78

At the last session of the Diet I had the honour to speak on the policy of the Japanese Government regarding the China Affair. Today I desire to address you on the subsequent developments which have occurred in the Chinese situation as well as on our foreign relations in general.

The attitude of the Japanese Government towards the present Affair has been clearly set forth in their statements made public from time to time in the past. Japan has no territorial ambitions in China, nor has she any intention of separating North China from the rest of the country. All she wants is that China, taking a broad view of the situation, will collaborate with Japan toward the fulfilment of the ideal of Sino-Japanese co-operation for the common prosperity and well-being of the two countries. Accordingly, even after the outbreak of the present Affair, we eagerly looked forward to joining forces with China for the purpose of securing peace in East Asia as soon as the Nationalist Government should have discarded their policy of opposition to Japan and Manchoukuo and evinced a sincere desire to work together for this idea of Japan. However, the Nationalist Government failed to understand our true intentions, and hey were caught, so to speak, in the trap set by themselves, being bound by their commitments to the anti-Japanism that they had fostered for such long years. Unable to act wisely and well with a calm judgment, but relying upon third Powers, or allying themselves

themselves with Communists, they are even now calling for a prolonged resistance, regardless of he plight of the 400 million people of China whom they have plunged into the depth of suffering and misery. Now hhehheraic operations of our loyal and valiant forcws in the north and in the south, have forced the Nationalist Government to abandon Nanking, their capital, and to flee far up the Yangtze River. Still unrepentant, they persist in their desperate opposition. It is a most lamentable thing for the sake of East Asia as a whole as well as for the people of China.

Some time ago when the Japanese Government received a proffer of good offices by the German Government to act as an intermediary for bringing about direct negotiations between Japan and China, they proposed, with a view to affording the Nationalist Government a last opportunity for reconsideration, the following four points as the basic conditions for the solution of the Affair:

- 1. China to abandon her pro-Communist and anti-Japanese and anti-Manchoukuo policies to collaborate with Japan and Manchoukuo in their anti-Comintern policy.
- 2. Establishment of demilitarized zones in the necessary localities, and of a special regime for the said localities.
- 3. Conclusion of an exonomic agreement between Japan, China and Manchoukuo.

4. China to pay Japan the necessary indemnities. These items summarized the minimum reauirements which were considered absolutely indispensable by the Japanese Government. It was my earnest hope that the Nationalist Government would sue for peace on the basis of these fundamental conditions. However, that Government, blind to the larger interests of East Asia, and ignoring both our magnamimity and Germany's friendly intention, exhibited no readiness to ask frankly for peace, but only sought to delay the matter and ultimately failed to send a reply that could be regarded in any way as sincere. The Nationalist Government having thus wifully thrown away the last chance placed at their disposal by the Japanese Government, it became clear that there would be no hope of ever arriving at a solution by waiting indefinitely for any reconsideration on the part of the Nationalist Government. It is because of these circumstances that the Japanese Government issued on the 16th of this month the statement that they would from thence-forward cease to deal with the Nationalist Government Government. As is made plain in that statement our Government now look forward to the establishment and the growth of a new Chinese regime capable of genuine co-operation with Japan, which it is their intention to assist in the building up of a new and rehabilitated China. I am fully convinced that is the only way of realizing our ideal of securing the stability of East Asia through Sino-Japanese co-operation.

I desire to avail myself of this occasion to say that in Europe and America there are some who are apt to entertain misgivings regarding Japan's intentions as though she were trying to close the Chinese door, and expel the interests of the Powers from China. Let me state explicitly that not only will Japan respect to the fullest extent the rights and interests of the Powers in the occupied greas, but she is prepared, for the purpose of promoting the welfare of thee Chinese people, to leave the door wide open to all Powers and to welcome their cultural and economic cooperation there. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Powers, by recognizing the new donditions prevailing in China, and by appreciating the propriety of such Japanese demands for necessary and national adjustments as have been submitted, or may be submitted hereafter, in order to meet those conditions, will cooperate for the establishment of a new order in the Far East.

As regards our relations with Manchoukuo, it is the fundamental principle of our national policy to help that country to achieve a healthy progress as an independent state, maintaining all the while its intimate and inseparable relationship with our own. In accordance with this basic principle our Government decided upon the abolition of the extraterritoriality long enjoyed by Japan and transfer of here administrative rights in the Sough Manchuria Railway zone.

And

And in the execution of that programme the first treaty was concluded in June, 1936, and the second treaty in November last year, the operation of both of which has proved exceedingly satisfactory. As for the international status of Manchoukuo, because of the various governmental reforms and improvements accomplished through her strenuous efforts exerted with the help of Japan for their materialization, the Powers have come to revise their appraisement of the new state. Italy, forst of all, extended formal recognition towards the end of November last, and the mutual extension of formal recognition with the Franco Government of Spain took place in the early days of the following December.

Japan's policy towards the Soviet Union has always been guided by our conviction of the urgent need of placing the relations of the two countries upon a normal footing for the sake of the peace of East Asia. It is in accordance with this policy that we endeavoured within the past year to solve the long pending issue of the revision of the Rishery Treaty; but unfortunately, owing to the attitude of the Soviet authorities, we were obliged to conclude a modus vivendi at the year end as in the year before last. I should add, however, that since the Soviet Government are proceeding with the necessary internal preparations for the conclusion of an aggeement providing for a revision of the treaty now in force, we are taking steps for the continuance of the negotiation and the signing of the new agreement at the earliest possible date.

This Government attach great importance to a smooth operation of the Japanese concession enterprises in North Saghalien. Let me say that the Japanese Government will never allow these rights and interests derived from the Soviet-Japanese Basic Treaty to be nullified through unreasonable pressure. Again, the relations between the Soviet Union and China are attracting the special attention of our nation. China concluded in August last a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, while members of the Communist International have penetrated all classes of the Chinase, destroying the social order of the country and endangering the stability of East Asia, Japan, ever solicitous for the civilization of East Asia and the welfare of its people, cannot but view the situation with the gravest concern.

In conducting military operations in China, Japan has been exercising psecial care last the nationals and the rights and interest of third Powers should suffer. But there have occurred, I regret to say, toward the end of last year the Panay Incident and the Ladybird Incident, involving Great Britain and the United States. While it is needless to say that their occurrence was entirely unintentional, it was feared for a time that these incidents might lead to an alienation of feeling between Japan and those two countries. I rejoice that thanks to the calm and fair-minded attitude taken by the Governments of both countries and the sincerity of our Government and people, the incidents have been brought

in each case to an amicable settelment.

Since the outbreak of the present Affair, the United States has always maintained a fair and just attitude, acting, on all occasions with such careful regard for the cause of Japanese-American friendship that, despite such mishaps as the Panay Incident, the relations of the two countries, I am happy to say, have suffered no impairment. The Importance to the conduct of our foreign affairs of American understanding needs scarcely to be mentioned. We shall continue to do our best towards the furtherance of Japanese-American amity and good will.

As regards Great Britain, there has been no change in the policy of the Japanese Government, which aims at the maintenance of the traditional friendship between the two countries. I hope that the British Government and people, grasping fully the importance of Anglo-Japanese relations, will endeavour to comprehend correctly Japan's position in East Asia and to cooperate with Japan for the furtherance of peace and good understanding between the two nations. At the same time, I desire to urge upon our own people to stand solidly behind this policy of the Government, in view of the seriousness of the general situation.

I am glad to say that Japan and Germany Mave been brought closer together than ever through such auspicious events as the visit of H.I.H. Prince Chichibu who was pleased to make a tour of that country on his way home from England last year, and also the cruise of the H.I.M.S. Ashigara, which included a call

at Kiel. Especially do this Government appreciate the friendly and most sympathetic attitude Germany has taken in consonance with the spirit of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern
Agreement. We will strive to strengthen further the cooperation between the two countries.

From the beginning of the present Affair, Italy, understanding our true motives, has collaborated with us along all lines. It is well known to you how consistently and how energetically the Italian Government supported our country in Novembar lat year at the Brussels Conference of the Signatory Powers to the Nine Power Treaty. In connection with the question already mentioned of the settlement of the present Affair, the Italian Government again manifested their sympathetic concern. This Government are most grateful for these proofs of good will on the part of Italy, which had taken actually the same position as Japan in the matter of combatting the Comintern, joined in the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Agreement in November last. It is a subject for congratulation from the standpoint of securing world peace that Japan, Germany and Italy have come to join forces under the Anti-Comintern banner. This Government will seek to extend further the effective operation of this agreement in concert with Germany and Italy.

In Spain, the civil war which broke out in July 1936 has developed steadily in favour of the regime under General France, which has now succeeded in bringing the greater part of the country under its control, and in consolidating its foundations. Moreover, the France Government is identified

with

with the Government of this country in the policy adopted against the Comintern. In the light of these facts we have decided to recognize that Government, and the necessary steps to that end were taken early in December last year.

Assurvey of our foreign trade shows that there has been in the past year a notable increase, as compared with the preceding year, of more than 35 per cent. in value as regards imports and 18 percent. in value as regards exports — the tatal value of imports and exports together exceeding 7,270,000,000 yen, which is an unprecedented sum in the history of our foreign commerce.

Nevertheless, there still remain the *conomic barriers as heretofore. While endeavouring on the one hand to eliminate these obstacles through diplomatic means by dealing individually with the various countries according to their respective circumstances and the measures employed by them, this Government are exerting on the other hand unremitting efforts to promote our foreign trade by every means available. During the past year trade agreements have been concluded with Brigish India, Burma, and Turkey. There were also signed in December a Treaty of Commerce with Siam and a supplementary agreement to the Italo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce relating to the Italian colonies. Negotiations are now in progress with other countries for the conclusion of the necessary trade agreements, comering both old and new markets.

A boycott of Japanese goods has been initiated in certain countries

the present Affair and to the machinations of the Chinese who reside there in large numbers. However, nowhere has it developed into any serious proportions, thanks to the united efforts of the Government and people and the fair attitude of the general public in the countries concerned.

The Japanese Government believe it to be one of the necessary conditions of the peace and harnomy and the prosperity of Japan, Manchoukue and China, and consequently of the entire world, to increase rationally the productive power of those three countries, and to strengthen their economic ties, and at the same time to promote their trade with the rest of the world. For the realization of this purpose the Government are now carefully preparing appropriate plans at home and abboad.

Finally I desire to say a few words on cultural work.

In order to promote international friendship and to bring about a real peace among mankined it is necessary that nations should form intimate cultural bonds and cultivate a full understanding of one another's ideals and aspirations.

The present Affair is traceable in no small degree to Chinese lakk of understanding in this reggrd. If Japan and China are to build up a lasting friendship, they should understand each other's national conditions and characteristics, and cooperate culturally according to the fundamental spirit of the Orient. Taking this standpoint, the Government intend

to carry on in China more intensively than ferefore the cultural work which will serve as a foundation for the permanent peace and prosperity of the two nations. At the same time the Government will not relax their cultural work elsewhere since there is a special need, in the face of the present international situation, of making other peoples better acquainted with our unique culture and the national traits of our people who love justice and peace.

I hope that from what I have new said you have been able to understand the views of the Government regarding the present China Affair and foreign questions in general. In beief, the underlying aim of the foreign policy of the Government is to eradicate the roof of evil in East Asia, to make known throughout the world the justic of our cause, and to contribute toward laying the foundations of world peace. To that end the Government are doing their very utmost.

And I trust that your will appreciate the intentions of the Government and will be the matter of the attainment of the objectives of our foreign policy in dealing with the grave emergency that confronts the nation today.

11/19

CERTIFICATE

Statement of Source and Authenticity

Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that
the document hereto attached in English consisting
of paged and entitled address of Mr. Koki HHOTA,

Minister for Foreign Offices, at The Seventy-Third

Session of The Imperial Diet. delivered on January 22,
1938
is an exact and true copy of an official document of the

Japanese Foreign Office

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 9 & day of Opice 1947

Signature of Official

Witness: K. Urales

O. Chung kai sleek. Page of Ending of 1st Paring of the Of the officer of the Open of the others are paration of the Page of action was are paration of the Page of a strict was are paration of the Graining in our attempt as in last gear.

G. Agre raid or brutest

O Page of Regunning part.

However as before economic barriers

ittill exists in various yorligh countries.

Water # 17 第十二回帝国武务长上唐田外校区演选

支那事奏:对心帝国政府方针"付井了上于八是第二十二四帝国 藏會一於了, 陳色正所了了了了,本口兹,其後情勢及我就外 聖话,全般付了,所見为用陳致之了一格 マスの

拿。勇歌奮問之為一風民政府、首府南京的指了方建了是江 2:投之段ラ題をサイナアリマス。人子中帝国忠勇七年後、北二 傅师,冷释、大子,随念上去走走了得久,或满里里, 安意了解也不多年间了數學之本心林以抗了去谁的月白經自 在三連追之了了期之于法分千了一又不近上, 題民政府、帝国 想:協力ユニー至ランコト・アルデアー 明中一下一下。春風政府、支即一村、何等人处土的野心了有意义又北 今次幸变"对北帝国政府一能废人"爱之"正政府所住,按避依于 了一是、国民政府上于排户抗满政策、接下,右海国理想品为 支文記の分離センなトスルク地も多見風のも村心を焼する中で 即少帝国、龙公所、唯支那大岛、目境人、巨支提携共存共深、理 或:共產党上线也方面各期抵抗不過人四億人民界了连接苦 面墨面土的松松打, 纏了一一一 就意,按班子来一起了、帝風之上手,携了東里和平 77. なしらか、かってお自う時見しコト ススの 華愛勘罪後於十

20年,如本人支那民家多是"将又东西 125 基礎陪件上一戶池一四点升提示之分子 了了一天图成政府"最後,及看了此人了为遇、幸美解决人 り能分いがテアリ 三五十直接文告、橋後こうナスつもちりぬき心中出:接こ 夏。帝国政府、是表:福逸政府。 ,大尚,善三麻特格 人的女子風

一支那一客苦抗口满以第了於東心回满面到一防苦以第: 協力スペコト

好零地域以以我接地带,好上具該 定ユルコト・ 地方:特殊機構設

日满支三国图:安接北统南临处了绵 出 217

女那一个图:对的客路人 2

太田民政府一路爱人、帝国政府一些了 こうに末途:何等城島,恐らい中国是サンナた 视心虚心地懷"和气气力,做成度二出于 在公面记事国的府,绝对必要上路人 大岛三日境大十日日政府、我方一覧告審遇政府、好意上五年 极松致多色学了 ニョー、和りボッキランコトリ 三大私国民政府,建工工艺 七年七十五 最後,好城山田 好限度一零花 人徒 了: 爱些事 770 2スか、東亜

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文即的权,成立是爱了期待的,至二方,是一面里,图交到整之 更生新女即建设:協力之决意了 信之子野公子分 ,理想上了日文提榜了日本建工安定了得收了一年了了二十日 国政府一座巷子待之里到底事变解决,是近十十二月明了一根成了了千 換シタルモノトムフへキデ マスル通り、今後帝国政府、帝国上海:提势及:足新兴 整中的了大工工工的好次下了了多。出該好明中三之的示二下了 マス。立し去十十二多角国的府が方後国民政府りは手上やけん マス. 20一年能此處"至平小此上在再 とこう一本以上が一年風

出此极常一言致心度了一个跳光路風光十十二一丁小動之工上人 帝国为那門戶明鐘到图 教盖り題处也了了在屋 門户門院放立其一資本地出了之歡迎己之一九二十岁送 唐海軍隊,上機已城内二在别到人好道,她为这一大声事意 2(十二十八分游,虚少支那民客,副利塘进,遇,诸外国之 してたいり、火井豊鮮り有たのカアルコトテク 明二之度了上茲之又不動,国衙到图が支那社然打車路 可直視之之:即應之于帝国成现:為之了 (十合頭的個整一要出了好解,以上了車里 新北秩序,建设"你 アリスへを後奏ユューアル 了了一年里的店

父力セラレンコート 江水:日港西国国军引见了过二、苗沟到了了 政局:龙北高州国地位了见了江北建国近来产生一切力 一个路台、在八年十月一路台,蜂转 不一方在西省的城市,在北北北北地上明湖千下 被要乃至珍德了十五八十方針以次之一在安現一為四和土年 战権:甘中立上于己以府、在国第一基湖:道楼上西战建:之为 奉到过港里第一基衙一丁户上 関係の接之ファ陽之風トンテ其健全に発後が送りしいことい 也公外传播、及日露战争人人後息幸福州铁道附属地行 希望工地中 22九帝国力多年高州二於五年 330 一年 出来不可方 多一大国路

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得一位了去下和西班牙了了了一個軍一的府上的明五 裁裁打工工工工工工 下:进以这样"喜道我了,结果"方中引回之门对选 上武弘然了行上2.37工人、御司慶一至少于了 一年十月末,先万年風上去我

「小少了工上那和一體在一位十二二十八帝国的海上二十八曲来 国国馬的出来经過少也奉北水路電影了二十年更 年起一為學界下信之四方針了四万措置之来了一一大

即分面風河年来一點客之選其佛的修正回题之外等中三 解决之下势力致上了了了上屯一一地方针"基了五千下 カフリッち 我里见你我的哥那中于了了 修正工院建了端线不多的必要大面的海海有了过去是 ママルか数: 於江州權事等,正常先進行了 トスル所干 看一里写与石色的面上面上大力好了大海国政的上 シブ 里年一位了、我国一般,特治意为艺行意的 かんうつりつる 可能時一國際共產党員力 人人工多中國十七月,五十 暫定取物,始了一己的得也是 阿威北会共為了破壞心正 ウカンド シテスちりるスコーハ、海水・サーナ 野遇之得了时了了了了了了了上部却美那 りつしず、 工上山西港高一大多 八支那二 P 引烧"女好行心"一可成連二新協定一獨 リるったむ「リウィエト 国过基本像约由未无此难,刊 四年/国了八部年 がんう 上路有一班元之处行的的 水年末道:一个年上回 五 部政府,北棒人 极多重要观元之 羽中 持井町町町 插民族一福和 生事安全 2.37二十八十五建風 日二不侵格源 名福德入了 十華 アマ

多日米里作工品。展岛产老虚山前地沿江 更被公司一班中中的 甚國二階係,付了了八年國政府的臣華而國 すれりアララス. 后次事要勃然此不不到政府公子下公民多方榜 對大出非得限了好中一號了行多多的将 りつる 一件如不祥事中,空经是不怕两國女徒好 比上共日米親差

等城心时少十十十十十十十二

松英國政府及國民於元

傳統的好學係可能博也上記從事了一方對八次

斯特

的一大时都为不能多生工 村里 儿儿

となりからる

还柄一个心圆纸等一个为户名少 部第一生次同野部的問題表又都國軍船 教艺的少人一个的爱地 被色片野像行行之外下部我文定發下英國了 张河圆面的独防英品港 對心理等里部記憶樓工艺 第一级地方数以外上考了下上 于一部、各方面一里的城内去子子,对于一 公甲國政府人名次事委者 大生要品种野豆、政府、合致委和國一提 第二十二十二次的一里超为我方支持,能多多 中五山成村於九國中門剛像國會議門 舒张才信号之是 甲國政府、同情己 不少是不知不通多了了了一个小小小小本事 和了了中 神 アアンマトハンカー 两國,聖香 が本きが対方 かけらアリスス、 タスター まれる 國山泉道 12. 國政付 日都人子 一五支

不可看手了了大個國 您都竟之生像一年解萬四十二十十年有一巨然都一好一里人会解,教婚了不知智多 帝國事卷上共通一多場工在了多年十月日被 时去脚生多於一路四独伊三国的苦,特情下 提携等等等一班軍軍和雅保見地多慶 深刻就做了了一下国家了五共,野孩 勃發以来,戰役,次第一了了治學軍,政府侧 かくタラアショス、他方、同政府中防共力以方國第十六人 加里地子的好了了 ,严决就是了面当一起,作事情趣。 一年國政府,才對上相通記 一有到這樣所以國軍近同政府公西 居心中了了到西班牙浴中了八个昨年七月内引 如事就通虧関係教題致之之一下 今後養事協定,如果了 事中中 教了了了下了 一数为一下收以政村,基礎之十 一世北縣人屋野 於 好信、独 三割 中年十月初那思 發 的好意力原國 伊西國中世 五台 人工選手 医ツ 科力中心了 揮之多多期以 班牙八大半 了 DD カシ 6

然江下 依、打解写图了了人才, 留易促進, 對不断, 好 好上了根城三月一五一五人的村政的一张上了一篇图 君はすりアクラフス 工用其上間公園都協定,衛時完了了之又匿 事情越其一措置三應之名個外交平段等 事一里全体,歌荡和野狗 易野係發展,圖是,回滿支三國,正 力上諸國民一般一公正能發生後少了了其一種 部二遭城地甚不好了少多, 中の致しいるとと事をからいず、年 衙門以中國在即極端時安安中 門衙衙選門你都舊節衛 中連擊了四里国一九十七二二人上 傳或等一花刀多数在住花樓高學的 遊風中点事要問品支那倒養處期,這 月月見ルニ 至ろナカロタフトル誠二年 满支三國一生產力力后理的 你果一年那品脚件,要一出产品大人下了了了多十八 問過部條門好便極地也照不回 多好的風於恐門的學事,其後依 中華领即度 己之又 我力管武一致 和与有多个少多 部印了了少少年 1月 端國上面 拉科 播光其經濟 插外國少個 与かりなる リサカカ

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内外一百,萬年措置少講之子了了了了 野俊学的言致人生了更是了了人工的事等的行 和智和也不知多國民和国主文化的連繫力 安东进心, 了下了人的海事要一些之一面然了女那侧如此是 四数一日支間恒久親善関係可接去光 曼面國民力 一一情記了一下了了一点面围现一头放断们 陷石年, 計, 基礎多头上不好期等活心 三事洋年生,精神之多脚 第一了了一品工厂同時、我國文化海外一般 支之七事等三層一場力多對之之可以可配國 可與在了一中西山中一多个一多 對之城行为行子上了,正教上平 要が一切からいていとうている 我如歐武性上我的國有一大化步海外過場 於一致之外起因之州勘外 21年八現下一國際情勢一題…特國中 北京为了一大方之一,政府 國際門親著 港地 相可管意利充分理解記之 相至"其,國情上國民性 政府以見也引對 少大七的提携, 極國際工化車 人類真原平 和与爱好元 十月理鄉 中里

第一根村里一人一里里 へいつ 建型して であた 樹ラントスニーアクマンデ 上樓拉了以外門 人義ラ戸 在殿野花政府,所见大水 付上を 等局心是如此海中 おるノテア 山山 題動 何存落 七一国 之才要之, 國外交 中學元之 以以了在里 后沿事变 盖對外問題 的影驳行人图 政府對外致 部蘇縣 根事际 カセラレアモ

(三號)

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昭和二十二年 四月 九日

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