea. War criminals must be brought to justice; adequate resitution must be made for properties looted, damaged, and destroyed.

—*H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance of China, at University of Chicago Round Table, June 30, 1944.*

4.

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,  
SOUTHWEST PACIFIC AREA,  
Office of the Commander in Chief.**

To the Commander in Chief, Japanese Military Forces in the Philippines,  
Field Marshall Count Terauchi:

The surrender of American forces in previous campaigns in the Philippines was made in full reliance that prisoners of war would be accorded the dignity, honor, and protection provided by the rules and customs of war.

Since then unimpeachable evidence has been furnished me of degradation and even of brutality to which these gallant soldiers have been subjected, in violation of the most sacred code of martial honor. For such violations the Imperial Japanese Government will of course, be fully responsible to my Government.

As Commander in Chief of the Allied forces in the field, I shall in addition, during the course of the present campaign, hold the Japanese military authorities in the Philippines immediately liable for any harm which may result from failure to accord prisoners of war, civilian internees, or civilian noncombatants the proper treatment and due protection to which they, of right, are entitled.

—*Douglas MacArthur, General, United States Army, Commander in Chief, October, 1944.*

5. The Government has been collecting evidence of acts of criminality committed by the Japanese against Australians and others. . . . The report revealed evidence of massacre, torture and maltreatment of Australians, both military personnel and civilians, and of New Guinea natives, as well as evidence of numerous lesser breaches of the rules of warfare.

These rules had been solemnly laid down at Geneva conventions in 1906 and 1926 and at the Hague Convention in 1907, all of which Japan signed and ratified, and in the Prisoners-of-War Convention of 1929, which Japan signed and which she publicly undertook, shortly after the war broke out, to observe on a basis of reciprocity.

The Australian Government is determined that nothing that can be done to punish those responsible for brutality and cruelty will be left undone. I should add that official enquiries to date have revealed occasional instances where Japanese soldiers and officers have behaved according to the standards of honorable conduct. . . . We can respect an enemy who acts in this manner and we do right to take note of cases where chivalry and decent conduct have been exhibited. . . .

An atrocity or breach of the laws of war is not only the concern of the State whose nationals suffer from the breach, but of all States upholding the law of nations and standards of civilized conduct.

—*Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, November 30, 1944.*

### III—Examples of War Crimes\*

1. Out of regard for the feelings of the many relations of the victims, His Majesty's Government have been unwilling to publish any accounts of Japanese atrocities at Hong Kong until these had been confirmed beyond any possibility of doubt. Unfortunately there is no longer room for doubt. His Majesty's Government are now in possession of statements by reliable eye-witnesses who succeeded in escaping from Hong Kong. Their testimony establishes the fact that the Japanese army at Hong Kong perpetuated against their helpless military prisoners and the civil population, without distinction of race or colour, the same kind of barbarities which aroused the horror of the civilised world at the time of the Nanking massacre of 1937.

It is known that 50 officers and men of the British army were bound hand and foot and then bayoneted to death. It is known that 10 days after the capitulation wounded were still being collected from the hills, and the Japanese were refusing permission to bury the dead. It is known that women, both Asiatic and European, were raped and murdered, and that one entire Chinese district was declared a brothel, regardless of the status of the inhabitants. All the survivors of the garrison, including Indians, Chinese, and Portuguese, have been herded into a camp consisting of wrecked huts without doors, windows, light or sanitation. By the end of January 150 cases of dysentery had occurred in the camp, but no drugs or medical facilities were supplied. The dead had to be buried in the corner of the camp. The Japanese guards are utterly callous, and the repeated requests of General Maltby, the General Officer Commanding, for an interview with the Japanese commander have been curtly refused. This presumably means that the Japanese high command have connived at the conduct of their forces. . . .

The Japanese have, in fact, announced that they require all foreign consuls to withdraw from all the territories they have invaded since the outbreak of war. It is clear that their treatment of prisoners and civilians will not bear independent investigation.

It is most painful to have to make such a statement to the House. Two things will be clear from it, to the House, to the country and to the world. The Japanese claim that their forces are animated by a lofty code of chivalry, Bushido, is a nauseating hypocrisy. That is the first thing. The second is that the enemy must be utterly defeated. The House will agree with me that we can best express our sympathy with the victims of these appalling outrages by redoubling our efforts to ensure his utter and overwhelming defeat. . . .

Sir Percy Harris: Will my right hon. Friend make it clear that not only the Emperor, but the Government and the whole Japanese people, are responsible for these atrocities, and not merely the army?

Mr. Eden: Yes, Sir, that is certainly so. . . .

—*Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, March 10, 1942.*

\*See also: *Report on the Destruction of Manila and Japanese Atrocities, February, 1945*, issued by the Office of the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, Washington, D. C. A collection of signed statements, affidavits and photographs.

2. National Health Administration Director-General Dr. P. Z. King's statement on Japanese attempts at bacterial warfare against China, and reports submitted by Chinese and foreign medical experts, definitely prove that at least on five occasions Japan has resorted to ruthless bacterial warfare in China.

In the first instance, a quantity of wheat grains was dropped by Japanese planes over Ningpo on October 27th, 1940. An epidemic broke out soon after and lasted thirty-four days, claiming ninety-nine victims. Diagnosis of plague was definitely confirmed in laboratory tests. On October 4th, 1940, a Japanese plane scattered rice and wheat grains and fleas over Chuhsien, Chekiang. Bubonic plague appeared thirty-eight days later, causing twenty-one deaths. Kihwa was attacked by three Japanese planes on November 18th, 1940, dropping a large quantity of translucent granules like shrimp-eggs. Microscopic examination revealed the presence of plague bacilli, though no epidemic resulted. On November 4, 1941, a Japanese plane visited Changteh, Hunan, dropping rice, paper, and cotton wads on which bacilli were found. Later nine cases of plague were reported. Numerous circumstantial evidences including infected rats proved beyond doubt the origin of the epidemic. Lastly, a serious attack of plague has broken out in Suiyuan, Ninghsia, and Shensi. Six hundred cases were reported. A recent communique from military authorities stated that a large number of sick rodents was set free by the enemy there.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, April 28, 1943.*

3. After they had been caught unawares by the falling of American bombs on Tokyo Japanese troops attacked the coastal areas of China, where many of the American fliers had landed. These Japanese troops slaughtered every man, woman, and child in those areas. Let me repeat—these Japanese troops slaughtered every man, woman, and child in those areas, reproducing on a wholesale scale the horrors which the world had seen at Lidice, but about which people have been uninformed in these circumstances.

The dastardly execution of the American fliers, who were taken as prisoners of war, has made it clear to all Americans that we face an enemy who knows no codes of law or decency. The only language which such an enemy understands is that of the weapons of war.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, April 28, 1943.*

4. "The march of death" began when thousands of prisoners were herded together at Mariveles airfield on Bataan at daylight on April 10, 1942, after their surrender.

Though some had food, neither Americans nor Filipinos were permitted to eat any of it by their guards. They were searched and their personal belong-

ings taken from them. Those who had Japanese tokens or money in their possession were beheaded. . . .

Filipino civilians tried to help both Filipino and American soldiers by tossing us food and cigarettes from windows or from behind houses. Those who were caught were beaten. . . .

Col. Dyess' sworn statement declared that the Japanese officer commanding Camp O'Donnell, where the survivors of the Bataan death march were imprisoned, delivered a speech to the American and Filipino soldiers telling them that they were not prisoners of war and would not be treated as such, but were captives without rights or privileges. . . . After the prisoners had been at Camp O'Donnell for one week the death rate among American soldiers was 20 a day, and among Filipino soldiers 150 a day. After two weeks the death rate increased to 50 a day among Americans and 500 a day among Filipinos. To find men strong enough to dig graves was a problem. Shallow trenches were dug to hold 10 bodies each.

"The actual conditions I find impossible to describe," Col. Dyess' statement reads. "It is impossible from a description to visualize how horrible they really were."

One dilapidated building was set aside and called a hospital. Hundreds of men lay naked on the bare floor without covering of any kind. The doctors had not even water to wash human waste from their patients. Some afflicted with dysentery remained out in the weather near the latrines until they died.

Men shrank from 200 pounds to 90. They had no buttocks. They were human skeletons.

"It was plain and simple starvation," Col. Dyess' statement reads. "It was difficult to look at a man lying still and determine whether he was dead or alive."

The Japanese promised medicines, but never produced them. Once the Japanese allowed the Red Cross at Manila to bring in quinine. How much the prisoners never found out. The Japanese did not issue enough to cure 10 cases of malaria, and there were thousands.

The sick as well as those merely starving were forced into labor details by the Japanese. Many times men did not return from work. By May 1, 1942, only about 20 out of every company of 200 were able to go on work details. Many died in the barracks overnight. Frequently, for no apparent reason, the prisoners were forced to line up and stand in the sun for hours. . . . Men were literally worked to death. It was not unusual for 20 per cent of a work detail to be worked to death. In one instance, 75 per cent were killed that way.

—From *Joint U.S. Army-Navy Statement, January 28, 1944.*

5. For some time past, information has been reaching His Majesty's Government regarding the conditions under which prisoners are detained and worked in some of these areas. . . . It becomes my painful duty to tell the

House that in Siam there are many thousands of prisoners from the British Commonwealth, including India, who are being compelled by the Japanese military to live in tropical jungle conditions without adequate shelter, clothing, food, or medical attention: and these men are forced to work on building a railway and making roads. Our information is that their health is rapidly deteriorating, that a high percentage are seriously ill, and that there have been some thousands of deaths. Here may I add that the number of such deaths reported by the Japanese to us is just over 100.

If that were the whole of the story it would be bad indeed but there unhappily is worse to come. We have a growing list of cases of brutal outrage on individuals or groups of individuals. I could not burden the House with the full tale of these. But in order to give an idea of their nature I must, I fear, quote a few typical examples. First, two cases affecting civilians. The first is that of an officer in the Shanghai Municipal Police Force. Along with some three hundred other Allied nationals, he was interned by the Japanese in the detention camp for so-called "political suspects" at Haiphong Road in Shanghai. He incurred the displeasure of the Japanese gendarmerie and was taken away to their office in another part of the town. When he emerged from the building he was practically out of his mind; his arms and feet were infected where ropes had left deep scars; and he had lost 40 pounds of weight. He died within a day or two of his release. The second case comes from the Philippine Islands. Here, on the 11th of February, 1942, three British subjects escaped from the Japanese civilian internment camp at Santo Tomas, Manila. They were re-captured and flogged by the camp guard. Two days later, on the 14th of February, they were sentenced to death by a military court, despite the fact that international law prescribes the imposition of only disciplinary punishment for attempts to escape. The firing party used automatic pistols, and the three men were not killed outright.

I now turn to cases affecting soldiers. A number of Indian soldiers captured in Burma, having had their hands tied behind their backs, were made to sit in groups by the side of the road. They were then systematically bayoneted from behind in turn, each man receiving apparently three bayonet thrusts. By some miracle one man who collapsed subsequently recovered and escaped to our lines. That's how we know. . . .

I have said sufficient to show the barbarous nature of our Japanese enemy. He has violated not only the principles of International law but all canons of decent and civilised conduct. His Majesty's Government have repeatedly made the strongest possible representations to the Japanese Government through the Swiss Government. . . . The Japanese know well what are the obligations of a civilised Power to safeguard the life and health of prisoners who have fallen into their hands. . . . Let the Japanese Government reflect that in time to come the record of their military authorities in this war will not be forgotten. It is with the deepest regret that I have been obliged to make such a statement to the House. But after consultation with their Allies who are

equally victims of this unspeakable savagery, His Majesty's Government have felt it to be their duty to make public the facts.

—*Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, in House of Commons, January 28, 1944.*

6. Charge XVII. American personnel have suffered death and imprisonment for participating in military operations. Death and long-term imprisonment have been imposed for attempts to escape, for which the maximum penalty under the Geneva convention is thirty days' arrest. Neither the American Government nor its protecting power has been informed in the manner provided by the convention of these cases, or of many other instances when Americans were subjected to illegal punishment. Specific instances are cited under the next charge. . . . At Cabanatuan Lieut. Cols. Lloyd Biggs and Howard Breitung and Lieut. R. D. Gilbert, attempting to escape during September 1942, were severely beaten about the legs and feet and then taken out of the camp and tied to posts, were stripped and kept tied up for two days. Their hands were tied behind their backs to the posts so that they could not sit down. Passing Filipinos were forced to beat them in the face with clubs. No food or water was given to them. After two days of torture they were taken away and, according to the statements of Japanese guards, they were killed, one of them by decapitation.

—*State Department Telegram of Protest, February 11, 1944.*

7. We saw our first victims of Japanese coercion on Leyte. Young boys with arms scarred had been given the "sun treatment"—tied all day face up under the blazing skies because they would not collaborate. And in the suburbs of Tacloban, the capital, our first recaptured town, we were shown a rise of earth on a little hill, no gravestones, no markers there to point to the presence of two hundred dead, shot there together for refusing to collaborate with Japan. How ably the Japanese disposed of everything, even these poor bodies in one unmarked grave! We heard on Leyte of their actions everywhere, how their army trucks came to every door, and soldiers entered the houses taking everything that might be of use, and throwing all else out of the windows, or firing it there. All their loot was taken on ships to Japan, leaving the Philippines stripped to its scorched earth.

—*Brig. General Carlos P. Romulo, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, December 14, 1944.*

8. Yesterday American infantrymen, picking their way along the Marques de Comillas street in the Ermita district, came across a horrible sight—approximately twenty Filipino women, with their hands tied behind their backs, lying dead in pools of their own blood. They had been bayoneted.

A few minutes later the Americans came across two Chinese with severe saber wounds in the neck. There were also bodies of dead children.

Today in one compound south of the Pasig River advancing American troops found thirty bodies of Filipino civilians who had been shot or burned. The bodies of a woman and her suckling child were among them. They had been killed by rifles.

An officer told correspondents today that a Piper Cub artillery spotter flying over Intramuros saw Japanese using civilians as shields for their battery. The Japanese mortar opened up on the American-occupied zone in Manila, he said. When the American guns began replying to the fire the Japanese were seen to herd many civilians into the building where the mortar was located, with the evident intention of forcing the Americans to cease fire or hit the helpless populace.

These things are typical of blazing Manila as the enemy wields fire and sword against the helpless civilians, just as he did in Nanking, Hong Kong and Singapore. Homes have been burned, while Japanese soldiers, slowly retreating before the American advance, fire rifles and machine guns into men, women and children who try to escape. There have been cases of men who have been taken away for questioning, imprisonment and, in many cases, mass execution. . . .

We have seen enough of this destruction and talked with enough victims to establish this terrible pattern. We have walked up and down hospital corridors with haggard faced doctors and nurses and looked upon the broken, burned and maimed bodies of civilians, many of whom were brought there by American Army ambulances. The victims' stories are the same, no matter the district from which they come, and they have been verified by doctors and priests who have helped us question them. It is a sober warning to those who would have us believe that we can live in peace with a militaristic Japan.

As the Americans approached the city Japanese soldiers, who had been instructed to fight and die to the last man, told civilians: "We will die, but we will take you with us. The Americans will take Manila, but few of you will live to see them."

This was the design, whether or not the enemy has been able to carry it out as completely as he intended.

—George E. Jones, "New York Times" Correspondent, February 15, 1945.

9. In one of the most frightful atrocities of the Pacific war, the Japanese shot and bayoneted seventy persons in cold blood last Monday within the walls of La Salle College, in South Manila.

And as Filipinos, Spaniards, and German and Irish religious brothers and an Australian priest lay writhing in agony on the floor, Japanese soldiers tore the dresses from dying Filipino girls and raped them.

There are only eight or ten survivors of this blood bath. The Rev. Francis J. Cosgrave, forty-seven years old, a Redemptorist Father of Sydney, Australia, who had been Superior of his order in Manila, lay on a cot in Santo Tomas University today and told me of this barbarous act.

Father Cosgrave was bayoneted twice in the left breast. He dragged himself from under the pile of bodies and crawled into the chapel, where he lived by drinking water from the altar vases and swallowing the wafers used for Holy Communion until he was rescued Thursday.

Father Cosgrave said that last Monday twenty or thirty Japanese who had used one wing of the college as a barracks, while permitting seventy refugees to live in another wing, had entered the dining room just after the seventy had finished lunch.

A Japanese officer leading the group screamed something, pulled out his pistol and fired point-blank into the huddled group of men, women and children. Then the rest of the Japanese charged with bayonets, and hacked right and left until all of the seventy were lying in pools of blood on the floor.

Nearly everyone was bayoneted twice and several were shot as well, Father Cosgrave said. The Japanese dragged the bodies into a heap. Father Cosgrave, in a coma, found himself under two or three dead. He lay there until 10 o'clock Monday night. Every hour the Japanese would come in and kick and taunt the dying and rape a few girls. Children two years old had been bayoneted, and the returning Japanese bayoneted them again.

Father Cosgrave, in a quiet moment, clawed his way out of the pile of bodies and up the stairs into the chapel, where he hid behind the altar. About eight or ten persons followed him. They lived there in misery until Thursday, when artillery of the 1st Cavalry division began to pound the place. Shrapnel and bullets flew about. Then Father Cosgrave heard an American officer shout. He stood up and staggered down the chapel aisle to safety.

The victims included a prominent Filipino judge named Carlos, two Filipino doctors, four German brothers of the De La Salle Order, two Irish brothers of the same order and a Spanish family of four. The others were Filipino families and their servants. About half the victims were women and children.

Father Cosgrave said Brother Xavier, head of the college, was taken out and shot by the Japanese two days before the mass atrocity was committed. Father Cosgrave gave the name of one victim as Brother Leo, believed to have taught at De La Salle Academy in New York. Brother Leo was the first to die.

Father Cosgrave said one of the Filipino doctors only a few hours before had bound up a hip wound of the Japanese officer who came in and opened fire on the defenseless humans.

Father Cosgrave, born in Ireland, had lived most of his life in Australia. . .

In the ruined halls of De La Salle College in South Manila today I counted fifty bodies remaining of the seventy who were bayoneted by the Japanese last Monday.

The floor of the chapel was red with the blood of three Christian Brothers who had died in front of the altar. Their bodies were sprawled grotesquely against the pews. Between two of them lay the slashed body of a boy of eight or ten. Another of these brothers who had devoted their lives to teach-

ing had fallen half way down the aisle, probably as he crawled forward to die before the tabernacle. Five more bodies, including two women, were heaped at the rear of the chapel.

The trail of victims led down a broad stairway to the ground floor, a stairway of thirty steps, all slippery with blood. Men, women and children, and more brothers in their dark brown habits, were piled at two turns in the stairway. Some were lying on blood-drenched mattresses.

No mass was celebrated this morning in De La Salle Chapel. The sunlight poured through shattered windows. From a mile away came the crump of bursting shells and the chatter of machine guns. The stench was overpowering.

—*Frank Kelly, "New York Herald Tribune" Correspondent, Manila, February 18, 1945.*

## CHAPTER THREE

# Disarming the Aggressor

### I—It Is Essential to Break the Aggressor Mentality

1. The minds of the Japanese militarists are crazed with this sort of dream. Their so-called "New Order in East Asia" is the phrase in which they express their determination to see all the countries on the shores of the Pacific and all the peoples of Asia acknowledge their overlordship. So they plunge into mad adventures and throw themselves toward ruin. Their nature, however, is such that save on the point of extinction they will never realize the error of their ways. Aware of this, China is resolved to fight not only to smash their scheme of conquest in so far as it applies to her, but also to shatter their hope of subduing the rest of Asia. China is the most ancient and the largest Asiatic country. Without her, East Asia would dissolve. She has not, therefore, shrunk from assuming responsibility for the stability of East Asia.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, October 10, 1940.*

2. That Japanese military machine and military caste and military system must be utterly crushed, their credit and predominance must be utterly broken, for the future safety and welfare of the United States and of the United Nations and for the future safety and welfare of civilization and humanity.

—*Joseph C. Grew, Former U. S. Ambassador to Japan, August 30, 1942.*

3. We should all realize that we can never bring Japan to her senses by inflicting only a partial defeat on her, still less by merely defeating her Axis partners in Europe, as some might believe. It will be useful for all of us to heed the warning of Ambassador Grew, and to fight hard for the total defeat of Japan.

—*Wang Shib-chieh, Chinese Minister of Information, Chungking, China, September 15, 1942.*

4. The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

—*Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, October 12, 1942.*

5. President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Prime Minis-

ter Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, have completed a conference in North Africa. The following general statement was issued:

The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan.

The three great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land, and air. This pressure is already rising. The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

With these objects in view, the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan.

—*Joint Communique, Cairo, December 1, 1943.*

## II—Japan Claims the Right To Dominate Her Neighbors

1. Owing to the special position of Japan in her relations with China, her view and attitude respecting matters that concern China may not agree at every point with those of foreign nations, but it must be realized that Japan is called upon to exert the utmost effort in carrying out her mission and fulfilling her special responsibilities in Eastern Asia.

Japan has been compelled to withdraw from the League of Nations because of failure to agree in opinions on the fundamental principles of preserving peace in Eastern Asia. Although Japan's attitude toward China may, at times, differ from that of foreign countries, such a difference cannot be evaded, owing to Japan's position and mission. . . .

Japan, therefore, must object to such undertakings [as may endanger her position] as a matter of principle, although she will not find it necessary to interfere with any foreign country's negotiating individually with China on questions of finance or trade as long as such negotiations benefit China and are not detrimental to peace in Eastern Asia.

However, the supplying to China of war planes, the building of airdromes in China and the detailing of military instructors and advisers to China, or the contracting of a loan to provide funds for political uses would obviously tend to alienate the friendly relations between Japan and China and other countries and to disturb the peace and order of Eastern Asia. Japan will oppose such projects.

The foregoing attitude of Japan should be clear from the policies she has pursued in the past, but on account of the fact that positive movements for joint action in China by foreign Powers, under one pretext or another, are reported to be on foot, it is deemed not inappropriate to reiterate her policy at this time.

—*Official Spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office, April 17, 1934.*

2. And then the ruthless Japanese invader struck. He wrecked the economic structure on which our nation had been built and sought to destroy our liberties. He inflated our currency with worthless Japanese money. He disrupted our communications. He plundered the wealth of our farms and our factories, our forests and our mines. He conscripted laborers for his own purpose. He forced upon our people his ideas of regimentation and totalitarianism, and substituted violence, suspicion, and terror for order, confidence and peace.

—*Sergio Osmena, President, Commonwealth of the Philippines, November 15, 1944.*

3. The hordes of imperialist Japan, like the [Fascist] cohorts in Europe, invaded the Philippines in their insatiable thirst for domination and exploitation. They have attempted to enslave our country and block our march to independence. For a time, dazzled by their easy victories, they dreamed of consolidating their conquests in the Pacific and in Asia. . . . Aside from robbing us of our material wealth, Japan has sought to destroy our Christian civilization, our orderly and democratic way of life and our individual and national freedom.

—*Sergio Osmena, President, Commonwealth of the Philippines, upon resumption of civil government in Leyte, November 1944.*

4. We cannot close our eyes to the realities of the Japanese occupation. It is cruel and harsh. An arbitrary government has been imposed on the Filipino people by the sword, and the initial misfortune of American and Filipino arms left the majority of eighteen million Filipinos no other recourse but to submit to a despotic regime if they were to survive.

—*Sergio Osmena, President, Commonwealth of the Philippines, November 23, 1944.*

### III—Japan Can Not Be Trusted

1. Perhaps the biggest single problem of the Pacific Area that will confront the United Nations will be that of deciding what is to be done about

Japan once she is defeated and her military power destroyed. It may be taken as axiomatic, of course, that Japan must be completely disarmed, that the power and influence of her militaristic rulers must be broken permanently, that the possibility of further aggression must be effectively prevented, and that she should make due recompense, in so far as this is economically feasible, for the great harm she has done to China and the other areas which have suffered from her ruthless occupation.

—*Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States, 1943.*

2. . . . There must be an immediate and complete disarmament of Japan. Japan cannot be trusted with the weapons of war. Her war factories must be demolished and her system of military service must be abolished.

. . . It will be necessary to maintain control for a number of years over her heavy industries in order to prevent Japan from secretly rearming.

—*H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance of China, June 30, 1944.*

3. The word and the honor of Japan cannot be trusted . . . whether or not the people of Japan itself know and approve of what their war lords and their home lords have done for nearly a century, the fact remains that they seem to be giving hearty approval to the Japanese policy of acquisition of their neighbors and their neighbors' lands and a military and economic control of as many other nations as they can lay their hands on. It is an unfortunate fact that other nations cannot trust Japan. It is an unfortunate fact that years of proof must pass before we can trust Japan, and before we can classify Japan as a member of the society of nations which seeks permanent peace and whose word we can take.

—*Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, August, 1944.*

# The Danger to World Security of Japan's Economic Aggression

## I—Japan Developed Economic Exploitation as a Weapon

1. The new order (in East Asia) envisages a certain degree of economic cohesion and co-ordination between Japan, Manchukuo and China, and the formation of a single economic unit in the presence of the similar units which already exist elsewhere and which are both powerful and self-sufficing. Although the term "bloc economy" is frequently applied to such an arrangement, the proposed unit in East Asia is by no means to be a system of closed trade.

However, it is most natural and proper that the two neighbor nations closely bound together by the ties of race and culture — Japan, poor in natural resources and without a large domestic market, and China, still economically weak — should work together in order to ensure their independence as regards vital supplies as well as their markets in times of emergency. Within these limits, it must be admitted that the economic activities of the countries which lie outside the limits of East Asia would have to be regulated.

—*Hachiro Arita, Japanese Foreign Minister, December 19, 1938.*

2. We hear such slogans as "economic unity" and "economic bloc." This idea has been promoted for many years by the Japanese and has had considerable influence. It is essential to the proposed "homogeneity of East Asia." On the slogan they have rung many changes; now speaking of "economic reciprocity" and again of "economic co-operation." In the manifesto of the Japanese government issued on November 3, "economic union" is used. In the latter part of November enemy newspapers printed the headline, "Japan, Manchukuo, and China are to form an economic unit and henceforth share a common fate." In his statement of December 19, Arita said, "Japan has decided to convene an economic conference in order to bring about close economic collaboration between Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China, and to strengthen the idea of economic union."

What is called an "economic bloc" is in reality economic exploitation. Such instruments of economic aggression as the North China Development Company and the Central China Development Company have been set up for some time. Conversations on economic matters have been held more than

once by self-styled representatives of "Manchukuo" and China with officials of Japan. Two days after Konoye's statement, what the Japanese call their Planning Board adopted a resolution urging "the expansion of the productive capacity of Japan, 'Manchukuo,' and China." This "economic bloc" is designed to be the means not only of controlling our Customs revenue and finance and of monopolizing our production and trade, but also of gradually limiting the individual freedom of our people even in regard to food and clothing, residence and travel. The Japanese are to have power over life and death, the power of binding and loosening; we are to become their slaves and their chattels. We are to have our substance devoured by tyrants.

Finally, we learn of the "Asia Development Board" set up as a result of agitation for a medium through which Japan could deal with China. The China Affairs Council projected previously has now given way to this. The arrogant inclusiveness of the new name is a flagrant insult to all the peoples of Asia. Japan is bent not simply on ruining and dismembering China; her ambition for conquest now extends to the entire continent of Asia.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, December 26, 1938.*

3. If we are to embark on the creation of a new order in East Asia through the mutual assistance and solidarity of Japan, Manchukuo and China it will, of course, be necessary to enforce certain restrictions and regulations in spheres having a vital bearing upon the national defense and economic independence of the three countries.

—*Hachiro Arita, Japanese Foreign Minister, in address to Diet, January 21, 1939.*

4. The American people, from all the thoroughly reliable evidence that comes to them, have good reason to believe that an effort is being made to establish control, in Japan's own interest, of large areas on the continent of Asia, and to impose on those areas a system of closed economy.

—*Joseph C. Grew, United States Ambassador to Japan, in a speech to the Japan-America Society, Tokyo, October 19, 1939.*

5. The Japanese rejected assurance of the prosperity, the security, and the welfare for which they say they are fighting. . . . They attacked us because they did not want the prosperity of honest industry, fair trade, and sound finance. . . . They say that they want a so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere including the South Seas. . . . Co-Prosperity means quite simply, and reduced to its elemental connotation, economic, financial, military, political, absolute hegemony, and all that can be comprised and denoted by a single ugly word—"slavery." . . .

The Japanese militarists turned from one kind of economic system—the honest kind, based on a real exchange of goods, in which we and they had lived and dealt for more than eighty years—to another kind of economic system, devised and developed by their Axis partners in Europe. This other

kind is fundamentally dishonest, since it requires that the conquering power import without exporting. The economics of totalitarianism is wholesale robbery. Since Japan has invaded China, the Japanese can no longer deal with the Chinese on equitable terms. Therefore, the Japanese must go into China and take and take and take from the Chinese without giving them anything of value in exchange.

Even the Japanese militarists could not continue indefinitely a program of outright larcenies and burglaries. The robbery is reduced to a system. They have made that system resemble finance. Like our finance, it deals with money. Like ours it uses the familiar terms of cash, credit, loans, stock companies, government subsidies, traffic, taxes, and so on. Like ours, it tries to fit the habits by which all modern men think and work. There the resemblance ceases. . . .

Once new territory was acquired, the Japanese invaders . . . built up a currency system that rested on the fiat of the Japanese army and issued bank notes payable only in death to anyone who did not honor them. With this currency, the Japanese military manipulated exchange so as to conduct trade on a ruthlessly unfair basis. They supplemented this with outright confiscation, or capital levies, or simply with the murder of the property owners and the enslavement of the workers. Japanese-run monopolies fixed prices on what their own people wanted at ridiculously low levels, and Japanese military patrols "bought" at these prices. On this basis, Japan was able to develop a flourishing flow into Japan of goods, until the occupied area was pumped dry. Then some concessions would be made, in an attempt to prime the pump and sink it deeper into the well.

By the standards of past European imperialism, this kind of development is not imperialism. It is stark international holdup. Nevertheless, it worked, and it is still working, and it will continue to supply Japan with materials until we go in and stop the flow with bullets, bombs and torpedoes. . . .

The financial system that Japan has created is one that violates all concepts of honest dealing—irrespective of the particular epoch or system. It is the mere mask for a predatory military oligarchy which neither comprehends nor approves the principles of honest exchange, of stable money, and of international good faith.

—Joseph C. Grew, former United States Ambassador to Japan, in  
"Report From Tokyo," 1942.

## II—Examples of Japan's Economic Aggression

1. EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to representations made by my Government to the Japanese Government on frequent occasions during the past three years regarding interference with American enterprise and trade in China by the local Japanese authorities as well as by local regimes under Japanese control. For the most part, those representations, in which my

Government has called attention with patience and persistence to the curtailment of American interests and rights, have received unsatisfactory replies from the Japanese Government. By virtue of a widespread system of exchange and trade controls in North China which culminated on June 28, 1940, in the institution of a complete and discriminatory control of exchange, American trade with that area has come to a virtual halt. . . . My Government has now learned that at Shanghai the Japanese military authorities intend within the near future to impose restrictive measures, with widespread exchange and trade control, which will affect nearly one-third of the export commerce of Shanghai with countries outside the yen bloc, among which measures will be the requirement that exchange produced by the export of specified commodities shall be disposed of to Japanese banks, thus at one stroke injuring American banking enterprise as well as the American export and import trade. American enterprise having been practically eliminated from Manchuria, and American enterprise and trade in the North China area having been reduced to insignificant proportions, it now appears to be the intent of the military authorities of Japan to force American enterprise and trade out of Shanghai, the most important commercial center of China. . . .

—*Note from the American Ambassador to Foreign Minister Matsuoka, October 11, 1940.*

2. In the common interest of the United Nations, Japan must not be permitted to have undisputed possession of the territories she has seized in China and elsewhere, for with the help of time, she is accumulating added resources to continue the Axis war of aggression. The material she has commandeered during the past twelve months reaches staggering figures. From occupied territories within the Great Wall of China, on the average, every month, three million two hundred thousand tons of raw materials were shipped to Japan, whilst two million eight hundred thousand tons were shipped from the occupied territories in Manchuria to Japan. In addition, each month, she transported from territories inside the Great Wall two million three hundred thousand tons of material for the heavy industries she is building in Manchuria and other parts of Asia. In short, within the last year, Japan has seized and carried away, in round numbers, one hundred million tons of raw material for the use of her armed forces. This figure does not include the foodstuffs her army in China's occupied areas consumed. The importance of driving Japan from China can be further seen when we consider that from Malaya, Japan, the past year, had only shipped approximately six million tons, the ratio of about one to sixteen as compared with what she appropriated from China. She is continually consolidating her position as a vicious world threat and increasing her exploitation of China's resources, aimed at the United Nations.

—*Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, June 16, 1943.*

3. At least 340 Chinese factories in Japanese-controlled areas have been

taken over by the enemy who is now concentrating his efforts on the increase of production, particularly that of coal, iron and salt to make up for the insufficiency in those materials in Japan and in the Northeast (Manchuria), according to a survey published in a recent issue of the "Economic Reconstruction Quarterly."

The 340 factories do not include key enterprises such as power plants, public utilities, communications and telecommunications. Besides coal and iron mines the enemy has, with any excuse he can find, taken over light industries. The supply of raw materials and distribution of important products has been put under rigid control.

*Five Methods of Seizure:* It is pointed out in the survey that the thorough and ruthless manner in which the Japanese have forcibly taken over Chinese industries finds no precedent in the history of the exploitation of colonies. Summarized, the Japanese have used the following five methods in the seizure of Chinese enterprises:

(1) Controlled by the military. Following the occupation by Japanese forces of Chinese industrial and mining enterprises, the enemy Army Special Service section decides which should be placed under temporary army control and which should be entrusted to suitable Japanese firms for operation. As the army people are not well versed in the management of enterprises, the majority of those seized by the army are operated by Japanese firms. But the control remains with the army which can appoint new firms as it desires. All the power plants and mining enterprises seized by the army have been entrusted to Japanese government firms functioning in China.

(2) Operated by private Japanese firms. Chinese factories seized by private Japanese firms number 137, excluding silk filatures which are operated by a special Japanese firm. This number is broken down into the following categories:

Spinning and weaving mills .....	40
Flour mills .....	18
Docks .....	11
Paper manufacturing mills .....	9
Rubber factories .....	9
Tobacco factories .....	8
Dyeing and weaving mills .....	6
Hardware factories .....	5
Machine shops .....	4
Others (wool weaving, silk weaving, leather tanning, oil cracking, acid manufacturing, soap, paint, medicine, cement, sugar manufacturing, button making, electrical appliances, hat and alcohol distillery factories.....	27

(3) Operated by "joint interests." More than seventy Chinese factories are being operated under the so-called joint Sino-Japanese interests, but most of

them have been seized by the Japanese, with the Chinese owners forced to give the Japanese controlling interest in their enterprises. Of this figure, chemical factories number 27; hardware and machine shops 10; foodstuffs factories 9 and others 26. The total does not include a number of power plants, steamship companies, go-downs, bus companies, coal and iron mines and other enterprises which are being solely operated by Japanese national firms under the name of "joint" Sino-Japanese concerns.

(4) "Leased" to the Japanese. In Central China alone factories said to have been leased to the Japanese number 31, including 9 machine shops, 7 textile factories, 6 chemical factories and 9 others. No figures are available as to the actual number of factories "leased" to the Japanese.

(5) "Bought" by the Japanese. So far as known more than twenty Chinese factories in Central and North China have been bought by the Japanese at extremely low prices. The actual number of factories thus seized by the Japanese far exceeds that known at present.

*Central China Development Co.:* Japan's headquarters for the economic exploitation in the Yangtze Valley is the Central China Development Company, under which are fourteen subsidiary companies in charge of industrial and mining enterprises as well as communication developments. . . .

The Central China Development Company was created in April 1938, capitalized originally at 100,000,000 yen. Kodama, well-known Japanese financier who had been president of the Yokohama Specie Bank, came to China last January and worked out an outline governing the administration of the company and its fourteen subsidiary companies. This outline includes five points:

(1) Private capital in the occupied regions should be collected to strengthen the company.

(2) All the fourteen companies should be placed under the direct control of the Central China Development Company.

(3) All commercial and industrial capital, both Chinese and Japanese should be centralized. The capitals of the fourteen subsidiary companies were then placed in the hands of the company and were later redistributed to the different companies as working capital.

(4) Measures should be adopted to increase the production for military use.

(5) Production for the maintenance of the people's livelihood should be considered as of secondary importance. . . .

The fourteen subsidiary companies under the Central China Development Company control almost every fiber of the economic life in the Yangtze region. The Central China Railway Company controls the Nanking-Shanghai, Shanghai-Hangchow, Soochow-Kiashing, Tientsin-Pukow, Hwainan and other railways in Central China in addition to nearly 3,000 kilometers of highway. All these rightfully belong to the Chinese Government. This company is capitalized at 56,000,000 yen. . . .

Among the mining companies under the Japanese Central China Development Company the most important is the Central China Mining Company capitalized at 20,000,000 yen. It controls the mining fields along the Yangtze and Chientang Rivers and in the Lake Tai region. . . .

The Shanghai Realty Company is capitalized at 20,000,000 yen. It has thus far forcibly purchased 6,700,000 square meters of land in the Kiangwan-Woosung area for the creation of the so-called "New Civic Center." After the outbreak of the Pacific War American and British property was taken over by this company. The Greater Shanghai Gas Company, established with a capital of 3,000,000 yen, was greatly strengthened by the seizure of the British Shanghai Gas Company. . . .

The Central China Marine Products Company is the organ for the oppression of thousands of Chinese fishermen along the seacoast. Its function is to control fishery for the benefit of Japanese fishermen and their puppets.

Puppet Wang Ching-wei's Ministry of Industry and Ministry of Communications are practically under the orders of the Central China Development Company. They serve merely as propaganda organs for the promotion of "economic co-operation" between China and Japan.

The two instruments of Japan's exploitation of Manchuria are the South Manchuria Railway Company and the Manchurian Heavy Industry Company. Before the Manchurian outrage of 1931 the South Manchuria Railway Company was engaged in the development of railway, mining, industrial and harbor enterprises in the three Northeastern Provinces. Since 1937, when the Manchurian Heavy Industry Company was created, the Japanese railway company has been engaged in railway, mining and economic enterprises not only in Manchuria but also in North China.

*South Manchuria Railway Co.:* The South Manchuria Railway Company was founded in 1906, two years after Japan defeated Czarist Russia and took over the latter's railway enterprise in Southern Manchuria. Its purpose was to realize the "Continental Policy" through the development of railway and related enterprises. It was first capitalized at 200 million yen, increased to 440 million yen in 1920, 800 million yen in 1933, 1,400 million yen in 1939, and about two billion yen, or a half of the total Japanese investment in Manchuria, in 1942. . . .

Before the creation of the Manchurian Heavy Industry Company the South Manchuria Railway Company invested in chemical, navigation, electrical engineering, transportation and civil engineering enterprises in the Northeast in addition to railway business. . . .

The largest mining enterprise the South Manchuria Railway Company manages is the Fushun coal mine, with a deposit of one billion tons. Among other coal mines the company controls is the Chefoo coal mine with a deposit of twenty million tons. The company's coal mines produce about ten million tons of coal a year. Petroleum is also being extracted, and there is a total deposit of about 5,400,000,000 tons and a yearly production of hundreds of thousands of tons. . . .

The South Manchuria Railway Company has invested in about seventy industrial enterprises amounting to nearly four hundred million yen. These enterprises include all kinds of industries, many of them created after the 1937 North China attack.

*Manchurian Heavy Industry Co.:* The Manchurian Heavy Industry Company was inaugurated in December, 1937, under the direction of Gisuke Oikawa, president of the Japanese Industrial Company. Capitalized at 450 million yen the company's job was to establish airplane and automobile factories. It first took over the five existing Manchurian companies, namely the Showa Steel Refining Company, the Manchurian Coal Company, the Manchurian Metallic Manufacturing Company, the Tungho Automobile Company and the Manchurian Gold Mining Company. . . .

In 1939 the Manchurian Heavy Industry Company opened the Manchurian Mining Company, the Manchurian Airplane Manufacturing Company, the Eastern Frontier Development Company, the Manchuria Automobile Manufacturing Company and Hsieh-ho Iron Works. Later the Tenkihu Iron and Steel Company was also placed under its control.

The Manchurian Heavy Industry Company is composed of eight departments, in charge of general affairs, supervision, liaison, finance, airplane, automobile, light metal, iron and steel and coal. Its exploitation enterprises are regarded by the Japanese as one of the major tools for the prosecution of their aggressive activities both on the continent and in the Pacific.

—*Chinese Government Short-wave Radio, August, 1943.* [Quoted in "China At War," Vol. XI, No. 3, Sept., 1943.]

### III—Japan Fosters the Drug Traffic

1. According to a Japanese official communique issued last year, registered opium addicts in the four North-Eastern Provinces numbered 13,000,000, representing more than one-third of the total population there. In North China, heroin, morphine, cocaine, and other drugs are produced on a large scale, besides opium. In the Japanese concession in Tientsin, more than a thousand firms are selling these narcotics, and more than two hundred factories, employing 10,000 workmen, are engaged day and night in producing these murderous drugs. Beyond the north bank of the Yellow River, in the lower reaches of the Yangtze, in the south of Fukien, in the north of Kiangsu—in a word, wherever the Japanese have set their foot, the places are soon flooded with narcotics.

—*Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, August 13, 1938.*

2. In Hankow, three good-sized drug manufacturing plants had been

operated in the Japanese Concession under the eyes and the patronage of the Japanese consul and police.

—*Report of the Chinese Government to the League of Nations, 1936.\**

3. Dr. Wu Lien Teh, Director of the Chinese National Quarantine, reported that he saw, as the Tientsin-Pukow train carried him northward, in the pale faces of the farmers, shopkeepers and gentry, that morphine had ruined them physically and mentally. The sunken cheeks, stooped shoulders and the bloodless countenances of a large section of the North China population revealed eloquently a tragic tale of the weapon used in degenerating the Chinese race. The customs officials report that daily a large group of traffickers, carrying their diabolic cargoes of drugs, travel freely from Mukden to Tientsin and other points in North China, where the "painless killers" are sold at low prices to ignorant Chinese peasants and shopkeepers. . . .

—*Report of the Chinese Government to the League of Nations, 1936.*

4. For over thirty years, there has been active co-operation among governments aiming at the restriction of the use of manufactured drugs to legitimate medical and scientific purposes; the gradual suppression of opium smoking; the limitation of the world's opium cultivation and morphine and heroin manufacture to legitimate needs; and the supervision of domestic and international trade in narcotics, so that there may be no leakage into the illicit traffic.

The success or failure of these international measures depends entirely on the loyalty with which Governments abide by their obligations. Japan is a party to all the agreements and conventions mentioned above; yet, with a total disregard of our obligations, she is promoting a policy in occupied China which not only encourages the consumption of drugs by the native population but allows vast quantities to pass into the illicit international trade. No less than 90% of all the illicit white drugs of the world are estimated to come from these areas.

—*Minutes of the 22nd session of the League of Nations Opium Committee, 1937. Statement of the Egyptian delegate.*

5. The Japanese Concession in Tientsin is now known as the nerve centre of heroin manufacture and addiction of the world. . . . Not less than 200 heroin factories are scattered over the Japanese Concession, which is only about four square miles in size. Over 1,800 Japanese experts and 10,000 Chinese workmen are engaged in the manufacture of heroin. As the business is extremely profitable and the supply of raw material abundant, new factories are starting daily; the factories are working perfectly openly.

—*Minutes of the 22nd Session, 1937. Statement by Russel Pasha (Egypt), quoting an eye-witness account.*

\*This and the following items are drawn from the Proceedings of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, 1936-1940.

6. The province of Hopei, in which Peiping, Tientsin and the so-called demilitarized zone are located, has become the seat of the world's most extensive manufacture of illicit heroin. The conditions in Peiping, Tientsin and Eastern Hopei are appalling and beyond description. In Hopei the traffic is engineered and controlled by Japanese and Koreans.

—*Minutes of the 22nd Session, 1937, Statement by the United States Representative.*

7. In a period of some fifteen months, 650 Kilogrammes of heroin were exported to the United States from the Japanese Concession in Tientsin by a single one of the several gangs operating in this trade. They experienced no difficulties whatever in purchasing in that Concession all the heroin that they desired. As you are aware, 650 Kilogrammes constitutes about two-thirds of the entire world's legitimate need for heroin for a year. It represents . . . ten million grains. Adulterated to the 10% purity now generally met with in the illicit traffic in the U. S. A. this would amount to one hundred million grains of the adulterated product, enough to supply some 10,000 addicts for a year—ten thousand of my countrymen held for a year in a slavery worse than death because those in control in North China fail to meet their obligation to limit the manufacture and control the distribution of narcotic drugs, while the regime in control in Manchuria itself manufactures and supplies the raw material. . . . Pure heroin has an illicit value of one dollar per grain in the United States. Ten thousand poor wretched addicts pay three dollars per day each for three grains of heroin—thirty thousand dollars per day or approximately ten million dollars a year wasted as a result of the operation of only one of several gangs.

—*Minutes of the 23rd Session, 1938. Report by the United States Representative.*

8. The Peiping (Peking) "Provisional Government" took a hand in the narcotics situation soon after the establishment of the regime. By its order No. 33 of February 24, 1938, it rescinded the Chinese Central Government's provisional anti-opium and anti-narcotic laws and regulations, and all persons who were being detained under these laws and regulations were promptly released from custody. . . . It is reliably reported that the only restriction existing in Peiping in regard to establishing shops for the sale and/or smoking of opium is the payment of taxes. As a result, there were estimated to be some 300 such establishments in Peiping in October 1938. Heroin was also being sold at that time in many places in the city, with no evidence of any effort being made to stamp out the trade. By March 1939, the number of opium shops in Peiping was reported to have increased to more than 500. . . . Although opium derivatives are banned from sale in licensed shops, it is reported that morphine, heroin and both red and blue pills are comparatively easily obtainable.

—*Minutes of the 24th Session of the League of Nations Opium Advisory Committee, 1939. Statement by the United States Representative.*

9. The Japanese military authorities hoped that the Opium Monopoly would bring in a revenue of \$300,000,000 a year. Before the adoption of the Chinese Government's Six-Year Plan for abolishing opium cultivation the figure for the whole of China was only \$20,000,000.

—*Minutes of the 24th Session, 1939. Statement by the Chinese delegate.*

10. The establishment of an opium sales monopoly was one of the first steps taken by the Japanese armies in the occupied territories. In April 1939 there were 16 retail shops and 80 opium divans in the city of Amoy and 4 shops and 33 divans in the suburbs. The profits of the Amoy monopoly were shared between the Japanese navy, the Japanese Consulate and the puppet government.

—*Report on 25th Session, 1940. Statement by the Chinese Delegate.*

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