

(2) 第五十議會

REEL No. 1-0445

0020

第五十一帝國議會ニ於ケル幣原外務大臣ノ演説

私ハ茲ニ先例ニ依リ帝國議會ノ前會期以後ニ我國ノ直面セル諸般ノ外交問題ニ付政府ノ執レル政策ノ大體ヲ説明シテ諸君ノ御諒解ヲ得
タイト考ヘマス

支那ニ於テハ近來内政上及外交上極メテ重要ナル時局ノ發展ヲ見タ
ノデアリマス一昨年ノ奉直戰爭ノ終局ト共ニ支那ノ各地方ニ在リテ
兵力ヲ擁スル諸黨派モ久シキ國內ノ戰亂ニ疲レタルカ如ク見エ政局
ハ暫ク小康ヲ得マシタ昨年二月開催セラレタル時局善後會議モ相當
ノ成績ヲ擧ケテ無事ニ閉會シマシタ支那ノ對外關係ニ於テ多年ノ懸
案タリシ金法問題モ圓滿ナル解決ヲ告ケ華府會議ノ結果タル九國條
約ハ愈々八月五日ヲ以テ調印國全部ノ批准寄託ヲ了スルコトナリ

(赤梓紙)ト

外務省

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(赤梓紙)ト

マシタ庶政改善ノ事業モ一時ハ將ニ緒ニ就カムトスルノ運ニ至リマ
シタ斯ノ如ク支那ノ平和的且秩序アル發達ニ對シテハ我々ハ滿腔ノ
同情ヲ以テ之ヲ見タノテアル之カ爲ニハ我々ハ直接間接ニ友好的援
助ヲ要ヘタコトモ尠クハアリマセヌ

闘ラスモ昨年四月頃ヨリ支那一派ノ分子中ニハ上海青島等ニ於テ日
本紡績工場ノ職工ニ同盟罷業ヲ煽動スル者カアリマシテ勞働條件改
善ノ要求ハ忽チ一轉シテ使用者並警察官憲ニ對スル暴行脅迫トナリ
五月ノ末最不幸ナル上海事件ノ勃發ト共ニ再轉シテ現行國際協定ノ
打破ヲ目的トスル政治運動ト化シ爾來其ノ騒動ハ支那ノ各地ニ波及
スルニ至リマシタ斯ノ如キ騒動ハ最早單純ナル勞働爭議トハ認メラ
レマセヌ暴力ヲ以テ日本人並外國人ノ生命財産ノ安全ヲ脅威スルモ

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ノテアリマスカラ政府ハ直ニ夫々必要ナル我居留民保護ノ手段ヲ執
リマシタ支那ノ各地ニ亙リテ我居留民ハ多數ナル割合ニハ被害ノ勢
カツタコトハ誠ニ幸テアリマス又此等ノ保護手段ニ對シ我支那派遣
艦隊ノ將卒カ終始極メテ有效且適切ナル協力ヲ與ヘタコトハ我々ノ
深ク満足スル所テアリマス
暴動事件ノ善後處置ニ至リテハ問題ノ性質ニ依リ或ハ關係列國全体
ト協同シ或ハ我國單獨ニテ支那ノ中央政府又ハ地方官憲ト交渉シ夫
々解決ノ途ヲ講スルコトニナリマシテ既ニ解決ヲ終ヘタモノモアリ
マスカ其ノ細目ハ餘リ煩雜ニ亙リマスカラ茲ニ省略シタイト考ヘマ
ス

更ニ一層重要ナル問題ハ昨年十月頃ヨリ支那ニ於テ又々發生セル動

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亂テアリマス浙江ノ孫傳芳將軍カ奉天軍ニ對シ事ヲ舉クルニ至リタ
ル遠因又ハ近因ハ支那ノ國內事項テアルカラ私ハ此ノ際論評ヲ避ケ
マス事實ニ於テ十月ノ初孫軍一度行動ヲ開始スルヤ奉天軍ハ上海ヲ
去リ南京ヲ棄テテ終ニ山東省迄引揚クルコトトナリマシタ
斯ノ如ク奉天軍カ中央支那方面ニ於テ頗ル不利ノ形勢ニ陥ツタニ拘
ラス十一月中旬頃ニ在リテハ東三省内ノ情況尙著シク動搖ノ狀モナ
ク又急ニ動亂ノ波及スヘキ模様モ見エナカツタノテアリマスカラ當
時我滿洲駐屯軍ノ兵員中年限ノ滿チタルモノハ常例ニ依リ内地ニ送
還セラレテ除隊歸休トナリマシタ
然ルニ十一月二十四日濼州方面ニ駐屯セル奉天軍司令官郭松齡將軍
ハ突如トシテ張作霖將軍ニ反抗シ奉天ニ向ツテ進軍スルコトトナリ

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マシタ之ニ對シ張將軍ノ側ニ於テハ直ニ退テ第一ノ防禦線ヲ連山方面ニ設ケタヤウニ見エマシタカ十二月ノ初ニ至リ奉天軍ハ格別ノ激戰ヲ交ヘスレテ連山附近ノ陣地ヲモ棄テ更ニ退イテ遼河方面ニ最後ノ決戰ヲ試ミルノ形勢カ追々明トナツテ來マシタ茲ニ於テ我關東司令官ハ十二月八日附ノ聲明ヲ以テ其ノ當然ノ職責ノ存スル所ヲ張郭兩將軍ニ警告シ以テ兩軍ノ注意ヲ促シタノテアリマス
前ニ述ヘタル滿洲駐屯軍ノ兵員中十一月中旬ニ除隊歸休トナツタモノノ補充ハ例年ノ慣例ニ依リ本年一月中ニ行ハルル當初ノ豫定テアツテ其ノ以前ニハ絶對的必要ト認メラルル最後ノ瞬間迄補充兵員ノ派遣ヲ見合ハス考ヘテアリマシタカ十二月十四日夜ヨリ翌朝ニ亘リテ一ノ新ナル形勢カ生シマシタ即チ其ノ間ニ滿洲方面ヨリ到着セル

(赤梓紙)ト

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電報ニ依レハ郭軍ノ一部隊ハ突然營口ノ對岸ニ現ハレタル事實確マリ同方面ニ於テモ張郭兩軍ノ衝突ヲ生スル危險ヲ豫想セサルヲ得サルニ至リマシタ之カ爲ニ滿鐵沿線ニ於テ我駐屯軍ノ特ニ警戒ヲ要スル守備區域ハ南ハ營口北ハ鐵嶺ニ至リ當時駐屯軍ノ減少セル兵力ヲ以テハ到底守備ノ任務ヲ完ウシ難キコトハ明瞭トナツタノテアリマス
固ヨリ爰ニ關東軍司令官ノ發セル聲明ニ對シテハ張郭兩將軍共ニ能ク之ヲ諒悉シ其ノ軍事行動ヲ執ルニ當リテハ十分ニ日本ノ權利利益ヲ尊重スヘキコトヲ期待サレマシタカ若シ數日ニ亘リテ各方面ニ混戰ノ状態ヲ呈スルカ如キ場合ニ立至リマスレハ雙方ノ軍隊共ニ無意識ニ鐵道附屬地ニ侵入シテ市街戰、追擊、追擊等ヲ行フノ虞アルノ

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ミナラス敗戦兵力規律節制ヲ失ヒ掠奪暴行ヲ爲スコトハ從來屢々例ノアルコトデアリマス斯クノ如キ危険ナル形勢カ十二月十五日ニ至リ愈々切迫セルモノト認メラレタルカ故ニ即日政府ハ意ヲ決シテ駐屯軍ノ兵數ヲ十一月中旬迄ノ情態ニ復セムカ爲ニ直ニ缺員補充ヲ行フコトトナツタノデアリマス其ノ後遼河ノ決戦終了シ東三省ノ事態カ大體平靜ニ歸シ始ムルト共ニ曩ニ我駐屯軍ノ缺員補充トシテ臨時ニ滿洲ニ派遣セラレタル部隊ハ逐次ニ原駐地ニ送還セラレマシテ一切ノ應急措置ハ今日ニ於テハ既ニ悉ク解除セラレタ次第デアリマス之ヲ要スルニ最近ノ支那ノ内亂ニ於テモ一昨年ノ奉直戰爭ノ場合ニ於ケルト等シク政府ハ帝國議會ノ前會期ニ於テ説明シタル一定ノ方針ヲ以テ終始一貫シタノデアリマス其ノ方針トハ即チ第一ニ支那ノ

(赤梓紙)ト

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内政ニ付テハ絶對ニ之ニ干渉セサルコト第二ニ我權利及利益ニ付テハ凡ユル正當手段ニ依リテ之ヲ擁護スルコトヲ期スルモノデアリマス
世間ニハ滿洲方面ニ於ケル日本ノ行動ニ對シ常ニ一種ノ邪推ヲ以テ觀察スルモノカナイテハアリマセヌ我滿洲駐屯軍ノ缺員カ補充セラレハ直ニ之ヲ以テ奉天軍援助ノ目的ニ出テタルモノナリト誣ヒ我軍司令官カ張郭兩軍ニ對シテ等シク其ノ營口入市ニ異議ヲ唱フレハ直ニ之ヲ以テ郭軍ノ軍事行動ヲ阻止スルノ内意ヲ含ムモノナルカ如ク傳ヘ百方日本ヲ中傷セントスルモノアルノハ誠ニ遺憾ニ堪ヘマセヌ我々ハ此等ノ風説ノ全然誤レルコトヲ斷言シ公平ナル歴史ハ何ヨリモ明白ニ我眞意ノ存スル所ヲ證明スヘキコトヲ確信スルモノテ

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アリマス尙滿洲方面ニ於ケル我文武官憲カ過般ノ重大ナル時局ニ當
ツテ同心協力能ク政府ノ方針ヲ遂行シ又全ク人道上ノ見地ヨリ敗軍
ノ將卒竝ニ之ト事ヲ共ニセル人々ノ生命ヲ救助セムカ爲百方力ヲ盡
シタルコトハ我々ノ衷心ヨリ悦フ所テアリマス
斯ノ如ク我々ハ徹底的ニ支那ニ於ケル内政不干渉主義ヲ勵行スルト
同時ニ我正當ナル地位ニ關シテハ及フ限り擁護ノ手段ヲ執ツタノテ
アリマス日本カ滿蒙地方ニ於テ有形無形ノ最重要ナル權利利益ヲ有
スルコトハ周知ノ事實テアル其ノ權利利益ニシテ外形ニ現ハレ職亂
ニ依リテ破壊セラルル危険ノアルモノハ主トシテ滿鐵沿線ニ存在ス
ル實況テアリマス之カ保護ハ過般我々ノ執リタル手段ニ依ツテ其ノ
目的ヲ達セラレタルモノト認メマス無形ノ權利利益ニ至ツテハ今回

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ノ戰亂ニ依ツテ影響ヲ受クルノ虞ナク事實ニ於テモ亦何等影響ナカ
ツタコトハ我々ノ確信スル所テアリマス
固ヨリ東三省地方全部カ平穩ノ情態ヲ保チ戰亂ノ慘禍ヲ免レルコト
ハ支那住民ノ爲亦我居留民ノ爲誠ニ望マシイコトテハアリマスケレ
トモ之ハ當然支那ノ責任テアル我々カ妄ニ自ラ其ノ責任ヲ引受ケム
トスルナラハ現在國際關係ノ基礎的觀念、華府條約ノ根本原則並帝
國政府ノ累次ノ聲明ヲ悉ク無視スルノ外ハアリマセヌ我々カ一タヒ
之ヲ無視スルナラハ我國家ノ名譽、威信ハ茲ニ永遠ニ失ハルルコト
ヲ覺悟セネハナリマセヌ我々ハ何トシテモ斯ノ如キ無謀ナル行動ヲ
執ルコトハ出來マセヌ
次ニ支那關稅特別會議ニ付テ簡單ニ説明申上タイ支那ニ於ケル時局

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ノ進展ヲ仔細ニ觀察スルモノハ近年支那國民カ政治的ニ覺醒セムト
スル徵候カ迫々現ハレ來レルコトヲ認メサルヲ得ナイト思ヒマス古
イ支那ハ漸ク過キ去リ新シイ支那カ之ニ代ラムトシツツアルノテア
リマス我々ハ偏ニ支那ノ健全ナル發達ヲ冀フト共ニ其ノ前途アル青
年ノ中ニハ動モスレハ無根ノ風説、惡意ノ宣傳ニ迷ハサレテ危險且
破壊的ナル政治運動ニ熱中スルモノアルヲ見テ隣邦ノ將來ノ爲深
キ憂慮ヲ抱ク次第デアリマスケレトモ大體ニ於テ近年支那ノ情態カ
著シク變遷セル事實ヲ無視スルノハ大ナル誤テアルト考ヘマス軍事
上ノ權力者ハ戰亂ノ運命ニ依ツテ或ハ興ルモノモアリマセウ或ハ倒
レルモノモアリマセウ併シナカラ國民的自覺ハ一度發生スレハ決シ
テ消滅スルモノテハアリマセウ外部ヨリ壓迫ヲ受クレハ却ツテ益々

(赤梓紙)ト

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深刻ヲ加フルモノデアリマス而シテ支那國民間ニ於ケル斯ノ如キ自
覺ノ一端ハ近來關稅自主權回復ノ要望トナツテ現ハレテ來タノデア
ル我々ハ特ニ此ノ形勢ヲ察シテ關稅會議ニ對スル方針ヲ決定シタノ
デアリマス
會議カ十月二十六日ヲ以テ開カルルヤ否ヤ果然其ノ劈頭ニ於テ支那
全權ハ關稅自主權問題ヲ提起シマシタ之ニ對シ我代表者ハ政府ノ既
定方針ニ依リ絶エス支那ノ立場ニ同情的態度ヲ執リ列國トモ密接ナ
ル接觸ヲ保テツツ幾多ノ難關ヲ排シ遂ニ十一月十九日ノ委員會ニ於
テ支那ノ關稅自主權承認ニ關スル一ノ決議カ成立シマシタ之ト同時
ニ我々ノ目的トスル所ハ日支兩國ノ共存共榮テアル我々ノ求ムル解
決方法ハ日支雙方ニ向ツテ公平ナラムコトヲ期スルモノデアアル支那

(赤梓紙)ト

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國民モ亦專ラ自己ノ立場ノミヲ見テ日本ノ商工業カ如何ナル影響ヲ受クルトモ之ヲ願ミサルカ如キ不合理ナル要望ヲ抱クモノテハナイコトヲ信シマス

十二月初メ頃ヨリ支那國內ノ形勢カ急ヲ告クルニ至ツタト共ニ自然關稅會議ノ進行モ抄々シカラス只時々主トシテ非公式ノ會合ヲ開クニ止マツテ居ツタケレトモ我々ハ事情ノ許ス限り會議ノ繼續及ヒ促進ヲ望ムテ居ルノデアリマス

又最近支那ニ於ケル治外法權委員會モ開會ノ運びトナリマシタ素ヨリ完全ナル法權ヲ恢復セムトスル支那國民ノ正當ナル希望ハ我々ノ常ニ同情ヲ表スル所デアリマス今回ノ委員會ハ華府會議ノ決議ニ基イテ特定事項ニ付事實ノ決定ヲ與ヘ又意見ヲ建議スルノ任務ヲ有ス

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ルモノデアリマスカ我々ハ多大ノ興味ヲ以テ其ノ結果ヲ見ムトスル次第デアリマス

露國トノ關係ニ至ツテハ引續キ順調ナル發達ヲナシツツアルノハ誠ニ喜フヘキコトデアリマス北薩哈噠ニ於ケル石油石炭ノ利權ニ付テモ十二月十四日ヲ以テ夫々我當業者ノ代表ト露國當局トノ間ニ契約ノ調印ヲ終ヘマシタ此等ノ契約ハ昨年一月ノ北京條約ニ伴フ當然ノ結果テハアリマスケレトモ若シ露國政府ニシテ衷心ヨリ日露ノ經濟的協力ヲ圖ルノ意向カナカッタナラハ今回ノ結果モ恐ラク期シ得ラレナカッタノデアリマセウ從テ本問題交渉ノ成立ハ兩國民間ノ親交ヲ表彰スルモノトシテ我々ノ歡迎スル所デアリマス

我々ハ今日何レノ國トモ排他的ノ親善關係ヲ結フノ意思ヲ有ツテ居

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リマセ又總テノ列國ニ對シ表裏ナキ友情ヲ以テ交ルコトカ我國ノ進ムヘキ最モ賢明ナル筋途テアルト信シマス之カ爲ニハ我々ハ適確ナル證據モナク漠然タル想像ヲ根據トシテ他國ノ眞意ヲ速斷スルカ如キコトハ避ケネハナリマセ又多クノ場合ニ於テ重大ナル國際間ノ紛糾ハ邪推、偏見ニ源ヲ發スルモノテアリマス此ノ點ハ日露ノ關係ヲ考慮スル上ニ於テ篤ト念頭ニ置カネハナリマセ又過般或ハ露國カ北滿洲ニ於テ何等カノ侵略計畫ヲ有スト云フカ如キ風説カ傳ハツタヤウテアリマスカ私ハ今日迄知り得タル限り之ヲ信スヘキ何等ノ根據ヲ見出シマセ又昨午日露國交恢復以來我々ハ兩國關係ノ諸問題ニ付テハ露國政府トノ間ニ常ニ密接ナル接觸ヲ保チ隨時腹藏ナキ報道及意見ノ交換ヲ行ヒ來ツタノテアリマス我々ハ此ノ方法ニ依リ兩國間

(赤梓紙)ト

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ノ不必要ナル誤解ヲ除キ以テ其ノ國交ノ維持増進ヲ期シテ居ル次第テアリマシテ今後モ亦同一ノ目的ノ爲及フ限り努力スル覺悟テアリマス

(赤梓紙)ト

歐洲諸國トノ關係ハ目下極メテ順當ナル狀態ニアリマシテ其ノ前途ニ暗影ヲ投スルカ如キ何等ノ紛争問題ナキノミナラス何レノ國トモ益々國交増進ノ形勢ヲ認メ得ラルルノテアリマス過般調印セラレタル「ロカルノ」條約ハ性質上純然タル歐洲問題ニ關スルモノテアリマスカラ日本ハ調印國テハアリマセヌケレトモ此等ノ條約ハ歐洲ノ政治上及經濟上ニ於ケル時局ノ安定ヲ促シタモノテアツテ之ニ依リ國際聯盟ノ前途ニ益々光明ヲ與ヘ延イテハ世界一般ノ平和ト進歩トニ貢獻スルコトハ疑ヲ容レマセヌ又目下英國ニ御滞在アラセラルル

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秩父宮殿下カ總テノ方面ヨリ誠心ヲ籠メテノ款待ヲ受ケサセラレツ
ツアルノヲ伺ヒマシテハ我々ハ誠ニ感激ニ堪ヘサルト共ニ兩國間ノ
友情ハ極メテ鞏固ナル根底ヲ有スルコトヲ感シテ深ク満足スル次第
テアリマス

我國ハ土耳其トハ昨年始メテ大使ヲ交換スルコトトナリマシタ我々
ハ近東方面ニ於ケル錯雜セル歐洲問題ニ付テハ飽迄不偏不黨ノ第三
者タラムコトヲ欲スルモノテアリマスカ之ト同時ニ明治二十四年ノ
軍艦「エルトグルール」事件以來我國民ト土耳其國民トノ間ニ存ス
ル好感情ハ益々之ヲ増進シ又同國方面ニ於テ我商工業發展ノ新天地
ヲ開拓セムコトヲ期待スルモノテアリマス
歐テ日米關係ヲ見ルニ一昨年ノ米國移民法中所謂日本人排斥條項ニ

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付テハ政府ノ意見ハ私カ一昨年及昨年共ニ當議場ニ於テ申述ヘタ通
リテアリマシテ其ノ意見ハ茲ニ何等變更シ又ハ布行スルノ必要カア
リマセヌ又今日本問題ヲ徒ラニ反覆論議スルコトハ何等有益ナル結
果ヲ來タスモノトモ思ハレマセヌ只我々ハ國際禮讓並正義ノ觀念ト
一致セサルモノト認メラルル日本人排斥條項ニ對シ深ク遺憾ニ感ス
ルコトハ今尙濼ラナイコトヲ明ニスルニ止メタイト考ヘマス
併シナカラ大勢ヲ通觀スルニ米國ニ於テ日本ニ對スル諒解力近年著
シク進ンテ來タコトハ何人モ米國ノ事情ニ通スルモノノ快ク認ムル
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健ナル意見ヲ公言スルモノハ尠クアリマセヌ嘗テ日本ニ關シテ何等
ノ興味ヲ有セス又ハ先天的ニ一種ノ偏見ヲ抱イテ居タ人々ノ中テ今

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(赤梓紙)

ハ熱心ニ公平ニ我國ノ真相ヲ研究セムトスルモノモ尠クアリマセヌ
凡ソ正シキ瞭解ハ眞實ナル友情ノ基テアリマス今日日本ニ對スル態
度ニ付米國ニ於テ見受ケラルル大體ノ傾向ハ兩國關係ノ前途ニ深ク
望ヲ囑セシムルニ足ルモノト考ヘマス

我國ハ又墨西哥並南米諸國トハ全ク親善ナル關係ヲ保ツテ居リマス
我々ハ素ヨリ此等諸國トノ關係ニ於テ何等政治上ノ意味ヲ含ムカ如
キ計畫ヲ有ツテ居リマセヌ併シナカラ同方面ニ於テハ我國民ノ經濟
的發展ノ爲十分ノ餘地アルコトヲ認メマシテ及フ限り其ノ正當ナル
活動ヲ獎勵スル方針テアリマス

終リニ移民問題ニ付テ一言ヲ附加ヘタイト考ヘマス我々ハ何レノ國
ヘモ其ノ歡迎セサル移民ヲ送ラムトスルカ如キ意思ヲ有シマセヌ只

外務省

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(赤梓紙)

未タ開拓セラレサル地方ニ資本又ハ勞力ヲ供給シ單ニ移住者又ハ其
ノ本國ノ爲ノミナラス彼等カ新ニ 墓ノ地トシテ定住スル國ノ爲何
レモ等シク其ノ繁榮、幸福ヲ増進スルコトカ我々ノ一貫セル希望テ
アツテ之レカ爲政府ハ十分力ヲ盡ス覺悟テアリマス

以上ノ説明ニ依リ對外問題ニ關スル政府ノ意見ヲ大體御諒察アラム
コトヲ希望致シマス此ノ政策ヲ決定シ施行スル上ニ於テ我々ハ國家
ノ一時的利害ニ依ツテ輕々シク動カサレサルコトニ深ク注意ヲ加ヘ
タノテアリマス國家ハ永遠ノ生命ヲ有スルモノナルカ故ニ外交ノ目
標トスル所ハ國家永遠ノ名譽、威信、利益テナケレハナリマセヌ私
ハ此ノ信念ニ基キ幸ニ諸君ノ御贊助ニ依リマシテ私ノ重大ナル責務
ヲ盡サムコトヲ期シテ居ルモノテアリマス

外務省

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prejudice against her, not a few seem to-day eagerly and impartially, willing to know the truth, of all that relates to this country. Correct understanding is the foundation of true friendship. The general tendency now being manifested in the United States in the attitude of that nation towards Japan gives promise for a great future.

We are in perfectly agreeable relations with Mexico, as well as with the South American States. We have no plan whatever of political significance in our intercourse with any of these countries. We feel, however, that fair opportunities are there afforded for the economic enterprises of our countrymen, and it is our intention to encourage such legitimate activities as far as possible.

I would add a few words with regard to the question of emigration. It is not in our policy to send emigrants to any country in which they are not welcomed. Our constant desire is to supply capital or labour to undeveloped regions of the world and to promote the welfare and prosperity, not only of the emigrants themselves and of their mother country, but also of the countries in which they choose to establish their permanent homes. Towards this end we are prepared to exert our unremitting efforts.

By the explanations which I have just offered, I hope I have made sufficiently clear the general lines of our foreign policy. In adopting that policy and in carrying it into effect, we have always made it a point not to be influenced by considerations of momentary advantage or disadvantage to the country. The life

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be the lasting honour, prestige and interests of the nation. Firm in this conviction, and relying on your generous support, I shall face the heavy responsibility that rests upon me.

the mutual relations of the two countries. Throughout such proceedings, we have been striving to dispel all groundless misunderstanding, and to promote friendly intercourse between the two nations. We shall continue to use our best efforts in the same direction.

Our relations with each of the European Powers are eminently satisfactory. With none of them have we any difficulty of a nature that portends developments calculated to create apprehension. On the contrary, there is every assurance of growing friendship on all sides. Japan is not a party to the Locarno Treaties recently signed, which are intended to regulate questions of purely European concern. But the atmosphere of confidence which these Treaties are known to have inspired in the political and economic situation of Europe cannot fail to clear the way for the forward march of the League of Nations, and to exercise a salutary influence upon the general peace and progress of the world. We are also deeply touched by the sincerity and devoted attentions with which H.I.H. Prince Chichibu is being everywhere received in England; and we rejoice in the thought that the friendship between the two nations rests on a solid and enduring foundation.

For the first time in history, Japan inaugurated in the course of last year an exchange of Ambassadors with Turkey. Determined as we are to remain an independent and disinterested third party in face of the tangled problem of

Europe

Europe in the Near East, we indulge the confident hope that the sentiments of good will fostered between the Turkish people and ours since the "Ertogral" affairs of 1891 will gain in strength and solidity and that a new field of enterprise for Japanese industry and commerce will be opened in Turkey and in the neighbouring regions.

Turning to the relations between Japan and the United States, I permitted myself in the last two sessions of the Imperial Diet to set forth the views of the Government on the subject of the so-called Japanese Exclusion Clause in the Immigration Act of the United States of 1924. I find nothing here to modify or to supplement the views then expressed. Nor can a lengthy discussion of the question at this moment serve any useful purpose. I only desire to make it clear that we remain unchanged in our feelings of deep regret at that particular Clause, which seems to us irreconcilable with the rules of international comity and justice.

Reviewing, however, the trend of the general situation in the United States, all well informed observers will readily agree that there has been a steady growth in recent years of the appreciation and understanding of Japan by the American people. Among those who once championed the cause of anti-Japanese agitation, not a few are now openly reconciled to more moderate views. Among those who, at one time, took no interest in Japan, or displayed an innate

prejudice

What we are seeking to attain is an adjustment fair and equal to both parties. We are confident that the Chinese people entertain no such unreasonable desire as to satisfy exclusively their own position, without any regard to whatever effects may be suffered by Japanese industry and commerce.

Since the beginning of December last, the increasing gravity of the internal situation in the country has naturally retarded the progress of the Conference, only informal meetings being held from time to time. We trust that the work of the Conference will be continued and expedited as far as circumstances permit.

The Commission on Extraterritoriality in China is now also in session. We have always been sympathetically disposed towards the just aspiration of the Chinese people to recover full judicial authority, and we are looking forward with keen interest to the findings and recommendations which are to be made by the commission conformably to the Resolution of the Washington Conference.

It is gratifying to note that our relations with the Soviet Union continue to make steady progress. Contracts for the concessions of oil and coal fields in Northern Saghalien were signed on December 14 by the Russian authorities and the representatives of our industrial concerns. Such results, assured as they were under the Treaty of Peking of a year ago, would not have been attained, if the Government

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of the Soviet Union had taken no interest in the promotion of Russo-Japanese economic co-operation. We welcome the successful issue of these negotiations, as a fitting testimony to the sentiments of good neighbourhood uniting the two nations.

We seek nonexclusive friendship with any nation; we extend honest friendship to all nations. We believe that this is the wisest course for Japan to pursue. With this end in view, we should avoid all hasty conclusions as to the intentions of other powers, based on mere stretches of imagination unsupported by concrete evidence. In many cases, unjust suspicion and unwarranted prejudice have been at the root of serious international complications. In approaching at this juncture questions of Russo-Japanese relationship, we should carefully bear in mind these considerations. Rumours have recently been circulated, charging the Soviet Union with certain aggressive designs in North Manchuria. So far as my information extends, I have discovered no ground for attaching any credence to such reports. Since the resumption of official relations between Japan and the Soviet Union a year ago, we have constantly maintained close contact with the Soviet Government and have effected frank exchanges of views and information from time to time, on all questions affecting

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not seem likely to be affected by the war, and we are satisfied that they have in fact remained entirely unaffected.

No doubt, the complete tranquillity of the whole region of the Three Eastern Provinces, undisturbed by any scourge of war, is highly to be desired, in the interest of the native population as well as of Japanese residents. It is, however, a responsibility that properly rests upon China. Assumption of that responsibility by Japan without just cause would be manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental conception of existing international relations, with the basic principles of the Washington Treaties, and with repeated declarations of the Japanese Government. By taking such course, we would forfeit our national honour and pride once for all. In no case and by no means, can we be a party to so improvident an action.

I now turn to the subject of the Special Conference on Chinese Customs Tariffs actually in session, and propose to offer a brief explanation. Close observers of developments in China cannot fail to note growing signs of a political awakening among the Chinese people. The old China is disappearing, to give way to a new China. Extending, as we do, our sincere good wishes for her healthy progress, we are not without a feeling of deep concern for the future of that nation, in witnessing the tendency of certain sections

sections of the promising young generation, who, misled by groundless reports and sinister propaganda, are easily attracted to political activities of a dangerous and destructive nature. In any case, it would be a gross mistake to ignore the considerable changes that have taken place in the situation of China in recent years. Military potentates may rise or fall by the fortune of war. But national consciousness once kindled can never be suppressed. Any pressure brought to bear upon it will only make it still deeper. One phase of such self-awakening among the Chinese people has taken the form of a craving for tariff autonomy. In full realization of this situation, we formulated our line of policy relating to the Customs Conference.

As soon as the Conference was opened on October 26, the Chinese Delegation submitted the question of tariff autonomy as was quite anticipated. Pursuant to the defined policy of the Government, the Japanese Delegation expressed themselves ready to take up the question in sympathy with the position of China and in close communication with other Powers. The manifold difficulties that had stood in the way of unanimous action were successfully overcome, and on November 19, at a meeting of one of the Committees appointed by the Conference, a resolution was passed on the subject of the acceptance of China's tariff autonomy. At the same time, what we have constantly in view is the coexistence and common prosperity of both Japan and China.

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and discipline, have sacked towns and terrorized the population. Having regard to the imminence of such danger, which manifested itself on December 15, the Government decided at once to proceed to the reinstatement of the Japanese Garrison in Manchuria at its normal strength as maintained prior to the middle of November last. With the restoration of general peace in that region, following the decisive battle of the Liaohe, the supplementary troops sent to Manchuria in the circumstances above described were promptly recalled to their original posts, and all emergency measures came to an end.

It will thus be observed that throughout the recent civil strife in China, as in the case of the Fengtien-Chihli conflict of 1924, the Japanese Government have consistently followed the definite and settled policy announced in the last session of the Imperial Diet. That policy has in view (1) absolute non-interference in China's domestic affairs, and (2) the safeguarding of Japan's rights and interests by all legitimate means at our disposal.

There are apparently certain sections of public opinion which are swayed by prejudice in their judgment of Japan's action in Manchuria. The reinstatement of our Manchuria Garrison at its preexisting strength has been misconstrued as if it had been designed to help the Fengtien Army. The objection interposed by the Japanese Commander against either of the warring parties entering the port of Yingkow has been misrepresented

misrepresented as an act directed solely against General Kuo's military operations. Every occasion has been utilized to place Japan in false light. We deplore these unfounded and undeserved accusations, and in denying them categorically, we are confident that history will be the final judge of our clear conscience. I would make use of this opportunity to express our sincere satisfaction to our civil and military authorities in Manchuria who, in the face of the recent grave situation, have successfully carried out the policy of the Government in perfect harmony and co-operation, and have further done all they could, solely in the interest of humanity, to save the lives of soldiers and adherents of the vanquished party.

While we have most scrupulously avoided all interference in China's internal politics, we have not failed to take every possible measure with a view to safeguarding our rightful position. It is a well-known fact that Japan possesses essential rights and interests both corporeal and incorporeal, in the region of Manchuria and Mongolia. Of such rights and interests, those that have taken a tangible shape, and are liable to destruction by acts of war, are now mainly to be found along the line of the South Manchuria Railway. In order to protect them from destruction, we have been constrained to make necessary provision, which, we believe, has duly accomplished its end. With regard to our rights and interests of an immaterial kind, they did not

extend to that region. In this situation, men of the Japanese Garrison in Manchuria, whose terms of active service had then expired, were recalled and discharged in accordance with the usual procedure.

On November 24, General Kuo Sung-Ling who then commanded the Fengtien forces stationed near Lanchow, suddenly rose against his chief, Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, and began to march towards Mukden. In accepting the challenge, Marshal Chang seemed to set up his first line of defence at Lienshan far behind the Manchurian frontier. Towards the beginning of December, his force again retreated from Lienshan without offering much resistance to the invaders, and it became increasingly evident that he had decided to stake his last fortunes on a decisive battle along the Liaocho. With these developments in view, the Commander of the Japanese Garrison in Manchuria issued a warning to both the opposing forces, calling their attention to the nature and scope of the duty incumbent upon the Japanese Garrison.

The deficiency in the strength of the Garrison due to the departure of discharged soldiers in the middle of November was originally to be supplemented in the present month of January according to the annual programme. Any prior dispatch of men in replacement was to be withheld until the last moment of absolute necessity. An entirely new situation,

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however, presented itself, when reports from Manchuria came successively to hand from the night of December 14 to the next morning, confirming the arrival of a detachment of General Kuo's Army at the opposite bank of Yingkow. We had then seriously to consider the possibility of an impending conflict between the respective forces of Marshal Chang and General Kuo in the open port of Yingkow. Our Garrison had now to keep special watch over a zone of the South Manchuria Railway extending from Yingkow in the south to Tiching in the north. It became obvious that with the actual reduced strength of the Garrison, the satisfactory fulfillment of its mission over such an extensive zone was well-nigh impossible.

It was not doubted that both Marshal Chang and General Kuo had taken due note of the warning given by the Japanese Commander, and that in their military operations, they would fully respect the rights and interests of Japan. We could not, however, dismiss from our mind the apprehension that in the event of desperate engagements lasting for several days on all fronts, the belligerents might unconsciously be driven to the railway zone, to carry on street fighting and other forms of warlike operations. It has also happened in many past instances that remnants of a defeated army, let loose from all control

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instance, we have extended our friendly support, direct or indirect, to the efforts of the Chinese made in that direction.

Suddenly came the reports in last April that certain elements in China were inciting strikes in Japanese cotton mills at Shanghai, at Tsingtao and elsewhere. Demands for better terms of employment soon developed into threats and violence against employers and police; and, following the most unfortunate incidents which transpired at Shanghai towards the end of May, the agitation took the form of a political movement designed to extort from the Powers the cancellation of existing international arrangements. The disorders then rapidly spread to a great many localities in the country. Such disturbances could no longer be regarded as a pure labour dispute. They were calculated to threaten by force the security of the lives and property of Japanese and other foreigners. We were accordingly compelled to take at once the necessary measures for the protection of our countrymen residing in the localities affected. It was fortunate that in spite of the large number of Japanese residents in these localities, the injuries sustained by them were relatively unimportant. I am also happy to recall the highly efficient and satisfactory co-operation rendered by the officers and men of our China Squadron in affording protection to Japanese residents, and I desire to express, on this occasion, our deep appreciation of their services.

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For the settlement of the international questions occasioned by these disturbances in China, we have been in communication with the Central Government and local authorities of China, either jointly or separately with the other Powers interested, according to the nature of the particular issues. Some of these issues have already been successfully adjusted. I shall not occupy your time by making reference to the details of the questions, which are much too complicated.

What has been of still more serious concern to us was the outbreak of a new civil war in China last October. Whatever causes, remote or immediate, may have led General Sun Chuan-fang of Chekiang to rise against the Fengtien Army, are China's domestic affair, on which I shall reserve all comment. It is however known in fact that no sooner had General Sun commenced his warlike operations than the Fengtien forces evacuated Shanghai. They then abandoned Hanking and finally fell back to the Province of Shantung.

Notwithstanding these successive reverses of the Fengtien Army in Central China, the situation in the Three Eastern Provinces in the middle of November showed no appreciable signs of unrest. Now was there any indication of an approaching danger that the line of battle might extend

Speech delivered by Baron Shidehara,
Minister for Foreign Affairs, before
the Imperial Diet on January 21, 1926.

In pursuance of the established practice, I now desire to submit for your approval the general outlines of the policy pursued by the Government, with reference to various questions with which we have been confronted in our foreign relations since the last session of the Imperial Diet.

China has recently presented developments of prime importance in her national and international affairs. With the termination of the conflict between the Fengtien and Chihli forces in 1924, all the military factions holding their own in various parts of China seemed weary of internecine warfare, and general repose and stability reined for a while in the country. The Reorganization Conference of last February concluded its labours with a due measure of success. The question of the Gold Franc, which had remained a long outstanding difficulty in China's external relations was finally brought to an amicable adjustment. The deposit of ratifications by all the signatory Powers of the Nine Power Treaties of Washington was effected on August 9. Administrative reforms promised at one time to make fair progress. We have watched these peaceful and orderly developments of China with sincere gratification. In more than one instance.

第五十一帝國議會ニ於ケル幣原外務大臣ノ演說

第五十一帝國議會ニ於ケル幣原外務大臣ノ演說

私ハ茲ニ先例ニ依リ帝國議會ノ前會期以後ニ我國ノ直面セル諸般ノ外交問題ニ付政府ノ執ル政策ノ大體ヲ説明シテ諸君ノ御諒解ヲ得ヌイト考ヘマス

支那ニ於テハ近來内政上及外交上極メテ重要ナル時局ノ發展ヲ見タノテアリマス一昨年ノ奉直戰爭ノ終局ト共ニ支那ノ各地方ニ在リテ兵力ヲ擁スル諸黨派モ久シキ國內ノ戰亂ニ疲レタルカ如ク見エ政局ハ暫ク小康ヲ得マシタ昨年二月開催セラレタル時局善後會議モ相當ノ成績ヲ舉ケテ無事ニ閉會シマシタ支那ノ對外關係ニ於テ多年ノ懸案タリシ金法問題モ圓滿ナル解決ヲ告ケ華府會議ノ結果タル九國條約ハ愈々八月五日ヲ以テ調印國全部ニ批准寄託ヲ了スルコトトナリマシタ庶政改善ノ事業モ一時ハ將ニ緒ニ就カムトスルノ運ニ至リマシタ斯ノ如ク支那ノ平和的且秩序アル發達ニ對シテハ我々ハ滿腔ノ同情ヲ以テ之ヲ見タノテアル之カ爲ニハ我々ハ直接間接ニ友好的援助ヲ與ヘタコトモ尠クハアリマセヌ

圖ラズモ昨年四月頃ヨリ支那一派ノ分子中ニハ上海青島等ニ於テ日本紡績工場ノ職工ニ同盟罷業ヲ煽動スルモノカアリマシテ勞働條件改善ノ要求ハ忽チ一轉シテ使用者並警察官憲ニ對スル暴行脅迫トナリ五月ノ末最不幸ナル上海事件ノ勃發ト共ニ再轉シテ現行國際協定ノ打破

ナ目的トスル政治運動ニ化シ爾來其ノ騷動ハ支那ノ各地ニ波及ス然ニ至リテハシテ如キ騷動ハ最早單純ナル勞働爭議トハ認メテ暴力ヲ以テ日本人並外國人ノ生命財産ノ安全ヲ脅威スルモノテアリマスカラ政府ハ直ニ夫々必要ナル我居留民保護ノ手段ヲ執リマシメ支那ノ各地ニ互前テ我居留民ハ多數ナル割合ニハ被害ヲ尠カツタコトハ誠ニ幸テアリマス又此等ノ保護手段ニ對シ我支那派遣艦隊ノ將卒カ終始極メテ有效且適切ナル協力ヲ與ヘタコトハ我々ノ深ク満足スル所テアリマス

暴動事件ノ善後處置ニ至リテハ問題ノ性質ニ依リ或ハ關係列國全體ト協同シ或ハ我國單獨ニテ支那ノ中央政府又ハ地方官憲ト交渉シ夫々解決ノ途ヲ講スルコトニナリマシテ既ニ解決ヲ終ヘタモノモアリマスカ其ノ細目ハ餘リ煩雜ニ互リマスカラ茲ニ省略シタイト考ヘマス更ニ一層重要ナル問題ハ昨年十月頃ヨリ支那ニ於テ又々發生セル動亂テアリマス浙江ノ孫傳芳將軍カ奉天軍ニ對シ事ヲ舉グルニ至リタル遠因又ハ近因ハ支那ノ國內事項テアルカラ私ハ此ノ際論評ヲ避ケマス事實ニ於テ十月ノ初孫軍一度行動ヲ開始スルヤ奉天軍ハ上海ヲ去リ南京ヲ棄テテ終ニ山東省迄引揚クルコトトナリマシタス

斯ノ如ク奉天軍カ中央支那方面ニ於テ頗ル不利ノ形勢ニ陥ツタニ拘ラス十一月中旬頃ニ在リテハ東三省内ノ情況尙著シク動搖ノ狀モナク又急ニ動亂ノ波及スヘキ模様モ見エナカツタノテアリマスカラ當時我滿洲駐屯軍リ兵員中年限ヲ滿チタルモノハ常例ニ依リ内地ニ送還セラレテ除隊歸休トナリマシタ

然ルニ十一月二十四日濰州方面ニ駐屯セル奉天軍司令官郭松齡將軍ハ突如トシテ張作霖將軍ニ反抗シ奉天ニ向ツテ進軍スルコトトナリマシタ之ニ對シ張將軍ノ側ニ於テハ直ニ退テ第一ノ防禦線ヲ連山方面ニ設ケダヤツニ見エマシタカ十二月ノ初ニ至リ奉天軍ハ格別ノ激戰ヲ交ヘスシテ連山附近ノ陣地ヲ棄テ更ニ退イテ遼河方面ニ最後ノ決戰ヲ試ミルノ形勢カ追々明トナツテ來マシタ茲ニ於テ我關東軍司令官ハ十二月八日附テ聲明ヲ以テ其ノ當然ノ職責ヲ存スル所ヲ張郭兩將軍ニ警告シ以テ兩軍ノ注意ヲ促シタノテアリマス

前ニ述ヘタル滿洲駐屯軍ノ兵員中十一月中旬ニ除隊歸休トナツタモノヲ補充ハ例年ノ慣例ニ依リ本年一月中ニ行ハルル當初ノ豫定テアツテ其ノ以前ニハ絕對的必要ト認メラルル最後ノ瞬間迄補充兵員ノ派遣ヲ見合ハス考テアリマシタカ十二月十四日夜ヨリ翌朝ニ互リテ一新ナル形勢カ生シマシタ即チ其ノ間ニ滿洲方面ヨリ到着セル電報ニ依リハ郭軍ノ一部隊ハ突然營口ノ對岸ニ現ハレタル事實確カリ同方面ニ於テモ張郭兩軍ノ衝突ヲ生スル危險ヲ豫想セザルヲ得ザルニ至リマシタ之カ爲ニ滿鐵沿線ニ於テ我駐屯軍ノ特ニ警戒ヲ要スル守備區域ハ南ハ營口ヨリ北ハ鐵嶺ニ至リ當時駐屯軍ノ減少セル兵力ヲ以テハ到底守備ノ任務ヲ完ウシ難キ

コトハ明瞭トオツダテアリマス
 固ヨリ曩ニ關東軍司令官ノ發セル聲明ニ對シテハ張郭兩將軍共ニ能ク之ヲ諒悉シ其ノ軍事行動ヲ執ルニ當リテハ十分ニ日本ノ權利利益ヲ尊重スヘキコトヲ期待サレマシタカ若シ數日ニ互リテ各方面ニ混戦ノ状態ヲ呈スルカ如キ場合ニ立至リマスレハ雙方ノ軍隊共ニ無意識ニ鐵道附屬地ニ侵入シテ市街戰ヲ追撃ノ迫撃等ヲ行フノ虞アルノミナラス敗竄兵力規律節制ヲ失ヒ掠奪暴行ヲ爲スコトハ從來屢々例ノアルコトアリマス斯クノ如キ危險ナル形勢カ十二月十五日ニ至リ愈々切迫セルモノト認メラレタルカ故ニ即日政府ハ意ヲ決シテ駐屯軍ノ兵數ヲ十一月中旬迄ノ情態ニ復セムカ爲ニ直ニ缺員補充ヲ行フコトトナツタテアリマス其ノ後遼河ノ決戦終了シ東三省ノ事態カ大體平靜ニ歸シ始ムルト共ニ曩ニ我駐屯軍ノ缺員補充トシテ臨時ニ滿洲ニ派遣セラレタル部隊ハ逐次ニ原駐地ニ送還セラレマシテ一切ノ應急措置ハ今日ニ於テハ既ニ悉ク解除セラレタ次第アリマス

之ヲ要スルニ最近ノ支那ノ内亂ニ於テモ一昨年ノ奉直戰爭ノ場合ニ於ケルト等シク政府ハ帝國議會ノ前會期ニ於テ説明シタル一定ノ方針ヲ以テ終始ニ貫シテアリマス其ノ方針トハ即チ第一ニ支那ノ内政ニ付テハ絕對ニ之ニ干渉セサルコト第二ニ我權利及利益ニ付テハ凡ユル正當手段ニ依リテ之ヲ擁護スルコトヲ期スルモノトアリマス

世間ニハ滿洲方面ニ於ケル日本ノ行動ニ對シ常ニ一種ノ邪推ヲ以テ觀察スルモノカチイテハアリマセヌ我滿洲駐屯軍ノ缺員補充セラレハ直ニ之ヲ以テ奉天軍援助ノ目的ニ出テタルモノナリト誣モ我軍司令官カ張郭兩軍ニ對シテ等シク其ノ營口入市ニ異議ヲ唱フレハ直ニ之ヲ以テ郭軍ノ軍事行動ヲ阻止スルノ内意ヲ含ムモノナルカ如ク傳ヘ百方日本ヲ中傷セムトスルモノノアルノハ誠ニ遺憾ニ堪ヘマセヌ我々ハ此等ノ風説ノ全然誤レルコトヲ斷言シ公平ナル歴史ハ結局何ヨリモ明白ニ我眞意ヲ存スル所ヲ證明スヘキコトヲ確信スルモノトアリマス尙滿洲方面ニ於ケル我文武官憲カ過般ノ重大ナル時局ニ當ツテ同心協力能ク政府ノ方針ヲ遂行シ又全ク人道上ノ見地ヨリ敗軍ノ將卒竝ニ之ト事ヲ共ニセル人々ノ生命ヲ救助セムカ爲百方力ヲ盡シタルコトハ我々ノ衷心ヨリ悦フ所トアリマス

斯ノ如ク我々ハ徹底的ニ支那ニ於ケル内政不干渉主義ヲ勵行スルト同時ニ我正當ナル地位ニ關シテハ及フ限り擁護ノ手段ヲ執ツタテアリマス日本カ滿蒙地方ニ於テ有形無形ノ最重要ナル權利利益ヲ有スルコトハ周知ノ事實テアル其ノ權利利益ニシテ外形ニ現ハレ戰亂ニ依リテ破壞セララルル危險ノアルモノハ主トシテ滿鐵沿線ニ存在スル實況アリマス之カ保護ハ過般我々ノ執リタル手段ニ依ツテ其ノ目的ヲ達セラレタルモノト認メマス無形ノ權利利益ニ至ツテハ今回ノ戰亂ニ依ツテ影響ヲ受クルノ虞ナク事實ニ於テモ亦何等影響ナカツタコトハ我

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々々確信スル所テアリマス
 固ヨリ東三省地方全部カ平穩ノ情態ヲ保テ戰亂ノ慘禍ヲ免レルコトハ支那住民ノ爲亦我居留
 民ノ爲誠ニ望マシイコトテハアリマスケレトモ之ハ當然支那ノ責任テアル我々カ妄ニ自ラ其
 ノ責任ヲ引受ケムトスルナラハ現在國際關係ノ基礎的觀念、華府條約ノ根本原則並帝國政府
 ノ累次ノ聲明ヲ悉ク無視スルノ外ハアリマセヌ我々ガ一タヒ之ヲ無視スルガヲ我國家ノ名
 譽、威信ハ茲ニ永遠ニ失ハルルコトヲ覺悟セ、ネハナリマセヌ我々ハ何トシテモ斯ノ如キ無謀
 ナル行動ヲ執ルコトハ出來マセヌ
 次ニ支那關稅特別會議ニ付テ單簡ニ說明申上タイ支那ニ於ケル時局ノ進展ヲ仔細ニ觀察スル
 モノハ近年支那國民カ政治的ニ覺醒セムトスル徵候カ追々現ハレ來レルコトヲ認メザルヲ得
 ナイト思ヒマス古イ支那ハ漸ク過キ去リ新シイ支那ガ之ニ代ラムトシツツアルソテアリマス
 我々ハ偏ニ支那ノ健全ナル發達ヲ冀フト共ニ其ノ前途アル青年ノ中ニハ動モスルハ無根ノ風
 説、惡意ノ宣傳ニ迷ハサレテ、危險且破壊的ナル政治運動ニ熱中スルモノアルヲ見テ隣邦
 ノ將來ノ爲深キ憂慮ヲ抱ク次第テアリマスケレトモ、大體ニ於テ近年支那ノ情態カ著シク變遷
 セル事實ヲ無視シ、況ハ大ナル誤テアルト考ヘマス軍事上ノ權力者ハ戰亂ノ運命ニ依ツテ或
 ハ興ルモノモアリマセウ或ハ倒レルモノモアリマセウ併シテカ國民的自覺ハ一度發生スレ

ハ決シテ消滅スルモノテハアリマセヌ外部ヨリ壓迫ヲ受ケレバ却テ益々深刻ヲ加フルモノテ
 アリマス而シテ支那國民間ニ於ケル斯ノ如キ自覺ノ一端ハ近來關稅自主權回復ノ要望ヲナツ
 テ現ハレテ來タソテアル我々ハ特ニ此ノ形勢ヲ察シテ關稅會議ニ對スル方針ヲ決定シタソテ
 アリマス

會議カ十月二十六日ヲ以テ開カルルヤ否ヤ果然其ノ劈頭ニ於テ支那全權ハ關稅自主權問題ヲ
 提起シマシタ之ニ對シ我代表者ハ政府ノ既定方針ニ依リ絶エス支那ノ立場ニ同情的態度ヲ採
 リ列國トモ密接ナル接觸ヲ保ナツツ幾多ノ難關ヲ排シ遂ニ十一月十九日ノ委員會ニ於テ支那
 ノ關稅自主權承認ニ關スル一ノ決議ガ成立シマシタ之ト同時ニ我々ノ目的トスル所ハ日支兩
 國ノ共存共榮テアル我々ノ求ムル解決方法ハ日支雙方ニ向ツテ公平ナラムコトヲ期スルモノ
 テアル支那國民モ亦專ラ自己ノ立場ノミヲ見テ日本ノ商工業カ如何ナル影響ヲ受ケルトモ之
 ナ願ミサルカ如キ不合理ナル要望ヲ抱クモノテハナイコトヲ信シマス
 十二月初頃ヨリ支那國內ノ形勢カ急テ告クルニ至ツタト共ニ自然關稅會議ノ進行モ抄々シカ
 ラス只時々主トシテ非公式ノ會合ヲ開クニ止マツテ居ツタケレトモ我々ハ事情ノ許ス限り會
 議ノ繼續及ヒ促進ヲ望ムテ居ルソテアリマス
 又最近支那ニ於ケル治外法權委員會モ開會ノ運ヒトナリマシタ素ヨリ完全ナル法權ヲ回復セ

トズル支那國民ノ正當ナル希望ハ我々ノ常ニ同情ヲ表スル所テアリマス今回ノ委員會ハ華府會議ノ決議ニ基イテ特定事項ニ付事實ノ決定ヲ與ヘ又意見ヲ建議スルノ任務ヲ有スルモノナリマス我々ハ多大ノ興味ヲ以テ其ノ結果ヲ見ムトスル次第テアリマス

露國トノ關係ニ至ツテハ引續キ順調ナル發達ヲナシツツアルノハ誠ニ喜フヘキコトテアリマス北薩哈噠ニ於ケル石油石炭ノ利權ニ付テモ十二月十四日ヲ以テ夫々我當業者ノ代表ト露國當局トノ間ニ契約ヲ締結ヘマシタ此等ノ契約ハ昨年一月ノ北京條約ニ伴フ當然ノ結果テハアリマスケレトモ若シ露國政府ニシテ衷心ヨリ日露ノ經濟的協力ヲ圖ルノ意向ガナカツタナラハ合同ノ結果モ恐ラク期シ得ラレナカツタノテアリマセウ從テ本問題交渉ノ成立ハ兩國民間ノ親交ヲ表彰スルモノトシテ我々ノ歡迎スル所テアリマス

我々ハ今日何レノ國トモ排他的ノ親善關係ヲ結ブノ意思ヲ有ツテ居リマセマ總テノ列國ニ對シ表裏ナキ友情ヲ以テ交ルニトカ我國ノ進ムベキ最モ賢明ナル筋途テアルト信シマス之カ爲ニハ我々ハ適確ナル證據モナク漠然タル想像ヲ根據トシテ他國ノ眞意ヲ速斷スルカ如キコトハ避ケネハナリマセマ多クノ場合ニ於テ重大ナル國際間ノ紛糾ハ邪推、偏見ニ源ヲ發スルモノテアリマス此ノ點ハ日露ノ關係ヲ考慮スル止ニ於テ篤ト念頭ニ置カネハナリマセマ過般或ハ露國カ北滿洲ニ於テ何等カノ侵略計畫ヲ有スト云フカ如キ風説カ傳ハツタヤウテアリマス

カ私ハ今日迄知り得タル限り之ヲ信スヘキ何等ノ根據ヲ見出シマセマ昨年日露國交回復以來我々ハ兩國關係ノ諸問題ニ付テハ露國政府トノ間ニ常ニ密接ナル接觸ヲ保チ隨時腹藏ナキ報道及意見ノ交換ヲ行ヒ來ツタノテアリマス我々ハ此ノ方法ニ依リ兩國間ノ不必要ナル誤解ヲ除キ以テ其ノ國交ノ維持増進ヲ期シテ居ル次第テアリマシテ今後モ亦同一ノ目的ノ爲及フ限リ努力スル覺悟テアリマス

歐洲諸國トノ關係ハ目下極メテ順當ナル狀態ニアリマシテ其ノ前途ニ暗影ヲ投スルカ如キ何等ノ紛争問題ナキノミナラス何レノ國トモ益々國交増進ノ形勢ヲ認メ得ラルルノテアリマス過般調印セラレタル「ロカルノ」條約ハ性質上純然タル歐洲問題ニ關スルモノテアリマスカラ日本ハ調印國テハアリマセマケレトモ此等ノ條約ハ歐洲ノ政治上及經濟上ニ於ケル時局ノ安定ヲ促カシタモノテアツテ之ニ依リ國際聯盟ノ前途ニ益々光明ヲ與ヘ延イデハ世界一般ノ平和ト進歩トニ貢獻スルコトハ疑ナク容レマセマ又目下英國ニ御滞在アラセラルル秩父宮殿下カ總テノ方面ヨリ誠心ヲ籠メテノ歡待ヲ受ケサセラレツツアルノヲ伺ヒマシテハ我々ハ誠ニ感激ニ堪ヘサルト共ニ兩國間ノ友情ハ極メテ鞏固ナル根底ヲ有スルコトヲ感シテ深く満足スル次第テアリマス

我國ハ土耳其トハ昨年始メテ大使ヲ交換スルコトナリマシタ我々ハ近東方面ニ於ケル錯雜

セル歐洲問題ニ付テハ飽迄不黨ニ第三者ヲムコトヲ欲スルモノテアリマス。同時ニ明治二十四年ノ軍艦「エルトグルール」事件以來我國民ト土耳其國民トノ間ニ存スル好感情ハ益々之ヲ増進シ又同國方面ニ於テ我商工業發展ノ新天地ヲ開拓セムコトヲ期待スルモノテアリマス。

翻テ日米關係ヲ見ルルニ一昨年ノ米國移民法中所謂日本人排斥條項ニ付テハ政府ノ意見ハ私カ一昨年及昨年共ニ當議場ニ於テ申述ヘタ通りテアリマシテ其ノ意見ハ茲ニ何等變更シ又ハ布衍スルノ必要カアリマセヌ又今日本問題ヲ徒ラニ反覆論議スルコトハ何等有益ナル結果ヲ來タスモノトモ思ハレマセヌ只我々ハ國際禮讓並正義ノ觀念ト一致セサルモノト認メラルル日本人排斥條項ニ對シ深ク遺憾ニ感スルコトハ今尙渝ラナイコトヲ明ニスルニ止メタイト考ヘマス。

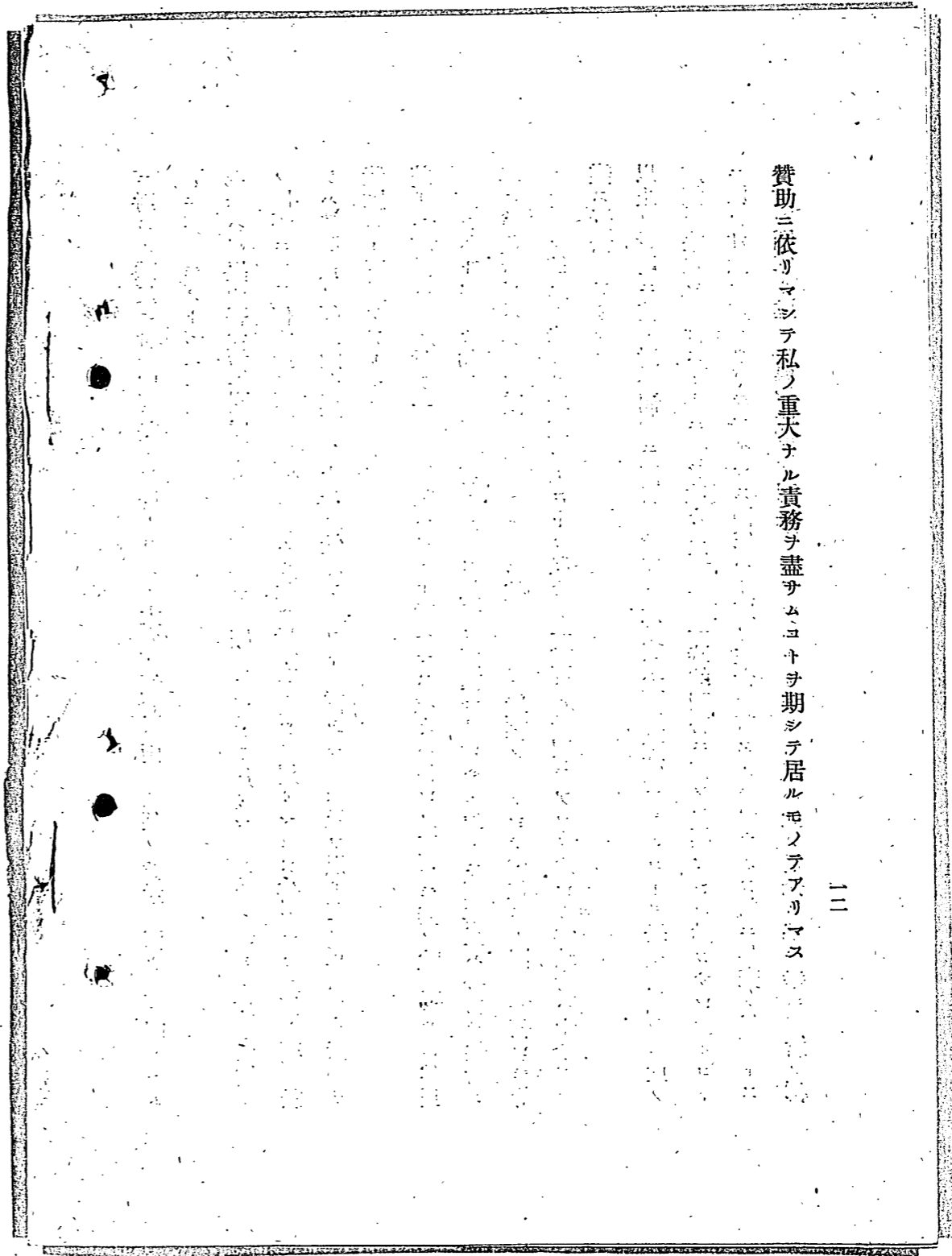
併シナカラ大勢ヲ通觀スルニ米國ニ於テ日本ニ對スル諒解カ近年著シク進ンテ來タコトハ何人モ米國ノ事情ニ通スルモノノ快ク認ムル所テアリマセウ嘗テ日本人攻撃ノ急先鋒テアツタ人々ノ中テ今ハ穩健ナル意見ヲ公言スルモノハ尠クアリマセヌ嘗テ日本ニ關シテ何等ノ興味ヲ有セヌ又ハ先天的ニ一種ノ偏見ヲ抱イテ居タ人々ノ中テ今ハ熱心ニ公平ニ我國ノ真相ヲ研究セムトスルモノモ尠クアリマセヌ凡ソ正シキ諒解ハ眞實ナル友情ノ基テアリマス今日日本

ニ對スル態度ニ付米國ニ於テ見受ケラルル大體ノ傾向ハ兩國關係ノ前途ニ深ク望ヲ囑セシムルニ足ルモノト考ヘマス

我國ハ又墨西哥並南米諸國トハ全ク親善ナル關係ヲ保ツテ居リマス我々ハ素ヨリ此等諸國トノ關係ニ於テ何等政治上ノ意味ヲ含ムカ如キ計畫ヲ有ツテ居リマセヌ併シナカラ同方面ニ於テハ我國民ノ經濟的發展ノ爲十分ノ餘地アルコトヲ認メマシテ及フ限り其ノ正當ナル活動ヲ獎勵スル方針テアリマス

終リニ移民問題ニ付テ一言ヲ附加ヘタイト考ヘマス我々ハ何レノ國ヘモ其ノ歡迎セサル移民ヲ送ラムトスルカ如キ意思ヲ有シマセヌ只未ダ開拓セラレサル地方ニ資本又ハ勞力ヲ供給シ單ニ移住者又ハ其ノ本國ノ爲ノミナラス彼等カ新ニ墳墓ノ地トシテ定住スル國ノ爲何レモ等シク其ノ繁榮、幸福ヲ増進スルコトカ我々ノ一貫セル希望テアツテ之レカ爲政府ハ十分力ヲ盡ス覺悟テアリマス

以上ノ説明ニ依リ對外問題ニ關スル政府ノ意見ヲ大體御諒察アラムコトヲ希望致シマス此ノ政策ヲ決定シ施行スル上ニ於テ我々ハ國家ノ一時的利害ニ依ツテ輕々シク動カサレサルコトニ深ク注意ヲ加ヘタノテアリマス國家ハ永遠ノ生命ヲ有スルモノナルカ故ニ外交ノ目標トスル所ハ國家永遠ノ名譽、威信、利益ヲナケレハナリマセヌ私ハ此ノ信念ニ基キ幸ニ諸君ノ御



贊助ニ依リマシテ私ノ重大ナル責務ヲ盡サムコトヲ期シテ居ルモノヲアリマス

一三

REEL No. 1-0445

0045