

DEF DOC # 231

THE ADDRESS OF MR. HACHIRO ARITA, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS, AT THE SEVENTIETH SESSION OF THE
DIET, JANUARY 21, 1937.

I have the honour today of addressing you on the foreign policy of Japan and presenting an outline of the recent developments.

As I stated last May at the Extraordinary Session of the Diet the national policy of Japan aims at ensuring the stability of East Asia, to contribute thereby to the cause of world peace, as well as at promoting the welfare and happiness of mankind by upholding international justice. And we have been striving earnestly and unremittingly toward the achievement of those aims.

In surveying the conditions of the world it is to be noted that the international political situation is still lacking in stability. In fact, it appears to be growing worse than ever owing especially to the activities of the Communist International, or the Comintern. In these circumstances, it is truly significant that there was concluded on November 25 last year an agreement between Japan and Germany concerning the Communist International. This agreement is ~~intended~~ for a common defence against the activities of the Comintern whose tenets are not only incompatible with the national polity of our country but inconsistent with human nature itself.

The Japanese Government have always been endeavouring to suppress the Communist movement, which long since made its way also into this country. In China, subsequent to the adoption by the Kuomintang of a policy of toleration toward the Communist Party, movement spread widely so that ^{there} were established a few years ago "soviet Areas" in various parts of Kiangsi and Fukien, and the so-called "Communist-bandit armies" ^{infested} numerous.

localities. It was with grave concern that Japan watched the developments in China under the Red invasion. Then, in the summer of the year before last, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, convened at Moscow, passed a resolution and declared openly that certain countries including Japan and Germany were to be the major objects of its future operations. At the same time the Comintern adopted new tactics of campaign based upon the formation of the so-called "people's front," which has proved successful in several countries of Europe, especially in Spain where it has brought on a civil war which is raging even now attended with terrible scenes of fratricide. In East Asia the Comintern commenced skilfully to sovietize China while damaging the Sino-Japanese relations through movement called "the Anti-Japanese People's Front" organized throughout that country. In Manchoukuo and also in Japan there appeared signs of the growth of Communist manoeuvres.

In the face of the operations of the Comintern, tenacious as they are ingenious, our Government were obliged to devise more stringent measures of defence and formulate an adequate policy for the protection of our national polity and the preservation of the stability of East Asia. Of course, we are seeking to achieve the purpose of defence and of detection and investigation through our domestic organs. But the Comintern is an international organization with a large number of branches scattered all over the globe, which maintain close contact between one another, and conduct their campaigns under directions from headquarters, each exploiting the peculiar conditions of its own territory. Therefore, measures for guarding against such operations should necessary be extended to an international scale. That is why Japan has concluded with Germany the present agreement providing for the exchange of information and the study of the necessary steps to be taken.

The object of this agreement is a joint defence against the Comintern and we should be glad to enter into agreement with any other country within the scope of that aim. Needless to say, the Japanese Government are not bound in any way outside the scope of the above-mentioned aim. It seems there have been those who entertained misunderstandings or misgivings regarding the character of the agreement. But I wish to state definitely that the conclusion of the agreement, which was dictated by the need of protecting our national polity and preserving the stability of East Asia, does not affect in the slightest degree our policy of promoting friendly relations with all Powers in the spirit of universal concord and harmony.

The Japanese Government are endeavouring to further the unity and solidarity between the peoples of Japan and Manchoukuo and to consolidate the neighbourly and inseparable relationship between the two countries. And for that purpose, we decided, as I stated at the previous session of the Diet, upon the abolition of our extraterritorial rights and the adjustment and transfer of our administrative rights in the South Manchuria Railway Zone. Under this policy, and as the first step, there was signed on June 10 last year a treaty concerning partial abolition of our extraterritorial rights and adjustment of our administrative rights in the South Manchuria Railway Zone. The conclusion of this treaty was hailed by the people of Manchoukuo with profound satisfaction, and its operation has since proved eminently successful. It is gratifying to us all to note that Manchoukuo is making steady and healthy progress along all lines, and the economic and commercial relations between that country and ours are growing more and more intimate.

It was some time ago that the Japanese Government proposed to China three

basic principles, hoping to effect thereby the much needed adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations. However, in August last there occurred the Chengtu Incident, which was followed by a series of unfortunate incidents at Pakhoi and elsewhere. From an examination into the nature of these incidents we could see clearly that every one of them was not merely an ordinary case of murder or assault, but that they were all traceable to the anti-Japanese policy of China. While it was necessary to obtain settlements of individual cases as such, it was evident that unless we eliminated their underlying causes we could not possibly prevent the recurrence of similar incidents, nor could we protect the lives and property of our nationals and safeguard our rights and interests in China, and consequently we could never hope for a friendly and harmonious intercourse between our two nations. Therefore, in order to forestall the recurrence of any untoward incidents at their very source the Japanese Government, while demanding utmost sincerity in the exercise of the control of all anti-Japanese agitations, invited the Nanking Government to discuss various questions, upon the solution of which depended the adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations. In other words, we desired that the Nanking Government, instead of stopping short at the negative policy of merely controlling the anti-Japanese movement, should go a step further and alter their attitude toward Japan which was one of the chief causes of anti-Japanese agitations; and we urged upon that Government to prove the sincerity on various concrete issues having to do with the rehabilitation of Sino-Japanese relations. Negotiations were begun at Nanking between the representatives of the two countries early September, and continued for over three months. Believing that in view of the Chinese attitude, indefinite prolongation of the negotiations would

only serve to bring on fresh complication, we demanded that the Nanking Government put into practice those points on which both sides had so far reached an agreement of views, leaving the remaining questions to later conversations. Thereupon the Chengt and Pakhoi Incident as such were settled on December 30.

As you may gather from what has been said, our negotiations with China, having failed to produce as yet the anticipated results, have come to a standstill for the present. However, I am convinced that these negotiations are of significant value in that they will serve as a stage in the progress of the further negotiations. Since our fundamental policy toward China is directed most certainly toward the collaboration and the friendship and the common prosperity of the two countries, the renewal of the endeavours for the adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations with a fresh resolve and determination not only an obligation of the two Governments but also a common desire, I believe, of both nations.

As regards the incident at Sian, our Government took a fair and impartial attitude and watched the course of events calmly but with grave concern. It is most fortunate for China that the affair is being brought to an end without entailing serious consequences. However, in view of the fact that Chang Hsueh-liang came out for a pro-Communist and anti-Japanese policy at the initial stage of the incident, and that its final outcome is bound to have a far-reaching effect upon the general situation of East Asia, our Government are paying careful attention to further developments.

The policy of Japan toward the U.S.S.R. lies, as a matter of course, in the maintenance and insurance of normal relations. In order to enhance friendly

relations between the two countries through the solution of pending issues, our Government have continued to conduct negotiations during the past year regarding the revision of the fishery treaty, and the problems of border demarcation and settlement of disputes between the Soviet Union and Manchoukuo, and also have assisted in the negotiations between the Soviet authorities and the representatives of Japanese interests on the matter of extension of the period of oil prospecting in North Saghalien. As regards this oil question, a contract was concluded in October extending the prospecting period by five years. The text of a new fishery convention was also drawn up in the middle of last November after deliberations lasting for over and a half years. But at the very moment when the instrument was to be signed, the Soviet Government asked for a postponement of the signature on the grounds of non-completion of the necessary domestic procedure, and thereafter persistently refused to sign. We called the attention of the Soviet Government repeatedly to the basic nature of Japan's fishery right in the northern waters and to the perpetuity required of the treaty intended to regulate the exercise of the said right. As the result of these later conversations a provisional arrangement was concluded at last on the 28th of December, which will permit our fishery enterprise to go unobstructed for the coming session. Our Government intend of course to continue negotiations regarding the signing of the above-mentioned new convention and expect to arrive at a settlement at an early date.

The establishment of Commissions for the Manchoukuo-Soviet border demarcation and settlement of disputes was proposed by our Government in the belief that such bodies would contribute substantially toward the prevention of disputes between Japan, Manchoukuo and the Soviet Union, and the harmonization of the tripartite relations. I may say that an agreement of views has been reached on all the basic

questions involved, excepting one or two points. And our Government hope to see this question settled as soon as possible.

Thus we are doing everything to establish peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. It is to be greatly regretted, therefore, that the Soviet Union only maintains disproportionately large armaments along the Manchoukuo frontier, but goes so far at times as to circulate rumours of aggressive actions on the part of this country. Should the Soviet Government appreciate the pacific intentions of Japan, reflect upon their own past attitude and seek to solve pending issues between the two countries, I believe that Soviet-Japanese relations would be soon put upon a normal footing.

Toward Great Britain our policy to strengthen the traditional relations remains unchanged. When the two countries, taking a broad view, give full and sympathetic consideration to each other's position, there can be no doubt that a way will be found of adjusting their interests. It is the intention of our Government to exert further efforts in that direction.

Japan's relations with the United States are of late happily improving, owing, I believe, as well to our consistent policy of contributing, in cooperation with that Power, to the maintenance of peace in the Pacific, as to a deeper understanding on the part of the American people regarding the situation in East Asia. The Japanese Government will continue to spare no efforts in the cultivation and improvement of the cordial relations already existing between the two nations.

The naval limitation treaty among the world's three major sea powers, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States, has expired with the past year.

DEF LOC # 231

Our Government, adhering as faithfully as ever to the principle of non-menace and non-aggression, have certainly no desire to initiate a race for naval construction. Indeed, we have seized every opportunity to express our sincere aspirations for naval limitation and it is still the cherished hope of the Japanese Government that there will be concluded as soon as possible a just and fair treaty of limitation among the Powers concerned, to contribute to the cause of world peace.

Recently, we notified the Italian Government of our decision to withdraw our legation in Ethiopia and to establish a consulate in its stead. At the same time, the Italian Government assured us that they would give favourable consideration concerning the protection of our commercial and other interests in Ethiopia. Negotiations on that basis are now in progress. I should say that we have only taken what seemed to be the proper step in view of the actual situation and also in consideration of the friendly relations between our country and Italy.

Our Government are also desirous of establishing closer economic relations with the countries in the South Seas. Although there are those who misunderstand, or even attempt to discredit our intentions, we entertain no aggressive designs, but only seek to promote our trade and join efforts with those countries in the development of the natural resources through the furtherance of peaceful and friendly relations.

I am happy to say that Japan's foreign trade, despite the numerous measures of restriction adopted by many countries, rose to an unprecedented volume last year, demonstrating the vigour and vitality of our nation's economic and industrial life. As for the trade restrictions of other lands, they are of such character that there is no way to have them removed save through diplomatic negotiations. Our Government are doing their best in that regard. To cite a conspicuous

instance, some time ago our Government were compelled to invoke the Trade Protection Law against Australia in order to counter the measures of the Australian Government to restrict the importation of Japanese goods. Thereafter we initiated trade negotiations which were continued for several months until toward the end of last year, when an amicable understanding was reached, and the relations between Japan and Australia have been restored to a normal basis.

As for the Netherlands Indies, through the intermediation of the Governments of that country and of our own the shipping interests the two countries concluded an agreement in the course of the past year. The conclusion of this agreement, which had been claimed by the Netherlands Indies as a postulate for any discussion on trade, paved the way to the trade negotiations between the Governments, which have been carried on with tangible results. Our trade negotiations with British India are also making satisfactory progress.

While carrying on these negotiations, our Government are also devoting their best efforts to the work of opening up new and promising markets everywhere, to-day nothing of preserving and enlarging the old, so as to bring about the expansion of our foreign trade as a whole.

At the Extraordinary Session last spring I stated that the growing trend toward the extension of international trade barriers was a matter of serious concern to a country like Japan, which cannot secure the nation's economic existence except through ensuring the supply of raw materials and the markets for manufactured products. Since then there have arisen certain circumstances warranting a hope for the moderation of restrictive measures. However, despite this hope, generally speaking, the various trade barriers are being kept intact as they were. What is needed most this time, I believe, is that with a view

DEF DOC # 231

to restoring freedom of trade, the Powers should treat their colonial markets in the spirit which marks the provisions of the Congo Basin Treaty. This, side by side with the solution of the now seriously discussed problem of the redistribution of natural resources, should go far toward dispelling the atmosphere of universal unrest, and prove a most effective and timely contribution to the cause of world peace.

Finally, I wish to speak a few words on our international cultural work. The culture of a nation is none other than an expression of its national traits and a true appreciation of it leads to a basic understanding of that nation. The upholding of international justice and the realization of genuine co-operation among the nations of the world will only then be possible. Especially for Japan, the diffusion of her ancient and unique culture in foreign countries is of the utmost importance, since it will serve as means to make the world understand the spirit underlying our national activities. With this point in view, our Government are intending to make further endeavours in the field of international cultural work.

Such is a brief outline of Japan's foreign policy and the progress of events in the diplomatic field. In conclusion, let me say that in the present complex and delicate circumstances, internal and external, the utmost care and caution are required of both our people and our Government in order to surmount the difficulties that confront Japan. The whole nation should be united in the determination and share in the efforts to carry out our national policy. From my heart, I appeal to you all for your ungrudging co-operation and collaboration.

CERTIFICATE

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, Chief of the Archives Section,
Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that
the document hereto attached in English consisting
of 10 pages and entitled "The Address of Mr.
Hachiro Arita, Minister for Foreign Affairs, of the
Seventieth Session of the Diet, January 21, 1937."
is an exact and true copy of an official translation
of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 13th day of January, 1947.

K. Hayashi
Signature of Official

Witness: T. Sato