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当云ニ於テモ種々ノ論評アリタルニ、昨二十日(午後)夜
 本使の務長及ト全見ノ際日米了解成立ノハ兩國ノ
 貿易振興ノ為ニ実業界方面ニ説得スルガノ語ニ
 アリ東亞経済ブロックノ育成トモニ各方面ヘノ発
 展ヲモ考慮スルノ要アルニ、**我**國トシテハ其ノ政策ニハ強
 ク不同意ヲ表スルガ要ナク、寧ろ口セテ支持スルヲ有利
 ト思ふ事ス

館長符號電信

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大臣 野村
 次官 松岡
 要利和長
 継南敬長
 人事課長
 (總13823)

電信課長

昭和十五年五月二十一日
 五月二十一日
 日前後本 省著
 日前後本 省著
 野村大使
 松岡 外務大臣
 外機密 館長符號
 第三三〇號
 一、ハワードトヨリハルノ戦後経済策ニ關係シ閣下ノ
 ステートメントヲ所望シテ爾趣及右経済政策ハ米
 ノ従来取リ来ル實際ト大懸隔アリ日本ニ於テモ將又

館長符號電信

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					第一歩ヲ作り得ルハ西ニ平和ニ貢献シ得ルモノナリ ヲ洩ラセリ 右ハ参考迄 (了)
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吾等長友モテ解成ミシ太平洋ニ平和維持ノ 思ヘテス。		論ノ底流アルヨリ是レタリ盛ニ戒ヲ要スルモノト 思ヘテス。	友人、オラフリンニモ来訪ノ際ヨリ知ラサルガ平和 院議等此戦論者ノ教ノ支持アリ、其ヲ リ、吾子ニヒテモ「ハリスト」系ノ新報又 ^{「ホヤ」} カキ ^{ラシ} 上 院議等此戦論者ノ教ノ支持アリ、其ヲ	リ、吾子ニヒテモ「ハリスト」系ノ新報又 ^{「ホヤ」} カキ ^{ラシ} 上	院議等此戦論者ノ教ノ支持アリ、其ヲ
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を制するを要すと説きたるか米國としては日本は勿論獨逸とも好んで紛争を望むものにあらずと述べたり(十三日着電)

二、同十二日夜(東京十三日)野村大使は更にハル長官と我方修正案に付き談合せるか同長官は日本の南進問題に關する我修正(米側原案に「日本の南西太平洋方面に於ける發展は武力に訴ふることなく平和的手段に依るものなること」の保障せられたるに「鑑み」云々とありたるを「、、、發展は平和的手段に依るものなること」の闡明せられたるに「鑑み」と修正したり)に關し最早保障せらるる所幾許もなしと私語するか如く述べたるを以て野村大使は右は國際情勢不測の變化に備ふる爲にして例へば米國艦隊が新嘉坡に

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極秘

五月十一日
日米
締會
談議
の
終
了
後
の
情
況
に
關
し
の
報
告

日米了解案交渉經過要領(五月二十日迄)

一、五月十一日夜(東京十二日)野村大使よりハル長官に日本側修正案を手交し四十分に亙り友好的會談を行へる處其際同長官は野村大使の人格及大局眼に信頼し日米國交調整の爲め努力すべきか米國としても内政上の理由もあり本案審議には相當時間を要すべしと内話し我方修正中支那よりの撤兵に關し註文を述べ日本は支那專權終了せば兵力を轉用し南進するにあらずやと問ひ(野村大使は在支兵力撤退に付ては防共の爲め北支内蒙に駐兵すへきも其他の地方よりは協定に依り漸次撤兵の筈にして又南進は平和的なるか本旨なりと答へたり)更にヒトラー主義に對抗する爲には優先

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に關し事前支那及英國に對し渡りを付くる必要あるを感ずる旨を
 内話したるか談偶々米國の安全問題に及ひたる機會に野村大使上
 り米國程國防安固にして他國の侵略を受くる恐なき國は少く日本
 より見れば米國の參戰熱は不可解なりと述べたる處同長官は獨逸
 は歐洲を制覇せば必ず南米に手を延ばし其の數ヶ國は征服せらる
 へしと述べ援英は民主主義擁護の爲めにあらす米國自身の安全上
 より絶對必要なりと力説したり(十五日着電)

十九日來電に依れば會談の前途は勿論猶豫測を許し難きものある
 も話合は引續き極めて友誼的雰圍氣の中に進行中の由なり。

(二十日着電)

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廻航せらるるか如き場合にも日本か自繩自縛の結果となるを避け
 んとする趣旨なりと説明せる處同長官は米國は日本に求むる所を
 自ら行ふことなしと答へたり長官は又支那事變に關する米側原案
 と我修正案との差異(集團移民の項を除き實質上同一なり)に付
 質問したり

右に關しては十四日夜野村大使より充分説明せり

三同十三日夜野村大使に電報して日本政府か今次交渉に應じたるは
 (一)米國が參戰せざること及(二)米國が蔣政權に和平を勸告すること
 の二條件を前提とする次第をハル長官に申入るる様訓令せり

四同十四日夜野村ハル會談に於て同長官は蔣政權に對する和平勸告

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五月廿四日(廿五日) 野村大使修訂案の「ハ」の長官
 一、手文の長官の「ハ」の理由を「ハ」の長官
 ハト述フ
 二、当方接受の電信の「ハ」の長官と野村大使の「ハ」の長官
 サト述フ (二十、廿三、廿四、廿五日) 合議の「ハ」の長官
 三、野村大使の長官の「ハ」の長官の「ハ」の長官の「ハ」の長官
 四、日本は南進の「ハ」の長官の「ハ」の長官の「ハ」の長官
 五、兵力の増用を「ハ」の長官の「ハ」の長官の「ハ」の長官

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(備考)

尙書方に於ては其後我方修正案の英文を確定し米側原案中の
 entente cordiale (amicable understanding と修正) 其他問題と
 なり得る用語若干を修正せり

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五月下旬の文修経過

一、十日夜（東京十二日）野村大使修の案の「ハ」長官
 一手文に長官の改訂上、理由を以り、案議に相立時間を要す
 へト述フ

二、出方指案の電信。依「ハ」長官と野村大使、其ノ後
 サント三回（十二、十三、十四日）合議に、合意は、常ノ交
 好的ナリ長官の復電。キトシテ、以支抑ナリ撤兵
 以日本ノ南ヲ進出。ハ、其ノ日支事案終了後、日本ノ南ヲ
 ハ兵力ヲ聘用スルコトナキアテ、又我方ニ於テ、或リハ、依以南進

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(備考)

尙書方に於ては其後我方修正案の英文を確定し米側原案中の
 entente cordiale (amicable understanding と修正) 其他問題と
 なり得る用語若干を修正せり

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四原則

<p>六月二十一日米案ニ含まレタル米側主張 <small>(外務省)</small></p> <p>一、國際關係及國家ノ本質ニ關スル合衆國及日本國ノ 觀念</p> <p>日本側約諾</p> <p>其ノ國策カ恒久平和ノ樹立及兩國 協和ナルコトヲ約ス</p> <p>各國民及各民族カ正義及衡平ニ基 キ万邦協和スヘキコトヲ約ス</p> <p>平和の手續ニ依リ規律セラレ且精 神的及物質的福祉實現ノ爲各國等 シク權利ヲ享有シ、義務ヲ負フコ</p>		<p>米側約諾</p> <p>(同上)</p> <p>(同上)</p> <p>(同上)</p>
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<p>ノ意圖ナキニ保障ノ趣遊ニ爲リ多少大望ニ依リ様 ナリ</p> <p>尚右ノ他類ニ米ノ核子ノ米自自ノ米自ノ爲ニ絶對 伊勢(他逸)歐洲ヲ制覇セハ必ズ南米ニ米ヲ進メントム</p> <p>ナリトトコトヲシテ米自自ノ米自自ノ米自自ノ核子ノ 制ニキテ打ツ体要ニ見ヨクシテ居レリ</p>

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四原則

<p>六月二十一日米案ニ含まレタル米側主張</p> <p>一、國際關係及國家ノ本質ニ關スル合衆國及日本國ノ觀念</p> <p>日本側約諾</p> <p>其ノ國策カ恒久平和ノ樹立及兩國協和ナルコトヲ約ス</p> <p>各國民及各民族カ正義及衡平ニ基キ万邦協和スヘキコトヲ約ス</p> <p>平和ノ手續ニ依リ規律セラレ且精神的及物質的福祉實現ノ爲各國等シク權利ヲ享有シ、義務ヲ負フコト</p>	<p>米側約諾</p> <p>(同上)</p> <p>(同上)</p> <p>(同上)</p>
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<p>ノ意圖ナキニ保障ノ思遊ニ為リ多少失望ニ依ル様ナリ</p> <p>ナリ</p> <p>尚右ノ他類ニ米ノ核子ノ米自身ノ安全ノ為ニ絶對</p> <p>中野 (他國ノ政ヲ制覇セハ必ズ南米ニ至リテセントス)</p> <p>ナリトハトラスレモ米側ノ主權防禦ノ為ニ米自國ノ核子ヲ</p> <p>制ニキチテ必要ニ見ヨリカ設シ居リ</p>

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<p>ニ歐洲戰爭ニ對スル兩國政府ノ態度</p> <p>日本側措置</p>	<p>米側措置</p>
<p>三國條約ノ目的カ防禦的ニシテ挑其ノ歐洲戰爭ニ對スル態度ハ防護</p> <p>發ニ依ラサル歐洲戰爭ノ擴大防止ト自衛ノ考慮ニ依リテノミ決セラ</p> <p>ニ寄與セントスルモノナルコトヲルヘキコトヲ闡明ス</p> <p>闡明ス</p> <p>ト九月六日日本側提案中此ノ點ニ</p> <p>關スル日本ノ態度表明ヲ多トス</p> <p>然レ雖此ノ點ニ關シ此ノ上更ニ日</p> <p>本カ闡明セラレンコトヲ希望ス</p>	

<p>トヲ約ス</p> <p>他國ノ福祉ヲ毀損スルコトナク、</p> <p>又自己ノ福祉ヲ擁護ス</p> <p>他ノ民族ノ抑壓又ハ搾取ヲ排撃ス</p> <p>國家ノ本質ニ關スル傳統的觀念竝</p> <p>ニ社會的秩序及國家生活ノ基礎的</p> <p>道義的原則ハ之ヲ保存シ外來ノ「</p> <p>イデオロギー」ニヨリ之ヲ變改セ</p> <p>サルコト</p>	<p>(同上)</p> <p>(同上)</p> <p>(同上)</p>
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<p>三、日支間ノ和平解決ニ對スル措置</p> <p>日本側ノ措置</p> <p>基本條件ノ約諾（日本側附屬追加米國大統領ハ日支兩國政府カ戰闘行爲ノ終結及平和關係恢復ノタメ交渉ニ入ル様支那政府ニ德邁スヘキコト</p> <p>(一) 善隣友好</p> <p>(二) 共產運動ニ對スル共同防衛</p> <p>(三) 經濟的協力、但無差別待遇ノ原則</p> <p>(四) 國民固有ノ特質ニ對スル相互尊重</p> <p>(五) 出來得ル限り速カニ且日支</p>	<p>米側ノ措置</p>
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(本件ニ關シ米側ノ示唆セル公換公文)

米國カ自衛權ニ基キ余儀ナク採擇スル措置ニ關シ日本カ太平洋ノ平和保持ヲ目的トスル本協定ニ違背シ又ハ之ヲ破壞スルカ如キ措置ヲ採ルコトヲ要スル約束ヲ爲シ居ラサル旨宣明スルコト

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間協定ニ違ヒ支那領土ヨリ
日本軍隊ノ撤退

(六) 非併合

(七) 無賠償

(八) 滿洲國ニ對スル友誼的交渉
第三項(經濟的協力、但無差別待遇ノ原則)ニ關シ、米側ハ左ノ質問書ヲ提示シ、日本側ヨリ書翰ヲ以テ回答アリ度旨申出アリタリ

(九) 日支間「經濟的協力」ナル字句ハ支那カ日本ニ對シ優先的又ハ

外務省

獨占的權利ヲ與フルコトヲ意味スルヤ

日支間和平交渉開始ト同時ニ現在支那ニ在ル日本ノ特殊會社カ、日本政府ノ支持ノ故ニ、又ハ日本ノ軍事的占領ノ故ニ現ニ有スル獨占的若クハ優先的權利ヲ喪失スルモノナリヤ

(四) 日本軍ノ支那占領地域ニ於ケル第三國人ノ貿易及旅行ノ制限ニ關シテハ、何時如何ナル制限カ

外務省

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撤廢セラルルヤ

(イ) 日本ハ支那カ貿易、通貨及爲替ニ關スル事項ニ付完全ナル支配權ヲ行使スヘキコトヲ意圖スルヤ

日本ハ軍票及日本ノ支持スル支那諸政權ノ紙幣ヲ回收シ且抑制スルヤ

日本ハ前記目的ノ取極カ如何ニ速カニ實行セラレ得ヘキカラ指示セラレ得ルヤ

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(日本ハ不確定期間支那特定ノ地域ニ軍隊ヲ駐屯センメント提案セルモ其ノ理由ハ之ヲ措キ、右ハ非公式會談ニ於テ討議セラレタル進歩的原則ト合致セス)

(支那及佛印ヨリノ撤兵ニ關スル日本ノ意嚮ニ付明確ナル宣言ヲ望ム)

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四兩國間ノ通商

日本側措置

一方カ供給シ得テ他方カ必要トスル物資ノ相互供給ノ保障

正常通商關係恢復ノ爲必要ナル措置ヲ講スルコト

新通商條約締結ニ關シ出來得ル限

リ速ニ交渉スヘキコト

(以下米側附屬追加書)

現下ノ國際非常時ノ繼續中通常ノ

又ハ戰前ノ貿易ノ數量迄物資ノ輸

米側措置

(同上)

(同上)

(同上)

(同上)

外務省

出ヲ許可ス

但シ自國ノ安全及自衛目的ノ爲必

要ナル物資ハ之ヲ例外トス

右制限ハ相手國ニ對スル制限ヲ目

的トスルモノニ非スシテ友好國ト

ノ關係ヲ支配シツツアル精神ニ依

リ之ヲ適用ス

(同上)

(同上)

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無差別待遇ノ基礎ニ於テ石油、護
 謨、錫、「ニツケル」ノ如キ基礎
 的物資及經濟生活維持上輸入ヲ必
 須トスル其他ノ物資供給ニ商業的
 ニ均霑シ得ル様協力ス
 (兩國ノ活動ハ平和的手段ニ依リ
 且無差別ノ原則ニ遵ヒ行ハルヘキ
 コトニ關シテハ日本ハ右原則ノ遵
 用ヲ南西太平洋地域ニ局限セリ)
 (支那ニ關シテハ日本ハ無差別原
 則ヲ尊重スルモ右原則ノ支那ニ適

(同上)

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(四) 原則ノ及(一)

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五太平洋地域ニ於ケル兩國ノ經濟的活動
 日本側措置
 太平洋地域ニ於ケル兩國ノ活動ハ
 平和的手段ニ依リ且無差別待遇原
 則ニ遵ヒテ行ハルヘキコトヲ誓約
 ス
 通商手續ニ依リ自國經濟ノ安全防
 衛及發達ノ爲必要ナル商品及物資
 獲得手段確保ノ合理的機會ヲ有シ
 得ル如キ國際通商及國際投資ノ條
 件創設ニ付協力ス

米側措置
(同上)

(同上)

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用スル際シテハ地理的接近ノ理由ヲ以テ或ル制限ヲ加ヘント意圖シツツアルモノノ如シ

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(1) 四原則ノ及

太平洋地域ニ於ケル政治的安定ニ關スル兩國ノ方針

日本側ノ措置

米側ノ措置

當該地域ニ於ケル平和ノ維持及保全ニ貢獻スルハ其ノ根本目的ナルコトヲ聲明ス

(同上)

前記地域ニ於テ領土の企圖ヲ有セサルコトヲ聲明ス

(同上)

（日本ハ九月六日提案及其後ノ說明諸聲明中其ノ平和的意圖ノ保障ヲ不必要ト思考セラルル辭句ヲ以テ制限セルハ了解ニ苦シム）

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セビ律賓群島ノ中立化

日本側措置

日本ハ比律賓ノ獨立スル際其ノ中立化ヲ目的トシ、米國ト條約締結ノ爲交渉ニ入ル用意アルコトヲ聲明ス

米側措置

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國家間ノ關係ニ關スル四原則ハ米國ノ六月二十一日案ニ内包セララル所ナリ「ウユルス」言明一九月六日在京米大使トノ會談中近衛首相カ右原則ニ主義上贊同セラレタリ、米國ハ右進歩的の四原則ニ實際的且包括的ナル適用ヲ加フレハ太平洋ニ於ケル永續的平和ヲ招來シ得ルモノト信ス

該原則ハ左ノ如シ

- 一、一切ノ國家ノ領土保全及主權ノ尊重
- 二、他國ノ國內問題ニ對スル不干與ノ原則ノ支持
- 三、通商上ノ機會均等ヲ含ム均等原則ノ支持
- 四、平和的手段ニ依リ現状カ變更セラルル場合ヲ除キ太平洋ニ於ケル現状ノ不擾亂

標準規格B5

IMT 583

17

384

REEL No. A-0287

アジア歴史資料センター

外機密

1383

1

昭和13 一三八五一 (暗)
伯奈 五月二十二日 前夜
本省 二十二日 後夜
大島大使

松岡外務大臣
第五八二號 (備長符 機密)

十八日「ブラタダ」紙ハ十七日經青發「タス」電報ヲシテ經青「ハ
ラドトリビユーン」東京特派員カ最近日本ノ權威アル篇ヨリノ
開込ニ依レバ日本ヨリ米國ニ對シ左ノ協定締結方提議ヲナセリ即
チ

(一)支那内地ヨリノ日本軍ノ撤退ヲ前提トシ米國ハ日支紛争ヲ調停
ス

(二)米國ハ支那ニ於ケル日本ノ指導的地位ヲ承認ス

(三)日本ハ南方ニ於テ敵意アル行動ヲ執ラス

(四)米國ハ南方ニ於テ重要ナル對日經濟的讓歩ヲテス

(五)米國ハ日本ニ對シ借款ヲ許與ス

米國ハ慎重之ヲ檢附シ居リ尙右協定案中ニハ日本カ極東同盟ヲ
米國ニ對シ利用セサルコトヲ約スル一條件アル旨傳ヘラル云々ト
セルヲ揭載シ居ル處本件記事ハ獨逸側ニモ相當知シ居リ本
件機密保持方ニ付テハ特ニ嚴重御留意且御取締相成居ル次第御指
示アリタルニ拘ラス東京ニ於テ既ニ外國新聞記者ニ洩洩シ居レル
ハ遺憾ニシテ一層御取締ヲ望ム一了

電信寫

296

1383

296A

0 179

0 178

385

298

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ヲ要求セル處其ノ後貴大使ハ宛モ其ノ同意ヲ得タルカノ如キ返答
 ヲ爲サレタリ云々トアル處モトモト日本政府ヲ代表セラルル大使
 トシテ固ヨリナルモ特ニ外務大臣ト一心同體タルヘキ筈ノ貴大使
 カ外務大臣ニ關シ右情報ニアルカ如キコトヲ述ヘラレタリトハ常
 識上絶對ニ考ヘラレサルノミナラス陸海首腦部及他ノ閣僚ノ態度
 ニ言及セラレタリトハ之亦信シ得ス更ニ 天皇陛下ニ於カセラレ
 テ御同意アルヘシトカ云フ如キ言ヲ爲サルコトハ絶對ニ禁物ニ
 シテ固ヨリ貴大使ニ於テモ萬々此ノ點ハ御承知アルコトト存ス右
 様ノ儀ニシテ右ハ一應確實ナリト思ハルル情報ナルモ本大臣ハ容
 易ニ之ヲ信シ得サル所ナルカ言葉ノ行違ナルカ或ハ何等カノ事情
 ニ依ルモノナルカ想像シ得サルモ兎モ角前掲諸點ノ通

外

0 181

387

297

1383

昭和十六年五月二十四日發電

野村大使

松岡外務大臣

第二五〇號（至急、館長符號、外機密）
 稍々確實ナリト認メラルル情報ニ依レハ（一）貴大使ハ「ハル」國務
 長官ニ對シ日米了解案ニ付陸海軍首腦者ノ同意ノ下ニ會談スルモ
 ノニシテ（二）松岡外相ヲ除ク外 天皇陛下及他ノ閣員全部ノ支持ヲ
 受ケ得ヘシ（三）松岡外相ノ政策ハ日本ニ何等裨益スル所ナカリシノ
 ミナラス將來ニ向テモ一ノ利益ナクシテ徒ニ紛争（「トラブル」）
 ヲ招來スルノ危険甚大ナリト感スル向勢カラス（四）「ハル」長官カ
 貴大使ニ對シ先ツ以テ 天皇陛下及内閣ノ意ヲ確メラレムコト

外務省

0 180

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1383

就イテハ最も早キ機會ニ於テ右様ノ「ハル」長官ノ印象ヲ是正スル様御措置アリタシ若シ夫レ本大臣カ一生ヲ通シ今日迄最も熱心ナル日米親善論者ナルコトハ夙ニ貴大使ニ於テ御承知ノ通ナリ、「ハワード」及「ウキーガン」ニ最近答ヘタル電報ニ依リテモ明白ナルカ如ク現代文明ヲ没落ニ導ク可能性多大ナル恐ルヘキ世界戦争ヲ如何ニシテ防止セムカト謂フコトニ付眞ニ心膽ヲ碎キ苦慮シ居ルコトハ事實ニシテ然カモ斯カル戦争ニ發展スルヤ否ヤノ健ハ今日ニ於テハ殆ント米國大統領ノ掌中ニ握ラレ居ル事モ亦事實ニシテ從テ有ユル手段ヲ講シテ此ノ上米國ヲシテ獨伊ヲ激發セシムルカ如キ舉ニ出テシメサラムコトニ精魂ヲ傾ケ居ルコトモ御承知ノ通ナリ

外務省

0 183

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1383

長官ニ於テ貴大使トノ談話等ニ依リ印象ヲ受ケ居ルコトハ略々確實ナリト認メラルル節アリ

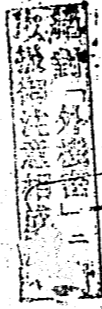
外務省

0 182

388

302

1383



昭和16
 華府 五月二十四日後發
 本省 二十五日後着
 野村大使

外機密、館長符號

松岡外務大臣

貴電拜讀事實全ク無根ニシテ唯々驚キ入ルノ外ナシ日本外交ハ如何ニシテ行ハルルヤノ大統領及國務長官ノ質問ニ對シ日本ノ外交ハ外務大臣之ヲ管掌スルカ重大ナル外交政策ノ決定ニ當リテハ陸海軍大臣モ其ノ所管事項ニ付テ無論關與シ首相亦大局的ニ關與スルハ勿論ナリ日本憲法ニ於テハ國務大臣ハ輔弼上共ニ責任アリト申シ松波博士ヨリ頼マレシ同氏ノ著書ヲ大統領ニ呈上セシコトアリ(國務長官同シク席ニ在リ)其ノ時大統領ハ米國ニ於テモ略同

外務省

0 185

391

301

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日獨伊三國同盟ノ最大目的モ茲ニ存シ從テ同同盟ニ寸分ノ搖キヲ與ヘサルコトニ御承知ノ通り十二分ノ用意ト國ヲ決心ヲ持チ居ル次第ナリ

是等ノ本大臣ノ考ハ既ニ貴大使ヨリ「ハル」長官等ニ徹底セシメ居ラルルコトトハ信スルモ尙右ノ次第機會アル毎ニ先方ニ此上トモ徹底セシメラレムコトヲ切望ス本大臣ニ關シ大統領乃至「ハル」長官ニ於テ些カノ誤解アリテモ所詮日米國交ノ調整ハ行ハルルモノニ非サルコトハ申添フル迄ノコトニ非ス

外務省

0 184

390

304a

1383

ス長官ニ對シ斯クノ如キコトヲ申セシコトハ一、二回アリタリト
 信ス(了)

外務省

0 187

393

303

1383

様ニシテ總テ國務長官一人ニテ決定スル次第ニハアラスト申セリ
 又國務長官ヨリ同様ノ質問アリタル際同様ノ答ヲ爲シタルコトア
 ルカ其ノ趣ハ其ノ都度電報セシ通ナリ若シ夫レ神聖僥スヘカラサ
 ル至尊ヲ引用スルカ如キコトアリトセハ夫レ丈ニテ罪萬死ニ値ス
 本使ハ軍人トシテ萬一斯ルコトヲ爲シタリトセハ民道ノ上ヨリ此
 ノ世ニ存在ヲ許サレサルモノト信スルモノニシテ夫レハ絕對ニア
 リ得ヘカラサルコトナリ從テ國務長官ニ於テマサカスル誤解アリ
 トハ思ハサルモ御來電ノ趣旨ハ十二分ニ敬承最善ノ努力ヲ致スヘ
 シ
 尙東京ヨリノ新聞電報等ハ如何アロウトモ貴大臣ノ日米問題ニ關
 スル根本理念ニ付テハ本使ハ充分ニ了解シアリテ一點ノ疑ヲ持タ

外務省

0 186

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REEL No. A-0287

アジア歴史資料センター

304c
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1383

様ニシテ總テ國務長官一人ニテ決定スル次第ニハアラスト申セリ
又國務長官ヨリ同様ノ質問アリタル際同様ノ答ヲ爲シタルコトア
ルカ其ノ趣ハ其ノ都度電報セシ通ナリ若シ夫レ神聖侵スヘカラサ
ル至寧ヲ引用スルカ如キコトアリトセハ夫レ丈ニテ罪萬死ニ値ス
本使ハ軍人トシテ萬一斯ルコトヲ爲シタリトセハ民道ノ上ヨリ此
ノ世ニ存在ヲ許サレサルモノト信スルモノニシテ夫レハ絕對ニア
リ得ヘカラサルコトナリ從テ國務長官ニ於テマサカスル誤解アリ
トハ思ハサルモ御來電ノ趣旨ハ十二分ニ敬承最善ノ努力ヲ致スヘ
シ
尙東京ヨリノ新聞電報等ハ如何アロウトモ貴大臣ノ日米問題ニ關
スル根本理念ニ付テハ本使ハ充分ニ了解シアリテ一點ノ疑ヲ持タ

外務省

0 189

395

304b
304b
and

1383

閣外
外務省
注意
成

昭和18
松岡外務大臣
外機密、館長符號
貴電拜讀事實全ク無根ニシテ唯々驚キ入ルノ外ナシ日本外交ハ如
何ニシテ行ハルルヤノ大統領及國務長官ノ質問ニ對シ日本ノ外交
ハ外務大臣之ヲ管掌スルカ重大ナル外交政策ノ決定ニ當リテハ陸
海軍大臣モ其ノ所管事項ニ付テ無論關與シ首相亦大局的ニ關與ス
ルハ勿論ナリ日本憲法ニ於テハ國務大臣ハ輔弼上共ニ責任アリト
申シ松波博士ヨリ頼マレン同氏ノ著書ヲ大統領ニ呈上セシコトア
リ(國務長官同シク席ニ在リ)其ノ時大統領ハ米國ニ於テモ略同

華府 五月二十四日後發
本省 二十五日後着

野村大使

外務省

0 188

394

電信寫

305
304

1383

秘

昭和16 一四六三六 略 華府 五月二十九日後發 弘米
 本省 三十日後着

松岡外務大臣
 第三五五號
 二十九日華府特情（二十九日「タイムズ」、「ヘラルド」ノ記事）ニ關シ

同様ノ記事「イブニング・スター」、「デイリー」其ノ他ニモ現
 ハレ出シ世界各地ニバラ撒カルヘク朝日ハ既ニ東京ニ打電シ居レ
 リ（了）

0 191

397

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1383

ス長官ニ對シ斯クノ如キコトヲ申セシコトハ一、二回アリタリト
 信ス（了）

外務省

0 190

396

電信寫

305

1383

秘

昭和16 一四六三六 略 華府 五月二十九日發 弘米
 本省 三十日發着

松岡外務大臣 野村大使

第三五五號

二十九日華府特情(二十九日「タイムス」、「ヘラルド」ノ記事)
 ニ關シ

同様ノ記事「イブニング・スター」、「デイリー」其ノ他ニモ現
 在ニ出シ世界各地ニバラ撒カルヘク朝日ハ既ニ東京ニ打電シ居レ
 リ(了)

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1383

ス長官ニ對シ斯クノ如キコトヲ申セシコトハ一、二回アリタリト
 信ス(了)

外務省

0 190

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ヘラルドノ謾ナルヘシ電報セラレタルモト認マラルル如
 右ハ政府部内ノ秘密ノ議事ニ由ルコトニモアリ
 素ヨリ揣摩臆測ノ域ヲ出ラサルハキモ 二十九日
 フハル長官ノ新聞會見ニ於ケル應酬アリ
 又貴會合初二四九號貴大臣聲明カ
 本三十日逸早ク各方面ニ傳ヘラレタル結果
 其ノ打消ニ效果ヲ與キクワアルモノト認マラル
 尙同盟ニ付本使カハル長官ニ説明セシ所ハ一昨
 日七繰返シ御報告セシ通ナリ(了)

(乙號)

0 193

399

306

1383

五月廿日野村大次郎松田大臣電報
 本件ハ炉辺談話ノ草稿ヲ大隈領カ西院ノ
 領袖ニ内示スル際在談話ノ日本ニ對スル箇
 條ノ証明中一々其ノ類アリトアリヤ
 ニ派各方面ニ取付キセシ居ル事ハハリス
 系新聞等ニ報道シタルカ(貴電ニ「タイム
 ス」及「ヘラルド」トリビューントアルハ「ワレイン」・「タイム」
 本電ヲ多シク(爐辺談話ノ草稿)大隈領カ日本
 ニ言及セサリ理由ニ因テ「米紙報道」(件)ニ関シ
 本件ハ炉辺談話ノ草稿ヲ大隈領カ西院ノ
 領袖ニ内示スル際在談話ノ日本ニ對スル箇
 條ノ証明中一々其ノ類アリトアリヤ
 ニ派各方面ニ取付キセシ居ル事ハハリス
 系新聞等ニ報道シタルカ(貴電ニ「タイム
 ス」及「ヘラルド」トリビューントアルハ「ワレイン」・「タイム」

(乙號)

0 192

398

REEL No. A-0287

アジア歴史資料センター

セントマンノカラ出夕
 カ思ヘナク、
 掃念ニ於テ左ノ諸トモヲ
 一、我ニシテ日ト
 今更申スニ
 今更申スニ

外務大臣 漢報 (昭和十六年五月廿日)
 最近米國 新南半
 冷淡トナリツ
 其調ナル
 斯ル 提解カ
 アル、又 著シ
 布

外機密

1383

電信寫

昭和16 一五四五五 (暗)

華府 六月六日 後發
本省 七日 前發

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三七一號 (館長符號) (至急)

六日「ニューヨークタイムズ」「アーベンド」ノ記事ニ關シ「エ
 ービー」「ユービー」「トリビューン」同盟、朝日ヨリ問合セア
 リタルニ對シ富館ニ於テハ右ハ事實無根トシテ「カテゴリカリ」
 ニ打消シ置キタルニ付右御含ミアリタシ
 尙今朝(六日)大統領ハ新聞記者會見ニ於テ本件ニ關スル質問ニ
 對シ何等知ル所ナキ旨及ヒ大使ト長官トハ折々會見セルモ普通ノ
 コトニテ本件トハ關係ナキ旨答ヘタル趣ナリ(了)

IMT 265

87

404

315

1383

電	信	寫	總一五八七四 番一五八二四	符	機	昭和十六年六月十九日 午後	分發 管主
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松岡外務大臣宛 在華行野村大使宛

極秘 館長符号 才三八四号

往電才三三七号報告ノ件申六本使トシ其ノ依テ取次キ得サル事項モアリ又先方ヨリ本票ハ非公式モノニシテ本使
ト論議ニ修正シタルモノヲ東京ニ報告セラレタリト申出モアリタルヲ以テ本使トシテ爲シ得ル限リ而回訓案ヲ近付カ
シタルモノヲ報告致度ノ概ネ左記ト通り交渉中ニテ取次案ヲ得タル上重テ上申スル考ナリ

一 歐洲戰ニ對シテ項目中

A. 自衛權ニ関スル文句ノ削除

B. 附録ハル長官演說ノ削除

二 北那由支府ニ

A. 而訓令ノ旨趣ニ合ハル如ク先大統領ノ發意ニ依リ支那ニサセテトスルコト

B. 防供駐兵府六相互ニ満足スル文句ノ棄出

三 太平洋平和ニ関スル項目中

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315-A

無差別に之を代り公平に取扱等、又句ヲ用ユコト

右ノ外

(A) 歐洲戰爭ノ拡大防止吾界平和ヲ招来ニ努力シ、意味ヲ適半ノ所ニ挿入スルコト

(B) 太平洋平和ノ項目中又、附録トシテ、米ノ西半球ニ於ケル又日本ノ東亞(南西太平洋ヲ含ム)ニ於ケル地位ヲ相互ニ

認め、日本ノ西半球ニ對シ又米ノ東亞ニ對シ單事基地ヲ得サルコト、政治上ノ野心ヲ持タズルコトヲ明示スル

コトニ付成否ノ見事付カサシテ努力中ナリ

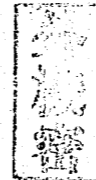
尙取次案ハ兩言中ニ見極付ク管テモ昨夜未ダルニ長官微恙靜養中ニ付多少遅延スルモ知ラズ厚念ナリ

IMT 265

101

406

一、方面より、下子宣傳社向中傷ノ材料モ
 入り居り、一字一句ノ改訂モ果直ニ懸念境
 測ノ程トナリ、松坂氏ハ際向彼ヲ反映スル
 モト上思ハ、在事場トシテ依リ、昨土曜
 本使ハ因勢長友ト一語半程談話セリ
 先方從來ノ主張ハ
 一、大平持ノ年報維持ハ本了辭、在本
 十九日、此其何人カ思フモハ、キリスン様ニ本
 此ノ誤解化シタル事アリ、又、本
 ハ、實業界ノ消息、先日、本由ノ金融並



1383 28

Chd by T. Kawamura

有、白附野村、大佐、松岡大臣電報寫
 貴電拝讀
 從來ノ経緯、多少重複シ、歎ハス大要、響ス
 五月十六日、我方、回訓案提出、其後、毎週、取
 回、勿論、五月、日、先方、ハ、即、事、裏、之、固、スル
 二、三、ノ、美、ヲ、選、案、ト、右、シ、タ、ル、後、非、亦、米
 案、ヲ、提出、シ、来、リ、本、使、ハ、之、ヲ、兩、國、起、事、案
 員、ニ、付、託、ス、レ、ル、目、的、達、成、ニ、便、宜、ナ、リ、ト、シ、テ、
 先方ト同意、上、六月、日、雙方、委員、ハ、各、各
 上、下、思、ハ、思、フ、所、シ、海、中、ハ、是、レ、高、國、之、權、ハ

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和、世界人類ノ幸福ノ為ニ自ラ進テ支那ノ和平ヲ
 御告ニ得ルヤト申セシ処、先方夫レハ本ヲ解
 二於テ兩國ノ精神ニ一致ニ得ルヤノ由
 題ニ係ルト申セリ

三、歐州戰事ニ對シテハ、此ノ世皇ノ征服ヲ
 企圖ス、英國屬スレハ西洋ノ彼ニ延布セ
 乙南米ノ彼ノ資源供給地トシテ、米門ノ危
 険トシテ、彼ノ我國境ヲ侵入シテ、安用トシテ
 亡ホカ、免國十五ノ、米國ノ其ノ屬邦ヲ
 切斷ス、トテ、彼ノ進來防礙基ノ地トシテ、免

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經濟場力ヲ爲サレ、免標立テ、強行シ、得ル
 事トシ、多回國立トシ、申シテ、

二、太平洋問題ニ包管シ、日米兩國ノ政
 治的平等ノ及、日支事變ニ對シ、免國際ヲ生スル
 事トシ

先方、此支那問題ハ、最モ苦慮シ、此ノ如ク
 日米ノ係、米子ノ係、及、日支ノ係、三者皆善
 心祖ニ所シ、此ノ力爲ニ、支那ノ於テ、米國ノ利益ニ
 害ヲ抱クニ至ラズ、レ、免標立、申シ、必要アリト
 申ス、米使、此ノ大進、領ハ、太平洋ノ平

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四 太平洋方面ニ於ケル通商上ノ無差別主義ヲ
 重視シ米國ハ米洲ニ対シテ此ノ主義ヲ執リ
 ツツアリ、日本ハ本主義ヲ採用シ目下何等ノ
 不所チキミナラズ、歐洲ニ發展スヘキ米國ハ日本
 ノ發展ヲ阻止スヘキ何等ノ理由ナレト考フ
 尚此等ノ根本ニ存テ了解ナラハ了解守本又ニ
 付テ何等興味ヲ持タスト申シタリ
 右ノ次第ニ付外交ト雖モ正道ノミニテハ六ヶ敷
 ノ側面ニ作ル由要ヲ感心スル次第ナリ、本使
 等ハ餘リ樂觀モセス、左リトテ悲觀モセス

米式自衛札ヲ對面傑リ返シテリ(本視念ハ米
 國美然ノ危險性ヲ念ミ先テ等ノ貴大任リ
 指示ノ線ニ沿ヒテ應々是向ノ努力見カ目下ノ
 処置正ノ是トシ但シ言以テ米力直ニ先
 然スル上ト思ヒス米美然ヲ牽制シ得
 ルヤ否ヤハ今後ニ於テ先表對米外交ノ中
 心ヲナスモノト思フ)又媾和ヲ云々スル
 時米未ダ到リ米セストナリテ「ワイ
 ナ」ト「帰米物」ノ噂ヲ半シタル際
 大統領ハ強ク之ヲ否定シタルトハ御承知ノ通り

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御訓令遂行ニ最善ノ努力ヲ致スヘシ豫期	セサル故障起ラセ限リテ日回依テ今懸	案ノ點一ヲモ何トカ鳥ルヲ付テテ報告ン得ル	見込ナリ	先方ノ熱意ニ付テテ何等疑ヲ容レズ毎週	ニ三回會談ヲ行ヒテ方ヨリ申込メハ即終面	會シ又別ル際ハゆヌ何時ニテモ来ラレテ	申シ居リ	長官ハ大統領ト根本觀念一致レアリ了解	在之ハ一日際然ル様致度ト告申セリトアリ
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REEL No. A-0287

外機密

電信

昭和16 一五七八八 (暗) 華府 六月九日後發
本省 十日 前着

松岡外務大臣 野村大使

第三七八號ノ一(外機密、館長符號扱。至急)

Strictly confidential

Unofficial, exploratory and without commitment

The Governments of the United States and of Japan accept joint responsibility for the initiation and conclusion of a general agreement of understanding as expressed in a joint declaration.

Without reference to specific cause of recent estrangement, it is the sincere desire of both Governments that the incidents which led to the deterioration of amicable sentiment between their countries should be prevented from recurrence and corrected in their unforeseen and unfortunate consequences.

It is our present hope that, by a cooperative effort, the United States and Japan may contribute effectively toward establishment and preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and, by the rapid consummation of an amicable understanding, arrest, if not dispel, the tragic confusion that now threatens to engulf civilization.

For such decisive action, protracted negotiations would seem ill-suited and weakening. Both Governments therefore desire that adequate

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Handwritten notes: MATSUOKA, June 9, 1941, Secy No. 376

Handwritten note: June 21st - 1941

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外機密

1980

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Instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a general understanding which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act. It is the belief of the two Governments that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which could be deliberated at a conference. (Fuzuku)

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REEL No. A-0287

外機密

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昭和16 一五八五三 (増)

華府 六月十日 前夜
本省 十日 夜着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三七八號、二一緊急、外機密、館長符號抜一

Both Governments presume to anticipate that they could achieve harmonious relations if certain situations and attitudes were clarified or improved; to wit:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
 2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.
 3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.
 4. Commerce between both nations.
 5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.
 6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.
 7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.
- Accordingly, the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan have come to the following mutual understanding and declaration of policy: (tuzuku)

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外機密

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昭和16 一五八四九 (暗)

華府 六月十日 前發
本省 十日 夜着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三七八號；三 (緊急) 外機密 (館長符號)

I. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.

Both Government affirm that their national policies are directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new era of reciprocal confidence and cooperation among our peoples.

Both Government declare that it is their traditional and present

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concept and conviction that nations and races compose an integral family, *living under the idea of mutual respect of human rights* each equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interests regulated by personal processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical well-being, which they are bound to defend for themselves as they are bound not to destroy for others; they further admit their responsibilities to oppose the oppression or exploitation of other nations.

Both Governments are firmly determined that their respective fundamental concepts on the character of nations and the underlying moral principles of social order and national life will continue to be preserved and never transformed by foreign ideas or ideologies contrary to those moral principles and concepts.

justice & equality

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昭和16 一五八八三 (附) 華府 六月十日 前發
本省 十日 夜着

野村大使

松岡外務大臣

第三七八號ノ四ノ五 外機密 館長符號扱

2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The Government of Japan maintains that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact was, and is, defensive and is designed to prevent the participation

unprovoked outbreak of
(of nations) in the European war not at present involved in it)

Obviously, the provisions of the pact do not apply to involvement through acts of self-defence.

The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude

toward the European hostilities is and will continue to be determined solely by considerations of protection and self-defence: its national security and the defense thereof.

3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The Japanese Government having communicated to the Government of the United States the general terms within the framework of which the Japanese Government will propose the negotiation of peaceful settlement with the Chinese Government, which terms are declared by the Japanese Government to be in harmony with the Kono principles regarding neighborly friendship and mutual respect of sovereignty and territories and with

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*Received at
Washington
June 21/54*

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昭和16 一五八八三 (暗)
華府 六月十日 前發
本省 十日 夜着

野村大使

松岡外務大臣

第三七八號ノ四(至急) 外機密 館長符號扱

2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The Government of Japan maintains that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact was, and is, defensive and is designed to prevent the participation

(of nations) in the European war not at present involved in it.

Obviously, the provisions of the pact do not apply to involvement through acts of self-defence.

The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude toward the European hostilities is and will continue to be determined

solely by *and by the nature of* considerations of protection and self-defence.

The Government of the United States on this subject which constituted a part of the

draft of May 31st, 1941 *for discussion of the foreign ministry, secretariat, and during the time these letters were in the State Department.*

United States the general terms within the framework of which the Japanese Government will propose the negotiation of peaceful settlement with the Chinese Government, which terms are declared by the Japanese Government to be in harmony with the Kono principles regarding neighborhood friendship and mutual respect of sovereignty and territories and with

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Remarks by Ambassador to the United States June 2/1941

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the practical application of those principles, the President of the United States will suggest to the Government of China that the Government of China and the Government of Japan enter into a negotiation on a basis mutually advantageous and acceptable for a termination of hostilities and resumption of peaceful relations. (tuzuku)

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REEL No. A-0287

外機密

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昭和18 一五八五一 (密) 華府 六月十日 前發
本省 十日 夜着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三七八號ノ五 (至急、外機密、館長符號扱)

Note (the foregoing draft of section 2 is subject to further discussion of the question of cooperative defense against Communist activities, including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.)

4. Commerce between both nations.

When official approbation to the present understanding has been

Given by both Governments, the United States and Japan shall assure

each other ultimately to supply such commodities as are, respectively, available and required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to resume normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan. If a new commercial treaty is desired by both Governments, it would be negotiated as soon as possible and be concluded in accordance with usual procedures. (Tuzuru)

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REEL No. A-0287

アジア歴史資料センター

外機密

昭和16年5月15日(暗) 華府六月十日午前發
本省 十日夜着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三七八號ノ五(至急、外機密、簡長符號扱)

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Note (the foregoing draft of section 2 is substituted by further draft)

and the question of economic cooperation between China and Japan. With regard to suggestion that the language of section 3 be changed, it is believed that consideration of any suggested change can most advantageously be given after all the points in the annex relating to this section have been satisfactorily worked out, when the section and its annex can be viewed as a whole.)

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each other mutually to supply such commodities as are, respectively, available and required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to resume normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan. If a new commercial treaty is desired by both Governments, it would be negotiated as soon as possible and be concluded in accordance with usual procedures. (Tuzuka)

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昭和16 一五八六八 (暗)
華府 六月十日 前發
本省 十日 夜着

松岡外務大臣 野村大使

第三七八號ノ六一至急。外機密、館長符號扱

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V. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.

The fact given in the 9 of U.S. hereby mutually, Morgan's demand
On the basis of mutual pledges hereby given that Japanese activity
and American activity in the Pacific area shall be carried on by
peaceful means and in conformity with the principle of non-discrimi-
nation in international commercial relations, *in maintenance of this policy*
the Japanese Govern-
ment and the Government of the United States agree to cooperate

each with the other toward obtaining non-discriminatory access by
Japan and the United States to commercial supplies of natural resour-
ces (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which each country needs for
the safeguarding and development of its own economy.
6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization
in the Pacific area.

The Japanese Government and the Government of the United States
declare that the controlling policy underlying this understanding is
peace in the Pacific area; that it is their fundamental purpose,
through cooperative effort, to contribute to the maintenance and the
preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and that neither has

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外機密

territorial designs in the designs in the area mentioned.

8. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

7
The Government of Japan declares its willingness to enter at such time as the Government of the United States may desire into negotiation with the Government of the United States with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands, when Philippine independence shall have been achieved.

(over)

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Telex
Naha-Matruka
on June 9, 1936

Telex No. 379

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外機密

昭和16 一五七九四 (暗) 華府 六月九日後發
本省 十日 前着

松岡外務大臣 野村大使

第三七九號 (至急) 外機密 館長符號扱

Annex and supplement on the part of the Japanese Government

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and

Japan.

The basic terms as referred to in the above section are as

follow:

1. Neighboring friendship.
2. (Cooperative defense against injurious communistic activities—
including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.)
Subject to further discussion.
3. Economic cooperation—by which China and Japan will proceed
on the basis of non-discrimination in international commercial rela-
tions.
4. Mutual respect of sovereignty and territories.
5. Mutual respect for the inherent characteristic of each nation
cooperating as good neighbors and forming a Far Eastern nucleus con-
tributing to world peace.

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- 6. Withdrawal of Japanese military and naval forces from Chinese territory and Chinese waters as promptly as possible and in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Japan and China.
- 7. No annexation
- 8. Non demitties *No indemnities*
- 9. Amicable negotiation in regard to Manchoukuo. (Owar)

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REEL No. A-0287

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Telegram
Nariva → Matsusaka
on June 10, 1936
Teleg. No. 380

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昭和16 一五八三九 (暗)

華府 六月十日
本省 十一日 後着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三八〇號ノ一 (至急、館長符號抜)

Annex and supplement on the part of the Government of the United States.

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European War.

The position of the Government of the United States toward the

military movement of conquest inaugurated by Mr. Hitler is set forth

in a public address made by the Secretary of State on April 24, 1941.

Some extracts which are directly in point and which are basic in relation to the entire situation are as follows— (Tsuzyaku)

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外機密

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昭和16 一五八六〇 (略) 華府 六月十日 前發

本省 十日 後着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三八〇號ノ二 (逕急、簡長符號扱)

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The foregoing statements make it clear that the attitude of the Government of the United States thereof resolve to take measure of self-defense in resistance to a movement, which, as has been made unequivocally clear by the acts and utterances of Hitler, is directed to world conquest by force from which no country and no area are excepted. This attitude is based upon a most fundamental consideration — that of the inalienable rights of self-defense. The only other attitude this Government could assume would be the suicidal attitude of some fifteen countries in Europe which also were told, as our country is being told, that they would not be molested but that if they should undertake to resist beyond their own boundaries they would be charged with being aggressors and with having assumed the offensive.

The similar course by this nation (from the standpoint of effective defense against the Hitler movement of world conquest) would be absurd, futile and suicidal from the standpoint of reasonable precaution for its safety. (tuzuku)

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昭和16 一五八四三

(暗)

華府 六月十日 前發
本省 十日夜着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第三八〇號ノ三) 至急、館長符號級)

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In the light of existing situation, Hitler is the one person who can promptly remove the necessity for efforts at effective self-defence by this country and other countries similarly situated, where as (for any other nations) request that the United States desist from any such resistance) would in its actual effect range the country making such request on the side of Hitler and his movement of aggression by force. Hitler is therefore the person who should be addressed in support of peace, rather than those whom he is attacking for the purpose of bringing about their complete subjugation without color of law, or of right, or of humanity.

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"Yes, it makes a difference who wins -- the difference whether west and with our backs to the wall with the other four continents against us and the high seas lost, alone defending the last free territories on earth -- or whether we keep our place in an orderly world." Annex and supplement on the part of the Government of the United States

IV. Commerce between both nations.

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外機密

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It is understood that during the present international emergency Japan and the United States each shall permit export to the other of commodities in amounts up to the figures of usual or pre-war trade, except, in the case of each, commodities which it needs for its own purposes of security and self-defense.

(Contd.)

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REEL No. A-0287

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Teleg. from Nishimura
to Matsumoto, June 10, 1931
Correction & Appendix
to Teleg. No. 338
III-2

外機密

1383

昭和16 一五八四八 (暗)
華府 六月十日 前發
本省 十日 後着
野村大使

松岡外務大臣
號外 館長符號扱

往電第三八〇號三ノ二中
Requested but not received

that it is corrected by the Government of the United States.

Annex and supplement on the part of the Government of the United States.

4. Commerce between both nations.

It is understood that during the present international emergency

Japan and the United States each shall permit export to the other of

commodities in amounts up to the figures of usual or pre-war trade, except, in the case of each, commodities which it needs for its own purposes of security and self-defense.

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REEL No. A-0287

アジア歴史資料センター

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アル知此ノ際「ハネム」號ノ事件ノ再発又ハ米
 大使ノ身上ニ異変ヲ生スルリ如キニトアラハ辨
 其ノ結果ハ事ノ利害曲直ヲ超越シテ俄
 然大事件トナル惧マル様存セララルニ付安
 全地帯ノ爆撃等ニ対シテ充分ノ御
 注意相成様致度レ

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外機
 1383

極秘

昭和十六年六月十七日華府発来電（十八日着）
 第四〇五号
 日米ノ關係ハ申スマデモナク極メテ微妙ナル
 關係ニ在リテ寸毫ノ油断ヲ許ササル様觀
 測ス
 一面油ノ禁輸ヲ發言~~告~~告スル者有力者ノ間ニ
 モ多數アル均ラス國務長官及國務省ニ
 於テ外交的見地ヨリ之ヲ留保シツツアリ其
 ノ他日米一般關係ニ関シ新聞界等ニ對シテ
 モ慎重ナル態度ヲ從~~適~~適シ居ルマノ情報モ

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本使十五日更ニ病中ノ長官(八日以來)療養中ニシテ
 二日温床ニ臥ル由(臥)ニ令見シタル際長官ハ米側情報ニ依
 シハ東京ニ日米了解ヲ欲セザル有力者アルヲ語り且日
 本ハ日米交渉ノ調整ヲ重視スルニアラザル(ト述)カ本
 使ハ裁量ニ依リ東京政府ニ経過ヲ報告セラレ本件
 二付帯ニ政府ニ交渉調整ノ必要アルヲ示ヤシ今一
 名確メラシム敷キヤト希望的申出アリタルカ本

局長符號電信

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(總17551)

大臣 (31)
 次官
 栗利加員長
 顧問
 人事課長

電信課長

昭和十六年六月二十日 華府發
 六月廿四日 前後本省著
 (機)

極秘 館長符號

野村大使

松岡 外務大臣

第四四號

往電第三八四號ニ関シ

五月三日上日先方ヨリ提出ノ了解案ニ付日頭往電ノ

通りハ訓令ノ趣ニ依リ折衝ヲ為セタルカ

外務省

(日本標準規格B5)

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REEL No. A-0287

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今次米子案 (Informal, explanatory and without
Commitment) 断リアリ) ハ内訓令ノ趣旨ト異
シ本使トシテモ其々不満足ナルモ前記事情ニ依
リテ四半申スル次第ナリ、尤モ米案中自衛権
及支那ヲ支ルハ事權 (通商モ先別待遇) 件
ニ関シ先方従来主張セル趣旨ヲ交換公又ヲ以テ取極メ
夕チ希望ノ申出アリタルモ右事項ノ内容ニ付テハ事

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1383

使ハ米子政府ノ右事情取ルニ足ラサル旨及本使
ハ全然本政府ノ訓令内ニ於テ折衝シ得ル旨ヲ繰返
ヘシ強ク説明シ具体的成案ヲ得サル限り右様ノ可
ニテハ請願ノ旨意味ナルヲ述ヘ午末折衝ヲ続
ケタル又ニ十日長夜ヨリ往電ヲ四五部ノ提案ヲ
為スト共ニ往電ヲ四五六部ノ「オールスターメント」ヲ
手交セリ

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トシテ到底に答認し得サルコナルヲ以テ本使ハ昨ニ十日夜
 長夜ニ令見ヲ求メテ本子政府ニ傳達し得サルコト
 ト申聞テ置キタリ
 二、彼我ノ主張ハ亦多ナル矣ニ付決キアルニ殊ニ其
 一、面市清ノ三矣即第一歐州戦争ニ對スル米子ノ自
 衛ノ權ト三國同盟トノ條件ニ付先方ハ其方ノ主張
 ニ承服セズオニ防共駐兵問題ニ付テハ日支和平條件
 に入セスト稱シテ一面其三ノ主張ニ關係アリト云ヒ難
 色アリ其三ノ主張上ノ其別主張ニ付テハ本原則
 ハコハルレ長夜ノ生ノ事トスル信多ニシテ米子ノ現米
 政第本ハ也ト云ヒ以テ其主張ヲ支那及太平洋洋全圖ニ
 及ビ日本ハ失フ所ナキニシテ日本現任ノ實力
 ヲ以テスレハ密下口有利ナリト思フト保返シテアリ何
 して難矣ナルカ先方ハ其方ニ日米交渉調整ノ概一
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トシテ到底に答認し得サルコナルヲ以テ本使ハ昨ニ十日夜
 長夜ニ令見ヲ求メテ本子政府ニ傳達し得サルコト
 ト申聞テ置キタリ
 二、彼我ノ主張ハ亦多ナル矣ニ付決キアルニ殊ニ其
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 衛ノ權ト三國同盟トノ條件ニ付先方ハ其方ノ主張
 ニ承服セズオニ防共駐兵問題ニ付テハ日支和平條件

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士及事件ヲ穩便ニ取計ニト及廢取中ノ長友カ
 三カニ亘リ本使ヲ引見セル事實其他ノ事情ニ
 關シ日本米子之調整ニ對スル大統領並其ノ側近
 及子弟友友ノ懸念ハ尚冷却ニ居ランモノト認メル
 之最近ニ米子大使彼及紐育財界ノ力運轉
 他ヨリ本件ニ因スル日本政府ノ執意ヲ疑ハシムルカ
 如キ情報類々トシテアル者米子側トシテハ何等カ

局長符號印

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三、資金凍結令ヨリ日本ヲ除外セズ海軍
 硬ニ主張シテモマス
 トスル所トスルヲ傳達スル状ニモ行カスト迄強
 忍ムル^カ前ヲ採リ居ルモ先方ハ特別ニ米子ノ要求
 恢復ノ和平條件ニ關スルモノナルヲ以テ米子ノ答復ヲ
 スト認メ居レリ而レテ我方ハオニオニ付テハ日支直接交
 アムトシキニ認識スルニ於テハ尚折衝ノ餘地ナキニテラ

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採用スルニ至ルニトテ
 確定的ナルヲ以テ併テ最
 要ノ場合ニ至ルニテ必要ナリト信
 ス(終)

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方法ニテ日本政府ノ誠意ヲ確カメントスルニ
 同意ナリト
 解セラルル節多シ
 四、本件ニ関スル日米ノ主張ニ懸隔アルモ折衝ノ餘
 地ナキニアラザルト諸般ノ情勢ニ鑑ミ本使トシテハ今
 直ニ交渉ヲ打切ラサル方有利ナリト思存スルモ若シ
 中央ニ於テ交渉打切ノ決定アルニ於テハ米ニ政府
 ハ通関金凍結ハエンバゴノ強化等對日強硬策

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電信寫

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Teleg. from NAMIURA to MATSUOKA
"American chest"

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1383

外機密

昭和16 一七五四六 (暗) 華府 六月二十三日後
本省 二十四日 後着

松岡外務大臣

野村大使

第四二五號ノ一(外機密、館長符號)

往電第四二四號ニ關シ

二十一日米國衆本文ハ五月三十一日衆ニ左ノ如キ字句ノ改正ヲ加ヘタルモノナリ附屬書ハ別電第四二七號ノ通り

(一)前文第一項末尾上 for the resumption of traditional friendly relationsヲ加ヘ第三項前段ノ present a earnest ト改メ同項後段 understand-ingノ次ニ encourage world peace ノ三字ヲ又第五項 delivered ノ次ニ later ノ一字ヲ挿入ス

(二)第一項(國家間)中第一項末尾 among a between トシ第二項 one household ノ次ニ living under the ideal of Universal concord through justice and equity ノ十一字ヲ挿入シ同項末尾 nations a peoples ニ改メ

(三)第二項(歐洲戰爭)第一項 to present 以下 self defenceヲ削リ to contribute to the prevention of an unprovoked extension of the Euro-pean war ノ十三字ヲ以テ之ニ代フ五月衆ノ obviously

以下ヲ削ル第二項ハ修正ナシ(續ク)

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昭和16 一七五四一 (暗) 華府 六月二十三日 後發
本省 二十四日 後着

野村大使

松岡外務大臣

第四二五號ノ二 (外機密、館長符號)

本項ニ、Note

トシテ次ノ文章アル等之ニ關シテ、往電第四二

四號第一項末段參照アリタシ

(There is appended a suggested draft of an exchange of letters as

a substitute for the annex and supplement on the part of the Government

of the United States on this subject which constituted a part of the

draft of May 31st, 1941.)

(第三項 (支那事變) 修正ナン但シ次ノ note ヲリ

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(The foregoing draft of section 3 is subject to further discussion

of the question of cooperative defense against communist activities,

including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory,

and the question of economic cooperation between China and Japan. With

regard to suggestion that the language of section 3 be changed, it is

believed that consideration of any suggested change can most advantage-

ously be given after all the points in the annex relating to this

section have been satisfactorily worked out, when the section and the

annex can be viewed as a whole.)

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(四) 第四項 (通商關係) 修正ナシ

(內) 第五項 (太平洋ニ於ケル經濟的活動) 修正ナシ

(七) (脱?) (太平洋ニ於ケル政治的活動) ハ冒頭ヲ *Both Govern-*

ments ト改ム

(八) 第七項 (比島) 修正ナシ (了)

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アジア歴史資料センター

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American draft

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Strictly confidential

Unofficial, exploratory and without commitment

The Governments of the United States and of Japan accept joint responsibility for the initiation and conclusion of a General Agreement of Understanding as expressed in a joint Declaration for the resumption of traditional friendly relations.

Without reference to specific cause of recent estrangement, it is our sincere desire of both Governments that the incidents which led to the deterioration of amicable sentiment between their countries should be prevented from recurrence and corrected in their mutual interest and unorthodox consequences.

It is our earnest hope that, by a cooperative effort, the United States and Japan may contribute effectively toward establishment and preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and, by the rapid consummation of an amicable understanding, encourage world peace and, if not delayed, the tragic confusion that now threatens to engulf civilization.

For such decisive action, protracted negotiations would seem ill-suited and weakening. Both Governments, therefore desire that adequate instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a General understanding which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act.

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It is the belief of the two Governments that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which could be deliberated later at a conference. Both Governments presume to anticipate that they could achieve harmonious relations if certain situations and attitudes were clarified or improved; to wit:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European War.
3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.
4. Commerce between both nations.
5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.
6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.
7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

Accordingly, the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan have come to the following mutual understandings and declaration of policy:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
- Both Governments affirm that their national policies are directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new

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era of reciprocal confidence and cooperation between our peoples. Both Governments declare that it is their traditional and present concept and conviction that nations and races compose as members of a family, one household living under the ideal of Universal concord through justice and equity; each equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interests regulated by peaceful processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical welfare, which they are bound to defend for themselves as they are bound not to destroy for others; they further admit their responsibilities to oppose the oppression or exploitation of other peoples.

Both Governments are firmly determined that their respective traditional concepts on the character of nations and the underlying moral principles of social order and national life will continue to be preserved and never transformed by foreign ideas or ideologies contrary to those moral principles and concepts.

2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war. The Government of Japan maintains that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact was, and is, defensive and is designed to contribute to the prevention of an unprovoked extension of the European war. The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude toward the European hostilities is and will continue to be determined solely by considerations of protection and self-defense: its national

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security and the defense thereof.

Note (there is appended a suggested draft of an exchange of letters as a substitute for the annex and supplement on the part of the Government of the United States on this subject which constituted a part of the draft of May 31st, 1941)

5. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The Japanese Government having communicated to the Government of the United States the general terms within the framework of which the Japanese Government will propose the negotiation of peaceful settlement with the Chinese Government, which terms are declared by the Japanese Government to be in harmony with the Konce principles regarding neighborly

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friendship and mutual respect of sovereignty and territories and with

the practical application of those principles; the President of the

United States will suggest to the Government of China that the Government of China and the Government of Japan enter into a negotiation on a basis mutually advantageous and acceptable for a termination of hostilities and resumption of peaceful relations.

Note (the foregoing draft of section 5 is subject to further discussion of the question of cooperative defense against communistic activities, including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory, and the question of economic cooperation between China and Japan. With regard to suggestion that the language of section 5 be changed, it is

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Believed that consideration of any suggested change can most advantageously be given after all the points in the annex relating to this section have been satisfactorily worked out, when the section and its annex can be viewed as a whole.)

4. Commerce between both nations.

When official approbation to the present understanding has been given by both Governments, the United States and Japan shall assure each other mutually to supply such commodities as are, respectively, available and required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to resume normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan. If a new commercial treaty is desired by both Governments, it would be negotiated as soon as possible and be concluded in accordance with usual procedures.

5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.

On the basis of mutual pledges hereby given that Japanese activity and American activity in the Pacific area shall be carried on by peaceful means and in conformity with the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations, the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States agree to cooperate each with the other toward obtaining non-discriminatory access by Japan and the United States to commercial supplies of natural resources (such as oil, rubber,

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vin, market) which each country needs for the safeguarding and development of its own economy.

6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

Both Governments declare that the controlling policy underlying this understanding is peace in the Pacific area; that it is their fundamental purpose, through cooperative effort, to contribute to the maintenance and the preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and that neither has territorial designs in the area mentioned.

7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

The Government of Japan declares its willingness to enter at such time as the Government of the United States may desire into negotiations with the Government of the United States with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands, when Philippine independence shall have been achieved.

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Annex and Supplement on the part of Japanese Government.

III Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The basic terms as referred to in the above section are as follows:

1. Neighboring friendship.

2. (Cooperative defense against injurious Communist activities — including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.)

Subject to further discussion.

(Economic cooperation.) Subject to agreement on an exchange of letters in regard to the application to this point of the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations.

Mutual respect for the inherent characteristics of each nation cooperating as good neighbors and forming an East Asian nucleus contributing to world peace.

Withdrawal of Japanese armed forces from Chinese territory as promptly as possible and in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Japan and China.

No annexation.

No indemnities.

Amicable negotiation in regard to Manchukuo.

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Annex and supplement on the part of the Government of the United States.

IV. Commerce between both nations.

It is understood that during the present international emergency Japan and the United States each shall permit export to the other of commodities in amounts up to the figures of usual or pre-war trade, except, in the case of each, commodities which it needs for its own purposes of security and self-defense. These limitations are mentioned to clarify the obligations of each Government. They are not intended as restrictions against either Government; and, it is understood, both Governments will apply such regulations with friendly nations.

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Oral statement—June 21, 1941

The Secretary of State appreciates the earnest efforts which have been made by the Japanese Ambassador and his associates to bring about a better understanding between our two countries and to establish peace in the Pacific area. The Secretary of State appreciates also the frankness which has characterized their attitude throughout the conversations which have been held.

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This Government is no less desirous than the Japanese Ambassador to bring about better relations between our two countries and a

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situation of peace in the Pacific area and in that spirit the Secretary of State has given careful study of every aspect of the Japanese proposal.

The Secretary of State has no reason to doubt that many Japanese leaders share the views of the Japanese Ambassador and his associates as indicated above and would support action toward achieving those high objectives. Unfortunately, accumulating

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evidence reaches this Government from sources all over the world, including reports from sources which over many years have demonstrated sincere goodwill toward Japan, that some Japanese leaders

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in influential official positions are definitely committed to a course which calls for support of Nazi Germany and its policies of conquest and that the only kind of understanding with the United States which they would endorse is one that would envisage Japan's fighting on the side of Hitler should the United States become involved in the European hostilities through carrying out its present policy of self defense.

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can not be ignored. So long as such leaders maintain this attitude in their official positions and apparently seek to influence public opinion in Japan in the direction indicated, is it not illusory to expect that adoption of a proposal such as the one under consideration offers a basis for achieving substantial results along the desired lines?

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Another source of misgiving in the Japanese proposal relates to the desire of the Japanese Government to include in its terms for a peaceful settlement to be offered to the Chinese Government a provision which would permit the stationing of Japanese troops in certain areas in Inner Mongolia and North China as a measure of coopera-

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tion with China in resisting communistic activities.

While this Government has given careful thought to the considerations which have prompted the Japanese Government to make such a proposal, and while this Government does not desire to enter into the merits of such a proposal, it feels that the liberal policies to which the United States is committed, as explained on numerous occasions to the Japanese Ambassador and his associates, would not permit this Government to associate itself with any course which appears to be inconsistent with these policies. Furthermore, although in matters affecting only this country there might be some latitude of decision as to the qualifying of rights, the matter under discussion affects the sovereign rights of a third country, and accordingly it is felt that this Government must be most scrupulous in dealing with such a matter.

The Secretary of State has therefore reluctantly come to the conclusion that this Government must await some clearer indication than has yet been given that the Japanese Government as a whole desires to pursue courses of peace such as constitute the objectives of the proposed understanding. This Government sincerely hopes that the Japanese Government will manifest such an attitude.

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Note: in order to bring the current discussions up to date as far as the American attitude is concerned, there is being handed the Japanese Ambassador separately a revision, bearing the date of June 21, of the document marked "unofficial, exploratory and without commitment," which was handed the Japanese Ambassador on May 31.

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