Contents

Foreword	V
Preface	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	1
Genesis of a treaty	2
First Australian draft	13
Japan's response	16
Preparing to negotiate	20
First negotiation round: November–December 1974	25
Troublesome shifts	26
Second negotiation round: January–February 1975	28
Talks in Tokyo: March 1975	30
Frustration and confusion	32
The tide turns	34
Quibbling and change in Canberra	35
New leadership and final negotiations	37
The treaty	41
Conclusion	44
Notes	47
Biographical guide	61
List of delegations	65
Bibliography	73
Indov	75

Foreword

A defining characteristic of engagement between Australia and Japan has been the ability of our policy makers to agree on a common vision for the future of the bilateral relationship.

In 1957, political leaders in Australia and Japan had the foresight to conclude a Commerce Agreement that underwrote a subsequent dramatic growth in trade and economic integration between the two countries. By the late 1960s Japan had become Australia's largest export market, a status it has held ever since.

A desire to broaden Australia–Japan relations beyond a natural economic partnership lay behind the negotiation of the 1976 Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation. This monograph shows how negotiation of the treaty addressed and overcame potential difficulties and how Australia and Japan were able to agree to a treaty that formalised the 'enduring peace and friendship between the two countries and their peoples'.

To understand the relevance of these words to contemporary Australia–Japan relations, one need only look at the success and importance of the 2006 Australia–Japan Year of Exchange, agreed to in 2003 by Prime Minister Howard and Prime Minister Koizumi to mark the 30th anniversary of the Basic Treaty. The Year of Exchange has already highlighted the extensive community and cultural links between our two countries and demonstrated beyond doubt a genuine mutual appreciation of each other's culture and society.

I welcome this monograph as an important contribution to the Year of Exchange and I look forward to the ongoing strengthening of the vital and dynamic relations between Australia and Japan.

Michael L'Estrange

Secretary

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Preface

This monograph is the third in the series *Australia in the World: The Foreign Affairs and Trade Files* prepared by the Historical Publications and Information Section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The series is a set of ad hoc studies based on detailed historical research of Government files held in the National Archives of Australia and is designed to increase public understanding of Australia's role in international relations. The Minister for Foreign Affairs approves the choice of topics taking into account the recommendations of an Advisory Committee, which also ensures that the work has been written and edited according to scholarly and bipartisan practice.

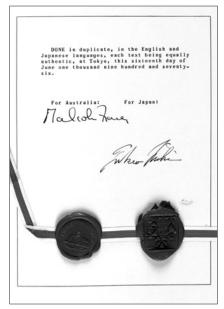
Friendship and co-operation: the 1976 Basic Treaty between Australia and Japan is a 2006 Year of Exchange initiative to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the signing of the treaty in Tokyo on 16 June 1976. The author is grateful to Dr Ashton Calvert, Michael Cook and Garry Woodard, retired senior officers who were closely involved in the negotiation of the treaty, for their thoughtful remarks on the draft text, to Daniel Clery, Japan Section, for his contribution to the conclusion, and to Professor Peter Drysdale, Dr David Lee, Michael Wood and Michael Hogan for reading and commenting on the manuscript. The assistance of Ian Brown, Document Access and Freedom of Information Section, in declassifying the files utilised in this publication, and the generous support of Deborah Peterson, Japan Section, on behalf of the 2006 Year of Exchange Committee, are also acknowledged

Wilton Hanford Hanover prepared this monograph for publication. Special thanks go to Virginia Wilton (project manager), Kris Rodgers (editing), Andrew Bairnsfather (research, cover design and artwork), Les Brown (proofing and production) and Michael Harrington (index).

Special thanks also go to Akihiko Tanaka, Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for assistance in identifying members of the Japanese negotiation teams; to Stephanie Boyle and John Schilling, National Archives of Australia, and to Dianna Psaila, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Photographic Collection, for their help in locating and reproducing photographs; and to Amelia McKenzie and Mayumi Shinozaki, Asian Collections, and Greg Power, Imaging Services, National Library of Australia, for their knowledgeable contribution to the cover design. For their kind permission to publish photographs from their collections, the author acknowledges the Shann family and the National Archives of Australia.

Dr Moreen Dee Historical Publications and Information Section Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Canberra

Introduction



The signatures to the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation of Australia's Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, and Japan's Prime Minister, Takeo Miki. [DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE]

Australia's relationship with Japan is its longest standing bilateral relationship in the Asia–Pacific region, reflecting the prominent place that Japan has held in the history of Australia's external relations. It is a multifaceted relationship between countries with vastly different political and cultural heritage.

After World War II, the economic pragmatism that had underpinned the relationship into the 1930s saw the establishment of a major Australia–Japan trading relationship that was formalised and sustained by the 1957 Commerce Agreement. In the face of the great political change within the region by the 1970s, however, both nations accepted the need to strengthen their increasingly recognised natural partnership by diversifying beyond the trade and economic policies that were serving them so well.

Negotiations on a treaty to extend and strengthen Australia–Japan relations and place them 'on an even closer and more concrete basis' began with the advent of the Whitlam government in 1973. Japan's preference was for a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation (FCN), which would provide formal assurances of its rights as an economic partner of Australia. Australia did not favour such treaties but the political will was strong to find a manageable alternative means to respond positively.

Over the next three years, Australian and Japanese officials worked closely to draw up an 'equitable and mutually advantageous' agreement that broadened the framework of the bilateral relationship by enhancing ties 'in the political, economic, trade, commercial, social, cultural and other fields'. Declaring that 'the basis of relations between Australia and Japan shall be enduring peace and friendship between the two countries and their peoples', the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation was signed in Tokyo on 16 June 1976 and came into force on 21 August 1977. Building on the foundation of mutually complementary trade links, the treaty drew together all the threads of a longstanding and complex relationship that now sought to appreciate more fully its inherent differences so as to focus on and develop its commonalities and complementarities.