

Japanese-Chinese Relations after Second World War — from the end of Pacific War to Normalization of Japanese-Chinese Relations in 1972 —

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I. Peace Treaty with Nationalist China

After the Japanese attack of Pearl Harbor the United Nations had pledged to employ its full energies to accomplish their war against enemies by the Declaration of United Nations on January 1, 1941. China was a member of the United Nations.

Japan had been engaged military action against China after the Manchurian Incident of 1931 and established “Manchukuo” which was puppet state by Japan. Japan made war against China in its Mainland after 1937. Japan was a member of “Axis” by concluding Tripartite Treaty in 1940 and the situation developed to war against United States of America and United Kingdom in December of 1941. In China Japan did not proclaimed war against China and asserted that Japan want to establish “real” friendly relations with China criticizing antagonizing attitude of Chinese Government led by Chiang Kai-shek. But, viewed objectively, it was war against China in substance. The Government of United Kingdom had been assisting Chiang’s Government and United States, too, was favorable to China. By Chinese participation to the Declaration of United Nations China became member of United Nations and engaged common wars against Japan. U.S.S.R., then engaging wars against Germany, was neutral as she had concluded Neutral Treaty with Japan in the spring of 1941. Cairo Declaration of 1943 by President Roosevelt,

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Prime Minister Churchill stated as “ — It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan had stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.” They have announced Potsdam Proclamation defining terms for Japanese surrender on July 26, 1945. The Proclamation stated “the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out.” U.S.S.R. participated to the Potsdam Proclamation after her participation to war against Japan on August 9, 1945. Japanese Government accepted this Proclamation on 14 and signed to the Instrument of Surrender with Allied Nations including China on September 2, 1945. Japan was occupied by the Allied Powers of which leading power was United States.

During the occupation of Japan international situation surrounding Japan changed so much. The “Cold War” between the “Two World” centering United States and U.S.S.R. have been developed. In China the antagonism between Kuomintang and Communist Party escalated to civil war and Communist won. Nationalist (Kuomintang) Government moved to Taiwan and the establishment of the People’s Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1, 1949. But Chinese each governments, the Government of People’s Republic of China and Nationalist China, asserted they are legitimate Government of China. United States, taking anti-Communist policy, recognized Nationalist China continually but United Kingdom, among capitalist nations, recognized Mainland Chinese Government very early.

In Korea, too, two Korean Governments were established along 38° latitude on 1948. On June 25, 1950, the Korean War was outbroken and North Korean army advanced to South Korea deeply. The Security Council of United Nations adopted resolution presented by United States on same day recognizing North Korean aggression. U.S.S.R., then requesting change of Chinese representation at United Nations and was boycotting it, did not attend this Security Council. On June 27 United Nations adopted

a resolution sponsored by United States advising members of United Nations repulse of aggression and supporting South Korea. Thus United Nations Forces was organized of which main forces was that of United States. Korean War was "hot war" in Korea between North Korean Army and United Nations Forces led by United States. The dispatch of Chinese "People's Volunteer Army" to Korea in this October made the confrontation of United States and Communist China decisively.

United States intended to strengthen collective security system in Europe and Asia against Communist Powers and attempted to build cooperative relations with Japan concluding Peace Treaty. The move to conclude peace treaty with Japan was since 1947 but Socialist States and Southeast Asian Nations which was damaged by Japan in Pacific War took severe attitude toward Japan. United States promoted conclusion of the treaty positively and Ambassador Dulles pushed negotiations with powers vigorously. One obstruction to the treaty was the problem of member. In reference to China it became question which Chinese Government should be invited to Peace Conference. United States and many Western Powers were recognizing Nationalist China in Taiwan but United Kingdom, some Southeast Asian Nations and Socialist Nations have recognized People's Republic of China. At all they decided neither Chinese Government should be invited to the Conference and it was left to Japan to choose the party to conclude the Treaty. Thus Peace Treaty with Japan was concluded on September 8, 1951 at San Francisco but China was not invited to the Peace Conference.

But the result was evident. Japanese Plenipotentiary Shigeru Yoshida signed Security Treaty with United States immediately after the conclusion of Peace Treaty. These two treaties were inseparably related politically. The political order formulated by two treaties were called "San Francisco System" and it means that Japan had joined to Western World led by United States. Zhou En-lai, Foreign Minister of Mainland China, condemned Peace Treaty which was concluded without Chinese participation and manifested this Peace Treaty is "invalid and unrecognizable"

on September 18, 1951. Japanese Government established "Overseas Agency of Japanese Government" at Taiwan on November 17, 1951 and Japanese Premier Yoshida expressed the will to conclude Peace Treaty with Nationalist China in his letter to Ambassador Dulles on December 24. He also stated Japan do not intend to conclude any bilateral treaty with Communist China pointing out that the regime was criticized as aggressor by United Nations (February 1, 1951), that Japan is pursuing policy to cooperate with United Nations and that Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance (February 14, 1950) is a military alliance against Japan actually. Thus Japan signed Peace Treaty with Nationalist China at Taipei on April 28, 1952. The state of war between the two countries were "terminated" by this treaty subsequently. However, it was confirmed that "in reference to Republic of China the clause of this treaty is applical to all territories now under the control, and would be under control in future, of the Government of Republic of China" by the attached notes exchanged.

II. The Process to Restore Diplomatic Relations with Mainland China

Japanese Government has restored the diplomatic relations with Nationalist China in Taiwan and Mainland China was ignored. But the wish to have good relations and restore normal relations with Mainland China grew among Japanese people. Accordingly the acceleration of friendly relations between two countries were promoted on civil level and through expansion of trade.

The Hatoyama Cabinet after Yoshida succeeded normalization of relations with Soviet Russia in 1956 and next Prime Minister Tanzan Ishibashi took positive attitude to improve the relations with Mainland China. The way to restore the relations with China advocated in this period was "heap up formula". This means to "heap up" non-governmental friendly relations between two countries through expansion of economic and other relations

and to attain the goal to have governmental relations finally.

But Ishibashi Cabinet resigned en massé after three months for reason of health of Ishibashi. Next Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi and his cabinet devoted to revision of Japanese-American Security Treaty and revised Treaty, formally "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America", was signed on January 19, 1960. Japanese Government intended to make the Security Treaty more equal and reciprocal and to construct more close relations with United States. But it invited strict criticism in home that the new treaty is the "military alliance" with United States and make Japan incorporate into American Far Eastern strategy. Demonstrations against revision of the treaty was repeated frequently and the lines of demonstration surrounded the Diet. One of students died in the confusion at the campus of the Diet. President Eisenhower's visit to Japan was cancelled just before his schedule. In these proceeding China condemned Japanese Government over again that the new treaty is the Japan-United States military alliance and Japan entered "aggressive bloc" led by United States and they criticized Kishi's "enmity policy against China" strictly.

Chinese criticism against Kishi was connected with their complaint to Kishi's Chinese policy. In the endeavor to develop Japanese-Chinese relations some agreements were concluded on non-governmental level. The first non-governmental trade agreement was concluded on June 1, 1952. The second agreement was concluded on October 29, 1953. The third agreement was concluded on May 4, 1955. Though the trade performance did not reach the expected amount the trade expanded steadily. The third agreement provided that both countries would hold trade fair at Tokyo and Osaka in Japan and Beijin and Shanghai in China, that both countries establish trade mission each other, that mission and its stuff would be given diplomatic privileges, and that both should endeavor "to realize above-mentioned matters as soon as possible."

The fourth non-governmental trade agreement, signed on March 5, 1958, provided on security of mission and its member,

offer of facilities, right of using ciphered telegram and hoisting national flag at the mission, and exemption from fingerprinting with member of mission and their families (article 11 and attached note). Sanction by governments were required for this agreement but Japanese Government refused to ratify this agreement. Japanese Government noticed to Japanese three bodies which had signed the agreement (League of Dietmen for Promotion of Japanese-Chinese Trade, Association of Promotion of International Trade and Union of Japanese-Chinese Export and Import Trading) on April 9 that Government will "give support and cooperation" to the agreement within Japanese laws and ordinances considering Government's unrecognition of Mainland China and other international situation. Secretary General of Government manifested on the same day that "Japanese Government, to be sure, has no intention to recognize Mainland Chinese Government" and "will concern not to be misunderstood that setting up of trade mission of Communist China means the de facto recognition of the Government" considering Japanese relations with Nationalist China heretofore and other international relations. He spoke also that they can not recognize hoisting the so-called national flag of Communist China at its trade mission which Japanese Government doesn't recognize, a matter of course. Japanese Government had stated hithertofore, in connection with fourth non-governmental trade agreement, that they can not deal with the flag of Mainland China as national flag of China because they doesn't recognize that Government.

In such situation the "Nagasaki National Flag Incident" was happened in May of 1958. At that time the stamp exhibition of Mainland China was held at Nagasaki. On May 2 a rightist boy attacked exhibition and pulled down the flag of Mainland China hoisted. Japanese legal authority refused to apply Article 92 of Japanese Penal Code which is the clause on crime against affront to national flag to this case. China repelled this Japanese attitude and expressed their dissatisfaction severely.

Prime Minister Kishi had visited Taiwan on June, 1957. It was first visit by Japanese Prime Minister to Taiwan after the sec-

ond World War. Taiwan Government protested to conclusion of the fourth non-governmental agreement and Japanese Ambassador at Taipei had to present the letter by Prime Minister and apologize that this agreement doesn't bind Japanese Government to Taiwan authority on April 1, 1958. Japanese Government's notice above-mentioned was delivered to three bodies on April 9 after such development and "Nagasaki National Flag Incident" was happened since then. Chinese Government condemned Japanese "anti-Chinese attitude" and Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi stated that they will suspend Chinese-Japanese economic, cultural relations et al. Non-governmental fishery agreement (signed on April 5, 1958) and steel agreement (signed on February 26, 1958) were suspended as a matter of fact since May of 1958.

The effort to break the deadlock over Japanese-Chinese relations was promoted, as before, on non-governmental basis. Tadataka Sada, Japanese Socialist Councilor, visited China in August of 1958 and delivered Chinese "Political Three Principle" to Japan (report of Councilor Sada). The three principles were: (1) suspend and do not repeat the word and deed to be hostile to China, (2) do not join the conspiracy to make "two China", (3) do not disturb to normalize Chinese-Japanese relations. China, in addition to these principles, requested to formalize developing the relations between both countries positively. These "Political Three Principles" was reaffirmed when Socialist second mission visited China next year. Japanese former Prime Minister Tanzan Ishibashi visited China on September of 1959 and announced joint statement with Chinese Prime Minister Zhou En-lai on September 20. Ishibashi and Zhou agreed that the development of political and economic relations between both countries should be made side by side and not be made separately. This was called "Principle of Inseparability of Politics and Economics" to develop Japanese-Chinese relations. After the revision of Japan-United States Security Treaty which come into effect on June 23, 1960, China expressed "Three Principles on Trade with Japan". Chinese Prime Minister Zhou presented it to

Kazuo Suzuki, director of Association of Acceleration of Japanese-Chinese Trade, on August 27. The Three Principles were: (1) Governmental Agreement, (2) Contract by Non-official civilian, and (3) Individual Consideration. Prime Minister Zhou told Suzuki that it is possible to trade on basis of civilian friendly even if governmental agreement were not concluded. After the coming into effect of revised Japan-United States Security Treaty Kishi Cabinet resigned and Hayato Ikeda organized next cabinet. Ikeda took policy to push forward high economic development. Chinese Prime Minister Zhou told Suzuki that he will observe the attitude of Ikeda and he showed the above-mentioned Three Principles. Thus the situation to re-open trading was raised. Private trading re-opened in the end of 1960 through "friendly company" for People's Republic of China. Japanese businessmen participated to trade fair held at Canton. On September 19, 1962, Kenzo Matsumura, pro-Chinese adviser of Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, talked with Prime Minister Zhou and they reached to memorandum on trading between two countries. The Political Three Principles were confirmed at this memorandum. Both expressed the wish to accelerate Japanese-Chinese trade and "agreed to normalize the Japanese-Chinese relations including political and economic sphere through gradual and heap up formula". Based on this conversation Japanese representative Tatsunosuke Takasaki and Chinese Liao Cheng-zhi signed a note on November 19, 1962. The Japanese-Chinese trade based on this note was called "LT trade". The content of this note is the agreement of trade in 1963-67 and deferred payment or installment payment for Japanese plant export to China became possible.

Thus LT trade was practiced under the supporting of Government in reality in addition to "friendly trade". It is one evidence that governmental money was used for export of Vinylon plant to China through the Export-Import Bank of Japan. LT trade was converted to MT trade (memorandum trade) after 1968 and MT trade office was set up in each country. Non-governmental fishery agreement was signed in 1963, too, and it was prolonged

every two years.

But the Japanese-Chinese trade by LT trade and MT trade was disturbed. Nationalist Government in Taiwan protested Japan against using governmental money through the Export-Import Bank of Japan to the export of Vinylon plant to China. Zhou Hóng-qing Incident invited repulse from Taiwan. Zhou Hóng-qing was a member of Chinese mission to the world trade fair of hydraulic machines held at Tokyo in 1963. He proposed to seek refuge in Taiwan in October but he changed his mind later by persuasion by the mission. And he was sent back to Mainland China. Japanese relations with Taiwan became worse through this case. Subsequently former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida visited Taiwan on February of 1964. He sent his letter to Chang Ch'ün, Secretary-General of Nationalist Chinese Government, on May 9, and sought to improve the relations with Nationalist China. The so-called Yoshida letter is a private letter and the content is not announced but it is called that he promised not to use money of Export-Import Bank of Japan for the trade with Mainland China. Japanese Government took the attitude that Yoshida letter is private letter and doesn't bind Government and they will decide case by case for using that money for trade with Mainland China. But Japan became negative to use the money of the Export-Import Bank of Japan for trade with China thereafter and Japanese negotiations for plant export to China was cancelled and China changed to negotiate with European countries.

Ikeda resigned on November of 1964 and Eisaku Sato formed next cabinet. Sato pushed negotiations to normalize the relations with South Korea. Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and Republic of Korea and related treaties was signed on June 25 of 1965 in spite of strong domestic opposition in both countries. Sato requested restoration of administration in Okinawa to Japan for United States. Agreement between Japan and United States of America concerning the Ryukyu Islands and Daito Islands was signed on March 15, 1972 and was put into force on May 15 and Okinawa was restored to Japan. Sato took attitude to attach

importance to keep friendly relations with United States during his term of office. Sato presented cooperative view for America's standpoints to the Vietnam War. He announced his support to peace and stability at Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam at his talks with President Nixon. Sato also declared his rejection to use money of the Export-Import Bank of Japan for export to China by deferred payment. China, too, took cool attitude toward Japan in the era of "Great Cultural Revolution".

Chinese Prime Minister Zhou En-lai presented "Four Conditions of Japanese-Chinese Trade" to concerned person of Japan in April of 1970. It was codified on May 2. China manifested in it to have no relations with enterprises which come under any one of the next four. They were: (1) makers or trading companies which assist the attack to Mainland China by Chiang Kai-shek and his group or aggression to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by Park Chung-hee and his group, (2) makers or trading companies which investing so much to Taiwan and South Korea, (3) enterprises that is providing arms and ammunitions to United States assisting American imperialistic aggression to Vietnam, (4) Japanese-American joint company or subsidiary company of America in Japan. These "Four Conditions" are very political but some Japanese business circle which are relying to Chinese market such as chemical manure or steel, accepted Zhou's Four Conditions. Even some business circle which are not relying to Chinese market at the time evaluated future value of Chinese market. They took positive attitude to trade with China, too. Toyota Motorcar Company accepted this Conditions. Some motorcycle company, such as Honda and Suzuki, advanced into Chinese market. By and by Japanese business circle rushed into Chinese market and accepted Zhou's Four Conditions leaving from Taiwan. Such economic background reflected to political development of Japanese-Chinese relations.

III. Realization of Normalization of Japanese-Chinese Relations

International situation surrounding China developed favorable to China remarkably in 1970's. American President Nixon announced "Guam Doctrine" in June 25, 1969, and expressed his intention to withdraw from Asia. Vietnamese War became heavy burden for United States but it is necessary to adjust the relations with China for leaving from Vietnam which "are in behind of Vietnam and supporting communist" under American "domino doctrine". Presidential Aid Henry Kissinger (later Secretary of State) intended to separate China from Soviet Russia paying attention to Russo-Chinese conflict. Kissinger visited China secretly in July of 1971 and agreed with China on President Nixon's visit to China. Nixon visited China on February of 1972 and announced joint communique on February 27 at Shanghai. However this doesn't mean America's recognition of Mainland China and United States continued to recognize Nationalist China at Taiwan. But United States of America and Mainland China established liaison office each other. It is January 1 of 1979 that United States recognized Mainland Chinese Government as the sole Government of China (relative communique was issued on December 15, 1978).

The proceedings on the problem of representative of China at United Nations developed favorably for Mainland China. The proposal to recognize People's Republic of China as legitimate Government of China and banish Nationalist China from United Nations had been presented from 1950. United States had opposed against this proposal by counter-proposal to shelve up discussion of Chinese presentation problem, so-called moratorium resolution, and deterred change of Chinese seat at United Nations. As number of states supporting change of Chinese presentation increased United States presented resolution to specify the problem of change of Chinese presentation as important question based on article 18-2 of Charter of the United Nations in 1961 and the proposal was adopted. The number of states supporting People's Republic of China at United Nations increased continually and United States presented proposal to specify the problem of expelling Nationalist China from United

Nations as important question in 1971. But this proposal was rejected at General Assembly. United Nations adopted resolution to change the seat of China and Nationalist China (Taiwan) was expelled from United Nations. American proposal implied the wish to keep the seat of Taiwan in any way even if the change of Chinese representative became unavoidable. Japanese Government had been supporting Nationalist China and regarded keeping friendly relations with United States as most important matters. So Japan joined proposer of American resolution but defeated.

The change of Chinese representative at United Nations raised international status of the People's Republic of China so much and affected to Japanese-Chinese relations. As mentioned above the tendency to improve Japanese-Chinese relations was raised up at the time. It is not limited socialist, pro-Chinese statesman, intellectuals or "friendly company" as before to try to improve relations with China. The trend to trade with Mainland China breaking off the relations with Taiwan expanded to Japanese big business from the end of 1960's.

Prime Minister Sato tried to have relations with China but he failed. Immediately after the return of administration in Okinawa to Japan realized Sato resigned. Kakuei Tanaka organized next cabinet and the Tanaka Cabinet took positive attitude to normalize relations with China.

Large business which had important influence to Japanese politics tried to approach China positively. Leading businessmen in Kansai district (Osaka and Kobe) visited China in September of 1971 and the same in Tokyo visited China in November. Influential businessmen, led by Yoshinori Inayama, director of Shin Nihon Seitetsu (Nippon Steel Corp., leading steel company in Japan), visited China in August of 1972. Heads of Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Japan Federation of Economic Organization which has important influence to Japanese economic circle, too, visited China in the same period and talked with Chinese leaders. Prime Minister Tanaka visited United States of America after his inauguration to ask America's under-

standing for improvement of Japanese-Chinese relations. Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri of Komei Party (one of opposite parties in Japan) received *de facto* Chinese draft of normalization of Japanese-Chinese relations when he visited China. Pro-Chinese statesmen of Liberal Democratic Party (the government party) visited China succeedingly and handed Japanese view to Chinese draft. These non-official negotiations differed from former non-official contact which were made by critical members against Government. They were non-governmental endeavor to normalize relations of both countries preceding governmental negotiations in fact. After these development Prime Minister Tanaka visited China in September 25, 1972, and talked and negotiated with Chinese President Mao Ze-dong and Prime Minister Zhou En-lai. Tanaka and Zhou signed the Joint Communiqué on September 29. The abnormal state of affairs that has hitherto existed among two countries was terminated on this date (section 1) and Japanese Government recognized the Government of People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China (section 2) and the diplomatic relations among two countries were re-opened (section 4). The Government of the People's Republic of China reiterated that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China and the Japanese Government expressed their full understandings and respect for Chinese stand and affirmed to maintain the stand under Article 8 of the Potsdam Proclamation (section 3). Both Governments agreed that they shall establish relations of perpetual peace and friendship on the basis of principles of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence (five principles of peace) and they shall settle all disputes by peaceful means and refrain from the use or threat of force (section 6). Both countries expressed that the normalization of relations between two countries is not directed against any third country and neither of two countries should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any country or group of countries to

establish such hegemony (section 7). The Government of People's Republic of China declared that they renounces demand for reparation from Japan for interest of friendship (section 5). Both countries agreed to negotiate on concluding of treaty of peace and friendship to solidify and develop the peaceful and friendly relations (section 8). Both countries agreed to negotiate on concluding agreements on trade, shipping, aviation and fisheries (section 9).

Moreover, Japan manifested that they understand fully "the three principles for the restration of relations" in preamble of the Joint Communique. The Three are: (1) The sole Government representing China is the Government of Republic of China, (2) Taiwan is inalienable part of Chinese territory, (3) The treaty among Japan and Taiwan is illegal and invalid and should be cancelled. Masayoshi Ohira, Foreign Minister of Japan, explained on this Joint Communique at press meeting on the same day and stated that "it is the view of Japanese Government that Peace Treaty with Nationalist China has lost meaning of the existence and terminated" as the result of normalization of relations with People's Republic of China. The Government of Nationalist China broke off diplomatic relations at once, on September 29.

The ratification is not requested for this Communique but Japanese House of Representatives and the House of Councilors adopted resolutions welcoming the Joint Communique on November 8 and 13.