

(二) 全權ノ公表並聲明

(23) 昭和四年十一月三十日日本邦出發ニ際シ新聞ニ發表ノ

若槻全權聲明 (前記(一)(6)ト同一)

(24) 昭和四年十一月三十日若槻全權ノ放送聲明

(午後四時代讀放送)

今般圖ラスモ帝國全權委員トシテ倫敦海軍會議ニ參列ノ大命ヲ拜シマシタコトハ私個人トシテ無上ノ光榮デアリマス。然シ乍ラ今次會議ノ前途坦々ト拓ケテ居ルモノテナイコトハ御承知ノ通デアリマシテ各國全權ト協力シテ各國ニ公正妥當ナル協定ヲ作成シ世界萬民ヲシテ外ハ軍備競争ノ拋棄國際疑惑ノ掃蕩ヲ成就セシメ内ハ國民負擔ノ輕減國家安全感ノ確立ノ目的ヲ達セシメルコトハ誠ニ重大ナ任務ト申サナケレハナリマセン

今次倫敦會議ニ於ケル帝國ノ主張ハ從來ノ此種會議ニ於ケル帝國ノ態度ニ徴シテモ御了解出來マス様ニ公正ニシテ合理的ナル主張ヲナスコトハ云フヲ俟タナイコトデアリマス。帝國ハ諸邦トノ平和的友好關係ヲ冀フ點ニ於テ世界ノ如何ナル國ニモ劣ラナイモノデアリマシテ他國ヨリノ脅威ヲ受ケサラムトスルノ外他意ナイモノデアリマス。帝國ハ何國ニ對シテモ侵攻の企劃ヲシタコトハナイノデアリマシテ國家の安全ノ保持セラルル限り最少限度ノ軍備縮少ニ向ツテ邁進セントスルモノデアリマス

私ハ今遠ク倫敦ニ去ラントスルニ當リマシテ任務ノ重大ナルヲ自覺シ堅キ決意ヲ以テ微力ノ最善ヲ盡サントスルモノデアリマスカ國民一般ニ於テモ此大事業完成ノ爲充分ナル支持激勵ヲ與ヘラレンコトヲ希望シテ止マナイモノデアリマス

(25) 「シアトル」入港ノ際ニ於ケル若槻全權ノ聲明

(昭和四年十二月十二日全刊發表)

STATEMENT UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE JAPANESE DELEGATION AT SEATTLE.

(Mr. WAKATSUKI)

It gives me a peculiar pleasure to find myself in this beautiful port of Seattle, for I cannot refrain from recollecting that it was here eight years ago that one of my most revered friends, the late Viscount Kato, landed with his colleagues and the members of his party on his way to Washington to attend the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments. We are now going to a similar conference in London. It may be said to be a happy augury that we have likewise landed in Seattle in the course of our journey. The Washington Conference was a great success. I feel somehow that the forthcoming London Conference will be equally successful.

If the question of armament limitation and reduction be approached in a spirit of conciliation and sincere co-operation, it should not be too difficult to reach an adequate solution, and ultimately deliver the nations of the world from unnecessary burdens of naval competition. We are resolved to do our level best, and we have full trust and confidence that, in the execution of our task, we shall receive the whole-hearted and valuable support from the people of the United States.

(26) 昭和四年十二月十二日「シアトル」日本協會及商業會議所主催

午餐會ニ於ケル財部全權演說

司會者「シアトル」市長並ニ淑女紳士諸君

私等ノ乗船カ「シアトル」ニ入港シマシタ瞬時ヨリ私等ハ米國政府及人民カ日本特ニ私等ノ一行ニ對シ抱有セラル、好意ノ幾多ノ表證ヲ見只々感謝ニ堪ヘナイ所デアリマス而シテ只今「シアトル」商業會議所及日本協會ノ催ニカカルコノ盛宴ニ招カレ更ニ皆様方ノ多大ノ御厚情ニ對シ感謝シマスルト共ニ多數知名ノ人士ニ會見ノ機會ヲ與ヘラレマシタコトヲ深ク欣幸トスルモノデアリマス特ニ「ワシントン」州知事カ私等ノ爲ニ鄭重ナル歡迎ノ辭ヲ送ラレマシタコトハ非常ニ光榮トスル次第デアリマシテ私ハ之ノ歡迎ノ辭ニ對シ御挨拶スルコトヲ欣懷トスルノデアリマス軍縮問題ニ關シテハ同僚若槻君カラ後刻述ヘラルルコトト信シマスノテ私ハ簡單ニ所懷ヲ述ヘ度イト存シマス

熟々考ヘマスニ日米ノ關係程明快、安穩ナルモノハ無イト信シマス歴史上ノコトハ今更申ス迄モアリマセヌ兩國ノ間ニハ交通最容易ナル太平洋ノ存スルノミテ何等ノ障壁ヲ存シナイノデアリマス從テ兩國海軍ノ交際モ頗ル緊密ト爲ラサルヲ得ナイノデアリマシテ米國ノ艦隊カ我近海ヲ通航ノ際ハ殆ント例外ナク態々我港灣ニ立寄ラレ東京ヲ訪問シテ下サレマス又我艦船モ米國港灣ヲ訪問スル機會甚タ多ク而モ其ノ都度熱誠ナル歡待ヲ受ケテ居リマスコトヲ常ニ感謝シテ居ルノデアリマス特ニ最近野村司令官ノ率ユル練習艦隊ハ當地ヲ其ノ第一ノ寄港地ト致シマシタカ官民多數ノ非常ナル歡迎ヲ受ケマシテ洵ニ御禮ノ申様モ御座リマセヌ

又少シク古イコトヲハアリマスカ去ル一九二三年東京地方大震災當時數百萬ノ被害者カ饑饉ニ迫リ非常ナル不安ニ陥ツテ居リマシタ際私ハ海軍大臣トシテ救護ノ大責ヲ負ツテ居タノデアリマスカ米國東洋艦隊カ逸早く馳ケツケラレテ日本ノ艦隊ト共ニ「サイドバイサイド」ノ働キヲナシ救護ニ非常ナル貢獻ヲナサレタコトハ今尙當時ヲ追懷スル毎ニ喜悅感賞ノ

念ニ堪ヘナイノデアリマス扱テ帝國ハ今回ノ倫敦會議ニ參加スルニ當リマシテ實ニ重大ナル期待ヲ以テ居ルノデアリマス即チ之ニ依テ決定の世界平和ヲ確保スルノ方途ヲ發見セムコトヲ希フモノデアリマス

軍縮ノ重點ハ國民負擔ノ輕減ニ在ルコトハ申迄モナク其ノ最高ノ目的ハ世界平和ニ在リマス而シテ右ノ目的ニ合スルカ如キ結果ヲ得ンカ爲ニハ參加國政府ハ誠心誠意ヲ以テ互ニ協商スルヲ喫緊トシ又各全權ハアラユル努力ヲ以テ事ニ從ヒ率直淡泊ニ其ノ所信ヲ吐露スルト同時ニ同情ト寛容ノ態度ヲ持シテ他ノ意見ヲ聽ク雅量ヲ持タネハナラスコトト存シマス

日本帝國海軍軍備ノ方針ト申シマスモノハ屢々中外ニ聲明致シテ居リマス通從來ヨリ「守ルニ足リ攻ムルニ不足」ナルコトヲ標語トシ整備シ來ツタノデアリマシテ即チ國家ノ安全ヲ保證スルニ足ル最少限ノ兵力ヲ保有セムトスルモノデアリマススコトヲ確言シテ憚ラナイノデアリマス加之私ハ我政策ノ根本方針カ倫敦海軍會議ニ對スル關係ニ於テ恰モ海上ノ「コンパス」ノ如キ「ゲロッグ」條約ノ精神ニ如何ニ良ク合致スルヤヲ諸君ニ於テ容易ニ領知セラルルコトト信シマス

平和維持ノ確實ナル基礎ヲ爲セル華府條約、不戰條約等ノ上ニ更ニ今回ノ軍縮會議ニ依リ參加國相互ノ善解ノ下ニ公正妥當ナル調和點ヲ發見スルヲ得マシタナラハ世界平和ノ爲如何ハカリ有效テアルカ測リ知レスコトト思フノデアリマス

最後ニ私ハ改メテ今回ノ會議ニハ非常ナル期待ヲ以テ又固キ信念ヲ以テ邁進セムトスルモノデアリマスコトヲ繰返シ申上ケ且本日ノ御厚情ニ對シ深ク御禮ヲ申述ヘ演說ヲ終ルコトト致シマス

(右譯文)

ADMIRAL TAKABE'S ADDRESS AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE SEATTLE
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE JAPAN SOCIETY
OF SEATTLE, DECEMBER 12th, 1929.

Mr. Toastmaster, His Honor the Mayor of Seattle, and Ladies and Gentlemen:

From the very moment that our boat entered the Seattle Harbor, we have been overwhelmed by the evidences of

the goodwill which the American Government and its people bear toward Japan and, in particular, toward our mission. And now as we are tendered this splendid reception by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and the Japan Society of Seattle, I feel lost for words with which to express my sincere appreciation for your unbounded hospitality and for the opportunity you have thus given us to meet so many distinguished people. Especially do I feel highly honoured that the Governor of the State of Washington should do us the honor to send us such a cordial message of welcome. It now becomes my very pleasant duty to make response. But as my colleague, Mr. Wakatsuki, will afterwards dwell quite thoroughly upon our views, may I be permitted to speak very briefly.

Careful thought can bring to my mind no other two countries whose relations have been so consistently clarified and harmonious as that between America and Japan. I think I need hardly dwell here upon the historical aspects of that relationship. As it has already been mentioned today, it is enough merely to observe that between our two countries lies only the Pacific Ocean which, rather than constituting a barrier, is the most easily traversed of highways.

It was an inevitable consequence, therefore, that the contacts between the American and Japanese Navies should also be frequent and intimate. Whenever your Fleet has passed through our neighbouring waters, it has almost invariably dropped anchor in our ports and has always done us the honour of calling at Tokyo.

Our naval vessels, on the other hand, have had many opportunities to visit your ports, and we have always noted with profound gratitude the cordial welcome with which you have received them on every such occasion. We know, moreover, that our training squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral Nomura which made your City the first port of call only a few months ago was accorded the warmest hospitality both by your Government and your people. And I do not know how to adequately express our appreciation of it all.

Then, to go back a few years to the time of the disastrous earthquake of Tokyo and vicinity in the fall of 1923 when, as Minister of the Navy, I was faced with the stupendous task of alleviating the dire distress of the millions of sufferers, I recall with a very deep sense of indebtedness how speedily your Asiatic Fleet rushed to the scene of the catastrophe and how, with self-forgetting zeal, it engaged in the work of relief, shoulder to shoulder with our navy.

As we go now to participate in the forthcoming London Conference, we cherish a very high hope—the hope that through this Conference might be discovered the way for securing definite and enduring world peace.

Now, while it needs hardly to be stated that the important consideration in naval reduction is the lightening of the peoples' burdens, its supreme object must be to advance the cause of world peace. And in order that the final outcome of the impending Conference might be consistent with that lofty aim, it is highly essential that the participating Governments should carry on their negotiations with the utmost sincerity, and that their delegates, moreover, should strive not only to express their respective opinions with absolute candour but, at the same time, to listen sympathetically and magnanimously to each other's opinions.

As it has repeatedly been declared both at home and abroad, Japan's policy for the equipment and maintenance of her naval armament has ever been in strict accordance with her time-honored motto "Adequate for defence but inadequate for aggression." I can therefore declare to you without the slightest hesitation that we have no other desire than to possess the minimum naval strength which will guarantee our national safety. And I am sure, moreover, that you will readily appreciate how completely the fundamental principle of our policy accords with the spirit of the Kellogg Pact which, to the London Naval Conference, is what the compass is to the ship at sea.

And if this Conference can build up on the solid foundation of peace already laid by the Washington Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, by enabling the Powers in attendance to find a reasonable and just point of agreement, its contribution to peace will be immeasurable great.

In closing I wish to emphasize again the fact that I am proceeding to the London Conference not only with high hope but with deep faith.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the kindness you have shown us this afternoon and wish you every prosperity and happiness.

(27) 昭和四年十二月十二日「シアトル」日本協會及商業會議所主催
午餐會ニ於ケル若槻全權演說

「シアトル」商業會議所及「シアトル」日本協會ノ御招キニ預リ其席上ニ於テ當地ノ代表的ノ方々カラ御鄭重ナル御挨拶ヲ受ケ只今ハ又遙々華盛頓カラ合衆國政府ヲ代表シテ來ラレタ「バレンタイン」氏カラ御懇篤ナ御詞ヲ戴イテ我々洵ニ衷心感謝ニ堪ヘナイノテアリマス此ノ席上私ノ胸中ニ湧イテ來ル感動ノ數々ヲ申述フルコトハ困難テアリマスカ取リ立テテ申上ケタイ一點ハ私カ諸君ノ示サレマシタ友誼ト好意トニ對シ之ヲ米國全體ノ感情ヲ代表スルモノト考ヘマシテ深ク鳴謝シ且之ヲ誇リト感シテ居ルト云フコトテアリマス而シテ諸君カ我々ニ對シ誠ニ溫イ感情ヲ有セラレ我々ノ幸福ヲ顧念セラルルヲ知ルノハ特ニ我々ノ滿悦トスル所テアリマス

私ハ我々カ米國ニ到着スルヤ否ヤ此地ニ於テ我々ヲ御歡迎下サツタ諸君ニ對シ少シク我々ノ日本出發當時ノ光景ヲ申上ケテ見タイト思ヒマス

有ユル階級ノ男女數千ハ降りシキル雨ヲ冒シテ東京驛頭及橫濱埠頭ニ蟬集シマシタカ此群集ノ顔ニ表ハレテ居リマシタ感想ハ只一ツテアリマシタ夫レハ即チ今次會議ノ成功ヲ深ク且痛切ニ希望スルノ念ニ外ナラヌノテアリマシタ其盛ナル光景ハ我同胞ノ純然タル自發的感情ノ發露テアリマシタカ故ニ一層強イ印象ヲ受ケタノテアリマス是レ實ハ日本國民カ如何ニ心カラ政府ニ對シ他國政府ト協力シテ軍備ノ縮少及世界平和ノ樹立ヲ計ランコトヲ希望スルカヲ示スヘキ一ツノ實證ニ過キナイノテアリマス日本カ今次會議ニ對スル招請ヲ受諾シテ以來日本ノ諸新聞ハ舉テ同會議ニ對スル國民ノ興味カ如何ニ津々浦々迄行渡ツテ居ルカ又同會議ニ付如何ニ多クカ期待サレテ居ルカヲ日日其紙上ニ反映シテ居ルノテアリマス

東洋史ヲ公平ナ眼ヲ以テ研究スル學者ハ日本國民ノ平和的態度ヲ直チニ了解スルニ違ヒアリマセン世界ノ歴史ニ於テ十九世紀中葉以前ノ日本ノヤウニ國內ニ於テモ亦國外ニ對シテモ長期間ニ互ツテ平和ヲ持續シタ國民ハ殆ントナク此平和ハ實

ニ三百年ノ久シキニ互ツテ繼續シタノテアリマス而シテ日本國民ハ尙ホ武道ヲ深ク尊重スルモノテハアリマスケレトモ秩序アル平和ノ價值ヲ永ク習得シマシタ結果其思索ノ習性上ニ一ノ強キ影響ヲ受ケタノテアリマス從テ我々カ強イ陸海軍ヲ編成シマシタノモ開國ノ當時全世界ノ國際關係カ主トシテ實力政治ニ依リ決定セラレタルカ爲ニ外ナラナイノテアリマス若シ夫レ斯クノ如キ事態カ微カツタナラハ日本ハ決シテ莫大ナル資金ヲ費シテ現代の軍事施設ヲ組織スルコトヲ考ヘルニ至ラナカツタコトト思ハレルノテアリマス

近代日本ノ建設者ハ絶エス自己ノ一大理想トシテ安全及平和裡ニ國運ノ伸長ヲ計ツタノテアリマス其當然ノ結果トシテ我陸海軍政策ハ自衛ノ根本原則ヲ基調トスルモノテアリマシタ故ニ其陸海軍政策實現ノ爲ニ採用スヘキ手段ハ我國カ萬一蒙ルコトアルヘキ危險ト並行スヘキコト自明ノ理テアリマス若シ世界ヲシテ以前ノ狀態ニ止マリ國際聯盟規約無ク一般平和ニ關スル「ケロッグ」條約無ク又現代人カ戰爭ヲ無益ナリトノ教訓ヲ覺ラサル狀態テアルナラハ軍備ノ縮減ハ殆ント望ミ難ク日本トシテハ其安全ヲ舊來ノ方法タル組織の武力ニ求ムルノ外ハ無カツタニ違イナイノテアリマス

幸ニシテ今ヤ洋ノ東西ニ互ツテ國際的協力及了解ノ新ナル時代ニ入ラントシテ居ルノテアリマス此新時代ハ日本ノ熱心ニ歡迎シ且進展セシメント希望スル所ノモノテアリマシテ此希望ハ一九二二年ノ華府會議及一九二七年ノ壽府會議ニ於テ日本ノ明カニ示シタ所テアリマス我平和政策及日本國民心ノ平和的態度ニシテ時ニ或ハ猜疑誤解ノ煙幕ニ依リ覆ハレタコトノアリマシタノハ事實テアリマス華府會議ハ此有害ナル煙幕ヲ消散セシメ且來ルヘキ會議ニ對スル基礎ヲ定メ我々ヲシテ之カ爲ニ更ニ努力セシムルノ途ヲ供スルニ與テ力カアツタノテアリマス又華府ニ於テハ支那ニ對スル列強ノ協力及協調ノ政策ニ關スル協定カ成立シ平和並軍縮ニ付保障カ與ヘラレタノテアリマシテ是レ今日日本ノ東洋政策ノ基調トナツテ居リマス壽府海軍々縮會議ニ於キマシテハ日本ハ單ナル制限ニ止マラスシテ海軍軍備ノ縮少ヲ主張シタノテアリマスカ是亦日本カ侵略的意圖ヲ有セスシテ唯タ國防ノミヲ考慮シ居タル他ノ證左ニ外ナラヌノテアリマス「ケロッグ」條約カ日本國民ニ提議セラレマスルヤ國策ノ手段トシテ戰爭ヲ抛棄スヘシトノ同條約ノ義務ハ如何ナル政黨ト雖モ民論ノ如何ナル方面

ニ於テモ何等異論無ク受諾セラレタノテアリマス故ニ今次ノ倫敦會議ハ不戰條約ヲ其出發點トシテ居リ又同會議ニ於テ軍備縮少ノ實現カ期待サルルノテアリマスカラ日本ニ於テ大ナル共鳴支援ヲ受ケツツアルノハ極メテ當然ト云ハネハナラヌノテアリマス

以上述ヘタル所カラ推シテ考ヘマスレハ倫敦會議ニ對スル日本ノ態度ハ之ヲ了解スルコト容易テアルヘキ筈テアリマス其ノ要諦ハ第一、日本ハ單ニ軍備ノ制限ニ止マラス進ンテ之カ縮少ヲ可能トスルコト第二、日本ノ要求スル所ハ決シテ自國安全ノ最小限度ノ需要ヲ越エサルコトト云フニアルノテアリマス

軍備ノ制限ニ非シテ寧ロ縮少ヲ計ルヘキコトハ「ケロッグ」條約ノ當然命スル所ノモノテアリマス吾人ハ此ノ好機ニ方リ近代萬民ニ懊惱ヲ與ヘタル重キ經費ノ負擔ヲ輕減シ得ヌ筈ハナイト思フノテアリマス各當事國ノ何レモ相對的ニ縮減ヲ行ヒ軍備ヲ著シキ範圍ニ互リ縮少シ得サル理由ハアリマセン他ノ會議參加國ニシテ斯ノ如キ協定ニ同意スルニ於テハ日本ハ直チニ之ト相對的ニ必要ナル縮減ヲ我海軍力ニ加フルノ用意ヲ有スルモノテアリマス

第二ノ要諦タル日本ハ自國ノ安全ノ最小限度ノ需要ヲ超エサルヘシトハ外部ヨリノ攻撃ニ對シ自國ヲ防衛スルニ必要ナル兵力ヲ維持セサルヘカラストノ意味テアリマス

吾人ハ日本ノ近海ニ於ケル我カ防衛ニ必要ナル限度ヲ超エタル何等軍備ヲ保有センコトヲ提言スルモノテハアリマセン日本ノ保有セント欲スル海軍勢力ハ常ニ此ノ標準ニ據ツテ測定セラルルノテアリマス日本カ米國海軍若ハ英國海軍ト均勢ヲ要求シ居ラス又之ヲ要求セントスルモノニ非サル事實自體カ既ニ充分ニ日本海軍力侵寇の觀念ヲ寸毫モ抱懷セサルコトヲ立證スルモノテアリマス「防衛の最少兵力」之カ吾人ノ基準テアリマス吾人ハ何國ニ對シテモ脅威ヲ與ヘントスルモノテアリマセン同時ニ又何國タリトモ我國ニ對シ脅威トナルコトヲ欲セナイノテアリマス

故ニ來ルヘキ會議ニ於ケル日本ノ標語ハ「縮少及無脅威」テアリマス私ハ斯ノ如キ日本ノ態度ハ全世界ノ同情的了解ヲ得ルモノテアルト確信スルモノテアリマス而シテ會議ニ於ケル友好相互了解ノ雰圍氣内ニ於テ又參加列國間ノ公正平和ナル

願望政策ニ對スル相互信頼ノ念ニ基キシテ人類ノ福祉、恒久平和ノ點ヨリ見テ歴史的ナル一大事業ノ成就セラルヘキコトヲ疑ハヌモノテアリマス

(右譯文)

(Mr. Chairman, etc.)

On behalf of the Delegation, it is my agreeable privilege to tender our sincere thank for this kind reception extended to us by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and the Japan Society of Seattle. I wish to thank also for the welcome so cordially expressed by the representative gentlemen of the City of Seattle and the State of Washington. And again I feel grateful to the speaker immediately preceding me who have come all the way from Washington to greet us in the name of the United States Government. I find it difficult to express the many emotions by which I am affected on this occasion. There are among these emotions, it goes without saying, feelings of gratitude and pride at this demonstration of your friendliness and good will, for I may take it that you are in this regard representative of the sentiments of the whole United States, and it is a special satisfaction to us to observe that you have really warm feelings towards us.

I wish it were in my power to picture to you, who have greeted us here on our arrival in America, the scene of our departure from Japan, thousands of men and women from every walk in life crowded the railway station in Tokyo and the wharf at Yokohama, undeterred by a drenching storm, and in their faces one could read only one thought—the sincere, and almost anxious, hopes for the success of the Conference. It was a demonstration all the more impressive because it was the purely spontaneous expression of our private citizens. But this incident is only one of many which I could cite to you to show you how strongly the Japanese people desire to have their government cooperate with the governments of other nations for the reduction of armaments and the establishment of world peace. Ever since the call to this Conference was received in Japan, the press of the country has shown how widespread is the popular interest in it and how much is expected of it.

An impartial student of Oriental history will readily understand the pacific attitude upon the part of the Japanese

nese nation. Few nations in the world's history have had so long a period of undisturbed peace both at home and abroad as that of the Japanese prior to the middle of the nineteenth century; it was a peace which had remained unbroken for three hundred years. And although the nation still treasures the military virtues in its high code of honor, nevertheless the long schooling in the value of ordered peace has left a strong impress upon the habits of thought of the Japanese people. If we have built up a strong army and navy it has been solely because, in the period in which Japan emerged from its isolation, international relations the world over were so largely determined by politics of power. Had it not been for this fact, Japan would never have thought of organizing her modern fighting institutions at an enormous expenditure.

The builders of modern Japan have consistently kept before them as their dominant ideal the advancement of the nation's welfare in security and peace. This means that our military and naval policy is based upon the fundamental principle of self defense. It follows, therefore, that the measure taken in fulfillment of that policy should be commensurate with possible danger to the state. Had the world remained as it was in the days preceding the World war, had there been no Covenant of the League of Nations, no Kellogg Pact of universal peace, if the lesson of the futility of war had not been learned by this generation,—then there would be little hope of lessening armaments and Japan would be obliged to seek its security in the age-old method of organized force.

Fortunately, we are entering upon a new era, equally new to East and West, an era of international cooperation and understanding. It is an era which Japan is eager to accept and ardent to further, as was clearly shown both at the Washington Conference of 1922 and at the Geneva Conference of 1927. It is true that the policies of peace and the pacific attitude of mind of the Japanese nation have been at one time or another beclouded by the mist of suspicion and misunderstanding. The Washington Conference did much to have such atmosphere cleared away and furnished us a basis upon which we hope to build still further at the coming Conference. At Washington a guarantee of peace and disarmament was given, in the agreement of the signatories upon policies of cooperation and conciliation with China which are today the basis of Japan's policy in the Far East. At the Geneva Conference of Naval Disarmament, Japan insisted upon reduction of naval armament in preference to mere limitation, a further guarantee that it was not bent upon aggression but was thinking solely in terms of national defence. When the Kellogg Pact was presented to people of Japan, its obligation to re-

nounce war as the instrument of national policy was accepted in Japan without any dissent either on the part of any political party or any section of public opinion. It is therefore only natural that the proposed London Conference is winning such great sympathy and support in Japan because it makes the anti-war pact its starting point, and reduction in the warlike equipment of nations is expected to be realized.

It should be easy then to understand the attitude of Japan toward the London Conference. Our postulates will be; first, Japan will advocate reduction, not merely limitation, of armament; and secondly, all that she demands will never exceed the minimum needs of her national security.

The reduction, rather than limitation, of armament, is what should be the natural outcome of the Kellogg Pact. Why can we not, at this opportune moment, reduce the ponderous burden of expenditure which has lain like a nightmare on the recent generations of mankind? There is no reason why by a reduction all round, armaments should not be scaled down to a considerable extent. If the other participating powers come to such an agreement, Japan stands ready to reduce her naval strength to the extent as will be proportionately necessary.

The second postulate, namely, that Japan will not exceed the minimum needs of her national security, means that we should hold sufficient warlike strength to defend the country from outside attack. We are not proposing to possess any equipment beyond that necessary for our defence in the adjacent waters of Japan. The naval strength which Japan wishes to retain will always be gauged by that measure. The very fact that Japan is not demanding, and will not demand, numerical parity with the United States, or the British Navy, is in itself sufficient proof that not an iota of the idea of attack has entered into the considerations of the Japanese Navy. "*The minimum defense strength*" is our standard. We purpose no menace to anyone; we want no one to be a menace to our country.

Japan's motto, therefore, at the forthcoming Conference will be, "Reduction and no menace," I am fully convinced that such an attitude of Japan will invite the sympathetic understanding of the whole world, and I am sure that, in the atmosphere of goodwill and understanding that will prevail at the Conference and through mutual confidence in the just and peaceful aspirations and policies of the participating powers, a great task in history will be achieved.

(28) 昭和四年十二月十六日華盛頓ニ於ケル若槻全權ノ聲明

For The Press

STATEMENT BY REIJIRO WAKATSUKI, JAPANESE DELEGATE TO THE LONDON
NAVAL CONFERENCE.

Washington, D. C., December 16, 1929.

The Japanese Delegation wish to thank the Government and people of the United States for the cordial welcome, both official and private, extended to them ever since they landed at Seattle a few days ago and are greatly impressed by the evidences of keen interest on the part of the American nation in the forthcoming Naval Conference in London.

The whole Japanese nation are equally interested in the meeting and are eagerly and confidently anticipating that its noble objective will be attained in a just and effective manner.

We are now very glad to be in Washington, en route to London, and to have had the opportunity of paying our respects to the President of the United States, whose vision and initiative have been an important incentive to the calling together of the London gathering.

The forthcoming meeting makes the Kellogg Pact its starting point. Under that Pact, the signatory Powers are pledged to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to settle all international disputes only by pacific means. To meet under such auspices is in itself a guarantee of success, for policies of disarmament are the natural consequences of the renunciation of war.

Furthermore, it is expected that the participating Powers are coming to the Conference altogether with an open mind, reposing each in the other full faith and confidence in the justice and fairness of their respective international policies.

There is therefore every reason for us to be sanguine as to the result of the London Conference. The termination of competitive armaments and a positive reduction in naval strength may, we believe, be looked for as the outcome.

Japan advocates reduction. She advocates scaling down the naval armaments of the participating Powers, and she herself stands ready to reduce her naval strength proportionately.

It goes without saying that, in so doing, she has to bear in mind the necessity of keeping undisturbed the sense of national security of the people. From this consideration she feels entitled to retain a minimum strength, insufficient for attack and only adequate for defense in home waters. The proposals of Japan at the forthcoming Conference are based upon this principle alone. She is prepared to accept a ratio that is less than parity with the other great Powers, and so gives clear proof of the entire absence of any thought of offensive operations.

We are confident that an important progress will be effected at London in the great task of disarmament and of guaranteeing an enduring peace.

(右邦文)

吾々一行ハ數日前「シアトル」上陸以來絶エス合衆國政府及國民ヨリ與ヘラレタル公私ノ懇篤ナル歡迎ニ對シ感謝ニ堪ヘス而シテ吾人ハ來ルヘキ倫敦軍縮會議ニ關シ米國民カ深キ興味ヲ有スル證左ヲ見テ強キ感動ヲ受ケタリ日本國民モ亦同會議ニ對シ舉テ同様ノ興味ヲ有シ其崇高ナル目的カ正當且有效ニ達成セラレムコトヲ熱心ニ又信頼ヲ以テ期待シ居レリ

吾人ハ倫敦ニ赴ク途次華府ニ立寄り其ノ識見ト發意トニ依リ倫敦會議開催ヲ大ニ促進セラレタル合衆國大統領ニ敬意ヲ表スルノ機會ヲ得タルヲ欣快トスルモノナリ

今次ノ會議ハ「ケロッグ」條約ヲ其ノ出發點トナシ居ル處同條約ニ於テ調印國ハ國家ノ政策ノ手段トシテ戰爭ヲ拋棄シ且平和的手段ニ依リテノミ有ユル國際的紛爭ヲ解決スル旨ヲ誓約シタリ敍上ノ如キ事情ノ下ニ會合スルコトハ夫レ自體既ニ會議成功ノ保障タルヘシ蓋シ軍縮ノ事タルヤ戰爭拋棄ノ自然ノ結果ナレハナリ

又會議參加國ハ各國其他ノ參加國ノ政策ノ正當且公正ナルコトニ滿腔ノ信頼ヲ置キ虚心坦懷以テ會議ニ臨マントシツツア

仍テ吾人ハ倫敦會議ニ多大ノ希望ヲ繫クヘキ充分ナル理由ヲ有スル次第ニシテ軍備競争ヲ終熄シ且海軍力ヲ實質的ニ減少スルノ成果期シテ俟ツヘキモノアルヲ信ス

日本ハ軍備ノ縮少ヲ主張ス即日本ハ會議參加國ノ海軍軍備ヲ低下センコトヲ主張シ且我カ海軍勢力ヲ他國ト相對的ニ縮少スルノ用意ヲ有スルモノナリ

右縮少ヲナスニ當リ日本トシテハ國民ノ國家安全威ニ動搖ヲ來サシメサル様願念セサルヲ得サルコト勿論ナリ

右ノ考慮ニ基キ日本カ攻撃ニハ足ラス只日本近海ニ於ケル防禦ニノミ充分ナル最小限度ノ勢力ヲ保有スルコト至當ナリト考フ來ルヘキ倫敦會議ニ於ケル日本ノ提案ハ一ニ此原則ヲ基礎トスルニ外ナラス日本ハ他ノ大國ニ比シ均勢以下ノ比率ヲ受諾スルノ用意アルモノナルヲ以テ侵寇の行動ノ意圖毫無之コト極メテ明白ナリ

吾人ハ倫敦ニ於テ軍備縮少及恒久平和ノ保障ナル大事業カ大ナル進展ヲナサンコトヲ確信スルモノナリ

(29) 昭和四年十二月十七日華盛頓ニ於ケル日米全權ノ共同聲明

JOINT STATEMENT OF AMERICAN AND JAPANESE DELEGATIONS IN WASHINGTON ON DECEMBER 17, 1929.

Reijiro Wakatsuki, chief delegate; Admiral Takeshi Takarabe, delegate; Japanese Ambassador Debuhi and Hiroshi Saito, secretary, visited the Secretary of State at his house this afternoon. The Secretary had with him Ambassador Dwight W. Morrow and Ambassador William R. Castle, Jr.

There was a frank and friendly discussion of the underlying problems of the two countries which affect the issues of the conference.

Both Mr. Wakatsuki and Secretary Stimson expressed optimistic hope for the successful termination of the conference and the increase of good will between the two countries which a solution of the naval problems helps maintain.

(右譯文)

首席全權若槻禮次郎、全權海軍大將財部彪、出淵日本大使、全權附齋藤博ハ本日午後國務長官ヲ其私邸ニ訪問セリ國務長官ト共ニ「ドワイト、ダブリー、モロー」大使及「ウイリアム、アール、キャッスル」大使同席セリ

會議ノ成果ニ影響アル兩國間ノ基礎の問題ニ付率直且友好的ナル討議行ハレタリ

若槻氏及「スチムソン」長官ハ共ニ會議カ有終ノ美ヲ收メ且海軍問題ノ解決ニ依リ兩國間ノ友誼カ益々増進セラルヘシト樂觀セリ

(30) 昭和四年十二月十九日華盛頓ニ於ケル日米全權ノ共同聲明

JOINT STATEMENT OF AMERICAN AND JAPANESE DELEGATIONS IN WASHINGTON
ON DECEMBER 19, 1929.

The discussion like that at Woodley, was concerned with the general philosophy underlying naval agreements and the opportunities of the coming conference. It took up the good results between the United States and Japan of the Washington conference and the possibilities of continuing and increasing these results.

The agreement in the objectives of both countries was established. Then in a very frank and friendly way each delegation presented the broad outlines of its position. This discussion did not go into details or figures, which is the province of the conference and should be done there where all the participating nations will be represented.

(右譯文)

討議ハ「ウッドレー」ニ於ケル場合ノ如ク海軍協定ノ基礎タル一般原則及今次會議ノ成果ニ關シ行ハレ又日米關係ニ及セル華盛頓會議ノ好影響並之ヲ持續シ増進スルノ可能性ニ論及セリ

兩國ハ其目的ニ於テ一致シ兩全權部ハ率直且友好的ニ各其立場ニ付一般の陳述ヲ爲セリ

今回ノ討議ハ何等詳細ニ互ラス又噸數ニハ觸レサリキ此等ハ會議ノ分野ニ屬シ總ヘテノ參加國カ代表者ヲ出ス同會議ニ於テ討議セラルヘキナリ

註「ウッドレー」ハ十二月十七日米共同聲明ニ表シタル國務長官ノ私邸所在地名

(31) 昭和四年十二月二十日在紐育澤田總領事ノ午餐會ニ於ケル

若槻全權演說

總領事並ニ諸君

茲ニ此ノ盛宴ヲ設ケ當地ノ多數ノ名士及在留本邦人ト一堂ニ會スルノ機會ヲ與ヘラレタルハ余ノ深く感謝スル所ニシテ右ハ余カ此ノ大都市ニ立寄リタルコトヲ最モ記念スヘキ記憶トナシタルモノナリ

我々ハ數日前「シアトル」到着以來米國官民ヨリ受ケタル懇篤ナル歡迎及歡待ニ對シ最モ愉快ニシテ且ツ感謝ニ滿チタル記憶ヲ抱キ本夕倫敦ニ向ツテ出發セントスルモノナルカ我々ハ此ノ歡迎及歡待ヲ以テ年ト共ニ増進スル米國ノ日本ニ對スル不易ノ友誼ノ一證左トシテ感佩ニ堪ヘサルナリ

相互信頼ト善解ノ存スル國民ノ間ニハ軍備縮少ノ問題ハ決シテ難問ナリト云フヲ得ス

華府會議以來猜疑及不信ト云フカ如キ不健全ナル分子ヲ國際社會ヨリ蕩掃スル目的ヲ以テ數次有效ナル手段講セラレタルカ彼ノ「ケロッグ、ブリアン」不戰條約ハ實ニ吾人カ恒久平和ノ殿堂ヲ建設スヘキ鞏固ナル精神の基礎ヲナスモノナリ

來ルヘキ倫敦會議ハ參加國カ國家政策ノ手段トシテ戰爭ノ拋棄ヲ誓約セル此ノ好時機ニ當リ開催セララルモノナルニ依リ必スヤ好結果ヲ齎スヘキコトヲ信シテ疑ハス

日本トシテハ防衛ニ必要ナル充分ノ海軍力ヲ維持セサルヘカラスト雖モ本會議ノ成功ニ對シ其最善ノ努力ヲ盡スノ用意ヲ有スルモノニシテ今回モ亦過去ノ會議ニ於ケルト同様ノ熱心率直且協調の精神ヲ以テ誠心誠意他國ト協戮セントスルモノナルコトヲ茲ニ言明ス

余ハ米國財界ノ有力者モ御列席ノ此ノ席上ニ於テ一九三〇年一月十一日ヲ期シテ決行セントスル金解禁ニ關シ諸君カ我國ニ對シ致サレタル顯著ナル事績ニ言及セサルヲ得ス

我國ハ先般來嚴重ナル緊縮政策ヲ採用シ以テ此ノ重大ナル措置ニ對シ熱心ニ準備ヲ進メ來レル處海外貿易ハ著シキ改善ヲ見國際貸借ノ「バランス」モ着々良好ニ向ヒツツアリ茲ニ於テ我政府ハ諸君ノ機宜ノ協力ヲ得テ其永年ノ希望ヲ達シ我國ノ經濟的發展及繁榮ニ新生面ヲ開クコトヲ得タル次第ナリ余ハ出淵大使カ既ニ當地ニ來リ謝意ヲ表セラレタルヲ知ルモ我國財政ニ多少關係アリシモノトシテ諸君ノ與ヘラレタル敏活ナル支援ト熱心ナル協力トハ畢竟是レ又諸君ノ吾人ニ對スル大ナル好意ト我國民ノ能力及誠實ニ對スル信頼ノ證左ニ外ナラスト認メ茲ニ深ク感謝ノ意ヲ表セント欲ス余ハ金本位制ニ復歸セルコトニ依リ日本カ世界ノ經濟的復興並ニ恢復ニ一ノ貢獻ヲナシタリト考フルモノナルカ此ノ時ニ當リ世界ノ平和ト人類ノ福祉トヲ増進スヘキ會議ニ參加スルコトナレハ余ノ欣幸トスル所ナリ

(右譯文)

ADDRESS BY MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI AT LUNCHEON GIVEN BY CONSUL GENERAL
SAWADA, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 20, 1929.

Consul General and Gentlemen:

I wish to thank our host for his kindness in providing me with such a delightful occasion to meet so many distinguished American citizens as well as my fellow countrymen in New York, thereby making memorable my brief sojourn in the great metropolis of America.

We leave for London tonight, carrying with us most pleasant and grateful memories of the cordial welcome, courtesy and hospitality that have been extended to us ever since our arrival in Seattle ten days ago, by the officials and the people of the United States. We appreciate them as an evidence of America's unfailing friendship, which grows ever with the years that go by.

Between nations, where there exist mutual trust and good understanding, disarmament ceases to be any longer too difficult a problem. Ever since the Washington Conference successive and successful steps have been taken to purge the

international atmosphere of its unwholesome elements of suspicion and mistrust. And in the recent Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Treaty we have a solid moral foundation on which we may build the edifice of lasting peace.

I believe that, convened at this moment and in such auspicious circumstances, where the participating powers are pledged to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, the forthcoming London Conference will not fail but produce good results.

As far as Japan is concerned, while she shall have to maintain sufficient naval strength for her defensive needs, she stands ready to exert her best efforts for the success of this conference. I can assure you that she will collaborate with other powers, as she has in all past conferences, whole-heartedly and loyally with the same enthusiasm and in the same spirit of frankness and conciliation.

This noon in this company, which includes leading financiers and bankers of America, I cannot refrain from referring to the signal service they have recently rendered our country in connection with the lifting of the gold Embargo, for which January 11, 1930 has definitely been set as the date. Japan has been of late assiduously preparing for this important action, by adopting a policy of stern retrenchment. A marked improvement has been brought about in our foreign commerce, while a favorable trend is being noted in our international trade balance. And it is with your timely cooperation that our government has been able to achieve the long-desired end, and open up a new vista of economic development and prosperity for the country. I understand that our Ambassador, Mr. Debuti, has been here to thank you. But as one who has had more or less to do with our national finance, I wish to express to you my personal appreciation of the ready assistance and the earnest cooperation you have given us, which I regard as after all another testimonial of the great good-will you bear toward us and of the confidence you repose in the ability and integrity of our nation.

By returning to gold basis, Japan, I believe, has made a contribution to the economic reconstruction and rehabilitation of the world, and I am very happy that at this very juncture she is to participate in a conference calculated to promote the universal peace and the well-being of mankind.

(32) 昭和四年十二月二十七日「サウサンプトン」上陸の際
若槻全權聲明

(MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI'S STATEMENT UPON ARRIVAL IN GREAT BRITAIN)

It is a great satisfaction to us that we have reached safely our long journey's end and to attend the Conference for the Limitation of Armament in response to the invitation of the British Government. I am glad that by passing through the United States we have been afforded the opportunity to meet and confer informally with American Authorities and that the conversations have proved very profitable.

Now that we are in London, and there remains much time before the Conference convenes, I believe that my colleagues and I will have similar opportunities for frank exchange of views with the British Authorities.

Much has already been accomplished in the preliminary negotiations through our ambassadors in England and America to clarify one another's position and the nature of the problems we are to face in common.

We desire to do all within our power to smooth the path of progress in the coming Conference.

Our people and Government are united in the ardent desire that the Conference shall be a success, and that not only limitation but actual reduction in naval armaments shall be effected. Japan will be satisfied with an inferior naval strength as compared with the strength to be held by Great Britain or the United States. All she asks is the security of the Empire, she has never thought of aggression.

I am confident that her pacific policy will enable her to cooperate freely and effectively with other powers in the attainment of the noble objectives of the Conference.

We sincerely believe that by inspiring all nations with fresh confidence and good will one toward another, the meeting will sure reinforce the Pact of Paris in its exhortation for the establishment of an enduring peace. It is with a great hope that we have come to London.

(33) 昭和五年一月十日津島財務官の午餐會ニ於ケル
若槻全權演説

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI AT A LUNCHEON GIVEN

BY MR. TSUSHIMA AT THE SAVOY HOTEL ON JANUARY 10th, 1930.

Mr. Tsushima and Gentlemen,

It is over twenty years ago that I was in London as Finance Commissioner of the Japanese Government and spent many happy months of intimate contact and collaboration with British Bankers and Financiers in the City. This noon, thanks to the hospitality of our host, I have been afforded the rare opportunity to join this company of distinguished gentlemen, in which I feel, perhaps because of my former connections, as though I were among old friends. Recollections of old friendships make doubly keen for me the joy of fellowship around this table.

I avail myself of this delightful occasion to thank you for the sound and helpful advice we have always found in England throughout the vicissitudes of our nation's economic career. I wish to thank you specially for the notable service you yourselves have rendered us so recently in conjunction with our American friends. As Mr. Tsushima has said, tomorrow will mark the end of the gold embargo in Japan. On the eve of this important event, it seems most appropriate for me, as one who has had somewhat to do with our country's finance, to express my personal gratitude for the timely co-operation you yourselves have extended to our Government.

If we have been slow in this matter compared with your country and other countries, it is largely because the post-war depression that affected all the lands of the globe was in the case of Japan, tremendously aggravated by the earthquake of 1923. But the restoration of the gold standard has been a long-cherished objective of ours, and one on which our present Government has specially set its heart, and in preparation for which it has inaugurated a policy of stringent retrenchment, although retrenchment is a proposition, which envisages an immediate, if temporary, check on

business and industry, and involves considerable political difficulties. Last summer, the new Government began by cutting down the appropriation of 1,733,000,000 yen in the approved budget for the current year by 92 million yen, and has appropriated for the coming year only 1,603,000,000 yen for public expenditure, which means a retrenchment of 166,000,000 yen from the figures for the preceding year. Moreover, in the matter of issue of loan the Government not only reduced the amount contemplated for this year, but for next year, although there are some items for capital expenditures it has excluded from the budget loan issues of any kind. On the other hand, greater amounts are being allocated to the repayment of the existing governmental indebtedness. This determined policy of economy, loyally supported by local governments and the private banking and industrial circles, has already borne visible fruit. For instance, at the close of 1929, the provisional figures for our exports and imports stood respectively at 2,148,000,000 yen and 2,216,000,000 yen showing an excess in imports of something like 68,000,000 yen. In comparison with the preceding year there is an increase in imports of 20,000,000 yen, but also a remarkable increase in exports of 177,000,000 yen. Our foreign trade has never achieved such results in the past ten years. The small excess in imports and similar excesses in our Korean and Formosan trades will be covered by our normal invisible income, which is expected to exceed 150 million yen, and thus our international payment would be balanced in a satisfactory manner.

The lifting of the embargo at this moment will open a new vista for Japan of prosperity and progress on a solid and permanent footing. It will not be only a boon to us, but I believe it is a contribution to the process of the world-wide economic rehabilitation and stabilisation.

At such a time as this I am glad that we have come to London to attend a Conference whose purpose is to increase goodwill among the nations and to promote universal peace. We have come with high hopes and firm resolve to exert our best efforts towards making naval limitation and reduction a reality. No country feels more acutely than Japan the paramount need of peaceful development. We desire to devote all the energy and resources that we can mobilise to pursuits and employments of peace for the good of ourselves and for the good of the world.

(34) 昭和五年一月二十一日第一回總會ニ於ケル若槻全權演説

(前記(一)と同)

(35) 昭和五年一月二十三日第二回總會ニ於ケル若槻全權演説

軍備縮少ノ目的ハ世界平和ヲ確立シ依リテ以テ國民負擔ノ輕減ヲ期スルニ在ルカ故ニ其ノ協定ノ結果ハ各國民ヲシテ國防ノ安全感ヲ動搖セシムルコトナク猜疑ノ念ヲ去リ相互ノ友好關係ヲ増進スルト共ニ相對的ニ現實ノ軍備縮少ノ實ヲ舉クルモノナラサルヘカラス

隨テ之カ協定ヲ爲スニ當リテハ各國諸般ノ事情ヲ考慮シ軍備ノ相對性ニ鑑ミ他國ノ脅威ヲ構成セサルト共ニ他國ヨリ脅威ヲ受ケサルコトヲ基調トスヘク審議ハ寛容ノ態度ヲ以テ溫和ナル雰圍氣ノ裡ニ於テ且實際の處理ヲ旨トシ以テ公正満足ナル結果ニ到達シ速ニ協定ノ效果ヲ舉ケンコトヲ切望ス

本會議ニ於テハ華府條約ニ規定セラレサル艦種ニ付考究ヲ加フルニ止マラス該條約第二十一條第二項ニ規定セラレタル問題ヲモ審議處理スヘキコト英國政府ノ招請狀ニ示サル通ナリ華府海軍軍備制限條約カ各締約國間ニ於テ誠實ニ履行セラレ世界平和維持ニ大ナル貢獻ヲ爲シツアル事實ニ鑑ミ時勢ノ進運ニ伴ヒ益條約ノ效果ヲ舉クルカ爲其ノ既定ノ基礎ヲ變改スルカ如キ事項ヲ除キ特定ノ點ニ關シ更ニ審議ヲ爲スコトハ關係諸國ノ齊シク希望スル所ナルヘシ

若シ夫レ補助艦制限ニ關シテハ諸般ノ事情ニ鑑ミ新ニ協定セララルヘキ基礎ニ依リ軍備縮少ノ實ヲ舉ケ以テ今次倫敦海軍會議ノ目的達成ヲ期センコトヲ欲ス

(中譯文)

January 23rd, 1930.

STATEMENT BY MR. WAKATSUKI, THE CHIEF DELEGATE FOR JAPAN.

The purpose of the reduction of armaments is to establish an enduring peace in the world and thus to relieve the heavy burden of the nations. The decisions of this Conference should, therefore, be of such nature as will permit actual reduction in naval armaments by all the Powers concerned, leaving undisturbed their sense of national security, removing fear and suspicion and promoting friendship and good will among the nations.

It therefore follows that to come to any agreement, it is essential that due thought be given to the various circumstances peculiar to each Power as well as to the relative character of naval armaments, and that the principle that no Power shall neither menace nor be menaced by another be made the basis of discussion. Such discussion, moreover, must be conducted in an atmosphere of friendliness and sympathy, in order to attain a just and satisfactory result which, we trust, will speedily become effective.

The invitation of His Britannic Majesty's Government has stated that the present Conference is not only to consider the categories of ships not covered by the Washington Treaty, but is to arrange for and deal with the questions covered by the second paragraph of Article 21 of that Treaty. The fact that the Washington Agreements, through faithful adherence by all the signatory Powers, has greatly contributed to the maintenance of world peace, evidently serves to unite all the Powers in the common hope and endeavour now to hold fresh discussions in order to reach agreements on certain points, naturally excepting such matters as would alter the foundations of that Treaty, and thus to further and supplement the good work accomplished at Washington commensurately with the progress of the general situation.

Further, as to the auxiliary craft, their reduction will, with due consideration to the present situation in general, be effected on a basis to be newly agreed upon, to the end that the objective of the present Conference will be successfully attained.

(36) 昭和五年一月二十七日若槻全權對米放送演說

ADDRESS BY MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI BROADCAST TO AMERICA FROM
LONDON, JANUARY 27th, 1930.

It is a truly rare privilege for me to be enabled to speak thus by a marvelous device of science directly to American people across the Atlantic Ocean. I only regret that my words cannot be translated during their transmission and will not be understood until the interpreter takes his turn. I wish to thank you for the cordial welcome and kind reception with which my colleagues and I have recently been honoured in the United States. Though hurried was our trip across your continent and brief our sojourn at Washington, we have come away with indelible impressions of the wonders of your country, of the genial warmth of your hospitality and of your genuine friendship and goodwill toward our own country.

One of the things that gratified me most during our visit was to note America's enthusiasm in the momentous enterprise upon which the Five Powers have just embarked here in London. I assure you that our people in Japan share the same enthusiasm with you, that they are equally devoted to the cause of international harmony and that they are eager to help establish an enduring peace.

Japan's position may be stated in a few words. Our Navy is organised on a basis of the defensive need of the Empire. We are content with an inferior naval strength compared with that of either America or Great Britain. National security is our only solicitude; for that, we ask for very minimum force and such units as will be, while insufficient for offensive operations, adequate for safeguarding our home waters, extending from the tropic to the frigid zone, and our trade routes that are vital to our existence. The naval requirements of the Powers being largely a relative matter, Japan stands ready for limitation, a fair and just limitation. Moreover, we strongly advocate reduction as a logical programme of peace consorting with the spirit of the Paris Pact, as well as a practical measure to meet the crying need

of the day for relief in tax burden of the nations. In conjunction with the other Powers, Japan is willing to go as far as possible in naval reduction.

Such being our position and policy, I believe that they will win the appreciation of other Powers and at the same time enable us to offer them free and effective cooperation.

The Conference which was opened so auspiciously the other day is making progress in a friendliest atmosphere. I am glad that our delegation have established most cordial relations with the American and other delegations. True, there are differences of opinions to be adjusted and many intricate problems to be solved. But these have been anticipated, and we are not dismayed. Statesmanship, patience, mutual understanding, and, above all, the common determination to succeed, will, I am confident, bring us to a happy conclusion.

Some day the good tidings of the success of this Conference will be borne to you through space. Let us hope that the time is not far behind when the world will hear the voice of triumphant peace.

(37) 昭和五年一月三十日新聞協會主催午餐會ニ於ケル

若槻全權演說

會長並諸君

今日倫敦外國新聞協會ノ御歡待ニ際シ海軍會議ニ於ケル余ノ同僚ヲ代表シ一同ノ深キ感謝ノ意ヲ表スルハ余ノ欣幸トスル所ナリ

余ハ此ノ機會ニ於テ今日吾人ヲ招待セラレタル記者諸君並ニ全世界ニ於ケル其同僚各位ニ對シ敬意ヲ表セント欲ス新聞通信ノ社會ニ對スル無限ノ貢獻乃至其強大ナル感化力ニ至ツテハ贅言ヲ要セスト雖モ身ヲ新聞界ニ起シタル一部偉人ノ名ヲ茲ニ想起スルハマタ一興ナルヘシ、客年十一月全世界ヲシテ其ノ死ヲ悼マシメタル「ジョージクレマンソー」氏並ニ伊國ノ巨人「ムッソリーニ」氏ハ何レモ嘗ツテ新聞記者タリキ日本ニ於テモ華府會議當時宰相トシテ好評噴々タリシ原敬氏モ亦身ヲ操觚界ニ起セリ華府會議ヲ招集セル米國大統領其人モ「オハイオ」ノ故郷ニ於テ新聞經營ニ當リタルコトアリ然レトモ之カ實例ハ敢テ遠キニ求ムルノ要ナシ、本日此所ニ出席セラルル佛國首相「タルディュー」氏ハ嘗ツテ巴里一大新聞ノ主筆トシテ名聲ヲ馳セラル、英帝國ノ運命及ヒ今次倫敦會議ノ重責ヲ双肩ニ荷ハルル英國首相「マクドナルド」氏モ亦嘗ツテ記者タリシコトアリ大國民ノ指導者カ新聞界ヨリ出ツルコトハ毫モ不思議ニアラス蓋シ記者ノ天職ハ輿論ヲ反映スルニ止ラス之ヲ形成指導シ社會國家ノ進化ヲ誘導スルニアレハナリ之カ故ニ第一次海軍軍縮會議カ「ハーディング」大統領ノ下ニ於ケル米國政府ニ依リ又今次會議カ「マクドナルド」氏ヲ首相トスル英國政府ニ依リテ招請セラレタルコトハ故ナキニハ非ルナリ、各國民カ社會的及政治的進歩ノ爲新聞紙ニ依頼スル所大ナルモノアルハ勿論ナリト雖モ國際的理解及啓發ノ爲之ニ依據スル所ノモノハ更ニ大ナリ新聞紙ハ事實及意見ヲ國際的ニ播布シ國際理想ヲ宣明シ且ツ世界ノ友和ヲ

進展セシムル上ニ於テ人類ニ缺ク可ラサル機關ナル國際的記者トシテ諸君ハ今尙恒久平和ヘノ道程ヲ遮リツツアル幾百年來ノ偏見確執利己心ト闘ハントシテ敢然第一線ニ立タルル勇者ナリ此點ニ關シ新聞紙ノ爲シ來リタル所既ニ著大ナルモノアリ

要スルニ海軍軍備制限ハ國民間相互ノ信賴了解及善意ヲ基礎トセサル可ラサル所之カ増進ハ主トシテ新聞ノ力ニ俟タサル可ラス從ツテ諸君ハ本會議ノ成功ニ甚大ナル貢獻ヲ爲シ得ルモノナリ諸君ハ單ニ吾人ノ努力ノ傍觀者若シハ報道者ニ非ヌシテ實ニ吾人ノ事業即チ全世界將來ノ福祉ヲ左右スヘキ重大ナル事業ニ從事スル同僚ナリ

過日皇帝陛下御親臨ノ盛儀ヲ以テ開會セル倫敦海軍會議カ最モ友好且ツ有望ナル雰圍氣ノ下ニ着々進捗シツツアルヲ見ルハ余ノ欣幸トスル所ナリ各國全權間ニ於ケル自由率直ナル意見交換ノ結果各國ノ立場ハ次第ニ明瞭トナリ來レリ余ハ各國全權ニ於テ心ヲ一ニシ且ツ諸君ノ大ナル協力ト支援トヲ以テスレハ本會議カ大ナル成功ヲ收メ平和ノ途上ニ於ケル一大記念碑タルヘキヲ信シテ疑ハサルナリ

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(右譯文)

ADDRESS BY MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI, CHIEF JAPANESE DELEGATE TO THE LONDON
NAVAL CONFERENCE, AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE FOREIGN PRESS
ASSOCIATION, SAVOY HOTEL, 30th JANUARY 1930.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

A signal honour has fallen to me to speak for all my colleagues at the Naval Conference and I am glad to discharge the pleasant duty to express on their behalf, as well as on my own, our unanimous and profound sentiments of gratitude for the hospitality and entertainment provided us this noon by the Foreign Press Association of London. Having said so much, I must pause, for I realize the gravity of my situation in trying to speak further in the name of all the delegates of the Five Powers. I feel that for the present the rest—and the best—is silence.

However, I cannot let this occasion pass without paying my personal tribute to our hosts, the gentlemen of the press and their colleagues all over the world. My public career has brought me into intimate contact with journalists of many countries, for whom I have the highest regard and admiration. It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the invaluable service, or the potent influence of the newspaper, but it may be interesting to recall the names of some amongst a number of great men which journalism has given to the world. Georges Clémenceau, whose death last November was mourned by France, and all the sister nations, was once a journalist. Signor Mussolini, the strong man of Italy and of Europe to-day, was also a journalist. Japan had a popular Premier in the person of Takashi Hara at the time of the Washington Conference who had been a journalist. The President of the United States who called that memorable Conference into being, was editor of a newspaper in his own town in Ohio. But why seek so far away when we have in our midst the Prime Minister of France, whose illustrious name was once associated with a great newspaper in Paris, and still another eminent statesman, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, upon whose shoulders are borne the vast responsibilities of an Empire and of the present London Conference in a large measure and who was one time also a journalist. It is not strange that great leaders of great nations should rise from the ranks of journalists whose profession it is not only to reflect public opinion but to mould it and guide it—not only to record the march of events day by day, but to direct the very progress of society and state. It seems then more than sheer coincidence that the first great Naval Conference should have been called by the American Government under President Harding, and the present one by His Britannic Majesty's Government, over which presides the Right Honourable Ramsay MacDonald. If nations depend much on the newspaper for social and political progress, they rely on it even more for international wisdom and enlightenment. The newspaper is the indispensable organ of mankind for the international dissemination of news and opinions, for the propagation of international ideals and for the advancement of world democracy. As international journalists, you, gentlemen, are at the forefront of the gallant forces fighting prejudices and animosities of centuries, the narrowness, egotism, and chauvinistic spirit that still persist blocking the path towards permanent peace. In this respect, the newspapers have already achieved a great deal. I do not hesitate to attribute a great share in the conspicuous success of the Washington Conference, to the newspapers of various countries whose vision and leadership enabled them to mobilize public opinion of the world to the support of its high aims.

In the final analysis, any real scheme for naval limitation must be founded on mutual trust, understanding and goodwill among nations, the cultivation of which goes to a large extent to the field of journalism. You, gentlemen, have it in your power to make a vital contribution to the success of this Conference. You are not mere observers and reporters of our labours, but you are our fellow-workers engaged in a common task—a stupendous task on which will depend the future fortunes and happiness of the entire world.

I am happy that the London Naval Conference, so auspiciously begun in the presence of His Majesty the King, ten days ago, is progressing in a most friendly and hopeful atmosphere. Through free and frank exchange of views among the delegations respective positions of the powers are being clarified. We have come to know better just where lie the rocks and the shoals and are thus able to properly chart the course of our deliberations. With the united zeal and will of all the delegations and with your valuable co-operation and support, I am confident that the Conference will be a great success—a great monument on the path of peace.

(38) 昭和五年一月三十一日第一委員會ニ於ケル若槻全權聲明

余ハ今茲ニ上程セラレタル制限方式問題ニ付帝國從來ノ態度及現在抱懷スル見解ニ就テ述フル處アラントス

一、制限方式中極端ナル總噸數主義ハ各國ノ整備スヘキ兵力ヲ相互ニ不安定ニ陷ラシムルニ至ルヘク又極端ナル艦種類別主義ハ各國ノ特殊事情ニ適應セシムヘキ兵備ノ伸縮性ニ缺クル所アリ依テ日本ハ右兩主義ヲ適當ニ調和セントシ艦種類別ニ付キ特ニ意ヲ用ヒタルハ國際聯盟ノ軍備縮少準備委員會及壽府三國會議ニ於テ日本ノ主張セル所ニ依リ明ナリ今次ノ會議ニ於テモ日本ハ左記ノ類別ニ依リ各類別毎ニ各國ノ保有シ得ヘキ合計噸數ヲ協定シ且特殊ノ艦ヲ除キ其ノ他ノ類別間ニ若干ノ融通ヲ許容スルヲ適當ト認ム

- (一) 主力艦
- (二) 航空母艦
- (三) 八吋砲搭載巡洋艦
- (四) 輕巡洋艦、驅逐艦
- (五) 潛水艦

(三)(四)項ノ「スベシフケーション」ハ單艦ノ排水量及備砲口徑ニ依リ定ムルノ見解ナリ

二、融通ノ方法

- (イ) 主力艦、航空母艦及八吋砲搭載巡洋艦ニハ融通ヲ認メス
- (ロ) 輕巡洋艦、驅逐艦、潛水艦ハ相互ニ融通ヲ認ム

三、融通量

彼此融通量ハ各類別ニ對スル各國協定保有量ト不可分ノ關係ニアルヲ以テ之ヲ幾「パーセント」トスルヲ適當トスヘキカハ後日ノ問題トセサルヘカラス

尤モ融通量過大ナルトキハ各類別毎ニ保有量ヲ制限セントスルノ趣旨ヲ沒却スヘク過少ナルニ於テハ各國ノ需要ニ適セサルモノナルヘキヲ以テ此ノ間ニ適量ヲ求ムルノ要アリト認ム

四、前記類別ノ外特種艦艇ノ如キハ列國海軍ノ勢力ヲ比較スル性質ノモノニアラスニ其ノ國情ニ應スル特種需要ヲ考慮シテ決定セラレヘキモノニ屬スルヲ以テ制限外艦艇ト同様類別ニ加フルノ要ナク別途協定ノ事項トナスヲ適當ト認ム

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(右譯文)

Mr. Wakatsuki (Japan): I wish now to submit to the consideration of the Committee the attitude and views of the Japanese Government in regard to the question of the methods of naval limitation, which is now the subject of discussion before us. To save time, I wish to ask your permission to let my Secretary read a paper which I have prepared with that object in view.

I. In the opinion of the Japanese Government, the strict application of the principle of global tonnage as a method of naval limitation tends to lead to an instability of naval strengths to be possessed by the various Powers, whereas the strict application of the category principle would lack in the flexibility and adaptability necessary in arranging naval armaments so as to meet the peculiar needs of the Powers.

The Japanese view that these two methods should be suitably compromised and careful consideration should be given to the classification of warcraft, has already been made clear at the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament of the League of Nations and the Three Power Conference at Geneva in 1927.

We consider it most desirable that an agreement should be reached as to the total tonnage to be held by each Power in each of the categories classified as follows, and as to the amount of transfer between the categories, except in specified classes:—

- (1) Capital ships;
- (2) Aircraft carriers;
- (3) 8-inch gun cruisers;
- (4) Light cruisers and destroyers;
- (5) Submarines.

We propose that the characterization of the ships to be classified as (3) and (4) should be decided by the displacement and gun calibre of individual units.

II. *Method of Transfer.*—(1) To allow no transfer to or from capital ships, aircraft carriers, and 8-inch gun cruisers.

(2) To allow transfer between light cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

III. *Amount of Transfer.*—The amount of transfer being inseparably related to the agreed holdings of each Power in each category, the question as to what would be the proper percentage of transfer should be left for a later consideration. Our point of view in this connection is that, since an excessive amount of transfer would defeat the purpose of limitation itself, while too small an amount would fail to meet the needs of the respective Powers, it will be necessary to find suitable figures somewhere between those two extremes.

IV. Special vessels, namely those which do not belong to any of the categories above mentioned, are not of such a nature as to be taken into consideration in comparing the naval strengths of the Powers and accordingly their amounts are to be determined in view solely of the special needs of the Powers. In common with the vessels in the exempt class, they should be considered and treated separately and independently.

(39) 昭和五年二月九日若槻全權對日放送演說

懷シキ同胞諸君

此度日本ト英國トノ間ニ「マルコニー」會社「ビーム」式通信裝置完成シ其御蔭ニテ雲山萬里ヲ距ツル兩國間ニ於テ恰モ相對スルカ如ク通話ヲ爲シ得ルニ至リタルコトハ洵ニ慶賀ノ至リナリ

不肖大任ヲ奉シテ倫敦ニ滞在スルニ當リ此ノ驚嘆スヘキ新裝置ヲ利用スルコトヲ得故國同胞各位ニ對シ一言ノ御挨拶ヲ爲スコトハ余ノ最モ欣幸トスル處ナリ

機械力ニヨリ人類ノ幸福ヲ増進スル爲世界ノ學者ハ少カラス心力ヲ傾注セラレタルカ其努力ハ過去ニ於テ長足ノ進歩ヲ見タリ國民間ニ紛爭ノ原因ト機會トヲ尠クスルコトヲ力メ假令其間若干ノ意見衝突ヲ見ルコトアルモ戰爭ニ訴フル事ナク平和的手段ニ依リテ之ヲ解決スルコトヲシ以テ世界各國民ヲシテ恆久の平和ノ恩澤ニ浴セシメトスルノ努力モ亦最近多大ノ進展ヲ見タリ先ニ國際聯盟ノ創設セラルルアリ次テ華盛頓ニ於テ海軍制限條約ヲ協定シ更ニ一昨年六十ニ垂ントスル諸國カ不戰條約ニ調印シ將來國策遂行ノ手段トシテ戰爭ヲ爲ササルヘキコトヲ誓約スルニ至リタルハ各位ノ熟知セラルル所ナリ英國政府ハ世界ノコノ風潮ヲ考量ニ加ヘ軍縮會議ヲ開クコトヲ決意シ華府條約ニ於テ協定ニ至ラサリシ軍艦ノ種類ニ付テハ勿論同條約ニ於テ規定シタル戰艦等ニ付テモ適當ノ制限ヲ加フルノ趣意ヲ以テ會議ヲ招集スルコトトセラレタリ日米佛伊各國亦之ニ同意シ夫々全權ヲ倫敦ニ派遣シ一月二十一日英國皇帝陛下親臨ノ下ニ第一回總會ノ開會ヲ見爾來各國全權ハ致々トシテ其事ニ從ヒ苦心慘憺其成功ヲ期シツアルハ我同胞各位ノ夙ニ承知シ居ラルル處ナリ

我國ハ本會議ニ臨ムニ當リ一面海軍軍備ノ積極的縮少ニ依リ國際平和ヲ計ルト共ニ他面我國防ノ安全ヲ保障スルニ足ル丈ケノ海軍力ハ之ヲ保有セサルヘカラストスル方針ヲ立テ吾人ハ之ニ基キ參加各國ノ諒解ヲ求メ以テ我國上下ノ期待ニ副ハ

ムコトヲ努メ居ル次第ナルカ事國家至上ノ必要ナル國防ニ關スルカ故ニ極メテ慎重ノ注意ヲ要シ會議ノ前途ニハ尙幾多ノ迂餘曲折アルコトヲ豫想セサルヲ得ス

然レトモ本會議ニ於テ各國代表カ専心其ノ成功ニ努力シツアルノ事實ヲ見又現在世界ノ民心カ平和ノ確保ニ向テ全幅ノ同情ヲ寄セツアルノ現狀ヲ考ヘ余ハ軍縮ノ大事業カ必ス有終ノ美ヲ擧ケ關係諸國民ノ間ニ相互信頼ト協力ノ念ヲ増進シ以テ人類ノ平和ナル共同生活ノ上ニ大ナル貢獻ヲ爲スニ至ルヘキコトヲ確信スルモノナリ科學者ハ努力ノ結果倫敦ト東京トノ間ニ通話ヲ爲シ得ル程ノ發明ヲ爲シタリ吾人モ亦世界平和ノ爲ニハ如何ナル難關ヲモ之ヲ突破スルノ努力ヲ爲ササルヘカラス

終ニ臨ミ余ハ遙ニ同胞各位ノ御健康ヲ祈リ各位ノ終始一貫渝ラサル後援ヲ感謝シ各位ノ熱心ト理解トニ依リ余等ノ使命カ相當ノ結果ヲ齎スニ至ランコトヲ期スルモノナリ

(右譯文)

ADDRESS BY MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI BROADCAST TO JAPAN, FROM
DORCHESTER STATION, DORSET.

My fellow-countrymen:

I rejoice that the completion of the Beam System by the Marconi Company has now made possible a direct transmission of speech between England and Japan separated by 10,000 miles of sea and land.

I am very happy to avail myself of this wonderful invention and to address my fellow-countrymen at home while I am in London on an important mission. Science has taken a rapid stride in the past in promoting by mechanical devices the welfare of mankind. At the same time, there has been also a marked progress in the endeavours to lessen or to remove frictions between nations and, even if international disputes occur, to settle them not by war but by pacific

means, as may be seen in the establishment of the League of Nations, in the conclusion of naval treaties at Washington, and more recently in the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact two years ago, by which nearly 60 nations pledged to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. It is with this trend of the times in mind that the British Government proposed the present Conference with a view to effect proper limitation upon various categories of ships, not covered, as well as those covered, by the Washington Treaties. As you know, America, France, Italy and Japan accepted the British invitation and sent their delegates to London, and on January 21st in the presence of His Britannic Majesty the Naval Conference was opened. The delegations have since been assiduously at work in order to achieve the desired end.

Our delegation is collaborating with those of other Powers in accordance with our fundamental policy, on the one hand, to help to effect a positive naval reduction and establish international peace and harmony, and on the other hand, to retain such naval strength as is adequate to guarantee our national security. We are making every effort to fulfil the expectations of our people. It goes without saying that the Conference, dealing, as it does, with questions of supreme importance affecting the security of the nations concerned, must face a number of delicate and difficult problems, which require the most careful and patient handling.

However, in view of the earnest effort made by all the Delegations, and of the manifest desire of all peoples to ensure the peace of the world, I believe that the great task of naval limitation will be accomplished, increasing thereby the mutual goodwill and concord among the Powers and contributing materially to the advancement of the fraternity of mankind. A wonderful invention by scientists such as this, which can carry the human voice from London to Tokio, should inspire us all to resolve and make a redoubled effort to overcome any obstacles that hinder the world's progress to peace.

In conclusion, I extend to you all my best wishes and also my sincere thanks for your loyal support accorded to my colleagues and myself, and assure you that your sympathy and understanding will go far in assisting us to achieve the utmost measure of success.

(40) 昭和五年二月十一日第四回總會ニ於ケル財部全權演説

唯今種々潜水艦ニ關スル聲明ヲ拜聽シタルカ余ハ戰爭ノ慘禍ヲ最小限度ニ縮少セムコトヲ切望スルニ於テ敢テ人後ニ墜ツルモノニ非ス從テ潜水艦全廢論ノ人道的動機ニ對シテハ全幅ノ同情ヲ表明セムトスルモノナリ然レトモ今日拜聽セル提案ノ或者ニ付テハ唯一點異レル意見ヲ開陳セサルヲ得ス

由來潜水艦ノ價值ハ他ノ艦種ニ於ケルト同シク其ノ體ニ依ラス其ノ用ニ依リテ之ヲ決定スヘキモノニシテ潜水艦ヲ他ノ水上艦ヨリ區別シ特ニ非人道的武器ナリト爲スハ誠ニ謂レナシト云ハサルヘカラス

潜水艦固有ノ用途ハ近海ニ於ケル敵ノ攻撃ヲ防クニ在リテ日本ノ如キ多數ノ島嶼水道及防禦地點ヲ有スル國ニ取リテハ此ノ種防禦的武器ハ缺クヘカラサル所ニ屬スト云ハサルヘカラス

最モ明カナル一例ヲ舉ゲムカ航空機ハ日ヲ逐ウテ發達シ平和的交通ニ多大ノ貢獻ヲ爲シツツアリト雖モ戰爭ノ武器トシテモ亦大ナル威力ヲ示シツツアリ而モ之ヲ濫用センカ防禦力ナキ人命財産ニ被害ヲ加フヘキコト遠ク潜水艦ノ比ニ非ルナリ航空機ハ潜水艦ヨリモ行動ノ範圍廣ク海上ニ止マラス陸上ニ於テモ其ノ暴力ヲ振フコトヲ得ヘシ武器ハ善惡兩用ノ具ナリトハ航空機ノ場合ニ於テモ亦之ヲ看取スルニ難カラス斯カル根本思想ニ樹ツモノナカルカ故ニ日本ハ世界大戰ノ恐ルヘキ經驗ヲ繰返ササラムカ爲潜水艦ノ使用ヲ嚴格ニ規律セムトスルノ提案ニ對シテハ衷心贊同ノ意ヲ表明セムト欲ス我ニ於テハ既ニ潜水艦ニ關スル華府條約ニ署名シ且直ニ之ヲ批准セルカ今次會議ニ於テモ一切ノ參加國カ近キ將來ニ於テ實施シ得ヘキ満足ナル協定ニ達セムコトヲ切望シ此ノ合法的且防禦的ナル武器ノ不法ナル使用ヲ非トスル約定ニ對シテハ全幅ノ支持ヲ與ヘムトスルモノナリ

(中譯文)

STATEMENT BY THE JAPANESE DELEGATION ON THE QUESTION OF THE SUBMARINE,
AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION, FEBRUARY 14th, 1930.

It has to-day been the privilege of all of us here to listen to the very enlightening statement on the question of submarines. I can fully sympathize with the high humanitarian motives that are animating the interesting idea of totally abolishing this particular category of warfare. I am one of those who deem it most desirable that, if war must be fought, its destructive power should be minimized; innocent lives be spared and valuable wealth be conserved. I am most emphatically opposed to the unlimited submarine warfare as witnessed during the World War.

But, in one respect, I have to differ with some of the propositions put forward to-day by some of my esteemed colleagues. The merits of a submarine are to be judged, not by what she does but by what she is. It is not a ruthless weapon to be condemned in contradistinction to the surface craft. For that matter, what weapons of war cannot be put to the merciless use of victimising lives and property to no purpose?

Let us take another obvious instance. The flying machines are being developed day by day and are adding so much to the progress of peaceful communication. But at the same time, they are proving to be formidable weapons, and if abused, would offer menace to defenceless lives and property even more atrociously than submarines themselves. They have, in a sense, a wider range of action. They can, if so willed, play havoc not only at sea but on land. Nothing can more clearly show the truth that a sword will cut both ways.

A submarine has its proper legitimate uses. It is an appropriate medium of defence as a scout and an instrument to ward off an enemy attack in the adjacent waters of a country. Japan, consisting as she does of so many islands scattered so widely on the sea extending from the tropical to the frigid zones, sees in such kind of arm a convenient and adequate means to provide for her national defence. With this comparatively inexpensive warfare she can contrive to look after her extensive waterways and vulnerable points. Japan desired to retain submarines solely for these purposes.

As to the necessity to put an end once for all to the recurrence of the appalling experiences of the world war, Japan heartily associates herself to the proposal, which is apparently in the minds of many of my Colleagues, to submit this category of arms to a strict circumscription of law. It was Japan's wish that this measure should early be adopted and she not only signed the submarine treaty agreed upon at the Washington Conference, but soon ratified the same. She wishes most ardently that the present Conference will revive that question and will succeed in finding out a proper and effective formula much more satisfactory in its conception, so that all Powers represented at this table can unite in making it operative in no distant future. Japan is second to none to give her full support to an undertaking to outlaw the illegitimate use of a legitimate and defensive agency of war.

(41) 昭和五年二月十三日倫敦海軍會議ニ於ケル帝國全權ノ

態度ニ關スル聲明書 (前記(一)ノ(10)ト同)

(42) 昭和五年二月二十五日日本協會晚餐會ニ於ケル若槻全權演説

余ハ今夕ノ御寵招ヲ感謝スル前ニ日本協會會長カ本夕此盛宴ヲ設ケ余等一行ヲシテ多數ノ名士諸君ト相會スルノ機會ヲ與ヘラレタル御厚配ニ付テ先ツ以テ深ク感謝セサルヲ得ス勿論本夕御出席ノ名士諸君中ニハ余等ノ一行ト舊知ノ方々鮮ナカラサルヘク本夕ノ宴會ハ之カ爲メ一層ノ歡ヲ増スモノナリ

又余ハ海軍大臣「アレキサンダー」氏カ我「デレゲーション」ノ爲メ乾杯ノ勞ヲ執ラレタルヲ多トスルモノニシテ其ノ有益ナル御挨拶及御懇情殊ニ過分ナル贊辭ヲ賜リタルコトニ對シ「デレゲーション」ヲ代表シ謝意ヲ表スルハ余ノ欣幸トスル所ナリ

英國及日本カ友交ノ國タルコト寧ロ最モ親密ナル關係ニ在ル國タルコトハ敢テ啗々ヲ要セサル所ナリ然レトモ此ノ平凡ナル事實ニ言及スルトキ吾人ハ貴國カ近代ノ日本海軍ノ建設ニ大ナル貢獻ヲナサレタルコト竝此ノ二海國カ外交及國際事件ニ關シ相提携シテ善處シタル多事ナリシ往年ヲ追憶スルヲ禁スル能ハサルモノナリ兩國ハ共ニ極東ノ安定ヲ謀リ又共ニ同方面ノ平和ノ保持ニ努メ以テ一般世界平和ノ維持ニ貢獻シタルコト世界ノ記憶スル所ナリ

而モ二國ノ迫リタル途ハ必スシモ坦々タル低道ニ非サリシナリ障害、試練、困難到ル所ニ之ニ遭逢シタリト雖二國民ハ之ニ屈スルコトナク相互ニ與國ノ寄與ニ信頼ヲ置キ協同能ク其事ニ當レリ此ノ如キ公會ノ席上ニ於テハ個人的追懷ヲ差控フルノ相當ナルコトハ余ノ知ラサル所ニアラサルモ今ヲ去ル約二十年前當地ニ於テ余ノ受ケタル感銘ヲ茲ニ一言スルコト丈ケハ諸君ノ寛容ヲ願ハサルヲ得ス

當時余ハ日本政府ノ財政委員トシテ約一年間當地ニ駐在シタリシカ時宛モ我國ノ運命ヲ賭シタル帝政露國トノ大戰直後ニシテ右大戰ヲ通シ英國ハ日本ノ忠實ナル盟邦トシテ其ノ偉大ナル勢力ヲ我國ノ爲ニ致サレタリシカ余ノ滯在中ニ於テモ英國國民ハ日本ニ對シテ常ニ淪ラサル好意ト支持トヲ有セラレ余ハ喜悅ト感謝トヲ以テ親シク之ヲ目撃シツツアリタリ

英國ト斯カル關係ニ立ツ日本カ世界大戰中英國竝其ノ同盟及聯合諸國ニ寄與シタルハ茲ニ申上クル迄モ無ク我海軍ハ濠洲及新西蘭ヨリ各戰線ニ赴ク戰士ヲ載セタル運送船ヲ護送シ又地中海ニ於ケル交通ノ確保ニ任シタリ困難カ友情ヲ作ルノ源泉ナリトセハ日英兩國カ相共ニ嘗メタル艱難カ二國ノ友情及理解ヲ一層深カラシメタルハ疑ノ餘地無キ所ナリ

世界大戰後國際關係ハ一ノ新ナル指導精神ニ支配セラルルニ至リ數國間ノ協商又ハ同盟ヲ以テ平和保持ノ最良方法ト爲セル時代ハ漸次過キ去ラントスルカ如キ形勢ヲ呈スルニ至レリ

悲慘ナリシ世界戰爭ノ後ヲ承ケシ新時代ハ平和、人道及文明ノ爲ニスル國際協同ヲ基礎トスル新ナル信念ト新ナル秩序トヲ要求スルコトトナレリ此新精神ニ則リ日英兩國ハ千九百二十一年ノ華府會議ニ於テ極東平和保持ニ資セルコト二十年ニ及ヘル同盟ヲ終止セシムルコトニ合意シ之ニ代ユルニ太平洋方面ニ生スルコトアルヘキ問題ニ關シ國際融和確立ノ爲日英ノ外佛國及米國トモ協力セムコトヲ協定シタリ

余ハ新ラシキ世界ノ國際關係カ新ラシキ精神ト理想トヲ汲ミ入レ居ルコトヲ前ニ述ヘタルカ今次海軍會議ノ此處ニ開催セラレタルモ右新精神ニ基クモノニ外ナラスト信ス吾人ハ此精神ニ依リ海軍ナル一ノ機關ヲ規律制限セムト試ミツツアルモノナルカ右機關タルヤ各國民ノ國防ニ關スル信念ヨリ發生シ來リタルモノナルカ故ニ之カ制限縮減事業ハ極メテ困難ナルヲ免レス本會議カ慎重、勤勉其審議ヲ續ケ居ルモ亦右ノ事情ニ因ルモノナリ

然レトモ余ハ海軍大臣閣下ト同シク會議ノ前途ヲ樂觀視スルモノナリ余及余ノ同僚ハ英國代表部各位ノ懇切ニシテ活動ナル態度ニ感動シ之ト共ニ事ニ當ルヲ大ナル喜ヒトス

英國代表部カ吾人ヲ了解シ、吾人ノ地位ニ考量ヲ加ヘ居ラルルハ吾人ノ深ク満足トスル處ナリ余ハ會議ノ成功スヘキヲ確信ス

海軍大臣閣下ハ日本カ條約上ノ義務ニ忠實ナルコトヲ述ヘラレタルカ忠實ハ實ニ武士道ノ眞髓ナリ我々日本人ハ其ノ名譽ヲカケタル一言ヲ以テ生命ヨリ重シトスルモノナリ日本ハ輕々ニ約ヲ爲ササルモ一旦之ヲ爲サムカ最後迄之ヲ遵守スルモノナリ

終リニ臨ミ更メテ今夕ノ御歡待ニ對シ深ク感謝ノ意ヲ表セントス

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(大講文)

MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI'S SPEECH AT THE JAPAN SOCIETY DINNER AT THE
MAYFAIR HOTEL ON TUESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 25th 1930, 7.30 p.m.

In accepting the honour and hospitality you have extended to us, it is my genuine pleasure first of all to thank you, the Chairman and members of the Japan Society, for the very great thoughtfulness which has prompted you to arrange this delightful gathering to give us an opportunity to meet so many of the prominent personages of London who are interested in Japan and in the preservation and promotion of the mutual friendliness which has long existed between our two countries. Some of us have in years past enjoyed the privilege of knowing some, perhaps many, of you who are here this evening, which makes this occasion all the more congenial and pleasant.

I am equally conscious of our obligation¹ to the First Lord of Admiralty, the Right Honourable Mr. A. V. Alexander, who has so kindly proposed the toast of the Japanese Delegation, and it is my agreeable duty on behalf of our Delegation to thank him for the thoughtful words he has said and the friendly sentiment he has expressed, and, I should not omit, for the very flattering personal compliments that we scarcely deserve.

It may seem trite to say that Great Britain and Japan have been good friends—that they have been on the best of terms. Yet this commonplace statement awakens in our bosoms a grateful memory of what England has done in helping us to build up our modern navy, as well as, the memory of those eventful years, when the two Sea Powers journeyed hand-in-hand on the road of diplomacy and of world affairs. Together they undertook to maintain the stability of the Far East, and together they strove to keep peace in that part of the world and thus contributed towards the preservation of the peace of the world at large. The road they had to follow were not always smooth, much less strewn with roses. More often than not they were rough and untried; more often than not, they were rank with thistles and hedged with thorny growths. And yet through all the obstacles, through all the trials and difficulties, the two nations were in perfect harmony, each appreciating the part played by the other.

I know that it is not a good taste to indulge in personal reminiscence. But I cannot resist the temptation of telling you what a mingled feeling of pride and appreciation stirred within me when I was in London some twenty years ago. I was then stationed here for one year as a financial representative of our Government, and it was my privilege to see with my own eyes demonstrations of the friendliness and good will of the British people towards my country. Those were the memorable years which followed our titanic struggle with Tsarist Russia upon the outcome of which seemed to hinge our very destiny. Throughout the great conflict Great Britain stood firmly by us, and threw its vast influence on our side of the scale. And it was in the wake of that historic war that I came to London and found to my delight and gratification continued British sympathy for us and continued British support for the cause for which we had gone to war.

During the world war Japan naturally aligned herself with Great Britain and her allies and associates, and it was the privilege of our navy to convoy the transports carrying soldiers from Australia and New Zealand to the various fronts, and to patrol the Mediterranean Sea to keep open the lanes of communication in those waters. If it is true that adversity makes friendship it certainly is true that the difficulties and tribulations England and Japan faced together have made them the better friend and made them sympathize with each other all the more deeply.

The end of the world war found a new spirit guiding the course of international relations. The age seemed to have passed when ententes and alliances had been considered the best available means of maintaining peace. The new

age—the age which dawned upon the ruins of the world war demanded the new conception, a new order based upon world cooperation in the interest of peace, humanity and civilization. In consonance with this new spirit Great Britain and Japan agreed at the Washington Conference of 1921 to terminate the alliance which had for twenty years served the purpose of preserving the peace of the Orient, and substituted for the time—honoured instrument a new agreement by which they were glad to associate themselves with France and the United States of America in the task of establishing international harmony and concord in regard to certain of the problems which might arise in the regions of the Pacific.

I have said that a new spirit, a new idea, has been injected into the international relations of the new world. It is in conformity with this new spirit that the naval conference has been called here. We are trying to apply this new spirit to the regulation and restriction of an institution as old as humanity itself. That is why the task is so difficult. That is why the conference is proceeding so cautiously and so laboriously.

But I share the optimistic hope of the First Lord of Admiralty. My colleagues and I have been struck by the charm and vivacity of the members of the British Delegation. It is a great pleasure to work with them. The knowledge that they understand us, that they appreciate our position is a source of infinite satisfaction to us. I am confident that the conference will succeed. The First Lord of Admiralty has spoken of Japan's loyalty to treaty obligations. Loyalty is the very quintessence of Bushido. To us Japanese a word of honour is more precious than life. Japan will not lightly make a pledge; but once it is made you may be sure that she will keep it to the end.

In concluding these remarks, it is my pleasure once again to thank you for the delightful and profitable evening you have allowed us to spend with you.

(43) 昭和五年四月二日公表帝國全權部聲明

STATEMENT BY THE JAPANESE DELEGATION ISSUED AT
10 p.m. ON APRIL 2nd, 1930.

The Japanese Delegation has transmitted to the Government the compromise plan emerging from the informal conversations between the American, British and Japanese Delegations and has asked for their instructions. The reply from Tokio arrived on April 1st and at a meeting of the three Delegations at St. James' Palace at 3.15 p.m. on April 2nd, Mr. Reijiro Wakatsuki made a statement that the Japanese Government had accepted the plan with a few reservations to which sincere consideration by the American and British Delegations was requested. As to the details of such reservations further exchange of views would be made between the three Delegations tomorrow.

It is a fact that the subject matter of the negotiations being related to the question of national defence there have been difficulties in arriving at an understanding between the three Delegations but the Japanese Government have always approached the matter with a firm resolve to cooperate with the participating Powers to make the Conference a success out of their sincere desire to promote international peace and goodwill. And in view of the fact that the present plan has grown out of the spirit of accommodation and conciliation of the representatives of the Powers concerned, the Japanese Government have come to agree to make it the basis of the treaty to be concluded. In doing so the Japanese Government have also in mind the fact that the treaty to be concluded will be in force up to the end of 1936 and that as to the arrangement thereafter all nations concerned will be free to claim all that they deem necessary and Japan will naturally be in a position to maintain the claim which she considers to be necessary from the point of view of national defence as heretofore.

(右邦文)

日英米三國間會談ノ結果到達シタル妥協案ニ關シ日本全權ハ之ヲ本國政府ニ傳達シ其ノ訓令ヲ求メツツアリタル處四月一日、本國政府ヨリ回訓ニ接シタルヲ以テ二日午後三時十五分ヨリ「セント、ジュームス」宮殿ニ於テ三國全權會合ノ席ニ於テ若槻全權ヨリ日本政府ハ英米ノ切實ナル考慮ヲ求ムル一二ノ留保ヲ以テ該妥協案ヲ承諾スル旨ヲ披露セリ右留保ノ細目ニ關シテハ明日更ニ英米全權ト協議ヲ重ヌル答ナリ

今回會議ノ目的ハ事國防ノ問題ニ觸レ從テ三國間ノ協議甚タ困難ナリシハ事實ナルモ日本政府ハ特ニ國際間ニ平和ト親善トヲ増進スルノ目的ヲ以テ終始能フ限リ今回會議ノ成功ニ協力スルノ鞏固ナル決心ヲ以テ協商ニ當リ來レリ而シテ今回ノ協定案カ關係各國代表者ノ交讓協調ノ精神ニ依リ成立シタルモノナルニ願ミ且今回ノ協定ハ一九三六年末迄效力ヲ有スルノミニシテ其以後ノコトニ關シテハ各國共ニ自由ノ立場ニ立チテ其必要ト認ムル處ヲ主張スルコトヲ得ヘク日本モ亦勿論國防上必要トスル所ハ從來主張シタル通り之ヲ維持スル地位ニ在ルコトヲ考ヘ本協定案ヲ以テ條約ノ基礎トスルコト同意シタルモノナリ

(44) 昭和五年四月二十二日第六回總會ニ於ケル若槻全權演說

余ハ茲ニ日本全權ヲ代表シ議長カ常ニ其ノ卓拔ナル識見ト懇情ト忍耐トヲ以テ會議ヲ指導セラレ以テ複雜多岐ナル多數問題ニ關シ圓滿ナル解決ヲ齎ラサレタル努力ニ對シ滿腔ノ謝意ヲ表セントスルモノナリ。諸外國同僚ノ忠實ナル協力ト誠實ナル友誼トハ余ノ感謝シテ措カサル所ナリ。吾人ノ滯在中倫敦市民ヨリ受ケタル好遇殊ニ英國政府カ今次會議ノ召集ヲ發議セラレタル上ニ吾人ノ任務遂行ニ付多大ノ便宜ヲ與ヘラレタルハ余ノ感銘ニ堪ヘサル所ナリ

日本カ今回ノ會議ニ於テ戰爭ノ永久絶滅ヲ基調トセル不戰條約ノ崇高ナル精神ニ則リ、海軍軍備ノ縮減ニ關スル協定ノ締結ニヨリ、各國間ニ和平友好ノ關係ヲ確立スルノ最モ緊要ナルヲ思ヒ、全力ヲ盡シテ今回會議ノ成功ニ力メタルコトヲ茲ニ述フルハ、余ノ欣幸トスル所ナリ

然レトモ軍備制限ニ關スル協定ノ締結ニ當ツテハ國防ノ安全ヲ充分ニ考量セサルヘカラサルヲ論ヲ待タス、帝國政府ノ方針ハ常ニ國土ヲ防衛シ極東ニ於ケル一般平和維持ノ責務ヲ遂行スルニ足ルヘキ最小限度ノ海軍力ヲ保持スルヲ主眼トセルモノニシテ、日本海軍ハ如何ナル意味ニ於テモ他國民ニ懸念ヲ與フルカ如キモノニアラサルコトハ會議内外ニ於テ余ノ既ニ屢々述ヘタル所ナリ

此ノ如キ帝國ノ態度ハ將來ト雖モ何等異ルコトナカルヘク從テ若シ今回ノ條約ニシテ將來久シキニ互ル事態ヲ律セントスルモノナルニ於テハ日本國民ハ其國防ニ關シ不安ノ念ヲ懷クコト無キヲ保シ難キモ現協定ハ一九三六年迄ノ間關係各國ヲ拘束スルニ止リ爾後各國ノ保有スヘキ海軍力ニ至ツテハ次回會議ニ於テ更メテ考慮セララルヘキ趣旨ナルニ鑑ミ、日本ハ此種條約ノ締結カ必然國民ノ安全感ヲ鞏固ナラシムヘシトノ確信ニ基キ、且熱烈ナル平和促進ノ希望ト交讓妥協ノ精神ヨリシテ欣然本條約ニ承認ヲ與ヘタル次第ナリ。今回協定セラレタル我カ兵力量、特ニ八吋巡洋艦ノ保有量及「オブション」

ノ權利行使ノ場合ニ於ケル保有總噸數ハ本條約有効期間後何等制限ヲ受クルモノニ非スシテ本條約ノ規定ハ次回會議ニ於ケル我國ノ立場ヲ何等拘束スヘキモノニアラサルコト關係各國間ニ明瞭ナル諒解アリタルハ帝國政府ノ重要視スル所ナリ余ハ茲ニ今一言加フル所アラントス、今ヤ未曾有ノ大事業成就セラレ其結果人類史上初メテ一切ノ重要ナル軍艦力制限ノ下ニ置カルルコトトナリタルナリ即チ華府ニテ時カレタルモノカ倫敦ニ於テ收穫セラルルニ至リタルモノナリ本條約カ平和ト人類進歩トノ途上ニ於ケル不滅ノ歴史的記念塔タルヘキハ疑ヲ容レサル所ナリ

本條約ハ實ニ參加各國ニヨリ發揮セラレタル率直友好ナル協力ノ精神ヲ體現スルモノニシテ之ニ依リ有害ナル競争ト猜疑トヲ絶滅スルコトトナルヘシ余ハ本條約カ國際ノ協調親善ヲ増進シ依テ以テ今後軍備縮少ノ偉業ヲ促進スヘキ良好ナル雰囲気ヲ各國間ニ醸成スヘキモノナルコトヲ確信スルモノナリ

(右譯文)

SPEECH OF MR. REIJIRO WAKATSUKI AT THE FINAL PLENARY MEETING OF THE
LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE, APRIL 22nd, 1930.

On behalf of the Japanese Delegation, I wish to thank, first of all, the Chairman most heartily for his splendid statesmanship, kindness and forbearance with which he has always steered the deliberations of the Conference and which have been most essential in bringing about the successful solution of so many complicated questions. I thank our foreign colleagues for their earnest and loyal co-operation and for their true friendship. Our thanks are further due to the people of London of whose hospitality we have been the fortunate recipients during our stay, and, last but not least, to His Britannic Majesty's Government, once again, for its initiative in calling this Conference and for its many courtesies which have so greatly facilitated our labours.

At this juncture, I am happy to say that, eager to carry out the noble spirit embodied in the Pact of Paris which has established for all time the principle of doing away with war, and realizing the surpassing importance of consolidating peaceful and friendly relationships among nations by concluding an agreement on the limitation and reduction of naval armament, Japan has done, and has been only too glad to do, all within her power at the Conference about to be adjourned.

Needless to say, it is important that in an agreement of disarmament, the matter of national safety should be fully taken into consideration. As I had several opportunities to state in and out of the Conference, it has always been the policy of the Japanese Government to maintain a minimum naval strength sufficient for the defensive purposes and for fulfilling her obligations in the maintenance of general peace in the Far East—a strength that would in no sense arouse apprehensions in the mind of other nations.

Such has been, and will always be our national attitude. If, therefore, the present Treaty were to regulate the situation for too many years to come, the Japanese people might entertain feelings of insecurity as to their national defence. But, in view of the fact that the present agreement is binding upon the Powers concerned for a limited duration until 1936 and the naval strengths to be held by the Powers thereafter are to be reconsidered at the next Conference, Japan, from her ardent desire to see the cause of peace promoted, from her conviction that the conclusion of a Treaty like the present will naturally strengthen the sense of national safety, and in the spirit of accommodation and harmony, has gladly agreed to the present Treaty. The Japanese Government, therefore, considers it important that, while the naval strength of Japan as now agreed upon, especially in cruisers carrying 8-inch guns and in the tonnage in case the right of option is exercised, is not limited beyond the life of the present Treaty, it has been explicitly understood among the signatory Powers that its stipulations will be entirely without prejudice to our attitude at the Conference to follow.

I wish now to add just one more word. A great and unprecedented thing has been accomplished, in that, for the first time in human history, all important fighting vessels have been placed under restriction. What was sown in Washington has been reaped in London. There is no doubt but that the present Treaty will prove to be a historic and lasting monument on the path of peace and human progress. Embodying as it does, the spirit of frank and friendly co-

operation so admirably demonstrated by the participating Powers, it will put an end to damaging competition and suspicions, and by reinforcing international accord and comradeship, will, I am convinced, create a favourable atmosphere in which hereafter all Powers may meet further to promote the tremendous task of disarmament.

(45) 昭和五年六月十七日若槻全權歸朝放送演說

「ロンドン」ヨリ歸朝ノ途次、帝國ノ領土ニ第一ノ歩ミヲ着ケマシタルコノ神戸埠頭ニ於テ我カ同胞諸君ニ向ツテ挨拶スルノ機會ヲ得マシタルノハ私ノ最モ仕合セトスルコロデアリマス。「ロンドン」海軍會議ノ目的ハ造艦競争ヲ廢メテ世界ノ平和ヲ増進シ、國民ノ負擔ヲ輕減セントスルニアルノデアリマス故ニ、コノ趣旨ハ何人モ異論ノアルヘキ所ヲハナカロウト存シマス、併シナカラ事國家ノ存立及ヒ安全ヲ保障スヘキ國防ニ關係シテアリマス故ニ最モ慎重ナル注意ヲ以テ之カ交渉審議ニ當ランケレハナラス事ハ申ス迄モナイコトアルノデアリマス。帝國政府カ「ロンドン」海軍會議ニ對スル招請ヲ承諾セラレテカラ以來、國論ハ會議ノ成功ヲ望ムト共ニ是非帝國ノ主張ヲ貫徹シテモライタイトイフ事ニ就テ熱心ニ其ノ希望ヲ表示セラレタノデアリマス

吾々全權委員カ彼ノ地ニ於テ交渉シツツアリシ間ニ於テ國民ハ種々ノ方法ニヨツテ吾々ニ聲援ヲ與ヘラレ、マタ各方面ヨリ絶エス激勵ノ言葉ヲワレワレニ寄セラレタノデアリマス

吾々ハ夙ニソノ任務ノ重大ナル事ヲ自覺シテアリマシテ、萬誤リナカランコトヲ期シテラツタノデアリマスカ、同胞諸君ノコノ聲援ト激勵トハ全權委員及全權委員ノ下ニアツテ會議ノ事務ニ關係致シマシタル者ヲシテ一段奮勵ノ念ヲ増サシメテ、心身ノ疲勞ノ如キハ何等意トセサルニ至ラシメタノテアルノデアリマス

此ノ場合私ハ尙一言ヲ附ケ加ヘタイト思フノデアリマス。私カ「ロンドン」滯在中同胞諸君ヨリ寄セラレマシタル同情及ヒ激勵ニ對シテハ私ハ衷心ヨリ感謝措ク能ハサルモノデアリマスカ、特ニ小學校ニ在學セラレル程度ノ少年諸君ヨリ數百通、恐ラクハ一千通以上ラアツタロウト存シマス、書面ヲ以テ同情激勵ノ言葉ヲ寄セラレマシタル時ハ私ハ感激シテ自ラ涙ヲ催スヲ禁スルコトカ出來ナカツタノデアリマス。小學校在學ノ小國民ニ至ルマテ世界平和ノ維持増進トイフカ如キ崇

高ナル事業ヲ理解セラルルト共ニ帝國ノ國防ニツイテ深キ關心ヲ有セラレル事ヲ見ル時ニ吾々全權委員タルモノ何トシテ感奮努力セスシテ居ラルヘキヤトイフ信念ヲ一段高クシタ次第ナルノテアリマス。會議ノ結果ハ條約文トシテ世間ニ公ケニサレツツアルノテアリマスカラシテ、私ハ茲ニ改メテ之ヲ説明ハ致シマセン。又コノ條約ノ成否如何ニヨツテ軍事上、外交上、財政上、經濟上日本ノ受クヘキ影響ノ如何ナルモノテアルカトイフ事ニ就テモ今日ハ私ハ意見ヲ述ヘナイノテアリマス。世間ニハコノ協定ニツイテ私共ト意見ヲ同シクセナイ人カ尠カラスアルヤウニ思ハルルノテアリマス私ハ當初政府ヨリワレワレニ與ヘラレマシタル訓令ノ趣旨精神ハ大體之ヲ失ハナカツタモノト信シテキルノテアリマス。タタ協定ノ結果カ當初政府ヨリ吾々ニ與ヘラレマシタル訓令ソノ儘テナイトイフ事柄ハ私ハ遺憾トスル所テアリマスカ、コレハ全ク私ノ微力短才ノ致ストコロテアリマシテ、國民ニ對シテ深ク慙愧ニ堪ヘナイトコロテアリマス。茲ニ帝國領土ニ上陸致シマシタル第一ノ機會ニオイテ同胞諸君ニ向ツテソノ御同情ト御聲援ニ對シ深厚ナル感謝ノ意ヲ表スル事ハ私ノ義務テアルト存シマス故ニコノ挨拶ヲ致ス次第デアリマス

(46) 昭和五年九月十五日國際聯盟第十一回總會ニ於ケル

松平全權ノ演說

It is my privilege to make a few remarks on behalf of the Japanese Delegation upon some of the important problems which confront the League of Nations.

It hardly seems necessary for me to dwell in detail upon the sincere attitude of the Japanese Government in respect of the question of disarmament which has been stated on several occasions in the past.

Our attitude regarding naval disarmament has been clearly demonstrated in practice since the Washington Conference by our loyal cooperation with other nations. At the last Assembly, my predecessor Mr. Adachi declared our warm sympathy with the Anglo-American conversations concerning this question which were then in progress and expressed the hope that those conversations would serve to facilitate the work of general disarmament.

It is a source of great satisfaction to us, that, in part, this hope has been realized. The London Naval Conference has had as its sequel the London Treaty which was signed on April 22nd last after three months of strenuous exertion, by virtue of mutual concessions and friendly collaboration on the part of the interested Powers.

The fact that the term of the Treaty is short may give rise to a feeling of uncertainty with regard to its effectiveness. But the shortness of the term rendered it possible for the Powers interested to sign the Treaty. This, however, does not imply our disinclination to continue the work of disarmament. On the contrary the provisions of that Treaty anticipate the convening of a future conference, at which it would be endeavoured to frame a new agreement in order more effectively to achieve a reduction of naval armaments. We may say that the London Treaty combined with the Washington Treaty having succeeded in limiting all categories of warships, laid the foundation for a complete naval agreement in the future.

From the remarkable speech of Monsieur Briand last Thursday, we are happy to be able to assume that the day may not be very far off when the London Treaty will be widened and strengthened in its effect, thus contributing to the progress of the noble task of general disarmament undertaken by the League of Nations.

Let me say a few words at this juncture regarding the actual state of the land forces of Japan.

My Government have so far on their own initiative effected a substantial reduction of their military forces. Before the World War, our land forces consisted of 21 divisions besides independent formations. The Japanese Government proceeded in 1922 to reduce the effectives of each division and further in 1925 to suppress four divisions. In consequence, our military strength now consists of seventeen divisions representing about 65% of the pre-war formations.

Now that the question of naval disarmament has entered on a phase of practical solution, together with the fact that various problems regarding land and aerial disarmament have been studied at length by the Preparatory Commission of Disarmament, my country awaits in a spirit of good will the moment in the near future when the time will be ripe to envisage, under the auspices of the League of Nations, the whole problem of disarmament in all its branches.

第二部 各國政府及全權ノ公表文、聲明並覺書

(1) 昭和四年六月十六日「フ・レンス」ニ於ケル「ドーゼ」「マクドナルド」

會談ニ關スル聲明

COMMUNIQUE

We have had a conversation regarding the present position of the question of naval disarmament as between the United States and Great Britain. It has been informal and general and most satisfactory. His Excellency proposes to refer to this subjects at the Pilgrims' Dinner on Tuesday night, and I shall do the same almost at the same time at Lossiemouth. This is intended to be the beginning of the negotiations. We both wish to make it clear that the other Naval Powers are expected to cooperate in these negotiations, upon the successful consummation of which the peace of the whole world must depend.