

JAPAN'S CULTURAL AGGRESSION IN CHINA

A General Study of Methods and Results



Published by

THE AMERICAN INFORMATION COMMITTEE

Room 209, 160 Ave. Edward VII

Shanghai, China

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In October, 1938, a group of Americans in Shanghai representative of American activities in the Orient met to consider how Americans at home could best be informed of precisely what is happening in the Far East. The American Information Committee was thus formed, and it was decided that the best method to achieve its purpose was the publication of pamphlets, of which this is one of a series.

The American Information Committee is non-partisan, but it is not blind to facts. It is these facts which it wishes to pass on to all Americans interested in justice and international fair play.

The Committee and its activities function by virtue of voluntary contributions and work from and by its members. It receives no subsidies or funds from any other source.

The Committee welcomes inquiries from Americans in all parts of the world and will endeavor to supply them with any material in which they may be interested.

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Introduction

“*How* are the Japanese working to change the tastes, the thinking, and the loyalties of the Chinese people?”

This question was presented to competent observers throughout the occupied areas, and material was secured from 8 cities in 5 provinces. Facilities were not available for an exhaustive research project, but the persons consulted knew their locale intimately and for months had been taking a keen interest in the efforts to capture the Chinese mind.

The bulk of material secured made impossible its condensation into one pamphlet. This report is a preliminary survey attempting to cover the general field, to be followed by two later issues, one on “The Press and Radio,” the other on “Education and Religion.”

We present this study in the hope that it will make clearer one more phase of the struggle now going on in China.

AMERICAN INFORMATION COMMITTEE.

Shanghai, April 3, 1940.

Japan's Cultural Aggression in China

Contents

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	
A New Environment	1
The Suppression of "Dangerous Thoughts"	5
What Japan Wants China To Believe	10
Organizing for Thought Control	15
Whooping It Up—Parades, Celebrations, and Slogans	20
Steady Digging—Newspapers and Radio	26
Education	27
Religion and the Philosophies	29
Racialism and Anti-Foreign Campaign	31
The Chinese Response	34

A NEW ENVIRONMENT

The Japanese have created a new environment for millions of Chinese people. In some cities, vast areas of blackened ruins bear mute testimony to the work of an invader. In others the buildings are still standing, but a profound shift in appearance and atmosphere has taken place. An American of long residence in China writes:

"My beloved Peking is no more! Something has happened to this city which formerly had such dignity and charm and individuality. Its mighty city wall, the golden-tiled roofs of its palaces and temples, its fascinating gardens, its narrow streets of the handicraft guilds, all bespoke ancient glories and a life of culture and craftsmanship in which even the common man shared.

"Now all is changed! Large districts of the city have been taken over by the invaders, and on the main street every second or third shop seems to be Japanese. They have opened hundreds of small drug-stores and so-called clinics which deal in drugs and narcotics—opium, heroin, red pills. There are also hundreds of brothels, cabarets, and *geisha* houses (one report says two thousand). The streets are lined with unsightly Japanese signs, and beautiful old Chinese buildings have been made hideous with cheap flimsy 'modern' store fronts....I've never seen so much drunkenness in all my life...."

Following the Army has come a flood of Japanese civilians to China, some motivated by idealistic aims, but most lured by pictures of wealth and power—the pickings to be had from the body of a prostrate foe. In November 1939 there were 275,800 Japanese registered with their authorities in Mongolia, North, Central, and South China, three times the total for 1936. The number of Japanese residents in some of the principal cities was given as follows: Peking 46,600; Tientsin 19,700; Tsingtao 27,700; Shanghai

58,200; Nanking 8,850; Canton 8,000.¹ In October 1939, the Japanese Residents' Corporation of Shanghai estimated that the Japanese population of that city would rise to 142,000 or even to 200,000 by 1943.

Most Chinese are repelled by these newcomers and resist their economic and cultural encroachments with every means at their disposal, yet they cannot get beyond the range of their influence. In the first place, the invaders bring their language, and the Chinese are learning that a knowledge of this language may help one to keep out of trouble. They bring their manners, their dress, their food, their recreations, and every one is in some degree an apostle of his nation's cause in China.² In spite of Chinese resistance, these invaders, together with the million or more of their countrymen in the fighting services, are providing a most important part of the environment in which the people live.

These "enterprisers" have opened thousands of shops, cafes, and other commercial establishments, most of them featuring the Japanese red and white color scheme, displaying vivid Neon signs, or blaring forth Japanese music from radio loud speakers. Nanking had four hundred such shops as early as 1938, and Peking reported in October 1939 an investment of Y.11,000,000 in non-official establishments, most of them capitalized at from Y.1,000 to 30,000. In city after city the most prominent locations have been

1. Reported by the Bureau of East Asiatic Affairs of the Tokyo Foreign Ministry. See *China Weekly Review*, November 25, 1939. The *Tairiku Shimpō* reported a total of 345,700 early in 1940.

2. Japanese residents in Peking formed an "anti-spy bloc" in September 1939. Every Japanese in the city is supposed to be a member and to watch and report Chinese and foreign spies.

taken over; frequently whole areas are set apart for Japanese use. In Soochow, as one striking example, the largest department store, formerly the Chinese Products Emporium, is now the *Dai Maru*, all in Japanese style, even to women clerks, with prices in yen. Stores are carrying more and more Japanese goods, and the average man is becoming accustomed to Japanese decorations and trademarks on his soap, candy, cigarettes, medicines, cloth, toys, and canned goods.

These newcomers have painted their advertisements, especially those of patent medicines, on walls and houses throughout both city and countryside. In some cities on every street one is greeted by the "Benevolent Pill" (good for the liver) and by "University Eye-wash" (good for sore eyes).

The imposition of Japanese ways is indelibly impressed upon all who travel. Every Chinese must first get his travel pass and his vaccination or cholera-inoculation certificate. He must doff his hat and bow to numerous sentries. He must have his baggage and his person inspected many times. He buys his ticket in Yen and boards a Japanese train according to Tokyo time (an hour ahead of his own). He is almost sure to see some of his fellow-countrymen slapped by sentries or station guards, and as he looks away his eye is likely to fall upon posters proclaiming the glories of Sino-Japanese cooperation. In summer he will be sprayed with a weak carbolic solution from a garden insect spray. On station platforms salesboys will offer him Japanese candy, canned goods and beer, and a large assortment of magazines, either Japanese or those prepared under their direction for his enlightenment. Even the scenery of the countryside may be redecorated for him—recently Japanese and five-bar

flags were seen flying from country villages all along the Nanking-Shanghai Railroad. Their placing and arrangement was so evidently a studied mass-production effort as to leave no doubts as to the hand that put them up.

In countless other ways this "hand" is evident. The first anniversary of the Shanghai Special Municipality (puppet city government) was celebrated in October 1939 by an elaborate reception at the Civic Center with one hundred *geishas* to serve the guests Japanese beer and box lunches in the Japanese Bento style.¹ From Peking we learn that 10,000 cherry trees have been promised for the Summer Palace. Beautiful they will be, as they are in Washington, but placed in Peking now they will stand for a Japanese invasion of one of China's esthetically most sacred spots. In Hangchow one can see along lovely West Lake signs extolling the New Order and calling for racial unity. How far the effort to create a common visible culture will go, no one can tell, but a member of the Japanese Diet, representing the East Asia Costume Designing Committee, proposed that China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" should wear a universal, standard oriental costume, designed and manufactured in Japan.²

There are countless visible evidences of invasion that speak only of deterioration and loss. In contrast to the marked improvement in Nanking from 1927 to 1937, 1940 gives us this picture of the capital of the Reformed Government:

"A change frequently remarked by the Chinese population is the open advertising of brothels, and the development of a sort of cafe with a low type

1. These features were also prominent, at the preliminary celebrations for Wang Ching-wei's "New Central Government" in Nanking, March 1940.

2. *China Weekly Review*, May 7, 1938.

of girl as attendant. Moreover, many of the regular restaurants advertise that they have hostesses to serve their customers. Another worsening of the morals is the open use and distribution of opium in more than 200 licensed agencies of the government monopoly, supplemented by a great deal of clandestine trade both in opium and heroin.

"The wretched condition of the roads and streets, the trifling attention given to parks and public buildings, the inferior street lighting, and the decline in public transportation services of all sorts, the large percentage of children in the streets, the innumerable beggars—all represent too plainly a governmental regime not seriously concerned with public welfare and improvement."

From a Central China city that has been made an important military center comes the following report:

"Many people secure work with the soldiers and usually receive part of their pay in *sake* (the Japanese alcoholic drink). So systematic is this form of payment that we can only conclude it is a policy. And the results are disastrous. One of our teachers reports that four-fifths of the pupils in her primary school are drinking regularly. Boy peddlars that formerly sold peanuts and candy have now added a bottle of *sake* to their tray and ladle out a winecup full for four cents. 'Who drinks this?' I asked one such peddler. 'Everyone,' he replied.... And there is the demoralizing effect of children and poverty-stricken women hanging around the camps, looking for odd jobs, seeking hand-outs, doing anything for a pittance. They, too, are given *sake* and made the butt of all sorts of coarse jokes."

THE SUPPRESSION OF "DANGEROUS THOUGHTS"

The invasion of China has been accompanied by all the forms of censorship, restriction, and intimidation which a vast military machine can devise. In the occupied cities the only locally published newspapers or periodicals are the propagandist organs of the regime. No independently published Chinese material

is permitted to come in by post. Schools, bookshops, and homes have been searched for books and pamphlets considered to be unfriendly to the present masters or to support the National Government of China. Countless bookshops have been closed and those which remain open carry woefully depleted stocks of innocuous material.

The destruction and the seizing of books is one of the most appalling features of the war. Forty of China's leading educational and cultural institutions reported in the early fall of 1939 that they had lost 15,000,000 books, pamphlets, old manuscripts, and rare prints since the war began. To this staggering total must be added the millions of books, paintings, scrolls, fine porcelains, and old bronzes destroyed or looted from private homes. The Japanese have an official organization, "The Society for the Preservation of Cultural Objects," which has saved vast quantities of printed matter and scientific specimens from utter destruction, but it is "holding them until they can be turned over to the proper persons"—at best, some organ of the puppet regime, if not one which is outright Japanese.

All mail matter is subject to censorship. Arrests have been made on the basis of leads thus obtained, and material may be confiscated at any time. In some areas, radio receiving sets have been entirely forbidden. In others, the size has been limited, as in Nankong, where it is a crime for a Chinese to own a set with more than four tubes. Repeating items of news from the Chungking broadcasts is a serious offense; in fact, people are even warned not to talk "at random" or to "discuss politics in public places." The Peking police ended an order of this type with the following words: "Now the situation in North China is more peaceful. The creation of a New Order is

nearly completed. If anyone is discovered making rumours, he will be arrested at once." (May 4, 1939)

The gendarmerie (military police), the Special Service Section of the Army, the consular police, and the puppet police are all turned loose upon the populace with many extra antennae in the way of paid informers. In some cities boxes are provided into which anonymous accusations may be dropped. No longer can men talk freely in tea rooms, and even in private gatherings there is a hushed tone and a careful glance around before the conversation swings to current topics. In some cities spies are paid on a "piece-rate" basis, so much for each person brought in. In one large city spies are required to make four reports a month on their assigned subjects. Such a situation is ripe for intimidation, extortion, and all kinds of grudge work. Hallet Abend, veteran *New York Times* Correspondent, writes: "Imagination recoils, aghast at what Chinese men and women must suffer in places in the interior where there is not even the mild deterrent of foreign witness and criticism."¹

The Japanese have attempted to reorganize the *pao-chia* system in all areas under their control, placing leaders over every ten, hundred, and thousand family groupings. It is an elaborate machine for listing the residence and movements of every individual who must have a "Good Citizen's Card" endorsed by his leader. In principle it is supposed to provide security of homes and property. In practice it becomes a means of control with a hierarchy of responsibility from the individual citizen to the government authority. Extensive reports have been secured on the working of this system in the lower Yangtse valley which emphasize the following points: (1) The *pao-chia* personnel is

1. *Saturday Evening Post*, March 4, 1939.

composed almost wholly of low-grade men who deal in petty graft and oppression; (2) the system provides servants for the police administration and is of use in listing the population and in inquiry for wanted individuals, but generally it is weak and ineffective; (3) over-much formal attention is paid to searching for anti-Japanese elements, and too little effort put into constructive administration such as sanitation, poor relief, and the like.

In North China the Japanese have organized "Protect Railway Villages" all along the railway lines with youth organizations made responsible for guarding the tracks. If bridges or tracks are destroyed, the responsible persons in these organizations are punished beyond the limits of ordinary law, and not infrequently whole villages are burned.

The Japanese have their own worries about spies. In Peking inscriptions bearing four characters, "Beware of Spies" are posted in every Japanese barracks, office, school, shop, hotel, and tea-house; they are even written on tea-cups used in hotels. "There are ears outside the walls" is also a familiar sign. During the fall of 1939 an "Anti-Spy Slogan Contest" was conducted in Peking to arouse the Japanese population to its "responsibilities." First and second prizes were won by a man and his wife who were immediately dubbed the "anti-spy couple." His winning slogan was "A tight mouth means a strong nation", her runner-up warned "Everyone must wear an anti-spy mask."

Chinese in government positions are likewise subject to spying, restrictions, and suppression of all unfavorable utterances. Cases are known in which five-men mutual guarantees have been imposed—the possessions and freedom of all are forfeit if anyone of the five runs off or gets on the wrong political track.

The following report of a conference held in Peking on June 2, 1939, made by one of the officials who attended it, reveals the utter lack of free expression on the part of the Chinese officials. It was called by General Kita, then Liaison Officer of the Asia Development Board in North China, and was attended by high Japanese officers and the heads of the Provisional Government.

"General Kita opened: 'This conference is called in the hope of getting 100 percent real feeling from the Chinese. China and Japan must be completely in harmony, so it is important to know what the Chinese think of Japanese actions. We hope that you will express what you feel from the depths of your hearts without pretense or fear.'

"Wang Ying-tai spoke first explaining that there was really very little harmony between the two people because the Japanese still lacked a full understanding of the Chinese and ignored their livelihood. He cited a recent riot at Tungchow as an example.

"Tang Erh-ho then spoke from the standpoint of education and culture, declaring that the Japanese should be more careful to respect China's culture and that they must not Japonize it.

"Wang Keh-min and Yu Chin-ho spoke about the behavior of Japanese troops and requested more kindness.

"The Japanese rose and excused themselves, asking the Chinese to wait. In a few minutes the following letter was received by the startled officials:

'We regard all of you as anti-Japanese. Your attitude is erroneous. You must know that what the Imperial Army has done is right and cannot be questioned or criticized. It is a great favor to the Chinese that the Japanese troops behave so gently and so well in this part of China. You are warned that you must correct your ideas....'

WHAT JAPAN WANTS CHINA TO BELIEVE¹

The transcendent, comprehensive aim of all Japan's propaganda efforts is to *induce submission* to the Japanese regime. Their most frequently reiterated propositions are classified below. Clothed in scores of varied terms and illustrated by hundreds of different twists they constitute a barrage of invective and praise, of cruel insinuation and exaggerated boasts which is daily pounding upon Chinese eyes and ears, seeking to destroy the faith a people hold dear and to undercut the foundations of hope by which their life is sustained.

1. *Oppose Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists*

The Chinese National Government, personified in Chiang Kai-shek, is to blame for all of China's sufferings. Its anti-Japonism brought on the war, and it continues to sacrifice the people on the altar of its stubborn ambitions.

Back of it are the Reds, the real despoilers of the people, originators of the "scorched earth" and "guerrilla warfare" policies, ineffective against Japan but resulting in untold suffering for the people. As "puppets of the USSR" they care not how much of China is destroyed, for confusion only adds to their chances to spread the "red peril."

The Chungking Government is either (1) completely under the Communists with its leaders deluded and utilized by the wiley Reds; or (2) it is in serious conflict with the Communists, a conflict which may flare up into civil war at any moment.

1. For purposes of comparison a summary of the Japanese appeals used in North China during 1937-38, from the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, October 1939, is given in the Appendix.

2. *Make Peace with Japan*

Further resistance is suicidal folly. The Japanese fighting forces are always victorious, and Chinese detachments are daily annihilated. Only "defeated remnants" of the National Army are left, and they cannot stand against Japan.

The Chungking Government is on the verge of collapse. Disunity is rife, morale is low, and corruption extends even up to Chiang Kai-shek and his family. Communications are broken, and West China is being slowly strangled. Government finance is in a precarious condition, and Chungking is saved from utter bankruptcy only by the support of Britain and the U.S.A.

And all the time Japan stands ready to make peace! She has no selfish ambitions; she is even now sacrificing her men and her treasure for China's ultimate good. Japan is wise, strong, and friendly, and will assist and advise China in every possible way—as she is already doing in "Manchukuo," a land of peace and prosperity. She demands no indemnity and no territory; she wants only friendly cooperation from China.

The people of China really want peace but are either fooled into believing that resistance is necessary, or are prevented by Chiang Kai-shek's power from expressing their true sentiments. They must realize the true state of affairs and "rise up to seek for peace."

3. *Unite the Yellow Race and Expel the White Imperialists*

China and Japan are racially one, neighbors with the "same culture, same virtue, and a common destiny."

Strong, modern Japan has successfully resisted the white encroachments, but "fine old China" fell to their power and their wiles. For one hundred years

they have been exploiting China in every conceivable way, and their thoughts have turned China from the "ancient virtues."

Even now, while certain nations of Europe and America pretend to help China, their real aim is to prolong the war, thus weakening both Japan and China.

In this alignment Britain is "public enemy No. 1". China and Japan must unite to expel the whites and their influence from the Orient. Under the benign protection and leadership of her "friendly neighbor," China can obtain her freedom from Western oppression and, by union with Japan, attain the state of "prosperity and tranquility" which is the destiny of both nations.

4. Build up the "New Order in East Asia"

The New Order is to be the fulfillment of the hopes of China and Japan. It is "the preservation and development of the ancient civilization of the East . . . equalization and mutual benefit in economic collaboration . . . the guarantee of racial existence."

Its beginnings are to be seen in the wise and benevolent policies of the new governments and in the relations between Japan and "Manchukuo."

The people of China must awaken! They must accept the responsibility of so great a destiny! They must work unceasingly for its realization!

Methods Used

For the most part the methods used border on the crude. The appeals are amazingly transparent and far removed from the facts of day-by-day experience, even though they carry emotionally charged phrases, such as those underlined in the following editorial from a Japanese organ, the *Tientsin Yung Pao*, March 12, 1939:

"China today is divided into the new and the old China. There is the China that still depends upon Britain, America, and the USSR, and lacks knowledge of the *modern age*; there is also the China that has already joined hands with Japan, the master of East Asia, in the creation of a *new order* in East Asia. We are the *revolutionists* who *march towards the building* of the New Order in East Asia. We sincerely believe that the *ultimate victory* of New China will arrive."

Illustrative of standard practices for turning the people against desired objects are the following:

The Chinese National Government and Army are never referred to as "Chinese," but simply as "Party" (referring to the Kuomintang) or "Chungking" army or government.

Guerillas are "bandits."

Chinese leaders are never given titles; it is just plain "Chiang Kai-shek" or "Soong Mei-ling," his wife.

The National Army consists of "defeated remnants" which have retired to "mountain fastnesses."

It has remained for Wang Ching-wei and his cohorts to steal the show from the Japanese and other puppet propagandists. They reveal a keener understanding of Chinese feelings and have twisted numerous popular appeals to their own ends:

The Japanese frowned upon Sun Yat-sen, but Wang's men declare that Sun Yat-sen was the founder of modern China and that Wang Ching-wei is his true successor. Pictures of the two are displayed side by side in papers and on billboards.

In uniting with the Japanese to end "unequal treaties" forced upon China by the West, Wang Ching-wei is carrying out the sacred trust passed on to all Chinese in Dr. Sun's last will.

Wang Ching-wei claims to have renovated the Kuomintang in the "Sixth Kuomintang Congress"

(a rump session), held in Shanghai August 28-30, 1939. He now calls Chinese to membership in *their own* party rather than to membership in strange organizations like the *Ta Min Hui* or the *Hsin Min Hui* established by the Japanese in Nanking and Peking respectively.

The familiar and popular Kuomintang flag is replacing the five-bar flag, the Japanese choice and emblem of the old warlord days before 1927.

The Chungking Government is but a "regional refugee administration" and is no longer the true government of China. Wang Ching-wei's "New Central Government" will be the "legitimate successor" to the former National Government of China.

In addition, Wang's men have faked testimonials from both real and fictitious organizations and have even used the name of the President of the Chungking Government on one of their recent posters: "Welcome the return of the National Government to the Old Capital (Nanking)—Lin Sen, Chairman."

Wang's appeal is well illustrated by his "Proclamation to the Youth of the Nation," issued late in the summer of 1939. After lauding the courageous resistance of the Chinese nation, it continues:

"The lesson gained during the bloody war of two years proves that China cannot be wiped out. Japan realizes this. This time has now arrived for the two nations to negotiate their differences on an equal footing. The time is now ripe for peace, and the principles of rapprochement, joint anti-Communism, and economic cooperation should form the basis of peace in the Orient. We reaffirm our faith in the Three Principles (of Sun Yat-sen) and we assert that we will concentrate our strength with the will of the Fascist spirit and endeavor to bring about national salvation.

"Youthful comrades, unite!

Support the peace policy of Mr. Wang!

Make clear the teachings of Sun Yat-sen!

Long live the Republic of China!"

ORGANIZING FOR THOUGHT-CONTROL

Of organizations there is no end. Directly under the Army are the Pacification Corps (*Hsuan Fu Pan*) and the Propaganda Branch, both of which go into action following each territorial advance and endeavor to convince the people that they have nothing to fear from the Army and that they should return to their homes and normal occupations. As this assignment has not been completed in any area we know of, they are still at it. The most important "cultural" control organization in the lower Yangtze Valley is the Army Special Service Section¹ (*Chun T'eh-wu Chi-kwan*) which developed in North China, mostly by a change of name, into the North China Coordination Department of the Asia Development Board (*Hsing Ya Yuan*). In Peking at the beginning of 1940 this Board (1) appointed "advisers" to the news and mail censorship offices, (2) "advised" the Chinese Provisional Government which included an Information Bureau and the Ministry of Education, (3) "advised" directly this Ministry of Education, (4) maintained its own Cultural Branch, and (5) controlled the *Hsin Min Hui* through the appointment of Japanese to the following posts: one Vice-President, two Directing Officers, one Head of the General Affairs Board, and innumerable lesser posts.

The *Hsin Min Hui*, "New Peoples' Association" for North China, is regarded primarily as a propaganda organization. Its projected plan of organization and work, however, parallel that of a political party in a totalitarian state, the difference being that it has many paid workers and too few members. In addition to its central organs, there are (1) Directing Departments for each provincial, municipal, and

1. Headquarters are in Nanking where the office is called the "Advisory Board."

district government and (2) parallel Supervisory Departments, apparently to look after the Directing Departments. As each of these governmental units is supposed to "guide the thoughts of its people" there is here a huge network which reaches, according to their claims, into 105 *hsien* (districts) in four provinces in North China. The following supplementary organs are within the *Hsin Min Hui* or under its control:

1. Youth Training Schools in cities and rural districts to train youth to be loyal to Japan and the new regimes.
2. *Hsin Min* School and Central Training School, for training new staff members, mostly Japanese.
3. Youth Corps, Boys Corps, Women's Corps, the chief work of which seems to be to go on parades and attend mass meetings.
4. *Hsin Min* Youth Movement Executive Committee, a directing organ for *Hsin Min* student activities, such as essay contests, public speaking contests, excursions, conversational meetings.
5. Cooperative and Mutual Aid Societies to lend money, distribute seeds, and assist in transport of farm products.
6. Farmers Guild, Newsboys Guild, Barbers Guild, Teachers Guild, the chief purpose of which seems to be to stage parades and attend meetings.

Wang Keh-min is president of this organization, but the real boss is Lt. General Ando, formerly leader of the Nippon Youth Corps, an organization like the Hitler Youth. He is regarded as an authority on youth training and has been sent to China to carry out the task of regimenting the mind of Chinese youth into

the grooves fixed by the Japanese military. An indication of the Japanese character of this whole set-up is given in the account of a short-term training school opened in Peking in October 1939 for members of the Pacification Corps, *Hsin Min Hui*, directors of *Hsien* Administrations, and Village Railway Protection Associations. Of the 500 reported in attendance, 400 were Japanese.

Hsin Min Hui publications show that social-economic surveys constitute an important phase of their work. Through such investigations and some rural improvement work the *Hsin Min Hui* has sought to get closer to the life of the people who, however, recognize the Japanese character of the organization and meet its activities and appeals with suspicion and resistance. Membership in the various subsidiary organs is almost universally the result either of coercion or of payment.

There is every indication that the Japanese authorities are far from pleased with the results obtained. The 500-men school referred to above was set up because the Army thought their "directing ability is not good enough and that retraining is necessary." But far more significant was the arrest in September 1939 of several department heads who were charged with graft and incompetence. These arrests followed an investigation opened when Army leaders sought to discover why so little was accomplished with the Y.500,000 monthly allowance of the organization. Throughout the autumn there was prolonged discussion of a reorganization which finally took place in December. It is now reported that the *Hsin Min Hui* has been merged with the Pacification Corps, and brought more directly under Japanese control.

In the area under the Nanking Reformed Government, the *Ta Min Hui*, "Great Peoples' Association," has made even less impression than its prototype of the North. It is in no sense popular, and the quality of its personnel is generally low. The first Chinese head, Mr. Kao Hsueh, died suddenly in the course of 1939. It is generally understood that he was poisoned by the Japanese because he was unwilling to turn his propaganda in favor of Wang Ching-wei. During the fall and winter of 1939-40, most of "Reformed" officialdom was particularly inactive, having lost all incentive to work with the ever imminent setting up of Wang Ching-wei's government threatening to throw them out of their jobs. In the capital of Kiangsu Province, old slogans were taken down from the twenty-seven bulletin boards of the city early in December in preparation for new ones, but they did not arrive, and for more than three months these boards were significantly blank. A fair amount of noise was made about the Young Men's Association at the time of its inception, but its program is now so irregular and intangible that many reports bring little enlightenment or assurance of knowledge.

Both in North and Central China there have been efforts to utilize the secret societies, organizations of great influence among all classes of Chinese. The first of such attempts to draw public notice was the "Yellow Way Society," a terrorist gang organized in Shanghai around the notorious gangster Zang Yu-ching, but it was dissolved when the Settlement police made it too hot for Zang to stay in town. He is reported to have gone on to Nanking and to Hangchow where he tried to draw members of the *Ch'ing Pang*, the most powerful of the societies, into his version of the society, called the *An Ch'ing Pang*. This Society now flourishes more openly than under the

old regime and is said to play closely with some of the less creditable elements of the Japanese. It controls certain government offices and occupations in Nanking and nearby centers in a typical gangster manner. It engages freely in extortion, the more readily practiced because the police themselves are heavily involved in the discipline of the Society. As an element of control in the occupied areas, it has sinister possibilities. In Peking the attempt was made, with the Japanese blessing, to form a similar organization, named the *Tung-yi Hui*, but little has been heard of it since its inception.

The Japanese have also tried to bore into labor groups, the various guilds organized by the *Hsia Min Hui* being examples. In Peking the organization of a Sino-Japanese Trade and Labor Union has been reported, with a Japanese as Chairman and the Chinese Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce as the Vice-chairman. In the lower Yantze, the Yangtze Labor Association works with the Japanese, securing all transport and unskilled labor for them. In Nanking it is known that all foremen in these lines of work are also members of the *Ch'ing Pang*, mentioned above. In Shanghai, during the summer of 1939, the Japanese instigated a strike in a British owned cotton mill and kept resentment alive by plastering the area surrounding the factory with anti-British posters.

All kinds of miscellaneous organizations have been announced from time to time, but most of them merely provide a name to place at the close of a telegram or a high-sounding resolution. Perhaps the prize should go to the "Thank Japan Association," reported by *Domei* from north Shansi Province (March 18, 1939). Everyone, they say, is a member, and its purpose is to thank Japan for the "prosperity" she has brought the people. "This is a real people's organization," the

dispatch continues, "and frankly, it is the best in China." Old organizations are being put to new purposes as when a primitive folk religion of Honan, the *Hsien Tien Tao*, is seized upon, revamped, and proclaimed to the world as "*Hsien Tien Tao* Anti-Comintern Salvation Association." We read of the "Buddhist Anti-British Association" in Peking and on August 3, 1939, a paper sublimely reported: "The Peking-Tientsin Benevolent Society met yesterday and started an anti-British drive."

WHOOPIING IT UP—PARADES, CELEBRATIONS, AND SLOGANS

The Japanese appeals are made in every imaginable form: parades, demonstrations, and mass meetings; pictures, posters, and wall slogans; in schools, temples and churches; through radio, movies, and plays; and, above all, through the printed word. Chungking publicly exhibited in March 1940 nearly 3,000 pieces of printed matter from the war areas, comprising 2,000 Japanese and 1,000 Chinese publications. Among the Chinese ones are 100 newspapers and 900 periodicals, pamphlets, and handbills. The Japanese publications have been classified into thirteen groups including magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, posters, and paper notes.¹

An early emphasis in any town or city that is occupied is put on the kindness of the Japanese troops. In Hangchow brilliantly colored posters of soldiers protecting men and women and blessing little children² were pasted all over the city even before the initial orgy of looting and raping had subsided. They read:

1. Reuters despatch. *North China Daily News*, March 4, 1940.

2. Our poster was quite evidently a copy of a picture of Jesus and the children, used by the Christian Church in China.

"Under the Japanese flag people are guaranteed peace and the enjoyment of their occupations."

"Return to your homes, and you will be given rice to eat. Trust the Japanese Army, and you will be saved and helped."

"Wherever the Japanese Army goes, peace is instantly manifested."

This attempt to build up friendly feeling for the Army has been a continuous goal. Undismayed by the cruelties of their soldiers, writers and speakers have stuck to their task. "The Friendship Pictorial Book," printed in gay colors by the East Asia Book Company, Tokyo, is one of many examples. Each page shows Japanese soldiers befriending Chinese children, holding them in their arms, carrying them on their shoulders, playing with them in the gayest of spirits with the Japanese and five-bar flags very much in evidence. There are soldiers teaching them Japanese, soldiers cutting their hair, and Army doctors healing their bodies. Captions which are given both in Chinese and Japanese read

"Come and play....The fierce tank is our colleague; good men need not be afraid....The teacher gives us a chance to learn Japanese....Today the weather is fine, and the Japanese war plane is flying to drive away the bad men" (guerillas).¹

January and February 1940 saw through the cities of Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces increased emphasis on an "Army-People Friendship Movement." There were the usual demonstrations, parades, and meaningless speeches. In a slogan contest held in Soochow awards were made as follows:

First prize (ten yen)—"We should treat the Japanese soldiers as our own brothers!"

Second prize (five yen)—"To love Japanese soldiers is to love our own life and property!"

The press reported 20,000 people in a "Friendship

1. Sections of this booklet were reproduced in the *China Weekly Review*, August 12, 1939.

Parade" in Nanking on February 17. "How interesting," commented a Nanking resident, "the puppet newspapers predicted there would be 20,000 people in that parade several days before it came off! One of our number, who observed that parade very carefully, could swear there were no more than 1,300 people in it. Practically every one in it was either in the employ of the Japanese and made to take part or was paid for participating."

The flag-waving parades and the mass meetings are probably the most typical of all the efforts made to arouse popular feeling for the "New Order." Every occasion that might permit a celebration is seized upon, including such Japanese holidays as the Emperor's Birthday and the Anniversary of the Battle of Mukden. The organizers have resorted to all kinds of expedients to build up a crowd—free movies, gifts, outright payment, and above all, compulsion¹ which is applied to every person on whom the Japanese have a handle. The Chinese have been just as ingenious in finding ways of evasion. Men will be too busy, schools will be on vacation, flags will be lost, children will wave their paper flags violently enough to destroy them in a few minutes. Numbers of participants are very much below expectation, and everything is done without spirit. The "spontaneous" character of these demonstrations is well illustrated in this account from Tsingtao:

"Early in July the heads of all schools were called to a conference at which they were ordered to march their entire student bodies in an anti-British parade. One or two representatives explained the difficulties they would have in complying with the order, and then the head of a government school stated that his school was having final exams on

1. In some notices the Chinese verb "order" is that formerly reserved for the Emperor's commands.

the day set, and that his students could not possibly leave. Instantly one of the Japanese advisers rose up, rushed to the telephone and commanded the Bureau of Education to have these exams postponed. They were, and the children were marched out to express the genuine feeling of the people of new China."

The past two years will probably break all records for the number of slogans made, blazoned forth, and then thrown on the trash heap. The following are characteristic or of special interest:

"Put up the five-bar flag! People of the East, Unite!"

"Only peace can save China!"

"Chiang has ruined the country and impoverished the people!"

"Chiang, the Communists, the British are the trinity of Devils that harm the people!"

"Stamp out the Communists, or they will destroy our country and our race!"

"Build up the New Order in East Asia!"

"China and Japan—a common existence and a common glory!"

"Support the New Political Power and obey the New Order!"

"The Reformed Government is the star of salvation for the people!"¹

"Put your trust in the Japanese Army!"

"Support Chairman Wang, the savior of our nation and people! Down with the Communists, the traitors of our Party and our people!"

"If you see guerillas tearing up the tracks" (picture of guerillas doing a very thorough job)

"Run and tell a Japanese soldier." (picture)

"And you will be richly rewarded!" (Picture of a Chinese standing under crossed Japanese and five-bar flags, holding a dollar bill in his hand).

All demonstrations are occasions for handbills and pamphlets of which the following are illustrative:

"Beloved People of the Occupied Areas"

In essence: Be calm. Observe August 13 quietly, knowing that everything is now all

1. This "star" set on March 30, 1940, having been dissolved upon inauguration of Wang Ching-wei's "Central Government."

right under the Army and the new Government....If any persons resist or spread false rumors, they will be severely punished. (Soo-chow Pacification Corps)

"Painful History of Britishers' Cruel Slaughter of Chinese"

"A short History of the Crimes of Britain against China"

(By the "China Economic Society" whatever that may be.)

"True Pictures of Guerillas"

Lurid pictures of violence and cruelty with appeals to the people to return to their happy homes under the protection of the Japanese Army. (*Ta Min Hui* publication)

"Manifesto to All Workers of the Country"

There are jobs and food under the new regime. (*Ta Min Hui* Publication)

"Manifesto to the Kuomintang Armies"

Contains (1) accusations against the character and motives of their officers. (2) appeal to join the new regime (3) warning that as Communist and Russian influence spreads in the west, they will have no place to retreat when retreat is necessary. (*Ta Min Hui* Publication)

"The Good Neighbor with Whom We Want Intimate Ties"

"If there had been no Japan in the Orient, China would long ago have been wiped out of existence.... On the side of science, Japan's progress has plainly surpassed all the haughty nations of Europe and America...." Japan's virtues are also superior. "Aside from Japan, is there any other country adequate to be the friend of our truest ideals?"

Numerous songs have been manufactured or imported to tell of the glories of the new day. An examination of many of them reveals nothing worthy of quoting, so dull and colorless are they. Even the peasant has "folk songs" composed for him, an effort to exploit the common belief among the Chinese that great historical turning points are preceded by the spontaneous development among the people of simple

rhythmic verses, fortelling the epoch-making event that is about to take place. These songs are even believed to contain elements of supernatural revelation. Evidently on the policy of helping nature take its course, the song-writers have prepared and attempted to teach to the people verses berating the Communists, praising the sagacity of Wang Ching-wei and extolling the virtues of China's deliverer, Japan.

The following illustrations are taken from a booklet distributed in Shantung Province (*New Asiatic Song and Dance*):

(No. 13)

Buy soy sauce
And colzac oil—
One copper to buy both.
The old peasant mopes.
He has the oil.
But no meat.
The wheat he's ground is not enough.
To the street, he must go.
Wandering here, wandering there, mournfully he goes.
Painfully passes this new year.
But look! here come some Japanese—pals of the village elder.
Plump fowls and ducks and a great big ox presenting.
So that all
Eat their fill, one and all.
Delighted is that ancient man.
He points with his finger like a fan.
All good friends come from Japan.

(No. 14)

New Year's Day!
Let's fly kites!
Together the three boys go to play—
One tug and the kite mounts high.
They shout.
They cheer.
Pull with their hands.
And gaze with their eyes.
One looks at t'other, t'other looks at him.
Down comes the kite and home they go.
A parable of mutual economic help, this band—
China, Japan, Manchuria, ever hand in hand.

STEADY DIGGING—NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO¹

Newspapers are completely under the Japanese control except some few in the International Settlement and French Concession of Shanghai and one in Tientsin, and these are not permitted to enter Japanese-controlled areas. News is supplied by a Japanese agency, and every item in the paper must be submitted for "examination" before appearing in print. From time to time various official bodies issue slogans, articles, and communiques which must be given prominence.

In city after city newspapers have been taken over and reorganized with Japanese advisors. Many papers have been closed down or "amalgamated" so that the number is far below the pre-war figure.

Such papers are despised and largely ignored by the Chinese who contemptuously call them "traitor papers." "Their censorship is so stupid," said one Chinese. "The largest factory in our city was burned by guerillas on New Year's Day, and the local paper did not report it until after an account had appeared in the Shanghai papers more than two weeks later."

Wang Ching-wei's paper *Chung Hwa Jih Pao* (*Central China Daily News*) enjoys more freedom than any of the other puppet papers. His efforts to pose as a representative of Chinese interests against mere exploitation by the Japanese, aided by relatively good writing, gave him a good start. Yet he represents day by day the viewpoint previously described—one quite approved by the Japanese in power—and people view his productions with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. He has a weekly tabloid which is most virulent in its attacks upon Chiang and the

1. These are treated briefly here because two additional pamphlets will be issued shortly, one on "The Press and Radio", the other on "Education and Religion."

communists and which preaches the folly of further resistance.

The radio is extensively used for news broadcasts, speeches, and commentaries—all with the official slant—and there is much jamming of forbidden stations. In Peking the last independent station (the foreign-owned XOMO) was sold to Japanese interests in October 1939 after 200 Chinese advertisers had been forced to cancel their contracts. In Shanghai there is a "Japanese Broadcasting Superintendence Office" which is really a radio control board, with offices and a powerful station XOJB in the International Settlement. A few foreign-owner stations maintain their independence, but all Chinese stations must register with this Board and, in order to register, must agree to use part of their time for Japanese propaganda. This board has jammed the broadcasts of recalcitrant stations by placing other stations on their wave length, and it keeps five transmitters for interference only.¹

This line of appeal is of questionable effectiveness. Chinese listeners report that they are frequently able to detect sarcasm in the tones of Chinese announcers and, above all, it is so easy to cut off the radio. Shopkeepers who keep their radios running for their music are known to cut them off when the news comes on—"to save current," they explain.

EDUCATION

Education is used in all countries for the development of national purposes. Japan has gone one step farther in making it an instrument of conquest, another tool for developing submissive servants of the "New Order." There was, first of all, a large-scale destruction of institutions of higher learning; 25 out of China's 108 institutions have

1. For a fuller discussion of radio see *China Weekly Review*, June 24, 1939.

been forced to suspend work, 14 were completely razed, 11 seriously damaged through aerial bombardment. Even now the bombing of colleges continues. Throughout the occupied areas the Japanese have sought to reorganize education, the aims of which have been stated as follows:

- "1. To promote Sino-Japanese cooperation and construction of the New Order in East Asia.
- "2. To revive the old moral standards and inspire the scientific spirit.
- "3. To promote physical health.
- "4. To correct mistaken conceptions."¹

Bureaus of Education have been set up with Japanese "advisers" who really control the whole show. The teaching of the Japanese language is, in principle, compulsory in all schools and is supposed to be taught by a Japanese who is also made responsible for the "thoughts and morals" of the students, and Government schools have Japanese advisers who are the real powers. Mission schools have been relatively free from interference, but their future is uncertain. The Japanese have placed much emphasis upon the "re-education of teachers" through short-term normal schools, some of which actually pay their students for attending. Text-books have been re-written to bring them in line with the Japanese slant on history, politics, international relations, and "virtue." The pupils of these schools are subject to all sorts of demands—parades, mass meetings, and essay contests on such subjects as "Why We Should Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek," or their "thoughts" may be inspected through questionnaires sent to schools to be filled out by each individual. Teachers and administra-

1. Statement from the Five-Year Plan of the "Ministry of Education" of the Nanking "Reformed Government."

tors are plagued with innumerable inspections and are frequently required to attend meetings and conferences. Arrest and torture of students and teachers, including those in mission schools, have been widespread, yet educators are ever being offered trips to Japan and "Manchukuo" to see how the "Friendly Neighbor" does things and to understand her intentions towards China.

The outstanding picture is one of deterioration and loss, for few of the better institutions have remained in the occupied areas. Those which the Japanese have sought to reorganize are but a pitiful shadow of the past—they cannot get enough first-class educators, and students avoid such schools if they possibly can. In many cases there has been a tendency back to the old-type memoriter education of fifty years ago. Over and over one gets the impression of spiritless schools run by worn-out or poorly prepared teachers under a regime distasteful to teachers and students alike.

How far the cultural aggression will proceed through the schools no one can tell, but enthusiastic Japanese have advocated a "uniform system of education for Japan, Korea, 'Manchukuo,' and North China"¹ and "Japanese as the language of East Asia."

RELIGION AND THE PHILOSOPHIES

"Ancient virtues," that is, traditional philosophies and all the religions in China, are being exploited in the attempt to bring the people into line. The democracy of a Mencius is forgotten, but the feudalistic aspects of Confucianism become ready tools, especially the emphasis on loyalty and obedience to a paternalistic government. Buddhism.

1. Under consideration by the Japanese Imperial Education-System Institute.

long a historic link between Japan and China, has provided numerous opportunities for "Sino-Japanese Buddhist" projects of various sorts: study, travel, relief, memorial services for Japanese war dead, and prayers for peace. In some activities the political motive is all too evident, as indicated in these two items from the Peking Press:

"As a counter-measure against Communism, the Pacification Corps (Japanese) are giving the people pictures of Buddha to put on the front door during the New Year." (February 17, 1939).

"Buddha's birthday is to be celebrated on a large scale this year....The respect of Buddha means a blow to Communism." (May 20, 1939)

Many old practices are being encouraged. Confucian sacrifices and sacrifices to the God of War, which had lapsed in recent years, were celebrated in many places during 1938-39. Taoist societies are being reorganized with official stimulation, and the Taoist practices at Taishan (one of China's holy mountains), which had been frowned upon by the Kuomintang Government during 1927-37, are now coming back. The largest temple in nearby Taian, converted into a social center by General Feng Yu-hsiang, is now a temple again, its large wooden idols having been reinstated in all their majesty.

Japan has made a definite bid to win the sympathy of the large Mohammedan population in China's Northwest. Instructions have been sent out not to offend the Mohammedans, and the religion has been given official recognition in Japan, where a second mosque has been erected in Tokyo directly under Government patronage.

All have been invoked in the name of peace. Wang Ching-wei quotes extensively from the Classics to show the folly of war and China's traditional fondness for peace. In the Christian heritage the

prophetic demand for justice is ignored, but the emphasis upon love and brotherhood is interpreted by most Japanese to mean that Chinese (and foreign) Christians should love the Japanese and cooperate with them in the building of a new order in East Asia.

During recent years there had been a growing social-ethical consciousness on the part of large numbers of Chinese, especially the youth. There was a desire for freedom and democracy, a sympathy for the common man, and a demand for justice that was growing in its insistence. It was imperfect in its realization, yet *it was there* as an active ferment for needed social change. Today these ideals are "dangerous thoughts" in large areas of China, and the opiates of feudalistic philosophy, superstitious folk-practices, and distorted religion are being applied to lull a people into a sense of security and to induce submission.

RACIALISM AND ANTI-FOREIGN CAMPAIGNS

There is every indication that Japan is trying to spread throughout China a philosophy of race. The volume of abuse that has been poured out against England not only in Tientsin, but throughout China, is almost unbelievable.¹ Britishers have been driven out of tens of towns and cities in North China. Figures collected at the end of 1939 show that 136 British mis-

1. As one example: papers in Hangchow, Nanking, and Soochow all carried the following slogans on March 26, 1939.

"Destroy the British Flag!"

"Boycott British Goods!"

"Confiscate British Property in China!"

"Recover all British concessions in China!"

"Drive every Britisher in this country beyond our borders!"

"Swear not to cooperate with Britishers!"

sionaries had been forced to leave, thus closing twenty-five stations, including ten hospitals and seventeen schools. The evidence is conclusive that these are not sporadic outbursts, but systematic attempts to turn resentment against Japan into resentment against the white race. Britain was picked out because she was most vulnerable. Americans have been in favor, because Japan needs America's continued economic support. Let Japan decide that she could gain more by attacking Americans in China, and the torrent would be turned on them. Wang Ching-wei's spokesmen have revealed a decided anti-American trend.²

We could hardly find a more clear-cut statement of racialism than in the following speech delivered by the head of the Propaganda Division of the Special Service Section of the Japanese Central China Army. He was being transferred from Nanking to Peking to assume another post and at the farewell meeting given him in Nanking spoke thus to his colleagues and to representatives of the Nanking press circles:

"My highest aim is to realize the Greater Asiatic Policy. In order to realize it, China, Japan, India and the Malay States must struggle in a united front....

"The present Sino-Japanese conflict is the result of the misdirection of the Kuomintang and the National Government by Soviet Communists and American and European financiers. Therefore, Japan is in indirect war with them....

"The economic and cultural developments of China in the past were quite low. She must follow the lead of a progressive nation like Japan. Speaking of culture, it is clear that the culture of the East is quite different than the West. We emphasize the spiritual and the moral; they emphasize the material and despise morality....

"Unfortunately, China has been intoxicated by them. That's the reason for China's plight today....The Westerners, although they look kind and

2. See *China Weekly Review*, March 23, 1940.

approachable, yet they have wicked hearts. The Japanese, although their appearance is quite strict, yet they have really kind hearts....

"I want you to create public opinion and to make publicity along these lines...." (*Peking Hsin Min Pao*, January 8, 1939)

Additional illustrations of how this emphasis is being carried out are given below. The first is a drama in four acts, *The World Attains Peace*, published by the Nanking *Ta Min Hui*. No information is available as to its performances, but it is an allegory revealing what Japan wants China to believe:

A family named Yellow (Huang) consisted of four brothers and one attractive sister (China). They possessed valuable lands but came to grief when two of the brothers (symbolizing the so-called pro-European and pro-American elements of the Kuomintang) fell into bad company of men named Mei (America) and Yin (England) and Fu (France), spending their substance recklessly. A third brother (the Chinese Communists) did even worse with his accomplice, Su (USSR). In poverty and desperation the first two brothers plot to get themselves out of trouble by transferring their sister to the dangerous companions, Mei, Yin and Fu. But they find that the third brother has already pledged her to Su, the Red. Strife turns into forcible seizure of the girl, when in the nick of time there arrives salvation in the person of Hwa Teh-lin (China's Virtuous neighbor, Japan) a friend from the cordially disposed East Village, who had still earlier claims on the girl and is found to possess her affections. The fourth brother (Wang Ching-wei) who had remained out of the action until the vices of the others required his entry, now comes forward and aids in the amicable relations between the sister and the virtuous neighbor. This turning to the virtuous neighbor is partly due

to the fourth brother's sagacity and partly to the natural affections of the girl, hitherto restrained.

The conclusion is of course a new heaven, with the dawn of eternal peace to the discomfiture of evil, scheming outsiders. A touching adornment is the singing of the *Ta Min* (Hui) song by the girl and the good brother, as they drink together following their discovery that they are agreed on the right course out of their trouble.

In the same vein is the pamphlet, *Our Asia*, distributed (18,000) by the *Ta Min Hui*. The introductory statement is called "Asia for the Asiatics" and reads as follows:

"Asia is the heavenly land opened by our forefathers. It is also the place which will provide livelihood for our Asiatic descendents. The white men, with their excessive ambition, employ the might of their warships, thinking to take Asia as their dish of fish and meat. But we, in order to seek the common survival and common prosperity of Asiatics, cannot but unite in one body to snatch back the whole of Asia, determined that we can never again let the white men come to trample on us."

THE CHINESE RESPONSE

Vast numbers of Chinese people are perforce becoming more accustomed to the Japanese language, to Japanese products, and to Japanese ways. Habits are being formed and familiarities being developed which would tend to bring the two people closer together, were it not for the aversions resulting from other aspects of Japan's invasion of China.

There can likewise be no doubt about the tragically destructive cultural and moral results of this invasion. Instead of the rich intellectual and artistic life which was carried on before the war, the occupied areas are now one vast literary and esthetic desert with practically all of the educated and cultured peo-

ple gone and with the few who remain facing intellectual stagnation.

Immoral influences abound, for the invasion has called out and rewarded some of the lowest forms of human conduct. Consider the demoralizing tendencies set up by repeated exposure to the following situations—all against a background of physical insecurity and grinding poverty: the whole system of pretense and lies built up around the puppet regimes; the call to betray one's deepest loyalties; the unprecedented opportunities for extortion and blackmail presented by the *pao-chia* system and the net-work of spies; the rewarding of gangsterism and the lifting of non-entities to positions of wealth and power; the officially stimulated production and sale of opium and its derivatives; the recruiting of prostitutes from the daughters of an impoverished people and the flagrant display of brothels; and over all the brutalizing and coarsening influence of an army whose conduct has shocked the civilized world.

Observers from all parts of the occupied areas report that Japan's positive message—what they want China to believe—has been strikingly ineffective. Those who have engaged in this study have reported no case of any group of people turning to the Japanese or accepting any of their main propositions. The puppets and those in the Japanese employ might be taken as an exception, but even here the shift of loyalties cannot be taken as assured. The driving force has been in most cases economic gain—sometimes escape from starvation,—personal ambition or spite, and many forms of pressure and intimidation. Even within the ranks of the new "governments" there is much hatred of the Japanese—recall how the old gentlemen must have felt after the conference described in page 9. "You don't know the suffering

of a traitor until you have been one" is a saying frequently heard in Peking. "It's an evil we shall have to endure for a while longer," said a "Reformed" official, referring to the Japanese control. Among lesser officers and employees this attitude is quite marked. A school girl in Peking stood reading wall slogans when a policeman of the puppet government came up. "Run along home, girlie," he said quietly, "don't read that stuff." In another city a Chinese had been sent to require a mission school to hang up the five-bar flag. The missionary had politely refused, and the officer upon leaving said, "Well, I am glad there's one place that doesn't have to fly this flag."

If the Japanese version of things can get across to the Chinese at all, it can only be in matters which the people are unable to check by their own experience, such as events in distant parts of China and international relations. Here there is distrust of everything that is said, but in the absence of definite evidence to confirm or disprove what is reported, the individual is more at the mercy of the propagandists. For instance, the papers carried stories during the fall of 1939 of improving Japanese-American relations; America would renew her trade treaty and was coming to an understanding with Japan about China. Similarly the whole European War has to be viewed by most Chinese in the occupied areas through Japanese glasses. The anti-foreign campaigns are of ominous possibilities in this connection, for the past conduct of Britain and America in China has not been without blemish, and old wounds can be opened and smoldering prejudices inflamed in a way that might make future relations difficult, especially if Britain or America were now to let China down. For the most part, let it be said, the Chinese know what is back of these "movements" and view them as tricks

of the invader. An American seeing a Chinese reading an anti-British poster asked, "Is England your enemy?" "No," came back the reply, "we know who our enemy is!"

It is likewise difficult for the man in the street to judge whether Chungking is on the verge of collapse or whether the "Communist-Kuomintang conflict" is likely to lead to civil war, and the constant hammering on this point may tend to subtly undermine morale. Yet it is surprising how confidence in an ultimate Chinese victory has been maintained. "Two more years . . . two more years" is whispered through towns and cities with a surprising unanimity. The Japanese have made much of their invincibility, but the Chinese people attribute Japanese victories only to equipment and believe that man for man Chinese soldiers are superior. Even people shut off from outside news have tales of the exploits of guerilla bands which are passed eagerly from person to person. Fantastic as some of them may be, they feed the pride and the hopes of the people and serve to counter-act other stories, equally fantastic. There is, finally, a sense of justice which has been deeply outraged by the events of the past two and half years: Chinese are saying that people who behave so simply can't win. A rickshaman recently said, "They are too mean. In fact, they are so base that we are sure they cannot hold out much longer."

When the Japanese appeals get into fields where they can be verified by personal experience, the response is universally one of revulsion. Claims regarding army friendship and the good intentions of Japan, cooperation and amicable relations, the excellence and achievements of the puppets, are so completely denied by the facts of daily life—brutality, exploitation, indignity, and galling interference with

normal activity—that they lead to positive scorn for the intelligence of the propagandists. This attitude is summed up in the words of a Hangchow coolie who turned away from “Army-people Friendship Week” posters with the remark, “The swelling hasn’t gone down from where they have slapped our cheeks, and they talk to us of friendship!”

Even an occasional barrage of “good works” such as soldiers giving candy to children, opening a few clinics or cheap-rice stores appropriately decorated with flags and signs, or giving food to starving people, is met with hostility and suspicion. “Of course, many people buy at their cheap stores,” said a Chinese, “but we know that even such prices are way above what they were before the Japanese came.”

A Social worker was talking with a family that had been burned out when fire destroyed their village near Shanghai. “The ‘Ta Tao’ Police (puppets) came out with some bread, but we wouldn’t take it,” the father declared. “Why?” “Because,” he answered, “They wanted to take my picture receiving it.”

Ask the Chinese of the occupied areas what the Japanese want or what they mean by “cooperation” and the “New Order,” if they are free to talk, their answers will reveal almost without exception an utter lack of confidence in anything Japan does or says, a conviction that Japan wants everything she can possibly squeeze out of China, and a determined opposition to all of Japan’s plans. No Gallup Poll is possible in the occupied areas, but the following quotations are typical of what the man in the street is saying (with the more offensive epithets deleted):

A richman: “We don’t know what is meant by ‘New Order’ or by ‘Old Order’ either. All we know is that we simply haven’t enough rice to feed our stomachs, yet often without cause we get slapped...”

A farmer: “They have taken our pigs, chickens,

firewood and rice....It’s not a ‘New Order,’ but a ‘Broken Order’....‘Cultivating friendly relations between China and Japan’ is but a way of squeezing money out of us.”

An old scholar: “Cooperation? They have all the power, and we have none. What kind of cooperation is that?....They want to grab everything, especially our productive enterprises and communications.”

A story teller in a tea-room: “With the coming of the ‘New Order’ rice is five times as expensive as before. Life in the countryside is unbearable, and the city people starve....With the coming of the ‘New Order’ a seller of bean-curd soup can become a government official and ride around in an automobile.”

A peddler: “From high heaven to the bottom of the sea nothing escapes their greedy eyes....They also want men, women, and especially our youths.”

A contractor: “They talk of cooperation, but they really want us to be their servants.” He paused, and then continued, “No, not servants, but slaves, for we do not treat our servants the way they treat us.”

The prize “boner” of the propaganda war was the designation of the present set-up “The New Order in East Asia.” To the Japanese it means some nebulous utopia; to the Chinese it has meant brutality, degradation, and loss. Why should a Chinese respond to the call to “Build Up the New Order”? The whole appeal has been so inept that it may possibly stand as a classic example of Japan’s failure to understand the Chinese mind.

Japan’s cultural aggression in China may prove destructive of taste, morals, and intellectual development, but it is doomed to frustration in its major task of shifting the loyalties of a people because its appeals are contradicted by a thousand facts of day-by-day experience. Where it all leads to was well put by the Chinese who, pointing to a list of “Friendship Slogans” in his newspaper, said in disgust, “They have taught me what a nuisance words can be.”

APPENDIX ANALYSIS OF THE JAPANESE APPEAL

Reproduced, slightly rearranged, from "Japanese Propaganda in North China, 1937-38," by D. N. Rowe.

Public Opinion Quarterly, October 1939.

RANK	Subject matter	Number of Times used			
		Leaf-lets	Post-ers	Wall Pictures	Total
1.	Defeatism (Including: Japanese Army powerful 90, Chinese Government sacrificing people 84, China bound to lose 48)	243	47	31	321
2.	Opposition to Chinese political and military leaders (Including: Anti-Kuomintang 117, Kuomintang sacrifices people 84, Anti-Chiang Kai-sek 64)	202	50	21	273
3.	Opposition to Communism (Epithets and pure denigration 181)	182	25	11	218
4.	Support of Japanese armed forces (Japanese Army powerful 90, friendly 42, peace-loving 9)	97	43	25	165
5.	Support of <i>Hsin Min Hui</i>	102	13	3	118
6.	Support of Japan-China-Manchukuo Union	66	11	9	86
7.	Support of civil order				

	in occupied areas	60	0	0	60
8.	Support of newly organized governments .	8	15	15	38
9.	Support of duties and loyalties as sanctions for pro-Japanese attitudes and actions ...	34	7	1	42
10.	Opposition to non-Japanese aliens in China	21	3	1	25
	Total				1,346

The summary states:

"The propaganda is highly indefinite, avoids facts, and attempts to produce public attitudes by reiteration of unsupported statements.... Closely connected is the tendency to employ simple denigration of adversaries.... In stressing the unity of China, Japan, and 'Manchukuo,' the only group in the Japanese social complex which is singled out for praise is that composed of fighting forces.... This propaganda, in thus focussing attention, is really accentuating the differences between China and Japan.... The emphasis on Japanese strength is related to the psychological complex or inferiority on the part of a people who have always felt their cultural indebtedness to another. Acceptance of this propaganda would of course tend to deflate the usual feeling of superiority on the other side.... Another identification system is the use of flags.... the sun being used on an average of nearly three times per poster. The five-bar flag occurs on an average of nearly twice per pictorial poster...."

UNCENSORED NEWS FROM THE ORIENT

This pamphlet is one of a series prepared by the American Information Committee, Shanghai, China, on current topics in the Orient of interest to Americans. Titles of other pamphlets are:

1. Japan's Attack on American Interests in the Far East.*
2. Narcotic Trafficking and the Japanese Army.*
3. China after Twenty-one Months of War.
4. "New Order in East Asia."
5. China Exploitation Company, Un-Limited.
6. The new Outlook in the Far East in the Light of the European War.*
7. Japan over China—America's Gain or Loss?
8. Japan's Puppets on the Chinese Stage.
9. Japan's Cultural Aggression in China.
10. The Press and Radio in the Occupied Areas (in preparation).
11. Education and Religion in the Occupied Areas (in preparation).

Copies, as far as available, may be obtained from the American Information Committee, Room 209, 160 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai, China, at US\$0.05 each.

THE AMERICAN INFORMATION COMMITTEE

Room 209, 160 Ave. Edward VII

Shanghai, China

*Out of print

PRINTED
IN
CHINA