

## 2 The Twenty-one Demands Presented by Japan to China, January 18, 1915<sup>2</sup>

### GROUP I.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, being desirous to maintain the general peace in the Far East and to strengthen the relations of amity and good neighborhood existing between the two countries, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The Chinese Government engage to give full assent to all matters that the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government respecting the disposition of all the rights, interests and concessions, which, in virtue of treaties or otherwise, Germany possesses vis-à-vis China in relation to the province of Shantung.

ARTICLE II. The Chinese Government engage that, within the Province of Shantung or along its coast, no territory or island will be ceded or leased to any other Power, under any pretext whatever.

ARTICLE III. The Chinese Government agree to Japan's building a railway connecting Chefoo or Lungkow with the Kiaochou-Tsinfu Railway.

ARTICLE IV. The Chinese Government engage to open of their own accord, as soon as possible, certain important cities and towns in the Province of Shantung for the residence and commerce of foreigners. The places to be so opened shall be decided upon in a separate agreement.

### GROUP II.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, in view of the fact that the Chinese Government has always recognized the predominant position of Japan in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The two Contracting Parties mutually agree that the term of the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen and the term respecting the South Manchuria Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to a further period of 99 years respectively.

ARTICLE II. The Japanese subjects shall be permitted in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia to lease or own land required either for erecting buildings for various commercial and industrial uses or for farming.

ARTICLE III. The Japanese subjects shall have liberty to enter, reside, and travel in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and to carry on business of various kinds—commercial, industrial, and otherwise.

ARTICLE IV. The Chinese Government grant to the Japanese subjects the right of mining in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. As regards the mines to be worked, they shall be decided upon in a separate agreement.

ARTICLE V. The Chinese Government agree that the consent of the Japanese Government shall be obtained in advance, (1) whenever it is pro-

### THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS

*In 1915, England, France, Germany, and Russia were fighting in Europe and the United States was being drawn closer to the conflict. China remained neutral, but during the preceding year the Japanese troops moved freely through the Chinese soil to occupy the German-leased territory of Kiaochow. Internally, Yüan Shih-k'ai's government was being challenged by the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat-sen, and Yüan's aspiration to establish a monarchy further weakened his position. This was the setting under which the Japanese attempted to extend their influence in China.*

*The twenty-one demands were presented to Yüan Shih-k'ai on January 18, 1915, by the Japanese minister to Peking. These demands were divided into five groups: three concerned with the extension of Japanese rights in Shantung, Manchuria, and Fukien and one with the control of Han-yeh-ping Company which was the chief supplier of iron ore in China. The fifth group, if accepted, would have made China virtually a protectorate of Japan.*

*Japan's military threat, combined with the inability of the Western powers to intervene on behalf of China, finally resulted in the acceptance of the first four groups by Yüan's government on May 9. The twenty-one demands were probably the clearest expression of Japan's continental designs. For the Chinese the demands were the symbol of foreign aggression and became a rallying point for student nationalism which later culminated in the May Fourth Movement.*

*Document 2 below contains the English version of the twenty-one demands as subsequently published by the Japanese government. (The English version published by the Chinese government differed in some minor points.)*

posed to grant to other nationals the right of constructing a railway or to obtain from other nationals the supply of funds for constructing a railway in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and (2) whenever a loan is to be made with any other Power, under security of the taxes of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

ARTICLE VI. The Chinese Government engage that whenever the Chinese Government need the service of political, financial, or military advisers or instructors in South Manchuria or in Eastern Inner Mongolia, Japan shall first be consulted.

ARTICLE VII. The Chinese Government agree that the control and management of the Kirin-Changchun Railway shall be handed over to Japan for a term of 99 years dating from the signing of this Treaty.

#### GROUP III.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, having regard to the close relations existing between Japanese capitalists and the Han-Yeh-Ping Company and desiring to promote the common interests of the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The two Contracting Parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the Han-Yeh-Ping Company shall be made a joint concern of the two nations, and that, without the consent of the Japanese Government, the Chinese Government shall not dispose or permit the Company to dispose of any right or property of the Company.

ARTICLE II. The Chinese Government engage that, as a necessary measure for protection of the invested interests of Japanese capitalists, no mines in the neighbourhood of those owned by the Han-Yeh-Ping Company shall be permitted, without the consent of the said Company, to be worked by anyone other than the said Company; and further that whenever it is proposed to take any other measure which may likely affect the interests of the said Company directly or indirectly, the consent of the said Company shall first be obtained.

#### GROUP IV.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of China, agree to the following article:

The Chinese Government engage not to cede or lease to any other Power any harbour or bay or any island along the coast of China.

#### GROUP V.

1. The Chinese Central Government to engage influential Japanese as political, financial, and military advisers;

2. The Chinese Government to grant the Japanese hospitals, temples, and schools in the interior of China the right to own land;

3. In the face of many police disputes which have hitherto arisen between Japan and China, causing no little annoyance, the police in localities (in China), where such arrangements are necessary, to be placed under joint Japanese and Chinese administration, or Japanese to be employed in police offices in such localities, so as to help at the same time the improvement of the Chinese Police Service;

4. China to obtain from Japan supply of a certain quantity of arms, or to establish an arsenal in China under joint Japanese and Chinese management and to be supplied with experts and materials from Japan;

5. In order to help the development of the Nanchang-Kiukiang Railway, with which Japanese capitalists are so closely identified, and with due regard to the negotiations which have for years been pending between Japan and China in relation to the railway question in South China, China to agree to give to Japan the right of constructing a railway to connect Wuchang and the Kiukiang-Nanchang line, and also the railways between Nanchang and Hangchou and between Nanchang and Chaochou;

6. In view of the relations between the Province of Fukien and Formosa and of the agreement respecting the non-alienation of that province, Japan to be consulted first whenever foreign capital is needed in connection with the railways, mines, and harbour works (including dockyards) in the Province of Fukien;

7. China to grant to Japanese subjects the right of preaching in China.