

レハ差支ナカルヘシトノ論アルヘシト雖モ斯カルゴトハ往々ニシテ漏ルルコトモアリ勝チニ付我方ニ於テモ豫メ文ノ用意ハ致ス必要アリ

尙蔣側カ和平勸告ヲ受諸セサル場合米側ニ於テ授蔣行爲ヲ停止スヘキ旨ノ約束ヲ別ノ祕密文書ニテ取付ケラルルコト致シ度ク米側ニテ右ヲ不可能トスル事情アラハ責任者ノ確約ニテモ可ナリ

(三)四ノA及C削除ノ理由ハ此ノ種事項ハ本案成立後ノ兩國間緊張緩和ヲ俟テ其ノ時ノ形勢ニ顧ミ必要アリトセハ交渉スルコトスル方一層實際的ナリトノ意焉ナリ

同Bノ事項ハ別箇ノ了解事項トシ其實施ニ就テハ時機、方法、規模等特ニ慎重ナル考量ヲ要シカカル事ハ我同盟國ニ與フル影響ヲモ深ク考慮セサルヘカラス此點俟ト御含ミアリタシ

(四)(修正案ノ四)第二項削除モ四ノA及C削除ト同一理由ニ依ル

(五)(修正案ノ五)「武力ニ訴フルコトナク」ヲ削除セル理由ハ帝國ノ平和政策ハ近衛總理及本大臣ニ於テ從來屢々聲明セル通りニシテ南方ニ對スル我發展カ平和的手段ニ依ルヘキコトハ帝國ノ衷心ヨリ希望スル所ナリ然レトモ現下ノ國際情勢ハ未會有ノ泥濘ヲ示シ何時如何ナル變化アルヤモ知レス國際情勢將來發展如何ニ依リテハ帝國トシテモ萬ニツ他ノ挑發アラハ武力行使ヲ餘儀ナクセラルコトナキヲ保シ難シ然カモ今後右情勢カ如何ニ推移スルヤハ日本ノミカ獨リ其動向ヲ決シタルモノニアラサルコト勿論ナリ此點ハ寧ロ淡白ニ申述フルコト却ツテ自他ヲ欺カサル所以ト信スルモノナリ

(六)七(修正案ノ六)ノA削除ノ理由ハ帝國トシテハ現在ノトコロ比島ノ保障位ガ限度ニシテ夫レ以上本項ノ如キ大ナ

一九、五月十二日日本側對案

日本國政府及米國政府ハ兩國間ノ傳統的友好關係ノ回復ヲ目的トスル全般的協定ヲ交渉シ且之ヲ締結センカ爲茲ニ共同ノ責任ヲ受諾ス

兩國政府ハ兩國國交ノ最近ノ疎隔ノ原因ニ付テハ特ニ之ヲ論議スルコトナク兩國民間ノ友好的感情ヲ惡化スルニ至リタル事件ノ再發ヲ防止シ其ノ不測ノ發展ヲ制止スルコトヲ衷心ヨリ希望ス兩國共同ノ努力ニ依リ太平洋ニ道義ニ基ク

平和ヲ樹立シ兩國間ノ懸念ナル友好的了解ヲ達カニ完成スルコトニ依リ文明ヲ覆沒セントスル悲シムヘキ混亂ノ脅威ヲ一掃セシコト若シ其ノ不可能ナルニ於テハ速カニ之ヲ擴大セシメサランコトハ兩國政府ノ切實ニ希望スル所ナリトス

前記ノ決定的行動ノ爲ニハ長期ノ交渉ハ不適當ニシテ又優柔不斷ナルニ鑑ミ茲ニ全般的協定ヲ成立セシムル爲兩國政府ヲ道義的ニ拘束シ其ノ行爲ヲ規律スヘギ適當ナル手段トシテ文書ヲ作成スルコトヲ提議スルモノナリ

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右ノ如キ了解ハ之ヲ緊急ナル重要問題ニ限局シ會議ノ審議ニ譲リ後ニ適宜兩國政府間ニ於テ確認シ得ヘキ附隨的事項ハ之ヲ含マシメサルヲ適當トス

兩國政府間ノ關係ハ左記ノ諸點ニ付事態ヲ明瞭ニシ又ハ之ヲ改善シ得ルニ於テハ著シク調整シ得ヘシト認メラル

一、日米兩國ノ抱懷スル國際觀念並ニ國家觀念

二、歐洲戰爭ニ對スル兩國政府ノ態度

三、支那事變ニ對スル兩國政府ノ關係

四、兩國間ノ通商

五、南西太平洋方面ニ於ケル兩國ノ經濟的活動

六、太平洋ノ政治的安定ニ關スル兩國政府の方針

前述ノ事情ヨリ茲ニ左記ノ了解ニ到達シタリ

一、日米兩國ノ抱懷スル國際觀念及國家觀念

日米兩國政府ハ相互ニ其ノ對等ノ獨立國ニシテ相隣接スル太平洋強國タルコトヲ承認ス

兩國政府ハ恆久ノ平和ヲ確立シ兩國間ニ相互ノ尊敬ニ基ク信賴ト協力ノ新時代ヲ創サンコトヲ希望スル事實ニ於テ

兩國ノ國策ノ一致スルコトヲ闡明セントス

兩國政府ハ各國並ニ各人種ハ相據リテ八私一宇ヲ爲シ等シク權利ヲ享有シ相互ノ利益ハ之ヲ平和的方法ニ依リ調節

シ精神的竝ニ物質的ノ福祉ヲ追求シ之ヲ自ラ擁護スルト共ニ之ヲ破壞セサルヘク且進民族ノ抑壓又ハ掠取ヲ排撃

スヘキ責任ヲ容認スルコトハ兩國政府ノ傳統的確信ナリコトヲ闡明ス
兩國政府ハ相互ニ兩國固有ノ傳統ニ基ク國家觀念及社會的秩序並ニ國家生活ノ基礎タル道義的原則ヲ保持スヘク之
ニ反スル外來思想ノ跳梁ヲ許容セサルノ鞏固ナル決意ヲ有ス

二、歐洲戰爭ニ對スル兩國政府ノ態度

日本及米國政府ハ世界平和ノ招來ヲ共同ノ目標トシ相協力シテ歐洲戰爭ノ擴大ヲ防止スルノミナラス共ノ速カナル
平和克復ニ努力ス

日本國政府ハ権輔同盟カ防禦的ニシテ現ニ歐洲戰爭ニ參入シ居ラサル國家ノ戰爭參加ヲ防止スルニ在ルモノナルコトヲ闡明ス

米國政府ハ其ノ歐洲戰爭ニ對スル態度ハ現在及將來ニ於テ一方ノ國ヲ援助シテ他方ヲ攻撃セントスルカ如キ攻擊的

施策ニ出テサルヘキコトヲ闡明ス

日本國政府ハ戰爭ヲ嫌惡スルコトニ於テ牢固タルモノアリ從ツテ其ノ歐洲戰爭ニ對スル態度ハ現在及將來ニ互リ専ラ

自國ノ福祉ト安全トヲ防衛スルノ考慮ニ依リテノミ決セラルヘキモノナルコトヲ闡明ス

三、支那事變ニ對スル兩國政府ノ關係

米國政府ハ近衛聲明ニ示サレタル三原則及右ニ基キ南京政府ト締結セラレタル條約及日滿支共同宣言ニ明示セラレ

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タル原則ヲ了承シ且日本政府ノ善隣友好ノ政策ニ信頼シ直ニ蔵政權ニ對シ和平ノ勸告ヲ爲スベシ

四、兩國間ノ通商

今次ノ了解成立シ兩國政府之ヲ承認シタルトキハ日米兩國ハ各其ノ必要ストル物資ヲ相手國カ有スル場合相手國ヨリ之カ確保ヲ保證セラルモノトス又兩國政府ハ皆テ日米通商條約有效期間中存在シタルカ如キ正常ノ通商關係ヘ復歸ノ爲適當ナル方法ヲ講スルモノトス尙兩國政府ハ新通商條約ノ締結ヲ欲スルトキハ日米會談ニ於テ之ヲ考究シ通常ノ慣例ニ從ヒ之ヲ締結スルモノトス

五、南西太平洋方面ニ於ケル兩國ノ經濟活動

日本ノ南西太平洋方面ニ於ケル發展ハ平和的手段ニ依ルモノナルコトノ闡明セラレタルニ鑑ミ日本ノ欲スル同方面ニ於ケル資源例へ石油、謹製、錫、「ニッケル」等ノ物資ノ生産及獲得ニ關シ米國側ハ之ニ協力スルモノトス

六、太平洋ノ政治的安定ニ關スル兩國ノ方針

A、日米兩國政府ハ比島ヲシテ永久中立ヲ保持セシムルコト及同島ニ於テ日本國民ニ對シ差別待遇ヲ爲サザルコトヲ條件トシテ其ノ獨立ヲ共同ニ保障ス

B、米國ニ對スル日本移民ハ友好的ニ考慮セラレ他國民ト同等無差別ノ待遇ヲ與ヘラルヘシ

附 則

本了解事項ハ兩國政府間ノ祕密覺書トス本了解事項發表ノ範圍性質及時期ハ兩國政府間ニ於テ協定スルモノトス(丁)

110、五月十一日日本側對策

The Governments of Japan and the United States accept joint responsibility for the negotiation and conclusion of a general agreement concerning the resumption of our traditional friendly relations.

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

It is our earnest hope that, by a joint effort, the two nations will establish a just peace in the Pacific, 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. We, therefore, suggest that adequate instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a general agreement which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act.

It is our belief that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which would be deliberated at a later conference and appropriately confirmed by our respective Governments.

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

1. The concepts of Japan and the United States respecting international relations and the character of nations.
2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.
3. The relations of both nations toward the China affair.
4. Commerce between both nations.
5. Economic activity of both nations in the South-Western Pacific area.

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

Accordingly, we have come to the following mutual understanding:

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

The Governments of Japan and the United States jointly acknowledge each other as equally sovereign states and contiguous Pacific Powers.

Both Governments assert the unanimity of their national policies as directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new era of respectful confidence and cooperation between our peoples.

Both Governments declare that it is their traditional concept and conviction that nations and races compose, as members of a family, one household, under the ideal of universal concord based on 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. There should, of course, be neither oppression nor exploitation of the backward peoples.

Both Governments are firmly determined that their respective traditional conceptions on the character of nations and undermining 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.

II. *The Attitudes of both Governments toward the European War.*

It being the common aim of both Governments to establish world peace, they will join forces with a view to preventing the extension of the European war and restoring peace speedily.

The Government of Japan maintains that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact was, and is, defensive and designed to prevent the participation of nations in the European war not at present involved in it.

The Government of Japan declares that there is no question that the obligation of military assistance under the Tripartite Pact comes into force in the case stipulated in Article three of the said Pact.

The Government of the United States declares that so far as its attitude toward the European War is concerned, it does not and will not resort

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to aggressive measures aimed to assist any one nation against another. The United States maintains that it is pledged to the hate of war, and accordingly its attitude toward the European War is, and will continue to be, determined solely and exclusively by considerations of the protective defense of its own national welfare and security.

III. The relations of both nations toward the China Affair.

In appreciation of the Three Principles set forth in the Konoye statement and the Treaty concluded with the Nanking Government upon the basis of the said statement and the Joint Declaration of Japan, Manchoukuo and China and also in reliance upon Japan's policy of friendship and good neighbour toward China, the Government of the United States will immediately request the Chiang Kai-shek regime to negotiate peace with Japan.

IV. Commerce between both Nations.

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

accordance with usual procedure.

V. Economic activity of both Nations in the South-Western Pacific Area.

Noting that Japanese expansion in the direction of the South-Western Pacific is declared to be of peaceful nature, American cooperation and support shall be given in the production and procurement of natural resources (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which Japan needs.

VI. The policies of both Nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific.

A. The Governments of Japan and the United States jointly guarantee the independence of the Philippine Islands provided that the latter observes perpetual neutrality and accords to the Japanese subjects a treatment equal to the Commonwealth citizens.

B. Japanese immigration to the United States shall receive amicable consideration on a basis of equality with other nationals and freedom from discrimination.

Addendum.

The present understanding shall be kept as a Confidential Memorandum between the Governments of Japan and the United States. The scope, character and timing of the announcement of this understanding will be agreed upon by both Governments.

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一一一、五月十三日松岡大臣發野村大使宛電報第二二六號

(松岡大臣覺書手交調令ノ件)

逕渉ナク直ニ別電第一一七號ヲ國務長官ニ手交セラレ度シ

一一一、五月十三日松岡大臣發野村大使宛電報

Strictly Confidential

I feel it hardly necessary but in order to leave no room whatever for any misapprehension I wish to put the following on record at this juncture. It must have been clear from what I have often stated publicly or otherwise that my decision to follow the pourparler between Your Excellency and Ambassador Nomura and open the present negotiation was based on the premises that the United States would not enter the European war and that the United States Government agree to advise Chiang Kai-shek to enter into a direct negotiation with Japan with a view to bring about peace between Japan and China at the earliest possible date. Of course it must have been plain from the start that on no other premises would or could Japan possibly come to any understanding of the sort held in view in the present negotiation.

本大臣ハ心底ヨリ殆ト必要ナシト存スルモ一切ノ誤解ノ餘地ヲ餘ササル爲此際次ノ點ヲ記録ニ留メコトヲ希望ス

閣下及野村大使間ノ豫備交渉ヲ取上ケ現在ノ會談ヲ開始セントヲ本大臣カ決意セル所以ハ米國ハ歐洲戰爭ニ參加セサルヘキコト及米國政府ハ最モ速ニ日支間ニ和平ヲ招來スヘキコトヲ考慮シ蔣政權ニ對シ對日直接和平交渉開始方ヲ勸告スヘキコトニ同意スルコトノ前提ニ基キタルニ在ルモノナルコトハ本大臣カ屢々公式ニ又ハ其他ノ方法ニ依リ旨明シ來リタル處ニヨリ明瞭ナリ、勿論前記以外ノ前提ニ於テハ日本ハ恐ラク本會談ニ於テ考慮セラルカ如キ種類ノ何等了解ニ到達スルコトナカルヘク又到達シ得ザルヘキハ當初ヨリ明瞭ナリシニ違ヒナキ次第ナリ

一一一、五月十三日野村大使發松岡大臣宛電報第三〇四號

(覺書手交見合方請調ノ件)

貴電第一一七號ニ關シ(米ノ不參戰及蔣ニ對スル和平勸告問題ニ關スル覺書ノ件)目下進行中ノ話合(「ハル」長官ノ云フカ如ク未タ「オフレコード」「ブライベート・トーキング」)ノ時代ニシテ正式交渉ニ入り居ラス從ツテ了解案自體モ之ヲ繰ニ沿ヒテ話合ヲナスヘキ程度ノモノタルコトハ承知ノ通リナリ)ハ素ヨリ御來電ノ眼點即チ米ノ參戰防止及蔣ニ對スル和平勸告ヲ眼目トシ居リ本使ニ於テモ右御趣旨ニ副フヘク折角努力申ニテシ参戰防止和平勸告ヲ速ニスルコトニ付テハ右話合中好機ヲ促ヘテ極力我主張ヲ貫徹スルコトニ努ムヘキニ付右御承認願タシ(丁)

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(獨伊ニ對シ内報ノ件)

一一四、五月十五日松岡大臣發野村大使宛電報第二三〇號
貴電第三〇四號ニ關シ

本件日米了解案ニ關シテハ三國同盟ノ關係上獨伊ニ對スル信義ノ問題及國內の考慮ヨリ五月四日歐亞局長ヲ各別ニ在京獨伊大使ノ許ニ派シ内容ノ詳細ニハ觸レス單ニ本件米側提案ノ次第及其ノ一部ヲ説明セシメ且米側ニ於テハ大統領、國務長官外一、三ノ閣僚カ閣知シ居ルニ過キサル程嚴祕ノ取扱ヲ爲シ居ルニモ鑑ミ夫々「ヒトラー」總裁、「リツベン」外相及「ムツソリ」ニ首相、「チアノ」外相ノミニ内報シ外部ニハ絕對漏レサル様配意アリタキ旨念ヲ押サシメ置キタリ他方ハ獨伊帝國大使ニ對シ此ノ上伏セ置クハ各般ノ考慮ヨリシテ却ツア面白カラサル結果ヲ招來スル惧アリト認メラルノミナラス在獨日本大使ヨリ問合セアリタルヲ以テ十日別電第三三一號(獨宛第三九六號)ノ通り内報セル次第ナリ。

事情右ノ通リニシテ政府トシテハ獨伊トノ關係及國內關係上後日誤解ヲ生スル餘地ナカラシム爲米ノ參戰防止竝ニ蔣政權ニ對スル和平勸告ニ關スル我方要請ヲ文書ノ形ニテ米側ニ申入レ置ク要アル次第ナリ右各項ハ我方修正案申二取入レアルモ事柄ノ重要性ニ鑑ミ貴大使ノ立場ハ重々諒察スルモ往電第二二七號御取計アリタシ

二五、五月十七日獨逸政府發在京獨逸大使宛訓令

(五月十七日松岡大臣オット在京獨逸大使會議ノ際同大使持參)

獨逸政府ハ米國ノ參戰ヲ抑制スル最良ノ方法ハ日本カ米國ノ提案ニ就キ交渉スルヲ斷乎拒否セラルニ在リタルヘシトノ見解ナリ。獨逸政府ハ日本政府カ米國政府ニ回答セラル以前獨逸政府ノ意見ヲ待タレサリシヲ遺憾トス、三國條約ハ昨年獨伊日三國ノ政治的道徳的結合トシテ締セラレ其ノ大目標ハ第三國ノ戰爭參加ヲ阻止スルニ在リタリ本條約ハ從來右ノ目的ヲ達シタルモノニシテ將來モ亦若シ日獨伊三國ノ統一戰線カ緊密ニ維持セラルニ於テハ其ノ效果ヲ發揮スヘシ三國條約ノ一國カ三國條約外ノ第三國ト結フ條約ハ總テ三國條約國ノ戰線ノ弱化ト解セラルヘクスケテ本條約ノ政治的效果ヲ減殺スヘシ

若シ日本政府カ夫レニモ拘ラズ日米關係ニ關シ米國政府ノ義務(從來規定セラレタルヨリ更ニ著シク明白ナル形式ニ於テ)上ノ意味ニ於テハ然ラストスルモ僅融國ノ敵國ナルカ故ニ上述ノ不利益ナル效果發生ヲ少クモ豫メ不可能トスルコト必要ナリ。

ノ故ニ英國ト権輔國トノ戰爭ニ干渉セサル米國政府ノ義務(從來規定セラレタルヨリ更ニ著シク明白ナル形式ニ於テ)及ヒ三國條約ヨリ生スル日本ノ義務ヲ明白且分明ニ確決スルコトカ日米協約ノ根本點トナサルルヲ要シ而モ右根本點ニ爾餘ノ規定カスヘテ依存セシメラルヲ要スヘシ

此ノ事情ニ下ニ於テハ形式化ノ問題カ最重要ノ意味ヲ有スルコトトナルヘン、日本ノ回答ノ第一項ニ於テ三國條約ヨ

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1.1.3.1 -1

2017

リ生スル日本ノ義務ノ存續ニ關シ述ヘラレアル點ハ元來日米協約中ニ於テ右ニ關シ言及サルヲ要スル絕對最少限ヲ表ハシ居ルモノニシテ此ノ最少限ヲ逸脱スルコト或ハ弱化スルコトハ事態ヲ顕落ノ方ニ導クヘク其ノ結果トシテ三國條約ノ精神ト意味ニ矛盾スルニ到ルヘク遂ニ三國條約ヲ幻影化ナスヘン。獨逸政府ハ今ヤ日米間ノ交渉ニ完全ニ參與シ米國ノ回答ニ付テ直ニ通報ヲ與ヘラレ度シトノ希望ヲ主張セサルヲ得ス。日本政府力豫メ獨逸政府ト右重要問題ノ凡テニ關シ了解ヲ遂ケシテ米國ノ通報ヲ聞カレ向後日本ノ地位ヲ確定サルルコトハ三國條約ノ關係ニ適合セサルモノナリ。

一六、五月二十四日松岡大臣發在獨大島大使宛電報

一、「リ外相ニ於テハ日米諒解案ニ關スル通報ニ接シ意外ニ感シ本大臣先般渡歐ノ際右ニ付伺等具體的ノ話ヲ爲ササリシ故ヲ以テ不審ノ念ヲ抱キ居ル趣ノ處實ハ伯林滯在中日米問題ニ付テハ同外相トモ一般的意見交換ヲ行ヒ居リ又三國條約ノ主要目的ハ米國ノ參戰防止ニ在リ之カ爲メ適切ナル外交工作ヲ施スコトハ三國共通ノ利益トナルコト論ナキニ鑑ミ本大臣ハ往電申進メノ通り歸途莫斯科ニ於テ米國大使ヲシテ(一)參戰セサルコト及ヒ(二)蒋介石ニ和平ヲ勸告スルコトノ二點ニ付キ考慮ヲ促スト同時ニ(三)三國條約ニ微塵ノ影響ト雖モ之ヲ及ホスカ如キコトハ一切許ス能ハス、若シ米國ニシテ參戰セハ日本ハ直ニ參戰スヘシト迄言明シ右本大臣ノ個人的メツセーチトシテ大統領ニ電報セシメタリ、然ルニ米國政府ハ四月十六日本大臣ハ歸朝ニ先立チ國交調整ニ關スル全般的協定案ヲ提示越シタリ本大臣ハ歸京後初メテ之ヲ承知セル様ノ經緯ニシテ從ツテ伯林ニ於テハ本件ニ付テ具體的協議ヲ行フ何等ノ基ハ更ニ明カニシアリ。

二、「ルーズヴェルト」ノ眞意ハ蓋シ諭測ニ難カラス「リ」外相ノ觀察ニハ本大臣モ概不同感ナルカ苟クモ相互ニ三國條約ヲ不動ノ國策トスル以上米國ノ日獨離間策ノ如キハ敢テ恐ルニ足ラス尤モ英米ノ離間策ハ今後益々激烈トナルベク、從ツテ此ノ際日獨伊三國當局ハ愈々精神的結束ヲ強固ニスル必要アリト存セラレ獨伊カ本件ニ關シ些カニテモ我心事ヲ疑フカ如キコトアラハ夫レ丈ヶニモ既ニ敵ノ術策ニ陥リタルニ等シ稱スヘク本大臣トシテハビ總統及リ外相カ此際一々本大臣ヲ信頼スル様要望シテ已マサルモノナルカ此點ニ就テハ充分虚置シアリ「リ」外相ヨリモ絶對信頼ノ旨ヲ既ニ申越セリ。

三、「リ」外相ハ我方カ獨側意見到著ヲ待タス交渉ヲ開始セルニ對シ多大ノ不滿ヲ有スル趣ナルカ當方ハ一週間ニ亘リ對米回答ヲ留保シ結局米側原案提示ノ時ヨリ四週間餘モ回答ヲ留保セリ)眞意ヲ盡シタル次第ニテ當時ハ國內情勢ノミナラス米國国情甚々切迫セルモノアリ此ノ上ハ半日モ遷延シ難ギ形勢トナリタル爲メ(八日ノ米政府閣議ニ於テハ「コンヴォイ」方針決定セラレタルヤノ内報アリ、十四日ニハ大統領ノ聲明行ハル手書トナリ居リタリ)我方トシテハ如何様ニセシテ米國ノ「コンヴォイ」實施ヲ阻止シ參戰ノ危險ヲ封シ度キ見地ヨリ遂ニ十二日米側ニ我提案ヲ提示セルモノナリ、本大臣カ「或一派ニ引摺ラレ已ムナク同意セリ」ト云フカ如キハ本大臣ノ眞意ヲ解セサルノ甚

2018

8.1.13.1-1

シキモノト云フ他ナク本件へ前記ノ如ク其ノ出來ニ於テ本大臣ノ時キタル種カ形ヲ變ヘテ結實セルモノニ過キス。唯本大臣ハ三國條約ニ飽迄忠實ナランカ爲ニ軍部本件ハ貴寵ニ所謂現狀維持派ノ勢力トハ全然關係ナク寧ロ陸海軍力最も熱心ナリ)其ノ他カ頻リニ焦慮スルヲ抑ヘ幾多ノ困難ニ遭遇シツツモ一週間ニ亘リ回答發出ヲ差控ヘタル次第ナリ、又我對案提示カ能ク「心理的」モメント「ラ・ジ・ミ・居タルコトハ「ルーズ・ヴェルト」カ右ニ接シテ十四日ノ聲明ヲ二十七日ニ延期セル事實ニ微スルモ明カナリ、何レニセヨ本大臣ハ從來同様將來モ亦獨伊トノ了解疏通ニハ全力ヲ盡スヘキモ帝國ニハ又自ラ帝國獨自ノ立場アリ政策ノ運用ニ付テ迄モ獨伊ノ意ヲ迎フル必要ハナキモノト信シ居レリ。

但シ三國條約ヨリ些カニテモ逸脱スルカ如キコトヲ考慮シ居ルモノハ我政府部内ニハ現ニ一名モナキニ付此點御安心アリタク又本件交渉方針ニ關シテハ目下日獨伊ノ意猶ハ同様ニシテ其間何等ノ齟齬ナク又其後「オット」トノ數次ノ懇談ニ依リ獨逸側ノ懸念モ既ニ冰解シ居ルモノト信スルモ以上ノ諸點貢大使ヨリモ「リ」外相ニ就ト御説明相頃度シ。

二七、六月八日附野村大使發松岡大臣宛電報

(現在迄ノ經緯報告ノ件)

貴電拜誦從來ノ經緯多少重複ヲ厭ハス大要報告ス

五月十二日我方回訓案提出其後毎週數回會談五月三十一日先方ハ支那事變ニ關スルニ「三ノ點」¹「聯宋」²「互不侵奪」³爲シタル儘非公式米案ヲ提出シ來レリ本使ハ之ヲ兩國起草委員ニ付託スレハ目的達成ニ便宜ナルヘシトテ先方ト合意ノ上六月四日

双方委員ノ會合トナリシカ思フ様ニ行カス是レ當國ニ種々ノ方面ヨリ「デマ」宣傳舞間中傷ノ材料モ入り居リ一字一句ノ改訂モ直ニ疑惑測ノ種トナリ機微ナル國際關係ヲ反映スルモノト思ハル右ノ事情ナルニ依リ昨土曜日本使ハ國務長官ト一時間半懇談セリ

先方從來ノ主張ハ

一、太平洋ノ平和維持ハ本了解ノ根本ナルヲ以テ此點何人カ見テモハツキ里斯ル様ニナルヘク誤魔化シタル感ヲ與ヘタクナシ然ル上ハ實業界ニ對シテモ日米間ノ金融並經濟協力ヲ爲サレタル様充分說得シ得ヘシトニ、三回同シコトヲ申シタリ

二、太平洋問題ニ包含シテ日米兩國ノ歐洲戰爭及日支事變ニ對スル關係ヲ生スルコトトナル先方ハ支那問題ハ最モ苦慮シツツアル處近ク日米關係、米支關係、及日支關係ノ三者改善ハ狙ヒニシテ之カ爲ニ支那ニ於テ米國ニ對シ惡感ヲ抱クニ至ラシメサル様用心ノ必要アリト申ス、本使ヨリ大統領ハ太平洋ノ平和世界人類ノ幸福ノ爲ニ自ラ進ンカ從來演說其他ニテ公ニシタル米式自衛權ヲ數回繰リ返ヘシタリ(本觀念ハ米國參戰ノ危險性ヲ含ムモノナルヲ以テ支那ニ和平ヲ勧告シ得サルヤト申セシ處先方ハ夫レハ本了解ニ於テ兩國カ精神上一致シ得ルヤノ問題ニ係ルト申セリ)

六五

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2019

ハ思ハレス米ノ參戰ヲ牽制シ得ルヤ否ヤハ今後ニ於ケル我對米外交ノ中心ヲナスモノナリト思考ス)又媾和ヲ云々
スル時機未タ到來セストナシアリ「ワインアント」歸來種々ノ噂ヲ生シタルニ際シ大統領ハ強ク之ヲ否定シタルコトハ御承知ノ通リナリ。

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對シテ此ノ主義ヲ執リツアリ日本ハ本主義ヲ採用シ目下何等失フ所ナキノミナラス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シト考フ尙此等ノ根本ニ付テ了解ナクハ了解案文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ク側面工作ノ必要ヲ感スル次第ナリハ本使等ハ餘り樂觀モセス左リト
テ悲觀モセス御訓令遂行ニ最善ノ努力ヲ致スヘシ豫期セザル故障起ラサル限リ十日間位ニテ今懸案ノ點ヲモ何トカ危ヲ付ケテ報告シ得ル見込ナリ
先方ノ熟意ニ付テハ何等疑ヒヲ容レス毎週二、三回會議ヲ行ヒ當方ヨリ申込メハ即夜面會シ又別ル際ハ必ス何時ニテモ來ラレ度シト申シ居レリ

長官ハ大統領ト根本觀念一致シアリ了解ノ正文カ一目瞭然タル様致シ度キ旨申セシコトアリタリ(丁)

一一八、六月二十三日野村大使發松岡大臣宛電報第四二四號

(六月二十一日米側對案ノ件)

2020

往電第三八四號ニ關シ

一、五月三十一日先方ヨリ提出ノ了解案ニ付實頭往電ノ通り御訓令ノ趣旨ニ依リ折衝ヲ重ねタルカ本使十五日更ニ病臥中ノ長官(八日以來療養中ニシテ二十三日温泉ニ赴ク由ニ會見シタル際長官ハ米側情報ニ依レハ東京二日米了解ノ欲セザル有力者アル旨ヲ語リ且日本ハ日米國交ノ調整ヲ重視スルモノニアラサルヘシト述ヘ本使ノ裁量ニ依リ帝國政府ニ經過ヲ報告セラレ本件ニ付帝國政府ニ國交調整ノ眞意アルヤ否ヤヲ今應確メラレ間敷キヤト希望的申出アリタルカ本使ハ米國政府ノ右ノ如キ情報ノ取ルニ足ラサル旨及本使ハ全然本國政府ノ訓令内ニ於テ折衝シ居ル旨ヲ繰返ヘシ強ク説明シ具體的成案ヲ得サル限り右様ノ事ニテハ請訓ノ無意味ナルコトヲ述ヘ爾來折衝ヲ續ケタル處ノ件ニ關シ先方ノ從來主張セラル趣旨ヲ交換公文ヲ以テ取極メタキ希望ノ申出アリタルモ右事項ノ内容ニ付テハ帝國トシテ到底容認シ得サルモノナルヲ以テ本使ハ昨二十二日夜長官ニ會見ヲ求メ之ヲ本國政府ニ傳達シ得サル旨シカト申シ聞ケ置キタリ

二、彼我ノ主張ハ重要ナル點ニ付開キアル處殊ニ累次稟請ノ三點即チ第一、歐洲戦争ニ對スル米國ノ自衛權ト三國同盟トノ關係ニ付先方ハ當方ノ主張ニ承服セス第二、防共駐兵問題ニ付テハ日支和平條件ニ介入セスト稱シツツ一面

第三國ノ主權ニ關係アリト云ヒ難色アリ第三、商業上ノ無差別主義ニ付テハ本原則ハ「ハ」長官ノ生命トスル信條ニシテ米國ノ汎米政策ハ之也ト云ヒ此ノ主義ヲ支那及太平洋全面ニ及ホン日本ハ失フ所ナキノミナラス日本現在ノ實力ヲ以テスレバ寧ロ有利ナリト思フト織返ヘシツツアリ何レモ難點ナルカ先方カ我方ニ日本國交調整ノ熟意アルコトヲ正當ニ認識スルニ於テハ尙折衝ノ餘地ナキニアラスト認メ居レリ而シテ我方ハ第二第三ニ付テハ日支直接交渉ノ際ノ和平條件ニ關スルモノナルヲ以テ米國ノ密諭ヲ認メサル建前ヲ採リ居ルモ先方ハ蔣側ニ米國ノ主義トスル所ト反スルコトヲ傳達スル譯ニモ行カスト迄強硬ニ主張シテヤマス

三、資金凍結令ヨリ日本ヲ除外セルコト海軍士官事件ヲ穩便ニ取計ヘルコト及病臥中ノ長官カ三度ニ瓦リ本使ヲ引見セル事實其他ノ事情ニ照ラシ日米國交調整ニ對スル大統領並其ノ側近及國務長官ノ熟意ハ尙冷却シ居ラサルモノト認ムルモ最近東京米國大使館及紅育財界方面其他ヨリ本件ニ關スル日本政府ノ熟意ヲ疑ハシムルカ如キ情報頻々トシテアル爲米國側トシテハ何等カノ方法ニテ日本政府ノ誠意ヲ確メントスル眞意ナリト解セラル節多シ

四、本件ニ關スル日米ノ主張ニハ懸隔アルモ折衝ノ餘地ナキニアラサ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考スルモ若シ中央ニ於テ交渉打切ノ御決定アルニ於テハ米國政府ハ資金凍結エンバーゴー」ノ強化等對日強硬策ヲ採用スルニ至ルコト殆ドノ確定的ナルヲ以テ併テ最惡ノ場合ニ居スル對策ヲ講スルコト必要ナリト信ス(一)

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一一九、六月二十一日米側對案及別紙甲號、乙號

(六月二十三日來電第四二五號)

合衆國及日本國政府ハ傳統的友好關係恢復ノ爲共同宣言ニ於テ表現セラルルカ如キ了解ニ關スル一般的協定ノ交渉開始及締結ノ爲共同ノ責任ヲ受諾ス

兩國交ノ最近ノ疎隔ノ特定原因ニ論及スルコトナク兩國間友好的感情惡化ノ原因トナレル事件ノ再發ヲ防止シ且其ノ不測不幸ナル結果ニ付矯正ヲ圖ルコトハ兩國政府ノ衷心ヨリノ希望ナリ

共同ノ努力ニ依リ合衆國及日本國カ太平洋ニ於ケル平和ノ樹立及保持ノタメ有效ナル貢獻ヲ爲スコト及友好的了解ヲ速カニ完成スルコトニ依リ、世界平和ヲ助長シ且現ニ文明ヲ沒滅セントスル根アル悲シムヘキ混亂ヲ假令一掃セシムルコト不可能ナリトスルモ之カ惡化ヲ抑制センコトハ兩國政府ノ眞摯ナル希望ナリ

斯カル果斷ナル措置ノ爲ニハ長期ノ交渉ハ不適當ニシテ又效果薄弱ナリ仍テ兩國政府ヲ不取敢道義的ニ且其ノ行動ニ關シ拘束スヘキ一般的了解ヲ成立セシメ之ヲ完成スル爲ニハ適當ノ手段ヲ案出實施スルコトヲ希望ス

兩國政府ハ斯ル了解ニハ緊急ヲ要スル権要問題ノミヲ包含セシメ後日會議ノ審議ニ議り得ヘキ附隨的事項ハ之ヲ含マシメザルコト然ルヘント信ス

兩國政府ハ左ノ如キ特定ノ事態及態度ヲ明瞭ニシ又ハ改善スルニ於テハ融和關係ノ達成ヲ期待シ得ヘント認ム

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

六九

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0060

REEL No. A-0295

アジア歴史資料センター

二、歐洲戰爭ニ對スル兩國政府ノ態度
三、日支間ノ和平解決ニ對スル措置
四、兩國間ノ通商
五、太平洋地域ニ於ケル兩國ノ經濟的活動
六、太平洋地域ニ於ケル政治的安定ニ關スル兩國政府ノ方針
七、比律賓群島ノ中立化

因テ合衆國政府及日本國政府ハ茲ニ左ノ相互の了解及政策ノ宣言ニ到達セリ
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
兩國政府ハ其ノ國策ハ永續の平和ノ樹立致ニ兩國民間ノ相互信賴及協力ノ新時代ノ創始ヲ目的トスルモノナルコトヲ確認ズ

兩國政府ハ各國家及各民族カ正義及和平ニ依ル萬邦協和ノ理想ノ下ニ生存スル一字ヲ爲ストハ其ノ傳統的及現在ニ於ケル觀念及確信ナルコトヲ明言ス即チ平和の手段ニ依リ規律セラレ且精神的及物質的福祉ノ追求ヲ目的トスル相關的利害關係ニ基キ何レモ等シク權利ヲ享有シ責任ヲ容認ス而シテ右福祉タルヤ各國家及民族カ他ノ爲ニ之ヲ毀損スヘカラサルカ如ク自ラノ爲ニ之ヲ擁護スヘキモノトス更ニ兩國政府ハ他ノ民族ノ抑壓又ハ掠取ヲ排撃スヘキ各自ノ責任ヲ容認ス

兩國政府ハ國家ノ本質ニ關スル各自ノ傳統的觀念並ニ社會的秩序及國家生活ノ基礎的道義的原則ハ引續キ之ヲ保存

スヘク且右道義的原則及觀念ニ反スル外來ノ思想又ハ「イデオロギー」ニ依リ之ヲ變改セシメサルコトヲ固々決意ス
二、歐洲戰爭ニ對スル兩國政府ノ態度
日本政府ハ三國條約ノ目的ヲ過去ニ於テモ又現在ニ於テモ防衛的ニシテ挑發ニ依ラサル歐洲戰爭ノ擴大防止ニ省與セントスルモノナルコトヲ明ス
合衆國政府ハ其ノ歐洲戰爭ニ對スル態度ハ現在及今後モ防護ト自衛印テ自國ノ安全ト之カ防衛ノ考慮ニ依リテノミ決セラルヘキモノナルコトヲ明ス

註(一九四一年五月三十一日案ノ一部ヲ成セル本問題ニ關スル合衆國政府ノ附屬追加書ノ代リシテ茲ニ交換公文ノ試案添付

三、日支間ノ和平解決ニ對スル措置

日本國政府ハ合衆國政府ニ對シ日本國政府カ支那國政府トノ和平解決交渉ヲ提議スヘキ場合ニ於ケル基礎的一般條件即チ日本國政府ノ聲明スルトコロニ依レバ善隣友好、主權及領土ノ相互尊重ニ關スル近衛原則竝ニ右原則ノ實際的適用ニ矛盾セサルモノナル條件ヲ通報シタルヲ以テ合衆國大統領ハ支那國政府及日本國政府カ相互ニ有利ニシテ且受諾シ得ヘキ基礎ニ於テ戰闘行為ノ終結及和平關係ノ恢復ソタメ交渉ニ入ル様支那國政府ニ懇意スヘシ
註(第三項ノ前記案文ハ共產運動ニ對スル共同防衛問題支那領土ニ於ケル日本軍隊ノ駐屯問題ヲ含ム及日支間ノ經濟的協力ノ問題ニ關スル今後ノ討裁ニ依リ變更セラルコトアルヘシ、第三項ノ案文修正ノ提議ニ關シテハ如何ナル修正提案を本項ニ關シ附屬書ニ掲ケラレタル一切ノ點が満足ニ起算セラレ本項及附屬書カ全體トシテ納討シ得ルニ至リタル上ニテ考究

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(スルカ最モ好都合ナリト信ス)

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四、兩國間ノ通商

本了解カ兩國政府ニ依リ公式ニ承認セラレタルトキハ合衆國及日本國ハ兩國ノ一方カ供給シ得テ他方カ必要トスルカ如キ物資ヲ相互ニ供給スヘキコトヲ保障スヘン兩國政府ハ更ニ嘗テ日米通商航海條約ニ基キ確立セラレ居タルカ如キ正常ノ通商關係ヲ恢復セシムルニ必要ナル措置ヲ講スルコトニ同意ス、若シ新通商條約カ兩國政府ニ依リ希望セラルルトキハ右ハ出來得ル限り速カニ交渉セラルヘク且通常ノ手續ニ從ヒ締結セラルヘシ

五、太平洋地域ニ於ケル兩國ノ經濟的活動

太平洋方面ニ於ケル日本國及米國ノ活動ハ平和的手段ニ依リ且國際通商關係ニ於ケル無差別待遇ノ原則ニ遵ヒ行ハスルヘシトノ茲ニ爲サレタル相互的誓約ニ基キ日本國政府及合衆國政府ハ兩國カ夫々自國經濟ノ保全及發達ノタメ必要トル天然資源(例ヘハ石油・謹製・錫、「ニッケル」)ノ商業的供給ノ無差別的均霑ヲ受ケ得ル様相互ニ協力スヘキコトヲ約ス

六、太平洋地域ニ於ケル政治的安定ニ關スル兩國ノ方針

兩國政府ハ本了解ノ基調ヲ爲ス支配的方針ハ太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和ナルコト、協力的努力ニ依リ太平洋地域ニ於ケル和平ノ維持及保全ニ貢獻スルハ兩國政府ノ根本目的ナルコト

茲ニ兩國フ何レモ前記地域ニ於テ領土的企圖ヲ有セサルコトヲ聲明ス

七、比律賓群島ノ中立化

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日本國政府ノ附屬追加書
日本國政府ハ合衆國政府カ希望スル時期ニ於テ合衆國政府ト比律賓ノ獨立カ完成セラルヘキ際ニ於ケル比律賓群島ノ中立化ノタメノ條約締結ヲ目的ドスル交渉ニ入ル用意アルゴトヲ声明ス

日本國政府ノ附屬追加書

三、日支間ノ和平解決ニ對スル措置

本項ニ所謂基本條件トハ左ノ如シ

(一) 善隣友好

(二) (有害ナル共産運動ニ對スル共同防衛——支那領土内ニ於ケル日本軍隊ノ駐屯ヲ含ム)
今後更ニ討議決定スヘシ

(三) (經濟的協力)——國際通商關係ニ於ケル無差別待遇ノ原則ヲ本號ニ適用スルコトニ付テノ交換公文ニ關スル合意ニ依リ決定スルモノトス

(四) 善隣國トシテ協力シツツアリ且世界平和ニ貢獻スヘキ東亞ノ中核ヲ形成スヘキ各國民固有ノ特質ニ對スル相互尊重

(五) 出來得ル限り速カニ且日支間ニ締結セラルヘキ協定ニ遼ヒ支那領土ヨリ日本ノ武力ヲ撤退スヘキコト
非併合

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(七) 無賠償

(八) 満洲國ニ關スル友誼的交渉

合衆國政府ノ附屬追加書

四、兩國間ノ通商

現下ノ國際的非常時態ノ繼續中日本國及合衆國ハ相互ニ通常ノ又ハ戰前ノ數量ニ達スル迄物資ノ輸出ヲ許可スヘシ尤モ何レノ國ノ場合ニ於テモ自國ノ安全及自衛目的ノタメ必要トスル物資ニ付テハ例外トス右制限ハ各政府ノ義務ヲ明瞭ナラシムル爲之ヲ掲ケタリ、右ハ相手國政府ニ對スル制限ヲ目的トスルモノニ非ス且兩國政府、友好國トノ關係ヲ支配シツツアル精神ニ依リ斯カル規則ヲ適用スルモノトス

別紙甲號

國務長官ヨリ日本國大使宛

本日日米兩國政府ニ代リテ妥結シタル共同宣言第二章ニ於テ歐洲戰爭ニ對スル兩國政府ノ態度ニ關シ「ステートメント」ヲ爲シタリ本共同宣言ノ締結ニ導キタル非公式會議中本長官ハ貴大使ニ對シ幾多ノ機會ニ於テ歐洲ニ於ケル戰闘行爲ニ對スル合衆國政府ノ態度及方針ヲ説明シ且右態度及方針ハ等フヘカラサル自衛ナル権利ニ基ケルモノナルコトヲ指摘シタリ、本長官ハ本問題ニ關スル本政府ノ立場ヲ充分ニ陳述シ居ル四月二十四日ノ演説ニ對シ特別ノ注意ヲ喚起シタリ

本長官ハ貴大使カ歐洲戰爭ニ對スル本政府ノ態度ヲ充分了解セラレ居ルコトヲ確信スルモノナリ然レ共何幸誤解ナカラシメンカ爲本長官ハ再ヒ同問題ニ言及スル次第ナリ、本長官ハ既ニ上記ノ如ク陳述セル自國ノ安全ノ防衛ノ爲合衆國カ採擇スルヲ餘儀ナクセラルカ如キ措置ニ關シ、日本國政府ハ太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和ヲ樹立シ且保全スヘントノ本協定ノ根本目的遂背シ又ハ之ヲ破壞スルカ如キ何等カノ措置ヲ採ルコトヲ要スヘキ何等ノ約束ヲモ爲シ居ラサル旨ノ日本國政府ノ確認カ貴大使ヨリ得ラルレハ欣快トスル所ナリ

日本國大使ヨリ國務長官宛

本大使ハ六月
附費長官ノ書翰拜受セリ

本大使ハ本國政府ハ吾ノ最近ノ會談中貴長官ニ依リ説明セラレ又貴長官ノ四月二十四日ノ演説中ニ陳述セラレタルカ如キ歐洲ニ於ケル戰闘行爲ニ對スル合衆國政府ノ態度ヲ充分承知シ居ル旨表明致シ度シ、本大使ハ合衆國政府ノ方針ニ付本大使ニ説明セラレタル通りヲ本國政府ニ報告スルコトヲ忘ラサリキ、又本大使ハ本國政府ハ歐洲戰爭ニ關スル合衆國政府ノ態度及立場ヲ了解シ且之ヲ正當ニ評價シ居ル旨貴長官ニ確言致シ度シ

本大使ハ又合衆國政府カ自國ノ安全ヲ防衛スル爲採擇スルヲ餘儀ナクセラルカ如キ措置ニ關シ、日本國政府ニ於テ本協定ノ根本目的ニ違背シ又ハ之ヲ破壞スルカ如キ何等カノ措置ヲ採ルコトヲ要スヘキ何等ノ約束ヲモ爲シ居ラサル旨貴長官ニ確言致シ度シ

日本國政府ハ本協定ノ締結ニ依リ自由ニ受諾シタル責任ヲ充分ニ認識シ太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和ヲ樹立及保全ニ寄アル何等ノ措置ヲモ採ラサル決意ヲ有ス

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- (一) 日本国及支那國間ノ「經濟的協力」ナル字句ハ合衆國及他ノ第三國ノ政府及國民ニ比較シテ日本國政府及日本國民ニ有利ナル差別待遇ヲ爲スヘキ何等優先的若クハ獨占的權利ヲ支那國政府カ日本國政府又ハ其ノ國民ニ對シ賦與スルコトヲ豫定シ居ルモノナリヤ、日支間ノ和平解決ノ爲ノ交渉開始ト同時ニ北支開發公社及中支振興公社並ニ其ノ支社(複數)ノ如キ日本ノ特殊會社ガ日本國政府ノ支持ノ關係シ居ル限り、日本ノ軍事的占領下ニ在ル支那ノ地域内ニ於ケル現存ノ環境ノ故ヲ以テ之等ノ會社カ實際上行使シ若クハ之等ニ自ラ歸屬スヘキ如何ナル獨占的若クハ其他ノ優先的權利ヲモ喪失スヘント豫定セラレ居ルヤ
- (二) 日本ノ軍事的占領下ニ在ル支那領土内ニ於ケル第三國國民ノ貿易及旅行ノ自由ニ對スル現行ノ諸制限ニ關シテ凡ソ如何ナル制限カ重慶政府カ日本國政府ト交渉ヲ開始スルト同时ニ撤廢セラレ又如何ナル制限カ後日撤廢セラルルカニ付日本國政府ハ指示セラレ得ヘキヤ尤モ右各場合ニ付出來得ル限り諸制限ノ撤廢カ效力ヲ生スヘキ大體ノ時期ヲ指示セラルヘキモノトス
- (三) 支那國政府カ貿易通貨及爲替ニ關スル事項ニ付充分且完全ナル支配權ヲ行使スヘキコトハ日本國政府ノ意圖スルトコロナリヤ、支那ニ於テ流通シツタル日本國ノ軍票及日本カ後援スル支那諸政權(複數)ノ紙幣ヲ同收且抑制スルコードハ日本國政府ノ意圖スルトコロナリヤ、日本國政府ハ豫定セラル交渉開始ノ後前記目的ノ取締カ同政府ノ意見ニ於テ如何ニ速カニ實行セラレ得ヘキカラ指示セラレ得ルヤ

110・六月十一日米側對案文

The Government 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 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 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 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 instruments 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 later at a conference. Both Govern-

ments 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:

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 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 security and the defense thereof.

Note. (There is appended a suggested draft of an exchange of letters and 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).

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

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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 Konoye principles regarding neighborly 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 3 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 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.)

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.

The Japanese Government and the Government of the United States hereby mutually pledge themselves that the Japanese and the American activity in the Pacific Area shall be carried on by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of non-discrimination in international commercial relations. In pursuance of this policy, the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States agree to cooperate each with the other toward the creation of conditions of international trade and international investment under which Japan and the United States will have a reasonable opportunity to secure through the trade process the means of acquiring those goods and commodities which each country needs for the safe-guarding and the development of its own economy. They further more agree to cooperate each with the other especially towards obtaining commercial access, on a nondiscriminatory basis, by each of them to supplies of such basic commodities as oil, rubber, tin, nickel, and any other commodity the importation of which is essential to each country for the maintenance of its economic life.

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

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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 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.

Annex and Supplement on the part of Japanese Government:

The basic terms as referred to in the above section are as follows:
 1. Neighborly friendship.
 2. (Cooperative defense against injurious Communistic activities—including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.)
 Subject to further discussion.
 3. (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.
 4. Mutual respect for the inherent characteristics of each nation coope-

rating as good neighbors and forming an East Asian nucleus contributing to world peace.

5. 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.
 6. No annexation.
 7. No indemnities.
 8. Amicable negotiation in regard to Manchoukuo.

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 prewar 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 in the spirit dominating relations with friendly nations.

The Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador: In section 2 of the joint declaration which was entered into today on behalf of our

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two governments, statements are made with regard to the attitudes of the two Governments toward the European war. During the informal conversations which resulted in the conclusion of this joint declaration I explained to you on a number of occasions the attitude and policy of the Government of the United States toward the hostilities in Europe and pointed out that this attitude and policy were based on the inalienable right of self-defense. I called special attention to an address which was delivered on April 24 setting forth fully the position of this Government upon this subject.

I am sure that you are fully cognizant of this Government's attitude toward the European War but in order that there may be no misunderstanding I am again referring to the subject. I shall be glad to receive from you confirmation by the Government of Japan that, with regard to the measures which this nation may be forced to adopt in defense of its own security, which have been set forth as indicated, the Government of Japan is not under any commitment which would require Japan to take any action contrary to or destructive of the fundamental objective of the present agreement, to establish and to preserve peace in the Pacific area.

The Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State:

I have received your letter of June.

I wish to state that my Government is fully aware of the attitude of the Government of the United States toward the hostilities in Europe

reexplained to me by you during our recent conversations and as set forth in your address of April 24. I did not fail to report to my Government the policy of the Government of the United States as it had been explained to me, and I may assure you that my government or the Government of the United States with regard to the European war.

I wish also to assure you that the Government of Japan, with regard to the measures which the Government of the United States may be forced to adopt in defense of its own security, is not under any commitment requiring Japan to take any action contrary to or destructive of the fundamental objective of the present agreement.

The Government of Japan, fully cognizant of its responsibilities freely assumed by the conclusion of this agreement, is determined to take no action inimical to the establishment and preservation of peace in the Pacific area.

1. Does the term "economic cooperation" between Japan and China contemplate the granting by the Government of China to the Japanese Government or its nationals of any preferential or monopolistic rights which would discriminate in favour of the Japanese Government and Japanese nationals as compared with the Government and nationals of the United States and of other third countries? It is contemplated that upon the inauguration of negotiations for a peaceful settlement between Japan and China the special Japanese companies, such as the North China Development Company and the Central China Promotion Company and

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their subsidiaries, will be divested, in so far as Japanese official support may be involved, of any monopolistic or other preferential rights that they may exercise in fact or that may injure to them by virtue of present circumstances in areas of China under Japanese military occupation?"

2. With regard to existing restrictions upon freedom of trade and travel by national of third countries in Chinese territory under Japanese military occupation could the Japanese Government indicate approximately what restrictions will be removed immediately upon the entering into by the Government at Chungking of negotiations with the Government of Japan and what restrictions will be removed at later dates, with an indication in each case in so far as possible of the approximate time within which removal of restrictions would be affected?

3. Is it the intention of the Japanese Government that the Chinese Government shall exercise full and complete control of matters relating to trade, currency and exchange? Is the intention of the Japanese Government to withdraw and to rein in the Japanese military notes which are being circulated in China and the notes of Japanese-sponsored regimes in China? Can the Japanese Government indicate how soon after the inauguration of the contemplated negotiations arrangements to the above ends can in its opinion be carried out?

三一、六月二十一日「ハル」國務長官「オーラル・ステートメント」
六月二十二日來電第四二六號

國務長官ハ日米兩國間ニ一層良好ナル了解ヲ招來シ且太平洋地域ニ於テ平和ヲ樹立スルタメ日本大使及其ノ同僚(複數)ニ依リ爲サレタル眞摯ナル努力ヲ多トス同長官ハ又屢次ノ會議ヲ通シ之等人々ノ態度ヲ特徵ツケタル率直サフ多トス

本政府ハ日米兩國間ニ一層良好ナル關係及太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和狀態ヲ招來ヲ企圖スルコトニ於テ日本大使ニ劣ラズ且國務長官ハ右精神ニ於テ日本側提案ノ有ラユル觀點ニ付慎重ナル研究ヲ爲セリ

國務長官ハ多數日本ノ指導者カ上述セルカ如キ日本大使及其ノ同僚複數ノノ見解ト所見ヲ同シクセラレ且之等崇高ナル目的達成ノタメノ行動ヲ支持セラルナランコトヲ疑フ理由ヲ有セス不幸ニシテ政府ノ有力ナル地位ニ在ル日本ノ指導者中ニハ國家社會主義ノ獨逸及其ノ征服政策ノ支持ヲ要望スル進路ニ對シ抜キ差シナラサル誓約ヲ與ヘ居ルモノアルコト及之等ノ人々カ是認スヘキ合衆國トノ了解ノ唯一ノ種類ヘ合衆國カ自衛ニ關スル現在ノ政策ヲ實行スルコトニ依リ歐洲ノ戰闘行為ニ搖キ込マルカ如キ場合ニハ日本カ「ビドラー」ヲ側ニ於テ戰フコトヲ像見スルカ如キモノナハシトノ確證カ長年ニ亘リ日本ニ對シ眞摯ナル好意ヲ表シ來レル筋ヨリノ報告ヲ含ム世界中有ラユル筋ヨリ益々本政府ニ達シツカアリ

日本國政府ノ「スポーツマン」ニ依リ何等理由ナキニモ拘ラス爲サレタル三國同盟ノ下ニ於ケル日本ノ誓約及意圖ヲ

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