# PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS ON JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY (NIHON GAIKOU BUNSHO)

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# 1. Introduction

The Diplomatic Record Office (DRO) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan edits the *Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy* (Nihon Gaikou Bunsho) by selecting important diplomatic documents out of those being made available for reading in the original form. *The Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy* has been compiled by selecting relevant diplomatic documents related to important diplomatic incidents or issues from the prewar diplomatic document files since the beginning of the Meiji era. The editing and publication of the *Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy* has been conducted continuously for almost 70 years since its publication of the first volume in 1936, and 194 volumes have already been published.

I would like now to briefly introduce the current status of the publication of the *Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy* by highlighting the content of its most recent volume of *Showa Era, Series II, Part 2, Volume 4 (1935)*.

# Publication of the Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy, Showa Era, Series II, Part 2, Volume 4 (1935) in the Context of the Publication covering the Prewar Period.

Since its first volume was published in 1936, one volume or two of the *Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy* have been issued every year although publication was suspended during World War II. 73 volumes on the Meiji Era (1869-1912) had been published by 1963, and 57 volumes on the Taisho Era (1913-1926) had been issued by 1987. Currently, DRO is engaged in the editorial works in respect of the Prewar Showa Period (1927-1945). The Prewar Showa Period has been divided into three series : Series I, from the beginning of the Showa Era in 1927 to the Manchurian

Incident in 1931 ; Series II, from 1931 to the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 ; and Series III, from 1937 to the end of World War II in 1945. Each series is further divided into Part I on Japan-China relations, and Part 2 on Japan's relations with foreign countries other than China and on international conferences. (The list of the *Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy under Prewar Showa Era* is set forth in the Annex.)

We are in the process of preparing the publication of Series II, *Part 1, Volume 4 (Japan-China relations in 1935)*, while planning special issues covering the Sino-Japanese War, the European War and Japan as well as the Pacific War, as an effort to expedite our publication program in respect of the prewar period.

With this background of our publication record, I would like to briefly explain the content of the most recent volume of *Showa Era, Series II, Part 2, Volume 4 (1935)*. In this volume, we have selected and compiled diplomatic records of the Foreign Ministry covering wide areas of bilateral relations including those with U.S., U.K., and the Soviet Union, trade issues including the case of the application of the trade protection law against Canada, relationship with the League of Nations after Japan's formal withdrawal as well as the political situation in European countries. These documents have been compiled under the following general table of contents :

- 1. General Foreign Policy
- 2. Issues at the League of Nations
- 3. Political Situation in Europe
  - 1) General Issues
  - 2) Soviet Attitude involving Security Issues
- (Subsection) Italo-Ethiopian Conflict
- 4. Bilateral Relations
  - 1) Japan-U.S. Diplomatic Relations
  - 2) Japan-U.K. Diplomatic Relations
  - 3) Japan-Soviet Diplomatic Relations (including the 7th Comintern Meeting)
- 4) Other Bilateral Diplomatic Relations
  - (Subsection) U.S. Business Delegation's Visit to the Far East
  - 5. Trade Issues

(Subsection) Application of the Trade Protection Law against Canada6. Miscellaneous Issues

- 1) Ambassador Debuchi Visit to the Southern Pacific Countries
- 2) Invitation of the Olympic Games to Tokyo

With this table of contents in mind, I would like to share with some of the main issues covered under the respective sections.

## 1. General Foreign Policy

This section includes documents highlighting Japan's basic foreign policy stance including those related to the Foreign Minister Hirota's Diet address of January at its 67th session and the policy paper done by Vice-Minister Shigemitsu entitled *Japan's Position viewed from International Relations*.

2. Issues at the League of Nations

This section includes documents concerning Japan's relations with the League of Nations after her formal withdrawal and includes the following : information concerning the discussions at the general assembly and the council ; cooperation with non-political organs including the appointment of the successor to Judge Adachi at the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ); ratification of the Convention for Limiting the Manufacture and Regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs ; and mandates over the southern Pacific islands.

3. Political Situation in Europe

This section is designed to include European political issues not directly involving Japan, but with possible impact on Japanese foreign policy.

#### 1) General Issues

General information regarding European political situation. Germany's declaration of rearmament, and Anglo-Soviet rapprochement are covered under this section.

#### 2) Soviet Attitude involving Security Issues

This section tries to document the processes and negotiations between the Soviet Union and the neighboring European countries, including those which resulted in the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Mutual Security Pact as a result of the failure in the negotiations toward the establishment of an eastern Locarno arrangement.

As noted above, a separate subsection is provided for the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict in view of its impact on European politics as well as that on Japan's foreign policy because of its involvement with the Manchurian Incident.

#### 4. Bilateral Diplomatic Relations

This section is designed to carry documents concerning major bilateral political relations of Japan including those with U.S., U.K. and the Soviet Union.

# 1) Japan-U.S. Diplomatic Relations

Various issues including Lord Lytton's speech on Manchuria, the enactment of the neutrality act in U.S., and the Arizona land law against Japanese immigrant farmers are covered under this section.

#### 2) Japan-U.K. Diplomatic Relations

This section is designed to include such documents as are not already covered under the previous special volume on the London Naval Conference and includes documents regarding the celebration of the 25<sup>th</sup> year anniversary of the British sovereign, Anglo-U.S. cooperation as well as the Manchuria's purchase of railway materials from U.K., while documents concerning the Leith-Ross Mission on the Chinese currency reform will be included in the upcoming volume on Japan-China relations of 1935.

# 3) Japan-Soviet Diplomatic Relations

Various documents covering the record of meetings between Foreign

Minister Hirota and the Soviet Ambassador Yurenev related to the transfer of the Northern Manchurian Railway, extension of the exploration period of Sakhalin oil development, as well as the 7<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Comintern are included under this section.

#### 4) Other Bilateral Diplomatic Relations

This section covers bilateral issues other than those with U.S., U.K.,

and the Soviet Union and contains documents on various issues including the issues of possible German claim over the mandated areas, selection of arbiters under the arbitration treaty with the Netherlands, Brazil's immigration restriction provision under its constitution, relaxation of Peru's restrictions of the Japanese immigrants, and emigration to Paraguay.

In addition, a separate subsection concerning the visit of U.S. business delegation to the Far East is provided to record negotiation history over its objective, composition, and the manner of dispatch in view of the mission's implications on Japan's relations both with U.S. and China.

# 5. International Trade Issues

This section covers wide area of international trade issues including the U.S. reciprocal trade policy, trade adjustment measures toward Latin America, trade status in Syria, import of Thai rice, cotton export negotiations to the Philippines and Egypt, economic mission to Brazil, as well as trade agreement negotiations with Australia.

A separate subsection is provided hereunder dealing with the application of the trade protection law against Canada and the Canadian reaction through the imposition of countervailing duties.

#### 6. Miscellaneous issues

This section is designed to carry documents concerning issues not falling under political or trade category, such as cultural relations or overseas information activities.

1) Ambassador Debuchi's visit to the Southern Pacific Countries

Documents relating to the visit of Ambassador Debuchi to Australia as a return visit to that of Vice Premier Latham of the previous year, as well as to New Zealand and the Philippines are included under this section.

# 2) Invitation of the Olympic Games to Tokyo

This section includes documents related to the invitation of the 1940 Olympic games to Tokyo, including negotiations with Italy which had expressed an interest in hosting it by dispatching Count Soejima for this purpose.

#### 3. Efforts to Promote Editorial programs for the Postwar Period

The implementation of the Information Disclosure Law (Law concerning Access to Information held by Administrative Organs) on April 1, 2001 stimulated a new interest in the research on postwar diplomatic history, and the public's concern for greater disclosure of the government information has been actively pursued under the new legislation. With this new development, starting in 2001, we embarked on editing diplomatic records of the postwar period into the Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy. First of all, on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> year anniversary of the effectiveness of the Treaty of Peace with Japan (San Francisco Peace Treaty), we reproduced and published the documents compiled by Kumao Nishimura, then Director-General of the Treaties Bureau and principal negotiator, recording the preparatory works and negotiations related to the Treaty. This was done in the form of the Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy: records related to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace with Japan (5 volumes). We are now in the process of preparing a special issue concerning the Treaty by selecting and organizing important diplomatic records related to the Treaty.

## ANNEX

Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy (Nihon Gaikou Bunsho) under the Prewar Showa Era

1. Prewar Showa Era, Series I (1927-1931)

(1) Part 1 (Japan-China Relations)

Vol. 1 : 1927 (Showa 2<sup>nd</sup>) ; Far Eastern Conference in 1927, Dispatch of Troops to Shantung (1989)

Vol. 2 : 1928 (Showa 3<sup>rd</sup>) ; Chang Tso-lin's Death Resulting from Bombing, Second Dispatch of Troops to Shantung (1990)

Vol. 3 : 1929 (Showa 4<sup>th</sup>) ; Negotiation for the Solution of the Tsinan Incident, Sino-Soviet Conflict (1993)

Vol. 4 : 1930 (Showa 5<sup>th</sup>) ; Pending Railways Questions in Northeast China, Chientao Incident (1994)

Vol. 5 : 1931 (Showa 6<sup>th</sup>); Abolition of Extraterritoriality, Wanpaoshan Farm Incident (1995)

(2) Part 2 (Japan's Relations with Foreign Countries other than China)

Vol. 1 : The Kellogg-Briand Pact (1988)

Vol. 2 : International Conferences (1992)

Vol. 3 : Japanese-Soviet Relations (1989)

Vol. 4 : Japan's Bilateral Relations with the U.S., European Countries, etc. (1991)

2. Prewar Showa Era, Series II (1931-1937)

(1) Part 1 (Japan-China relations)

Vol. 1 : 1932 (Showa 7<sup>th</sup>) ; Takeover of the Manchurian Customs, Shanghai Incident (1996)

Vol.2: 1933 (Showa 8<sup>th</sup>); Post Tangku Truce Negotiations, Financial Assistance to China (1998)

Vol. 2 : 1934 (Showa 9<sup>th</sup>) ; Upgrading of the Japanese Mission to China, Establishment of the China Development Finance Corporation (2000)

(2) Part 2 (Japan's Relations with Foreign Countries other than China)
Vol. 1: 1932 (Showa 7<sup>th</sup>); Disarmement Conférence at Geneva, Chines Eastern Railway, (1996).

Vol. 2: 1933 (Showa 8<sup>th</sup>), World Monetary and Economic Conference at London, Trade Negotiations between Japan and India (1997).

Vol. 3: 1934 (Showa 9<sup>th</sup>); Barnby Mission, Trade negotiations between Japan and the Netherlands (1999).

3. Prewar Special Issues

The Manchurian Incident Vol. 1

- Part 1 (1977)
- Part 2 (1977)
- Part 3 (1978)

The Manchurian Incident, Vol. 2

- Part 1 (1979)
- Part 2 (1980)

The Manchurian Incident, Vol. 3 (1981)

The Manchurian Incident, Supplement (1981)

The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments (1974)

The Washington Conference; the Far East (1976)

The Washington Conference, Vol. 1 (1977)

The Washington Conference, Vol. 2 (1978)

Summaries of Proceedings of The London Naval conference (1979)

The Preliminary Negotiations of the London Naval Conference and Explanatory Notes of the

London Naval Conference (1982)

The Geneva Naval Limitations Conference (1982)

The London Naval Conference of 1930 Vol. 1 (1983)

The London Naval Conference of 1930 Vol. 2 (1984)

Records of Privy Council's Examination of the Naval Disarmament Treaties (1984)

The London Naval Conference of 1935 (1986)

Proceedings of the London Naval Conference of 1935 (1986)

Reports on the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments of the League of Nations Vol. 1 (1988)

Reports on the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments of the League of Nations Vol. 2 (1988)

Reports on the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments of the League of Nations Vol. 3 (1989)

Japan-U.S. Talks in 1941 Vol. 1(1990)

Japan-U.S. Talks in 1941 Vol. 2 (1990)

Reports on the Economic Conferences of the League of Nations in the Showa Era Vol. 1 (1992)

Reports on the Economic Conferences of the League of Nations in the Showa Era Vol. 2 (1993)

Report on Trade Negotiations between Japan and India concerning Cotton Exports (2002)