

**EFFECTS OF CHINESE NATIONALISM  
UPON MANCHURIAN RAILWAY  
DEVELOPMENTS, 1925-1931**

**BY**

**HARRY L. KINGMAN**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**Volume 3, No. 1, pp. xii + 1-97, 1 map**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS**

**BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA**

**1932**

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**Issued September 8, 1932**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS**

**BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA**

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**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS**

**LONDON, ENGLAND**

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**MAP**  
**Railway Map of Manchuria**

## PREFATORY NOTE

As a source for numerous references to treaties, the admirable collection by J. V. A. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China*, has been chiefly employed. Special indebtedness is felt, also, to Hsü Shu-hsi, and C. Walter Young for their extensive writings on Manchurian problems.

The writer wishes to express genuine appreciation, furthermore, of the considerable and valuable suggestion and criticism tendered by Professors Dwight C. Baker, Edwin Landon, Stuart Daggett, Esson M. Gale, David P. Barrows, and Frank M. Russell. For the inadequacies and inaccuracies that may be discovered the writer must acknowledge the sole blame.

# EFFECTS OF CHINESE NATIONALISM UPON MANCHURIAN RAILWAY DEVELOPMENTS, 1925-1931

BY

HARRY L. KINGMAN

## INTRODUCTION

The shooting by foreign police of Chinese students and laborers in the International Settlement in Shanghai on May 30, 1925, ushered in the beginning of an unprecedentedly vigorous Chinese nationalism,<sup>1</sup> and constituted a milestone along the march of the new China. The writer was but a few hundred yards away when the incident occurred and he had known one of the students who was killed. Without going into the moot question of whether or not the police were justified in their action it is a fact that China was immensely stirred by the event. The writer followed the ensuing nation-wide agitation with interest and became personally acquainted with national leaders like Dr. C. T. Wang, several times Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Chinese government, and Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, deposed Manchurian<sup>2</sup> war lord, men whose names must of necessity appear frequently in a discussion of contemporary international relationships in northeast Asia.

The wave of nationalistic feeling set in motion by the Shanghai Incident has not yet subsided. In some instances it has quite engulfed the foreigner and his interests. Tariff autonomy has been regained; certain foreign-administered areas, such as the British concessions in

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<sup>1</sup> In this study the term "nationalism" will be used in the sense of a consciousness of national political entity which makes itself especially apparent in the vigorous demand by important individuals and groups, if not by the great mass of the people, for complete freedom from any outside encroachment upon the national sovereignty.

<sup>2</sup> The term Manchuria will, for convenience' sake, be commonly employed in these pages. The Chinese name for the area has been "The Eastern Three Provinces" (Tung San Sheng). The formation of Jehol Province added one to the original three. The name Manchukuo has been given to the three original provinces. This new independent state is not recognized by the Chinese Nationalist Government. (See C. Meng, *China Speaks*, 182-183.)



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Hankow, Kiukiang, and Weihaiwei, have been restored to Chinese sovereign control; even foreign extraterritorial privileges are retained by only a few of the nations which once possessed them. That the drive to uproot foreign dominance within the boundaries of China should extend to Manchuria was inevitable.<sup>3</sup> In Manchuria, a region which the Powers in numerous treaties<sup>4</sup> have admitted to be an integral part of China, not only had the foreigner seriously encroached upon Chinese sovereignty but he had taken possession of assets which Chinese nationalists naturally coveted for their own nation.

Awakened in the summer of 1925 to a new national self-consciousness, the Chinese were forced to realize that the control of Manchuria with its approximately 382,000 square miles of rich and fertile territory was largely in alien hands. In South Manchuria<sup>5</sup> Japan stood preëminent, while Soviet Russia, by virtue of a dominant position in the Chinese Eastern Railway zone, held supremacy in the north. Because Manchuria was Chinese territory the achievement of national self-respect seemed dependent upon the establishment there of full Chinese political control. \* Furthermore, the huge expanses of undeveloped agricultural acreage to which excess population south of the Great Wall might emigrate, the immense deposits of coal, iron, and other minerals which the industrialized China of the future would require, the strategic importance for China of dominating the north-east mainland,<sup>6</sup> these items were more than sufficient to incite the determination to effect an incontestable Chinese hegemony.

That the Chinese campaign to establish supremacy in Manchuria would meet with resistance was quite to be expected. Not only had

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<sup>3</sup> That the Chinese campaign against the foreigner in Manchuria has been motivated by patriotism solely cannot be maintained. Certain actions by Chinese officials which constitute a part of the general offensive against Japan and Soviet Russia in Manchuria were undoubtedly prompted by self-interest rather than love of country. On the whole, however, most of the developments noted in this study seem best interpreted as an expression of Chinese nationalism, a nationalism admittedly differing in some of its aspects from that familiar to the Occident.

<sup>4</sup> For an enumeration and summary of pertinent sections of these treaties see C. W. Young, *The International Relations of Manchuria*, 40-43, 124-125, 185-188, 246-250. Hereafter references to this volume will include merely the author's name and the page.

<sup>5</sup> The terms South Manchuria and North Manchuria, with an imaginary line extending east and west through Changchun marking the division, are in this study used merely for convenience, and not as denoting political units.

<sup>6</sup> Hsü, Shu-hai, *China and Her Political Entity*, vii. Cited hereafter merely by name of author.

## Introduction

Japan fought two wars to gain her position there, but to the Japanese patriot it appeared that the future of the Japanese nation was linked up with her hold upon Manchuria.<sup>7</sup> Japan possessed huge economic interests there. She sorely needed the coal and iron, the wool and hides, the lumber and foodstuffs. She needed the markets and the trade, and above all she needed the strategic position on the mainland of Asia in case of another war with Russia.<sup>8</sup> The eventual coming of such a war seems to be a conviction of many Japanese leaders. One prominent Japanese official states it thus:

The Slav race will, as sure as I live . . . . strike out, and this time with more force than ever, towards the Far East. . . . I have faith in the Slav race . . . . the thing is coming I am sure. . . . The reaching out for ice-free seas is one of the blind forces of the Slav race . . . . history repeats itself and we Japanese do really entertain a very grave apprehension on this point.<sup>9</sup>

The same spokesman, in the light of recent events, seemingly represented the Japanese attitude faithfully when on another occasion he said: "Should the time come when Russia or China should take the aggressive to force Japan out of Manchuria, or to deprive her of her

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<sup>7</sup> *Japan Year Book*, 1931:127-128. As justification for maintaining a special position in Manchuria the Japanese have been referring frequently of late to the significance of the secret Sino-Russian military alliance of 1896. One Japanese writer states that, at the time of the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth, "had the existence of the secret treaty of alliance, under which China had extended clandestine assistance to Russia, been known, Japan could have justly demanded some substantial concessions from China as well" (K. K. Kawakami, *Japan Speaks on the Sino-Japanese Crises*, 7, 8, 10. Further references to this work will include only the author's name and the page). A reading of the treaty does not bear out the Japanese claim that the alliance was offensive as well as defensive (J. V. A. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China*, 1:81). That the Chinese motive was merely to increase security against an aggressor is indicated by the fact that in 1904-1905 China did not side with Russia in the war with Japan. Russia, not Japan, had by then become the chief aggressor in Manchuria.

<sup>8</sup> Kawakami, "Japan Seeks Economic Empire in Manchuria," *Current History*, September, 1929:1111 ff.; K. Negishi, "Defensive Aspect of Economic Development in Manchuria and Mongolia," *Japan Magazine*, January, 1932:186-189.

<sup>9</sup> Y. Matsuoka, "An Address on Manchuria," privately printed, Kyoto, 1929. A semi-official interpreter of the Japanese position recently stated, "It is true that Tzarist Russia no longer exists, but to Japan the passing of the despotic government of the Tzar has brought upon its wake a cause for even greater anxiety. For just beyond Manchuria there exists a state upholding the principles utterly incompatible with our ideals of government, social order and human relationship. That state is vigorously pushing forward its programs and projects, and the energy and effectiveness that have been displayed cannot fail to sound the alarm in the minds of the thoughtful peoples of the other nations. We must again emphasize that Japan has a most vital concern in the affairs of Manchuria" (T. Komatsu, *Japan in Manchuria*, 5).

## Introduction

present legitimate interests, the result will be war."<sup>10</sup> In undertaking their campaign for the extension of full national sovereignty to the Liaotung Peninsula the Chinese essayed no easy task.

The Russians, too, were vitally interested in that part of Manchuria through which they had built the Chinese Eastern Railway. The future of Vladivostok, Russia's one important outlet to the Pacific, seemed to depend upon the maintenance of a dominant Russian position in the railway zone.<sup>11</sup> A Russian writer comments, from the standpoint of Siberian interests as follows:

Siberia has grown into a dominion with over fifteen million white people. All auguries are for energetic development, so the problem of practical outlets to the ocean promises to grow in acuteness and import. History shows that the problem of a hinterland seeking an outlet generates forces of a cosmic nature, which find solution in one way or another.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, the commercial significance of a strong position in the fertile regions of North Manchuria prompted a desire on the part of Soviet Russia to resist any attempt to displace her. In the Soviet Union the Chinese faced an adversary less formidable, perhaps, than Japan, but one which might not be expected to surrender calmly to the new Chinese aspirations.<sup>13</sup>

The period here chosen for a discussion of the effects of Chinese nationalism upon Manchurian railway developments lies between the Shanghai Incident of May, 1925, when the new phase of Chinese nationalistic effort began, and the Japanese military intervention of September, 1931, which apparently marked a serious setback to Chinese aims for Manchuria. Part One will deal with the Chinese attack upon the Japanese position in South Manchuria, and Part Two

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<sup>10</sup> Matsuoka, *New York Times*, June 9, 1929:8E.

<sup>11</sup> F. W. Mohr, "Die Ostchinesische Bahn," *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, July 1, 1929:347-348.

<sup>12</sup> B. Bakhmetev, "The Issue in Manchuria," *Slavonic Review*, December, 1929:314.

<sup>13</sup> For discussions of the economic, commercial, political, and strategic value of Manchuria see: H. Feis, *The International Trade of Manchuria*; Young, "Sino-Japanese Interests and Issues in Manchuria," *Pacific Affairs*, December, 1928:1-20, and "Chinese Colonization and the Development of Manchuria," *Proceedings of the Institute of Pacific Relations*, Honolulu, 1929:423-465; G. H. Blakeslee, *The Pacific Area*, 88-122; South Manchuria Railway Company, *Second Report on Progress in Manchuria*, 1930:1-229; H. Chu, *Manchuria*, 1-52; G. Vernadsky, "Russian Interests in Mongolia and Manchuria," *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations* (Berkeley, 1929):168-173; Mohr, "Die Mandschurei," *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, September 1, 1929:471.

## Introduction

with that aspect of the Chinese campaign which affected the Russian position to the north.

The tactics employed against the Japanese will be found to differ markedly from those used against the seemingly weaker opponent in North Manchuria. The attempt to construct new railways which would compete economically with the Japanese roads characterizes the method employed in the south, whereas less subtle measures in North Manchuria included even the actual forcible dispossession of the foreigner from his rights under past treaties.

Although the study deals primarily with the years between 1925 and 1931,<sup>14</sup> it has seemed desirable in certain portions to review historical developments of an earlier date, developments which afford explanation for Chinese action in the period from 1925 to 1931.

The attempt is made to discuss the subject objectively and without national prejudice. Where three great nations are involved this is not always easy to do. Respecting Manchuria, it is difficult not to sympathize warmly with the Chinese in their aspirations to fully establish their political power through an area which is legally a Chinese possession. On the other hand, both Japan<sup>15</sup> and Russia have not only made immense contributions to the welfare of Manchuria but they possess there huge and legitimate economic interests which Chinese nationalistic activities have endangered.

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<sup>14</sup> In case Japan permanently maintains the new status which has come about since her military occupation of 1931, much of the study relating to this period will have but historical interest. If the Japanese are unable or do not choose to accomplish this, the *status quo* as it existed prior to September 18, 1931, will presumably provide the basis for readjustment.

<sup>15</sup> For an account of the significant part which Japanese have played in the development of South Manchuria see H. W. Kinney, *Manchuria Today*; also the South Manchuria Railway Company's *Second Report on Progress in Manchuria*.

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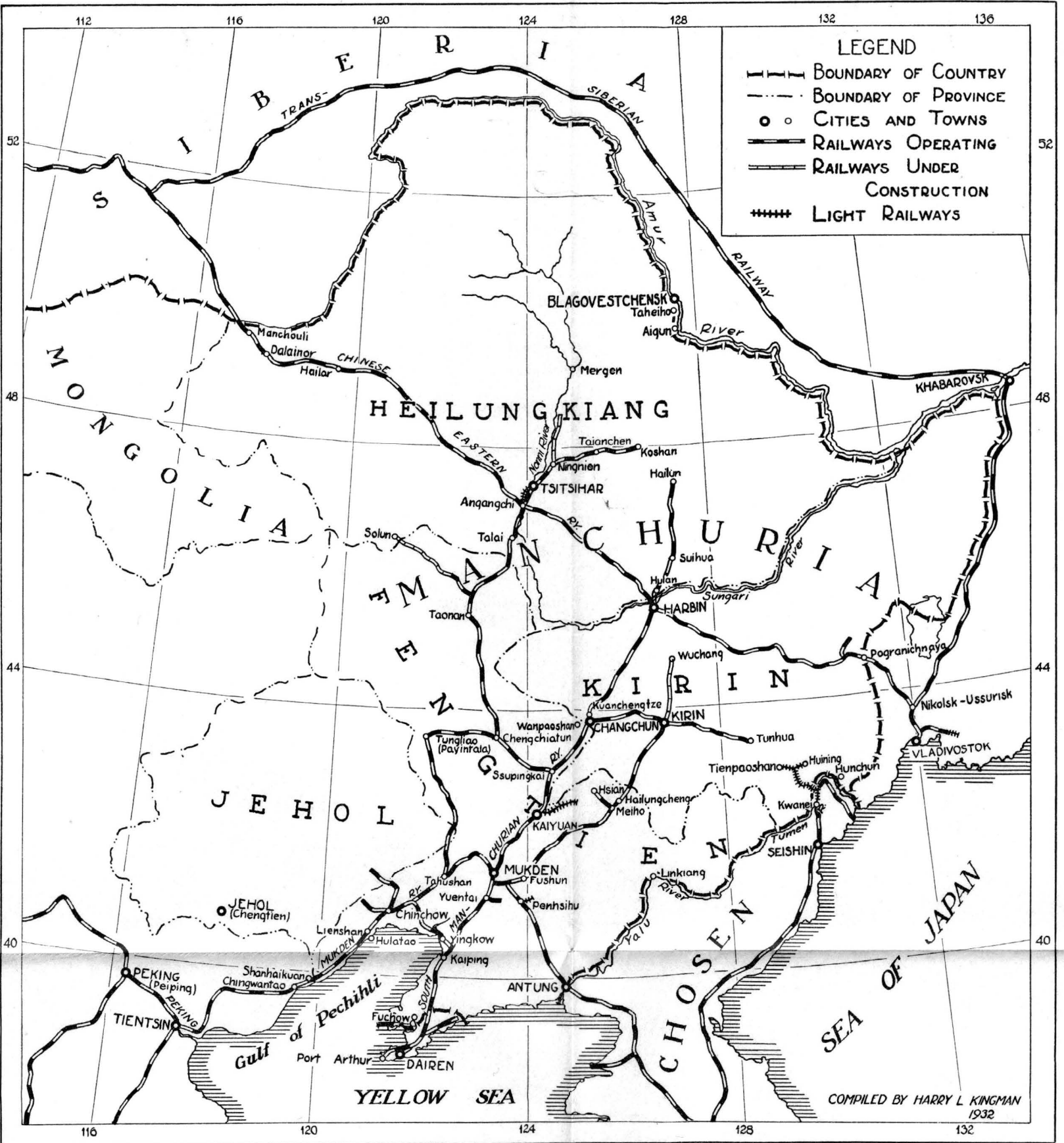
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