

殊更ニ之ヲ祕密ニ附シタル爲今日新ニ之ヲ發表スルコトハ却テ意外ノ誤解ヲ來シ又ハ少クトモ面白カラサル威觸ヲ與フルコトナキヲ保セス加之本文書ハ將來ニ於テ之カ援用ヲ必要トスル場合アリトモ思考セラレサルニ付此際佛國全權ト協定ノ上之ヲ無効ニ歸セシメ之ヲ通告セサル方得策ナリト認メタルニ付在華府佛國全權ノ意見ヲモ徵シタル處同全權ニ於テモ全然同意見ナリシヲ以テ右ノ次第帝國政府ニ電報シテ至急回訓ヲ請フ所アリタルカ帝國政府ニ於テモ本件措置ニ付何等異存ナカリシヲ以テ二月六日ヲ以テ右帝國全權ノ稟請ノ次第ヲ承認スルノ電訓ヲ發セリ

右ノ結果帝國全權ハ二月八日佛國首席全權「サロー」氏トノ間ニ日佛協約附屬祕密文書ヲ無効ニ歸セシメ會議事務總長ニ通告セサルコトニ協定ヲ遂ケタリ尙其ノ際「サロー」氏ハ在佛帝國大使ヨリ佛國政府ニ對シ右無効ニ歸セシムル旨一應通告ノ手續ヲ執ラムコトヲ希望シタルカ帝國政府モ之ニ異存ナキニ付二月十五日在佛石井大使ニ電訓シテ右佛國政府ニ對スル通告方然ルヘク取計ハシムルコトトセリ

日佛祕密
文書不
告協定

第七章 二十一箇條要求ニ關スル問題

(一) 支那側ノ大正四年日支條約再審要望

十二月十四日極東問題總委員會第十六回會議ニ於テ勢力範圍撤廢問題附議セラレタル際支那全權王龍惠氏ハ本問題ニ關スル陳述ニ於テ大正四年日支交渉問題ニ於ケル所謂二十一箇條要求問題ニ言及シ『千九百十五年五月二十五日ノ條約及交換文書ハ甚シク支那ノ主權、獨立及領土保全ヲ侵害スルモノナル處其ノ何レモ支那ノ意思ニ反シテ締結セラレタルモノナリ當時日本ハ千九百十五年五月七日ノ最後通牒ヲ以テ支那ニ迫リ來レルカ支那ハ世界大戰中ニモアリ東洋ノ平和ヲ尊重シタルカ故ニ心ナラスモ之ニ調印シタル次第ナリ』ト前提シテ本件ニ關スル條約及交換文書ノ摘要ヲ朗讀シタル後等支那ノ保全ニ妨アル約定ハ支那ニ於テ已ムヲ得ス同意シタルモノナルモ右ハ固ヨリ一時的同意ニシテ支那ハ他日其ノ改訂乃至廢棄ヲ實現スルノ機會到ルヘキコトヲ庶幾シタルモノナル旨陳述セリ

支那側陳述原文

十二月十四日極東問題總委員會第十六回會議ニ於テ勢力範圍撤廢問題附議セラレタル際支那全權王龍惠氏ハ本問題ニ關スル陳述ニ於テ大正四年日支交渉問題ニ於ケル所謂二十一箇條要求問題ニ言及シ『千九百十五年五月二十五日ノ條約及交換文書ハ甚シク支那ノ主權、獨立及領土保全ヲ侵害スルモノナル處其ノ何レモ支那ノ意思ニ反シテ締結セラレタルモノナリ當時日本ハ千九百十五年五月七日ノ最後通牒ヲ以テ支那ニ迫リ來レルカ支那ハ世界大戰中ニモアリ東洋ノ平和ヲ尊重シタルカ故ニ心ナラスモ之ニ調印シタル次第ナリ』ト前提シテ本件ニ關スル條約及交換文書ノ摘要ヲ朗讀シタル後等支那ノ保全ニ妨アル約定ハ支那ニ於テ已ムヲ得ス同意シタルモノナルモ右ハ固ヨリ一時的同意ニシテ支那ハ他日其ノ改訂乃至廢棄ヲ實現スルノ機會到ルヘキコトヲ庶幾シタルモノナル旨陳述セリ

右支那全權陳述ノ原文大要次ノ如シ

In compliance with the request of the Committee on the Pacific and Far Eastern questions to furnish a list of restrictive stipulations from which China desires to be relieved, the Chinese Delegation had the honor to circulate yesterday a tentative list for information of the Committee.

The first item in the list is the Sino-Japanese treaties and the exchange of notes of May 25th, 1915.

The history of the treaties and the exchange of notes may be briefly stated thus:

On January 18th, 1915, China received without provocation a list of twenty-one demands from the Japanese Government which were arranged in five groups. The Chinese Government and people were all opposed to them

as being derogatory to the Chinese sovereignty and independence. On May 7th China was served with an ultimatum which was to expire at 6 p.m. on May 9th, and which concluded with the following words:—

“It is hereby declared that if no satisfactory reply is received at the specified time the Imperial Government will take steps they may deem necessary.”

Under such overwhelming pressure and with view to preserving peace of the Far East at the time when the Powers were embroiled in the World War, China accepted reluctantly these demands with exception of what is known as the group five which was postponed for a future negotiation, hoping that a day would come when China would have an opportunity to bring them up for reconsideration and cancellation.

The treaties and the exchange of the notes made on May 25th, 1915, in consequence of aforementioned demands, may be summarized as follows:

SINO-JAPANESE TREATIES AND EXCHANGE OF NOTES OF MAY 25, 1915.

1. Treaty respecting the Province of Shantung in 4 articles:

Art. 1. China agrees to future treaty between Japan and Germany Shantung:

Art. 2. China will approach Japanese for loan reconstruction of railway to connect with Kiaochow-Tsinanfu line:

Art. 3. Opening of commercial ports in Shantung:

Art. 4. Coming into force of the treaty, ratifications, etc.

2. Exchange of Notes respecting Shantung:

1) “Within the province of Shantung or along its coast no territory or island will be leased or ceded to any foreign Power under any pretext.”

2) Places to be opened as commercial ports according to Art. 3 of the treaty to be selected by China. A decision concerning them will be made after consulting the Minister of Japan.

3) Conditions for restoration of the leased territory of Kiaochow.

3. Treaty respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia in 9 articles:

Art. 1. Term of leases and of railways extended to 99 years.

Art. 2. Japanese may lease by negotiation land in South Manchuria.

Art. 3. Japanese free to reside, travel, engage in business in South Manchuria.

Art. 4. Chinese and Japanese joint agricultural enterprises.

Art. 5. Japanese subject to Chinese police laws and ordinances and taxation.

Japanese consular jurisdiction. In future, after reform of judicial system, competence of Chinese courts.

Art. 6. Opening of commercial ports in E. I. Mongolia.

Art. 7. Revision of Kirin-Changchun Railway Agreement.

Art. 8. Sino-Japanese treaties re Manchuria remain in force.

Art. 9. Coming into force of the Treaty, etc.

4. Exchange of notes respecting Manchuria and Mongolia.

1) Terms of lease of Port Arthur and Dainy and terms of South Manchuria and Antung-Mukden railway.

2) Opening of commercial ports in E. I. Mongolia.

3) List of mining areas in South Manchuria.

4) Loans for building railways in South Manchuria and E. I. Mongolia.

5) Employment of Japanese in South Manchuria.

- 6) Explanation of terms of "lease by negotiation".
- 7) Chinese police laws and taxation in South Manchuria and E. I. Mongolia to be enforced after understanding with Japanese consul.
- 8) Postponement of the operation of articles 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the treaty re South Manchuria and E. I. Mongolia.

5. Exchange of notes respecting the matter of Hanhying.

6. Exchange of notes respecting Fukien question. No permission to foreign nations to construct on the coast dock-yards, etc.

It is clear from the above summary that these treaties and the exchange of the notes affect vitally the very existence, independence, and integrity of China.

In common interest of the Powers as well as of China, and in conformity with the principles relating to China already adopted by the committee, the Chinese Delegation urges that the said treaties and the exchange of the notes be reconsidered and cancelled.

本問題ニ
關スル帝
國政府方
針

然ルニ本件大正四年日支條約問題ニ關シテハ帝國政府ハ會議ノ情勢如何ニ依リテハ或ル程度迄交譲ノ精神ヲ示スコト必要ナルヘキモ同條約ノ效力其ノモノヲ否認セントスルカ如キ主張ニハ斷シテ同意スルコトヲ得サルモノト認メ帝國全權ニ對スル一般訓令中ニモ本件ヲ以テ會議ニ於テ變更ヲ許ササル事項ノ一トシテ訓示シ置キタリ

帝國全權
意見開陳
留保

依ツテ前記支那全權ヨリ本問題ノ提起アルヲ見ルヤ埴原全權ハ直チニ起テ『支那全權ノ陳述ハ明確ニ聽取シ兼テアルヲ以テ原文ニ付寫ト考慮ヲ加ヘタル上追テ何等意見ノ陳述ヲ爲スノ權利ヲ留保スルコトヲ致度シ唯此ノ際一言シ度キハ支那側提議ニシテ萬一是等條約及交換文書ノ效力如何ヲ本會議ニ於テ議シ若クハ其ノ修正變更ヲ決定セントスル場合ハ

日本委員ハ到底之ニ同意スル能ハサル旨ヲ明確ニ致シ置キ度キコト之ナリ又假令是等ノ點ニ付キ問題アリトスルモ夫ハ日支兩國間ノ交渉ニ委スヘキモノニシテ本會議ニ於テ爲スヘキモノニ非サルコトヲ確信ス』ト反駁シタル處「ヒューズ」氏ハ『本件ノ如キ重大問題ニ付テハ余ハ單ニ耳ヲ以テ聽キタル所ノミニ依ラス更ニ文書ニ就キ詳細ニ考量ヲ加フルヲ以テ義務トスルヲ以テ余ハ埴原氏ノ立場ヲ諒トス』ト述ヘ更ニ『以上ノ故ヲ以テ本日ハ本問題ノ一般の討議ニ止ムルカ他ノ案件ニ移ルカ又ハ散會スルカラ決スヘシ』ト諮リタルカ王氏ハ埴原全權ノ說ノ如ク文書ニ就キ熟考ノ時ヲ與フルヲ至當トスヘシト述ヘ何等進シテ討議スルコトナク散會シタリ

支那側宣
傳

然ルニ其後山東問題解決ニ關スル日支直接交渉ノ進行捗々シカラス山東鐵道問題ニ關シテ屢々行詰ヲ來シタルカ支那側ニ於テハコノ形勢ヲ逆用シテ頓ニ二十一箇條問題ノ宣傳ニ努メ一月十三日王寵惠氏ハ新聞記者ニ對シ山東問題ハ支那ニ取リテ僅カニ三肢ヲ失フヤ否ヤノ問題ナルモ二十一箇條問題ハ實ニ全身ニ浸潤セル毒藥ナリトノ極端ナル言辭ヲ弄シタルカ更ニ翌十四日支那全權ハ公表書ヲ以テ本問題ノ不都合ナル所以ヲ論シ本會議ニ於テ是非トモ之ヲ論議セサルヘカラスト主張シ相當世上ノ注意ヲ喚起セリ

英米ノ態
度

然レトモ英國全權側ニ於テハ本件ニ關シ新聞記者ニ對シテ始終我方ノ立場ヲ擁護スルノ態度ニ出テ機會アル毎ニ既成條約ノ效力ヲ論議スルノ不條理ナルコトヲ言明セリ又米國全權ニ於テハ初メ其ノ態度ヲ明白ニセサリシ爲メ同國新聞紙中日支條約成立當時米國政府ヨリ日支兩國ニ送リタル留保文及現大統領選舉戰ノ當時同大統領ノ爲シタル演說ヲ援用シ米國政府ニ於テ若シ本問題ヲ默殺スルニ於テハ其ノ威信ヲ失墜スルニ至ルヘキコトヲ論シタルモノアルモ一般ノ空氣ハ山東問題ノ如クニ本問題ヲ重要視セサル模様ナリシ處一月十六日ノ第十八回極東問題總委員會ニ於テ「ヒューズ」氏ハ本件ニ關シ『前回支那委員ヨリ二十一箇條要求問題ノ提出アリタル處右ハ山東問題ニ關係アルニ付暫ク討議ヲ見合セ度シ勢力範圍問題ニ就テモ同様ナリ從テ本日ハ米國提案議題ノ順序ニ依リ門戶開放、機會均等ノ主義ヲ討究セムトス』ト宣スル所アリタル爲メ本問題ノ論議ハ遂ニ延期セララルニ至レリ

一月十六
日極東問
題總委員
會第十八
回會議
本件審議
延期

(二) 帝國全權聲明

二月二日
極東問題
第三十員
會議
陳述
原全權

斯クテ本問題ハ二月初ニ至ル迄立消ノ姿トナリ居リタル處他方山東問題ニ關スル日支間ノ交渉モ漸ク其ノ解決ヲ告ケタルヲ以テ二月二日極東問題總委員會第三十回會議ニ於テ初メテ其ノ上議ヲ見ルニ至レリ

「ビューズ」氏先ツ本問題ニ關シテハ日本側ヨリ意見ノ陳述アル順序トナリ居レル旨ヲ述ヘテ帝國全權ヲ促シタルヲ以テ幣原全權ハ之ニ應シ本問題ニ對スル帝國ノ態度ヲ明ニスル爲メ左ノ如キ陳述ヲ試ミ自發的ニ第五項要求ノ撤回並滿蒙投資優先權ノ拋棄ヲ宣明セリ

At a previous session of this Committee the Chinese Delegation presented a statement urging the Sino-Japanese treaties and notes of 1915 be reconsidered and cancelled. The Japanese Delegation, while appreciating the difficult position of the Chinese Delegation, does not feel at liberty to concur with the procedure now resorted by China with a view to the cancellation of the international engagements.

Which she entered into as a free sovereign nation.

It is presumed that the Chinese Delegation has no intention of calling in question the legal validity of the compacts of 1915 which were formally signed and sealed by the duly authorized representatives of the two Governments for which the exchange of ratifications was effected in conformity with the established international usages. The insistence by China on the cancellation of those instruments would in itself indicate that she shares a view that the compacts actually remaining in force will continue to be effective unless and until they are cancelled.

It is evident that no nation can have given a ready consent to cessions of its territorial or other rights of importance.

If it should once be recognized that the rights solemnly granted by treaty may be revoked at any time on the ground that they were conceded against a spontaneous will of the grantor, an exceedingly dangerous precedent will be established with far-reaching consequences upon the stability of existing international relations in Asia, in Europe and everywhere.

The statement of the Chinese Delegation under review declares, China accepted the Japanese demands in 1915 hoping that a day would come when she should have an opportunity of bringing them up for reconsideration and cancellation. It is, however, difficult to conceive the true significance of the assertion. It can not be the intention of the Chinese Delegation to intimate that China may conclude a treaty with any thought of breaking it at the first opportunity.

The Chinese Delegation maintains that the treaties and notes in question are derogatory to the principles adopted by the Conference with regard to China's sovereignty and independence. It has, however, been held by the Conference on more than one occasion that concessions made by China ex contract in exercise of her own sovereign rights cannot be regarded as inconsistent with her sovereignty and independence.

It should also be pointed out that the term "Twenty-one Demands" often used to denote the treaties and notes of 1915 is inaccurate and grossly misleading. It may give rise to an erroneous impression that the whole original proposals of Japan had been pressed by Japan and accepted by China. As a matter of fact, not only the Group V but also several other matters contained in Japan's first proposals were eliminated entirely or modified considerably in deference to the wishes of the Chinese Government when a final formula was presented to China for acceptance. Official records published by the two Governments relating to those negotiations will further show that the most important terms of the treaties and notes as was signed had already been

virtually agreed to by the Chinese negotiators before the delivery of the Ultimatum which then seemed to the Japanese Government to be the only way of bringing the protracted negotiations to a speedy close.

The Japanese Delegation can not bring itself to the conclusion that any useful purpose will be served by the research and re-examination at the Conference of old grievances which one of the nations represented here may have against another. It will be more in line with the high aim of the Conference to look forward to the future with hope and confidence.

Having in view, however, the changes which have taken place in situation since the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese treaties and notes of 1915, the Japanese Delegation is happy to avail itself of the present occasion to make the following declaration:

1. Japan is ready to throw open to the joint activity of the International Financial Consortium recently organized the right of option granted exclusively in favour of the Japanese capital with regard (1) to loans for the construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern inner-Mongolia, and, (2) to the loans to be secured on the taxes in that region; it being understood that nothing in the present declaration shall be held to imply any modification or annulment of the understanding recorded in officially announced notes and memoranda, which were exchanged among the Governments of the countries represented in the Consortium and also among the national financial groups composing the Consortium, in relation to the scope of the joint activity of that organization.

2. Japan has no intention of insisting on her preferential right under the Sino-Japanese arrangements in the question concerning the engagement by China of Japanese adviser or instructors on political, financial,

military, or police matters in South Manchuria.

3. Japan in further ready to withdraw the reservation which she made in the proceedings to the signature of the Sino-Japanese Treaties and notes of 1915 to the effect that the group V of the original proposals of the Japanese Government would be postponed for future negotiations.

It would be needless to add that all matters relating to Shantung contained in those treaties and notes have now been definitely adjusted and disposed of.

In coming to the decision, which I have had the honour to announce, Japan has been guided by the spirit of fairness and moderation, having always in view China's sovereign rights and the principle of equal opportunity.

(右譯文)

本委員會ノ前回會議ニ於テ支那委員ハ陳述書ヲ提出シテ千九百十五年ノ日支諸條約及交換公文ヲ再審シ而シテ之ヲ廢棄スヘキコトヲ切望セリ

日本委員ハ支那委員ノ困難ナル立場ヲ諒トスルモ支那カ自由獨立ノ國トシテ締結セル國際協約ヲ廢棄センカ爲現ニ執ラントスル手段ニ至ツテハ同意ヲ表シ難シ惟フニ支那委員ハ全權ヲ委任セラレタル兩國代表者ノ正式ニ署名調印シ確立セル國際慣行ニ據リ批准交換ヲ了シタル千九百十五年ノ取極ニ付其ノ法律の效力ヲ爭ハントスルノ意圖ニ非ルカ如シ蓋シ支那カ右文書ノ廢棄ヲ主張スルハ即チ支那モ亦現ニ右文書ノ效力ヲ有スルヲ認ムルモノニシテ本取極ハ其ノ廢棄セラレサル限り有效ニ存續スヘシトノ見解ヲ持スルコト明ナリ

何國ト雖領土權若ハ其ノ他重大ナル權利ノ讓與ヲ承諾スルニ躊躇セサルモノニ非サルハ言フ俟タス然レトモ苟モ條約ニヨリ許與セラレタル權利カ許與者ヨリ自發的ニ進ンデナサレサリシ理由ニヨリ何時ニテモ廢棄シ得ヘキモノナリトノ原則一度承認セラレンカ之レ亞細亞ノミナラス歐羅巴其ノ他到ル處ニ於ケル國際關係ノ平調ニ重大ナル惡影響ヲ及ホス極

メテ危険ナル先例ヲ創出スルモノナリ

支那委員ノ陳述書ニ於テ千九百十五年ノ日本ノ要求ハ後日之ヲ再議シ且ツ廢議スヘキ時來ルヘキヲ庶幾シテ之カ承諾ヲ與ヘタルモノナル旨述ヘタルモ其ノ趣旨タルヤ支那ハ最初ノ機會ヲ促ヘテ廢棄セントノ意思ヲ以テ條約ヲ締結シ得ルモノナルコトヲ云ハント欲スルモノニ非サルヘシ

支那委員ハ本件條約及交換公文ハ華府會議ノ採用セル支那ノ主權及獨立尊重ノ原則ニ背馳スルモノナルヲ主張スルモ華府會議ハ却ツテ支那カ其ノ主權ノ行使ニヨル條約ヲ以テナシタル讓與ハ支那ノ主權及獨立ト背馳スルモノト認ムヘカラスト解シタルコト一再ニシテ止マラス

尙千九百十五年ノ條約及公文ヲ呼フニ所謂「二十一箇條要求」ナル辭句ヲ用フルハ頗ル明確ヲ缺キ且ツ甚シク誤解ヲ惹起スル虞アルコトヲ茲ニ一言セサルヲ得ス右ハ日本ノ提案カ全部日本ノ強制ニヨリ支那ノ承諾セシ所ナリトノ誤レル印象ヲ與フルノ虞アルヲ以テナリ

然ルニ實際ニ於テハ所謂第五項ノミナラス日本最初ノ提案中他ノ數箇ノ事項ハ支那政府ノ意向ヲ尊重シ最終要求ノ形ニ於テハ或ハ全然削除セラレ若ハ甚シク變更セラレタリ更ニ本件交渉ニ關シ兩國政府ヨリ發表セル記錄ニ依レハ本件條約及交換公文中ノ最重要ナル諸條項ハ最後通牒交付前已ニ支那委員ヨリ實質上同意セラレタルモノナルコト判明スヘシ而シテ最後通牒ノ形ハ當時日本政府ニ於テ遷延ニ遷延ヲ重ネタル交渉ヲ速ニ結了セシムル唯一ノ方法ト思料セラレタルモノナリ日本委員ハ本會議ニ於テ參加國ノ一ツカ他ノ一國ニ對シ有スル舊來ノ不滿ヲ穿鑿シ再ヒ之カ審査ヲ行フモ何等益スル所ナカルヘク寧ロ互ニ希望ト信頼トノ情トヲ持シテ將來ニ對スルコト本會議ノ崇高ナル趣旨ニ合スル所以ナルヲ信スルモノナリ

然リト雖モ千九百十五年ノ日支條約及交換公文締結以後ニ於ケル事態ノ變遷ニ鑑ミ此機會ニ於テ茲ニ左ノ聲明ヲナスハ日本委員ノ欣幸トスル處ナリ

滿蒙投資
優先權拋棄

一、日本ハ(一)南滿洲及東部內蒙古ニ於ケル鐵道敷設ノ爲ノ借款(二)右地域ニ於ケル課稅ヲ擔保トスル借款ニ關シ特ニ日本資本家ノミニ與ヘラレタル優先權ヲ最近ノ組織ニ係ル國際借款團ノ共同事業ニ提供スヘシ但シ此ノ聲明ノ如何ナル事項ト雖前記資本團體ノ共同事業ノ範圍ニ關シ同團體ノ參加諸國政府間及之ヲ組織スル各國資本團體間ニ交換セラレタル文書若クハ覺書中ニ明記セル諒解ヲ變更シ若クハ無效ナラシムルモノト解セラルヘキニ非ス

二、日本ハ南滿洲ニ於ケル政治、財政、軍事若クハ警察ニ付日本人顧問若クハ教官傭聘ヲナサシムヘキ日支取極ニ依ル日本ノ有スル優先權ヲ主張スルノ意圖ナシ

第五項撤
同

三、尙日本ハ千九百十五年ノ日支條約及交換公文ノ署名ニ際シ日本政府最初ノ提案中ノ第五項ハ他日ノ交渉ニ讓ルヘシトノ趣旨ヲ以テ議事録中ニ留メタル日本ノ留保ハ之レヲ撤回スヘシ

尙之等條約交換公文中ニ含マルル山東ニ關スル事項ハ今回全部確定的ニ其ノ調整ヲ見且ツ解決ノ域ニ達シタルハ茲ニ附言ヲ要セサルヘシ

日本カ上記ノ決意ヲナスニ至レルハ即チ日本カ終始支那ノ主權及機會均等ノ主義ヲ顧念シ公正及寛容ノ精神ニ遵由シタルモノナルコトヲ茲ニ明ニセントス

支那全權
答辭留保

右ニ對シ支那全權王寵惠氏ハ『支那カ今回廢棄ヲ要求シタルハ既ニ當該條約ノ有效ナルコトヲ反證スルモノナリトスル日本側ノ論調ニハ承服スル能ハス事實支那政府及人民ハ是等條約ノ締結セラレタル當時ノ情勢ニ顧ミ同條約自身ヲ頗ル奇異ノモノト看做シ爾來該條約ニ基キテ發生スル事項ハ單ニ之ヲ事實トシテ取扱ヒ之ニ對シ法律上ノ承認ヲ與ヘタルコトナシ但シ日本側今日ノ聲明ノ重要ナルニ鑑ミ支那側トシテハ更ニ詳細ナル答辭ヲ爲スノ權利ヲ留保シタシ』ト希望シタルヲ以テ次回總委員會ニ於テ支那側ヨリ答辭アルコトナレリ

帝國全權
陳述ニ對
スル米國
ノ輿論

前記幣原全權ノ爲シタル二十一箇條問題ニ關スル陳述ハ多大ノ注意ヲ以テ迎ヘラレ翌三日ノ米國諸新聞ハ多ク其全文ヲ掲載シ何レモ満足ノ意ヲ表シ且ツ右ハ米國外交ノ成功ナリト論シタル向モ有リタルカ特ニ第五項拋棄ヲ重要視シ中ニハ之ニ

依リ支那ハ日本ノ保護國タルヲ免レタリ等ト極言セルモノアリ民主黨機關紙紐育「ウオールド」ノ如キハ「日本ノ誠意披瀝」ナル標題ノ下ニ社説ヲ掲ケ『山東問題及二十一箇條問題ニ關シ示セル日本ノ態度ハ從來日本政府ノ遺口ニ對スル疑念ヲ滅殺スルノ結果ヲ齎シタリ米國ハ戦争ヲ避ケ會議ニ依リ事ヲ決センカ爲海軍條約及四國條約ヲ選ビタルカ今回日本カ其約束ヲ恪守シタルニ顧ミ將來極東問題ニ關スル會議ニ際シ一層大ナル確信ヲ以テ臨ムコトヲ得ヘシ日本ハ華盛頓ニ於テ恰例ニシテ而モ正直且ツ寛大ナル取引者タルコトヲ示セリ』ト評セリ

(三) 支那全權回答聲明

二月三日
第三十一
回總委員
會全權陳
述

前記幣原全權ノ聲明ニ對シ翌二月三日ノ極東總委員會第三十一回會議ニ於テ王寵惠氏ハ次ノ如ク本問題ニ對スル支那側態
度ヲ聲明スル所アリタリ

The Chinese Delegation has taken note of the statement of Baron Shidehara made at yesterday's session of the committee with reference to the Sino-Japanese treaties and notes of May 25, 1915. The Chinese Delegation learns with satisfaction that Japan is now ready to throw open to the joint activity of banking interests of other Powers the right of option granted exclusively in favour of Japanese capital with regard (1) to the loans for construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern inter-Mongolia and (2) to the loans secured on taxes in that region, and that Japan has no intention of insisting upon a preferential right concerning the engagement by China of Japanese advisers or instructors on political, financial, military, or police matters in South Manchuria, and also that Japan now withdraws the resolution which she made to the effect that group 5 of her original demands upon China should be postponed for future negotiations. The Chinese Delegation greatly regrets that the Government of Japan should not have been led to renounce other claims predicated upon the

treaties and notes of 1915.

The Japanese Delegation expressed the opinion that the abrogation of these agreements would constitute "an exceedingly dangerous precedent"; "with far-reaching consequences upon the stability of the existing international relations in Asia, in Europe, and everywhere". The Chinese Delegation has the honour to say that a still more dangerous precedent will be established with consequences upon the stability of international relations which can not be estimated, if, without rebuke or protest from other Powers one nation can obtain, from a friendly but in military sense weaker neighbour and under circumstances, such as attended the negotiation and signing of treaties of 1915, valuable concessions which were not in satisfaction of pending controversies, and for which no *quid pro quo* was offered. These treaties and notes stand out indeed unique in annals of international relations, history, records, and scarcely another instance, in which demands of such serious character, as those which Japan presented to China in 1915, have, without even pretense of provocation, been suddenly presented by one nation to another nation, with which it was at the time in friendly relations.

No apprehension need be entertained that the abrogation of the agreements of 1915 will serve as a precedent for the annulment of other agreements, since it is confidently hoped that the future will furnish no such similar occurrence. So exceptional were conditions under which the agreements of 1915 were negotiated, that the Government of the United States felt justified in referring to them in an identic note of May 13th, 1915 which it sent to the Chinese and Japanese Governments. That note began with the statement that "in view of the circumstances of the negotiations which have taken place and which are now pending between the Government of China and the Government of Japan and of the agreements which have been reached as a result thereof, the

Government of the United States has the honour to notify the Government of the Chinese Republic(Japan) that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China, commonly known as Open Door policy."

Conscious of her obligations to the other Powers, the Chinese Government immediately after signing the agreements, published a formal statement protesting against the agreements which she had been compelled to sign and disclaiming the responsibility for consequent violations of treaty rights of the other powers.

In the statement thus issued, the Chinese Government declared that although they were "constrained to comply in full with the terms of the (Japanese) ultimatum, they nevertheless disclaim any desire to associate themselves with any revision which may be thus effected, of the furious conventions and agreements concluded between the other Powers in respect of the maintenance of China's territorial independence and integrity, the preservation of the *status quo* and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

Because of the essential injustice of these provisions, the Chinese Delegation, acting in behalf of the Chinese Government and of the Chinese people has felt itself in duty bound to present to this Conference, representing the Powers with substantial interests in the Far East, the question as to equity and justice of these agreements and therefore as to their fundamental validity.

If Japan is disposed to rely solely upon a claim as to the technical or juristic validity of the agreements

of 1915, as having been actually signed in due form by the two governments, it may be said that so far as this Conference is concerned, the contention is largely irrelevant; for this gathering of the representatives of the nine Powers has not had, for its purpose, maintenance of the legal *status quo*. Upon the contrary, the purpose has been, if possible, to bring about such changes in existing conditions upon the Pacific and in the Far East as might be expected to promote that enduring friendship among the nations, of which the President of the United States spoke in his letter of invitation to the Powers to participate in this Conference for the following reasons, therefore the Chinese Delegation is of the opinion that the Sino-Japanese treaties and exchange of notes of May 25, 1915, should form the subject of impartial examination with a view to their abrogation. This definite withdrawal of the outstanding questions under group 5 removes what has been an occasion for considerable apprehension on the part alike of China and foreign nations, which felt that the renewal of these demands could not but prejudice the principles of the integrity of China and of the Open Door.

1. In exchange for the concessions demanded of China, Japan offered no *quid pro quo*. The benefits derived from the agreements were wholly unilateral.
2. The agreements in important respects are in violation of the treaties between China and the other Powers.
3. The agreements are inconsistent with the principles relating to China which have been adopted by the conference.
4. The agreements have engendered constant misunderstandings between China and Japan, and if not

abrogated will necessarily tend, in the future, to disturb friendly relations between the two countries and will thus constitute an obstacle in the way of realizing the purpose for the attainment of which this Conference was convened. As to this, the Chinese Delegation by way of conclusion can perhaps do no better than quote from a resolution introduced in the Japanese Parliament in June 1915 by Mr. Hara, the late Premier of Japan, a resolution which received the support of some 130 of the members of the Parliament. The resolution reads:—

Resolved, that the negotiations carried on with China by the present Government have been inappropriate in every respect; that they are detrimental to the amicable relationship between the two countries; and provocative of suspicions on the part of the powers; that they have the effect of lowering the prestige of the Japanese Empire; and that while far from capable of establishing the foundation of peace in the Far East, they will form the sources of future trouble. The foregoing declaration has been made in order that the Chinese Government may have upon record the view which it takes and will continue to take regarding the Sino-Japanese treaties and exchange of notes of May 25 1915.

(右譯文)

支那全權ハ昨日ノ本委員會ニ於テ幣原男爵ノ爲セル千九百十五年五月二十五日ノ日支條約並交換公文ニ關スル陳述ヲ了承セリ

支那全權ハ日本カ(一)南滿洲及東部内蒙古ニ於ケル鐵道建設ノ爲ノ借款(二)該地方ニ於ケル租稅ヲ擔保トスル借款ニ關シ日本資本ノ爲排他的ニ與ヘラレタル優先權ヲ今後列國銀行業者ノ共同活動ニ提供セムトシ又日本ハ南滿洲ニ於ケル政治、財政、軍事若クハ警察事項ニ付支那ノ日本人顧問又ハ教官傭聘ニ關スル優先權ヲ主張スルノ意思ナク尙又日本ハ其ノ支那ニ對スル當初ノ要求中ノ第五號ハ他日ノ商議ニ讓ルヘシトノ留保ヲ撤回スルコトヲ知り満足トスルモノナリ

支那全權ハ日本政府カ千九百十五年ノ條約並交換公文中ニ豫期セル他ノ要求ヲ拋棄スルニ至ラサリシヲ大ニ遺憾トス日本全權ハ之等諸協定ノ廢棄ハ亞細亞、歐羅巴其ノ他隨處ニ於ケル現在ノ國際關係ノ安定ニ重大ナル影響ヲ及ホスヘキ極メテ危險ナル先例ヲ貽スヘシトノ意見ヲ表明セリ支那全權ハ若シ列國ノ非難抗議ヲ招カスシテ千九百十五年ノ商議及條約調印ノ際ニ於ケルカ如キ事情ノ下ニ一ノ國家カ軍備ノ點ニ於テハ羸弱ナル友邦ヨリ繁爭問題解決ノ條件タルニモ非ズ又何等ノ代償ヲモ提供セスシテ重要ナル利權ヲ獲得スルヲ得トセハ之尙一層危險ナル先例ヲ設定スルモノニシテ其ノ國際關係ニ及ホス影響測リ知ルヘカラサルモノアルヘキヲ茲ニ言明スルノ光榮ヲ有ス

是等條約及公文ハ國際關係ノ年紀歴史乃至記錄上實ニ他ニ類例ヲ見サル處ニシテ千九百十五年ニ日本カ支那ニ提供セシカ如キ重大ナル要求カ他方ノ挑發ヲ受ケタリトノ口實スラ構ヘス突然一國家ヨリ之レト友誼的關係ヲ保持セル他國家ニ提供セラレタルカ如キ實例モ殆ト之レアル無シ他日斯ノ如キ事件ノ再現セサルヘキハ吾人ノ希望且ツ期待スル所ニシテ從テ千九百十五年ノ協定ノ廢棄ハ他ノ諸協定廢棄ノ先例タルヘキヲ危惧スルノ要ナカルヘシ千九百十五年ノ協定商議ノ際ノ事情ハ極メテ違例ニ屬セリ爲ニ合衆國政府ハ同年五月十三日附ノ支那及日本政府ニ致セシ同文通牒ヲ以テ之レニ論及スルヲ至當ナリト思考スルニ至レリ右通牒ハ其ノ冒頭ニ支那及日本兩政府間ニ發生シ且ツ現ニ存スル事態及其ノ結果トシテ成レル協定ニ鑑ミ合衆國政府ハ支那及日本政府間ニ締結セラレシ如何ナル協定若クハ諒解ト雖合衆國及其ノ支那在留民ノ條約上ノ權利若クハ支那共和國ノ政治的領土の保全又ハ支那ニ關スル所謂門戶開放主義トシテ知ラルル國際政策ヲ危殆ナラシムルモノハ之ヲ承認シ得サル旨支那共和國(日本國政府)ニ通告スルノ光榮ヲ有スル旨聲明セリ

支那政府ハ他列國ニ對スル義務ヲ自覺シ右協定調印後直ニ支那カ調印ヲ強要セラレタル右協定ニ抗議シ且ツ該協定ノ結果ニヨル他列國ノ條約上ノ權利侵害ニ對スル責任ヲ否認セル公式陳述書ヲ公表セリ

右陳述書ニ於テ支那政府ハ日本ノ最後通牒ノ各條項全部ヲ承諾スルノ已ムヲ得サルニ至リシモ而カモ支那政府ハ之カ爲ニ支那ノ領土ノ獨立保全及現狀維持並支那ニ於ケル各國民ノ商工業上ノ機會均等主義ノ維持ニ關シ他國トノ間ニ締結セル諸

條約及協約ヲ更改スルノ結果ヲ生スルコトアリトスルモ是レ斷シテ支那政府ノ意ニ非サルコトヲ宣明セリ
右協定事項ハ其ノ根本ニ於テ不正ナルヲ以テ支那全權ハ支那政府並人民ヲ代表シ之等協定ノ衡平及正義ニ合スルヤ否ヤ又
從テ該協定自體ノ效力問題ヲ極東ニ於テ重大ノ利害關係ヲ有スル諸國ヲ代表スル本會議ニ提出スルノ義務アリト思考セ
リ

若シ日本ニシテ千九百十五年ノ協定ハ正當ノ形式ヲ具ヘ實際上兩國政府ニ依リ調印セラレタルモノナリト爲シ只管ニ其ノ
手續上若クハ法理上ノ效力ニ關スル主張ニ信賴スルニ於テハ本會議ノ關スル限り右主張ハ頗ル肯綮ニ觸レサルモノト謂フ
ヘシ何トナレハ九個國ノ代表者ノ今次會同ハ法律上ノ現狀維持ヲ其ノ目的トシタルモノニ非サルヲ以テナリ右目的ハ之ニ
反シ出來得ヘクシハ太平洋上竝極東ニ於ケル現狀ニ對シ諸國家間ニ於ケル恒久的友誼關係ノ増進ヲ期待シ得ルカ如キ變更
ヲ加ヘントスルニ在ルモノナルコト合衆國大統領ノ列國ニ對スル本會議參加招請ノ書翰中ニモ述ヘラレタル通りナリ故ニ
支那全權ハ左記ノ理由ニ依リ千九百十五年五月二十五日ノ日支條約竝交換公文ハ之レカ廢棄ノ目的ヲ以テ公平ナル審査ニ
附セラレヘキモノナリト思考ス

第五號ニ基ク懸案ノ確定的撤回ハ右要求カ再ヒ提起セラルルニ於テハ支那ノ保全竝門戶開放主義ヲ害セスンハ已マサルヘ
シトノ支那及諸外國側ノ深キ懸念ノ因ヲ除去スルモノナリ

- 一、日本ハ支那ニ對シ要求セシ利權ニ對シ何等代償ヲ提供セス右協定ニ因リ當事國ノ受クル利益ハ全然一方的ナリ
- 二、本協定ハ重要ナル點ニ於テ支那ト諸外國間ノ條約ニ違背ス
- 三、本協定ハ本會議ノ採用セル支那ニ關スル原則ニ牴觸ス
- 四、本協定ハ日支兩國間ニ常ニ誤解ヲ生セシムルノ因ヲ爲セリ之レヲ廢棄スルニ非サレハ他日兩國ノ友誼的關係ヲ攪
亂スルコト必然ニシテ爲メニ本會議開催ノ目的達成ノ一障礙タルヘシ此ノ點ニ關シ支那全權ハ千九百十五年六月日本
帝國議會ニ於テ故日本總理大臣原氏ノ提出セル決議案ヲ引用シ以テ本論ヲ結フノ最モ適切ナルヲ信ス該決議案ハ議員

約百三十名ノ贊成ヲ得タリ

右決議議案左ノ如シ

「現内閣ノ對支交渉ハ終始機宜ヲ愆リ兩國ノ親善ヲ傷ケ列國ノ疑惑ヲ招キ徒ニ帝國ノ威信ヲ失墜シテモ毫モ東洋平
和ノ基礎ヲ確立スルコト能ハス却テ禍根ヲ將來ニ貽スモノト認ム右決議ス」

支那全權カ以上ノ聲明ヲナス所以ハ千九百十五年五月二十五日ノ日支條約及交換公文ニ關シ支那政府ノ現在竝將來ニ互リ
抱持スヘキ其ノ意嚮ヲ議事録ニ留メンコトヲ欲スルカ爲ナリ

(四) 米國全權聲明

「ヒューズ」氏モ亦幣原男前日ノ重要ナル聲明ヲ聽キタル結果本問題ニ對スル米國ノ立場ヲ明カニスル必要アリト
兩國ノ立場
「ヒューズ」氏モ亦幣原男前日ノ重要ナル聲明ヲ聽キタル結果本問題ニ對スル米國ノ立場ヲ明カニスル必要アリト
テ左ノ如キ陳述ヲ爲セリ

The important statement made by Baron Shidehara on behalf of the Japanese Government makes it ap-
propriate that I should refer to the position of the United States as it was set forth in identical notes addressed
by that Government to the Chinese Government and to the Japanese Government on May 13, 1915.

The note to the Chinese Government was as follows:

"In view of the circumstances of the negotiations which have taken place and which are now pending
between the Government of China and the Government of Japan and of the agreements which have been reached
as a result thereof, the Government of the United States has the honour to notify the Government of the
Chinese Republic that it cannot recognize any agreement or understanding which has been entered into or
which may be entered into between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the

United States and its citizens in China the political and territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China commonly known as the Open Door Policy."

An identical note has been transmitted to the Imperial Japanese Government.

That statement was in accord with the historic policy of the United States, in its relation to China, and its position as thus stated has been and still is consistently maintained.

It has been gratifying to learn that the matters concerning Shantung which formed the substance of group 1 of the original demands and were the subject of the treaty and the exchange of notes with respect to the Province of Shantung have been settled to the mutual satisfaction of the two parties by the negotiations conducted collaterally with this conference as reported to the plenary session on February 1st.

It is also gratifying to be advised by the statement made by Baron Shidehara on behalf of the Japanese Government, that Japan is now ready to withdraw the reservation which she made in proceeding to the signature of the treaties and the notes of 1915 to the effect that the group 5 of the original proposals of the Japanese Government, namely, those concerning the employment of influential Japanese as political, financial and military advisers; land for schools and hospitals; certain railways in South China; the supply of arms, and the right of preaching would be postponed for future negotiations. This definite withdrawal of the outstanding questions under the group 5 removes what has been an occasion for a considerable apprehension on the part alike of China and of foreign nations which felt that the renewal of these demands could not but prejudice the principles of the integrity of China and of the Open Door.

With respect to the treaty and notes concerning South Manchuria and Eastern Inner-Mongolia, Baron

Shidehara has made a reassuring statement that Japan has no intention of insisting on the preferential right concerning the engagement by China of Japanese advisers or instructors on political, financial, military or police matters in South Manchuria. Baron Shidehara has likewise indicated the readiness of Japan not to insist upon the right of option granted exclusively in favour of Japanese capital with regard (1) to loans for construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner-Mongolia and (2) with regard to loans secured on the taxes of those regions, but that Japanese will throw them open to the joint activity of the international financial Consortium recently organized.

In regard to this I may say that it is doubtless the fact that any enterprise of a character contemplated which may be undertaken in those regions by a foreign capital, would in all probability be undertaken by the Consortium, but it should be observed that the existing treaties would leave an opportunity for such enterprises open on terms of equality to citizens of all nations. It can scarcely be assumed that this general right of the Treaty Powers in China can be effectively restricted to nationals of those countries which are participants on the work of the Consortium, or that any of the Governments which have taken part in the organization of the Consortium would feel themselves to be in a position to deny all rights in the matter to any save the members of their respective nationals groups of that organization. I therefore trust that it is in this sense that we may properly interpret the Japanese Government's declaration of the willingness to relinquish its claim under the 1915 treaties to any exclusive position with respect to the railway construction and financial operations secured upon the local revenues in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner-Mongolia.

It is further to be pointed out that, by Articles 2, 3, and 4 of the Treaty of May 20, 1915, with respect

to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner-Mongolia, the Chinese Government granted to Japanese subjects the right to lease land for building purposes, for trade and manufacture, and for agricultural purposes in South Manchuria, to reside and travel in South Manchuria, and to engage in any kind of business and manufacture there, and to enter into joint undertakings with Chinese citizens in agriculture and similar industries in Eastern Inner-Mongolia. With respect to this grant, the Government of the United States will, of course, regard it as not intended to be exclusive and, as in the past, will claim from the Chinese Government for American citizens benefits accruing to them by virtue of the most favoured nation clauses in the Treaty between the United States and China. I may pause here to remark that the question of the validity of treaties, as between Japan and China, is distinct from the question of treaty rights of the United States under its treaties with China. These rights have been emphasized and consistently asserted by the United States.

In this, as in all matters, similarly affecting the general right of its citizens to engage in commercial and industrial enterprises in China, it has been the traditional policy of the American Government to insist upon the doctrine of equality for nationals of all countries, and this policy together with the other policies mentioned in the note of May 13, 1915, which I have quoted, are consistently maintained by this Government. I may say that it is with a special pleasure that the Government of the United States finds itself now engaged in the act of reaffirming and defining, and, I hope that I may add revitalizing, by the proposed nine-Powers Treaty, these policies with respect to China.

(右譯文)

幣原男爵ノ日本政府ヲ代表シテ爲セル重要ナル聲明ヲ聽キ余ハ一九一五年五月十三日ヲ以テ支那及日本兩國政府ニ向ッ

テ通達セル合衆國政府ノ同文通牒ヲ茲ニ引用シテ合衆國政府ノ本問題ニ對スル立場ヲ明カニスルヲ適當ト思惟ス
前記支那政府宛合衆國政府公文ハ次ノ如シ

『支那及日本兩國間ニ目下進行中ノ交渉並ニ右ノ結果成立セル協定ノ事態ニ顧ミ合衆國政府ハ茲ニ日支兩國間ニ於テ既ニ成立シ又ハ今後成立スヘキ如何ナル協定若ハ諒解ト雖モ支那ニ於ケル合衆國及合衆國民ノ條約上ノ權利支那ニ於ケル政治的及領土的保全又ハ所謂門戶開放主義トシテ知ラルル支那ニ關スル國際政策ヲ危殆ナラシムルカ如キモノハ合衆國政府ニ於テ之ヲ承認スルヲ得サル旨支那共和國政府ニ通告スルノ光榮ヲ有ス』

之ト同時ニ合衆國政府ハ日本ニ對シテモ同文ノ通牒ヲ送附セリ
同陳述ハ對支關係ニ於ケル合衆國ノ歴史的政策ニ合致シ右ニ陳ヘラレタルカ如キ其ノ立場ハ終始一貫維持セラレ來タル

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最初ノ要求ノ第一號ヲ成シ山東省ニ關スル條約及交換公文ノ題目タリシ山東ニ關スル諸事項カ二月一日ノ總會議ニ報告セラレタル通本會議ト相併ンテ行ハレタル商議ニ依リ當事國雙方ニ満足ナル解決ヲ遂ケタルコトヲ承知シ満足ニ堪エス又幣原男爵カ日本政府ヲ代表シテナシタル陳述ニヨリ日本ハ千九百十五年ノ條約及公文ノ調印ニ際シ爲シタル留保即チ政治財政及軍事顧問トシテ有力ナル日本人ノ傭聘、學校病院ノ用地、南支那ニ於ケル鐵道武器供給及布教權ニ關スル事項等日本政府最初ノ提案第五號ヲ他日ノ協議ニ讓ルヘキ旨ノ留保ヲ撤回スルノ意アルヲ承知シ又満足トス

右第五號ニ基ク懸案ノ確定的撤回ハ右要求力再ヒ提議セララルルニ於テハ支那ノ保全及門戶開放主義ヲ害セスンハ已マサルヘシトノ支那及諸外國側ノ深キ懸念ノ因ヲ除却スルモノナリ

幣原男爵ハ南滿洲及東部內蒙古ニ關スル條約及公文ニ關シ日本ハ南滿洲ニ於ケル政治、財政、軍事若クハ警察事項ニ關シ支那ニ於テ日本人顧問若クハ教官ヲ傭聘スヘキコトニ關スル優先權ヲ主張スルノ意圖ナキ旨陳述セラレ吾人ノ意ヲ安ンセラレタリ更ニ幣原男爵ハ(一)南滿洲及東部內蒙古ニ於ケル鐵道建設ニ對スル借款(二)右地域ニ於ケル課稅ヲ擔保ト

スル借款ニ關シ日本資本ノ爲排他的ニ許與セラレタル優先權ヲ主張スルノ意ナク之レヲ最近組織セラレタル國際借款團ノ共同事業ニ提供スヘキ旨表明セラレタリ余ハ此ノ點ニ關シ右地域ニ於テ外國資本ニヨリ企劃セララルコトアルヘキ此ノ種性質ノ企業ハ殆ト悉ク借款團ニヨリ實行セラルルニ至ルヘキハ疑ナキ事實ナリト云ハントス但シ現在諸條約ハ此ノ種企業ニ關スル機會ヲ執レノ國ノ人民ニ對シテモ平等ノ條件ノ下ニ開放シ居ルモノナルコトハ之ヲ指摘シ置カサルヘカラス支那ニ於ケル條約國ノ有スル右一般の權利ハ實際借款團關係國ノ國民ノミニ之レヲ局限シ得ヘキモノト看做スヘカラス將又借款團關係國政府ニ於テ本件ニ關スル總テノ權利ハ借款團ニ屬シ各自國團體所屬員以外ノ者ニ許與スヘカラスル立場ニアリト思惟シ居ルモノト看做スヘカラス余ハ千九百十五年ノ條約ニ基ク南滿洲及東部內蒙古ニ於ケル鐵道建設及地方收入ヲ擔保トスル財政的活動ニ關スル排他的地位ノ主張ヲ放棄スヘキ旨ノ日本政府聲明ノ解釋ハ正ニ此ノ意味ヲ以テスルノ正當ナルヲ信スルモノナリ

尙茲ニ指摘スルヲ要スルハ千九百十五年五月二十五日ノ南滿洲及東部內蒙古ニ關スル條約第二條第三條及第四條ニヨリ支那政府ハ日本臣民ニ對シ南滿洲ニ於テ商工業上ノ建物ヲ建設スル爲メ又ハ農業ヲ經營スル爲メ土地ヲ商租シ南滿洲ニ於テ居住往來シ且ツ各國ノ營業及製造業ニ從事シ又東部內蒙古ニ於テ支那國民ト合辦ニ依リ農業其ノ他同種ノ產業ヲ營ムノ權利ヲ許與セルコト之ナリ言フ迄モナク合衆國政府ハ右許與ハ排他的ノ趣旨ヲ以テセルモノニ非スト解シ過去ニ於テモ爲シタルカ如ク米國市民ノ爲メ支那ノ條約中ノ最惠國條款ニ基キ彼等ニ歸屬スヘキ利益ヲ支那政府ニ對シ要求スヘシ抑モ日支間ニ於ケル條約ノ效力問題ハ支那トノ條約ニ基ク合衆國ノ條約上ノ權利ノ問題トハ同一ニ非ス合衆國ハ其ノ人民力支那ニ於テ商工業ニ從事シ得ル一般の權利ニ影響アル總テノ問題ニ付爲シタルカ如ク本件ニ付テモ之等ノ權利ヲ力説シ且ツ一貫シテ之ヲ主張シ來レリ凡テノ國民ニ對スル平等主義ヲ主張スルハ合衆國政府ノ傳統的の政策ナリ而シテ此ノ政策ハ余ノ引用セル千九百十五年五月十三日ノ公文ニ記載セル他ノ政策ト共ニ合衆國政府ノ一貫シテ維持シ來レル處ナリ尙合衆國政府ハ支那ニ關スル之等政策ヲ茲ニ提案セラレアル九國條約ニヨリ再ヒ確認シ明確ニシ且ツ斯ク云フヲ許サ

サルヘクシハ一層力アラシムルノ業ニ躬ラ從ヒツツアルニ殊ニ喜悅ノ情ヲ感スルモノナリ

(五) 本問題ノ歸趨

顧氏陳述
右陳述後「ヒューズ」氏ハ以上日支米三國ノ陳述ヲ本會議議事録ニ留ムルコトトスヘキ旨提議シタルニ顧維鈞氏ハ千九百十五年ノ約定中今回日本カ明ニ拋棄セザリシ部分ニ付テハ支那ハ將來一切ノ適當ナル機會ニ於テ其ノ解決ヲ計ルノ權利ヲ留保スル了解ノ下ニ「ヒューズ」氏ノ提議ニ贊成スル旨述ヘタリ「ヒューズ」氏ハ之ニ對シ右ノ點ニ付テハ各國ノ權利留保セラレ居ル旨ヲ答ヘタル處支那側ヨリ顧氏ノ所言ヲモ同時ニ議事録ニ留メムコトヲ要求シタルヲ以テ以上四個ノ陳述ヲ議事録ニ採録スル件ニ付決ヲ採リタルニ全會異議ナク之ヲ可決シ次イテ翌四日ノ第六回總會議ニ於テ各國全權ノ正式承認ヲ經タリ以上四個ノ陳述中顧氏ノ分ハ即チ次ノ如シ

“My colleagues and I myself desire to indorse the Chairman's suggestion that all of the statements on this very important question shall be spread upon the records of the Conference, it being understood of course that the Chinese Delegation reserves their right to seek a solution on all future appropriate occasions concerning those portions of the treaties and notes of 1915 which do not appear to have been expressly relinquished by the Japanese Government.”

本問題
關スル
論議

前記ノ如ク二月二日第三十二回極東總委員會ニ於テ二十一箇條問題ニ關シ幣原全權ノ爲セル陳述ニ對シ翌三日ノ總委員會ニ於テ支那側ヨリ重ネテ從來ノ主張ヲ繰返シ尙「ヒューズ」氏モ米國ノ立場ヲ明カニスル所アリタル處諸新聞何レモ之ヲ掲載シ且ツ論評ヲ加ヘタルカ我方聲明ノ趣旨概シテ徹底シタルモノト見ヘ何等反動ヲ惹起スルニ至ラス紐育「ウオールド」ハ四日ノ紙上ニ於テ第五項ノ撤回セラレ且ツ其ノ他ノ事故モ除カレタル以上尙米國ノ權利ニ抵觸スヘキモノアリヤ疑問ナリト述ヘ五日ノ紐育「ヘラルド」ハ日本カ第五項ヲ放棄シタル結果世界ノ輿論ニ及シタル效果頗ル大ナルモノアリ日本ハ結局

滿蒙ニ於ケル政治的及經濟的計畫ヲ改メ之迄他國ノ見解ニ反シ主張シ來レル特殊權利ヲ事實上放棄スルニ至ル可シト論シ又紐育「タイムス」ハ七日ノ社説ニ於テ「日本ノ讓歩ハ頗ル多トスルモ日本ハ日支條約放棄問題ニ就テハ之ヲ論議スルコトヲ同意セス遼東半島ニ對スル權利ニ就テハ一言モ口ヲ挾マシメス支那ノ財政及產業改造ニ關シテ他國ト提携セムコトヲ懇ニ主張シ乍ラ既ニ獲得セル特殊ノ利益ハ毫末モ之ヲ棄テントスル意志無シ要スルニ日本ハ華府會議ニ於テ多大ノ讓歩ヲ爲シタルモ其ノ絶對必要ト認ムルモノニ就テハ固ク取テ一步モ動カサリシモノナリ」ト論セリ

第八章 支那ニ對スル武器供給禁止問題

(一) 本問題上議事情

十一月二日
山東海關事件

大正十年十一月二十一日及翌二十二日ニ渉ル夜陰ニ乘シ支那山海關ニ駐屯スル伊太利軍ハ直魯豫巡閱使曹錕氏ニ對シ大小砲彈數千發及約八十臺ノ荷馬車ニ滿載シタル彈藥ヲ賣渡シ同夜直チニ代金ノ授受ヲ了シタルカ是ヨリ先大正八年日英佛米伊ノ五箇國間ニ支那國內政情ノ統一シ事態全ク安靜ニ歸スル迄ハ南北何レノ政府政派タルヲ問ハス一切武器ノ供給ヲ爲ササル旨ノ申合成立シ居ルヲ以テ端ナクモ北京外交團ノ大問題ヲ惹起スルニ至レリ

在支外交
團態度

然ルニ華府會議ニ在リテハ既ニ極東委員會ニ於テ對支四大原則ノ確認セラルルアリ其ノ第二項ニハ支那ニ對シ有力且ツ安固ナル政府ノ樹立及維持ノ爲メ最モ完全且ツ障礙ナキ機會ヲ與フヘキ旨ノ規定アル處前記伊軍ノ行動ハ明カニ右原則ニ反スル所ナルヲ以テ在北京日英米佛各國公使ハ本件ヲ華府會議ノ考量ニ附シテ其ノ裁斷ヲ俟ツヘキコト然ルヘシト認メ其ノ趣旨ノ同文電稟ヲ各自國政府ニ發シタリ

伊國行動
ニ對スル
帝國態度

帝國全權
態度

右ノ結果本件カ何等カノ形式ニ於テ華府會議ノ審議ニ上ルコトアルヘシト豫想セラレタル處帝國政府ニ於テハ同會議ニ於テ本件上議セラルルニ何等異存ナキヲ以テ其ノ場合帝國側トシテハ本件ニ關シ從來伊國政府ノ執リ來リシ態度竝我方ノ立場等ヲ説明シ充分他關係國全權ノ注意ヲ喚起スル様措置スヘキ旨十二月十六日ヲ以テ帝國全權ニ向テ訓令スル所アリタリ然ルニ華府ニ於テハ本件武器供給問題ハ未ダ直チニ問題トナルニ至ラス殊ニ當時各國ハ會議ノ促進終了ヲ期シ努メテ議論ノ紛糾ヲ避ケントシツツアル折ナリシヲ以テ果シテ會議ニ上ルヘキヤ否ヤ疑ハシキモ若シ上議セラルルニ於テハ或ハ「ルト」決議第二項ニ關スル具體的適用問題ニ關聯シテ議セラルルニ至ルヘキカト思考セラレタル處帝國全權ニ於テハ元來此種問題ヲ華府會議ノ審議ニ附セントスルカ如キハ會議ノ一般目的ニ添ハサル嫌アルノミナラス或ハ又各種零細ナル懸案