



## **THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JAPAN ACCORDING TO THE ANNUAL REPORT OF TURKEY'S TOKYO EMBASSY 1933\***

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### **ABSTRACT**

Turkey's most significant source in terms of pursuing the developments in the Far East was the Tokyo Ambassadorship before World War II. The annual report of Tokyo Ambassadorship is very important in this respect. The report issued by Nebil Batı, Turkey's Ambassador in Tokyo, consist of thirteen parts. Primarily the report focuses on the internal elements determining the Japan's foreign policy. Secondly the report touches upon the Japanese foreign policy. Observations relating to the relationship of Japan with Russia, China, the USA, England, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands and Turkey take place respectively in the report. According to the report Manchurian problem, in relations with China is an important place. Manchurian events that took place in recent times, again exacerbated conflicts between two countries and this issue has become a form of undeclared war between China and Japan. In the report the place was given to relations with Germany, Poland and the Netherlands in addition to the Japanese-British relations. The Turkish-Japanese relations also take place in the report. Internal elements determining the Japan's foreign policy is quite clearly revealed in the report. The report reveals that Turkey should follow how a path its relations with Japan. In course of this study, the Tokyo Embassy's annual report written in early 1934 with a view to inform the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Japanese foreign policy for the year 1933 and which is important in terms of both touching upon the Turkish-Japanese relations and studying the foreign policy of Japan before the World War II and the factors shaping such policy has been handled.

**Key Words:** Japan, Turkish-Japan Relations, Tokyo Embassy, Japan's Foreign Policy.

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## TÜRKİYE’NİN TOKYO ELÇİLİĞİ SENELİK RAPORUNA GÖRE JAPONYA’NIN DIŞ POLİTİKASI - 1933

### ÖZET

Uzakdoğu'da yaşanan gelişmeleri takip açısından İkinci Dünya Savaşı öncesinde Türkiye'nin en önemli kaynağı Tokyo Büyükelçiliği olmuştur. Tokyo Büyükelçiliği senelik raporu bu açıdan önemlidir. Türkiye'nin Tokyo Büyükelçisi Nebil Batı tarafından hazırlanan bu rapor on üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Rapor öncelikle Japonya'nın dış politikasını belirleyen iç unsurlar üzerinde odaklanmaktadır. İkinci olarak rapor Japon dış politikasına değinmektedir. Raporda sırasıyla Rusya, Çin, ABD, İngiltere, Fransa, İtalya, Almanya, Polonya, Hollanda ve Türkiye ile Japonya arasındaki ilişkilere dair gözlemler yer almaktadır. Rapora göre Çin ile ilişkilerde Mançurya sorunu önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Özellikle son zamanlarda yaşanan Mançurya olayları, iki ülke arasındaki anlaşmazlıkları tekrar şiddetlendirmiş ve bu mesele Japonya ile Çin arasında ilan edilmemiş bir harp şeklini almıştır. Raporda, Japon-İngiliz ilişkilerinin yanı sıra Almanya, Polonya ve Hollanda ile ilişkilere de yer verilmiştir. Türk-Japon ilişkileri de raporda yer alır. Rapor Japon dış politikasını belirleyen iç etkenleri oldukça açık biçimde ele almaktadır. Raporda Türkiye'nin Japonya ile ilişkilerinde nasıl bir yol izlemesi gerektiği de ortaya konmuştur. Bu çalışmada, 1933 yılında Japon dış politikası hakkında Türk dışişlerini bilgilendirmek amacıyla 1934 başında yazılan; gerek Türk-Japon ilişkilerine değinmesi, gerekse İkinci Dünya Savaşı öncesinde Japonya'nın dış politikası ve bunu şekillendiren etkenleri incelemesi açısından önem arz eden Tokyo Elçiliği senelik raporu ele alınmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Japonya, Türk-Japon İlişkileri, Tokyo Büyükelçiliği, Japon Dış Politikası.

Before World War II; Turkey's most significant source in terms of pursuing the developments in the Far East was the Tokyo Acting Ambassadorship.<sup>1</sup> The annual report of Tokyo Ambassadorship is significant in this respect. The report was issued by Nebil Batı, Turkey's Acting Ambassador in Tokyo.<sup>2</sup> Consisting of thirteen parts, the report is an abstract offering previous reports and new developments together.

The report primarily focuses on the internal elements determining the Japan's foreign policy. These internal elements are regarded as the chamber and its surroundings, investors, political parties and the army. According to the report, except for the early periods of Emperor Meiji<sup>3</sup>, it is actually not right to esteem the emperor as "the Almighty" in Japan. The term

<sup>1</sup> Yonca Anzerlioğlu, "Tokyo Türk Maslahatgüzarının Değerlendirmeleriyle Mançukuo Devleti (1931-1933)", *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, S:41, Y:2008, A.Ü. Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayını, p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Japan started upon Japan's approval of the Lausanne Agreement on 3rd May 1924 and its recognition of the Republic of Turkey officially on 7 July 1924. Hironao Matsutani, *Japonya'nın Dış Politikası ve Türkiye*, İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Yayını, İstanbul, 2009, p.31; Monsieur Hulusi Fuat (Tugay) first came into Office as the permanent Diplomatic Agent in Tokyo in 1925 and then Monsieur Cevat (Ezine) acted as the Ambassador between 1929 and 1931. Permanent diplomatic agent on the date this report was written was Monsieur Nebil (Bati). Bilal Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, Bilgi yayınevi, Ankara, 1996, p.381.

<sup>3</sup> Reign of Emperor Mutsihito (1867-1912) known as "Meiji" was a period, in which Japan switched to the parliamentary system and started integrating with the West. Reigns of emperor Yoshihito (1912-1926) known as "Taişo" and emperor

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“emperor” shall refer to the investors clustering around the emperor and prospering in the Meiji period and the clique considering the interests of such investors advantageous for them.<sup>4</sup> In its current situation, Japan is quite developed compared to many nations. After the World War I, the economic condition of Japan<sup>5</sup> became capable of standing erect before the whole world and the Japanese land, naval and air forces became capable of preserving this power in the best manner possible. According to the report, the Japanese Government will be able to dominate in the Asian, Chinese and African markets, which hold the most powerful production capability in the world, on short notice by transferring resources to its economic condition, which is more important, providing a trivial amount of funding for its national defense. And this means that Japan will achieve its aims on Asia more briefly and to the point.<sup>6</sup>

Another internal element is the Investors and it is these circles that determine the judgment of the chamber and its surroundings for the most part. As for the Political Parties, there are 3 political parties –namely, Seiyukai, Minseito, Kokumin Domei- in the country. The liberal Minseito party has taken over the judgments of the court and its surroundings and grasped the opportunity to put them into practice in Baron Nidehara’s day. The conservative Seiyukai, on the other hand, is a party aiming at appealing to the military domain by making the land, sea and air forces more active against those, if any, pursuing the same goals as Minseito but preventing economic development.<sup>7</sup> The report states that it is difficult to understand whether such party actually agrees with this opinion or pursues this policy in order to preserve its leadership power for a long time. The Kokumin Domei party basically defends a strengthened version of the principles of the Seiyukai party.<sup>8</sup>

While - apart from these sides- many political organizations are present, it is possible to characterize these, by and large, as the right, middle and left wings. The right wing consists of soldiers and adopts Kodo’s<sup>9</sup> means. The middle wing is a group formed jointly by both investors and soliders and mainly represents the inclinations of the conservative community. Whereas, the left wing is almost nonexistent. On this matter, Mr. Nebil, as Envoy Extraordinary (minister plenipotentiary) states: “*It is not vain to point to the fact that I have not come accross a Japanese person claiming to belong to the left wing who –after a little bit of discussion – does not defend the*

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Hirohito (1926-1989) known as “Şova” followed. For more information on these periods, see.. Wolfram Eberhard, **Uzakdoğu Tarihi**, TTK Yayını, Ankara, 2010, p.203-228.

<sup>4</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.1-2.

<sup>5</sup> While the Japanese foreign trade was 1470 yens in 1930, it reached 2172 yens in 1934. The foreign trade doubled with the production of Japanese industry between 1931 and 1937 and the number of workers increased 60 percent. No other country in the world has made such progress in such a short period of time. A large part of the export activities were carried out with Australia and India and these fields were getting into the influence of Japanese trade as a whole. Eberhard, **Uzakdoğu Tarihi**, TTK Yayını, Ankara, 2010, p.221-222.

<sup>6</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.3.; Japan started occupying South Manchuria on 18 September 1931 and founded an independent state called Manchukuo on 1 March 1932 bringing the last Chinese emperor Pu-Yi to power. Yılmaz Altuğ, **Çin Sorunu**, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayını, İstanbul, 1995, p.59; Only a few states like Germany and Italy recognised this state, in which the authority of emperor Pu-yi was in evidence was governed essentially by Japanese governors. Janet E. Hunter, **Modern Japonya’nın Doğuşu**, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2002, p.89; For more information on the ambitions of Japan concerning Asia based on the Assessments of the Turkish Embassy and the Manchurian State founded in line with these ambitions, see. Yonca Anzerlioğlu, “Tokyo Türk Maslahatgüzarının Değerlendirmeleriyle Mançukuo Devleti (1931-1933)”, **Atatürk Yolu Dergisi**, S:41, Y:2008, A.Ü. Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayını, p.1-16.

<sup>7</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.3.

<sup>8</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.4.

<sup>9</sup> Kodo-kai (Imperial Road Association) established by the more right-wing civilian named after the First World War, one of the groups opposing the labor movement. See Milton W.Meyer, **Japonya Tarihi**, İnkılap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2014, p.200.

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*strongest nationalist ideas as fiercely as a Japanese citizen, who claims to be the most conservative.*<sup>10</sup>

According to the report, the strongest and most dominant elements of the foreign and domestic policies of Japan are the soldiers. The Japanese army and navy are formed by the congregation of various commons and these commons are mostly from middle class families. As it is impossible for the army to remain insensitive to the living conditions and problems of these people, we can say that soldiers unavoidably have to interfere in all domains of politics.<sup>11</sup> In the soldiers' opinion, Japan is advanced but the situation of especially, peasantry, fishing and working class is not good. Rate of literacy and the population are on the rise but, job opportunities do not increase accordingly. However, although the devaluation of Japanese currency – as is the case with many countries- has been comforting to some extent, it is apparent that this will not last for long and under such circumstances, the primary elements of Japanese defense - namely, the army and the navy- will become incapable of acting without foreign interference. In this respect, the improvement of economic conditions is a must.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the security of Japan is not perfect and developed. Especially Vladivostok, which stands as the headquarters of naval and land forces of Russia, is a thousand km away from Japan. Taking into consideration the fact that bombing airplanes can fly for two thousand five hundred km, Japan is under constant Russian threat.<sup>13</sup> The Japanese Empire has to deal not just with the Japanese, but also with the fates of other citizens of the empire in Asia and other Asian people of its own flesh and blood. Otherwise, Japan will be left alone by these countries one day. Therefore, Japan has to strengthen its hand in Asia using “force”.<sup>14</sup> The report emphasizes the fact that Japan has to set its presence in Asia in motion especially in countries that will break from China. Here, it is stated that Russia has the same intention too, that it has not made an attempt to this end yet but that action has to be taken erewhile based on the principle that “In a fight, it is necessary to act before the enemy”.<sup>15</sup> What the Japanese diplomacy has to do is to reduce the number of enemies and increase that of those that will help while fighting for royal goals. According to the report, two different points of view emerge among the soldiers relating to Japan's increasing its activity in Asia. The first view assumes that “The existance of Japan depends on a war to be fought in Asia; so it has to be fought immediately.” According to this group led by the Former War Minister General Ari Araki, time is working against Japan, and China and Russia are enhancing their land and air forces in the meanwhile.<sup>16</sup> Adopters of the second view, on the other hand, are the commanders that are virtually on duty in the current situation and they believe that a hurrying up means being caught unprepared. If a war is to be fought; then it is necessary to prepare the people, the army and the navy first.<sup>17</sup>

Rest of the report touches upon the Japanese foreign policy. The foreign policy as specified in the report on the Manchurian problem previously sent by the embassy on 15 February

<sup>10</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.5; It was observed that the left wing lost its effect in Japan as of early 1930. Indeed, the Communist party was founded in 1921, disbanded in 1932. Hunter, **Modern Japonya'nın Doğuşu**, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2002, p.308-309; Meyer, **Japonya Tarihi**, İnkılap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2014, p.194.

<sup>11</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.6; The soldiers tried to destroy both capitalist societies and left wing movement following fundamentalist politics for the development of the Emperor and the country's reputation. Meyer, **Japonya Tarihi**, İnkılap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2014, p.201.

<sup>12</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.7.

<sup>13</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.7-8.

<sup>14</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.8.

<sup>15</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.8-9.

<sup>16</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.10.

<sup>17</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.10-11.

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1932 and under number 328/35 remains the same.<sup>18</sup> Such policy consisting of establishing Japanese influence on Asia has been heading for its goal “like an unbending arrow”, as the report puts it, for two years and neither the League of Nations nor Russia or the USA can stop this course.<sup>19</sup> Even though the Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs Minister, war and marine ministers and Japanese press state that a war is not desired; the course of events does not seem to be like that. According to the report, a prevalence of an air of silence before all important affairs is true for Japan, as well. According to the ambassador, the resignation of the War Minister, General Araki must be interpreted in this context. Indeed, while giving the impression of peace to the outside world, the aforesaid inner circles, politically influential are trying to reduce or neutralize the enemies that will confront Japan in a war.<sup>20</sup> It is for this reason that Japan “smiles on the USA, which will play one of the biggest part in these tasks, pretending not to understand all kinds of preparations made thereby; runs after France, which it was about to let slip and tries to think of ways to agree/be able to agree with England, which has not disclosed its policy in Asia –as is the case with its policy in Europe- yet and is trying to take over USA, which is at enmity with Russia –which it regards as its very first enemy- and Poland, which it senses to have agreed with the USA.”<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, it aims at forming some sovereign governments in the Inner Mongolia and Sin-kiang in order to achieve acting more easily against Russia and wherretting the Russian armies by winning over the Turks living within the outer Mongolian and Russian borders.<sup>22</sup>

Observations relating to the relationship of Japan with Russia, China, the USA, England, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands and Turkey take place respectively in Parts 3-12 of the report. Part 3, which principally mentions the Japanese-Russian relations, states- as is also specified in the reports previously sent - that Russia preserves its objectiveness and tries to protect all of its interests in the Far East through diplomatic channels. However, Russia, on the other hand, fortifies its coastal cities especially against the Japanese threat and expands and enhances its bases, which act as a starting point for air attacks against Japan. Russia tries to resist the Japanese provocation in Outer Mongolia and Sin-Kiang and the Sin-kiang problem keeps Russia busy as seriously as or may be, more seriously than the Mongolian problem. The ambassador is of the opinion that the provocation on that matter will come from the Japanese.<sup>23</sup>

Part 4 of the report pertains to Japanese-Chinese relations. Especially the Manchurian events experienced recently have made the disagreements between the two countries, more violent again and, this problem has taken the form of an undeclared war between Japan and China.<sup>24</sup> However, the Chinese government will look for ways of getting on well with Japan, which makes no self-sacrifices on this matter at all. On the matter Mongolia and Sin-Kiang, on the other hand, the problem will be tried to be settled with the help of local community and influential people against Japanese provocations and autonomy –though limited- may be granted to these areas. Not

<sup>18</sup> Concerning the Manchurian problem, see Anzerlioğlu, “Tokyo Türk Maslahatgüzarının Değerlendirmeleriyle Mançukuo Devleti (1931-1933)”, *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, S:41, Y:2008, A.Ü. Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayını, p. 9-16.

<sup>19</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.12.

<sup>20</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.12-13.

<sup>21</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.13.

<sup>22</sup> According to the report, the reason why Japan created a peace atmosphere in its ofreign policy is to take its opponent in surprise by hiding its actual intention. BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.14.

<sup>23</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.15.

<sup>24</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.16; The Japanese-Chinese conflict started upon the occupation of Manchuria in 1931. For details relating to these conflicts, see Anzerlioğlu, “1931 Türk Hariciye Raporunda Çin-Japon Anlaşmazlığı”, *CTAD*, Y.2, S.4, (Güz 2006), p.207-226.

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creating problems in the foreign policy, China will secure uniformity against the communist entities inside by addressing domestic policy in this manner.<sup>25</sup>

According to the report, the Pacific problem, from the point of view of the USA, and the Manchurian problem, from the point of view of Japan, have been the events bringing Japanese-American relations to the point of frayed temper. The USA considers Japan's ambitions on Manchuria and its expansion policy in Asia to be dangerous both in political and financial terms and does not put this issue aside, despite the intensity of its domestic affairs. The USA is determined to settle this issue amicably and is willing to suppress the problem by recognizing Soviet Russia, which is a party to this problem.<sup>26</sup> In the ambassador's opinion, it would not be false to think that the USA will undertake each and every peaceful means in order not to accept Japan's influence on the Pacific but if such means do not avail, it will appeal to war. However, all these adhere strictly to the removal of the challenges in the domestic affairs and achievement of the success of the weapons to be used against Japan.<sup>27</sup> As a matter of fact, Foreign Minister Monsieur Hirota's statements as to his sureness about the USA's preserving its amicable attitude towards Japan and as to the fact that it will continue amicably, all the way are corroborative of the ambassador. Having understood that it will not be able to obtain the desired results from the league of nations, the USA decided to recognize the Soviet Russia pushing many issues aside and tried to form equilibrium against Japan in this manner. According to the report, such a attitude by the USA is far away from having a final effect on Japan. This is because Japan is probably making all kinds of preparations with a view to challenge the USA in a possible Russian-Japanese conflict and gives the USA regular and actual responses in a fully amicable atmosphere.

Japan reflects the involvement of the USA into this problem as recognition of USA's ambitions to Russia with regards to the Asia, in an amicable way.<sup>28</sup>

In part 6 of the report, Japanese-English relations are addressed. According to this, England has either not identified or has not been able to identify or not made anybody understand its policy in the Far East, as is the case with its European policy, yet. However, in case of a possible Russian-

<sup>25</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, s.17; In Anzerlioğlu's opinion, although China seemed to be fragmented due to the inner conflicts inside, the country is basically governed by two groups, namely, the Nankingians and the Cantonese. Whereas, the Cantonese pursue a nationalist policy and are opponents of struggle for independence, the Nankingians –despite having nationalist feelings- supported reception of foreign support first. In this respect, Chinese policy on Manchuria should be evaluated as a combination of the ideas defended by these two groups. Anzerlioğlu, "Tokyo Türk Maslahatgüzarının Değerlendirmeleriyle Mançukuo Devleti (1931-1933)", **Atatürk Yolu Dergisi**, S:41, Y:2008, A.Ü. Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayını, p.11; Although Japan started occupying Manchuria in 1931, General Chiang Kai-Shek directed his attention to the communists rather than the Japanese. Fahir Armaoğlu, **20.yy Siyasi Tarihi**, Alkım Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2012, p.334.

<sup>26</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, s.19; While many countries had recognized Soviet Russia officially by the 1920s, the USA recognized the Soviet Russia officially as late as 1933. Moreover, while Japan has abnegated from the League of Nations in 1933, the Soviet Russia became a member of it in 1934. Armaoğlu, **20.yy Siyasi Tarihi**, Alkım Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2012, p.212, 415.

<sup>27</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, The page 20 of the Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu; At the end of World War I, Japan has obtained many concessions from China but the USA was not happy with this situation. In 1920, with the reign of the Republican political party, the USA launched the marine weaponry manufacturing program to overtop Japan; Japan gave weight to bearing arms in the same way in turn of this manoeuvre. As a result of financial burden caused by these programs, some attempts were made at settling this issue in a conference and, a limitation of marine forces was provided by holding a Washington Marine Disarmament conference to this end in 1922. Armaoğlu, **20.yy Siyasi Tarihi**, Alkım Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2012, p.274-276; Japan firstly withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 and then cancelled the 1922 Washington Agreements in 1934. Armaoğlu, **20.yy Siyasi Tarihi**, Alkım Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2012, p.336.

<sup>28</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, s.21; As a matter of fact, Japan did not recognize the Washington agreements of its own accord. As a result of intense pressure exercised by the USA and England, it had to approve it having seen the cooperation between these two countries. Altuğ, **Çin Sorunu**, İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayını, İstanbul, 1995, p.53.

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Japanese conflict, it is expected to support Japan due to the Tibetan and Sin-kiang problems. Attaching great importance to the friendship of England, the Japanese provide all kinds of convenience to get the sympathy and help of the Britain. According to the ambassador, the reason for such soft attitude by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs lies in the conference held in Delhi for the Indian-Japanese trade agreement. The ambassador has also added to the report that the situation will be better understood upon the arrival of the sample reports to be sent, especially, by the London embassy concerning the English policy, which will undoubtedly play a significant role in the Far East, thereto.<sup>29</sup>

In parts 7 and 8 of the report, the relations with France and Italy are included. It is stated in these parts, which include shorter judgments compared to other countries, that France was the one first eager to win Japan over Russia in the Far East problem but in time, it started acting in favor of Russia. According to the report, the Japanese attach a second rate importance to France, except for deriving some financial and economic interests from it, as they do not deem it possible for France to pursue a world class policy.<sup>30</sup> While not a notable development in Italy's Far East Policy, the importance attached by Duce to the Asian Students' Union meeting in Rome and his articles against Japan published in the USA newspapers reveals that Italy is moving away from Japan. A more explicit explanation can be made on this matter, provided that the information is sent by the Embassy of Rome. The Japanese consider Italy as a European Government challenging and capable of challenging Japan's economic ambitions on China and Abyssinia and attaches importance to it in its foreign policy in this respect.<sup>31</sup>

Parts 9 and 10 of the report are devoted to Japan's relations with Germany and Poland. Relations with Germany are mentioned primarily in these parts, which are longer compared to others. Germany, which used to pursue a Far East Policy of an economic and commercial nature in the beginning, started changing after Hitler's grip of Germany's future and started showing itself in the Far East area. Hitler's policy of expanding to the east and his handshaking with Poland will have effects on Russia. In this respect, a Japanese-German intimacy seems probable. According to the report, the substitution of the German Ambassador, who has become an old age pensioner, by Von Dirksen, who played a significant role in the Russian-German Agreement and Oriental affairs; secretary of German commercial attache Monsieur Knolb's organizing a study tour in Manchuria and lack/ forced lack of a negative or positive subject brought up by the Embassy of Germany to our embassy concerning German-Japanese relations threatens the German-Japan intimacy. The significant role to be played by Poland in company with Germany in the Russian-Japanese conflict reveals that it is impossible for Japan, which is willing to achieve its ambitions against Russia, to disregard Germany. Technical assistance that can be provided to the Japanese army by Germany should not be ignored, either.<sup>32</sup> According to the ambassador, it is wrong to be in a hurry on the opinion that the German-Japanese intimacy will lead to Germany's immediate recognition of the Manchukuo state legally and that an intimacy will not be in question if it does not recognize this state. On the other hand, the first attitude expected by a Japan that will agree with Germany is the recognition of the Manchukuo government but Germany does not have the intention of losing China, which is a "powerful country of origin for unemployed people and free German goods" and will temporize this issue until the very last moment its actual interests will begin.<sup>33</sup>

According to the assessments relating to Japanese-Polish relations, the designation of the president's son as the Polish Ambassador is considered to be favorable from the viewpoint of Japan

<sup>29</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.22-23.

<sup>30</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.24.

<sup>31</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.25.

<sup>32</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.26-27.

<sup>33</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.28.

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and is also perceived as intent of intimacy. The incoming ambassador, Monsieur Moscicki pursues an active policy. The Turkish ambadassor states that the incoming ambassador he interviewed in person just as accurate steps were being taken towards the German-Polish agreement insistently reported that the agreement was, on no account, being concluded against any party. The ambassador states that such ambassador he interviewed once more after the German-Polish pact of non-agression brought up the same subject again and reexpressed, as before- that this agreement was not directed towards any party. According to the report, if news obtained from the press are accurate; the German-Polish agreement is related to Russia or rather to Ukraine. In return for the granting of a part of Ukraine that will allow it an exit to the Black Sea, Poland will abandon a part of Silesia by means of a passageway. It is not certain whether this issue will take place or not.<sup>34</sup> For Japan, there are many moral-spiritual advantages of having a deal with Poland, which has one of the most powerful armies in Europe and has taken a stand against Russia due to historical and psychological reasons. According to the ambassador, it is not irrational to reason that Japan, which threatens the Russians over Manchuria, Mongolia and Sin-kiang, will threaten them over the European borders through the intermediary of Poland. The fact that the Polish ambassador will organize a trip to Manchuria also stands out in this respect. Moreover, it may be reasoned that Japan has an influence in the German-Polish intimacy.<sup>35</sup>

When the the relations between Japan and the Netherlands are taken into consideration in Part 11 of the report, it is observed that the Netherlands attaches importance to the Japanese expansion in Asia and the Pacific in terms of its own colonies and oil resources in the area and in terms of the strategy of the islands. The Netherlands try follow the situation closely and is willing to compromise with and draw nearer to England, which –it believes- will help it on this matter.<sup>36</sup>

The Turkish-Japanese relations take place in the part 12 of the report. The report states that there is no need to mention the course essentially followed and to be followed by Turkey against Japan here but the following opinions of the ambassador are included in terms of presenting a general point of view: *“After reporting that all the Japanese people very strongly appreciate the attempts made by Turkey towards civilization and advancement with the superior will of its great leader and that they strongly show their desire to show intimacy towards Turkey, I would like to point out that especially those doing the Japanese foreign politics do not desire to challenge Turkey on commercial issues sticking in temporary and unfounded benefits but to establish an intimacy between the two states, by providing it with practicable assistance in the economic field, if possible.”*<sup>37</sup>

Annual report of the Tokya Embassy concludes with a general opinions and considerations part preconditioning the idea that *“Japanese foreign policy is based on establishing its dominance over Asia and it proceeds towards reducing the number of those who will stand in its way and seeking those who will support it and nobody can prevent this policy at the moment. The report is finalised with the speculation that *“The Japanese have taken the risk of a war against Russia, which is the first obstacle against Japanese expansion in the area. The fact that especially England, which holds the key to the situation in the Far East, and its conservative elements seem to take a stance towards approaching rather to Japan is also significant. Although the probability of the situation to cause war at any moment is taken into consideration, parties occupied with the preservation of World peace should not be forgotten”*.*<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.29-30.

<sup>35</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.30-31.

<sup>36</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.31.

<sup>37</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.32.

<sup>38</sup> BCA, 30.10-257.729.30, Tokyo Elçiliği Senelik Raporu 1933, p.33.

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As can be understood from this report issued by the Tokya Embassy, Turkey is also closely interested in the developments in the Far East on the matter of other developments, as is the case with the Manchurian problem. The report, which quite expressly reveals the circles that have an influence on Japanese domestic policy, has an informative characteristic in terms of the course that should be taken by Turkey in its relations with Japan. It is observed that opinions concerning the foreign relations with such countries as Russia, China, Germany, England and Poland are relevant and realistic. However, at this point, the fact that abstracts to be sent by the embassies in the European countries will be more effective in the evaluation of Japan's attitude and will make it easier to understand is an important issue emphasized by our ambassador in the report. Another issue that attracts attention in the report is the fact that interpretations are made within the framework of information obtained rather from the press and officials at the embassies in the European countries. As is specified by Anzerlioglu, based on the fact that one edge of the depression experienced by the World is in the east, Turkey has followed the developments before the war closely through the intermediary of its representation offices in the area.<sup>39</sup> It is observed that the report is extremely important in terms of Turkey's opinions and considerations about the Far East in general and Japan in particular.

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<sup>39</sup> Anzerlioglu, "Tokyo Türk Maslahatgüzarının Değerlendirmeleriyle Mançukuo Devleti (1931-1933)", **Atatürk Yolu Dergisi**, S:41, Y:2008, A.Ü. Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayını, p.16.