

Extract from

CHANGING MANCHURIA

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MANCHURIA AND MONGOLIA ARE OUR COUNTRY'S LIFE LINE.

I.

"In discussing the MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA problem, we must first grasp a clear idea of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA.

"Primarily, it is not a result of aggression that our country established an unshakable influence in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War was unavoidable because CHINA menaced the independence of KOREA, which is closely connected with our country. And the Russo-Japanese War was inevitable because of RUSSIA swooping down southward like a great tide to threaten the existence of our country. As a result, the advantageous conclusion of the war situation gave our country the succession of RUSSIA's rights in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA as a part of her reparation.

"People often speak of the special rights and interests in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA, but as to what they actually mean, people all have different opinions and all are vague. In my opinion, however, the rights and interests originated not from a theory but from the practical problem of it being impossible to entrust these to CHINA if we expect to secure our national defense. We can obviously see this in the Russo-Japanese War, and, furthermore, the subsequent situations both in CHINA and RUSSIA may be taken as a definite illustration thereof.

"Since then, our country has made every effort to develop MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA. The investment in the Manchurian Railway and others has already amounted to almost ¥ 1,700,000,000 in total. At present, the Manchurian and Mongolian problem has given birth to various questions all over the world which merely goes to show that our country has mainly developed MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA and its real worth has been recognized universally.

"The Chinese may have something to say but if they carefully consider JAPAN's relation with MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA, it is ridiculous that they should ever try to expel our country by blindly believing our country to be one of those that unjustly impair national prestige. Chinese who have any understanding should be able to realize this mistake. It is due only to the stimulus created by the development accomplished by our country that CHINA has come to pay attention to MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA.

"However the position of present MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA is indispensable to the economic existence of our people as well as it being of vital importance to our national defense. In other words, when we consider it from a practical point of view, MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA are JAPAN's life-line not only for the sake of our national defense but also for our economy. Every nation has a life-line that holds the key to its existence. As GIBRALTER and MAITA are to GREAT BRITAIN, and the CARIBBEAN SEA to AMERICA, there definitely is an important point from which it is impossible to retreat if the nation expects to exist. I was referring to this point when I, in the last Diet session, spoke of the Manchurian and Mongolian policies and especially the life-line... And, I believe the people should grasp this point! The fact that 200,000 fellow countrymen are residing there and the existence of the Manchurian Railway is not, from JAPAN's standpoint, the whole of the Manchurian and Mongolian problem. The said facts are, of course, important matters, but they are only matters which give further importance to the problem.

"When we observe the present international relations and also the economic life of our country, we find that there is no change in the fundamental fact that MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA are areas of close connection with our country, even if there were no Japanese nor investments nor any historical relations of which we all know. In short, they are what I've been stressing, the life-line of our country. When we think of the historical relations established with the blood of our brothers, and of all the Japanese people over there, and of the great sum of investment, it is clear that we need not concede to any country nor to any person in securing and defending the areas that are the very life-line of our country."

II.

"Among the Chinese there are those who feel discontented over JAPAN's development in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA, but no one in EUROPE or AMERICA is protesting against JAPAN's rightful development, which goes to prove that every country except CHINA approves of it. As for the American attitude in question, it is not exaggerating to say that there is no madcap who thinks of a war with our country in connection with the Manchurian and Mongolian problem as people mistake.

"An English proverb says, 'Mind your own business.' This means in our country, 'Drive away the fly on your head,' and shows most adequately a phase of the American characteristic. If we frankly tell the Americans that they have nothing to do with what we may do in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA and that they should not say unnecessary things and 'instead should do well what they're supposed to do,' the Americans are people who understand so they'll mind their own business.

"However, I am not saying that we should do as we please in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA. What I mean is that so long as we do the rightful things, there is no necessity for JAPAN to defer to AMERICA and others and also it will be that which they'll be able to understand. It goes without saying that in developing MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA we must take 30,000,000 Chinese

into consideration. We must make them understand at all cost and proceed on our way by acting in concert and cooperating with them. I am one of those that have for many years worked at the very front in both MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA and are doing their best to realize the said purpose. I believe that the Chinese have the best understanding of my views.

"In viewing the Manchurian and Mongolian policies of the present Cabinet, however, it is very regrettable that it, in Manchurian and Mongolia and in the problems thereof, assumes a hesitating attitude as if afraid of someone in spite of the fact that MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA stand on such points with our country as have been said. Up to the present day, our country, more or less, has assumed a rather reserved attitude. Still, our diplomacy in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA is almost being overawed by the will power of others. It is my very opinion that all we do will be unsuccessful, unless this inactive diplomacy is changed into something active. But, in saying this, I don't mean to take drastic measures. Those who use brutal force are cowards.

"It is natural, of course, that we who are not gods will have, at times, failures in our administration of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA. Some of our countrymen out there are elements that we cannot be proud of and there are points that we should reconsider. But the biggest cause of the recent standstill in the JAPAN-CHINA relationship is this passive diplomacy. Therefore, unless this point is reestablished, the standstill will never be broken even with all the artifices and devices. In relation to this point, I spoke in the last Diet session and also several times to Baron SHIDEHARA whom I respect as a senior. For the sake of the nation, I sincerely wish that he'd reconsider as soon as possible. This is the only key that will open a way to the standstill of the Manchurian and Mongolian problem. In saying so, however, I do not mean to menace the Chinese at once. I, having associated with the Chinese for 27 years, do not fall behind others in understanding them or in wishing to increase their interests. Say, for instance, it was I, it seems, that introduced for the first time among our nationals the questions concerning the abolition of extraterritorial jurisdiction and increase of customs income in CHINA. This, together with my views and attitude towards CHINA is, I believe, that which will be best understood by intelligent Chinese."

III.

"Next, the other important point our people should have a clear idea of is the development and stabilization of the Eastern Three Provinces--at present the North Eastern Four Provinces (including JEHOL Province) and EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA--which I have stressed for many years as being the conclusion to the study of the Manchurian and Mongolian problem. I believe the foregoing is the key to the real and final settlement of the CHINA problem. This is our minimum claim in insisting our right to exist from the viewpoint of national defence and economics. In other words, the very safety of JAPAN rests on the foregoing. Moreover, when I think of the future of the Korean problem, I am also convinced that its real

solution consists in that of the Eastern Three Provinces and the Eastern Inner Mongolian problems. Under such views, I am in the belief that the said problems will consequently come to decide the whole situation in the Far East, and what is called the Manchurian and Mongolian problem is the key holding the solution over the whole situation in the Far East.

"I will go a step further and express my ideal which I am convinced of as follows: the solid Oriental civilization that opposes the plane Occidental one is the very symbol of everlasting prosperity for the whole of humanity. And, moreover, both the Japanese and the Chinese people are charged with the great mission to reconstruct this solid Oriental civilization, and to grant its special favor to all the human races in the world, and to promote their welfare. Further, it is in the very area of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA where it exalts its glory.

"The foregoing might be taken as a Utopian dream. But, in relation to this point, I have studied the Manchurian and Mongolian histories, have fairly studied, superficially learned as I am, their practical relations with the YAMATO race, have thought of the latitude, climate, natural features, etc. of both MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA and also have inquired into the historical facts concerning civilization of the world. And, as a result, I have passed such drastic conclusion as mentioned above which I consider as the final and highest object concerning MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA. I hope that our people, in considering the Manchurian and Mongolian problem, will fully realize this as being the key to the solution of the whole situation in the Far East, and, at the same time, think of the aforementioned ideal. The former is within the sphere of practical politics and the latter is a sort of an ideal. We should explicate our attitude towards MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA on the platform of the two mentioned above, and do our utmost to carry our firm claims based on the aforementioned belief.

The essence of diplomacy does not lie merely in the transacting of usual daily international affairs. An affair board would be sufficient to handle such affairs. There would be no reason to have a large Foreign Office. Diplomacy in the true sense should be that which will endeavor to clarify the significance of such problems as the Manchurian and Mongolian problem which is most important and vital to our country, and establish fundamental policies thereabout, letting our people know of the goal they should advance towards, and also to adapt the whole world situation to our national policy."

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