

## 4 有田・グルー会談

1402

昭和15年1月22日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

対日禁輸法案への米国世論の支持は漸次高まつて  
おり日本は東亜新秩序構想を放棄すべきとの上院  
外交委員長の記事談話について

ワシントン 1月22日後発

本省 1月23日後着

第七四號

二十日華府APニ依レハ「ピットマン」ハ記者ニ對シ元來  
米國ハ日本側ノ許可ヲ得スシテ揚子江ヲ遡行スル權利ヲ有  
セルカ現今ハ通貨ノ流通港灣ノ使用及往來ノ自由其ノ他ノ  
權利ニ付テモ日本側ノ規律制限ヲ受ケ居レリ米國ノ欲スル  
所ハ在支權益カ平等且公正ナル待遇ヲ受クルニ在リ之カ實  
現ノ爲ニハ日本ハ東亞ノ新秩序ヲ放棄スヘキナリ對日禁輸  
案ニ對スル米國輿論ノ支持漸次昂マリツツアリ議會ニ於テ  
同案ノ立法ヲ見ルヤ否ヤハ政府ノ意嚮如何ニ懸ル次第ナル

1403

昭和15年2月(6)日

有田外務大臣より  
在上海三浦總領事宛(電報)

対日禁輸問題や日中和平問題などに関する米  
国新聞社主ハワードの意見について

本省

(編注)  
発

上海 2月6日着

カ未タ大統領及國務省ヨリ通報ニ接セスト語レル趣ナリ  
尙同通信ハ條約失效後米國品ニ對スル協定稅率適用ヲ維持  
スル爲來ル二十四日勅令發セラルヘシトノ東京朝日ノ報道  
ニ言及シ米官邊ハ未タ右ニ關スル反響ヲ示ササルモ確カナ  
ル筋ニ於テハ米ハ在支權益ニ對スル平等且公正待遇ノ保障  
ナキ限り暫定協定交渉ニモ入ル意思ナキ旨ヲ洩セリト報シ  
又汪兆銘ハ揚子江再開實施及日本軍ノ漸次撤退等ノ好餌ヲ  
以テ列國ノ同政府承認ヲ誘フヘキモ米政府ハ滿洲國ニ對セ  
ルト同様不承認ノ態度ヲ執ルコト必要ナリト報シタリ

在米大使來電

二月一日日本使「ハワード」(「スクリプスハワード」系新聞持主)ト日米關係ニ關シ懇談シタルカ其ノ談話中左ノ諸點ハ米人中ノ輕視シ難キ意見ヲ反映スルモノト思ハルルニ付御參考迄申進ス

一、日米間無條約トナリタルコトハ遺憾ナルカ自分カ各方面トノ接觸ニ依リテ得タル觀察ニテハ日支事變カ片付ク迄ハ本條約ト云ハス暫定取極成立モ困難ナルヘシト思ハル  
二、「エムバーゴ」法案ハ急ニ議會ヲ通過スルコトハナカルヘキモ或種ノ軍用資材ニ付事實上ノ「エムバーゴ」ハ實現スルノ可能性アリ例ヘハ屑鐵ニ付テミルニ或ル有力ナル製鋼業者ハ歐洲戰爭ノ爲鋼鐵ノ需要増加シツツアルニ拘ラス鐵ハ對日輸出激增ノ爲暴騰シ國內産業ニ不便ヲ招キツツアルヲ以テ早晚輸出制限又ハ禁止ノ必要アルヲ力說シ居タリ

三、日本政府ハ汪兆銘相手ニ支那事變收拾ヲ計ラントシツツアルモ蔣ハ容易ニ屈服セサルヘク又汪蔣間ノ妥協モ蔣側ノ結束固キ今日其ノ見込殆ント少ク日支間ノ平和回復ハ仲々實現セサルヘシ、又日本ノ右行キ方ニテハ今後日米

國交調整ハ極メテ困難ナルヘキヲ恐ル

四、滿洲國ニ關シテハ條約論ハ暫ク措キ其ノ存在ハ既成ノ事實ナルニ付今更問題トスルノ要ナシト考フルモ米人ノ最モ重視スルハ支那ノ經濟的將來ナリ、日本當局ハ今回モ第三國權益尊重ヲ聲明セラレタルカ米人ノ或ル者ハ滿洲國成立當時ノ聲明同様事實上空手形ニ終ルナキヤヲ懸念シ又或者ハ假令然ラストスルモ日本人ハ事實上獨占の地歩ヲ占メ米人活動ノ餘地ハ頗ル少カルヘシト見居レリ

五、日本ノ對支和平條件ニ關シテハ若シ支那ノ主權及領土保全ヲ確保スルト共ニ反共地帶ノ設定反日教育及抗日政策ノ放棄地理的接近ニ依ル特殊地位ヲ認ムル日支間ノ經濟協力ノ如キ程度ニ止リ即チ近衛聲明中ノ或ル條件ヲ以テ満足スルニ於テハ米國輿論ハ之ヲ支持スヘク日米間ノ友好ハ容易ニ回復スヘシ云々

右ニ對シ日本使ヨリ米側ノ對日經濟壓迫ノ危險ナル所以、我方ノ汪政府支持ノ方針、在支第三國權益問題、日本ノ事變處理方針等ニ關シ詳細説明シ置キタルカ「ハ」ハ日米關係改善ノ爲ニハ出來得ル限り協力スヘキ旨述べ居タリ

編注 本電報は在上海日本総領事館の郵便に手書きで書かれ

ており、発電日時および電報番号は不明。

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1404

昭和15年2月8日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

### 衆議院での九国条約廃棄論に対する米国政府

#### 筋の反響について

ワシントン 2月8日後発

本 省 2月9日夜着

第一七〇號

衆議院ニ於ケル九箇國條約廢棄論ニ關シ米政府筋ノ反響ナ  
リトテ七日ノ紐育「タイムス」華府通信ノ報スル所左ノ通  
リ

米政府ハ九箇國條約ハ關係國ノ同意ニ依リテノミ變更乃至  
廢棄シ得ヘシトノ立場ヲ依然堅持シ日本議會ニ於ケル單獨  
廢棄論ニ依リ左右セラルルモノニアラサル處右ニ關シ政府  
係官ハ米ハ一九三八年十二月三十一日ノ對日「ノート」中  
ニテ一切ノ權利ヲ留保シ且支那事變ノ結果トシテ右權利カ  
毀損セラルルヲ肯セサルヘキ旨ヲ表明シ居ル點ヲ指摘シテ

右ハ今後モ變リナシト述ヘタルカ官邊ニ於テハ本件論議ハ  
日本ノ國內問題ナルコト及「グルー」大使ハ日米關係全般  
ニ亘リ外務省ト會談ヲ續行中ナルニ付米政府ハ當分ノ間同  
大使ヲ通シ對日立場ヲ表明シ居ルコトヲ理由トシテ右論議  
ノ批評ヲ差控ヘ居レリ尙前記「ノート」ニ對シテハ日本政  
府ハ回答シ居ラサルモ右ノ中ニテ米政府ハ常ニ協定ハ變更  
シ得ルモ右變更ハ商議ニ依リ締約國ノ同意ヲ得テ合法的ニ  
爲サルヘキヲ主張シ米ノ權利義務カ他國ノ機關或ハ官憲ノ  
獨斷的行爲ニ依リ取消サルルニ同意シ得スト述ヘ居ル次第  
ナルカ九箇國條約ニハ締約國ハ必要ニ應シ協議シ得ル規定  
アル外ハ廢棄ニ關スル條項ナシ

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1405

昭和15年2月9日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

米國陸軍長官が堀内大使との会談において日  
米國交を調整して通商關係を常態に復すべき  
との意見表明について

ワシントン 2月9日後発

本 省 2月10日夜着

第一七八號(館長符號扱)

客年往電第一二八九號ニ關シ

九日本使陸軍長官ト會談ノ際

(一)同長官ハ日米條約失効後モ通商ハ支障ナク行ハレツツアリヤト問ヘルニ付今日迄自分ノ承知シ居ル所ニテハ邦人關係ノ商取引及我船舶ニ對スル取扱等ニ關シ格別故障ナキ模様ナルモ何分無條約ニテハ將來ノ不安定ノ爲精神的影響アルヲ免レス日米兩國ノ爲成ルヘク速ニ何等カ諒解ニ達スルコト必要ナリ何レ近ク有田大臣ト「グルー」大使トノ間ニ會談再會<sup>(開カ)</sup>セラルヘシト答ヘ置ケリ

(二)次ニ同長官ハ日支事變ハ何時頃終結ノ見込ナリヤト尋ネタルニ付日本政府ハ事變處理ニ最善ノ努力ヲ爲シツツアリ客年來汪兆銘ノ和平運動ヲ助ケ之トノ間ニ大體和平條件ヲ話合ヒ新政府近ク成立ノ筈ナルカ歐米ニテハ汪ヲ目シテ傀儡政府ト爲シ居ルモ汪ハ種々要求ヲ出シ日本側モ充分其ノ獨立の立場ヲ尊重シ折衝數箇月ニ及ヒ之カ爲新政府成立暇取リタル事實ヲ見テモ所謂傀儡政府ニアラサルコトヲ知ルヘシト述ヘ尙門戸開放問題ニ關スル日本政府ノ方針ニ付米國ニ於テハ今猶疑惑存スル模様ナルモ日

本側ハ在支米國權益ノ保護ニ最大ノ注意ヲ拂ヒツツアル次第ヲ説明シ置ケリ

(三)同長官ハ歐洲戰爭及日支事變終局ノ上ハ世界各國ハ必スヤ非常ニ困難ナル經濟狀態ニ當面スルコトナルヘク即チ戰時經濟ヨリ平時經濟ヘノ轉換期ニハ生産及貿易ノ混亂失業者ノ氾濫等容易ナラサル問題續出シ來ルヘキコトハ豫想ニ難カラス日米兩國ハ經濟上互ニ影響スル所大ナルニ付兩國トモ今日ヨリ速ニ國交ヲ調整シ通商關係ノ常態ヲ維持シ置クコト大局上極メテ緊要ナリ自分ハ日米兩國(關係)ハ調整シ得サル筈ナシト確信シ居リ此ノ趣旨ハ是迄閣議ノ席上常ニ力説シ居レル處ナリト述ヘタリ

1406

昭和十五年2月21日

事變に關連した日米懸案中解決済みの案件に  
關する情報部発表

昭和十五年二月二十一日日米懸案中解決セル  
モノニ關シ情報部発表

帝國ハ今事變ニ關聯シテ發生シタル第三國トノ懸案ニ關シ、

既定方針通り公正ナル解決ニ努メ來レル處、最近此種懸案  
中米國關係被害案件ニシテ解決ヲ見タルモノ左ノ通り  
米國關係被害案件ノ最モ多キ中支方面ニ於テハ、現地調査  
殆ンド完了シ、目下解決ノ爲メノ交渉ニ入ル段取リトナリ  
居レリ

甲、先ヅ東京ニ於テ公式ノ外交交渉トナリタル被害案件ノ  
中

(一)空爆ニ依ル被害案件ハ、大部分我方占領域外ノモノナル  
ヲ以テ、實地調査不可能ナルコト云フ迄モナキ處ナルガ、  
其ノ中生命身體ニ被害ヲ與ヘタル河南省桐柏、廣東省羅  
定ノ事件ニ對シテハ、適當ノ見舞金ヲ交付シテ解決セリ  
(二)占據、破壞、搬出、使用、迫害等ニ依ル被害案件ノ中解  
決セルモノハ左ノ如シ(十件)

- (1) 上海華德路所在米商コーファ藥種會社要償事件
- (2) 上海閘北停車場內所在水道鐵管問題
- (3) 上海タンシン路在住ヂエームス・マゼソン・ドイル氏  
要償事件
- (4) 上海靜安寺路所在外國人キリスト教青年會要償事件
- (5) 南通州ニ於ケルスタンダード・ヴァキユーム石油會社

#### 所屬汽艇徵用事件

- (6) 蘇州所在米國教會所屬財產占據事件
- (7) 開封所在靜宜女子中學校閉校問題
- (8) 廣東省韓江上ニ於ケル米人誤射事件
- (9) 芝罘ニ於ケル米人檢索事件
- (10) 上海ニ於ケル二米人侮辱事件

乙、其他現地限りニ於テ問題トナリ最近解決セルモノノ内、  
當方ニ判明セルモノノ中重ナルモノヲ舉グレハ左ノ通り  
ナリ

(茲ニ掲グルモノハ中央ノ交渉問題トナラザルモノナル  
ヲ以テ、外務大臣ノ豫算委員會ニ於ケル豫算ノ中ノ七十  
三件ニ入ラザルモノナリ)

- (1) 上海江灣奧秀路所在米國教會墓地使用問題
- (2) 上海O・S・K及虹口碼頭所在鐵管處分問題
- (3) 上海寶樂安路所在米國教會財產使用問題
- (4) 上海虹橋路在住アリス・アレシヤ要償事件
- (5) 南京下關口バート・ダラー木材會社要償事件
- (6) 石家莊所在米國教會財產使用事件
- (7) 開封所在米國教會住宅侵害事件

- (8) 徐州所在米國教會職員檢束事件  
(9) 北京在住米人牧師住宅侵害事件

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1407

昭和15年 3月13日

在米國堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

対日禁輸法案の米國議會通過の見通しなどに

関する上院外交委員の内話報告

ワシントン 3月13日前発

本省 3月13日夜着

第三五六號(極秘)

汪政府ノ成立目暁ニ迫レル此ノ際特ニ上院外交委員ノ間ニ  
東亞新秩序ノ認識ヲ深メシムルコト然ルヘシト存シ十二日  
「ナイ」(「ノースダコタ」共和)及「レーノルズ」(「ノース  
カロライナ」民主)ト懇談シタルカ

一、「ナイ」ハ日獨伊防共協定ハ軍事條約ヲ含マスト了解ス  
ル所然ルヤト尋ネタルニ付其ノ通りナリ實ハ同協定強化  
ノ計畫アリタルモ昨夏獨蘇不侵略協定成立ノ直後日本政  
府ハ右計畫打切りヲ聲明シタルカ防共協定ハ何等變更ナ  
キ次第二シテ日本ハ依然トシテ防共ノ方針ヲ堅持シ對支

政策ニ於テモ之ヲ一眼目ト爲シ居レリト答ヘタルニ  
「ナ」ハ日本カ東亞ニ於ケル赤禍ニ重大關心ヲ有スルコ  
トハ當然ニシテ自分ハ日本カ獨蘇ト結合スルカ如キコト  
ハ考ヘ得スト述ヘ更ニ本使ヨリ東亞新秩序ノ意義、門戶  
開放ノ方針、支那復興ニ伴フ投資及貿易ノ有望ナルコト  
之カ爲日米協力ノ必要ナルコトヲ説キ又日米間ニ解決シ  
難キ政治問題ナク且貿易モ互助的關係ニアルニ拘ラス支  
那事變ノ爲困難ヲ生シタルヲ遺憾トシ歐洲ノ情勢ニ顧ル  
モ日米國交調整ノ急務ナルコトヲ述ヘタル處「ナ」ハ

一々領キテ同感ヲ表シ支那事變ノ爲米國民ノ感情ニ深キ  
影響アリタルハ遺憾ナルカ幸ヒ禁輸案ハ今會期ニ於テハ  
取擧ケラレサルコトナリタルハ結構ナリ來議會ニ於テ  
モ恐ラク問題トナルコトナカルヘシト言ヘリ

二、「レーノルズ」ハ自分ハ豫テ日本ニ對シ友好的態度ヲ持  
シ來リ日本カ支那大陸ニ發展スルハ當然ニシテ米國トシ  
テ何等之ニ容喙スヘキ筋合ニアラス蔣政權ニ對スル共產  
黨ノ勢力増大シ居ルニ拘ラス輸出入銀行カ曩ニ二千五百  
萬弗ノ「クレヂット」ヲ支那ニ與ヘ今回又二千萬弗ノ  
「クレヂット」ヲ提供シタルハ結局共產黨援助ト成ル譯

ニテ自分ハ之ニ反對ナリ米國カ支那ニ於ケル僅カ一億弗位ノ投資ヲ救ハンカ爲日本トノ數億ノ貿易ヲ失フカ如キコトアラハ愚ノ至リナリトノ持論ニテ禁輸案ニモ終始反對シ來リ自分ノ出身州タル「ノースカロライナ」ハ一「エーカー」當リノ棉花ノ生産高ニ於テ米國第一ナルカ伯刺西爾埃及ノ如キ有力ナル競爭國現ハレ居ル今日米國ハ海外棉花市場トシテ日本ヲ重視セサルヘカラスト述ヘ又本使ノ問ニ對シ禁輸案ハ外交委員會ニ於テモ早ヤ通過ノ見込ナシ「バンデンバーク」反對シ「ビットマン」モ醒メ來リ「シユエレンバツク」モ余リ之ヲ口ニセサルコトト成リタルハ御承知ノ如シト答ヘ更ニ本使ヨリ我對支政策及日米關係ニ關シ「ナ」ニ對スルト大体同様ノ説明ヲ爲シタル處「レ」ハ目下大統領選舉ヲ控ヘ日米關係モ政治的ニ利用セラレツツアル嫌モ(アリ)新政府トモ成ラハ追々好轉スヘシト言ヘリ

尙「レ」ハ今夏再ヒ日本ヲ訪レ朝鮮ヲ經テ滿支各方面ヲ視察シタキ意嚮ヲ洩ラシタルニ付右ハ極メテ時宜ヲ得タル企ニシテ我方當局ニ於テ充分便宜ヲ供與スヘキコトヲ告ケ置キタリ此ノ點ニ付テハ詳細別電(第三二六〇號)ス

伊ヘ轉電セリ

伊ヨリ英、獨、白ヘ轉電アリタシ

佛、露ヘ轉電アリタシ

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1408

昭和15年3月15日

在米國堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

日米間に新通商協定の速やかな成立を望み対日禁輸法案は中国の事態が改善すれば問題とならないなどバンデンバークの内話報告

ワシントン 3月15日後発

本省 3月16日後着

第三七〇號

往電第三五六號ニ關シ

十四日上院外交委員「バンデンバーク」(御承知ノ通り共和黨大統領候補ノ一人)ト會談ノ要旨左ノ通り

「バ」ハ日米間ニ友好關係ヲ保チ得サル理由ナシト言ヘルニ付本使ハ其ノ通りナリ兩國間ノ問題ハ支那事變ニ關聯シテ起リタルモノニシテ在支米權益ニ對シテハ日本側ニ於テ特ニ注意ヲ拂ヒ居ルニ拘ラス何分大規模ノ軍事行

動行ハレタル爲時ニ損害又ハ不便ヲ生スルヲ免レサリシ次第ナルカ最近損害事件モ着々解決シ新ナル事故モ殆ント發生セス且上海其ノ他ノ事態モ大イニ改善ヲ見タル實情ニシテ他方近ク汪政府成立ノ上ハ日本ハ速ニ之ヲ承認シテ和議ヲ講シ追々復興ニ向ヒ得ヘク汪蔣兩政權ノ關係モ速ニ調整ノ途アルヘシト述ヘタル處「バ」ハ現地ノ事態改善ヲ見ツツアルヲ聞クハ喜ハシキコトナリ新政府トノ間ニ和平成リ日本軍ハ漸次北方ニ撤去セラレ戰鬪少クナリ殊ニ爆撃ノ報ヲ聞カサルニ至ラハ米國民ノ對日感情モ追々緩和スルニ至ルヘシト語レリ

二、次ニ昨夏自分ノ上院ニ提出シタル條約廢棄決議案ニ付テハ新聞中之ヲ曲解シタルモノアルモ自分ハ毫モ日本ニ對シ惡意ナク新條約ノ交渉ヲ期待シ居ル次第ナリト言ヘルニ對シ本使ハ條約失効後モ日米兩政府ノ措置ニ依リ實際上通商ハ支障ナク行ハレ居ルモ將來ノ不安定ヲ除ク爲ニハ成ルヘク速カニ何等カ協定成立スルコト双方ニ執リ利益ナリト述ヘタルニ正ニ其ノ通りニテ自分モ速カニ斯クナランコトヲ希望スト答ヘ本使ヨリ此ノ際日米關係ヲ好轉セシムル爲ニハ双方トモ努メテ相手ヲ刺戟スルカ如キ

措置ヲ避クルコト肝要ナリ例ヘハ對日禁輸案ノ如キ幸ヒ貴下ハ反對ノ態度ヲ表明セラレ居ルモ斯ル案ハ兩國國交ニ有害ニシテ又對支「クレデット」提供ノ如キモ甚タ遺憾ナリト述ヘタル處「バ」ハ禁輸案ハ支那ノ事態改善セハ問題トナルコトナカルヘク又「クレデット」ハ支那ヨリ錫ヲ得ル爲ナルカ兎モ角米國側ニテモ抑制ニ努ムヘク日本側ニ於テモ「パネイ」號ノ如キ事件ノ再發ヲ避ケラレ且懸案解決事態安定ニ盡力セラレンコトヲ希望スト述ヘタリ

伊ヘ轉電セリ

佛、蘇、滿ヘ轉電アリタシ

伊ヨリ英、獨、白、土ヘ轉電アリタシ

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1409

昭和15年4月5日

在米國堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

中国新中央政府成立に関する米国上院外交委員らとの意見交換について

ワシントン 4月5日後発

本省 4月6日夜着



第四七九號

往電第四三一號ニ關シ

四日及五日本使ノ宴會ニ於テ上院外交委員「グリーン」及「ガフイ」(共ニ共和)竝ニ赤十字社總裁「ノルマンデービス」ニ對シ本使ヨリ汪政府成立ノ經緯ヲ説明シ殊ニ汪カ孫文門下ノ逸材ニシテ日支提携ニ依リ東亞恆久ノ和平ヲ確立セントスル其ノ遺志ヲ繼キ自發的ニ重慶ヲ脫出シタルモノニシテ新政府ヲ傀儡視スルノ甚タ見當違ナルコト現ニ重慶側カ百數十名ニ對シ逮捕令ヲ發セル事實ハ即チ如何ニ多數ノ要人カ汪ノ傘下ニ集リ居ルカラ立證スルモノナルコト新政府カ財源ヲ確保シ軍隊ヲ編成シ自力ヲ以テ充分秩序ヲ回復スル迄ニハ相當ノ時日ヲ要スヘキモ同政府ノ成立ハ和平ニ對スル最モ重大ナル第一歩ナルコトヲ強調シ置キタルカ「デービス」ハ貴說ノ如ク此ノ際汪政府ヲ目スルニ傀儡ヲ以テスルハ適當ニアラス暫ク其ノ實績ヲ見ルコト必要ナリト述ヘ居タリ尙「グリーン」ハ禁輸法案ハ國務省ノ意嚮ノ如ク外交委員會ニ於テ審議ヲ見合セ居ル處今後モ國務省ノ出方如何ニ懸ル次第ナリト述ヘ「ガフイ」モ米國民ノ對日感情ハ最近餘程沈靜シ來タレリ尤モ我々ノ手許ニハ今日ト

雖屢々各方面ヨリ陳情書接到シ居ルモ之ヲ取上ケ居ラサル譯ニテ腹臟ナク言ヘハ三、四箇月前ニハ日本大使館ノ招宴ニ赴クコトスラ友人間ノ批評ヲ氣兼ねスル位ノ空氣ナリシ次第ナリト語レリ尙「グ」ハ本使ノ問ニ對シ米人ノ對蘇感情ハ昨年ノ紐育博覽會ニ依リ宣傳其ノ他カ效果ヲ奏シ一時餘程好轉シ居タルカ其ノ後獨蘇協定北歐侵出殊ニ芬蘭侵略ノ結果頓ミニ惡化シ今尙頗ル不良ナリト述ヘタリ英ヘ轉電セリ  
英ヨリ佛ヲ除ク在歐各大使ヘ轉電アリタシ  
大臣ヨリ佛ヘ轉電アリタシ

1410

昭和15年5月31日

在米國堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

米国防増強等の必要から軍需資材の輸出禁止  
ないしは制限が実現する可能性につき報告

ワシントン 5月31日後発

本省 6月1日後着

第七九七號

歐洲戦局ノ推移ニ伴ヒ米國カ究極ニ於テ其ノ參戰避ケ難キ

場合アリ得ルコトヲ考慮ニ容ルルト同時ニ戦後ノ事態ニ備ヘ有力ナル發言權ヲ把握セントスル下心ヨリ目下國防増強策ニ熱シ居ル次第ハ累次電報ノ通りナル處新聞所報ニ依レハ右國防強化實現シ必要ナル軍需工業ノ擴張ヲ圖ル爲陸軍省ハ最近内密ニ國內ノ工作機械工業ノ實情ヲ調査セル結果多クノ工場ハ本邦ヨリノ註文ニ應シ居ルコト及日本ハ工作機械ノ莫大ナル貯藏ヲ有シ居ルニ拘ラス有事ノ日ニ備ヘ屑鐵ト共ニ之カ註文ヲ爲シ居ルコト判明セル趣ニテ右ハ軍需工業擴張ヲ阻害スル惧アリト報道シ居リ之カ爲巷間又復屑鐵及工作機械ノ對日「エンバーゴ」ヲ説クモノ現ハレ來リ居ル有様ナリ此ノ際對日壓迫手段トシテノ禁輸法案カ成立スルニ至ル情勢ハ未タ之ヲ認メラレサルモ米國國防増強ノ必要上乃至英佛援助ノ必要上等ヨリ一般の二軍需資材ノ輸出禁止又ハ制限ノ實現ヲ見ルニ至ル可能性ハ多分ニ在リ現ニ「メイ」下院陸軍委員長ヨリ提出シ二十四日下院ヲ通過セル陸軍航空隊増強法案(往電第七六七號ノ一〇)ニシテ愈々成立スル場合ニハ同法案第三節(別電第七九八號<sup>(省略)</sup>)ノ規定ニ依リ大統領ハ國防上必要ト認ムル總ユル軍需資材ノ輸出ヲ禁止又ハ制限シ得ルコトトナリ其ノ結果屑鐵、工作

機械等ノ輸出モ實際上頗ル困難トナル事態生スルコトアルヘキニ付右ノ如キ場合ニ處スヘキ對策等豫メ考究シ置カレタシ

別電ト共ニ紐育ヘ轉報セリ

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1411

昭和15年6月1日

在米國堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

# 米國税関による工作機械や航空部品の輸出差 止めに關する日本郵船の報告について

ワシントン 6月1日後発

本 省 6月2日前着

第七九九號(至急)

一日三菱紐育支店ヨリノ通報ニ依レハ

、六月一日朝紐育税関ヨリ日本船會社ニ對シ今後何分ノ沙

汰アル迄 Machinery, Machine-Tool, Aero-Engine and

Parts, Motors ノ積出シヲ差控フル様通牒越シタルニ付

ニ、右ニ對シ郵船ヨリ問合セタル處

(イ) 本件措置ハ華府ヨリノ命令ニ基キタルコト

(ロ) 明文規則ニ基キタルモノニアラサルモ兩三日中ニ規則

發令ノ豫定ナル由

(ハ) 右差止命令ニ對シテハ業者側ヨリ積荷ニ關スル詳細  
(製作者ノ名前 Serial Number of Machine, Numbers of  
Machines 及 Electric Equipment ニ付テハ A.C. D.C.  
ノ區別)ヲ通知セハ右ヲ華府ニ移牒シ其ノ許可アル場  
合差止ヲ解除スルコトアルヘシ

(ニ) 既ニ積込ヲ了セルモノニ付テハ本件ノ適用無シ

(ホ) 本件措置ハ國防ノ見地ヨリ採ラレタルモノニシテ日本  
ニ對シテノミ爲サレタルモノニ非スシテ各國ニ對シ同  
様適用セラルル趣ナリ

在米各領事ヘ轉電セリ



1412 昭和15年6月1日 在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

工作機械や航空部品の輸出制限に關し米国  
務省へ照会について

ワシントン 6月1日後発  
本省 6月2日前着

第八〇〇號(至急)

往電第七九九號ニ關シ

一日正午不取敢森島ヲシテ「グレーデー」國務次官補ヲ往  
訪冒頭往電ノ内容ヲ通報スルト共ニ(一)右税關ノ命令ノ根據  
如何ヲ承知シタク(二)右税關ノ命令ハ既積込品ト積込未了ノ  
物トヲ區別シ居ルハ腑ニ落チス至急積込許可方措置セラレ  
タキコト(三)軍需資材等ヲ許可制度トスル法規制定ノ場合ニ  
モ少クトモ既契約品ハ除外セラルヘキモノナルコトヲ申入  
レシメタル處「グ」ハ歐洲ノ情勢ニ鑑ミ國防ノ見地ヨリ軍  
需資材等ヲ許可制度トスル目的ヲ以テ議會ニ於テ法規制定  
ヲ取急キ居ルコトハ事實ナルモ右税關ノ命令ハ初耳ニテ何  
等知ル所ナキヲ以テ(一)及(二)ニ付テハ早速關係方面ニ照會ノ  
上何分ノ儀御知ラセスヘク(三)ハ要スルニ法令ノ内容如何ニ  
依ル問題ナルカ自分トシテハ現在議會ニテ審議中ノ法案ハ  
既契約品ニ付テハ何等觸レ居ラスト承知シ居レリ然シ米國  
トシテモ白蘭等トノ間ニ物資購入契約成立シタルニ拘ラス  
白蘭政府ノ方針ニ依リ現ニ輸入シ得サル物資多量アル旨答  
ヘタリ依テ森島ヨリ我方トシテハ成ルヘク速ニ回答ヲ得タ  
ク本日午後二テモ伺ヒ得ヘキヤト述ヘタルニ「グ」ハ成ル  
ヘク右様取計フヘシト答ヘタル趣ナリ不取敢

在米各領事ニ轉電セリ

1413

昭和15年6月1日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

工作機械等の輸出制限は国防上の理由に基づ  
き大統領の権限によって行われるものとの国  
務省回答について

ワシントン 6月1日後発

本省 6月2日後着

第八〇九號

往電第八〇〇號ニ關シ

一日午後「グレーデー」ヨリ森島宛本件税關ノ命令ハ大藏  
省ノ命令ニ基クモノニシテ米軍備擴張ノ爲國防上  
essentialナル war materialノ積出ヲ差止メタルモノニシ  
テ右ハ大統領ノ general powersニ基クモノナリ尙本件命  
令ハ各國ニ對シ一様適用セラレ差別的ナラサル點ニ御留意  
アリタク詳細ノ點ハ Control officeノ Greenト話シ合ヒセ  
ラレタキ旨電話越セリ三日 Greenト話合ヒノコトトスヘ  
シ

在米各領事へ轉電セリ

1414

昭和15年6月3日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

工作機械等輸出制限の詳細に關し國務省係官  
へ照会について

ワシントン 6月3日後発

本省 6月4日後着

第八一〇號

往電第八〇九號ニ關シ

三日森島「グリーン」ニ會見往電第七九七號内容竝ニ國務  
次官補ト會談ノ次第ヲ話シ且本件事情ヲ明カニシタキ爲來  
訪セル次第ナル旨前提シ次官補ニ對スルト同様三點ヲ申入  
レタルニ「グ」ハ一々「メモ」ニ認メタル上自分ハ本件ニ  
關シ何等承知セサルヲ以テ取調ノ上回答スヘク議會ニ於テ  
必要ニ應シ軍需資材輸出ヲ差止ムル趣旨ノ法案審議中ナル  
爲本件命令ハ右ニ關係スルモノナルヘク陸海軍トシテハ外  
國ノ既約品中ニ於テモ國防上必要ト認メラルモノヲ差止  
メントスルモノナルヘシト答ヘタリ依テ森島ヨリ次官補ノ

述へタル General Powers ニ言及し emergency ノ宣言アリ  
タル上ナラハ兎モ角右宣言ナキニ本件命令ノ發出アリタル  
ハ如何ト尋ネタルニ「グ」ハ partial emergency ハ既ニ宣  
言セラレ居リ又既約品ニ關シテハ賠償支拂ノコトトナルヘ  
シト思考スル旨答へタルノミニテ何等要領ヲ得サリシ趣ナ  
リ

在米各總領事ニ轉電セリ

「ホノルル」ニ暗送セリ

1415

昭和15年6月5日

在米國堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

工作機械等輸出制限の詳細に関する國務省係  
官の回答振りについて

ワシントン 6月5日後発

本省 6月6日後着

第八二七號

往電第八一〇號ニ關シ

五日森島「グリーン」ヲ往訪前回ノ會談ニ引續キ本件命令  
ノ法的根據ヲ質シタルニ「グ」ハ未タ機械類ノ輸出ヲ禁止

シタルニ非ス急速ニ軍備ヲ確立スル爲メノ陸、海軍ニ於テ  
如何ナルモノヲ必要トスルヤ目下取調中ニシテ右ノ爲外國  
側ノ註文中ニ於テ右ニ該當スルモノナキヤ否ヤ取調ノ要  
アリ右ノ爲積出ヲ差止メタルニ過キス萬事ハ今週中ニ法規  
制定ノ運ヒトナリ又陸海軍側ニ於テ必需品目ヲ決定スヘキ  
ニ依リ右ニ依リ萬事明白トナルヘシト答へ森島ヨリ種々ノ  
角度ヨリ追及シタルモ「グ」ハ軍備確立ノ必要ヲ繰返スノ  
ミニテ回答ヲ避ケタリ依テ森島ヨリ新聞所報ニ依レハ英佛  
ニ對スル資材ノ供給ヲ取急ク趣ノ處果シテ然ラハ差別待遇  
ニ非スヤ又工作機械ノ種類如何ト尋ネタルニ「グ」ハ英佛  
ニ對スル米ノ態度ハ御承知ノ通りナルカ今次ノ差止ニ當リ  
テハ米陸海軍ニ利害關係アルモノヲ一様ニ差止メタル次第  
ニシテ法規制定ノ場合ニ於テモ種類ノ如何ヲ問ハス工作機  
械全部ヲ差止ムルカ如キコトナカルヘク右ハ陸海軍ニ於テ  
必要ト認ムルモノノミニ限定セラルルモノト思考スルモ右  
ノ具體的内容ハ制定セラルヘキ法規ノ内容竝ニ右ニ從テ爲  
サルヘキ陸海軍ノ決定ノ内容如何ニ依ルモノナリト答ヘタ  
ルニ付森島ヨリ更ニ既約品ノ除外ノ點ヲ述ヘタルニ「グ」  
ハ目下審議中ノ法規ハ既約品タルト否トニ關シ何等區別ヲ

設ケス從テ既約品ト雖一樣ニ法規ノ適用ヲ受クヘキ旨答ヘ  
タリ

在米各領事ヘ轉電セリ

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1416

昭和15年6月7日

在米國堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

工作機械等輸出制限の不当を國務長官へ注意

喚起について

ワシントン 6月7日後発

本 省 6月8日後着

第八四一號(至急、極秘扱)

七日國務長官ニ會見シ本日ハ政府ノ訓令ニ基キ極メテ重要  
ナル通商問題ニ關シ御話シ致度シト冒頭シ本月一日在紐育  
本邦各船會社ハ同地稅關ヨリ機械類、工作機械等ノ積込差  
止命令ニ接シ船會社及關係輸出業者ニ於テ甚タシキ迷惑ヲ  
蒙ムレル處右ハ中央ノ命令ニ基キ國防關係輸出品ノ取調ノ  
爲採ラレタル一時的措置ト了解シ居ルモ新聞所報ニ依レハ  
目下米議會ニ於テ軍需資材ノ輸出禁止又ハ制限ニ關スル權  
能ヲ大統領ニ附與スル法案審議中ノ趣ニテ右愈成立シ峻嚴

ナル實施ヲ見ルニ於テハ日米通商ニ重大ナル障礙ヲ與フル  
コトトナルヘキヲ俱ル日米通商ハ條約失效後モ日米双方ノ  
措置ニ依リ大體故障ナク維持セラレ居リ又兩國ノ一般の關  
係ニ付テハ過般有田大臣ト「グルー」大使トノ間ニ現狀ヨ  
リ惡化セシメサル様互ニ協力スヘキ旨ノ話合アリタルコト  
御承知ノ通りニシテ右ハ定メシ貴長官ニ於テモ御同感ノコ  
トナルヘク日本側トシテモ米國國防上ノ必要ハ理解シ得ル  
所ナルモ夫レカ爲重要ナル日米通商關係ニ障礙ヲ來スコト  
ハ甚タ遺憾ナルニ付工作機械其ノ他軍需資材ノ對日輸出ニ  
付テハ政府ノ最モ好意的ナル考慮ヲ希望スルモノナル旨申  
入レタル處長官ハ實ハ「ピットマン」ノ對日禁輸案ノ如キ  
モ自分ニ於テ之ヲ抑ヘ來タレル次第ニテ日米通商及友好關  
係ノ維持ニ付テハ自分モ從來努力シ來リタリ尙又一般ニ國  
際平和國際法ノ維持ノ爲ニハ自分トシテ過去七箇年最善ノ  
努力ヲナシ來タレルカ不幸ニシテ歐洲ノ狀勢ハ刻々惡化シ  
來リ明日ニ昨夜ヲ知ラサル有様ニテ中立諸國ノ如キハ中立  
ヲ維持スル限り充分ノ國防力ナクトモ安全ナルヘシト考ヘ  
居タルニ何處モ侵略ヲ蒙リタル實狀ナル爲米國國民ハ俄ニ  
現實ニ目覺メ中立國トシテノ安全保障ノ爲又西半球ノ治安

維持ノ爲ニ此ノ際急速ニ國防ヲ充實強化スルノ必要ヲ痛感シ早晚徴兵制度ノ實施スラ免カレサル情勢トナリ

大統領ハ老大ナル國防増強案ヲ議會ニ提出シタル次第ニテ右實現ノ爲ニハ已ムヲ得ス軍需資材ノ輸入統制ヲ爲ササルヲ得サルコトトナリ居リ勿論右ハ特定ノ國ヲ目標トセス各國ニ對シテ行ハルルモノナルカ日本其ノ他ノ國ニ於テモ國防上必要ナル緊急處置ハ同様之ヲ實行シ居ラルコトト思考ス右ハ米國側ノ措置ノ必要ナル理由ヲ説明申上クル次第ナルカ勿論右ト同時ニ貿易維持ノ必要ハ充分之ヲ認メ居リ米國ノ如キモ國內ニ於テ生産シ得サル物資約三十種ニ上ル位ニテ各國間ノ貿易増進ハ自分ノ年來主張シ來レル所ナルヲ以テ今回ノ國防上必要ナル措置ノ實施ニ當リテモ日米通商上ノ障害ヲ少カラシムル様充分考慮スヘキ旨ヲ答ヘタリ依テ本使ハ右考慮ヲ多トスル旨ヲ述フルト同時ニ更ニ一層具體的ニ我方希望ヲ申述ヘタシトテ第一稅關ノ積込差止命令ヲ至急解除セラレタキコト第二工作機械其ノ他一般機械等ノ既契約品ノ輸出ヲ許サレタキコト第三將來契約セラルヘキモノノ輸出ニ付テ出來得ル限り寛大ナル取扱ヲ與ヘラレタキコトノ三點ヲ申入レ尙今後詳細ナル點ニ付テ森島參

事官ヲシテ國務省係官ニ折衝セシムル様致度シト言ヘル處同長官ハ御話ノ點ハ良ク了解セリ今後本問題ノ處理ニ際シテハ右諸點ヲ考慮ニ入ルヘキ旨ヲ答ヘタリ尙本使ヨリ右第一點ニ關シ積込ヲ差止メラレタル工作機械等ハ既ニ代金支拂濟ノモノニシテ又船會社モ船ノ出帆ヲ見合セ居ル爲多大ノ損害ヲ被ムル次第ナリト説明シタル處此ノ點ニ關聯シ長官ハ外國モ歐洲戰亂ノ爲農產品ノ輸出其ノ他一般通商上ニ混亂ヲ來シ多大ノ損害ヲ生シ居ル實狀ナリト述ヘタルニ付本使ハ日米貿易ハ比較的故障ナク行ハレ居リ一例ヲ米棉ニ取リテ見レハトテ昨年貿易總額ノ約二割五分ヲ日本ニテ買取リタル事實ヲ舉ケテ此ノ際兩國通商ノ維持ハ双方ニ取リ極メテ重要ナルコトヲ強調シ更ニ本使ヨリ今回ノ軍需資材ノ輸出統制措置ハ國防上ノ緊急必要ニ基キ各國ニ對シ行ハルルモノナリトスルモ米國側ノ取扱振如何ニ依リテハ日本ノ一部ニ於テ之ヲ以テ米國ノ事實上ノ對日經濟壓迫ナリト爲スノ言論ヲ誘發シ兩國國交ニ好マシカラヌ影響ヲ及ホス虞アル旨ヲ附言シ置ケリ

在米各領事ヘ轉電セリ

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1417

昭和15年 6月7日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

工作機械を除き輸出制限が解除された旨報告

ワシントン 6月7日後発

本 省 6月8日後着

第八四三號

往電第八三六號ニ關シ

七日森島ヨリ「ハリス」ニ對シ電話ニテ確メタル處「ハ」ハ昨日御話シタル通り積込差止メハ必要ナル品目(工作機械ヲ指スモノナルヘシ)ヲ除キ解除セラレタル旨答ヘタル趣ナルカ紐育三井支店ヨリノ通報ニ依レハ同店取扱ニ係ル積込貨物八十五種ノ中工作機械十四種ヲ除キ六日全部積込ヲ許可セラレタル趣ナリ  
在米各領事へ轉電セリ

1418

昭和15年 6月8日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

国防増強に伴う軍需工業の必要上から工作機械の輸出許可制の法案準備中など國務次官説

明について

ワシントン 6月8日後発

本 省 6月9日前着

第八四六號(至急、極秘)

往電第八四一號ニ關シ

八日本使「パーリ」國務次官ヲ訪ネ昨日工作機械等輸出統制問題ニ關シ國務長官ニ申入レタル三點ヲ繰返シ同長官ハ通商上ノ障害ヲ出來得ル限り少カラシメントスル考ニシテ右我方申入ヲ充分考慮ニ加フヘキ旨述ヘタル次第ヲ告ケ貴方ノ好意的考慮ニ信賴スル次第ナルカ日本ノ朝野ニ於テハ本問題ヲ極メテ重大視シ居リ殊ニ當業者ハ種々不安ヲ有シ居ル次第ニ付米國政府ノ計畫ニ關シ正確ナル報道ヲ承知シタシト述ヘタル處「パ」ハ先ツ申上タキハ今回米國政府ノ執ラントスル措置ハ現下ノ國際情勢ニ鑑ミ國防増強ニ伴フ軍需工業ヲ確保センカ爲ノ緊急手段ニシテ素ヨリ各國ニ對シ一様ニ行ハントスルモノナル點ナリ目下議會ニ於テ審議中ノ法案ノ準備ニハ自分モ參劃シタルニ付出來得ル限り説明致スヘシトテ本使ノ質問ニ對シ  
(一)軍需工業ニ必要ナル工作機械ハ許可制トナルヘキコト



(二)錫、護謨、「マンガニース」等米國內ニ於テ生産シ得サル軍需原料ノ輸出禁止ヲ爲スコト(「パ」ハ之等ノ品目ハ恐ラク日本側ニ影響スルモノ無カルヘシト附言シ同席ノ「バラントイン」モ自分モ右様思考スト述ヘ居タリ)

(三)機械類ハ軍需工業ニ直接關係ナキモノハ輸出ヲ制限セラルコト無カルヘキコト

(四)屑鐵屑銅ノ如キハ現在國內需要ニ對シ充分ナルニ付差當リ輸出禁止又ハ制限ヲ受クルコト無カルヘキコト(尤モ國際情勢急變ノ今日將來ノコトハ何トモ豫言シ得スト附加セリ)

ト答ヘ長官ノ言ハレタル如ク日米通商ニ及ホス影響ハ出來得ル限り之ヲ少クシタキ考ナリト述ヘタリ次ニ本使ヨリ紐育ニ於テ船積ヲ差止メラレ居ル品物中機械類ノ多クハ差止ヲ解除サレタルモ工作機械ニシテ今猶引掛リ居ルモノアル處何レモ代金支拂濟ノモノナルニ付至急解除セラレタキ旨重ネテ申入レタル處「パ」ハ右ヲ了承シ之等ハ陸海軍ノ希望ニ依リ取調ヘ居ルニ過キササルニ付恐ラク數日中ニハ解除セラルコトトナルヘシト答ヘ尙右差止命令ノ法的根據ニ關シテハ大統領ハ軍ノ總帥トシテ國防上必要ナル立法ニ至

ル迄ノ此ノ種一時的措置ヲ爲シ得ル憲法上ノ權限ヲ有シ居リ曾テ「リンカーン」モ南北戰爭ノ直前軍事上必要ナル種々ノ措置ヲ執リタルコトアリ又現ニ加洲方面ニ飛行場建設ノ爲土地收用ヲ爲サントシツアルカ如キ次第ニシテ昨年九月ノ制限の緊急狀態布告ニ基ク譯ニハアラスト述ヘタリ

在米各領事ヘ轉電セリ

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1419

昭和15年6月10日

有田外務大臣より  
在米国堀内大使宛(電報)

グルー大使が会談を求め日本が武力を以て国家的目的を達成しようとする限り日米の根本的親善關係は望めないと強調について

付記一 右会談においてグルー大使が手交した「Oral

Statement」

二 同「Oral Statement Of the Record」

本省 6月10日発

第二七五號(極秘、館長符號扱)

最近「グルー」大使ヨリ極ク内密ニ會見シタキ旨申出アリ

タルニ付十日某所ニテ會談セルニ「グ」ハ本日ノ會見ハ本國政府ノ訓令ニヨルニ非ス全ク自分一個ノ思付ニテ此際何等カ日米兩國關係打會<sup>開</sup>ノ道ヲ講スル策ナキヤ深究<sup>深</sup>スル爲希望シタルモノナリト冒頭シ Oral Statement 及 Oral Statement of the Record ヲ用意シ居リ別ニ舊臘野村「グルー」會談以後支那ニ於テ發生セル空爆侮辱及ビ通商制限等ニヨル米國權益侵害ノ事例ヲ列舉シタル書キ物ヲ持參シタリ

二、右 Oral Statement ニ於テ「グ」ハ本大臣ニ於テハ先頃現狀ノ下ニ於テハ日米兩國關係改善ハ困難ナリト云ヒ(往電第一九七號ノ會談等ニ言及ス)又自分ハ度々兩國新善關係恢復ノ爲ニハ空爆侮辱及ビ通商制限ニヨル至<sup>在</sup>支米國權益侵害ノ除去カ先決條件ナリト申出居リタルモ實際ソレノミニテハ充分ナラス自分ハ此際特ニ根本的ナル親善關係ハ日本ガ武力ヲ以テ國家的目的ヲ達成セムトスル限り之ヲ期待スルコトヲ得サルコトヲ強調シタシ。米國官民ハ從來軍縮、國策遂行ノ具トシテ武力行使<sup>使</sup>否認及ビ平和の手續ニヨル國交ノ調整維持等ノ主義ヲ主張シ來リタルニ今日歐亞兩大陸ニ於テハ事實上全世界ニ影響スヘキ悲慘ナル事態發生シ居

レル處米國ハ前大戰以來右ノ如キ悲慘事ノ再來ヲ防止セムト熱心ニ努力シ來レルヲ以テ右ノ如キ米國ノ主義ニ無關心ニシテ武力ニ訴フル國家ハ之ヲ信賴シ又之ハ親善關係ヲ維持スルコトハ不可能ナリ然レトモ米國官民ハ日米間親善關係ノ恢復ヲ歡迎スヘク殊ニ右ハ現下ノ世界狀勢ニ鑑ミ重要事タリ。故ニ若シ日本ガ誠意ヲ以テ國策遂行ノ具トシテ武力行使ノ方針ヲ改ムルノ明確ナル證查アラハ米國ハ忽チ之ヲ同情ヲ以テ見ルニ至ルベク自分ハ此ノ如キ方法ニヨリ日米關係打開ノ途開カルルノ確信ヲ有スト述ヘタリ

三、Oral Statement of the Record ニ於テハ「グ」ハ本大臣カ先般太平洋協會晚餐會ニ於テ世界新秩序建設ノ爲ニ貿易障害除去ノ點ヲ強調シタルコトニ共鳴シ世界ハ閉鎖經濟ニテハ發展出來サルヘシトテ大イニ自由貿易ヲ強調シ居レリ。四、依テ本大臣ハ右貴見ニ對シテハ追ツテ所見ヲ開陳スルコトトスベキモ閉鎖經濟ヲ非トスル點ニ付テハ原則上及精神上貴大使ト同感ナリ尙今日帝國ハ一部ノ誤解ニモ拘ラズ蘭印ニ對シテハ平和的政策ヲ保持シ泰國ニ對シテモ近ク相互領土尊重原則ノ下ニ條約ヲ締結セムトシ又天津問題モ近ク解決ヲ見ムトスル實狀ニテ右ニヨリ貴大使モ帝國ノ意圖ガ

平和的ナルコトヲ諒解セラルベシ唯貴大使ハ日米國交恢復  
上空爆侮辱及通商制限等ノ除去ヲ先決要件ト爲スモ之等ノ  
コトハ今日戰鬪續行中ハ全ク已ヲ得ザル次第ナレハ日米國  
交改善ノ上ヨリモ事變ノ一日モ速カナル終結ヲ必要トスル  
モノナリト述べ次デ貴大使ニ於テハ右ノ如キ現狀ニ於テ日  
米關係改善上具體的ノ suggestion ヲ持チ合セアリヤト質  
問セルニ「グ」ハ別ニ具體案ヲ有スル譯ニ非ズト答ヘ以上  
本大臣ノ所說ヲ國務省ニ報告ニ差支無キヤト問ヒタルニ付  
本大臣ハ右最后ノ質問ヲ含メ且若シ米國側ニシテ何等カノ  
具體案アラバ本大臣ニ於テ之ヲ考慮スルニ吝ナラザルコト  
ヲモ附加ヘ報告方異儀ナキ旨應酬シ置タリ

吾、尙本大臣ハ右會見ノ機會ニ米國海軍ノ太平洋集中ノ理由  
ヲ諒解スルニ苦シム旨ヲ述べタルガ同大使ハ右ハ米國海軍  
ノ都合ニ出ツルモノニシテ別ニ對日威嚇ニ非スト御座ナリ  
ノ辨解ヲ爲シ尙前顯書キ物ノ外ニ廣田「ハル」間ニ交換セ  
ラレタル message ノ寫ヲモ殘シ行キ之ニ關シテ別段詳シ  
キ説明モナカリシモ本日會見ノ「アレンジメント」ノ爲  
「ドゥーマン」ガ吉澤局長ヲ來訪シタル際日米關係現狀打  
開ノ一ノ形式トシテ同「メッセイジ」ニ言及シタリトノコ

トナレバ或ハ「グ」大使ニ於テ何カ思ヒ寄りノ次第アルカ  
トモ想像セラル

(付記一)

#### Oral Statement

1. I have asked for a talk with Your Excellency  
because it seems to me important, and possibly helpful, that  
we should from time to time explore the relations between  
our two countries.

2. Today I am acting on my own initiative and  
speaking my own thoughts.

3. I think it important that in today's talk we should  
avoid all publicity, and it was for that reason that I  
suggested a meeting which would not be reported in the  
press.

4. For some time I have had the impression that Your  
Excellency has not been especially hopeful that rapid and  
substantial progress can be made toward improving the  
relations between our two countries.

5. The impression gained from the statements which you made during our conversation at the Embassy on April 26 was that although efforts were being made by the Japanese Government to put a stop to the bombings by the Japanese forces of American properties in China, and to settle certain claims of American citizens, there was nevertheless a fundamental cleavage between the policies and views of our respective countries which precludes the expectation that constructive action can be taken toward improving our relations before the conflict in China is ended.

6. Indeed, indications have appeared in the Japanese press and in talks that I have had with prominent Japanese that good relations between our two countries are generally regarded in Japan as impossible under present circumstances.

7. Sir Robert Craigie tells me that during a conversation which he had with you after the luncheon of the Pan-Pacific Club on May 27, Your Excellency quoted

me as saying that there could be no possibility, so long as the conflict in China continued, of an improvement in the relations between the United States and Japan.

8. So far as I know I have never presented the situation to you in precisely those words or in precisely that form, but I am prepared to admit that the logical implications of the observations which I have made on various occasions to you and to your predecessors are substantially along the lines of the statement which Sir Robert attributes to you.

9. I do remember very clearly saying on innumerable occasions that cessation of bombings of American property in China, of depredation against American property, of the inflicting of indignities on American citizens and of interference with American commercial activities in China, must precede any positive steps looking toward the restoring of friendly relations between the United States and Japan.

10. On the other hand, I can perceive that to you our

requiring the cessation of interference with the normal activities of American merchants in China by means of the establishment of monopolies, control of foreign exchange, etc., is equivalent to asking that Japan abandon those objectives in China of which monopolies, exchange and trade control and so on are the instruments of achievement.

11. I wish at this time again to emphasize that relations between our two countries cannot improve so long as there is continuance of interference in the various forms which I have just indicated with American rights and interests in China.

12. I would not have you believe, however, that the cessation of interference with American rights and interests in China is alone capable of opening the way to the improvement of relations; I must make it clear with all the emphasis at my command that we cannot expect the fundamentally friendly relations which Your Excellency and I equally desire so long as Japan continues to endeavor to achieve national objectives by the use of force.

13. The American Government and people have been in the forefront in striving for the bringing about of naval and military disarmament, the relinquishment of force as an instrument of national policy, and the general conduct of relations among nations by orderly and peaceful processes.

14. We regard as a catastrophe the fact that there should exist both in Europe and in Asia conflicts which affect practically all the nations of the world.

15. Having striven so earnestly, ever since the conclusion of the first war in Europe, to avert the recurrence of similar catastrophes, it is not within the power of any Government of the United States to deal on terms of confidence and good relations, even if it desired to do so, with a nation which, by resorting to force as an instrument of national policy, is indifferent to principles to which the American people are firmly and unequivocally committed.

16. On the other hand the American Government and the American people would welcome the fulfillment of their

desire for an early return to mutually good and helpful relations with Japan.

17. The importance to both countries of the building up of such relations is dictated now more than ever before by the state of affairs existing in various parts of the world today.

18. It is my confident belief that as soon as definite evidence is forthcoming that it is the genuine desire and intention of Japan to forego the use of force as an instrument of national policy and to direct its efforts and policy toward achieving its objectives by peaceful and orderly means, the United States, for its part, will be disposed to view such reorientation of policy and efforts with sympathy.

19. I have every confidence that by proceeding along the course I have suggested it may be possible in due course to open the way to a new era in American-Japanese relations.

(平語1)

Oral Statement Off the Record

1. I read the accounts of Your Excellency's address before the Pacific Association with a great deal of interest. I was especially struck by the earnestness of your plea for the removal of barriers to trade as a prerequisite to the creating after the present war in Europe of a new world order, and I could not restrain the feeling that, if the Japanese Government could associate itself with the American Government in bringing about a free flow of commodities between nations, substantial progress might be made toward removing the causes for unrest which are reflected in the conflicts both in the Far East and in Europe.

2. I am, of course, well aware of the view of the Japanese Government that, so long as the trend was toward exclusive economies, thus making it impossible for other nations to buy freely the raw materials which they need and to sell freely the commodities which they manufacture, it would be necessary for Japan to safeguard

sources of raw materials in China and to assure herself of markets in that country.

3. So long as the trend was toward the formation of economic blocs and the creation in increasing numbers of barriers of trade, perhaps a case might be made out for the need of Japan for securing sources of supply of raw materials and markets for her finished products by orderly processes.

4. I can hardly believe, however, that it would be contended by anyone that the world could continue to develop as it has in the past under conditions of closed economies throughout the world.

5. Such a device as that of economic blocs is at best only effective as an expedient in extraordinary times such as those through which we have passed during the last ten years, but we believe that it can never constitute a permanent basis for any kind of progressive world economy.

6. I consider it the supreme tragedy that the nations

of the world were unable to perceive after the first World War that they could not continue cutthroat competition and other manifestations of closed nationalism.

7. They retained resources which unfortunately tempted them to think that each nation could afford to develop its own industrial and economic resources at the expense of other nations, but I feel confident that the present war will leave the nations of Europe so impoverished that the alternative to cooperation will be chaos.

8. If the civilization which we have built up so laboriously over a period of centuries is not to collapse, a new world order such as Your Excellency suggested in your speech before the Pacific Association is essential, especially between those nations whose trade is complementary.

9. You will remember that during the course of our conversation on April 26 I emphasized that statesmanship must look to the long future rather than to the immediate

present and that the reasons which dictate the maintenance of friendship between our two countries are fundamental and must prevail in the long run. The confidence which I impose in that belief is stronger now than ever before.

10. For a long time the American people have looked forward to the firm and permanent establishment of peace and the American Government has made efforts in every way possible toward bringing about disarmament.

11. However, the American people are now convinced that certain European governments have made their countries a menace to civilization and to the security of the United States. The United States is now engaged in a program of rearmament on an unprecedented scale, for defense and security.

12. The confident knowledge that Japan, a nation for whom the American people have entertained for more than eighty years feelings of the friendliest character, is prepared to align its policies and attitude with those of the

United States would, in my carefully studied opinion, contribute far more to the security and the well-being of Japan than the achievement of objectives in the Far East by means which the American people have renounced.

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1420 昭和15年6月13日 有田外務大臣より  
在米国堀内大使宛(電報)

六月十日の会談でグルー大使が手交した口上  
書に対する回答として非公式のわが方口上書  
を交付について

本省 6月13日後8時50分発

第二八三號(館長符號扱)

往電第二七五號ニ關シ

十二日「グ」ニ對シ其ノ「オーラル、ステイトメント」ニ  
對スル一應ノ「レマーク」トシテ記録ニ留メサルコトトシ  
口頭陳述ニ代ル書物ヲ交付セル處(吉澤ヨリ「ドウーマン」  
ニ手交)其ノ要旨左ノ通

「貴大使力此ノ際日米國交改善ノ爲努力セラレントスルハ  
本大臣ノ多ストコロニシテ又全然同感ナルカ貴大使



ノ陳述中支那ニ於ケル我方ノ武力使用カ日米關係障害ノ原因トナリ居ルカ如キ印象ヲ與フル節アル處帝國ハ米國同様武力ノ使用ヲ國策遂行ノ手段トシ居ラス今次事變ノ眞因及現在ノ實情ニ顧ミルトキ我方ハ武力行使ヲ餘儀ナクセラレ居ルコト明カナルヘシ從テ我方ハ合理的條件アラハ何時ニテモ今次事變ヲ終結スル用意アリ右ハ屢次聲明ノ通ナリ

二、日米國交調整ノ爲ニハ一方支那事變迅速終結ノ必要ヲ認メ凡有ユル機會ニ之カ實現ニ努力スルト共ニ他方事變終結ノ問題以外ニ於テモ凡有ユル努力ヲナスコト肝要ナルヘク之カ爲ニハ虛心坦懷兩國共通ノ利害ニ關スル諸問題ヲ檢討シ之カ解決ヲ圖ルコト時宜ニ適スルモノト信ス

三、敍上ノ見地ヨリ左ノ諸點ハ特ニ考究ノ要アルモノト思考ス

(1)帝國ノ經濟政策ハ全般的ニ觀察シ閉鎖經濟ト云フヘキヤ若シ閉鎖經濟ト見ラルルカ如キ狀態アリトセハ其ノ原因奈邊ニ在リヤ

(2)戰鬭行爲終結後支那ノ經濟分野ニ於ケル閉鎖的措置殘存ノ有無及程度

(3)蘭印ニ對スル我方針竝日泰國中立條約、天津問題解決ノ如キハ帝國ノ平和的政策ヲ證スルモノニ非ルヤ否ヤ尙以上ノ諸點考究ノ結果及日米國交ノ大局上左ノ諸點ニ留意スルノ要アリ

(4)日米關係不安ノ最大原因タル無條約狀態ヲ終結セシムルタメ暫定通商協定締結ノ要否

(5)米國側ニヨル物的財的援蔣行爲ノ停止ト支那再建設ニ對スル協力ノ餘地ノ有無

(6)東亞ニ於ケル新事態ヲ認識シ日米各々太平洋ニ於ケル分野ヲ守リ相提携シテ世界平和ニ貢獻スル可能性ノ有無



1421

昭和15年6月20日 有田外務大臣より  
在米國堀内大使宛(電報)

六月十九日の有田・グルー会談においてグルー  
大使が米国の一般的立場に関する口上書手交に  
ついて

別電一 六月二十日發有田外務大臣より在米國堀内大  
使宛第二九八号

右口上書要旨

二 六月二十日發有田外務大臣より在米国堀内大

使宛第二九九号

グルー大使が自分の考えを纏めた覚書の要旨

付記一 右口上書原文

二 右グルー大使覚書原文

本省 6月20日發

第二九七號

往電第二八三號ニ關シ

十九日「グルー」大使ノ要請ニ基キ會見セルニ「グ」ハ往電第二七五號及四月頭往電ノ次第ヲ本國政府ニ電報セルニ今般ソノ回訓ニ接シタルガソノ内自分ガ將來話ヲ續クル上ニ最も重要ニシテ希望ヲ與ヘルト思ハルル箇所ヲ書キ拔キ見タリトテ「日本ノ目的及意圖ガ米國ガ自ラ信條トシ且米國トシテ日本ガ同ジク格守セラレンコトヲ希望スル所ノ基本的政策及主義ト合致スル性質ノモノナルコトガ相當明確ニ表示セラルレバ米國政府ハ直チニ兩國ノ利益ノ爲探究シ得ベキ多クノ實際の方途ガ展開シ來ルベシト信スルモノナリ」トノ趣旨及別電第二九八號第三項括弧ヲ施シタル部分

ヲ先ヅ讀ミタル後右別電要旨<sup>①</sup>ノ Oral Statement 全體ヲ讀ミ上ケソノ趣旨ヲ布衍スルト共ニ別ニ從來述ヘタル所ト重複スルモノ一應自分ノ考ヲ纏メタルモノナリトテ大要別電第二九九號ノ如キ書物ヲ手交セリ本大臣ハ右ニ對シ充分研究ノ後我方見解ヲ通報スヘキ旨應酬シ置タリ

(別電一)

本省 6月20日發

第二九八號

一、米國政府ハ特定問題ニ立入ル前ニハ先ヅ各政府ノ目的希望及ビ政策主義ノ基調ヲ充分研究シソノ問題ノ基礎ヲ樹立スルコトガ却ツテソノ探究ヲ容易ナラシムルモノト思惟シ暫ク日本側提出ノ諸問題ニ關スル意見ノ表示ヲ差控ヘ米國側ノ一般的立場ヲ再說スベシ

二、米國政府ハ米洲及亞細亞大陸ニ對スル歐洲戰爭ノ不幸ナル結果ハ之等大陸ノ各國政府及人民ガ熱心ニ通商障害ノ緩和及除去ノ主義政策ヲ執リ又平和的手段ニ依ル各國ノ利益増進ノ爲努力スルコトニヨリ之ヲ最少限度ニ減少シ得ベシト希望シ又將來ノ動向ヲ形成スル爲ニハ些少ナル

一時的利益ヨリモ進取的國民ノ共通利益ニ基ク遠大ナル政策ヲ執ルコト重要ナリト信スルモノナルカコノ考ヘ方ヨリ次ノ如キ根本原則カ生シ來ルヘシ。

(イ) 現在最モ必要ナルハ秩序、平和及安定ナリ。現在ノ戰禍ノ惡化ヲ防止スルニハ國家主權、正義法律及ヒ秩序ノ原則ヲ永續セシメ且經濟的自由ノ原則ヲ達成セムコトヲ希望シ且意圖スル人民カ此ノ如キ墮落ニ強烈ニ抵抗スルヨリ外無ク、諸國ノ政府及人民カ右諸原則ノ本質ヲ感得シ之カ實現ヲ達成スルノ希望ト決心ヲ有スルニ於テハ之等原則ト背致スル各地域ノ特種事態ハ是正セラルルニ至ルヘシ

(ロ) 次ニ一般の秩序及安全ノ樹立ト恆久化ノ爲ノ最善ノ經濟の原則及方法ノ問題カ重要ナル處米國政府ハソノ爲無差別待遇ヲ基礎トスル通商政策ヲ堅持シ又通商制限ノ緩和及除去ヲ主張スルモノニシテ進取的國家タルモノハ自身又ハソノ國民ノ爲第三國ニ於ケル通商及經濟的發展上優先權ヲ獲得セス又ハコノ第三國ヲシテ他ノ諸國ヨリ通商上ノ機會均等ノ利益ヲ奮ハシメサル如キ政策ヲ執ラサルヘカラス。

三、進歩ノ爲ニハ各國ハ廣汎ニシテ永久のノ目的達成上犧牲の精神ヲ必要トス。各國ハソノ安全ノ爲ニハ勿論合法且合理的の撤廢手段ヲ執リ得ヘキモノヲ以テ第三國ニ對スル干涉又ハ第三國間ニ特權及ヒ優先的の經濟制度ヲ樹立スルノ口實ト爲スコトヲ得ス、米國ハ日本ト同様東亞ノ經濟開發ニ利益ヲ有スルカ故ニ之等ノ諸國ニ於ケル破壊の努力ヲ默過スルコトヲ得ス、上述ノ諸原則ニ關スル見解ヲ一般的ニ適用セハ第三國ニ對スル干涉又ハ獨占制度ノ樹立等ハ不必要ナルヘシ。「若シ敍上ノ原則ニ從テ事態ヲ展開セシムレハ未開諸國ノ經濟開發上ノ一般的方向ニ於テ多方面ニ亘ル協力手段ノ増加ヲ期待シ得ヘシ」米國ノ政策及見解ハ既ニ周知ノ通ニシテ且確立シ居ルヲ以テソノ目的意圖及ヒアル特定ノ事情下ニ於ケルソノ行動ノ方向ハ正確ニ之ヲ評價シ得ヘシ米國ノ態度及政策ハ根本の原則ニ基クモノニシテ若シ之カ一般の適用ヲ見レハ日米兩國ノミナラスソノ他ノ諸國ノ利益トナルヘシ。

(別電二)

第二九九號

一、米國ハ自國ノ福祉ハ他ノ一切ノ國家ノ福祉ニ依存ストノ原則的命題ヲ堅持ス。從テ他國ヲシテ右命題ニ贊同セシムルコトガ米國外交ノ主要機能ノ一ナリ

二、吾人ノ企及スル國際的協力ニ關スル上記ノ形式ハ對外交策、目的及手段ノ同一性ヲ前提トス吾人ハ米國ノ堅持スル政策及方法ニ基キ日本側カ米國ニ對シテノミナラス他ノ一部ノ國家ニ對シ協力スルコトヲ歡迎ス日本ノ政策、目的及方法カ米國ノ希望スル前記ノ協力ヲ可能ナラシムル様形成セラレ得ヘキヤ

三、本大使力閣下竝ニ前任者ニ對シ過去三ケ年ニ亘リ爲シタル諸種ノ言明ヲ更ニ檢討セラルルニ於テハ東亞竝他地方ニ於ケル諸問題ニ關スル米國政府ノ根本態度ニハ何等ノ變改アリタルコトナキ事實明白ナルヘシ

四、百五十年以上ニ亘リ遵奉セラレ來リタル米國ノ傳統ニ從ヒ吾人ハ第三國ノ合法的權利ヲ阻害スヘキ措置ニ付日本ト同調スルノ意圖ヲ有セス現時ノ歐洲狀勢ニ鑑ミ本使ハ之等ノ事實ノ重要性ヲ強調シテ已マス

五、賢明ナル者ハ自己ノ主義及目的ト根本的ニ背馳スル者ト

取引乃至其他親密ナル關係ヲ結フコトナシ、如何ナル國家ト雖モ特ニ現時ノ如キ時期ニ於テ主義及目的ノ同一性無クシテ單ナル經濟的利害關係ノミカ確固タル友好關係ノ基礎ヲ與フヘシト考フルコト能ハサルヘシ

六、米國ハ嘗テ日本ヲ欺瞞乃至脅威シタルコトナク常ニ日本ニ對スル約束ヲ履行シ又米國カ與フル權利及實力ヲ有スル範圍ヲ超ヘテ利益ヲ約束シ得ル唯一ノ利益ハ友好關係竝相互間ノ權利及他國ノ權利ニ對スル相互尊重ヲ基調トセル協力ヨリ自然ニ生スヘキ利益ノミナリ。

(付記一)

ORAL STATEMENT

I have transmitted to my Government a report of my conversation with Your Excellency on June 10 and have been authorized to say that my Government is giving careful study to it and that it has been impressed by the serious interest which you have displayed in the general subject matter which was under discussion. I have also transmitted to my Government a copy of the text of your

strictly confidential statement made to me orally on June 12, which is also being studied by my Government.

My Government is of the opinion that before the specific details of any feasible program can be developed with profit, bases therefor should be established by considering carefully the underlying policies and principles which flow from the point of view of each Government, as well as the objectives and hopes of each Government. Superficially it might seem that by laying emphasis upon principles of an abstract nature we are losing from sight the practical aspects. It is our feeling, nevertheless, that if we can first define and take into consideration general objectives and principles, the tendency of this will be to make easier progress in the future looking to a development of measures of a specific nature. For this reason we believe that it might be best for the present to defer specific comment regarding the contents of your statement, and that it would be helpful at this time for my Government to restate broadly its general position.

As has been declared before, the hope of my Government has been and continues to be that the unfortunate results of the European war may be reduced to a minimum, not only vis-à-vis the American continent but also as regards Asia, by means of an intensive endeavor on the part of the Governments and peoples of both areas to make secure and to foster their national interests along peaceful lines and by peaceful means, as well as by greater application of those principles and policies which have as their purpose and call for a lowering or the abolition of excessive and artificial obstacles to the movement of trade. We believe it of importance in giving shape to a future trend to look further than considerations of minor and transitory advantage and to keep our attention fixed upon long-range and broad policies based upon the interests which is common to all forward-looking nations. According to our belief, certain fundamentals would unavoidably result from that sort of an approach, some of which are the following:

A. A supreme need exists for order, peace, and stability. Our strong conviction is that the worsening of the general situation occasioned by the present armed conflicts and those which are spreading can be halted only by means of an enlightened and tenacious resistance to such deterioration on the part of those peoples which hope and have the intention that principles of national sovereignty, of justice, and of law and order shall endure; and that principles providing for economic freedom shall be effected. Provided that Governments and peoples perceive the essential nature of these principles, and provided that Governments and peoples desire and are determined to give them effect, situations of a specific nature in various regions, at variance with those principles, should, it goes without saying, be duly rectified and brought into proper adjustment therewith.

B. Also of importance is the matter of what economic principles and methods of procedure may be

deemed best calculated to cause conditions of general order and safety to prevail and endure. My Government is committed to a commercial policy which has as its fundamental basis the principles of nondiscriminatory treatment, and we hold that restrictions upon the exchange of commodities in international trade should be removed or lowered. Forward-looking nations might adopt a policy wherein each country would forgo endeavoring to obtain for itself or its nationals trade rights, commerce or economic exploitation of third countries of a preferential type, as well as from employing such influence as it might possess vis-à-vis a third country to effect the adoption by that country of measures which might act to withdraw from other countries equality of commercial opportunity or which might preclude the satisfaction of legitimate needs of an economic nature.

In order to make progress, it goes without saying, each

country concerned must be penetrated with the proper spirit, not excepting a readiness to make sacrifices for the purpose of attaining broad and permanent objectives, and there must accordingly exist, in so far as each country is concerned, the requisite willingness and intention to render possible a realization of basic principles.

Every nation without exception is beyond doubt entirely justified in taking all legitimate and reasonable safeguards to enhance and conserve its own security and safety. The fact of taking measures of this sort nevertheless cannot reasonably be made a ground to interfere in other countries or to set up therein systems of special privilege and preferences of an economic nature. My Government has an interest in the commerce and economic development of Far Eastern countries just as has Japan. My Government, accordingly — just as Japan — would not view favorably the infiltration into or the growth in those countries of subversive influences. A general adaptation of the above set forth line of thinking and

viewpoint would, we believe, make unnecessary interference in the internal affairs of other nations by any nation, as well as acts by any country in the territory of another looking to the establishment therein of monopolies and other types of special rights. As development took place conformably to the principles indicated, we might anticipate a multiplication of means of cooperation along many avenues in the general direction of the economic development of countries in need of and requesting such development. The policies and point of view of my Government are so well known and have become so firmly established in the traditional thought and ideals of our people that the intentions and purposes of my country are not difficult to evaluate correctly, nor is the course of action which my Government is likely to pursue under any given set of circumstances. That attitude and the policies mentioned are grounded upon fundamental principles and we are of the belief that a general adherence to those principles which are of universal application would

redound to the best interests of my country, of Japan, and of other nations.

June 19, 1940.

(左記1)

1. The United States is committed to the general proposition that its own well being is dependent on the well being of all the nations of the world; and to persuade other nations to associate themselves with that proposition is one of the major functions of American diplomacy.

2. That form of international cooperation which we seek is predicated on an identity of foreign policies, objectives and methods. We would welcome the cooperation by Japan, not only with the United States but with all other nations, on the basis of policies and methods to which we are committed. Can Japan's policy, objectives and methods be formulated in terms which well make possible that form of cooperation which the United States desires?<sup>(will?)</sup>

3. If the various statements which I have made to Your Excellency and to your predecessors during the last three years will be reviewed it will be seen that there has been no modification whatever of the basic attitude of the American Government with regard to problems in the Far East, along with problems which exist in other parts of the world.

4. In line with American traditions which have been followed for more than 150 years, we seek no concerting with Japan of measures which would be prejudicial to the legitimate rights of Third Countries. In view of the situation now existing in Europe today, I cannot sufficiently emphasize the importance of these facts.

5. The wise man does not enter into business and other close relations with those whose principles and objectives are radically different from his own. No nation, especially in times like these, can afford to assume that economic interest, without identity of principles and objectives, affords a stable basis of friendship.



6. The United States has never deceived Japan, it has never threatened Japan, it has always fulfilled its promises to Japan, and it has never held out promises of benefit to Japan beyond its power or right to confer. The only benefits which we can promise are those which would naturally flow from cooperation on the basis of friendship and of mutual respect for the rights of each other and for the rights of others.

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昭和15年7月2日  
有田外務大臣より  
在米国堀内大使宛（電報）

欧州交戦国の太平洋地域内属領等維持に関する公文交換を米国側が提案しわが方より六月十九日付米国口上書への回答手交について

別電 一 七月二日発有田外務大臣より在米国堀内大使

宛第三二二一号

六月二十八日会談での有田外相発言要旨

二 七月二日発有田外務大臣より在米国堀内大使

宛第三二二二号

右わが方回答口上書

三 七月二日発有田外務大臣より在米国堀内大使

宛第三二三三号

欧州交戦国の太平洋地域内属領等維持に関する公文交換についての米国政府提案

本省 7月2日発

第三二一〇號（極秘、館長符號）

往電第二九七號ニ關シ

其後「グルー」大臣ノ要請ニ依リ六月二十四日内密ニ會見シタル處同大使ハ本國政府ヨリノ電訓ニ因ルモノナリトテ別電第三二三號ノ趣旨ヲ述ヘタルニヨリ本大臣ハ追而研究ノ上何分ノ見解ヲ開陳スベキモ當座ノ感ジトシテハ斯ノ如キ提議ヲ從來進行中ノ話合ト切離シテ考慮スルコト困難ナルベキ旨ヲ述ベ且大使ノ問ニ對シテ從來ノ話合トハ例ハバ通商條約ノ問題モ包含セラルル旨答ヘ置キタル次第アルガ超ヘテ二十八日夜同大使ノ來訪ヲ求メ別電第三二一號ノ趣旨ヲ述ブルト共ニ右別電（一）ニ言及セル別紙トシテ別電第三二二號「オーラルステイトメント」ヲ渡シ尙往電第二九八號十九日附「オーラルステイトメント」ハ之ヲ熟讀シタル

ニ其内ニハ將來日米關係調整ニ關スル具体的話合ニノリ得ルコトトナリタル際兩國政府ノ見解一致ヲ表示シ得ル基礎的「フォーミュラ」トシテ抽出シ得可キ「パツセイジ」アルガ如シトテ二三氣附ノ箇所ヲ指摘シタルニ大使ハ一々之ヲ傾聽シサシタル「レマーク」モナサズ御話ノ次第ハ之ヲ本國政府ニ取次グベシト述ベテ辭去シタリ

(別電一)

本省 7月2日發

第三二一號(館長符號)

(六カ)

(一)二月十九日會談ノ際開陳セラレタル米國政府招來方針ニ對スル我方見解ハ別紙(別電第三二三號)ノ通尙去ル十二日ノ口頭陳述(往電第二八三號)及昨年五月十八日ノ口頭陳述等ヲモ參照セラレ度シ

双方比較スルニ兩國政府ノ意見一致セサルカ如キモ大規模ノ軍事行動ニ不可避ナル事態ヲ考慮ニ入ルル時ハ兩者ノ間ニサシタル意見ノ乖離ナキモノト考ヘラル

(二)六月二十四日ノ提議ニ付テハ現下ノ國際狀勢ニ鑑ミ直ニ提議セラレタル方針ニ依テ公文交換ヲ考慮シ得ベキヤ疑

ナキ能ハズ蓋シ歐洲戦局ハ進行中ニテ其歸趨ガ歐洲交戰國ノ太平洋ニ於テ有スル領土及屬地ノ地位ニ及ホス影響ニ付テハ我方ニ於テ重大ナル關心ヲ有スル次第ナルカスカル過渡の時期ニ交戰國タラザル日米兩國力は等領土及屬地ノ地位ニ付キ何等約束ヲナスハ不介入ノ立場ニ在ル我國トシテハ機微ノ關係ヲ生スルコトヲ惧レザルヲ得ズ從テ此際歐洲禍亂ノ太平洋波及防止ノ意圖ニ基キ此方面ニ於ケル日米兩國間ノミノ問題ニ付キ話合ノ余地ナキヤヲ考慮スルコト時宜ニ適ストナスベシ

(二)本提議ハ從來ノ話合ト切離シテ考慮シ得ズ故ニ此ノ上話ヲ進ムル爲ニハ十二日口頭陳述中ニ本大臣ガ披瀝シ置キタル所ニ對スル貴方見解ヲ承知スルコトハ先ツ必要ナリ

(別電二)

本省 7月2日發

第三二二號(館長符號)

On the occasion of Your Excellency's departure for America last year our then Prime Minister, Baron Hiranuma asked you to carry a message to your Secretary

of State, in which he stated that to save Europe from a disastrous war that would result in indescribable suffering of hundreds of millions of people as well as the complete destruction of civilization was the duty, he believed, of Japan and the United States situated outside the scope of European conflict. Unfortunately the co-operation of our two countries regarding the prevention of war was not realized. However, I am in full agreement with you in the view that we should now exert the greatest efforts toward minimizing the unfortunate results of the European war vis-à-vis America and Asia. In fact, it is because of this conviction on the part of our Government, that they declared their policy of non-involvement immediately following the outbreak of war in Europe last September, and they have strictly adhered to that policy ever since.

Japan desires to see all nations enjoy their proper places, and peace established and maintained throughout the world. That is the underlying policies and principles of our foreign relation, and all our efforts are concentrated

upon the attainment of these objectives. And in order to preserve peace, it is necessary of course that the principles of national sovereignty, justice, law and order, should be respected, but also, I believe, that all countries should appreciate one another's position in the light of the world's changes and actual conditions. The message of Baron Hiranuma to Mr. Cordell Hull contained the following passage regarding the causes of the pre-war antagonism in Europe: "There may be contentions on both sides, but on cool scrutiny of the European situation since the World War we come to the conclusion that, although Germany and Italy may be advised to be more patient, Great Britain and France also have a great deal to reconsider." To repeat these words, though they refer to the past beyond remedy, may not be altogether unprofitable.

Japan has always advocated free movement of both men and commodities. This principle, I regret to say, has been frequently violated and Japan has been obliged to undergo bitter experiences. Immigration is restricted, and

(別電川)

本省 7月2日發

第三三三號(館長符號)

In continuation of conversations on June 10 and 19 it is proposed that we explore the possibility of an understanding between our two Governments through an exchange of notes along the following lines.

The premise upon which the understanding would be based would contain a reference to the interest of both our countries in keeping the adverse effects of the war in Europe to a minimum.

Agreement would be expressed in the proposed notes that the two countries commonly desire, with reference to the territories and possessions of European belligerents in the Pacific area, that the status quo of these territories and possessions be maintained except as it may be modified by peaceful means.

Provision for consultation between the two Governments might also be included in the proposed notes

markets are opened or closed to suit the convenience of the importing countries, while the importation of the necessities into Japan is prohibited or limited at will by the exporting countries. Though these countries may have taken such steps only as temporary measures dictated by their respective needs, the fact remains that Japan which must seek overseas markets because of her limited domestic trade, and which being deficient in various goods and raw materials must depend upon imports from abroad, finds the situation intolerable. In such circumstance, and especially in the abnormal situation brought on by the gigantic hostilities in China now nearly three years old, it is imperative that Japan should endeavour to preserve certain special trade relationships with neighbouring countries and regions, although she upholds as a fundamental basis for trade the principle of non-discrimination.

June 28, 1940.

should there arise any question involving the status quo of such territories and possessions which renders such consultation desirable in the opinion of either Government.

This Government would understand the proposed exchange of notes to include and cover territories and possessions of European belligerents in all parts of the Pacific.

It should be realized and constantly kept in mind that this suggestion should not be inferred to imply and does not involve any withdrawal from heretofore taken positions with respect to any specific problems in the two countries' relationships.

The definite problem to which it relates is that of averting the injection into the general situation in the Pacific of new possibilities of difficulty, friction and new complications.

This is intended as a preventive rather than as a curative measure.

We believe, at the same time, and it is our hope that

the Japanese will believe, that procedures which have within them the possibility of substantially contributing toward bettering situations tend to prevent situations from becoming worse.

We believe that if this procedure were adopted it would tend to allay suspicions of various sorts apparently prevalent among the public and to curtail inflammatory conversation and discussion of various types.

The public thought would tend to turn toward consideration of constructive and peaceful processes.

While the various and many specific questions which have been in the past and are at present the subject matter of discussions between the Governments of Japan and United States would in no way be disposed of by the proposed procedure, nevertheless the particular and future problem to which it would expressly relate would be taken care of, and the solution of some of those other problems might be facilitated if this procedure were adopted.

June 23, 1940.



1423

昭和15年7月3日

在米国堀内大使より  
有田外務大臣宛(電報)

軍需物資の輸出許可制実施に関する大統領布告について

ワシントン 7月3日後発

本省 7月4日後着

第一〇一八號

往電第八八一號ニ關シ

二日大統領ハ軍需關係物資ノ輸出統制條項ヲ含ム國防法案ヲ裁可シ次テ大統領布告ヲ以テ要旨左ノ如キ軍需關係物資ノ輸出許可制ヲ實施セリ尙同時ニ陸軍令ノ形式ニ依リ Russel L. Maxwell 陸軍中佐ヲ輸出統制管理官ニ任命シ右輸出許可制ノ實施監督ニ當ラシムルコトナレリ(「テキスト」郵送ス)

一、一九四〇年七月五日以後左記品目ニ對シ輸出許可制ヲ適用ス

二、(一)一九三七年五月一日附中立法施行ニ關スル大統領布告(中立法武器輸出許可制施行細則)ニ規定サレ居ル武器彈藥及戰爭資材

(二)左記物資及之ヲ含有スル製品

「アルミニウム」、「アンチモニー」、石棉、「クロミウム」、「コットン、リントース」、亞麻、石墨、皮革、工業用「ダイヤモンド」、「マンガン」、「マグネシウム」、「マニラ、ファイバー」、水銀、雲母、「モリブデン」、光學硝子、「プラチナ」類、石英結晶、「キニーネ」、護謄、絹、錫、「トルオール」、「タンゲステン」、「ワナジウム」及棉羊

(三)「アンモニア」及「アンモニア」化合物、鹽素 Dimethylaniline Diphenylamine 硝酸、硝酸鹽、「ニトロセルローズ」(十二「パーセント」以下ノ窒素ヲ含ムモノ)、曹達石灰、「ソージウム」、醋酸鹽(無水ノモノ)、「ストロンチウム」藥品硫酸(發煙性ノモノ)  
(四)前掲中立法武器輸出許可制施行細則ニ規定セラレ居ル以外ノ飛行機部分品(ロ)同シク裝甲板(ハ)防弾性硝子(ニ)透明「プラスチック」(ホ)砲火操作作用及飛行機裝備ノ光學器具

(五)金屬ヲ熔解鑄造<sup>。</sup>磨鍛造<sup>。</sup>及接合スル目的ノ工作機械  
三、國務長官ハ本件規則ニ從ヒ又ハ輸出統制管理官ノ報告ニ

基キ本件輸出許可證ヲ發給ス

尙大統領ハ同日ノ記者會見ニ於テ(イ)屑鐵ハ現在供給充分ナルヲ以テ本件統制品目ニハ含マレサル次第ナルカ今回ノ統制ハ現在必要ト認メラルモノニ關シ實施セラレタルモノナルニ付今後必要アラハ更ニ品目ヲ追加スヘキ旨及(ロ)國防諮問委員會ハ輸出統制管理官ト協力スヘキ旨ヲ述ヘタル趣ナリ

因ニ政府係官ハ本件輸出統制物資ノ許可力發給セラレ得ル場合ヲ豫想スルニ仕向ケ地力羅典亞米利加諸國タルコト明瞭ナル場合ニハ恐ラク發給セラルヘシト述ヘ又最近米陸海軍力武器ノミナラス軍事上重要ナル物資ニ付テハ英ヨリノ註文ニ應シ得サル態度ヲ執リ來レルニ徴スルモ今回ノ措置ハ全體主義ノ侵略國ニノミ適用セラルルモノニハ非サルヘシト見ラレ居レル旨報セラル

在米各館へ郵送セリ

1424

昭和15年7月13日

有田外務大臣より  
在米国堀内大使宛(電報)

七月十一日の有田・グルー会談においてグルー

大使が日米国交調整に関する米国立場を示した  
非公式覚書を手交について

別電一 七月十三日発有田外務大臣より在米国堀内大

使宛第三五一号

右非公式覚書要旨

二 七月十三日発有田外務大臣より在米国堀内大

使宛第三五二号

米国政府がグルー大使に示した非公式覚書手

交の際の心得概要

付記一 右非公式覚書原文

二 右心得原文

本省 7月13日発

第三五〇號

往電第三二〇號ニ關シ

「十一日「グルー」大使大要別電第三五一號ノ如キ非公式書物ヲ持參シ右ハ自分ノ本邦在任中提出セル書物中最モ満足スベキモノト考フルモノニシテ貴大臣ニ於テ between the lines ヲ讀マレムコトヲ希望スト前提シテ之ヲ手交シ且本國政府ヨリ右手交ノ際ニ於ケル自分ノ心得

トシテ電報シ來レルモノノ寫ナリトテ大要別電第三五二號ノ如キ書物ヲ提出シタリ

二、右ニ對シ本大臣ハ追テ研究ノ上當方ノ見解ヲ申述ブベキモ只一點御尋ネシ度シトテ對蔣援助停止ニ關スル態度ニ付右ハ從來ノ態度ヲ變更セストノ意味ナリヤトノ質問シタルニ「グ」ハ自分トシテハ右書物以外ニ云フベキコトナシト答ヘタルヲ以テ日本ハ今日佛印及「ビルマ」「ル―ト」停止ニ努力シ來レル處右「ル―ト」ニヨリ蔣側ニ達スル物資ノ内ノ大部分ハ米國ノ貨物ニシテ今日援蔣ニ付キ大ナル役目ヲ努メ居ルハ米「ソ」ノ兩國ニシテ日本トシテハ米國側ノ對蔣供給ノ停止ニ重キヲ置ク次第ナリト述ベタルニ「グ」ハ米國トシテハ對支供給ヲ停止スル時ハソノ對日供給ノ問題モ亦考慮セザルベカラザルコトトナルベシト答ヘ居タリ

(別電一)

本省 7月13日發

第三五一號(館長符號拔)

一、日米兩國ノ如キ貿易ヲ重要視スル諸國ニハ歐洲戰亂ハソ

ノ結束ノ如何ヲ問ハス甚タ重大事ニシテ特ニ右兩國ハソノ亞細亞及米洲諸國ニ對スル多大ナル貿易干係上之等地域ヘノ歐洲戰亂波及ニ付共同ノ利害干係ヲ有ス。又日米間ノミニ付テモソノ貿易ハ多額且相互補完的ナルガ此ノ如キ健全且有利ナル通商干係ハ「アウタルキー」制度ノ下ニ於テハ其ノ繁榮ヲ期待シ得サルト共ニ兩國ガ私有財產權尊重ヲ以テ社會經濟組織ノ基礎トナシ居ルコトモ注目ニ價スヘシ

二、今日米洲及亞細亞ノ或諸國ハ開發資本ヲ必要トシ米國ハ右資本ヲ有スレトモ資本ハソノ性質上勿論危險ヲ避ケ秩序及安全等ノ存在スル地域ニ捌口ヲ求ムルモノナリ而シテ日本ノ如キ貿易ニ依存スル國家ハ近隣諸國ト特別貿易干態ヲ保持スルヨリモ出來得ル限り廣範圍ニ機會均等及無差別待遇ノ原則ヲ適用スルコト利益ナリ。

三、日本ハ目下通商、企業及移民問題ニ關シ和蘭及蘭印政府ト交渉中ノ趣ナルカ米國ハ蘭印ニ對スルソノ重要ナル貿易及企業關係上他國ニ對スルト同様同地方ニ於ケル通商及企業上ノ機會均等主義遵守ニ關シ重大ナル關心ヲ有スルヲ以テ交渉ニ付キ通報ニ接センコトヲ希望ス



四、米國側提議ノ太平洋内交戰國屬領等ノ現状維持ニ關スル公文交換ハ日本側見解ト異リ寧ロ日本ノ歐洲戰爭不可入ノ態度ヲ安固ナラシムヘシ、米國ハ右ニヨリ歐洲戰亂ノ太平洋ニ對スル惡影響ヲ縮少シソノ安定ニ貢獻セントスルモノニシテ右ニ付同地域ニ於テ重要ナル關係ヲ有スル日本ノ好意の考慮ヲ要請スル次第ナリ。

五、閣下カ六月十二日提出セラレタル日本ノ經濟政策對支及對南洋政策ノ諸問題(往電第二八三號參照)ハ勿論重要ニシテ之等ノ諸問題ノ明確化カ日本間暫定通商協定締結ノ<sup>(須)</sup>必須條件ナルヲ以テ日本政府ノ現存ノ通商制限ハ一時的ノモノナリトノ聲明ノ具體化カ速カニ實現セラレムコトヲ望ム

六、對蔣援助停止ニ付テハ重慶政府カ米國ノ承認セル政府ナルコトト<sup>(4)</sup>暫ク措クモ米國政府ハ支那民衆大半ノ眞ノ支持ヲ受ケタル指導者ヲ承認スルニ非レハ支那統一政府ノ強固性實現ノ見込ナシトノ意見ヲ有ス

七、日本ノ世界平和ノ爲ノ日米協力ニ關スル希望及日本ハ東亞ニ於ケル安定勢力ナリトノ理想ハ米國政府之ヲ了承米國ハ勿論平和的手段ニヨリ且凡テノ關係國ノ權益ヲ尊重

シツツ世界ノ何レノ地域ニ於テモ秩序、正義及安定ヲ齎スカ如キ政策ニ對シテ同情スルモノナリ。斯如キ政策ハ各國ヲ完全獨立ナラシメ他國トノ間ニ自由ニ通商ソノ他ノ健全ナル諸關係ヲ樹立セシムルモノニシテ強力ヲ以テ他國ヲ經濟的又ハ政治的ニ支配セントスル政策トハ正反對ノモノナリ。

### (別電二)

本省 7月13日發

### 第三五二號(極秘、館長符號扱)

一、今日日本政府カソノ將來ノ通商政策ヲ明白ニシ且右カ米國ノ見解ニ合致スルモノナルニ於テハ本會談ノ促進セラルヘシ、松本問題<sup>(須カ)</sup>上ノ主要難點解決セラルレハ小問題ハ適宜整理又ハ除去セラルヘシ

二、太平洋内交戰國屬領等ノ現状維持ニ關スル公文交換ハ特ニ太平洋上ノ新問題ノ發生ヲ回避セントスルモノニシテ事態ノ惡化防止措置ハ進ンデ疑惑ノ解消輿論ノ改善等ニ貢獻シ當該特定問題ヲ解決スルノミナラス日米間ノ他ノ諸問題ノ解決ヲモ容易ナラシムヘシ

三、日本ハ間モ無ク次ノ二個ノ根本問題ニ關シ決定ヲナササルヘカラサルヘシ

(イ) 日本ハ自己ノ一時的利益ノタメ現ニ疲弊シ且<sup>(概)</sup>抵度ノ生活標準及生産力ヲ有スル地域ノ商業及資源ヲ確保利用スルニ止マルヘキカ或ハ永久的利益ヲ齎スタメ自國並未開地域ノ經濟建設上他國ト協力シテ一切ノ技術、資本及進歩的經濟指導等ヲ利用スヘキヤ

(ロ) 右ト關連シ日本ハ武力ニ依ル領土獲得政策ヲ堅持スル諸國ト協調スヘキヤ否ヤ。武力政策ハ占領地域ヲ貧困ナラシメ且資本、及技術ノ利用ニヨル進歩的社會經濟發展上他國トノ協力ヲ不可能ナラシムヘシ

(付記 1)

My Government has been giving careful thought to the views concerning Japanese-American relations conveyed informally to me by Your Excellency on June 12, June 28, and is gratified at the genuinely careful consideration which you have given to my Government's views expressed by me orally on June 19 last.

As I have observed in the course of our recent informal conversations, my Government deems that the situation offered by the present war in Europe, whatever its outcome may be, is a subject for serious concern. Particularly is this so with regard to those countries the prosperity of which depends to a great extent upon foreign commerce. From what you have said to me during our informal conversations, it has become clear that the views of your Government as well as of my own Government are that our foreign trade is of great importance. An examination of the official trade statistics of Japan discloses that during the year 1939, 64.9 percent by value of the total exports of Japan were sent to Asiatic countries, and that 21.5 percent went to countries on the American continent, which leaves for the remainder of the world a balance of 13.6 percent. Of the total imports taken by Japan, 40.5 percent by value were derived from countries in Asia, 42.8 percent from countries on the American continent, there remaining from the rest of the world a balance of 16.7

percent. From these figures it is plainly evident that it is in Japan's interest that there should be averted, in so far as is possible, any extension of developments occasioned by the European hostilities which would bring disturbed conditions from Europe to Asiatic and American countries and diminish the movement of trade between the countries on the continents mentioned and Japan.

During the year 1939, of the total exports sent abroad by the United States, Asiatic countries took 17.6 percent by value, and countries on the American continent 35.8 percent. 30.2 percent by value of the total imports into the United States came from Asiatic countries, and 38.7 percent from countries on the American continent. It is clear from the foregoing figures that the United States also has a deep interest in the free flow of commerce between it and the nations in both America and Asia. The similarity of Japanese and American interests in commerce may be enlarged still further. A considerable amount of the commerce between countries in Asia and American

countries is constituted by the trade between the United States and Japan. To a large extent this commerce is of a complementary nature. Such a healthy and advantageous commercial relationship as the one which has been in effect between Japan and the United States could not thrive under an autarchical system of economy. Moreover, it is a matter of significance that respect for the rights of private property constitutes both in Japan and in the United States the basis of their social and economic pattern.

A condition having additional bearing upon the commercial and economic relationships between my country, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, nations on the American continent and Asiatic nations, is the fact that certain of the countries referred to are in need of capital funds for their progressive development, and that in the United States there are funds available for investment in foreign countries. It need hardly be mentioned, nevertheless, that capital is by its nature not readily disposed to take risks and seeks its outlet solely in those

areas where circumstances of stability, order, progress, and security prevail.

Your Excellency observed in your oral statement of June 28 that, because of Japan's need for markets and sources of supply overseas, it is essential that it should endeavor "to preserve certain special trade relationships with neighboring countries and regions, although she upholds as a fundamental basis for trade the principle of non-discrimination". It would appear to my Government that it would best serve the interests of a country in Japan's position, whose economy has its foundation in foreign commerce, to apply as broadly as possible the principle of equality of trade opportunity and the fullest liberalization of the principle of non-discrimination with relation to trade. An endeavor by one nation to remove particular regions from the applicability of the principles mentioned would unavoidably induce other countries in turn to claim exemption for other areas, resulting in the creation of a number of regional economic blocs having at their

foundation discriminations and preferences which could not help being harmful to the interests of the major trading nations. On the contrary, under a system of mutual non-discrimination Japan would not find its commerce restricted to one regional bloc, but would obtain both the profitable results of furnishing to a wide range of markets the wares which Japan is able most efficiently to produce and the corresponding advantage of deriving materials needed by it from the cheapest sources. Under a system of non-discrimination Japan would be better able than under any other international commercial plan to obtain the benefit, in areas in which it has expressed a special interest, arising from the competitive advantage which redounds to it by reason of its geographic propinquity to those areas.

In connection with the matter of Japanese policy toward the Netherlands East Indies referred to in paragraph 4, caption (c), of your oral statement of June 12, my Government has noted from a statement issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Government

of Japan is negotiating with the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies Government on the question of commerce, enterprise, and the entry into the Netherlands East Indies of Japanese subjects. My Government has noted particularly that, despite the reported declaration of the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies Government that it would take no steps which would result in preventing the exportation to Japan of commodities considered essential by Japan, the Government of Japan has requested that the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies Government take suitable measures in order to "definitely assure the export of the desired quantities of required goods". As the Japanese Government knows, Netherlands East Indies products are important in the economy of many countries. The United States carries on important trade relations with the Netherlands East Indies and a substantial American enterprise exists there. As revealed by the statistics of my Government for the year 1937, which was the most recent year for which complete

statistics are available, 15.8 percent by value of the total foreign trade of the Netherlands East Indies was with the United States, compared with 11.6 percent with Japan. Accordingly my Government has an important interest in the continuance in the Netherlands East Indies, as well as in other countries, of the principle and the observance of equality of trade opportunity, as well as of that of enterprise. My Government would consequently be appreciative if the Japanese Government would keep it informed as to the manner in which these principles are being applied in the negotiations of the Japanese Government with the authorities of the Netherlands East Indies.

Referring to your oral statement of June 28 in which you mentioned the proposal of my Government that an exchange of notes be concluded regarding the continuance of the status quo in the possessions and territories of the belligerent European powers lying in the Pacific region, you indicated your belief that for our two countries, which

are not belligerents, to enter into any kind of an agreement on this subject would give rise to very delicate relationships for Japan which has taken a position of non-involvement. It would appear, nevertheless, to my Government that the suggested exchange of notes would contribute substantially to rendering secure Japan's attitude of non-involvement toward the war in Europe, and moreover my Government's proposal was occasioned by a wish to minimize in the Pacific area the harmful effects of the hostilities in progress in Europe. Indeed, it is my Government's conviction that in periods of disturbed international relationships reassertion by Governments of such fundamental principles and policies as was intended in the suggested exchange of notes would operate in favor of stability. The fact of the importance of Japan's commercial relations with the Pacific area, which is indicated by statistics of trade, would appear to my Government to be a cogent reason for the Japanese Government to give favorable consideration to my Government's suggestion.

You have stated that you cannot consider our proposal separately from the conversations which have taken place up to now, and have suggested that, with a view to making further progress in these conversations with respect to this proposal, you be acquainted with my Government's views concerning the observations contained in your oral statement of June 12. Three problems are enumerated therein as deserving especial study in connection with bringing about an improvement in relations between our two countries. These problems have to do with the economic policy of Japan, present and future, as well as with recent manifestations of aspects of Japanese policy toward China, the Netherlands East Indies, and Thailand.

My Government also regards these problems as important and believes that a clarification of the questions posed concerning them is requisite to a consideration of the suggestion contained in caption (a) of the last paragraph of your oral statement referred to, viz., the matter of the conclusion, as a temporary measure, of a modus vivendi

between our two Governments. It would therefore be of assistance to have indications as concrete as is possible, concerning the aims and intentions of the Government of Japan regarding points (a) and (b) , that is, "Is Japan's economic policy to be to adopt an entirely closed economy?" et cetera, and "Once the hostilities in China have been terminated, actually to what extent will there remain measures of an exclusive nature in the economic field?" It goes without saying that the earlier there develop manifestations of an implementation by the Japanese Government of its declarations that restrictions at present in existence are of a temporary nature, the more gratified my Government will be.

Referring to caption (b) of the last paragraph of the oral statement of June 12 which brings up the question of assistance to Chiang Kai-shek, my Government quite apart from the fact that the National Government now at Chungking is by it recognized as the Government of China, wishes with the utmost candor to express its opinion that

there appears to be no prospect of solidarity of a united government for China other than through recognition of a leadership enjoying the real support of the vast majority of the people of China.

My Government has noted the expressed desire contained in your oral statement of June 12, caption (c) , that our two Governments act together in order to contribute to world peace. It has also noted the ideal expressed by you in the course of your radio address on June 29 last that Japan constitute a stabilizing force in Eastern Asia. My Government, it goes without saying, would view with sympathy policies and methods which give order, justice, and stability in any area of the world, by peaceful means and having due regard for the interests and rights of all countries and peoples involved. Policies and methods of this nature leave every state in any region completely independent and free to seek normal trade and other healthy relations with other nations in any part of the world. Methods and policies of this nature are in antithesis

to those aimed at obtaining by force economic or political domination for one country in any region.

July 11, 1940.

(左記1)

I. The United States Government believes that at this point a clarification by the Japanese Government of its attitude with respect to future commercial policy would, if disclosing a compatibility with our own views, contribute to accelerating these conversations. Having settled outstanding difficulties with regard to fundamental and broad questions, the details would have a tendency either to fall into place or possibly to be eliminated.

II. It is desired, in connection with the proposed exchange of notes regarding maintenance of the status quo of Pacific possessions and territories of belligerent European powers, that there be borne in mind especially the intention to avert new difficulties and friction in the general Pacific situation, and it is hoped that the Japanese

Government will share our belief that procedures which tend to prevent situations from deteriorating have within them the germ of contributing materially toward improving situations; that this procedure, if adopted, would tend to dissipate suspicion and curtail inflammatory discussion, thereby turning public thought toward peaceful and constructive processes. It would not only solve the specific problem for which designed, but in addition it might facilitate a solution of some of the other problems between the two Governments.

III. The United States Government believes that Japan must soon come to a decision regarding two fundamental questions:

(1) Will Japan follow a policy and a course of action based upon an attempt to exploit and assure for her own utilization the commerce and resources of territories now impoverished, where living standards are low and capacity for production limited, or will she choose to pursue a course based upon a policy of cooperation with other countries of a



similar mind, in order to utilize all available resources of technical skill, capital, and progressive economic leadership with the aim of building up her own economy and that of the mere primitive and undeveloped areas?

Viewed in historical perspective, the narrower course can bring no assistance or permanent benefit to any country — whatever benefits might accrue being merely of a temporary character. The broader course would increase many times the purchasing power of peoples, would elevate their standard of living, and would bring lasting advantages.

(2) The second fundamental choice in the opinion of the United States Government, related to the first, is whether Japan will decide to associate herself with countries committed to a policy of acquiring territory by force. Such a policy might of course denude occupied areas of natural and other forms of wealth, but once gathered, no substantial basis would exist on which to build for economic wellbeing in the future. It would, moreover, tend

to preclude cooperation with other nations in a broad program of social and economic development of a progressive nature in which the capital resources and the technical skill of the various countries concerned would be enlisted.

July 11, 1940.

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1425 昭和15年7月15日

亜米利加局第一課が作成した当面の対米外交  
に関する意見書

当面ノ對米外交ニ關スル亞米利加局第一課作成ノ

意見書(昭和十五年七月十五日)

七月十一日ノ米國側對日申入ニ對スル取扱方ハ別紙第一號「對米應答資料(二)」ニヨリ米國側ニ回答スルコト適當ト認メラルル處、右應答振起草ノ根本觀念ハ別紙第二號「對米基本的態度及政策ニ付テ」ニ於テ一應説明シ置タリ。帝國ハ興亞(南洋ヲ含ム)ノ聖業ニ米國ノ同調ヲ招來センコトヲ對米外交ノ目標トスレドモ、之ヲ實現セムガ爲ニハ米國

人ノ政治心理ト世界情勢ヲ睨ミ合セ此際別紙ノ如キ强硬ナル手ヲ打ツコト最善ノ方法ナリト認ム。若シ現内閣ニ於テソノ對米關係及ビ言質(南洋現狀維持ニ關スル有田聲明)上又ソノ對獨關係上―現在獨逸ハ現内閣ノ性格ニ鑑ミ現内閣トハ南洋問題ヲ論セズトノ態度ヲ執リ居ルモノノ如シ―右ノ如キ對米態度ニ出ヅルコト不可能ナリトセバ、コノ際―先般ノ有田大臣「ラヂオ」演説ノ問題經緯ニ顧ミルモ―何等對米回答ヲ與ヘズ、寧口獨逸ト同様本日ヨリ市俄古ニ開催ノ米國民主黨大會ノ動向ヲ見極ムルノ態度ヲ執リ暫ラク對米折衝ヲ延期スルコト適當ナルベシ。

## 別紙第一號

## 對米應答資料(二)

一、帝國ハ先ヅ米國ニ對シ世界平和ノ恆久的基礎トシテ通商自由、世界資源及領土ノ再分割、各大陸間ノ不干渉主義、人種平等及ビ軍縮ノ五大原則ヲ提示スベシ。(右詳細ハ曩ニ本官ノ提出セル「對米應答資料―一五、六、二一、米一」ヲ參照)

二、右ニ關聯シ米國側ノ通商自由ノ主張ニ對シテハ特ニ世界

ニ於テハ純粹單純ナル通商自由ハ存在シ居ラズ、存置シ得ス又存在セシムベキモノニ非ルコト―從ツテコノ點ニ關スル米國側ノ主張ハ誤謬ナルコト、米國ト雖モ「出來得ル限り廣範圍ノ」通商自由ト云ヒテ之ニ條件ヲ附シ居ルコト―ヲ指摘シ、日本ニ執リテハ現在通商ノ自由ヨリモ資源及市場ノ獲得―從ツテ世界資源ノ再分割―カ必要ナルコトヲ力説スルコトヲ要ス。

民主黨下ノ米國ハ今日通商ノ自由ヲ唱違スルモ、約十年前ニ共和黨政權ハ例ノ「ホーレー・スムート」法ニヨリテ非常ナル高關稅主義ヲ採用シ、世界ハ右ノ爲經濟不況ニナリタリトハ識者ノ一致セル意見ナリ。今日米國ハ互惠通商法ニヨリ各國トノ通商ヲ出來得ル限り自由ニセムト試ミ居ルモ、大体論ヨリスレバ今日ト雖モ日本ノ關稅ハ米國ノソレヨリモ低率ニシテ、又米國ガ將來再ビソノ内政關係上高關稅主義ニ復歸セズトハ何人カ保障シ得ルモノゾ。又米國ハ日本ニ對シ技術的熟練、資本及ビ進歩的經濟指導原理ニヨリ世界ニ繁榮ヲ齎スベシト云ヒ奇リ<sup>(寄ル)</sup>居ルモ、右ハ今日ノ米國資本主義制度下ニ於テ今尙一千萬人以上ノ失業<sup>(寄ル)</sup>者ノ存在スルコト―又之ニ比較シテ今次

ノ歐亂以前ニ於ケル獨逸ニ於テハ殆ンド失業ノ存在セザリシコトヲ想起スルトキ、日本ハ直チニ米國式資本主義ニ對シテハ之ニ同調シ得ザルモノナリ。況ンヤ米國側ノ對日經濟協力ノ提案ガ日本ノ東亞(南洋ヲ含ム)新秩序ノ理想ヲ犠牲ニスルコトヲ條件トナスニ於テオヤ。

三、日本ノ南方政策ハ日滿支三國ト南洋諸國トノ間ニヨリ強キ經濟連繫ヲ期待スルト共ニ、之等諸國ノ民族ノ政治的解放ヲ希求スルモノナリ。帝國ハ一方ニ於テ米國ノ所謂「モンロー」主義ヲ認メ米洲大陸ノ内外政ニ干渉セストノ意圖ヲ有スルモノナルヲ以テ又米國ヨリモ東亞(南洋ヲ含ム)ニ對シ同様ノ態度ヲ期待ス。右問題ニ付テハ米國ハ之等諸國ノ現狀維持ノミヲ希求シ居ルカ如ク見受ケラルルニ反シ―先般ノ「ルーズヴェルト」大統領ノ所謂亞細亞「モンロー」主義ニ關スル意見ハコノ際之ヲ論セサル事トスヘシ―日本ハ日本ノ前述ノ如キ南方政策ヲ實現セムカ爲ニ、現在ノ世界狀勢ノ段階ニ於テハ今日ハ兎ニ角現狀變更ヲ欲セストノ意志ヲ有シ居ルモノニシテ、日本ノ本意ハ結局右帝國ノ政策ニ合致スヘキノ現狀ノ變更ハ之ヲ歡迎スルモノナルコト言ヲ俟タス。而シテ日

本ハ東亞諸民族ノ名ニ於テ米國力之等民族ノ政治的歸趨ニ付不干渉ノ態度ヲ執ルコトヲ期待スルモノナリ。

四、米國ハ日本ノ支那ニ於ケル武力行使ノ事實ヲ好マス又日本ノ將來ノ政治的動向ニ付テ恰モ獨伊ト協調スルコトヲ好マサルカ如キ態度ヲ示シ居レルカ、帝國ハ米國ガ好ムト好マサルニ拘ラス既ニ支那ニ於ケル廣範圍ノ軍事行動ニ「コミット」シ居ルモノナルヲ以テ、ソノ軍事目的ヲ達成スル迄ハ之ヲ停止シ得サルモノナルコトヲ明言セサルヲ得ス。又日本ハ獨伊トハ世界新秩序建設及ビ支那事變處理上協調シ得ル範圍ニ於テハ出來得ル限り積極的ニ協調セサルヲ得サル立場ニアリ。米國ハ常ニ武力行使ヲ否認セントスルモ、右ニ付テハ米國ガ今日大規模ノ軍擴ニ從事シ居ル事ヲ指摘スル要アリ。米國ノ軍擴ハ當然日本又ハ獨逸ノ軍擴ヲモ誘發スルモノニシテ、右ハ米國ノ提唱スル平和主義ト反對ノ結果ヲ生シ來ルヘキコトヲ強調セサルヲ得ス。

五、日本ハ結局米國ニ對シ先ツ第一項記載ノ世界平和再建ノ五大原則ニ付ソノ同調ヲ要請セサルヲ得ス。日本ハ米國ガ右五大原則ニ同スル時ニハ日米間ノ多クノ懸案ハ自然

ニ解決シ行クコトヲ信スルモノナリ。

別紙第二號

對米基本的態度及政策ニ付テ

一、態度

(イ) 日本ハ世界政策ヲ提示スベシ。

日本當局ハ先ヅ米國最近ノ對日「アプローチ」ノ態度ガ世界ノ政治經濟ニ關シテ一般論ヲ中心トスルモノナルコトニ注意スベシ。コノ一般論コソ現下世界鬭爭ノ一即チ次ノ世界ヲ規約スベキ一指導的思想問題ニ非ズヤ。此ノ點ニ關スル米國ノ態度ハ本質的ニ利己主義ナレドモ眞面目ナリ。日本モ亦先ヅ日本ノ世界觀ヲ樹立シ眞心ト熱情ヲ以テ之ヲ世界ニ宣揚スルノ眞摯ナル態度ヲ執ラザルベカラズ。然ルニコノ際日本ガ米國ニ對シ先ヅ通商條約ノ他ノ具體問題ヲ持出スハ、今回米國ガ太平洋内交戰國屬領(以下「南洋」ト略稱ス)ノ現狀維持問題ヲ持出シタルガ如クソノ目前ノ利害關係ニ眩惑焦燥スルノ小乗の心情ヲ有スルコトヲ明示シ、新秩序建設ヲ目標トスル大國トシテ全ク見苦シキ限り

ナリ。日本ハ神國ナリ。米國ノ如クコノ時ニ當ツテ迷惑焦燥スベカラズ。

(ロ) 政治ハ經濟ニ先行ス。

米國ノ金融資本ハソノ活動地盤ノ第一線タリシ歐洲ノ狀態ニ驚愕失望シ、今日ソノ第二線タル中南米ニ對スルソノ「攻略」ヲ積極化シ、次ニソノ第三線タル東亞ニ對シテソノ經濟的欲望ノ下ニ政治的の欲望ヲ抑フルガ如キ姿態ヲ示シテ日本ニ接近ノ態度ヲ示サムトシツアリ。然レドモ現下ノ世界ハ金融資本ノ害惡ヲ知悉シ政治ハ經濟ニ先行スルノ理性ヲ獲得セリ。日本ハ米國ノ右ノ如キ態度ニ對シテ日本ハ米國ガ日本ノ興亞(南洋ヲ含ム)政策ヲ認メ、之ニ同調セザル限り米國ノ「弗」ハ不要ナリトノ態度ヲ執ラザルベカラズ。

(ハ) 東亞ニ於テ日米ハ竝立シ得ズ。

「グラー」大使ノ書物ニ表ハレタル處ニヨレバ、米國ハ日本ガ「南洋」ノ現狀維持ヲ約束スレバ他ノ問題一即チ支那問題一ノ解決ニモ資スベシト爲シ、恰モ日本ガ此際「南洋」ヲ放棄スレバ支那ニ付テハ相當ノ讓歩ヲ爲スガ如キ素振ヲ示シ居レリ。若シ右ノ如キガ米國

ノ本意ナリトセバ、日本ハ尙更此際米國ニ對シテ我ガ對南洋態度ヲ明確ナラシメ米國ヲシテ之ヲ承認セシムルノ態度政策ニ出デザルベカラズ。何トナレバ米國ヲシテ右ノ如キ對日讓歩ラシキ態度ニ出デシメタルハ今日迄ノ日本ノ決意ノ遂行ト歐亂進行ノ結果ニ外ナラズシテ、從テ日本ガ歐亂ヲ利用シ且ソノ決意ニシテ愈々牢固タルモノアレバ米國ハ遂ニ近年ニ於ケル米國ノ對獨讓歩ノ場合ニ於ケルガ如ク讓歩の心理ニ左右セラレツツ南洋ニ付テハ日本ノ意圖ヲ認ムルニ至ルコトハ明白ナリ。然ルニ若シ米國ノ意思ガ未ダニ日本ノ南洋進出ニ反對スルト共ニソノ對支政策ニモ飽迄鬭爭セムトスルモノナレバ、――而シテ米國ノ右ノ如キ南洋問題ガ解決スレバ極東問題モ日本ノ有利ナルガ如ク解決セラルベシトノ素振ハ勿論米國ノ外交ニシテ、米國ニハソノ本意ナク、却ツテ之ニヨリ日本ヲ吊リテ結局元モ子モ無クナサセムトスルモノナルコト明ナリ――コノ際日本ハ愈々實力ト思想戰ニ於テ對米抗爭ヲ強化セザルベカラズ。何トナレハ日本元來ノ使命ト現下ノ世界ニ於ケル深刻ナル狀勢ヨリシテ、東亞(南洋ヲ含ム)ニ於テ

ハ日米ノ如キ二大國ガ竝立シ得ザルコト恰モ物理學上ニ於テ同所ニ二物ガ竝存シ得ザル事ト同様ナレバナリ。  
(二)米國ノ對日優越態度ヲ排ス。

米國ハ餓鬼大將ノ如ク日本ニ對シ例ヘバ近ク日本ハ獨伊ト協同スルヤ否ヤヲ決セザルベカラズ等ト――事ソレ自身ハ眞實ナレドモ――日本ノ内外政ニ對シ干涉の言辭ヲ弄スルト共ニ、他方村夫子ノ如ク日本ニ執リテハ日米友好ガ何ヨリモ幸福ナルベシト説教ヲ爲シ居レリ。右ノ如キ米國ノ對日態度ノ存在ハソノ日本ニ對スル傳統的の外交慣習ニシテ且近時ニ於ケル日本ノ對米媚態外交ノ結果ナラムモ、日本ハ右ノ如キ米國ノ精神ヲ強ク「リゼント」スルモノナリ。

### 三、政策

日本ハ右ノ如キ對米態度ヨリシテ單ニ有田「グルー」會談ニ於テ日本ノ言分ヲ米國側ニ傳フルノミニテハ何等外交上ノ效果ナキヲ以テ之ヲ政策ノ實踐ニヨリ裏打セシメサルヘカラス。而シテ此際ニ於ケル日本ノ政策ハ獨伊トノ軍事及外交同盟樹立ヲ中心トスル外交ト國內ノ政治經濟體制ノ再編成ヨリ外ナシ。日本ハ右ノ如キ政策ニヨリ

米國ニ對シ体當りの外交ヲ行フコトニヨリテノミ米國ヲ  
帝國ノ興亞ノ事業ニ同調セシメ得ルニ至ルヘシ。