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文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

(三號)

自分、林 馨ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ 六 頁ヨリ成ル 蔣介石聲明 (昭和十二年七月九日)ト題スル書類ハ日本政府(外務省)ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ據奉、正確ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年 四月 八 日 於東京

林

林

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人

浦部 勝馬

67  
By W. W. H. 1283  
其那側發

① 蔣介石聲明 五月十九日  
昭和五年

OK

中國對外平和並國內統一維持，根本政策ヲ遂行  
シツル時突如蘆溝橋事件發生シ全國民ヲシテ深  
刻ノ憤激ノ状態ニ投シテ全世界ニ大危懼ノ念ヲ興ヘツ  
アル此ノ事件ノ齊ニキ諸結果ハ中國ノ存在自体ト東  
亞平和トヲ脅威ニ至リタ此ノ重大時期ニ際シ幾多ノ  
質問照會ニ答ヘ予ハ次ノ如ク述ヘ度イ。

中國民族ハ終始和平ヲ愛好ス國民政府ハ國  
内政策アル常ニ國內統一維持ヲ目標トシ且對外関  
係テハ諸國ト相互尊重並ニ共存ヲ目標トシテ中心  
本年二月ニ中全會ハ宣言書カ以上ノ諸點ヲ明瞭ニ  
強調シテ居ル過去ニテ年間ノ明白ノ事實カ証明ニ通  
國民政府ハ其ノ日本ニ對シテ一切ノ懸念並ニ調整調  
シ且一般ニ承認サレタ外交交渉方法ニ訴ヘ以テ公正ナル  
ノ達成ヲ常ニ期待シタ。

我國民ハ我等國家ノ地位立場ヲ了解シテレハナラ又我々  
ハ我々自身ノ立場ヲ認識シテレハナラ又弱体國家ノ  
人民トシテ我々ハ我々自身ノ力量ノ程度ヲ正當ニ評價  
セネハナラ又過去數箇年間重大ナ諸國難ニ當面耐  
工難キ苦痛ヲ忍ビテテラモ我々ハ隱忍自重面目ヲ傾注

シテ和平ノ確保ニ努力シ依テ以テ民族ノ復興ヲ實現  
 センコトヲ期シタ故ニ昨年ノ五金大會ニ於ケル外交報  
 告ニ當リ予ハ和平ノ維持ハ完全ニ繩望ナラサル限リ  
 我々ハ決シテ和平ヲ棄テテ我々カ自判隱忍ノ極點ニ  
 對シテテテ限リ輕キシク犧牲ヲ諒シテテテアラウト述ヘカ  
 其ノ後ノ中央執行委員會ニ於テ聲明ニ徵シテモ  
 我々ノ和平維持ニ對シテ熱意カ明瞭テアラウ假令弱  
 國タリトハ言ハ若シ不幸ニシテ最後ノ閉頭ニ至テ致レハ  
 我々ノ為ニキエトハ唯一即チ我カ全國國民精カノ最後ノ滴  
 迄モ傾倒シ國家存立ノ為抗爭ニキリミタ而シテ一度右  
 抗爭カ開始サルハ時間ノエカモ情勢ノエカモ中道ニ  
 シテ止ニ和平ヲ求ナルコト許サズ一旦簡單ノ始メヲ  
 後和平ヲ求メハ我國家ノ屈從我民族ノ全滅ヲ意  
 味スル條件ヲ甘受セハナラズ願クハ全國國民ハ隱忍ノ限  
 度ニ並ニ右限度ヲ越エタ後惹起カレハ犧牲ノ範圍  
 ヲ充分認識セ度ク一度段階ニ到達スレハ我々ハ常ニ  
 究極ノ勝利ヲ期待シテ如何ニ犧牲ヲ拂フトモ最  
 後迄戰ヒ抜カネハナラズ又サリテ我々カ躊躇ニ徒ニ時ノ  
 偷安ヲ貪ルコトハ我々ハ永久ニ滅ビ去ルコトナリ

二、世或は盧溝橋事件カ何等豫メ計畫サズ突如  
 的措置ト想像スル者カアムカ知レテ然レテ作ラ既ニシ

210. 如

月前カラ相手方、新聞並ニ直接間接、外交機關、言

明ニ徴シ何等カノ事件カ持テエルヲウトシ、徴候カ看取サタ

更ニ事件勃發、前後ヲ通シ各方面カラ相手方カ塘沽

協定、擴張ヲ企圖シソウニトシ、冀東偽政府ヲ擴大シヤ

ウカ第ニ九軍ヲ驅逐シヤウカ宋哲元ヲ追出サウカ其

他同様、諸々ノ要求ヲ押付ケヤウトシテキント、報道ヲ

接受シタ、以テ徴スレハ甚盧溝橋事件、勃發カ偶然、

事件テナリトハ直ニ明瞭テアタリ、此ノ事件ヨリシテ、相手

方カ我々ニ對シテ極テ判然ナル態度ヲ包藏シテ居リ從テ

和平ノ容易ニ維持シ難キニトシ、悟ラズハナラヌ我々ノ情報

ニ依リ甚盧溝橋事件ヲ回避シ得ヘカリシ唯一ノ方

途ハ外國軍隊カ我領土内ニ侵入シ且自由無制限ニ

横行濶歩スルヲ甘受シテ而モ中國軍隊ハ其移動

ニ付幾多ノ制限ヲ蒙ルニトシ、容認スル外ハナラヌ又或ハ

相手方カ我兵ニ以テ砲撃スルヲ容認シテ而モ應射出来ヌト言

フニト以外ニハ其ノ方法ハナカワラテアラウ苟モ自尊心見以上

在リテ如何モ國家ト雖以テ、如キ屈辱ヲ甘受スル

コトヲ得ヤウカ東北四省ヲ喪失スルニテ以テ本茲ニ六七

次ニテ塘沽協定アリ次イテ人々ヤ爭点ハ甚盧溝橋事

件ニ於テ方ニ北平ノ城内ニ到達シタ若シ甚盧溝橋カ

武カニ依リ占據サレテ容認スラハ中國四百年ノ

故都、全北方ノ政治的、戰略的、中心ノ敵ニ失ヒンテ

アル人ヲ曰、北平ハ才ニ、去年天トナリ河北、察哈爾

9/26

両省ハ東北四省ト同、運命ニ陥ルテアラス、萬一北平カ  
 才ニ奉天トヤルナラハ南京カヤニ北平トナルヲ如何ニシテ  
 阻止スルコトカ出来ヤウノ斯ルカ故ニ蘆溝橋ヲ保全スルカ  
 否カハ全國民存亡ノ懸念ヲ外ナラス、今回ノ事件カ果シテ  
 平和解決カ出来ルカ否カハ、我等ノ所謂「隱忍自重」限  
 ニ関シ問題ニ外ナラス、若シ且取悪ノ事態ヲ避ケルコトカ  
 出来、段階ニ到達スルナラハ、我々断然一抗軍ニ外ナク且  
 最後ノ犠牲ヲ敢テ辞セズモテアル、此ノ我々ノ抗軍ニシテハ  
 外部ヨリ我々ニ強制サレタモノトモハキタ、我々ハ戦争ヲ求  
 んモノニアラス、唯我々ノ生存ヲカ脅威ニ攻撃手ニ應戰ス  
 モノニ外ナラズ、

全國民ハ中央政府カ目下防衛手段準備ノ真最中  
 テアルコトヲ了解セ、度リ假令弱國タリト雖我等ハ民  
 族ノ定数ヲ維持シ、國家ノ存立自体ヲ保障スルコトヲ  
 怠ルコトハ出来ナク、且取善ヲ盡シテ祖父傳来ノ此ノ  
 遺産ヲ保全スルコトハ我等カ全カヲ盡シテ遂行セズハ  
 ナラズ、義務ヲ尽シ然レテ作ラ、戦一度始メレハ遂に姑冉ハ  
 許サレナイ、最後迄戦ニ扱カネハナラズ、コトヲ充分了解セズハナ  
 ラナリ、若シ此止更ニ一寸ノ領土カ半人ハんニ至スナラハ、我々我  
 民族ニ對シテ評シ難ク罪ヲ犯スルコトモハキタ、斯ノ如キ  
 場合我々義務ハ國民ノ全カヲ傾注シテ外敵ニ抗  
 爭、最後ノ勝利ヲ期スニ途ハ一途ニシタ、

三、此ノ嚴肅ノ瞬間ニ於テ日本ハ蘆溝橋事件カ因支  
 兩國ノ大戦争ヲ招来スルカ不カヲ決定セズナラズ、

Ref. No. 1/27

20.5

日支兩國間ニ未ダ和平ノ希望カ此ニカタリトモ残存シテ  
居ルカ何カハ言本軍ノ行動如何ニ懸心ヲ居ル、和平  
ニ對シ一切ノ希望ヲ拋棄スル最後ノ瞬間ニ至ル迄我等  
ハ依然トシテ正常外交機關ヲ通シテ事件ノ解決ヲ  
求ムルテアラシム今回ノ事件ニ付我等ノ態度ハ次ノ四件  
ニ要約出来ヤウ。

1. 如何ニ解決案モ中國領土完整並ニ主權ヲ侵害スルニ  
トテ許サズ、

2. 冀察政務委員會地位ハ中央政府ノ決定スル所ニ  
シテ如何ニ非合法的變更ヲモ許サズ、

3. 冀察政務委員會委員長、如キ中央政府ノ任命  
シタル地方官憲カ外務部ノ壓迫ニ依リ罷免サルル  
コトニ同意ス能ハズ、

4. 才チ九軍、現在ノ駐屯区域ニ對スル如何ナル制限ヲモ  
甘受シ得ク、

如何ニ弱國タリトモ苟モ國家タル以上右四ヶ條ハ交渉ノ基  
礎トシテ承認シ得ル最小限度ノ條件ナシ若シ相手方

カ地位ヲ變ヘシ、我等ノ地位ニ立ツラハ且東亞平和ノ維  
持ヲ念トシ是兩國國民ヲ戰爭ノ渦中ニ捲込ニ相  
互ニ永遠ノ仇敵トスルコトヲ望ミテラハ右四ヶ條ノ條件カ考  
慮サルキ最少数限度ノ條件ナルコトヲ承認スルテアラウ

之ヲ要スルニ今回ノ蘆溝橋事件ノ危機ニ當リ  
中央政府ハ中國ノ存立ヲ確保スヘク明確ニシテ

断乎此立場ヲ堅持シツツアル中國ハ一獨立國家ナアル  
 我等ハ和平ヲ欲スル然レシテ如何ナル犠牲ヲ拂  
 ツテモ和平ニ執着スモノナク我等ハ戦争ヲ欲ス  
 然レシテ我々我等自身ヲ防衛スルニ至リテモ知レ  
 又此ノ重大危機ニ當リ政府ハ冷静自重以テ國民ノ  
 指導ニ當リテアラシ國民モ亦眞剣ナ能心度ヲ以テ不  
 乱ニ又統制ヲ示サネハテ又民族ニ對スル義務ノ遂行ニ  
 關シテハ南北老幼ノ別ナク一致團結鋼鐵ノ統制ヲ示シテ  
 政府ノ指導ニ従フ様希望スル。

Ref Doc # 1283  
~~1200~~

# 6

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI Kaoru, who occupy the post of Chief,  
Archives Section, Foreign Office, hereby  
certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese,  
consisting of 8 pages and entitled "Chuang Kai-  
shak. Statement (19 July, 1937)"  
is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in  
the custody of Japanese Government( Foreign Office  
\_\_\_\_\_ ).

certified at Tokyo,

on this 8 day of April, 1947

HAYASHI Kaoru

(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were  
affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on this same date

Witness:

URABE Katsumi

(seal)



*Ref No 217280*

TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, *Keijiro Akune* ~~Charles D. Sheldon~~, Chief of the Defense Language Branch,

heroby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

~~TS/ Charles D. Sheldon~~

*Keijiro Akune*

Tokyo, Japan

Date 15 April 1947

1.  
CHANG KAISHEK STATEMENT

(19 July, 1937)

1283  
Ref Doc # ~~1280~~  
I

The sudden outbreak of the Marco Polo Incident, at a time when China was carrying out her fundamental policy of ~~maintaining~~ international peace and national unity, has plunged the whole nation into a state of deep indignation and has given an ominous impression to the whole world. The consequences of this incident have seriously threatened the very existence of ~~the~~ China ~~nation~~ as well as the peace of East Asia. At this moment

of emergency, I wish to clarify<sup>2</sup>  
our position in response to  
various questions put forth  
to me.

~~1280~~ The Chinese have always been  
a peace-loving people nation. The  
basic policy of the National Govern-  
ment is the maintenance of national  
unity in domestic affairs and  
the mutual respect and co-  
existence with other Powers in  
foreign relations. The aforementioned policy  
is clearly  
enunciated in the Declaration  
of the Third National Assembly  
of February this year. The  
irrefutable facts during the past  
two years testify beyond  
doubt that the National

Government has tried to ad-<sup>3</sup>  
just its relationship <sup>with</sup> Japan  
and has always resorted to  
universally recognized channels  
of diplomatic negotiation for  
the settlement of all ~~the~~ disputes  
pending between the two govern-  
ments.

The Chinese people must  
first of all understand the  
position of their country. ~~They~~

We must be aware of the situation  
we are in. We must frankly

estimate our ~~own~~ <sup>strength</sup> ~~position~~ as  
the people of a weakly ~~unified~~  
nation.  
~~state~~.

During the ~~past few~~  
~~years~~ of serious national  
crises <sup>of the past few years</sup> we have made our ~~best~~ <sup>great</sup>

efforts to secure peace, in <sup>4</sup>  
spite of ~~their~~ unendurable  
sufferings, hoping thereby to  
~~accomplish~~ a revival  $\approx$  the  
Chinese people. It was

for this reason, that in reporting  
on diplomatic affairs at the

Fifth General Assembly held  
one year before last <sup>that</sup> I stated:

"We will never give up peace  
so long as there is ~~any~~ hope  
~~however little~~ left for its  
maintenance. We will ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup>

gaily speak of the sacrifices ~~that~~  
~~these~~, maybe referring to war?

until we have exhausted our  
patience." Our earnest desire

for the maintenance of peace  
 is further clarified in a statement  
 I made later at the Central  
 Executive Council. While  
 admitting our weakness as a  
 nation, we firmly believe ~~that~~ in  
~~the~~ one thing we must do in  
 case of extreme emergency and  
 that is, to fight with all our strength  
 for the existence of our country.

And ~~if~~ <sup>once</sup> we fight, ~~at all~~, we  
 should <sup>not</sup> by any means seek  
 peace halfway <sup>because</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>point of</sup>  
 time ~~as of~~ <sup>or situation</sup> actual peace

~~guess~~ For if we seek peace  
 in midst of war ~~half of~~, we shall be forced  
 to accept terms which will mean  
enclavement of our country

and complete annihilation of <sup>6</sup>  
our race. I desire that  
the ~~whole~~ Chinese people will  
be <sup>fully</sup> aware of the 'limit of their  
patience' and the extent of ~~the~~  
sacrifice expected to be ~~in~~ -  
~~made~~ when that limit is  
exceeded. Once we reach  
that stage, we must fight it  
out at all costs in hopes  
of our final victory. If we  
hesitate and give way to mor-  
mentary ease, we must perish  
for ever.

## II

Some people may suppose

that the Marco Polo Incident  
was an unexpected and unpre-  
meditated occurrence. However,  
<sup>gathering</sup> from the newspaper reports of  
Japan and ~~the~~ direct as well  
as indirect statements made by  
the Japanese diplomatic agencies,  
it had been <sup>from a month before, that some sort</sup> ~~apparent~~ ~~already~~  
of incident was going to take place.  
~~a month before this incident~~

~~that there would occur something.~~

Moreover, just before and after  
the incident I received ~~many~~  
informations stating that the  
Japanese were planning to extend  
the Tangku Agreement to  
extend to the unrecognized  
Hopei-Chahar Government; to  
drive out the 29th Army and



~~the~~ Sung Teyuan; in short, 8

to force upon us various demands of this sort. Therefore,

it is clear that the Marco Polo Bridge Incident was not a mere accident. From this incident,

we ~~must~~ <sup>can see</sup> that the

Japanese <sup>have</sup> assumed a firm

attitude toward us and ~~that~~

therefore, peace is <sup>going to be</sup> very difficult

to maintain. According to

information <sup>gathered</sup> on our part, it

is <sup>without</sup> doubt ~~that~~ that the only <sup>way</sup> ~~method~~

~~is~~ <sup>in</sup> which we could have prevented the outbreak of the Marco

Polo Bridge Incident was to

suffer the foreign forces to

enter our territory and let <sup>them</sup> behave  
~~just~~ as they pleased, and furthermore  
to limit the activities  
your own forces, ~~subject~~  
to ~~many~~ instructions. ~~As from~~

another viewpoint, it meant ~~the~~  
allowing the Japanese forces to  
fire upon us and to abstain  
on our part from returning the fire. No  
self-respecting nation in the

world would have been able  
to stand such a humiliation.

Six years <sup>have elapsed since</sup> we lost the

four North-eastern provinces,

then the Tangku Agreement

followed, and now, ~~in~~ ~~the~~

of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident,

the point at issue, has ~~finally~~

reached the city of Peking.

If we approve <sup>to let</sup> the enemy occupy  
the Marco Polo Bridge

by force, then the 400-  
year old capital of our country

and the political and strategical  
center of ~~the whole~~ North China

will fall into the hands of  
an enemy. And what

happened ~~in the past~~

to Mukden and the four north-  
eastern provinces <sup>in the past</sup> will probably  
happen again ~~the case~~ ~~it~~ to Peking and

the provinces of Hopei and  
Chahar. Moreover, if Peking

is to become the second Mukden,

how can we prevent Nanking

from becoming a second Peking?

Therefore, the destiny of the  
whole nation, <sup>now</sup> depends upon  
the security of the Maras Polo  
Bridge. And the prospect

of peaceful settlement of the  
incident will be determined  
by the "limit of our patience."

In case we reach a point  
where the worst situation  
is unavoidable, we must  
fight with firm determination  
even at the greatest cost.

This war can be said to be  
But such a fight must be  
forced

forced upon us ~~as forced~~  
upon us from outside. ~~For~~

we do not ~~will never~~ seek war.

However, we were ~~are~~ compelled

to ~~respond~~ <sup>fight back</sup> the attacks 12  
threatening our existence.

I wish the whole country  
~~to understand~~ that the Central  
Government is now busily  
engaged in preparing for  
national defense. Although

~~we are~~ a weak nation, we  
~~must not~~ <sup>cannot</sup> fail to take means  
to secure the existence of our  
people and the very integrity  
of our country. It is our  
duty to exhaust all possible  
~~means~~ <sup>efforts</sup> to keep intact what  
we have inherited from  
our forefathers. Here again,  
we must fully understand  
~~it is to be~~ <sup>that</sup>

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once ~~if~~ we fight ~~at all~~, we must  
never hesitate and ~~not~~ fight  
it out to the very end. If we  
lose <sup>further</sup>, even a small piece of  
our beloved land, we shall  
be responsible for a serious  
crime <sup>unforgivable</sup> against our own race.

At such a critical moment,  
I repeat, the only ~~thing we~~  
alternative ~~must do~~ is to resist the  
enemy with all our might  
and ~~look forward~~ look forward to final victory.

" At this serious moment, Japan is placed in the position to decide whether the Marco Polo Bridge Incident will be so fatal as to expand into a large-scale armed hostilities between the two nations. It all depends on future actions of the Japanese ~~armed~~ forces, whether we may yet be hopeful of peaceful solution between Japan and China. We shall endeavor to settle the matter through ~~the~~ channel of diplomatic agents, as before, until ~~all hope for peace is~~ ~~the very last moment of~~ abandoned, ~~of any hope, for peace.~~ Our course of action to be pursued ~~with regard to~~ <sup>in</sup> this incident may be summarized ~~as~~

in the following four points.

- A) No proposal for solution, which ~~incurs any~~ infringes ~~upon~~ China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, shall be admitted.
- B) The Central Government reserves the right to decide the status of the Hopei-Chahar Political Committee, ~~regarding which~~ <sup>and</sup> no illegal change shall be admitted.
- C) We cannot assent to the dismissal ~~by exterior pressure~~ of any ~~such~~ local officials appointed by the Central Government <sup>such</sup> <sup>(the</sup> as <sup>)</sup> Chief of the Hopei-Chahar Political Committee through outside pressure.



(D) We cannot accept any restriction to the area in which the 29th Route Army is stationed at present.

However powerless we may be, the above-mentioned four points are the minimum possible terms for an independent state to accept as the basis of a negotiation.

If Japan ~~would~~ <sup>should</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> placed ~~with us~~ and be placed in our situation, and moreover, if she is really anxious to maintain peace in East Asia, so as to avoid ~~the~~ steps to draw both nations into the vortex of war, Japan would surely admit that the foregoing

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four terms are the minimum possible to be taken into consideration.

In brief, the Central Government, in face of the crisis of this <sup>Marco</sup> Polo Bridge incident, is firmly adhering to the precise and decisive standpoint to insure the existence of China.

China is an independent state. We are desirous of peace but have not the intention to cling to peace at any cost. We do not ~~hope~~ <sup>want</sup> war but it can not be denied that we may be obliged to defend ourselves.

In face of this urgent crisis, the government is going to direct the people with serenity and prudence. The <sup>people</sup> ~~nationals~~, as well, should keep ~~the~~ perfect order with ~~the~~ serious attitude. In order to fulfil the duty imposed upon our race, ~~we~~ <sup>I</sup> wish ~~desire~~ that the people would follow the directions of the government, keeping ~~such a solid~~ control <sup>solid</sup> as iron, without distinction of <sup>place</sup> ~~area~~ or age, <sup>and uniting</sup> to ~~unite~~ ourselves in a body.

Handwritten signature or initials.