# JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICIES

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Japan's foreign policies by Andrew Melville Pooley

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### **ANDREW MELVILLE POOLEY**

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

## Japan at the Cross Roads

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## JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICIES

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Author of

"Japan at the Cross Roads," "The Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi,"



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"The immediate duty of the Western Powers is to undo all that has been done to weaken China."

The late Sir CLAUDE MACDONALD, K.C.M.G., K.C.B., etc. H.B.M.'s Minister at Peking, 1898-1902, and H.B.M.'s Minister and Ambassador at Tokio 1902-12.

What happens between the time a sheep's sheep and when it appears on the table as mutton cutlets in paper frills?—N.Y. Life.

#### PREFACE

THE author presents his apologies to the critics whose duty it may be to read the following chapters. They were originally written in 1915, as part of a larger volume, the publication of which was prevented by the exigencies of war. The chapters dealing with internal affairs were published in Japan at the Cross Roads in 1917. After the unexpectedly favourable reception accorded to that work and to a previous volume, The Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi, the pitcher has some trepidation in going to the well for a third time.

The present volume consists of the chapters of the MSS. referred to above dealing with Japan's Foreign Affairs, with such extension and elaboration as may have been necessary to bring it up to date. To a large degree, therefore, the matters principally related belong to the years 1911 to 1914. But as the events of those years are closely united to the events which have since occurred in China, they are not altogether without interest to students of Far Eastern affairs.

So far as those years are concerned the author has relied almost entirely on his own memoranda. For the subsequent years he is indebted to correspondence, and to the files of The Japan Chronicle, The Japan Gazette, and the China Treaty Port foreign papers, all of which are mines of great historical value. Incidentally it should be remarked that there is no file of these papers available at any British institution, which appears to be a serious oversight of most important raw material for future historians. The Japan and China Treaty Port foreign papers very frequently contain articles of the first im-

portance, translated from the vernacular press. These original articles are often written by leading politicians and statesmen, and may be readily identified. Count Mutsu's and Count Hayashi's contributions to Japanese papers will readily occur to the mind as examples of this, whilst Tang-shao-Yi, Wu-ting-Fang and Liang-chi-Chao have all been prolific writers in the Chinese vernaculars.

During the past five years the world has travelled so far and so fast that a complete revolution has occurred in the Far East almost without people in this country knowing it. Events are rapidly moving in that part of the globe, and what the outcome will be lies on the knees of the gods. In America there is a distinct foreboding that, in the not distant future, another war is looming up. The secular menace, which overhung Europe for so many years, has shifted to the Pacific. History is a pendulum, which swings with inexorable exactitude.

The chapters which follow may help to some small degree to explain how the cloud, which in Count Hayashi's time was no larger than a man's hand, has spread to its

present proportions.

In a war between America and Japan, which is to-day a proximate possibility, sympathies in this country would surely be with our cousins. To what extent our sympathies might go is another question. But one thing is perfectly certain: should they go to extremes then we should be well provided with occupation in quenching political arson in our Asiatic dominions. Japan's policy is to control China, and, through China, to dominate Asia. The frontal attack on Asia through China is temporarily stopped. But there are back-doors, and one of them is India. Fortunately the Indian authorities are wide awake to the dangers.

A. M. P.

London, October 30, 1919.