

REEL No. A-0048

0380

アジア歴史資料センター

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目下南京ニ於テ支那今后、対日対欧政策ヲ決ス可キ外交戦熱演セラレ居レリ	比較的協調的ナル有吉公使ハ支那ニシテ同國ニ於テ日本ハ支那ニ好キ主役者タルノ位地ヲ認メシヌント苦心シ居リ之ニ対シ支那側ハ不即不離ノ東洋流ヲ演シツ、モ日本ノ機嫌ヲ損セサラントシテ協調ノ氣振リ亦シツ、在リ。	例ヘ八閏税向題ニ付テハ日本ハソノ重要輸出品ニ対シ支那
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在シカゴ日本領事館

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東亞局

1482

情報部

第一課

翻訳科

通譯科

亞

普通第一五八號

昭和九年六月九日

在市俄古

領事代理 仲内憲治

外務大臣 廣田弘毅 殿

日支交渉再開ニ関スル新用
通信報告、件

六月九日シカゴ、デーリー、ニウスハ日支交渉再開始ニ関スル兩國ノ態度ニ關レ大要左、如キ特派員 Frank Langthorne 南京持電ヲ掲載シ居レリ

在シカゴ日本領事館

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入へキラ主張シ且7日本ハ在
ノ旧借款問題カ解決ラ見ル迄
新借款ヲ提供シ得サルヘキモ
財政的ノ援助ハ充分考慮スヘ
シト為スニ對シ支那側ハ之ヲ
危険ナル誘ヒトナシ日本ハ
ヲ立テル為メ若干ノ小借款ハ
之ヲ受ク可キヲ諾シ他方西政
諸國ヨリノ借款ヲセ特殊ナル
關係ラ統ハサル可キヲ日本ニ
対シ言明セントレツ、在リト
言7.

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力差別的高関税ヲ隠シ居ル
ラ引下ケシメントスルニ對
シ支那側ハ充分引下ラ考慮
ス可キモノ本ノ欲スル如ク
ナル引下ハ爲シ得サルヘ
シトナシ又オニニ借款問題
スル九億円ノ旧借款ヲ支那ニ對
シメ之カ具体的償還方法ヲ認メ
講セシメントスルニ對シ支
モ西原借款ハ旧北京政府
対スル政治借款トシテ除外
那側ハ之ニ異議ナシトスル
モ西原借款ハ旧北京政府
対スル政治借款トシテ除外
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方ニニ満支、郵便、鐵道、聯絡問題ハ南京政府ハ最後的決絡定ラ明示スルヲ避ケ居ルモノニシテ近々兩國々境、郵便、鐵道直通聯絡ハ暗默的ニ容認セラル、コトトナラントト傳ヘタル云々。右新聞切抜相添シ参考近報告申進ス。本信寫送付支在赤大使在支公使

在シカゴ日本領事館

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Chicago Daily News

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FUTURE POLICY TOWARD JAPAN UP IN NANKING

REG - 6 NOV

Tokyo Diplomats Try to
Get Chinese O. K. on
Problems.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

SPECIAL RADIO
To the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.
Copyright, 1934, The Chicago Daily News, Inc.
Nanking, China, June 9.—An en-
grossing diplomatic contest is pro-
ceeding here, with China's future
policies toward Japan and the west
at stake.

Japanese diplomats, including the
profoundly distrustful the Japanese
motives, are playing the oriental
game of evasion as the best means
of resistance against Nippon's aims
at hegemony. At the same time
Nanking is trying hard not to ruin
the Japan's feathers and at the mo-
ment seems to be preparing for
gestures of conciliation.

For instance: First the tariffs.
Japanese diplomats maintain here
that the products of which Japan
is an especially important producer
are subjected to discriminatory tar-
iffs by China. Cotton goods, coal,
sea products, cement and mechan-
ical and chemical products are
among those mentioned specifically.
Ariyoshi and his aids are put-
ting on a strong campaign for the
reduction of the rates on them.

The Chinese, on their side, it is
learned are seriously considering
reductions, "but they will not be
as large cuts as Japan wants," as
one authority summarized to this
correspondent today.

Wants Loans Recognized.
Secondly, loans. Japan wants
the old loans to China, estimated
by the former at close to 900,000,-
000 yen, clearly recognized. While
not pressing for any payment now
Japan wants a concrete scheme
agreed on for payment in the fu-
ture.

Chinese officialdom tons not to
dispute most of these loans and it
is declared that this country is very
willing to settle on a scheme of
payment. But there is much pesi-
mism about coming to an under-
standing on the Nishiura political
loans, which were given to the old
Peking government more than fif-
teen years ago and which compose
more than a fourth of the total
now involved.

Further, Japan intimates that al-
though it cannot consider new loans
until an agreement is reached on
the old one, it will be willing to
"cooperate" financially thereafter.

Considered Dangerous Bait.

Nationalistic Chinese consider
this dangerous bait. Nevertheless
it is authoritatively predicted that
"to save Japan's face, small or oc-
casional loans" may be accepted.
And although anxious to get money
from the west if it can, especially
through the new Chinese Finance
and development corporation
launched for economic reconstruc-
tion, it is declared that the Chi-
nese government will try to show
Nippon that it has no dangerous
tieup with any country or the
League of Nations.

Third comes the matter of
through rail and postal traffic be-
tween China and Manchukuo. Al-
though Nanking is still hedging on
announcing a final decision, it is
tautly understood that the long
Japanese drive for this objective
will soon have trains and mails
going through without the neces-
sity of transfers at the border.

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アジア歴史資料センター

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(407) 分類/門/銀(現9-8)

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在天津日本總領事館

中日兩國ト國民感情
中日兩國ハ本來同種、同文、利害ヲ共ニスル隣接國家ナリ而シテ今
日國交カスクノ如キ状態ニ迄テ到リシコトハ實ニ黃色人種共同ノ不
幸ナリ衝突ノ原因ハ素ヨリ關係複雜ニシテ抗争モ亦發生シ易シ而モ
重大ナル癌ハ矢張國民感情上ニ存在セリ國民感情ノ悪化ハ事アル毎
ニ之ヲ曲解シ善意ヲモ亦惡意ニ解釋スルコトナリ更ニ或ル者ハ機
會ヲ利用シテ外交ヲ政敵攻撃ノ用ニ供シ遂ニ一切ノ問題ヲ解決不可
能ナラシムルニ至レリ中日ノ不和ハ之ヲ日本側ヨリ見ルモ三千年以
上ノ永キ歴史ト四億ノ民ヲ有スル隣邦ヲ敵トスルモノニシテ固ヨリ
不利ナリ然レトモ中日實力ノ差餘リニ距ヲレルヲ以テ一度ヒ衝突有
レハ中國ハ立刻ニ損害ヲ蒙リ更ニ重大ナル不利益ヲ招來スヘシ。兩

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(408) 分類/門/銀(現9-8)
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普通第十九號
昭和九年六月十四日
第三課長
第一課長
在天津
總領事 栗原 正
外務大臣 廣田弘毅殿
日支問題ニ關スル民報論說報告ノ件
當地民報社長魯嗣香ノ論說ニ付テハ義ニ五月十四日附普通第四五九
號ヲ以テ及報告置キタル處全人ハ六月五日ノ民報紙上ニ「日支國交
ト國民感情」ト題シ左記譯文ノ如キ論說ヲ掲載シタルニ付何等御參
考迄右報告ス

記

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アジア歴史資料センター

在天津日本總領事館

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カ悪化セハ執政者ニ於テ親密ナル主張ヲナサントスルモ國民心理相容レス輿論ノ激昂ヲ恐レ如何ナル良法アリトモ亦之用フル術無ク只國民ノ攻撃ヲ免レムトスルニ至ラン現在中日兩國間ハ國民ノ感情不良ナル爲責任アル當局ニ良キ考有ルモ之ヲ發表シ得サルナリ、故ニ大局ハ次第ニ困難ナル状態ニ陥リ遂ニハ豫期セサル禍ヲ惹起スルコトトナルヘシ將來ノ危險ヲ防セカントセハ只タ國民心理ヲ急速ニ考究スヘタカクセハ國民感情ハ日ニ良好ニ向フヘシ。其考究ノ方法トシテハ則チ兩國々民ノ往來懇談スルノ機會ヲ多ク作ルコトニアリ經濟並ニ文化上ノ提携ニ於テハ認識アラハ好感ハ自然ニ生シ來ルモノナリ。日本朝野ニ於ケル平和愛好士ハ常ニ中國ニ來リ親善ノ道ヲ探究シ共ニ東亞大局ノ維持ニ努力シ居レリ吾人ハ此熱心ニ對シ大イニ

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國親ム時ハ共ニ利益ヲ得相敵視スル時ハ共ニ損害ヲ蒙ル現在ノ情勢ニアルトキ唯此兩者敗傷ノ道程ヲ辿ルハ吾人ヲシテ極度ニ悲觀セシムルモノナリ。中日兩國間ニ於ケル情勢ヲ研討スルニ重要ナル關係ハ即チ國民ノ感情ナリ若シ國交ノ好轉ヲ圖ラントセハ國民心理ニ注意ヲ置カサルヘカラス何トスレハ政府ノ政策ハ一時的ノモノニシテ隨時ニ之ヲ改變シ得ルモ國民ノ心理ハ永久的ノモノナルヲ以テ對外政策ノ根本ヲナストキハ國民心理ヲ尊重スヘキナリ果シテ兩國間ノ國外的主張ヲナストキハ國民心理ヲ尊重スヘキナリ果シテ兩國間ノ國民ノ感情良好ナルトキハ執政者ニ於テ相手國ニ對シ強固ナル主張ヲナサント欲スルモ國民ノ不滿ヨリ輿論ノ攻擊ヲ受クルコトヲ虞レ即チ結果主張ヲ緩和セサルヲ得サルニ至ルヘシ若シ兩國間ノ國民感情

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自己ノ人格ヲ失シ相手方ノ輕視ヲ招クカ如キコトナカルヘシ人ハ誠意愛國ヲ要シ斯テ始メテ相手方ノ尊敬ヲ受クルモノナリ此事ハ立場ヲ替フルモ同様ニシテ吾人ハ唯々眞理ヲ述へ人ハ道ヲ以テスルモノヲ苛責セサルノ理ヲ説ケルニ過キス徒ニ詭辯ヲ弄シテ相手ノ感情ヲ損フ必要ナカルヘシ。吾人ハ右ノ如キ熱心ナル人々ニ對シテハ直接間接ニ援助ヲナスヘク其抱負ヲ發展セシメ國家ノ利益ヲ謀ムトス。若シモ此等ノ人々ニ對シ感情的ニ贊助ヲ與ヘス反ツテ攻撃ヲ加ヘナハ熱心アル人々モ悲觀シ國家ノタメ盡力スル能ハス更ニ相手國人ノ感情ヲ傷付ケ國家ヲシテ重大ナル不利益ヲ蒙ラシムルニ至ラン。カクテハ愛國モ誤國トナルナリ此種ノ國民感情ニハ特ニ注意ヲ要スヘシ。或者ハ東北問題ノ解決ヲ見サル間ハ雙方トモ敵對的關係ニアル

卷 1.1.1.0 - 62 437

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敬服セルモノナルヲ以テ余ヲ訪問シ來ルモノ有レハ余ハ必ス能フ限リノ歡迎ヲナシ談話ニ際シテモ余ハ誠意ヲ以テ心中ニ在ル總テノ事ヲ披瀝シ虛心坦懷ニ彼等ニ於テ眞實ナル認識ヲ持チヨク諒解ノ上兩國間ノ共同利益ヲ維持スルコトヲ希望セリ。彼等ニ於テモ我ノ此切實ナル直言ヲ喜ヒ且ツ尊重シ互ニ眞實ニ了解得タルヲ以テ此會合ハ單ナル時間ノ空費ニ非ラサリシナリ。吾國人士カ日本ニ遊歷シタル時若シ日本朝野ノ人士誠意ヲ以テ歡迎セハ此亦吾國家ノ大ナル光榮ニシテ無形ノ中ニ國家ノタメ少カラサル利益ヲ圖ルコトヲ得ルナリ日本朝野ヨリ歡迎ヲ受クルカ如キ人物ナラハ其人品聲望ハ必スヤ一般平凡ノ類ニ非ス從テ其云フ處先方ノ信ヲ得其言行ハ常ニ本國ノ利益ヲ主旨トシテ兩國ノ利益ヲ説キ斷シテ自國ニ不利ナル言行ヲナシテ

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ヲ以テ感情ノ接近不可能ナルハ勿論必要ナシト説ケトモ吾人ハ斯カル考ハ根本的ニ錯覚ナリト認ム東北四省ヲ失ヒタルコトハ國民感情ノ悪化ノ關係ニヨルモノナルヲ知ルヲ要シ若シ此儘繼續シテ感情惡化セハ結果ニ於テ唯ニ東北四省ノ解決シ得サルノミナラス必ス將來ニ於テ計リ知レサル禍ヲ惹起スヘシ國民ハ良ク其ノ利害ヲ熟考シ救國ハ感情作用ニ重キヲオクカ不當ナリヤフ深ク考フヘシ

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アジア歴史資料センター

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アジア歴史資料センター

在廣東日本總領事館

記	日支交渉事件ハ通車通郵同問題ニ限ラレサルモ特ニ本件談判ハ日 支雙方其完全ナル秘密ヲ保持シ難ク日本側ニ於テハ通車通郵ヲ以 テ華北ニ於ケル日支問題ノ主体トシ其ノ實現ニ全力ヲ注キ居ル結 果殊更外部ノ注意ヲ喚起シ居ル次第ナリ聞ク所ニ依レハ日本側ニ 於テハ日支懸案二百餘件全部ノ解決ヲ計リ且一九三六年以前ニ懸 案ノ解決ヲ了シタル上日支間ニ新ナル關係ヲ樹立セント企圖スル モノニシテ有吉公使カ歸任以來積極的ニ交渉ヲ進メ「親善提攜政 策」ヲ以テ我方ヲ誘惑シ居ルハ此ノ間ノ事情ヲ物語ルモノナリ而 シテ彼ノ抱懷スル交渉方策トシテ外間ニ知ラルモノハ (一)關稅輕減ヲ要求シ日貨ノ對支「ダンビング」ヲ容易ナラシム (二)日支技術 會合 ニ依リ中國ノ建設ヲ援助ス (三)舊債ヲ整理シ新投資ニ充テ實業ヲ經營ス (四)日支航空聯絡ヲ實行ス
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門類項目 1/1/1 2/2/2	本信寫入先 1/1/1 2/2/2	東京局 1911年9月8日 1482	外務大臣 廣田弘毅殿 在廣東 總領事周越 公使 北平 南京 上海 本信寫送附先	公第三七七號 昭和九年六月廿五日 別紙添附 記 八月十五日接受	在廣東日本總領事館 9.8.14 記 八月十五日接受
<p>「日支直接交渉ノ趨勢」ト題スル民國日報記事譯報ノ件 十三日ノ民國日報ハ上海特訊トシテ本件記事ヲ掲載セルニ付御參 考迄左ニ譯報ス</p> <p>在廣東日本總領事館</p>					

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見シ日支直接交渉ヲ促進シテ日支外交ニ一步ヲ進メント企圖シ居ル處聞ク所ニ依レハ有吉ハ今回歸任ニ當リ持來レル新對支政策ニ依リ汪蔣ト折衝スル外其ノ他抗日將領共會談ノ希望ヲ有スル由ニテ日本使館方面ニ於テ有吉公使ノ汪蔣往訪ハ某重大事件ヲ商議スル爲ナリトノ消息アルニ徵シ日本ハ汪及蔣ヲ交渉ノ相手トスル意思アリ之ヲ以テ日支外交ノ新趨勢ヲ知リ得ヘシ

日支直接交渉ハ既ニ雛形ヲ得略言スレハ通車問題ハ中政會議ニ於テ其ノ原則ヲ通過シ山海關ニ技術會議開カレ北戴河ニ於テ詳細辨法ヲ商議セラレタル以上本問題ハ實ニ體化セルノミナラス明ニ既定ノ事實ニシテ日本側カ滿鐵車輛ヲ山海關ニ配給シ居ルニ徵シ最早絶体ニ變更ノ餘地ナキ次第ナリ次ニ通郵問題ニ關シ交通部當局ハ之ヲ否認シ居ルモ聯盟ニ於テ決定セル三項ノ原則ハ單ナル建議ニシテ拘束能力ナキ所ヨリ又日支間交渉ハ頗ル順調ニ拂リ第三者ヲシテ請負ハシムル方法即チ偽國發受ノ郵便料金ヲ一國一分ニ引

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(五)福建及山東ノ富源開發ヲ協助ス
等ニシテ識者ハ之ヲ以テ日本ノ不流血侵略政策ト見ルヘキハ勿論ナリ但シ我行政當局ハ曩ニ對日外交既定原則ヲ絕對ニ變更セサルコトヲ條件トシテ難局打開ノ爲ノ合理的談判ヲ進メタキ意図ヲ表示シ通車問題ニ關シ黃郛ニ對日交渉ノ職權ヲ與ヘタルハ已ニ本件ノ具体化シ來レルコトニ依リ證明セラルヘク日支相互默契ノ下ニ直接交渉ヲ進メ居ルト見ラル所以ナリ

日支直接交渉ノ進捗ニ關シ我方當局ハ緘默シ居ルモ有吉公使ハ上海到着ノ際往訪者ニ對シ日支間ニハ已ニ實際上直接交渉ヲ開始シ居ル以上今更日支直接交渉ヲ云々スルノ要ナシト語レルカ有吉カ上海ニ於テ黃郛トノ會見ヲ五日迄延期セルハ通車問題夙ニ解決シ居タル結果急ヲ要セサリシ次第ナリ有吉公使ハ六日南京ニ赴キ兆銘トノ間ニ一步ヲ進メ商議ヲ行フカ若クハ外務省亞細亞局第一課長佐藤カ南昌ニ蔣介石ヲ訪ヒ相當ノ目鼻就キタル後自ラ將ト會

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日ニ論スヘカラスト宣傳シ居ル處果シテ然ラハ何故ニ早ク之ヲ實行セサリシカ將又通車通郵談判ノ最中本問題ヲ商議スル必要アリヤ甚タ異トスヘキナリ無線電信聯絡協定カ最近忽然トシテ成立シ六月一日ヨリ實行セルニ對シ交通部當局ハ該協定ハ純然タル商務契約ニシテ何等附帶條件ナシト公表シ居ルニ反シ日本側ニ於テハ本件ハ日本側ノ要求ニ基クモノニシテ今日中國カ毅然トシテ之ヲ承諾セルハ日支國交カ日々友好ニ向ヒツツアル例證ニシテ日支直接交渉ノ喜フヘキ成績ナリト稱シ居レリ經濟提携ニ關シ日本人ノ紓鐵路ト東洋拓殖會社トノ間ニ五百萬元ノ借款成立セルカ眞ノ内容ハ新規借款ニアラスシオ一九一九年調印ヲ了セル舊債五百二十萬元ヲ整理セルモノニシテ行政院及鐵道部ノ認可ヲ經タル外西原借款モ亦目下整理方折衝中ニテ本件ハ經濟提携問題ト密切ナル關係ヲ有ス此ノ外航空合作、戰區問題等日支雙方ヨリ交渉ヲ進メ居

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上ケ内五分ハ中國之ヲ占メ三分ハ第三者ノ遞送手續費トシ四分ハ第三者カ郵便物偽國入境ノ際補貼スル偽國切手代ニ充テ以上郵便料金ハ凡テ發信人ノ負擔トスルモノニシテ中國ヨリノ遞送手續ハ中國郵便切手五分ヲ貼付シ第三者遞送機關ハ別ニ六分ノ郵券ヲ調製シテ中國ヨリ送付越セル郵便物ニ補貼ノ上偽國郵便局ニ送り受信人ニ配達スルモノアルカ右ノ外現在日支間ニ一大連經由偽國郵便切手ヲ日本郵便切手ニ抹消シ不足稅ヲ追徵スルノ二方法ニ付キ談判中シ偽國郵便切手ヲ日本郵便切手ニ抹消シ不足稅ヲ追徵スルノ二方法ニ付キ談判中ナリトノ說アリ要スルニ通郵ハ通車問題解決後實行サルヘキモノ關係アリトテ夙ニ辦法ヲ内定シ大体秦皇島、古北口、喜峯口、馬蘭峪ノ四ヶ所ニ夫々稅關ヲ設ケ又張家口ニ辦事處ヲ設置スル外關卡設立地點及保護方法等目下考慮中ニシテ財政部ニ於テハ之ヲ財務行政ノ自由權ニシテ斷シテ偽國承認ノ意味ナク通車通郵ト同

在廣東日本總領事館

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アジア歴史資料センター

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在廣東日本總領事館

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アジア歴史資料センター

在杭州日本領事館

元來同紙ハ既報ノ如ク蔣介石ノ御用紙ニシテ藍衣社ト密接ノ關係ヲ有シ黨部側ノ機關紙東南日報（舊稱杭州日報）ト共ニ當浙江省言論機關ノ双壁ニシテ從來對日諸問題ニハ東南日報ノ如ク極端ニハアラサルモ辛竦ナル筆鋒ヲ弄セルモノナリシカ今敢然此種論評ヲ掲載シタルハ假令該論文ノ末尾ニ「晴」ナル符號ヲ符シ社外ヨリノ寄稿ノ如ク裝ヒ居ルトハ云ヘ吾人ハ之ヲ以テ所謂支那有識者ノ眞ノ叫ヒナリト見又一面日支直接交渉ノ必要ヲ痛感セル蔣派カ輿論ノ探リヲ入レル爲メ此記事ヲ掲載セシメタルニ非スヤトモ觀察ス

孰レニセ日彼等カ日支ノ關係ヲ此儘放置スルコトハ結局支那ヲシテ亡國ニ導ク所以ニシテ之レカ解決ヲ圖ルニハ兎ニ角兩國ノ直接交渉ヲ措キテ他無シナト從來口ニスルサヘ潔シトセス或ハ遠慮セシ本音

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第二課長
第三課長

機密第一四號
昭和九月七月十六日

在杭州

領事館事務代理 松村雄藏

東亞局

外務大臣 廣田弘毅 殿

日支直接交渉ノ支那新聞論評ニ關シ報告ノ件

七月十六日當地發行漢字紙杭州國民新聞ハ勞頭ノ論評欄ニ「如何ニシテ日支現存ノ爭ヲ解決スヘキヤ」ト題スル論文ヲ掲載セリ其ノ論旨ハ別記譯文ノ如ク日支直接交渉案ヲ最モ大膽率直ニ主張シタルモノニシテ當地目下ノ狀勢並ニ同紙ノ勢力地位ニ鑑ミ吾人ハ該新聞社ノ英斷ト筆者ノ勇氣トニ意外感ヲ深フセリ

在杭州日本領事館

高津 1482

昭和九年七月廿四日接受

情報部

第一課長

領事館事務代理
松村雄藏

記號名 日支交渉ノ事務所
受領年月日 昭和九年七月廿四日接受

在杭州日本領事館

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「如何ニシテ日支現存ノ爭議ヲ解決スヘキヤ」
昭和九年七月十六日杭州國民新聞論評譯文
國際爭議ノ解決方法ハ現在ノ國際社會ニ在リテハ畢竟下記數種ヨリ
出テサルカ此内孰レカ現在ノ日支間ノ爭議解決ニ適スヘキカニ就キ
卑見ヲ述ヘントス
一、直接談判。此種ノ爭議解決方法ハ外交上最モ普通ニ採用セラル
、多クハ弱國ニ不利ナリト雖モ日支間ノ爭議ヲ解決スルニアラ
サレハ前途寒心ニ堪ヘサルモノアルヲ思ヘハ國際環境及國內情
況ヲ無視スルヲ得サルト共ニ又此方法モ絶對ニ否認スルコト能
ハサルナリ

二、居中和解。第三者カ意見ヲ提出スルコトナクシテ兩國間ノ談判

在杭州日本領事館

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右報告ス
本信寫送附先
在支公使、在上海、在南京、在北平

ヲ堂々ト有力支那新聞紙上ニ公開スルニ至リタルコトハ現下ノ時局
ニ鑑ミ極メテ注意スヘキ現象ナリト思考ス

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アジア歴史資料センター

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以テ現存日支争議案ノ解決ヲ之ニ求ムルカ如キハ實ニ夢想ノコトニ屬ス

七、萬國聯盟國際法院ニ提出スルコト。國際法院引用ノ國際法或ハ學說ハ國際力ヲ以テ強制スルコト能ハス故ニ之ニ據ルコトモ効果ヲ期待シ難シ

八、戦爭。國際主權存在セサル時ニ當リ國際争議解決ノ最後的方法ハ即チ戦争ナリ然レトモ日章旗ノ飛行機カ意ノ欲スル儘ニ南京、上海ヲ爆破シ八々艦隊カ隨時支那ノ沿海ヲ擾亂シ關東軍カ何時ニテモ北平ヲ占取シ得ヘキ状態ニ在ル今日ニ於テハ我支那ハ絶對ニ戦争ノ起ランコトヲニスヘカラス。戦争ヲ以テ日支争議ノ解決ヲ期スカ如キハ識者均シク其ノ不可ナルヲ知ル。

在杭州日本領事館

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ヲ斡旋スル方法ヲ云フ。然レトモ各國カ自國ノ爲メヲ圖ルニ汲々トシテ他國ノ便ヲ顧慮セサル今日ノ状態ニ於テハ誰カ敢テ力ヲ貸サン。東三省カ強奪セラレテヨリ二年ニ垂ントスルニ列強カ聲色ヲ動カサルニ徵セハ想半ハニ過クルモノアラン

三、調停。此種方法カ現在ノ日支間ノ争議ヲ解決シ得サル理由ハ右居中ノ場合ト同様ナリ

四、國際聯盟行政院ニ提出スルコト。本方法ハ強國ニ對シテハ實施スルコト能ハサルヲ以テ中國ニトリテハ實際的効果無シ

五、國際聯盟大會ニ提出スルコト。四ニ述ヘタル理由ノ如ク効果ナシ

六、海牙仲裁々判ニ提出スルコト。該院ハ毫モ強制執行ノ力無キヲ

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アジア歴史資料センター

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ハナリ

從來我國人（支那人ヲ指ス）ハ日支直接交渉ト云ヘ、直ニ蛇蝎ノ如ク嫌惡シ之カ反對ニ餘力ヲ残サ、ルヲ常トス。此意嚮ハ愛國心ニ出ツト雖モ適々以テ國ヲ誤ルモノナリ。

此ノ危難ノ秋ニ當リ國ヲ誤リ或ハ遂ニ國ヲ亡ホスニ至ランコトヲ恐ル。國人ソレ之ヲ鑒ミヨ

以上

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以上述ヘタル如ク戰爭ヲ以テ日支爭議ヲ解決スルコト不可能ニアリ、居中調停既ニ其ノ勞ヲ執ル人無ク、海牙仲裁院、國際法院復タ強制的仲裁乃至裁判ノ力無ク、聯盟行政院、聯盟大會又同様ニシテ賴ムニ足ラス

故ニ日支間ノ現存爭議ノ解決ヲ欲セハ我等ハ固ヨリ外交上ノ「知其不可而爲之」的効力就中支那全國上下力舉ツテ爲スヘキ「無爲而無不爲的準備ニハ敢テ反對セサルモ此準備カ完備セス而カモ外交上一切ノ間接類似（原文ニハコノ點ニミ・ヲ附セリ）的解決方法不可能ナル今日ニ在リテハ吾々ハ率直ニ云ヘハ日支ノ直接交渉ニハ反對セス蓋シ此國家危難ニ處スルニ當リ表面ハ失敗ノ如ク見ユレトモ實際ハ優勢的外交即チ弱國外交ニ成功セントスル途ヲ採ルコトニ賛成ナレ

在杭州日本領事館

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アジア歴史資料センター

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東亞局

橋山 橋
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情報部

第一課文

普通公第三五三號

昭和九年七月十九日

昭和九年八月二十四日接受

在米
臨時代理大使 藤井 啓之

外務大臣 廣田 弘毅 殿

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「アームストロング」ノ日支問題ニ關スル論文
送付ノ件

前比島總督「デーヴィス」ノ法律顧問ニシテ極東通トシテ知ラル
「ウイリアム、キャンベル、アームストロング」ノ華府「ボスト」
七月十五日日曜附錄ニ掲載ノ別紙論文何等御参考迄ニ送付ス
本信寫送付先 滿、支、及紐育（附屬ナシ）

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July 26—Rainfall for past 24 hours, ending at 8 P.M., trace; temperature, minimum, 70°; maximum, 84°. Weather at, 8 P.M., cloudy, sea level pressure at 30.03 inches. Forecasts for the following Islands and vicinity: Sunday, partly cloudy and unbroken, with scattered showers. Light to gale shifting winds.

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Advertiser Honolulu

HONOLULU, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, U.S.

THE HONOLULU ADVERTISER

ESTABLISHED JULY 2, 1856

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RAYMOND COIL...Editor
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Daily and Sunday (one year in advance).....\$1.00 per month
Daily (paid in advance) \$1.00 for 3 months.....\$1.00 per month
Sunday only (paid in advance) \$1.00 for 3 months.....\$1.00 per year
DAILY ONLY AND SUNDAY ONLY.....\$1.00 per month
DAILY AND SUNDAY.....\$1.00 per month

UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN

DAILY AND SUNDAY.....\$1.00 per month

DAILY AND SUNDAY ONLY.....\$1.00 per month

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WEATHER REPORTS

Honolulu, 78 (Honolulu 78 miles an hour; weather, cloudy. barometer, 30.14 inches; wind, northeast, 16 miles an hour; weather, cloudy. barometer, 30.00 Saturday, 30.15 Sunday.)

Highest. Lowest.

Fri. Sat.

Campaigning In Manchukuo

By H. R. ERKINS

(United Press Staff Correspondent)

CHINCHOW, Fengtien Province, June 20.—Through the courtesy of hard-boiled Colonel Matsui, Chief of the Special Japanese Military Mission at Changchun, the journey to Chinchow was made by airplane with General Sugiyama, commander of the Seventh Division.

The flight of two hours due westward from Changchien was over the heart of mountainous Jehol Province. General Sugiyama was an enthusiastic flying companion, pointing out from aloft the great development which has taken place on the ground in the year and half since Japanese troops swept victoriously through Jehol.

Most conspicuous of the work done in Jehol since the Japanese seized the province from China is the railway line built to connect Changchien with Chinchow, an important city situated the Mudulen-Peping railway. While a year and a half ago there wasn't so much as a foot of railway track in Jehol a single-track, standard gauge line now runs from Chinchow through Peping and Shinkang to Changchien. Already trains are running as far westward as Lingyuan, half way between Chinchow and Changchien. The track already laid to Pingchow, half way between Lingyuan and Changchien. Before the end of this year Changchien will have trains running into it.

The railway opens a vast territory in which for centuries communication has been notoriously poor. The construction work to date has been a miracle of engineering. Partly for the speed with which the line has been built and partly for the engineering work which has been accomplished. Because of the mountain structures and river beds winding through the region cutters have had to be sunk every hundred yards or so. Every few miles or so a bridge has been necessary, some with six and eight spans and several with as many as twelve. Mountains have had to be tunneled. But the work with as gone on and in the short space of a year and a half the Japanese have opened Jehol to the world and erected to themselves a monument of empire building.

Railway construction in Jehol is proceeding also to Chinkiang, thereby opening the northern and northwestern reaches of the Province. In times of peace the railways now being built or under construction will have a bearing on the economic development of the province. But they are built with an eye toward their military value.

Pointing toward the frontiers of Manchukuo the Jehol railways could carry troops and supplies practically into both Inner and Outer Mongolia in case it should ever be necessary to carry out a flanking movement against Soviet Russia deep in the interior and along the trans-Siberian line.

The railways of Jehol also bid fair to cause North China heavy losses in trade. Trade in hides, casings and the other products of Chinese pioneers of the twentieth century from the Land of the Rising Sun, carried by caravan to other Provinces or Kweichow, both on the Peking-Suyuan railway. From this point it goes down to the sea through Tsinan, through Peking and Tientsin to the port development started at Ruitien by Marshal Chung Hsiung-Hsing, the Manchurian war lord ousted by the Japanese, has been continued and even extended during the past few months. Competent traders believe that with the development of port military supply base and troops in large numbers, intended to maintain the peace in southern Manchukuo, are stationed here. The country for miles around is both fertile and peaceful. The fields and farms are typical of those throughout Manchukuo and regardless of what difficulties are encountered the Chinese farmers are able to produce a good crop.

Chinchow is another of the places in the vast region outside the Great Wall, in the words of Lam Madelin Phillips, in a recent address at the Sorbonne, in Paris, "it is women's right to equal pay for equal work." That is true to an extent which should make any fair-minded man fling the handkerchief in his Morris chair and resolve never to send another woman or leisure—those consciences, in fact, that any woman who drew down her coat to wash the floor, the bed, the hands—all without a rubric from any Cabot or Page for behaving in an unwomanly fashion. Their efforts as it happened were essential to the welfare of the community. And then there came about an abundance of labor and a scarcity of jobs, and the gentlemen became extremely conscious of the charm of the woman or leisure—those consciences, in fact, that any woman who drew down her coat to wash the floor, the bed, the hands—all without a rubric from any Cabot or Page for behaving in an unwomanly fashion.

During the pioneer era in America the ancestors of our present millionaires did not mind a little march, winsome little people on floats, exquisite little girls!

To President Roosevelt, now absent on the high seas, we of Hawaii speak the most universal aloha that these Islands have ever spoken, and it will be his throughout his life.

The community is in the debt of those who participated, to the diverse racial elements who united to please Mr. Roosevelt and thousands of others. Wifred Tsukimura, a leader among the Japanese and marshal of the parade, did an excellent job.

The Lantern Parade

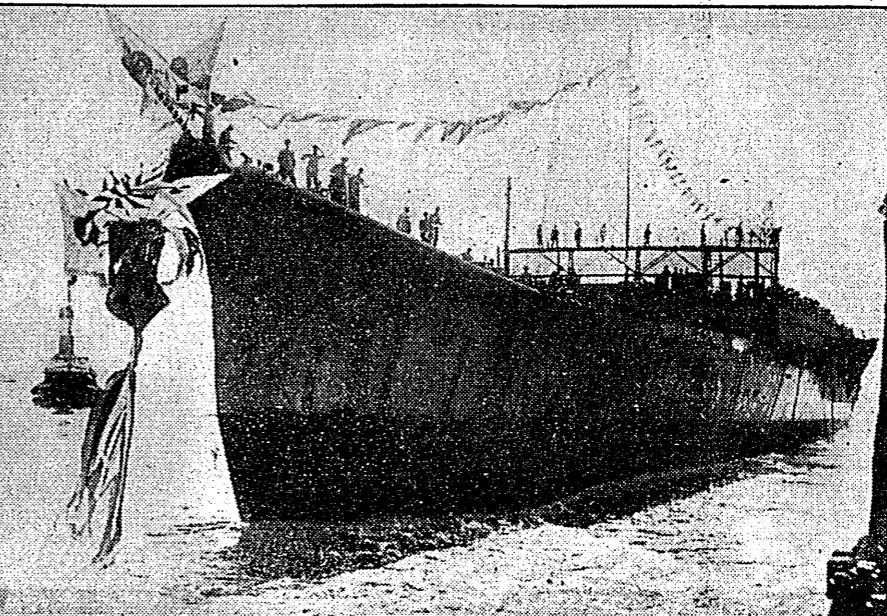
The lantern parade for President Roosevelt Friday night maintained traditional color and brilliance. That is high praise, in view of the magnificent displays of the past, when the Pacific Carnival was an annual event, and the parade was a literal high light. But the parade of Friday set a new mark in its cosmopolitanism, and that aspect will make it linger long in the memory. The parade also was noteworthy for the number of children, who must have touched the hearts of all the little marchers, winsome little people on floats, exquisite little girls!

The community is in the debt of those who participated, to the diverse racial elements who united to please Mr. Roosevelt and thousands of others.

'Hold Open China's Door or It Will Bang Shut!' Expert Says

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To make secure her domination of the Far East, Japan feels she must have a navy large enough to compete with any combination that might be brought together against her. For years Nippon has been building her hopes toward this end and now the nation is no longer content with the naval ratio to which it agreed by treaty.



With flags gaily flying, the 8,500-ton light cruiser Mikuma, newest of Japan's fighting fleet, is shown here a moment after she had left the ways in her launching at Nagasaki recently. There will be five more of these swift, heavily-gunned vessels added to the Japanese navy before the end of 1937 if present plans are carried out.

Japan, He Thinks, Would Bar Us From Far East Commerce.

The following article was prepared exclusively for *The Post* by the legal advisor to former Governor General Dwight F. Davis of the Philippines. Mr. Armstrong is a recognized authority on affairs in Japan, China and the Far East.

By William Campbell Armstrong. From the time when John Hay proclaimed our policy of the open door until 1922 our political position in the Far East was clearly defined. We claimed and secured fair and equal treatment for our citizens throughout the Orient and we compelled all countries to respect the territorial integrity of China. Technically, this policy continues unchanged, but actually it has become untenable. Since 1915 Japan has asserted, ever more aggressively, her right to dominate and control the Far East. Today we have reached the point where a final decision as to our future policy must be made. And it must be a policy which we are willing and able to uphold—not only by diplomatic notes, but by force, if necessary.

The present drifting policy will accomplish nothing except, perhaps, to entangle us in a long, bloody and expensive war—a war which we do

not want and one we will find ourselves in, with no clear understanding of why or how it came about.

Diplomats' Notes For Home Consumption.

Since 1928 our State Department has indulged itself unrestrainedly in a series of faultlessly logical diplomatic notes, couched in the language of prayers or sermons on moral principles, well knowing that our country is unprepared to uphold those principles "with the weight of a single blow." These notes have been received by the chancelleries of the East and of Europe—nearer to real life as it is in this world—with covert sneers recognizing that they were merely intended to feed the National pride and vanity of our uninformed citizens. The East has known too many

missionaries who failed to practice what they preached. It is for us to determine, in the light of all the facts, without passion and without prejudice, the choice we should make and, having once made it, take such steps as may be necessary to make certain that we can maintain the policies we decide upon. We have written enough diplomatic notes.

In 1922 and by subsequent treaties we agreed that we would not increase, improve or modernize our fortifications in the Pacific, west of Hawaii, in return for Japan's agreement to the following points:

1. To respect the territorial integrity of China.
2. To maintain a 5-5-3 naval ratio—later changed to 10-10-6-6.
3. To refrain from fortifying the islands held by it under a League of Nations mandate.
4. To return Tsingtao to China. What has Japan done to fulfill

these agreements? Tsingtao was returned, but Japan has seized a huge tract in China, including not only Manchuria and Jehol, but part of Upper Mongolia. She has declared that she would no longer be content with even the increased naval ratio and many believe that there are secret fortifications on the mandated islands.

We have kept, scrupulously, our agreements. We have not even built up our Navy to treaty strength. So, today, we are unable to do more than protest when Japan invades China. We are in no position to maintain our treaties by force, and moral suasion alone is useless in the East.

The time has come, accordingly, when a practical reexamination of the situation must be made to determine a future course, which we are prepared and able to maintain. One thing is crystal clear. We should no longer rely on Japan's professions of peaceful intentions.

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SUNDAY JUL 15 1934

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and willingness to maintain the open door. Realities must be faced. The United States, in conjunction with other interested powers, must hold the door open by force, or deliberately let it bang to and abandon all hope of sharing in the commercial and cultural development of the Far East.

Japan claims she has become a highly modernized, industrial country. Her population has increased enormously recently and can no longer be self-supporting; neither will her people willingly emigrate. They claim an outlet must be found for their surplus products if they are to continue to exist. Japan denies any desire for sovereignty over China or other lands bordering on the China Sea. All she asks is the pacification and industrialization of China so that a demand will be created for the products Japan can supply—"to the mutual advantage of both peoples." China's condition has been admittedly chaotic.

since the revolution in 1912, and the state of her people is pitiable. Ravaged by war lords, bandits, plagues, famines and floods, progress has been impossible. Japan's program is to modernize and industrialize China as she has her own country since 1853. She can not understand why the United States or any other power should object to this plan since we are not willing to do anything concrete for this distracted people. Neither the European powers nor ourselves are willing to compel peace, order, and progress by force. China can not reform itself—and Japan is willing to act.

Of course, the Chinese believe they are entitled to develop their own country in their own way for the benefit of their own people alone. They hate and despise the Japanese, individually, and as a race. That Japan is overpopulated and overindustrialized is not the fault of the 400,000,000 people of

China, nor is that a reason why they should save Japan at the expense of their economic and political freedom. But in this vast country with such a heterogeneous population and lack of modern communications, it has been impossible to create a national spirit and an army and navy in the short period since the empress lost her throne.

To accomplish her ends, Japan feels she must have a navy large enough to defeat any combination that might be brought together against her. Once the program is completed, it would surely be silly to suppose that she would allow any other power to share in the results of her unaided efforts. With China commercially and politically dependent on her, the countries bordering on the China Sea and perhaps India would be at her mercy, and would be forced to purchase from Japan alone at her price. That is the vision of power and opulence which is dazzling Japanese eyes today. A Roman empire in the Far East. It seems to be theirs for the asking. The fruit of the plum tree is ripe and ready to fall at the slightest breeze.

U. S. Caused Japan's
Rise to Power.

The only obstacle in view is what they consider to be the impractical, obstinate, shortsighted objections of the United States, based principally on an idealism no Oriental could understand.

There is nothing intrinsically immoral about Japan's ambitions, at least nothing which has not been countenanced and condoned in the history of every great European empire. Japan was content to live within its own borders. We forced open her doors. We can not evade responsibility, as Japan is to some extent our stepchild. It was largely due to our efforts that she was unwillingly forced to arouse herself from her two centuries of peaceful happy isolation, open her gates, and take her place in the modern world.

She has proved herself to be an apt scholar.

The question for us, therefore, is whether or not the future trade and friendship of China would justify us in risking a war to maintain the open door. Agreements with Japan have been demonstrated to be valueless. Her statesmen could not keep them if they would. If we are not willing to fight for a new international standard of morality, we should promptly stop asserting that we would do so, withdraw our fleet to the eastern Pacific, surrender the countries bordering the China Sea to Japan and abandon the China trade.

If we decide to continue to hold the door open and to help China to maintain her independence, we should abandon the foolish hope of persuading Japan to abandon the spoils she has seized and those within her grasp by written arguments; bring our Navy up to treaty strength at once, and advise Japan that after its termination in 1936 we will build at will such ships, fortifications and naval bases as may be necessary to maintain the position we have determined on, and enable us to keep faith with China. By such steps alone a war might be avoided without the surrender of the principles we have so long declared to be sacred.

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REEL No. A-0048

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アジア歴史資料センター

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公領機第五六五號
昭和九年八月四日
別紙添付

在杭州
館事館事務代理 松村雄藏殿
總領事 石射猪太郎

在上海
杭州國民新聞ノ日支直接交涉論並ニ杭州地方
排日ニ關聯スル江南正報社社說送付ノ件

客月十六日附大臣宛貴信機密第一八四號杭州國民新聞ノ日支直接交
渉論及先般貴官御來滬ノ節御話アリタル貴地方排日狀況ニ關シ當方

在上海日本總領事館

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機密第八九三號

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中華書局影印

在海上

外務大臣 廣田 弘毅 殿

昭和九年八月四日 路在柳州松村領事館事務代理宛公館機第五六五號

排日ニ關聯スル江南正報社社説送付ノ件

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情報部
第一課長

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REEL No. A-0048

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アジア歴史資料センター

REEL No. A-0048

0402

アジア歴史資料センター

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1482

ニ於テ該國民新聞論旨ノ正論ナルコトヲ高説シ杭州市民ノ反省ヲ促ス趣旨ノ一文ヲ草シ客月二十九日江南正報社ヲシテ「解決中日爭議關鍵」ト題シ社論トシテ之ヲ譯載セシメタルニ付右新聞一部茲ニ送付ス委細右ニテ御了承相成度シ

本信寫送付先 外務大臣 在華公使 南京

在上海日本總領事館

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解决中日争議關鍵

杭州國民新聞之正論

吾人固然對杭州國民新聞，大加讚賞之。正論，表示相當之敬意，但若滿洲事變當時，中國國民之勇毅，有如今日之論調，即滿洲問題必定已得到圓滿解決。然中國政府却不出此，而訴諸於國聯，列國，演其只管欲恃外力，以解決問題之癡態，於此中國實風可悲也，然而國民新聞之所謂直接交涉，除接觸，即應憑之尤如鉗鉗，而常反對不遺餘力。雖然，此意不外於一種愛國心，但結果必致誤國。

吾人當然對杭州國民新聞，大加讚賞之。正論，表示相當之敬意，但若滿洲事變當時，中國國民之勇毅，有如今日之論調，即滿洲問題必定已得到圓滿解決。然中國政府却不出此，而訴諸於國聯，列國，演其只管欲恃外力，以解決問題之癡態，於此中國實風可悲也，然而國民新聞之所謂直接交涉，除接觸，即應憑之尤如鉗鉗，而常反對不遺餘力。雖然，此意不外於一種愛國心，但結果必致誤國。

杭州明照之山水，古來已為日本人所不識。中國及中國人如到處觀覽或迴避日本，則將如何依直接交涉，而解決中日問題耶？江浙兩省為中國文化最高，富力最強，人才輩出之地，同時亦可稱中國之中樞省地。若浙江省當局而能掌握到，抗日抵制日貨，乃破壞自之行爲，而欲指其市民及省民至正道，示全國以模範，擴大國民新潮之精神，望其首先自杭州始。

此乃地方的中國人作抗日抵制日貨運動，敵視日本，而自誤之實例之一；但亦可依此一點而觀見中國之全班矣。

四

中國及中國人如到處觀覽或迴避日本

，亦為數不少。杭州之商賈，得依此而運不

少利益亦極明顯之事，惟徒因擴張抗日抵制

日貨，致使日本人之遊客，自然減少。此不

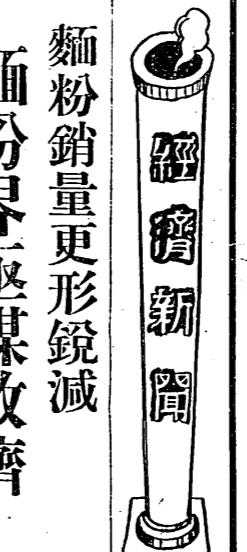
得謂為杭州市民，獨擅自行利益之行為。

此為地方的中國人作抗日抵制日貨運動，敵

視日本，而自誤之實例之一；但亦可依此一

點而觀見中國之全班矣。

麵粉銷量更形銳減



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次數擋擋。四鄉均為
匪衆所佔。由山地
城因守衛得力，尚未被陷。
故受損失尙少，臨川
在南昌南百八十里，現有
公共汽車可通，市面
區觀察，往昌黎長行營賈員招者，市南
行程六千里。於十六日晨六時，搭汽車
出發，甫南門時，沿城牆
一帶，尚在進行築固防
禦下級幹部，即二年前的共匪大
軍之據處，公開
匪工作失敗經過，
並述其失敗原因，及今
事甚詳，并就
供給各方面之
工程，即二年前的共匪大
隊追近省城時所毀各項鐵
線電杆等各障礙物，亦仍
未拆卸，出城時，每車均須嚴
禁車票，內進出均須嚴
密檢查，始可放行，離城
約二十里處，為青雲坡，
該處建有宏偉之勳匪陣亡
將士墓，歷次為剿匪而犧
牲之將士，大半安葬於此。
不外，與夫各匪
之慘害，究竟實際
其體感念，支流之萍江，水泊可鑑，環
每入夏暴雨，水漲丈餘，河
底大部暴露，水急浪高，河
行舟極難，家渡，公
車行至渠，其源
自昌邑之屏障，二
次黃波圍時，曾
經匪大隊

The image contains two main parts. On the left is a newspaper clipping from 'Shanxi Daily' (山西日报) dated April 10, 1949, featuring a large, bold headline 'Run Ma' (Run Ma) and 'Morning Sun' (Morning Sun). The text discusses the arrival of the People's Liberation Army in Jinzhong, the departure of Nationalist troops, and the scene at Jinzhong Station. On the right is a black and white cartoon illustration of a person wearing a hat and holding a book, looking thoughtful.

須專一，當愛情發生之初
·也要問一問：「——
均同·愛你，你怎麼樣？」

小舟委身於無止境的洋流
·一樣，把自己拖到那裏
·，不反悔，自己拖到那裏
去的力量，而只管跟從的
態度，要怎麼樣怎麼樣？也
可以說是指出了一切的依賴
·。過去所輕蔑的東西
·，洋的香氣，極其發醇的
人的生穎，和在釋宗所說
的覺悟的道地的這種東西
·，帶着阻擋不住的魅力
而衝來。作到這邊就心
情的方法，古賈滿歡喜地
想起自己的貧乏的自然科
學知識，把遙遠的思想
·，隱向宇宙，其中的天思想
，一時思想到話不是不久就
會滅亡的地球的後事，一
時又思量到未來的微
妙似的人間的姿態。於是
便覺得世人們的端錯，一切
都是愚癡不過的東西。這
以到來。

·，一應以為是窮極的地方
·，這也屬不能否定的事定
·，在於「神社」關隸的這
個世界，就不是優貴富
有的異常的場合，而在
一切的人間，這種思想然
而，古賀雖則總算著落在
那裏，而心的與此，却不
絕地的抱著那畢竟是因為明
白地自覺著沒有理論的地
情的弱點的緣故。
·，向有一個追到急連的問題
·，那就是在公判庭上應
採怎樣的態度，和對從事
來自自己所固守下來的思想
必須怎樣裁決的問題。古
賀碰到空氣似的苦惱。減
少空氣，一天一天的瘦弱
下去，好久才相逢的由田
律師，不由發出驚嘆之聲
·。從理論上看，本來這個
問題，並不須要多大的早
已有了解決了。可是，對於
明白地知道那而不能堵
到的地方有看護權。古賀
又復由自得的懷抱。

！何謂？蓋其身雖枯槁，其心尙未腐敗也

名著案內	○野村次夫著 『朝日新聞社』
○高島佐一郎著 『新貨幣金融論』	○鈴木重市著 『上代貨幣經濟史』
○早川伸著 『增稅問題之實證的檢討』	○早川二郎著 『孟拉金』
○小笠原三五郎著 『金買入法與金的錯問』	○傑爾曼那第二世著 『巴汎的歷史的研究』
○維胥夫斯其者 『史學概論』	○威爾基翁那第二世著 『歐美貨幣政策批判』
○革新論及告改革新選 動・因文學論究	○詹羅夫著 『革命家傳』
○金澤・折口共編 『北四川路底』	○星文・大坂毎日新聞 『星期每日新聞』
○東京朝日新聞 『東京日新報』	○大阪毎日新聞 『大阪日新報』
○讀賣新聞 『讀賣新聞』	○朝日新聞 『朝日畫報』
○報知新聞 『報知新聞』	○中外商業筋 『中外商業筋』

明月 | 閻諺蒼 | 著 | 顧陽陽 | 譯者修 | 譯者

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REEL No. A-0048

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アジア歴史資料センター

中華民國三十七年十一月九日星期日

(八) 號六百八十六(日八月六陰)

正南報

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アジア歴史資料センター

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公第三五四號

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東亞局

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(參照A/1/3/8-2) 由

情報部

第一課長

日本ノ對支政策ニ關スル「ノース、チヤイナ、デイリ、ニュウス」東京通信員郵信切抜送附ノ件
八月十日ノ「ノース、チヤイナ、デイリ、ニュウス」所載日本ノ對支政策ニ關スル同紙東京通信員郵信切抜何等御参考送別添送附スル

在中華民國上海日本公使館

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アジア歴史資料センター

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JAPAN AND HER CHINA POLICY

Hirota Sincere in Attempts to Improve Relations: Foreign Office and Army Differences

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

TOKYO, Aug. 3.

A Man of Peace

What exactly is the Japanese government's policy towards China? That is what a lot of people, who have been led astray by a number of occurrences in the past few months, would like to know. The answer is rather strange, and perhaps incredible to those unacquainted with the real situation here. It is a sincere and earnest desire to improve the relations between Japan and China.

In the face of the things which have recently occurred, this bland statement needs some explanation. The Saito and Okada governments' policy towards China was and is what the foreign Minister, Mr. Hirota, chooses to make it, because neither the former premier nor the present one, Revert the War Minister, General Yashii, professes to be acquainted with Chinese affairs. This policy is earnest desire to improve relations with China. It has always been, continues to remain, the basic principle underlying the policy of Hirota, indications to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is a sad fact that this man, who is one of the few influential Japanese,

is striving heart and soul to

renew Sino-Japanese friendship, has

been singularly unfortunate in the

things which have transpired since his office. Nothing like the re-

lationship which has marked his efforts

to improve Japan's relations with

China, he has crowned his Chinese endeav-

ours with the remarkable thing is

the public, which made it almost

impossible to criticize ex-Premier Saito

for his do-nothing policy, has let

not a peep against Mr. Hirota

who has been in office practically a

year, and whose record in this time

has been comparatively bare of solid

accomplishments. Even the press,

which in Japan is ever-critical of

officials, is solidly behind Mr.

Hirota. He is, therefore, in a way,

a remarkable man.

W. O. Daily News

10 AUG 1934

anything else, that Gen. Chiang Kai-shek was able to squelch the revolutionary movement.

When, as in the case of the pronouncement of Japanese policy towards China, made by the foreign office spokesman, a hornet's nest was stirred before he could do anything about it, he displayed a spark of brilliance in soothing the frayed nerves of the foreign nations. It should be added, of course, that, strange as it may seem, the so-called Amato statement almost perfectly reflects Hirota's views on China. But the manner in which the foreign nations have interpreted it is not the spirit underlying his policy.

The remark of Mr. Akira Ariyoshi, the Japanese Minister to China, that a diplomat should appear like a duck—calm and composed above the surface, but with its legs working rapidly beneath it—which, by a sad coincidence, was made just before the Kuramoto kidnapping case, caused a good many people to be deceived regarding the Japanese Government's policy and to put two and two together.

The truth, however, is that despite the unfortunate and unexpected turn events have taken, two men more ardently seeking to improve Japan's relations with China as Hirota and Ariyoshi would be difficult to find in this country.

Indispensable

In other matters Hirota has been more fortunate. An expert on Russian and Chinese affairs, he has been indispensable to ex-Premier Saito and to Premier Okada, both of whom are naval experts. This, in turn, has been a decided advantage to Hirota for, with the arms conference nearing, naval matters have begun to assume major importance. More and more people are beginning to feel that the combination of Hirota and Okada is an ideal one.

This much, however, must be added. While Hirota formulates the government's attitude towards China, it does not necessarily stand that the army will abide by his policy. It so happens that in Chinese matters the army always has its own policy and this may or may not coincide

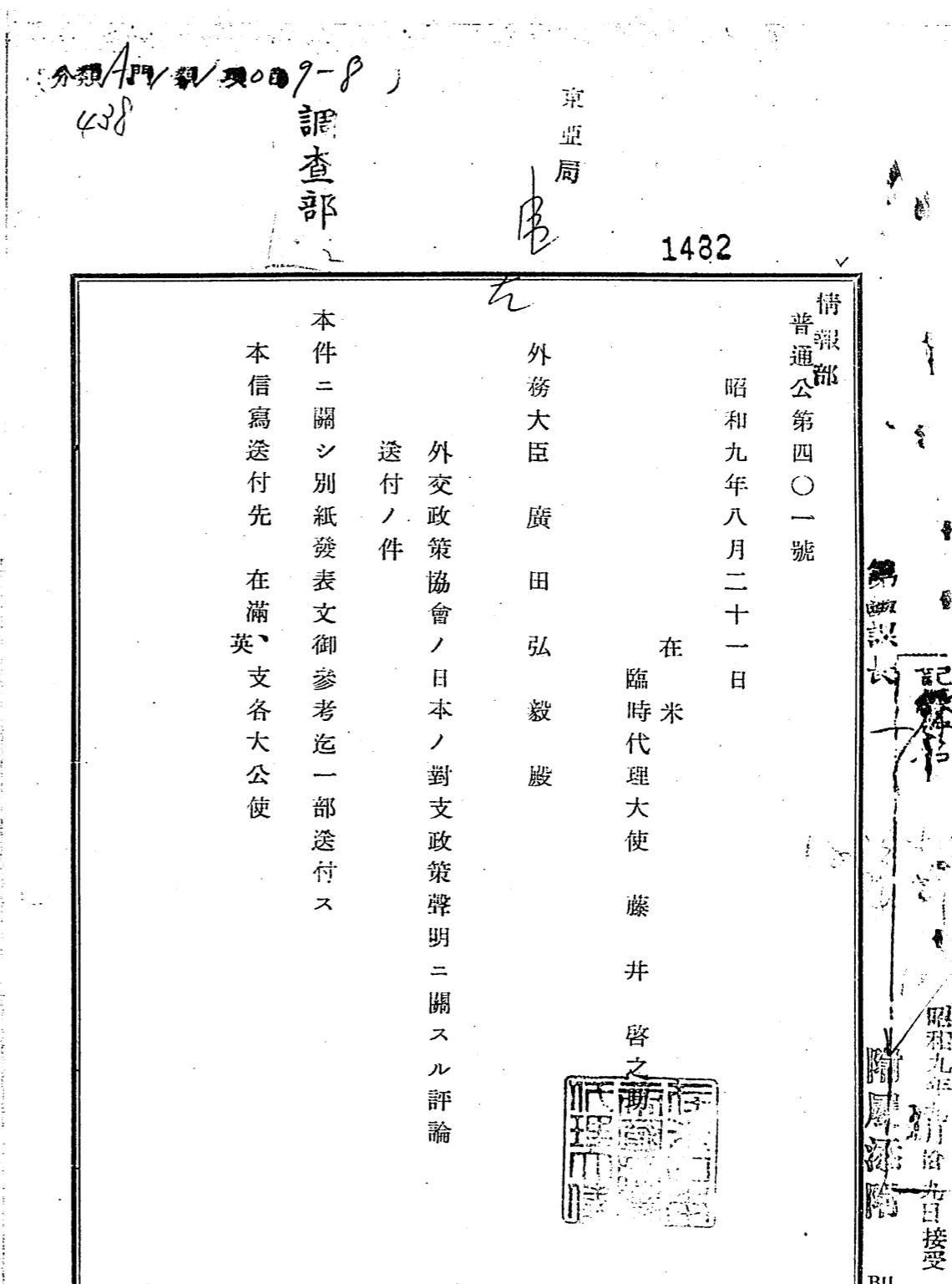
with that of the foreign office. At present it appears that the military policy is much milder than it has been during the past few years, but the wholehearted trust which the foreign office, outwardly at least, reposes in Gen. Chiang Kai-shek and other Chinese leaders, is not shared by the army. Never trust a Chinese, especially if his name happens to be Chiang Kai-shek, is the army's advice.

The press, which has preferred always solidly to back the army's stand towards China, has recently, to its everlasting regret, suffered a severe setback. This was due to the Kuramoto incident. Almost without exception, the newspapers clamoured for ultimatums and action. Even the army men must have been surprised.

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Foreign Policy Association
1359 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

For Release in Friday Morning
Papers, August 17, 1934

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FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN DECLARES JAPAN'S "HANDS OFF CHINA"
POLICY STRENGTHENED BY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Since its famous "hands off China" statement, which created a diplomatic sensation several months ago, Japan has further strengthened its dominant position in the Far East by forcing a series of notable concessions from the Nanking government of Chang Kai-shek, according to a Foreign Policy Association Bulletin published today.

The Bulletin, written by T. A. Bisson, Far Eastern expert of the Association's research staff, declares that Japan's dominance in the North China area has been fortified by the restoration of through rail traffic between Peiping and Mukden on July first and by the tariff reductions on Japanese goods made effective last month.

"For nearly two years," Mr. Bisson declares, "a large section of the Chinese public had steadily opposed the negotiation of an agreement for through railway traffic between Peiping and Mukden, on the ground that it implied tacit recognition of "Manchoukuo". In a transparent effort to sidetrack this opposition, the Nanking government organized a private company to take charge of the management of the Chinese section of the railway, instead of entrusting it to the Ministry of Railways. No such fiction could disguise the outright surrender of Chinese interests in the case of the revised import tariff promulgated by the Nanking authorities in July. Taken as a whole, the new schedules represent a general upward revision of the Chinese tariff. Reductions, where they occur, are practically without exception on goods in which Japan is heavily interested, such as cotton textiles, sea foods, sugar, and various chemicals. On the other hand, European countries and the United States face sharp in-

creases on machinery, gasoline, kerosene, radios, and many other products. Certain changes in the new tariff, such as lower duties on canned sea foods from Japan, matched by higher rates on salt fish imported from the United States, seem designedly provocative.

"The leading Chinese industrial interests are waging an open fight on the new tariff provisions. In order to counteract the growing strength of the opposition to the 'pro-Japanese tariff policy' Chiang Kai-shek has clamped down a rigid censorship on local newspapers and periodicals, and on news cables abroad. Despite this ban, a flood of protests continues to reach Nanking by post and telegraph, and a recrudescence of Canton's political opposition to Nanking is expected to develop over the issue."

Referring to the recent campaign against the Chinese Communists Mr. Bisson says:

"The recent military successes of the Chinese Communists, as well as the relative lack of factional opposition in the Kuomintang during the spring, apparently proved decisive in stimulating Chiang Kai-shek's approach to Japan. Early in June, the Nanking forces suffered one of their most catastrophic defeats in the five-year struggle against the Communists, involving reported losses of 19,600 men by several of the crack Kuomintang divisions. Since is vitally concerned in the suppression of the Chinese Communist movement, the Nanking-Tokyo entente probably comprises a substantial measure of Japanese support to Chiang's anti-Communist operation. So long as the Communist movement menaces Nanking's stability, Japan's China flank would not be thoroughly safe in the event of a Soviet-Japanese war. Under such circumstances, indeed, the pressure of patriotic sentiment would tend to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking régime in favor of the Communists. For this reason, the crushing of the Chinese Soviet movement constitutes the prerequisite of a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union. If this objective can be achieved and Chiang's Japanese ties further strengthened, Japan will be able to proceed with its 'hands off' policy, involving the elimination of Western as well as Soviet influence in the Far East."

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天祖神社
は庭上の一株高社から供
え
一株せりもりてちりす
まほ祭りと傳へ
事
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御子神後吉

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東亞の再吟味を提倡す も、セイカク

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日本は世界の雄邦である。日本は東亞の指導者である。此三つが事實に對して否ともひ得る何人かの世界に居るのであらう。實にそれは世界の舞台に於ける嚴かな事実である。故に此の事實は二つにして其の實一つをもまた何故かと云へば日本は東亞をよく指導して東洋の平和を維持する二つによつてのみ世界の平和に貢献し得る。云ひ換へれば世界の雄邦としての日本の世界への貢献は東亞の指導者たる日本の地位と實にする二つを離れて存在し得ない。是である。今後は此の兩者に實行上の矛盾を付くるまゝは固より東亞の指導者たる使命が先に立たねばならぬ。其の後今少く完全に東亞が得られ、是にて世界平和への貢献が必然的に結果これを二つ、なるからである。然うば東亞の指導者である日本は東亞指導の指針を何處に向けて定めるべス。であるかと云へば、支那大陸である。二つに何等の不思議も莫大り得ま。

茲れ於て吾人は其の指針を確りと定め着するに當つて、東

亞に於ける日支兩國の現下の環境なり地位に就て一應考案を新たにして見る必要を認めた。何故かと云ふへば過去に於ける日支兩國と現在に於ける日支兩國は其の國際的相圖關係に於て著しく變化して來てゐることを看取せざるを得ぬからである。何をか變化と云ふ、過古に於ける日支兩國は何れかと云へば東亞の局面に対立した兩國であつたと云ふ歴史を経てゐる。之は何としても否認することができ、今、更上り事實である。併し又之を一方から見ると其の時々は必ず近時と至るからは世界の舞台は太陽の黒雲の爲ひもあからうが運軸を余儀なくして來る、かのベンチム程度対立でなくても時勢がそれを持てたがゆえの事、然るに近時と至るからは世界の舞台は太陽の黒雲の爲ひもあからうが運軸を余儀なくして來る、かのベンチム以来政治の天地は永く間隔を利かせて來る功利的自由主義經濟機構と云ふものが行結りを來たした。而してそれが形影相伴して發達して来た政黨政治をもつは其の終末を告げると、然りやれば本來の存在價值を清算する程の変革を加へるに至りやれば此の後では立ち行かず、と云ふ運命に見舞はれた。

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そして之に次々と拾頭して来るを見計、亞經濟とか統制、經濟の名によつて呼ばれてゐる。所謂アーヴィング經濟がある。同時に一方政治復辟は於ても從來の如き敗心に反する議会政治では専門の集肩の急は枝は木を、と云ふので近來流行りテクターが次から次へと改不諸國を訪れた、スチーリン・ムンター、ヒトラーは半ばに及ばずマーテルトアマーリン・エーツエルク等も政黨政治の殘星に居り、事実は独裁の權幕を揮ひ、尤も尤も人種國家がスチーリンの血を吸つた、そして生れ以て榮き上げた所謂白人文明狼狽したいた事には他にも重大な理由がある、過去幾百年間白魯人種は有りゆく手段を以て十二億の有色人種の購買力が枯竭され、華僑暴徒暴生して来て、そして折しもあれ有魯民族中カシ大和民族と云ふ種族を優秀な民族が起つて来て低廉にして精巧なる日本貨は餘り水、低きに就く如く世界の各地に流れた。

又

（と様で初め、此處に更國の新たな子孫が萌えて斯橋を世界の大勢と云ふか、変調と呼ぶか、どうして大動が陰から太刀の挺りぬけ押し寄せて来たのである、日本は日本独特の政黨經濟機構のある等とは云へ一大不レーンを感じずにはゐられない、是れ經濟的構造張り統制經濟が序曲の政治的には政黨解消論とか政黨合同論が眞面目に論議され非常的な強力内閣が待望され、ある誤であつて不知不識の間に世界の挺り立つてゐる。

斯うした大勢は又決して支那をも見舞はずには置かなかつた、そこには今又蒋介石將軍の独裁的傾向が故意か偶然か同一と強化され、ある、經濟的には専門独立し得る、支那である、此の世界的刺戟から免れてゐる、一種の反撥力が内在的に動き、ある、近時有識者が一部の摩羅最卑や満洲をノ排日をつとめて空騒ぎをしてゐるべき時である、自力更生による建堂をと云つてゐる、

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外國下頬人で見ても時が暮かず拂日を行て見ても自人本
若土もなけをとつ道理分明勝れ立つたるし、藉多きも
新生活運動と本返躬自省、運動を提倡して大に東洋
天寶安寧剛健の氣風を鼓吹して居らる。又近頃國運政府
は孔子誕生日を國定記念日として復活した、斯く如キは正
に多とては慶事のみとの更機の事り、東洋への復興を自覺
しつある一詔と云へや。

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前述アマラ不意界ハ既リの東洋、イ影響は得トシ考へ
見水は實在東亞ハ福音ト有リ。今之日支兩國自斯
レ天紫道の下にこそ過去の已を大に感情を清算し大
局に着眼して兩國提携の正道に向て努力し得る契機を得
握し得リセド高リ。今又實在世界の大勢は日支兩國に向て
工不フメトシノ的福音と課題とを諒して其の是處
顧水は實に今日經日支兩國の共存する日水兩國の爲め深
刻而え痛切に要求されテ是處には未だ嘗てより得不
矣、世界の大勢は今後日支兩國を東亞にて一つの經濟の島ヲ
圈内に包含せし之下に向けて有リ。併し水は日本人が好
んで樂し向けるのでは無、今寧ろ彼等は日支兩國の永久的
人で樂し向けるのでは無、今寧ろ彼等は日支兩國の永久的

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离間を望むて止まぬのである。只知何人先に復辟が自己乃
至人文文明の繁榮を今後も維持せんとする當面の急務の討
罪の為乍日本と支那とを配て其の好むと好まざる上に
論至一のプロノ經濟の範圍内に於、之も結果を招
來しつちるの故に日支兩國は此の大勢を順じて相互に
提携に進むる。然れど、是水は直に兩國の共存と世界を離
らすことをなり、之を遂に取て相互反目離開せば、是水を
攻采人の手に来るとは水もかく支那、兩國の損失は立
じ来り東亞は遂に向人文明の重壓から解脫不得、此
と不るで女う。

斯く觀じ来る特は最早議論は明白である、日支兩國
は此の新勢を吉界の大勢の前に退去に於ける一切を清
算し、計たるる兩國の提携に踏み出すことを以外に機会
繁榮とを齋すへき必然の結果を約束する神罰である、
此の道程は敏感なる支那の有識階級の風化看取して居
る處に相違なく二点を認める、然るにこれ尚躊躇しなけ
れば至る所何等の理由を見出すとしたならば、是水は今更に

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現在の事實、現在の環境、現在の情勢に就いて明察を文
如也るの跡を覺れず、私は圓明による支那の指導階級
に對して衷心から眞面目に本多の首脳を切望し生まよ、
見よ日本は東亞全局の主と雖然、遂に更不進人では
有難民族解放の爲めに、書テベルナツニ於て人種差別
待遇撤去度案を強調したではな、か、其立張は當時こそ
成功しなかつたりれども、日本は其の事實を今猶生か
?其の事は至多、理屈で通らば事實で
見ゆるより外に途げない、今や日本産業の發達に著
少數而魯人種が多數、有魯人種を食いものにして其
罪科がシロ魯人は齊度と水々争ひて居る所、有魯民族
解放の為先づ第一手を携へよりれば、ようやく國往
來要す於ける日支兩國を除いて果して何國か何處か在在
してゐるか、而して兩國の侵襲一度成りば遂に間邇の全
部を解決し得まつたらう)

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其の後は放任する族は行かず、之を理解して見ゆ
う實行進て見ゆ」と云ふ點と誠實が日本、南洋諸
方面と方法とによそ試みるやきであることを主張して、
固より親善と云ひ其存と云ふことは相手本位では無事
話ではあるが、併し日本が指導者として多く二三事
實である以上、正に指導すべき事である。うちとて五人ほどの事
へる、指導と云ふとは読んで字の如く指し示して教
へておも、高座でもより本ほ勿論征服でもな、
支那方より何等疑懼の念を懷く必要は至つてある、
ことであつても、事が果してどうと決つかうれどもその内
濟度未承らず、筆舌交應拳ではどうするにも出来
ないを、と云て痛々と其の理屈を並べて仁が相澤山
及し来る、事が果してどうと決つかうれどもその内
至極簡單で、対策として後で云ふ事のは一番簡單にして
有効不外れの外になつて合意であります、

雲が斯く簡單に片付けて居らず、相澤山の仁の内は、
支那及支那人を云ふ事は對して計謂半可通でぬうして
仁も亦相澤山至つたから、簡單をして片付ケラル

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まことにものなる、角を直す事半可通程危険な事は無く、研究と体験は信念の基礎である、其の研究が深遠とあり其の体験が血肉にじめやうにもかゝらず初歩的尊敬を傾聴すべき信念が生れる事、信念に根據せらる何事が個人として又國家として大いに遂げ得られべからず、而も私的調査所の事可通とは、確乎たる信念を失して却て功名を思ひ立つ急至る仁であら、孫子に詣たり善戦者之勝也、無智者に無勇功と該はれべからず、相場智識の自信を失して相場道樂を以る次第不運當に幅を利かずとおもて是れ人を就て見るに國家に就て云々も危険此の上等にてある、茲で詩を本筋に引き立てる備へ、今亦只信念を得るを了る研究と体験は今更私的調査をする迄もより昔から必要に決してゐることである、でありますから其の方は暫く置きとして、私的調査は今改めて日支兩國人望を計は、本文の題目に掲げて置いたるより再吟味再認識と云ふ三字を出で以上申述べて是を數項見対は此り一句を提起するを了る基礎工事を心得ておったのであります

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東洋文化と云ふものは西洋文化よりも深遠を、東洋文化は精神的で西洋は物質的をと嘆者先生運から歴久に開かれた二事であら、然るに此の東洋文明の創始者である漢民族と或意味での之が保存者である大和民族とか、何故而特迄西洋文化の後塵を拝し西洋文明に醉惑され、その陶酔から脱却し得る、ことであるのである、支那三競て云ば何將立焉、西洋人の政治顧問から政治之外文を教はたり余り多くは西洋人の軍事教官なり軍事文戰術を教はるゝ、肩為の青年子弟が今多くは數多在ミツニヨンスクールに學んで、東洋へこども馬鹿が支那自國の事情にすり言はずしも水は支那自体が東洋文化のクリエーターたる祖先を辱めしもつて、日本語で余る事多く、その科學文明は既て多くは西洋人を教はるゝ事も過去を有してゐる、當て成人なり日本の大學生は日本語で西洋學を教へる慶をとの酷評を聞かざるを云がる事ある事とは思ひかね何事にしても、日本の支那人も現行時代は

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 読 東洋思想 東洋道德の根源を教へらるて庶民文獻に於
 洋 ことが東洋思想の東洋道德で教へらるては
 カ、斯うして見を特徴は實に情り全、歴史を作爲して
 て、其の後然たりともを得全、もとを立る、そこには展開した
 歴史はその日支兩國外交關係に因する見うたけを見ても、
 一は西洋人が西洋思想で作った外交の後塵を拝しをもつ
 て、他は西洋人顧問かり教はれた外交戦術を、相變じ相當て
 みる所を、ヨウガがありて否て
 变り見よ我が大和民族は歴史上尚武の氣性と道義の觀念
 に生きつゝある特徴を有つた民族である、端的にはば之
 が我が民族精神であり、武道であり、大和魂であるが、
 我家の佩ふる所の剣は常に磨き澄まされてゐる、てせり
 小ども道をさへ處では抜きを許さぬまい、正に立毛國を安
 ずると云ふことは元寇の役以前鎌倉の像傳曰達によれば
 正安國論が御子吼された今之我國を難處を聲を開くことを
 い而してそこにはジャズの音頭が津々浦々に流行し未だ立
 一の立正安國論を聞かざるは何であらかれを力が出来
 たり他國を侵襲するがと云ふやうな觀念は日本には固

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 から眞怒時代の進歩から蟬脱して自覺して今日我を見
 て、おぼほ至る處へ、西洋の化學文明が如きもシヤブツで見
 たばもう骨はすりを、それよりも著しきした東洋文
 化の方へ遙に芳潤にして、深遠津々たるものがある。不思ひを
 は判然と今以上と想ふ
 東洋思想 東洋道德の根源を教へらるて庶民文獻に於
 が神乎がらの道、支那に於ける經書、印度に於ける經文、於
 英米等にては東洋人は又理解して心得る事通の原理
 が存在する。私は漢語にて多くを法す漢學が幸甚、然るに我が教説
 育初語は威嚴德を一にすと宣はせられても、ることは書經
 威嚴一德、條下に同一文章と意深が見出で小るめて好ま
 斯の如きは不シ、一例に過ぎないにも可なり、世人至る
 致意でなく、比故に東洋のことは東洋の思想 東洋の道德を
 行くと、言ひて至りれば、東洋人、東洋上士の稀ノ至
 こと多く、方回唱へて見ても遂に空念佛終るとは、陰陽有體と
 信念根柢とする日支親善と同じ結果を招くであらむ。
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うう、最近有為の一法官が日本から支那へ旅行して来る
うちれど、私は此の法官に對して少からず疑惑を抱いて
ゐる。殊に士気の日本人は日本を寧ろ中国と宣ふ事例を
示してくれたことは對して感謝しておもむろに之を茲に書か
して置きます。

その法官の語は依然ば、支那人の層から質問を受けて、
それが支那で日本人が殺された時は多額の賠償金を取られ
たが、支那人が日本で殺された時に之を何、法官は
之に對して日本は支那の被害者が日本を加害者に
対して損害賠償の訴訟を提起すれば、其の訴訟の勝
敗に依て賠償金が決定するであらうと一應法的解説
答を與へた後、併し一途支那は過去に於て日本人の被害
者に對して多額の賠償金を支拂つた実例を作つてゐる、
それがよろしくよくと附り加えて語つたのである。之に
就て私は一言の意見を申述べた、それは大体二つである。
である西洋人は斯う大いに日本人を斯う大いと云ふ
觀念が間違つてゐる、日支關係は特殊關係であり同一
文化系統内に生存してゐる兩民族である、理屈が存

より、仁義礼節を王道にも見出されぬ、東洋の思想
は隣人を愛せず自り見樂しむことをすすめ隣人を利用
つゝ自らを樂しみ能はぬことを、慶が之を西洋に見ると
大に否りがるものがある、欧洲の人天地に廣闊と無縫遂へ
革命をあり得るが故に斯くすと屬する、假令日本が東洋
の天地では不ふさむとしても、私は民族精神を流水で居る
の道義の觀念に立脚して彼等に應付すべきではあるが、
況やそれが東亞の天地の二とどまつて見れば尚更西洋に
學びへきて、甚しきは独立と佛蘭西との不和を以て、
相隣れる強國の接壤から来る必然の結果なりと断じ、
東洋思想を漫却して直に之を以て日支兩國相隣接する
立場令に適用し、日支兩國は必然的に不和となりと到ばず
る人々の有るときは、高遠奉公の東洋思想が見れば、
東洋人の恥ぢりしき近代的標本と見ゆるかもしかまつた、
茲に私は最近當面して一二のエピソードを語るやうだ。

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ま、慶は何にも西洋人を相手とする必要はない、東洋の事
は東洋の方へ方からと云ふ点發点は立たねばならぬ、う
では、いか、マニエムへば近頃突如として起り勿心熱として
解消されたり事件の場合でも、何となく三十一年
前駆邊が青島を租借して筆達を今日に行なつたと云
る如く今人達は誰無ではない、セレヒ感心した、
併し問題が大き直すより全う強、弱は問ふ所では
只強く行くより東洋式に強く其れ、それには更復
り弱強食的交渉迫成締約ではなく、飽く迄も道
義を権は、而も相手が道義を擧げず不誠意を示す事
実特、該じ始めて直角發放し得る海軍なり陸軍の事は
かつて重压を送るがよ、道義は立脚せき力は暴力
たる説を列國に對して自ら宣傳するに寄り、私は豫
てから現在を以て退去に於ける日或對支外交の清算期不
と考へて多く書かれてある、近頃支那の人の言ふことに大事
を化して小争となし小争を化して無事と云うと、之は
ちと支那へ得失勝手かも知れぬ、又物によて何時も
か見さうばかりは行かないであらう、が併し一面の道理

ではある、之を反対に無事を化してト事となし小事を
化して大事とせず、云々道理にスミテスミテスミテスミテ
事は幾度々に相違らず、そして斯うして遣方は一時
は儲かるやうに見えて、清算すれば大馬に於て赤字
で立くなげ幸多々云々

遠莫、吾人は東洋人の東洋としても具に退去の経路を
振り返り、就うち現在の環境を察し、徐ろに東洋より
前金を觀する時、日支兩國は今後退去に於ける一切を
清算し、新たにして而して希望の無い方の立場を
改めて本道すへきてあると云ふ心得が、卒然として心頭か
う湧き起つて来るかを禁じ得ない、私は今茲
に室内で四度の艦艇下に筆を執て読者諸君に對し
て東洋再認識吟味の方法と材料とを擧げるだけの余
裕を持ちゆことを遺憾とするが、其之を提倡するに於
て大方の注意を喚起し得れば今は是と至る所
である。

重而云ふ日本支兩國の退去を顧れば、そこには陰毛之人
がチヨッキの下タクの最初の一つを擱り遣へたが爲め、後方

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四つが順々に一段充樹、ケ達ひと不^レ、遂に一切を解消
して最初から掛り直さなければならぬ、と同時に
不^レ悲心哀を見去さずにはならぬよ、静かに而して
冷かに觀すれば非は必ずしも相手方一方ゆゑに有るの
ではなかつた、世界の大勢も今日如何緊迫してゐ
なかつた、つまり天婦喧嘩之兄弟喧嘩余地が残さ
水^レみ^レた、併し今更其の余地はなく全^レた、相互に
洋觀念に迷う、相互に反覆すへき處は反覆して
相互に相手の觀念を深め^レテ今遣方は慎^レ見う、
相互は正當に物を見正當に物を判断する機能を神
かり與へられてゐる、何を好んで幻影を描出して數々
錯覺を作爲して観念たる要素があらう、相互は不^レ
相続、^レ誤判斷、錯覺や懷疑に基づいて作り出され
相互の對策は邊に兩國を毒されば幸ひであるのみ

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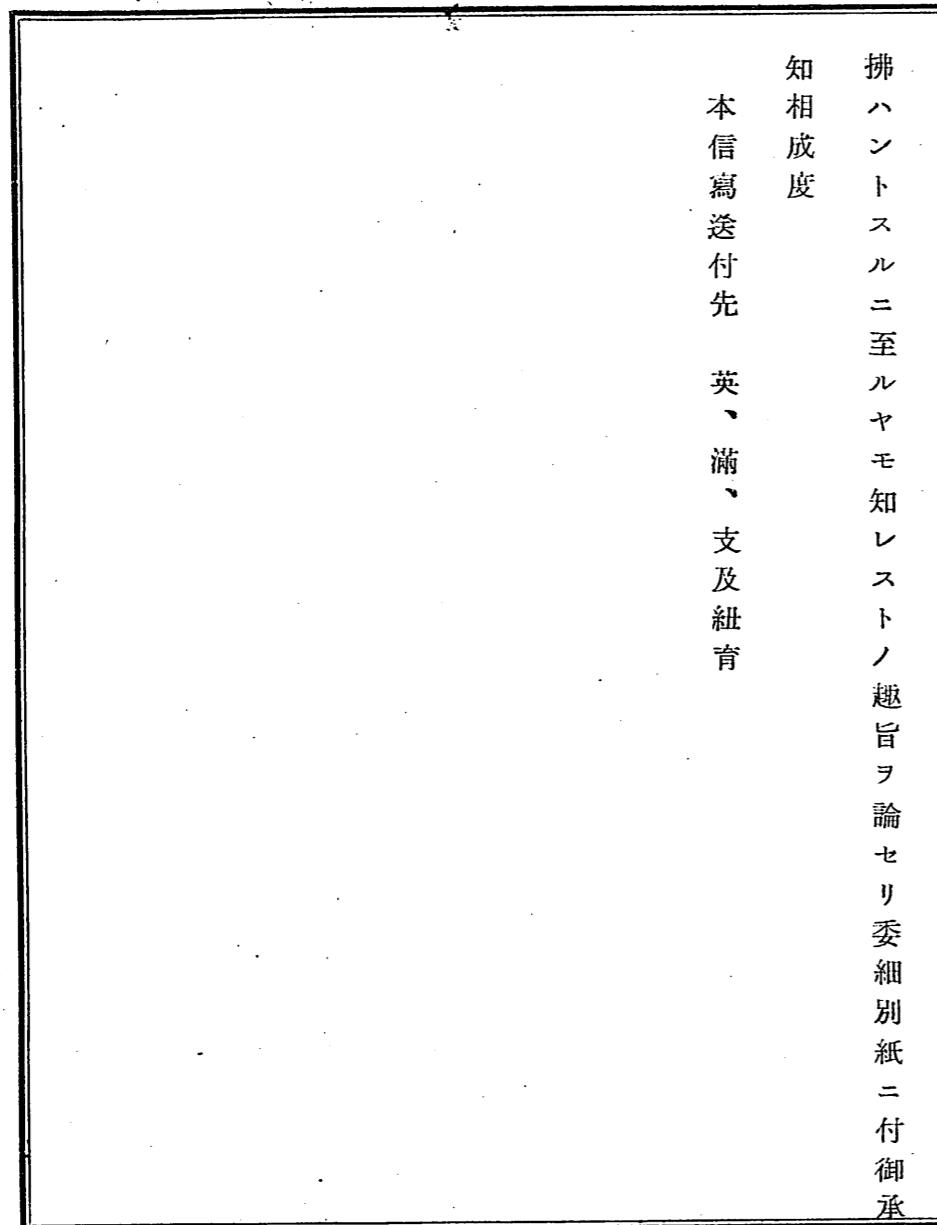
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知相成度

本信寫送付先 英、滿、支及紐育

拂ハントスルニ至ルヤモ知レストノ趣旨ヲ論セリ委細別紙ニ付御承

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東亞局

昭和九年八月三十日

情報部普通公第四一八號

在米臨時代理大使 藤井啓之助



第一課長

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外務大臣 廣田弘毅 殿

日支接近ニ關スル論評報告ノ件

本件ニ關シ外交政策協會「ブレティン」ハ別紙第一號ノ通「ビソン」ノ日支接近ニ關スル報道ヲ掲ケタル處右ニ付八月十八日紐育「ヘルド、トリビューン」ハ別紙第二號ノ通論說ヲ掲ケ日支問題ニ關スル列國ノ支那援助ノ失敗ハ遂ニ滿支通車通郵等ヲ實現スルニ至カルカスル状勢ニシテ持続センカ支那ハ結局日本ヲ利用シテ外國人ヲ追

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SATURDAY AUG 18 1934

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Is China Stooping to Conquer?

The collapse of the Russo-Japanese negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, followed immediately, as it was, by fresh expressions of a mutual lack of esteem, may awaken interest in the recent changes in Japan's relations with China. They deserve something better than the complete silence that has shrouded them, for since Japan's announcement in April of her assumption of rights in China that would reduce that country to the status of a protectorate, China's official attitude toward Japan has been widely construed as favorable to this relationship. But a Chinese resignation to Japanese dictation would in turn have to be interpreted as a concurrence by China in a "white hands-off-Asia" movement, hostile not only to the imperial interests of the European powers in the Orient but to American treaty rights in China itself.

Needless to say, China has not publicly acknowledged Japan's hegemony. She has not even given formal recognition to Manchukuo. Vicious Chinese patriots have denounced the resumption of through rail traffic between Manchuria and North China as tantamount to recognition. But, if so, it is indirect, for the Nanjing régime assumes no control over these communications. It simply permits their resumption by a private corporation. A much more significant surrender to Japanese pressure is the discrimination in favor of Japanese imports, including the important item of textiles, and the consequent discrimination against China's own textile industries, which was made in the tariff schedules published in July. Mr. T. A. Bisson, in one of the Foreign Policy Association's recent bulletins, rightly assumes that such favors to Japan, in the face of furious native criticism, are so significant that "they mark the emergence of a Sino-Japanese rapprochement."

Noisy as the opposition to such a policy may be in China, it is one to which the Chinese have often been reconciled and for which General Chiang Kai-shek can probably get popular endorsement if he and his government can weather the first psychic upheaval against it. From a time antedating the Christian era China has nearly always been either reluctant or too weak to defend her own integrity and inde-

pence. She has depended instead upon bribing one predatory neighbor to hold off or oust the others until the opportunity offered to play still another enemy against her too expensive or too exacting or too inefficient champion. The failure of the League and of the United States to defend China against Japan has convinced every Chinese capable of giving the question a thought that as a champion the Occident as a whole has failed China shamefully and should by rights forfeit whatever favors it has hitherto enjoyed in that country. The persistence of a Red republic in the rich heart of China makes Soviet Russia appear a dangerously expensive champion.

So—the government may in due course ask the Chinese people—why shouldn't China make a virtue of necessity, stoop to conquer as she has done a thousand times, and "use" Japan to clear the Middle Kingdom of the always obnoxious and now useless Occidentals, their rights and their establishments? To this the popular response is not at all unlikely to be: "Why not, indeed?"

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boycott. That the boycott was still voluntarily maintained, to some extent at least, was indicated by the declining sales of Japanese goods in China— from 304 million yen in 1928 to 143 million in 1931, 129 million in 1932, and only 108 million in 1933. Other factors, however, influenced this decline, including not only the world depression, but also the introduction of a Chinese tariff and the growth of local Chinese industry. These latter handicaps to Japanese trade have now been dealt with effectively by Nanking. The changes in the tariff rates affecting cotton textiles are indicative. Thirty-four revisions were made on various classes of imported cotton piece-goods. In every case the revision was downward. On the other hand, the import duty on raw cotton -- vital to the development of the Chinese textile industry -- was increased by nearly 50 per cent.

The leading Chinese industrial interests are waging an open fight on the new tariff provisions. In order to counteract the growing strength of the opposition to the "pro-Japanese tariff policy," Chiang Kai-shek has clamped down a rigid censorship on local newspapers and periodicals, and on news cables abroad. Despite this ban, a flood of protests continues to reach Nanking by post and telegraph, and a recrudescence of Canton's political opposition to Nanking, is expected to develop over the issue.

The recent military successes of the Chinese Communists, as well as the relative absence of factional opposition in the Kuomintang during the spring, apparently proved decisive in stimulating Chiang Kai-shek's approach to Japan. Early in June, the Nanking forces suffered one of their most catastrophic defeats in the five-year struggle against the Communists, involving reported losses of 19,600 men by several of the crack Kuomintang divisions. Since Japan is vitally concerned in the suppression of the Chinese Communist movement, the Nanking-Tokyo entente probably comprises a substantial measure of Japanese support to Chiang's anti-Communist operations. So long as the Communist movement menaces Nanking's stability, Japan's China flank can never be thoroughly safe in the event of a Soviet-Japanese war. Under such circumstances, indeed, the pressure of patriotic sentiment would tend to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking régime in favor of the Communists. For this reason, the crushing of the Chinese Soviet movement constitutes the prerequisite of a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union. If this objective can be achieved and Chiang's Japanese ties

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further strengthened, Japan will be able to proceed with its "hands off China" policy, involving the elimination of Western as well as Soviet influence in the Far East.

T. A. BISSON

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アジア歴史資料センター

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN
August 17, 1934

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NANKING'S RAPPROCHEMENT WITH JAPAN

During the months that have intervened since the "hands off China" statement in April, Japan has won a series of notable concessions from the Nanking government. The restoration of through Peiping-Mukden rail traffic on July 1 set the seal on Japan's dominance in the north China area.* The tariff reductions on Japanese goods, made effective on July 3, were even more indicative of Chiang Kai-shek's pro-Japanese orientation. They mark the emergence of a Sino-Japanese rapprochement, which seems destined to play an increasingly significant role in Far Eastern developments.

For nearly two years a large section of the Chinese public had steadily opposed the negotiation of an agreement for through railway traffic between Peiping and Mukden, on the ground that it implied tacit recognition of "Manchoukuo." In a transparent effort to sidetrack this opposition, the Nanking government organized a private company to take charge of the management of the Chinese section of the railway, instead of entrusting it to the Ministry of Railways. No such fiction could disguise the outright surrender of Chinese interests in the case of the revised import tariff promulgated by the Nanking authorities in July. Taken as a whole, the new schedules represent a general upward revision of the Chinese tariff. Reductions, where they occur, are practically without exception on goods in which Japan is heavily interested, such as cotton textiles, sea foods, sugar, and various chemicals. On the other hand, European countries and the United States face sharp increases on machinery, gasoline, kerosene, radios, and many other products. Certain changes in the new tariff, such as lower duties on canned sea foods from Japan matched by higher rates on salt fish imported from the United States, seem designedly provocative.

The new tariff severely cripples the development of Chinese industry while providing corresponding benefits to Japanese commercial interests. Since the Tangku Truce of May 31, 1933, Chiang Kai-shek has vigorously suppressed all public efforts to foster the anti-Japanese

*"Japan Presses its China Policy," Foreign Policy Bulletin, July 6, 1934.

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