JAPAN'S CULTURAL INVASION OF CHINA Basic Question: How are the Japanese working to change the thinking, the loyalties, and the tastes of the Chinese people? What are their aims, their methods, their results? Type of Material Desired: Summaries are helpful. Descriptions of concrete situations and narratives of specific cases are even more valuable. Wherever possible, give dates. Specific Questions: What are the most <u>visible</u> evidences (things that strike the eye!) of the Japanese and what they stand for? Examples: Billboards, shops, beer halls, Japanese people. (2) What is done to suppress "dangerous thoughts"? Examples: Various restrictions and forms of censorship and intimidation, the spy system, the "pao-chia" system, 3. What is the newspaper (or other large circulation publications) saying about current issues? If possible, please quote headlines, slogans, and subjects or extracts from editorials. What do people generally think of this paper? In what ways are the Japanese controlling education and using it as a tool for their purposes? Note: Organization, visits of inspection, Japanese language, speeches, textbooks. How does the number and quality of schools compare with that before the war? (5. What has been done about religion and philosophy? Note: Opposition, control, revival or reinterpretation with respect to Christianity, Buddhism and the traditional philosophies. What effect have the Japanese had upon the recreation of the people? (6) Please describe any significant occurrences or developments in any of the following lines: meetings, parades, demonstrations, ceremonies, posters, leaflets, radio broadcasts, youth movements, secret societies. What are the main ideas that the Japanese are trying to put over? (8) What has been the response of the people to these efforts? 9. Are there any evidences of intellectual, aesthetic, and moral deterioration on the part of any significant number of people? SPECIFIC QUOTATIONS Which will make valuable illustrative material 1. Words and descriptions of posters, slogans, songs. Now in use - In use at any time during the year. Summaries, extracts, or copies of any printed matter distributed by the Japanese or the puppet governments.

the concepts the Japanese are trying to put over: Try to get ten answers to each of the following questions from various types of people, such as ricshamen, farmers, shopkeepers, workmen, clerks, Note: if possible the exact words used. (We are not trying to compile a new list of "Boners", but are not above any good ones that may be sent in).

a. What is the "New Order in Bast Asia?"

b. Who is China's "Good Neighbor?"

c. What does "cooperation" with Japan mean? d. What does Japan want in China?

We are frankly asking for a lot of information in this section, because we believe such information is valuable and worth every effort put into gathering it.

Would it be possible for you to secure it by providing one or two weeks "labor relief" (with you or friends on the spot providing the relief) for one of the indigent intellectuals of your acquaintance?

Note on language: For significant, brief quotations, the ideal is to have both languages - the original and an English translation. Wherever this is not practicable, please send the material in the most convenient form available, either the translation or the original.

REPORT ON UNDERSTANDING OF JAPAN'S POLICIES IN CHINA. with especial reference to Concepts Reiterated in Propaganda. Procedure: With the help of dependable Chinese friends, in and near a large city of East China, 80 persons of varying occupations, ages, and degrees of education, were asked the following questions: What is "The New Order in East Asia"? Who is China's "Good Neighbor" (the term publicized and sometimes required by the Japanese in reference to themselves)? What is meant by "Cooperation with Japan"? (Some of the questioners used the common version of "Economic Cooperation" as the key term). What does Japan want in China? WHAT IS THE NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA? Nineteen persons stated that they did not know, including three of some education; a number of vague or confused answers were also thrown out as impossible to classify or report. Although one might expect from a great many persons either a cautious or a parrot-like repetition of words and phrases used by Japanese agents, as indicating the meaning of the novel term, the actual answers were astounding in two respects: First, in that the actual experience of many persons welled up so strongly in resentment and distress, as to displace all thought of words and formal concepts by a report of what they have suffered and are suffering under the Japanese Army. Second, in that many persons, particularly the educated, understand by "The New Order" not a political situation, but the new manners and customs forced upon them by the bayonet - bowing and doffing the hat to sentries, showing passes and varied certificates in order to pass through the city gates, deferring in all points to Japanese. these two types of answers were combined, because a recital of murder, rape, robbery, burning, confiscation, exclusion from normal work, and so on, included the ever-detested indignity of required "courtesy" and of imposed petty controls, as part of the hated new conditions. Thirty-four persons gave answers of the types mentioned in this paragraph. Twenty-three persons said plainly that the New Order means Japanese rule. Five said that the New Order means the exclusion of white persons from East Asia; two said that it means opposition to communism; two said that it means opposition to Chiang Kai-shek.

- 2 -Comment: In view of the daily repetition of the main term in every publication, on the radio, in every speech, for more than a year, it is remarkable that more than 25% of the persons questioned had no ascertainable idea of its meaning. Only nine answers, or 11%, comprised ideas which the Japanese have lavishly tried to get across (and these answers, of course, do not imply agreement or approval -- merely comprehension). Better than four in ten had in mind only their hard lot at the hands of the Japanese; while an additional three in ten (nearly) also understood and stated, less concretely and dramatically, that the New Order meant rule by Japan. Note: On this question and others a few answers were compound in such a manner that they are most fairly reported under two headings; thus the apparent total of answers slightly exceeds the number of persons answering. Examples: (Farmer) "The Japanese have come. That's the New Order." (Farmer-laborer) "There is no order now. Arbitrary oppression and interference with daily work." (Former shoemaker, now peddling)" "I do not understand the meaning. I only know that now I cannot make a living."
(Gardener) "Rice last year at this time was \$7.20, now it is \$22.15". (Literate Landowner) "This is the New Order! Extreme prices, no freedom, undignified treatment. Our life is not our own." (Property-holding teacher) "It means conditions we have never before had to endure: high prices; restricted travel; excessive and arbitrary searches; boom in prostitution, begging, and opium; manipulation of our money; elevation of the worst elements in Chinese society." (Educated landowner, gentry class) "It means that the Chinese are no longer a free people. We are under complete subjection." (Literate farmer) "It means their New Order. We are to become slaves in it." (Unemployed clerk, educated) "It is Japan's order, not China's." "Probably it's some big shot." (Farmer) (Farmer) "I've just now heard people talking about it. Probably it means they will tell us to obey them. (Businessman) "The New Order means no white men in Asia." (Scholar) "Their idea is to have no white men in China. The New Order is a Japanese proposition." (Merchant) "The yellow race is to combine and drive out the influence of the white race. Japan herself comes forth as the eldest brother of the yellow race, and acts as our master. China is therefore to be her servant." (Schoolboy) "It is only a screen for the savage conquest of the Japanese." (Educated youth) "The New Order in East Asia is a nick-

- 3 name for swallowing China whole." (Tailor) "That's a Japanese lie to trick the Chinese people. Don't you pay any attention to it!" II. WHO IS CHINA'S "GOOD NEIGHBOR"? Twenty-one persons, all with some degree of education, asserted that China has no good neighbor, often remarking with bitterness upon the aggressiveness or the indifference of those who should be good neighbors. Two said that the term refers to Japan, while two implied it by saying something about the familiar cliché, "same race, same culture." Eleven savagely launched into criticism of Japan by charging that she is the exact opposite of a decent neighbor. Five said that China had various or many friends among western nations; twenty-three named the United States, nine Russia, eight England, four France. Two favored those who help against Japan. Ten did not know an answer for the question (all of them were uneducated persons); while fourteen educated persons gave generalized or abstract answers, indicating the qualities of a good neighbor (one or two questioners used a Chinese phraseology which invited a definition rather than a concrete answer). Comment: It is plain that the concept of the "Good Neighbor" has made a less clear impress on the public mind than have "The New Order" and "Sino-Japanese Cooperation"; and in fact it is less common in print and other propaganda. Again experience is too strong for words. It is not apparent that even one person regards Japan as an acceptable neighbor, much less a "good" one; and only four recognize that the term is intended to suggest Japan. There are 51 distinct references to western countries, individual or collective. Also noteworthy are the more than 25 per cent who see no good neighbor (i.e., friendly country), and the 14 per cent who cannot bear the implication that the words might be used of Japan. Examples: (Gardener's wife) "What kind of friendship is this? Our young men have been killed, our young women ruined, and what recourse have we? Only traitors and rascals welcome them."
(Ricsha puller) "China's Good Neighbor -- that means Japan. Other countries have not called themselves that." (Gentry class) "Mere empty words. Nothing to it. By their acts you can see what kind of friends they are." (Literate farmer) "China has many good friends among the nations, but Japan is not one of them.

(Foodseller) "Except for Japan, they are all friends of China." (Former teacher, whose brother was carried off by soldiers). "There isn't any country that's a good neighbor to China. Even America is nothing good." (Clever cook in a restaurant) "No country is good to China. America is the country of cultural imperialism; England is the country of economic imperialism; Russia is a robber country; Japan is still worse, without humanity." (Farm laborer) "I was beaten twice by Japanese soldiers, for no reason at all. I don't want that kind of friend." (Shoemaker) "I see no indications of friendliness or improved relations on the part of Japan. It looks as if they are trying to win the children; they go to nearby schools and distribute candy, fruit, and whistles."
(Tailor) "All the countries that are not making war upon us are our friends." (Schoolby) "I hate them. My brother is a college graduate, who disappeared in the slaughter when the Japanese entered the city. My mother is almost blind with crying." III. WHAT IS THE MEANING OF COOPERATION WITH JAPAN? Forty persons stated in clear but varying forms that the so-called cooperation is utterly one-sided, usually to the injury of China; while six others declared that the facts are the exact opposite of cooperation. (All degrees of education held this view in about equal ratios). Twenty others said that "cooperation" meant economic advantage for Japan. Eleven persons considered that "cooperation" is a program put forward by the Japanese Army as a secondary tactic, since military conquest has not been successful. Six persons did not have any grasp of the term as presented to them. Comment: Well over 80% of those interrogated were prompt and plain in their understanding that exploitation is the game, whether or not it is called "cooperation." The answers indicate plenty of direct experience and observation as the basis for this remarkable unanimity. Not a single person, literate or illiterate, man, woman, or child, holds a concept corresponding to that which the Japanese propaganda desires to spread. Examples: (Well-educated clerk) "Their method of cooperation is that of robbers." (Ricsha puller) "It means requiring Chinese to help Japan make war or do work." (Literate farmer) "It means working for them to give them all the profits. They now have a monopoly on all buying and selling."

- 5 -(Tailor) "The government and the military affairs of China must all be put into the control of the Japanese."
(Uneducated mother of three sons) "They want us to like them and work for them. They are terrible. When my son works for them they beat him and kick him." (Leather worker) "China's business must all be given to the Japanese to do. People of other countries are all refused permission to do business here." (Literate landowner) "Cooperation means working for them, becoming their slaves, their running-dogs. Only a traitor can do that." (Rickha puller) "Cooperation is this: Chinese cannot sell their own stuff, but have to let Japanese sell it." (Foodseller) "When we have fish to sell, we have to sell them in the Japanese market. Only when we have got a ticket from them can we sell. Otherwise we are breaking the law of Sino-Japanese cooperation, and they fine us or take away our goods." (Industrious gardener) "They have robbed our country. What is the basis for cooperation?"

(Teacher) "Cooperation in name, but seizing advantage in fact." (Landowner) "It means following them. We are the inferior ones. They lord it over us." (Fuel seller) "The Japanese are unwilling to cooperate with us. If they could really cooperate with us, things would be all right." (Scholar, owning property) "Yes, they cooperate, but with all our rascals. Now the status of rough floaters is gradually being elevated." (Gardener, whose land has been confiscated by the military) "It's only Japan, not China." (Farm laborer) "The Japanese cannot help China. They cannot cooperate." (Fuel seller) "On the hills by my home the Japanese have prepared the trees to take away. They won't let us cut them, but they have cut them all down. And to this day they haven't given a cash." (Farmer) "They bring paper and give to us for things that are worth money." IV. WHAT DOES JAPAN WANT IN CHINA? Twenty-nine persons specifically (and often solely) say, "Land". This number is relatively higher among farmers and laborers, but is considerable among the educated. It reflects both the generality of confiscation and the universality of controls over property and means of livelihood; of which latter, land is the common symbol. Some answers said, "Our land", whether thinking of the nation or of the neighborhood; others said, "The land of China."

- 6 -Thirty-six replied, "They want to take everything", sometimes specifying so many interests, resources, forms of property, and means of authority, that it is impossible to list or classify them in a brief report. Many of these answers were based upon observation of robbert and confiscation: others turned to general views of Japanese policies; some comprised both methods of reply. Twenty said, "They want to control everything". Twelve more mildly emphasized economic advantage in some form, and two economic monopoly. Four answered in terms of destruction or enslavement. Of replies that might give any satisfaction to Japanese propagandists: one mentioned destruction of Chiang Kai-shek as an aim, one the amalgamation of Japan and China into one country, one the establishment of a family relationship between the two nations. Comment: Again experience destroys mere words. Acquisition and domination have been so completely revealed as actual programs, that the ordinary slogans are not entering the thinking of the people. Not one person in twenty-five even approaches an acceptance of views corresponding to the advertised aims of Japanese activities in China. Examples: (Food seller) "They control China. Whatever they want, they take." (Farmer) "They want our grain." (Farmer) "They want all kinds of things; they even come for chickens. Every day they remain is one more day of trouble." (Shoemaker) "She wants our land. She already has a small piece I owned. There is no compensation." (Literate landowner) "They want to enslave us." (Ricsha puller) "They want our country to be under their management." (Farmer) "They want our cities and railroads. They want to destroy our race." (Foodseller) "They want to have all of us Chinese perish, so that Japanese can come here to live."
(Ricsha puller) "They want our China. If not, why should they come and make war on us?" (Literate farmer) "She has no real love for the Chinese people, and would just as soon see us all die. She only wants what we have." (Vegetable seller) "They want our land. Our family planted a big plot. It was all taken by the Japanese, who gave us no money and now prevent us from planting."

of not wanting; but in fact, they do."
(Merchant) "They want the Chinese people; that's why they desire cordial relations with China. They want China's industry and commerce; that's why they desire economic cooperation. They want China's territory; that's why they want cooperation against communism, so they can station troops wherever they like."

CONCLUSION

As tested on the basis of acceptance or understanding of four of the most commonly pushed slogans or concepts, Japanese propaganda in the occupied areas of East China seems plainly unable to surmount its denial in deeds. Experience comprises much of military brutality, confiscation, exploitation, and galling interference with normal life. That is ample check to the ballyhoos for a somewhat nebulous New Order and for a cooperation found in practice to be predatory. Indeed, the New Order and Sino-Japanese cooperation can be made even verbally attractive only by flying in the clouds of fancy, far from actual earth. Chinese are generally realistic and practical. One of them has said: "Japanese propaganda is of no effect whatever. In fact, for 50 years to come the people of this region cannot be convinced by any words in favor of Japan. What their army has done has cut too deeply into the life of every family, including those who now save themselves from starvation by working in the puppet administration."