

413
支那
A. 1. 1. 0
支那
支那

昭和十二年十月

支那事變關係公表集(第一號)

外務省情報部

情
167
外史

40. 8. 22

調一0119

0005

支那事變關係公表集 (第一號)

目次

- 一、盧溝橋事件ニ對スル情報部長説明 (七月八日) 一八
- 二、演習權ニ對スル情報部長説明 (七月九日) 二〇
- 三、帝國政府第一次聲明 (七月十二日) 二一
- 四、平漢線ニヨル軍需品輸送ニ關スル情報部長談話 (七月十九日) 二二
- 五、外務當局見解 (七月二十日) 二三
- 六、南京ニ於ケル交渉ニ對スル情報部長談話 (七月二十日午前零時五十分發表) 二四
- 七、五里店ニ於ケル支那側發砲ニ對スル情報部長談話 (七月二十日) 二五
- 八、郎坊事件ニ關スル情報部長談話 (七月二十六日) 二六
- 九、廣安門事件ニ對スル情報部長談話 (七月二十七日) 二七
- 一〇、内閣書記官長發表 (七月二十七日) 二八

外務省
 圖書部
 24
 167

12.12.31.190w

二九、自衛措置遂行ニ當リ外務省情報部長談話(七月二十七日)……………二九

三〇、天津駐屯軍聲明(七月二十八日)……………三〇

三一、天津空爆ニ對スル情報部長談話(七月三十日)……………三一

三二、支那軍北上狀況ニ關スル情報部長談話(八月二日)……………三二

三三、天津治安維持會設立ニ關スル情報部長談話(八月二日)……………三三

三四、通州事件ニ關スル情報部長發表(八月二日)……………三四

三五、保定治安維持會ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月二日)……………三五

三六、通州事件ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月四日)……………三六

三七、支那中央軍ノ北上狀況ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月七日)……………三七

三八、中央軍ノ津浦線ニヨル北上狀況ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月九日)……………三八

三九、北京入城部隊司令聲明中ノ「政治干與」問題ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月九日)……………三九

四〇、上海ニ於ケル大山中尉殺害事件ニ對スル外務當局發表(八月十日)……………四〇

四一、大山事件ニ對スル情報部長說明(八月十一日)……………四一

四二、上海支那側空爆ニ對スル外務省情報部長談話(英文)(八月十四日)……………四二

四三、上海支那側空爆ニ對スル外務省情報部長談話(佛文)(八月十四日)……………四三

四四、上海ニ於ケル戰團忌避希望ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月十六日)……………四四

四五、帝國政府第二次聲明(八月十五日)……………四五

四六、北支事變ニ關シ「ドック」英國代理大使堀内次官來訪ニ關スル件(八月十九日)……………四六

四七、支那側檢閲ノ不法振ニ關スル情報部長談話(八月二十五日)……………四七

四八、中南支沿岸ニ於ケル支那船舶ノ交通遮斷ニ關スル外務省發表(八月二十六日)……………四八

四九、「ヒューグセン」大使射擊事件ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月二十七日)……………四九

五〇、「ヒューグセン」大使射擊事件ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月二十九日)……………五〇

五一、我外務當局ノ見解(八月二十九日)……………五一

五二、對ソ支不可侵條約見解(八月三十日)……………五二

五三、本邦人ノ支那渡航取締(八月三十一日)……………五三

五四、日本ノ對支政策ト題スル堀内外務次官「ラデオ」演說(九月二日)……………五四

五五、廣田外務大臣聲明(九月二日於外相官邸外人記者會見)……………五五

四

三八、支那沿海航行遮断ニ關スル外務省聲明(九月五日)……………一〇五

三九、「ヒューゲン」大使遭難ニ關スル回答(九月七日發表)……………一〇七

四〇、外務省發表(支那渡航取締方ノ件)(九月九日)……………一一一

四一、支那戎克武裝狀況ニ關スル情報部長説明(九月十五日)……………一一三

四二、支那ノ聯盟提訴ニ對スル外務當局ノ見解(九月十五日午前)……………一一六

四三、支那船舶ノ國籍移轉及假裝ニ關スル在京各國大使宛書翰(九月十八日)……………一二一

四四、支那船舶航行遮断ニ關スル記者團質問ニ對スル當局談(九月十八日)……………一二三

四五、駐支英國大使遭難事件我方最終回答(九月二十二日發表)……………一二四

四六、在支英國大使負傷事件ニ關スル昭和十二年九月二十三日附在
京英國大使發外務大臣宛書翰(九月二十三日)……………一二九

四七、日支兩空軍損傷ニ對スル日支兩國發表對照表(九月二十四日)……………一三一

四八、諮問委員會ノ事業參加招請ニ對スル帝國政府回答(九月二十五日)……………一三八

四九、南京空爆個所公表(九月二十六日)……………一四一

五〇、南京廣東空爆ニ對スル情報部長談話(九月二十七日)……………一四三

五

五一、支那各地空爆個所公表(九月二十九日)……………一四五

五二、南京廣東空爆及支那漁船攻撃說ニ關スル情報部長談(於外人記者團會見)(九月二十九日)……………一四七

五三、南京廣東空爆ニ關スル情報部長談(於外人記者團會見)(九月二十七日)……………一五六

五四、南京空爆ニ關スル帝國政府回答文(九月三十日)……………一六〇

五五、機雷爆破事件ニ對スル情報部長談話(九月三十日)……………一六四

五六、日本潛水艦ノ支那戎克襲撃說ニ對スル情報部長談話(十月一日)……………一六六

五七、外人記者會見ニ於ケル情報部長談話(十月一日)……………一六八

五八、日本飛行機ノ慎重ナル態度ニ關スル情報部長談話(十月四日)……………一七六

五九、日支空軍損傷ニ對スル支那側發表振ニ關スル情報部長談話(十月四日)……………一七八

六〇、支那戎克ノ海賊行為ニ關スル情報部長談話(十月四日)……………一八三

六一、外務省情報部長談(十月六日)……………一八五

六二、情報部長談(十月六日)……………一八九

六三、支那戎克問題ニ對スル情報部長談話(十月六日)……………一九五

六四、外務省聲明(十月九日)……………一九七
 六五、臨時輸出入許可規則(商工省令)ノ公布ニ關スル發表(十月九日)……………二〇一
 六六、日本側ノ毒瓦斯使用說ニ對スル情報部長談話(十月十一日)……………二三五
 六七、支那側ノ非戦闘員襲撃ニ關スル情報部長談話(十月十五日)……………二二六

「附 録」

(一) 第七十一回帝國議會ニ於ケル近衛内閣總理大臣演說(七月二十七日)……………二二七
 (二) 第七十一回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣演說(七月二十七日)……………二三四
 (三) 勅 語(九月四日)……………二四六
 (四) 第七十二回帝國議會ニ於ケル近衛内閣總理大臣演說(九月五日)……………二四七
 (五) 第七十二回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣演說(九月五日)……………二五三
 (六) 告 諭(九月九日)……………二六四
 (七) 訓令(九月九日)……………二六六

「參 考」

(八) 近衛内閣總理大臣演說「時局ニ處スル國民ノ覺悟」(九月十一日)……………二六八

一、諸外國側發表

(1) 「ハル」聲明(七月十七日)……………二七五
 (2) 「ハル」聲明(八月二十三日)……………二七七
 (3) 武器軍需品輸送禁止ニ關スル米國政府聲明(九月十四日)……………二八〇
 (4) 聯盟總會ニ於テ採擇シタル諮問委員會決議(九月二十八日)……………二八一
 (5) 「ルーズベルト」大統領市俄古演說(十月五日)……………二八二
 (6) 聯盟總會決議全文(十月六日)……………二九二
 (7) 米國務省ノ聲明(十月六日)……………二九三
 「ルーズベルト」大統領爐邊談話(十月十二日夜)……………二九五
 二、支那側發表

(1) 蔣介石聲明(七月十九日)……………二九七

支那事變關係公表集(第一號)

(2) 汪精衛演說「最後ノ問題」(七月二十九日).....	三〇三
(3) 馮玉祥「ラヂオ」演說(八月六日).....	三〇八
(4) 國民政府外交部聲明(八月十二日).....	三一〇
(5) 支那聯盟提訴附屬文書(八月十二日).....	三一〇
(6) 國民政府外交部聲明(八月二十九日).....	三一〇
(7) 中國共產黨宣言及右ニ關スル蔣介石談話(九月二十二日).....	三二二
(8) 蔣介石双十節放送(十月九日).....	三二三
(9) 王寵惠ノ對米放送(十月十五日).....	三二五

一、 蘆溝橋事件ニ對スル情報部長説明(七月八日)

We cannot but conclude that the occurrence of the Lukouchiao incident was due fundamentally to the ulterior scheme of the Chinese, especially of the Nanking Government. Some of the main reasons are as follows:

1. With the ultimate aim of forcing the Hopei-Chahar region to come under the direct control of the Nanking Government, the Blue Shirt Society and other elements, under the influence of the Nanking Government authorities, have been secretly endeavouring to alienate the Hopei-Chahar Political Council from Japan and thus bring about chaotic conditions in the region under the jurisdiction of that Council.
2. That the Japanese garrison troops in North China are perfectly entitled to hold manoeuvres under the provisions of the treaty concluded following the Boxer Rebellion is indisputable. The Chinese troops stationed in the district where the incident happened had been showing a disagreeable attitude toward such manoeuvres taking place there. This hostile attitude was further aggravated by the agitations of the Blue Shirt Society and of others. Anti-Japanese feeling ran high and the general atmosphere became quite tense.
3. In the Tientsin district, rumours had been rampant from the latter part of June to the effect:

- (1) That the Japanese would start something.
 - (2) That the agents of the Blue Shirt Society would begin terroristic tactics.
- From about the 25th of June until the early part of July, an extraordinary precaution had been taken nightly in and out of Peiping while the chief authorities of the Peace Preservation Department of the Hopei-Chahar Council had consultations for making concrete arrangements to meet an emergency, and by July 3, necessary guards had been placed accordingly.
4. Under such previous arrangements, the Hopei-Chahar Council showed no sign of perturbation at the time of the out-break of the Lukouchiao incident feigning as though it had happened as a matter of course, and put the city of Peiping under strict police vigilance in a comparatively short space of time.
 5. Facts are established that the Nanking Government sent encouraging telegraphic and telephone communications to the Hopei-Chahar Council as soon as the incident occurred telling them that, if necessary, four divisions of the Central Army would be dispatched to the north for reinforcement. Thus it is evident that the Nanking Government regarded the incident as a golden opportunity for putting the Hopei-Chahar region under its authority.

一、 獨逸報ニ對スル 情報部長説明 (七月九日)

CONCERNING THE RECENT MANOEUVRES OF THE JAPANESE TROOPS NEAR
LUKOTCHIAO, WHERE THEY WERE WANTONLY FIRED UPON BY
THE CHINESE TROOPS, THE FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN
MADE THE FOLLOWING EXPLANATION ON
FRIDAY NIGHT, JULY 9, 1937.

Under the provisions of Article IX of the joint Note of the Allied Powers concerning the Boxer Rebellion, and paragraph IV of the Note exchanged between Japan and China concerning the Restoration of Tientsin, the Japanese troops garrisoned in North China have been accustomed to carrying on manoeuvres without being subjected to any restriction as to locality or time. It is provided that with the exception of practice with loaded bullets no notice need be given for individual cases of manoeuvres. However, as a matter of fact, in order to remove the anxiety of the local inhabitants, notice has been gratuitously served in advance. In the manoeuvre in question, though it was not a practice with loaded guns, notice had been served as usual.

It may be added that other Powers maintaining garrisons in China may, and are, in fact, used to holding similar manoeuvres frequently.

1. The neighbourhood of Lungwangmiao, where troops were illegally fired upon, lies to the northside of Lukouchiao, and having but few houses, is best suited for military manoeuvres. The autumn manoeuvre of last year and many subsequent manoeuvres, large and small, have been held there, so that the place has come to be regarded as if it were a regular practice field for our troops. Moreover, the river beach of the Yungting above and below the Lukouchiao Bridge has been frequently used as the grounds for target practice with the high land to the west as a mark.

2. Our troops, with the impending Annual Inspection in view, had been practising continuously day and night in the locality in question.

3. On Wednesday, shortly after 11 o'clock when our troops were fired upon, they had no real bullets with them, save a supply amounting to one cartridge per soldier which was kept by the commanding officer for emergency. There was only one case of ball-cartridges for light machine-guns. Of course, the supply was insufficient for returning the fire, and the commander, to meet the situation, immediately sent for reinforcements to the garrison at Fengtai.

These hastened to the scene with real bullets and infantry guns to oppose the Chinese. It was not until 5 o'clock on Thursday morning that our troops used solid shots in exchanging fires with the Chinese.

4. It is claimed by the Chinese that our soldiers had entered inside the village wall of Lukouchiao. Our troops are always strictly warned against the occurrence of untoward incidents. Moreover, in this particular village our soldiers have been accustomed not to force their way in order to avoid trouble, because the Chinese sentinels there are in the habit of stopping without reason Japanese soldiers even if they wanted to pass the gate. Finally, in order to approach the gate of the village it is necessary to cross twice a railway track running on an embankment. It would be impossible that a handful of our soldiers should steal inside the gate, and certainly it is absurd that they should court danger purposefully by trying to enter the village at night.

三、帝國政府第一次聲明（七月十一日）

六

相踵ク支那側ノ毎日行爲ニ對シ支那駐屯軍ハ隱忍靜觀中ノ處從來我ト提携シテ北支ノ治安ニ任シアリシ第二十九軍ノ七月七日夜半蘆溝橋附近ニ於ケル不法射撃ニ端ヲ發シ該軍ト衝突ノ已ムナキニ至レリ爲ニ平津方面ノ情勢逼迫シ我在留民ハ正ニ危殆ニ瀕スルニ至リシモ我方ハ和平解決ノ望ヲ棄テス事件不擴大ノ方針ニ基キ局地的解決ニ努力シ一旦第二十九軍側ニ於テ和平的解決ヲ承諾シタルニ不拘突如七月十日夜ニ至リ彼ハ不法ニモ更ニ我ヲ攻撃シ再ヒ我軍ニ相當ノ死傷ヲ生スルニ至ラシメ而モ頻ニ第一線ノ兵力ヲ増加シ更ニ西苑ノ部隊ヲ南進セシメ中央軍ニ出動ヲ命スル等武力的準備ヲ進ムルト共ニ平和的交渉ニ應スルノ誠意ナク遂ニ北平ニ於ケル交渉ヲ全面的ニ拒否スルニ至レリ以上ノ事實ニ鑑ミ今次事件ハ全ク支那側ノ計畫的武力抗日ナルコト最早疑ノ餘地ナシ。

思フニ北支治安ノ維持カ帝國及滿洲國ニトリ緊急ノ事タルハ茲ニ發言ヲ要セサル處ニシテ支那側カ不法行爲ハ勿論排日毎日行爲ニ對スル謝罪ヲ爲シ及今後斯カル行爲ナカラムル爲ノ適當ナル保障等ヲナスコトハ東亞ノ平和維持上極メテ緊要ナリ。

仍テ政府ハ本日ノ閣議ニ於テ重大決意ヲ爲シ北支派兵ニ關シ政府トシテ執ルヘキ所要ノ措置ヲナス事ニ決セリ。

然レトモ東亞平和ノ維持ハ帝國ノ常ニ顧念スル所ナルヲ以テ政府ハ今後共局面不擴大ノ爲平和的折衝ノ望ヲ捨テス支那側ノ速ナル反省ニヨリテ事態ノ圓滿ナル解決ヲ希望ス又列國權益ノ保全ニ就テハ固ヨリ十分ノ考慮セントスルモノナリ。

DECLARATION OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ON JULY 11.

The Japanese forces garrisoned in North China always maintained a calm and patient attitude toward a series of anti-Japanese outbursts in North China. But unfortunately on the night of July 7 an inevitable clash occurred when the Japanese troops were wantonly fired upon by soldiers of the 29th Army, which had been cooperating with our forces in maintaining peace and order in that region. As the consequence, the atmosphere in the Peking and Tientsin districts grew so tense that even the lives and property of Japanese nationals were endangered. However, the Japanese authorities made earnest endeavors to

+

localize and prevent the affair from becoming further aggravated, and succeeded in bringing the 29th Army authorities to agree to a peaceful settlement.

On the night of July 10, however, the 29th Army, in violation of the agreement, suddenly fired upon the Japanese troops causing considerable casualties. Besides, China has since pushed on warlike preparations by increasing her forces on the first line, by ordering the Chinese troops at Siyuan to advance southward, and also ordering the Central Government troops to the front. China has not only failed to manifest any sincerity to seek a peaceful solution, but has gone the length of flatly rejecting all of Japan's offers for amicable settlement at Peiping, leaving no room for doubt that the present incident has been brought about as the result of well-planned armed operations against Japan.

There is no need of dwelling on the vital importance to Japan and Manchoukuo of the maintenance of peace and order in North China. What is most urgently needed is that the Chinese not only apologize for the most recent lawless actions and manifestations of antagonism and opposition to Japan, but give adequate guarantee against the recurrence of such outrages in the future.

An important decision has been reached by the Japanese Government at today's Cabinet meeting to take all necessary measures for despatching military forces to North China.

But, desirous as ever of preserving the peace of East Asia, the Japanese Government has not abandoned its hope that negotiations may yet effect non-aggravation of the situation, and that prompt reconsideration on the part of China may bring about an amicable solution. As regards the safeguarding of the rights and interests of the Powers in China, the Japanese Government is, of course, prepared to give full consideration.

(16)

四、平漢線ニモル軍需品輸送ニ關スル情報部長談話

(七月十九日)

(Made public on July 19th, 1937).

According to information received from a most authoritative source, it is said that unusual increases have been noted in the amount of military supplies shipped north from various stations in Hankow by the Peiping-Hankow Railway.

July 11.

Chiaokou station at 11:00 a.m. for Chengchou.

Ammunition : 2300 cases in six cars ;

Water bottles : 230 cases.

Rice for army : 3700 sacks in nine cars.

Podder : 1600 bags in 4 cars.

Hsunlinen station at 11:00 a.m. for Paotingfu :

Armoured cars : 8.

Cannons : 12.

Rice for armies : 4000 sacks in 10 cars.

On the side-track : for Paotingfu :

Tents : 300.

Rice for armies : 4500 sacks in 13 cars.

Podder : 2500 bags in 66 cars.

At Luichianiao station, 3:00 p.m. for Shiehachwang.

Hand-grenades : 700 cases in 2 cars.

Army motor cars : 5 in 5 cars.

Rice for armies : 5300 bags in 14 cars.

July 12.

Chiaokou station : 2:00 p.m. for Shiehachwang.

Ammunition : 1300 cases in 3 cars.

Infantry rifles : 250 cases in 2 cars.

Water bottles : 220 cases in 2 cars.

Flour : 2700 sacks in 2 cars.

Rice for armies : 3100 sacks in 9 cars.

Hsunlinen station : 11:00 a.m. for Shiehachwang.

Armoured cars : 3.

Mines : 110 in cars.

Tents: 250 in 2 cars.
Biscuits: 4500 cases in 4 cars.
Salt: 1100 sacks in 3 cars.
Fodder: 2400 bags in 6 cars.
On the side-track: for Paochingfu:
Hand-grenades: 700 cases in 3 cars.
Rice for armies: 6100 sacks in 15 cars.
Fodder: 1200 bags in 3 cars.

11

五、外務當局見解 (七月二十日)

七月十七日高代理大使ヨリ南京政府ニ對シ申入レタル要旨ハ

- 一、現地解決案ノ履行ヲ阻害スヘカラス
- 二、對日敵對行動ヲ一切停止スヘシ
- ノ二點ナルカ

本十九日南京政府ノ右ニ對スル回答ハ概ネ

- 一、日支双方軍隊ノ同時撤退
 - 二、外交交渉ニ依ル解決
 - 三、現地解決案ハ南京政府ノ許可ヲ要ス
 - 四、南京政府ハ直接交渉斡旋調停乃至仲裁ヲ受諾スル用意アリ
 - ノ四點ナル處右ハ顧ミテ他ヲ云フモノニシテ我方申入レニ對スル回答ト認メ難シ。
- 抑々(今次事變ノ端ヲヒラキタルハ支那側ノ不法射撃ニシテ事件ノ責任ハ擧ケテ支那側ニアリス
ヘカラク先ツ自ラ不法ヲ止メ兵ヲ撤收シテ誠意ヲ披瀝シテコソ事件ハ圓滿解決ヲ見ルニ至ルヘキ

一三

ナリ、然ルニ同時撤退ト云フカ如キハ責ナキ責ヲ我方ニ負ハシメントスルモノト云フヘク加之曩
ニ現地ニ於ケル兩軍撤收ノ約ニ背キ我撤收部隊ニ對シ數次不法射撃ヲ加ヘ我軍ニ多數ノ死傷者ヲ
生セシメタルカ如キ背信無道ト云フノ外ナク此故ヲ以テ我方ハ去ル十二日支那側ノ同時撤退ノ要
望ヲ默殺セリ(二)支那側カ二十數萬ノ大軍ヲ北支ニ集結シ平津ノ我小部隊並ニ居留民ニ對シ一舉壓
殺ノ姿勢ヲ執リタル爲メ政府ハ遂ニ派兵ノ閣議決定ヲ爲シタルモノニシテ是全ク自衛權ノ發動ナ
リ然レ共我方ハ尙隱忍自重シテ支那側ノ反省ニ一縷ノ望ヲカケ少數部隊ヲ除キ今尙内地部隊ハ依
然待機シ居ル次第ナリ然ルニ支那側カ大軍ノ北支集結ヲ以テ自衛ヲ云々スルカ如キハ詭辯モ又甚
タシト云フヘシ(三)黨察政務委員會ハ他ノ地方ニ見サル特殊大規模ノ政治形態ニシテ從來幾多ノ重
要ナル地方的交渉ヲ行ヒ來リ南京政府ハ敢テ之ニ容喙セサリシニ今日率然トシテ黨察政權ト我方
トノ話合ニ付其ノ容認ヲ主張スルカ如キハ即チ新ニ事ヲ構ヘテ故意ニ事件ノ圓滿解決ヲ阻害セン
トスルモノト云フノ外ナシ。事態惡化ノ原因ハ南京政府カ現地協定ヲ阻害スル一面續々中央軍ヲ
北上セシメタル事實ニ在リ此際南京政府ニ於テ顯然反省スルニ非レハ時局ノ收拾全ク望ナキニ至
ラン。

一四

COMMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AUTHORITIES
ON THE CHINESE REPLY.

July 20, 1937.

The main points of the Japanese memorandum sent to the Nanking Government through acting Ambassador Hiatake were:

1. The Nanking Government should not obstruct the execution of the agreement reached on the spot.

2. The Nanking Government should stop all hostile movements against Japan.

The main points of the reply made on July 19 by the Nanking Government were:

1, simultaneous withdrawal of the Chinese and Japanese troops to original positions; 2, solution by diplomatic negotiations; 3, the necessity of authorization by the Nanking Government for any agreement on the spot.

In bringing out these 3 points the Nanking Government simply evades our proposals and does not answer them.

1. The direct cause of the present incident is the wanton firing by the Chinese upon the Japanese and the responsibility rests entirely with China. She should therefore stop

14

committing any more wrongs, withdraw her forces and in all sincerity seek a solution of the matter. The proposal of the Nanking Government for the simultaneous withdrawal of forces is calculated to place a part of the burden of responsibility on Japan, who is not at all responsible. Moreover, the Chinese have already committed a series of unpardonable outrages by firing upon our troops, causing considerable casualties, in violation of the agreement of mutual withdrawal and cessation of hostilities; and we ignored the Chinese request for simultaneous withdrawal on the 12th.

2. China had armies of 200,000 strong already concentrated in North China and made a gesture of wiping out the small number of our Garrison troops in the Peiping and Tientsin area as well as all the Japanese in North China.

The decision of the Japanese Government to dispatch troops across the sea was nothing but an exercise of the right of self-defence. At the same time we continued to maintain an attitude of patience and self-restraint, hoping against hope that China might yet reconsider. Our home troops have not yet left Japan save for a few small units already sent. It is ridiculous that China should speak of self-defence while she concentrates colossal armies in North China.

3. The Hopei-Chahar Political Council is a unique political entity of considerable proportions, the like of which is not seen elsewhere. This body has in the past engaged

in a number of important local negotiations; and that the Nanking Government, which has hitherto refrained from interfering with these negotiations should suddenly insist upon the necessity of its recognition for any agreement to be made between Japan and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, can not but mean that Nanking desires to obstruct an amicable settlement of the incident by inventing pretexts. The aggravation of the situation is caused by the Nanking Government which is not only obstructing the settlement on the spot but is moving Government troops into North China. The situation is likely to pass out of control unless the Nanking Government reconsiders at this very moment.

26
26

Statement of the Japanese Ambassador to the Nanking Government
July 19, 1937

六、南京ニ於ケル交渉ニ對スル情報部長談話

(七月二十日午前零時五十分發表)

Late on the night of July 17, the Japanese Counsellor, Hidaka, called on the Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang-Chunghui, and handed to him a memorandum in which the Japanese Government urged upon the Nanking Government not to interfere with the execution of the agreement arrived at on the spot and to suspend immediately all military movements against Japan. Foreign Minister Wang told Counsellor Hidaka that he would be able to reply by Monday July 19.

At 2:30 p.m. July 19, Tung-Taoning, Chief of the First Section of the Asiatic Bureau, by order of the Foreign Minister of the Nanking Government, called on the Japanese Counsellor, Hidaka, at the latter's office and handed an aide-memoire after reading it aloud to him.

1. Hidaka asked Tung if it were a reply to the Japanese memorandum presented to Foreign Minister Wang. Tung answered that he brought it merely by order of the Foreign Minister. Then Hidaka told Tung that he would receive it as a reply from the Minister Wang, but if it were not, he would expect to hear again from Mr. Wang within the day.

2. Hidaka pointed out that the aide-memoire seemed to mean that the Chinese would not suspend their military movements before the date to be agreed upon, that is, they would not immediately suspend those actions.

3. Counsellor Hidaka also pointed out that while the Chinese aide-memoire might be construed as not refusing to recognize a local settlement, it did not make clear whether or not the Nanking Government intended to interfere with the carrying out of the terms of settlement.

Hidaka requested Tung to report to Foreign Minister Wang on the above three points, which Tung agreed to do.

Repeatedly stressing the gravity of the situation, Hidaka called the attention of Tung to the fact that, in his private opinion, the Chinese reply on the present issue was of far greater importance than the Chinese Government appeared to think.

七、五里店ニ於ケル支那側發砲ニ對スル情報部長談話

(七月二十日)

(Issued on July 20 as of 5.00 p.m.)

Since July 19 the Chinese repeatedly fired upon Japanese sentinels posted near Wri-li-tien (about 2 kilometres east of Lukouchiao), injuring the commander of our company. For three times — at 9 o'clock a.m., at 2 o'clock and 4 o'clock p.m., the Chinese attacked the Japanese position with trench-mortars, but the Japanese did not return the fire. On the 20th the Chinese still continued their provocative action, and at 2 o'clock p.m. they sent a heavy shower of cannon, rifle and machine-gun shots upon our position, and compelled our force to reply. The fighting is now in progress. However, we are employing only artillery force and no infantry has been put to action.

Before commencing bombardment we sent airplanes to distribute handbills warning the inhabitants of the vicinity to evacuate.

八、耶坊事件ニ關スル情報部長談話(七月二十六日)

THE LANG FANG INCIDENT.

The Japanese military telephone and telegraph lines between Peiping and Tientsin have been frequently cut by the Chinese. On the 23rd inst., the lines were put out of order in the neighbourhood of Lang Fang, which is a small station situated half-way between Peiping and Tientsin. The Japanese contingent which was sent to the spot to do the necessary repair work came back without having accomplished the purpose, owing to Chinese obstruction. On the 24th, another unit was despatched from Fengtai, and temporary repair work was made. In order to complete the work, the Japanese military headquarters sent on the 25th a communications corps accompanied by a small unit led by Lieutenant Gono, as a covering force, which consisted of less than a company of men. They were despatched after an understanding had been reached with General Chang Tsi-chung, Commander of the 38th Division and Mayor of Tientsin. At 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon the Japanese arrived at Lang Fang, and found the station occupied by Chinese troops, one company strong. The Japanese negotiated with the Chinese, after which they entered the station and proceeded to repair the lines. At 11:10 p.m. after the Japanese

had stacked their arms and were taking their evening meal they were suddenly attacked by the Chinese nearby who opened fire, with rifles, hand-grenades, and machine-guns. The Chinese unit under Tsai Chen-lin (of about one regiment and belonging to Chang Tschung's 38th Division of the 29th Army), holding a position 300 metres north of the station, joined in the attack, subjecting the Japanese to a fierce fire with trench-mortars, compelling them to return the fire. The Japanese holding the station and fighting the Chinese, suffered several casualties. They sent for reinforcements. And at 5 a.m. on the 26th, from the Japanese Garrison at Tientsin, two train-loads of troops under Colonel Koito were sent to the scene. Meanwhile Japanese war-planes bombarded the Chinese and drove them out of their positions. As soon as the fighting ceased, the Japanese Garrison Commander, Lieutenant-General Katsuki sent a note to General Sung Cheyuan demanding the withdrawal within ten days of the 37th Division from Peiping, and the withdrawal of the Chinese troops at Mentonkou and Siyuan to positions further south toward Paoting as a measure for guarding against a recurrence of similar incidents.

九、廣安門事件ニ對スル情報部長談話(七月二十七日)

THE KUANG-AN MEN INCIDENT.

Our military authorities at Peiping decided upon re-inforcing the Japanese force stationed there in order to protect the lives and property of our residents. Accordingly, they sent for a contingent about the size of a battalion from the garrison at Fengtai. The latter arrived in trucks about 6:00 p.m., July 26, and tried to enter the city by the Kuang-an men—a gate in the outer wall of Peiping. But, despite the understanding that had been previously obtained from the authorities of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, the Chinese troops obstructed the entry of the Japanese force. After some heated argument the gate was finally opened only to be closed again when two-thirds of the Japanese troops had passed through it. And on the Japanese troop which marched inside the gate, and virtually trapped between the outer and inner gates, the Chinese began to fire furiously with machine-guns and hand-grenades. The Japanese were compelled to return the fire. It appears that of our soldiers and the newspapermen who were with them, not a few were either killed or wounded, though the casualties sustained have not yet been ascertained.

114
Captain Tenadaira of the Special Service Mission of the Japanese Army and Mr. Kasai, Adviser to the 29th Army, hurried to the scene, and succeeded in causing the Chinese troops inside the inner wall to be concentrated at a certain point. At 2:00 a.m., July 27, a part of the Japanese troops entered the barracks in the Legation Quarter of Peiping.

一〇：内閣書記官長發表（七月二十七日）

政府ハ先般ノ閣議ニテ決定セル自衛的措置ヲ講スルニアタリ、本日院內閣議ニテ書記官長ヲシテ政府ノ意嚮ヲ左ノ如ク發表セシムルコトトシタ。
北支ノ安寧ハ帝國ノ常ニ至大ノ關心ヲ有スル所ナリ。然ルニ支那側ノ徹底セル排日抗日政策ハ屢々北支ノ平和ヲ脅威シ遂ニ蘆溝橋事件ノ勃發ヲ見ルニ至レリ。
爾來帝國ハ東亞平和ノ爲事件不擴大、現地解決ヲ方針トシテ平和的處理ニ努メ、冀察側ニ對シ支那軍ノ蘆溝橋附近永定河左岸駐屯停止、將來ニ關スル所要ノ保障、直接責任者ノ處罰及謝罪ノ極メテ寛大且局地的ナル條件ヲ要求シタルニ過キス、冀察側ハ七月十一日夜右條件ヲ承認シタルモ之ガ實行ニ誠意ヲ示サズシテ今日ニ及ヘリ。一方帝國政府ハ七月十七日南京政府ニ對シ、アラユル挑戰的言動ヲ即時停止シ且現地解決ヲ妨害セサル様注意ヲ喚起シタルモ、南京政府ハ現實ノ事態ヲ無視シ帝國政府ノ主張ヲ容レズ、却ツテ益々戰備ヲ整ヘ愈々不安ヲ増大セシムルニ至レリ。然レトモ帝國ハ尙ホ隱忍、平和的解決ニ努力中支那側ハ七月二十六日郎坊ニ於テ電線修理ニ任ス

二六

ル我部隊ニ不法射撃ヲ加ヘ、更ニ同日夕居留民保護ノ爲冀察側ノ諒解ヲ得テ北平城内ニ入城中途ノ我部隊ニ對シ突如城門ヲ閉鎖シ不意ニ急射スルノ暴舉ニ出テタリ。

右兩事件タルヤ我駐屯軍本然ノ任務タル北平、天津間ノ交通線ノ確保及居留民ノ保護ニ對スル支那軍ノ武力妨害ニシテ今ヤ軍ハ此ノ任務遂行並ニ協定事項ノ履行確保ニ必要ナル自衛行動ヲ採ルノ已ムナキニ至レリ。固ヨリ帝國ノ期スル所ハ、今次事件ノ如キ不祥事發生ノ根因ヲ芟除スルニ在リテ善良ナル民衆ヲ敵視スルモノニアラス。又帝國ハ何等領土の企圖ヲ有セズ、且列國ノ權益保護ニハ最善ノ努力ヲ惜マサルコト勿論ナリ。

東亞ノ平和確保ヲ使命トスル帝國ハ事茲ニ至ルモ今尙支那側ノ反省ニ依リ局面ヲ最小ノ範圍ニ限定シ、速クニ圓滿ナル解決ヲ見ントトヲ切望スルモノナリ。

AN INFORMAL STATEMENT MADE BY THE CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE
CABINET, EXPRESSING THE VIEWS OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

July 27, 1937.

For Japan, the preservation of peace and order in North China is always a matter of

serious concern. However, the Chinese policy of relentless opposition against Japan has frequently threatened the tranquility of that region, leading finally to the Lukouchiao Incident of the recent date. From the outset the Japanese Government have, in the interest of the peace of East Asia, made it their policy to seek non-aggravation of the situation and a settlement on the spot, and they have striven to dispose of the problem in a peaceful manner. To the Hopei-Chahar Political Council Japan made only such demands as were most lenient and localized in character and scope—namely, discontinuation of the stationing of Chinese troops in the vicinity of Lukouchiao and on the left bank of the Yungting River, the necessary guarantees for the future, punishment of those directly responsible and apology from their superiors. The Hopei-Chahar authorities agreed to these terms of settlement on the night of July 11, but no sincere attempt to carry them out has been made during all these days past. On the other hand, the Japanese Government addressed a memorandum to the Nanking Government on July 17, advising them to cease immediately from all provocations by word or deed, and not to interfere with the settlement on the spot. The Nanking Government, in their utter disregard of the realities of the situation, not only have rejected our proposals, but have pushed on even more vigorously their warlike preparations, increasing the tension all the more. It was while the Japanese Government, patient and forbearing, were still continuing their endeavours to effect a peaceful solution,

114

that on July 26, our soldiers, engaged in repairing telegraph lines, were unlawfully fired upon by the Chinese, and that in the evening of the same day the Chinese shut the gate of Peiping upon our force who, with the understanding of the Hopei-Chahar authorities, were entering the city in order to protect our residents there.

These outrages clearly constitute armed obstruction of the execution by our North China Garrison of their primary duties of protecting our nationals and of insuring free communications between Peiping and Tientsin. The Japanese Army is now compelled to resort to such self-defensive measures as are necessary for executing its own duties as well as for insuring the fulfillment of the terms of settlement. Of course, Japan has no other objectives in view save the eradication of the very causes of all untoward intents such as the present one. She entertains no enmity toward the innocent people of China, nor does she harbor any territorial designs. It goes without saying that she will make every effort to safeguard the rights and interests of the Powers.

Though things have come to such a pass, even now, Japan, whose mission is to secure peace in East Asia, hopes most fervently that China will yet reconsider, and thereby make it possible to minimize the scope of the present incident and to bring about an early and amicable settlement.

一、白備措置遂行ニ當リ外務省情報部長談話（七月二十七日）

I regret to say that on account of the increasingly hostile attitude of the 29th Army, the Japanese military authorities on the spot have been finally forced to abandon their hope for a peaceful settlement. The conditions in the Peiping and Tientsin area have become so menacing to the lives and property of Japanese nationals as well as to the comparatively small force of the Garrison troops stationed there, that it has now become necessary to commence operations with a view to impressing upon the Chinese soldiers the urgent necessity of keeping pledges and agreements which they themselves have made and failed to observe.

All of you are fully aware, I believe, of the Japanese Government's policy of non-aggravation and local settlement of the incident. In spite of the repeated provocative actions of the Chinese armies, our local military authorities, in pursuance of that policy, have hitherto always maintained an attitude of utmost patience and restraint.

On July 9, the Chinese, after pledging withdrawal of their troops from Lukouchiao, increased their forces there instead, and even went so far as to fire upon the Japanese.

On July 11, the representatives of the 29th Army, Generals Chang Tsuchung and

110

Chang Yunjung, submitted a signed note to the Japanese authorities by which they accepted and promised to execute the 3-point terms of settlement. However, instead of faithfully carrying out those promises, as was expected by the Japanese, the troops of the 29th Army continued to act as if their written pledge were a scrap of paper. A series of armed clashes resulting from Chinese provocations had caused considerable casualties on our side. The patience of the Japanese Garrison authorities was thus severely tried and well-nigh exhausted by these continuous Chinese outrages. They therefore notified the Chinese authorities that if such hostilities continued, the Japanese would be compelled to resort to the freedom of action in self-defence. This firm attitude seemed for the time being to have impressed the Chinese who signed another agreement on July 19—this was made public by the Foreign Office authorities at the time.

With this agreement, we felt quite satisfied that a final settlement on the spot was well in sight. But again the Chinese violated their pledge on the night of July 25 by firing upon our detachment sent to Lang Fang for repairing military telegraph wires which had been cut by the Chinese. No sooner had this affair come to an end than there occurred the Kuang-an Men affair. The 29th Army has now demonstrated beyond any shadow of a doubt their unreliability.

These repeated outrages are nothing but the expression of the fundamentally hostile

anti-Japanese sentiment of the 29th Army and it can never be removed by peaceful persuasion or remonstrations. The unwarranted firing upon our force by the troops of the 38th Division under Chang Tsuchung, whom the Japanese had regarded as being trustworthy and capable of cooperation, was the last straw.

The circumstances being such, the only thing that can be done effectively by the Japanese to assure the safety of our rights and interests lie in taking firm and decisive measures.

The time limit set in the demand made on the 26th instant by the commander of the local Japanese Garrison regarding the withdrawal of the Chinese troops was due to expire at noon today. However, mere withdrawal of the 37th Division is now deemed wholly insufficient to insure the safety of the Garrison as well as of the lives and property of our nationals.

As for foreigners in the Peiping area, our authorities have already taken steps necessary for their protection.

The Japanese Army intends to avoid as far as possible the extension of hostilities to Peiping. The fate of the city depends entirely upon the attitude and action of the Chinese troops there.

111

二二、天津駐屯軍聲明（七月二十八日）

三二

A STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE JAPANESE GARRISON
HEADQUARTERS IN CHINA.

It is a matter of sincere regret that a series of armed clashes have occurred between the Japanese and Chinese troops in North China since July 7, when the Japanese troops were unlawfully fired upon by the Chinese troops at Lukouchiao.

From the very beginning of this unfortunate incident, the Japanese Army, in the face of the utterly unwarranted and clearly premeditated provocation on the part of the Chinese troops, have exerted every effort for a peaceful settlement of the whole affair in accordance with our fixed policy of strictly localizing and peacefully settling the present complications on the spot.

Unfortunately however, this sincere attitude on the part of the Japanese Army has only had the result of inviting further acts of challenge and repeated breaches of faith by the Chinese troops, who have revealed no sign of abandoning their attitude of resistance and insult to the Japanese, even after they had definitely expressed their compliance with the Japanese demands and signed an agreement to that effect.

The Chinese troops, meanwhile, have become so arrogant and challenging as to have not only caused the frequent obstruction of our lines of communication and traffic but also dared to launch actions of proved premeditated provocation toward the Japanese troops.

Particularly contemptible are the acts of the Chinese troops, who, violating the definite pledge given by them beforehand to the Japanese Military Authorities, shamelessly started surprise attacks on the Japanese troops at Lang Fang on July 25, when a Japanese detachment was sent there to repair the military telegraph lines, and again at Kuang-an Men, an outer gate of Peiping, on July 26, when another Japanese contingent was despatched for the protection of the Japanese residents in Peiping.

The frequent repetition of these unwarranted and unlawful actions on the part of the Chinese troops evidently proves that they have been deliberately carrying out a plan of provocation, thereby clearly showing their attitude of defiance and contempt toward the Japanese troops.

Moreover, China has committed a serious and unpardonable breach of faith in rushing northward a formidable number of Central Army troops in utter violation of the Ho-Umezu Agreement and steadily perfecting preparation for action against the Japanese troops.

The above circumstances clearly indicate that peace and order in North China has now

三三

been completely disrupted and that the lives and property of the Japanese residents are exposed to imminent danger. Needless to say, the maintenance of peace and order in North China is a matter of serious concern to both Japan and Manchoukuo, but every means at our disposal for a peaceful settlement of the present complications have now been exhausted.

There now only remains the resolute step of meeting out a deserved punishment to the challenging Chinese troops. We deeply regret that things have come to such an unfortunate pass in spite of the sincerity and patience of the Japanese Army to localize and peacefully liquidate the present Sino-Japanese complications in North China.

The Japanese punitive expedition, of course, is aimed solely at these Chinese forces who have been persistently challenging the Japanese troops and we have no intention whatever of making the 100 million Chinese population in North China the objective of our punitive action. Furthermore, in taking this step, we intend to exert our best in restoring peace and order in North China as speedily as possible with a view to promoting the welfare of the people in this part of China. We desire also to make it clear that our troops have no intention of using force inside the walled town of Peiping unless the Chinese troops remaining there should try to challenge the Japanese troops, thereby precipitating an armed clash.

It goes without saying that, recognizing the rights and interests of foreign nationals

in China, we will try our best to accord adequate protection to the lives and property of the foreign nationals and, last but not least important, take this opportunity of affirming that we entertain absolutely no territorial designs on North China even if we take necessary military actions for the punishment of the recalcitrant Chinese troops.

一三、天津空爆ニ對シテ情報部長談話（七月二十日）

三六

The Japanese air force in Tientsin bombed Chinese positions in and about the city at 2:30 p.m. yesterday. Prior to taking the action the following statement was issued by Consul-General Mr. Horrichi.

"Since last night the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps as well as the regulars with bases at the Municipal Office, the Bureau of Public Safety, Peining Park in Tientsin and Palitai in the vicinity of the city, continuously bombarded the Japanese Concession. To meet the exigency, the Japanese force had no other choice except bombing, in self-defence, those Chinese bases of attack. The Japanese Army has not the slightest intention of giving any harm to the Chinese people themselves. Under the Boxer Protocol, the Chinese regulars are prohibited to enter within 20 Chinese li of the city of Tientsin."

Simultaneously with the bombing of other Chinese bases of attack against the Japanese Concession in Tientsin, our air force bombed the head office building of the Peining Railway and the Nankai University. In this case, also, the Japanese action was entirely forced by the ruthless bombarding by the Chinese forces against the Japanese Concession where thousands of Japanese and Chinese non-combatants as well as refugees from other districts live.

The Nankai University had been occupied by the Chinese Independent 26th Brigade who had come from the direction of Palitai and converted that institute of learning into a base of abominable offence against the peaceful residents of the Concession. As to the Peining Railway Head Office, it had been occupied by the troops of the 38th Division who had driven out all employees of the office. The Chinese used these edifices as bases of bombardment aimed particularly at the Concession, which could be stopped only by instant bombing in order to save the lives and property of the people. The Japanese action was therefore a perfectly self-defensive measure taken in an extreme emergency.

十四支那軍北上状況ニ關スル情報部長談話(八月二日)

TROOP MOVEMENTS AND SHIPMENTS NORTHWARDS OF MILITARY SUPPLIES FROM NANKING.

According to the latest reports from Nanking, it appears that since the beginning of the Incident altogether some 4,000 non-commissioned officers in the Central Military Academy of that city have gone north, while students of the Infantry School and the Artillery School have been sent back to their original regiments and the students of the Military Staff College have been either sent back to their original regiments or assigned to different regiments. There is no sign that the artillery corps has been mobilized. As to the 87th and the 88th Divisions stationed in the Nanking, Soochow, and Hanchow areas, their movements are not clear.

During the past ten days considerable munitions and military supplies have been shipped to North China by the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, all employees of the Pukow Station across the River having been mobilized to handle the traffic. Ordinary freight service on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway is almost at a standstill owing to the shipments of military

supplies. At least the following shipments from Pukow by the Tientsin-Pukow Railway were noted by eyewitnesses:

July 19—23. 1,000 infantry rifles; several infantry guns; machinery and material for engineering corps, shipped from Pukow as well as from the Army Freight Station at Shankuan, Nanking; 3 army trucks; 3 truck-loads of cartridges and what seemed like explosives for artillery corps; 3 truck-loads of carrier pigeons; and 7 truck-loads of automobile tires.

July 24—28. Several hundred cases of rifles, each case containing 30-40 rifles; 6 truck-loads of ammunition; 3 truck-loads of carrier-pigeons; 8 truck-loads of gasoline; and unidentified goods in 35 freight cars, bearing red labels on which was inscribed the characters, "Danger."

July 29—30. More than a dozen small-size tanks; flour in more than twenty cars; 12 motor ambulances; 3 truck-loads of tents; more than 100 special service corps men, together with 10 horses and 6 carloads of fodder; 5 or 6 car-loads of masks and other articles.

July 31. 7 cars carrying aeroplane bodies.

一五、天津治安維持會設立ニ關スル情報部長談話(八月二日)

五〇

THE FOREIGN OFFICE RECEIVED ON THE NIGHT OF AUGUST 1 THE
FOLLOWING REPORT FROM CONSUL-GENERAL
HORIOCHI AT TIENTSIN.

位體力所
ルニ今

"Since July 29 a movement for the formation in the Tientsin municipality of a commission for maintenance of peace and order was progressing with Mr. Shen Tung-wu and other influential Chinese as guiding spirits. Mr. Kao Lin-mei, an elderly and influential Chinese of the locality was chosen for the post of chairman of the projected commission for maintenance of peace and order in Tientsin. Mr. Kao is now deliberating with his colleagues for the formal inauguration of the commission at the Kuomih Hotel in the French Concession.

Members of the commission are to be chosen in the proportion of 5 members from commercial and industrial circles and 5 members from local gentry. Those representing commercial and industrial circles are: Mr. Wan Hsiao-yen (Director of the Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the native Bankers Association), Mr. Wan Chu-lin (Chairman of the Tientsin Chamber of Commerce), Mr. Chin Yi-tang (Executive Director of the

Chamber of Commerce), Mr. Chang Che-chou (Inspector of the Chamber of Commerce), and Mr. Chao Ping-ching (Chief Inspector of the Chamber of Commerce).

The members representing the local gentry are:—

Mr. Liu Yi-shu (formerly Director of Public Safety Department of Tientsin Municipal Government), Mr. Sung Jung-yü (formerly chief secretary of Tientsin Municipal Government), Mr. Nin Chun-shan (Member of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council), Mr. Fang Jo (Influential Member of the Chinese Community in the Japanese Concession), and Mr. Shen Tung-wu (Lieutenant-General).

The Commission for Maintenance of Peace and Order in Tientsin is to handle urgent matters regarding the stabilization of peace in the city including the distribution of provisions and other materials and restoration of communications in conjunction with the Chinese police service when the latter regains its functions."

五1

一六、通州事件ニ關スル情報部長發表(八月二日)

According to official report received on the night of July 31, the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps at Tungchow who rebelled against the government and massacred the Japanese refugees and residents numbered approximately 3,000. They carried trench mortars, incendiary shells, and machine-guns.

At the end of June this year, the number of Japanese who were living there was 338, of whom 151 were from Japan Proper and 187 were from Chosen. Only about fifty out of this 338 escaped death as they remained within the army barracks.

The attackers surrounded the Japanese army barracks at 4:00 a. m. on July 29 and at the same time they made surprise attacks against the East Hopei government building, the Japanese Military Special Service Mission and the branch of the police station, the last named being set on fire and all Japanese policemen and their families killed, excepting the wife and child of one policeman.

一七、保定治安維持會ニ對スル情報部長談話(八月二日)

(Official report)

A local Peace Preservation Committee is reported to have been organized at 2:00 p.m. on July 30, and ready to begin its activities from the following day.

According to an official report, Mr. Chian Chao Tsung became chairman of the Committee, assisted by Mr. Leng Chia-chi and 5 other Committee men. The Committee is composed of 5 subcommittees, namely, social, peace preservation, financial, communication, and cultural.

As to the details of administration, they are being considered by the Committee men. It is understood that Japanese advisers are to assist the subcommittees for the smooth performance of the necessary task.

一八 通州事件ニ對スル情報部長談話（八月四日）

四四

The latest official report received from Tungechow, contains the following details of the unspeakable atrocities committed by the rebellious Chinese Peace Preservation Corps of the East Hopei Government.

1. Of the 380 Japanese residents of the city, only 120 were refugees in the Japanese military barracks; 150-60 bodies have been recovered, while the actual number of the killed is expected to total 180, or even 200.
2. Most of the refugees were wounded, some quite seriously, attesting to the bitter and desperate resistance put up by the Japanese.
3. The Chinese had planned to slaughter the entire Japanese population, including women and children. Most of the women were carried off and detained and maltreated for 24 hours before they were murdered outside the eastern gate, whither they were dragged, with their hands and feet bound, or their noses and throats pierced through with wire. Their bodies were thrown into a pond nearby; in some cases, the faces were mutilated by smearing a powerful poison upon them.
4. The Chinese robbed every personal belonging of those whom they massacred, and completely looted all the Japanese residences.

四四

下九一 支那中央軍ノ北上状況ニ對スル情報部長談話 (八月七日)
 MOVEMENT OF THE CHINESE CENTRAL ARMIES (AUGUST 7)
 IN SOUTHEASTERN HOPEI AND SHANTUNG.

The forces under the direct command of the headquarters of the 20th Division of the 3rd Route Army, together with the 87th Brigade which had been in Tehchow, moved to Tsinanfu.
 The 87th Brigade stationed in Pingyuan moved to Tsangchow in three days beginning on August 4.
 The 85th Brigade in Tungchang is moving to Tsinanfu and thence to eastern Shantung.
 The 4th Division of the Central Army has entered Tehchow to replace the forces left for Tsinanfu.
 The Central Army forces now concentrated about Tsangchow are four divisions, namely, the 167th, 168th the 114th and 115th Divisions under General Yi Hsueh-chung.

89
92
88

二〇一 中央軍ノ津浦線ニヨル北上状況ニ對スル情報部長談話 (八月九日)
 The northward movements of the Chinese Central Armies along the Tientsin-Pukou Railway as of August 9.

- In Hopei Province:
1. At Machan (about 80 kilometres south of Tientsin),
 - a. The 85th Division.
 - b. (The 88th Division of the 29th Army under Chang Tsu-chung.)
 2. At Tsangchow:
 The 39th Division.
 3. At Tsaochiang and its neighbourhood:
 The 31st Division.
- According to the statement of General Han Fu-chu, concentration in Hopei Province of four divisions including a part of the 29th Army has been completed.
- In Shantung:
1. At Tehchow:
 The 23rd Division.

四六

General Han Fu-chu stated that it has been planned to concentrate two divisions in and around Tsangchow.

2. At Yenchou:

The 21st Division.

In the province of Shantung there are already four divisions of the Shantung Army, namely, the 20th, 22nd, 74th and 81st Divisions.

In Kiangsu:

In the neighbourhood of Hsuechow are the following divisions: the 17th, 2nd, 61st, 77th and 97th Divisions.

In addition to the forces, the Nanking authorities are fast advancing their armies toward the Peiping-Tientsin area from the direction of Suiyuan and Shansi.

二二、北京入城部隊司令聲明中ノ「政治干與」問題ニ對スル
情報部長説明（八月九日）

1. Although the Japanese military authorities handle political matters in Peiping, they are doing so only as a temporary measure to fill the gap created by the complete collapse of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, most of whose responsible members, including the chairman, have left their posts. The unsettled conditions in Peiping following the recent clashes call for effectual measures from competent authorities for a speedy restoration of peace and tranquility, and a few remaining members of the Hopei-Chahar Council are entirely incompetent to meet the requirements of the present situation. I wish to add that the newly created Chinese Commission for Maintenance of Peace and Order there has not yet been firmly organized to function satisfactorily.

四六

50

90
Statement of the Peace Preservation Corps
三三、上海ニ於ケル大山中尉殺害事件ニ對スル外務當局發表
The Peace Preservation Corps Report (August 10, 1937)

(August 10, 1937.)

1. The strained situation now prevailing in Shanghai between the Japanese and Chinese forces is plainly attributable to the murder by the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps of Sub-Lieutenant Oyama and First-class Seaman Saito of the Japanese Naval Landing Party.
2. Sub-Lieutenant Oyama, accompanied by Seaman Saito who drove the automobile, set out to inspect the district (western section of the City where there are valuable Japanese investments) which it was his duty to safeguard as commander of the western outpost. Both of them met brutal death at the hands of the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps on the Extension Road which is under the jurisdiction of the Concession area, Oyama's face having been half crashed with brains protruding and intestines exposed. In his body were discovered eighteen bullet wounds and sword cuts which testify to the dreadful manner in which his body was subjected to unspeakable insult. Saito also met a similar fate.
3. It is easily to be imagined how indignant the members of the Japanese Landing Party felt at this outrage committed on their comrades, and this, moreover, in a place

where all nationals were free to pass. The situation was further aggravated by the persistent provocation of the Chinese forces which greatly menaced the safety of the Concession. To meet the emergency, the Commander of the Landing Party deemed it urgent to strengthen the guard measure and caused a reinforcement of the Landing Party.

4. On the very day of the incident, Consul-General Okamoto saw Mayor Yui of Greater Shanghai and strongly requested the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps and the removal of military works which were quite excessive in their scope and gravely endangered the peace and tranquillity of the City. Finding the request reasonable, Mayor Yui agreed and started to carry it out. However, the distance to which the Chinese forces withdrew was not deemed sufficient to insure safety, and Consul-General Okamoto made further request to Mayor Yui on the 11th that the Chinese forces be withdrawn to the distance judged necessary by military experts. To this Mayor Yui also replied that he would meet the request.

5. Why does there exist a demilitarized zone in Shanghai?

This zone was established following the Shanghai Incident of 1932 with a view to avoiding clashes between the Chinese troops and the foreign garrisons there. The zone is intended to serve as a cordon sanitaire, and no military works or armed forces are allowed there, peace and order being maintained by the Chinese police, or the Peace Preservation

#1

tion Corps. Now, taking advantage of the fact that there is no restriction as to the number or equipments of the police forces, the Chinese have armed them fully so that they differ from the regular troops in no respect, and increased their numbers to 20,000, which means a great menace to the International Settlement. A Joint Commission representing Japan, China, Great Britain, America, France, and Italy is in existence in order to insure the enforcement of the agreement concerning the demilitarized zone.

6. At the request of Consul-General Okamoto the Joint Commission met on the 12th. At this meeting Mr. Okamoto, supported by the representatives of Great Britain, America and other Powers, demanded the Chinese number of the Commission, Mr. O.K. Yui, Mayor of Shanghai, that the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps be withdrawn as had been previously agreed to by Mr. Yui himself. Mr. Yui replied that though as Mayor of Shanghai he had agreed to the withdrawal on the preceding day, he could, as a member of the Commission, do nothing but refuse to accede to the demand. Thus, the efforts failed towards effecting the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps through peaceful negotiations.

7. On the other hand, the Peace Preservation Corps, which had been rapidly reinforced since the 9th, have made formidable warlike preparations, and their first line has advanced

to a point only 150 metres away from the headquarters of the Japanese garrison, creating an extremely dangerous situation.

8. Moreover, the Chinese forces mentioned above are threatening to cut off communication between the Japanese garrison and the Japanese sector of the Settlement. For this reason certain units of the Japanese forces have been sent out to safeguard the lines of communication.

9. In the present circumstances, what is most important is that the Chinese should faithfully observe and carry out the terms of the agreement of 1932 for the cessation of hostilities.

Summary of the Report of the Japanese Liaison
Officer
三十一 大山事件ニ對シテ情報部長説明(八月十一日)

1. The Chinese allege that Sub-Lieutenant Oyama tried to force his way into the Hungjiao airdrome and, on being refused by the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps, drew his pistol, killing one of them. This is entirely untrue.
2. Sub-Lieutenant Oyama was on his way to the Headquarters of the Naval Landing Party from the western outpost (where one company of the marines is stationed) of which he was commander and whose duty it was to safeguard the lives and property of the Japanese in this district. There are in the western district Japanese-owned spinning factories such as the Toyoda-Boseki and Naigaimenka-Boseki. It was quite proper for him to make the necessary inspection of the neighbourhood of the Monument Road where at about 6 p. m. he was shot dead, together with First-class Seaman Saito who was driving the officer's car. Both were in full naval uniform. From the fact that Sub-Lieutenant Oyama did not carry his revolver with him (revolver was later found with his personal belongings at the Headquarters) it is perfectly clear that he was not in a position to pick any quarrel with the Chinese troops. Nor is it likely that he was so reckless as to force his way into the airdrome which was heavily guarded by the Chinese armed with machine-guns. Although

it is true that Saito had his revolver with him, it is clear that he could not make use of it as he was at the wheel of the car. Moreover, Sub-Lieutenant Oyama could not have used Saito's revolver because of the distance separating the seats of the two in the car. It is very evident, therefore, that both Oyama and Saito were murdered by the Chinese troop without the least provocation on their part.

3. The motor-car was discovered off the main road, at about 300 metres from the gate of the airdrome, with more than 50 marks of small-calibre bullets as well as several larger holes (including those of trench mortars) on all four sides. The driver's seat was flooded with blood and Oyama was found lying dead outside the car. Chinese troops were massed in the vicinity.

4. A formal joint inquiry held on the 10th established the fact that both Oyama and Saito were murdered by the Chinese immediately after fire was concentrated upon them, the first bullets which pierced their faces proving fatal. Oyama received, however, more than 18 wounds by bayonets and swords. Apparently the Chinese hit his head with the butts of their rifles and dragged him from the car after which they thrust fixed bayonets into his body. Part of his intestines was laid bare and a hole large enough to pass a fist through was dug into his heart. Saito was also killed outright by the first shot but was later subjected to similar unspeakable atrocities. It is said that the Chinese used dum-dum

附四

bullets. Both men were completely robbed of their possessions, including sword, shoes and wrist watches—a conduct most unbecoming of soldiers in a regular army. When Japanese and Chinese troops face each other and untoward incidents happen, chances are that they are always perpetrated by these ill-disciplined Chinese soldiery.

#K

5. In order to avoid the extension of fighting to Central and South China, the Japanese Government have been taking a most cautious and peaceful attitude in Shanghai. But the Chinese have established strong positions around the Japanese Concession menacing its safety. Moreover, they have been inciting anti-Japanese sentiment of the mass so that Japanese residents, women as well as children of tender age, have been subjected to various molestations. Now the Japanese are not able to purchase even their daily provisions.

6. It is said that the policing of Monument Road which is an Extra-Settlement road has been illegally taken over by the Chinese. It is still a pending issue. However, if the Chinese have assumed the right to police the section under discussion it is clear that they should assume full responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order there. If they are merely illegally occupying the said section, it must be said that the Chinese are seriously interfering with the peace and order of that locality which gravely concerns the welfare of the foreign, and particularly, Japanese residents in Shanghai.

7. Since both Sub-Lieutenant Oyama and Seaman Saito were on their duty, they are entitled, by law, to the right of extraterritoriality.]

#K

二四 上海支那側空爆ニ對スル外務省情報部長談(英文)

(八月十四日)

DECLARATION BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU,

AUGUST 14, 1937.

It is with feelings of intense horror and distress that the Japanese nation has learned the news of the indiscriminate bombing of Shanghai by the Chinese air force. When it was learned that the Chinese Government had warned all foreigners, except Japanese, to evacuate the Hongkew area, the Japanese forces certainly were prepared for an attack. They were ready to fulfill their duty and the mission they had been entrusted with—to protect the lives and the property of Japanese residing legally and peacefully on Chinese soil—and to pursue their cooperation with the forces of the friendly Powers in keeping Shanghai free from the insecurity and disorder rampant in other parts of China.

Time and again, the Japanese have had the bitter experience of seeing the Chinese soldiery, roused to fierce anti-foreign frenzy, running out of hand. The Boxer Rebellion, and nearer to our times, the Nanking and Tsinan outrages, had warned us of what to

expect when foreign power was not there to prevent them from plying their will on helpless foreign victims.

We had hoped that the much-ranted "modern" troops of the Nanking Government would show a fuller measure of discipline, but could not refrain from expressing our misgivings that they might still run true to pattern, especially as we knew how the flame of anti-Japanese sentiments was being fanned by both the Chinese fascists and their recent allies, the agents of the Comintern. Our fears, alas, were but too well-founded. We were prepared to repulse onslaughts on our forces, but truly we were not prepared to witness the massacre of innocent Chinese refugees by Chinese bombs, the wanton destruction of foreign property that had helped to build the wealth of China, the slaughter of the foreign friends of the Chinese people by airplanes of the Chinese Government.

Consternation and sorrow is in the hearts of the Japanese people—sorrow and also a rightful indignation for the attempt to wreck our helpless brethren of Shanghai,—amongst whom were thousands of refugees driven from their homes on the Upper Yangtze River,—fanatic fury in possession of modern means of destruction.

The world will recognize that Japan has shown the greatest restraint and moderation in the recent events. She has done her utmost to minimize the effects of unoward hap-

penings, but on each occasion, her efforts have been thwarted by the prejudiced and disorderly attitude of the Chinese. Lukowchiao was practically settled the next day. Nanking interfered. The Chinese troops got out of hand. The Hungjiao affair was being discussed. Now Nanking troops enter Shanghai and her planes bomb the Settlement. Japan stands for order. She will insist on the protection of her citizen's legitimate rights. She is conscious of her duty to her friends and to those who put their trust in her. Her troops, if necessary, will fight for it reluctantly but without flinching.

*O

一五 上海支那側空爆ニ對スル外務省情報部長談(佛文)

(八月十四日)

DÉCLARATION DE DIRECTEUR DU BUREAU D'INFORMATIONS,
MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES.

C'est avec des sentiments d'intense horreur et de détresse que la nation japonaise a appris la nouvelle du bombardement de Shanghai par les forces aériennes chinoises. Lorsque nous avons connu l'avertissement donné par le gouvernement chinois à tous les étrangers, sauf les japonais, d'avoir à évacuer le quartier de Hongkew, les forces japonaises s'attendaient à être attaquées. Elles étaient prêtes à faire leur devoir et à remplir la mission qui leur était confiée—protéger la vie et les biens des japonais résidant légalement et en paix sur le territoire chinois—et à poursuivre leur coopération avec les forces des Puissances amies en vue de préserver Shanghai de l'insécurité et du désordre que sont chose courante dans les autres parties de la Chine.

Les Japonais ont maintes fois eu l'occasion de voir la soldatesque chinoise, animée d'une féroce haine de l'étranger, échapper à toute discipline. La révolte des Boxers et, plus près de nous, les massacres de Nankin et de Tsinan, nous ont appris ce que nous pouvions

*1

en attendre lorsque la force des armes n'était pas présente pour les empêcher d'exercer leur volonté sur leurs victimes étrangères sans défense.

Nous avions espéré que les troupes "modernes" si hautement vantées du Gouvernement de Nankin auraient un sens plus développé de la discipline, mais ne pouvions toutefois nous défendre d'une certaine appréhension qu'elles ne soient restées sur ce point semblables leurs aînées, d'autant plus que nous n'ignorions pas qu'une intense agitation contre le Japon avait été menée parmi elles par les nationalistes et leurs récents alliés, les agents de l'Internationale moscovite.

Nos craintes, hélas, n'étaient que trop fondées. Nous étions préparés à devoir repousser des attaques contre nos forces, mais nous n'étions pas, à la vérité, préparés à voir des réfugiés chinois massacrés par des bombes chinoises, des biens étrangers, qui ont aidé à créer la fortune de la Chine, brutalement détruits, ni à assister au meurtre des amis étrangers de la Chine par des avions du gouvernement chinois.

Le cœur de la nation japonaise est rempli de consternation et de tristesse—mais aussi d'une juste indignation devant le spectacle d'une fureur fanatique, armée des moyens de destruction les plus modernes, s'exerçant sur nos frères, parmi lesquels se trouvent des milliers de réfugiés du Haut Yangtsé qui ont dû abandonner leur foyers devant l'animosité chinoise.

Le monde entier reconnaîtra que le Japon a témoigné de la plus grande modération et de la plus profonde patience au cours des derniers événements. Il a fait son possible pour réduire la portée d'incidents douloureux, mais, chaque fois, ses efforts ont été frustrés par la mauvaise foi et l'indiscipline des chinois. L'affaire de Lukouchiao était pratiquement réglée le lendemain même : Nankin intervint, les troupes chinoises débordèrent leurs chefs. Celle de Hungjiao était l'objet de pourparlers : les troupes de Nankin investissent Shanghai et ses avions bombardent les Concessions.

Le Japon désire le maintien de l'ordre. Il exige que les droits légitimes de ses ressortissants soient respectés. Il est conscient de ce qu'il doit à ses amis et à ceux qui ont mis en lui leur confiance. Pour remplir ce devoir, ses troupes, s'il le faut, combattront—à regret, mais sans fléchir.

二六、上海ニ於ケル戦鬪忌避希望ニ對スル情報部長談話

(八月十六日)

The indiscriminate wholesale bombing by Chinese aeroplanes have not only inflicted heavy casualties upon innocent Chinese themselves but also resulted in considerable casualties among the foreigners in the French Concession and in the International Settlement.

The misfortunes of the foreign population in Shanghai have given rise to protests against making Shanghai a theatre of war. It is argued that Japan, regardless of who started the conflict, should refrain from conducting military operations in and around the city,—namely she is asked to abandon her present base of defense operation in order to rescue Shanghai foreign quarters from further calamities.

The grievances of the foreigners are quite understandable, but their protest to Japan is wide of the mark. It was exactly to avoid such disastrous developments that at the time of the Oyama incident Japan exercised utmost patience and restraint and proposed the withdrawal of Chinese troops to a safe distance. But the Chinese rejected the proposal and invaded the Settlement. The Japanese civilian population in Shanghai, swollen with refugees from inland cities, now number over 30,000. In order to protect the lives and

property of our nationals there, it is obviously impossible for our naval forces to abandon their positions. How are they to protect the 30,000 Japanese, including women and children, from sure death and destruction at the hands of the lawless Chinese troops? This very morning (August 16), when the Chinese airplanes passed over the French Concession, the French garrison opened fire in self-defence upon them with anti-air guns, it is reported. That is exactly what the Japanese naval forces are doing.

In the 30th Incident of 1927 it was an infuriated mob of anti-British demonstrators who invaded the International Settlement. The Municipal Council took forceful measures to suppress that disturbance, and not a word was said about the moral or legal responsibilities of the British in the matter. At that time, Britain sent 17,000 men to protect her interests and the Settlement. It now happens to be large forces of Chinese regular troops who are attacking the Settlement, with the Japanese as their objective. The two cases do not differ except in scope, and Japan cannot be held responsible for what damages Chinese have caused, or may cause hereafter.

Again, further back in 1925, the Shamen Incident was purely a battle between the British and the Cantonese. The French and the Japanese and other nationals on the island suffered frightfully, but no one lodged complaint with the British authorities on that account. Why then should Japan be made a target of protests in similar circumstances now?

K#

二七、帝國政府第二次聲明（八月十五日）

六六

帝國夙ニ東亞永遠ノ平和ヲ冀念シ、日支兩國ノ親善提携ニ力ヲ效セルコト久シキニ及ヘリ、然ルニ南京政府ハ排日抗日ヲ以テ國論昂揚ト政權強化ノ具ニ供シ、自國國力ノ過信ト帝國ノ實力輕視ノ風潮ト相俟テ、更ニ赤化勢力ト苟合シテ反日侮日愈々甚シク、以テ帝國ニ敵對セントスルノ氣運ヲ醸成セリ、近年幾度カ惹起セル不祥事件何レモ之ニ因由セサルナシ、今次事變ノ發端モ亦此ノ如キ氣勢カ其ノ爆發點ヲ偶々永定河畔ニ選ヒタルニ過キス、通州ニ於ケル神人共ニ許ササル殘虐事件ノ因由亦茲ニ發ス、更ニ中南支ニ於テハ支那側ノ挑戰的行動ニ起因シ帝國臣民ノ生命財產既ニ危殆ニ瀕シ我居留民ハ多年營々トシテ建設セル安住ノ地ヲ涙ヲ吞ンテ遂ニ一時撤退スルノ己ムナキニ至レリ。

顯ミレハ事變發生以來屢々聲明シタル如ク、帝國ハ隱忍ニ隱忍ヲ重ネ事件ノ不擴大ヲ方針トシ、努メテ平和的且局地的ニ處理セントコトヲ企圖シ、平津地方ニ於ケル支那軍屢次ノ挑戰及不法行為ニ對シテモ、我カ支那駐屯軍ハ交通線ノ確保及我カ居留民保護ノ爲メ眞ニ己ムヲ得サル自衛行動ニ出テタルニ過キス、而モ帝國政府ハ夙ニ南京政府ニ對シテ挑戰的言動ノ即時停止ト

現地解決ヲ妨害セサル様注意ヲ喚起シタルニモ拘ラス南京政府ハ我カ勸告ヲ聽カサルノミナラス却テ益々我方ニ對シ戰備ヲ整ヘ、嚴存ノ軍事協定ヲ破リテ顧ミルコトナク、軍ヲ北上セシメテ我カ支那駐屯軍ヲ脅威シ、又漢口、上海ソノ他ニ於テハ兵ヲ集メテ愈々挑戰的態度ヲ露骨ニシ上海ニ於テハ遂ニ我ニ向ツテ砲火ヲ開キ帝國軍艦ニ對シテ爆撃ヲ加フルニ至レリ。

此ノ如ク支那側カ帝國ヲ輕侮シ不法暴虐至ラサルナク全支ニ互ル我カ居留民ノ生命財產危殆ニ陥ルニ及ンテハ、帝國トシテハ最早隱忍ノノ限度ニ達シ、支那軍ノ暴戾ヲ膺懲シ以テ南京政府ノ反省ヲ促ス爲メ斷乎タル措置ヲトルノ已ムナキニ至レリ。

此ノ如キハ東洋平和ヲ念願シ日支ノ共存共榮ヲ翹望スル帝國トシテ衷心ヨリ遺憾トスル所ナリ、然レトモ帝國ノ庶幾スル所ハ日支ノ提携ニ在リ、コレカタメ支那ニオケル排外抗日運動ヲ根絶シ今次事變ノ如キ不祥事發生ノ根因ヲ免除スルト共ニ日滿支三國間ノ融和提携ノ實ヲ擧ゲントスルノ外他意ナク、固ヨリ毫末モ領土の意圖ヲ有スルモノニアラス、又支那國民ヲシテ抗日ニ踴ラシメツツアル南京政府及國民黨ノ覺醒ヲ促サントスルモ、無辜ノ一般大衆ニ對シテハ何等敵意ヲ有スルモノニアラス且列國權益ノ尊重ニハ最善ノ努力ヲ惜マサルヘキハ言ヲ俟タサル所ナリ。

六七

STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT
DATED AUGUST 15TH, 1937.

The Imperial Japanese Government, in its desire to secure permanent peace in East Asia, has always striven to promote friendship and cooperation between Japan and China. However, an atmosphere of hostility towards Japan has been created throughout China by anti-Japanese agitations used as an instrument by the Nanking Government to arouse public opinion and to enhance its own political power. The Chinese, over-confident of their national strength, contemptuous of our power, and also in league with the Communists, have assumed toward Japan an increasingly arrogant and insulting attitude. Herein lies the cause of all untoward events which have arisen repeatedly during recent years.

The present Incident is but the inevitable outcome of this situation. Dynamite had been ignited; the inevitable explosion merely happened to occur on the banks of the Yunnan. The terrible Tungchow massacre is also traceable to the same cause. In South and Central China, Japanese lives and property have been so jeopardized that our people have been compelled to evacuate, abandoning everything they had acquired after years of incessant toil.

As has been frequently declared since the outbreak of the present Incident, the Japanese Government, exercising utmost patience and restraint, have steadfastly pursued a policy of non-aggravation of the situation, and has endeavoured to reach a settlement locally and in a peaceful manner. In the Peiping and Tientsin area, our Garrison, in the face of countless Chinese provocations and lawless actions, has done no more than was absolutely necessary to secure lines of communications and to protect Japanese nationals there.

On the other hand, our Government advised the Nanking Government to put an immediate stop to all provocative acts and to refrain from obstructing the negotiations being conducted on the spot. The Nanking Government not only refused to follow our counsel, but proceeded toward the completion of war-like preparations against us. In flagrant violation of solemn military agreements, the Chinese moved vast armies northward, menacing our Garrison, and concentrated troops in and around Shanghai. Their provocative attitude became more clearly defined at Hankow. Finally at Shanghai, the Chinese opened fire upon our Naval Headquarters and bombed our warships from the air.

In this manner have the Chinese insulted our Government, committed acts of undeniable atrocity against our country, and gravely endangered the lives and property of our nationals throughout China. They have finally exhausted the patience of the Japanese Government. It has thus become imperative to take drastic measures in order to chastise

the lawless Chinese troops and to impress upon the Nanking Government the necessity for reconsideration of its attitude toward Japan.

That matters should have come to this pass is deeply deplored by the Japanese Government which earnestly desires the maintenance of peace in the Orient and sincerely hopes for the attainment of common prosperity and public welfare in Japan and China. The aim of the Japanese Government is none other than the realization of Sino-Japanese cooperation. Their only desire is to eradicate the anti-foreign and anti-Japanese movement rampant in China, and completely to eliminate the fundamental causes of unfortunate incidents such as the present one, with a view to bringing about truly harmonious collaboration among Japan, Manchoukuo and China.

Needless to say, the Japanese Government harbours no territorial designs. Its sole intention is to bring to reason the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang Party, both of which have persistently incited anti-Japanese sentiments among the Chinese people. The Japanese bear no ill-will toward the innocent Chinese masses. In conclusion we hereby state that the Japanese Government will spare no efforts in safeguarding foreign rights and interests in China.

40

二八、北支事變ニ關シ「ドッツ」英國代理大使
堀内次官來訪ニ關スル件（八月十九日）

十八日「ドッツ」在京英國代理大使堀内次官ヲ外務省ニ來訪、本國政府ノ訓令ニ基ク趣ヲ以テ現下ノ上海問題ニ關シ、「日支双方ニ於テ上海地方ヨリ兵力ヲ撤收スルコトニ同意スルニ於テハ英國ハ他ノ諸國ト共ニ上海在住ノ日本人保護ヲ引受クル用意アル旨」ヲ申入レタリ。
右ニ對シ帝國政府ハ慎重考慮ヲ加ヘタル結果十九日堀内次官ハ同代理大使ノ來訪ヲ求メ要旨左ノ如キ回答ヲ爲シタリ。

曩ニ英、米、獨、佛、伊五ヶ國ノ大使ヨリ本件ノ平和的解決ニ付提案アリタル際モ帝國政府ハ右提案ニ付篤ト好意的考慮ヲ加ヘタルニ拘ラス支那側ニ於テハ何等具體的意思表示ヲ爲スコトナカリシノミナラス益々我方ニ對スル不法攻撃ノ手ヲ強メ、現ニ在留日本人ノ生命財産ハ非常ナル危険ニ曝露サレツアルハ御承知ノ通りナリ、帝國政府トシテハ之等多數ノ居留民保護ニ付自ら重大ナル責務ヲ感スル次第ニシテ此ノ際居留民保護ノ責任ヲ外國ニ委託スル譯ニ行カサルコトヲ諒

七一

トセラレタシ、然レトモ帝國トシテハ租界内ニ於ケル内外人ノ生命財産ノ安全ヲ顧念スル、列國ニ劣ルモノニ非ス。

七一

今次上海事件發生ノ最大原因ハ支那側カ一九三二年ノ停戰協定ヲ無視シ正規軍及之ト同様ノ武装ヲ爲シ我方ニ對シ敵對行動ヲ執ル保安隊ヲ協定區域内ニ侵入セシメ我方ニ脅威ヲ與ヘ居ル點ニアリ、此ノ見地ヨリ帝國ハ之等正規軍及保安隊カ一九三二年協定ノ區域外ニ撤退シ一日モ速ニ戰闘ノ中止ヲレンコトヲ切望スル次第ナリ、就テハ之カ實現ノ爲關係列國殊ニ停戰協定ノ成立ニ盡力セラレタル友好國ニ於テ其ノ有メル「インフルエンス」ヲ支那側ニ加ヘラレンコトヲ希望スルモノナリ。

August, 1937.

The citizens and Consular officials of certain countries who criticize Japan in respect to the present situation in Shanghai are heaping coal on the wrong head. It is the Chinese who deserve the fire of denunciation. The Chinese Regulars—50,000 strong, swept down upon the 26,000 Japanese non-combatants and started to undo the appalling carnage of July 29 perpetrated at Tungchow. And then, when a detachment of Japanese Marines

was sent to protect the defenseless, the Chinese turned their fury upon them.

The responsibility for the present Shanghai conflict and its ghastly consequences, therefore, rests entirely upon the shoulders of the Chinese. The Japanese marines are functioning merely to safeguard the lives and properties of the defenceless non-combatants. Nevertheless, the misguided foreign commentators talk as if Japan were to blame for the entire catastrophe.

When a man is living under a heavy mental strain, he is liable to form unfair or distorted views. The sufferings to which innocent foreigners at Shanghai were subjected by the wild indiscriminate Chinese bombardments upon the International Settlement and the French Concession may well cause these commentators to misjudge the situation. What these people should realize—and do under ordinary circumstances—is that in a country like China, many unthinkable things are liable to occur—things that cannot be measured by the basic standards of international law and procedure.

They know also that Japan is not the first, nor the only country to take a defensive action in the International Settlement. Only a few days ago, on August 14, the French garrison troops at Shanghai were compelled to open fire in self-defence upon the Chinese planes flying over their Concession, where Chinese bombs had killed 1,444 and maimed 326 non-combatants.

七一

About ten years ago, a Chinese mob surged into the International Settlement to attack British residents there. At the time, the British authorities bringing their police power into play, opened retaliatory fire on the Chinese at the most congested spot—the Nanking Road in the Settlement. They needed to use only the police force because the disturbance subsided in a little while, but if it had continued longer, they unquestionably would have resorted to military operations as they did during the Wanhsien and the Nanking Incidents.

We may cite still another example. In 1925, the strong anti-British movement which had started in China, resulted in the bombardment of the British Settlement located at a small island called Shamen at Canton. This Shamen is the locale of the French Settlement as well as that of British. This French Settlement, because of the attack made on the British, was compelled to take a united front against the Chinese. The bridge connecting these Settlements with the Chinese quarters was closed and the two nationals worked for common defense behind barbed wires, which can still be seen today.

As a result of this united action, many foreigners in the Settlements, including Japanese, were injured. Yet there was no one who wanted to criticize the British authorities because of it.

The people who would pass judgment upon the present activities of the Japanese marines should consider these cases. Otherwise, their views and comments may become

the hammerstroke to break down the very foundation upon which rests the security of foreign lives and property in China.

While the Japanese Marines are suffering from the adverse and misguided criticism, the Japanese residents in the International Settlement are suffering from a lack of police protection.

The police in the International Settlement are functioning under command of the Municipal Council. This Municipal Council, on the 17th, withdrew the police, despite Japanese protest, from the eastern sector of the Settlement, gravely endangering the safety of the Japanese residents who constitute the great majority of foreigners in the area.

The Japanese are the rate-payers of long standing. Moreover, having representatives in the Municipal Council, they had contributed a great deal toward the promotion of peace and order as well as the prosperity and welfare of all the nationals in the Settlement. It is difficult to believe that they should be thus denied the right to protection. Especially so, when the Consuls of the 24 countries, excluding Japan, had secretly been warned to evacuate the area. Such conduct would give the impression as though the Municipal Council were taking the side of the Chinese. On the other hand, this action seems to have been interpreted by the Chinese as a willingness of the Powers to abandon their rights in the Settlement. Cannot their open declaration that they willoust the Japanese from the

Settlement and their heavy shelling of this area have been prompted by this view? Can it not awaken among the extremists dangerous hopes for a general seizure of the foreign concessions in the near future?

Fortunately, this unfriendly, to say the least, measure of the S.M.C. was partly rectified. The Municipal Council this morning reached a compromise to the effect that they will continue to maintain police sub-stations in Yulin, Wayside and Yangtzepoo roads, where regular police will be on duty and patrol a fixed area on motorcycles from early in the morning until 7 o'clock p.m., leaving the protection of the sector for the night solely in the hands of the Japanese.

This is better than nothing. But it should be recalled that, on the very night of the 17th after the withdrawal of the Municipal police, the area in question was invaded by a large Chinese force amounting to one brigade, and it was only after more than sixteen hours of fighting against overwhelming odds that the Japanese Marines were able to drive away the Chinese.

中

二九 支那側検閲ノ不法振ニ關スル情報部長談話

(八月二十五日)

CHINESE CENSORS MANIPULATE DISPATCHES OF FOREIGN
CORRESPONDENTS.

Chinese censors are again manipulating the text of dispatches of foreign correspondents in Shanghai and elsewhere.

Mr. Abend who was hurt by the Chinese bomb which fell upon the Sincere Department Store described the incident in a cable dispatch to the N. Y. Times. As an eye-witness, he reported that he saw the bomb drop from a Chinese airplane which came flying from a south-easterly direction at an altitude of about 4,000 metres, and that both the local British and American authorities have similarly recognized the fact.

Mr. Abend further reported the fact that the Japanese aeroplanes did not fly over that district and that Japan's bombing planes, strictly observing the declaration made a short while ago, absolutely have not flown over the International Settlement south of the Szechow River.

中

78
This dispatch of Mr. Abend was so altered by the Chinese censors, that it was made to appear that it was the Japanese plane that dropped the bomb which killed and injured hundreds of innocent civilians, including Mr. Abend. Mr. Abend soon discovered the Chinese manipulation and managed to send another article describing the above fact by mail via Hong-Kong.
It may be recalled that the Chinese bomb which hurt Mr. Abend inflicted a mortal wound to his colleague, Mr. Bilingham whose condition is reported almost hopeless.

三〇、中南支沿岸ニ於ケル支那船舶ノ交通遮断ニ關スル
外務省發表(八月二十六日)

帝國ハ我軍隊ニ對スル支那軍ノ不法攻撃並ニ在支邦人ノ生命財産及我權益ニ對スル支那軍ノ不正ノ侵迫ニ對シ自衛手段ヲ執ルヲ餘儀ナクセラレタカ當初ヨリ局面ヲ最小範圍ニ限定センコトヲ念トシタ然ルニ支那軍累次ノ暴戾ナル挑戰的行爲ニ依リ事態ハ益々重大ヲ加フルニ至ツタ。
右事態ニ對應シ支那ノ反省ヲ促シ速ニ事態ヲ安定セシメントスル考慮ニ基キ帝國海軍ハ已ムヲ得ス昭和十二年八月二十五日午後六時以降北緯三十二度四分、東經百二十一度四十四分ヨリ北緯二十三度十四分、東經百十六度四十八分ニ至ル支那沿岸ニ對シ支那船舶ノ交通ヲ遮断スルノ措置ヲ執ルニ決シタ然レトモ右ノ措置ハ前記ノ如ク專ラ支那側ノ不法行爲ニ對スル自衛的措置ニ外ナラスシテ帝國海軍ハ第三國ノ平和的通商ヲ尊重シ之ニ干渉ヲ加フルノ企圖ヲ有セサルモノナルコトヲ附言スル。

STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

(August 26, 1937.)

Although Japan has been forced to adopt measures of self-defence in the face of lawless attacks upon her forces by Chinese armies and their wanton disregard of Japanese lives and property and violations of Japan's rights and interests in China, it has always been the desire of the Japanese Government to minimize the scope of the present affair. However, the Chinese armies, by their repeated outrages and provocations, have intensified still further the gravity of the situation.

In these circumstances, with a view to prompting China's reconsideration and to effecting a speedy settlement, the Japanese naval authorities found it necessary to close to traffic of Chinese vessels the Chinese sea coast from 32° 4' north latitude and 121° 44' east longitude, to 23° 14' north latitude and 116° 48' east longitude, beginning at 6:00 p.m., August 25, 1937.

The above measure is solely one of self-defence against the lawless acts of the Chinese, and applies only to Chinese vessels. It may be added that peaceful commerce carried on by the third Powers will be fully respected, the Japanese Navy having no intention of interfering with it.

三十一、「ロノーヴェン」大使射撃事件ニ對スル情報部長談話

(八月二十七日)

It is exceedingly unfortunate that Sir Hugh Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, British Ambassador to China has been seriously injured by a machine-gun bullet from an aeroplane at a point some fifty miles from Shanghai in the afternoon of the 26th when he was on his way by automobile from Nanking to Shanghai.

Upon receipt of this report, the Foreign Minister instructed Ambassador Kawagoe to call immediately on the British Ambassador to tender the expression of his deep sympathy. Consul-General Okamoto at Shanghai also called on the British Acting-Consul General Davidson to express his sympathy.

It is absolutely impossible that Japanese aeroplane should, under any circumstances, shoot purposely at the automobile of the British Ambassador. Facts of the case are now being thoroughly investigated on the spot.

三二、「ロニーゲッセン」大使射撃事件ニ對スル情報部長談話
(八月二十九日)

Release: 3 p.m., August 29th.

The British Chargé d'Affairs, Mr. James Leishman Dods called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Koki Hirota at two o'clock Sunday afternoon at the official residence of the latter, concerning the unfortunate accident in which the British Ambassador to China, Sir Hugh Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen was a victim. The Minister for Foreign Affairs informed Mr. Dods that the matter is now under investigation, jointly carried on by Japanese and British authorities in Shanghai, and that as soon as the fact of the case is made clear, further communication would be made.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs also inquired after the condition of Sir Hugh and expressed his deep sympathy for him in connection with the incident which had occurred.

三三、我外務當局ノ見解 (八月二十九日)

支那側カ今次事變勃發以來帝國ニ對シ度重ナル挑戰行爲ニ出テ乍ラ、今更蘇聯邦トノ間ニ所謂不可侵條約ナルモノヲ締結シ、國際紛争解決ノ爲ニ戰爭ニ訴ヘルコトヲ排撃スル云々ト唱シテ居ルコトハ寧ロ笑止テアル。

「コミンテルン」カ日本ヲ當面ノ敵トシテ準備ヲ進メテキルコトハ一昨年七月ノ「コミンテルン」大會ニ明ニ宣言シテ居ル通テアツテ、「コミンテルン」ハ之ニヨリ東洋平和ヲ攪亂セント企圖シテキルノテアルカ故ニ支那側カ「コミンテルン」ノ魔手ニ踊ラサレルコトハ支那自身ノ爲ニモ又東洋平和ノ爲ニモ最モ好マシカラサル處テアリ、帝國ハ終始一貫之ニ對シ支那側ノ反省ヲ促シテ來タノテアル、然ルニ支那側ハ遂ニ惡夢ヨリ醒ムル能ハス、容共抗日ヲ國是ト爲シ殊ニ西安事件以來ハ完全ニ赤魔ノ藥籠中ノモノトナリ、遂ニ今回ノ如キ條約ノ締結ヲ見ルニ至ツタコトハ支那ノ爲ニ真ニ採ラサル處テアツテ、支那側カ其本然ノ姿ニ還リ、帝國ト相提携シテ東洋ノ和平確立ノ爲貢獻スル日ノ一日モ速ナランコトヲ希望シテ已マナイ次第テアル。

三四、對「ソ」支不可侵條約見解（八月三十日）

八四

China's conclusion of a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union only confirms our belief shared by other peoples abroad that she is being made a tool by the Comintern for the bolshevization of East Asia. Instead of denouncing war as a means of settling international dispute, the Sino-Soviet non-aggression pact is bound to sow further the seeds of international disputes by spreading the doctrines of bolshevization of the world, undermining the peaceful structures of human society. That the Nanking Government has gone down so low morally, in spite of our repeated advices, as to have pledged itself to be a willing tool of the Comintern intrigue is a matter to be deeply deplored for the sake of China herself and of East Asia.

For years Japan has repeatedly warned China against the evident danger of subserving the Comintern. But, blinded by the fanatic zeal of anti-Japanism and pro-Bolshevism, China has clearly placed herself under the manipulating thumb of the Comintern since the Sian Affair. We can not but hope that the Nanking Government, realizing the real destiny of China, will come to understand the value of cooperation with Japan and shake hands with our country for the establishment of a durable and mutually profitable peace in East Asia.

三五、本邦人ノ支那渡航取締（八月三十一日）

從來本邦人ノ支那ニ渡航スルニハ旅券ヲ必要トセス自由テアリマシタカ今次ノ北支事變ノ進展ニ伴ヒ現ニ北支及上海方面ニ於テハ軍事行動進行中ニシテ又其ノ地方ニ於テモ在支邦人ノ生命財産ハ甚大ノ危険ニ曝サルルニ至ツタ結果支那在留本邦人ノ大部分ハ引揚クルノ已ムナキ事態ニ立至リマシタスノ如キ状態ナルニ拘ラス此ノ際從來ノ如ク一般本邦人ヲシテ自由ニ渡支セシムルコトハ在支邦人ノ保護上危険アルノミナラス軍事行動ノ進行シツツアル地方ニ於テハ軍ノ行動上及軍後方地區ノ治安維持上支障ヲ及ホス虞アルヲ以テ此ノ際本邦人ノ支那渡航ニ對シ一定ノ取締ヲ爲スコトト致シマシタ、併シ作ラ業務上家庭上其ノ他正當ナル目的ノ爲至急渡支ヲ必要トスル者ニ對シテハ其ノ渡航ヲ制限スル限リテハアリマセンカラ此ノ種私用ノ爲此ノ際支那ニ渡航セントスル方ニ對シテハ願出ニ依リ本人ノ居住地所轄警察署長ヨリ渡航目的、理由、期間等ヲ記載セル身分證明書ヲ發給シ右證明書ヲ有スル者ニ限り出發港ニ於テ乗船セシムルコトトナリマシタ、次ニ公務ヲ帶ヒ此ノ際支那ニ渡航セラルル方モ乗船ノ際其ノ身分ヲ證明スル爲派遣官公署ノ身分證明書例ヘハ官吏ナラハ其ノ所屬官公署ノ發給シタル身分證明書又市町村ヨリ派遣セラルル

八五

公務員ノ如キハ其ノ市町村長ノ發給シタル身分證明書ノ携帯ヲ必要トシマス、但シ制服着用ノ軍人軍屬ハ身分證明書携帯ノ必要ハアリマセン、尙本取扱方ハ支那現地ノ事態ノ許ス限り可成速ニ之ヲ撤廢スル積リテアリマス。

八六

三六、日本ノ對支政策ト題スル堀内外務次官「ラジオ」演説

(九月二日)

JAPAN'S POLICY TOWARD CHINA

RADIO ADDRESS BY MR. KENSUKE HORINOUCHE, VICE-MINISTER FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
SEPTEMBER 2, 1937.

American Friends:

In the few minutes at my disposal, I wish to speak to you on some of the fundamental aspects of Japan's policy toward China. I do so in the hope that our traditional friends, the people of the United States, with whom we have enjoyed eighty years of unbroken peace and amity, may obtain a better understanding of the present situation in the Far East.

We are as strong in our desire for peace as you are. We believe that a nation should not only be animated by a desire for peace, but should realistically seek to establish those conditions which are essential for the maintenance of peace. This we have always endeavored to do.

八七

It is indeed unfortunate that our patient and persistent efforts toward establishing our relations with China on a firm and friendly basis had to be interrupted by the present conflict. We still hope, however, that we shall be able to come speedily to terms with our next-door neighbor and stabilize our relations to our mutual benefit.

Why, then, have we had to resort to arms? We must emphasize, first, that the expeditionary forces of Japan now in China have been sent there for no aggressive purposes and, secondly, that we have no territorial designs. Our forces are in China to safeguard our legitimate interests, to protect our rights, and to secure the safety of our nationals. These forces will be withdrawn the very moment that their presence is no longer required.

And what, you may ask, necessitated the sending of such forces? In answering this question, let me summarize the main features of the present conflict. I shall first explain the immediate causes of the trouble which prompted our decision to dispatch reinforcements to China, and then the more far-reaching and underlying causes which have aggravated the situation to such serious proportions.

The immediate cause of the present conflict was the firing by Chinese soldiers upon a small unit of our garrison troops which were holding usual night manoeuvres with blank cartridges in the outskirts of Peiping on the night of July 7. As a matter of fact, the troops of all Powers maintaining garrisons in China are entitled to hold these manoeuvres

under the Boxer agreement of 1901 with China. Japan immediately endeavored to minimize this incident by seeking a peaceful local settlement both on the spot and at Nanking through diplomatic channels. Refusing to accept this friendly overture, the Central Government of China at Nanking declared that any settlement concluded locally would not be recognized, and began to rush huge armies to North China. We had hoped, up to the last moment, for a speedy and peaceful settlement of this untoward incident, but, in view of the hostile measures taken by the Nanking Government, we were obliged eventually to take counter-measures so as to avert the danger of a complete wiping out of our garrison and residents in North China; so the Japanese Government decided to send reinforcements.

The theater of conflict has since extended to the densely populated international city of Shanghai, in which live many foreigners and with which are bound up the rights and interests of many countries. Even before the North China Affair, soldiers of the regular Chinese army were filtering into Shanghai under the guise of men belonging to an armed police force known as the Peace Preservation Corps. This was in violation of the 1932 Tyuce Agreement signed by China and Japan and countersigned by the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy. This agreement, made to ensure the security of the International Settlement, provides for a special zone in and around Shanghai within which all and every form of hostile action is prohibited. Wilfully disregarding this arrangement,

40

the Chinese massed huge forces and erected military works around the Japanese quarter of the Settlement, threatening the safety of our thirty thousand residents there. Then, suddenly, the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps murdered an officer and a sailor of our Landing Party, which created a situation fraught with imminent danger.

To cope with any possible emergency, our Government reinforced the small naval force which was enormously outnumbered by the hostile Chinese troops.

Earnestly solicitous as we are of the safety of the lives and property of foreigners as well as of Japanese in and around Shanghai, the Japanese Government has done everything possible to preserve those areas from the disaster of hostilities. Our landing parties were under strict orders to act with the utmost patience, while the Government expressed its readiness to restore them to their original positions provided the Chinese withdrew their forces, which were massed near the International Settlement. Far from withdrawing these troops the Chinese took the offensive against our naval forces and precipitated the hostilities in Shanghai.

I should add that when the atmosphere grew tense, following the murder of our naval men, the Japanese Government, faithful to its declared policy of non-aggravation, ordered the evacuation of our nationals in Hankow and other points in the interior of China. Although such evacuation amounted almost to a complete sacrifice of business interests built

up by our nationals during years of arduous toil, this was deemed necessary as a precautionary measure to avoid untoward incidents.

I should also add that, at the moment when our Government was giving its favorable consideration to the proposal made by foreign Powers to keep Shanghai free from hostilities, the Chinese launched a sudden attack upon the International Settlement, our Consulate-General, and our warships, bombing them indiscriminately from the air—and our forces were naturally compelled to return the fire.

The dispatch by your country of a regiment of marines to augment your regular marine forces stationed at Shanghai undoubtedly has brought home to you the gravity of the situation in that cosmopolitan city. In view of this character of the city, we want to take effective measures to stop once and for all the lawless activities of the Chinese forces and make the metropolis safe from the repetition of a similar misfortune in the future. I hope that our reinforcements at Shanghai will soon succeed in restoring peace and security to the International Settlement.

Let me now briefly explain the underlying causes of the conflict—the driving forces at work in China today—for an understanding of them will enable you to grasp the true nature of the issues involved, and thus clarify the stand now being taken by our Government. When I say driving forces, I mean those shaping China's national policy and program.

41

The ultimate aim of those forces today as declared by the leaders of China is to unite and revitalize China into an organized nation. In that aim, the Japanese nation is sympathetic. We certainly hope to see such a China come into being, for then only can we enjoy real stability and security in the Far East. Unfortunately, however, these Chinese leaders have chosen the wrong means to achieve their purpose. For several years past, they have carried on a relentless anti-Japanese campaign, adopting it as their policy—as a means of obtaining united national support for the Nanking Government. Extremist elements have during recent years combined their strength to push forward this anti-Japanese campaign.

It is common knowledge that the Communists have been playing a significant rôle in the nation-wide agitation against Japan. It is also well-known that these elements are supported by the Communist International which aims at the destruction of the existing structure, both political and social, of the entire world. These elements are the forces directing the destinies of China today. These are the forces—one anti-Japanese, the other Communist—with which Japan must contend. These are the forces that underlie the fundamental causes of the present situation in China.

For the sake of her own national security and for the sake of the peace of East Asia, Japan must eradicate this Communist menace. We have, therefore, repeatedly invited the attention of the Chinese Government to the danger of Communism, simultaneously requesting

them to suppress effectively the anti-Japanese agitation. But, far from listening to us, the Chinese Government joined hands with the Communists in their campaign against Japan, which became increasingly violent, and with this, all our efforts at re-adjusting Sino-Japanese relations proved futile.

It is to be greatly deplored that a major conflict which we have striven to the last to avoid is now going on. But as I stated at the outset, we have not lost hope for peace. Japan is deeply conscious that she must live in harmony and cooperation with China, for, after all, we are close neighbors, who should cooperate on the friendliest of terms for our mutual well-being.

Ties of many centuries bind the two nations together. Economically, if not politically, one cannot live without the other. This is a basic truth. As we sympathize with China's problems, so we ask her to understand and appreciate ours. We have to help each other. There is no alternative. Sino-Japanese understanding is the first essential for Japan to live, for China to live, for the entire Far East to live, in peace and security. This also is a basic truth.

It is with these truths in mind that the Japanese Government is pursuing its policy in relation to the present conflict. We sincerely hope that China will come to realize these

basic truths, and that peace will soon be restored. We ardently hope that the relations between Japan and China will thus be put on a new and enduring basis.

In closing, I wish to express the appreciation of both the Government and people of Japan for the attitude which your country has maintained toward Japan during the present Sino-Japanese affair. The fair attitude taken by your Government and its officers of good offices are to us a source of deep gratitude. We are also grateful to your official representatives in China for the kind consideration they have accorded our officials and nationals in that country.

九四

三七、廣田外務大臣聲明（九月二日於外務大臣官邸外人記者會見）

先般近衛内閣ノ組織セララルニ當リ、再度外務大臣トシテ入閣シテ以來、是非一度諸君ト悠々會談シ度イト希望シテ居タ處、今日玆ニ親シク膝ヲ交ヘテ歡談スル機會ヲ得タコトハ、私ノ甚タ欣快トスル所テアル。本日御集リノ諸君ノ大部分トハ實ハ既ニオ顔馴染ノ間柄テアリ、從テ私トシテ今更事新ラシク私ノ抱懷スル信念等ヲ説明スル必要モナイト考ヘル。即、嘗テ私カ唱導シタ『萬邦協和』ノ理想ハ今日モ猶滄ラス私ノ外交方針トシテ飽迄堅持シテ居ル次第テアル。

不幸ニシテ日支兩國ノ間ニハ今ヤ眞ニ悲ムヘキ事態カ發生スルニ至ツタ。今次事變ノ發端經過等ハ概ネ諸君ノ御承知ノ通りテアルカラ玆ニハ觸レヌコトトスル。唯、私ハ帝國政府カ終始一貫、隱忍自重シテ専ラ時局ノ平和的收拾ニ最善ノ努力ヲ傾ケタ事實ヲ特ニ強調シ度イト思フノテアル。蘆溝橋事件突發ニ際シテハ、我政府ハ最後迄和平解決ノ希望ヲ放擲セス、支那側カ屢々不信行爲ヲ敢テシタルニモ拘ラス、猶現地協定ノ履行ニ依リ事態ノ擴大ヲ防止スル爲メ、最大限ノ忍耐ヲ以テ善處シタノテアル。然ルニ、南京政府ハ毫モ誠意ヲ示サス、現地協定ヲ否認スルノミナラス、續々中央軍ヲ北上セシメテ我ニ對シ積極的ニ挑戰スルト共ニ、各地ニ於テ民衆ノ排日熱ヲ

九五

煽り、爲ニ全支ニ互リ在留同胞ノ生命財産モ俄ニ瀕スルニ至リ、斯クテ戦局ハ逐次擴大セラルルニ至ツタ次第アル。此間ニ處シテ、我政府カ如何ニ事態不擴大ニ腐心シタカハ、不測事端發生ヲ未然ニ防止シ戰禍ノ波及ヲ阻止スル見地ヨリ、逸早く漢口其他長江流域在留邦人ヲ引揚ケ、又引續キ南支及山東各地ノ居留民引揚ヲ斷行シタコトニ依テモ明瞭アル。言フ迄モナク、右ノ措置ハ我方トシテハ眞ニ忍ビ難イ犠牲ヲ忍ヒツツ一大英斷ヲ以テ行ツタノテアル尙亦北支事態ノ急迫ニ鑑ミ七月十一日廟議派兵ニ決シタ際ニモ、我政府ニ於テハ依然和平解決ニ一縷ノ望ヲ囑シ此ノ間私カニ南京政府ノ猛省ヲ期待シタノテアル。斯ノ如ク我方ハ最後迄和平解決ニ専念シ、出來得ル限り武力衝突ノ回避ニ努力シタノテアツテ、右ハ上海ニ關シテモ全然同様アル。外國筋ニ於テハ、恰モ我國カ支那保安隊ノ我陸戰隊將兵射殺ニ激昂シ、之カ報復ノ爲ニ上海ニ事ヲ構ヘタルカノ如クニ解スル向カアル模様テアルカ、我ヲ誣フルコト蓋シ之ヨリ甚シキハナイ。陸戰隊員射殺事件ニ付テハ、其非擧ケテ支那側ニ在ルニ拘ラス、我政府ハ極度ノ忍耐ヲ以テ圓滿現地解決方ニ努力シタノテアル。畢竟スルニ、上海ノ事態ハ、支那側ハ昭和七年ノ停戰協定ヲ蹂躪シ、濫ニ正規軍ヲ協定地域内ニ進入セシメ保安隊ヲ増強シ、我方ニ不法挑戰シ來ツタコトニ起因スルノテアツテ、上海ヲ戰火ノ巷トセサル爲ニハ、現ニ租界ノ安全ヲ脅威シツツアル支那軍ヲ

交戦距離外ニ撤退セシメ、軍事施設ヲ撤去セシムルコトカ先決條件テアルト固ク信スルノテアル。換言スレハ、上海ニ於ケル内外人ノ生命財産ノ安全ヲ脅威スルモノハ、衆ヲ頼ムテ攻勢ニ出ラタ支那軍テアツテ、寡兵ヲ以テ租界ヲ死守セル我軍テナイコトハ明白ナ筈アル。而モ我政府ハ同地方ノ平和維持ヲ切ニ顧念セルカ故ニ、列國共同ノ申出ニ對シ折角好意的考慮ヲ加ヘツツアツタ矢先、支那軍ハ俄然我方ニ猛撃ヲ加ヘ陸戰隊、軍艦、總領事館ノミナラス租界内各所ヲ空爆スルニ至リ我方トシテモ三萬ノ居留民防護ノ爲、遂ニ應戰スルノ已ムナキニ至ツタ次第アル。要スルニ北支ト云ヒ上海ト云ヒ、何レモ支那側ノ不法ナル挑戰ニ依リ事態惡化スルニ至ツタノデアルカ、之ハ何レモ、現代支那ノ指導者カ排日政策ヲ以テ南京政府強化ノ具ニ供シ、即チ外交ヲ内政問題ニ惡用シ、多年ニ亘リ抗日ノ風潮ヲ助長セルノミナラス、更ニ進テ赤化勢力ト勾結シ、對日戦備ニ汲々タリシ結果ニ他ナラナイノデアル。最近締結ヲ見タ蘇支不可侵條約ハ這般ノ事情ヲ説明シテ餘リアルモノテアルカ、此意味ニ於テ『赤化ノ防壁』ヲ以テ自任スル帝國ハ決シテ晏如タリ得ナイ次第アル。

今ヤ我國多年ノ懸命ナル努力モ水泡ニ歸シ、日支兩國ハ遂ニ全面的衝突ノ危機ニ直面スルニ至ツタ。但シ我軍ハ唯々我正當ナル權益ヲ防衛シ東亞永遠ノ安全ヲ樹立スル爲ニ戦ヒツツアルモノ

テ、支那政府ニシテ速ニ反省シ非ヲ改ムルニ於テハ我政府ハ直ニ支那派遣ノ軍ヲ收メ、進テ親善ノ手ヲ差伸ヘル用意ヲ有スルモノテアル。

尤モ我國民トシテハ斯カル不祥事ヲ將來再ヒ繰返スコトハ到底堪ヘ難イ所テアルカラ、既ニ事態カ此處迄進展シタ以上ハ、根本的解決ヲ得ル見透ノ付ク迄ハ既定方針ニ向ツテ固キ決意ヲ以テ邁進セントスルモノテアル。

惟フニ日支兩國ハ古キ誼ヲ有スル隣國關係ニアリ且亦將來永遠ニ隣國トシテ親善關係ヲ維持セネハナラヌ間柄ニアアル。而シテ日支間ニ共存共榮ノ理想ヲ實現スルコトハ決シテ難事ヲハナイ。然ラハ兩國ハ新ナル立場ニ於テ根本的ニ國交ヲ調整シ、日支關係ニ一新紀元ヲ劃スルコト必シモ不可能ヲハナイ。私ハ此際東洋平和否世界平和ノ爲ニ支那政府ノ最深甚ナル反省ヲ促シテ已マヌモノテアル。

第三國ノ權益ニ付テハ、帝國ハ充分之ヲ尊重シ之カ保護ニ關シ出來ル限リ細心ナル考慮ヲ拂ヒツツアルカ、一日モ速ニ平靜狀態ノ回復ヲ見ル様列國ニ於テモ我方ト協力セラレ苟モ戰禍ヲ長引セラル虞アル行爲ニ出ツルカ如キコトナキ様期待スル次第テアル。第三國人ニシテ不幸戰火ノ爲災厄ヲ蒙ツタ向ニ對シテハ何レモ同情ニ堪エナイカ、何分事態擴大ノ責任ハ支那側ニアルコトヲ諒承

願ヒ度イ。

最後ニ現下ノ狀勢ニ於テ、通信報道カ國際間ノ正シキ諒解ト眞ノ親善ニ寄與スル上ニ於テ頗ル重要ナル使命ヲ有スル事實ニ鑑ミ特ニ各位ノ御援助ヲ懇請スル次第テアル。

STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE

PRESS, SEPTEMBER 2, 1937.

Since my appointment as Foreign Minister in the Konoye Cabinet, I have been looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you. I am, therefore, genuinely delighted to have this opportunity of discussing, freely and frankly, questions of the day with you. As I am fairly well-acquainted with most of you, I hardly need I think, to explain to you again what are my cherished hopes and aspirations, except to say that the policy of "concord and cooperation with all nations" does still remain with me as the guiding principle in conducting the foreign relations of my country.

There has developed between Japan and China a situation which is indeed very regrettable. I shall not touch upon the origin and development of the present incident which you all know so well. I wish only to emphasize here the high degree of patience and

forbearance with which the Japanese Government have consistently been striving to bring about a peaceful settlement. At the time of the Lukouchino affair, our Government, hoping to the last to reach a pacific solution, through a local settlement, did everything possible to prevent the aggravation of the situation, in spite of the repeated bad faith of the Chinese. The Nanking Government, which manifested a complete lack of sincerity, not only rejected the agreement arrived at on the spot, but also moved vast armies northward, challenging Japan directly. Moreover, they incited and instigated popular feeling against this country to such an extent that the lives and property of our nationals throughout China were suddenly jeopardized.

As the conflict began to spread, we lost no time in ordering the evacuation of Japanese residents from Hankow and other points on the Yangtze as well as from various places in Shantung and South China. This measure was taken with a view to forestalling the occurrence of any untoward incidents, and this, more than anything else, demonstrated powerfully our sincerity in observing the avowed policy of non-aggravation. Of course, this measure involved untold sacrifices on our part, as it amounted to a complete abandonment of business interests acquired after many years of arduous toil by our nationals; however, we decided to bear even these for the purpose of avoiding the aggravation of the situation.

Again, when on July 11, the Cabinet decided on despatching contingents in view of the North China situation which was growing worse every moment, we still clung to the anticipation of bringing about an amicable solution, and continued to nourish the hopes that the Nanking Government would reconsider their attitude. Thus, to the last moment we sought and strove for a pacific settlement, firmly determined as we were to prevent an armed clash. And we took exactly the same attitude in regard to the Shanghai affair.

In some quarters abroad, people seem to be under the erroneous impression that at Shanghai, Japan was retaliating for the murder of an officer and a sailor of her Naval Landing Party by the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps. Nothing could be further from the truth. Of course, China was entirely to blame for the shooting of our marines, but our Government, with the greatest self-restraint, endeavored to reach an amicable local settlement through diplomatic channels. The hostilities broke out in Shanghai because China, in violation of the Agreement for the Cessation of Hostilities around Shanghai concluded in 1932, rushed her regular troops into the forbidden area, and strengthened her Peace Preservation Corps both in number and equipment, and then deliberately provoked the Japanese. Our Government firmly believe that, as the first prerequisite, those Chinese forces should be made to withdraw from the fighting area and the Chinese military works in the vicinity of the International Settlement should be removed, if the city is to be spared the

disastrous effects of an armed conflict. In other words, foreign lives and property in Shanghai are menaced not by the small Japanese forces defending the Settlement, but, rather, by the Chinese armies which, relying upon their vastly superior numbers, undertake the offensive against the Japanese. In fact, in our desire to maintain peace and security in and around Shanghai, we were giving favourable consideration to the proposal of the Powers to preserve these regions from the danger of hostilities when the Chinese launched a sudden attack upon the International Settlement, our Consulate-General, and our warships on the Whampoo, bombing them indiscriminately from the air—and our forces were compelled to return the fire for the defense of our nationals, numbering more than 30,000, in the city.

Both in North China and at Shanghai, it was without question unwarranted Chinese provocations that precipitated the hostilities. The fundamental causes lay in the fact that the leaders of present-day China have long fostered anti-Japonism as a tool for political purposes, exploiting diplomatic issues to enhance their prestige; and to that end they have, through collusion with Communists, openly and energetically prepared for a war with Japan. The Sino-Soviet non-aggression pact concluded a few days ago is of special significance in this regard. To this, Japan as a bulwark against Communist encroachment upon East Asia, can not afford to remain indifferent.

A major conflict is now in progress between Japan and China, despite our earnest

efforts to avert it. However, striving as our armies are for the protection of our legitimate rights and interests and for the attainment of an enduring peace in East Asia, the Japanese Government are prepared as ever to recall their expeditionary forces and join hands with China in friendship, the moment the Chinese Government demonstrate their sincerity in reconsidering and rectifying their attitude toward Japan. But, in view of the fact that the Japanese people cannot tolerate the recurrence of such deplorable affairs, and with the situation already assuming the serious proportions it has, we are firmly determined to pursue our declared policy until the possibility becomes ripe for a fundamental settlement.

Japan and China are, after all, neighbors and old friends. It should not be such a difficult task to realize the ideal of mutual prosperity and well-being. In the interests of the peace of East Asia and of the world, I cannot conceal my fervent hope that the Chinese Government will reconsider the policy they have pursued up till now vis-à-vis Japan.

As regards the rights and interests of third Powers, I can assure you that they will be fully respected by Japan. Our Government are giving careful consideration to the matter of safeguarding them. At the same time, in order that peace may be restored as soon as possible, the Powers are invited to cooperate with Japan by refraining from any

action which would be likely to prolong the present hostilities. I deeply regret to hear that the victims of the conflict included many foreign residents.
Since the press have an important role to play in promoting international understanding and good will, especially in such a critical situation as is now prevailing, I wish, ladies and gentlemen of the Press, to appeal to you for your whole-hearted cooperation.

10E

三八、支那沿海航行遮斷ニ關スル外務省聲明（九月五日）

帝國政府ハ曩ニ時局ヲ速ニ收拾シ事態ヲ安定スル目的ヲ以テ支那船舶ニ對シ中南支沿岸一部ノ交通ヲ遮斷スル措置ヲ取ツタカ今般更ニ右區域ヲ擴張シ昭和十二年九月五日午後六時ヨリ北緯四十九度零分東經百十九度五十四分ヨリ北緯二十一度三十三分東經百八度三分ニ至ル青島及第三國租借地ヲ除ク爾餘ノ中華民國沿海ニ對シ支那船舶ノ交通ヲ遮斷スルコトニ決定シタ然シ乍ラ右ノ措置ハ專ラ支那側ノ反省ヲ促サントスルノ念慮ニ出ツルモノテアツテ帝國政府ハ第三國ノ平和的通商ハ尊重スヘク之ニ干渉ヲ加フル意圖ハナイ。

STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

September 5, 1937.

The Japanese Government, with a view to speedily settling the present affair and restoring the stability of the situation, have previously closed a part of the Central and

10F

South China Coast to the traffic of Chinese vessels. They have now decided to extend this area and to close to Chinese vessels, as from 6 p.m. of September 5, 1937, the rest of the Chinese coast, namely from 40 degrees north latitude and 119 degrees 54 minutes east longitude, to 21 degrees 33 minutes north latitude and 108 degrees 3 minutes east longitude, excluding Tsingtao and the leased territories of third Powers. As this measure is solely designed to bring about a prompt reconsideration on the part of the Chinese Government, the Japanese Government will pay due respect to the peaceful commerce of third Powers with which they have no intention of interfering.

10K

三九、「ヒューゲッセン」大使遭難事件ニ關スル回答（九月七日發表）

以書翰啓上致候。陳者、八月二十九日附「ドツツ」代理大使發本大臣宛第一二五號書翰ヲ以テ在支英國大使「サー・ヒュー・ナツチブル・ヒューゲッセン」氏ノ負傷事件ニ關シ御申越ノ趣聞悉致候。

本事件發生ノ報ニ接スルヤ帝國政府ハ之ヲ重大視シ不取敢本大臣竝ニ在英及在支帝國大使ヨリ貴國政府及「ナツチブル・ヒューゲッセン」大使ニ對シ深厚ナル見舞ヲ申入ルルト共ニ直ニ關係出先官憲ヲシテ鋭意調査ヲ進メシメタル次第ナル處今日迄我方ニ於テ調査シ得タル結果ハ本件カ我方飛行機ノ所爲ナルコトヲ斷定スヘキ材料無之モ帝國政府ハ更ニ慎重ヲ期スル爲尙出先ヲシテ殘サレタル調査ノ手段ヲ取ラシメツツアル次第ニ有之候。

事情右ノ如ク本件ニ對スル責任カ我方ニ在リヤ否ヤハ未タ斷定シ得サル所ナルモ當日大倉方面ニ於テ日支間ニ現實ニ戦闘行ハレ居タル結果トシテ、「ヒューゲッセン」大使ノ遭難ヲ見タルハ日英兩國ノ傳統的親善關係ニ鑑ミ帝國政府ノ深ク遺憾トスル所ニ有之候。

10F

一〇八
尙帝國軍隊ニ於テハ非戦闘員ニ對シ損害ヲ與ヘサル様常ニ十分ノ注意ヲナシ居ル處今後萬一我方ノ手ニ依リ此ノ種不幸ナル事件ノ發生ヲ見ルカ如キコトハ帝國政府ノ最モ希望セサル所ナルヲ以テ帝國政府ニ於テハ出先官憲ニ對シ慎重行動方重ネテ訓令致シ置候。就テハ貴方ニ於テモ今後危險區域通過ノ際ニハ事前ニ通報スル等此ノ種事件再發防止ノ爲必要ナル措置ヲ執ラレ我方ノ努力ニ協力セラレンコトヲ切望致シ候。

右不取敢回答旁本大臣ハ茲ニ重ネテ閣下ニ向テ敬意ヲ表シ候。敬具。

昭和十二年九月六日

外務大臣 廣 田 弘 毅

大不列顛特命全權大使

「サー・ロバート・シレイギー」閣下

REPLY OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE
BRITISH AMBASSADOR, SEPTEMBER 9.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur :

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note, No. 125, under the date of August 29, addressed to me by Mr. J. L. Dodds, then Chargé d'Affaires of the British Embassy, concerning the incident in which Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Higginson was wounded.

The Japanese Government, on receiving the news of the event in question, took a grave view of the incident, and hastened to convey expressions of profound sympathy to His Britannic Majesty's Government and to Sir Hugh through myself and the Ambassadors to the Court of St. James and to China respectively and, at the same time, they sent urgent instructions to the authorities on the spot to investigate the case thoroughly. Although the results of these investigations have so far failed to produce any evidence to establish that the shooting was done by a Japanese aeroplane, the Japanese Government are taking measures for further investigations by the authorities on the spot in order to spare no efforts to ascertain the facts of the case.

In these circumstances, it is still impossible to determine whether or not the responsibility for the incident rests with Japan. Nevertheless, in view of the traditional ties of

一〇九

friendship which bind Japan and Great Britain, the Japanese Government express their profound regret that Sir Hugh should have met with such a misfortune incidental to the hostilities that were actually in progress in the region of Tatsiang on that particular day.

In this connection, I wish to assure Your Excellency that the Japanese forces always take the fullest precautions against causing injuries to non-combatants, and it is certainly very far from the desire of the Japanese Government that such an unfortunate event should ever occur in future through any fault of their own. Fresh instructions have consequently been sent to their authorities on the spot to exercise the strictest caution in this regard. I earnestly hope, therefore, that the British authorities will, on their part, kindly co-operate with the Japanese authorities with a view to forestalling the recurrence of a similar event by taking such necessary measures as giving notice in advance to the Japanese authorities on the spot when entering a zone of danger.

In making the above *ad interim* reply, I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sir Robert Craigie

His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to Japan.

Etc.

Etc.

Etc.

Etc.

四〇、外務省發表（九月九日）

支那渡航取締方ノ件

曩ニ外務省ハ關係官廳ト協議ノ結果本邦人ノ支那渡航ニ對シ一定ノ取締方針ヲ決定致シマシテ業務上家庭上其他正當ナル目的ノ爲支那ニ渡航セントスル方ニ對シテハ居住地所轄警察署長ヨリ身分證明書ヲ發給スルコトトシ又公務ヲ帶ヒテ支那ニ渡航セラルル方ニ對シテモ派遣官公署ヨリ身分證明書ヲ發給スルコトト致シマシタ。

處テ最近迄支那ニ在留シテ一旦内地ニ歸國シタル後業務上家庭上其ノ他正當ナル目的ノ爲至急本邦ト支那間ノ往復ヲ必要トセラルル方及一旦引揚ケタル方ニシテ右ノ目的ノ爲是非共支那へ歸還ヲ必要トセラルル方ノ便宜ヲ慮ツテ九月十日カラ在支所轄帝國公館長ニ於テ手数料ハ無料テ身分證明書ヲ發給スルコトト致シマシタ其ノ身分證明書ハ内地警察官憲ノ發給スル身分證明書ト同一ノ效力ヲ有シ其ノ所持者ニ限リ出發港ニ於テ乗船シ得ルコトトナツタノテ有リマス。

尙再度支那ニ赴ク方テ此ノ在支公館長發給ノ身分證明書ヲ所持シナイ方ハ前回ニ公表シマシタ通

リ初メテ支那ニ渡航スル方ト同様本邦ノ居住地所轄警察署長ヨリ身分證明書ノ發給ヲ受ケナケレ
ハナラヌコトトナツテ居リマス。

一一三

四一、支那戎克武裝狀況ニ關スル情報部長説明 (九月十五日)
SOME OF THE CASES SHOWING THE ARMING OF CHINESE JUNKS,
LAUNCHES AND OTHER SMALL CRAFTS.

Date	Place	
September 4	Hungshaiwan	Fired at from a large junk while attempting to inspect it; a Japanese naval officer was wounded and a seaman killed.
8	Siangshampu	Captured the "Lomen", a motor-launch, with Peace Preservation Corps on board.
9	In the neighbourhood of the South Maan Islands.	A large junk equipped with— 4 five-cm. guns 9 rifles } 1000 cartridges. 2 pistols }
14	Shenhu	When the Japanese tried to inspect a junk, its crew fired at them in cooperation with the Chinese force on land.

一一四

15	Siangshapu	The Japanese inspection party was fired at from a small-sized launch. Encountered a launch with 30 members of Peace Preservation Corps on board. A large junk equipped with— 7 rifles, 1 pistol, 1000 rifle cartridges 150 pistol cartridges 7 dum dum bullets.
18	In the neighbourhood of the Wanshan Islands.	3 large junks equipped with— 2 ten-cm. muzzle-loading guns 6 rifles 2 pistols
25	East of Tungkuohow	Several junks with— 12 rifles 2 pistols

18—25	Between the vicinity of Santiao and the vicinity of Amoy	Several junks equipped with— 4 rifles Considerable quantity of rifle cartridges 5 old-fashioned guns, each different in type.
26	South Ao Island	A little launch fired at our warship on patrol duty.
27	Siangshapu	A little launch fired at our warship.
28	At the northeast shore of Lihai Island	Five junks destroyed the buoys of Tungchow shoal

四二、支那ノ聯盟提訴ニ對スル外務當局ノ見解（九月十五日午前）

一、日本ハ非聯盟國テ政治問題ニ付テハ聯盟ト協力シナイ建前ヲ採ツテ來テキルカラ支那事變カ聯盟ニ提訴サレタトコロテ聯盟ニ於ケル論議ニ關與スヘキ立場ニナイ。

二、支那ノ「ステートメント」及提訴文ハ未タ全文ヲ入手シナイカラ今茲ニ正確ナ意見ヲ發表スルコトハ差控エルカ今迄判明シテキルコトコト大ケテモ隨分事實ヲ托ケテ日本ヲ誣ヒテキル聯盟カ東亞ノ事態ヲ明ニ認識セス支那ノ一方の宣傳文書ヲ基礎ニ日支問題ニ介入スルカ如キハ却テ問題ヲ惡化シ聯盟ノ所期ニ反スル結果ヲ招來スルノミナルコトハ既ニ滿洲事變ニ依リ十分ニ實證サレタトコロタ。

支那側ハ例ヘハ非戰鬥員ニ對スル日本軍ノ攻撃ヲ云々シテ居ルカ日本軍ハ非戰鬥員ヲ目標トシテ攻撃ヲ加ヘタ様ナコトハ絶對ニナイシ、又今後モアリ得ナイトコロテアル、支那軍コソ虹口方面ノ外國人ニ退去ヲ要請シ日本非戰鬥員ノミヲ目標トシテ日本居留民タケラ其僥殘シテ置イテ砲撃ヲ加ヘタ、之ハ明ニ支那側ノ暴舉タルノミナラス又八月十四日ノ佛國租界及共同租界

空爆ノ如キ若ハ其後ノ「フーバー」號爆撃ノ如キニ依リ外人非戰鬥員多數ニ死傷者ヲ出シタ有様テアル。

教育文化機關カ攻撃ノ目的物タルカ如キモ支那軍ニ於テ之等ヲ占據シ戰鬥ノ基點ト爲シタル場合ニハ國際法上當然ニ其不可侵性ヲ喪失スルコトニ成ルコトハ申ス迄モナイ日本側ハ戰鬥員並敵性ヲ有スル人及物ノミニ戰鬥行為ノ目標ヲ置クモノテアルコトハ勿論テアル、日本ハ又支那ノ政治機構ヲ破壊シ支那ノ統一ヲ妨害セントスルモノナリト誹謗シテ居ルカ之ハ日本ノ眞意ヲ解セサルコト甚シキモノテアル。

日本ハ世界ノ平和機構確立ノ前提トシテ支那ノ統一ヲ希望スルモノテアルカ唯此統一カ正シイ力ニヨリ成就サルヘキモノテアルトノ信念ヲ有スルモノテアル。

三、今次事變ニ對スル帝國ノ方針ハ他ク迄支那政府ノ反省ヲ求メ誤レル排日政策ヲ拋棄セシメ以テ日支兩國ノ國交ヲ根本的ニ調整セントスルニアル。

今次ノ事變勃發スルヤ帝國政府ハ現地解決、事態不擴大ノ方針ニ基イテ時局收拾ニ渾身努力ヲシタコトハ世界ノ均シク承認スル處テアル然ルニ南京政府ハ毫モ誠意ヲ示サズ益々中央軍ヲ北支ニ集中シテ我方ニ挑戰シ來ツタト同時ニ揚子江流域及爾餘ノ各地ニ於テハ陰險極ル排日ヲ

行ツテ我在留民ノ平和的活動ヲ脅シ其生存ヲモ危殆ナランメタ。帝國カスノ如キ國家ニ對シ其
反省ヲ求ムル行爲ニ出ラタコトハ帝國ノ正義人道ノ爲又自衛ノ爲極テ當然ノコトアル。只日
支問題ニ付テハ日支兩國間ニ於テラノミ現實ニ即シタ最モ公正ナ解決方法ヲ發見サレルモノト確
信スル。

一一八

1. As Japan, not being a member of the League of Nations, has maintained a policy of non-cooperation with the League on political matters, she is not in a position to have any concern with arguments made in the League meetings, even though China has made an appeal to the League.

2. As we have not yet received complete texts of the Chinese statement and appeal to the League, we wish to refrain from making any expression of our definite opinion. But even the parts of these texts already known show considerable distortions of facts. That it will only aggravate the situation and bring results contrary to its own expectations if the League, not clearly recognizing the actual situation in East Asia, will interfere with the Sino-Japanese affairs on the basis of documents propagated unilaterally by China, is fully demonstrated by the experience during the Manchurian Incident.

The Chinese distortion of facts may be seen, for instance, in the following case:

The Chinese claim that the Japanese attacked non-combatants, but the Japanese forces have never carried on hostilities with non-combatants as objectives. It was the Chinese forces themselves which ordered all foreigners, except Japanese, in Honkew to leave that district and then attacked Japanese non-combatants remaining there. The bombing of the French Concession and the International Settlement in Shanghai as a result of which many foreign non-combatants were killed or wounded was perpetrated by the Chinese, as you all remember.

No consideration is given by the Chinese army to educational and cultural establishments. They occupy these establishments as bases of hostilities. When this is done, these establishments lose, of course, their neutral status according to international law. The objectives of Japanese attack are always combatants and military establishments.

The Chinese allege that Japan is destroying the political structure of China and interfering with her unification, but such charges are far from the intention of Japan.

Japan is desirous that China be unified—a pre-requisite to the establishment of a structure for world peace. But that unification must be brought about in a sound way.

3. The policy of the Japanese Government vis-à-vis the present China Affair aims at bringing about China's reconsideration and the abandonment of her mistaken policy of

一一九

anti-Japanism, and a fundamental adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations. Upon the outbreak of the affair, the Japanese Government, in accordance with their policy of local settlement and non-aggravation, did everything to arrive at a speedy settlement. But the Nanking Government manifested no sincerity. They moved division after division of their Central Army north to challenge Japan, while at Hankow and other points in the Yangtze Valley, Japanese subjects engaged in peaceful pursuit of business were menaced by Nanking's vicious anti-Japanese propaganda—their very existence being jeopardized. That Japan should have taken action to compel such a Government to reconsider their policy is certainly justified from the standpoint of justice and humanity, as well as of self-defense. I am convinced, however, that for the solution of the Sino-Japanese problems, Japan and China will finally succeed in discovering the means suited to the reality of the situation.

1110

四三、支那船舶ノ國籍移轉及假裝ニ關スル在京各國大使宛宛覺書

(九月十八日)

帝國海軍ハ曩ニ速ニ時局ヲ收拾シ事態ヲ安定スル目的ヲ以テ支那船舶ニ對シ一定地區ヲ除ク支那沿海ノ交通ヲ遮斷スル措置ヲ執レル處支那船舶中ニハ第三國ヘノ國籍移轉ヲ假裝シ右交通遮斷ノ效果ヲ免レントスルモノアルニ鑑ミ帝國政府ハ之カ防止ノ爲昭和十二年八月二十五日帝國第三艦隊司令長官ノ支那船舶交通遮斷宣言後國籍ヲ第三國ニ移轉シタル支那船舶ハ該移轉ニシテ關係國ノ國法ニ從ヒ且實質上モ完全ニ爲サレタルニ非サレハ之ヲ有效ト認メス、此種船舶ニシテ満足ナル移轉ノ條件ヲ具備スルヤ否ヤニ付疑ヒアル場合ニハ之カ調査ノ爲臨檢留置等ノ必要ナル措置ヲ執ル事アルヘシ、就テハ貴國政府ニ於テモ此種支那船舶カ貴國々籍ヲ假裝的ニ取得スルカ如キコト無キ様御配意アリ度

昭和十二年九月十八日

1111

四四、支那船舶航行遮断ニ關スル記者團質問ニ對スル外務當局談

(九月十八日)

帝國海軍ハ支那事變勃發以來前後二回ニ互ツテ支那船舶ノ沿岸航行遮断ヲ宣言シタカ右宣言ハ第三國ノ平和的通商ニ及ホササルヲ寄貨トシテ後支那船舶ニシテ國籍ヲ假裝的ニ第三國ニ移轉スルモノアルニ鑑ミ、帝國政府ニオイテハ更ニ航行遮断ノ目的ヲ完全ナラシムルタメ、右航行遮断ノ效果ニ關シ適切有效ナル解釋ヲ下スコトナリ、十八日在東京各關係國大公使ニ宛テ覺書ヲ送達シ各國ニオイテモ十分ナル配慮ヲ乞フ旨ヲ述ボタ

MEMORANDUM SENT BY THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES IN TOKYO.

September 18, 1937.

With a view to bringing about a speedy settlement of the present affair and a stabilization of the situation, the Japanese Navy previously took a measure to close to the traffic

of Chinese vessels the Chinese sea coast, excepting specified areas. In view of the fact that there are Chinese vessels which attempt to evade the enforcement of the above-mentioned measure through the transfer of their nationality registration to third countries, the Japanese Government will not recognize the validity of such transfer made subsequent to the proclamation issued on August 25, 1937 by the Commander-in-Chief of the Third Fleet for the closing of the Chinese sea coast to Chinese shipping, unless the transfer has been made in accordance with the laws of the countries concerned, and moreover it has been carried out fully in substance. In case there is any doubt as to whether vessels of this sort have satisfactory qualifications as regards the transfer of nationality registration, the necessary steps for verification, such as inspection and detention, may be taken.

四五、駐支英國大使遭難事件我方最終回答（九月二十二日發表）

以書翰啓上致候陳者支那駐劄貴國大使「サー・ヒュー・ナッチブル・ヒューゲッセン」氏ノ負傷事件ニ關シテハ不取敢九月六日附往翰ヲ以テ回答ニ及ヒ置キタル處其ノ後上海及其ノ附近ニ於ケル取調完了セルニ付本大臣ハ閣下ニ對シ帝國政府ハ左ノ通り回答セントスルモノナル旨通報スルノ光榮ヲ有シ候
最モ周到ナル調査ノ結果ニ依レハ八月二十六日午後二時三十五分日本飛行機二機ハ嘉定ノ南東三軒ノ地點ニ於テ支那軍將兵ヲ輸送中ノ軍用「バス」若ハ「トラック」ト確信セラレタル自動車ニ臺ヲ銃爆撃セルコト判明シタル處當時嘉定ニハ支那軍ノ陣地アリ八月十八日以來日本飛行機ハ之ニ對シ屢次攻撃ヲ行ヒタルノミナラス日支兩軍飛行機ノ間ニ數次ニ亘リ空中戰行ハレタル次第ニ有之候

現在ノ狀況ニ於テハ現地調査ヲ行フコト困難ナルヲ以テ「ナッチブル・ヒューゲッセン」大使負傷當時ニ於ケル同大使自動車ノ位置ニ關スル各種ノ報告ニ幾分ノ相違ハアリタルモ日本飛行機ニ

ハ同大使カ當初負傷シタリト報告セラレタル地點ニ於テ機關銃ヲ掃射シ若ハ爆彈ヲ投下セルモノ無之コト判明致候

然レトモ日英官憲ニ於テ同時ニ周到ナル調査ヲ遂ケタル結果當該自動車ノ位置ハ英國側當初ノ報告所載ノ通り太倉ノ南方六哩ニ非スシテ嘉定ノ南方ナリシヤモ知レストノ結論ニ到達致候

敍上ノ次第ニ鑑ミ帝國政府ハ本事件ハ同大使ノ自動車ヲ軍用「バス」若ハ「トラック」ト誤認シタル日本飛行機ノ行爲ナリシヤモ計ラレスト思考スルモノニ有之候此ノ如ク同大使ノ負傷ハ固ヨリ故意ニ出テタルニハ非サルモ日本飛行機ノ行動ニ因リタルヤモ計リ難キ次第ニ鑑ミ帝國政府ハ英國政府ニ對シ深甚ナル遺憾ノ意ノ正式表示ヲナサントスルモノニ有之候

關係搭乗員ノ處分ニ關シテハ帝國政府ハ日本搭乗員ニシテ故意若ハ懈怠ニ因リ第三人ヲ殺傷シタルコト判明セル場合ニハ適當ナル處置ヲ執ルヘキコト勿論ノ次第ニ有之候

支那ニ於ケル戰鬪行爲存在ノ結果生スヘキ非戰鬪員ニ對スル危險ヲ出來得ル限り局限セントスルハ帝國政府ノ希望シ且方針トスル所ニシテ在支帝國軍隊ニ對シ非戰鬪員ニ損害ヲ與ヘサル様最大ノ注意ヲ拂フヘキ旨帝國政府ヨリ重ネテ訓令濟ノ次第ハ九月六日附不取敢回答シ置キタル通りニ有之候

右回答旁々本大臣ハ茲ニ重テ閣下ニ向テ敬意ヲ表シ候 敬具

二三六

昭和十二年九月二十一日

外務大臣 廣 田 弘 毅

大不列顛特命全權大使

「セ・ランド・ネン・ン・サー・ロネート・シロネギー」閣下

REPLY OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE
BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

September 21st, 1937.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur :

With reference to the incident of the wounding of His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to China, Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugessen, concerning which I made an *ad interim* reply in my Note under the date of September 6th, 1937, I now have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the inquiry in Shanghai and its vicinity having been completed the Japanese Government desire to make the following reply :

2. As the result of most careful investigations it has been established that on August

26th at 2.35 p.m., two Japanese planes machine-gunned and bombed two motor-cars which were believed, in all sincerity, to be military busses or trucks carrying officers or soldiers of the Chinese army at a point three kilometres southeast of Kating, where the Chinese forces were concentrated and since August 18th, not only had Japanese aeroplanes made repeated attacks upon them but a number of aerial combats between the Japanese and Chinese planes had taken place.

3. Owing to the difficulty, in present circumstances, of conducting an investigation on the spot, there has been some slight discrepancy in the various reports received as to the position of the Ambassador's motor-car at the time when he was wounded, but it was ascertained that no Japanese aeroplane had made a machine-gun attack or dropped a bomb in the locality where the Ambassador was first reported to have been wounded.

However, careful study made simultaneously by the Japanese and British authorities leads to the conclusion that the position of the motor-car in question might have been to the southward of Kating, instead of 6 miles south of Taitsang as stated in an earlier British report.

4. In the light of all these circumstances, the Japanese Government consider that the incident may have been caused by Japanese planes which mistook the Ambassador's motor-car as a military bus or truck. As the wounding of the Ambassador may thus have been

1114

due to the action, however involuntary, of Japanese aircraft, the Japanese Government desire to convey to His Britannic Majesty's Government a formal expression of their deep regret.

5. As regards the question of the punishment of the aviator concerned, it is needless to say that the Japanese Government would take suitable steps whenever it was established that Japanese aviators killed or wounded, intentionally or through negligence nationals belonging to a third country.

6. As stated in their interim note of September 6th, instructions have been sent again to the Japanese forces in China to exercise the greatest care in safeguarding non-combatants, it being the desire and policy of the Japanese Government to limit, as far as this can possibly be done, the dangers to non-combatants resulting from the existence of hostilities in China.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

His Excellency

The Right Honourable Sir Robert L. Craigie, K.C.M.G.,

His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to Japan.

etc., etc., etc.,

四六、在支英國大使負傷事件ニ關スル昭和十二年九月

二十三日附在京英國大使發外務大臣宛書翰（九月二十三日）

以書翰啓上致候。陳者、駐支英國大使カ去ル八月二十六日上海附近ニ於テ二機ノ飛行機ニ依リ攻撃ヲ受ケタル件ニ關スル九月二十一日附貴大臣發本使宛書翰ノ内容ハ正ニ本使ヨリ本國政府ニ傳達致シ置候。

本使ハ本國政府ヨリ接受セル訓令ニ基キ英國政府ハ本回答ニ接シ満足セル旨竝ニ右ヲ以テ本件ハ解決セリト看做ス旨茲ニ通報スル次第ニ有之候。

本使ハ茲ニ重ネテ閣下ニ向テ敬意ヲ表シ候、敬具。

アール・エル・クレイギー

外務大臣

廣田 弘毅 閣下

110

NOTE OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE MINISTER
 FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

British Embassy,
 Tokyo.

23rd September, 1937.

No. 148.

Monsieur le Ministre,

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I duly communicated to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom the terms of the Note which Your Excellency addressed to me on the 21st September in regard to the attack on His Majesty's Ambassador in China by two aeroplanes in the neighbourhood of Shanghai on 26th August last.

2. I have now received instructions from His Majesty's Government to state that they have received this communication with satisfaction and regard the incident as closed.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

Signed: R. L. Craigie.

His Excellency

Mr. Koki Hirota

H.I.J.M. Minister for Foreign Affairs.

四七. 日支兩空軍損傷ニ對スル日支兩國發表對照表

(九月二十四日)

COMPARISON OF JAPANESE AND CHINESE ANNOUNCEMENTS
 ABOUT THEIR LOSSES OF AEROPLANES.

(August 14—September 22, 1937)

Abbreviations:

Ground Bombed planes on the ground.
 Air Planes shot down in aerial combat.
 Shot Planes shot down by anti-aircraft guns.
 Force Forced landing.

Date	Place	Japanese Announcement (by the Navy Department)	Chinese Announcement (Broadcast from Nanking)	Account
August 14	Hangchow	Chinese Loss	Japanese Loss	Chinese Japanese Loss
	Ground	Several	—	—
	Air	6	—	2

Kwangte	Ground	Over ten	—	—	—	1 11 11
Shanghai	Air	2	—	—	—	Shot down by anti-aircraft guns.
	Shot	1	—	—	—	
Kiaosze	Ground	6	8	—	—	Broadcast that Japanese plane hurled bombs on Nanking Road and French Concession.
Shaoing	Ground	Several	—	—	—	
Kienkiao	Air	9	—	—	—	
Nanking	Ground	8	—	—	—	
	Air	9	—	—	—	
	Forced	1	—	—	—	Air 1 Ground & Air 7
Nanchang	Ground	9	—	—	—	
Hangchow	Ground	1	—	—	—	
Kashing	Ground	8	0	0	2	
	Air	2	—	—	—	
Hungkiao	Ground	2	—	—	—	

Küyung	Ground	13	—	—	—	Broadcast on the 17th
	Air	11	—	—	—	
Yangchow	Ground	9	1	—	—	(3) 11 (Nanking) 1 (Chinkiang) 2
	Air	2	—	—	—	
Shanghai	Air	3	—	—	—	The number claimed by both sides was nearly same.
Haining	Ground	4	—	—	—	The number claimed by both sides was nearly same.
Pengpu	Ground	3	—	—	—	
Hwaiyin	Ground	1	—	—	—	The total number on both sides was 3.
Shanghai	Air	2	1	—	—	
Nanking	—	—	—	—	17	Broadcast in a lecture that 17 Japanese planes were shot down, but Japanese did not make any air raid on that day.

1 11 11

18	Shanghai			1	1	Bombarded the enemy's positions.
19	Nanking			3	3	Bombarded the Nanking Powder plant.
20	Kwangte	Ground	4	0	—	2
		Air	4	—	—	
21	Unknown			—	—	1
	Shanghai	Air	2	—	—	1
	Chuehoh	Ground	2	—	—	—
		Scores of them		—	—	—
	Yangchow	Ground	3	1	—	Air 3
		Air	1	—	—	
22	Shanghai	Air	5	2	—	3
		Forced	2	—	—	
	Kiangyin			—	—	1
	Unknown			—	—	1
23	Shanghai	Air	9	—	—	Broadcast that

				1	—	1	Japanese hurled bombs at Szechiang Road resulting in 300 casualties.
	Nanking			—	—	1	Bombarded aerodromes.
25	Shanghai	Air	6	—	—		
		Forced	2	—	—		
27	Nanking			1	—	1	Attacked the enemy's positions.
				1	—	2	
28	Shanghai			—	—		
29	Kwangte	Ground	1	1	—	2	Chinese planes bombed the American steamer, the President Hoover.
30	Shanghai	Air	2	0	—		
31	Canton	Ground	3	1	—	2	
		Air	3	—	—		

1期附

September		11月		
2	Shanghai Air 4	Forced 1	3	Broadcast that one of the Japanese planes was shot down at Nankiang.
4	Shanghai Air 4	Forced 1	3	Broadcast that Japanese planes attacked Nankin at night, which was not true.
7	Kwangte Air 5	0	2	
8	Swatow 0	0	2	Bombed the enemy's positions.
16	Shanghai --	1	1	Bombed the enemy's positions.
	Unknown --	--	13	Chinese report was entirely absurd.
18	Shanghai 1	--	1	The Chekia.

19	Nanking Air 32	Air 3	3	2	7	
	Kiuyung		Forced 1	1	--	
20	Nanking Air 4		1	--	5	The total numbers reported by both sides were the same.
21	Canton Ground 12			2	5	
	Air 17					
	Forced 2					
	Nanking					a score or more Japanese did not make any air-raid on Nankin.
21	Taiywang Air 5	1	1	1	5	Chinese reported their loss in a completely opposite way. The Japanese army's report was correct.
22	Canton Ground 2		1	1	2	Chinese again reported contrary to the truth.
	Nankin Air 4		1	1	4	

四八、諮問委員會ノ事業參加招請ニ對スル帝國政府回答

(九月二十五日)

帝國政府ニ諮問委員會ノ事業參加ヲ招請セラレタル二十一日附貴電正ニ接到予ハ茲ニ左ノ如ク貴下ニ回報スルノ光榮ヲ有ス

抑モ日支兩國ノ協調ニ依ル東亞ノ平和確立ハ帝國政府不變ノ方針ニシテ帝國ハ之カ爲凡ユル努力ヲ盡シ來レルニ拘ラス支那政府ハ排日抗日ヲ以テ其ノ國策ト爲シ對日挑發行爲ハ全支ニ互リ頻々トシテ相繼キ遂ニ不幸今次事變ノ發生ヲ見ルニ至レル次第ナリ仍テ帝國政府ハ支那政府カ深ク茲ニ思ヲ致シニ速反省センコトヲ要望スルモノナリ

而シテ今次事變ノ解決ニ關シテハ帝國政府ハ其ノ從來中外ニ披瀝シ來レル如ク日支間ノ問題ハ日支兩國間ニ於テ現實ニ即セル公正妥當ナル解決方法ヲ發見シ得ヘシトノ確信ヲ堅持スルモノニシテ從テ帝國政府トシテハ從來國際聯盟ノ政治的事業ニ對シ執リ來レル其ノ方針ヲ今日改ムヘキ何

等ノ理由ヲモセサルヲ以テ遺憾乍ラ諮問委員會ノ招請ヲ受諾スルヲ得ヌ

九月二十五日

大日本帝國外務大臣 廣 田 弘 毅

國際聯盟事務總長 「マツノヤ」殿

RÉPONSE DU GOUVERNEMENT JAPONAIS AU TÉLÉGRAMME INVITANT
LE GOUVERNEMENT IMPÉRIAL À PARTICIPER AUX
TRAVAUX DU COMITÉ CONSULATIF.

Tokio, le 25 Septembre 1937.

En accusant réception de votre télégramme en date du 21 courant invitant le Gouvernement Impérial à participer aux travaux du Comité Consulaire, j'ai l'honneur, en réponse, de portée à votre connaissance ce qui suit:

Le maintien de la paix en Asie orientale par une harmonieuse collaboration du Japon et de la Chine est le but que s'est toujours proposé le Gouvernement Impérial et auquel il a apporté tous ses efforts. Cependant, le Gouvernement chinois a fait de l'opposition au

138

180

Japon et de l'agitation anti-japonaise la base de sa politique nationale; des actes de provocation n'ont cessé d'éclater sur toute l'étendue de son territoire, remenant ainsi la malheureuse affaire actuelle. Le Gouvernement japonais ne peut donc qu'exprimer le désir que le Gouvernement chinois, prenant conscience de cet état de choses, revienne bientôt à d'autres sentiments.

En ce qui concerne le règlement de la présente affaire, le Gouvernement Impérial, ainsi qu'il l'a déclaré à maintes reprises, a la ferme conviction qu'une solution des questions intéressant le Japon et la Chine juste, équitable et réaliste, saura être trouvée par les deux pays.

Par conséquent, le Gouvernement japonais, ne voyant aucune raison de se départir de la ligne de conduite qu'il a suivie jusqu'ici à l'égard des activités politiques de la Société des Nations, regrette de ne pouvoir accepter l'invitation du Comité Consultatif.

HIROTA

Ministre des Affaires Étrangères du Japon.

四九、南京空爆箇所公表 (九月二十六日)

LIST OF BOMBARDMENTS IN AND AROUND NANKING.

DATE	PLACES BOMBARDED	CASUALTIES CAUSED
September 19	Ta Hsiao Chang airdrome Munitions factory Gendarmerie Headquarters	hangars considerable damage
20	The General Staff Office Wireless station Yu Hua Tai fort Fu Kui Shan fort Ta Hsiao Chang airdrome	proved effective slight damage considerable damage considerable damage great damage
22	Air Defence Committee Central Kuomintang Headquarters North Station and warehouses in the vicinity Shih Tzu Shan fort	fire started many successful hits bombarded and fire started 2 bombs hit

181

25 Kuomintang Nanking Municipal Headquarters
 Wireless station
 Communications Corps
 Ministry of Military Affairs
 Army supply warehouse in the vicinity of
 Kiang Pei station
 Pei Chi Ko air defence fort

1 E 11

completely destroyed or
 greatly damaged

五〇 南京廣東空襲ニ對スル情報部長談話 (九月二十七日)

We have not received detailed official information such as the report spread elsewhere regarding the result of the bombing. The *Reuter* report from Canton is especially exaggerated due to the fact that its correspondent at Canton is a Chinese, named Liang,—a fact which will explain the utter unreliability of the report. (The London *Reuter* of very recent date has corrected the false reports). Even if the facts are not so sensational as reported, it is absolutely impossible that the Japanese-forces make non-combatants the objectives of their attacks. That was the very reason the Japanese had given a previous notice concerning their bombing. This was given in order to prevent any untoward misfortunes befalling foreign diplomats at Nanking; and simultaneously, with this notice, Vice-Admiral Hasegawa, Commander-in-Chief of the Third Fleet, warned Chinese citizens of Nanking, urging them to keep away from the military works and establishments which would be made the objectives of the Japanese attack.

In both Nanking and Canton, Chinese military establishments,—in other words, buildings and other kinds of establishments which are employed for military purposes, are not segregated from the residential and business districts of the citizens in general. This fact is not clearly understood by foreigners, some of whom seem to believe that all military esta-

blishments are outside the city proper, and that the Japanese forces are deliberately making non-combatants their objectives—thus making unreasonable criticisms against the Japanese forces. We cannot but urge the authorities of Nanking and Canton to give advance notice to their citizens, who live in and around those military establishments that are likely to be directly damaged by bombs, to seek safety in areas other than the fighting zone.

Nothing has been settled concerning the law regarding aerial combat. Regarding this, we cannot help recollecting that, in 1922 when the conference having to do with the law concerning aerial combats was held at the Hague, Japan, the United States, Italy and several other countries insisted that the objects of bombardment should be limited and concretely enumerated, while both England and France emphasized that all that could be accepted as military establishments might well be bombed.

Moreover, according to the latest informations, the rate of successful hits of Japanese air raids upon Canton was high; and the military establishments, e.g., the Pai-yun Aerodrome, Tien-ho Aerodrome, Tseng-pu powder-magazine, Tsung-hua Aerodrome, Hu-men Aerodrome, the First Ammunition Factory, Shih-ching Arsenal, Cha-tou Smokeless Powder Factory, Military Academy—were bombed; and the alleged report (by *Reuters*) that a large number of non-combatants were killed and wounded was found to be entirely a Chinese fabrication.

五、支那各地空爆個所公表 (九月二十九日)

LIST OF BOMBARDMENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE ON THE 29TH INSTANT.

DISTRICT	PLACED BOMBARDED	CASUALTIES CAUSED
Canton	<i>Pakong How</i> (?) Munition Factory	Important buildings were bombed and fire caused
Nanking	<i>Tsung/a</i> (Tsung Hua) Airdrome Ta Hsian Airdrome	Five hangars and the barrack were bombed The hangar was bombed and great damage caused
Ki Yung (Chi Jung)	Airdrome	The hangar was greatly damaged. Two aeroplanes in the compound were destroyed, and one fighting-plane was brought down in an air duel.
Wu Hu	Airdrome	Five enemy planes in the compound were destroyed; five set to the fuel warehouse. One enemy plane was brought down in an air duel.
Hang Chow	Airdrome	Great damage was caused to the airdrome.

Kwang Teh	New Airrome	The hangars and the flying school were greatly damaged.
Hsu Chow	Station: Military Goods-train; warehouses for army supplies.	Greatly damaged.
Outside Shanghai		In consort with the army, bombardment was kept throughout the day on important enemy positions, causing great damages to them.

1日:

五二、南京廣東空爆及支那漁船攻撃説ニ關スル情報部長談
 (於外人記者團會見) (九月二十九日)

一、
 壽府ヲハ日本空軍ノ爆撃、殊ニ南京、廣東ニ對スル攻撃ヲ非難シ、聯盟諮問委員會ハ日本空軍カ「無防禦ノ都市」ヲ攻撃シタトテ、之ヲ「嚴肅ニ非難」スル決議ヲ採擇シタ。我カ日本トシテハ、聯盟ノ措置ニ對シテ何等關心ヲ寄セル理由ハナイ、然シ聯盟トモアラウモノカ確實ナル證據モナク偏頗ニシテ不正確極マル新聞記事ヲ取上ケ無責任ニモ我國ヲ非難スル態度ニ出テタルニ對シテハ、日本國民ハ甚タシキ憤激ヲ禁シ得ナイノテアル。

第一ニ南京、廣東等カ無防禦都市タトイフ聯盟委員會決議ノ論據ソレ自體既ニ虛妄ノ事デアリ、之等ノ都市カ要塞其他軍事施設ヲ以テ固メラレテキルコトハ公知ノ事テアル。公正ノ爲ニモ將又聯盟ノ威信ノ爲ニモ、ソノ言動ノ確證ニ基クモノタルコトヲ希望セサルヲ得ナイ。

我空軍ノ活動ニ關シテ如何ニ荒唐無稽ノ報道カ行ハレルカハ、九月二十七日香港「サウス・チャイナ・モーニング・ポスト」紙ノ記事ニヨリ一目瞭然テアル、即チ九月二十四日廣東「ロイタル」



通信ハ日本航空隊ノ襲撃ノ結果無幸ノ市民數千カ死傷シタト報シタカ、同紙ハ右報道ヲ以テ誇張モ甚クシト指摘シタ。「ポスト」紙記者カ直接ニ廣東當局ヲ訪問シ、且ツ在住外人ニ事ノ眞否ヲ糾シタトコロ、廣東市民ノ死傷ハ百人ニモ達シナイトイフノテアリ、又、土曜、日曜ノ兩日ハ廣東テハ間斷ナク空爆警報ヲ鳴ラシテキタニ拘ラス、日本空軍ノ爆彈ハ市内ニハ投下サレナカツタノテアル。

一四八

日本陸海軍ノ空襲ハ、我國カ支那ノ挑戰ヲ受ケテ已ムナク起シタ軍事行動ノ一部テアツテ、我軍空爆ノ目標カ決シテ非戦闘員ニ對スルモノテナク、只支那軍及軍事施設ニ止マルコトハ我政府ノ屢々聲明シタ處テ又コノ事ハソノ後ノ我軍ノ行動ニ徴シテモ明カテアル。更メテ想起スル迄モナク、空中攻撃ノ一般問題ニ關シテハ、日本ハ一九二二年「ハーグ」會議ノ際米國ト共ニ空爆目標ノ制限ヲ主張シタカ英佛ノ反對ニヨリ右ノ主張ハ不成立ニ終ツタモノテアル。然シ乍ラ事茲ニ至ツテハ、我陸海軍ハ一切ノ機會ヲ捉ヘテ敵ノ戰鬥力ヲ破壊スル必要カアリ、我軍ハ勇敢ニコノ任務ヲ遂行シツツアルノテアル。日本空軍ハ今次事變ノ當初ヨリ、ソノ攻撃目標ヲ軍隊及軍事施設ニ限ル嚴命ヲ受ケテヨリ、支那空軍ノ「ブレンデント・フーヴァー」號ニ對スル爆撃等ト選ラ異ニシ、非戦闘員ト知りツツ之ヲ攻撃シタルコトナク、又高空ヨリ爆彈ノ無差別

投下ヲ行フカ如キコトモナイ。日本軍カ軍事目標ノ爆撃ニ際シテ、彈着ヲ該目標ノミニ限ル爲支那ノ防禦砲火ノ危険ヲ冒シ急降下ヲ敢行シ、コレカ爲犠牲ヲ増大セル事實、又一旦基地ヲ出發セル飛行機カ惡天候ノ爲目標ノ明瞭ナラサルニヨリ、爆彈ヲ抱イタママ歸還セル事實等ニ鑑ミルモ、ソノ空爆カ如何ニ支那軍隊及軍事施設ノミニアツタカハ極メテ明瞭テアル。更ニ又、粵漢鐵道カ連日連夜多數軍隊及軍需品ヲ北方戰線ニ輸送シ、之カ爲我軍ノ犠牲カ當然豫測セラレタル狀況ニアツタニ拘ラス、我方ハ避難者ノ無事輸送ヲ待チ始メテ線路ノ破壊、軍需品輸送貨車ノ爆撃ヲ決行シタ様ナ次第テアル。

但不幸ナコトハ、空中戰ノ現狀ニアツテハ、如何ニ技術優秀ノ飛行隊ト雖モ爆撃上絕對正確ヲ期シ得サルコトテアル。右ノ事情ニヨリ且又人命ノ損傷ヲ避クル爲、日本空軍司令部ニ於テハ空襲ノ敢行ニ際シ能フ限リ事前ニ警告ヲ發シ、以テ非戦闘員ノ安全ニ責任ヲ負フ關係當局ニ對シ一切ノ措置ヲ講スルノ餘裕ヲ與ヘタコトテ、我方トシテハ軍事上多大ノ不利ヲ忍ンテ來タノテアル。然シ乍ラ今日ノ情勢トナツテハ、我國ハ斷々乎トシテ敵ノ戰鬥力ヲ擊滅スル一切ノ必要措置ヲ執ルモノテ、右ノ措置カ支那側ノ挑戰ニヨル不可避的事變擴大ノ結果タルコトハ牢記スルヲ要スル。カノ血腥キ八月十四日、上海ヲ攻撃シテ共同租界、日本總領事館、帝國軍艦ニ爆彈投下ヲ敢

一四九

テシタルモノハ支那空軍ヲアル。而シテ支那側ハ和平解決案ヲ願ミス、敵對行為回避努力ノ尙進行中ナルニ拘ラス嚴肅ナル誓約ヲ破ツテ多數兵團ヲ租界ノ境界ニ進メタモノテアル。
日本ハ如何ナル國モ非戰闘員ヲ攻撃スル權利ナキモノナルコトヲ茲ニ重ネテ聲明スル。我國ハ右ノ原則ノ下ニ、一路目的ニ邁進スルモノヲ、ソノ當然責任ハ回避スルモノテナイカ偏頗不公平ノ非難ハ斷シテ排撃スルモノテアル。

二、

支那側ノ虛構宣傳ハ、最近愈々甚クシク日本軍ニヨル非戰闘員ノ大量虐殺、病院、學校ノ破壊等ヲ放送シ、蔣介石夫人モ「プロバガンダスト」トシテ暗躍シテキルカ、支那側ニ於テ斯カル宣傳ヲ用キルニ至ツタコトハ、我カ軍事行動、殊ニ軍事施設ニ對スル空爆及沿岸航行遮斷ニヨリ日本ニ對抗スル望ミヲ失ツタニ外ナラナイ。

併シ支那側ノ荒唐無稽ノ宣傳ハ、却ツテ逆效果ヲ奏シテキル。支那側代辯者ノ供給スル「ニュース」ノ不正確ニハ、上海駐在外國通信員モ不平タラタラテアリ、蔣介石モ捏造「ニュース」ノ流布ニヨル支那ノ信用失墜ヲ憂ヘ數日前「デマ」報道ノ抑制ヲ命令シタ位テアル。

支那側ノ宣傳ハ特ニ日本航空隊ノ行動ニ集中シ、日本軍飛行機カ支那側ノ旗章ヲ盗用シタトカ又

ハ日本軍飛行機二機カ墜落セラレタトカ放送シタカ、之ハ支那側飛行機ノ墜落ヲ蔽フ支那式宣傳ニ過キナイ。支那側ノ不正不義ニ對シ、正々堂々膺懲ノ軍ヲ進メテキル帝國軍隊ニ於テハ、敵國ノ旗章盗用等想像タニシ得ナイコトヲ、日本軍人ハ不名譽ノ行動ニ出テテヨリハ死ヲ選ブノテアル。支那側ニ於ケル「ニュース」ノ工作振リハ、八月十四日上海「カセー、ホテル」ノ空爆當時遺憾ナク發揮セラレタ。支那新聞檢閱官ハ電文中ノ「支那飛行機」ナル文字ヲ「日本飛行機」ニ變改シタカ、豈計ラシヤ之ニヨツテ電文ノ關係上、日本軍飛行機カ帝國軍艦出雲ヲ爆撃シタル滑稽ナ結果トナツタノデアアル。

支那側カ斯クノ如ク新聞電報ニ干渉スル結果、外國通信員ハ通信ヲ香港ニ郵送シ同地カラ之ヲ電報ニ打ツコトニナツタカ、斯ウシタ電報ハ上海發電トハ内容ニ雲泥ノ差カアツタノデアアル。
更ニ他ノ適例ハ、日本潜水艦カ支那「ジャンク」ヲ撃沈シテ三百名ノ死傷者ヲ出シタトイフ虛報テアル。然シ乍ラ日本潜水艦ハ「ジャンク」等ヲ攻撃セサル様嚴命ヲ受ケテ居リ、從ツテ右ノ攻撃ノ如キハ事實ニモ、想像ニモアリ得ナイコトテアル、ノミナラス日本潜水艦ニシテ右「ジャンク」撃沈事件ノ起ツタトイフ海面ニ當時航行中ノモノハ一隻モナカツタ譯テ、此ノ報道カ絶對ニ捏造「ニュース」ニ過キナイコトハ、自分ノ斷言シ得ルトコロテアル。

1#11

MR. KAWAI'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS.

September 29, 1937.

Japan has been criticized at Geneva concerning her air operations, especially against Nanking and Canton. The Advisory Committee of the League of Nations has voted a resolution "formally condemning" Japanese aviation for attacks on "undefended Chinese cities."

Though the action taken by the League is no particular concern of ours and does not call for special comment, it must be recorded that the Japanese nation is deeply indignant at the irresponsible way with which this important matter has been dealt, as the League's action has been taken, not on any formal evidence, but on the basis of inaccurate reports from one side only.

The very basis of the accusation, that Nanking and Canton are undefended cities, is untrue. There are fortresses and military establishments in both cities; the Chinese have themselves boasted of the perfection of their anti-aircraft defense. It is to be desired, were it not only in the cause of justice and fair play but merely for the sake of the League's prestige, that discussion and action be based on something better than unreliable news.

How facts are being distorted can be seen by an article appearing in the South China Morning Post of September 27 pointing out that the Reuter report dated September 24 saying that casualties reached several thousands, nearly all being civilians, was "grossly exaggerated".

The writer interviewed Chinese officials and foreigners and was told by the mayor that probably not more than 100 were killed in air raids on Canton. Alarms continued to be sounded during the week-end but only a few small-sized bombs were dropped on the outskirts of the city.

The bombardments undertaken by the Japanese army and navy are a part of the military action she is being compelled to take, and it has been made clear by all the declarations of the Japanese Government and the subsequent operations that their objectives are limited to military forces and establishments. Japanese forces do not take non-combatants as the target of their attack. It has already been recalled here that as concerns air bombardments, Japan, at the Hague Conference in 1922, together with the United States, advocated the limitation of objectives as against the opinion of Great Britain and France, which prevailed.

But once hostilities have broken out, it is necessary to seize every opportunity available to destroy the striking power of the enemy, and this the fighting forces of Japan are

1#11

doing with valour.

Our air forces, however, have the most strict orders to confine their attacks to military objectives. No Japanese airman has wilfully and deliberately aimed at non-combatants—as the Chinese have when they bombed the “President Hoover.” The Japanese air force does not indulge in indiscriminate loosening of bombs at high altitudes. In fact, so strictly are the Japanese airmen following their instructions that many a time planes have reported to headquarters with their bomb-racks still loaded, after covering distances of several hundred miles, as they could not discern and distinguish clearly their targets from non-military objectives. Our air forces have indeed suffered perhaps needless sacrifices due to the careful reconnoitering of targets and the method of power diving to ensure greater accuracy.

In the actual state of aviation, perfect accuracy is unfortunately impossible to obtain, especially in action, even by the most experienced airman. It is because of this and hoping to avoid damage to human lives that the Japanese air command have gone so far as to give notice beforehand, whenever actually possible, so that the authorities responsible for the safety of civilians might be enabled to take all necessary measures—even though this notice meant better preparations against our planes. They have refrained from attacking the Hankow-Canton railway till the last foreign refugee party had been evacuated—

even though each hour meant more troops and munitions being sent to the enemy's firing line.

Things having come to the present stage, Japan is resolved to take all the necessary steps to destroy the fighting power of her adversary. It must not be forgotten that those steps are being carried out in view of the extension of hostilities which the Chinese have forced upon her. It was the Chinese air force that attacked Shanghai on Bloody Saturday, August 14, bombing the Settlement, the Japanese Consulate General, the Japanese warships. It was the Chinese who, turning down conciliatory proposals, sent division after division on the border of the Settlement in defiance of solemn promises and in spite of the fact that efforts were still being made to avoid hostilities.

Once more, Japan declares that no country in the world has the right to attack non-combatants. Under this principle she will unflinchingly pursue her way. Unjust criticism will not deter her. Her true responsibilities she will shoulder. But she declines to be judged on false grounds.

五三、南京廣東空爆ニ關スル情報部長談(於外人記者團會見)

(九月二十七日)

一五六

日本政府ニオイテハ傳ヘラレル如キ空爆ノ結果ニツキ充分ノ報告ニ接シテキナイ、廣東ノ「ロイテ
ル」電報ハ最モ誇張的テアルカ、同地ノ通信員ハ支那人梁某テアルカラ最モ信ヲオキ難イ、事實ノ
真相ハ傳ヘラレルカ如キ「センセーショナル」ナモノテナイト思フカ、非戦闘員ヲ攻撃ノ目標トス
ルコトハ絶體ニ眞意テハナイ、日本ハ非戦闘員ヲ目標トシテ攻撃スルカ如キコトハ斷シテナイ、ソ
レ故ニ爆撃ニ先タツテ豫告シタ次第テアル、即チ南京ニオケル各國外交官ニ對シテハ萬一ノ不慮
ノ災害カナイヤウ豫メ懇切ニ通告シ別ニ二十日長谷川司令長官ハ支那人ニ對シ我方攻撃ノ目標ナ
ル軍事施設附近ヨリ避難スルヤウニ一般警告ヲ發シタ、殊ニ南京廣東兩市ニオイテハ軍事施設及
軍事關係建造物、換言スレハ適性ヲ有スル建造物及ヒ施設カ一般市民ヤ營業者ト截然分離サレタ
地域ニタクソレ等ト混在シテキルコトテアル、某國ノ如キハコノ點ノ認識カ十分テタク軍事施設
ハスヘテ市内ノ外ニアルモノノ如ク誤解シテ居リ、コレカタメメノ爆撃ハ故意ニ非戦闘員ヲ目
標トスル爆撃テアルト誤信シ、日本軍ヲ非難シテキルノハ失當ノ非難トイハネハナラス、故ニ南

京、廣東兩市支那當局ニ對シテハ爆撃ノタメ間接的ニ被害ヲ蒙ルヘキ恐レル地域ニ居住マタハ
營業スル市民ニ對シテハ豫メ安全地帯ニ避難センメルコトニツイテ懈怠ナキヲ要望セサルヲ得
ヌ、空戦法規ニ關シテ確立サレタモノノナイコトハ一九二二年「ヘーグ」ノ空戦法會議ノ際日、米、
伊等カ空爆ノ目的物ヲ具體的ニ制限列舉スヘキコトヲ主張シタノニ對シ、オヨソ軍用目的物ト認
メ得ルモノハスヘテコレヲ空爆スヘシト強調シタノハ英佛兩國テアツタイキサツヲ想起セサルヲ
得ナイ、ナホ最近入手シタ情報ニヨレハ日本空軍ノ廣東空爆命中率ハ正確テ軍事施設ニ的中シ居
リ「ロイテル」等ノ初メ報シタル如ク非戦闘員多數ニ死傷者ヲ出シタ事實ハナカツタ模様テアル。

COMMENTS MADE BY MR. KAWAI.

September 29, 1937.

Vivid and blood-curdling accounts of wholesale massacres of non-combatants, destruc-
tion of hospitals and schools have been broadcast by the Chinese propagandists of whom
the least is not Madam Chiang Kaihek herself. The reason for this campaign is clear to
all; the Chinese are using this arm as they see no hope of successfully staying off the

一五七

148

military measures which their irresponsible attitude has compelled Japan to take, especially our attacks by air on their military establishments and the interruption of traffic enforced along their coast.

The very recklessness of their propaganda has sometimes defeated its end; it is hardly necessary to recall the complaints made by foreign correspondents in Shanghai about the inaccuracy—to say the least—of the news given out by the Chinese spokesman. It may be more to the point to recall the orders given by Chiang Kaishek a few days ago that truthful news only should be issued as the reputation of the Chinese had been badly damaged by giving out information which proved to be erroneous.

The Chinese have specially concentrated their propaganda on attacking our air forces. They have stated that Japanese planes bore Chinese marks and that two of them had been actually shot down—a clever way of explaining the destruction of their own planes. No Japanese soldier or sailor would consent to fight for his country in an airplane bearing the enemy's insignia. He would consider himself dishonoured and prefer death.

Another example of the Chinese way of handling news was seen when the Cathay Hotel in Shanghai was bombed, on August 14. The Chinese censors deliberately replaced the word "*Chinese* planes" by "*Japanese*". The result, however, made the garb of the text to read as if Japanese planes had attacked the battleship, "*Idzumo*", which gave

away the whole show.

It is well-known that such interference with messages has obliged correspondents to send their reports by mail to Hongkong from where they are relayed to the head offices, and the messages thus forwarded proved to be vastly different from those filed in Shanghai on the same subject.

Another fact to point is the story about Chinese junks having been torpedoed by Japanese submarines causing more than 300 casualties. This is unimaginable as the Japanese submarines have strict orders not to interfere with the junk traffic; further, no Japanese submarine is actually cruising in the adjacent waters where this incident is alleged to have taken place. I can affirm that this story is absolutely untrue.

五四 南京空爆ニ關スル帝國政府回答文

(九月三十日)

〔米、佛ニ對シテ書翰ノ形式ニテ
 英ニ對シテハ覺書ノ形式ニテ〕

一六〇

以書翰啓上致候。陳者、九月二十二日附書翰ヲ以テ帝國軍ノ南京爆撃ニ關シ御申越ノ次第閣悉致候。

貴國政府ニ於テモ御了知ノ通り南京ハ他ニ其ノ類例ヲ見サル程最モ堅固ニ防禦セラレタル支那軍作戦ノ中樞根據地ナルヲ以テ同市内外ニ於ケル軍事的機關乃至施設ヲ爆撃スルハ帝國軍ノ軍事目的達成ノ爲必要已ムヘカラサル措置ニ有之帝國軍ノ爆撃モ嚴ニ右ノ範圍ヲ出テス無差別的ニ非戦闘員ヲモ對象トスルモノニ非ルハ言ヲ俟タサル所ニシテ事前支那側非戦闘員ニ對シテモ警告セルハ右ヲ立證スルモノニ有之候。

又第三國ノ權益並ニ第三國人ノ生命財産ノ安全ヲ出來得ル限リ尊重致シ度シトノ帝國政府ノ屢次聲明セル方針ハ今次爆撃ニ際シテモ何等變更ナキハ勿論ニ有之、今般貴國官民並ニ艦船ノ避難ヲ

中入レタルモ畢竟我方最大ノ注意ニ拘ラス第三國人ニ不慮ノ災害ノ及フコトアルヘキヲ極力回避致シ度シトノ念慮ニ出テタル外他意ナキ次第ニ有之候。

此ノ如ク帝國軍カ事前通告ニ依リ作戦行動上少カラサル制肘ヲ受ケ居ルニモ拘ラス今回ノ如ク第三國人ノ避難方希望セル次第ハ貴國政府ニ於テモ十分御了解ノ上右帝國政府ノ措置ニ協力方切望致シ候。

尙今次支那ニ於ケル戦闘行為ノ結果第三國人ノ蒙レル損害ニ關スル帝國政府ノ意向ハ曩ニ申進メ置キノ通りニ有之候。

右回答旁々本大臣ハ茲ニ重ネテ閣下ニ向テ敬意ヲ表シ候 敬具

(Official translation)

Japanese Government's reply concerning the bombing of Nanking by the Japanese force

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur: (American, British and French)

I beg hereby to inform Your Excellency that we have read your letter, dated the 22nd of September, concerning the bombing of Nanking by the Japanese force.

Since Nanking is, as Your Excellency is fully aware, the central base of the Chinese

一六一

1411

military operations with unparalleled strong defenses, it is unavoidable, for the purpose of attaining the military aim of the Japanese forces, that the military organs and establishments located in and around Nanking should be bombed. The bombing operations of the Japanese forces are not carried on beyond the scope above mentioned, it being unnecessary to say that they are not directed indiscriminately at non-combatants. The warning issued in advance to non-combatants serves as a testimony to the above statement. It goes without saying that in carrying out the present operations, there is no change in the policy frequently enunciated of late by the Japanese Government that they are earnestly solicitous of the safety of the rights and interests as well as of the lives and property of the nationals of third Powers which it is their wish to respect to the greatest extent possible. Our request to the effect that the officials and civilians and vessels of your Excellency's country take refuge is due to no other thought than our earnest desire to prevent any untoward misfortune befalling the nationals of third Powers, in spite of the utmost caution taken by the Japanese forces.

The Japanese Government hope that the Government of the United States, fully understanding that the Japanese forces, although greatly handicapped in their operations by giving advance notice requesting the nationals of third Powers to seek refuge, will be good enough to cooperate with the measures taken by the Japanese Government.

As regards the damages suffered by the nationals of third Powers as a result of the present hostilities in China, the intention of the Japanese Government remain the same as previously brought to the knowledge of Your Excellency.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

署名者

宛先

1411

五五、機雷爆破事件ニ對スル情報部長談話（九月三十日）

一六四

STATEMENT BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU.

September 30, 1937.

A typical case showing the Chinese abuse of civilian establishments for military purposes occurred on Wednesday this week on the Whangpoo River, when at 5:40 a.m. there exploded with a terrific detonation a control mine at a point about 250 metres upstream from the flagship Izumo of the Japanese Third Fleet which was anchored near the Pootung Point. The device set by the Chinese in their attempt to blow up our flagship exploded too soon. Men of the ship traced the electric ignition cable attached to the mine to a point within the compound of a British concern, the Shanghai Dock and Engineering Works, ascertaining the fact definitely that the control mine was manipulated there.

Upon seeing our seamen landing there, the British fleet protested to our Third Fleet on the ground that the landing of the Japanese seamen would give rise to hostilities between the Japanese and Chinese forces which might damage the British interests in that district.

That the Japanese refuted the protest with the unquestionable evidence in their possession was a matter of course.

This case of the Chinese violation of civilian and third Power's interests is an eloquent testimony to the inexcusable and indiscriminate use made by the Chinese of all kinds of civilian establishments. To the Chinese who are occupying various cultural and religious establishments for military operations, the untimely explosion of their own device proved to be a boomerang.

一六四

五六、日本潜水艦ノ支那戎克襲撃説ニ對スル情報部長談話

(十月一日)

GIST OF THE STORY TOLD BY THE CAPTAIN AND THE CHIEF OFFICER OF
THE GERMAN STEAMER "SCHARNHORST" REGARDING THE ACCUSA-
TION BY SOME FOREIGN PAPERS OF THE JAPANESE
SUBMARINE'S ATTACK ON CHINESE JUNKS:

"While proceeding seven miles off "Pedrobranco?" about 50 miles from Hongkong, at 3 a.m. on the 27th, we rescued nine Chinese men and one Chinese woman. We left the above-mentioned point at 7.25 a.m., for Hongkong, where we handed them over to the Hongkong Police authorities.

After we rescued the said Chinese, we wanted to hear circumstances of their misfortune through the interpretation of our Chinese crew, but apparently they seemed to be Southern Chinese. Our crew being from the Ningpo district could hardly understand them, and failed to obtain any information.

Judging by their appearance at the time of the rescue, there was not the slightest sign of their having been attacked by submarine.

Upon arriving at Hongkong, we had no visitors, to say nothing of newspaper reporters, except Police officers. We, therefore, did not give out any statement about the Chinese we had rescued.

We were therefore quite surprised to find the report about the affair appearing in Hongkong papers on August 28th."

The above is the gist of the story as told by the Captain and the Chief Officer of the "Scharnhorst".

I want to add in this connection that I was officially informed that all the Japanese submarines were assembled for maneuver at Mako in the Pescadores, Formosa, on the very day of the alleged incident. The charges levelled against the Japanese submarine are therefore completely groundless and absurd.

五七、外人記者會見ニ於ケル情報部長談話（十月一日）

一六八

一、支那側ノ虚構ナル宣傳ハ外國輿論ノ一部ヲ誤魔化シタ様テアル。
今次ノ戰闘ハ支那側カ之ヲ挑發シタコトハ否定シ得サル事實テアルニ拘ラス支那側テハ頻リニ外國人ニ向テ日本ニ其ノ責任アリト信セシメ様ト努メテ居ル、北支上海何レニ於テモ我最善ノ努力ニモ拘ラス支那側ノ排日態度ハ改マラス又我在留民ノ權益ニ對スル重大ナル脅威ノ爲日本カ最後迄手ヲ盡シタ和平解決手段ハ效ヲ奏セス遂ニ戰闘トナツタノテアル、九月十日ノ倫敦「タイムズ」ハ戰闘ノ開始ハ如何ニモ我方ノ責任テアルカノ如ク書イテ居ルカ其實歴史的トモ稱セラレル八月十四日ノ晩ノ如キハ我在留民ニ加ヘラレタル危險状態ハ如何ニモハラハラサセラルモノテアツテ遂ニ我々ニ一睡モ許サナカツタ、輿論ノ指導者タルモノカ輕々ニ事實ノ真相ヲ檢討スルコトナク重大ナル影響ヲ齎スカ如キ執筆ヲナスハ十分慎重ムヘキモノト信スル。

二、支那人カヤモスレハ暴力ニ訴ヘルコトニ付テハ今日迄諸外國モ昔イ經驗ヲ嘗メテ居ル、支那人カ上海ヨリ日本人其他ノ洋鬼ヲ追放スル計畫カ失敗シタノテ暴力工作ヲ捨テテ宣傳工作ニ

移ツタ。世界各國カ之ニ氣付カス感ハサレテキルコトハ不思議テタマラナイ、目下壽府ニ於テモ世界ノ責任アル政治家カ顧維鈞ノ甘言ニ乗セラレテイル。支那代表カ小委員會ノ設置ニ反對シ二十三人委員會ニ日支事變ノ討議ヲ要求シテヤマナイノハ支那トシテハ尤モテアラウ、何トナレハ極東ノ事情ニ比較的ニヨク通シテ居ル委員ハカリノ出席スル危險ノアル小委員會ヲ説得スルヨリモ二十三人委員會ノ仰々シイ討議ヲ通シテ世界ノ輿論ヲ煽動スル方カ容易テアルト考ヘタカラテアラウ。

英國代表「クランボーン」卿ハ日支紛争ハ兩國以外ニトリ重大ナル關係アリト云ツタト傳ヘラレテキル、之ハ察スルニ太平洋問題ニ深イ關係ノアル列強ノ會議ヲ召集スルコトノ必要又ハ好マシキコトヲ「ヒント」シタモノト思ハレル。我々ハ現下ノ状態ニ於テ仲裁ヲ必要トセサル事ヲ明瞭ニシタイト思フ。支那カソノ態度ヲ改メソノ反日政策ヲ根本的ニ捨テル迄ハ我々ハ最後マテ徹底的ニ戰フ決心ヲシテキルコトヲ承知シテ貰ヒタイ。從ツテ、殘念ナカラ嘗テ言ツタ様ニ日本ハ斷乎トシテ既定方針ニ邁進スルモノテアル。若シ列強ノ何レカカ仲裁セントスレハ、先ツ第一ニ日本ノ目的トスルモノカ那邊ニアルカヲ充分ニ理解セネハナラス。若シ何レノ列強ニシテモ支那ト行動ヲ共ニセント欲スルナラハソレハ全ク御勝手タルヘシ、テアル、唯ソノ國

一六九

ハ支那ノ虚偽ノ宣傳ニ十分ニ注意シテカカルカヨカラウ。
 國際委員會又ハ太平洋各國會議ヲ招集シテ日支、紛擾ヲモ取扱ハントスルコトハ、尠ク共現在
 ニ於テハ時宜ニ適シタモノトハ云ヘナイ。若シ右委員會ナリ又ハ會議カ諮問委員會ノ日本空軍
 非難ノ決議ト同様ニ事ノ真相ヲ全然理解シナイ様ナ事カアルト、仲裁ノ總テノ努力ハ無益ニ終
 ルテアラツ。

斯カル手段ハ惡意ノ報道ニ根據ヲ置クモノナルヲ以テ、我々日本國民全體カ企圖スル建設的且
 永久的ノ解決ヲ更ニ困難ナラシムルモノテアル。日本ハ支那ヲ破壊セントシテキルノテハナ
 イ、併シ平和ヲ亂シテキルモノヲ一掃セントシテキルノテアル。
 彼等ハ今ヤ世界最大ノ擾亂者即チ共產黨ト公然一緒ニナツタ。

日本ハ支那ノ領土ヲ欲スルモノテハナイ、只ソノ協力ヲ求めテキルモノテアル、ソレハ發展ト
 建設ノ新時代ヲ齎シ、之ニ依ツテ當ニ日支兩國ノミナラス全世界ノ繁榮ト平和トヲ招來セント
 企圖スルモノテアル。

STATEMENT BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU.

October 1, 1937.

I. The Chinese seem, by their mendacious propaganda, to have attained a certain degree of success in fooling a part of public opinion. Although it is an indisputable fact that the Chinese have precipitated the present hostilities, they are misleading foreigners in believing the contrary. They have systematically encouraged and exploited the anti-Japanese sentiment of the masses, working it up to a fever-pitch which was chiefly responsible for the outbreak of the conflict in the North as well as in the South. At Shanghai, they murdered in cold-blood Japanese marines on regular duty on a Settlement road, and, taking advantage of our conciliatory attitude, massed huge troops upon the border of the Settlement. This was, in view of the prevailing spirit among the Chinese troops, a direct menace to our residents and indirectly to the Settlement. It was also clearly in violation of the Agreement of 1932 which established a demilitarized zone in which hostile action was strictly prohibited. We exerted every effort, to the very last minute, to limit and localize the issue; in fact, we only resorted to force in defence, after the Chinese attacks on August 13 and their reckless bombing on August 14. Unfortunately, in many countries abroad, these circumstances are not fully understood. For instance, in the leading article

entitled "The War in China" (The London Times' September 10) there is this passage:

"As a direct result of this incident, and without waiting for an inquiry into its circumstances, fifteen vessels of the Japanese Third Fleet appeared in the Whangpoo River with decks cleared for action and landed a force of 4,000 marines in the International Settlement, where a similar but slightly larger force was already stationed. The Japanese admiral in command, alleging on slender grounds a breach by the Chinese of the somewhat nebulous provisions of the 1932 Agreement, demanded the withdrawal from the Shanghai area of the Peace Preservation Corps and all other military effectives. The Chinese replied by moving in the 88th Division and taking up a defensive position; and on August 13 the inevitable skirmishes provoked the inferno which has raged over Shanghai ever since."

All we can say to this is that the writer of this article should know better. It is a terrible responsibility which leaders of public opinion take upon themselves when they make utterances even in good faith, which are not based on fact and so lack fairness. In fact, our marines were being so enormously outnumbered at the outset that on the night of that memorable "Bloody Saturday," August 14th, we were in such a dire fear lest the Japanese sector of the Settlement be overrun by the vastly superior Chinese armies that most of us passed a sleepless night.

II. Foreign Powers have known by bitter experience how easily the Chinese will

resort to violence, often uncontrolled. It was a part of their well considered plan to attack and annihilate the Japanese in the Settlement. Their strategy was to quickly overrun the Settlement before the arrival of our reinforcements and force us—and, if possible, other "foreign devils" as well—out of Shanghai. We repeat: the Chinese believed in violence. Now, as they have failed in their policy of violence, they are now resorting to a policy of propaganda. What makes us wonder is the docility of the world's public that have swallowed, with apparent eagerness, this Chinese propaganda. At Geneva, too, the world's responsible statesmen have been duped by the irresponsible statements of the Chinese delegate. Why has Mr. Wellington Koo opposed the appointment of a small working committee by the Advisory Committee of 23? It was evidently to the benefit of the Chinese to invite the widest possible attention of the world's press to the dramatic proceedings at Geneva. Moreover, it was perhaps easier for the Chinese delegate to hoodwink the many Statesmen represented on the Advisory Committee than to persuade and convert to the Chinese cause the few well-informed delegates who would have been appointed on the limited sub-committee.

III. The British delegate, Lord Cranborne, is reported to have said that the Sino-Japanese conflict is of serious concern to countries besides the two parties, hinting, we suppose, at the necessity or desirability of convening a conference of Powers deeply inter-

ested in the affairs of the Pacific basin. We desire to make it clear that we do not think a mediation is called for at the present stage of the affair. We want also to say explicitly that we are determined to fight to the bitter end until China reconsiders its attitude and drastically alters her anti-Japanese policy. We will, therefore, unswervingly and unflinchingly, although, as I have stated before, with regret, pursue our settled policy. If any Power wants to mediate, she must first acquire a full appreciation of our aims and aspirations. If any Power desires to associate herself with the cause of China, she is entirely welcome to do so—only let her beware of the mendacious propaganda of China.

We think the setting up of an International Committee or the calling of the Conference of the Pacific Powers to deal with the Sino-Japanese conflict is not opportune, to say the least, at the present juncture. If the proposed committee or conference were to show as complete a lack of appreciation of the realities of the actual situation as manifested in the recent denunciation of Japanese aviation by the Advisory Committee, we must say that all efforts at conciliation are bound to be futile.

Such steps, taken on the basis of tendentious news, would but make more difficult a constructive and lasting settlement, for which we all hope.

Japan is not bent on destroying China but on doing away with elements who are disrupting peace. They have today openly allied themselves to the greatest element of world perturbation, the Communists.

Japan does not aim at making China solely dependent on Japan; she does not want her territory, but her cooperation, in order to bring about a new era of fruitful development and constructive prosperity which will benefit not only China and Japan but all nations of the world and will allow nationals of all countries to freely pursue their business and occupations.

五八、日本飛行機ノ慎重ナル態度ニ關スル情報部長談話
(十月四日)

一五八

PRESS MATERIAL ISSUED ON OCTOBER 4, BY THE BUREAU
OF INFORMATION.

Instances of the return of Japanese aeroplanes to their base without bombing on account of difficulty of distinguishing the Chinese military establishments from other objects are as follows:

(Based on the investigation made on October 1, 1937)

Date	Place	Number of aeroplanes
September 15	Nanking	13
16	Nanking	9
17	Wuhsing	4
20	Hankow	3
21	Hankow	6

September	Place	Number of aeroplanes
15	Canton	6
22	Kwangteh	2
23	Nanchang	9

一五九

148

五九 日支空軍損傷ニ對スル支那側發表振ニ關スル
 情報部長談話 (十月四日)

PRESS MATERIAL ISSUED ON DECEMBER 4th BY THE BUREAU OF
 INFORMATION: TRICKS IN THE CHINESE ANNOUNCEMENT
 OF AIRCRAFT LOSSES.

Chinese announcements make it appear that the Japanese air force has lost a large number of aeroplanes while the Chinese themselves have suffered only a negligible loss of their planes.

Examination of their trick reveals ludicrous facts as indicated in the following paragraphs.

1. First, the Chinese announce their own losses as those on the Japanese side. The Chinese aeroplanes shot down by the Japanese have been broadcast to be all Japanese ones. The following is a list of those Chinese planes.

Date	No. of planes	Place
August 15	1	Shanghai (shot down by anti-aircraft)

"	16	2	Kashing
"	"	11	Kiyung
"	"	2	Yangchow
"	18	1	Shanghai (The Chekiang)

2. Another is their counting of the total loss on both sides and announcing it as the loss on the Japanese side, as shown below.

Date	No. of planes	Place
August 17	2 Chinese 1 Japanese } 3	Shanghai
September 20	4 Chinese 1 Japanese } 5	Nanking

The above-mentioned loss has been broadcast to be the Japanese loss.

3. Going further in their trick, the Chinese have been announcing the losses on both sides inversely.

Date	No. of planes	Place
September 21	5 Chinese 1 Japanese }	Taiyung

148

140

"	22	4 Chinese 1 Japanese }	Nanking
---	----	---------------------------	---------

These have been inversely announced respectively.
 4. There are also many instances in which the Chinese have announced their fabrication to the Japanese loss in aircraft, to wit:—

	No. of planes	Place
August 18	1	Shanghai
" "	3	Nanking
" 23	1	Nanking
" 28	2	Shanghai
September 8	2	* Swatow

* (Regarding this item it was broadcast that prizes were awarded to certain airmen as they downed 2 Japanese planes).

We can not find actual losses on either side corresponding to the above figures.

5. To cite more ludicrous announcements of the Chinese, they broadcast that many Japanese planes were shot down in places where the Japanese planes had not raided on the particular day.

	No. of planes	Place
August 17	17	Nanking (Mentioned in a broadcast lecture)
" 20	1	Name of the place not clear
" 1	1	Ditto
September 16	13	Ditto
" 21	More than 20	Nanking

6. Only in a few cases the announcements on both sides agreed. They were:—

	No. of planes	Place
August 27	1	Shanghai
September 3	1	Shanghai
" 17	1	Shanghai

141

7. It scarcely needs mentioning that the bombings of the Cathay Hotel and the Great World on August 14, and the bombing of the Sincere Department Store on August 23, were reported by the Chinese as the acts of the Japanese planes, only to expose the fictitious nature of their propaganda.

Moreover, it was broadcast on September 4 by the Chinese that a large squadron of Japanese planes made a night attack on Nanking and that the Chinese fought valiantly and repulsed them. It was completely a Chinese fabrication. There are not a few instances like this.

8. On September 19 the Tokyo Central Broadcasting Station announced through the radio that the Mill No. 1 of the Shanghai Cotton Spinning Company was hit by Chinese bombs and its warehouse and others buildings destroyed, the loss reaching between 700,000 or 800,000 yen. Then the Nanking Broadcasting Station picked up this news and broadcast on the 21st to the effect that, the Tokyo Central Broadcasting Station had announced that the Japanese loss of munitions by the Chinese bombardment at Shanghai amounted to over 7,000,000 yen.

六〇、支那戎克ノ海賊行爲ニ關スル情報部長談話 (十月四日)

It is pointed out in a report from the commander of a Japanese naval squadron patrolling the Chinese waters that some of the innocent-looking Chinese junks and small crafts are armed with small cannons of the calibre of 5 to 10 centimetres, of old style but of sufficient power, besides machine-guns, rifles and pistols. These armed vessels can not be ignored as other small crafts in general, for they frequently attempt to break through the line of the patrolling Japanese men-of-war with full loads of Chinese military supplies. In some cases the Chinese small crafts thus armed make light of our destroyers and dare to challenge the latter. The following is a list showing cases of such resistances of armed Chinese vessels against the inspection by our warships.

September 4. A large junk being towed by a small steam-boat in Hungwan Bay fired at the Japanese inspection party with machine-guns, wounding an officer and killing a seaman.

September 14. When a Japanese warship sent a party to inspect a junk at Shenku on the Fukien coast, the crew of the junk landed with arms, and together with the natives there, fired at our party.

September 15. At Tseungshanpu, a Japanese inspection party was subjected to a firing by the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps who were in a launch.
September 26. In the neighbourhood of Nan-ou Island, a Japanese patrol-vessel was attacked by Chinese Peace Preservation Corps who were subdued after severe fighting.
September 27. At Tseungshanpu, a small launch fired at a Japanese inspection party. The latter returned the fire and forced the launch aground in wrecked condition.

一八四

六一、外務省情報部長談 (十月六日)

世界ハ人類ノタメニ與ヘラレタモノテアル。正直ニシテ勤勉ナル國民ハコノ地上イカナル所ニ於テモ幸福ニ生存シ、生活ヲ享受シ得ル資格カアル筈テアル。然ルニ怠惰ニシテ過去ノ蓄積ニ依ツテ幸福ニ生活シテ居ルモノカアル一方正直ニシテ勤勉ナル國民カ生存ヲ拒マレタトシタナラハコレ程ノ不公平カアルテアロウカ。榮根譚ニ「物平ヲ得サレハ鳴ル」ト云フ言葉カアル、政治ノ要諦ハ不平者ヲシテ鳴ラシメサルコトテアル。コレハ國內政治ニツイテ然ルノミナラス國際政治ニ於テモ同様テアル。

日本ハ五十年間ニ人口ハ倍加シタ。然ルニ狭小ナル島國外ニ發展ノ地ヲ求メントスレハ各地テ拒マレテキル。「アメリカ」合衆國カ我カ移民ヲ阻止シテキルコトハ人類ノ自然ノ法則ニ反スル。日本國民ノ尤モ遺憾トスルトコロテアル。

然シ又世界ハ現ニ「持テル國」ト「持タナイ國」トノ争カアル。資源原料分配ノ不公平ノ聲カ甚シク騒キ立テラレテキル。若シコノ不公平カ是正サレナイトスレハ、「持テル國」カ「持タナイ國」ニ對シ既得權利ノ讓歩ヲ拒ンタナラハ、コレヲ解決スル途ハ戰爭ニヨルノ外ハナイノテハナ

一八五

イカ。

一八六

シカシ我國民ハ權利トシテ要求ヲナスモノテハナイ。西洋流ノ權利ノ觀念ハ東洋人ノ氣持ニ反スル。勤勉ニシテ正直ナル日本國民ハ人類ニ與ヘラレタル世界ニ於テ幸福ナル生活ヲ享受シ得ル十分ノ資格ヲ有スルコトヲ要求スルノテアル。

「アメリカ」大統領ノ演説カ支那事變ヲ念頭ニ置イテナサレタトスルナラハ、茲ニ東洋ニ起リツツアル現下ノ問題ニツイテモ前述ノ所説ヲ適用スルコトカ出來ル。日本カ大陸ニ對シテ平和的發展ヲ行ハントスルノハ日本人ノ幸福ヲ求ムル爲メノミナラス支那人ニモ亦同様ニ幸福ヲ與ヘントスルモノテアル。日本ハ支那人ニ平和的提携ヲ求メテキルノテアル。然ルニ支那カ武力テコレヲ拒ム故ニ今日ノ事變カ起ツタノテアル。ケレトモ支那ノ識者ハ必スヤ日本ノ眞意ヲ諒解シテ世界平和ノタメニ共存共榮ノ途ニ進ムコトヲ信シテ疑ハナイ。

STATEMENT MADE BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU IN
AN INTERVIEW WITH THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS,

OCTOBER 6, 1937.

The world has been created for mankind. Therefore, all honest and industrious people have the right to live anywhere in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness. But when there is, on the one hand, a group of people living in happiness with amassed fortunes, and on the other hand, another group of people, honest and industrious, being denied such happiness in life, there can be no greater injustice imaginable. There is a Chinese maxim, "When things are unbalanced, the noise of friction arises." The secret of good government is to prevent friction among the people. This is a fundamental truth, both in internal and international politics.

The population of Japan has doubled in the past 50 years. Being cramped in such a limited area, Japan desires to send its people out, but every possible outlet is denied by other countries. The American Japanese Exclusion Law of 1924 is one that is against the natural law of mankind—and one which is greatly deplored by the Japanese people.

We hear of late the heated argument on the question of the unequal distribution of resources as between the "haves" and "have-nots" countries. If the "haves" refuse to

一八六

concede to the rightful demands of the "have-nots", peace will be very difficult to maintain. But Japan does not make any demands on this point as her right. The idea of *right* as conceived by the Western people is incompatible to that of the Oriental. Japan's only demand is that her people be entitled to enjoy the freedom of movement and the happiness which is rightly theirs. If the President of the United States had the present Sino-Japanese affair in mind in making the reported speech, the remarks I have just made will be equally applicable to the present issue. Japan's intention to carry on her peaceful development on the Continent is not for the sake of the happiness of the Japanese alone, but also for that of the Chinese people. What Japan wants is peaceful cooperation between Japan and China. That cooperation China refused by force of arms, resulting in the present affair. But we are confident that the thinking people of China will realize the true intentions of Japan and the Japanese people and take the course of mutual aid and cooperation for the peace of East Asia—and for the world.

六二、情報部長談（十月六日）

支那ノ計畫的行爲ハ歴然タル事實

「ニューヨーク・タイムズ」紙ハ四日ノ社説ニ於テ去ル一日自分ノ聲明ヲ論評シ恰モ日本カ事實ニ基カサル空虛ノ言明ヲナセルカ如キ印象ヲ與ヘントシテ居ルノハ甚タ遺憾デアル。外務當局トシテ自分カ聲明ヲナス以上、個々ノ點ニツイテ一々説明ヲ加ヘナカッタト云フテモ、最早説明ヲ俟タナカッタ爲デアリ確實ナル事實ヲ基礎トシテ聲明シタコトハ云フマテモナイコトデアルカ判カラナケレハモ一度説明シヨウ。

上海事件カ日本人ヲ全滅セントスル支那側ノ周到ナル計畫的行爲デアルトノ断定ニ對シ自分カ何等具體的證據ヲ擧ゲナイコトヲ非難シテ居ルカ事變動發以來ノ經過ヲ冷靜ニ判斷スルモノハ支那側ノ計畫的挑戰行爲デアルコトヲ疑フモノハアルマイ。

第一ニ日支衝突當初ノ日支双方ノ勢力ノ相違ヲ見ルカイイ。

現ニ支那軍ハ二萬タ日本陸戦隊ハ三千ヲ出テイナイ、コンナ寡兵ヲ以テ計畫的ニ攻撃スル馬鹿カ何處ニ居ルタラウ、八月十四日夜ニ行ハレタ支那軍ノ攻撃ハ我増援部隊ノ到着前ニ、手薄ナル陸

一九〇
戰隊ノ防禦陣地ヲ打切り、北部戦線ノ突出部ト虹口トヲ完全ニ遮断スルコトニヨツテ、我守備陣
ヲ潰滅セシメ、租界在留邦人ヲ全滅セシメントスルノ計畫ニ基イテ行ハレタコトハ明白ナル事實
テアル。

即チ支那側ハ事前ニ周到ナル用意ヲ以テ蘇州河以東ノ租界内ニ居住スル支那人及ヒ外國人ニ對シ
各國領事ヲ通シ個別の通告ノ方法ニヨツテ十三日中ニ全部ノ退去方ヲ求メ、支那軍カ攻撃ヲ開始
セル時、同方面ニ殘留シタ非戦闘員ハ日本人ノミテアツタノテアル。故ニ若シ支那軍ノ突破カ成
功シタナラハ、日本人ハ完全ナル支那軍ノ包圍裡ニ陥リ、全滅ヲ免レル道ハナカッタノテアル。
斯クシテ再ヒ殘忍ナル通州事件ノ二ノ舞カ行ハレタノテアル。

幸ニシテ日本人ノ生命ノ安全ヲ期シ得タノハ實ニ我陸戦隊カ寡兵能ク、支那軍ヲ撃退シ、支那軍
ノ兇惡ナル虐殺計畫ヲ防止シ得タカラテアル。支那カ周到ナル計畫の行爲ヲ以テ數千ノ日本人ヲ
包圍裡ニ全滅セントシタコノ歴然タル事實ニ對シ世界ノ輿論ハ何故正當ナル判斷ヲ下サナイノ
ダ。

支那側ノ宣傳ハ荐リニ「ヨーロッパ」人ノ人道的感情ニ訴ヘテキルケレトモ通州事件ニ於テハ婦
女小兒ニ至ルマテ虐殺ノ暴威ヲ恣ニシタソノ慘忍振リヲヨク想ヒ起スカイイ。

夫レカラ「ニューヨーク・タイムズ」ハ日本カ事變直後急遽上海ニ大艦隊ヲ集中シタノハ奇怪至極
タトシテキルカ、當時長江上流在留邦人ノ引揚ニヨリ避難民ヲ乗セタ船舶ヲ護送スルタメ、我砲
艦並ニ驅逐艦カ下航シテ悉ク上海ニ來着シタニ過キナイノテ何等不思議ハナイノテアル。之カ即
チ疑心暗鬼ヲ生ムト云フ奴サ。

然ルニ殊更コレニ疑惑ノ目ヲ向ケルノハ認識不足モ甚タシイ。正確ナル事實ヲ報道シ冷靜ニシテ
公正ナル判斷ヲ下スコトカ大新聞ノ使命テアリ、且イカナル場合ニ於テモ輕卒ナル言論ヲ慎ムコ
トカ「アメリカ」言論界ニ偉大ナル勢力ヲ持チ世界ノ尊敬ヲ荷ツテキル大新聞ノ義務テハナイカ
ト思フ。

COMMENT MADE BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU
IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.

Oct. 6, 1937.

My attention has been drawn to an editorial of the New York Times of October 4,
purporting to impress its readers as if the Spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office issued

a hollow statement on October 1 without giving any facts. Such a comment appearing in a newspaper of wide reputation is to be regretted.

When the Spokesman of the Foreign Office formally gives out a statement, he is basing it on actual facts, although he may not give detailed explanations on each of the individual points mentioned.

I suggest first to note this: What were the respective strengths of the Japanese and Chinese forces when the hostilities took place in Shanghai on August 13? The Chinese forces numbered well over 30,000 against a small unit of Japanese marines counting not more than three thousand. Even by stretching our imagination, we can not conceive of such a small Japanese unit making an attack on the overwhelmingly large Chinese forces.

The writer of the New York Times editorial charges that the Spokesman failed to give concrete evidence to support his presumption that the affair in Shanghai was caused by a well premeditated plan of the Chinese, who wanted to annihilate the Japanese there. But that such is not actually the case and that the Shanghai affair is the outcome of well-considered Chinese provocations is clear to all who are willing to study the affair calmly and dispassionately. Who can deny the still memorable fact that on the night of August 14, the lives of 30,000 Japanese residents and refugees in Shanghai were on the verge of a terrible slaughter when the vast number of Chinese forces vigorously attacked our Naval

Landing Party, attempting to break through the thin line of our defense and cut off completely the contact between the northern sector and the Hongkew district and then annihilate the entirely defenseless Japanese civilians before our reinforcements reached Shanghai? Who can refute with confidence the very fact that the Chinese had notified all foreign residents in Hongkew district through their respective consuls stationing in Shanghai, as well as Chinese who lived in that part of the Settlement, which lies east of the Soochow Creek, including Hongkew, and urged them to move out of that district for safety by the nightfall of August 13, and that when the Chinese forces commenced attacks from both air and land the only remaining inhabitants in the attacked area were non-combatant Japanese? Suppose the Chinese succeeded in breaking through the Japanese defense-line on that night, the fate of the tens of thousands of defenseless Japanese nationals in that area would certainly have been the same as that which had befallen the Japanese men, women and children numbering about three hundred a short time before at Tungchow. What saved them from the dreaded massacre was nothing but the courageous resistance offered by our Landing Party. Such outstanding and undeniable facts should never be lost sight of by those who wield the power of the press.

The Chinese are busily engaged in propaganda to influence the opinion of European and American publics in China's favour by making appeals to the humanitarian sentiment of

those Western peoples. The Chinese are good fighters as propagandists.

1 六四

The New York Times editorial further casts doubt on the purpose of the concentration of a number of Japanese warships in Shanghai harbour before the outbreak of hostilities there. Our gunboats and destroyers were assembled there, of course, but these were the ships that had protected the vessels carrying the Japanese nationals who had evacuated from the upper reaches of the Yangtze to Shanghai in view of the menacing attitude of the anti-Japanese elements. We fail to find the reason why such a comment as that of the editorial writer of the New York Times is being directed against the unquestionable duty of the Navy.

Although we naturally wish to refrain from saying something on the duty of newspapers, we can not help expressing our earnest desire that a newspaper of such worldwide reputation for fairness and accuracy as the New York Times will avoid making hasty judgments on the important affair which vitally concerns a friendly Power.

六三 支那戎克問題ニ對スル情報部長談話 (十月六日)

Regarding the activities of the Japanese warships in connection with their duty in interrupting the traffic of Chinese vessels along the Chinese coast, we want to have the following facts clearly and widely understood.

The first is that when any Chinese junks are found to be carrying arms, ammunition and other military supplies for the Chinese forces, our inspecting party admonishes the crew to throw them overboard and then free the junks together with the crew.

The second is that in case the stopped junks are cleared of any suspicion after inspection, they are freed by our inspecting party who explain to their crew the fact that the interruption of Chinese vessels' traffic is being done only for the purpose of subduing the anti-Japanese forces of China and that Japan is not fighting against good Chinese people.

We want to point out in this connection that there are exceptionally dangerous junks, namely, pirate junks. That the seacoast in the neighbourhood of Hong-Kong, especially the Bias Bay, is infested by pirates is widely known. Their junks are all armed, each with many rifles and several old-style cannons of five to ten centimetre calibre. Some of them have a loading capacity of 500 tons. These pirate junks frequently defy and fire

1 六四

upon our inspection party when the latter approaches them. The suppression of these Chinese pirates is unquestionably the duty of warships even in times of peace as is indicated by the existence of an agreement between the Japanese and British navies concerning it.

一九六

六四、外務省聲明（十月九日）

國際聯盟ハ現ニ帝國カ支那ニ於テ執リツツアル行動ヲ以テ九國條約及不戰條約違反ナリト斷定シ米國國務省亦同趣旨ノ聲明ヲ發シタルカ右ハ今次事變ノ實體及帝國ノ眞意ヲ理解セサルヨリ來ルモノニシテ帝國政府ノ甚ク遺憾トスルトコロナリ。

今次事變ハ條約上明白ニ認メラレタル駐兵權ニ基キ合法的ニ北支ニ在リタル帝國軍隊ニ對スル支那軍隊ノ不法攻撃ニ端ヲ發シタルモノニシテ當地蘆溝橋ニ於テ演習ニ從事シタルハ極メテ小部隊ナリシノミナラス當地我支那駐屯軍ハ平時任務ノ爲各地ニ分散配置セラレ居タルコト、又事變勃發後日本カ作戰上ノ不利ヲ忍ヒテ迄モ局地的解決ヲ計ランコトニ飽迄努力シタルコトヲ見レハ我軍ノ行動カ何等計畫的ノモノニ非スシテ全ク自衛ノ措置ニ外ナラサリシコト明カナリ又上海次テ中支各地ニ事變カ擴大スルニ至リタルハ支那側カ一九三二年ノ上海停戰協定ヲ破リテ非武裝地帯ニ四萬餘ノ優勢ナル軍隊ヲ入レ三千内外ノ僅少ナル我陸戰隊ト婦女子ヲ含ム約三萬ノ租界在留民トヲ殲滅セントシタルニ起因スルモノナリ而シテ其ノ後ノ軍事行動ノ發展ハ偏ニ支那側ニ於テ帝國ノ現地解決及時局不擴大ノ方針ヲ無視シ大軍ヲ移動集結シテ我方ニ對シ全面的ニ敵對行爲ニ出

一九七

一九八
テタルカ爲我方モ已ムヲ得ス軍事的行動ヲ以テ之ニ應シタルニ基クモノニ外ナラス要スルニ帝國
カ今日支那ニ於テ執リツツアル行動ハ支那側ノ計畫的挑發行動ニ已ムナクセラレタル自衛措置ニ
シテ而シテ帝國政府カ現下ノ對支行動ニ依リ支那ニ求メントスルモノハ前記對日挑發行爲ノ根源
ヲ成ス排日抗日政策ノ拋棄ト日支兩國ノ眞摯ナル協調ニ依ル東亞平和ノ具現トニ存シ何等領土的
企圖ニ出ツル次第ニ非ス從テ帝國ノ對支行動ハ如何ナル現存條約ニモ違反セス却ツテ赤色勢力ニ
操ラレ國策トシテ執拗惡性ナル排日抗日ヲ實行シ武力行使ニ依リ自國內ニ於ケル日本ノ權益ヲ排
除シ去ラントシテ今次事變ヲ招來セル支那政府コソ不戰條約ノ精神ニ背反シ世界ノ平和ヲ脅威ス
ルモノト言フヘキナリ。

FOREIGN OFFICE STATEMENT

October 9, 1937.

The League of Nations has declared that the actions now being taken by Japan in China are a violation of the Nine Power Treaty and the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, and the State Department of the United States has issued a statement to the same

purport. However, these steps must be attributed to an unfortunate lack of understanding of the real circumstances as well as the true intentions of Japan, a state of affairs which the Japanese Government deem very regrettable.

The present Sino-Japanese affair originated in the unwarranted attack made by Chinese forces on Japanese garrison troops legitimately stationed in North China under rights clearly recognized by treaty. The troop which was maneuvering at the time of the outbreak was a very small unit. The Japanese garrison force was then scattered in different parts, engaged in peace-time duties. After the outbreak of hostilities, Japan did everything in her power to reach a local settlement of the incident, even at the sacrifice of strategic advantages. These facts are sufficient to prove that the action of the Japanese force was by no means premeditated but simply defensive.

China is undoubtedly responsible for the spread of the affair to Shanghai and then to other points of Central China. She openly violated the Agreement for the Cessation of Hostilities concluded in 1932 by concentrating overwhelmingly numerous forces of more than forty thousand men in the demilitarized zone and attempted to annihilate our Naval Landing Party, numbering but a scant three thousand, and wipe out our 30,000 nationals living in the Settlement, amongst whom were many women and children.

The subsequent development of the Japanese military action has been but the unavoidable

able consequence of the hostile operations of China, who, ignoring our policy of a local settlement and non-aggravation of the situation, moved and concentrated her large armies against us. The action which Japan is taking at the present time is a measure of defense to which she has been compelled to resort by the premeditated provocative acts of China.

What the Japanese Government seek today is merely the abandonment by China of her anti-Japanese policy and the establishment of enduring peace in East Asia, through sincere cooperation between Japan and China. They have no territorial designs whatever.

In the light of these circumstances, it must be firmly declared that the present action of Japan in China contravenes none of the existing treaties which are in force.

The Chinese Government, lending themselves to Communist intrigue, have brought about the present hostilities by their persistent and malicious anti-Japanese measures and their attempt to do away with the rights and vital interests of Japan in China by force of arms. It is they who should be deemed a violator of the spirit of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War—a menace to the peace of the world.

六五、臨時輸出入許可規則(商工省令)ノ公布ニ關スル發表

(十月九日)

政府ハ現下ノ時局ニ對處スル臨時措置ノ一トシテ去ル九月十日輸出入品等ニ關スル臨時措置ニ關スル法律ヲ公布シタルカ、右法律ニ基キ十月十一日商工省令トシテ臨時輸出入許可規則ヲ公布シ或ル種ノ物品(別添附屬表參照)ニ付商工大臣ノ許可ヲ受クルニ非サレハ之ヲ輸入又ハ輸出シ得サルコトトセリ。

右臨時輸出入許可規則ハ甲、乙及丙ノ三個ノ品目表ヲ伴ヒ内

甲表ニ掲クル物品ハ棉花、羊毛及木材ナルカ右ハ本邦必需ノ重要輸入品ナルモ此ノ際一般國民

ニ其ノ消費節約ヲ求ムルヲ適當ト認メ其ノ趣旨ニテ輸入ノ制限ヲ爲サントスルモノナルヲ以テ

輸出ノ原料トナルヘキモノニ付テハ制限ヲ行ハサルヘシ

乙表ニ掲クル物品ハ寧ロ不急又ハ不要品等ト認メラルル物品ニシテ二百六十九種(輸入稅表ノ分類ニ依ル)ニ上レルカ此等物品ノ選擇ニ付テハ在留外人ニ與フル困難或ハ諸國トノ通商上ニ

及ホス影響ニ關シ深甚ナル注意ヲ加ヘタル結果最初制限セントシタル品目ヨリモ其ノ數ヲ遙ニ

減シ又五十圓未満ノモノニ付許可ヲ要セサルコトトセリ而モ諸外國側ヨリ見レハ或ハ不満足ナルモノモアルハシト認メラルモ右ハ本邦現下ノ狀勢ニ照シ蓋シ已ムヲ得サル所ナリトス尙甲乙兩者ヲ通シ條約權ニ基キテ輸入スルモノニモ制限ヲ加ヘサルヘシ丙表ニハ七種ノ物品ヲ掲ケ居レルカ右ハ此ノ際其ノ輸出ヲ制限スルヲ適當ト認メタルモノナリ之ヲ要スルニ前掲ノ各種物品ハ國家ノ重要ナル必要ニ基キ一時其ノ輸出入ヲ制限セントスルモノナルモ時局ノ經過シ去ルニ於テハ出來得ル限り速ニ右ノ制限ヲ撤廢シ全ク常態ニ復歸セントノキコト勿論ナリ

THE SPOKESMAN OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE MADE THE FOLLOWING
ANNOUNCEMENT ON OCTOBER 9, 1937.

The Japanese Government promulgated on September 10 a Law governing emergency measures to be taken with regard to export and import commodities, as an emergency measure to meet the present situation. In accordance with the said Law, emergency regulations concerning the permission of exportation and importation of goods, as an Ordinance of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, will be promulgated on October 11,

whereby importation and exportation of commodities of certain kinds (see the attached tables) will be prohibited unless permission of the Minister of Commerce and Industry is obtained.

Attached to these regulations are three tables A, B and C, showing classification of the articles.

Articles shown in Table A are cotton, sheep's wool and wood. Although these articles are indispensable in this country, it has been deemed proper under the present circumstances to require the people to practise economy in the consumption of these articles of importation. The restriction of importation of this class of articles being for such purposes, there will be no restriction imposed on the importation of materials to be used for articles for exportation.

Articles shown in Table B number 269, all of which are deemed not urgently necessary or unnecessary. The Government, in selecting these articles, have taken into careful consideration the possible inconveniences on the part of foreigners living in Japan, as well as possible effects on trade with other countries. Consequently, the number of articles to be affected by the present regulations has been greatly reduced. Furthermore, it has been decided to require no permission for the importation of articles under 50 yen in value.

While this measure may appear unsatisfactory when viewed from the standpoint of

foreign countries, it is one that is entirely unavoidable in view of the present circumstances of our country.

Importation of articles mentioned in Table A and B which are imported under international agreements will also not be restricted.

Table C contains seven items of articles, the restriction of the importation of which has been deemed appropriate.

In brief, the restriction to be imposed on the exportation and importation of the articles above mentioned is only a temporary measure taken on the basis of serious national necessity. When the present affair comes to an end, such restriction will of course be removed as promptly as possible, thereby restoring normal conditions.

110E

TABLE A.

Import Tariff Nos.	Articles.
271	Cotton in the seed or ginned.
282	Sheep's wool (excluding produced or manufactured in Australia), goat's hair and camel's hair

612 Wood.

TABLE B.

Import Tariff Nos.	Article
1	Plants, twigs, stems, stalks and roots (for planting or grafting)
11	Animals, not otherwise provided for
14	Pearl barley.
15	Malt
22	Flours, meals or groats of grains, and starches
	2. Oatmeal
	3. Corn meal
	5. Corn starch
31	Vegetables, fruits and nuts
31-2	Cocoanuts
32	Tea
33	Maté and other tea substitutes

110F

1104

35 Chicory and other coffee substitutes
 37 Pepper : (excluding seeds)
 38 Curry
 39 Mustard
 41 Rock candy sugar, cube sugar, loaf sugar, and similar
 42 Molasses
 43 Grape sugar, malt sugar and "Arne"
 44 Honey
 45 Confectioneries and cakes.
 46 Jams, fruit jellies and the like
 47 Biscuits (not sugared)
 48 Macaroni, vermicelli and the like
 49 Fruit-juices and syrups
 50 Sauces
 51 Vinegar
 52 Meats, poultry and game : (1:A. 1:C and 2, excluded)
 55 Condensed milk
 57 Meat extract

58 Peptone, somatose, hemoglobin and similar tonic foods
 59 Eggs, fresh
 59-2 Eggs in liquid and eggs in powder
 60 Mineral waters, soda water, and similar beverages, not containing sugar or alcohol
 62 Chinese liquors, fermented
 63 Beer, ale, porter and stout
 67 Beverages and comestibles, not otherwise provided for
 69 Furs : (excluding those of dogs, cats, hares, rabbits, sheep and goats)
 70 Fur manufactures, not otherwise provided for
 71 Hides and skins, not otherwise provided for (excluding those of bulls, oxen, cows, buffaloes, horses and pigs)
 72 Leather : (1. & 6, excluded)
 73 Leather manufactures, not otherwise provided for :
 1. Sweat leather for hats, including those made of imitation leather
 2. Others
 75 Feathers and downs
 76 Bird's skin with feathers

- 1104
- 77 Manufactures of feather or bird's skin with feathers, not otherwise provided for
- 78 Quill bristles and horn bristles
- 81 Manufactures of animal tusk, not otherwise provided for
- 84-2 Guts for tennis rackets
- 88 Manufactures of tortoise shell, not otherwise provided for
- 89 Corals
- 90 Manufactures of coral, not otherwise provided for
- Ex-94 Manufactures of skin, hair, bone, horn, tooth, tusk, shell, etc., not otherwise provided for, except hide powder for use in chemical experiment
- 100 Ground-nut oil
- 106 Cod-liver oil
- 109 Compound lard
- 110 Stearin
- 111 Olein
- 115 Vegetable tallow or wax obtained from the seeds of *Plus pernitifera* or *Plus succedanea*
- 116 Candles

- 1104
- 117 Soaps
- 118 Oils, fats and waxes, perfumed, and preparations of oil, fat or wax, perfumed
- 119 Perfumed waters
- 147 Isinglass
- 154 Acetic acid
- 155 Lactic acid
- 156 Oxalic acid
- 157 Tartaric acid
- 166 Bicarbonate of soda
- 167 Peroxide of soda
- 172 Chlorate of soda
- 178 Iodide of soda
- 181 Chloride of barium
- 181-2 Peroxide of barium
- 181-3 Peroxide of hydrogen
- 182 Alum
- 183 Ferro-cyanide of soda
- 184 Ferri-cyanide of soda

1104

- 1110
- 190 Carbonate of ammonium and bicarbonate of ammonium
 200 Rongzite, blankit, decolin and similar reducing agents
 201 Dextrin
 218 Baking powder
 219 Aloebolic medicinal preparations :
 1. Fruit essences, liqueur essences and similar essences
 220 Artificial musk
 220-2 Ionone
 221 Vanillin, coumarin, heliotropin, and similar aromatic chemicals, not otherwise provided for
 222 Tooth powders, tooth washes, toilet powders, and other prepared perfumeries, not otherwise provided for
 223 Joss sticks
 Ex-230 Chewing-gum and similar substances.
 234 Fire-works
 235 Matches
 236 Indigo, natural
 241 Caramel

- 242 Artificial indigo
 247 Prussian blue
 250 White zinc (oxide of or sulphide of zinc)
 250-2 Barium sulphate
 250-3 Lythophone
 251 Chalk or whiting
 260 Shoe polishes
 261 Pencils
 262 Inks : (For printing excluded)
 263 Black solid inks and red solid inks, Chinese
 Ex-264 Chalk-crayon
 268 Sealing wax
 272 Cotton yarns (excluding special cotton yarns, otherwise provided for)
 276 Linen twines made by twisting together single yarns above No. 7 English and not exceeding 12 grammes per 10 metres, and linen threads
 277 China grass yarns and ramie yarns
 278 China grass twines and ramie twines, made by twisting together single yarns above No. 7 English and not exceeding 12 grammes per 10 metres, China

- 279 grass threads and ramie threads
Hemp yarns
- 280 Jute yarns
- 281 Hemp twines and jute twines made by twisting together single yarns above No. 7 English and not exceeding 12 grammes per 10 metres, hemp threads and jute threads
- 287 Raw silk, including thrown silk (excluding wild silk.)
- 288 Spun silk yarns
- 289 Silk threads
- 290 Artificial silk (of Acetyl cellulose excluded)
- 291 Yarns, not otherwise provided for
1. Partly of silk, artificial silk or metal
- 299 Tissues of flax, China grass, ramie, hemp or jute, pure or mixed with one another, including those mixed with cotton (4: A. excluded.)
- 300 Tissues of pineapple, *Pueraria thunbergiana*, Manila hemp, agave and other vegetable fibres (excluding cotton, flax, China grass, ramie, hemp and jute), pure or mixed with one another
- 301 Tissues of wool, and mixed tissues of wool and cotton, of wool and silk, or of wool, cotton and silk: (4: B b, excluded.)

- 302 Tissues of horse's hair, including those mixed with other fibres
- 303 Silk tissues, and silk mixed tissues not otherwise provided for: (wholly or partly of artificial silk excluded)
- 304 Mixed tissues, not otherwise provided for
- 305 Stockinet and similar knitted tissues, raised or not
- 306 Lace tissues and netted tissues
- 307 Felts
- 308 Embroidered tissues
- 309 Bookbinder's cloth
- 312 Window holland
- 313 Empire cloth
- 314 Leather cloth or oil cloth
- 315 Oil cloth for floor or linoleum
- 316 Roofing canvas
- 317 Tanned canvas
- 319 Waterproof tissues coated or inserted with India rubber
- 320 Elastic webbing and elastic cords, elastic braid, or the like
- 321 Insulating tapes or tissues

- 322 Lamp wicks
 324 Handkerchiefs, single
 325 Towels, single
 326 Blankets, single
 327 Travelling rugs, single
 328 Carpets and carpetings
 329 Table cloths, single
 330 Curtains and window blinds
 321 Trimmings
 332 Mosquito nets
 333 Hammocks
 334 Fishing or hunting nets
 335 Air cushions
 336 Bed quilts and cushions
 342 Tissues, not otherwise provided for
 343 Manufactures of tissues, not otherwise provided for
 344 Raincoats
 345 Shirts, fronts, collars and cuffs

111E

- 346 Undershirts and drawers
 346 Gloves
 346 Stockings and socks
 349 Shawls, comforts and mufflers
 350 Neckties
 351 Trousers suspenders or braces
 352 Belts
 353 Sleeve suspenders, stocking suspenders, and the like
 355 Boots, shoes, slippers, sandals, clogs, and the like
 356 Shoe laces
 357 Buttons, excluding those made of or combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, elephant's ivory or tortoise shells
 358 Buckles, hooks, eyes, and the like, excluding those made of or combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, corals, elephant's ivory or tortoise shells
 359 Jewelry for personal adornment
 360 Clothing and accessories or parts thereof, not otherwise provided for

111F

1114

- 365 Blotting paper
- Ex-367 Match paper,
- 369 Wall paper
- 370 Pasteboard or cardboard (for matrix making excluded.)
- 371 Chinese paper of all kinds
- 376 Oiled paper
- 377 Glass paper for window pane
- 378 Papers, not otherwise provided for
- 379 Paper laces and paper borders
- 380 Black books
- 382 Note paper in box
- 383 Envelopes
- 384 Albums
- Ex-386 Albuminized paper and sensitized papers for photograph
- 388-2 Wall-boards
- 389 Labels
- 390 Playing cards
- 393 Card calendars and block calendars

- 394 Picture post-cards
- 395 Christmas cards and the like
- 401 Manufactures of paper or pulp, not otherwise provided for
- 402 Silica sand, quartz sand, and other sand and gravel not otherwise provided for
 - 1. Coloured
- 409 Slate, and manufactures thereof not otherwise provided for
- 414 Stones and manufactures thereof, not otherwise provided for
- 415 Amber and manufactures thereof, not otherwise provided for
- 417 Meerschaum or artificial meerschaum and manufactures thereof
- 424 Manufactures of gypsum
- 432 Portland cement, Roman cement, puzzolana cement, and similar hydraulic cements
- 433 Manufactures of cement
- 436 Bricks, excluding cement bricks (excluding fire bricks)
- 437 Tiles of clay
- 437-2 Alundum tiles and the like
- 439 Potteries, not otherwise provided for : (excluding potteries for electrical use and unglazed potteries in 2 : B)

1114

- 111<
- 444 Plate or sheet glass (excluding those of uncoloured or unstained, with flat surface and not exceeding 1.5 millimetres in thickness)
- 445 Plate glass having inlaid metal wire or net
- 452 Dry plates for photograph
1. Underdeveloped
- 453 Spectacles and eyeglasses
1. With frames or handles of precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, elephant's ivory or tortoise shells
- 454 Looking glasses or mirrors
- 457 Glass manufactures, not otherwise provided for: (2: A, 2: Ba and safety glass sheets excluded.)
- 475 Gilt or silvered metals
- 484-2 Metal boards or plates for ceiling, wall etc. (enamelled, painted, varnished, lacquered)
- 487 Harpoons
- 488 Iron anchors
- 489 Chains, not otherwise provided for: (excluding Iron Gearing chains.)
- 491 Chains for watches, spectacles, eyeglasses or other personal adornment

- 493 Hinges, hat-hooks, and metal fittings for doors, windows, furniture, etc.
- 494 Locks and keys
- 496 Mechanics' tools, agricultural implements and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for
10. Shovels and scoops
- 500 Table forks or spoons
- 501 Corkscrews
- 502 Capsules for bottles
- 503 Crown cords
- 504 Cartridge cases or shells, of metal
1. Hand-sewing needles
- Ex-505
- 507 Copying press
- 509 Air-pump for cycles
- 509-2 Fire-extinguishers
- 510 Meat choppers
- 511 Coffee mills
- 512 Ice-cream freezers
- 513 Iron pans for tea roasting or caustic soda manufacturing

11110

- 514 Stoves and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for
- 515 Electric stoves, electric smoothing iron and similar electric heaters
- 516 Radiators
- 517 Bedsteads and parts thereof
- 519 Numbering machines, dating machines, check perforators, pencil-sharpeners and the like, and parts thereof
- 521 Manufactures of precious metals and metal manufactures combined or coated with precious metals, not otherwise provided for
- 526 Watches
- 527 Parts of watches:
 - 1. Cases, including those having glasses
 - 6. Watch glasses
- 528 Standing or hanging clocks
- 528-2 Electric clocks, including master clocks and secondary clocks
- 533 Binoculars and monoculars
 - 1. Combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, corals, elephant's ivory, tortoise-shells or shells of mollusca

- 553 Photographic instruments: (excluding those for cinematographs, microscopes, air-crafts or surveyings.)
- 554 Parts of photographic instruments: (excluding lenses of which the focal length is more than 17 centimetres; cameras for cinematographs, microscopes, air-crafts or surveyings and screens for half-tone process.)
- 555 Phonographs, gramophones and other talking machines
- 556 Parts and accessories of phonographs, gramophones and other talking machines
- 557 Musical instruments
- 559 Telegraphic or telephonic instruments and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for:
 - 1. Radio receiving sets and parts thereof
- 560 Fire-arms and parts thereof: (excluding pistols, revolvers, whaling-gun and parts of thereof.)
- 565 Cycles (excluding motor-cycles.)
- 566 Parts of cycles, excluding motive machinery and chains
- 567 Vehicles and parts thereof, not otherwise provided for.
- 593 Blowing machines:
 - 1. Electric fans

11111

111111

- 609 Rattan (excluding unsplit Rattan)
610 Bamboo
613 Wood pith, in sheet or not
621 Plats for hat-making
622 Mats or matings, made of vegetable materials excluding textile fibres: (for packing excluded)
623 Manufactures of straw, Panama straw, palm leaves, rushes, reeds, bamboo, rattan, vines, willow wickers, or the like, not otherwise provided for
624 Umbrella sticks, walking sticks, whips and their handles
625 Umbrellas and parasols
626 Wood manufactures, not otherwise provided for:
1. Combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, corals, elephant's ivory or tortoise shells.
2. Others:
A. Of *kwari*, *kyrgyzan* (*Berytylum pyrum*, *Laur*), *taupe* or box wood, red rose-wood, red sandal-wood and ebony wood.
632 Celluloid and manufactures thereof, not otherwise provided for (excluding those in lumps, hands, bars, or rods, plates, sheets, tubes, etc.)

- 632-2 Waste or old celluloid, fit only for remanufacturing
633 Galalith and manufactures thereof, not otherwise provided for
634 Brushes and brooms:
1. Combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, elephant's ivory or tortoise shells.
635 Lamps, lanterns and parts thereof, (excluding safety lamps, lamps for surgical and light house-use).
638 Artificial flowers, including imitation leaves, imitation fruits, etc. and parts thereof
639 Toilet cases
640 Articles for billiards, tennis, cricket, chess and other games, and accessories thereof
641 Toys
647 Articles, not otherwise provided for:
2. Others:
A. Combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, corals, elephant's ivory or tortoise shells

111111

1114

TABLE C.

Imp. Tariff Nos.	Articles
69	Furs.
	Ex-2. Other: of hares or rabbits
204	Naphthain
229	Ex-drugs, chemicals and medicines, not otherwise provided for; Nitric Acid.
295	Ex-waste or old fibres, waste yarns and waste threads; waste cotton fibres
341	Ex-rags; of cotton
400	Waste paper
470	Antimony and sulphide of antimony

六六、日本側ノ毒瓦斯使用説ニ對スル情報部長談話

(十月十五日)

While the Chinese Government and their propagandists are busily engaged in an attempt to stir up the feeling of the credulous public of Europe and America against Japan by charging Japanese forces of attacks on non-combatants, the Chinese troops are non-chalantly revealing the very foundation of such rumours and reports to the international public at Shanghai.

At 6:30 p. m. yesterday, Thursday, the Chinese forces at Pootung who a short time ago abused the premises of a British dock and engineering firm in their attempt to blow up our flagship Izumo by a control mine, savagely bombarded the residential district of Hongkew where many Japanese civilians are living thereby killing three men, seriously injuring a woman and three men and slightly injuring a woman and an Indian policeman of the Municipal Council. Besides these casualties, the Hongkew branch of the Municipal Council was destroyed.

1115

六七、支那側ノ非戦員員斃傷ニ關スル情報部長談話

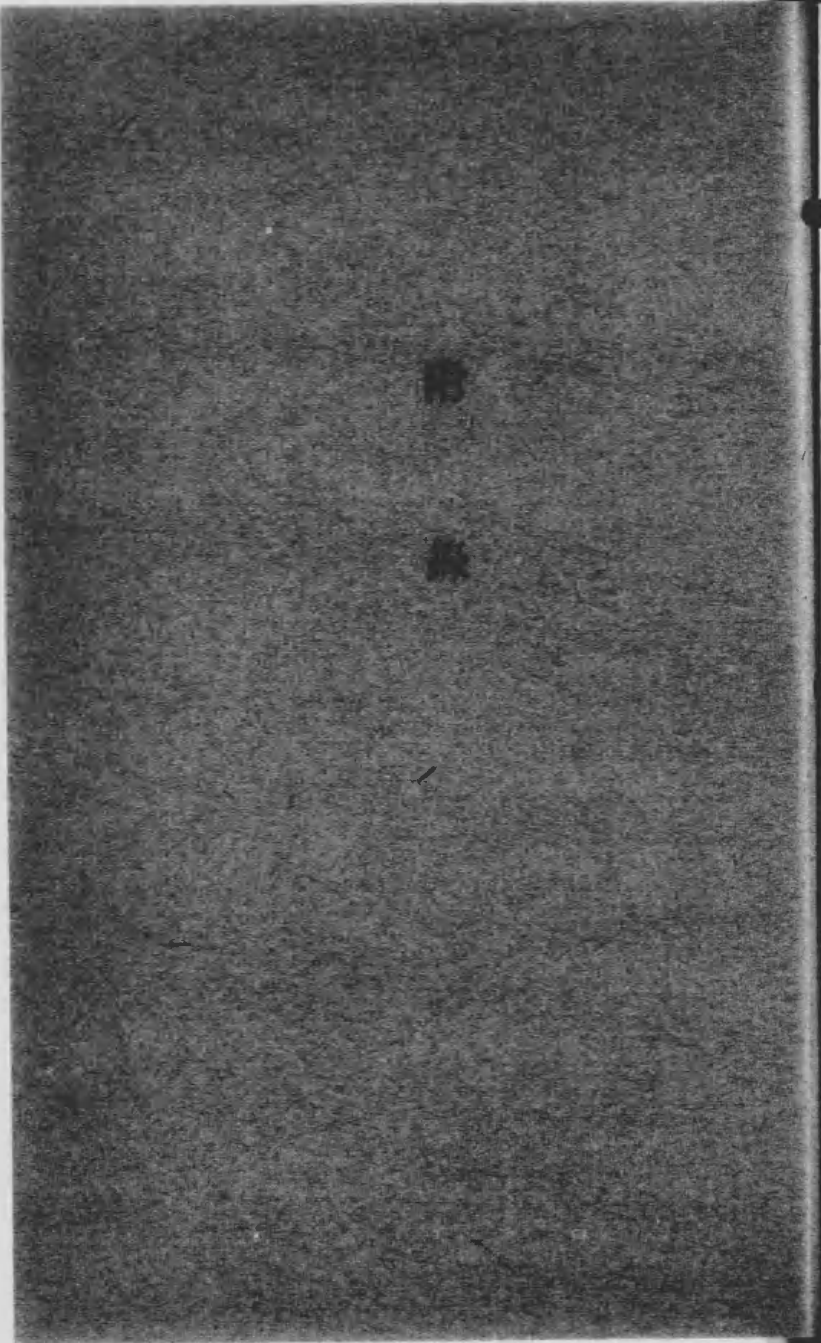
十月十五日

STATEMENT BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU TO THE PRESS.

October 11, 1937.

The Chinese Foreign Office issued a statement alleging that the Japanese forces used poison gas in the engagements on October 4th and 5th around Shanghai. This allegation was most emphatically denied on Monday afternoon, October 11th, by the Spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office, who described the Chinese charge as utterly absurd.

That the Chinese are resorting to all sorts of false charges and allegations against the Japanese forces is quite understandable, the Spokesman said, because their own forces on land, sea and in the air having proved no match for the strength of the Japanese forces, the last straw to which the Chinese can cling is propaganda based on their own halfhearted notions.



調一0119

0125

(一) 第七十一回帝國議會ニ於ケル近衛内閣總理大臣演説

(七月二十七日)

第七十一回帝國議會ノ開會ニ當リマシテ、政府ノ所信ヲ述ヘマスコトハ私ノ光榮トスル所デアリマス。

洵ニ多事多難ノ時局ニ際シマシテ、揣ラスモ大命ヲ拜シ、重キ責任ヲ荷ヒマシタコトハ、自ラ省ミマシテ恐懼ニ堪ヘヌ次第デアリマス。

政府カ此ノ重責ヲ果スニ當リマシテ、茲ニ基本トスル精神ヲ明カニシテ置キタイト思ヒマス。ソレハ百般ノ政策ヲシテ我カ尊嚴ナル國體ノ精髓ニ歸一セシムルコトデアリマス。此ノ精髓ノ發露ハ、之ヲ外ニシテハ、國際正義ニ基キ、列國ト俱ニ眞ノ世界平和ノ確立ニ力ヲ致シ、益々國威ヲ宣揚スルコトデアリマス。之ヲ内ニ致シマシテハ、大義名分ヲ明カニシ、社會正義ニ即シテ、國民ヲシテ各々其ノ處ヲ得セシメ、依テ以テ國運ノ堅實ナル發展ヲ圖ルコトデアリマス。此ノ方針ノ下ニ諸般ノ政策ノ樹立遂行ヲ期シタイト思フノデアリマス。

曩ニ一時紛議ヲ醸シマシタ對「ソ」關係モ無事ニ落著ヲ致シマシテ、列國トノ關係ハ最近益々親善ノ度ヲ加ヘテ參リマシタカ、獨リ今回支那ニ於ケル事變ノ勃發ハ誠ニ遺憾ニ堪ヘヌ所デアリマス。政府ハ已ムヲ得ス重大ナル決意ヲ致シタノデアリマスカ、幸ニ各方面ヨリ舉國一致ノ御支援ヲ得マシタコトハ、誠ニ感謝ニ堪ヘマセヌ。勿論今回派兵ノ目的カ東亞ノ平和維持ニ存スルコトハ過日中外ニ聲明シマシタ通りデアリマス。支那政府竝ニ國民ノ自省自律ニ依リマシテ日支兩國間ニ於ケル國交カ速カニ且根本的ニ調整セラレムコトヲ衷心ヨリ希望シテ已マヌ次第デアリマス。現下内外ノ情勢ニ鑑ミ、國防ノ充實、經濟力ノ發展ヲ圖ルコトハ最モ急務トスル所デアリマス。是ニ於テ之カ國策遂行ノ基礎的手段トシテ、生産力ノ擴充、國際收支ノ適合及物資需給ノ調整ヲ主眼トスル所ノ綜合的計畫ヲ樹立スルノ必要ナルコトヲ痛感スル次第デアリマス。而モ此ノ計畫ハ日滿兩國ヲ一體トスル見地ニ立ツテ具體案ヲ作成スルヤウニ目下考究中デアリマス。其ノ他行政機構竝ニ議會制度ノ改革ヲ始メテ致シマシテ各般ノ政策ニ關シマシテハ、今後ノ檢討ニ俟ツ所尠クナイノデアリマスカ、中ニハ既ニ成案ヲ得タルモノモアリマスルシ、或ハ調査研究ヲ開始シタルモノモアリマス。例ヘハ保健社會省ノ設置ニ付キマシテハ既ニ設置ノ方針モ確立致シマシタノテ、之ニ必要ナル豫算ハ議會ノ協賛ヲ御願ヒスルニ至ツテ居ル次第デアリマス。

教育ニ付キマシテハ國體ノ本義ニ則ツテ教學ノ根本ヲ確立スルコトハ現下ノ情勢ニ鑑ミ極メテ緊要ナルコトト存シマス。而シテ學制ノ改革ノ如キハ短時日ノ間ニ之ヲ決行スルコトハ至難デアリマスルカ故ニ、茲ニ教育審議會ヲ設ケマシテ慎重審議ヲ重ネタイト存シテ居ル次第デアリマス。近時我カ國ハ愈々興隆シ益々發展スルノ實ヲ舉クヘキ試練ノ一過程ニアルノデアリマス。從ツテ國力ノ飛躍的發展、之ニ伴フ所ノ革新的諸政策ノ遂行ハ、國民諸君カ、大イニ發憤シ、大イニ忍耐シ、各々全能力ヲ傾ケテ互ニ協力事ニ當ルニ非スンハ、其ノ功ヲ收ムルコトハ出來ナイト信スルノデアリマス。國內ニ於キマシテ對立抗争ノ摩擦カアリマシテハ、到底所期ノ目的ヲ達シ難キハ勿論、延イテハ外侮リヲ招クノ虞カアラウカト思ハレマス。ソレ故ニ私ハ組閣ニ當リマシテ出來得ル限り國民協力ノ實ヲ舉ゲタイト云フ方針ヲ執ツタノデアリマス。政府ハ斯クノ如キ協力一致ノ精神ニ基キマシテ、改革スヘキモノハ進ンテ之ヲ改革シ、日ニ新タニ、日ニ又新タナルコトヲ期シタイト存スルノデアリマス。而シテ從來解決困難トセラレマシタ諸問題ノ如キモ順次之ヲ取り上ケマシテ解決ヲ行クト云フ行キ方ヲ致シタイト思フノデアリマス。

斯クノ如キ考ヲ持ツテ居リマスルケレトモ、今期議會ハ組閣勿々ノコトトモアリマスルカ故ニ、御

二三〇
協賛ヲ願フ案件ハ前議會ニ於キマシテ審議未了ニ終シタモノノ一部分ト緊急ヲ要スルモノトニ止
メマシタ次第アリマヌ。
茲ニ大略政府ノ意ノ存スル所ヲ明カニ致シマシタカ、時艱ヲ克服シテ國力ノ發展ヲ圖ルノニ
ニ諸君ノ御協力ヲ御願ヒシナケレハナラヌヲアリマヌカラ、何卒右御諒察ノ上御支援ヲ與ヘテ
ハトコロト切望スル次第アリマヌ。

PREMIER KONO'S ADMINISTRATIVE ADDRESS AT THE SEVENTY-FIRST
(EXTRA-ORDINARY) SESSION OF THE DIET, JULY 27, 1937.

At this 71st session of the Imperial Diet, I have the honour of stating the views of the Government.

At a time when our nation is confronted by serious problems and difficulties, I have been most unexpectedly appointed Premier, and I am keenly aware of the heavy burden I have taken on my shoulders.

I desire to elucidate, first of all, the principle which underlies the endeavours of the Government to fulfill its immense responsibilities. This principle is to make all our policies

stem from a single source, namely, the spirit of the solemn and superb polity of our Empire. Expression of this spirit means that externally we should, in concert with other Powers, strive to establish true peace firmly in the world in accordance with international justice and to enhance more and more the prestige of our nation abroad and that internally we should define clearly the relationship between Sovereign and subjects and enable each of the people to find his proper place in accordance with social justice, bringing about thereby a steady and healthy advance of the national fortunes. Such, then, is the principle the Government expects to observe in formulating and carrying out its policies along various lines.

It is a source of profound regret that, with the troublesome question with the Soviet Union brought to a peaceful settlement and relations with other Powers increasingly amicable, there has occurred the present incident in China and that the Government has been compelled to make an important decision. I am very grateful, however, that the Government has been accorded the united support of the nation at this critical moment. In sending troops to North China, of course, the Government has no other purpose, as was explained in its recent statement, than to preserve the peace of East Asia. I cannot but hope most fervently that reconsideration and self-discipline on the part of the Government and people of China will make as speedily as possible a fundamental adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations.

In view of the current circumstances at home and abroad, it is of the most urgent necessity for us to perfect our national defence and develop the economic power of our country. Accordingly, as the basic means of carrying out our national policy, the Government feels imperative need to devise a comprehensive scheme aiming principally at expansion of the nation's productive power, establishment of equilibrium in international accounts and adjustment of the supply and demand of commodities. Investigations are in progress with a view to formulating a concrete programme based on the conception of Japan and Manchoukuo as a single unit.

Various other plans, including reform of the administrative machinery and the parliamentary system, have been reserved for later consideration. There are a few, of course, that have already been worked out definitely or are under investigation. The Government has definitely decided, for instance, to establish the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, and the appropriation needed for it is being submitted to the Diet for your approval.

As regards education, I am convinced of the great importance of laying down anew foundations of our educational system that will be in accord with the principle of our national policy. But it is extremely difficult to accomplish in a brief period reform of our educational system. The Government intends to appoint an educational council and to continue careful deliberations on the question.

Japan is at present passing through one of those trials that will enable it to rise to greater heights of prosperity and power. To achieve such spectacular progress, or to execute the various attendant reform measures, I believe there is no other way than to have all our people act as one with a firm resolve and the utmost perseverance. Internal friction or rivalry not only will frustrate that purpose but is likely to bring national humiliation upon us. At the time of forming the Cabinet, I thus followed a policy calculated to promote as much as possible the unity and cooperation of the nation.

In consonance with the spirit of national unity, the Government is prepared to carry out reforms where reforms are needed and to go the way that is 'new and ever new.' It is its intention, moreover, to take up and solve, one by one, those questions that hitherto have been considered difficult of solution.

These are what the Government proposes to do. But at this session of the Diet, which follows so closely the formation of the Cabinet, the bills to be submitted for your approval have been confined to some of those on which deliberations were not completed in the past session and to those on which immediate action is required.

I hope that I have made clear to you the outline of the Government's views. Your collaboration is essential in the task of surmounting the present difficulties and promoting the growth of national strength. I appeal to you for generous support and cooperation.

(二) 第七十一回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣演説

(七月二十七日)

本日茲ニ、帝國ノ對外關係ニ付所見ヲ開陳致シマスコトハ、私ノ欣幸トスル所デアリマス。抑モ東亞ノ安定勢力タル地位ヲ確保シ、眞ノ世界平和ノ樹立ニ貢獻スルコトハ、帝國ノ國是デアリマシテ、今更贅言ヲ要シナイノデアリマス。之ヲ遂行スルニ當リマシテハ、先ツ日滿支那「ソ」聯邦間ノ關係ヲ考慮セナケレハナラナイト確信スルノデアリマス。

最近支那ノ情勢ヲ通觀致シマスルニ、國內輿論ノ統一、國家意識昂揚ノ手段トシテ、帝國ヲ目標トスル所謂抗日ノ精神乃至運動力組織的ニ強化利用セラレ、右ニ起因スルモノト認メラルル不祥ナル事態カ、各方面ニ發生シツツアルノハ、帝國政府ノ甚々遺憾トスル所デアリマス。帝國政府ニ於キマシテハ、曩ニ成都事件ヲ契機トシテ、日支國交上根本的障害ヲ爲ス支那側ノ對日態度ノ是正ヲ促シ、國交改善ニ關スル同政府ノ誠意ヲ具體的問題ニ付表示センコトヲ求メタノデアリマス。御承知ノ通り不幸右交渉ハ支那側ノ反對ニヨリ停頓ノ已ムナキニ至ツタ次第デアリマシテ、其後ノ日支兩國ノ關係ハ卒直ニ申シマスレハ、決シテ満足ナモノテハナカッタノデアリマス。

ス。東亞ニ於ケル帝國ノ根本方針カ、日滿支三國間ノ融和提携ト亦化勢力ノ東漸阻止トニヨリ東亞ノ安定ヲ實現セントスルニ在ルコトハ茲ニ改メテ申ス迄モアリマセン。從ツテ帝國政府ト致シマシテハ、支那側ニ於テ一日モ速ニ此ノ根本方針ニ付、充分ナル理解ト認識トヲ有スルニ至ランコトヲ切望スルモノデアリマス。然ルニ支那側ニ於テハ右ノ如キ理解ト認識トヲ缺クノミナラス、近來殊ニ抗日精神ノ昂揚甚タシク、本月七日夜ノ蘆溝橋事件ノ勃發モ亦其ノ結果ニ外ナラナイノデアリマス。

帝國政府ノ今次事變ニ對スル態度ハ、本月十一日聲明致シマシタ通り現地解決、事態不擴大ヲ方針トシテ居ルノデアリマス。從ツテ帝國政府ハ一方現地ニ於テ和平解決ヲ圖ルト共ニ、他方南京ニ於テ支那側カ速ニ時局收拾ノ爲善處スル様、努力ヲ盡シテ來タノデアリマス。私ハ支那側ニ於テ一日モ早く眞ニ反省シ、本月十一日夜妥結ヲ見マシタ現地解決條件ニヨリ之カ誠實ナル實行ヲ切望スルモノデアリマス。以上帝國政府ノ態度ハ、在外帝國使臣ヲ通シマシテ各國政府ニ對シ詳細説明セシメテ置イタノデアリマス。各國政府ニ於テモ右帝國ノ自重的態度ヲ充分了解シテ居ルト存シマス。尙帝國政府ニ於テハ南京政府ノ態度如何ニヨリマシテハ、支那一般民衆ニ對スル反響ハ樂觀ヲ許サナイモノカアリ、突發的不祥事件ヲ起ス虞モ認メラマスルカ故ニ、支那側中

二三六
中央及地方當局ニ對シ、排日行爲ノ取締及我カ在留民ノ保護ニ付屢々注意ヲ喚起シ、事態ノ推移ニ應ジ之カ保護ニ萬遺漏ナキヲ期シテ居ル次第アリマス。要スルニ、今次事變解決ノ鍵ハ、一ニ支那側ノ出方如何ニ懸ツテ居ルノテアリマシテ、私ハ支那側カ我方ノ希望ニ則應ジ、速ニ時局ヲ取纏メル様有效適切ナル措置ニ出テシテコトヲ期待スルモノテアリマス。

「ソヴィエト」聯邦トノ關係ハ、政府ニ於キマシテ慎重考慮致シテ居ル處テアリマス。滿洲國ト「ソヴィエト」聯邦トノ間ノ國境方面ニ事件カ依然トシテ發生シ、殊ニ最近黑龍江上ニアル滿洲國領ノ島嶼ヲ「ソ」聯邦國境警備部隊カ不法ニ侵入シ占據シマシタ爲メ、日滿部隊トノ間ニ衝突ヲ生シ、一時險惡ナル事態トナリマシタカ、「ソ」聯邦カ該方面ノ原狀回復ヲ約シ、茲ニ事態ノ收拾ヲ見マシタコトハ御承知ノ通りテアリマス。帝國トシマシテハ、滿「ソ」國境方面ニ事端ノ絶エナイ情勢ニ付テ多大ノ關心ヲ有スルノテアリマス。惟フニ國境紛争ヲ防止スル爲メ實際的ナル方法ヲ講スルコトカ肝要テアリマシテ、年來懸案トナリ居ル國境劃定及紛争處理ノ二委員會ヲ設置シ、國境方面ニ於ケル空氣ノ緩和ヲ計ル等適當ノ措置ニ速カニ出ツヘキモノト考ヘルノテアリマス。之カ爲「ソ」聯邦ニ於テモ、東亞平和ノ見地ヨリ虚心坦懷協力ヲナス様、其ノ猛省ヲ促ササルヲ得ナイノテアリマス。

又政府ハ北洋ニ於ケル邦人ノ漁業ト北樺太ニ於ケル邦人ノ石油石炭ノ利權事業カ、ソノ正常ナル經營ノ保障セラルルコトニ對シ少ナカラサル關心ヲ持ツテ居ルノテアリマシテ、條約ニ胚胎スル諸事業カ、ソノ實質ニ於テ、有名無實トナルカ如キ事態ノ發生ハ、斷シテ之ヲ許容セサル方針テアリマス。之ヲ要スルニ日「ソ」間ニハ尙幾多解決ヲ要スル問題カアリマス。テ政府ハ之カ爲メ十分努力致シタイト考ヘテ居リマス。

英國トノ關係ニ於キマシテハ、先般英國皇帝皇后兩陛下ノ戴冠式御舉行ニ當リ、御名代秩父宮殿下竝ニ同妃殿下御參列遊ハサレ、兩國ノ傳統的交流ヲ一層深メサセラレマシタコトハ、寔ニ感激ノ外ナキ所テアリマス。政府ハ從來ヨリ日英ノ親善増進ヲ以テ不變ノ方針ト爲シ來ツタノテアリマス。最近兩國間ノ關係調整ノ爲、彼我隔意ナキ話合ヲ行フコトニ付意見一致ヲ見マシタノテ、可成速ニ之カ促進ヲ計リタイ考テアリマス。

日米兩國ノ關係ハ近來誠ニ良好テアリマシテ、益々親善ノ度ヲ加ヘツツアルノテアリマス。先般我經濟使節ハ渡米ノ際、米國各方面ト隔意ナキ意見ノ交換ヲ行ヒ經濟上其他ニ於テ兩國ノ接近ニ寄與スル所尠クナカッタコトハ、私ノ欣快トスル所テアリマス。

帝國ハ客年獨逸トノ間ニ日獨防共協定ヲ締結致シマシタカ、政府ニ於キマシテハ同協定ノ有效ナ

ル運用ニ意ヲ致スト共ニ、將來益々兩國ノ緊密ナル關係ヲ増進センコトヲ期シテ居ル次第デアリ
マス

二三八

次ニ通商關係ニ付テ見マスルニ、輸出ノ振興カ我國生存ノ必須條件トモ云フヘキ重要事デアリ、殊ニ現下我國ノ經濟情勢ニ照シマシテ收支ノ適合ヲ計ル最モ重要ナル對策ノ一タル事ハ周知ノ通テアリマス。然ルニ諸國ノ現狀ヲ見マスルニ、經濟上財政上其ノ他諸種ノ事情ヨリ、我カ輸出貿易ニ對シ今尙各種ノ障害ヲ持續シツツアル狀態デアリマスル關係上、政府ハ相手國夫々ノ事情ニ應ジ、或ハ其ノ國ノ政府ト協定ヲ遂ケ、或ハ彼我民間業者間ノ申合ヲ行ハシメ、以テ我カ輸出貿易ノ圓滑ヲ企圖シテ居ルノデアリマス。幸ヒ今春以來我國ト印度、緬甸、蘭領印度、土耳其等ノ諸國トノ通商交渉モ妥結ヲ見ルニ至リマシタコトハ、私ノ欣快トスル所デアリマス。政府ハ今後共一層我カ商權ノ維持發展ニカムルト同時ニ原料及資源獲得ノ自由竝ニ國際通商ノ自由ヲ促進スル様進ムテ萬般ノ努力ヲ致シ度イト存スルノデアリマス。近時國際通商自由回復ノ傾向カ稍々増進シツツアルノハ欣フヘキ現象デアリマシテ、私ハ此ノ傾向ヲ具體化スルカ如キ國際的企圖ニ對シテハ固ヨリ協力ヲ惜ムモノテナイコトヲ表明セントスルモノデアリマス。以上述ヘ來リマシタ通り帝國現時ノ國際關係ハ誠ニ多事多難デアリマス。此ノ間ニ處シ外交國策

ノ有效ナル遂行ヲ期スル爲ニハ、克ク國際ノ情勢ヲ認識シ、眞ニ舉國一致ノ實ヲ舉ケルコトノ必要ヲ痛感スルモノデアリマシテ、私ハ茲ニ諸君ノ御協力ト御援助トヲ希望シテ已マナイモノデアリマス

ADDRESS OF MR. KOKI HIROTA, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE
SEVENTY-FIRST (EXTRAORDINARY) SESSION OF THE DIET,
ON JULY 27, 1937.

I am happy to have this opportunity today of stating my views concerning the foreign relations of Japan.

It is not necessary for me to expatiate afresh on our national policy, which aims at securing Japan's position as a stabilizing force in East Asia, and contributing toward the establishment of true peace throughout the world. I believe that in order to carry out this policy we should, first of all, consider the relations between Japan, Manchoukuo, China, and the Soviet Union.

In surveying the conditions of present day China, our Government can not but profoundly regret to note that anti-Japanese sentiments and movements have been encouraged

三三九

and systematically exploited for the purpose of unifying public opinion and arousing nationalistic consciousness, and that untoward incidents evidently resulting therefrom are taking place in various quarters in China. At the time of the Chengtu Incident last year, the Japanese Government took occasion to ask the Chinese to rectify their attitude toward Japan, which constituted the fundamental obstacle to friendly intercourse between Japan and China, and to invite the Nanking Government to demonstrate their sincerity regarding the concrete questions bound up with the amelioration of the relations between the two countries. Unfortunately, as you know, the negotiations came to an impasse, owing to Chinese recalcitrance. Since then, Sino-Japanese relations have been, frankly speaking, far from satisfactory. I need not repeat here that Japanese policy in East Asia is directed solely toward the realization of that region through conciliation and co-operation between Japan, Manchoukuo and China, and by stopping the Communist invasion of the Orient. The Japanese Government therefore earnestly hope that China will as soon as possible come to have a full understanding and appreciation of our basic policy.

Today in China not only is such understanding or appreciation absent, but anti-Japanese sentiments have been still more intensified of which the Lukouchiao Incident of the 7th of this month, was only the logical consequence. As regards the present incident, the Japanese Government have maintained, as announced in their official statement of July

11th, a policy of seeking a settlement on the spot and non-aggravation of the situation. Accordingly, the Government have been doing their best to effect a peaceful local solution, and at the same time to induce the Nanking Government to take proper steps for an early settlement of the question. It is my earnest hope that prompt reconsideration on the part of the Chinese authorities will lead to a faithful execution of the terms of settlement arrived at on the night of July 11th. The governments of the Powers have been informed in detail through our diplomatic representatives of this policy of the Japanese Government, and I believe they understand fully Japan's attitude of patience and self-restraint. On the other hand, there is no knowing what will be the possible repercussions among the Chinese masses, dependent as this is upon what stand the Nanking Government may take. There exists, it must be admitted, the danger of an untoward outbreak at any moment. We have more than once called the attention of both the Chinese central government and the local authorities to the necessity for control of anti-Japanese activities and protection of our nationals in China. In order to insure the safety, of our fellow-countrymen the Japanese Government are prepared to use all available means which may be called for by the development of the situation. Thus, in a word, China holds the key to the settlement of the present incident, as it depends entirely upon what course she may choose to follow. I confidently hope that the Nanking Government will adopt such effect-

ive and appropriate measures as will accord with our desire and bring about an early and amicable settlement.

11E11

The Government are giving careful consideration to our relations with the Soviet Union. Incidents have continued to occur along the Manchoukuo-Soviet frontier. The most serious case was the recent illicit invasion and occupation of Manchoukuo islands in the Amur, which led to an armed clash of the Japanese-Manchoukuo forces with the Soviet intruders. The situation threatened for a time to develop into one of extreme gravity. However, the affair ended, as you know, in a peaceful settlement, the Soviet Government agreeing to restore the *status quo ante* in that region. The Japanese Government are deeply concerned over the state of things on the Manchoukuo-Soviet frontier, which gives rise to frequent friction. What is needed first of all is to take practical steps to prevent these border disputes. For that purpose, we should lose no time in setting up those two commissions for the demarkation of the border line and the settlement of disputes, which for some years past have been under consideration, and also devise other means of removing the tension all along the frontier. I cannot but urge most strongly upon the Soviet Government to co-operate freely and unreservedly with us in this task for the sake of the peace of East Asia.

Again, it is a matter of no small concern for the Government whether or not our

nationals engaged in fishery in the northern waters and those having oil and coal concessions in North Saghalien are to be accorded full guarantees for the legitimate operation of their enterprises. It is our policy never to tolerate the creation of any such circumstances as will in substance destroy those enterprises sanctioned, as they are, by treaty. In short, there remains between Japan and the Soviet Union a number of issues still pending, for the solution of which the Government will do their utmost.

As for our relations with Great Britain, I am deeply moved when I say that a short while ago on behalf of His Majesty the Emperor, His Imperial Highness Prince Chichibu, accompanied by Princess Chichibu, attended the Coronation ceremonies of the King and Queen of England, and by their mission they have enhanced the traditional friendship that binds our two nations. It has always been the consistent policy of the Government to promote Anglo-Japanese friendship, and more recently the two governments have come to an agreement of views regarding the advisability of entering into frank conversations with the object of adjusting the relations of the two countries. We hope to bring about an early attainment of that aim.

Japanese-American relations have been of late really good, being marked by ever-growing amity and good will. I am glad to say that the Economic Mission which visited the United States some weeks ago, have by their candid exchange of views with various

11E11

circles accomplished much toward establishing closer contact between our two nations economically and otherwise.

1188

Last year this country concluded the Anti-Comintern Agreement with Germany. The Government are striving for an effective application of the said agreement, and at the same time for the furtherance of friendly and intimate relations between Japan and Germany.

Now to turn to our trade relations with other countries.

Obviously the expansion of our export trade constitutes not only an indispensable condition of our national existence, but one of the most important means of balancing our international accounts under the present economic circumstances of the country. But as a matter of fact, the foreign Powers, for economic, financial, or other reasons, still continue to maintain commercial barriers of various kinds against Japanese goods. The Government are working for a smooth development of our export trade by concluding such individual agreements with the governments of those countries as may be best suited to their respective circumstances, or by arranging for private agreements to be arrived at between our business interests and those of other countries. I am glad to say that since last spring our trade negotiations with India, Burma, the Netherlands East Indies, and Turkey, have all been brought to a successful conclusion. The Government will strive more energetically

than ever for the maintenance and furtherance of Japan's commercial interests, and at the same time make all possible endeavours to insure free access to raw material and natural resources, and to promote the freedom of international trade. It is gratifying to note the growth of certain tendencies favourable to the restoration of the freedom of trade. I desire to take this opportunity to declare the readiness of the Japanese Government to participate heartily in any international undertaking to convert these tendencies into a reality.

As may be seen from what I have stated above, Japan's foreign relations at present are fraught with problems of great difficulty. For an effective execution of our foreign policy at this time a true national unity is required—a unity which is based upon a full comprehension of the international situation. And I appeal to you for support and co-operation.

1189

(三) 勅語

朕茲ニ帝國議會開院ノ式ヲ行ヒ貴族院及衆議院ノ各員ニ告ク

帝國ト中華民國トノ提攜協力ニ依リ東亞ノ安定ヲ確保シ以テ共榮ノ實ヲ舉クルハ是レ朕カ夙夜軫念措カサル所ナリ中華民國深ク帝國ノ真意ヲ解セス濫ニ事ヲ構ヘ遂ニ今次ノ事變ヲ見ルニ至ル朕之ヲ憾トス今ヤ朕カ軍人ハ百難ヲ排シテ其ノ忠勇ヲ致シツツアリ是レニ中華民國ノ反省ヲ促シ速ニ東亞ノ平和ヲ確立セムトスルニ外ナラス

朕ハ帝國臣民カ今日ノ時局ニ鑑ミ忠誠公ニ奉シ和協心ヲ一ニシ贊襄以テ所期ノ目的ヲ達成セムコトヲ望ム

朕ハ國務大臣ニ命シテ特ニ時局ニ關シ緊急ナル追加豫算案及法律案ヲ帝國議會ニ提出セシム卿等克ク朕カ意ヲ體シ和衷協贊ノ任ヲ竭サムコトヲ努メヨ

二四六

(九月四日)

(四) 第七十二回帝國議會ニ於ケル近衛內閣總理大臣演說

(九月五日)

第七十二回帝國議會ノ開院式ニ當リ

天皇陛下ニハ優渥ナル勅語ヲ賜ヒ帝國ノ嚮フ所ヲ明ニシ國民ノ進ムヘキ道ヲ御示シニナリマシタ。

大御心眞ニ恐懼感激ノ至リニ堪ヘナイノデアリマス。

帝國ハ東亞ノ安定ヲ望ミ、常ニ日支兩國ガ相提携シテ、之ニ依テ世界平和ノ基ヲ樹テシテ居タノデアリマス。是ハ帝國ノ一貫シタ國是デアリマス。然ルニ支那ハ常ニ隣交ノ誼ヲ忘レ信義ヲ失シ、永年排日抗日ヲ以テ國策トシ帝國ノ權益ヲ侵シテ暴狀ヲ極メ、ソノ結果遂ニ今回ノ事變ヲ生ズルニ至ツタノデアリマス。

今ヤ外ニ於テハ出征ノ將兵膺懲ノ歩武ヲ進メ、内ニ在テハ銃後ノ國民奉公ノ至誠ヲ致シテ居リマス。然シ乍ラ今回ノ事變ハ其ノ由ツテ來ル所遠ク事態ノ推移モ亦豫メ測リ難イノデアリマス。此ノ時ニ當リマシテ、我々國民ハ齊シク時局ノ重大ナルコトヲ思ヒ、益々堅忍不拔ノ志ヲ堅ウシテ、

二四七

今後如何ナル艱難ガ來ヨウトモ之ニ堪ヘ、帝國ノ公正ナル目的貫徹ノ爲ニ敢然トシテ邁進スルノ
決意ガナケレバナリマセス。

凡ソ難局ヲ打開シ國運ノ隆昌ヲ圖ルノ道ハ、我ガ尊嚴ナル國體ニ基イテ盡忠報國ノ精神ヲ振ヒ起
シ、之ヲ國民ノ日常ノ業務生活ノ間ニ實踐スルノニ在ルト思フノデアリマス。

今般國民精神ノ總動員ヲ行ハウトスル所以モ亦茲ニ存スルノデアリマス。

古來我ガ國民ハ一度艱難ニ遭遇シマスルヤ、必ズ之ニ打チ克チ國家ヲ興隆セシメタノデアリマ
ス。此ノ重大時局ニ際シマシテ我々國民ハヨク以上ノ趣旨ヲ體シ、忠誠公ニ奉ジ、和協心ヲ一ニ
シ、日本精神ヲ昂揚シテ舉國一致ノ實ヲ舉ゲルト共ニ、之ヲ實踐ニ現シテ愈々國力ノ伸張ヲ圖リ、
皇運ヲ扶翼シ奉ランコトヲ勉メネバナラヌノデアリマス。是レコソ我々國民ノ時局ニ處スル覺悟
デナケレバナリマセン。

ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE 72nd SESSION OF THE
IMPERIAL DIET ON SEPTEMBER 5th, 1937.

Gentlemen:

I am profoundly moved to say that His Imperial Majesty's most Gracious Message regarding the China Affair was granted us at the opening of the Imperial Diet yesterday.

It is my humble desire that we shall be able to set His Majesty's heart at rest by our loyal and devoted service to the Throne in accordance with the august will of our sovereign.

Since the outbreak of the Affair in North China on July 7th, the fundamental policy of the Japanese Government toward China has been simply and purely to seek the reconsideration of the Chinese Government and the abandonment of its erroneous anti-Japanese policies, with the view to making a basic readjustment in relation between Japan and China. This policy has never undergone a change; even today it remains the same. The Japanese Government has endeavoured to save the situation by preventing aggravation of the incident and by limiting its scope. This has been repeatedly enunciated; I trust that it is fully understood by you gentlemen.

The Chinese, however, not only fail to understand the true motives of the Japanese Government, but have increasingly aroused a spirit of contempt and have offered resistance

11#O

toward Japan, taking advantage of the patience of our Government. Thus, by the outburst of uncontrolled national sentiment, the situation has fast been aggravated, spreading in scope to Central and South China. And now, our Government, which has been patient to the utmost, has acknowledged the impossibility of settling the incident passively and locally, and has been forced to deal a firm and decisive blow against the Chinese Government in an active and comprehensive manner.

In point of fact, for one country to adopt as its national policy the antagonizing of and the showing of contempt for some particular country, and to make these the underlying principle of national education by implanting such ideas in the minds of the young, is unprecedented in the history of the world. Thus, when we consider the outcome of such policies on the part of China, we feel grave concern not only for the future of Sino-Japanese relation, but for the peace of the Orient and consequently for the peace of the entire world. The Japanese Government, therefore, has repeatedly requested the Chinese Government to reconsider and to change its attitude, but all in vain. This failure of the Chinese Government has finally caused the present affair. We firmly believe that it is in accordance with the right of self-defense as well as with the cause of righteousness and humanity that our country had determined to give a decisive blow to such a country, so that it may reflect upon the errors of its ways. For the peoples of East Asia, there can

be no happiness without a just peace in this part of the world. The Chinese people themselves by no means form the objective of our actions, which objective is directed against the Chinese Government and its army who are carrying out such erroneous, anti-foreign policies. If, therefore, the Chinese Government truly and fully re-examines its attitude and in real sincerity makes endeavours for the establishment of peace and for the development of culture in the Orient in collaboration with our country, our Empire intends to press no further.

At the present moment, however, the sole measure for the Japanese Empire to adopt is to administer a thoroughgoing blow to the Chinese Army so that it may lose completely its will to fight. And if, at the same time, China fails to realize its mistakes and persists in its stubborn resistance, our Empire is fully prepared for protracted hostilities. Until we accomplish our great mission of establishing peace in the Orient, we must face many serious difficulties, and, in order to overcome them, we must proceed steadily with our task, adhering to the spirit of perseverance and fortitude in one united body.

Now that our Imperial Army and Navy, with their loyal officers and men, are advancing with all dignity in the cause of righteousness, exalting their might far and wide, we are filled with grateful emotion. Simultaneously, we feel highly encouraged to witness the sincere support displayed throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Let us,

11#1

however, be on our guard against intoxication over victories already won, and maintain an unrelaxed vigil toward achieving our final purpose.

The Government is hereby introducing to the Imperial Diet urgent budgetary and legislative measures. In these measures the Government seeks to adopt a financial and economic structure for coping with the present extraordinary situation. We are ready, however, to take all possible precautions to avoid unnecessary shock to financial circles. As for developments in the affair, foreign affairs and financial plans, they will be stated by the Ministers in charge.

The Government feels greatly honoured to assist, together with you gentlemen, in the administration of affairs of the State, and at the same time feels increasingly the graveness of its responsibility. We earnestly beseech you gentlemen to give approval after mature deliberation to the Governmental measures which will be introduced.

11411

(五) 第七十二回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣ノ演説

(九月五日)

曩ニ第七十一回帝國議會ニ於テ、私ハ我カ對外關係ノ全般ニ付テ述フル所カアリマシタカ、本日茲ニ、今次事變ニ關聯スル其以後ノ外交經過ニ付、概要陳述致シタイト存シマス。事變勃發以來、帝國政府ハ、現地解決事態不擴大ノ方針ニ基キ、南京政府ノ速ナル反省ヲ求メ、時局ノ收拾ニ努力シ來ツタノテアリマスカ、南京政府ハ毫モ誠意ヲ示サス、益々中央軍ヲ北支ニ集中シテ我方ニ挑戦シ來ルト共ニ、揚子江流域及南支各地ニ於テハ、陰險極マル排日ヲ行ヒ、以テ是等地方ニ於ケル我カ在留民ノ平和的活動ハ固ヨリ、其ノ生存ヲスラ危殆ナラシムルニ立至ツタノテアリマス。斯カル状態ノ下ニ於テモ帝國政府ハ、尙出來得ル限リ事態ノ平和的收拾ヲ期シ、漢口ヲ初メ、長江流域在留邦人ヲ全部引揚ケシメタノテアリマス。其ノ後偶々八月九日上海ニ於テ、我カ陸戰隊大山中尉及齋藤水兵カ、支那保安隊ノ爲無殘ニ殺害セラルルニ至リマシタカ、我方ニ於テハ尙努メテ平和的解決ノ方針ヲ以テ之レニ處シ、右保安隊ノ急速ナル撤退、並ニ昭和七年ノ停戰協定ニ違反スル各種軍事施設ノ撤去ヲ求メ、以テ事態ノ收拾ヲ圖ラントシタノテアリマ

二五三

ス。然ルニ支那側ニ於テハ言フ左右ニ託シテ之ニ應セサルノミナラス、益々停戦區域内ニ於ケル其ノ兵力並ニ軍事施設ヲ増大シ、我方ニ對シテ不法ニモ攻勢ニ出テマシタ爲、帝國ニ於テハ已ムナク應急ノ措置トシテ、少數ノ海軍兵力ヲ上海ニ増遣シ、以テ我カ居留民保護ノ責ヲ全ツセンコトヲ期シテアリマス

二五四

斯ノ如ク上海ノ形勢不穩ニ立至リマスルヤ、八月十一日在南京、英、米、獨、佛、伊ノ五箇國大使ハ、日支双方ニ對シ、上海ニ於ケル外國人ノ生命財産ノ安全ヲ計ル爲、同地ヲ戰火ノ巷トナササル様、出來得ル限リノ措置ヲ講セラレ度キ旨申出タノテアリマス。右ニ對シ帝國政府ハ、上海ニ於ケル内外人生命財産ノ安全ハ、固ヨリ我方ニ於テモ最モ顧念スル所テアルカ、是カ爲ニハ租界附近ニ進出シ我方ニ脅威ヲ與ヘツツアル支那正規軍及保安隊ヲ、交戦距離外ニ撤退セシメ、租界附近ノ軍事施設ハ之ヲ撤收スルコトカ先決問題テ、支那側カ右條件ヲ受諾スルニ於テハ、我方陸戦隊ノ配備ヲモ亦常態ニ復スルノ用意アル旨ヲ答ヘ關係列國ニ於テ先ツ支那側ヲシテ、右條件ヲ受諾セシムル様ニ在大使ヲシテ五國側ニ申入レシメタノテアリマス。然ルニ支那側ハ右我方ノ應急適切ナル條件ニ對シ、耳ヲ傾ケナカッタ由テアリマスカ、續イテ八月十三日ニハ更ニ在上海、英、米、佛三國總領事ヨリ、交戦停止方ニ關スル一具體案ヲ示シ、日支間ニ直接交渉ヲ行ヒ、目前ニ迫ツタ危機

ヲ回避スル様日支双方ニ申出カアリ、右申出ハ八月十三日夜半東京ニ接到致シマシタカ、支那側ハ右ニ拘ハラス續々上海附近ニ正規軍ヲ進出セシメ、既ニ同日午後ヨリ攻撃ヲ開始シ、十四日ニ至ツテハ遂ニ我カ陸戦隊及軍艦並ニ總領事館ノミナラス、租界内隨所ニ爆彈ヲ投下スルノ暴舉ニ出テマシタ爲、事茲ニ至ツテハ帝國トシテモ、最早平和的收拾ノ望ヲ捨テ、三萬ニ垂ントスル我カ居留民保護ノ爲遂ニ戰鬪ヲ行ハサルヲ得サルニ至ツタ次第テアリマシテ、關係列國ノ努力モ支那側ノ暴舉ニヨリ、一瞬ニシテ水泡ニ歸シタノハ誠ニ遺憾ニ堪エナイ所テアリマス。

此ノ如ク上海一帶ハ戰火ノ巷トナリマシタ結果、該地ニ莫大ノ投資ト多數ノ居留民ト有スル關係各國ハ、自然之ニ對シ重大ナル關心ヲ示スニ至リ、英國ヨリハ、更ニ八月十八日「日支兩國政府カ雙方ノ兵力ヲ撤退シ、共同租界及越界路在住日本臣民ノ保護ヲ外國側ニ委任スルニ於テハ、英國政府ハ他ノ列國カ英國ト共ニ同一行動ニ出ツル限リ、右責任ヲ取ルノ用意アル」旨申出テ、佛國政府モ亦翌十九日右英國政府ノ申出ヲ支持スル旨申出テマシタカ、之ヨリ先、米國政府ヨリモ上海ニ於ケル戰鬪停止方ニ付希望ヲ述ヘ來ツタノテアリマス。帝國トシテモ此等諸國ト同様上海ニハ重大ナル利害關係ヲ有スルニ鑑ミ、出來得ル丈ケ同地ノ平穩ヲ冀念スル次第テアリマスカ、前述ノ如ク、今次上海ニ於ケル支那側ノ行動ハ昭和七年ノ上海停戦協定ニ違反シ、濫リニ正

二五五

規軍ヲ協定地域内ニ入レ、保安隊ノ數及武装ヲ増強シ、衆ヲ頼ンテ我軍民ニ挑戰シ來ツタ次第アリマスノテ、前記英國政府ノ申出ニ對シテハ、我方從來ノ平和的努力並ニ支那側ノ不法攻撃ノ實狀ヲ詳述シ、上海ニ於ケル戦闘ハ、支那側カ直ニ右正規軍ヲ協定地域外ニ撤退シ、保安隊ヲ前線ヨリ遠サクルコトニ依リ終熄スルノ外ナキ旨ヲ回答シ、英國モ停戰協定關係國ノ一トシテ、速ニ支那側ノ停戰區域外撤退ヲ實現ノ爲盡力センコトヲ求メ、佛國及米國ニ對シテモ、夫々同様ノ趣旨ヲ回答致シタノテアリマス。

二五六

尙、北支ニ於キマシテハ、支那側ハ從來我方トノ間ニ存在シマシタ各種ノ約諾ヲ無視シ、大軍ヲ北上セシメテ頻リニ挑戰的態度ニ出テ居リマスルノミナラス、更ニ察哈爾方面ニモ續々軍隊ヲ進出セシメテ參リマシタノテ、我方トシテモ斷然之ニ對應シテ適切ナル措置ヲ執ルノ已ムナキニ至ツタノテアリマス。

以上ノ如ク戦闘ハ今ヤ北支ノミナラス、中支方面ニモ波及シ、帝國ハ遂ニ支那トノ間ニ廣範圍ニ涉リ戦火ヲ交ヘサルヲ得サルニ至リ、又中南支及山東ニ於ケル約五萬ノ我カ居留民ハ、多額ノ投資、多年ノ地盤及權益ヲ後ニ殘シテ、引揚クルノ止ムナキニ立チ至リ、更ニ戦火ノ犠牲トナツタ居留民モ相當多キニ上リツツアリマスノハ、甚タ痛心ニ堪エナイ所テアリマス。在支第三國人モ亦

我カ居留民ト同様困難ナル立場ニ置カルモノ尠クナイノハ、誠ニ氣ノ毒ナコトデアルト云ハナケレハナリマセン。是レ畢竟南京政府ノミナラス、地方軍閥ニ至ル迄、多年自己政權強化ノ爲排日抗日ノ氣風ヲ煽動シ、民心ヲ激化スルノミナラス、進ンテハ亦化分子ト荷合シテ、日支ノ國交ヲ益々惡化セシメタル結果ニ外ナラナイノテアリマス。今ヤ我カ忠勇ナル皇軍ハ、舉國一致ノ後援ノ下ニ、日夜有ラユル艱苦ヲ排シテ戰鬥ニ從事シ、目サマシキ效果ヲ擧ケツツアルハ眞ニ感激ニ堪エナイ次第テアリマス。

帝國ノ國是カ日滿支三國間ノ融和提携ニ依リ東亞安定ノ基礎ヲ築キ、以テ共存共榮ノ實ヲ擧ケントスルニアリマスコトハ、今更申スマテモナイノテアリマス。然ルニ支那ハ毫モ我カ真意ヲ諒解セントセス、却ツテ今日ノ如ク大軍ヲ動カシテ、我カ軍民ニ向ヒ來ル以上ハ、我方モ亦之ニ對應スル軍事行動ニ依リ、斷乎トシテ支那ノ猛省ヲ促スコトヲ急務トスルノテアリマス。而シテ帝國ノ庶幾スル所ハ北支ヲ明朗ナラシメ、支那全土ヨリ今回ノ如キ戰禍再發ノ憂ヲ除キ、兩國ノ國交ヲ調整シ、依テ以テ前述ノ國是ヲ實現セントスルニ外ナラナイノテアリマス。故ニ私ハ支那爲政者カ東亞ノ大局ヲ洞觀シ、速ニ反省シテ帝國ノ理想ニ順應シ來ランコトヲ望ンテ止マナイ次第テアリマス。

二五七

1146

ADDRESS OF MR. KOKI HIROTA, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
AT THE SEVENTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE DIET,
SEPTEMBER 5, 1937.

As I had occasion a short while ago at the 71st session of the Diet to speak on Japan's foreign relations in general, I shall confine myself today to a review of the developments since then of the China Affair.

Ever since the beginning of the present affair, the Japanese Government, in pursuance of their policy of local settlement and non-aggravation, have exerted every effort to effect a speedy solution. The Nanking Government, whose prompt reconsideration was invited, failed to manifest a grain of sincerity, but concentrated their armies in North China to challenge Japan, while in the Yangtze Valley and elsewhere in South and Central China they embarked upon an anti-Japanese campaign of the most vicious kind, which not only prevented our nationals in that region from engaging in their peaceful pursuits, but also jeopardized their very existence. In these circumstances, the Japanese Government still desiring to avoid the disturbance of peace as far as possible, ordered the evacuation of all Japanese residents in Hankow and other points along the Yangtze River. Shortly after that, on August 9 at Shanghai, Sub-lieutenant Oyama and Seaman Saito of the Landing

Party were murdered at the hands of the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps. Even then, Japan, adhering to a peaceful course, sought to settle the affair through the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps and the removal of all military works that had been erected in violation of the 1932 Truce Agreement. China refused to comply with our demands under one pretext or another, and proceeded, instead, to increase her troops and multiply her military works in the prohibited zone, and finally launched an unwarranted attack upon the Japanese. Thereupon, as a matter of duty our Government despatched a small naval reinforcement to Shanghai as an emergency measure to insure the protection of our nationals in that city.

In view of these disquieting developments in Shanghai, the ambassadors at Nanking of the five Powers—Great Britain, America, France, Germany, and Italy—sent a joint request on August 11 both to Japan and China that the two countries do all in their power to carry out effectively a plan to exclude Shanghai from the scope of any possible hostilities so as to safeguard the lives and property of foreigners therein. Our Government replied through Ambassador Kawagoe to the effect that while Japan was most solicitously concerned over the safety of the lives and property of all foreigners as well as of the Japanese in Shanghai, China should, as the first prerequisite, withdraw outside striking distance her regular troops and the Peace Preservation Corps that were advancing on the

1146

Settlement and menacing the Japanese, and remove the military works in the vicinity of the International Settlement, and then Japan would be prepared to restore her forces to their original positions provided China agreed to take the above steps. The Ambassador was also instructed to request the Powers concerned to exert their influence toward inducing China to execute those urgent and appropriate measures, which, however, were flatly rejected by China. On August 13, the Consul-General at Shanghai of Great Britain, America and France submitted a certain concrete plan, proposing that Japan and China enter into direct negotiations for the purpose of averting the impending crisis. The text of the proposal was received in Tokyo at midnight, August 13. But in the afternoon of that very day, the Chinese armies, that had been pouring into the Shanghai area, took the offensive, and on the 14th their warplanes dropped bombs not only on the headquarters of our Landing Party, our warship and our Consulate-General, but also all over the International Settlement. No longer could we do anything but abandon all hopes for a peaceful settlement and fight for the protection of our 30,000 nationals in Shanghai. I regret to say that the earnest efforts of the Powers concerned were thus nullified by Chinese outrages. Shanghai, having been converted into a theatre of hostilities, grave concern was naturally shown by the Powers who had vast amounts of capital invested and large numbers of their nationals residing in the city. Great Britain notified both Japan and China under

the date of August 18, that if the governments of the two countries agreed to withdraw their forces mutually and to entrust to foreign authorities the protection of Japanese subjects residing in the International Settlement and on the Extra-Settlement roads, the British Government were prepared to undertake the responsibility provided that other Powers would cooperate. Next day—on the 19th—we were informed by the French Government of their readiness to support the British proposal. The American Government also had previously expressed their hope for the suspension of hostilities in the Shanghai area. Japan, having as great interests in Shanghai as those Powers, is equally solicitous for the peace of the city. But as has been stated above, the actions taken by the Chinese in and around Shanghai are plainly in violation of the Truce Agreement of 1932, in that they illegitimately moved their regular troops into the zone prescribed by that Agreement, and increased both the number and armaments of the Peace Preservation Corps, and in that relying upon their numerical superiority, they challenged the Landing Party and civilian population of our country. Therefore, in their reply to the British proposal our Government explained in detail Japan's successive efforts toward a peaceful solution as well as the truth regarding the lawless Chinese attacks, and stated that the hostilities at Shanghai could not be brought to an end save through the withdrawal of the Chinese regular troops from the prohibited zone, and of the Peace Preservation Corps from the front lines. At the same time, our

11411

sincere hope was expressed that Great Britain as one of the parties to the Truce Agreement would use her good offices to bring about the withdrawal of the Chinese troops outside the prescribed zone. Similar replies were sent to France and America.

As for North China, in wilful disregard of the various pledges and agreements, Chinese Central Armies were moved northward to indulge in a series of provocative actions, and large forces began to pour into the province of Chahar. Our Government, therefore, have had to take determined steps to meet the situation.

Thus hostilities have now spread from North to Central China, and Japan finds herself engaged in a major conflict with China on extended fields. I am deeply pained to say that some 50,000 Japanese residents in various parts of China have been forced to evacuate, leaving behind them their huge investments, their business interests acquired through years of arduous toil, and other rights and interests, while not a few of them have been made victims of hostilities. It is also to be regretted that nationals of third countries in China are being subjected to similar trials and tribulations. All this is due to no other cause than that the Nanking Government and also the local militarist regimes in China have for many years past deliberately undertaken to incite public opinion against Japan as a means of strengthening their own political powers, and in collusion with Communist elements they have still further impaired Sino-Japanese relations. Now our loyal and valiant soldiers,

with the united support of the nation behind them, are engaged in strenuous campaigns night and day amid indescribable hardships and privations. We cannot but be moved to hear of their heroic sacrifices as well as their brilliant achievements.

It is hardly necessary to say that the basic policy of the Japanese Government aims at the stabilization of East Asia through conciliation and co-operation between Japan, Manchoukuo, and China for their common prosperity and well-being. Since China, ignoring our true motive, has mobilized her vast armies against us, we can do no other than counter if by force of arms. The urgent need at this moment is that we take a resolute attitude and compel China to mend her ways. Japan has no other objective than to see a happy and tranquil North China, and all China freed from the danger of a recurrence of such calamitous hostilities as the present, and Sino-Japanese relations so adjusted as will enable us to put into practice our above-mentioned policy. Let us hope that the statesmen of China will be brought to take a broad view of East Asia; that they will speedily realize their mistakes; and that, turning over a new leaf, they will act in unison with the high aim and aspirations of Japan!

11411

(六) 告 諭

(九月九日)

第七十二回帝國議會開院式ニ當リ優渥ナル
勅語ヲ賜ヒ帝國ノ嚮フ所ヲ明ニシ國民ノ進ムヘキ道ヲ示サセ給ヘリ聖慮宏遠ニシテ眞ニ恐懼感激
ニ堪ヘサルナリ
惟フニ帝國ハ東亞ノ安定ヲ望ミ常ニ日支兩國ノ相提携シテ以テ世界平和ノ基ヲ樹テント欲ス是レ
比隣其ノ幸ヲ一ニシ列國其ノ福ヲ同シクスルノ道ニシテ帝國一貫ノ國是ナリ然ルニ支那ハ常ニ隣
交ノ誼ヲ忘レ信義ヲ失シ永年排日抗日ヲ以テ國策トシ帝國ノ權益ヲ侵シテ暴狀ヲ極メ遂ニ今次ノ
事變ヲ生スルニ至レリ
今ヤ出征ノ將兵外ニ膺懲ノ歩武ヲ進メ銃後ノ國民内ニ奉公ノ至誠ヲ致ス然リト雖今次ノ事變ハ其
ノ由ツテ來ル所遠ク事態ノ推移亦速ニ豫斷ヲ許ササルモノアリ此ノ秋ニ當リ國民齊シク時局ノ重
大性ニ鑑ミ益々堅忍不拔ノ志操ヲ堅持シテ今後ニ來ルヘキ如何ナル艱難ニモ堪ヘ所期ノ目的ヲ貫
徹スル爲敢然邁進スルノ決意アルヲ要ス

二六四

凡ソ難局ヲ打開シ國運ノ隆昌ヲ圖ルノ道ハ我カ尊嚴ナル國體ニ基キ盡忠報國ノ精神ヲ益々振起シ
テ之ヲ國民日常ノ業務生活ノ間ニ實踐スルニ在リ今般國民精神ノ總動員ヲ實施スル所以モ亦此ニ
存ス
古來我カ國民ハ艱難ニ遭遇スルヤ必ス之ヲ克服シ以テ國家興隆ノ成果ヲ收メサルナシ時局ニ際シ
國民深ク如上ノ趣旨ヲ體シ忠誠公ニ奉シ和協心ヲ一ニシ日本精神ヲ昂揚シテ舉國一致ノ實ヲ舉ク
ルト共ニ之ヲ實踐ニ現シテ愈國力ノ伸張ヲ圖リ以テ 皇運ヲ扶翼シ奉ル所アルハ本大臣ノ深ク全
國民ニ期待スル所ナリ

昭和十二年九月九日

内閣總理大臣 公爵 近 衛 文 麿

二六五

(七) 訓 令

(九月九日)

各 官 廳

二六六

第七十二回帝國議會開院式ニ當リ優渥ナル

勅語ヲ賜ヒ帝國ノ嚮フ所ヲ明ニシ國民ノ進ムヘキ道ヲ示サセ給ヘリ。聖慮宏遠洵ニ恐懼感激ニ禁ヘス

惟フニ今次ノ事變ハ其ノ由ツテ來ル所遠ク事態ノ推移亦速ニ豫斷ヲ許ササルモノアリ

此ノ秋ニ當リ職ヲ官ニ奉ズル者ハ齊シク時局ノ重大性ニ鑑ミ堅忍不拔ノ志操ヲ堅持シテ今後ニ來ルヘキ如何ナル艱難ニモ堪ヘ和協一心奉公ノ至誠ヲ致シ以テ所期ノ目的貫徹ノ爲ニ邁進スルノ決意アラシコトヲ要ス

凡ソ難局ヲ打開シ帝國ノ興隆ヲ圖ルノ道ハ我カ尊嚴ナル國體ニ基キ盡忠報國ノ精神ヲ振起シテ之ヲ日常ノ業務生活ノ間ニ具現セシムルニ在リ今般國民精神ノ總動員ヲ實施スル所以亦此ニ存ス

宜シク思フ現下ノ時局ニ致シ日本精神ヲ昂揚シテ率先之ヲ實踐ニ具現シ愈々國力ノ増進ヲ圖リ以テ皇運ヲ扶翼シ奉ランコトヲ期スヘシ

昭和十二年九月九日

内閣總理大臣 公 爵 近 衛 文 麿

二六七

(八) 近衛内閣總理大臣演説「時局ニ處スル國民ノ覺悟」

(九月十一日)

茲ニ、國民精神總動員運動ヲ開始スルニ當リマシテ、私ノ所信ヲ披瀝シテ、コノ歴史のナル國民運動ニ對シ諸君ノ御協力ヲ願ヒタイト思フノテアリマス。

吾々ノ不擴大方針カ支那政府ノ不誠意ニ依リマシテ願ラレス、北支事變カ遂ニ支那事變トナリ、支那ノ排日分子ニ對シテ茲ニ全面的且積極的ナル膺懲ヲ必要トスルニ至リマシタルコトハ諸君已ニ御承知ノ通りテアリマス。

申スマテモナク、吾々ノ真意ハ東洋文化ヲ共通スル所ノ日滿支三國ノ提携ヲ以テ東洋安定ノ樞軸ト致シマシテ、コレヲ通シテ世界平和ノ確立ニ自主的ニ、參與スルトイフ處ニアルコトハ、今モ昔モ變リハナイノテアリマス。

東洋ノ平和アツテ、初メテ東洋國家ノ眞ノ幸福カアルノテアリマス、同シク東洋ノ二大隣國トシテ、日支提携トイフ基礎ノ上ニ立ツニアラサレハ支那ノ國家建設ハ不可能ナノテアリマス。從ツテ排日ヲ前提トスルカ如キ支那ノ國家主義ハ斷シテ支那ノ國家ヲ幸福ナラシムルモノデハナイト

信スルノテアリマス。

然ルニ支那政府ノ抗日的訓練ハ、ソノ由ツテ來ルトコロ遠ク且深キモノガアリマシテ、我ガ方ノ隱忍ノ結果ハ却ツテ彼ノ侮日トナリ抗日ノ激スル處、今ヤ國ヲ擧ゲテ赤化勢力ノ奴隸タラントスル現狀ニ立チ至ツタノテアリマス。コレカ爲ニ十五年間ノ抗日教育ノ下ニ成長シマシタ所ノ支那ノ若キ青年ハ自ら進ンデ墓穴ヲ掘リツツアリ、又國民黨ノ排日教育ニ毒セラレナイ素樸ナル父老兄弟ハコノ日支相搏ツノ矛盾ニ挾マレテ、今ヤ身ヲ置クニ處ナキ有様デアアルノデアリマス。

コト茲ニ至リマシテハ、當ニ日本ノ安全ノ見地カラノミナラズ、廣クハ正義人道ノ爲、特ニ東洋百年ノ大計ノ爲ニコレニ一大鐵槌ヲ加ヘマシテ直チニ抗日勢力ノ依ツテ以テ立ツ所ノ根源ヲ破壊シ徹底的實物教育ニ依ツテソノ戰意ヲ喪失セシメ、然ル後ニ於テ支那ノ健全分子ニ活路ヲ與ヘマシテ、コレト手ヲ握ツテ俯仰天地ニ愧ヂザル東洋平和ノ恒久的組織ヲ確立スルノ必要ニ迫ラレテ來タノデアリマス。コノコトタル、吾々が今日コレヲ解決セザレバ吾々ノ子孫カ更ニ大ナル困難ノ下ニイッレノ日ニカ解決ヲ必要トスルモノデアリマス。果シテ然ラハコノ日本國民ノ歴史の大事業ヲ、吾等ノ時代ニ於テ、解決スルトイフコトハ、寧ロ今日生ヲ享ケタル我等同時代國民ノ光榮テアリ、吾々ハ喜ンテコノ任務ヲ遂行スヘキテアルト思フノテアリマス。

若シモ斯クノ如キ歴史の大事業カ何等ノ困難ナシニ出來ルト思フナラハ、コレハ思フ方カ無理テアラウト存シマス。今後或ハ色々ノ方面カラ困難カ起ツテ來ルコトモ覺悟シナケレバナリマセシ。吾々ニ肝要ナコトハ如何ナル困難カ起ツテ來テモ必スコレニ打克テ如何ニ長期ニ互ツテモ半途ニシテ屈セス有終ノ美ヲ成シ遂ケスニハ斷シテ止マストイフ固イ決意カ必要テアリマス。申ス迄モ無クコレハ決シテ一政府一軍隊ノ力ニ依ツテ出來ルコトハナイノテアリマス。全國民ノ全勢力ヲ綜合蓄積シ國家ノ最高目的ノ前ニコレヲ動員シ、コレヲ傾倒シテ始メテ可能テアルト信スルノテアリマス。實ニ銃剣ヲ取ル者モ、鋤、鋏、算盤ヲ取ルモノモ同シク國家的戰闘ノ一單位トシテ單ニソノ持場カ異ツテキルニ過キナイノテアル。若シココニ自分カ一人居ラナカツタナラハ國家ノ全勢力ハソレタケ缺陷カ生シテ來ル、若シ又自分カ一時間タケ餘計ニ働イタナラハ、國家ノ持久力ハソレタケ増スコトニナル、斯クノ如キ自覺ヲ以テ全國民カ國家總動員ノ内ニ織リ込マレテ來ルナラハ、吾々ニ課セラレマシタル時代の使命ヲ遂行シ發展の日本ノ爲ニ一新紀元ヲ作ルコトハ決シテ困難テナイト信スルノテアリマス。私ハ抄クトモ二ツノ方面カラ斯ク信シテ疑ハヌ理由ヲ有ツテ居ルノテアリマス。

二七〇

ソノ一ツハ我カ日本ノ歴史ハ極メテ古イカ國家ノ生活力ハ青年ノヤウニ旺盛テアルトイフコトテ

アリマス。コノコトハ今日ノ日本ヲ公平ニ觀察スルモノノ内外一致セル認識テアルト思ヒマス。顧ルニ吾々ノ祖先ハ過去ニ於テ幾多ノ大困難ニ遭遇シ、ヨクコレヲ克服致シマシテ、今日ノ如キ國家の遺産ヲ吾々ノ手ニ殘シタノテアリマス。日本ノ發展セントスル所、ソコニ必スヤ大ナリ小ナリノ摩擦カアルコトハ免レマセヌ。今次ノ事變ノ如キモ亦日本カ偉大ナラントスル爲ニ必然的ニ遭遇シタル國際的摩擦ノ一過程テアリマス。果シテ然ラハコレハ當然吾々ノ手ニ依ツテコレヲ解決シ、後ニ來ル吾々ノ子孫ノタメニ遺産トシテ贈ルヘキモノテアルト思フノテアリマス。第二ニハ獨リ日本ノ主觀的立場カラハカリテナク、世界歴史ノ全體カラ見マシテ、日本ハ今世界ニ於ケル進歩的國家トシテノ主要ナル役割ヲ働イテキルトイフ確信テアリマス。今日ノ世界ハ獨リ東洋ニ於テノミナラス「ヨーロッパ」ニ於キマシテモ亦不安カ漲ツテキルノテアリマス。斯カラ世界不安ノ根本的原因ハ究極スルトコロ實質的ナル國際正義カ未タ十分實現セラレテキナイトコロニアルノテアリマス。日本ノ行動ハ或ハ爲ニスルモノノ皮相的認識ニヨリ如何様ニモ曲解セラレルコトモアリマセウ。併シ日本ノ行動ノ本質ハ世界歴史ノ本流ニ於テ、眞ノ國際正義ヲ主張セントスルモノテアリマス。斯カル意味ニ於テ吾々ノ主張ハ日本以外ノ他ノ進歩的ナ國民ニヨリテモ共鳴セラレルモノ決シテ抄クナイト信スルモノテアリマス。

二七一

斯クノ如キ確信ノ下ニ吾々全國民カ己レヲ空シウシテ國家ノ最高目的ノ前ニ打ツテ一丸トナレハ、前途ナンノ恐ルヘキモノモナイノテアリマス。國家ノ一大事ノ前ニ、國內ノ凡ユル階層カ協力一致シテ義勇奉公ノ誠ヲ盡クストイフコトハ我カ日本本來ノ姿テアリマス。現ニ去ル九日終了致シマシタ第七十二議會ニ於テ尤大ナル豫算ガ兩院トモ全會一致ヲ以テ一瞬ノ間ニ協賛サレマシタル一事ヲ以テ致シマシテモ歴然タル事實テアリマス。斯クノ如キハ日本以外ノ國家ニ於キマシテハ容易ニ理解シ難キトコロテアリマシテ、特ニ日本内部ノ分裂ヲ見越シテ排日強行ノ一理由トシテ來マシタ所ノ支那政府ノ如キニ對シテハ意外ナル精神的打撃ヲ與ヘタコトト思フノテアリマス。素ヨリ私ト致シマシテハ斯カル國民諸君ノ協力誠意ニ對シマシテハ感謝ノ念ニ堪ヘヌモノカアルノデアリマス。而シテカクノ如キ協力ノ由ツテ來ルトコロ遂ニ我カ日本國體ノ尊嚴無比ナル歴史的組織ニ淵源スルコトヲ思フトキ私ハ日本臣民タル恩寵ヲ今更ノ如ク痛切ニ自覺セサルヲ得ナイノテアリマス。

二七二

『國家ハ雜然タル利益團體ニアラスシテ一ツノ文化的使命ヲ有スルトコロノ協同目的體テアリ國民ハ己レノ利益ヲ追及スル唯物的存在ニ非スシテ民族國家ノ組織ヲ通シテ人類ニ寄與セントスルトコロノ精神的存在テアル』斯クノ如キハ西歐ノ唯物的文化ニ嫌キタラサル人々ノ間ニ澎湃トシ

テ最近湧キ起ツテキルトコロノ新シキ要求テアリマス。然ルニコロノ要求ハ萬世一系ノ皇室ヲ中心トスル我カ日本ノ國家組織ニ於キマシテハ先天的ニ具現セラレテキルノテアリマス。吾々ノ國家ニ對スル自覺ノ深マル所、ソコニ國家總動員ハ強制ヲ俟タスシテ自ラ成ルノテアリマス。

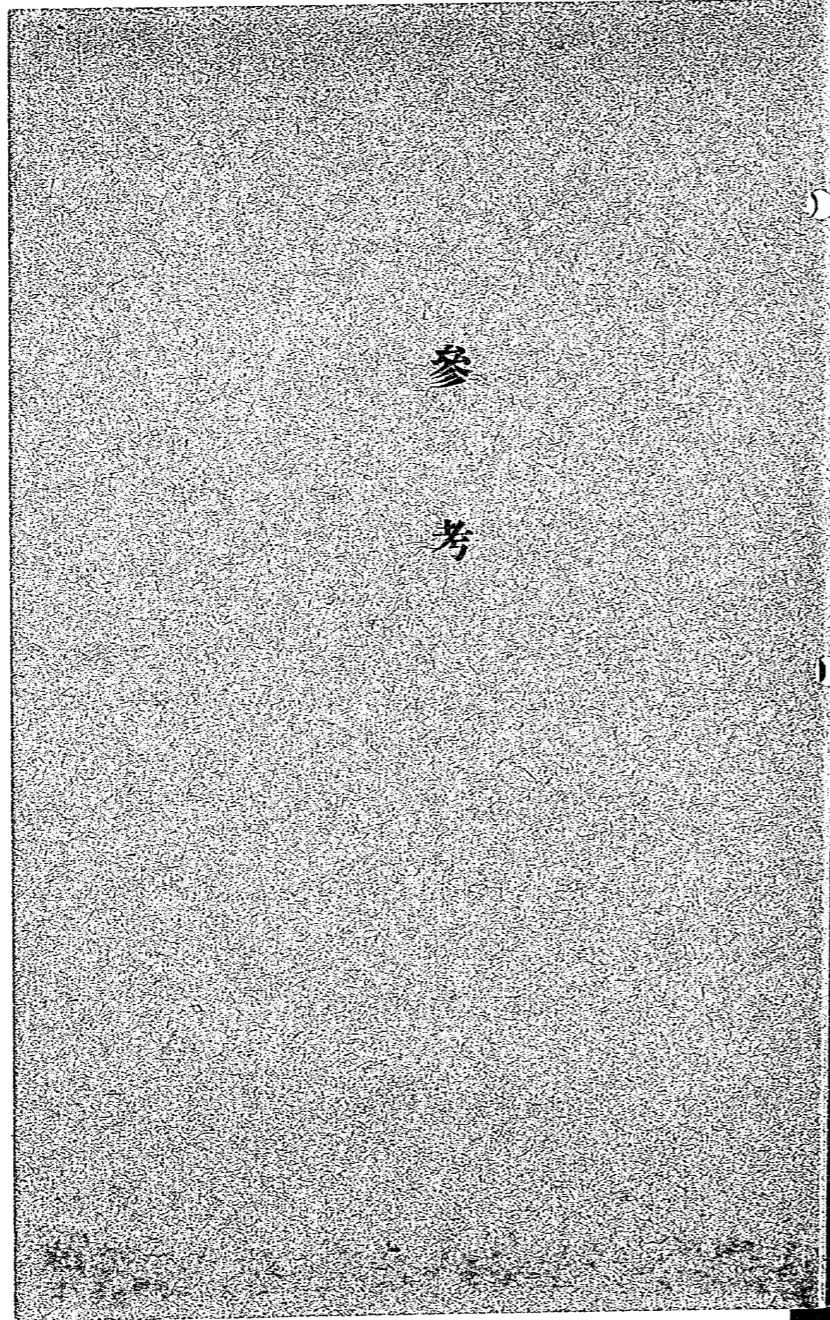
御承知ノ如ク、天皇陛下ニ於カセラレマシテハ北支事變ノ發生スルヤ、直チニ葉山ヨリ御遊幸遊ハサレマシテ日夜軍國ノコトニ御精勵遊ハサレテ居ルノテアリマス。私ハ拜謁ヲ賜ハル度コトニ御精勵ノ御模様ヲ拜シマシテ恐懼感激ニ堪ヘサル次第テアリマス。本月四日開院式ノ勅語ニ於キマシテ

朕ハ帝國臣民カ今日ノ時局ニ鑑ミ忠誠公ニ奉シ和協心ヲ一ニシ贊襄以テ所期ノ目的ヲ達成セムコトヲ望ム

ト仰セラレマシタコトハ既ニ御承知ノ通りテアリマス。コノ大御心ニ副ヒ奉ルヘク我カ同胞軍隊ハ戰場ニアツテ赫々タル忠勇ヲ致シテ居ルノテアリマス。コノ大御心ニ副ヒ奉ルヘク銃後ノ經營ニ全力ヲ盡クスコトハ吾々一般國民ノ義務テアルト信シマス。

惟フニ世界ハ今ヤ一大轉換ノ期ニ際會致シテキルノテアリマス。コノ秋ニ當リ東洋ノ道德ヲ經トシ西洋ノ文明ヲ緯トシ、兩者ヲ綜合調和シテ新シキ世界ニ貢獻スルコトハ實ニ我カ國ニ課セラレ

二七三



参
考

タル重大使命アリマス。大ナル將來ヲ有ツ日本國家ノ行進ハ既ニ始マツテキルノテアリマス。
希クハ官民一致國家ノ目的ヲ以テ吾々個人ノ目的トシ、コノ大業ノ遂行ニ協力セラレンコトヲ希
望シテ已マナイ次第アリマス。

二七四

調一0119

0119

一、諸外國側發表

(1) 「ハル」聲明 (七月十七日)

世界各地ニ發生セル切迫緊張セル事態ハ一見單ニ隣接諸國ノミヲ渦中ニ捲込ムニ過キサルカ如キモ窮極ニ於テハ右ハ全世界ニ取り避ケ得ヘカラサル關心事ナリ武力ニ依ル敵對行為若クハ其ノ脅威ヲ伴フカ如キ情勢ハ一切ノ國家ノ權利及利益ニ重大ナル影響又ハ其ノ脅威ヲ感セシムルモノナリ何レノ地域ニ於ケルヲ問ハス重大ナル敵對行為ノ發生ニシテ何等カノ形ニ於テ米國ノ權益又ハ義務ニ影響セサルカ如キモノノ存在ハアリ得ス予ハ米カ深甚ノ關心ヲ有スルカ如キ國際問題及情勢ニ關スル米政府ノ立場ニ關シ聲明ヲ爲スニ付テ正當ノ理由ヲ有スルノミナラス事實上其ノ義務アリト思考ス米ハ平常ニ平和維持ヲ強調シツツアリ吾人ハ(一)國家的及國際的自制(二)一切ノ國家カ政策遂行ノ爲ニスル武力行使又ハ他國ニ對スル内政干渉ノ回避(三)平和的協定ニ依ル國際諸問題ノ調整(四)國際協定ノ忠實ナル遵守ヲ主張セリ吾人ハ(五)條約神聖ノ原則ヲ遵守スルト共ニ條約修正ノ必要アル時ハ相互扶助及和解ノ精神ヲ以テ實行セラルヘキ秩序アル手續ニ依リ之カ修正ヲ爲シ得

ルコト六一切ノ國家ニ依ル他國ノ權利ノ尊重及既存、義務ノ履行七國際法ノ復活及強化ヲ信ス吾人ハ八國際經濟安定ノ増進ニ對スル諸方策九國際貿易障壁ノ輕減又ハ排除十商業上ノ機會均等及一切ノ國家ニ對シ平等待遇ノ原則ノ勸奨等ヲ主張ス又十一軍備ノ制限及維持ハ必要ナルヲ信シ他ノ諸國ノ行フ軍備縮少又ハ擴張ニ順應シテ米自身ノ武力ヲ縮少又ハ擴張スルノ用意アリ更ニ吾人ハ他國トノ同盟又ハ米國ヲ紛争ノ渦中ニ投スルカ如キ約束 (entangling commitments) ヲ避クルモノナルモ平和的且實際的方法ニ依リ前記諸原則擁護ノ爲協調の努力ヲ爲シ居ルコトヲ信スルモノナリ。

二七六

(2) 「ハル」聲明 (八月二十三日)

- (1) 極東ノ事態ニ基ク緊急救済ノ爲必要ナル資金捻出方ノ立法手段カ執ラレタリ。
- (2) 政府ハ海軍陸戰兵ノ一聯隊ニ對シ上海向出發準備ヲ命セリ。
次テ長官ハ現政府ノ依據スル政策ノ原則ニ關シ次ノ如ク若干説明ヲ加ヘタリ。
上海ニ於ケル事態ハ凡ユル意味ニ於テ特異ナルモノナリ上海ハ人口三百萬ヲ越ユル大國際都市諸國民カ其ノ發展ニ寄與セル港ニシテ其處ニ集マル支那人及各國民ノ間ニ種々ノ相互ニ利益ヲ及ホス探觸ヲ生シタリ上海ニハ多様ナル權利ト利益存在シ之カ必然的ニ米國ヲ含ム多數ノ國家ノ關心事タル理ナリ。

現在ノ狀態ニ於テハ米國政府ハ特別ノ危險ノ存スル地域ヨリ米國國民ヲ安全ニ引揚クルヘク萬全策ヲ講シ居レリ更ニ主トシテ暴民或ハ他ノ不統制分子ニ對處スル爲我國民ニ適當ナル保護ヲ與フルハ米國政府ノ方針ナリ其ノ目的ノ爲永年ニ亘リ米國政府ハ支那ニ少數ノ駐屯軍ヲ維持セルカ今回モ其ノ同シ目的ノ爲少數ノ増派部隊ヲ派遣セル理ナリ此等兵力ハ何等侵略ノ意圖ヲ有セス秩序

二七七

ト安全ノ維持ノ爲援助スル事カ其ノ目的ナリ而シテ此ノ保護ヲ必要トセサル状態トナレル時ハ此等兵力ヲ撤退セシムルコトハ米國政府カ從來希望シ、意圖シ、來リタルモノニシテ今モ右ニ變化ナシ。

二七八

太平洋區域ノ現事態ニ關シ現政府ノ念頭ヲ離レサル問題ハ米國國民及其ノ利益ノ保護ナル直接ノ問題以上ノモノアリ同區域ニ現存スル事態ハ五十餘ノ政府ノ賛意ヲ得タル彼ノ七月十六日聲明ニ於テ注意ヲ喚起セル政策ノ要則ニ直接根本的ノ關係ヲ有スルモノナリ我政府ハ右聲明ニ要約セラレタル諸原則カ國際關係ヲ有效ニ規律スヘキヲ確信スルモノナリ。

世界ノ何處ニ於テモ戰闘ノ脅威アルカ若シクハ現ニ戰闘状態カ存スル時ハ之ハ總テノ國家ノ關心事ナリ紛争ノ是非善惡ニ關スル判斷ヲ下サス先ツ我々ハ双方ニ對シ戰争手段ヲ避クヘキヲ訴フ我々ハ當事者双方カ我國民ノミナラス世界大多數ノ國民カ國際關係ヲ處理スヘキ原則トナストコロノモノニ從ヒ相互ノ紛争ヲ解決スヘキヲ勸説スル七月十六日ノ聲明ニ於テ明ラカニセル原則ハ太平洋區域ニ於テモ他ノ何處ニ於テモ要スルニ世界ヲ通シ適用セラレルヘキモノト吾人ハ思考ス右原則ノ聲明ハ包括的且根本的ナリ夫レハ華府條約及「ゲロツグ・ブリアン・パクト」ヲ含ム多數ノ條約ニ盛ラレタル諸原則ヲ包含スルモノナリ。

極東ニ於ケル現紛争ノ當初ヨリ吾人ハ日支双方ニ對シ戰闘行爲ノ中止ト平和維持ノ重要性トヲ勸説シ來レリ吾人ハ平和的調整ノ目標ニ向ヒ關係諸國政府ト常ニ接觸ヲ保テリ。

本政府ハ政治的同盟又ハ協約ヲ斥クルモ極端ナル孤立モ亦其ノ避クルトコロナリ本政府ノ信條ハ七月十六日ノ聲明ニ規定セラレタル諸目的達成ヲ平和的方法ヲ以テ計ルヘク國際的ニ協調スルニアリ此ノ明白ニセラレタル我態度ト政策ニ從ヒ而シテ其ノ範圍内ニ於テ現政府ハ目下我國民ノ生命安全ヲ衛リ我國カ其ノ信條トシ且ツ現ニ「コミット」セル諸政策ヲ有效ニ作用セシムル爲極東事態ノ諸相ニ深甚ノ注意ヲ拂ヒツツアリ本政府ハ之等根本原則カ太平洋區域及世界各地ニ於テ活用サレ強化サレ復活セラルヘク常ニ努力シ居ルモノナリ。

二七九

(3) 武器軍需品輸送禁止ニ關スル米國政府聲明 (九月十四日)

二八〇

- 一、政府所有ノ商船ハ今後更ニ通告スル迄本年五月一日大統領布告(西班牙内亂ニ中立法ヲ適用シタルモノ)ニ揭ケタル武器彈藥其ノ他ノ戰爭要具ヲ支那又ハ日本ニ運搬スルコトヲ許可セサルコト。
- 二、政府所有以外ノ米國商船ニシテ前記ノ武器類ヲ支那又ハ日本ニ運搬セントスルモノハ今後更ニ通告スル迄自己ノ危險ニ於テ爲スモノナルコト。
- 三、中立法適用ノ問題ハ現狀ノ通りナルコト。

(4) 聯盟總會ニ於テ採擇シタル諮問委員會決議 (九月二十八日)

諮問委員會ハ

日本航空機ニ依ル支那ニ於ケル無防備都市ノ空中爆撃ノ問題ヲ緊急考慮シ。
斯ル爆撃ノ結果トシテ多數ノ子女ヲ含ム無辜ノ人民ニ與ヘラレタル生命ノ損害ニ對シ深甚ナル弔
意ヲ表シ。
世界ヲ通シテ恐怖ト義憤トノ念ヲ生センメタル斯ル行動ニ對シテハ何等辯明ノ餘地ナキコトヲ宣
言シ右行動ヲ嚴肅ニ非議ス。

二八一

(5) 「ルーズベルト」大統領市俄古演説 (十月五日)

世界ノ九割ハ一般的ニ認メラルル法律ト道徳ノ標準ニ從ヒ平和ニ生活セント努メ居レルニ拘ラス
残り一割ノ國家ハ極メテ好戰的ニシテ他國ノ内政ニ干渉シ又ハ他國ノ領土ニ侵入スルコトニ依リ
世界ノ秩序及國際法ヲ破壞セントシツツアリ現ニ宣戰ノ布告ナク何等正當ノ理由ナク無慈悲ニ婦
女子ヲ含ム非戦闘員ヲ空爆ニ依リ殺害シツツアルモノアリ(本邦ヲ指スモノト解釋セラル)右ハ
特定ノ條約違反ノ問題ニアラスシテ國際法及人道ノ世界的問題ニシテ何國モ無關心タルコトヲ得
サルモノナリ正當ナル國家的不平ニ對シテハ適當ノ考慮ヲ加フルコトハ勿論必要ナルモ現存條約
及他國民ノ權利及自由ハ他迄尊重シ侵略ハ排セサルヘカラス前記好戰的傾向ハ漸次他國ニモ蔓延
シツツアルモ吾人ハ飽迄平和政策ヲ實行シ戰爭ニ捲込マンサル様凡ユル方策ヲ講スル決心アルコ
トヲ茲ニ斷言スルト共ニ平和ヲ愛スル各國ノ協力ヲ希望スルモノナリ。

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL, SHANGHAI, CHINA.

October 7, 1937.

THE FOLLOWING DIGEST HAS BEEN COMPILED FROM PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES AND IS IN NO WAY AN EXPRESSION OF OFFICIAL OPINION.

Radio Bulletin No. 232, October 5, 1937.

WHITE HOUSE

President's Address at Chicago. Here follows the text of an address delivered by the President at Chicago today:

"I am glad to come once again to Chicago and especially to have the opportunity of taking part in the dedication of this important project of civil betterment.

"On my trip across the continent and back I have been shown many evidences of the result of common-sense cooperation between municipalities and the Federal Government and I have been greeted by tens of thousands of Americans who have told me in every look and word that their material and spiritual well-being has made great strides forward in the past few years.

"And yet as I have seen with my own eyes the prosperous farms, the thriving factories,

and the busy railroads,—as I have seen the happiness and security and peace which covers our wide land, almost inevitably I have been compelled to contrast our peace with very different scenes being enacted in other parts of the world. It is because the people of the United States under modern conditions must for the sake of their own future give thought to the rest of the world that I, as the responsible executive head of the nation, have chosen this great inland city and this gala occasion to speak to you on a subject of definite national importance.

11<四

“The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbors.

“Some fifteen years ago the hopes of mankind for a continuous era of international peace were raised to great heights when more than sixty nations solemnly pledged themselves not to resort to arms in furtherance of their national aims and policies. The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago.

“It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties, and has now reached a stage where the

very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks and traditions which have marked the progress of civilization toward a condition of law, order and justice are being wiped away. Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind, civilians, including women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. In times of so-called peace, ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice.

“Nations are forming and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

“Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration.

“To paraphrase a recent author, ‘perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, treasures garnered through two millenniums, the small, the delicate, the defenseless—all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed.’

“If those things come to pass in other parts of the world let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect no mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and

11<四

the arts of civilization.

"If those days come 'there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos'.

"If those days are not to come to pass, if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity without fear—the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure. The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

"Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal rights of their neighbors to be free and live in peace must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice, and confidence may prevail in the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty. There must be a recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

"A bishop wrote me the other day, 'It seems to me that something greatly needs to be said in behalf of ordinary humanity against the present practice of carrying the horrors

of war to helpless civilians, especially women and children. It may be that such a protest might be regarded by many who claim to be realists as futile but may it not be that the heart of mankind so filled with horror at the present needless suffering that force could be mobilized in sufficient volume to lessen such cruelty in the days ahead. Even though it may take twenty years, which God forbid, for civilization to make effective its corporate protest against this barbarism, surely strong voices may hasten the day'.

"There is a solidarity and an interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all.

"International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future security of every nation, large or small. It is therefore a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.

"The overwhelming majority of the peoples and nations of the world today want to live in peace. They seek the removal of barriers against trade. They want to exert themselves in industry, in agriculture and in business that they may increase their wealth

11<K
through the production of wealth-producing goods, rather than striving to produce military planes and bombs and machine-guns and cannon for destruction of human lives and useful property.

"In those nations of the world which seem to be piling armament on armament for purposes of aggression and those other nations which fear acts of aggression against them and their security, a very high proportion of their national income is being spent directly for armaments. It runs from thirty to as high as fifty per cent.

"The proportion that we in the United States spend is far less—eleven or twelve per cent. How happy we are that the circumstances of the moment permit us to put our money into bridges and boulevards, dams and re-forestation, the conservation of our soil, many other kinds of useful works rather than into huge standing armies and vast supplies of implements of war.

"I am compelled nevertheless to look ahead. The peace, the freedom and the security of ninety per cent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining ten per cent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the ninety percent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards, which have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

"The situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties, they are questions of war and of peace, of international law and, especially, of principles of humanity. It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security and world humanity.

"It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances, but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others, and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

"It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

"It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace and to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war. It ought to be inconceivable that in this modern era, in the face of experience, any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating, in contravention of

1180

solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and which are too weak to protect themselves adequately. Yet the peace of the world and welfare and security of every nation is today being threatened by that very thing.

"No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or good standing by conciliating its differences and by exercising great patience with and consideration for the rights of other nations.

"War is a contagion whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities.

"We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

"If civilization is to survive, the principles of peace must be restored. Shattered trust between nations must be revived.

"Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements

and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

"America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace."

STATE DEPARTMENT

1181

(6) 聯盟總會決議全文 (十日六日)

二九二

總會ハ日支兩國間ノ紛争問題ニ關シ其ノ諮問委員會ヨリ總會ニ提出セラレタル報告書ヲ自己ノ報告書トシテ採擇シ。

右報告書第二ニ包含セラレタル提案ヲ承認シ總會議長ニ對シ一九二二年二月六日ノ華府九國條約締結國タル聯盟國ノ會議ヲ召集スヘキ案ニ關シ必要ナル行爲ヲ執ルヘキコトヲ要請シ。

支那ニ對スル精神の援助ノ意ヲ表シ且聯盟諸國ニ對シ支那ノ抵抗力ヲ弱メ依テ現在ノ紛争ニ於ケル支那ノ困難ヲ増大セシムル效果ヲ有スヘキ虞アル一切ノ行動ヲ差控フヘク且各個ニ於テ支那ニ對スル援助ヲ爲シ得ル程度ヲ考慮スヘキコトヲ勸奨シ。

總會ノ本會期ヲ休會シ議長ニ對シ諮問委員會ノ要請アルトキハ更ニ會合ヲ召集スヘキ權限ヲ賦與ス。

(7) 米國務省ノ聲明 (十日六日)

國務省ハ「スキス」駐劄「アメリカ」公使ヨリ二十三ヶ國諮問委員會ヲ可決サレタ支那ニ於ケル現在ノ狀勢竝ニ日本ノ條約上ノ義務ニ關スル報告書ノ成文ヲ接受シタカ公使ハ同時ニ十月六日聯盟總會カ右報告書ヲ採擇承認シタ旨ヲ報告シテ來タ。

極東ニ現在ノ紛争カ起ツタ當初ヨリ米國務省ハ日支兩國政府ニ對シ戰闘中止ヲ勸告シ平和的手段ニ依リ紛争當事國ノ双方ニトツテ受諾シ得ヘキ何等カノ和協手段ノ發見ニ助力スルコトヲ申出タ、國務長官ハ去ル七月十六日ト八月二十三日ニ聲明書ヲ發表シ、國際問題及ヒ全世界ヲ通シテノ國際關係ニ對スル米國務省ノ見解ヲ闡明シタ是等ノ聲明ハ特ニ戰闘行爲ニ適用サルヘキモノテアルカ、不幸ニシテ目下日支兩國間ニ此ノ戰闘行爲カ行ハレツツアル米國務省カ平和維持ノタメ國際關係ヲ支配スヘキ諸原則ト信スルモノノ内ニハ

- 一、政策遂行ノタメノ武力行使並ニ他國ノ内政干涉ヲ排除スル。
- 一、國際關係諸問題ノ調整ニハ平和的商議及ヒ協定ニヨル。

二九三

- 一、各國民カ他國民ノ權利ヲ尊重シ且ツノ義務ヲ遵守スル。
- 一、條約神聖ノ原則ヲ保持スル「ルーズベルト」大統領ハ十月五日「シカゴ」ニ於テ之等ノ原則ヲ闡明シ、ソノ重要性ヲ強調シタ、更ニ大統領ハ世界ノ情勢ヲ檢討スルニ當ツテ
- 一、各國民カ遵守スル法律ト道德律ノ下ニ於ケルニ非サレハ一國內ニモ國際間ニモ安定ト平和ノ存シ得サルコト。
- 一、國際的無政府狀態ハ平和ノ基礎ソノモノヲ破壞スルモノナルコト。
- 一、而シテ之カ直ニ若クハ將來ニ於テ大小ヲ問ハス各國ノ安定ヲ危殆ニ陥レルコト。
- 一、從ツテ條約並ニ國際道德尊重ノ精神カ恢復サレルコトハ米國民ノ最大關心事テアルコトヲ指摘シタ、米國政府ハ極東ニ於ケル事態ノ推移ヲ觀察セル結果支那ニ於ケル日本ノ行動ハ國際關係ヲ律スヘキ諸原則ト矛盾シ且一九二二年六月二日締結サレタ支那ニ關スル九ヶ國條約及一九二八年八月七日締結サレタ不戰條約ノ規定ニ違反スルトノ結論ニ到達セサルヲ得サルニ至ツタ如上、米國政府ノ到達シタ結論ハ國際聯盟總會ノ採擇シタ結論ト一般的ニ一致スルモノデア

(8) 「ルーズベルト」大統領爐邊談話 (十月十二日夜)

我々ハ生活水準ノ向上ヲ企圖スル米國ノ計畫カ目下世界ニ發生シツアル諸事件ニ依テ重大ナ支障ヲ受クヘキコトヲ承知シテ居ル萬一米國以外ノ各國カ戰爭ノ混沌狀態ニ陥ルナラハ世界通商ハ完全ニ阻害サレ協定ニ依テ世界通商ヲ促進セントスル企圖ハ凡テ無効ニ終ルテアラウ米國ハ全世界ニ亘ル文化的價值ノ破壞行爲ニ對シ無關心タリ得ナイ我々ノ世代ノミナラス子孫ノ平和ヲモ希求スル。

現下ノ情勢ニ於テ余カ「デモクラシー」ニ望ムモノハ戰爭カラノ超然態度ハ決シテ戰爭ニ對スル無頓着カラ來ルモノテナイ所以ヲ承知シテ欲シイコトテアル相互猜疑ノ世界ナレハコソ確乎トシテ平和ヲ樹立セネハナラスノタ平和ハ單ニ希望スル丈ケテ達セラレモノテナイ又手ヲ束ネテ到來ヲ待ツヘキモノテモナイ。

米國ハ九國條約國會議ニ參加ノ意圖ヲ明白ニシタ同會議ノ目的ハ協約ニ依テ支那ノ現事態解決ヲ圖ルコトテアルカ此ノ解決策發見ニ當ツテ日支以下九國條約國ト協力スルト云フノカ米國ノ

同會議ニ參加スル理由テアルスル協調コソ延ヒテハ將來全世界平和達成ニ導ク有力ナル一方策ノ前例トナルテアラウ人類文明發展ノ基礎ハ個人カ相互關係ニ於テ或程度ノ基本的禮儀ヲ遵守スルコトニ在ル世界平和發展ノ基礎モ亦同様ノ意味ニ於テ各國カ相互關係ニ於ケル基本的禮儀ヲ尊重スルコトニ存スル要スルニ余ノ希望スル所ハ上海ノ如キ行動原理ノ違反ニ世界各國民ノ安寧ヲ害ネルト云フ事實ヲ各國カ是認シテ吳レルコトアル。

一九二三年カラ一九二一年迄余ハ世界ノ諸問題ニ親シク携ハリ其ノ間幾多ノ爲スヘキコトト爲スヘカラサルコトヲ學ンタ米國ノ智性タル常識ハ「米國ハ戰爭ヲ嫌惡スル、米國ハ平和ヲ欲スル夫レ故ニ米國ハ積極的ニ平和ノ探究ニ乘リ出スノテアル」トノ余ノ聲明ト一致スルモノテアル。

二九六

二、支那側發表

(1) 蔣介石聲明 (七月十九日)

一、中國カ對外平和並ニ國內統一維持ノ根本政策ヲ遂行シツアル時突如蘆溝橋事件發生シ全國民ヲシテ深刻ナ憤激ノ状態ニ投込ミ全世界ニ一大危懼ノ念ヲ與ヘツアル此ノ事件ノ齎スヘキ諸結果ハ中國ノ存在自體ト東亞平和トヲ脅威スルニ至ツタ此ノ重大時期ニ際シ幾多ノ質問、照會ニ答ヘ予ハ次ノ如ク述ヘ度イ。

中國民族ハ終始和平ヲ愛好ス國民政府ハ國內政策ヲハ常ニ國內統一ノ維持ヲ目標トシ且對外關係ヲハ他ノ諸國トノ相互尊重並ニ共存ヲ目標トシテ居ル。

本年二月三中全会ノ宣言書カ以上ノ諸點ヲ明瞭ニ強調シテ居ル過去二箇年間ノ明白ナ事實カ證明スル通り國民政府ハ其ノ日本ニ對スル政策テ一切ノ懸案ヲ整調シ且一般ニ承認サレタ外交交渉ノ方法ニ訴ヘ以テ公正ナル解決ノ達成ヲ常ニ期待シタ。

我國民ハ我等國家ノ地位立場ヲ了解シナクレハナラヌ我々ハ我々自身ノ立場ヲ認識シナクレハ

二九七

ナラヌ弱體國家ノ人民トシテ我々自身ノ力量ノ程度ヲ正當ニ評價セネハナラヌ過去數箇年間重大ナ諸國難ニ當面耐エ難キ苦痛ヲ忍ビ乍ラモ我々ハ隱忍自重面目ヲ傾注シテ和平ノ確保ニ努力シ依テ以テ民族ノ復興ヲ實現センコトヲ期シタ此ノ故ニ一昨年ノ五全大會ニ於ケル外交報告ニ當ツテ予ハ「和平ノ維持カ完全ニ絶望ナラサル限り我々ハ決シテ和平ヲ棄テナイ我々カ自制隱忍ノ極點ニ對シナイ限り輕々シク犠牲ヲ談シナイテアラウ」ト述ヘタカ其ノ後ノ中央執行委員會ニ於ケル聲明ニ徴シテモ我々ノ和平維持ニ對スル熱意カ明瞭テアラウ假令弱國タリトハ言ヘ若シ不幸ニシテ最後ノ關頭ニ立チ到レハ我々ノ爲スヘキコトハ唯一即チ我カ全國民精力ノ最後ノ一滴迄モ傾倒シ國家存立ノ爲抗争スヘキノミタ而シテ一度右抗争カ開始サルレハ時間ノ上カラモ情勢ノ上カラモ中道ニシテ止ミ和平ヲ求メルコトハ許サレナイ一旦紛争ノ始マツタ後和平ヲ求メレハ我國家ノ屈從、我民族ノ全滅ヲ意味スル條件ヲ甘受セネハナラナイ顯クハ全國民ハ「隱忍ノ限度」並ニ右限度ヲ越エタ後惹起サレル犠牲ノ範圍ヲ充分認識サレ度イ一度段階ニ到達スレハ我々ハ常ニ究極ノ勝利ヲ期待シツツ如何ナル犠牲ヲ拂フトモ最後迄戦ヒ抜カネハナラヌサリ乍ラ我々カ躊躇シ徒ニ一時ノ儉安ヲ貪ルナラハ我々ハ永久ニ滅亡シ去ル外ハナイ。

二、世上或ハ蘆溝橋事件カ何等豫メ計畫サレヌ突發的措置ト想像スル者カアルカモ知レナイ然シ乍ラ既ニ一箇月前カラ相手方ノ新聞並ニ直接間接ノ外交機關ノ言明ニ徴シ何等カノ事件カ持テ上ルタラウトノ徴候カ看取サレタ更ニ事件勃發ノ前後ヲ通シ各方面カラ相手方カ塘沽協定ノ擴張ヲ企圖シツツアルトカ冀東僑政府ヲ擴大シヤウトカ第二十九軍ヲ驅逐シヤウトカ宋哲元ヲ追出サウトカ其ノ他同様ノ諸々ノ要求ヲ押付ケヤウトシテ居ルトノ報道ヲ接受シタ、以上ニ徴スレハ蘆溝橋事件ノ勃發カ偶然事件テナイコトハ直ニ明瞭テアラウ此ノ事件ヨリシテ相手方カ我々ニ對シテ極メテ判然タル態度ヲ包藏シテ居リ從テ和平ハ容易ニ維持シ難キコトヲ悟ラネハナラス我々ノ情報ニ依レハ蘆溝橋事件ヲ回避シ得ヘカリシ唯一ノ方途ハ外國軍隊カ我領土内ニ侵入シ且自由無制限ニ横行濶歩スルヲ甘受シテ而モ中國軍隊ハ其ノ移動ニ付幾多ノ制限ヲ蒙ルコトヲ容認スルノ外ハナカラウ又或ハ相手方カ我兵ニ發砲スルヲ容認シ而モ應射出來スト言フコト以外ニハ其ノ方法ハナカッタテアラウ苟モ自尊心アル以上世界中如何ナル國家ト雖以上ノ如キ屈辱ヲ甘受スルコトヲ得ヤウカ東北四省ヲ喪失シテ以來茲ニ六箇年次イテ塘沽協定アリ次イテ今ヤ爭點ハ蘆溝橋事件ニ於テ方ニ北平ノ城内ニ到達シタ若シ蘆溝橋カ武力ニ依ツテ占據サルルヲ容認スルナラハ中國四百年ノ故都全北方ノ政治的、戰略的中心ハ敵ニ失ハレルノテアル今

日ノ北平ハ第二ノ奉天トナリ河北、察哈爾兩省ハ東北四省ト同一ノ運命ニ陥ルテアラウ萬一北平カ第二ノ奉天トナルナラハ南京カ第二ノ北平トナルヲ如何ニシテ阻止スルコトカ出來ヤウスルカ故ニ盧溝橋ヲ保全スルカ否カハ全國民存亡ノ懸ル所ニ外ナラス今回ノ事件カ果シテ平和解決カ出來ルカ否カハ我等ノ所謂「隱忍自重ノ限」ニ關スル問題ニ外ナラス若シ最惡ノ事態ヲ避ケルコトカ出來段階ニ到達スルナラハ我々ハ斷然抗爭スル外ハナク且最後ノ犧牲ヲモ敢テ辭セナイモノテアル此ノ我々ノ抗爭コソハ外部ヨリ我々ニ強制サレタモノト言フヘキタ我々ハ戰爭ヲ求ムルモノニアラス唯我々ノ生存ヲ脅威スル攻撃ニ應戰スルモノニ外ナラナイ。

全國民ハ中央政府カ目下防衛手段準備ノ真最中テアルコトヲ了解サレ度イ假令弱國タリト雖我等ハ民族ノ完整ヲ維持シ國家ノ存立自體ヲ保障スルコトヲ怠ルコトハ出來ナイ最善ヲ盡シテ祖父傳來ノ此ノ遺産ヲ保全スルコトハ我等カ全力ヲ盡シテ遂行セネハナラス義務テアル然シテ作戦一度始マレハ遂巡姑再ハ許サレナイ最後迄戦ヒ抜カネハナラヌコトヲ充分了解セネハナラナイ若シ此ノ上更ニ一寸ノ領土カ失ハレルニ委スナラハ我々ハ我民族ニ對シテ許シ難イ罪ヲ犯スコトト言フヘキタ斯ノ如キ場合我々ノ義務ハ國民ノ全力ヲ傾注シテ外敵ニ抗爭、最後ノ勝利ヲ期スル一途アルノミタ。

三、此ノ嚴肅ナ瞬間ニ於テ日本ハ盧溝橋事件カ日支兩國ノ一大戰爭ヲ招來スルカ否カラ決定セネハナラス日支兩國間ニ未タ和平ノ希望カ些カタリトモ殘存シテ居ルカ何ウカハ一二日本軍ノ行動如何ニ懸ツテ居ル、和平ニ對スル一切ノ希望ヲ拋棄スル最後ノ瞬間ニ至ル迄我等ハ依然トシテ正常外交機關ヲ通シテ事件ノ解決ヲ求メルテアラウ今回ノ事件ニ付我等ノ態度ハ次ノ四件ニ要約出來ヤウ。

- イ、如何ナル解決案モ中國ノ領土完整並ニ主權ヲ侵害スルコトヲ許サス。
 - ロ、冀察政務委員會ノ地位ハ中央政府ノ決定スル所ニシテ如何ナル非合法的變更ヲモ許サス。
 - ハ、冀察政務委員會委員長ノ如キ中央政府ノ任命シタル地方官憲カ外部ノ壓迫ニ依リ罷免サルルコトニ同意スル能ハス。
 - ニ、第二十九軍、現在ノ駐屯區域ニ對スル如何ナル制限ヲモ甘受シ得ス。
- 如何ニ弱國タリトモ苟モ國家タル以上右四箇條ハ交渉ノ基礎トシテ承認シ得ル最少限度ノ條件テアル若シ相手方カ地位ヲ變ヘテ我等ノ地位ニ立ツナラハ且東亞平和ノ維持ヲ念トシ日支兩國民ヲ戰爭ノ渦中ニ捲込ミ相互ニ永遠ノ仇敵トナルコトヲ望マヌナラハ右四條件カ考慮サルヘキ最少限度ノ條件ナルコトヲ承認スルテアラウ之ヲ要スルニ今回ノ盧溝橋事件ノ危機ニ當リ中央

政府ハ中國ノ存立ヲ確保スヘク明確ニシテ斷乎タル立場ヲ堅持シツアル中國ハ一獨立國家テ
アル我等ハ和平ヲ欲求スル然シ乍ラ如何ナル犠牲ヲ拂ツテモ和平ニ執着スルモノテハナイ我等
ハ戰爭ヲ欲セス然シ乍ラ我々ハ我等自身ヲ防衛スルノ已ムナキニ至ルカモ知レヌ此ノ重大危機
ニ當リ政府ハ冷靜自重以テ國民ノ指導ニ當ルテアラウ國民モ亦眞剣ナ態度ヲ以テ一糸亂レヌ統
制ヲ示サネハナラス民族ニ對スル義務ノ遂行ニ關シテハ南北老幼ノ別ナク一致團結鋼鐵ノ統制
ヲ示シテ政府ノ指導ニ從フ様希望スル。

三〇二

(2) 汪精衛演説「最後ノ問題」(七月二十九日)

「余ハ七月十五日既ニ諸君ニ向ツテ今回ノ事件ノ發展如何ハ俄カニ豫想シ難キモノ、コハ偶然ニ
起リシモノテナク一種ノ豫定計劃テアリ吾人ハ既定方針ニ依リ對處スヘシト謂ヘリ、十七日ノ蔣
委員長ノ發表セル對時局方針中「最後ノ問題」ナル文字カ見エルカコノ一句ニツイテ説明ヲ加ヘ
ヤツ。

曾ツテ民國二十四年ニ五全大會ニ於テ蔣委員長ハ「和平未タ完全ニ絶望ニ到ラサレハ輕輕ニ和平
ヲ棄テス、時勢最後ノ關頭ニ到ラサレハ輕輕ニ犧牲ヲ謂ハス」ト言ツテ以來吾人ハ左ノ方針ニ則
ツテ來タ、然ルニ日本ノ中國ニ對スル侵略ハ已ム所ヲ知ラス、九、一八以來一歩々々侵略シ、中國
ハ一歩々々退却セリ、何故ニ中國ハ退却セルカ、蓋シ中國ハソノ進歩ニ於テ日本ヨリ六、七十年
遅レ、中國ノ國力ヲ以テシテハ日本ノ侵略ヲ防遏シ得ヌカ爲メナリ、日本ノ侵略ニ對シテハ唯何
等カノ方法ニテ之ヲ遅延サセル事ニヨリ中國ノ退却ヲ遅延サセル外ナク、ソコニ見出サレル期間
ヲ利用シテ吾人ハ種々ノ準備ヲ爲シ抵抗力ヲ強化セントスル事カ九、一八以來ノ中國ノ外交方針
テアル、惟フニ九、一八事件ハ事件發生スルヤ中國ハ之ヲ國際聯盟ニ訴ヘタカ。

三〇三

些細ノ道徳的制裁ヲ除キ經濟的、武力的制裁ノ如キハ聊カモ實現シナカッタノテ日本ノ侵略ハ歩々ニ進メラレ東三省ハ逐次淪落シタ、ソノ時ニ當リ吾人ハ全國民ニ對シ精誠團結、共ニ國難ニ赴カントノ「スローガン」ヲ掲ケタカ大シテ成功セス。

更ニ一・二八事件ニ進シタ。滬滬停戰協定ノ締結ハ固ヨリ我カ方ニトツテ重大ナル損失ナリシカ此ノ協定ニヨリ吾人ハ日本ノ侵略ヲ幾分緩和スルコトニヨリ火急ニ江西ノ掃蕩ヲ實行セシメ東南各省ノ公路網ヲ完成セシメ得タカコレハ損失ヲ償ヒシヤ否ヤハ後ノ世ノ公論ニ俟ツ滬滬協定後一年ヲ經スシテ熱河長城ノ戰爭トナリ日本ノ侵略ハ更ニ緊迫ヲ加ヘタ。

我カ軍敗戦守リヲ失スルニ及ンテ塘沽停戰ノ協定ヲ結ンタカコハ更ニ大ナル損失テアッタ、然シ同協定モ亦日本ノ侵略ヲ緩メテ精神的、物質的兩方面ノ準備ヲナサンカ爲メテ國防設備、經濟建設ニ又數歩ヲ加ヘル一方精神的の方面ニ於テモ爲ストコロアツタ統一事業ハ未タ完成セリトハ言ヒ難イカ進步ナシトモ亦言ヒ得ス、得ルトコロ失フトコロヲ償フカ否ヤコレ亦後世ノ公論ニ俟ツ、塘沽停戰ノ協定ニヨツテ發生セル通車通郵問題ハ吾人ハ滿洲國不承認ノ建前カラコレヲ解決シタカ航空連絡ニ付イテハ尙ホ堅持シテ讓ラス、二四年六月ニ至ツテ日本ノ侵略加ハリ吾人ハ六月十二日ノ日本側ノ最後通牒期限ノ滿了スルト共ニ取ラレヘキ自由行動ヲ前ニ種々ノ緊急處分ヲ要セ

シモノノ重大損失タルヤ實ニ忍ハントスルモ忍フヘカラス、讓ラントスルモ讓ルヘカラサルモノアテツタ。

然シ乍ラ敢テ忍ヒ敢テ讓ツタ所以ハコレニヨツテ日本ノ侵略ノ緩和ヲ願ヒ此ノ機ニ乘シテ物質、精神兩方面ノ準備ヲ整ヘンカ爲メテアツタ、其ノ間則匪ノ完成ト兩廣ノ統一ヲ成就シ得タ、失フトコロ得ルトコロヲ償フヤ否ヤハ同シク後世ノ公論ヲ俟ツモノ斯クノ如ク忍ヒ又忍ヒ讓リ又讓ルコト茲ニ六年、斯クノ如ク一歩々々退却シテ止マルトコロヲ知ラス、吾人ノ準備ニ付テハ吾人モコレヲ知リ日本人モ亦コレヲ知ル、余ハ卒直ニ言フテアラウ、之等ノ軍備ハ現代國家トシテ必需ノモノテ吾人ハコレヲ頼ンテ人ノ敵トナリ又コレヲ頼ンテ友トナル、友カ敵トナル、我ニアルノミナラス又人ニモアリ、然リ而シテ日本人ハ斯クノ如ク言フ我等ハ汝等ノ敵ナルコトモ友ナルコトモ許サシト、然ラハ吾人ノ準備ハ日本人ノ侵略ヲ遅ラセ得ルカ否カ一歩ノ侵略ヲ緩和シ來リ至ラスハ輕々ニ犠牲大ナラサル際ハ吾人ハ絶大ノ決心ト勇氣ヲ以テ耐ヘ忍ヒ、既ニ到レハ絶大ノ決心ト勇氣ヲ以テ犠牲トナルヘキテアル吾人カ忍ヒ而シテ卒然犠牲スレハ犠牲モ亦意義ナク今日若シ犠牲セスシテ準備ヲ言ヘハ準備モ無意義テアル、犠牲ノ二字ハ嚴酷ナリ、吾人ハ自己ヲ犠牲

ニ供スルノミ、全國同胞ヲ一齊ニ犠牲ニ供スルコトヲ要ス、吾人ハ弱國ノ民テアル、吾人ノ所謂抵抗ニハ他ノ内容無クソノ内容ハ明タ、犠牲テアル、吾人ハ人ヲモ一塊ノ土ヲモ灰燼ニ歸セシメテ敵ノ手ニ渡サヌテアラウ、此ノ意味ハ寔ニ嚴酷テアル、然レトモ若シ斯クノ如クセサレハ更ニ嚴酷ナル事實カコレニ續クテアラウ、コレヲ換言スレハ、吾人カ犠牲セサレハ唯傀儡トナルノミナリ。

三〇六

中國ノ歴史上外敵ノ侵略ニ半ハ亡フルモノ數次、完全ニ亡フルモノ二回、此ノ數回ノ滅亡ニ於テ侵略者ハ我々四億ノ民ヲ殺シ盡シ我カ百餘萬方里ヲ殺シ盡セルモノニ非ス幾人カノ勇氣アル人ノ死セル後大多數ノ勇氣無キ人ハ自己ノ身體ト土地トヲ侵略者ニ貢ケリ、之カ爲侵略者ハ極メテ容易ニ大多數人民ト土地ヲ入手スルヲ得タリ、吾人ハ今日傀儡タラント欲スルカ、傀儡タラサラント欲スレハ唯犠牲アルノミ、吾人ハ自己ノ犠牲ナレル後自己同胞カ犠牲トナルコトヲ欲セサレハ同胞ヲ強制シテ一戰犠牲ニ供シ一個ノ傀儡ノ種ヲモ留メサルヨウニセネハナラス、大都市、小都市ノ論無ク之ヲ灰燼ニ歸セシメネハナラス、吾人ハ敵ノ侵略ヲ防壓シ得スト雖モ敵ノ侵略シ來レル後一モ得ルコトナカラシメネハナラス。

吾人ハ數年來ノ苦心ノ結果團結ヲ説キ統一ヲ講シ組織訓練ヲ行ヒ最後ノ關頭ニ於テヨク全國、全

民族ノ精神の力量ヲ發動セシメ日ニ積ミ月ニ重ネタ物質的建設ヲ以テ全國全民族ヲ擧ケテ侵略者ニ抵抗セシメハ天下既ニ弱者無ク強者モナカルヘシ、然ラハ吾人ノ犠牲ハ茲ニ完成シ抵抗ノ目的ハ達セラル、吾々ハ茲ニ高ク最後ノ關頭ノ一句ヲ叫ヒ更ニ高ク犠牲ノ一句ヲ叫フ。

三〇七

(3) 馮玉祥「ラヂオ」演説 (八月六日)

三〇八

諸君日本帝國主義ハ我天津、北平ヲ占領シ我同胞ヲ屠殺シ平漢、津浦各線ハ帝國主義者ノ馬蹄ノ蹂躪スル所トナリ空軍ノ爆撃ヲ受ケ國家民族ハ將ニ生死ノ關頭ニ立ツテ居ル我民衆ハ既ニ抗戰奮闘セントシテ居ル以上小サナ犠牲ハ齒牙ニ掛ケルニ足ラス蔣介石ハ曾テ事ヲ恐レヌ事ヲ起サス和平ヲ愛スルト言ツタカ現在ハ帝國主義者ノ壓迫ニ依リ進ムニ途ナク退クニモ途ナク唯抗戰ノ一途ノミカ殘サレテ居ル吾人ハ帝國主義者ヲシテ驕然悔悟セシメ肉切庖丁ヲ捨テテ迄徹底的ニ抗戰スルコトノミニ依ツテ九死ニ一生ヲ得ルコトカ出來ル私ハ如何ニ抗戰スヘキカヲ説カウ。吾々ハ亦敵ヲ知ラネハナラヌ中國ヲ侵略スルモノハ日本國民ヲハナク日本帝國主義ノ少數軍閥野心家ヲアル敵ノ力ハ高ク評價シテモイケナケレハ過小ニ評價シテモイケナイ前者ハ無抵抗降伏ニ陥リ後者ハ矯兵ナルカ故ニ敗レルノテアル物質力ハ恐レルニ足ラス精神力ヲ以テ大規模ニ行フ對日抗戰ハ長期ニ亘リ艱難ニ充テタ巨大ナ工作ヲアル國民ハ家ヲ棄テテ國家ニ盡スヘク敵貨ヲ買ヒ又原料ヲ敵ニ賣ルヘカラス國家存亡ノ時ニ當ツテ真理ト平和、國家民族子孫ノ爲ニ戰ヒ一切ノ犠

牲ヲ國家ニ捧ケテ敵ニ對抗セヨ吾々ハ統一アル指導ノ下ニ永久抗敵ヲ實行セネハナラヌ斯クスレハ最後ノ勝利ハ吾人ニ屬スル。

三〇九

(4) 國民政府外交部聲明 (八月十二日)

三一〇

蘆溝橋事件發生以來日本側ハ口ニ屢々事態ノ擴大ヲ欲セスト言ヒ乍ラ事實上ノ行動ハ全然之ト相反ス北支ニ就テ言ヘハ日本側ハ最初現地和平解決ヲ聲明シ乍ラ大軍ヲ増派シテ平津ヲ攻撃シ屠殺焚燒至ラサル所ナシ現在亦更ニ一步ヲ進メ一面猛烈ニ南口ヲ砲撃スルト共ニ一面河北省南部ニ進出之ヲ窺ヒ實ニ其ノ止マル所ヲ知ラス上海ニ就テ言ヘハ日本側ハ口ニ我方ノ提議セル外交手續ヲ以テ速ニ虹橋飛行場事件ヲ和平解決スルコトニ同意セルニ拘ラス日本政府ハ遂ニ多數ノ飛行機、軍艦、陸戰隊又其ノ他ノ武裝隊伍ヲ上海ニ派遣シ恣ニ脅威ヲ與ヘ同時ニ種々ノ要求ヲ提出シテ我方自衛ノ力量ヲ解除又ハ滅殺セント企テ日本飛行機ハ連日上海、杭州、寧波等ノ地ヲ不法飛行シ軍事行動ヲ準備セリ。

凡ソ此ノ種ノ行爲ハ何レモ我國領土主權ヲ侵犯シ各種ノ國際條約ニ違反スルモノニシテ我國ハ此ノ環境ノ下ニ於テハ忍ハントシテ忍ブヘキナク暴力ニ抵抗シ自衛ヲ實行スル外實ニ他ニ道ナシ今後事態ノ變轉ニ對スル一切ノ責任ハ完全ニ日本側ニ於テ負フヘキモノトス。

(5) 支那聯盟提訴附屬文書 (八月十二日)

支那政府ハ一九三七年八月三十日附ヲ以テ聯盟ニ對シ日支問題ニ關スル覺書ヲ提出シタカ、ソレ以來日本ノ對支侵略ハ一層熾烈粗暴ヲ加ヘ第三國民ヲ含ム非戰團員ノ生命財產ヲ無法ニ毀傷シタ事態ノ重大性ニ鑑ミ、支那政府ハココニ附屬文書ヲ以テ次ノ事實ニツキ特ニ聯盟ノ注意ヲ喚起セントスルモノテアル。

一、軍事的政治的詳報

八月十三日日本陸戰隊ノ抗戰ニヨツテ開始サレタ上海地方ノ戰團ハ相次ク日本ノ陸海空軍増援ノ結果益々擴大シタ、即チ日本ハ支那第一ノ海港タル上海ヲ其ノ統制下ニ置ク爲メ上海ニ駐屯スル〇〇名ヲ越エル海軍陸戰隊ニ加ヘテ近代の武器ヲ有スル陸軍〇個師團及ヒ多數ノ軍用飛行機ヲ上海ヘ増派シタ。

第三國代表ハ日本軍艦ヲ含ム日支兩軍ノ上海ヨリノ相互撤收ヲ提議シタニ對シ支那ハ原則的ニ之ヲ受諾シタカ日本ハ即座ニ拒絕シタ、上海ニ於ケル戰團ノ結果既ニ多クノ人命財產カ失ハレタカ日支ノ大軍ハ依然死闘ヲ續ケテ居リ戰團ハ今後永引クモノト思ハレル。

三一

北支那ニ於テ支那軍ハ日本軍ノ猛攻撃ニ對シ勇敢ニ抵抗シ二週間ニ亘リ南口ヲ防禦シタカ日本軍カ毒瓦斯ヲ使用シ更ニ熱河方面カラ關東軍カ支那軍ノ側面ヲ脅威シタ爲メ遂ニ退却ノ已ムナキニ至ツタ。

日本軍ハ更ニ西方ニ進撃シ張家口ニ至ル迄ノ平綏線上ノ各都市ヲ占領、支那軍ハ八月二十七日張口ヨリ撤退スルニ至ツタ。

日本側ハ九月四日張家口ニ於テ察南自治政權ト稱スル傀儡政府カ成立シタ旨發表シタ。

平漢線、津浦線ノ北方沿線方面ニ於テモ戰鬪カ繼續中テ同方面ニ於ケル日本ノ兵力ハ〇個師團〇〇名ニ達シテキル。

日本軍ノ統制下ニアル北平及ヒ天津地方ハ今ヤ全ク混亂ト恐怖ノ巷ト化シ日本軍ハ極力兵士ノ掠奪ヲ防止スルト稱シテキナカラ北平ニ於テ外國宣教師十名カ拉致サレタト傳ヘラレル。

日本ハ支那ノ全港灣ヲ破壊スル目的ヲ以テ南支方面ニ對シテモ空爆ヲ行ツタ。

即チ〇機乃至〇機編隊ノ日本空軍ハ八月二十一日廣東ヲ爆撃シ更ニ同日汕頭及ヒ漳州ニモ襲來シタ。九月三日日本軍艦カ廈門ノ支那要塞ヲ砲撃シタ直後日本ノ飛行機〇機ハ同地ヲ空爆又汕頭ハ九月六日第二次ノ空爆ヲ受ケタ、斯クテ日本空軍ハ今ヤ數省ヲ除キ殆ント支那全土ニ對シ

空爆ノ手ヲ擴ケルニ至ツタ、日本空軍ハ恐ルヘキ殺戮行爲ヲ行ツテキルカ彼等ハ戰鬪員非戰鬪員ノ區別ヲ全然無視スル暴虐振ヲ示シテキル、日本ノカカル卑劣ナル侵略行爲ノ詳細ハ後述ノ通りテアル。

二、日本ノ支那沿岸封鎖、日本海軍ハ八月二十五日上海カラ汕頭南方ニ及フ水域ニ支那船舶ニ對スル航行遮斷聲明ヲ行ツタ、日本政府ハ右封鎖ハ平和的通商ニハ干渉セスト聲明シタニモ拘ラズ支那海ニアル日本第三艦隊法律顧問信夫淳平博士ハ外國新聞記者團トノ會見ニ於テ外國船舶モ封鎖區域ニ於テハ日本軍艦ニヨリ停戦サレルコトアルヘシ。

ト述ヘ更ニコレ等外國船ノ積荷カ日本海軍ノ觀點ヨリ戰時禁制品ト目セラレル場合ハ先賣權ヲ行使スルコトアルヘキ旨ヲ明カニシタ。

航行遮斷區域ハ九月五日ニ至リ更ニ擴大サレ秦皇島カラ北海ニ至ル事實上支那沿岸全區域ニ互リ施行サレルコトナツタ、同時ニ日本海軍ハ支那領海ヲ航行スル外國船舶ニ對シソノ國籍ヲ確メル爲停船ヲ命スル權利ヲ留保スル旨ヲ聲明シ、又外國船舶業者ニ對シ支那領海内ニ於ケル船舶ノ航行状態ヲ通告スル様要求シタ。

三、日本軍ノ赤十字隊爆撃

日本カ締約國ノ一員タル一九二九年ノ「ジュネーヴ」條約ヲ頭カラ蹂躪シテ日本軍ハ傷病兵看護ノ人道的作業ニアタル赤十字隊ニ爆撃ヲ加ヘル不法行為ヲ再三繰返シタ、支那赤十字協會幹事長F.C.イエン(YEN)博士ハ八月二十九日新聞記者團トノ會見ニ於テ支那赤十字病院車三十臺ノウチ七臺ハ既ニ日本軍ノ爆撃ニヨリ破壊サレタト述ヘタ、日本軍飛行機ハコレヲ病院車カ赤十字ノ徽章ニヨリ明ラカニ識別シ得ルニモ拘ラス屢々之ヲ追跡シ爆撃ヲ投下シタ、八月十八日真茹ノ赤十字病院カ爆撃サレタ、幸ヒニ大部分ノ患者ハ他所ニ避難シテキタカ擔架夫一名慘死、醫師一名ト外三名カ負傷シタ。

翌十九日南翔ニ於ケル赤十字野戰病院隊カ同様ニ日本軍空爆ヲ受ケ負傷兵二名慘死、病院隊員四名負傷シタ。

就中最モ恐ルヘキ慘虐行為トシテ八月二十三日羅店鎮ノ戰鬪ノ際日本兵ノ行ツタ冷血行為ヲ舉クヘキテアラツ。

當時負傷者救護ニ從事中ノ支那野戰病院隊員四十三名ハ日本軍ノタメニ包圍サレタカ日本兵ハ赤十字章ヲ剝キ取ツタ上野戰病院隊員ヲ坐ラセ之ニ發砲シタ、醫師一名、看護婦四名ハ即死、看護婦三名カ辛シテ難ヲ逃レタカ残り三十五名ハ今尙行方不明テ恐ラク殺害サレタト思ハレル

難ヲ免レタ看護婦三名中一名ハ脱走中發砲サレ重傷ヲ負ヒ翌二十四日遂ニ死亡シタ斯クシテ日本軍ノ暴虐行為ハ赤十字作業ヲ最モ困難ナラシメツアル、現在テハ後方戰線ノ作業ハ一切死ノ危険ニ曝サレルコトノ少イ夜間ニ行ハレテキル有様テアル。

日本側ハ右赤十字隊カ軍需品ヲ運搬中テアツタト辯解シテキルカソレハ全然根據カ無イ、支那赤十字協會ハ赤十字章使用ニ當ツテ細心ノ注意ヲ拂ツテキル、全部テ三十臺ノ赤十字病院車ハ共同租界並ニ「フランス」租界通過ノ許可證ヲ有シ且ツ戰鬪區域ヘ出發前ニ嚴重ナ檢閲ヲ受ケテキル、從ツテ支那側ノ傷病者運搬車ニ加ヘタ日本軍ノ爆撃ハ絕對ニ辯解ノ餘地ナキモノテアル。

四、非戰團員ニ對スル無差別の攻撃

日本軍飛行機ノ非戰團員無差別爆撃ノ例ハ數限リカナイ、茲ニ悲惨ナ例ヲ二、三舉ケテ極惡非道ノ犯罪行為ヲ例證シヤウ。

八月十七日日本軍飛行機〇臺カ上海西方八十哩ノ南通上空ニ飛來、同地ノ米人教會經營ノ病院目カケテ六箇ノ爆彈ヲ投下シタ、ソノ中一彈ハ病院本館ニ命中、本館ハ火災ヲ起シ燒失シタ、多數ノ支那人醫師及ヒ看護婦二名慘死、數十名ニ達スル負傷者ノ中ニハ米國人看護婦二名モ交ツテキタ。

又八月二十八日〇〇臺ノ日本軍飛行機カ上海ノ密集地域南市ヲ襲撃シ同市ニハ支那軍陣地皆無ナルニ拘ラス南停車場附近ニ爆彈投下、爲メニ無辜ノ市民二百餘名慘死、五百名負傷シタ被害者ノ大部分ハ安全地帯へ避難スル爲列車ノ到着ヲ待ツテキタ避難民テアリ、其ノ中ニハ多數ノ婦女子カ含まレテキタ。

三一六

八月三十一日日本軍飛行機カ吳淞西方數哩ノ大場「バス」停留場ヲ爆撃シタ際ノ如キ二百餘名ノ傷兵並ニ避難民カ殺戮サレタ、同日天津ヲ去ル南方約七十哩ノ滄州ヲモ同様ノ慘事起リソノ際數百ノ支那民衆ハ日本軍飛行機ノ爆彈ヲ或ハ殺サレ或ハ負傷シタ。

九月五日早朝日本軍飛行機〇〇臺ハ當時未タ戰鬪ノ行ハレテキナイ上海共同租界ノ西端ニアル北興(?)ヲ爆撃多數ノ家屋ヲ破壊、村民ノ死傷亦夥タシイ數ニ上ツタ、尙右飛行機ハ更ニ多數ノ避難民ヲ乗セテ蘇州「クリック」航行中ノ「ジャンク」ニ隻ヲ認メ直チニ一隻ニ爆撃ヲ加ヘテ死者四十名、負傷者六十名ヲ出シ、其他ノ避難民ヲ恐怖ノドン底ニ陥入レ、他ノ一隻ハ機關銃ノ掃射ヲ行ヒコレ亦多數ノ死傷者ヲ出シタ。

五、教育、文化機關ノ無法破壊、日支間ノ敵對行爲開始以來教育、文化機關ハ日本軍ノ無法破壊行爲ノ好目標トナツタ。

日本軍ノ天津占領後最初ニヤツタコトノ一ツハ有名ナ南開大學及附屬中學校ヲ多量ノ石油ニ點火シテ燒却シタ。

日本軍飛行機ノ爆撃ニヨリ多數ノ大學及ヒ學校ハ一部若シクハ全部破壊サレタカ、此ノ中ニハ江西ノ「ボールドウイン」女學校、南昌ノ農業研究所及ヒ師範學校、南京ノ中央大學、附屬高等學校、小學校、吳淞ノ同濟大學等カアル、空爆ヲ受ケタ是等ノ學校ハ同濟大學ヲ除イテハイツレモ戰鬪區域ヨリ百哩モ離レテキルコトハ注意スヘキ事實テアル、而モ同濟大學ト雖モ空爆ノ當時ハ實際ノ戰鬪區域内ニ無ク、又支那軍モ占據シテ居ナカッタ。

以上ノ如ク日本軍カ過去數週間ニ互リ支那領土内ニ於テ行ツタ行動ハ支那ノ政治機構ヲ破壊シ、支那國民ノ文化ヲ絶滅シ以テ豫テヨリノ大陸征服ノ夢ヲ實現スル爲ニ支那全土ニ侵略ノ手ヲ伸サントスル日本ノ決意ヲ明カニ示スモノテアル。

更ニ前記ノ如キ日本軍ノ支那ノ領土侵略ハ國際法ノ凡ユル原則、國際條約ノ凡ユル規定及ヒ人道ノ凡ユル條理ヲ全ク無視セルコトヲ示スニ外ナラヌ、今ヤ法律ト道德ハ暴力ト無政府狀態ニヨツテ代位サレタ、侵略國日本ハ征服ノ食欲ニ酔ヒシレテ假藉ナキ虐殺ト無法ヲ破壊ニ全力ヲ傾倒シ

三一七

テ居ル、斯クテ支那四億五千萬民衆ノ生命ハ危險ニ曝サレ全世界ノ文明ト安全ハ重大危機ニ直面シテ居ル。

三一八

(6) 國民政府外交部聲明 (八月二十九日)

本條約ハ太平洋諸國間ニ不侵略ノ相互保障ヲ爲シ以テ集國的安全ヲ保障スル爲ノ行爲ナリ蘇支兩國ハ本條約ニ於テ不戰條約ヲ確認セシ次第ナルカ本條約ノ條項ハ極メテ簡單消極的ニシテ單ニ不侵略ノ相互保障及侵略國ニ對スル不援助ニ依リ平和ヲ維持セントスルモノニ外ナラス過去十年間各國間ニ多數ノ不侵略條約締結セラレ時ニハ政治的理想ヲ異ニスル場合ニモ締結セラレタルカ本條約ノ趣旨ハ何等是等ト異ナラス支那ハ今日侵略國ニ對シ武力抵抗ヲ爲シツツアルモ右ハ平和愛好カ支那人ノ傳統的特性タルノ事實ヲ變更スルモノニアラス支那ニ對スル侵略國カ右事實ヲ悟リ其ノ國策ヲ變更スルニ於テハ支那ハ極東ニ於ケル平和ヲ維持シ人類ノ福祉ヲ増進スル爲右侵略國ト同様ノ不侵略條約ヲ締結スル用意アリ本條約カ極東ノ事態改善ノ契機トナルヘキヲ切ニ期待ス。

蘇聯邦及中華民國間ノ不侵略條約

蘇聯邦政府及中華民國政府ハ一般平和ノ保持ニ貢獻シ兩國ノ間ニ鞏固ナル且恒久的基礎ニ於テ存在スル友好關係ヲ増進シ且一九二八年八月二十七日巴里ニ於テ署名セラレタル戰爭拋棄ノ條約ニ

三一九

三二〇
基キ互ニ負擔セル義務ヲ一層正確ニ確認スル希望ニ動カサレ本條約ヲ締結スルニ決シ之カ爲左ノ
通り全權委員ヲ任命セリ。

蘇聯邦中央執行委員會。

在中華民國特命全權大使「ド・トリ・ボゴモロフ」。

中華民國政府主席閣下。

外交部長王寵惠。

右委員ハ良好妥當ト認メラレタル各自ノ全權委任狀ヲ交換シタル後左ノ通り協定セリ。

第一條、兩締約國ハ兩國カ國際紛争解決ノ爲戰爭ニ訴フルコトヲ否認スルコト及相互ノ關係ニ於
テ國策ノ具トシテノ戰爭ヲ拋棄スルコトヲ嚴肅ニ確認シ且右義務ノ結果トシテハ兩國ハ相互ニ
相手國ニ對シ單獨ニ又ハ一箇若クハ數箇ノ第三國ト協同シテ攻撃ヲ爲ササルコトヲ約ス。

第二條、兩締約國ノ一方カ一箇若クハ數箇ノ第三國ヨリ攻撃ヲ受ケル場合ハ他ノ一方ハ直接ニモ
間接ニモ全紛争期間右一箇若クハ數箇ノ第三國ニ對シ何等ノ援助ヲ與ヘサルコト竝ニ一箇若ク
ハ數箇ノ侵略國カ攻撃ヲ受ケタル締約國ノ爲ニ不利ニ利用スルコトアルヘキ何等ノ行動若クハ
協定ヲ爲ササルコトヲ約ス。

第三條、本條約ノ義務ハ本條約效力發生迄ニ兩締約國ニ依リ署名セラレ且締結セラレタル兩國間
及多數國間ノ諸條約若クハ協定ヨリ生スル兩締約國ノ權利及義務ヲ侵シ又ハ變更スルカ如ク解
釋セラレサルヘシ。

第四條、本條約ハ英文ヲ以テ二通ヲ作成ス本條約ハ前記委員ニ依リテ署名ノ日ヨリ效力ヲ發生シ
五箇年ノ間效力ヲ有ス。

兩締約國ハ右期限滿了六箇月前他方ニ對シ條約ノ效力ヲ廢棄スルノ希望ヲ通告スルコトヲ得締
約國ノ何レモカ適時ニ右ノ通告ヲ爲ササル場合ハ條約ハ最初ノ期限滿了後二箇年ノ間自動的ニ
延長セラレタルモノト認メラルヘス締約國ノ何レモカ二箇年ノ期限滿了六箇月前條約廢棄ノ希
望ヲ他方ニ通告セサル時ハ本條約ハ更ニ二箇年間效力ヲ有ス以後亦之ニ準ス。

右證據トシテ兩全權委員ハ本條約ニ署名調印セリ。

一九三七年八月二十一日南京ニ於テ之ヲ作成ス

「ボゴモロフ」

王 寵 惠

三二一

(7) 中國共產黨宣言及右ニ關スル蔣介石談話 (九月二十二日)

南京二十二日發中央社電ハ中國共產黨中央委員會ハ宣言ヲ發シ黨ハ全國一致ヲ鞏固ニスル爲新政
策ヲ採用シ。

- 一、三民主義ハ中國再建ノ爲必須ナルヲ認メ之カ完全ナル實現ヲ誓ヒ。
 - 二、國民黨政權打倒政策、赤化運動及土地ノ強制的沒收政策ヲ拋棄シ。
 - 三、「ソヴェエト」政府ヲ解消シ民主的政府ヲ支持シ。
 - 四、紅軍ヲ解散シ人民革命軍ヲ組織シ之ヲ軍事委員會ノ指揮下ニ置クコト。
- ニ決定セル旨及人民革命軍ハ軍事委員會ノ命ヲ奉シ防衛戰線ニ立ツ準備アル旨述ヘ居ル由及過般
編制セラレタル第八路軍ハ既ニ山西ニ於テ日本軍ト戰闘中ナル由ヲ報シタルカ南京二十三日發中
央社電ニ依レハ蔣介石ハ同日談話ヲ發表シ右宣言ヲ歡迎シ右ハ民族意識ノ勝利ニテ赤化運動ノ拋
棄、「ソ」區政府及紅軍ノ解消ハ外敵防禦ノ爲國力動員ニ對スル基本的手段ナリ國民政府ハ外國
ノ侵略ニ抵抗シ國民黨ノ指導下ニ國家革命ニ盡サントスル如何ナル政黨ノ協力ヲモ受容ルルモノ
ナリ云々ト述ヘ居レリ。

(8) 蔣介石双十節放送

國慶記念日双十節ニ際シ蔣介石ハ九日夜南京中央放送局ヲ通シテ左ノ放送ヲナシ全國民ノ決意ヲ
促スト共ニ徹底的抵抗ノ意ヲ明カニシタ。

支那ハ目下生死ノ關頭ニ立ツテキル國民ハコノ戰爭カ今後數ヶ月位ヲ片附クモノテナイコトヲ銘
記シ今後益々困難ノ度ヲ加ヘ更ニ一段ノ犠牲ヲ忍ハネハナラナイコトヲ覺悟セヨ、而シテ尙現在
ヨリモ十倍ノ苦難ト悲惨ナ境遇ニ遭遇スル用意ニ取リカカラネハナラナイ、全面的ニ進展セル
外敵ノ侵略カラ支那ヲ救済セントスル我々ノ念願ハ全國民ノ犠牲ニ耐ヘ忍フ堅キ決意ニヨツテノ
ミ達セラレルノテアル、列國政府ハ支那國民ニ對スル精神的援助ト同情ノ意ヲ表シテキルノミナ
ラス正義人道及ヒ條約ノ神聖ヲ強調シテキル、我々ヲシテ列國ノ同情心ハ意ヲ強メシメルモノテ
アルカコレニヨツテ慢心シ或ハ正シイ判斷ヲ誤ツテハナラナイ、先ツ列國ノ援助ヲ期待スル前ニ
自ラノ力ニヨツテ起チアカラナケレハナラナイ、ソシテ國民ハ飽クマテモ堅忍不拔ノ精神ト堅キ
決意ヲモツテ最後マテモ戰フヘキテアル、カクシテコソ戰場ノ露ト消エタ勇士ト精神的援助ヲ示

三三四
シテ呉レル列國トニ酬ユルコトカ出來ルノテアル、支那革命ノ第一段階ハ國家統制ノ完成デアリ、
ソノ第二ハ國家獨立ノ確保テアル、今ヤコノ第二ノ段階ニ當ツテ我々ハ非常ナ試練ニ遭遇シテキ
ル、然シ全國民カ三民主義實現ノ爲メ固キ決意ヲ續ケルナラハ必スヤ此ノ目的ハ達成セラレルヤ
ウ中央政府並ヒニ全國民カラ與ヘラレタ信任ニ基キ最後ノ一人ニナルマテ戦ヒ抜ク覺悟テアル、
今日ノ苦闘ト犠牲トハ將來ノ平和獲得ノ基礎デアリ又國家ヲ救フ最後ノ機會デアルコトヲ忘レテ
ハナラナイ。

(9) 王寵惠ノ對米放送 (十月十五日)

"In spite of the outcry raised all over the world, the reign of terror created by the Japanese among our civilian population continues unabated." Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Foreign Affairs, told the people of the United States of "What Is Happening on this Side of the Pacific" in an address broadcast from 7.15 to 7.25 o'clock this morning over the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"In the name of justice and humanity," said Dr. Wang, "China appeals to the American people for two things. First, not to resort to any action which may be turned to the direct or indirect advantage of the aggressor, and secondly to do all in your power to further China's cause in this our life-and-death struggle."

"For many years the warning has been sounded by competent writers that the Pacific area is likely to be the scene of bitter strife and conflict. Unfortunately their admonition has not been heeded, and the Pacific Ocean to-day is anything but pacific, as the result of Japanese aggression in China."

The programme Japan has been trying to realize in China requires virtually the surrender of our right to exist and to live in peace as an independent and sovereign state. It

is essentially that programme we have been resisting all these few years, first by means of conciliatory diplomacy and more recently, seeing ourselves driven against the wall, with the lives and blood of our people.

三十一

Peace Shattered

"The peace of the Far East is now shattered in spite of our great patience and tolerance. It is broken because Japan is bent on destroying our freedom and independence as the first step toward her domination of Asia and mastery of the Pacific. China happens to be the first line of defence. And we are determined to hold it at all cost.

"Embarked upon an adventure of military conquest, Japan has not only torn up laws and treaties but has also adopted methods and practices condemned by human conscience. She has aroused horror and indignation throughout the world by her wanton destruction of schools, churches, hospitals and Red Cross ambulances, by her ruthless bombing of open towns and insensate slaughter of peaceful civilians.

"Thousands of Chinese inhabitants, including a vast number of women and children, have been killed and mutilated by bombs dropped indiscriminately from the air. I shall not attempt to describe the horrible tragedies enacted by the Japanese airmen on non-combatants. The shocking details have already reached the four corners of the earth, not

through the protest of one or a few persons but through the testimony of a large group of independent witnesses and international journalists.

"This inhuman method of carrying on hostilities has been solemnly condemned by your government as well as by the League of Nations. It has also been widely denounced by the press of the world, by public organizations and individuals everywhere, including those who minister to God and Truth.

Appreciation Expressed

"To all Americans who have registered their protest against such unpardonable crimes, I wish to express sincere appreciation. Your voice in behalf of right and justice is a source of moral strength and encouragement to us all in our present affliction.

"In spite of the outcry raised all over the world, the reign of terror created by the Japanese among our civilian population continues unabated. It is by no means limited to important cities and ports nor to areas of actual hostilities. The Japanese air forces have extended their bombing operations to the interior of China. Most likely at this very moment the death-toll is being further increased by their merciless bombings in one or more provinces.

"Of late, the Japanese have resorted to the use of poisonous gas at Shanghai where

三十一

1111
they have failed to break through the Chinese line of defence. This fact has been confirmed by the testimony of two foreign physicians of high standing—Dr. H. F. Eittinger, chief surgeon of the Nanking Red Cross Hospital and Dr. B. Borcik, representative in China of the Health Organization of the League of Nations. In a joint statement issued on October 12, they testified that they had examined cases of gas casualties among the wounded Chinese soldiers. They further expressed the opinion that the gas used was of the mustard group released from gas-bombs or shells.

“Why must all the horrors of war descend upon a quarter of the world’s population? Because Japan, held in the iron grip of her militarists and playing with the dangerous illusion of her “divine destiny” to rule over Asia, has launched upon aggression against China, in flagrant violation of international treaties.

Two Treaties

“Under the Nine-Power Treaty signed at Washington in 1922, the signatory Powers, including Japan, solemnly undertook to respect the independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China. They further pledged to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China, which principle, commonly known as the Open Door policy, was initiated by your great

statesman, Mr. John Hay. Six years later, Japan entered into another international treaty—the Kellogg Peace Pact—denouncing war as an instrument of national policy and as a means of settling international disputes.

“Both of these treaties have been torn up and trampled under-foot by the Japanese. That her present invasion of China violates solemn international obligations is recognized by the League Assembly and by the American Government. China is the immediate victim. But the situation, created by such utter disregard for the sanctity of treaties, affects the United States as it affects all other peace-loving nations. It should further be remembered that Japan’s actions reflect a dangerous and almost fanatical line of thought centering on her self-imposed “sacred mission” to determine the future of the Pacific.

“Japanese spokesmen have contended that their country was forced to fight China in order to wipe out the anti-Japanese feeling of our people and to win their friendly cooperation. This specious argument was used over and over again as if by mere repetition one could be made to believe that the way to gain foreign friendship and good-will lies in the slaughter of innocent people and the devastation of their land. As to the alleged anti-Japanese feelings, it should be emphasized that Japan’s actions, since the seizure of Manchuria in 1931, cannot but arouse the natural resentment of the Chinese people. Instead of

1111

removing the cause of their resentment, her present military campaign of aggression has intensified it and aroused the same feelings in other countries as well.

"All Powers interested in the Pacific, I have reason to believe, are faced with a situation imperiling their enormous interests throughout the Orient. Any American with Far Eastern experience could tell you that no foreign business has the least chance of survival in territories under Japanese control. Manchuria furnishes a concrete example of how the door was slammed in the face of foreign traders.

"Many thinking publicists have also said, it is precisely because Japan is anxious to rid herself of her dependence on foreign raw materials, especially on your cotton, steel and scrap iron, that she is making a desperate attempt to seize our territory with its rich natural resources.

川田〇

Formidable Position

"If Japan could only establish herself on the mainland of Asia and build up a raw material base for her still inadequate heavy industries, her position would be truly formidable. She might then even seek to impose her will on other countries as regards the importation of Japanese labour and the manufactures of her sweated industries.

"Whatever the outcome of the present conflict, Japan has been definitely pronounced

before the bar of world opinion as the party breaking its treaty obligations. Her action constitutes a direct challenge to the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact which embody in a concrete form America's traditional policy in international affairs. It is not only for existence and independence that China is fighting her unscrupulous aggressor but also for the cause of all nations whose interests lie in peace founded upon the sanctity of treaties.

"In the name of justice and humanity, China appeals to the American people for two things. First, not to resort to any action which may be turned to the direct or indirect advantage of the aggressor, and secondly, to do all in your power to further China's cause in this our life-and-death struggle. By doing so, you are discharging your moral obligation toward your traditional policy of international justice and peace."—Central News.