

「ローマ」 千九百二十八年十月六日（第六年）

第三項 英佛協定ノ後始末

上述ノ如ク英佛協定ハ米伊兩國ノ拒絶スル所トナリタルヲ以テ自然消滅ノ外ナキ運命ニアリタル處本協定ノ内容ハ之ヲ外部ニ發表セス只日、米、伊ノ關係國政府ニ内報スルニ止メタルヲ以テ其ノ内容ニ關シ種々ノ風説ヲ生シ殊ニ米國ニ於テハ不安疑惑ノ念最モ甚タシク（註）九月二十一日「ハースト」系諸新聞紙ニ一齊ニ發表セラレタル本協定ニ關スル佛國外務省ヨリ在外佛國外交使節ニ發送セル所謂極秘文書ナルモノノ摘發の記事ノ如キ米國政界及外交關係方面ニ異常ナル「センセーシオン」ヲ惹起シ本協定カ極端ナル祕密外交ノ所産ナルコトヲ非難スル聲米國ハ勿論英國内ニ於テモ漸ク旺トナリタルヲ以テ英佛兩國政府ハ協議ノ末兩國間往復公文書ヲ公表スルコトナリタリ其後十一月六日英國上院ニ於テ本問題ニ關スル論議中一議員ヨリ英佛協定ハ死物トナリ事態ハ協定前ノ狀況ニ復シタルモノナリヤ將又當事國間ニ何等義務ノ殘存スル次第ナリヤトノ質問アリタル處ニ對シ「ソールズベリー」卿ハ同協定ハ全ク終焉ヲ告ケタルモノナリト答辯シタルコトアリ從テ七月二十日附公文ニ依レハ本協定カ關係國ニ依リテ受諾セラレサル場合ニ於テモ海軍制限實現ノ爲共同政策ヲ執ル爲相互ニ協調スルノ重要ナル義務アルコト依然タルヘシトノ了解存シ居タルニモ拘ラス其後英佛間ニ何等ノ話合モナク兩國共ニ此種協定ハ今後日、英、米、佛、伊ノ五國間ニ同時ニ協議スルニ非サレハ成功セストノ意見トナリタルモノノ如シ

（註）英佛協定カ米國ニ於テ極度ニ其ノ對英反感ヲ刺戟シ一度下火トナリ居タル海軍擴張熱ヲ煽リ遂ニ海軍建造法成立ノ主要ナル素因ノ一トナリシコトハ前節所述ノ通ナリ

第三節 「ジュネーヴ」會議後ニ於ケル英國政府ノ對海軍軍縮態度

第一項 英國政府ノ主力艦制限問題提議

「ジュネーヴ」會議後暫ク英國政府ハ海軍軍備制限問題ニ關シ其ノ態度ヲ表明スル所ナカリシカ其後情勢ノ變移ニ伴ヒ隨時其ノ態度ヲ表明スルニ至リタリ其ノ第一ハ千九百二十八年（昭和三年）三月第五回軍縮準備委員會ニ於ケル主力艦制限問題ニ關スル提議、第二ハ英佛海軍協定ノ妥結、第三ハ米國海軍建造法成立後ニ於ケル在米英國大使「ハワード」ノ聲明ナリ右ノ中第二ニ付テハ既ニ前節ニ於テ記述スルアリタルカ故ニ茲ニ第一及第三ニ付記述スヘシ

千九百二十八年二月米國ニ於テ海軍擴張問題ニ關スル論議最モ旺ナリシ折柄同月二十八日在本邦英國代理大使ハ出淵外務次官ヲ來訪シ同政府ニ於テハ第五回軍縮準備委員會ニ主力艦問題ヲ提起セントスル意向ナルカ米國大統領選舉切迫セルニ鑑ミ同政府ハ之ニ依リ「ワシントン」條約ヲ即時改訂スルカ如キ最終的決定ヲ期待セス只一般的軍備縮少ニ大ナル貢獻ヲ爲スモノトシテ概括的ノ提案ヲ爲サムトスルニ過キサル意向ナルコト及「ワシントン」條約締約國代表者カ「ジュネーヴ」ニ會合スル機會ヲ利用シ條約第二十一條第二項ニ依ル會議ヲ「ジュネーヴ」三國會議ニ於テ考慮セラレタル如ク繰上ケ開催スル期日ヲ確定セン爲協定シ且英國提案ノ要旨ニ付非公式意見ノ交換ヲ爲サンコトヲ希望スルニ付（右會議ハ千九百二十八年秋若ハ遅クトモ千九百二十九年春開催スヘシトノ英國政府ノ意向ナリ）日本政府ニ於テ在「ジュネーヴ」英國代表ヲ支援シ右目的ヲ達成セシムル様日本代表ニ訓令アリタキ旨ヲ記載セル「エイド、メモアール」ヲ手交シタリ然ルニ越テ三月二日同代理大使ハ右「エイド、メモアール」ヲ取消シ之ニ代フルニ公文ヲ以テ單ニ英國政府ハ來ルヘキ軍備縮少會議準備委員會ニ主力艦問題ヲ提起スルノ意向ナル旨通報シ來リタリ

英國政府カ最初突如トシテ前記ノ如キ提議ヲ爲シ乍ラ急遽之ヲ撤回シ單ニ右ノ如キ通告ニ止メタル真意及事情ニ付テハ其ノ真相ヲ把握スルコト頗ル困難ナルモ當時在米松平大使カ英國大使ヨリ聞ク所ニ依レハ本件ハ佛國政府宛公文カ漏洩シタル爲米國側ノ思惑ヲ顧慮シ之ヲ糊塗センカ爲ニナサレタルモノニアラスヤト思ハレ又英國政府ノ意向ハ「ジュネーヴ」ニ於ケル準備委員會ニ於テ主力艦噸數引下ケ及艦齡延長カ一般的軍備制限上重要ナル結果ヲ及ホスヘキコトヲ説明セントスル迄ニテ強テ之ニ關スル討議ヲ提起スル心算ニ非ス又「ジュネーヴ」三國會議ノ際三國全權ニ於テ「ワシントン」條約第

二十一條第二項ニ依ル會議ヲ千九百三十一年八月前ニ開催センコトヲ各自國政府ニ進言スヘキコトヲ宣言セルカ右ニ關シ英國政府ハ成ル可ク速ニ右ノ會議ヲ開催スル趣旨ハ希望シ居ルモ會議開催時期ニ付テハ何等申出ツル意思ナキニ拘ラス前記提議ハ此點ニ關シ多少ノ誤解ヲ醸ス虞アリシヲ以テ之ヲ避ケンカ爲前記提議取消ノ舉ニ出テタルモノニアラスヤト觀察セラレタリ尙本件ニ關シ三月四日佛國新聞紙「タン」ハ「ロンドン」電報トシテ英國外務省ハ本件提議ニ關スル米國新聞紙ノ所報ヲ打消シ英國政府ハ軍備制限會議開催ノ期日ニ關シ何等提議シタルコトナキ旨ヲ報シタリ

其後三月二十日軍縮準備委員會席上英國代表「カッペンダン」ハ「ソヴィエト」政府提案ノ軍備撤廢案ニ對スル反對意見ヲ述ヘタル際前顯公文通報ノ通同國政府ハ關係海軍國ニ於テ同意ナルニ於テハ「ワシントン」條約ニ依ル主力艦最大噸數引下及艦齡延長ニ向ヒ更ニ一步ヲ進ムルノ用意アル旨ノ演說ヲ爲シタルカ(註一)更ニ同二十四日(委員會最終日)同代表ハ「ワシントン」條約締約國代表者ニ對シ右演說ノ趣旨ヲ敷衍説明スル意味ノ同文書翰ヲ送レリ右書翰ハ先ツ二十日ノ演說ニ於テ自分ハ三國會議中英國代表カ本件ニ關シ爲セル聲明ニ言及シタルモ右演說ノ性質上多少明確ヲ缺クノ嫌アリシニ付今茲ニ英國提案ノ真意ヲ繰返スヘシト前置シ右提案ハ

第一ニ主力艦ノ最大噸數ヲ三萬五千噸ヨリ三萬噸ニ引下クルコト

第二ニ主力艦備砲ノ口徑ヲ十六吋ヨリ十三吋半ニ引下クルコト

第三ニ現存主力艦ノ艦齡ヲ二十年ヨリ二十六年ニ延長スルコト(「ワシントン」條約代換表ニ基ク締約國ノ權利放棄ヲ含ム)

ニ在リ(尤モ右數字ハ多少ノ伸縮ヲ許ス)而シテ此種協定可能ナリトセハ「ワシントン」條約所定ノ主力艦代換計劃開始前ニ之ヲ實施スル方固ヨリ有益ナルヘシ云々ト述ヘタルモノナリ(註二)

然レトモ右書翰ハ何等關係各國ノ回答ヲ求メ居ラサルノミナラス右書翰發送ノ日第五回軍縮準備委員會ハ閉會トナリタルヲ以テ本件英國政府提案ニ關シテモ各國ハ何等意見ヲ開示スルコトナクシテ止ミタリ

(註一)

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH MADE BY LORD CUSHENDUN AT THE FOURTH MEETING OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

(March 20th, 1928).

Now, as a representative of a Naval Power, I, of course, scrutinise particularly the articles dealing with naval armaments. I am not prepared summarily to reject them; some of them, I think, could obviously not be accepted in their present form, and to the full extent of the Russian proposals, but, without going so far as that, it is quite possible that these articles may be found to contain some valuable suggestions. For example, the British Government has already announced that it is quite prepared, in agreement with other Powers, to agree to the total abolition of submarines. That is one of the proposals in the Soviet Draft. We have declared already that we are quite prepared for that, and I think it is quite likely—though I cannot say definitely—that my Government might agree also to the total abolition of some of the categories of war material which are appended to Article II.

It is surely very unfair, when the hon. delegate for the Soviet Republic comes here and speaks in the very scornful way that he has done of the work hitherto accomplished by the League, to leave out of account altogether the very considerable progress that has been made. I could not help asking myself, when I listened to his words yesterday, whether he has ever heard of the Agreement that was arrived at Washington very shortly after the war. I shall be borne out by representatives of other Powers who took part in that Conference that very considerable progress was made, falling short, of course, of what is now proposed by the Soviet Republics but still, as compared with previous conditions, gratifying progress in the direction of naval disarmament, and even more recently my Government has let it be known that they are quite prepared to carry the Agreement there come to a little further. The enormous ships of modern times known as “Capital Ships” were at Washington agreed to be limited, or, at any rate, it was agreed to prevent a fur-

ther growth of these enormous vessels. The British Government has said that they are quite prepared—in agreement, of course, and only in agreement with the other signatories of the Washington Conference—to take a further step in the direction of reducing the size of these enormously costly and powerful vessels, and also to increase the period which must elapse before they are replaced by new ships, and we are willing to do that at any time when the naval Powers concerned think that the time is opportune for some such move as that.

(附11)

British Delegation,
Hôtel Beau Rivage,
GENEVA.
23rd March, 1928.

My dear Colleague,

You may remember that in a speech which I made last Tuesday in the Preparatory Committee on the scheme of the Soviet Government for immediate and complete disarmament, I was impelled to refer to the great progress in disarmament which had been achieved since the war—notably by the Washington convention. I referred to a statement, which had already been made by the British Delegation at the Naval Conference held in Geneva last year, showing that my Government were prepared, if the other signatories would agree, to carry even further certain of the principles of that Convention, by reducing the maximum displacement of capital ships, and the calibre of their heaviest gun, and by extending the accepted life of vessels of that class.

Having referred in a somewhat incidental way which the character of my speech made unavoidable and in indefinite terms of these proposals, I should like to take this opportunity of reminding you, and my other colleagues representing Powers signatories to the Washington Convention, of their exact purport.

The proposals of my Government are, first, to reduce the size of any battleship to be built in the

future from the present limit of 35,000 tons displacement to something under 30,000 tons; secondly, to reduce the size of guns in battleships from the present limit of 16 inches to 13.5 inches; and thirdly, to extend the accepted life of the existing capital ships from 20 to 26 years—this involving a waiver by the Powers of their full rights under the replacement tables agreed upon at Washington. Such an arrangement would naturally have to provide for some little elasticity on each side of that figure.

It would obviously be of advantage, if such a step were agreed upon, that it should be taken in time to enable it to become effective before the commencement of the capital ship replacement programme which is provided for by the Washington Convention.

Believe me,
My dear Colleague,
Yours very sincerely,
(S.) Cusheundun.

His Excellency
Monsieur Sato,
&c., &c., &c.,

第二項 海軍軍備縮小會議開催方ニ關スル在米英國大使「ハワード」ノ聲明

其後英佛海軍協定案失敗ニ歸シ次テ米國ニ於テ海軍建造法成立スルヤ海軍問題ニ關シ英國政府ハ何等カノ提議ヲ爲スノ舉ニ出ツルニアラスト一般ニ豫想セラレタル處千九百二十九年(昭和四年)二月十五日「ニューヨーク、タイムズ」ハ英佛海軍協定ニ關スル米國ノ對英回答ニ對シ英國政府ハ遠カラス回答ヲ發シ數字上ノ「バリタイ」ヲ棄テ更ニ廣汎ナル範圍ニ於ケル軍縮ニ關スル提議ヲ爲ス模様ナリトノ趣旨ノ「ロンドン」特電ヲ掲ケタリ同日在米英國大使「ハワード」ハ米國海軍建造法成立セル此際遠カラス主要海軍國間ニ海軍制限ノ協定ヲ遂クル爲努力ヲ見ルヘク右建造法ノ巡洋艦十五隻カ實際ニ建造セラルヘキモノトノ想定ノ下ニ商議ヲ行ヒ得ル狀況トナレリ英國ニテ今夏總選舉ヲ行フ關係上本件商議ハ數ケ

月間延期セラルルヤモ測リ難キモ一般ノ傾向ハ早目ニ協議再開ヲ求メ居リ且各國ノ要求ハ「ジュネーヴ」會議當時ニ比シ一層ヨク了解セラレ居ルカ故ニ満足ナル解決ニ達スル見込アル旨ノ聲明書ヲ發シ翌十六日ノ各新聞ハ其ノ全文ヲ掲載セリ（註一）

右「ハワード」大使ノ聲明ニ對シ英國外務省ハ十六日左記要旨ノ「コムミュニケ」ヲ發シテ之ヲ否認セリ

『二月六日下院ニ於テ「チェンバレン」外相カ英米關係及兩國海軍ノ狀況ニ關スル全般ノ問題ニ付英國政府ハ慎重研究中ナリト述ヘテヨリ以來事態ニ何等ノ變化ナシ右研究ハ熱心ニ行ハレタルカ右結了次第先ツ以テ其ノ結果ヲ自治領政府ニ通知シ其ノ意見ヲ聽キ之ヲ考究スヘシ故ニ當分英國政府ハ「コムミュニケーション」ヲ爲シ得ル地位ニアラサルヘシ（註二）』

一方「ハワード」大使ハ十七日ノ新聞紙上ニ十五日ノ聲明ハ本國政府ヲ代表シテ爲セルモノニアラス過般來米國新聞記者ノ要求アリタルニ付同大使ノ私見ヲ述ヘタルニ過キストノ聲明書ヲ發シ本件ハ一段落付キタルカ右「ハワード」大使ノ聲明ハ俄然英米兩國民ノ海軍軍備縮少問題ニ對スル興味ヲ喚起シ惹イテ兩國政府ヲシテ本問題ニ對スル態度ヲ明瞭ナラシムル素因トナリタリ

「ハワード」大使最初ノ聲明ニ關シ十六日及十七日ノ米國諸新聞ハ何レモ論評ヲ加ヘ其ノ中二三ハ右聲明ハ總選舉ヲ控ヘタル保守黨内閣ノ對内政策ニ基クモノナリト看倣セルモ各新聞一般ニ好感情ヲ以テ迎ヘ英國ノ輿論カ米國トノ諒解促進ヲ求メ居ルコトヲ指摘シ總選舉ノ結果如何ヲ問ハス英國ハ過去ノ失敗ヲ償フニ努力スヘシトシ軍縮會議開催ヲ歡迎スルト共ニ協定成立セハ英米關係良好ニ向フヘシト論シタリ

更ニ「ハワード」大使再度ノ聲明ニ對シテモ論評ヲ加フルモノアリ其ノ中「ニューヨーク、タイムズ」ハ英國外務省ノ「コムミュニケ」ト英國大使ノ十五日ノ聲明トノ間ニハ何等抵觸スル所ナシトシ英國カ新大統領ノ就任ヲ待チ商議ヲ開カントスルハ當然ナルカ一方英國總選舉ノ關係モアルニ付商議開始ハ早キヲ可トスルモ多少遅ルルトモ危險ナカルヘク既ニ商議開始ノ端緒モ開カレタルコトナレハ其後ノコトハ追々ニ實現スヘシト論シ「ニューヨーク、ウォールストリート・ジャーナル」ハ「フィラデルフィ

ヤ、インクワイアラー」ハ「ボルチモア、イーヴニング、サン」ハ輕々シク商議ヲ行フハ往年ノ失敗ヲ繰返ス虞アルニ付徐々慎重ニ事ヲ運フヲ可トストノ趣旨ノ論評ヲ掲ケ「ブルックリン、デーリー、イーグル」ハ年内ニ之ヲ實現セシメ得ト認ムヘキ理由アリト述ヘタリ

英國ニ於テモ各新聞其本件ニ關スル論評ヲ掲ケ「テレグラフ」ハ論說ニ於テ「ハワード」大使ハ海軍軍備縮少ノ爲ノ努力ノ再開ハ何レノ點ヨリモ望マシト英國ニ於ケル一致ノ意見ヲ述ヘ米國ノ造船計畫ハ満足ナル協定成立ヲ毫モ妨ケストノ英國側見解ヲ明瞭ニシ尙英國總選舉ノ爲交渉再開ハ數ヶ月遅延スヘキヤモ知レサルコトヲ述ヘ居レルモノナルカ之ヲ以テ直チニ英國政府ヨリ米國政府ニ申入ヲ爲スニ至ルヘシト誤解セラルルヲ防ク爲外務省ノ「コムミュニケ」發表ヲ見タルモノナリト述ヘ兩國識者ノ希望シ且信シ居レルハ海軍國間ノ會議ニ先チ英米カ意見ノ差異ノ調節ニ達セムコト之ナリ米國新大統領カ交渉再開ヲ希望シ居レルコト「クーリッジ」ニ劣ラストスルノ理由アリ又英國總選舉ノ結果如何ニ依リ交渉再開ヲ希望スル輿論ノ壓力ハ弱メラレサルヘシ英米ハ千九百二十七年ノ經驗ニ依リ茲ニ豫備的協議ニ於テ充分ノ用意ヲ爲スニ非サレハ會議ハ失敗ニ終ルヘキコトヲ學ヘリ吾人ハ英米ハ其ノ相互ノ差異ヲ以テシテモ尙其ノ大差アル海軍ノ必要ヲ調和シ且他ノ海軍國ニモ受諾セラルルノ案ヲ案出スルコト不可能ナリト考フルコト能ハスト論セリ尙同紙ハ外交通信員ノ記事ニ於テ外務省「コムミュニケ」ノ不適當ナル言辭ニ依リ「ハワード」ノ言ハ英國政府ノ政策ト背馳スルモノアルヤニ見ユルモ實質上何等ノ差異ナク唯一ノ相異ハ其ノ「マシナー」ノ米國ニアリテ事情ニ通セル大使ハ英國カ客年九月二十八日ノ米國側ノ英米間商議ノ提議ニ速ニ回答セサル爲米國政府及一般政界ニ於テ有スル失望ヲ認メタルヤ明ナリ米國大統領ハ其ノ任期終了ニ當リ此商議ヲ以テ平和ト軍備縮少トノ爲盡セル同政府ノ努力ノ最後ヲ飾ルニ適當ト認メタルナランモ英國政府ハ米國ニ於ケル海軍案討議大統領更代英國總選舉其他ノ理由ニ依リ速ニ措置シ難シトスルモノナリ然ルニ米國側ニ於テハ此等ノ理由ヲ充分ニ了解セス新聞記者其他ヨリ英國大使ニ屢次照會スル所アリタルヲ以テ大使ハ彼等ノ請求ヲ和クル爲個人トシテ英國側ノ遷延ヲ説明シ同時ニ本問題研究ニ對スル英國ノ熱心ト同情トヲ高調セルナリ此時ニ當リ外務省ノ

「コムミュニケ」カ同情ノ調子ヲ缺キ外相ノ心ニモナキ非難ヲ「ハワード」ニ加フルモノノ如クトラレ勝チノモノナルハ甚
タ不幸ナリト論シタリ

尙本件ニ關スル佛國新聞紙ノ論評ヲ見ルニ十八日「タン」ハ英國外務省「コムミュニケ」ハ「ハワード」大使聲明ニ多少
ノ訂正ヲ加ヘ居レルモ其ノ根本ニ於テハ間接ニ之ヲ確認セルモノト見ルヲ妥當トスヘク從テ遅カレ早カレ結局ハ英米間ニ
本件商議ノ開催ヲ見ルニ至ルヘシ而シテ右商議ニ於テ作成セラルヘキ妥協案ハ他ノ關係國ノ正當ナル要求ニ満足ヲ與ヘ且
其ノ自尊心ヲ傷ケサルモノナルコトヲ要シ此ノ點ニ於テ曩ノ英佛妥協案ノ右ニ出ツルモノナシト思考スル處若シアラハ此
際出來得ル限り速ニ之ヲ關係各國全部ニ提出スヘキモノナリ來ル四月ノ聯盟軍縮準備委員會關係國間ニ豫メ主義上ノ意
見一致ナキ限り到底成功ノ見込ナシト論シタリ

(註1)

SIR ESME HOWARD'S STATEMENT.

There would seem to be every reason to believe that now that the fifteen-cruiser bill has become law, a further effort before long will be made to reach an agreement between the principal naval powers of the world for the limitation of naval armaments. As long as that bill was under discussion, any proposal to renew conversations on this vital subject would have been interpreted in the United States of America as an attempt to interfere with the passage of the bill.

By its passage, the ground is cleared and any discussions that take place will certainly proceed on the assumption that these ships will be built. The English elections, which will take place this summer, may, however, postpone any discussion of this kind for some months longer.

The disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty make it practically imperative for all signatories of that Treaty that further efforts be made towards the restriction of armaments. The United States has hitherto shown itself favorable to the idea of continuing negotiations for an agreement in this sense.

It would therefore seem that everything points toward an early resumption of negotiations, and with

a far better understanding of the needs of the respective parties than existed at Geneva in 1927 there should be a very good prospect of their being brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

(註11)

COMMUNIQUE.

There has been no change in the situation since Sir Austen Chamberlain informed the House of Commons, on Feb. 6, that His Majesty's Government were engaged in the careful examination of "all questions concerning our relations with America and the naval conditions of the two countries."

This examination is being diligently prosecuted. As soon as it is concluded, the first step will be to communicate its results to the Governments of the Dominions and to receive and consider their views. It is unlikely, therefore, that his Majesty's Government will be in a position to make any further communication for some time.

第四節 不戰條約ノ締結

千九百二十七年(昭和二年)四月六日米國ノ大戰參加十週年記念日ニ際シ佛國外務大臣「ブリアン」ハ米國聯合通信ヲ通シ米國民ニ對シ米佛間ノ平和確保ノ爲相互ニ戰爭ヲ違法トスル公約ヲ爲サンコトヲ希望スル旨ノ「メッセージ」ヲ送りタリ右「メッセージ」ハ米國民一般ニ依リ好評ヲ以テ迎ヘラレタル結果米國政府モ之ニ刺戟セラレ同年六月十一日佛國政府ニ對シ米國政府ハ本問題ニ關シ外交討議ニ入ルノ用意アル旨ノ申入ヲ爲シタリ

於茲佛國政府ハ六月二十日米國政府ニ對シ左記要項ノ米佛恒久友好條約締結方ヲ提議セリ

- 一、兩締約國ハ國策ノ手段トシテ戰爭ヲ罪惡ト認メ且之ヲ拋棄スルコトヲ宣言ス
- 二、兩締約國間ニ發生スル一切ノ紛爭ハ其ノ性質又ハ起原ノ如何ニ拘ラス凡テ平和的手段ニ依リテノミ之カ解決ヲ求ムヘシ
- 右ニ對シ米國政府ハ同年末佛國政府ノ提案ニカカル條約ハ之ヲ米佛二國限リノ條約ト爲スヨリモ寧ロ世界ノ主要強國間ニ