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The Present and Future in Eastern Asia

By DR. HUH SHIH.

CHAIRMAN T. D'ARCY LEONARD:—Gentlemen, today I have the honor to extend on your behalf a welcome that I know springs from the heart of everyone in this audience, to our distinguished guest from War-Torn China, Dr. Huh Shih.

Dr. Huh has been on the faculty of Arts at the National University at Peiping. More than that he is one of the great intellectual leaders of modern China, and a man who would stand high in any nation in the world. We have all followed from afar the ravages of war among his great people and it is a great privilege to be able to hear from the lips of so distinguished a man as our guest the story of the issues involved in the far Eastern conflict. Dr. Huh.

DR. HUH SHIH:—Mr. President, and members of the Canadian Club, I am very deeply touched by the size of this audience. It is an audience that does honor to any speaker. I am very grateful to the Canadian Club for giving me this opportunity of speaking to you on the issues that are being fought out in the war in China.

I am conscious that many issues have been presented to you from time to time. Some of these issues are not real issues. They are pseudo-issues—issues that I shall not try to refute, but shall just brush aside, because common sense is enough to show the stupidity of the claims.

You are told, for example, that this is a holy war, a war of self-defence on the part of Japan. Again you are told this is a holy war fought by Japan for the establishment of permanent peace in the far East, and again that this is a war to stamp out communism in China, and so on.

These issues I shall brush aside without any attempt at refutation.

But there is one issue that is much more plausible, that I shall touch on slightly, and that is the so-called Economic issue. Japan, together with Germany and Italy claims to be one of the "Have-not" nations. She says she wants an outlet for her growing population, and she wants to control the raw materials necessary to her industries.

Now that issue is one that really sounds plausible but is not, for population pressure is just as great in China as in Japan. The claim that they seek an outlet for their population does not bear inspection when you consider the overcrowding already existing in China. Large areas are practically uninhabited for because of low rainfall and desert conditions, it is impossible to maintain a population in those regions. The result is that, roughly speaking, 17% of Chinese territory is supporting 85% of the population. In the regions where the land is fertile and cultivable the population is so dense that it would be impossible to find any outlet there for any increase at all.

There is moreover another answer to this claim for a population outlet. The Japanese are not a colonizing people. After six years of complete domination in Manchuria, the Japanese population in that country remains at approximately one per cent, and in those six years all attempts at subsidizing immigration into Manchuria have failed because the Japanese immigrants cannot stand the severe climate of Northern Manchuria. That does not solve the population problem.

Korea is an example of that too. More than thirty years after the complete conquest of Korea, there are only about three hundred thousand Japanese in Korea, but there are more than four hundred thousand Koreans in Japan, because now the Koreans are bona fide Japanese subjects and Japan cannot exclude them. So from that colony they have got four hundred thousand in exchange for three hundred thousand, and that of course does not help to solve the population problem.

As to raw materials this again is more apparent than real. You all know that raw materials in any country are open to those who can buy and pay for them, and no nation

in the world can ever hope to control the territories that produce all the raw materials that are necessary to its industries. Even Great Britain, America, and Soviet Russia have to buy some of their raw materials from outside.

And China is rather poor in mineral resources. Compared with the mineral deposits of America and Europe, China has practically nothing. One of my friends used to say: "Gold and silver have we none," and we are poor in most of the other important minerals. We have a few, but very few, so that even if Japan succeeds in her war it does not follow that she will find a solution to her problem of raw materials.

You will see, therefore, as I claimed, all these issues are more apparent than real and belong to the category of pseudo-issues, but their discussion does serve to bring us nearer to the real issues, which are two.

The first of these is the Japanese desire for continental expansion which has met resistance from the National state of China. It is a clash between the continental imperialism of the Japanese and the legitimate demands of Chinese nationalism. Secondly, it is the issue behind Japanese militarism and the moral restrictions of a new world order. This second issue may be called the issue of international anarchy *versus* world order.

At this point I have to ask your indulgence to go back in history for a few decades. The so-called "Have-not" Nations, Germany, Italy, and Japan, have one thing in common, namely, that these three powers came into the world too late. They achieved national unity almost simultaneously, approximately in the year 1870. Italian unity, German unity, and Japanese modernization all came within the few years about 1870, but they came too late for the "Have-not" nations to achieve world power, at a time when the world was already partitioned off by the more advanced colonial powers.

There were but few regions left, where there was any possibility of finding any rich natural resources, and those few soon became the prizes of diplomacy in the struggle for economic privileges and colonial possessions.

China was one of these few regions, and there the imperialist struggle became most acute during the last decade

of the last century, during which, China, as you know, fought the Sino-Japanese war and lost it. During the same decade Russia, Germany, Great Britain and France all succeeded in grabbing land on the Continent, on the coast of China.

In the years from 1897 to 1899 the international rivalry in China grew very bitter, and far-sighted statesmen clearly saw that if the situation were to persist and continue, a world war of tremendous magnitude would have to be fought out on Chinese soil. And something like that did come along. It came in the year 1900 when the Boxer war began, when, eight of the world powers sent large armed forces to Peking, and an international war in this arena of imperialistic struggle was only avoided by a hair's breadth.

Far-sighted statesmen, particularly Anglo-Saxon statesmen, again saved China. John Hay, American Secretary of State, who was supported by the British, announced the "Open Door Policy", and that policy saved China from becoming the Arena of an International war, and saved China from the fate of being partitioned by the great powers at the turn of the Century.

The "Open Door Policy" has been recently interpreted as an economic policy, and it was that, in the sense that it provided for equal trading power for all the countries trading in China. But this policy was one of great Political significance, for John Hay conceived that the only way to keep the open door open to all was through the achievement of independence and sovereignty for China.

Now, as I have said, these regions became the stakes of international policies, because these regions were comparatively rich in resources and weak in government and defence. In such circumstances the most important thing to prevent war is to encourage the native political system to develop into a modern, unified and strong government, in order that it may have power to keep the door open and maintain peace. It is particularly so, in the case of China.

The same policy was restated in more explicit terms in the Nine Power Treaty, a treaty, to which, by the way, Canada is a signatory. By that treaty, the powers pledged themselves solemnly, to respect the independence of China. They further pledged themselves, to provide China with the

fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity, to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government. They further promised not to permit any disturbance or invasion of China by any nation seeking to further its own economic ends.

These are explicit statements of the open door policy.

This is the new international order, which dated back to the open-door policy of 1900, which more or less preserved the integrity of China, which promised China the fullest opportunity to develop and maintain for herself a modern, effective and stable government. These things all came into being to avert a vast war, and for the last forty years China has been able to stand on her own feet, through her own efforts and through the influence of the new form of international order in the Pacific, which goes back to the open-door policy, which was even more clearly stated in the Nine Power Treaty.

That is the background.

So, for the past forty years, China has been encouraged to develop an effective and stable government, in order to keep the door open to the whole world and maintain peace in the East. But that takes time. It is only in the past ten or eleven years that China has demonstrated her ability to do so.

But this rise of a national modern state in China was not to the liking of Japan. Japan, as you all know, has a tradition of continental expansion that goes back to the 16th century, when there was carried on for seven years a war on the continent without the slightest provocation. That tradition of continental empire came to be the national tradition of Japan, inspiring all the activities of her military class, and in turn of her whole government.

The result is that Japan has come to regard any strong national government in China as the most effective check that could be placed on her continental ambitions, and so they became determined to crush any such aspirations of China in the bud.

But in order to do so she has to scrap that international order which, for forty years, has guaranteed the integrity of China and permitted her to work out her own destinies.

There is one reason only for the war that is being waged today. Japan, to realize her continental aims, must crush this rising national state, and to crush it she has to destroy the very foundations of world order, which as you know, are linked with the great war, not only in the form of the League of Nations, but supported by a series of international treaties, including the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Pact of Locarno, the Washington Conference, all of which seek to allow China to work out her own internal problems, in trying to live up to the expectations of the world in forming a stable government.

But in trying to fulfill her obligations, China roused the dislike, suspicion and hatred of her nearest neighbor, who was determined to crush them at any cost.

For the last eleven years you have read of interference from Japan, particularly in the last seven years. When Japan started the unprovoked war in Manchuria, on the 18th of September, 1931, her whole object was to crush what she regarded as the most important obstacle to the realization of her continental ambitions.

China was not prepared.

China appealed to the World Order, but the World Order was not in a position to maintain itself, let alone meet its most severe test. The result was six years of aggression, gradually increasing aggression. But the determination on the part of China not to take part in a war was so great that they determined on a policy of non-resistance. But non-resistance, however moral and worthy, cannot be effective against aggression such as that of Japan, and the result is that after six years of it China, is forced to take up the fight, and what you see today, is Chinese Nationalism resisting real aggression from Japan. And because the invasion and aggression are real, this nationalistic resistance is justifiable, and justified by the civilized nations of the world.

That is the first issue. Chinese Nationalism resenting and resisting the unlimited aggression of Japan. As far as this issue is concerned, China has to fight for her own existence, and in so doing her defeats, sufferings and difficulties were not unforeseen. As late as last Summer, on the 17th of July, General Chiang Kai Shek said to friends

and leaders of China in the summer capital, KuLing, "We must do our best to maintain peace, because we cannot afford to fight a modern war as yet, but if war is once forced upon us, if major hostilities occur, then we must be prepared for two things. First we must be ready to fight a long war, a long losing war of defeats and retreats. Second we must be prepared to suffer the most acute suffering, the most acute, not only in Chinese history, but in world history."

Those words are coming true. What you read today is of a China determined to fight a long, losing war. What you read today is of the suffering of a hundred million civilian Chinese, driven from their homes and their farms—homeless, jobless and starving. That means ten times the total population of Canada and the war only just eight months old. These things were not unforeseen. They were expected, and such is the courage of people and their leaders, they are suffered and endured with fortitude.

The second issue is the larger issue. You all remember those years from 1914 to 1918, and the months of suspense following the Armistice, when the whole world was determined that such a catastrophe should not occur again, a catastrophe that cost millions of lives and billions of dollars. That was why the whole world looked for some form of world order that would make the recurrence of such a catastrophe impossible. Out of those hopes came the League of Nations, supported by those idealistic treaties I have mentioned, and during its first ten years it was not only the small nations which prospered but the greatest powers were the greatest beneficiaries. Now the world needed the cooperation of all governments in order to maintain the new order. In that respect the world is like any one country. Law and order are always something like what the Chinese call the paper tiger. It has all the appearances of ferocity but never uses its claws. Law and order means the organized forces of the community, but what is needed is the respect for that order by the citizens. World order is somewhat like the traffic lights, at your street corners. You don't need policemen with guns at every intersection to see that they are obeyed. The respect of the community for them sees to that. All stop on the signal, however urgent their affairs

may be. But once the Paper Tiger is punctured and scrapped then all is gone.

What Japan did in 1931 was, to puncture the paper tiger and "scrap" the world order under which not only the small nations, but the great powers had benefited.

Once the tiger was destroyed, what happened?

It is not merely that China is suffering as the result. All the great powers are threatened. Great Britain, one of the greatest of the great powers, has never been more seriously humiliated than in the past four years.

Great Britain, who tried the way to disarmament, is now spending seven and a half billion dollars to rearm. The United States is spending billions and even Canada has to join the race and spend million for defence. Australia and New Zealand are worried to death. Energy of the nations is destroyed and the world is being bled white, security has gone from every nation, great or small.

So you see, the second issue is much greater than the mere concern of the invasion of China, and you cannot say in Canada, that you are not responsible for the scrapping of world order. It is not merely Germany and Italy, not merely Japan who have destroyed it. It is the peaceful nations, who have refused actively to support it, who are just as guilty, in that respect, as are the aggressor nations.

You all know, that the sins of omission are as great as the sins of commission. You all remember, that most tragic story of the whole world—how, nineteen centuries ago, a certain Man was brought before Pilate. Pilate wanted to release Him, but the mob howled for His blood. When Pilate saw that he could not prevail, and that a tumult was developing, he washed his hands before the multitude, saying: "I am innocent of the blood of this Just Man. See ye to it."

Nineteen centuries have gone by, but has the world freed Pilate of his responsibility for the Blood of that Just Man?—No.