



E-ASIA
university of oregon libraries

<http://e-asia.uoregon.edu>

SECTION 8. Recent History of World Politics (in Japanese), Yoshita, pp. 388-398; Diplomatic History of Recent Times (in Japanese), Ashita, vol. 3, pp. 738-861; Conference on Limitation of Armaments, Washington, 1921-22, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London; Jiji Year Book for 1931 (in Japanese), pp. 185-193; Tanaka Plan.

SECTION 9. Diplomatic History of Recent Times, Ashita, vol. 2, pp. 572-581; vol. 3, pp. 1075-1335; Chosun Il Po (a Korean Daily News in Korean language, published in Seoul, Korea); Dong Kwang (a Korean monthly in Korean, published in Korea in 1931-32); Tokyo Asahi Shimbun (a Japanese daily news, published in Tokyo); Gaiko Jiho (Revue Diplomatique), (in Japanese), years 1931-36.

SECTION 10. The Korean Volunteers Bulletin (in Chinese), published in Chungking, China; The New Korea (in Korean language), published in Los Angeles, California; Jiji Year Book (in Japanese), the year 1938, pp. 145-169; the year 1939, pp. 154-172; the year 1940, pp. 149-164; Tokyo Asahi Shimbun (daily newspaper in Japanese), published in Tokyo; Gaiko Jiho (Revue Diplomatique) from the year 1935 to the present.

SECTION 11. Jiji Year Book, the years 1939, 1940, 1941; Gaiko-Jiho (in Japanese), published in the years 1939, 1940, 1941; Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, from the year 1939 up to today; the New Korea (in Korean), published in Los Angeles, Calif.; the Nippon Hyoron, a Japanese monthly, published in Japan, in March, 1941.

SECTION 12. The Korean Volunteers Bulletin, published in Chungking, China, in Chinese; the New Korea, published in Los Angeles, California, in Korean; the Case of Korea, Henry Chung; Rebirth of Korea (in English), Hugh Cynn.

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

(For the issues of the Korean Research Bulletin in 1943)

(a) The following articles are to appear:

- On Japan's Foreign, Military, and Naval Policies
by Sae Woon Chang, Ph.D.
- Sketch of Geography of Korea; Arab Geographer on Korea; Sketch of
General and Cultural History of Korea by Kei Won Chung, Ph.D.
- Rural Geographic Landscapes in Korea by Shannon McCune, Ph.D.
- Political Relations in the First Decade of the Present Century Between
Korea and the United States of America by K. S. Yum, Ph.D.
- Military Hygiene by C. S. Kim, M.D.
- Elementary Education in Korea by S. H. Cho, Ph.D.
- Oriental Ways and Occidental Ways by Rev. John Starr Kim, Th.M.
- Korean Ballads by Kenneth S. Young, M.Mus.

(b) The following contributions may also appear:

- A Critical Study of Mortality in Appendicitis
by Daniel K. Hur, M.D.
- Reviews of Some Articles of Some Outstanding Periodicals Published
in the Far East and in U. S. A. by Sae Woon Chang and Others
- On Korean Music of the Past and Present
by Kenneth S. Young and Others
- On Literature of the Far East by Professor Younghil Kang
- On Modern Political Movements in Korea
by Sae Woon Chang and Others
- Biographies of Famous Men of Korea by Kei Won Chung and Others



KOREAN RESEARCH BULLETIN

VOL. 1

JANUARY, 1943

NO. 1

Japan's Foreign Policy and Its Setting in the World of Today

by

SAE WOON CHANG, Ph.D.



25 CENTS A COPY

Published by
KOREAN RESEARCH COUNCIL

OFFICERS OF KOREAN RESEARCH COUNCIL

(1) BOARD OF DIRECTORS

KEI WON CHUNG, Ph.D. - - - - - *Chairman*
Gest Oriental Library, Princeton, N. J.

K. S. YUM, Ph.D.
Faculty Exchange 183, the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

C. S. KIM, M.D.
604 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

SAE WOON CHANG, Ph.D.
1287 West 36th Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

(Note: From one to five more members will be added)

(2) EXECUTIVE BOARD

SAE WOON CHANG, Executive Director of the Council, and
Publisher and Editor of Korean Research Bulletin
1287 West 36th Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

(EDITORIAL STAFF: Sae Woon Chang, Kei Won Chung, K. S. Yum, C. S. Kim, Kenneth S. Young, M.Mus., and John Starr Kim, Th.M.)

The Korean Research Bulletin is printed at Los Angeles, Calif.

PREFACE

In issuing this first number, it seems desirable to make a few statements about the organization in the name of which this periodical is issued, and about the nature of the periodical itself.

Korean students, many of whom are graduates of colleges and universities in Korea, in China, or in Japan, have come in considerable numbers to the United States of America to further their studies in their own special fields. They would have gone back to their homeland to serve their own people with their new and improved professional equipment except for political oppression, economic strangulation, and severe restrictions on the freedoms of religion and expression of thought under the present Japanese administration in Korea. The Korean Research Council is organized mainly by these Korean scholars.

The aim of the Council is to promote individual research in various fields of science, literature, art, and so forth, especially in those connected with problems in the Far East, and to help make known the results of research and study through this publication.

The Bulletin will be published from time to time, at least quarterly, by the Korean Research Council. The Bulletin will be open for the presentation of various political, economic, religious, or other viewpoints, and the Council only insists that the contributions should be of sound scholarship. It should also be stated that whatever views may be expressed in articles in this Bulletin are those of the contributors; neither the Council nor the Editorial Staff of the Bulletin is in any way responsible for the views expressed.

The Council is confident that the contributions appearing in this Bulletin will be unique and valuable, especially in the field of humanistic and social sciences, dealing with the civilizations of the Far East. One reason for this confidence lies in the fact that most of the Korean contributors are quite familiar with the language and culture of Korea as well as those of China and Japan.

The writer wishes to express his sincere appreciation to many university libraries, to public libraries, and to American scholars for their friendly cooperation.

SAE WOON CHANG,
Executive Director
of the Korean Research Council.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS SETTING IN THE WORLD OF TODAY

By SAE WOON CHANG, Ph.D.
(Written before November 15, 1941)

CONTENTS

1. Introduction	5
2. A Phase of Important Structure of the Japanese Government	5
3. The Fundamentals of the Foreign Policies of Japan	7
4. Opening of the State, the Restoration, and Sino-Japanese War	8
5. The First and Second Treaties of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; the Russo-Japanese War	9
6. Annexation of Korea	12
7. The Third Treaty of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; the First World War	13
8. The Washington Conference; the London Conference	14
9. Invasion of Manchuria; withdrawal from the League of Nations; Abrogation of Naval Treaties	16
10. The Present Sino-Japanese War	18
11. The Second World War and the Position of Japan	22
12. The Korean Problem	27
13. Conclusion	29
14. References	31

1. INTRODUCTION.

If one wishes to learn about such complicated and delicate problems as now exist among the powers in the Pacific, then he must not neglect to study the fundamental foreign policies of Japan which plays a large role in the power politics in the Pacific. The aim of this paper is to study a phase of some important structure of the Japanese government (section 2), to study some fundamental Japanese foreign policies (section 3), and to study a brief historical development of the main Japanese foreign policies of recent times (sections 4-13). In reviewing the steps of the growth of the empire during the last half a century, there are three different periods: an aggrandizement of the empire through cooperation with the British Empire and the United States of America up to 1920, a preparation period for future aggression up to 1931, and an expansion of the empire against the wills of leading powers of the world, especially, against the United States, since 1931. If it is possible, in separate papers, some Japanese foreign policies will be studied in detail; this short paper may therefore be regarded as an introduction to a series of articles on some Japanese foreign policies.

2. A PHASE OF IMPORTANT STRUCTURE OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

Let us first study a few articles of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan.

"Article 3. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable."

"Article 4. The Emperor is the head of the empire combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them according to the provisions of the present constitution."

The Emperor is regarded as God, and is theoretically the highest organ of the state, above all powers, namely, legislative power, judicial power, and executive power.

"Article 13. The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties."

According to this article, declaration of war, conclusion of peace and of treaties with other nations are the exclusive rights of the Sovereign, concerning which no consent of the Diet is required.

"Article 11. The Emperor has the supreme command of the army and navy."

"Article 12. The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the army and navy."

As the Emperor commands the army and navy, His orders do not have to be countersigned by any minister of the state.

According to articles 33 and 34 of the Constitution, the Imperial Diet of Japan has two houses: One is the House of Representatives, composed of representatives elected by the people according to the provisions of the Law of Election; the other is the House of Peers, composed of the members of the Imperial Family, princes, marquises, elected peers of lower ranks, appointed members of well-known men and scholars, and elected members of heavy tax payers. An important duty of the Diet is to consent to the annual budget and to the laws proposed by the Emperor before His action or after His action for emergency cases.

Beside the Diet, in determining the national policies of the empire, there are the Cabinet, the Privy Council, the Army General Staff, and the Naval General Staff.

According to article 55 of the Constitution and to a well-known unwritten law, a prime minister of the empire, not necessarily a responsible leader of a major political party, is appointed by the Emperor on a recommendation of the so-called "Genros"—the elder statesmen—provided the new premier is supported by important army and navy officers. The Emperor appoints also the other members of the Cabinet on a recommendation of the new premier. According to the Laws of the Organizations of the Army and Navy Departments, the minister of the army must be either a general or a lieutenant-general; and the minister of the navy, either an admiral or a vice-admiral.

According to article 56 of the Constitution and to the Law of the Organization of the Privy Council, the Privy Council is mainly composed of the privy councillors, appointed by the Emperor, and has the duty to advise the Emperor in making His final sanction of certain laws of the empire and of treaties with other nations. It has more power than the Diet in checkmating the Cabinet action on foreign policies.

Both the Army and the Naval General Staffs are responsible directly to the Emperor, and are entirely independent of each other and also even of the Cabinet.

The Emperor is theoretically the supreme ruler over the empire, but is regarded as irresponsible for any affairs of the empire, whether they be handled poorly or well. For example, in running the foreign affairs of the empire, the real responsibilities rest with the three almost entirely independent executive offices, the Cabinet, the Army General Staff, and the Naval General Staff.

As a further instance, in case of a disagreement between the Cabinet and the Army General Staff, the home of militarists, on matters of armed forces or on those of some foreign affairs, the winner is usually the General Staff. In order to protest against a decision made by the Cabinet, the minister of the army resigns from his post. It brings a Cabinet crisis, and usually a resignation of the Cabinet in a body. As mentioned above, a new premier must find a ranking army officer as the minister of the army; but an army officer does not in general venture to secure the post without the backing of the General Staff. Therefore, no new Cabinet can be formed against the will of either Staff. When some kinds of firm disagreements exist among the militarists themselves, they never hesitate to use violent means to settle their differences.

Army men play more important roles in the Japanese politics than

navy men. The Army General Staff itself, or a group of officers who have power to control the Staff, acts freely on a military operation, which may endanger international relations, without any kind of consent from, or of consultation with, the Cabinet. Most of the Japanese foreign policies of recent times are not designed by civil statesmen or by diplomats, but by the militarists.

3. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF JAPAN.

For a long time after the middle of the nineteenth century, the main task of the empire was the "Restoration," the building of a strong centralized government under the name of Emperor. For that purpose, since that time, Japanese subjects have been taught fanatically in schools and in society that the Emperor was a divine being, that His main will was to expand the empire in every way possible, and that it was necessary that every subject devote himself to the fulfillment of the will. The militarists, especially, have preached this story as the main national policy of Japan to the present time. As a result, they have gained some of their goals, such as the territorial expansion.

The militarists are not satisfied yet; they are, and have been for a long time, increasing their eagerness and energies, and waiting for a favorable opportunity to grab another piece of territory from another nation, irrespective of the fact that the Japanese government has promised many times to guarantee other nations' rights.

The fundamental foreign policy of Japan has been imperialism, to expand her territory and economic sphere. At the beginning of her imperial policy, Japan had only a well organized army, no powerful navy, so she naturally took the course of the northward expansion. Later as soon as her navy became powerful, she yearned for a southward advance. The northward expansion policy has been supported mainly by the army; the southward policy, by the navy. Thus one, either the army or the navy, could get a larger share of the national budget than the other according to its greater success.

In the route of the northward advance, there was the Kingdom of Korea located between Japan and the main land of Asia; beyond that kingdom stood two powerful empires, China and Russia. In the other direction of advance, she was in conflict with the interests of the British Empire, the United States of America, France, and the Netherlands. So she took at first the easier course, the northward program. During the early part of her advance, she was encouraged and supported by some powers which had interests in the Pacific; later the number of nations supporting her program has been diminished gradually.

The motive of the Japanese imperialism was at first a primitive, feudalistic idea—national heroism; but it has been changed in some degree. The Japanese statesmen have long since insisted that Japan's territory was too small for her rapidly increasing population. She has grown from a farming land into an industrialized country; she employs her increased subjects in her industrial factories; but she is much dissatisfied, as she insists, with her new situation as to over population.

As an industrialized country, she has been searching for commercial markets for her manufactured goods, and seeking some new fields in which

to obtain for her factories important raw materials—coal, iron, rubber, oil, cotton, tin, etc. Moreover, she has been looking for suitable bases for her commercial and naval vessels, and dreaming for some colonies in which to invest her surplus capital.

By the northward advance, she has obtained some coal and iron fields, and some commercial markets; but since the present adventure in China has not been as successful as she had expected it to be, she has really been anxious to change her direction of advance in order to obtain vital raw materials—oil, rubber, etc.; without securing such vital materials, her expansion program would not be regarded as fulfilled.

She has resolved already to solve the national problem by the use of force; so she has been doing her best to equip and train her armed forces, and waiting for a suitable opportunity to use them to advantage. One must not forget the fact that she is now a powerful naval power as well as a ranking military power.

4. OPENING OF THE STATE, THE RESTORATION, AND SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese came to Japan; later came the Spaniards, who were usually taking voyages between Mexico and the Philippines; they were not welcomed by the Japanese because the Japanese considered them as aggressors. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch came to Japan; they were regarded as friendly people and welcomed to live in a limited locality near Nagasaki; they were the only western people who could trade with the Japanese, and from whom the Japanese could learn the western civilization.

During the seventeenth century, the Russians were progressing successfully in territorial expansion through Siberia toward the Pacific; since then there were some disputes between Russia and Japan over islands near the Siberian coasts. In 1804, a proposal of a commercial treaty from the Russian government was said to have been rejected by Japan; as a result, some northern islands near the Siberian coasts, which were supposed to be a part of Japan, were invaded by the Russian fleet on its way home from Japan. This kind of pressure led many Japanese statesmen to think it desirable to open the country for the western powers.

In 1854, Japan concluded for the first time in her history a formal treaty with the United States of America, the so-called "Perry Treaty." Later, Japan concluded commercial treaties with England, Russia, the Netherlands, etc.

The Restoration of Japan began in 1868, at the very beginning of the reign of Emperor Meiji. Within about five years, the feudal system disappeared, and a centralized government was established under the name of the Emperor. Even during this period, an invasion of the Kingdom of Korea was discussed by some Japanese leaders. As a first step, Japan was looking for an opportunity to drive the Chinese influence out of Korea.

The Japanese and Chinese representatives signed an agreement in Tientsin, China, on April 18, 1885; by this agreement, both contracting parties were bound to withdraw their troops, stationed in Korea, and to notify the other contracting party in case one party intended to send its troops into Korea.

In March, 1894, there developed in Korea a great religious-political uprising, the so-called "Dong Hak Nan." The Korean Government tried for months without success with its small standing army to suppress the uprising. China was asked by the Korean Government for military help to suppress the uprising; so a Chinese army was sent to Korea on June 7, 1894, as the answer. The Japanese Government did not lose this good opportunity to condemn China for her action, and to dispatch Japanese troops immediately into Korea.

In the meantime, the uprising in Korea was quieted down; but the two powers' troops still remained in Korea. The situation became quite unpleasant to the Koreans. The Japanese raised the question of the sovereignty of Korea; this conception was not strongly impressed in the Koreans' minds because Korea had been quiet and alone for many centuries. At last, Japan declared war on China on August 1, 1894, under the pretense of desiring to free Korea from the yoke of China.

The Korean Government was persuaded to sign an alliance treaty with Japan in order to drive the Chinese influence out of Korea; so an alliance treaty between Korea and Japan was concluded on August 26, 1894.

Not only the Chinese expeditionary force in Korea was beaten and driven out of Korea, but also the Chinese Northern Fleet was crushed at the Yellow Sea by a Japanese fleet; so China was forced to ask Japan for peace.

A peace treaty between the two belligerents was signed on April 17, 1895. The important points were: Korea was to be recognized as an independent nation; the Liaotung Peninsula (the southern tip of Manchuria), the Island of Formosa, and some small islands were to be ceded to Japan; and a heavy indemnity fund was to be paid to Japan. Some portion of this treaty was revised later.

This war brought a great effect on the power politics in the Far East. Japan came to hold a foot step on the main land of Asia; the Empire of China began to crumble; the Russians decided to take a firm aggressive policy in the Far East, and to prepare to check the Japanese advance.

5. THE FIRST AND SECOND TREATIES OF THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE; THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Let us first study a while some activities of powers, other than Japan, which had interests in the Far East and in the Pacific.

Russia had endeavoured to expand her territory toward the south so that she could secure some ports, non-freezing free outlets. For that purpose, she had made war many times with the Empire of Turkey in order to reach the Mediterranean through the Balkan Peninsula; but she was not successful because of some European powers' interventions. Meantime, Russia had also conquered many small states in Central Asia; but she was also checked at last by the British when she reached territory near the neighboring states of India; so her plan of reaching the Indian Ocean had to be abandoned. Her other plan was to secure some good outlets through the Far East.

After the Sino-Japanese war was over, three powers—Russia, Germany, and France—disliked the peace treaty signed by Japan and China;

they intervened against the Japanese occupation of the Liaotung Peninsula of Manchuria; so Japan was forced to restore the territory to China.

In 1898, the territory including Port Arthur and Tailien was leased to Russia by the Chinese Government. The Russians at that time possessed two naval bases in the Far East: one was Port Arthur, in the Yellow Sea; the other, Vladivostok, in the Pacific. The Russians were successful so far.

The United States of America won a war with Spain in 1898, took the Philippines from Spain as a result, and annexed the Hawaiian Islands to her territory in 1898 in order to use them as a refueling base for her ships.

The main aim of the foreign policy of the United States in the Far East has been to keep up free trade with the countries in that part of the world. In 1899, John Hay, the Secretary of State in the President McKinley Administration, negotiated with other powers in guaranteeing the "Open Door Policy" in China, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China. All important powers including Japan agreed with the policy of the United States.

In 1903, the United States took over the task of finishing the Panama Canal; she began therefore to pay much attention to every affair in the Pacific and in the Far East.

The British Empire was already in possession of colonies and dominions in that part of the world were to protect India against invasion by the Russians or by any other power, to keep her ships in safety in navigating freely from one colony to another, and to hold firmly her commercial domain in China.

After the Sino-Japanese war ended, there were two different groups of politicians in the court of the Emperor of Korea: One was a pro-Russian group; the other, a pro-Japanese group. On October 8, 1895, the Queen of Korea, who had been the main foe of the pro-Japanese group, was assassinated at a Palace by a group of Japanese gangsters and soldiers, directed by the Japanese Legation in Korea. So the Emperor of Korea was forced to stay a while in the Russian Legation about February, 1896; after that time, the Russian Minister became a very confidential friend of the Emperor.

Japan and Russia made an agreement on May 14, 1896, that each contracting party should recognize the other party's right to station its necessary troops in Korea to protect its own interests. Japan and Russia made another agreement on April 25, 1898, that both contracting parties should respect the sovereignty and independence of Korea.

During the years 1900-1902, the Japanese government acquired from the Korean Government the franchise to build several important lines of railroads; besides, the entire shipping business in the Korean shores was controlled by some Japanese steamship companies.

In 1902, the former Russian Minister to the court of the Emperor of Korea, who had been a confidential friend of the Emperor since 1896, was sent to Korea by the Russian Government to offer the Emperor a Russian highest medal. The Japanese Government insisted that by the Russian diplomat's influence on the Emperor, Masanpo, a southern port of Korea, was secretly leased to Russia as a naval base. Such kinds of rumors and

facts made the international relation between Japan and Russia worse day by day; only a miracle could have prevented them from clashing with armed forces.

In order to protect their interests in the Far East, mainly against the Russian expansion plan, England and Japan concluded the First Treaty of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance on January 30, 1902. The main points were that they agreed to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China as well as those of Korea; that concerning the affairs in the Far East, each contracting party should be neutral in case the other party was attacked by a single nation, but should help the other party in case it was attacked by two or more nations; and that this treaty should be in force for five years.

Russia and Japan tried to settle by means of negotiation the matters of their conflicting interests in Manchuria and in Korea, but they failed. The Japanese accused the Russians of being insincere in the negotiations. At last, an Imperial Council, presented by the Emperor of Japan, was held on February 4, 1904; a decision to sever diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia was made by the Council. The Russian Minister in Japan was informed of the decision the next day; a state of war between the two nations immediately followed. As a matter of fact, armed attacks upon the Russian fleet and army by the Japanese had already begun before a formal declaration of war was made on February 10, 1904.

The Korean Government through persuasion signed a protocol with Japan on February 23, 1904. The main points of the protocol were: Korea promised to adopt the advice of Japan in regard to improvements in administration; Japan guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of Korea, and promised Korea to help her in case of danger; both contracting parties promised not to conclude in the future without mutual consent any treaty with any other power against the principles of this protocol.

During the Russo-Japanese war, the Korean Government was persuaded to sign two more treaties: The one, signed on August 22, 1904, was that the Korean Government should have a Japanese financial advisor and an advisor on foreign affairs recommended by the Japanese; the other, signed on April 1, 1905, was that the Korean Government should transfer and assign the control and administration of the Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Services in Korea.

The Russian Baltic fleet was crushed by a Japanese fleet; the Russian soldiers were beaten and driven into Northern Manchuria; Port Arthur, an important Russian naval base, fell to the Japanese. At that time, President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States acted as a peacemaker between the belligerents; and as the result, a peace conference was called in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August, 1905. There were great differences in the terms proposed by the two belligerents.

During the peace conference, the Second Treaty of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed on August 12, 1905. The main points were that in order to preserve peace in the Far East and in India, to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and to protect their interests in the Far East and in India, each contracting party agreed to inform, to consult with, and to help immediately the other contracting

party in case one of them was attacked by one or several nations; that England recognized Japan's rights of taking guiding, supervising, and protecting measures in Korea in order to protect and to improve her special rights in Korea; that in return Japan recognized the necessary British actions in protecting India; and that this treaty should be in force for ten years.

A peace treaty with terms far less than Japan's demand was concluded on August 29, 1905. The important points were that Russia recognized Japan's special rights in political, economical, and military affairs in Korea; that Russia should not interfere with Japan's taking necessary guiding, protecting, and supervising measures in Korea; that the concession rights of Port Arthur should be transferred to Japan; that the southern half of the Sakhalin Island should be ceded to Japan; and that Russia should respect Japan's fishery rights in waters adjoining the Siberian coasts.

As a matter of fact, Japan won the Russo-Japanese war with the moral and material supports of the British Empire and of the United States, both of whom disliked the Russian advance toward the Pacific. As a result of the war, the Russian plan in the Far East was shattered.

In the meantime in Europe, both England and Germany endeavoured to acquire Russia as an ally; at the peace conference in Portsmouth, the Russian insistence was supported by England as well as by the United States; but these powers could not turn down every thing that Japan wanted. The only extra country that they could sacrifice without any obstacle in pleasing Japan was the Empire of Korea; so Korea was picked out by the powers, involved directly or indirectly in the conference, to be sacrificed for the benefit of settling the terms in that conference.

6. ANNEXATION OF KOREA.

At the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference in Portsmouth, it was tacitly understood that Korea was to become a protectorate of Japan, but the events in Korea happened in the following fashion.

Instead of withdrawing her troops from Korea as soon as the Russo-Japanese war ended as Japan had promised, a formidable Japanese imperial army was left in Korea. In November, 1905, the Palace of the Emperor of Korea was surrounded by a battalion of Japanese troops; the high Japanese authorities in Korea, stationed in Korea, threatened the Emperor and the members of the Cabinet with death to get their consent in concluding the "Protectorate Treaty." By this treaty, signed illegally on November 17, 1905, the administration of the Korean foreign affairs was transferred to the Tokyo Government; a Japanese Resident General was allowed to represent the Japanese in the court of the Emperor of Korea.

The Emperor of Korea was well aware of the Japanese peril. In order to appeal the Korean case to the Second Peace Conference held in The Hague in 1907, on behalf of Korea, the Emperor sent three delegates to The Hague; but the delegates were not even received by the conference. The Emperor's effort merely caused the Japanese to take a firmer aggressive policy.

In July, 1907, again a Japanese army surrounded the Palace, and forced the Emperor of Korea to abdicate the throne in favor of his son,

who was physically and mentally unfit for the heavy duty. On July 24, 1907, the Korean Government was forced to sign a new treaty; by this treaty, the Japanese Resident General in Korea came to hold the power to intervene in all important legislative and administrative affairs, and also to control appointments and dismissals of high officers in the Korean Government.

On April 26, 1909, Marquis Ito, the first Resident General, was succeeded by Somi. The Korean Government was forced to sign a treaty on July 12, 1909, that the Korean Government should delegate to the Government of Japan the administrations of Justice and Prison.

In April, 1909, Marquis Ito, the President of the Privy Council of Japan at that time, was visiting Manchuria to negotiate with some Russian representatives about some important international affairs; then on October 26, 1909, he was assassinated by a Korean patriot, Ahn Chung-Keun, at Harbin, Manchuria. He had been regarded by the Japanese as a great figure in the power politics in the Far East; so his death made a significant mark in a page of the modern diplomatic history of Japan.

In June, 1910, General Terauchi was sent to Korea as the Resident General. The Korean Government was forced to sign a treaty on June 24, 1910, intrusting its police affairs to the Japanese. At last, in August, 1910, the Resident General employed the same threatening method as usual, and forced physically the new Emperor to consent to sign the treaty of annexation; it was announced on August 29, 1910.

It is safe to say that Japan could not have annexed Korea at that time without at least some understanding with other powers in the Pacific. In the first place, for instance, the United States consented to, or gave tacit approval of, Japan's having a free hand in Korea; and in return she expected the Japanese to stay out of the Philippines. Secondly, all of the powers, other than Russia, in the Pacific wanted the Russians to be blocked by the Japanese permanently against any advance toward the Pacific. Finally, they wanted the Japanese to be so occupied with the northward expansion plan that Japan could not be able even to think of the southward advance.

7. THE THIRD TREATY OF THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE; THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

In 1907, an Anglo-Russian Treaty concerning the affairs in Central Asia was concluded. Furthermore, in order to keep in check the growing power of the German Empire, King Edward of England paid a visit to Czar Nicholas of Russia in June, 1908; as the result, the Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia was formed. Thus the relations between England and Russia turned out to be very cordial. Besides, Japan had already annexed Korea. So the old necessary conditions to form an alliance between Japan and England had almost disappeared.

On July 13, 1911, however, the Third Treaty of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance for the coming ten years was concluded. The main aim left from the old treaties was to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China; there was, as the Japanese thought, a loophole clause for England to avoid her obligation in case of war between Japan and the United States.

After the First World War broke out in 1914, the effect of the last Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty turned out to be against Germany. In August, 1914, Japan also entered the war as a partner of the Allies.

The Japanese leaders thought that this period was a very suitable time to get some interests from China. Notwithstanding what Japan had promised in the Franco-Japanese Treaty of the 1st of January, 1907, and in her declaration of the 30th of November, 1908, with the United States to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, during the First World War, on May 25, 1915, Japan presented to the Chinese Government the "Twenty-one Demands" concerning Manchuria, Mongolia, and Shantung. The nature of the demands was surely endangering to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, but the only thing China could do was to sign what Japan asked.

In 1917, there was the Lansing-Ishi Agreement between Japan and the United States not to demand of the Chinese Government any privileges which might influence her sovereignty and territorial integrity; but the "Twenty-one Demands" were left for a future discussion.

During the war, Japan played her role in the Far East and in the Pacific for the cause of the Allies by occupying the German Leased Territory of Kiachow in China and several groups of German colonial islands in the Pacific. Japan played also a patrol role in the west Pacific as well as in the Indian Ocean. She also sent her token troops to the European front.

Japan was a partner of the International expeditionary forces in Siberia during the First World War after Russia came to be ruled by the communists. At that time, Japan sent as a matter of fact many more than her share of troops, and kept them on duty longer than necessary. The Japanese militarists had surely some plan other than to rescue a certain party; but the Japanese army was kept in check by the American force, which was kept there wisely by President Wilson.

Up to 1914, Japan was a farming country. After 1914, she became an industrialized country, and was progressing well in her enormous building program for her merchant vessels, battle ships, and auxiliary naval vessels. In the Paris Peace Conference, she was one of the five leading allied powers. Later in the Council of the League of Nations, she took one of the permanent seats. As her share of compensation for victorious power, she took the mandatory administration over the two groups of islands in the Pacific, which might be quite useful to Japan as very important bases for her naval vessels as well as for her air forces.

8. THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE; THE LONDON CONFERENCE

At the end of the First World War, the United States did not conclude the peace treaty with Germany as drawn at the Paris Peace Conference; so there were many problems in the Far East and in the Pacific left unsettled among the powers in the Pacific.

By the Third Treaty of Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the British Empire might have been obliged to help Japan in case of war between Japan and the United States; so the British Empire decided not to renew it after 1921.

A reduction of naval armaments was the main topic discussed by

statesmen in the British Empire, in the United States, and in many other naval powers.

In order to find some schemes to settle the kinds of problems mentioned above, in 1921, all of the powers which had interests in the Pacific were invited by President Harding of the United States to attend a conference, held in Washington, D. C. The powers, represented in the conference, were the United States of America, the British Empire, Japan, France, Italy, China, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Belgium; the conference was opened on November 12, 1921, and ended on February 6, 1922.

The issues discussed were a limitation of naval armaments, and some unsettled problems in the Far East and in the Pacific. At the end of the conference, the following treaties, agreements, and understandings were concluded and declared:

Five-Power Treaty on Limitation of Naval Armaments (signed on February 6, 1922). The main points of the treaty were: The United States, the British Empire, Japan, France, and Italy agreed that the main naval strengths of the United States, the British Empire, Japan, France, and Italy should be maintained in the ratios of 15:15:9:5:5 respectively; that no capital ships should exceed 35,000 tons or carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 16 inches; that the treaty should be in force until the 31st of December, 1936.

The Three-Power Agreement. The United States, the British Empire, and Japan agreed that the status quo at the time of the signing of the present treaty, with regard to fortifications and naval bases, should be maintained in their certain territories and possessions in the Pacific.

The Nine-Power Treaty. The main points were: All the powers which attended the conference agreed that the contracting parties, other than China, should respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; that they should respect the "Open Door" policy in China; that they should refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights; and that they should consult with other powers to solve in a peaceful way some problems that might arise in China; the last point is known as the *Four-Power Agreement*.

Sino-Japanese Treaty on Shantung. Japan agreed that she should restore to China the former German Leased Territory of Kiachow and also other former German interests in Shantung.

An Understanding on the "Twenty-one Demands." The Chinese delegates tried to abrogate the entire treaty based on the "Twenty-one Demands" of the 25th of May, 1915; but instead of agreeing with the Chinese delegates' arguments, the Japanese delegates declared that the Japanese Government would not demand to enforce the articles of the same treaty, which would be against the spirit of the Nine-Power Treaty.

The Japanese militarists took the outcome of the conference as a very shameful event. They thought they had found which country was the real obstacle in Japan's way. Since then, they have been doing their best in storing economical resources and in strengthening the armed forces. In spite of the fact that Japan agreed in 1922 to reduce her naval strength, nobody has known what she has been doing since then. The great earth-

quake in Tokyo in 1923 and the economic depression in Japan in 1927 have kept the militarists relatively quiet.

On August 27, 1928, Japan signed the "Kellog Anti-War Pact" with other powers in Paris; by this treaty, every contracting party agreed to condemn war, and to use peaceful means in solving international disputes.

Another naval conference was held in London on January 21, 1930, by the five powers which had signed at the Washington Conference in 1922. Only three powers—England, the United States and Japan—signed the "London Naval Treaty" on April 22, 1930. By this treaty, they agreed on an extension of naval holidays of battle ships, on regulations of aeroplane carriers, on regulations of exchange and abandonment of ships, and on regulations of submarine warfare. Later Germany and other powers joined to agree on regulations of submarine warfare; one of the regulations is that submarines are bound to take proper precautions to insure safety of crews and passengers of any merchant ship before it is sunk.

The fate of the naval treaties will be discussed in section 9 in this paper.

9. INVASION OF MANCHURIA; WITHDRAWAL FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS; ABROGATION OF NAVAL TREATIES.

In 1929, the United States, the most prosperous land of the world, happened to be in a whirlpool of economic depression; millions of wage-earners were out of jobs; so the statesmen of the country were forced to use their entire energies in solving the terrible unemployment problem; they were not in a position to think of taking any kind of effective measure for affairs in the Far East.

England and France were being run by men of "peace-at-any-price"; they were still wondering in a dream-land of peace.

Russia was still in an experimental stage in building a communistic state; moreover, there were bitter political struggles among the communist factions.

Such combinations of the international situations among the powers in the Pacific tempted a great deal the militarists in Japan; they regarded the period as that of the "one chance in a thousand years" for their expansion plan.

Moreover, there was a direct cause to consider. The Japanese had enjoyed possessing privileges in Manchuria by helping General Chang Tso-Lin, who had ruled that part of China for many years. He was killed on January 4, 1928, in the train wreck on the way home from Peking; it was said that for some reason the train was wrecked by the Japanese. His son, General Chang Hsie-liang, took his father's place; the young general declared that he would cooperate with the Central Government of China as best he could.

The Japanese militarists decided to settle the Manchurian problem once for all at that right moment; they tried many ways to find some pretenses under which they could send an army without arousing any international problems with other powers.

During June, 1931, there was, as reported, a case of some illtreatment of Koreans in Manchuria by some Chinese authorities; Korean newspapers

were forced to publish the incident in a gigantic fashion; then about two hundred innocent Chinese merchants of many leading cities in Korea were massacred by some hired Koreans and some Japanese in Korean garments during nine days, July 3-12, 1931. Everybody knew well that it was engineered by the Japanese high authorities in Korea, because not a single Chinese could have been harmed if the Japanese authorities had intended to protect him.

Captain Nakamura, a Japanese army officer, was killed illegally by the Chinese soldiers, as the Japanese insisted, in his trip in Manchuria in June, 1931; he was anyway in the disguise of a civilian.

However, at 10 p.m., on September 18, 1931, the Japanese took military action in Mukden, Manchuria, as they had planned for a long time; the Japanese story was told in the following fashion: A portion of railroad near Mukden, which had been in the Japanese military protection, was exploded by a group of Chinese soldiers, as the Japanese insisted; and so the Japanese imperial army, stationed in Manchuria, was forced to take military action in order to subdue the Chinese soldiers.

The Japanese disregarded in this fashion Japan's solemn promises in respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China.

The Central Government of the Republic of China appealed to the League of Nations on September 21, 1931. On September 30, 1931, the Council of the League of Nations decided to ask both governments of China and Japan to try to prevent the spread of worse conditions.

In the meantime, Secretary of State Henry Stimson, in President Hoover's Administration, made a strong protest with the Tokyo Government, pointing out that the Japanese military action in Manchuria was illegal from the viewpoints of the *Nine-Power Treaty* and the *Kellog Anti-War Pact*. In order to take a firm policy against the invader, Secretary of State Stimson consulted with the London Government for cooperation. In the first place, most of the British investments had been accumulated along the Yangtse, and there were none in Manchuria; secondly, a gentleman of "peace-at-any-price" was in the key position in England at that time; so the Stimson plan, whatever it was, was left on the shelf.

On December 10, 1931, the League of Nations decided to send a "Commission of Inquiry" of five to China to find the actual facts and the situations in China.

On January 7, 1932, Secretary of State Stimson declared a new American foreign policy, the "non-recognition policy on the territories occupied by force."

In January, 1932, the Japanese militarists invented in Shanghai another pretense under which they could invade that part of China; there was first class warfare between a Japanese army and a Chinese route army. The Central Government of the Republic of China found itself not prepared to make a war; so the Central Government did avoid any clash with the Japanese armed forces.

Within a short time, the major part of Manchuria fell into the invader's hands; there were no measures taken yet either by the League of Nations or by any power to suppress the Japanese violent action. The Japanese militarists engineered smoothly in setting up a new puppet em-

pire, the so-called "Manchukuo." On March 1, 1932, in the name of the Executive Committee of Manchuria, the independence of Manchuria was declared; on March 9, 1932, the last Emperor of the Ching-Dynasty was invited to become the Emperor of the new puppet state. The Chinese were appointed as ministers of state just as figure heads; all of the state affairs were being run actually by the Japanese assistants and advisors.

On August 1, 1932, Japan recognized the new puppet government of Manchukuo; the commander in chief of the Japanese army in Manchuria was sent as a special ambassador to the court of the new Emperor; on September 15, 1932, an alliance treaty between Japan and Manchukuo was signed.

The Commission of Inquiry of Five, appointed by the League of Nations on January 14, 1932, studied carefully for six months every corner of the situations in Manchuria and in China; they reported to the League of Nations the facts they found, most of which Japan could not accept. On February 21, 1933, the League of Nations accepted for the most part the report of the Commission of Inquiry, and advised Japan that Manchuria was a part of China, etc. Japan found that she could not defend herself legally on the Manchurian problems because most of the members of the League were lined up in favor of China; at last, the Tokyo Government announced on March 27, 1933, that she would withdraw her membership from the League of Nations.

The Japanese had insisted that Japan was not a violator of the Nine-Power Treaty in her action in Manchuria, but the "Open-Door Policy" in Manchuria became a death letter.

In Japan, many civilian statesmen of Japan were assassinated during this period by a fanatic gang directed by a group of militarists. Within eighteen months beginning in 1931, two civilian premiers were in the list of victims of the gangsters. Even though Japan had always been under the militarists' influence, these had never been run amuck as badly in such a period before. The militarists took the courses, as they thought, to set Japan free from all international obligations which might interfere with the imperial expansion policies.

On December 29, 1934, Japan notified the United States that after the legal day, December 31, 1936, Japan intended to abrogate the treaty of the 6th of February, 1922, made at Washington. Since June, 1935, the five powers, the contracting parties of the Washington Naval Treaty, held a Preliminary Naval Conference in London to find a substitution for the Washington Treaty; the conference was ended without agreement between Japan and the other powers. Japan did not participate in the four power naval conference held in London in 1936.

10. THE PRESENT SINO-JAPANESE WAR.

Let us study awhile some world politics in order to learn the motives of the invader in the Sino-Japanese war. After the Japanese invasion in Manchuria, Mussolini ventured to invade Ethiopia in October 1935, and conquered it in 1936 in spite of the economic restrictions made by the powers of the League of Nations. Since 1933, Hitler, a new dynamic figure, had been at the helm of the state affairs in Germany. He had already shown his aggressive foreign policies in Europe. The growing

power of the Germans had kept England, France, and Russia so busy in finding schemes to protect themselves that they had already no time to consider the affairs in the Far East.

After Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, she looked about for a friendly nation. In order to check the spread of communistic activities in the Far East and Europe, as she asserted, Japan signed the so-called "Anti-Comintern Pact" with Germany in Berlin on November 25, 1936. On November 6, 1937, Italy joined Japan and Germany in signing the same pact.

In the United States, the statesmen in office were still occupied with the terrible unemployment problem, and were busy in driving the "New Deal" policy into action. The Japanese militarists knew well that statesmen in office in the United States could not take any kind of effective measure against any nation without a support of strong public opinion; they knew also that the formation of strong opinion in the United States would require a long time, so that it would be a great while before the United States would favor taking drastic action against any other Japanese action in the Far East, provided the sovereignty of the United States be not violated.

The Japanese militarists found in Russia not only that her great national economic program was not yet formulated, but also that she had not yet recovered from the several great operations of the "Political Purge," such as the purge on the military brains in June, 1937.

More than anything else, the Republic of China has been in many ways getting stronger than ever day by day under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. So the Japanese militarists decided that they must not lose the most favorable chance in grabbing easily the northern part of China before the Chinese became too strong and while other powers' hands were tied up with their own affairs; and so the Japanese militarists engineered an incident in the following manner.

As the Japanese asserted, a battalion of the Japanese army, stationed in the northern part of China, was taking a night maneuver in a place not far away from Peiping on July 7, 1937; at 10 p.m., the battalion was fired upon by a group of Chinese soldiers; so the Japanese soldiers were forced, as they insisted, to shoot the Chinese soldiers; that was the beginning of the story of the present gigantic military maneuver between China and Japan.

On July 11, 1937, the Japanese Cabinet in Tokyo decided to send more Japanese troops into the northern part of China.

On July 16, 1937, Secretary of State Hull reminded China and Japan in notes that both nations should respect international laws and treaties, and refrain from using force in solving the international dispute between Japan and China.

The Central Government of the Republic of China had exerted itself to localize the incident, but the Japanese demanded very harsh conditions which were endangering the sovereignty of the Republic of China. On July 19, 1937, Generalissimo Chiang declared in a speech that China would not retreat a single step in case the sovereignty of the Republic of China was violated.

Since July 28, 1937, the battles on many fronts had been very violent;

on August 8, 1937, the Japanese entered Peiping. Many northern provinces of the Republic have fallen one by one into the invader's hands.

On August 9, 1937, a Japanese marine officer and a marine were killed by a group of Chinese soldiers on patrol duty in Shanghai. The actual story was reported in different ways by the two sides. Without losing time, the Japanese marines brought another armed clash in this region on August 13, 1937. On August 23, 1937, a Japanese army landed in the Shanghai region.

On August 29, 1937, the Chinese Central Government announced the contents of the Russo-Chinese Non-Aggression Pact signed in Nanking on August 21, 1937. In this pact, each contracting party promised not to use forces in solving international affairs between the two nations, and not to help the enemy in case one contracting party is attacked by an enemy.

On August 30, 1937, the Republic of China appealed to the League of Nations for help; the appeal came up for discussion on September 13, 1937; the League of Nations decided to express moral support and to call a conference to deal with the appeal according to the Nine Power Treaty.

On October 5, 1937, President Roosevelt, of the United States, denounced in a speech at Chicago the Japanese military action in China.

On November 3, 1937, nineteen powers were present at a conference in Brussels, Belgium, to settle the Sino-Japanese dispute according to the Nine Power Treaty, signed in Washington in 1922; but Japan refused to attend the conference; the conference was at last suspended indefinitely with a declaration to endeavour to solve the Sino-Japanese dispute, thereafter. Later in February and May, 1938, the League of Nations discussed the Chinese appeal, but no effective measure was yet taken.

Although the Chinese army had heroically defended the Shanghai front for months, the strong Japanese navy forced the Chinese to withdraw into the inland after November 8, 1937.

On November 16, 1937, the Central Government of China decided to remove the seat of the central government to Chungking, Hankow, and Changsha.

On December 10, 1937, there was a fierce battle between the defenders and the invaders in the Nanking region. Two days later, the American gunboat Panay was bombed and fired upon with machineguns by the Japanese bombers; the gunboat was sunken, but some of its officers and sailors were saved by their own efforts and luck. On December 13, 1937, Nanking fell into the invaders' hands; tens of thousands of civilians and beaten soldiers were massacred by the invaders as the invaders entered the fallen city.

On December 14, 1937, a Chinese puppet government was set up in Peiping by the invaders; on March 28, 1938, another Chinese puppet government was set up in Nanking. Through these puppet governments, the Japanese came to control custom-houses and also to issue paper money.

The Japanese decided to establish a direct communication between the imperial army in the northern part of China and that in the Nanking region; they succeeded in their plan by taking the important City of Suchow in April, 1938; in that region, the Japanese were beaten

heavily once at Taierchang by losing tens of thousands of the imperial soldiers and officers.

In June, 1938, the Japanese army and navy planned to take the Hankow region. The invading forces occupied many important forts and cities on the banks of the Yangtze River. On October 12, 1938, the Japanese army and navy began to occupy the Canton region; on October 21, 1938, the city of Canton was taken by the invader. Then the Chinese General Staff decided to withdraw the defending army from the Hankow region further into the inland; and so the Hankow region was occupied by the Japanese on October 27, 1938.

On November 18, 1938, Arita, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, declared a new Japanese foreign policy, the "New Order of Asia," in which he tossed aside the Nine Power Treaty as a scrap of paper.

On December 21, 1938, Wang Ching-Wei, a Chinese appeaser and a self-styled Chinese patriot, fled from Chungking, China, to Hanoi, Indo-China; since then, he has made several declarations of peace between Japan and China.

In April, 1939, there were severe battles in many fronts, but no noticeable change was made. In February, 1939, the Japanese invaded Hainan Island; they gained control of some shore regions of the island in July, 1939.

As the authorities of the British Concession in Tientsin, China, refused to extradite a Chinese political refugee into Japanese hands, the Japanese army started to blockade the concession on May 21, 1939; since then, such action has become an important issue to be settled between Japan and England.

Since January 24, 1940, Wang Ching-Wei had conferred with the leaders of the two puppet governments in order to set up a single government in Nanking; at last, they came to an agreement to set up a central government as the Japanese and Wang had planned. On March 12, 1940, Wang announced his intention to set up the so-called "Legal Government of China" in Nanking; a "Chinese Central Political Council" was called by him to hold a conference in Nanking on March 20, 1940; Wang was elected by the council as the Acting President of the Republic, and also the Chairman of the Executive Yuan (Cabinet). On March 3, 1940, Secretary of State Hull declared that the United States would not recognize the Nanking Government.

Although neither side of the belligerents declared war formally, during the last more than four years, millions of soldiers and civilians have been killed or wounded; billions of dollars' worth of property has perished; and heavy taxes for war have piled up; yet no peace treaty has been concluded. The Sino-Japanese war had been an incident merely between Japan and China up to August, 1940; but it has become a part of the Second World War, between the democratic nations and the aggressive "Axis Powers," particularly since the Tripartite Alliance Treaty signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan in September, 1940. Up to that time and since then, the Republic of China has played a great role as a silent partner of the "Democracies."

No Japanese militarists had ever thought that the Chinese could stand firmly in such a long war. Anyway the Japanese have become to

feel like a man grabbing a tiger's tail by mistake. By the Sino-Japanese war, China has shown the world the enormous hidden power of the Chinese people. Under the leadership of the man with strong will and admirable personality, all factions—his former followers as well as his former political enemies and even the communist leaders—have been united to protect the Republic; the greatest hero and heroine in the history of China are none other than Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

11. THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE POSITION OF JAPAN.

Since March, 1938, the change of international situations in Europe has been in a lightning way. On March 13, 1938, Germany annexed Austria. At the Munich conference, on September 30, 1938, England, France, and Italy agreed to cede the Sudeten Area of Czecho-Slovakia to Germany; later on March 15, 1939, Germany partitioned that country for herself and for some other powers. On March 21, 1939, Germany grabbed the Memel district from Lithuania. On May 22, 1939, a defensive and offensive alliance between Italy and Germany was concluded. On April 5, 1939, an Anglo-Polish Mutual Aid Treaty was concluded in London. On April 28, 1939, Hitler asked Poland for a corridor and some other interests about Danzig.

Since April 15, 1939, England and France endeavoured to win Soviet Russia as an allied nation in guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Poland; instead of agreeing with the Allied Nations, the Russians signed an unexpected non-aggression pact with Germany on August 21, 1939. At that time, the Japanese leaders were surprised and disappointed because the "Anti-Comintern Pact" became a joke.

As Poland refused Hitler's demand, the Second World War broke out on September 1, 1939. The Japanese militarists had a great interest in it. They knew that Japan should sooner or later decide to take a role in the struggle in the power politics; although she had her hands tied with the "Holy War in China," as the Japanese called it.

The movement of foreign policies of the United States has been usually very slow but sure and firm; her policy in the Far East has been gradually becoming firmer than ever month by month. On July 26, 1939, the abrogation of the Most Favored Nation Clause Treaty between Japan and the United States was declared by the latter contracting party; and so since January 26, 1940, there has been no commercial treaty between them.

In Europe, Germany has already controlled or conquered Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France. Italy has joined Germany in the war as a junior partner since June 10, 1940. Meantime, in Japan, a strong group of militarists was in power. The aim of the national policy of Japan was not merely to defend her territory, but to grab new territories and to expand new spheres of influence; so naturally, the Japanese leaders decided to take the side of the "Axis Powers."

In order to cooperate in completing the so-called "New Order in Europe, in Africa, and in the Greater East Asia," Japan signed the "Tripartite Alliance Treaty" with Germany and Italy in Berlin on September 27, 1940. By this treaty, Japan was recognized as the leader in the "Greater East Asia"; Japan promised to enter the war in case the "Axis Powers"

were attacked by a third party, where the third party seemed to imply the United States of America.

There were divergent opinions about the motives and the future results of the treaty. However, in the United States, the attitudes of the public and of statesmen in office as well as in private have become firmer than ever in taking the side against the "Axis Powers" since the Tripartite Treaty was signed. In October, 1940, the United States gave China fifty million dollars of credit, and promised to give more later.

Great Britain's policy in the Far East has always been milder than that of the United States; after the war broke out in Europe, Britain held an appeasement policy toward Japan. In order to settle partly the dispute in Tientsin, China, the British promised Japan to close the Burma Road for the Chinese war supplies during the summer months in 1940. After the Tripartite Treaty was signed, the British changed their minds; not only did they open the Burma Road by the end of 1940, but also they promised to make a loan to China amounting to ten million pounds.

Germany and Japan exerted a political pressure on the Vichy Government to grant Japan some economical and military privileges in Indo-China; as a result, Japan has kept her troops stationed in the northern part of Indo-China since September 25, 1940. Thus Japan has shown the world her intention to advance southward. Moreover, in March, 1941, as a reward for acting a mediator role in the armed clash between Thailand and Indo-China, Japan gained from both parties a few more steps in the southward advance.

There were two preliminary problems to be settled before she could go through with her southward program. One was to settle with Russia; and the other, with China. Matsuoka, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid a visit to Hitler and Mussolini in March and April, 1940. On the way home, he had a conference with Stalin and Molotov in Moscow; as the result, a non-aggression pact between Japan and Russia was signed on April 13, 1941; by this pact, each contracting party agreed to remain neutral throughout any period during which either of the signatories was the "object of military action on the part of one or several powers." The Japanese tried to undermine the Central Government in Chungking by setting up puppet governments, but they failed; the Japanese also tried to end the war by a peace conference with the Chungking Government, but the Chinese refused many times.

Japan must secure some fields of vital raw materials—such as oil, rubber, tin, etc.—in order to become a self supporting empire. She tried to secure such raw materials from the Dutch East Indies by a negotiation accompanied with some sorts of threats; but the long negotiation ended in June, 1941, without the reaching of any agreement; however, the time was not ripe yet to send Japan's army and navy into the Dutch East Indies.

After the non-aggression pact was signed with the Russians, some Japanese forces, stationed near the Russian border, were reported as withdrawing from there and moving southward; some Japanese naval vessels were massing somewhere in the South China Sea; and these imperial forces were waiting for a right time to take action.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler declared war on Soviet Russia, with which

Germany had signed a non-aggression pact in 1939. There were many divergent opinions about Hitler's motives. In the first place, in order to continue a long war, Germany should have food and oil, which she could get by invading Russia only; secondly, the Germans would find the Russians standing in the back of Germany with threatening forces during or after their attempt at invasion of England; so Hitler decided to wipe out the Russians first. By wiping them out or at least by keeping the Russians busy in Europe, Hitler might easily persuade the Japanese to enter the war either with Russia or with other "Allies."

It was a great question for the Japanese to decide whether Japan would merely keep herself going on in the "China Incident," or would take a drastic action on Russia first and then on other "Allies," or would pick on some other lands in the south, leaving Russia as it was. During the last four years, Japan has gradually put herself in a position encircled by the "Allies" on all sides; there was nobody except herself to be blamed for that; anyway, if she could not get through the Dutch East Indies, she would have to surrender herself to the "Allies" without firing a single shot. Many long conferences of the Imperial Council of Japan, presented by the Emperor himself, were held; and some decision on foreign policy was reported made and kept secret.

Meantime in Europe, on July 13, 1941, an agreement for joint action by Soviet Russia and Great Britain against Germany was signed; by this agreement, the two governments pledged to render each other assistance and support of all kinds and in all times in the present war against Hitler Germany, and neither to negotiate nor to conclude an armistice or a treaty of peace except by mutual agreement.

A new Japanese militarist-nationalist Cabinet was formed on July 13, 1941; the new Cabinet was also led by Prince Konoye; Admiral Toyoda succeeded the former Foreign Minister Matsuoka; and many generals and admirals were included in the Cabinet. Konoye declared that the new Cabinet would carry out policies that had been established.

On July 26, 1941 (in French time), a conclusion of an agreement between Japan and France for mutual defense of Indo-China was announced by the French Foreign Ministry in Vichy, France; by this agreement, Japan gained the rights to occupy military and naval bases in the southern part of Indo-China. The imperial forces of Japan began to occupy the new bases immediately. This new Japanese push gave the Japanese a part of the goal of their southward expansion program, while the conditions for the safety of the "Democracies" became worse than before. So President Roosevelt struck back against Japan for her action in Indo-China by freezing all Japanese assets in the United States; at the same time, all Chinese assets were also frozen except as the owners were willing to place them at the disposal of the Chungking Government or of the Central Bank of China. The British Empire and the Netherlands followed also the leadership of the United States in freezing Japanese assets. Japan also took reprisal action by freezing assets of all the countries which had taken the same action against her. Thus Japan became economically blockaded by the "Democracies."

As announced by the London and Washington Governments on August 14, 1941, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of

Great Britain met somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean; they examined the whole problem of supply of munitions of war for the "Democracies," and considered the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of the "Axis Powers." They agreed upon the following "Eight Point Declaration":

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

In his speech at the House of Commons on September 9, 1941, Prime Minister Churchill said about the "Eight-Point Charter":

"I have hitherto consistently deprecated formulation of peace aims. . . . I deprecate them at the present time when the end of the war is not in sight. . . . In fact, it is a united declaration that sets up a milestone or monument which needs only the stroke of victory to become a permanent part of the history of human progress. . . . I need only to draw attention for instance to one phrase in paragraph six—'after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny'—to show the profound and vital character of the solemn agreement . . . helping India to obtain a free and equal partnership in the British commonwealth with ourselves, . . ."

In the conferences, it seemed that the Prime Minister and the President agreed to take some common actions in the Far East against the Japanese; later, in his speech on August 24, 1941, Prime Minister Churchill advised Japan that Japan should take what the United States wanted to settle with her in peaceful way or Great Britain should range herself at the side of the United States.

Japan has taken, so far, the course of completing the "New Order in Europe, in Africa, and in the Greater East Asia" in the hope of winning the Second World War as a partner of the "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis." In playing her part, so far, she has forced indirectly the main American naval force to stay in the Pacific.

As has been reported, personal letters have been exchanged between Premier Konoye, of Japan, and President Roosevelt, and intensive negotiations have been going on between the two governments of Japan and the United States. But the Eight-Point Charter can not compromise with the imperial policy of Japan; the United States could not dare sacrifice the interests of the Chinese and other people in the Far East; the German agents in many important government institutions of Japan and the Japa-

nese militarists and nationalists will not permit Japan to swing into the "Democracies."

Suppose any agreement were reached; then it might be a minor agreement or a temporary measure, looking like a permanent one; the Japanese militarists and nationalists will surely toss it aside as a scrap of paper as they have done up to today. Nobody can tell the future of Japan; however, unless she is corrected once for all at the end of the Second World War, by applying the Eight-Point Charter in the Far East, she will remain as the peace-breaker in the Far East as well as in the Pacific.

In reviewing the past events of the Second World War, the darkest hour for the "Democracies" was at the time of the capitulation of France. Instead of following the step, taken by France, the British, under the leadership of Prime Minister Winston Churchill, a man with courage, strong will, and wisdom, stood alone between the Nazis and their final goal of conquering the world; the British took courageously the showers of bombs day and night for months during the Nazi indiscriminate air attacks, the most savage air attack ever seen in the history of air warfare. The high morale of the admirable British people, their resistance, and the natural obstacle, the Straights of Dover, discouraged Hitler and his generals from invading the Islands of Great Britain.

In parallel to the air attacks on cities of the islands, by use of his submarines and bombers, Hitler sank hundreds of thousands of tons of ships of the "Democracies" into the bottom of the Atlantic every month; the submarine warfare could not starve the British nor force them to capitulate.

Many weeks have passed since Hitler first invaded Russia; no sign of defeatism or of shameful capitulation has appeared among the Russians. In the Russo-German war, it has become clear that Premier Josef Stalin is a real strong man behind whom all Russians stand firmly to defend the fatherland to the last man; and that the Russian fighting forces, on land and in the air, are not the kind of forces that Russia used in the Russo-Finnish war, but real formidable forces, which can, with some extra equipments and supplies, match the Nazi forces.

The only country which has the deciding power in the Second World War is the United States. This great country has taken actions, very slowly but firmly and surely, under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a man with courage, warm heart, strong will, admirable personality, and far reaching vision of world politics. In his administration, many things are done well; among them, the setting up of his naval building programs and the formation of his entire foreign policy.

Since he took his office in 1933, he has built a formidable navy, suitable even for expeditionary naval warfare, by building not only battle ships, but also many auxiliary naval vessels which had been very insufficient up to 1933; moreover, the "Two Ocean Navy Program" has been progressing well since the program became law in 1940. These facts have had an effect in keeping the Japanese militarists from taking any bold action against the United States.

The foreign policy of the United States has been gradually becoming firmer than ever, month by month, in taking side with the "Democracies." In accordance with the public opinion in the United States, by

amending a part of the Neutrality Law, the "Democracies" were allowed to buy the American made goods for war on the "cash and carry" basis; as a national defense measure, the Conscription Law was adopted; then for the greatest aid to the "Democracies," the Lend and Lease Bill, which no Nazi leaders had ever imagined, was passed and put into force immediately; by extending gradually the patrol zone of the American navy in the Atlantic, and by setting up bases in important islands in the Atlantic for the American armed forces in accordance with the wishes of the native governments, the United States guaranteed safe voyages of ships, serving for the "Democracies," in a large portion of the Atlantic.

Moreover, in Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Russia, other democratic nations, and especially in the United States, ordinary factories of all kinds have been turning to those of arms, ammunition, ships, and all other kinds of equipments for war; the quantities of productions of these kinds have been increasing as many times as they were before, and will continuously increase. While most of the factories of the "Axis Powers" lie within the raiding range of bombers of the "Democracies," the majority of the factories of the "Democracies" are far away from the dangers of the enemy attacks. The "Democratic Nations" control the seven seas, and also the vital raw material fields; so all the "Axis Powers" are encircled by the "Democratic Nations" at least economically; winning local battles within the great encircled regions would not mean much for a long war.

While the figure of the man power of the "Axis Powers"—Germany, Italy, Japan, and other small satellites—altogether may be estimated at from 200 to 300 millions, that of the "Democracies"—the British Empire, Russia, China, and other nations, not including the United States—from 500 to 1,000 millions, where the lower figure in each side indicates the effective man power, and the upper figure, includes the effective and ineffective man power, such as colonial subjects.

In view of all of the above mentioned facts, the prospect of success for the "Axis Powers," including Japan, has become darker than it was for a time. Provided no great mistakes are made by the "Democracies," they should surely win.

12. THE KOREAN PROBLEM.

In 1910, Korea was annexed to the Empire of Japan, but the Korean problem was hardly to be regarded as settled, because for years since 1910, the Japanese have had a hard time in their efforts to subdue the brave Korean guerillas.

Under the Japanese administration, the Koreans were deprived of freedom of speech and freedom of the press; the majority of the young Koreans were denied education because no schools were provided; most of the good farms were taken away from the Koreans and placed in charge of a Japanese semi-governmental company; important positions in all government institutions were filled by the Japanese.

They said that the Japanese improved Korean farms, Korean transportation systems, etc., but the improvements, the Japanese made, were not for the benefit of the Koreans; they were to aid military operations of the imperial army of Japan in the future.

The movement of "Self Determination of Small Nations" was spread into Korea in 1918. At that time, on January 22, 1919, the former Emperor Kwang-Moo passed away mysteriously. From the beginning of the year 1919, many Koreans came from all corners of the country to Seoul, the capital of Korea, to pay the last tribute to the former Emperor. Under such favorable circumstances, a historical national movement was developing in Korea for months.

On March 1, 1919, the independence of Korea was declared in the City of Seoul by Hon. Sohn Pyung-Hi, Rev. Kil Sun-Chu, and thirty-one other prominent leaders of Korea; meantime, representatives of the thirteen provinces of Korea gathered secretly in the same city; they elected Dr. Syngman Rhee as the President of the Republic of Korea, and appointed a Cabinet. In order to continue the movement further even in the outside of the country, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was empowered by the representatives of the thirteen provinces of Korea to choose the seat of the Provisional Government and to take other necessary measures in accomplishing the purpose of the Declaration of Independence.

The movement was not backed by any kind of force; naturally, they could not choose a city in Korea as the seat of the Provisional Government. Shanghai, China, was chosen as the ideal place to direct the movement. After the Sino-Japanese dispute broke out, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was forced to remove from one city to another, and at last to Chungking, China.

Since 1919, the Korean revolutionary leaders had directed many different forms of activities in Korea, in Manchuria, in other parts of China, as well as in Japan. On October 10, 1938, a group of Koreans formed a Korean Volunteers Corps in the Chinese army; they contributed the defenders very valuable aid in many ways, such as in intelligence work, in propaganda work, etc. Many other Koreans had been serving in the Chinese army individually; and many other small groups of Koreans had been working with the Chinese in guerilla warfare in the northern part of China as well as in Manchukuo. In order to unite all Koreans engaged in warfare into a single body, the leaders in the Korean Provisional Government formed a Korean General Staff in Chungking, China, on September 17, 1940, with approval of Generalissimo Chiang.

In April, 1941, the nine Korean organizations, supported by most of the Koreans living in the Hawaiian Islands and in North America, participated in a conference which was held in Honolulu. They decided to support the Korean Provisional Government in Chungking, China, in every way possible; to set up an office of Korean Commission in Washington, D. C., to help the Provisional Government on foreign affairs, provided the Provisional Government approved it; and to establish a Korean Committee to aid the United States National Defense.

As soon as, and even before, the Sino-Japanese Incident began to happen, the Japanese authorities in Korea began to employ an iron hand policy. Many Korean leaders who refused to cooperate with the Japanese were tortured, prisoned, or killed; for instance, Hon. Chang-Ho Ahn, an outstanding Korean leader, was tortured nearly to death, and after being released to a Japanese controlled government hospital, he died as a result

of the torture; Dr. Yun-Ho Choy, a graduate of the Graduate School of Indiana University, and a professor of a christian college in Korea, was tortured and released, but he also died surely as the result of the torture. The Korean Christians were forced to worship in Japanese Shinto Shrines; Korean intellectuals were forced to deliver lectures in favor of the so-called "Holy War in China"; rich Koreans were forced or persuaded to contribute heavy war funds to the Japanese Government; Korean office holders in the government as well as in private religious and educational institutions were forced to change their names to those of Japanese. The Japanese have been trying to persuade the Koreans to participate broadly in the program of the "Greater East Asia"; the Koreans in Korea are not in a position to refuse; but of course time will reveal their minds.

The Japanese authorities in Korea also applied similar rule over the American missionaries in Korea. These authorities tried to persuade the missionaries in Korea to accept the Japanese point of view, that worshipping in a Japanese Shinto Shrine was not an act against the teachings of Christianity. There were pros and cons among the missionaries about the matter; anyway, raising such question was surely the first step toward interference with the religious affairs of the Christian Churches in Korea. The missionaries, who did not accept the viewpoint of the Japanese authorities in Korea on the Shinto Shrine problem, were threatened and forced to leave Korea; for instance, Dr. G. S. McCune, who was the president of Union Christian College, Pyeng Yang, Korea, stood firmly for the principles of Christianity as he thought correctly; and so he became the first victim and had to leave Korea, the land which he loved and worked for for many years. Many Christian educational institutions, which did not conform to the Japanese demand, to worship in Japanese Shinto Shrine, were forced to close. Even though missionaries were devoting themselves to the purely religious, educational, or benevolent activities, the Japanese suspected them as potential conspirators for some political movements in Korea, or as international spies; the missionaries were always watched and investigated by the Japanese police forces in Korea; the Japanese hindered the missionary works in every way possible; and the time came when the missionaries were no longer allowed to teach in Christian schools, or to preach the gospel to the Koreans.

The Japanese fundamental policy in Korea has been the Japanization of the Koreans; in order to attain the aim, the Japanese have been trying to destroy most everything—such as, the Korean history, the Korean language, the Korean customs, the Korean arts, the Korean literature, etc.—which might help the Koreans to keep their national spirit alive. The Japanese ignored the facts that many similar efforts of other powers in some other parts of the world had failed to accomplish similar aims. The Koreans will remain as Koreans.

13. CONCLUSION.

About half a century ago, Japan, composed of a group of islands, had population of not more than fifty millions of Japanese. Now she has within the boundary of the empire over ninety-five millions of subjects—about seventy millions of Japanese, twenty-three millions of Koreans, and small fractions of Chinese and other people. In addition to them,

she came to control about thirty millions of Chinese in Manchuria. While only the pure Japanese supply man power in battle fields, the Koreans and Chinese must work in factories and in farms, whether they like them or not, to supply food and arms to battle fields.

The territory of the Empire of Japan has almost doubled in the last half a century; besides, Japan controls now a large portion of the "Greater East Asia." Japan was formerly a farming land, but she has gradually become an industrialized country possessing a large merchant marine in the seven seas. Moreover, she has become a military power as well as a naval power.

By annexing Korea to the Empire, Japan attained for her armed forces a valuable strategical position in the Far East; she could transfer Japanese farmers to Korean farms, which Korean farmers were forced to abandon; she came to control the Korean commercial market completely.

With control of Manchukuo, her strategical position for her armed forces in the Far East became firmer than ever; she could find some room in Manchukuo for Japanese as well as for Korean farmers who had been driven out of Korea; she also obtained some vital raw materials—coal, iron, etc.—and found a vast market for her factory made goods.

By invading China, she was intending mainly to control the rich commercial market for herself alone so that other powers naturally would be forced to withdraw.

In order to secure some other vital raw materials for the existence of the Empire of Japan, she knew that she had to advance in the southward direction. She was prepared for it, but she had to wait for the right time.

Many times Japan had promised the Koreans that she would respect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Korea, but at the first good opportunity, Japan annexed Korea.

Japan signed treaties and pacts with many other powers in guaranteeing the "Open Door Policy" in China and the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of China, but she invaded that land destroying millions of innocent humans as well as an enormous amount of valuable property, and also endangering all other powers' interests in China. After the Second World War broke out, Japan declared her status quo policy in the Pacific, but she violated the sovereignty of Indo-China by forcing the latter to accept the Japanese demands.

Statesmen of many powers in the Pacific have tried to appease the Japanese; the Japanese have not been satisfied with the appeasement policy; but such policies have encouraged her to choose further aggressive steps, more than ever, year by year. There can be no peace in the Far East nor in the Pacific unless something is done to effect a permanent peace in that region—not by making any one nation the leader but by giving every one a fair chance to make itself good and well.

Human affairs have now become so closely related to one another that injustice in a corner of the world might become a fuse of explosion of the whole world; no single nation can be thought of as a country immune from world-wide troubles. For instance, by having allowed Japan to grab Korea about thirty years ago, the powers in the Pacific have given the Japanese militarists very good opportunities to invade Manchuria

and also the other part of China; as a result, the treaty of guaranteeing the "Open Door Policy" in China has become a scrap of paper. Moreover, by invading Manchuria, Japan has exposed to the world the fact that the powers of the League of Nations as well as other powers, outside of the League, have been unable or unwilling to guarantee international justice in the power politics. Japan's bold action in Manchuria helped Adolph Hitler indirectly to obtain power in Germany; Japan's success in Manchuria encouraged Benito Mussolini to take similar action in Ethiopia in 1935. Benito Mussolini's success in Ethiopia in 1936 and again Japan's invasion in China in 1937 encouraged Adolf Hitler to take lightning actions in Europe in March, 1938, and since then, and to bring on this bloody Second World War. Now every nation is forced, whether she likes it or not, to take a part in this war.

But if Korea had not been in the Japanese hands, then there might have existed no such historical events as the Japanese invasions in Manchuria and in the other part of China, as the Benito Mussolini invasion in Ethiopia, as Adolf Hitler's gaining power in Germany and in Europe, or as the bloody Second World War.

Indeed, Korea must be regarded as the center of the "Balance of Powers" in the Far East. Whatever country controls this land will gain control of the Far East. So long as Korea is independent of Japan, China, Russia, and every other power except itself, all the nations in that part of the world will be in a state of equilibrium, so that the interests of all powers in the Pacific will be free of trouble.

The subduing of aggressors in battle fields will not suffice to keep the world at peace in the future; but in some suitable way, every nation must participate even in peace time after the war is over in preventing new aggressors from arising. Otherwise, such horrible pictures of human madness as war affords will never disappear from the pages of human history.

REFERENCES

- SECTION 2. The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (in Japanese), Waseda University, Tokyo; The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (in English), Prince H. Ito; Administration Laws of Japan (in Japanese), Waseda University, Tokyo; Complete Laws and Ordinances of the Empire of Japan (in Japanese), Bureau of Archives in the Secretariate of the Cabinet, Tokyo.
- SECTION 3. Modern Diplomatic History of the World (in Japanese), Waseda University, Tokyo; Colonial Policies (in Japanese), Waseda University, Tokyo.
- SECTION 4. Modern History (in Japanese), Waseda University, Tokyo; Modern Diplomatic History of the World, Waseda University, Tokyo; Korea (Treaties and Agreements), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (Division of International Law, no. 43); Korean Treaties (in English), Henry Chung; International Law (in Japanese), Waseda University, Tokyo; Diplomatic History of Recent Times (in Japanese), Ashita, pp. 59-81; History of Japan (Present to Past), in Japanese, Yoshita, vol. 1, pp. 42-130; The Case of Korea (in English), Henry Chung, pp. 25-44; The History of Korea (in English), Hulbert, vol. 2, pp. 249-262.
- SECTION 5. Modern History, Waseda University; Diplomatic History of Modern Times, Waseda University; Since the Civil War, Charles R. Lingley, pp. 350-518; Korea (Treaties and Agreements), Carnegie Endowment . . . ; Korean Treaties, Henry Chung; History of Japan (Present to Past), Yoshita, vol. 1, pp. 167-171, 230-325; The Case of Korea, Henry Chung, pp. 44-51; The History of Korea, Hulbert, vol. 2, pp. 298-307, 374-435.
- SECTION 6. Modern Diplomatic History of the World, Waseda University; Korea (Treaties and Agreements), Carnegie Endowment . . . ; Korean Treaties, Henry Chung; The Case of Korea, Henry Chung, pp. 51-60; History of Japan (Present to Past), Yoshita, vol. 1, pp. 325-448.
- SECTION 7. Modern Diplomatic History of the World, Waseda University; International Law, Waseda University; Diplomatic History of Recent Times, Ashita, vol. 2, pp. 49-63, 138-217, 315-322.

SECTION 8. Recent History of World Politics (in Japanese), Yoshita, pp. 388-398; Diplomatic History of Recent Times (in Japanese), Ashita, vol. 3, pp. 738-861; Conference on Limitation of Armaments, Washington, 1921-22, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London; Jiji Year Book for 1931 (in Japanese), pp. 185-193; Tanaka Plan.

SECTION 9. Diplomatic History of Recent Times, Ashita, vol. 2, pp. 572-581; vol. 3, pp. 1075-1335; Chosun Il Po (a Korean Daily News in Korean language, published in Seoul, Korea); Dong Kwang (a Korean monthly in Korean, published in Korea in 1931-32); Tokyo Asahi Shimbun (a Japanese daily news, published in Tokyo); Gaiko Jiho (Revue Diplomatique), (in Japanese), years 1931-36.

SECTION 10. The Korean Volunteers Bulletin (in Chinese), published in Chungking, China; The New Korea (in Korean language), published in Los Angeles, California; Jiji Year Book (in Japanese), the year 1938, pp. 145-169; the year 1939, pp. 154-172; the year 1940, pp. 149-164; Tokyo Asahi Shimbun (daily newspaper in Japanese), published in Tokyo; Gaiko Jiho (Revue Diplomatique) from the year 1935 to the present.

SECTION 11. Jiji Year Book, the years 1939, 1940, 1941; Gaiko-Jiho (in Japanese), published in the years 1939, 1940, 1941; Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, from the year 1939 up to today; the New Korea (in Korean), published in Los Angeles, Calif.; the Nippon Hyoron, a Japanese monthly, published in Japan, in March, 1941.

SECTION 12. The Korean Volunteers Bulletin, published in Chungking, China, in Chinese; the New Korea, published in Los Angeles, California, in Korean; the Case of Korea, Henry Chung; Rebirth of Korea (in English), Hugh Cynn.

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

(For the issues of the Korean Research Bulletin in 1943)

(a) The following articles are to appear:

- On Japan's Foreign, Military, and Naval Policies
 by Sae Woon Chang, Ph.D.
 Sketch of Geography of Korea; Arab Geographer on Korea; Sketch of
 General and Cultural History of Korea by Kei Won Chung, Ph.D.
 Rural Geographic Landscapes in Korea by Shannon McCune, Ph.D.
 Political Relations in the First Decade of the Present Century Between
 Korea and the United States of America by K. S. Yum, Ph.D.
 Military Hygiene by C. S. Kim, M.D.
 Elementary Education in Korea by S. H. Cho, Ph.D.
 Oriental Ways and Occidental Ways by Rev. John Starr Kim, Th.M.
 Korean Ballads by Kenneth S. Young, M.Mus.

(b) The following contributions may also appear:

- A Critical Study of Mortality in Appendicitis
 by Daniel K. Hur, M.D.
 Reviews of Some Articles of Some Outstanding Periodicals Published
 in the Far East and in U. S. A. by Sae Woon Chang and Others
 On Korean Music of the Past and Present
 by Kenneth S. Young and Others
 On Literature of the Far East by Professor Younghil Kang
 On Modern Political Movements in Korea
 by Sae Woon Chang and Others
 Biographies of Famous Men of Korea by Kei Won Chung and Others