

United States Note to Japan November 26, 1941
日米交渉11月26日米側提案（いわゆるハレル・ノート）

Strictly confidential, tentative and without
commitment

極秘、試案にして拘束せられず

November 26, 1941.

昭和16年11月26日

Outline of Proposed Basis for Agreement Between
the United States and Japan
合衆国及び日本国間協定の基礎概略

Section I

第1項

Draft Mutual Declaration of Policy
政策に関する相互宣言案

The Government of the United States and the
Government of Japan both being solicitous for the
peace of the Pacific affirm that their national
policies are directed toward lasting and extensive
peace throughout the Pacific area, that they have
no territorial designs in that area, that they have
no intention of threatening other countries or of
using military force aggressively against any
neighboring nation, and that, accordingly, in their
national policies they will actively support and give
practical application to the following fundamental
principles upon which their relations with each
other and with all other governments are based:
合衆国政府及び日本国政府は、共に太平洋の平和を欲
し、その国策は太平洋地域全般にわたる永続的かつ広汎
なる平和を目的とし、両国は右地域に於いて何等領土的
企図を有せず、他国を脅威し又は隣接国に対し侵略的に

武力を行使するの意図なく、又その国策に於いては相互間及び一切の他国政府との間の関係の基礎たる左記根本諸原則を積極的に支持し、かつこれを实际的に適用すべき旨宣明す。

(1) The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations.
一切の国家の領土保全及び主権の不可侵原則

(2) The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
他の諸国の国内問題に対する不干与の原則

(3) The principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.
通商上の機会及び待遇の平等を含む平等原則

(4) The principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes.
紛争の防止及び平和的解決並びに平和的方法及び手続による国際情勢改善の為めの国際協力及び国際調停遵拠の原則

The Government of Japan and the Government of the United States have agreed that toward eliminating chronic political instability, preventing recurrent economic collapse, and providing a basis for peace, they will actively support and practically apply the following principles in their economic relations with each other and with other nations and peoples:

日本国政府及び合衆国政府は、慢性的政治不安定の根絶、頻繁なる経済的崩壊の防止及び平和の基礎設定の為め、相互間並びに他国家及び他国民との間の経済関係に

於いて左記諸原則を積極的に支持し、かつ實際的に適用すべきことに同意せり

(1) The principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations.

国際通商関係に於ける無差別待遇の原則

(2) The principle of international economic cooperation and abolition of extreme nationalism as expressed in excessive trade restrictions.

国際的経済協力及び過度の通商制限に現れたる極端なる国家主義撤廃の原則

(3) The principle of non-discriminatory access by all nations to raw material supplies.

一切の国家による無差別的なる原料物資獲得の原則

(4) The principle of full protection of the interests of consuming countries and populations as regards the operation of international commodity agreements.

国際的商品協定の運用に関し消費国家及び民衆の利益の十分なる保護の原則

(5) The principle of establishment of such institutions and arrangements of international finance as may lend aid to the essential enterprises and the continuous development of all countries and may permit payments through processes of trade consonant with the welfare of all countries.

一切の国家の主要企業及び連続的發展に資し、かつ一切の国家の福祉に合致する貿易手続きによる支払いを許容せしむるが如き国際金融機構及び取り極め樹立の原則

Section II

第2項

Steps To Be Taken by the Government of the
United States and by the Government of Japan
合衆国政府及び日本国政府の採るべき措置

The Government of the United States and the
Government of Japan propose to take steps as
follows:

合衆国政府及び日本国政府は、左の如き措置を採ることを提案す

1. The Government of the United States and the
Government of Japan will endeavor to conclude a
multilateral non-aggression pact among the British
Empire, China, Japan, the Netherlands, the Soviet
Union, Thailand and the United States.

合衆国政府及び日本国政府は、英帝国、支那、日本国、
和蘭、蘇連邦、泰国、及び合衆国間多边的不可侵条約の
締結に努むべし

2. Both Governments will endeavor to conclude
among the American, British, Chinese, Japanese,
the Netherland and Thai Governments would
pledge itself to respect the territorial integrity of
French Indochina and, in the event that there
should develop a threat to the territorial integrity
of Indochina, to enter into immediate consultation
with a view to taking such measures as may be
deemed necessary and advisable to meet the
threat in question.

両国政府は、米、英、支、日、蘭、及び泰政府間に各国
政府が仏領印度支那の領土主権を尊重し、かつ印度支那
の領土保全に対する脅威発生するが如き場合、かかる脅
威に対処するに必要かつ適当なりとみなさるべき措置を
講ずるの目的を以って即時協議する旨誓約すべき協定の
締結に努むべし

Such agreement would provide also that each of

the Governments party to the agreement would not seek or accept preferential treatment in its trade or economic relations with Indochina and would use its influence to obtain for each of the signatories equality of treatment in trade and commerce with French Indochina.

かかる協定は又協定締約国たる各国政府が印度支那との貿易若しくは経済關係に於いて特惠的待遇を求め、又はこれを受けざるべくかつ各締約国の為め仏領印度支那との貿易及び通商に於ける平等待遇を確保するが為め尽力すべき旨規定すべきものとす

3. The Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indochina.

日本国政府は、支那及び印度支那より一切の陸、海、空軍兵力及び警察力を撤収すべし

4. The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will not support - militarily, politically, economically - any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking.

合衆国政府及び日本国政府は、臨時に首都を重慶に置ける中華民國国民政府以外の支那に於ける如何なる政府、若しくは政権をも軍事的、経済的に支持せざるべし

5. Both Governments will endeavor to obtain the agreement of the British and other governments to give up extraterritorial rights in China, including right in international settlements and in concessions and under the Boxer Protocol of 1901.

両国政府は、外国租界及び居留地に於ける諸権利並びに1901年の団匪事件(義和団事件)議定書による諸権利を含む、支那に於ける治外法権放棄に付き、英国政府及びその他の諸政府の同意を取り付くべく努力すべし

6. The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will enter into negotiations for the conclusion between the United States and Japan of a trade agreement, based upon reciprocal most favored-nation treatment and reduction of trade barriers by both countries, including an undertaking by the United States to bind raw silk on the free list.

合衆国政府及び日本国政府は、互恵的最恵国待遇及び通商障壁の低減並びに生糸を自由品目として据え置かんとする米側企図に基づき、合衆国及び日本国間に通商協定締結の爲め協議を開始すべし

7. The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will, respectively, remove the freezing restrictions on Japanese funds in the United States and on American funds in Japan.

合衆国政府及び日本国政府は、それぞれ合衆国に在る日本資金並びに日本国に在る米国資金に対する凍結措置を撤廃すべし

8. Both Governments will agree upon a plan for the stabilization of the dollar-yen rate, with the allocation of funds adequate for this purpose, half to be supplied by Japan and half by the United States.

両国政府は、円弗為替の安定に関する案に付き協定し、右目的の爲め、適当なる資金の割り当ては半額を日本国より半額を合衆国より供与せらるべきことに同意すべし

9. Both Governments will agree that no agreement which either has concluded with any third power or powers shall be interpreted by it in such a way as to conflict with the fundamental purpose of this agreement, the establishment and preservation of peace throughout the Pacific area.

両国政府は、その何れかの一方が第三国と締結しおる如何なる協定も、同国により本協定の根本目的、即ち太平洋地域全般の平和確立及び保持に矛盾するが如く解釈せられざるべきことを同意すべし

10. Both Governments will use their influence to cause other governments to adhere to and to give practical application to the basic political and economic principles set forth in this agreement.

両国政府は、他国政府をして本協定に規定せる基本的なる政治的経済的原則を遵守し、かつこれを實際的に適用せしむる為めその勢力を行使すべし

ハル・ノートは、オーラル・ステートメント（口頭陳述）と呼ばれる部分と、上記の本体から構成されている。オーラル・ステートメントを次に示す。

Oral

Strictly confidential

November 26, 1941

The representatives of the Government of the United States and of the Government of Japan have been carrying on during the past several months informal and exploratory conversations for the purpose of arriving at a settlement if possible of questions relating to the entire Pacific area based upon the principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations. These principles include the principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations; the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment; and the principle of reliance upon

international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes.

It is believed that in our discussions some progress has been made in reference to the general principles which constitute the basis of a peaceful settlement covering the entire Pacific area.

Recently the Japanese Ambassador has stated that the Japanese Government is desirous of continuing the conversations directed toward a comprehensive and peaceful settlement of the Pacific area; that it would be helpful toward creating an atmosphere favorable to the successful outcome of the conversations if a temporary modus vivendi could be agreed upon to be in effect while the conversations looking to peaceful settlement in the Pacific were continuing. On November 20 the Japanese Ambassador communicated to the Secretary of State proposals in regard to temporary measure to be taken respectively by the Government of Japan and by the Government of the United States, which measures are understood to have been designed to accomplish the purposes above indicated.

The Government of the United States most earnestly desires to contribute to the promotion and maintenance of peace and stability in the Pacific area, and to afford every opportunity for the continuance of discussion with the Japanese Government directed toward working out a broad-gauge program of peace throughout the Pacific area. The proposals which were presented by the Japanese Ambassador on November 20 contain some features which, in the opinion of this

Government, conflict with the fundamental principles which form a part of the general settlement under consideration and to which each Government has declared that it is committed. The Government of the United States believes that the adoption of such proposals would not be likely to contribute to the ultimate objectives of ensuring peace under law, order and justice in the Pacific area, and it suggests that further effort be made to resolve our divergences of view in regard to the practical application of the fundamental principles already mentioned.

With this object in view the Government of the United States offers for the consideration of the Japanese Government a plan of a broad but simple settlement covering the entire Pacific area as one practical exemplification of a program which this Government envisages as something to be worked out during our further conversations.

The plan therein suggested represents an effort to bridge the gap between our draft of June 21, 1941 and the Japanese draft of September 25 by making a new approach to the essential problems underlying a comprehensive Pacific settlement. This plan contains provisions dealing with the practical application of the fundamental principles which we have agreed in our conversations constitute the only sound basis for worthwhile international relations. We hope that in this way progress toward reaching a meeting of minds between our two Governments may be expedited.

3と4であった。中国から軍隊はおろか、警察まで撤退させよという。そして重慶政府以外の政府を支持するなというのだ。

東郷外相は、東京裁判での口供書で次のように述べている。

「米国は従来交渉経緯と一致点をすべて無視し、最後通牒を突きつけてきたのだ。我々は、米側は明らかに平和解決への望みも意思も持っていないと感じた。

けだし

蓋し、ハル・ノートは平和の代価として日本が米国の立場に全面降伏することを要求するものであることは我々に明らかであり、米側にも明らかであったに違いないからだ。

日本は今や、長年の犠牲の結果をすべて放棄するばかりか、極東の大国たる国際的地位を捨てることを求められたのである。これは国家的自殺に等しく、この挑戦に対抗し、自らを護る唯一の残された途は戦争であった」

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