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25199 (總)

次官(總務)

亞利加局長(康亞局長)

電信課長

昭和十六年八月十八日午後華府發

八月十八日前後本省著

(機)

極秘 館長符號

野村大使

豊田外務大臣

第七〇六號 至急

255

十七日午後日曜ニモ拘ラス今朝帰朝早々ノ大統領ノ至急ノ求メニ依リ往訪(ハル長官同席)セル云別番第七〇七號(日本カモ)

館長符號電信

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0 526 237

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上武力進出ヲ行フニ於テハ米ニ政府ハ米子及米子民ノ權益擁護並米子ノ安全保障ノ為々西のト認ムル如何ナル一切ノ措置ヲ即時執ラサルヲ得スト結論ス及別番七〇八號(西子首腦部會見ニ付テハ先日本政府ノ政策ノ闡明ヲ求ムル趣旨)書物ヲ読上ケ右東京政府ニ傳達方要請アリタリ尚右書物ハ口上書トモ言フキモノニアラス

館長符號電信

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0 527 238

REEL No. A-0288

アジア歴史資料センター

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外機密

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昭和 二五二七四
 二五一七八
 華府 八月十八日 前發
 本省 十八日 後着
 野村大使

第七〇七號 (館長符號)

During past months the Governments of the United States and of Japan, through the secretary of state and the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, have engaged in protracted conversations directed toward exploring the possibility of reaching a sound basis for negotiations between the two countries relative to the maintenance of peace with order and justice in the Pacific. The principle and policies which were under discussing these conversations precluded pursuit

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唯本自舎見ノ参考資料トシテ子務者ヨリテ用意
 セシメタルモノニスキラスト云ルカ本使限リノ参考迄要
 ヒエケタリ

今譯ノ内容又意見追毛スキモ不取取(了)

館長符號電信

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by either Government of objective of expansion by force or by threat of force.

On July 24 last the President of the United States informed the Japanese Government through the Japanese Ambassador in Washington that he was willing to suggest to the Governments of Great Britain, of the Netherlands and of China that they make binding and solemn declaration that they had no aggressive intentions with regard to Indo-China and that they would agree that the markets and raw materials of Indo-China should be available to all powers on equal terms. The president stated further that he would be willing to suggest to the powers mentioned that they undertake this declara-

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tion, in which the United States would be willing to joint, upon the understanding that the Government of Japan would be disposed to make a similar declaration and would be further disposed to withdraw its military and naval forces from Indo-China.

Notwithstanding these efforts, the Government of Japan has continued its military activities and its disposals of armed forces at various points in the Far East and has occupied Indo-China with its military, air and naval forces.

The Government of the United States is in full sympathy with the desire expressed by the Japanese Government that the *Key: Okada* provided a fresh basis for amicable and mutually profitable relations

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between our two countries.

This Government's patience seeking an acceptable basis for such an understanding has been demonstrated time and again during recent years and especially during recent months. This Government feels at the present stage that nothing short of the most complete (basis?) can do (on) its part. In the light of evidence and indications which come to it from many sources, will at this moment tend to further the objectives sought.

Such being the case, this Government now finds it necessary to say to the Government of Japan that if the Japanese Government takes any further steps in pursuance of a policy or program of

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Military domination by force or threat of force of neighboring countries, the Government of the United States will be compelled to take immediately any and all steps which it may deem necessary toward safeguarding the legitimate rights and interest of the United States and American nationals and toward insuring the safety and security of the United States.

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this suggestion is appreciated.

Reference is made also to the desire expressed by the Japanese Ambassador during a call on the Secretary of State on August 16th that there be resumed the informal conversations which had been in progress between the two Governments toward ascertaining whether there existed a basis for negotiations relative to a peaceful settlement covering the entire Pacific situation.

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大臣

次官

亞米利加局長

東亞局長

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昭和 16
 二二二二二
 五五五五五
 一七八七九七
 九三六九三
 一四七
 一四一五

華府 八月十八日發
 本省 十八日發着

豐田外務大臣
 第七〇八號 (館長符號)

野村大使

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Reference is made to the question which the Japanese Ambassador raised on August 8 during a conversation with the Secretary of State whether it might not be possible for the responsible heads of the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States to meet with a view to discussing means where by an adjustment in relations between the United States and Japan might be brought about. The thought of Prince Kono and of the Japanese Government in offering

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When the Japanese Ambassador brought up these suggestions, the Secretary of State reminded the Ambassador that the Government of the United States had shown great patience and had been prepared to continue in that course of patience so long as the Japanese Government manifested a desire to follow a course of peace. It was pointed out to the Ambassador that in proceeding along this course this Government had received reports indicating clearly that the Japanese Government was adopting courses directly the opposite of those on which the recent conversations between the Ambassador and the Secretary of State had been predicated. It was pointed out also that the Japanese press was being constantly stimulated to spread a misrepresentation of Japan by the United States and was being officially

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Inspired in ways calculated to inflame public opinion. The Secretary of State made it clear that he did not see how conversations between the two Governments could usefully be pursued or proposals be discussed while Japanese official spokesmen and the Japanese press contended that the United States was endeavoring to encircle Japan and carried on a campaign against ^{the} United States. On two occasions officers of the Department of State, pursuant to instructions from the Secretary of State, called on the Japanese Ambassador to indicate concern over the reports that Japan intended to acquire by force or threat of force military and naval bases in French Indochina. Subsequently, on July 21 and July 23 the acting Secretary of State referred with the Japanese Minister and with the Japanese Ambassa-

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for the question of Japan's intentions with regard to French Indochina and pointed out that the Government of the United States could only assume that the occupation by Japan of French Indochina or the acquisition of military and naval bases in that area constituted notice to the United States that Japan had taken by forceful means a step preparatory to embarking on further movements of conquest in the South Pacific area. The acting Secretary pointed out further that this new move on Japan's part was prejudicial to the procurement by the United States of essential raw materials and to the peace of the Pacific, including the Philippine Islands.

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The Government of the United States accordingly had no alternative but to inform the Japanese Ambassador that, in the opinion of this Government, the measures then being taken by the Japanese Government had served to remove the basis for further conversations relative to a peaceful settlement in the Pacific area.

Informal discussions between the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States directed toward ascertaining whether there exists a basis for negotiations relative to a peaceful settlement covering the entire Pacific situation would naturally envisage the working out of program attainable by peaceful methods. It goes without saying that no proposals or suggestions affecting the rights and

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privileges of either the United States or Japan would be considered except as ^{there?} (the right) being conformity with the basic principle to which the United States has long been committed.

The program envisaged in such informal discussions would involve the application in the entire Pacific area of the principle of equality of commercial opportunity and treatment. It would thus make possible access by all countries to raw materials and to all other essential commodities. Such a program would envisage cooperation by all nations of the Pacific on a voluntary and peaceful basis toward utilizing all available resources of capital, technical skill, and progressive economic leadership for the purpose of building up not only their own

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economies but also the economies of regions where productive capacity can be improved. The ^{part} result would be to increase the purchasing power of the nations and peoples concerned, to raise standards of living, and to create conditions conducive to the maintenance of peace.

If such a program based upon peaceable and constructive principles were to be adopted for the Pacific and if thereafter any of the countries or areas within the Pacific were menaced, the policy of aiding nations resisting aggression would continue to be followed by this Government and this Government would cooperate with other nations in extending assistance of any country threatened.

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of the Government of the United States, attain all the objectives which Japan affirms that it is seeking. This program would not enable any country to intend its military or political control over other peoples or to obtain economic rights of a definitely monopolistic or preferential character.

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In those cases where the production and distribution of essential commodities are vested in monopolies, the Government of the United States would expect to use its influence to see that all countries are given a fair share of the distribution of the products of such monopolies and at a fair price.

If the Japanese Government is seeking what it affirms to be its objectives, the Government of the United States feels that the program above outlined is one that can be counted upon to assure Japan satisfaction of its economic needs and legitimate aspirations with much greater certainty than could any other program.

In case the Japanese Government feels that Japan desires and

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is in position to suspend its expansionist activities, to readjust its position, and to embark upon a peaceful program for the Pacific along the lines of the program and principles to which the United States is committed, the Government of the United States would be prepared to consider resumption of the informal exploratory discussions which were interrupted in July and would be glad to endeavor to arrange a suitable time and place to exchange views.

The Government of the United States, however, feels that, in view of the circumstances attending the interruption of the informal conversations between the two Governments, it would be helpful to both Governments, before undertaking a resumption of such conver-

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sations or proceeding with plans for a meeting, if the Japanese Government would be so good as to furnish a clearer statement that as yet been furnished, as to its present attitude and plans, just as this Government has repeatedly outlined to the Japanese Government its attitude and plans. (over)

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外務省

テハ日本政府カ平和的方策追及ノ御意圖ヲ表明セラレツツアル
 モノトシテ日米國交調整ノタメ大ナル忍耐ヲシテ参リマシタ、
 然ルニ右米國政府ノ態度ニモ拘ラス日本政府ハ前記非公式會談
 ノ基調タル平和的政策ト全ク相反スル政策ヲ採ラレツツアリト
 ノ明白ナ情報ニ接シタル旨ヲ野村大使ニ指摘シタノデアリマス、
 又日本ノ新聞カ米國ノ對日包圍陣形成ヲ論議スヘク又之ニ關聯
 シ輿論ヲ煽動スル方法ニ付公ニ指導セラレツツアル事實ヲ指摘
 シ、斯クノ如ク一方ニ於テ日本政府ノ「スポークスマン」及新
 聞カ米國ノ對日包圍ノ事實ヲ主張シ米國攻撃ノ論議ヲ爲シツツ
 アル此ノ際兩國政府間ノ會談ヲ續行スルモ由ナキ旨ヲ國務長官

外務省

兩國首腦部會見提案ニ對スル八月十七日
 米側回答（其ノ一）要旨

十六、八廿二、午三時、野村

一、八月八日野村大使カ「ハル」長官トノ會談中提起セラレタ本件
 日米首腦部會見ヲ近衛公及日本政府カ提起セラレタルコトヲ謝
 スルモノデアリマス
 二、野村大使カ八月十六日「ハル」長官ニ對シ從來行ハレテ來タ日
 米了解ニ關スル非公式會談再開ノ希望ヲ披瀝セラレタルコトモ
 聞キ及ヒマシタ
 三、野村大使カ右提議ヲセラレタル際「ハル」長官ハ米國政府トシ

外務省

本政府力採リツツアリマシタ措置ニ依リ太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和的解決ニ關聯スル從來ノ非公式會談續行ノ基礎カ失ハレタ旨通報スルノ外無カツタ次第デアリマス、

五前記非公式會談ハ當然平和的手段ニ依リ達成シ得ヘキ政策綱領ノ立案ヲ豫見スルモノデアリマス、

右非公式會談ニテ豫見セラルル綱領ハ太平洋全地域ニ於ケル經濟上ノ機會均等及平等待遇ノ原則ノ適用ヲ包含スヘキモノデアリマス、之ニ依リ一切ノ國家ハ同地域ヨリ産スル原料品及其ノ他一切ノ必需物資ノ入手カ可能トナリマス、又斯ル綱領ハ太平洋ニ於ケル一切ノ國家ノ經濟發展ノタメノミナラス未開發ノ諸

外務省

ヨリ野村大使ニ對シ申入レマシタ、

又國務長官ノ命ヲ受ケ國務省官吏カ二回ニ亙リ野村大使ヲ往訪シ日本カ佛印南部ニ於ケル陸海軍基地獲得ヲ企圖スルトノ情報ニ關スル米側ノ不安ノ念ヲ表明セシメマシタ、次テ七月二十一日及二十三日「ウエルズ」國務長官代理ハ若杉公使及野村大使ニ對シ日本ノ佛印占領乃至同地域ニ於ケル軍事基地獲得ハ更ニ武力的南進ノ準備的第一歩ヲ踏ミ出シタルモノト推定スル外ナキ旨前ニ右日本ノ行動ハ米國ノ必需原料品ノ取得及比島ヲ含ム太平洋ノ平和ニ有害ナル旨ヲ指摘致シマシタ、

四從テ米國政府ハ野村大使ニ對シ米國政府ノ見解ニ依レハ當時日

外務省

リマス、

日本政府ノ公ニセラレタル御意圖達成ノ爲メニモ右綱領ハ最モ
 確實ナル方法ト思ハレルノデアリマス、

七 日本政府カ其ノ（領土）擴張的行動ノ停止シ、其ノ立場ノ調整
 フ行ヒ及米國ノ信條トスル原則及綱領ニ同調シ太平洋ニ關スル
 平和的「プログラム」ノ着手ヲ希望シ且之ヲ實行シ得トセラル
 ルニ於テハ米國政府ハ七月ニ中絶セラレタ非公式豫備的會談ヲ
 再開スル用意アリ且意見交換ノ爲メ適當ナル時期及場所ノ斡旋
 ニ欣然努力スル考デアリマス、

八 然シ乍ラ本件非公式會談カ中絶スルニ至リマシタ事情ニ鑑ミ米

外務省

地域ノ經濟建設ノタメニスル平和的協力關係ヲ豫見致シマス、
 斯カル平和的建設ノ綱領カ太平洋ニ關シ採擇セラレタル後太平
 洋内ノ何レカノ國家又ハ地域カ脅威セララル場合ニハ米國政府
 ハ斯カル脅威ヲ受クル國家又ハ地域援助ノタメ他國家ト協力ス
 ルコトト成リマセウ、

六 又米國政府ノ見解ニ依レハ太平洋地域ニ於ケル斯ル綱領ハ如何
 ナル國家モ他國民ニ對スル軍事的政治的支配ヲ金テ又ハ經濟上
 ノ獨占的權利獲得ヲ認メラレサル次第デアリマスカ現ニ必齎物
 資ノ生産及分配カ獨占セラレ居ル場合米國政府ハ一切ノ國カ公
 正ナル價格ニテ公正ナル分前ニ均霑シ得ル權盡カスル所存デア

外務省

一過去數ヶ月ニ亙リ日米兩國政府ハ長期間ニ亙ル會談ヲ行ツテ參
 リマンタカ右會談ノ基調ヲ爲ス主義及政策ハ日米何レモ武力又
 ハ武力ノ威嚇ニ依リ擴張目的ヲ追求セサルコトニアリマス
 二七月二十四日米國大統領ハ「英、蘭及支那政府ニ對シ、佛印ニ
 對スル侵略的意圖ヲ有セサル旨ヲ宣言シ且同地域ノ市場及原料
 品ハ均等ナル條件ニテ一切ノ國ニ利用セラルルコトニ同意セシ
 ムル様提議スル用意アル旨」ヲ日本政府ニ通報致シマシタ、更

日米非公式會談再開提議ニ對スル米側回答要旨
 (八月十七日米國大統領ヨリ野村大使ニ手交)

外務省

國政府トシテハ右會談再開ニ先立テ又ハ首腦部會見ノ計畫ニ着
 手スルニ先立テ米國政府カ其ノ態度及方針ニ付日本側ニ對シ反
 覆申上ケタルト同様日本政府ニ於テモ同政府現在ノ態度及方針
 ニ關シ從來表明セラレタルヨリモ更ニ明瞭ナル「ステートメン
 ト」ヲ提示セラルルコトヲ得ハ兩國政府ニトリ有益ナルヘシト
 考フル次第ニアリマス。

外務省

マシタ

同米國政府ハ日本政府カ隣接諸國ヲ武力又ハ武力ノ威嚇ニ依ル軍事
 的支配遂行ノタメ更ニ何等カノ措置ヲ執ラルルニ於テハ米國
 及米國民ノ合法的權利及利益防衛ノ爲竝ニ米國ノ安全保障確保
 ノ爲必要ト認ムル一切ノ措置ヲ講スルノ餘儀ナキニ至ルヘキ旨
 ヲ茲ニ日本政府ニ言明スル次第デアリマス

外務省

ニ同大統領ハ日本政府カ同様ノ宣言ヲ爲シ且印度支那ヨリ撤兵
 セラルル了解ノ下ニ、前記諸國ニ對シ前記宣言ノ履行保障方ヲ
 提議スル用意アリ且右宣言ニハ米國モ參加ノ用意アル旨ヲ明カ
 ニ致シマシタ

右努力ニ拘ラス日本政府ハ其ノ軍事行動及板東各地點ニ於ケル
 兵力ノ配置ヲ繼續セラレ且陸、海、空軍ヲ以テ佛印ヲ占領シテ
 居ラレマス

三米國政府ハ日本政府カ日米兩國間ノ友好的且相互ニ有益ナル關
 係設定ノ新ナル基礎發見ニ關シ表明セラレタル希望ニ共鳴シ過
 去數年間特ニ最近數ヶ月ニ於テハ一再ナラス難キヲ忍ンテ参リ

外務省