

緩和ニ對シ有用ナル可キ手段ニ關シテ閣下ノ有セララルル念ヲ敷衍シ且更ニ明確ニスルニ付テ閣下ノ適當ト認メラルルカ如キ情報ヲ此上共供與シ被下ハ幸甚ニ存候

故ニ、若シ歐羅巴方面ニ生起シツツアル問題解決ニ對シ直ニ有効ナル寄與ヲ爲スコト不可能又ハ不適當ナルコト證明セララルト雖モ、尙他ノ地域ニ於ケル混沌状態ニ關聯シテ力ヲ注クコト殊ニ現在不幸ニシテ武力抗争ニ從事シツツアルカ如キ諸國ニ於テ力ヲ致スコトノ緊要ナルモノ有之可ク候  
本長官ハ、各個ノ平和的解決ハ其レカ何レノ地域ニ於ケルモノナルニセヨ安定要素トナリ且一般的世界情勢改善ニ向フ重要ナル一步トナルモノト思考致居候  
合衆國政府ノ外交關係ニ關シ吾等カ屢次聲明シ來リタル種々ノ主義竝ニ希望ノ實踐ヲ擧ケンカ爲ニ全力ヲ盡サントスル大統領竝ニ本官ノ誠意ニ付テハ閣下ニ於テ御安心可相成候米國政府ハ既ニ探ラレタル手段以外ニ現在採リ得ル有用ナル實際措置ヲ發見シ得サル次第ナレ共閣下ノ「メッセイジ」ニ含マレタル示唆ニ對シテハ衷心興味ヲ寄スルモノニ有之、且右ノ示唆ヲ更ニ研究スルニ當リ、歐洲ノ情勢

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(11) 昭和十四年五月十八日ノ「グルー」大使歸朝ニ際スル有田外相同大使會談ニ於ケル大臣ノ「オーラル・ステイトメント」

「東亞ニ於ケル新秩序」ニ付テハ曩ニ卒直ナル意見ヲ開陳シ度々意見ノ交換ヲシタルガ不幸ニシテ未ダ充分ノ御了解ヲ得居ラズト思考スル處日本政府ハ新秩序ノ建設ニヨリ支那ニ於ケル歐米諸國ノ貿易其他ノ正當經濟的活動ヲ排除スルノ意圖ヲ有スルモノニ非ザルコトヲ此機會ニ重ネテ強ク申上置キ度シ右ノ如ク新秩序ノ建設ハ一部ノ想像スルガ如キ排他的ノモノニアラザルハ勿論結局ハ之レニ依ツテ東亞ト歐米諸國トノ貿易其他ノ經濟關係ハ、堅實ナル基礎ノ上ニ益々繁榮ニ赴クモノナルヲ信ズルモノナリ尤モ刻下我國ハ大規模ノ軍事行動遂行中ナルノミナラズ新秩序建設ノ理想ニ向ツテ漸ク其ノ第一歩ヲ踏ミ出シタルニ過ギザル際ナルヲ以テ軍事上經濟上ノ必要カラ第三國人ノ不便ヲ醸シ其ノ權益ニ影響ヲ及ボスガ如キ措置ヲ執ラザルヲ得ザルコトアリ去リ乍ラ此等ハ臨

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時的例外的ノ措置ニ過ギザルコト多キヲ以テ現在ノミヨリ判斷セラルルニ於テハ日本ノ眞意ヲ誤解セラルルガ結果トナルベク如此ハ常ニ親善ナルベキ日米關係ノ基礎ヲ動搖セシムルモノニシテ甚ダ遺憾トスルトコロナリ從テ此際日本トシテ希望スルトコロハ支那ニ關シテ起生スル日米間ノ諸案ヲ取扱ハルルニ當リテハ米國側ニ於テ極メテ廣汎ナル地域ニ亘リ大規模ノ軍事行動ガ行ハレツツアルノ事實ヲ諒得セラルルト共ニ東亞ニ於ケル新事態ニ對シ大局上ノ考察ヲ加ヘラレ其ノ前提ノ下ニ適當ナル判斷ヲ下サレンコト之レナリ

ニ帝國ガ曩ニ海南島ヲ軍事占領シ又最近新南群島ヲ帝國領土ニ編入スルヤ此等ノ事實ニ關聯シテ恰カモ帝國ガ南洋方面ニ意圖ヲ有スルガ如キ言説流布セラレ爲メニ關係諸國中ニハ危惧ノ念ヲ抱ク尙モアルヤニ承知スルノミナラス比島ニ關シテハ米國人中ニモ此種ノ危惧ノ念ヲ抱キ居ルモノ無キニアラスト聞ク如此ハ日米親善ノ

ル日本ノ眞意ヲ諒解セズ誤解ノ上ニ其ノ將來ニ策カ樹立セララル  
 様ナコトカアルナラハ其レハ單ニ日米兩國間ノ關係ニ於テノミナ  
 ラス世界ノ平和ノ爲メニ悲ムヘキ事態ヲ惹起スルコトニナルテア  
 ラウ

見地ヨリ甚タ面白カラサルコトト信スルガ故ニ若シ米歐政府ニ於  
 テ之等危惧ノ念ヲ一掃スルタメ日本政府ガ此際何等カノ措置ヲ執  
 ルコト望マントノコトナラハ日本政府ニ於テハ其ノ措置ニツキ米  
 歐政府ト話合ヲナスノ用意ヲ有ス

然シナガラ之レヲ以テ日本ガ全體主義國家ノ陣營ニ參加シテ民主  
 主義國家ニ對抗セントスルモノナリトスルナラハ其レハ日本政府  
 ノ眞意ヲ誤解スルモノテアル日本ハ民主主義國家ニ非サルト同様  
 全體主義國家テモ無ク皇室ヲ中心トズル特異ノ體ヲ對立ノ感念  
 ヲ超越シ萬物ヲシテ其ノ處ヲ得シムルノ精神ニ基イテ居ルモノテ  
 アル日本カ獨伊ト提携スルノハ人類ノ公敵タルコミンテルンノ破  
 壞工作ニ對抗スル意味以外ニ無イノテアル若シ米歐カ此點ニ關ス

(12) 昭和十四年七月二十日附ノ同月六、七兩日ノ重慶爆撃ニ關スル「ハル」長官ヨリ堀内大使ヘノ申入ニ關聯スル大統領ニ對スル帝國政府ノ「ステイトメント」

大統領ニ對スルステイトメント

米國側情報ニ依レハ七月六日及七日ニ亙リテ行ハレタル帝國海軍航空部隊ノ重慶爆撃ノ際爆撃ガ在内地米國大使官邸及參事官官邸竝ニ揚子江上ニ滯泊中ノ米國軍艦ノ附近ニ落下シ又米國「ミッシヨナリ」經營ノ教會ニ損害ヲ及ボシタル趣ナル感本件ニ關シ七月十日在京米國代理大使ノ申入レニ對シ外務大臣カ述べタル如ク斯ル不祥事ノ發生シタルコトニ付帝國政府ハ之ヲ遺憾トスルモノナリ

右不祥事ノ發生ハ其後入手シタル報告ニ徴スルニ全クノ偶發事ニシテ別途説明ニモ詳述シ居ル通り當該航空部隊ニ於テモ「如何ナル間違ヒニテ揚子江南岸ニ彈着アリタルヤ不審ナリ」ト思ヒ居ル程ナル處米國側ニ於テ右不祥事發生ノ事實ノミヲ以テ直チニ我方ガ「手當」リ次第ニ無差別爆撃「ヲ行ヒタリトナスハ帝國航空部隊ガ第三國權益被害回避ノ爲メ爲シツツアル努力竝ニ誠意ニ對シ安當ナル考慮ヲ與ヘザルモノニシテ遺憾ニ堪ヘズ

抑々帝國軍ニ於テハ陸海軍ヲ問ハズ其ノ空爆ヲ行フニ當リ第三國人ノ生命財産ニ被害ノ及バザル様凡有ル工夫ヲ凝シツツアルコトハ累次口頭又ハ書面ヲ以テ米國側ニ説明セル通りニシテ爆撃目標ト第三國權益所在トノ關係ニ付テハ豫メ出來得ル限りノ調査研究ヲ遂ケタル上攻撃ノ方向及範圍等ヲ決定シ又爆撃實施ニ當リ操縦者ハ地上砲火及敵機ノ攻撃ニ曝サレ次ノ瞬間ニハ自己ノ生命ヲ保シ難キ狀況ニ在リ乍ラモ克ク照準ノ正確ヲ期シテ第三國權益ニ被害ノ及バザラン様努力シ居リ其ノ軍規ニ忠實ナル點ハ米國側ニ於テモ充分ニ之ヲ認識信賴セラレンコトヲ切望セザルヲ得ズ然レ共航空部隊ノ右苦心努力ニモ拘ラズ屢々權益標識ノ不完全ナルコト、支那側ノ軍隊、軍事機軸、軍事施設等ガ第三國權益ニ極メテ接近シテ存スルコト等ノ事情ニ鑑ミ空中戦闘ヲ行ヒツツ又地上砲火ニ曝サレツツ敢行スル爆撃運動ニ於テ適々偏彈ノ生ズルコトアルハ多ク不可避ノ事態タルコトヲ諒察アリ度シ我方トシテモ斯ル事情ニ依リ第三國權益ニ被害ノ及

プロトアルニ對シテハ之ヲ極メテ遺憾ナリトスルモノニシテ如何ニ  
スレバ斯ル不測ノ被害ヲ減少セシメ得ルカニ付テハ常ニ苦慮シ居リ  
更ニ一層ノ努力ヲナスベキモ斯ル被害發生防止ノ實際的見地ヨリシ  
テ米國側ニ於テモ對空標識ノ整備及權益ノ所在ヲ明示セル完備セル  
地圖ノ提供竝ニ支那側ヲシテ附近ニ軍事施設及軍事機關ヲ設ケシメ  
ス又軍隊ヲ集結セシメザル様措置方等ニ付此ノ上、實際的ナル努力  
ヲ拂ハレンコトヲ切望ニ堪エズ

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(13) 昭和十四年七月二十六日「セイヤー」米國國務次  
官補カ須磨参事官ニ手交セル日米通商航海條約廢  
棄通告文

During recent years the Government of the United States has been examining the treaties of commerce and navigation in force between the United States and foreign countries with a view to determining what changes may need to be made toward better serving the purposes for which such treaties are concluded. In the course of this survey, the Government of the United States has come to the conclusion that the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan which was signed at Washington on February 21, 1911, contains provisions which need new consideration. Toward preparing the way for such consideration and with a view to better safeguarding and promoting American interests as new developments may require, the Government of the United States, acting in accordance with the procedure prescribed in Article XVII of the treaty under reference, gives notice hereby of its desire that this treaty be terminated, and having thus given notice, will expect the treaty, together with its accompanying protocol, to expire VI months from this date.

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(14) THE AMERICA-JAPAN SOCIETY  
LUNCHEON

October 19, 1939.

Address by the American Ambassador, Mr. Joseph C. Grew  
Mr. Chairman, Ladies & Gentlemen:

First of all, permit me to express my great satisfaction on returning from leave of absence to learn that there has been improvement in the health of our beloved President, Prince Tokugawa. It well know that I am reflecting the hopes of all of us in most heartily wishing that he may before long find complete recovery and return to the chair which he so long has occupied with distinction and great helpfulness. I beg that our Chairman today may be good enough to convey to the Prince an expression of this deep feeling.

Your welcome today is genuinely appreciated. Last spring we were going "home" to the United States, and this autumn, when we left America, we were going "home" to Japan. When one has remained for seven years at a post, one can hardly regard it as other than "home." At any rate, that is the way my wife and I feel about Japan and especially about Tokyo,

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and that same feeling extends to our friends here, both Japanese and American. To come once again to a gathering of this Society is to come into a homelike atmosphere, and that in itself gives us a very warm feeling. We thank you for your welcome.

I have been told of rumors that have been flitting about here and there to the effect that we were not returning to Japan. If there have been such rumors, they just have been based on speculation, pure and simple, for at no moment has there been the slightest doubt about our returning. Having been on the job here for approximately three years without a day of furlough, I was very considerately given an extra month of leave, over and above the usual sixty days in the United States. Some of you with whom I talked before our departure may remember that I said at that time that I expected to be back in September or October, and here we are, right on schedule. Our plans have undergone no change and no thought of change.

We

We have had a pleasant and interesting time. Much of our furlough was spent at our place at Hancock in the refreshing hills and woods of New Hampshire where we were surrounded by our three daughters, occasionally some sons-in-laws and six grandchildren, which inevitably made me feel something like an old patriarch, but we had time for visits also and we saw both the New York and Golden Gate worlds fairs which, of course, were thrilling. I visited Washington on three occasions.

With regard to the Worlds Fairs in New York and in San Francisco I think that Japan has every reason to be proud of her pavilions and exhibits. I spent much time studying them in both places. The Japanese pavilion in the New York Fair is of great beauty. The Japanese exhibit in the Division of Pacific Cultures at the Golden Gate International Exposition and the effective way in which it is presented is past all praise. These objects, portraying the historical sequence of Japanese art and culture, have most courteously been lent not only by many of the foremost

Japanese

Japanese collectors, many of them personal friends of mine, but also by the Imperial Household Museum. As Mr. K. Sato wrote in the Official Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts of the Expositions:

"It will be a surprise to us if you do not read from these material objects the spirit of the act that made them, so like and so different from your own.

"Surely America, newly come to join us on the rim of the Pacific Ocean, will feel the splendid life of the same tides that wash our beaches."

Yes, we in America do feel the lift of the same tides that wash the beaches of Japan. I hope that both our nations will always and progressively feel the lift of those tides of friendship. I have returned to Japan to devote all that I have to give, now and in future, to try inspire new life in those tides.

As for the future, Mrs. Grew and I are going to try to return to the United States as often as possible -- every year or two if it is feasible, although such a plan must necessarily depend upon many unpredictable factors and is perhaps just a bit optimistic. But there is no doubt in my mind that an Ambassador can do more helpful

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work and can more intelligently and effectively represent his Government and can better contribute to clear international understanding upon which good international relations are built when given frequent opportunity for personal contact with his Government and the people of his own country. As I have often said, indeed as I said not long ago before this distinguished Society, an Ambassador is essentially an interpreter, and interpreter of official and public opinion as they exist in his own country and in the country of his residence. By going home this year I was able to do a great deal of interpreting of Japan and of Japanese opinion both to my Government and to the American people. A number of addresses were made to important groups and I talked with a large number of people. I hope and believe that my interpretations were fair and accurate. It was made very clear that the Japanese picture has many sides and many angles, and that without a comprehension of these many sides and angles, it is difficult if not impossible for another people far away to arrive at a clear and accurate conception of the basic

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causes and incentives that lead to Japanese thought and policy and action. Those talks aroused much interest.

I enjoyed several constructive talks with my good friend Ambassador Horinouchi who is ably representing Japan in our country, and with other Japanese visiting or residing in the United States. In the same way, there can be no doubt that as a result of my stay in the United States and my personal contacts with a large number of Americans, both official and unofficial, my interpretations here of American thought and policy and action are going to be much more complete and accurate than they could have been had this summer's furlough not taken place. We have a phrase in English "straight from the horse's mouth." I never knew why the particular animal chosen was a horse, especially as most horses are generally not very communicative. But the meaning is clear enough. What I shall say in Japan in the ensuing months comes "straight from the horse's mouth" in that it will accurately represent and interpret some of the current thoughts of the American Government and people with regard to Japan

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and the Far East. I had the privilege of also conferring repeatedly with the President and with the Secretary of State during my stay at home.

But here I am constrained to pause before passing on, to pause in sadness, in deepest sorrow, yes and in impotent bitterness, at the dreadful holocaust that has broken loose in Europe, a holocaust not of God's doing, but of man's. That we, in our lifetime, should have to pass through another such frightful disaster seems an intolerable burden for one generation of humanity. I shall not try to deal with that subject today; indeed, what could possibly be said to alter in any infinitesimal degree the blackness of the cloud that has descended upon us? I say "us" advisedly. I pray with all my heart and mind that we in America may be spared from participation again in armed conflict, but in this modern world of ours no nation and no people can emerge unscathed from the effects, direct or indirect, of warfare anywhere. When the structure of international good faith, when the

reliance

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reliance of mankind and government upon the inviolability of the pledged word becomes undermined and collapses, when might make right and force becomes an instrument of national policy rather than discussion and settlement of disputes by peaceful means, then civilization crumbles also and chaos intervenes.

I turn now to some of the thought of the American Government and of the American people with regard to the situation in East Asia in general and to our relations with Japan in particular. It is trite to say -- but all too often the fact is overlooked -- that in our democratic system the policies and measures of our Government reflect, and inevitably must reflect, public opinion. If therefore in any given case of situation we search for the underlying causation of American policy, or of any specific measure or series of measures taken by our Government, we must first try to analyze the state of public opinion in the United States and the developments which have induced that state of public opinion, factors which in turn have given rise to some specific policy or some specific measure or measures of our Government. In this connection I have not for a moment lost sight of the force of public opinion

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in Japan.

Obviously American public opinion is frequently divided; seldom is it unanimous. In the face of a divided public opinion, the Government must choose between acting according to its judgment as to what will best serve the interests of the country and withholding action altogether. But when public opinion is unanimous, or nearly unanimous, then governmental policy and action must and will reflect the opinion and wishes of the people as a whole. For the American Government is the servant of the American people. American public opinion with regard to recent and current developments in the Far East is today very nearly unanimous, and that opinion is based not on mere hearsay or on propaganda but on facts.

Among the conditions existing in the United States which impress me more and more vividly each time I return to my country are, first, the freedom which prevails in public discussion, and second, the demand for knowledge of facts and the intelligent appraisal of those facts by men and women in every walk of life. Especially is

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this true today in regard to foreign affairs. It is not alone the Government official or the student or the business man or the manufacturer or the financier who keeps his finger on the pulse of our foreign relations. This interest -- and it is a keen, living interest -- extends to the masses -- the factory hand, the servant in the house, the taxi driver in the street. In the past few months at home I have been immensely impressed by the intelligent grasp by people in every quarter of what is going on in every corner of the world. I have been drawn into discussion of foreign affairs not only by men and women in important influential positions but by travelers in the smoking compartment of railroad trains, by the stewards in airplanes, by the men and women behind the counters in the stores and shops by the attendants at gasoline stations, by the drivers of taxis who were taking me to some destination. And what impressed me most was that these people not only knew what was going on abroad but had formed their own individual opinions of those events and of what the United States should or should not do about in. Those people, mostly, are widely read.

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By chiropodist, when I entered his room, was reading an important book on Japan, and we discussed that book throughout the session. A farmer in the small New England village where we live lent me another recent book on Japan. In many talks which I had with many, many people, I received the distinct impression that those people are sufficiently well-informed and sufficiently wide-awake to distinguish between fact and propaganda. I do not suppose that any country in the world is better served today, by press and radio, with accurate foreign information than is the United States. In every country there are of course certain elements of the press inclined toward sensationalism, but the vast majority of the American people today read and demand the despatches and comments of correspondents and commentators of proved reliability for accurate reporting. Propaganda not based on fact, or distorting fact, is anathema to the average American. And the senseless propaganda with which foreign countries sometimes try to influence public opinion in our country does the countries of its origin and the interests of those countries far more harm than good. The average American, knowing the facts, sees through it and will have none of it.

Here,

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Here, then, is the stuff of which public opinion in the United States is built. It is only through such individual contacts as I enjoyed this summer that one comes to appreciate the tremendous force of public opinion in our country and to realize its fabric and its power. When such opinion tends toward unanimity in any given issue, it is a force to be reckoned with, a force which the Government cannot possibly overlook and will not fail to reflect in its policies and actions.

What am I to say to you today? Would it be the act of a friend of Japan, a friend of the members of this Society, would it be in the interests of Japanese-American relations which this Society steadily labors to build up and improve, if I were to misstate the truth or try to obscure it by painting an inaccurate picture of my observations at home? If an Ambassador is in effect an interpreter, mustn't he interpret correctly on the basis of facts known to him? And on returning from a long stay in America, would it not insult your intelligence if I were to talk of trivialities? I suppose that there is not

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a person here who does not know that American public opinion strongly resents some of the things that Japan's armed forces are doing in China today, including actions against American rights and legitimate interests in China. On that subject public opinion in the United States is unanimous. And, mind you, I know whereof I speak, from personal talks with a very large number of people in diverse walks of life throughout our country, constituting a reliable cross-section of the American public.

If we then accept as a regrettable fact this state of American public opinion, and we must accept it as a fact, then isn't it from every point of view, especially from the point of view of statesmanship, reasonable and logical that we should in all frankness examine the basic causes of that state of public opinion? I know those causes in general and in detail. It would be harmful to overlook them. I earnestly believe that those causes must be removed and that by their removal only constructive good can come to both our nations. The attainment of such mutually constructive good, needless to say, is and has been

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been and always will be the fundamental purpose of my ambassadorship to Japan.

Before I left for America last May a Japanese friend of mine begged me to tell my friends in America the situation in Japanese-American relations as he conceived it. It ran somewhat as follows:

American rights and interests in China are suffering some minor and unimportant inconveniences in China as a result of Japanese military operations; the Japanese military take every possible precaution to avoid inconvenience to American interests; reports published in the United States in regard to damage to American interests by the Japanese in China are intentionally exaggerated in order to inflame the American people against Japan; in large measure those activities of the Japanese to which Americans object are the result of differences in customs, differences in language, and a legalistic attitude which has been adopted by the United States; the attitude of the Government of the United States in regard to impairment of American rights and interests in the Japanese-occupied areas of China is in large part due to internal political

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political conditions in the United States; in the near future the situation in the occupied areas of China will be so improved that the United States will no longer have any cause for complaint. That was the point of view of my Japanese friend.

Alas, the truth is far otherwise. The facts, as they exist, are accurately known by the American Government. They are likewise known by the American people, and in the interests of the future relations between Japan and the United States those facts must be faced. Only through consideration of those facts can the present attitude of the American Government and people toward Japan be understood; only through consideration of those facts, and through constructive steps to alter those facts, can Japanese-American relations be improved. Those relations must be improved.

Having said all this I do not propose today to deal in detail with the causations which have brought about that feeling in my country. This is not the to enter any "bill of particulars." Those facts, those difficulties

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difficulties between our nations, are matters for consideration by the two governments; indeed, some of them are matters which I have been discussing with the Japanese Government during the past two years, and I shall continue to approach these matters. But I believe that the broad outline of those facts and difficulties are known to you. Some of those difficulties are serious.

Now many of you who are listening to me may well be thinking: "There are two sides to every picture; we in Japan also have our public opinion to consider." Granted, in America, as I have already said, I did my best to show various angles of the Japanese point of view. But here in Japan I shall try to show the American point of view. Without careful consideration of both points of view we can get nowhere in building up good relations. I wish you could realize how intensely I wish for that most desirable end and how deeply I desire, by pure objectivity, to contribute to a successful outcome. Let me therefore try to remove a few utterly fallacious conceptions of the American

American attitude as I think they exist in Japan today.

One of these fallacies is that the American approach to affairs in East Asia is bound by a purely "legalistic" attitude, a conception which widely prevails in this country today. What is meant by a "legalistic" attitude? If we mean respect for treaties, official commitments, international law, yes; that respect is and always will be one of the cardinal principles of American policy. But the very term "a legalistic attitude," as it has often been used in my hearing in Japan, seems to imply a position where one cannot see the woods for the trees, where one's vision of higher and broader concepts is stultified. Let me therefore touch briefly on a few of the cardinal principles of American policy and objectives, moulded to meet the requirements of modern life, which, it is true, are fundamentally based upon but which seem to me far to transcend any purely "legalistic" approach to world affairs.

The

The American people aspire to relations of peace with every country and between all countries. We have no monopoly on this desire for peace, but we have a very definite conviction that the sort of peace which, throughout history, has been merely an interlude between wars is not an environment in which world civilization can be stably developed or, perhaps, can even be preserved. We believe that international peace is dependent on what our Secretary of State has characterized as "orderly processes" in international dealing.

The American people desire to respect the sovereign right of other people and to have their own sovereign rights equally respected. We have found by experience that the successful approach to the resolving of international disputes lies not so much in merely abstaining from the use of force as in abstaining from any thought of the use,

immediately

immediately or eventually, of the methods of force. Let cynics look about them and contemplate the consequences of resort to menacing demands as a process in the conduct of international relations! Is it being purely "legalistic" to put to wise and practical use the finer instincts common to all mankind?

The American people believe that the day is past when wars can be confined in their effects to the combatant nations. When national economics were based upon agriculture and handcraft, nations were to a large extent self-sufficient; they lived primarily on the things which they themselves grew or produced. That is not the case today. Nations are now increasingly dependent on others both for commodities which they do not produce themselves and for the disposal of the things which they produce in excess. The highly complex system of exchange of goods has been evolved by reason of each nation's being able to extract from the ground or to manufacture certain commodities more efficiently or economically than others.

Each

Each contributes to the common good the fruits of its hand work and the bounties of nature. It is this system of exchange which has not only raised the standard of living everywhere but has made it possible for two or even three persons to live in comfort where but one had lived in discomfort under a simple self-contained economy. Not only the benefits of our advanced civilization but the very existence of most of us depends on maintaining in equilibrium a delicately balanced and complex world economy. Wars are not only destructive of the wealth, both human and material, of combatants, but they disturb the fine adjustments of world economy. Conflict between nations is therefore a matter of concern to all the other nations. Is there then any stultification through "legalistic" concepts when we practice ourselves and urge upon others the resolving of international disputes by orderly processes, even if it were only in the interests of world economy? How, except on the basis of law and order, can these various concepts in international dealing be secured?

The

The American people believe in equality of commercial opportunity. There is probably no nation which has not at one time or other provoked it. Even Japan, where American insistence on the open door is cited as the supreme manifestation of what is characterized as a "legalistic" American attitude -- even Japan, I say -- has insisted upon and has received the benefits of the open door in areas other than China, where, we are told, the principle is inapplicable except in a truncated and emasculated form. That highly complicated system of world economy of which I have just spoken is postulated upon the ability of nations to buy and sell where they please under conditions of free competition -- conditions which cannot exist in areas where preemptive rights are claimed and asserted on behalf of nationals of one particular country.

I need hardly say that the thoughts which I have just expressed are of universal applicability.

Another common fallacy which I am constrained to mention is the charge that the American Government and people do not understand "the new order in East Asia".

Forgive

Forgive me if I very respectfully take issue with that conception. The American Government and people understand what is meant by the "new order in East Asia" precisely as clearly as it is understood in Japan. The "new order in East Asia" has been officially defined in Japan as an order of security, stability and progress. The American Government and people earnestly desire security, stability and progress not only for themselves but for all other nations in every quarter of the world. But the new order in East Asia has appeared to include, among other things, depriving Americans of their long established rights in China, and to this, many other considerations, the American people are opposed.

There's the story. It is probable that many of you are not aware of the increasing extent to which the people of the United States resent the methods which the Japanese armed forces are employing in China today, and that would appear to be their objectives. In saying this, I do not wish for one moment to imply that the American people have forgotten the long-time friendship which has existed between the people of my country and the people of Japan.

But

But the American people have been profoundly shocked over the widespread use of bombing in China, not only on grounds of humanity but also on grounds of direct menace to American lives and property accompanied by the loss of American life and the crippling of American citizens; they regard with growing seriousness the violation of and interference with American Rights by the Japanese armed forces in China in disregard of treaties and agreements entered into by the United States and Japan and treaties and agreements entered into by several nations, including Japan. The American people know that those treaties and agreements were entered into voluntarily by Japan and that the provisions of those treaties and agreements constituted a practical arrangement for safeguarding -- for the benefit of all -- the correlated principles of national sovereignty and of equality of economic opportunity. The principle of equality of economic opportunity is one to which over a long period and on many occasions Japan has given definite approval and upon which Japan has frequently insisted. Not only are the American people perturbed over their being arbitrarily

arbitrarily deprived of long-established rights, including those of equal opportunity and fair treatment, but they feel that the present trend in the Far East if continued will be destructive of the hopes which they sincerely cherish of the development of an orderly world. American rights and interests in China are being impaired or destroyed by the policies and actions of the Japanese authorities in China. American property is being damaged or destroyed; American nationals are being endangered and subjected to indignities. If I felt in a position to set forth all the facts in details today, you would, without any question, appreciate the soundness and full justification of the American attitude. Perhaps you will also understand why I wish today to exercise restraint.

In short, the American people, from all the thoroughly reliable evidence that comes to them, have good reason to believe that an effort is being made to establish control, in Japan's own interest, of large areas on the continent of Asia and to impose upon those areas a system of closed economy. It is this thought, added to the effect  
of

of the bombings, the indignities, the manifold interference with American rights, that accounts for the attitude of the American people toward Japan today. For my part I will say this. It is my belief, and the belief of the American Government and people, that the many things injurious to the United States which have been done and are being done by Japanese agencies are wholly needless. We believe that real security and stability in the Far East could be attained without running counter to any American rights whatsoever.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have tried to give an accurate interpretation of American public opinion, most carefully studied and analyzed by me while at home. The traditional friendship between our two nations is far too precious a thing to be either inadvertently or deliberately impaired. It seems to me logical that from every point of view -- economic, financial, commercial, in the interests of business, travel, science, culture and sentiment -- Japan and the United States forever should be mutually

mutually considerate friends. In the family of nations, as between and among brothers, there arise inevitable controversies, but again and again the United States had demonstrated its practical sympathy and desire to be helpful toward Japan in difficult times and moments, its admiration of Japan's achievements, its earnest desire for mutually helpful relations.

Please do not misconstrue or misinterpret the attitude which has prompted me to speak in the utmost frankness today. I am moved first of all by love of my own country and my devotion to its interest; but I am also moved by very deep affection for Japan and by sincere conviction that the real interests, the fundamental and abiding interests of both countries, call for harmony of thought and action in our relationships. Those who know my sentiments for Japan, developed in happy contacts during the seven years in which I have lived here among you, will realize, I am sure, that my words and my actions are those of a true friend.

One Japanese newspaper queried, on my return from America, whether I had concealed in my bosom a dagger or

a dove. Let me answer that query. I have nothing concealed in my bosom except the desire to work with all my mind, with all my heart and with all my strength for Japanese-American friendship.

Today I have stated certain facts, straightforwardly and objectively. But I am also making a plea for sympathetic understanding in the interests of the old, enduring friendship between our two great nations. In a world of chaos I plead for stability, now and in the long future in a relationship which, if it can be preserved, can bring only good to Japan and to the United States of America.

(15) 昭和十四年十一月四日野村「グルー」第一回  
 會談ノ際米國側ノ手交セル十月十九日「グルー」  
 演說草稿ノ一部  
 昭和十四年十一月四日グルー米國大使ヨリ野村大臣ニ  
 手交サレシモノニシテ、公文書ニ非ス。去ル十月十九  
 日日米協會ニテ爲サレシ同大使演說ノ草稿ノ一部ニシ  
 テ、最後ニ削除サレ演說中ニハ用ヒラレサリシ部分テ  
 アル。

米國ノ輿論ヲ今日ノ状態ニ迄到ラシメタ日本ノ支那ニ於ケル行動ナ  
 ルモノハ大体二ツノ異ナツタ範疇ニ分類シ得ルモノダト言フ事ヲ私  
 ハ此ノ演說ノ劈頭ニ於テ先ヅ申シ上ゲ度イ。第一ハ、日本ガ其ノ對  
 支戰鬪行爲ヨリ切り離シ得ナイト看做ス行動、換言スレバ事ノ正否  
 ハサテ置イテ一應ハ軍事の必要ニ基ツクモノト看做サレル行動デア  
 ル。而シテ之等ノ行動ハ種々ナル争點ヲ包含スルモノト極メテ大雜  
 把ニ考ヘ得ルノデアアル。即チ第一ニハ、米國政府及ビ同國民ガ信ジ  
 テ居ル如ク之等ノ行動ガ條約背反ヲ構成スルヤ否ヤトイフ主トシテ  
 法理上ノ争點デアリ、第二ニハ、戰鬪行爲ニ於テ採ラレル諸方法  
 ニ基因スル幾分人道主義上ノ又道德上ノ争點デアアル。數多ノ非戰鬪  
 員ガ空爆ニ依ツテ殺サレ傷ケラレル時、ソレガ世界ノ如何ナル處デ  
 爲サレヨウト、又如何ナル機關ニ依ツテ爲サレヨウト、等シク米國ノ  
 輿論ハ斯カル殘忍ナ行爲ヲ爲ス者ニ對シテ必然的ニ激昂スルノデア  
 ル。又之等ノ行動ガ軍事の必要ニ歸セラレル事實モ、斯クシテ起サ

レタ戰慄ノ念ヲ聊カモ減ズルモノデハナイ。又ハ外政治的、經濟的、社會的ナ諸問題モ絡ンデ來ル。ダガ私ハ之等ヲ今詳細ニ討議スル積リハナイ。之ヲ申シ上ケタノハ只今日私ガ諸君ニオ話し仕度イ事。即チ米國政府及ビ同國民ノ日本ニ對スル態度又其ノ態度ノ由ツテ來ル諸原因。又其ノ對策等ヲ簡單ニ先ツ述ベル爲ニ過ギナイイデアアル。私ガ其等ヲ略説シタカラトイツテ、ソレガ全体的ニ見タ場合余リ重大ナ部分ヲ占メテキナイナドトハ聊カナリトモオ考ヘナキ様御願シタイ。之等ノ問題ハ夫々米國ノ輿論ノ上ニ大キナ影響ヲ與ヘソノ故ニ亦今日ノ日米關係ノ上ニモ大ナル影響ヲ及ボシタノデアラシ今ハ、米國輿論ニ著シイ影響ヲ與ヘタ所謂第二ノ範疇ニ屬スル日本ノ對支行為ニ話題ヲ移サウト思フ。此ノ範疇ニハ米國民ニトツテ如何ニ想像ヲ逞シウシテモ到底軍事の必要トイフ事ニ歸シ難イ様ナ米國在支權益ニ對スル行為ガ含まレテキル。諸君ノ中ノ或ル方ハ私ト同様之等ニ就イテハ知悉サレテキル事デアラウ。

先ツ第一ハ、米國人ノ(主トシテ宣教師ノ)財産ノ絶エザル爆撃デ之ハ米國市民ノ生命ヲ奪ヒ、永久的ナ不具者ヲ作り、宣教師ノ住居ノミナラズ其ノ病院、教會、大學、學校サハモ破壊スルノデアアル。從來之等ノ爆撃ノ原因ハ、米國人ノ財産ガ支那ノ軍事施設ニ近接シテキタコトニ在ルト主張サレテ來タガ、事實ハ殆ンドサウデナカツタ。大多數ノ例ヲ見テモ、之等ノ所有物ハ軍事的自標ヨリ遙カ離レタ所ニ在ツタシ、又大キナ米國旗ヲ屋上ニ懸ヘンタリ畫イタリスルコトニ依ツテ意識的ニ標示サレテアツタシ、且ツ又之等建物ノ適確ナル位置ヲ表示スル地圖ガワザワザ日本當局ニ豫メ手交シテアツタノデアアル。過去二年間私ハ幾度カ此ノ米國人財産ノ破壊ニ就キ陳情ヲ爲シタ。ソシテ遺憾ノ意ノ表明ト再度繰返ササル事ノ保證ヲ與ヘラレテ來タノダガ爆撃ハ依然續行サレテキルノデアアル。米國人ノ財産ガ甚ダシク危険ニ曝サレタリ破壊、破壊ノ目ニ遭ヒ、其ノ度毎ニ大使館ガ日本政府ノ注意ヲ促シタ諸事件ハ事變勃發以來總計百八十

第二ニ、日本ノ支配下ニ在ル支那ノ地域内ノ米國民ガ爆撃ニ依ル以外ニ個人的ナ侮辱ヲ受ケ、又個人的財産ノ侵略ヲ受ケタ事件二百三件ノ信憑スベキ報告ニ依リ、米國ノ感情ハ刺戟サレタ。米國民ガ日本軍乃至他ノ日本人ニ依ツテ毆打サレタリ殘酷ナ取扱ヒヲ受ケタリ、日本軍ノ銃劍ノ下ニ脅カサレタリシタ事件モ起ツタ。無辜ノ米國人一名ガ日本兵ニ狙撃サレタリ米國民ガ不法ナ拘留ヤ搜索ノ憂目ニ遭ツタ事モアツタ。私ハ正式ニ報告サレタモノノミガ事件ノ全部デアルトハ決シテ思ハナイ。ソノ理由ハ、通信困難乃至不可能ナ支那ノ奥地ニ米國人ハ多數居住シテキルカラデアル。而シテ報告サレタ諸事件ハ合衆國內デ一般ニ廣ク認識サレ、其レハ米國ノ輿論ニ必然的ナ結果ヲ齎シタ。若シ日米關係ガ改善サルベキナラハ斯クノ如キ事件ノ發生ハ防止サルベキデアル。

七ヲ算スル。不慮ノ出來事トイフコトハアリ得ルコトダ。ダガ百八十七件モ起リ得ルコトハ殆トアルマイ。或ル場合ニハ同ジ場所ガ何ケ月カノ中ニ八回モ爆撃サレタ。抄クトモ四人ノ米國人(三歳ノ小兒一人ヲ含ンデ)ガ日本ノ爆撃ニ依リ殺サレ五十人以上ガ傷ケラレタ。之等ノ襲撃ハ軍事の必要ニ因ルモノナリト合點ガ行ク様ニ説明シ得ルモノデアラウカ。米國政府及ビ同國民ハサウトハ考ヘヌ。又之等ノ襲撃ヲ中止スルトイフ保證ヲ何度ト無ク私ニ與ヘタニモ拘ラズ依然トシテ續行シテ居ル事ハ其ノ必然的ナ結果、シカモ全ク不利ナ結果ヲ我が國ノ輿論ノ上ニ齎シタノデアル。日米國交調整ノ第一歩ハ斯カル米國人ノ在支財産ノ爆撃ヲ完全ニ中止スル事デアル。之ガ續行サレル限リハ私ハ上記ノ目的ニ沿フ如何ナル見透シモ見出ス事ハ出來ナイ。

第三ニ、支那被占領地域ニ於テ米國ヲ含ム西歐諸國ニ對スル宣傳運動ガ日本ノ又ハ其ノ代理機關ノ手ニ依ツテ着手サレ又後援サレテキルコトヲ指摘シ度イ。之等ノ宣傳運動ニ於イテ、合衆國ヲ含ム西歐諸國ハ日支紛争ガ支那民衆ノ上ニ齎シタ困難ト重荷ノ責任者デアアルカノ様ニ運動當事者ニ依ツテ現サレテキル。日本々又ハ其ノ代理機關ノ手ニ依ツテ爲サレ又支持サレタ廣汎ニ亘ル又逐次擴ガリツツアル排外宣傳ハ最近數ヶ月主トシテ西歐ノ或一ヶ國ニ向ケラレテ來タ事ハ事實デアアル。

然シ如何ナル國ノ大衆デモ排外感情ニ驅リ立テラレタ時ハ、屢々諸外國ノ國民ヲ慎重ニ區別ニ依ツテ區別スル事ガ出來ナクナルトイフ事ハ過去ノ經驗ガ語ツテケレテキル。支那ニ於ケル上記ノ如キ宣傳運動ガ米國權益ノ上ニ不利ナ反作用ヲ起シタトイフ確カナ證據ガアルノデアアル。米國政府及米國民ハ、之等ノ運動ガ米國人ノ安寧福祉及其ノ權益財産保護ニトツテ危険ナモノデアアル事ヲ熟知シテキル。日米關係改善ノ爲ニハ之等ノ宣傳運動ハ須ク中止サルベキデアアル。

第四ニ、私ハ米國人ガ明ラカニ氣附イテ居ル支那被占領地域ニ於ケル他ノ發展ニ話題ヲ向ケヨウ、即チ日本當局及ビ其ノ代理機關ニ依ル米國貿易制限ニ就テデアアル。之等ノ制限ハ一其レハ全ク「軍事」的の必要」上ノ制限ヲ通り越シタモノデアアルガ一遂ニハ支那ノ大部分トノ米國ノ正常ナ貿易ヲ著シク減少セシメテ了ツタ。或ル場合ニハ制限ハ日本當局自ラガ課シタシ又他ノ場合ニハ日本人ノ手デ樹立サレ且ツ指導サレル所ノ支那政權ガ之ヲ課シテ來タ。而シテ之等ノ制限ハ日本ノ貿易ニハ適用サレナイ。爲ニ、米國貿易ガ衰微消滅シテ行ク一方日本貿易ハ不公平ニシテ片務的ナ制限ノ爲ニ伸張シテ行クトイフ結果ガ生ジテ來ル。日本當局ハ米國貿易ニ課セラレタ制限ハ「軍事」的の必要」ノ結果也ト聲明シテ居ル。然シ乍ラ斯クノ如キ聲明ハ屢々日本貿易ヲ競争ノ羈絆ヨリ解キ放ツ爲ノ辯解デアリ、「軍事」的の必要」ノ名ニ於イテ課スル制限ノ裏面デハ日本ノ貿易ハ伸張シ一方他國ノ其レハ縮少シテ行クノデアアル。經濟事業ノ大部分モ、日本

一九三七、三八年年度ノ合衆國向ケ北支輸出ニ就イテ言ヘバ、統計ハ愈々此ノ邊ノ事情ヲ明ラカニ示シテ居リ、合衆國向ケ輸出ノ妨害ハ合衆國ヨリノ輸入品縮メ出シト同様米國權益ノ蒙ル損害ノ點ヨリ見テ甚ダ重大ナ意義ヲ有スル事ヲ記憶スベキデアル。統計ノ中ニハ米國ガ如何ニシテ北支ノ貿易ヨリ縮メ出シテ喰ヒツツアルカヲ示ス證據ガ十分ニアルノデアル。在北支ノ米國人商業關係者ガ強制的ナ退却ニ直面シ、永キニ亘ツテ樂キ上ゲタ自ラノ組織ヲ放棄シ又其ノ投資ヲ帳消シニセザルヲ得ナイトイフ事ハ嚴然タル事實ナノダ。

私ハ亦支那被占領地域ノ他ノ部分ニ於ケル米國權益ノ衰退ニ關スル統計ヲ述ベテ諸君ヲ煩ハサウトハ思ハナイガ、只次ノ事ノミハ申上ゲテ置キ度イ。即チ、日本ノ船舶ハ軍事の性質ノモノデナイ貿易ノ目的ノ爲ニ揚子江ヲ自由ニ航行シテ居ルニ拘ラズ、合衆國其他ノ西歐諸國ノ商船ハ未ダニ同江航行ヲ許サレテキナイノデアル。

米國及ビ其他ノ西歐諸國ノ權益ヲ犠牲ニシテ日本ノ在支商業權益ガ

人カ管理シ又特權ト獨占的地位ヲ與ヘル特殊契約ノ下ニ設立サレタ特殊會社ニ割リ當テラレテ來タ。更ニ日本當局ハ、對日貿易ヲ促進シ一方合衆國及ビ其他ノ諸國ノ對支貿易ヲ縮少セシメル爲ニ慎重ニ對サレタ機アル通貨取極メヲ行ツタ。支那ノ諸原料ノ大部分ノ貿易ハ「軍事的要求」ノ口實ノ下ニ日本軍當局ニ依ツテ專横ニモ獨占サレテ來タノデアル。

支那被占領地域ノ日本當局及ビ其ノ代理機關ガ獨占ヲ目指シテ爲シツツアル所ノ努力ニ依ツテ惹起サレタ合衆國貿易上ノ惡影響ヲ表示スル統計ヲ今日此處テ述ベ、諸君ヲ煩ハサウトハ思ハナイ。只次ノ事ヲ申シ上ゲレバ十分デアラウト思フ。即チ、日本當局及ビ其ノ代理機關ガ行ツタ輸出禁止、獨占、輸出品ニ對スル貿易交換ノ制限、小包郵便積出等其ノ他ニ對スル防衛等ハ正當ナル米國貿易ヲ減茶滅茶ニシ、米國權益ヲシテ數百萬弗ノ損害ヲ蒙ラシメ、又米國ノ或種ノ大産業ヲ死滅ノ脅威ニ曝ラシツツアル。米國ノ公衆ハ之等ノ事實ヲ知ツテキル。其等ハ軍事の必要ニ到底歸シ難イノデアル。

擴大シタ事ハ、事變勃發前ニハ二千人以下デアツタ漢口在留日本人  
ガ現在デハ約一萬人ニ達シ、廣東デハ僅カ三百五十人ガ約七千人ニ  
南京デハ百二十人以下ガ約六千二百人ニ増加シタ事實ガ之ヲ證明シ  
テキル。一方之等ノ諸都市ニ居住スル米國人ノ數ハ激減シタ。  
而シテ米國商業貿易ノ支那被占領地域ヨリノ縮メ出シノ事實ハ米國  
一般民ノ知悉シテキル所デアル。

第五ニ、米國政府及ビ同國民ハ米國ノ正當ナル經濟的權益ニ對スル  
日本ノ行動及政策ノ影響、又米國ノ支那ニ於ケル條約上ノ權利及時  
效ニ依リテ得タル權利ノ影響ニ關シ、純正ナル利害關係ヲ有スル者  
デアル。私ハ之等ノ諸權益ニ次ノ物ヲ含マセテキル。即チ、支那海  
關ノ管理機關ノ存続。關稅、鹽稅、及固定稅收入ヲ擔保トスル米國  
人所有ニナル債權ニ對スル利子支拂ノ存続等ニ於ケル米國ノ權益。  
又米支間ノ諸條約ヨリ生起スル米國ノ治外法權其他ノ諸權利、及上  
海、厦門ノ各共同租界ヤ在上海共同租界ノ支那裁判所等ノ組織及行  
政機能ノ保全ガ其レデアル。  
各々ノ國ガ其ノ安全保證ニ關スル危懼ヲ以ツテ妨ラレル事無ク、發  
展ヲ遂ゲ得ル機會ヲ十分ニ享受シ得ル所ノ世界秩序ヲ支那ニモ及ボ  
シ度イト考ヘル米國民ハ、敘上ノ總ユル徵候ニ失望ヲ感ジル。米國  
民ハ、世界ハ總ベテノ國々ガ俱ニ平和ノ裡ニ生活シ互ニ他國ノ平和  
的ナ追求ヤ繁榮ヨリ利益ヲ得ルニ足ル程廣イ物デアアル事ヲ信ジテキ

ル。彼等ノ目ハ日本ノ政策ハ日本自ラノ利益ノ爲ニ亞細亞大陸ノ  
廣汎ナ地域ニ對スル支配權ヲ確立シ、其處ニ優先的地位ガ附與セラ  
レト一般ニ信セラレテ居ル鎖國の經濟機構ヲ壓シツケントシツツ  
アルカニ見ユルノデアル。而シテ亦彼等ハ、私ガ今上ニ述ベタ様ナ  
世界秩序實現ニ資スベキ主義、政策ニ加盟スレバ日本ノ益スル所ハ  
ヨリ大デアラウトモ確信シテキルノデアル。

此處迄論ジテ來タ事柄ハ米國ノ在支權益及支那ニ關スル利害關係ト  
イフ廣イ範圍ノ中デ夫々獨自ノ位地ヲ占メテキルガ、ヨリ大キナヨ  
リ根本的ナノハ權益、利害其レ自身ナノデアル。ハル國務長官ノ聲  
明ニ依レバ、「極東情勢、歐洲情勢及米大陸ノ諸情勢ニ對スル合衆  
國ノ利害關係ハ、或ル一定ノ時一定ノ國ニ居住スル米國市民ノ數ヤ  
其ノ處ニ於イテ爲セル米國市民ノ投資高、又貿易高ニ依ツテ測リ得  
ルモノデハナイ。ヨリ大キナ遙カニ根本的ナ利害ガアルノダ。其レ  
ハ國際關係ノ秩序立ツタ進行ガ確立サレルトイフ事デアル。世界人

口ノ約半數ヲ含ム地域タル極東ノ情勢ニ特ニ言及スレバ、合衆國ハ  
秩序アル過程ヲ保持シ且ツ促進スルニ資スベキ諸影響ヲ、平和的  
手段ニ依ツテ支持スル事ニ深イ關心ヲ有スル者デアル。而シテ此ノ關  
心自体ガ米國ノ對支貿易又對支投資ノ價值ヨリ遙カニ重大性ヲ有シ  
在支米國市民ノ直接的福祉ヲ保障スルトイフ問題サへ超越スルモノ  
デアラン。」

主義も高く堅持シテ來タ。政府へ、合衆國及我が國民ノ諸權利ハ尊重サルベキ事ヲ要求シテ來タシ又現在シツツアル。又同時ニ他國ノ紛争ニ此ノ國ガ捲キ込マレヌ様ニモ努メテ來タシ又現在努力シツツアルノデアアル。

紳士淑女諸君、私方斯ク提示シ來ツタ諸種ノ考察ガ如何ニハル歟。長官ノ言フ「實際關係ノ秩序アル過程」ニ對スル要求ト密接ナ關係ヲ有スルモノデアアルカ、又此等ノ考察ガ其ノ要求ニ如何ニ重キヲ加ヘテキルモノデアアルカ、當然御了承ノ行ク事ト考ヘル次第デアアル。

私方屢々聞ク事デアアルガ、米國ノ態度ハ現代ノ世界事情ニ充當スルニハ余リニ理想主義的、非現實的ニ過キルトイフ非難ガアル。

然シ之ハ私ガ既ニ提出シタ大イニ實際的ナ考察ニ徴シテ見レバ完全ニ否定シ去ラレ得ルモノト私ニハ思ヘルノデアアル。

過去一世紀以上ニ亘リ米國ノ對極東諸國關係ニ於イテ、或ル特殊ナ權益、債務、實行ガ展開サレテ來タノモ此ノ廣イ意味ノ利害關係ニ照シテ見タ上ノ事デアアル。之等ハ何モ極東ノ或ル一國ニ限ラレテ來タ譯デハナイ。極東諸國ノ各々總ベテニ對スル我が關係ニ於テ或ル程度、或ル期間存在シテ來タ事デアアル。所デ此等諸國ノ中ノ二ツニ於テハ、此ノ特殊ナ態様ヲ呈スル國際關係ハ正常ナ漸進的過程ニ依ツテ既ニ消滅シテ了ツタ。支那デハ今次事變ノ遙カ以前ニ此ノ過程ヲ終ツテ了ツテキタノデアアル。

米國政府ガ衷心ヨリ事變ノ終結ヲ願ヒ、現存スル國際契約ノ條項ト平等正義ノ主義ニ合致シ又各段間ノ關係ニ秩序アル過程ヲ確立維持スル事ニ正當ナル考慮ヲ拂フ様ニ從テ平和ガ可及的速カニ恢復スル事ヲ希望スル事ハ論ヲ俟タナイ。國務長官ノ言ヲ更ニ又引用スレバ、「極東ノ現狀ニ處シテ合衆國政府ハ過去ニ於イテ常ニ斯ウデアツタ如ク、米國民ニ妥當ナル保護ト援助トヲ供與シテ來タ。又其ノ

支那學堂中日本外務大臣及次官トグルー米國大使問ニ行  
 ハレシ會談覺書ノ拔萃。  
 (之ニ就イテハ一九三八年七月四日ノ同大使ト宇垣大  
 將トノ重要會談及同年十月三日ノ近衛公對トノ重要會  
 談ノ二ツノ覺書ヲ御參照被下度、之等ノ覺書ハ會見後  
 夫々ノ大臣ニ手交サレ、現在外務省ニ保存サレ居ル等  
 ニ候。)

(16) 昭和十四年十一月四日野村「グルー」第一回  
 會談ノ際米國側ノ手交セル歴代大臣ノ在支米  
 國權益保障ニ關スル覺書拔萃  
 一九三九年十一月四日グルー米國大使ヨリ外務大臣野村  
 大將閣下ニ手交サレシ、在支日本軍ニ依ル米國權益毀損  
 ニ關スル資料ナリ之等ノ書類ハ非公式ニ手交サレタルモ  
 ノニシテ公式文書ニ非ス

廣田外務大臣  
 如何ナル場合ニモ日本政府ハ在支列強利益ニ對シ十分ナル考慮ヲ  
 拂フベキ用意ヲ有ス。

大臣ハ軍事行動地域ニ於ケル米國並其他ノ外國民ノ生命財産及合  
 衆國其他ノ列強ノ利益ヲ保護スベク務ラユル努力ガ拂ハルルデア  
 ラウト明証ナル保護ヲ余ニ與ヘラレ、又大臣ガ言ハレル所ノ軍ノ  
 益キ統帥權ヲ所有サルル香月將軍ヲ大臣ハ信頼サレ居ラレタリ。

廣田外務大臣  
 一九三七年九月一日

當方ノ九月一日附覽ヲ讀ミ且ツ手交シタ後、余ハ大臣ニ次ノ如ク  
 語レリ。即チ、日本ノ對外政治的關係ノ取扱ニ關シテハ大臣自身  
 責任ヲ有スルモノニシテ、之等ノ關係ハ軍事の考慮ヨリ首要ナル  
 モノト看做サルベキナリ。斯ルガ故ニ、過去四年間日米兩國ガ常  
 ニ其ノ維持發展ニ努力シ來レル兩國間ノ友情ヲ傷ケルガ如キ重大

此ノ資料ハ米國大使館ヨリ日本政府ニ同ケ送セラレシ諸  
 種ノ覺書ヲ含マザルモノ也。

事件ノ危険ヲ避クベキ事ノ重要性ヲ特ニ認識シ大臣ガ此ノ方面ニ  
其ノ權威ヲ行使セラレン事ヲ余ハ熱心ニ訴ヘ且ツ強調セリ。

對廣田外務大臣

一九三七年九月十七日

本日午後余ハ大臣ヲ官邸ニ訪ヒ、當方ノ覺悟ヲ讀ミ且ツ之ヲ手交  
スル一方、日本軍飛行機ニ依ル在惠州米人宜教團所屬病院爆撃ニ  
關スル歐カハシキ詳細ノ事情ヲ、法理上及人道ノ見地ヨリ討議  
セリ。余ハ斯クノ如キ事件ガ單ニ我方政府ノミナラズ米歐一般民  
ニモ與ヘル所ノ甚タシク不利ナ印象ニ就イテ大臣ニ語り、密支臣  
本陸海軍ハ大臣及余ガ過去數ヶ年ニ亘リテ成就ヤント努力シ來リ  
シ事ヲ無爲ニ歸セシメンガ爲ニ彼等ノ最善ヲ盡シツツアル事ヲ慎  
レル、ト述ベタリ。

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對廣田外務大臣

一九三七年九月二十日

此ノ際余ハ、翌正午ヨリ開始スト豫告サレタル日本海軍ノ南京爆  
撃計畫ニ論題ヲ向ケ、斯カル行動ガ採ラレルニ於イテハ他ノ非戰  
團員ト同様外國ノ外交機關及人員モ必然的ニ甚シイ危険ニ曝サレ  
ルナラントノ點ニ關シ最モ強キ申入ヲ爲セリ。余ハ又、若シ之等ノ  
行動ニ依ツテ何等カノ偶發事件生起スル際ハ米歐政府並ニ同國  
民ニ甚タ重大ナル影響ガ生ゼンメラルベキ事ヲ語り合衆國及其他  
ノ諸國ニ徐々ニ激化サレ行ク反日感情ニ關シテモ敘述シ、而シテ  
其レハ世界ノ人々ノ間ニ日本ニ對スル不信、危惧、一般的反感ヲ  
日本自ラノ行爲ノ結果集積シテ行クモノナリト告ゲタリ。余ハ又  
大臣ニ對シ、大臣ト余トガ過去數年ニ亘リ築キ上げ來リシ兩國間  
ノ親善ハ日本ノ對支行動ノ結果急激ニ消失シツツアル事、米國民  
ハ忍耐強イトハイヘ其ノ正當ナル在外權益ヲ渦中ニ抄ゼンメル重  
大事件起ラバ容易ニ感情ヲ激發サレ得ルモノナル事、又日本ノ對

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起ルヤモ知レヌ或ル種ノ報復ニ關シ、最大限ノ效果ヲ以ツテ訴ヘ  
ルニアリタリ。

支行動ノ結果彼等ノ名譽ヲ害シタト感ズルガ如キ重大事件生起セ  
シ場合、我が國ニ疑モ無ク惹起サレルニ違ヒ無キ結果ヲ余ハ常ニ  
惧レ居ル者ナル事ヲ告ゲタリ。斯クノ如キ際ニハ我々ハ歴史的事  
實ヲ忘ルベキニアラズ、又メイン號ガハワアナテ爆發シタ際如何  
ナル事ガ合衆國ニ惹起シタカ記憶サレルデアラウ事モ語レリ。次  
イデ、日本ノ對外關係ヲ指導シ、且ツ在支日本陸海軍ヲシテ、世  
界ノ對日好意ヲ急速ニ失ハシメ全ク普遍的ナ惡感情ヲ海外ニ強メ  
ツツアル行動ヨリ抑止スル事ニ對スル大臣自身ノ責任ヲ強調セリ  
陸海軍ハ日本ノ對外關係及世界ニ於ケル地位ヲ理解セズ又之ニ對  
シ不關焉ノ態度ヲ採ルラシク思ハルル故、支那ニ於テ現在採ラレ  
ツツアル行動ノ方向指導ノ責任ハ大臣自身ノ物ナル事ヲ指摘セリ。  
余ノ陳述ト訴ヘノ力強サト率直サトハ廣田大臣ノ御想像ニ何等ノ  
餘スモノガナカッタ。余ノ努力ハ提議サレタ斯ノ南京爆發ニ關聯  
シテ米國權益ガ卷添ヘテ喰フガ如キ重大事件發生ノ際ニ合衆國ニ

對廣田外務大臣

一九三七年十一月二十八日

大臣ハ、現在ノ紛争ニ關シ其ノ最モ憂慮スル所ハ列國ノ在支權益ノ保護ナル事デアリ、此ノ目的ニ副ツテ總ユル可能ナ事ヲ爲シツツアル旨ヲ述ベラレタリ。

對廣田外務大臣

一九三七年十二月十三日

余ハ本日、南京近クノ揚子江上ノ米國軍艦バナイ號及ビ米國避難民ニ關スル、十二月一日附第八百二十九號覺書寫ニ對シ外務大臣ノ注意ヲ喚起シ且ツ之ヲ手交セリ。而シテ、在南京大使館ヲ通ゼシ在漢口米國大使ノ報告ニ依レバ、爆彈ガ米國避難民ヲ搭載セル米國軍艦バナイ號及ビスタンダード油槽船ノ周圍ニ落下シ、廿七哩上流ニ溯航スレドモ尙爆彈ハ少クトモ二哩ノ間追撃シ來リシ事ヲ陳述セリ。余ハ自ラノ發意ノ下ニ行動シ居リ、指令ヲ受ケ居ルニハ非ストイヘドモ、米國避難民及米國船ニ對スル危險余リニ大ナル故之等ノ安全ヲ保證スル様陸海軍當局ニ執成シセラレン事ヲ今

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一度大臣ニ要請シ度シト考ヘタガ爲ナル事ヲ明ラカニシ、之等ノ事實ヲ報ズル南京及漢口ヨリノ電文四通ノ大要ト共ニ本日附覺ヲ大臣ニ手交セリ。之等ノ覺書ノ一ツハ避難民ヲ積載セルバナイ號及スタンダード油槽船ノ現在ノ所在地ヲ告ケ居リ、而シテ後者ハ吳淞ヲ廻ル事約二百三十一哩ノ所ニ投錨中ト報ジアリ、余ガ大臣ニ之等ノ電報ヲ欲セラルルヤ否ヤヲ問ヒシ處大臣ハ然リト答ヘラレタルニヨリ、余ハ全ク非公式ニ手交スルト共ニ之等ハ外交文書ト看做サルベキモノニアラザル事ヲ述ベタリ。

大臣ハ只、日本陸軍當局ハ南京附近ノ戰鬪區域ヨリ立退クベキ事ヲ既ニ米國人ニ警告セリトノミ述ベラレタリ。余ハ日本軍爆撃ノ結果萬一米國市民ガ上記ノ船舶上ニテ傷害ヲ受ケルガ如キ事アル場合米國ニ於ケル影響ハ歎ハシク且ツ重大ナ性質ノモノトナルベキヲ指摘セリ。

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故ニ、日本軍隊ニ依ル斯クノ如キ不規律ナル行動カ如何ニシテ起  
リシカ全ク判断ニ苦シムト語ラレタリ

對廣田外務大臣

一九三七年十二月十四日

首相トノ協議ノ爲本日午後中間取リシ外務大臣ハ八時卅分ニ至  
リ余ヲ外務省ニ招致シタリ、余ハ此際米國軍艦バナイ號及三隻ノ  
スダンダード石油會社船沈没ニ關スル署名入り覺書ヲ讀ミ且ツ之  
ヲ大臣ニ手交セリ。而シテ本日午後余ニ交付サレシ日本側ノ覺書  
ハ我カ政府ノ提出セシ諸點中ノ或ルモノニ對シテハ適切ナモノナ  
ルモ、其ノ全部ニハ、例ヘハ在支米國民權益、財産ヲ日本ノ如何  
ナル當局及軍隊ノ不法ナル干涉ヨリ保護スル事ニ對スル將來ノ保  
證ノ如キニハ應シ居ラヌ事、又然ルカ故ニ回答ヲ期待シ度キ事ヲ  
口頭ニテ指摘セリ。大臣ハ速カナル回答ヲ余ニ約シ、更ニ「合衆  
國トノ友好關係維持ニ尙己ノ盡力ヲ盡シ度シ」ト附言セラレタリ。  
對廣田外務大臣  
一九三八年一月十七日

大臣ハ日本ノ對米友交關係ヲ妨害スルカ如キ行動及手段ヲ避クヘ  
ク可能ナ限リノ強硬ナ命令カ陸海軍双方ニ對シ發セラレ居リシカ

大臣ハ之等ノ掠奪行爲ヲ停止セヨトノ最大限度嚴重ナル指令ガ大本營ヨリ全在支指揮官宛被セラレタル旨語ラレタリ。

對堀内外務次官

一九三八年一月二十九日

余ハ之等ノ繰返シ惹起スル事件ハ當然バナイ號慘事ノ結果日本政府ヨリ秋々ニ與ヘラレタル保證ノ眞實性ガ信頼スルニ足ルモノナルヤニ付迷ヒツツアル米國民ニ對シ最モ不幸ナル結果ヲ生ゼンメツツアルコトヲ重ネテ指摘シタリ。

對廣田外務大臣

一九三八年二月四日

今朝九時余ハ外務大臣ヲ官邸ニ訪問シ、在支日本軍ノ米國財產掠奪ニ關スル公式覺書ヲ提示シ掠奪行爲ノ報告ヲ論セリ。余ハ米國公衆ノ面前ニ漸次堆積シツツアル證據ニ就イテ即チ、此ノ證據ノ燃エツキ易キ結果ナルモノハ看過乃至過小評價サルベキモノニ非ズ、又米國民ノ忍耐ハ無限ナモノニ非ザル事ヲ語レリ。余ハ日米關係ノ現狀ト將來ノ見透シニ關シ益々困惑シツツアル事ヲ再度強硬ニ大臣ニ披瀝シ、保證ヲ期待セル我が政府ヘノ回答トシテ余ガ傳フベキ正確ナル聲明ヲ欲セリ。

對廣田外務大臣

一九三八年五月十七日

既ニ南京ニハ約八百人ノ日本非戦闘員アリト傳ヘラルルガ。斯クノ如ク日本國民ナレバ自由ニ行ク事ヲ許可サルル秩序回復セル地ニ依ツテ生ズル不必要ナル困難ニ關シテ。余ハ戰爭區域ノ危險ヲ口實トスル事ニ依ツテハ説明サレザル米國人宣教師及商業關係者ノ正當ナル權益ニ對スル此ノ獨斷的干涉ヲ受ケ。彼等ハ感々不安ノ念ヲ増シツツアリ又斯クノ如キ取扱ガ續行サレルニ於テハ就中其レガ在支米國權益ハ尊重サルベントノ日本政府ヨリ再三再四我々ニ與ヘラレシ保證トアカラ様ニ背馳スルガ如キ場合ニ米國新聞及米國民衆ノ中ニ起サルル重大ナ報復手段ヲ余ハ懼ルル者也ト述ベタリ。

對堀内外務次官

一九三八年五月卅一日

日本軍ノ在支米國權益侵害ニ關スル諸種ノ覺書ヲ本日外務次官ニ

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手交セシ際。余ハ米國ノ輿論感情ニ之等侵害行為ガ與ヘシ相重ナル結果ヲ指摘強調シ。本日新外務大臣ヨリ余ニ與ヘラレシ「米國在支權益ノ保護ヲ保證ス」トノ確言ガ速カニ効果ヲ生ゼン事ヲ切望スト傳ヘタリ。

日本當局自身ノ要求ニ依リ。又關係者米國人側ニ何等ノ義務無キニ拘ラズ。在支米國財産ノ位置ハ明ラカニ指示サレ米國旗ニ依ル標識設置ハ希望通り實行サレタリ。之等ノ場所ヲ避クヘキ責任ハ專ラ日本軍ニ歸スヘキモノナリ。次官ノ爲セル極度ニ不明瞭ナル辯明ハ我が政府ノ一瞬ナリトモ受認爲シ得ルモノニアラズ。又絶對ニ米國民ニ訴フル所アル辯明ニモ非ズ而シテ我が政府及國民ハ斯カル事ヲ爲サズトノ繰返シテノ保證ヲ完全ニ無視シテ行ハレシ日本ノ侵害行為ニ漸次憂慮ノ度ヲ増シツツアリ。

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法ニヨリ實行サレルトモ非戦闘員爆撃ニ對シテ有スル米國政府及米國民ノ深キ人道主義的關心ヲ、日本政府ガ常ニ銘記スル事ガ、最モ緊要也ト余ハ考察セリ。

對堀内外務次官

一九三八年六月九日

今朝十一時半余ハ外務次官ヲ外務省ニ訪問シ、米人長老派宣教師「フレドリック・ジー・スコヴェル」博士ガ濟寧ニ於イテ泥酔セル一日日本兵ニ依リ脇腹ヲ撃タルトノ、兗州府ノ或ル米人方面ヨリ在青島米國領事ガ入手セシ報告ニ對シ次官ノ注意ヲ喚起セリ。同博士ハ、婦女ヲ求メ屠リシ日本兵ヨリ宣教師團附屬病院ノ支那看護婦ヲ庇ハントセシモノナリト云ハル。

對外務大臣宇垣大將

一九三八年五月三十一日

大臣ハ、米國在支權益ノ保護ヲ保證シ之ニ關スル問題ノ生起スル時ハ通告ヲ受ケ度キ旨明ラカニ回答セラレタリ。

對堀内外務次官

一九三八年六月九日

余ハ本日ハ爆撃ノ専門的局面ニ立入ル事ヲ欲セズ又軍事的目的、若クハ武装地域又ハ非武装地域等ノ問題ニ觸ルル事モ避ケ度キ旨ヲ述べタリ。余ノ爲シ度キ事ハ、大量ノ非戦闘員ガ何レカノ地ニ於ケル大爆撃ニ依リ死傷ヲ蒙ルガ如キ場合米國輿論ガ受ケル歎カハシキ影響ヲ指摘シ、併セテ、斯クノ如キ行動ヨリ得ラレル軍事の利益ハ斯ノ如キ大量殺戮ガ日本ノ外國、就中合衆國ニ於ケル評判ヲ必然的ニ傷ケル事ヲ正當化スル程重大ナモノナリヤ否ヤナル問題ヲ提出スルニアリタリ。而シテ外務省ハ日本ノ對外關係ヲ司ル處ナルガ故ニ、責任アル同省ニ最モ關係深キ問題ノ面ハ之ナル様ニ思ハルル旨ヲ述べタリ。如何ナル處ニ於イテ又如何ナル方

對堀内外務次官

一九三八年六月二十日

本日午後余ハ外務次官ヲ訪問シシエー。シーダムソン博士襲撃事件ニ關シ覺ヲ参照シツツ到切ナル申告ヲ爲セリ。斯クノ如キ事件ヲ惹起セシメシ原因乃至情況ハ、若シ在南京日本軍當局カ米國民ニ對シ鄭重ナル態度ヲ保持スル事ノ重要性ヲ日本兵ニ銘記セシメシナラハ直チニ避ケ得ラレシヤモ知レヌモノナリト、調査ノ結果如何ニ拘ラス我カ政府ハ感スルモノナル事ヲ此際余ハ附言セリ。更ニ余ハ斯クノ如キ事件ノ米國輿論ニ對スル、從ツテ日米關係ニ對スル歎ハシキ影響ニ就キテ語り、最近日本政府側カ米國在支權益ニ對シヨリ大ナル考慮ヲ拂ハントスル希望ノ表示ヲ爲スコトニ依リ何等カノ良キ効果カ作ラルルニシテモ、之等ノ事件ハ必然的ニ之ヲ後退セシメルニ役立つモノナル事ヲ指摘セリ。次官ハ此ノ見解ニ全ク同感ナル事ヲ表明シダムソン事件ヲ直チニ調査爲ス事ヲ約サレタリ。

對外務大臣宇垣大將

一九三八年七月四日

日本政府ハ日米關係ヲ慎重ニ考慮シツツアリ。率直ナ討議カ必要テアリ、我々ハ相互ノ公平ト正義ノ上ニ立チテ互ヲ理解スヘシ。支那ノ門戶開放ハ維持サルルナラン。機會均等主義ヲ日本政府ハ十分尊重スルコトヲ我々ハ信シテ然ルヘキナリ。而シテ或ル場合ニ於イテハ事變中ハ、米國政府ニトリ全ク満足ノ行クモノトハ言ヒ兼ネル一時ノ困難ハ起リ得ルヤモ知レス、之等ハ飽ク迄一時的ノモノナリ。

無差別襲撃ハ特別ノ指令ニ依リ嚴重ニ禁セラル。事實少數ノ日本飛行士ハ十分ナル期間ノ訓練ヲ受ケ居ラス標識ヲ誤ルカ故ニ、余カ訴ヘシ損害ヲ引キ起セシモノナリ。而シテ此種ノ損害ヲ避クヘキ様總ラユル努力カ爲サルル管ナリ。余ハ、我々ハ中央當局ヨリ現地當局ト專ラ交渉ヲ爲スヘントノ見解ニ關シ直チニ大臣ト論争ヲ齎シ次ノ事ヲ指摘セリ。即チ、米國

對外務大臣近衛公爵

一九三八年十月三日

大臣ノ言ニ依レバ外務大臣更迭ニモ拘ラス日本ノ對支那事變政策  
 及一般對外政策ニハ何ラノ變化ハ來ラス。既ニ我方ニ與ヘラレシ  
 支那門戶開放及機會均等ニ關スル保證ハ堅持サルルナラン。支那  
 ニ於ケル軍事行動ハ我方方ノ要求ノ全部ニ答ヘル事ヲ遲ラスルヤ  
 モ知レズ。然シ乍ラ此ノ遲延ハ一時的ノモノニ過ギザル事ノ保證  
 ヲ大臣ハ明ラカニ與ヘタリ。大臣ハ日米兩國ノ關係ヲ改善スル爲  
 ニハ自己ノ力ノ及ブ限リノ事ヲ、過去ニ於イテモ爲シタ如ク續ケ  
 テ行クノ希望ヲ有シ、且ツ之ヲ爲ス積リナル事ヲ述べタリ。亦兩  
 國ノ關係ヲ高ク評價スト語り、余ガ提出セシ諸點ノ多クヲ熟知セ  
 ザルモ尙之ヲ研究セン事ヲ附言セリ。

大臣ノ意見開陳後余ハ、我々ガ訴ヘシ諸事情ノ多クハ、否大部分  
 ハ軍事行動トハ何等直接ノ關係無キ事ヲ指摘ス。大臣回答シテ曰  
 ク、現在設立サレツツアル新「對支機關」ハ正ニ斯クノ如キ問題

權益ヲ説明シ且ツ之カ傷ケラレシ場合申立テラ爲ス爲ノ我々ノ妥  
 當ナ主ナル通路ハ在東京ノ外務省ニシテ陸海軍ニ非ラサル事ヲ大  
 臣ハ認識スヘキテアル。又我々ハ大臣自身ヲ日本ノ對外關係ヲ處  
 スル上ノ直接責任者ト看做ス事ナリ。

ヲ扱フ爲ニ形成サレツツアルモノニシテ、一度之ガ機能ヲ開始スル時ハ、東京當局ガ在支現地當局ヲ直接支配スル事ニ依リ之等ノ困難ヲ解消サセ得ルナラント信スルト。大臣ハ對米關係ノ改善ヲ切望スル旨繰返セリ。

I(16)

對澤田外務次官

一九三八年十月三十一日

幾回ニ亘ル外務大臣ニ會見セントノ努力ハ遂ニ成功セズ、余ハ本日外務次官ヲ訪問シナイハス事件ニ關シテ強硬ナル申入レヲ爲セリ。即チ、同事件ハ米國財産ノ爆撃ノミナラズ米國人生命ノ喪失ヲモ惹起セシガ故ニ極度ニ重大ナル事件ト余ハ之ヲ看做セリ。又事變勃發以來繰返シ行ハレル在支米國財産ノ爆撃ニ依リ米國人生命ガ大量喪失ヲ之迄受ケズニ來リシハ之全ク奇蹟ナリ。而シテ將來斯ノ如キ爆撃ヲ阻止センガ爲效果のナル方法ヲ講ゼラル限リ斯クノ如キ性質ノ事件ノ更ニ勃發スル危險ハ絶エルモノニ非ザル旨ヲ述べ、ナイハス事件ノ評判ガ必然的ニ公ニ擴メラルル事ガ米國輿論ノ上ニ及ボス歎ハシキ影響ヲ次官ニ指摘セリ。余ノ口頭申入レハ外務大臣宛ノ強硬ナ辭句ヲ以ツテ書カレシ署名入りノ覺書ニ依リテ併セ行ハレタリ。余ノ申入レヲ聽取セシ後次官ハ「本事件ノ甚ダ重大ナル事件ナル

I(16)

コトハ余モ亦同感ナリ。ト語り速カナル調査ヲ約セリ。  
 對澤田外務次官 一九三八年十月三十一日  
 長沙碇泊中ノスタンダード石油會社船メイシン號ヲ日本飛行機ガ  
 襲撃セシ事實ニ關シ本日余ハ外務次官ニ對シ強硬ナル申込ヲ爲シ  
 外務大臣宛ノ署名入り正式覺書ヲ手交セリ。

對有田外務大臣

一九三八年十一月七日

十月六日附我ガ覺書ニ取扱ハレシ一事態、即チ上海漢口間ノ揚子  
 江自由航行問題ニ對シ大臣ノ注意ヲ余ハ明白ニ且ツ緊急ニ喚起セ  
 ザルヲ得ヌ事ヲ大臣ニ通告シ、強硬ナル口頭申入レノ後本日附我  
 ガ第一一一一號覺書ヲ手交セリ。余ハ我ガ政府ハ不確定ナル回答  
 ニテハ満足セザルベキヲ述べ、漢口以降ノ揚子江自由航行禁止ヲ  
 撤回スベキ速カナル日時ヲ指定スル事ヲ含ム有利ナル回答ヲ督促  
 セリ。大臣ハ確タル言質ヲ與ヘザリキ。

對有田外務大臣

一九三八年十二月廿六日

英國在支權益ノ爆撃ハ僅カ十件乃至十二件ヲ數フルノミトノ大臣  
 ノ暗黙ノ内ノ假定ニ接シ、余ハ若シ余ニシテ誤リ無クンバ、斯ク  
 ノ如キ事件ハ既ニ總計二百乃至三百ヲ算シ、十二月廿八日現在報  
 ゼラルル所ニ依レバ日本軍ニ依ル在支米國財産侵害事件ハ爆撃、  
 掠奪、加害等ヲ含ミ二百九十六ヲ算スル旨ヲ書キ送リタリト告ケタリ。