

### 三九、國際聯盟脫退通告文

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(三月二十七日發表)

帝國ノ國際聯盟規約第一條第三項ニ基キ國際聯盟ヲ脫退スル旨ノ左記通告ヲ昭和八年三月二十七日外務大臣ヨリ國際聯盟事務總長ニ對シ電報セシ

The Japanese Government believe that the national policy of Japan, which has for its aim to insure the peace of the Orient and thereby to contribute to the cause of peace throughout the world, is identical in spirit with the mission of the League of Nations, which is to achieve international peace and security. It has always been with pleasure, therefore, that this country has for thirteen years past, as an original Member of the League, and a permanent Member of its Council, extended a full measure of co-operation with her fellow-Members towards the attainment of its high purpose. It is indeed a matter of historical fact that Japan has continuously participated in the various activities of the League with a zeal not inferior to that exhibited by any other nation. At the same time, it is and has always been the conviction of the Japanese Government that in order to render possible the mainte-

nance of peace in various regions of the world, it is necessary in existing circumstances to allow the operation of the Covenant of the League to vary in accordance with the actual conditions prevailing in each of those regions. Only by acting on this just and equitable principle can the League fulfil its mission and increase its influence.

Acting on this conviction, the Japanese Government, ever since the Sino-Japanese dispute was, in September, 1931, submitted to the League, have, at meetings of the League and on other occasions, continually set forward a consistent view. This was, that if the League was to settle the issue fairly and equitably, and to make a real contribution to the promotion of peace in the Orient, and thus enhance its prestige, it should acquire a complete grasp of the actual conditions in this quarter of the globe and apply the Covenant of the League in accordance with these conditions. They have repeatedly emphasized and insisted upon the absolute necessity of taking into consideration the fact that China is not an organized State,—that its internal conditions and external relations are characterized by extreme confusion and complexity, and by many abnormal and exceptional features,—and that, accordingly, the general principles and usages of International Law which govern the ordinary relations between nations are found to be considerably modified in their operation so far as China is concerned, resulting in the quite abnormal and unique interna-

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tional practices which actually prevail in that country.

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However, the majority of the Members of the League evinced in the course of its deliberations during the past seventeen months a failure either to grasp these realities or else to face them and take them into proper account. Moreover, it has frequently been made manifest in these deliberations that there exist serious differences of opinion between Japan and these Powers concerning the application and even the interpretation of various international engagements and obligations including the Covenant of the League and the principles of International Law. As a result, the Report adopted by the Assembly at the special session of 24 February last, entirely misapprehending the spirit of Japan, pervaded as it is by no other desire than the maintenance of peace in the Orient, contains gross errors both in the ascertainment of facts and in the conclusions deduced. In asserting that the action of the Japanese Army at the time of the Incident of 18 September and subsequently did not fall within the just limits of self-defence, the Report assigned no reasons and came to an arbitrary conclusion, and in ignoring alike the state of tension which preceded, and the various aggravations which succeeded, the Incident—for all or which the full responsibility is incumbent upon China—the Report creates a source of fresh conflict in the political arena of the Orient. By refusing to acknowledge the actual cir-

cumstances that led to the foundation of Manchoukuo, and by attempting to challenge the position taken up by Japan in recognizing the new State, it cuts away the ground for the stabilization of the Far Eastern situation. Nor can the terms laid down in its recommendations—as was fully explained in the Statement issued by this Government on 25 February last—ever be of any possible service in securing enduring peace in these regions.

The conclusion must be that in seeking a solution of the question the majority of the League have attached greater importance to upholding inapplicable formulae than to the real task of assuring peace, and higher value to the vindication of academic theses than to the eradication of the sources of future conflict. For these reasons, and because of the profound differences of opinion existing between Japan and the majority of the League in their interpretation of the Covenant and of other treaties, the Japanese Government have been led to realize the existence of an irreconcilable divergence of views, dividing Japan and the League on policies of peace, and especially as regards the fundamental principles to be followed in the establishment of a durable peace in the Far East. The Japanese Government, believing that in these circumstances there remains no room for further co-operation, hereby give notice, in accordance with the provisions of Article 1, Paragraph 3, of the Covenant, of the intention of Japan to withdraw from the League of Nations.

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右通告文ノ譯文左ノ如シ

六七〇

「帝國政府ハ東洋平和ヲ確保シ延イテ世界ノ平和ニ貢獻セントスル帝國ノ國是カ各國間ノ平和安寧ヲ企圖スル國際聯盟ノ使命ト其ノ精神ヲ同シウスルコトヲ認メ過去十有三年ニ互リ原聯盟國トシテ又常任理事國トシテ此ノ崇高ナル目的ノ達成ニ協力シ來リタルヲ欣快トスルモノナリ而シテ其ノ間帝國カ常ニ他ノ如何ナル國ニモ劣ラサル熱誠ヲ以テ聯盟ノ事業ニ參畫セルハ殿トシテ動カスヘカラサル事跡ナルト同時ニ帝國政府ハ現下國際社會ノ情勢ニ鑑ミ世界諸地方ニ於ケル平和ノ維持ヲ計ランカ爲ニハ此等各地方ノ現實ノ事態ニ即シテ聯盟規約ノ運用ヲ行フヲ要シ且斯ノ如キ公正ナル方針ニ則リ初テ聯盟カ其ノ使命ヲ全クシ其ノ權威ノ増進ヲ期シ得ヘキヲ確信セリ

昭和六年九月日支事件ノ聯盟付託ヲ見ルヤ帝國政府ハ終始右確信ニ基キ聯盟ノ諸會議其ノ他ノ機會ニ於テ聯盟カ本事件ヲ處理スルニ公正妥當ナル方法ヲ以テシ眞ニ東洋平和ノ増進ニ寄與スルト共ニ其ノ威信ヲ顯揚センカ爲ニハ同方面ニ於ケル現實ノ事態ヲ的確ニ把握シ該事態ニ適應シテ規約ノ運用ヲ爲スノ肝要ナルヲ提唱シ就中支那カ完全ナル統一國家ニ非スシテ其ノ國內事情及國際關係ハ複雜難澁ヲ極メ變則、例外ノ特異性ニ富メルコト從テ一般國際關係ノ規準タル

國際法ノ諸原則及慣例ハ支那ニ付テハ之カ適用ニ關シ著シキ變更ヲ加ヘラレ其ノ結果現ニ特殊且異常ナル國際慣行成立シ居レルコトヲ考慮ニ入ルルノ絕對ニ必要ナル旨力説強調シ來レリ然ルニ過去十七箇月間聯盟ニ於ケル審議ノ經過ニ徵スルニ多數聯盟國ハ東洋ニ於ケル現實ノ事態ヲ把握セサルカ又ハ之ニ直面シテ正當ナル考慮ヲ拂ハサルノミナラス聯盟規約其ノ他ノ諸條約及國際法ノ諸原則ノ適用殊ニ其ノ解釋ニ付帝國ト此等聯盟國トノ間ニ屢重大ナル意見ノ相違アルコト明カトナレリ其ノ結果本年二月二十四日臨時總會ノ採擇セル報告書ハ帝國カ東洋ノ平和ヲ確保セントスル外何等異圖ナキノ精神ヲ顯ミサルト同時ニ事實ノ認定及之ニ基ク論斷ニ於テ甚シキ誤謬ニ陥リ就中九月十八日事件當時及其ノ後ニ於ケル日本軍ノ行動ヲ以テ自衛權ノ發動ニ非スト憶斷シ又同事件前ノ緊張狀態及事件後ニ於ケル事態ノ惡化カ支那側ノ全責任ニ屬スルヲ看過シ爲ニ東洋ノ政局ニ新ナル紛糾ノ因ヲ作レル一方滿洲國成立ノ真相ヲ無視シ且同國ヲ承認セル帝國ノ立場ヲ否認シ東洋ニ於ケル事態安定ノ基礎ヲ破壞セントスルモノナリ殊ニ其ノ勸告中ニ掲ケラレタル條件カ東洋ノ康寧確保ニ何等貢獻シ得サルハ本年二月二十五日帝國政府陳述書ニ詳述セル所ナリ

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