

松岡洋右 -- 從扶輪社員到戰爭罪犯

Yōsuke Matsuoka – from Rotarian to War Criminal

By Herbert K. Lau (劉敬恒) (Rotary China Historian)

3 September 2015



Today is the 70th anniversary of the War Victory Day. As the final official unconditional surrender of the Imperial Japan (日本帝國) was accepted aboard the battleship *USS Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945, concluding the Second World War, the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China (中華民國國民政府), which represented China on the *Missouri*, announced 3-day holidays to celebrate “Victory over Japan Day”, starting September 3. Commencing from the year 1946, [September 3] was celebrated in China as [Victory of War of Resistance against Japan Day] (抗日戰爭勝利紀念日), which evolved into the [Armed Forces Day] (軍人節) in Taiwan (臺灣) since 1955 until today.

War crimes were committed by the Empire of Japan in many Asian-Pacific countries during the period of Japanese imperialism and militarism, primarily during the Second Sino-Japanese War and Pacific War. In the list of Class-A war crimes, 25 Japanese officials were tried for plotting and waging war, i.e. crimes against peace. Some of them were tried additionally for Class-B and Class-C crimes, and all those multiply convicted were executed.

Among the Class-A, there was Yōsuke Matsuoka (松岡洋右), who had been in 1928 the first president of the Dairen Rotary Club (大連ロータリー俱樂部) at the sea port Dairen (*Dalian*) (大連) of then the Japanese territory Manchuria. At that time, he was general manager and vice-president of The South Manchuria Railway Co., Ltd. (南滿州鐵道株式會社理事、副總裁).

However in 1930, Matsuoka resigned from Rotary as well as all other appointments in Dairen. He returned to Japan proper became a politician and was later a diplomat and Minister of Foreign Affairs (外務大臣) of the Japanese Empire during the early stages of World War II. He is best known for his defiant speech at the League of Nations (國際聯盟) in February 1933, ending Japan’s participation in the organization. He was also one of the architects of the Tripartite Pact and the Soviet–Japanese Neutrality Pact in the years immediately prior to the outbreak of war.

The Sea Port of Dairen

Dairen, the spelling in Nippon language for “Dalian”, is a major sea port located on the southern tip of Liaodong Peninsula (遼東半島). It is the southernmost city in both Liaoning (遼寧) and the entire northeastern Chinese mainland.

In April 1895 the Ch'ing Empire (大清國) conceded defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (甲午戰爭/清日戰爭), ceding Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and Penghu (臺灣、澎湖), and making many other concessions in the Treaty of Shimonoseki (17 April 1895) (馬關條約).

During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, the Liaodong Peninsula became a major battleground. The Treaty of Portsmouth (signed 5 September 1905) (樸茨茅斯條約) ceded Port Arthur (*Lüshun*) (旅順) to the Imperial Japan, which set up the Kwantung Leased Territory (關東州), on roughly the southern half of present-day Dalian. Japanese invested heavily in the region, which became the main trading port between Manchuria and Japan. After control of the Liaodong Peninsula, the Japanese completed the Russian plan, developing a fine modern city and an efficient modern port. By 1931 Dairen was a major Japanese port in the Chinese mainland, exceeded in its volume of trade only by Shanghai (上海). Under the Japanese administration, Dairen became a major industrial centre. A chemical industry was established, and the city also became a centre of cotton-textile production. Since the completion of the South Manchuria Railway in 1901, it had been the Railway's headquarters; huge railway workshops were built to supply locomotives, rolling stock, and equipment to the Railway and also to other rail lines in Korea and northern China. In the 1930s the machine-building industry was further developed with the construction of a large plant belonging to the Dairen Machinery Company. In addition, shipbuilding became important during that decade, and by 1941 the port was producing ships of 8,000 tons.

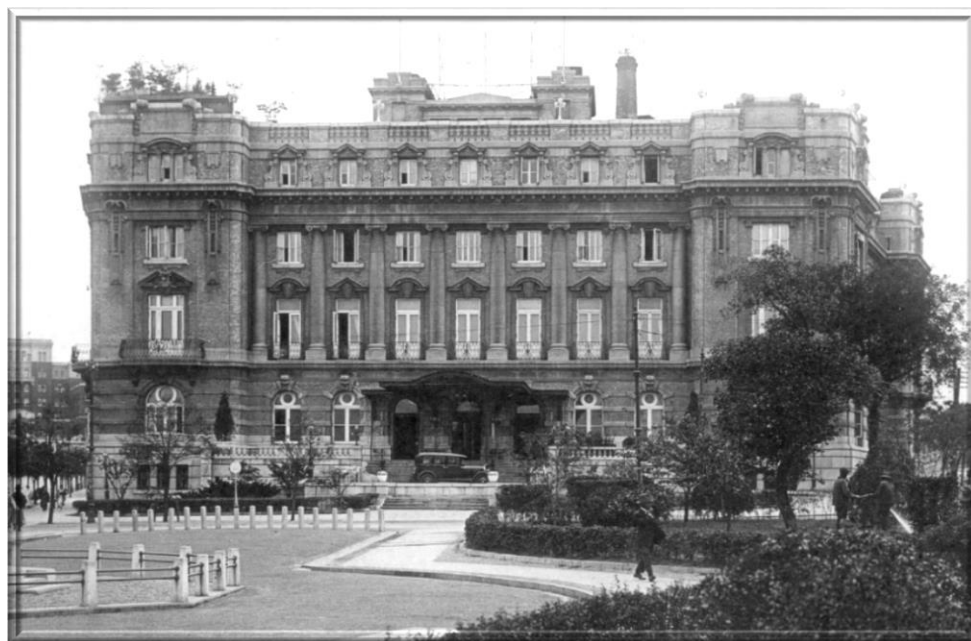
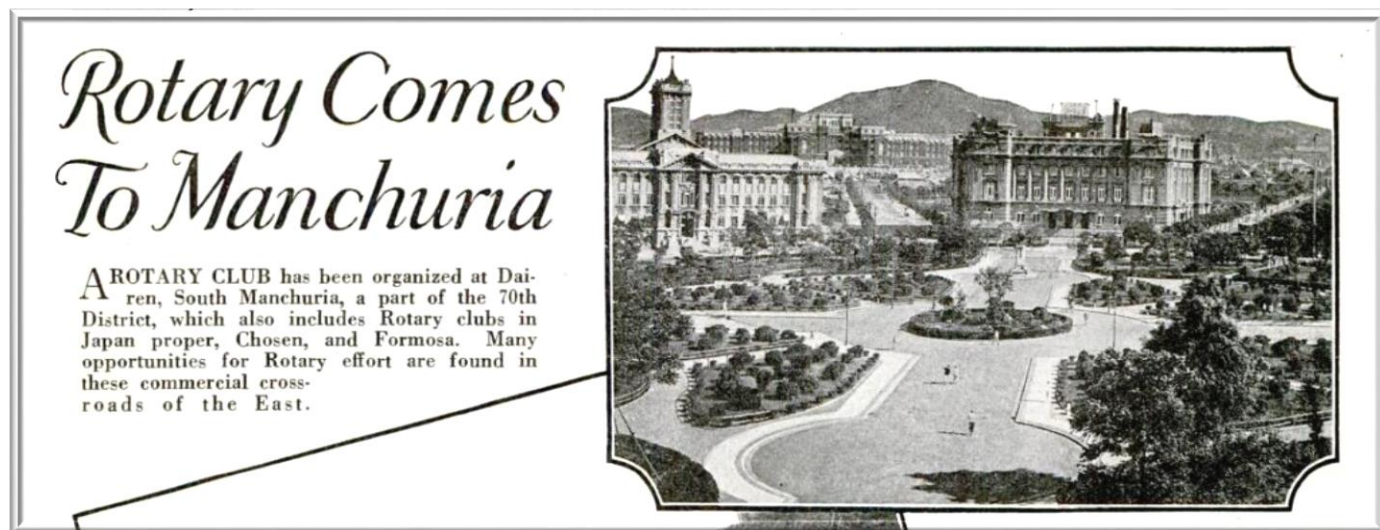
Japan leased the area from Manchukuo (滿洲國) after establishing that puppet state in 1932. In 1937, as the Second Sino-Japanese War began, Japan enlarged and modernized the trade zone as two cities: Dairen in the north and Ryojun (旅順) (*Lüshun or Port Arthur*) in the south.

Dairen Rotary Club

The Rotary Club of Dairen, located in the city of Dairen, South Manchuria, Kwantung Leased Territory (under the Japanese regime), was organized on 21 November 1928, and was admitted to Rotary International on 21 January 1929, Charter No. 3037. There were 23 charter members with 22 ethnic Japanese. Yōsuke Matsuoka (*Classification – Railroad Transportation*) was elected to serve as the first club president. The Club met on every Thursday at 12:30 p.m. at Yamato Hotel (大和旅館), bilingually in Nippon and English languages.

The Dairen Rotary Club became a member of the 70th District of Rotary International. In his report dated 14 December 1928, District Governor Unekichi Yoneyama (米山梅吉) wrote: “The efforts to establish a club at Dairen for a year or so was ripen during the summer and the time to reap quickened by the Second Pacific Rotary Conference held in Tokyo. It was arranged to send to the city Rotarian Shin Inouye as the Governor's special representative. In the later part of

September he visited and surveyed Dairen accompanying Mr. I. B. Sutton, the President R. I., who brought about telling influences over the people interested in Rotary. They talked over the matter with those prospective men: J. Yamamoto, Y. Matsuoka, R. Ishida and J. Furusawa. Then Organizing Committees were elected: J. Furusawa as chairman, R. Ishida, Z. Hamarura, M. Kuroda and S. Tsuda making up the personnel. The Organizing Meeting was held at Yamato Hotel Dairen on November 21st, with attendance of 16 men.”



The Yamato Hotel (大和旅館) (center) served as the headquarters for the Rotary Club of Dairen, and later served for 3 more clubs in other 3 cities of Manchuria--- Mukden (奉天)(Shenyang 瀋陽), Harbin (哈爾濱), and Hsinking (新京)(Changchun 長春). Various municipal buildings were shown with the beautiful public square in the foreground. “Yamato” was a chain of hotels in Manchuria owned and operated by the South Manchuria Railway during the period from the 1910s to 1940s. Some of these hotels still exist in Northeast China, under different names. The same fabric of building in Dalian today has already been converted into Dalian Hotel (大連賓館).


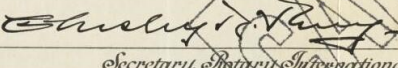
As at 31 December 1937, the Club had a total membership of 59 men. Regrettably, the Rotary Club of Dairen was terminated for membership with Rotary International on 31 December 1940.

SERVICE ABOVE SELF



This certifies that the Rotary Club of
Dairen, South Manchuria
having been duly organized and having agreed, through its officers and members, to be bound by the Constitution and By-laws of Rotary International, which agreement is evidenced by the acceptance of this certificate, is now a duly elected member of
Rotary International
Club No. 3037
and is entitled to all the rights and privileges of such membership.

In witness whereof the seal of Rotary International is hereto affixed and the signatures of its officers, duly authorized, are subscribed hereto this
twenty-first day of January, Anno Domini 1939.



President, Rotary International

Secretary, Rotary International

CHESLEY R. PERRY, Secretary
14 Feb 19 40

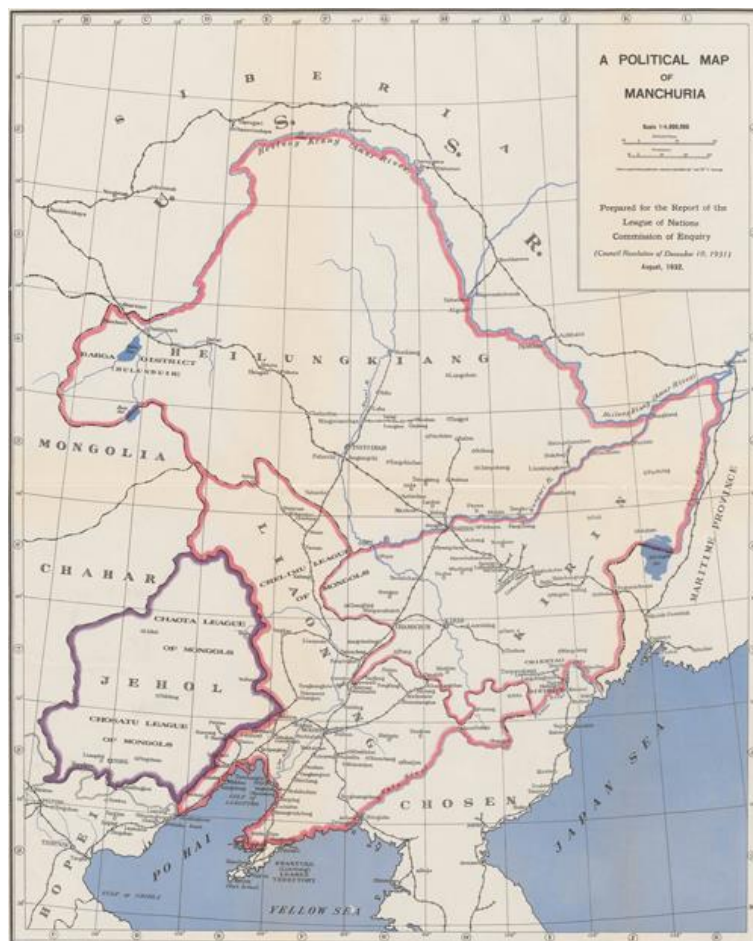
HE PROFITS MOST WHO SERVES BEST

316-JL-27-500 PRINTED IN U. S. A.



滿洲國（1933-1945 年）和日本帝國的地理位置圖

Location map of Manchukuo (literally “the Nation of Manchu”) (1933-1945) and the Japanese Empire

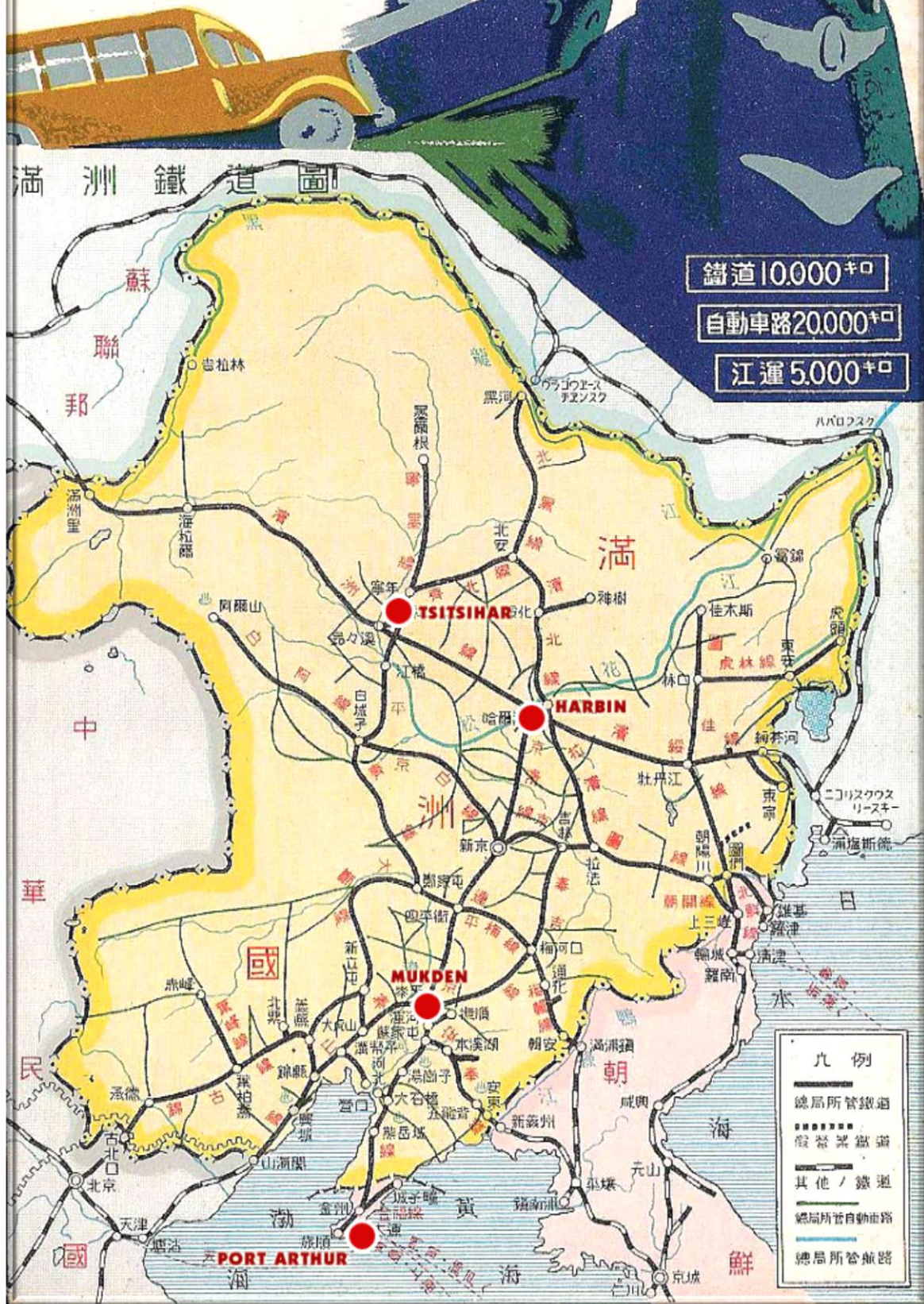


大連港位於滿洲國南部邊界以外

Location of the sea port Dairen beyond the southern border of Manchukuo

大陸國策第一線

昭和十四年十二月一日現在



South Manchuria Railway Network (1905-1945)

From Politician to War Criminal

A Christian educated in the United States

Matsuoka Yōsuke (松岡 洋右) (3 March 1880 – 26 June 1946) was born as the fourth son to a shipping magnate in Kumage District, Yamaguchi Prefecture (山口縣熊毛郡) (now part of the city of Hikari 光市). At the age of 11, his father's business went bankrupt, and Matsuoka was sent to the United States with a cousin in 1893 under the sponsorship of Methodist missionaries to study English. He settled in Portland, Oregon, living initially at the Methodist Mission, and was subsequently taken into the household of the widower William Dunbar, which included Dunbar's son Lambert, and Dunbar's sister, Mrs. Isabelle Dunbar Beveridge. Mrs. Beveridge served as a foster mother to Matsuoka and helped him adjust to American society. Matsuoka's affection for her lasted well after he returned to Japan. She died in 1906.

Matsuoka enrolled at Portland's Atkinson Grammar School (which still exists as Atkinson Elementary School), and due to the influence of Mrs. Beveridge and the Dunbar family, became a Presbyterian Christian, being baptized by Rev. Kawabe, taking the name of "Frank Matsuoka". He later moved to Oakland, California, with his older brother Kensuke and attended Oakland High School for 18 months. He then returned to Portland and studied law, paying his way by various odd jobs, including busboy, door-to-door salesman (of coffee) and interpreter for a Japanese contractor.

Matsuoka graduated from the University of Oregon law school in 1900. Although the University of Oregon had strong connections with Waseda University (早稲田大學) in Japan, Matsuoka considered going on to an Ivy League school for post-graduate studies. However, the deteriorating health of his mother influenced his return to Japan in 1902.

Career Diplomat

On Matsuoka's return to Japan in 1902, he attempted to gain admission to Tokyo Imperial University (東京帝國大學), but was unsuccessful due to his lack of connections and the lack of acceptance of his studies overseas by the Tokyo University Law School. In 1904, Matsuoka decided to pursue a career as a bureaucrat instead, and passed the Foreign Service examinations and was accepted into the Foreign Ministry (外務省). Within two years, he was appointed vice-consul at the Japanese Consulate in Shanghai. He was subsequently attached to the Governor-General of the Kwantung Leased Territory (關東都督府), where he became acquainted with Gotō Shinpei (後藤新平), then president of the South Manchuria Railway, and Yamamoto Jōtarō (山本条太郎), then working for Mitsui (三井物産) in developing the natural resources of Manchuria. Over the next 18 years Matsuoka advanced quickly through the ranks of diplomats. He was briefly assigned as First Secretary of the Japanese Embassy in Washington D.C., U.S.A., in 1914, and was a member of the Japanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Matsuoka served as secretary to Prime

Minister Terauchi Masatake (内閣總理大臣寺内正毅) and to Terauchi's Foreign Minister Gotō Shinpei (外務大臣後藤新平), where his knowledge of the English language was an asset. Matsuoka was also an outspoken defender of Japanese participation in the Siberian Intervention against the Bolshevik forces in the Russian Civil War.

South Manchuria Railway and political career

Matsuoka was appointed as Japanese Consul to China in 1921, but turned down the assignment to return to Manchuria as a director of the South Manchuria Railway Company in 1922. In 1927, Matsuoka was promoted to the position of Vice-President of the Railway. He was also responsible for the expansion of the coal mines in Fushun (撫順) and the construction of a coal liquefaction plant. However, in 1930, he resigned from the South Manchuria Railway and returned to Japan. In the 1930 General Election, Matsuoka ran for a seat in the Lower House of the National Diet (衆議院) of Japan from Yamaguchi Prefecture with the support of the Rikken Seiyūkai (Constitutional Association of Political Friendship) (立憲政友會) political party.

However, following the Manchurian Incident of 18 September 1931 (九一八事變), the establishment of Manchukuo and the Lytton Report to the League of Nations condemning Japan's actions, Matsuoka was drawn back into the arena of foreign affairs to head Japan's delegation to the League of Nations in 1933. Matsuoka gained international notoriety for a speech condemning the League of Nations and announcing Japan's withdrawal, leading the Japanese delegation out of the League's assembly hall.

Following his return to Japan, Matsuoka announced his resignation from the Rikken Seiyūkai and his intent to form his own political party modeled after the National Fascist Party in Italy. However, the party never gained the mass support Matsuoka had anticipated, and in 1935 he returned to Manchuria as president of the South Manchuria Railway. He held that post until 1939. Despite his admiration of the Italian fascist movement, Matsuoka was also a supporter of the plan to settle Jewish refugees in Manchukuo.

Foreign Minister of Japan 1940-41

In 1940, Matsuoka was asked to assume the cabinet position of Minister of Foreign Affairs under Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe (内閣總理大臣近衛文麿). Matsuoka was a major advocate of a Japanese alliance with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, whose assistance he saw as a perfect balancing force against the United States, and as such was one of the primary orchestrators of the Tripartite Pact in 1940.

On 31 December 1940, Matsuoka told a group of Jewish businessmen that he was “the man responsible for the alliance with Adolf Hitler, but nowhere have I promised that we would carry out his anti-Semitic policies in Japan. This is not simply my personal opinion, it is the opinion of Japan, and I have no compunction about announcing it to the world.”

During March–April 1941 Matsuoka visited Berlin, Nazi Germany, and Moscow, Soviet Union.

On 29 March 1941, at a conversation with German Minister of Foreign Affairs Joachim von Ribbentrop, Ribbentrop was instructed to not tell the Japanese anything about the upcoming Operation Barbarossa, and that the Japanese be kept in the dark about Germany's plans. Ribbentrop tried to convince Matsuoka to urge the government in Tokyo to attack Singapore, claiming the British navy was too weak to retaliate due to its involvement in the Battle of the Atlantic. Matsuoka responded to this by stating preparations to occupy Singapore were under way.

Matsuoka also signed the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact during his visit to Moscow in April 1941. However, after Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Hitler proposed to Matsuoka that Japan take part in the attack as well. Matsuoka became a fervent supporter of the idea of a Japanese attack on Siberia, and constantly pressured Konoe and the leaders of the Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy to mobilize the military for that purpose. In the end, both the army and the navy as well as Konoe decided to concentrate military efforts on targets south of Japan.

Despite the military's opposition to his ideas, Matsuoka continued to loudly advocate an invasion of Russia and became increasingly reckless in his diplomatic dealings with the United States, which he believed was conspiring to provoke Japan into a war. Matsuoka's hostility towards the United States (a vocal opponent of Japan's military campaigns) alarmed Konoe, who wanted to avoid war with the United States. Konoe and the military hierarchy colluded to get rid of Matsuoka. To this end, Konoe resigned in July 1941 and his cabinet ministers resigned with him, including Matsuoka. Konoe immediately was made prime minister again, and replaced Matsuoka as Foreign Minister with Admiral Teijirō Toyoda (豊田貞次郎). When the Pacific war broke out, Matsuoka professed, "Entering into the Tripartite Pact was the mistake of my life. Even now I still keenly feel it. Even my death won't take away this feeling." Matsuoka subsequently drifted into obscurity and lived in retirement through the war years.

The Fall of the Japanese Empire

The unconditional surrender of the Japanese Empire was announced by Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito) (昭和天皇) (裕仁) on 15 August and formally signed on 2 September 1945, bringing the hostilities of the World War II (including the Pacific War) to a close.

Following the surrender, Matsuoka was arrested by the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in 1945 and held at Sugamo Prison (巣鴨拘置所). However, he died in prison of natural causes on 26 June 1946, before his trial on war crimes charges came up before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. In 1979, he was enshrined in Yasukuni Shrine (靖國神社), together with 12 convicted war criminals of the Pacific War.

After his resignation from the Dairen Rotary Club, Yōsuke Matsuoka contributed an article 《Japan is the Japanese》 to 《The Rotarian》 magazine and was published in July 1933:

An interpretative discussion of how Nippon's 'man of the street' views life's problems. A similar article from China is scheduled for an early issue of this magazine.

Japan Is the Japanese

By Yosuke Matsuoka

AS a former Rotarian, and one who is bound by deep ties both to my native land, Japan, and to the United States, where as a boy and a youth the formative period of my life was spent, I am glad indeed to try to interpret Japan to Rotarians, and to American Rotarians in particular. In America I talked plainly to Americans, because I knew they liked it; in Japan I shall speak as plainly. Because it behooves us Japanese to understand America, even as we wish Americans to understand us.

Here in Japan the "man in the street" is beginning to take more than ever before, an interest in national affairs. As a rule, the material side of life does not appeal to the Japanese masses as it does to the American or European. The majority party, the Seiyukai, of which I am one of the parliamentary representatives, has for some time been trying to appeal to the Japanese people through the economic problems which confront them. Thus far it has not had great success.

The average Japanese, though he may feel keenly things that directly affect his personal living, never permits those things to stir him into action. He may grumble, but he will not rise up into revolt. He does not resent or envy others who may be richer than he. Proletarian leaders in Japan so far have failed to stir up the masses on political or economic grounds. They



Photo: Acme

A recent photograph of the author taken at Geneva, where he was Japan's chief delegate to the League of Nations.

are learning, however, to appeal to the masses spiritually and are succeeding in that direction to a certain extent.

This may explain why radicalism flourishes in Japanese universities and among the intellectuals; it explains also why the Japanese people do not take much interest in ordinary times in diplomacy and international affairs, but when they feel the nation is menaced, they rise up to a man to its defense.

One of Japan's immediate problems is her population. Her natural increase is between 700,000 and 1,000,000 persons per year. Industrialization is one cause; another is the natural tendency of the nation to grow. And this nothing can stop. But even Japan can not go on forever increasing its population at the present rate. The food question and other agencies will automatically regulate reproduction in time.

Some people today advocate birth control. That is nothing new in Japan. Under the Shogunate for more than 300 years the population was stable.

Under the feudal system the Samurai had hard and fixed rules governing their allowances per year. Since they could not increase their incomes they regulated the increase in their families. The birth rate was definitely fixed. Since the "door" to Japan was opened by Commodore Perry in 1858, Japan's population began to grow. For thirty years or more there was no appreciable gain, but in the last half century Japan's population was doubled. It is now 65,000,000—counting what we call pure Japanese, or around 90,000,000 if Koreans and inhabitants of the colonies are counted.

THIS population problem is at the bottom of many of Japan's domestic difficulties. It intensifies that restlessness, found more or less everywhere as a result of the world depression, making it perhaps more acute in Japan.

I have my own special theory regarding Japan's population problem. To me the fact that Japan's population has doubled in the last generation or two does not mean that her national needs have increased only that amount. The fact is that the West, in opening up Japan, has taught us many things—among them a "material craving." Compared with the "material craving" of our grandfathers' time, the Japanese

nation of today has a craving five times as great. While the population may have doubled, the nation's craving for material things has increased five-fold in the same time.

To make a graphic comparison: imagine the state of California (which has a population of around 3,000,000) being populated with 65,000,000 people. Then imagine them craving, in material things, five times as much as they now demand. Or, if you want to compare the Japanese Empire as a whole, imagine the states of Oregon and California with 90,000,000 population and being placed in a similar situation. There you have Japan's position *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world in respect to her population problem and the "material craving" of her people.

Foreigners are likely to ask why such a situation

Photo: © Publishers
Photo Service



Picturesque torii gates abound in Japan. Sailors believe fair weather and success will attend them if their boat sails under the lintels of a torii.

Photo: Acme



There's no talk about international affairs here! An alert newspaper camera-man was on the job when Mr. Matsuoka recently returned from his long sojourn in Europe, and caught this picture as he was welcomed by his family back to their home in Tokyo.

has not caused an uprising in Japan, why a social revolution has not resulted long before this. There are several answers, and I have my particular theories. Firstly (and you will be surprised to hear this), the Japanese people are inherently communistic. Our ancestors solved the communist question generations upon generations ago by becoming moral communists. They probably discarded as unworkable the social and political

It is cherry blossom time in Japan and these children are bound for a picnic.

communism such as Russia is experimenting with today. They found that social and political communism would not offer a solution to the problems of the human race.

The moral communism, under which we Japanese have lived for centuries, at one time almost wiped out all idea of private ownership. Even today in the average Japanese family there is no idea of the father's property or the brother's property. The ownership is vested in the family. When Japan was opened up to the foreigner, and emerged from centuries of long isolation, along with foreign goods was imported the idea of private ownership. But for years, under our feudal law, property of the individual could be seized and appropriated at will. The people accepted the fact, since they never had any rigid notions about the sacredness of private property. Everything belonged to the state or the Emperor and the Emperor owed all to the people. The Emperor even today rules by the will of Heaven and the will of Heaven is the will of the people and vice-versa. Only recently has the right to private

property been codified, and among the people is still only a hazy notion of what is yours and what is mine.

In my own experience, I have never known another country, especially in the West where you have so many men calling on you for pecuniary assistance. A man who is an absolute stranger may call upon you in Japan for aid without the slightest embarrassment or sense of shame. All that is necessary is for you to have and for him to have not. Unabashed he asks for aid! unquestioningly you render it.

The practice is not confined to the poor, either. A well-to-do man may want to run for parliament and be in need of 10,000 yen. He will ask it of someone who has it. Wealthy men in Japan send hundreds of poor boys through schools, colleges, and universities. I myself have assisted many. But one never attaches any strings to the gift. In America your rich men give huge sums for endowments,

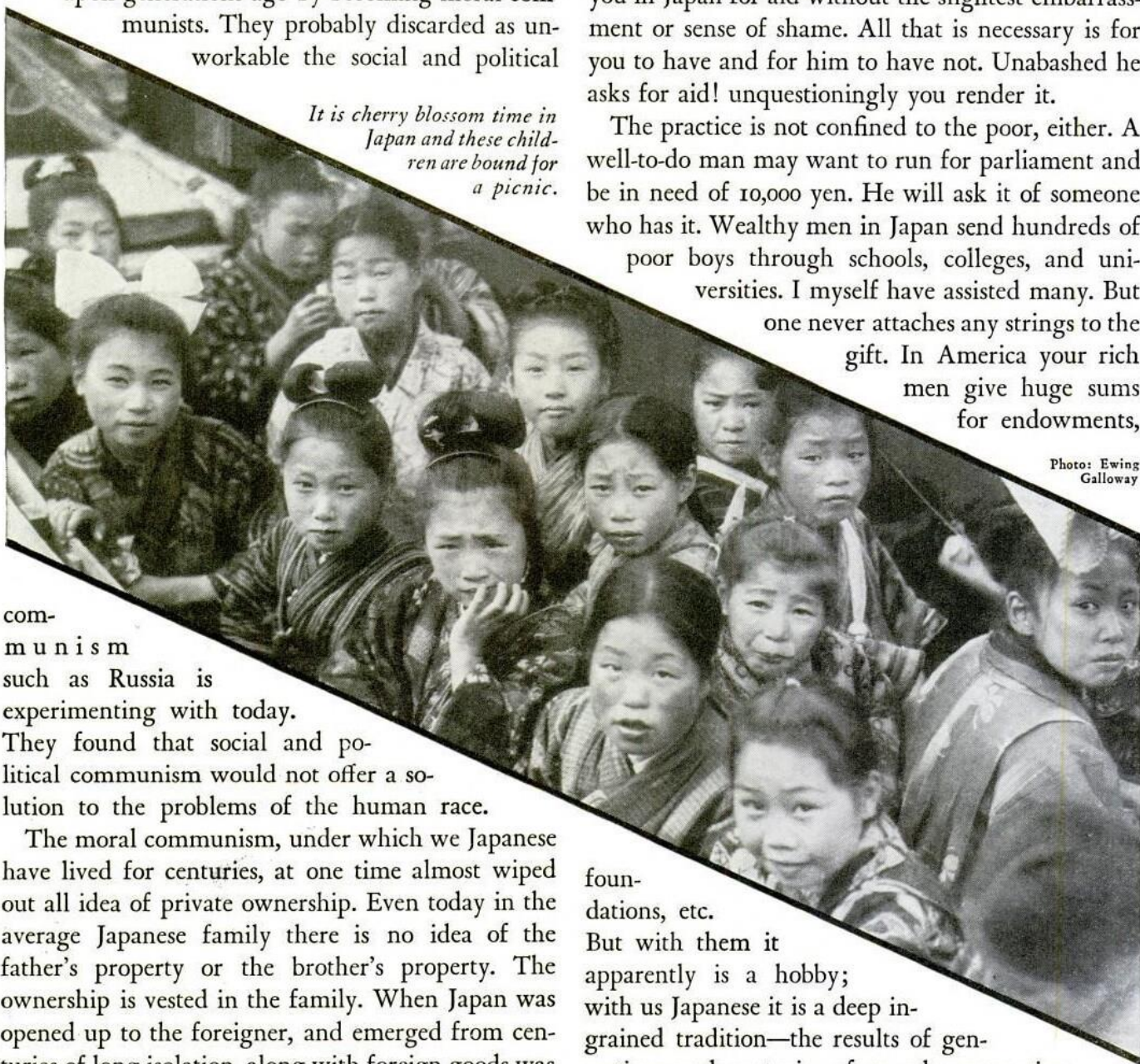
Photo: Ewing Galloway

foundations, etc.

But with them it apparently is a hobby; with us Japanese it is a deep ingrained tradition—the results of generations and centuries of moral communism.

Why are we this way? Why do we not attach great importance to private ownership and great wealth? Why have we such a hazy notion of personal property? It is inherent in our race.

Another proof, if one is needed. In no country in the world is there so little organized charity. True Japan has her orphans and destitutes, in numbers as large as almost any other country. But, except where we have established them through imitation, we have very few orphan asylums [Continued on page 53]



Japan Is the Japanese

[Continued from page 8]

such as you have in the West. The Japanese take care of their destitute and infirm and aged, individually.

When the proper time comes you may see developed in Japan—and I may develop it—a Fifth Internationale, based upon moral communism, which will put the Third and the Fourth Internationales out of business.

Humanity is not long going to tolerate a condition where part of the people live in poverty and want, while another section accumulate wealth that it does not need. Man's inhumanity to man is a problem which our modern civilization will have to solve. Political and social communism will not solve it. There will have to be some other remedy.

Much has been heard in the United States and at Geneva recently about the so-called domination of Japan by militarists. It is a fantasy. Nothing has been so much misrepresented as the Japanese militarist. The officers of the Japanese army come from all walks of life. The minister of war, Araki, arose from very poor beginnings; one of the famous military leaders in Japanese modern history, Baron Tanaka, was of a very poor family of umbrella makers. The Japanese people have supported the military in the recent crisis because they firmly believed the nation's existence was at stake. When they were not so convinced—and that happened in the Shantung Affair, the government was unsuccessful in its military endeavors.

The Japanese people are of intensely independent disposition. They will not be dictated to, by the military or anybody else. If a Japanese feels he is being dictated to, he will fight; that is one reason he was ready to fight the entire world rather than yield at Geneva when he believed he was in the right. On the other hand he will listen to argument and reason, and more often than not is willing to be convinced.

IN modern Japan, the newspapers are playing a great rôle. There also has been noised about among foreigners a belief that the press is subservient to the government or certain classes, groups or agencies. That is not true. No government can control the Japanese press. Japanese politicians as a class are afraid of it. It is true that now and then some newspapers fall under the control of certain interests, just as in the United States and even more so in certain European countries. But on the whole the Japanese newspapers are the most independent in the entire world. Nothing in Japan has grown so rapidly in importance as has the modern press. Japan is the most literate country in the world, practically the entire population of 65,000,000 pure Japanese being able to read. Internally and externally the Japanese Press swings the policy of the nation. One newspaper alone has been known to have actually brought about the downfall of a cabinet.

Compared with the United States, Japan is a small and poor country. But I

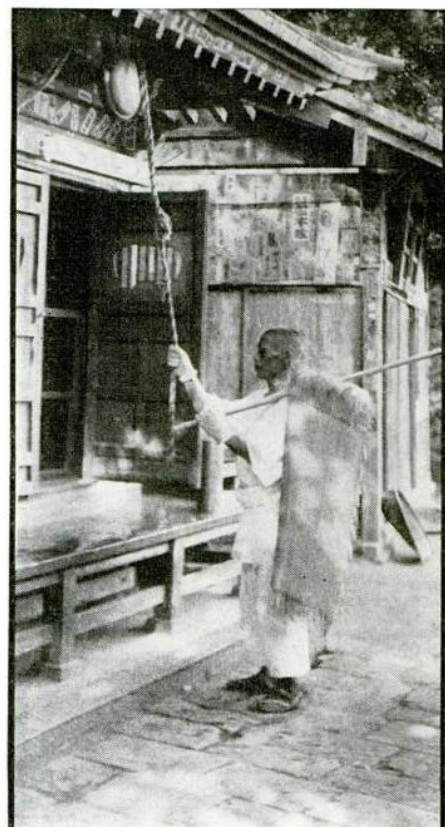


Photo: Henry Albert Phillips

A religious pilgrim to Oyama from Sagami Province rings a gong to attract the attention of the Gods.

am proud that we are not poor in a spiritual sense. In spite of our limited resources, we are going ahead with courage and confidence in this period of worldwide depression. We know that every cloud has a silver lining. We know that sunshine follows every storm. If we can face and fight our troubles, so can you Americans, with your abundance of natural resources, of intelligence, of experience, of skill, and of courage. We Japanese are keenly interested in America's recovery. We want you of the United States to recover quickly and thoroughly. We need more of your trade; until you recover we can not have it.

I am convinced that the United States is interested, in her international relations, primarily in maintaining peace—peace with all the world including Japan. And I think Americans are beginning to realize that that is also our desire.

Why cannot the banner of the Rising Sun and that of the Stars and Stripes be forever the emblems of peace in the Pacific, with all nations marching in confidence and friendship towards a common goal of peace and human happiness?

Photo: Publishers Photo Service



Grandfather cares for granddaughter, in picturesque Japanese dress, while mother goes about her daily duties.



1933 年 2 月 24 日－瑞士日內瓦，日本全權大使松岡洋右在國際聯盟特別大會上發表講話，要求退出該會議。

這次特別大會審議了李頓委員會關於中日爭端，特別是九一八事變的報告。

24 February 1933 -- In Geneva, Switzerland, Yosuke Matsuoka, Japan's ambassador plenipotentiary, addresses to withdraw at the League of Nations Extraordinary Assembly in which deliberate the Lytton Commission report on the Sino-Japanese dispute especially Mukden Incident. (Getty Images)



1933 年 3 月 24 日 -- 一群中國人揮舞著橫幅，譴責日本在中國和滿洲犯下的暴行。

他們舉行了一場短暫的示威活動，抗議日本駐國際聯盟首席代表松岡洋右抵達紐約。

24 March 1933 -- Waving their banners which charge Japan with outrages in China and Manchuria, Chinese held a short-lived demonstration on the arrival of Yosuke Matsuoka, chief Japanese delegate to the League of Nations.



1941 年 3 月 27 日 -- 在納粹德國柏林帝國總理府希特勒辦公室會談：

(從左到右) 翻譯員施密德、日本外務大臣松岡洋右、希特勒

27 March 1941 -- Matsuoka in Berlin, reception at Hitler's office in the Reich Chancellery in Berlin: (L-R) interpreter Paul Otto Schmid, Yosuke Matsuoka, Foreign Minister of Japan, and Adolf Hitler (Getty Images)



1941 年 3 月 29 日 -- 日本外相松岡洋右在德國貝爾維尤城堡政府賓館簽署柏林市金皮書，

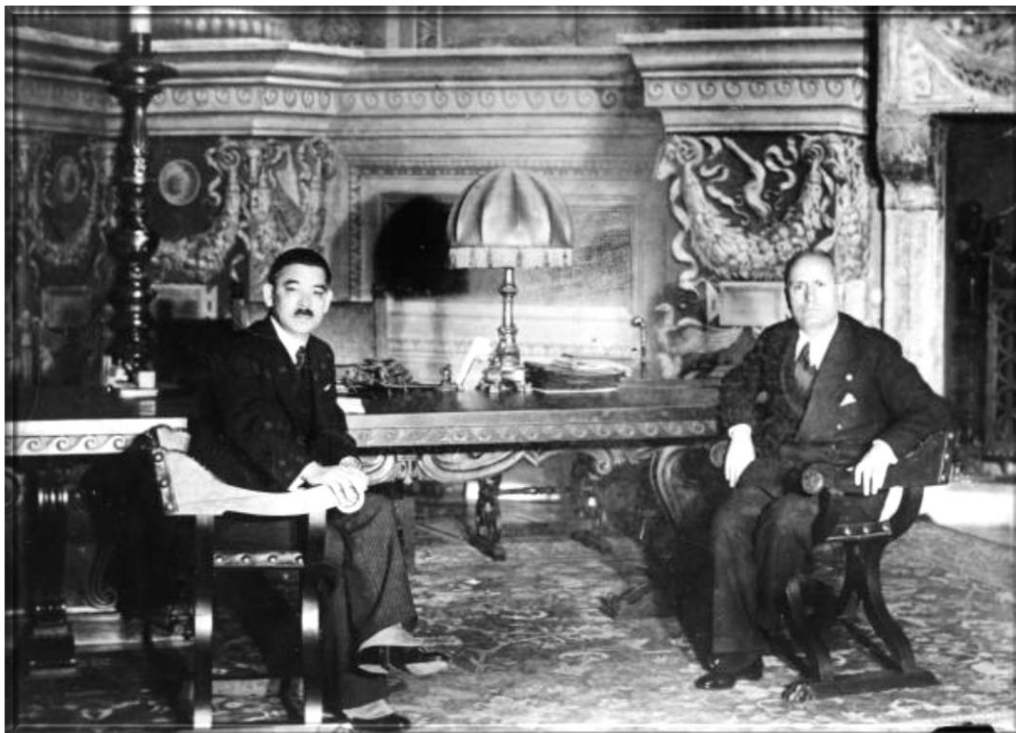
左為柏林市長施特格，右為國務部長邁斯納。

29 March 1941 -- Yosuke Matsuoka, Foreign Minister of Japan, signing in the Golden Book of the city of Berlin at Bellevue Castle, guest house of the Germany government, to the left: Berlin Mayor Ludwig Steeg, to the right: Otto Meissner, State Minister. (Getty Images)



1941 年 4 月 13 日－日本外相松岡洋右在莫斯科克里姆林宮簽署蘇日中立條約，史達林和莫洛托夫在後面看著。

13 April 1941 – In Kremlin, Moscow, Japanese foreign minister Yōsuke Matsuoka signing the Soviet–Japanese Neutrality Pact, with Joseph Stalin and Vyacheslav Molotov on the background.



1941 年 4 月 1 日－在義大利羅馬，日本外相松岡洋右（左）

和義大利總理墨索里尼（右）在威尼斯宮會晤前合影。

1 April 1941 -- In Rome, Italy, Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka (L) and Italian Prime Minister Benito Mussolini (R) pose prior to their meeting at Palazzo Venezia. (Getty Images)



1941 年 5 月 6 日—日本東京，法國駐日本大使阿爾塞納-亨利（左一）、法屬印度支那名譽總督羅賓（左二）
和日本外務大臣松岡洋右（右五）在外務大臣辦公室簽署了《日印經濟條約》的商定文件。

6 May 1941 -- In Tokyo, Japan, French Ambassador to Japan Charles Arsene-Henry (L1), French Indochina Honorary Governor-General Eugene Rene Robin (L2) and Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka (R5) sign the agreed documents of the Japan-Indochina Economy Treaty Signing Ceremony at the Foreign Ministers Office.



1941 年 5 月 20 日—日本東京，蘇聯駐日本大使斯梅塔寧（右）與日本外務大臣松岡洋右（左）
在外務大臣官邸交換蘇日中立條約批准文件。

20 May 1941 -- In Tokyo, Japan, Soviet Union Ambassador to Japan Konstantin Smetanin (R) and Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka (L) exchange the ratification documents of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact at the Foreign Minister's Office. (Getty Images)



1946年5月3日—日本東京，遠東國際軍事法庭開庭時，甲級被告（由左至右）前首相東條英機、前日本帝國海軍上將岡敬純、前外務大臣松岡洋右抵達法庭。

3 May 1946 -- In Tokyo, Japan, Class-A defendants (L-R) former Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, former Imperial Japanese Navy Admiral Takazumi Oka, and former Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka are seen on arrival at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East begins. (Getty Images)



1946年5月4日—日本東京，甲級被告大川周明（左）和前外務大臣松岡洋右（右）被憲兵隊帶到遠東國際軍事法庭，分別接受精神科評估和身體檢查。

4 May 1946 -- In Tokyo, Japan, Class-A defendants Shumei Okawa (L) and former Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka (R) are taken by military police officers for psychiatric evaluation and medical examination respectively at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. (Getty Images)

松岡洋右 -- 從扶輪社員到戰爭罪犯



每年 9 月 3 日是「抗戰勝利紀念日」。

1945 年日本帝國戰敗，8 月 15 日日本昭和天皇裕仁對同盟國方面宣布無條件投降，第二次世界大戰結束。9 月 2 日，日本帝國投降的簽字儀式，在東京灣(Tokyo Bay)的美國海軍戰艦「密蘇里號」(USS Missouri)上正式舉行。日本外務大臣重光葵和參謀總長梅津美治郎代表日本政府在投降書上簽字，中華民國徐永昌將軍隨後代表國家簽字接受投降。

在日本政府簽署投降書的同日，中華民國政府下令全國慶祝勝利，以翌日（即 9 月 3 日）為勝利日，舉國歡慶並放假一天，而全國各界在 9 月 3 日、4 日和 5 日這三天一律懸旗慶祝。1946 年 4 月，中華民國政府正式議決，以每年的 9 月 3 日定為「抗戰勝利紀念日」。

在日本帝國主義和軍國主義時期，尤其是在第二次中日戰爭和太平洋戰爭期間，日本帝國在亞太地區許多國家犯下了戰爭罪行。在甲級戰爭罪行名單中，有 25 名日本官員因策劃和發動戰爭罪（即危害和平罪）而受到審判。其中一些還被加判乙級和丙級戰爭罪行，所有被多次定罪的官員都被處決。前日本外務大臣松岡洋右，在甲級戰爭罪行名單中。他是第二次世界大戰前夜日本有代表性的外交官，人送外號「五萬言先生」。日本退出國際聯盟，日德意三國同盟的締結，日蘇中立條約的締結等都有他的身影。戰敗後，作為甲級戰犯在遠東國際軍事審判的公審中病死。

大連扶輪社創社社長

松岡洋右（1880 年年 3 月 4 日—1946 年 6 月 27 日），「滿蒙是日本的生命線」是他的口頭禪。從 1921 年到 1934 年，退出外務省的松岡洋右，進入了「南滿洲鐵道株式會社」（滿鐵）任理事、副總裁。其間，組織成立大連扶輪社(Dairen Rotary Club 大連ロタリー俱樂部)，並擔任首任社長，職業分類「鐵路運輸」。大連扶輪社位於日本帝國關東領地遼東半島大連港(今遼寧省大連市)，成立於 1928 年 11 月 21 日，並於 1929 年 1 月 21 日加入國際扶輪，證書編號#3037，編列國際扶輪第 70 地區（地理範圍包括日本國本土、滿洲國、朝鮮半島、台灣）。當時有 23 名創始社員，其中 22 名日裔。逢星期四下午 12 時 30 分在大和旅館每週午餐例會，以日、英雙語進行。

田中內閣下台後，松岡洋右辭去在「滿鐵」的職務。回國致力於政治活動，1930 年 2 月成為「立憲政友會」議員。松岡洋右從大連扶輪社退社後，在 1933 年 7 月出版的英語扶輪雜誌《The Rotarian》上發表了《Japan is the Japanese》（日本就是日本人）一文，全文轉載見第 10-13 頁。

截至 1937 年 12 月 31 日，該社共有 59 名社員。可惜的是，國際扶輪於 1940 年 12 月 31 日終止了大連扶輪社的會員資格。（圖見第 4 頁）（1941 年 12 月 7 日，日本向美國宣戰，太平洋戰爭爆發。）



把日本推向戰爭的外交官：松岡洋右

少年時代

松岡洋右 1880 年出生於日本山口縣，這裡被稱為產生日本右翼政治家的地方。少年時代，因家道中落，隨兄長前往美國謀生。

松岡 11 歲時因家庭破產而飄洋過海，被他的叔父扔在美國海岸上，要他自謀生路。命不該絕的松岡被俄勒岡州波特蘭(Portland, Oregon)一家美國人收養。在爾後成長的年代裡，他發奮自強，刻苦讀書。他做過工，當過聽差，為了賺到學費，甚至臨時做過僕人。這種曲折艱苦的成長經歷，倒是鍛鍊了松岡超乎常人的堅韌毅力與求生技能。他後來成為極力推動日本侵略的「國民英雄」，也就不足為怪了。但後來他在二戰前的作為，也讓討厭他的美國人給他起了一個「俄勒岡僮僕」的蔑稱。

外務省時代與南滿鐵路

1902 年，松岡回到日本，一心想進東京帝國大學繼續求學。但是研究了帝國大學的授課內容後改變了志願，轉而報考了外交官考試。1904 年，松岡參加了外交官資格考試。以優異的成績取得合格證書，並因成績優異而被外務省錄用。雖然他在美國生活了 10 年之久，並接受了西方教育，但他尊崇天皇，並抱有使天皇的統治遍行於世界的「八弘一字」的理想。從這時起，松岡活躍在日本外交領域，其活動大致可分為三個階段。

第一階段，從 1904 年起到 1921 年，他在大清國/中華民國內任職，被稱為「大陸派」外交官。1904 年松岡作為領事官候補被派到大清國上海，任命為日本駐上海領事助理，他結識了三井物產上海分社社長山本條太郎。這一時期，是日本對上海經濟滲透的重要時期，山本條太郎則是推動日本經濟向上海滲透的主要人物。松岡對山本的見識和能力十分佩服，山本對松岡也刮目相看，認為他將是擴張日本在華權益的一員「虎將」。

其時正逢日本、沙俄兩個帝國主義國家，發動爭奪中國和朝鮮的強盜戰爭——日俄戰爭。1906 年，松岡轉任日俄戰爭之後新設立的關東都督府第一任外事課長。為了確保日軍的勝利，松岡以外交官身份為掩護，大搞軍事間諜活動，積極為日本政府搜集有關沙俄軍隊的情報。1905 年，在日俄大海戰前夕，松岡等人偵獲到從金蘭灣(Cam Ranh Bay)北上參戰的一支俄國艦隊的準確動向。隨即電告日本政府，從而使日本海軍在這次海戰中大獲全勝。松岡的表現得到了日本政府的賞識，第二年便被擢升為關東都督府第一任外事科長。

這時，日本已經通過條約從俄國手中獲得了旅順、大連，設立了關東都督府。松岡擔任關東都督府的外事課長，專門與中國打交道。在此期間，他又結識了滿鐵創始人——日本重要的政治家後藤新平。日俄戰爭後，日本通過《樸茨茅茲條約》(Treaty of Portsmouth)、《中日滿洲協約》奪取了俄國從大清國強占的「南滿」各種特權。與此相配合。後藤新平仿照英國東印度公司(The East India Company)建立了「南滿鐵道株式會社」。松岡利用他在大清國的機會，通過對三井物產和滿鐵的觀察，加上山本和後藤的開導，逐漸形成了「大陸主義」思想。他認為日本將來的發展，離不開對大陸的「開發」、「經營」。而要實現對大陸的「開發」、「經營」，就必須把「滿洲」從中國本土分離出來。滿洲和內蒙古不僅在經濟上，而且在政治、外交、國防上，對日本都是生死攸關的地方。松岡雖然對中國的古老文化十分迷戀，但他卻從不隱瞞對中國政治的輕蔑。辛亥革命時，他親眼看到了滿清王朝的滅亡和共和政治的誕生。也看到中國許多政治問題原封未動，因而懷疑中國是否能形成一個統一的國家。

1914 年第一次世界大戰開始後，當日本統治階級內部就是否出兵西伯利亞(Siberia)、干涉蘇俄革命問題進行辯論時，在外務省供職的松岡就堅決主張出兵。為了批駁反對者，達到儘快出兵的目的，他甚至越俎代庖，替本野一郎、後藤新平兩任外務大臣起草了一份《意見書》。經過他的搖唇鼓舌，出兵論者終於占據了上風，導致同年 8 月正式出兵西伯利亞。

在結束了中國派遣後，松岡去了俄羅斯和美國擔任了短期差務。1919 年，以報道系主任身份隨同日本代表團參加了巴黎和會(Paris Peace Conference)。在此期間，他充分表現了自己的英語才能。

但是 1918 年第一次世界大戰結束後，日本外交界主張對英美協調外交一派占據了主流地位。1921 年，四十一歲的松岡從外務省卸職。

滿洲情報調查機構

從 1921 年到 1934 年，是松岡洋右活動的重要時期。在這一時期，他被當作日本的「外交英雄」。退出外務省的松岡得到當時為日本陸軍大將，也是其同鄉的田中義一的推薦，一個月後就進入了「南滿洲鐵道株式會社」(滿鐵)——日本對滿洲(今日中國東北三省)進行控制與經營的國家代理機關。

當時的「滿鐵」總裁山本條太郎，對松岡洋右極為欣賞與信任。1924 年 8 月，中國爆發了第二次直奉戰爭。對此應當採取何種政策，日本統治階級內部出現意見分歧。當時任「滿鐵」理事的松岡，不僅全力支持關東軍的立場，堅決主張實施干涉中國內政的政策。還積極進言日本政府，對中國應採取兩面派的手法——「表面上要始終標榜不干涉中國內政」，但在實際操作中「應當排除小型的干涉行動，確立進行大規模干涉的方針」。

以 1919-20 年巴黎和會為契機，要求歸還被日本從德國手裡奪去的青島為開端的「五四運動」，轉瞬間發展到全國。中國民族解放運動的興起，鋒芒指向一切帝國主義，要求收回被奪去的一切權益，當然也包括滿洲。為了使日本在這場鬥爭中處於有利地位，決策不出現失誤，進而保住甚至擴張日本在滿洲的權益。松岡認為圍繞中國東省鐵路(中東鐵路)而日益吃緊的北滿形勢，必須加強情報工作，因此他首先在「滿鐵」設置了龐大的情報調查機構。後來，於 1923 年 4 月，又將「滿鐵」本社的調查機構進一步擴大。同時將哈爾濱公所升格為事務所，並增設了哈爾濱調查課(哈調)。「哈調」剛剛建立不久，1923 年 7 月至 8 月，中國方面以武力收回了中東鐵路附屬地。為解決鐵路歸屬問題，蘇聯(蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦 The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)政府派加拉罕(Lev Mikhailovich Karakhan)前往中國進行交涉。經過談判，結果確定以中蘇合資的方式管理中東鐵路，爭議由此暫告一段落。在中國收回中東鐵路的過程中，「哈調」掌握了詳細的情報，並及時通報給松岡。松岡參照這些情報，仔細分析了北滿形勢及北京政局。在松岡所掌握的情報中，也包括北滿陸軍特務機關的報告，如：哈爾濱特務機關松井石根編寫的《赤塔——烏蘇里鐵路現狀》，駐滿洲里特務機關橋本欣五郎編寫的《採金業在遠東》等。「滿鐵」本社的調查課成了哈爾濱、奉天、吉林、鄭家屯、洮南和齊齊哈爾等地公所情報的匯集地，成為名副其實的情報中心。松岡編織的龐大的情報網遍及世界各地，不僅有駐滿洲、北京、上海等地的情報機構，而且還有駐紐約(New York)、柏林(Berlin)的事務所。而這些事務所又下設多個分支機構，如上海事務所調查室便下設有南京、漢口、廣州、香港事務所。松岡洋右大言不慚地說：「滿鐵雖在日本政府的監督之下，但它作為『具有靈魂的有機體』，已活脫脫像個政府。滿鐵東京分社負責了解政府內部情況，關於政黨動向等的秘密情報，也要定期向本社通報。」滿鐵調查課之所以越做越大，主要是活動經費充足，它一方面有滿鐵的巨額收入作保障，另一方面有關東軍的大力支持。為了報答關東軍的財政支持，滿鐵調查課後來乾脆承擔起了關東軍資源調查班的全部工作。

說到「滿鐵」本身的收入來源，主要是指通過運輸滿洲特產大豆，以及每年在撫順煤礦對近 10 萬

名採煤華工進行殘酷壓榨的勞工制度，而賺取的不義之財。在「滿鐵」成立之初的 1907 年，其利潤僅為 200 萬日元。其後則逐年增長，到 1921 年時，利潤已增加到 1,000 萬日元，1929 年的利潤則創記錄地高達 4,500 萬日元。「滿鐵」用從中國榨取的巨大經濟利益，不斷強化並擴大「滿鐵」在滿洲的地位。同時也使松岡洋右把持下的情報調查機構更加有恃無恐、肆無忌憚地在中國展開情報活動。

鼓吹侵略

1925 年 12 月，在郭松齡武裝反對奉系軍閥張作霖的事件中，松岡洋右再次暴露出其干涉中國內政和侵占中國領土的狼子野心。他致信日本外務大臣說：「在滿蒙維持秩序和一般的干涉內政，應明確加以區別。我認為必須把滿蒙與中國的其他領土區別開來，盡我帝國之力維持滿蒙的秩序。」松岡把赤裸裸的干涉內政美化成「維持秩序」，並故意把東北和內蒙古地區與中國的其他地區分割開來。為日本帝國主義侵占東北和內蒙古地區的圖謀，披上合法的外衣而出謀劃策。1927 年，松岡洋右成為「滿鐵」的副總裁，雖然也曾在撫順指揮過一個石炭液化工地。在這期間，「滿鐵」制定了野心勃勃的鐵路建設計劃，準備通過鐵路控制中國東北，推進日本已經確立的大陸政策。1929 年 12 月 14 日，在廣島市召開的太平洋調查會議上，松岡在演講說：「為了替中國趕走賴在東北不走的俄軍，日本向滿洲投入了 20 億日元的戰費。這筆費用在 10 年之內，本利就可達 60 億日元。中國償還這筆錢了嗎？……日本在滿洲還損失了 10 萬寶貴的生命，這是用金錢換不來的。」

田中內閣下台後，1930 年，松岡正式從滿鐵辭職。同年 2 月，當選為第十七回眾議院議員總選舉鄉里山口二區（立憲政友會）的代表。在議會裡，曾一度批判了當時外務大臣幣原喜重郎的對英美妥協，外加對中國內政不干涉的方針。

兩個月後，他參加了在京都召開的第三次太平洋問題調查會議。在會上，松岡大放厥詞，發表了臭名昭著的《駁中國的滿洲論》的演說。他老調重彈，說什麼「滿蒙是日本國防上不可缺少的」，「滿蒙是日本的生命線」。他說：「正如以前所指出的那樣，李鴻章是想藉助俄國力量打倒日本。現在我不是就此事本身論其是非，只是指出事實。歷史往往是會重現的。中華民國諸公，能向日本做出保證，將來絕不會再出現第二個李鴻章嗎？……其次，以我的歷史觀來看，世界歷史，大多是由國民或人種的所謂盲目衝動的錯綜複雜關係及其反應所形成，而令人感到意外的是明智力量的作用卻不多。從這一歷史觀來看，斯拉夫民族的重建或復興如任其發展，將會出現比沙皇統治時期更完善、強大的俄國，那時將會以比過去更為強大的力量向遠東蜂擁而來。毫無疑問，它將再度面向海洋而席捲滿洲。我相信，這種事實必然會出現。而對斯拉夫人的捲土重來，對其兇猛的襲擊，請問中國諸公能向日本保證，中國能夠依靠自己的力量守住北部，使日本的存在與國家的安全絕不陷入危機或受到威脅嗎？……總之，對於日本過去在日俄戰爭中所付出的鮮血和財力的犧牲，中華民國諸公將準備給予何種具體而滿意的補償呢？再者，我現在所申明的兩點，即立即與我國國防發生重大關係的兩個問題，諸公是否準備給予保障呢？我懇切地勸告各位，對於這些重大問題，只要不能給予滿意的回答，我相信要解決所謂滿蒙問題的一切嘗試，就是不會有多大進展的。」進而猛烈批評主張與歐美各國進行「協調外交」的幣原喜重郎外相，主張強硬外交，鼓吹用武力解決滿蒙問題。

松岡洋右還在各種場合甚至著書立說，來鼓吹自己的侵略擴張思想。他宣揚「滿蒙是日本國防上不可缺少的」的無恥論調，而「滿蒙是日本的生命線」這一句話更是他的「傑作」。

1930 年，松岡洋右當選為日本參議院議員。不久就出版了自己的「傾心」之作——《興亞之大業》一書，公開兜售自己的侵略理論。「興亞之大業」，指「振興」亞洲是日本最大的奮鬥目標。這種「振興」之本質，在書中有明確的定義——松岡洋右在書中聲稱：「何謂興亞之大業？一句話，就是使神武天皇的八肱一字的詔敕得以實現……即通過對大陸的大規模經營，實現神武天皇這種崇高、宏偉的創

業精神。進而由亞洲走向全世界，傳播此種仁愛之皇道。」面對這樣的大業，大和民族的使命就是「挽救」人類，日本就是「東亞新秩序的領導者」、「『大東亞共榮圈』實際上的盟主」。如果其他國家介入屬於日本勢力範圍的「大東亞共榮圈」的事務，日本將斷然予以阻止。

1931年，在另一本宣傳侵略擴張思想的書——《動亂之滿蒙》中，松岡洋右更是提出：「滿蒙不僅在我國的國防上，就是經濟上，也可以說是我國的生命線……我們要牢固地確保和死守這條生命線。」「滿蒙是日本的生命線」這一「名斷」即出自此處。而實際上，關東軍也是打著「保護日本生命線」的旗號，發動了瀋陽九一八事變，侵占了中國東北。

退出國聯回國後，受到英雄般的歡迎

1931年9月，日本關東軍在瀋陽發動了九一八事變，並迅速出兵占領了中國東北三省。當時的國民政府採取「不抵抗」的政策，向國際聯盟(League of Nations)提出「申訴」，期望國際聯盟能夠主持公道。11月21日，國際聯盟大會通過了組織調查團的決議。翌年1月，國際聯盟調查團正式成立，由英國人李頓伯爵(Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 2nd Earl of Lytton)任團長。調查團經過半年多的調查活動，於10月公布了《國際聯盟調查報告書》。報告書雖然肯定「東三省為中國之一部」，但又承認「日本在滿洲的利益」，結果竟提出一個對中國東北實行「國際共管」的方案。1932年10月11日，國際聯盟在日內瓦(Geneva)召開國際聯盟大會，討論李頓調查團的報告。日本齋藤實內閣決定派松岡洋右作為首席全權代表率團前往。而在此前的9月15日，日本政府已正式承認了「滿洲國」，這等於告訴松岡絕不妥協。松岡便帶著這一「尚方寶劍」，前往日內瓦參加會議。

在國際聯盟大會開會期間，日本國內就「滿洲國」問題召開了舉國一致、各派聯合的聯絡員大會。並致電松岡，激勵他「排除一切妥協，堅決貫徹初衷」。隨後又於1933年2月7日在日比谷公會堂召開了「對國際聯盟的緊急國民大會」，並由東京中央廣播電台轉播了實況。此次大會通過了「帝國應立即退出國際聯盟」的決議，並遞交給齋藤實首相和內田康哉外務大臣。日本政府接到決議後遂於2月21日決定召回出席國際聯盟的日本代表團。與此同時，聯合會又策劃召開了名為「國民奮起大會」的大集會，通過如下決議：「謹向天地神明宣誓：為了世界和平，宣揚全體國民強烈的意願，堅持帝國國是，促成滿洲國建國大業，切望立即退出國際聯盟。」

當天，身在日內瓦的松岡洋右便收到了這一決議的全文電報，松岡對此心領神會。1933年2月24日，在國際聯盟大會上，松岡作了不改初衷的最後演說。此後，大會對李頓的報告書進行表決。在當時57個參加國代表中，有45國的代表出席。記名投票的結果為，贊成票42國，反對票1國，即日本，泰國棄權，智利未參加投票。大會主席宣布：「大會通過李頓報告書。對『滿洲國』不給予事實上或法律上的承認。」聞聽這一結果，松岡立即宣讀了事先準備好的宣言書：「日本締造了滿洲國，這對維護東方和平至關重要……目前沒有人看到其中的意義，但是30到50年後，世界會認識到日本是正確的。日本就像耶穌一樣被釘在十字架上，但像他一樣被拯救……日本有朝一日將被拯救……我們準備被釘在十字架上……但是我們確信，而且堅信，幾年後世界的看法會改變；就像世人理解基督一樣，我們也會得到世人的理解。」隨後，便趾高氣揚地率領日本代表團離開了會場。

後來，日本內閣會議於1933年3月8日又正式作出了退出國際聯盟的決定。27日，將退出國際聯盟的通告通知國際聯盟秘書長，並頒布退出國際聯盟的天皇詔書。松岡洋右離開日內瓦後，首先取道義大利王國羅馬(Rome, Kingdom of Italy)。他對這個法西斯國家崇媚有加，說什麼在那裡沒有乞丐，街道整潔，社會秩序安定。接著會見了國家法西斯黨(National Fascist Party)黨魁、他心中的偶像——墨索里尼(Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini)。松岡對墨索里尼佩服得五體投地，他在一次演講中說：「一人之去留而定國家之興亡，這在過去只是傳說。但是各位如果想看到現實的話，就請到

義大利去吧！」然後輾轉倫敦(London)，隨後又去了美國，在華盛頓(Washington)，會見了美國總統羅斯福(Franklin Delano Roosevelt)。4月27日，松岡乘「淺間丸」抵達橫濱。《東京日日新聞》發表了《歡迎松岡全權代表》的長篇文章，讚揚他為「凱旋將軍」。其他各大報章也都把松岡捧為「國民英雄」，並把松岡退出國際聯盟的行動稱為日本「自主外交的里程碑」。

大力推動日德意三國軸心

第三階段，所謂的「松岡外交」時期。對日本來說，松岡洋右的最大「功績」是在日本與德國、義大利的三國防共協定的基礎上，大力推動建立了日、德、意三國軸心。

松岡洋右從日內瓦回國後不久，1935年8月再次回到「滿鐵」，擔任第13任總裁，進一步擴大了「滿鐵」的情報調查機構。在「滿鐵」內設核心機構「大調查部」，使調查人員增至2,125人，調查經費預算高達800萬日元。在原有政策基礎上，松岡又積極配合日本對全中國擴張的計劃。他對外交仍念念不忘，對「妥協外交」極為不滿，聲稱應將外務省敕任官以上的官員全部解職。

這一時期，希特勒(Adolf Hitler)的納粹德國(Nazi Germany)也脫離國際聯盟。於是，在國際上採取孤立政策的日本與德國迅速接近。但1939年8月，德國與蘇聯締結了互不侵犯條約。這使當時的內閣首相平沼騏一郎受到很大衝擊，以致提出總辭職。此時松岡已辭去「滿鐵」總裁職務，尚未任其他公職。聞知此事，一向不甘寂寞的他禁不住又發出了一些感嘆。他說：「德國善於利用別國滿足自己的欲望，即使違約也不幹被他國利用的蠢事。和他們接近的國家，幾乎無一例外都上過當。」

1940年7月，近衛文麿內閣邀松岡洋右擔任外務大臣。松岡提出必須對外交政策有決策權，得到了近衛的認可。對此人事任命，「內大臣木戶幸一及近衛周圍的其他人大多反對，昭和天皇也反覆勸近衛多加考慮」。昭和天皇曾問前來晉謁的近衛首相：「可能會陷入極大的困境和黑暗之中。你有這種準備嗎？」表示了對前途的憂慮。有分析認為，近衛之所以堅持任命松岡，是因為在《排除英美本位的和平主義》的論文中，自己所闡述的「國際秩序構想」與松岡的外交政策在國際感覺上，存在著共同點。敕令下達後的7月19日，近衛在私邸「荻外莊」召見松岡以及擬分別就任陸軍大臣和海軍大臣的東條英機和吉田善吾，協商加強日德意軸心關係。即便已入木三分地看透了德國，松岡在上任後，仍迫不及待地尋求與德意的結盟。看來，自認老道的他非常自信不會栽在德國人手裡。松岡洋右在8月1日上任後的記者招待會上，首先提出要建立日、滿、華一體的「大東亞共榮圈」。並明確表示共榮圈包括法屬印度支那(French Indochina)和荷屬東印度(Dutch East Indies)。按他的解釋，所謂的「大東亞共榮圈」，就是以「皇道的根本精神」為指導原則，建立以日本為盟主的經濟集團。它應用在國際關係上，就變成了「八紘一宇」的國家主義。他還宣稱：「日本正在擴張，試想有哪個正在擴張中的國家沒拿它的鄰國開過刀？問問那些美洲印地安人和墨西哥人吧，看看年輕的美利堅合眾國在多年以前，是怎樣殘忍地折磨他們的。」實際上這不僅是松岡的個人想法，也代表了當時日本政府的亞洲觀。就在松岡記者招待會上拋出「大東亞共榮圈」構想的當天晚上，他就與德國駐日大使奧托(Otto von Dönhoff)會談，試探德國對締結日、德、意三國同盟的意向。松岡的如意算盤是，形成三國同盟，不僅可以抵抗美國在東亞的強大壓力，而且能促使歐亞大陸東西兩端建立「新秩序」。以此為基礎，進而邀請蘇聯也加入日、德、意聯合體系。到時就會出現歐亞大陸新體制的強大勢力集團，並可與以英、美為中心的西半球保持對峙。

排除異己，清洗了外務省中的親美英派

帶著自己的「美好構想」，松岡開始為締結三國同盟而奔走呼號。1940年9月19日，日本召開了最後決定日本對三國同盟態度的御前會議。會上，軍令部總長伏見宮博恭王質問說，三國同盟「對

於日蘇邦交的調整有多大作用？」松岡回答說：「對於日蘇邦交的調整，德國有意充當中間人。這是因為日蘇邦交的調整，對德國也有利，所以他們希望充當中間人。去年，德蘇締結互不侵犯條約時，德國外長向史達林問起『日蘇邦交將來如何』，史達林回答說：『日本想和，我也願和，日本想戰，我也要戰。』由此可以斷定，蘇方頗有意於調整日蘇邦交。我認為德國方面沒有任何阻礙，因而我想能夠較容易地進行這種調整的。」

在此次會議上，樞密院議長原嘉道對於三國同盟可能致使日美關係惡化，表示了擔憂。松岡對此解釋說：「現在美國對日感情已惡化到了極點，不是一般的討好所能恢復得了的。我們只有採取堅決的態度，才能避免戰爭。」有些認為他與美國友好的老朋友感到不解，松岡對他們說，這是避免與美國開戰的好辦法。他對他的大兒子說：「只要你堅定地站著，開始反擊，美國人就會知道，他是在同一個男子漢講話，然後你們兩個就像男子漢對男子漢一樣談話。」他認為，只有他自己才真正認識美國。松岡的外交，就是建築在這樣危險賭博的基礎上。果然，1940年9月26日，美國宣布禁止向日本出口日本為製造武器而大量採購的廢鋼鐵。松岡當時非常自信，認為把賭注押在三國同盟上，不僅可以調整日蘇關係，而且可以有效地對抗英、美。他曾對秘書官加瀨俊一充滿自信地說：「除了憑藉三國同盟打開局面外，別無方策。但是最終目的是調整日美關係，你就等著看吧。」松岡當時曾向其心腹好友齋藤良衛博士透露說：「我想與之握手的真正對象，不是德國而是蘇聯。與德國握手，只不過是為了與蘇聯握手創造條件。自德蘇兩國簽訂互不侵犯條約以來，兩國關係極為良好。所以通過德國的斡旋，日蘇關係調整有了可能。若以德、蘇為友，任他什麼美國、英國都不會考慮與日本開戰。」為了排除異己，松岡更換了40名大使與公使。清洗了外務省中的親美英派，為進行三國聯盟打下基礎。1940年9月27日，日德意三國同盟簽字。松岡在東京招待德國與義大利大使及日本政府要人，舉行盛大的慶祝會。第二年3月，松岡訪問德國柏林，專門拜訪希特勒。同時，他竭力提倡「大東亞共榮圈」的理論，把日本的外交政策與日本法西斯的對外擴張政策，緊密地結合起來。而從1940年起擔任日本外相的這段時間，他被稱為推行「我行我素」的獨立外交的外相。

結交蘇聯

日本期望著德國，發揮調整對蘇關係的「中間人」的作用。此前，日蘇兩國曾進行過締結中立條約的談判。是通過駐蘇大使東鄉茂德在莫斯科進行的，即將達成協議。可是松岡為了先締結三國同盟條約，召回了東鄉大使，使談判暫時停止。在三國同盟建立後不久的10月末，松岡以建川美次為新的駐蘇大使，為締結日蘇互不侵犯條約進行交涉。但是，這一交涉未能實現，因為蘇聯提出不能放棄對南庫頁島(South Sakhalin)和千島群島(Kuril Islands)的主權，談判遂因此而擱淺。

在松岡調整日蘇邦交尚未取得成果之際，德蘇關係反而惡化了，傳說德蘇有開「日德意三國同盟簽字儀式戰」的可能。為此，1941年3月，松岡開始了他的歐洲之旅。目的是證實一下德蘇即將宣戰的真相，並想一舉完成日蘇邦交的調整。松岡乘火車橫越西伯利亞，首先來到莫斯科(Moscow)。3月24日，對蘇聯政府強調日蘇合作之必要。松岡的如意算盤是，在訪問柏林、羅馬兩軸心國首都與希特勒、墨索里尼會見之後，歸途再次訪問莫斯科時，時機將會成熟。對日蘇邦交的調整等問題，應當能夠有所進展。

在柏林，松岡聽到曾向他提出簽訂「四國聯盟」這個主意的里賓特洛甫(Joachim von Ribbentrop)說：「怎麼能在這個時候簽訂這樣一個條約？請記住，俄國是從不白給東西的。」但松岡的熱情並未減退；日本駐德國大使大島浩私下告訴他，德國和蘇聯可能不久就要開戰，但他還是那麼熱心。甚至在他離開柏林前往莫斯科的途中，得悉德國已入侵南斯拉夫(Yugoslavia)時，但松岡仍決定賭他一把，先實現日蘇邦交調整再說。對他的秘書加瀨俊一說：「與史達林簽訂的協定已在我口袋中！」因此，1941

年4月7日在返回途經莫斯科時，本來有所猶豫的蘇聯政府，由於擔心德蘇戰爭爆發，接受了松岡的提議。4月13日，《日蘇中立條約》在克里姆林宮(Kremlin)簽字。當時，在慶祝簽字的宴會上，史達林(Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin)和松岡相互擁抱，高興地說：「你與我，都是亞洲人。」松岡向史達林敬酒，並說了一些其他外交官不可能說的話。「條約已經簽訂了，我不說謊，如果我說謊，我把腦袋給你。如果你說謊，那我一定會來取你的腦袋。」史達林沉下臉來反駁道：「對我國來說，我的頭是重要的。你的腦袋，對你們國家也是重要的。所以，我們都小心地讓腦袋長在肩膀上吧！」這番話弄得松岡很尷尬。此後，史達林和外長莫洛托夫(Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Molotov)一起親自趕到莫斯科車站為松岡送行。同已進入車廂又特意走下車來的松岡相互擁抱，再次說「咱們都是亞洲人」，表現得十分親熱。這的確是閃電外交，不論國內外的新聞界，對此都目瞪口呆。日本報紙上紛紛發表社論，讚揚松岡外相的「功勞」，並對條約給予很高的評價。一時，松岡又成為日本政壇的風雲人物。

外交絕路

就在松岡洋右因「成功」出訪德國、義大利和蘇聯而得意忘形之際，日本駐美大使野村吉三郎在近衛首相的授意下，與美國國務卿赫爾(Cordell Hull)就「日美諒解案」進行了會談。1941年4月18日外務省將該案向政府和大本營作了通報，陸軍方面表示「原則上接受」。美國企圖以「日美諒解案」使日本脫離三國同盟，這對松岡外交無疑是一個嚴重的打擊。有關「諒解案」的報告，松岡是在從蘇聯回國的途中看到的。松岡對此感到十分憤慨，因為他對此事全然不知，近衛首相從未向他透露過風聲。他悲哀地意識到，日本外交上出現的兩種聲音，說明他這個外相已被架空了。懷著對近衛在重大時刻廢棄外交一元化的約定的極度不滿，松岡對前來機場迎接他的近衛首相和大橋忠一外務次官等表示出了少有的冷淡。據說，在機場上當近衛伸出手來和松岡握手時，松岡犯了禮儀上的大忌，竟伸出自己的左手。松岡在莫斯科為了向來到月台的史達林致謝從車上走下來時，右手指稍微擦傷一點，包紮了一塊紗布。人們認為，這是松岡故意拒絕與近衛握手的一種姿態。在近衛迎接松岡的一瞬間，兩人之間原有的信賴感和尊敬心情，突然消失。彼此不信任和輕蔑之情，油然而生。

外相松岡反對科學家特工岩畔豪雄大佐同美國進行談判的努力，他把協定草案一事通知了希特勒，並在等待希特勒的意見。松岡向德國大使奧特將軍(General Eugen Ott)保證，如果美國參戰，日本肯定也要參戰。儘管如此，希特勒還是懷疑松岡。他對墨索里尼說，松岡是個天主教徒，但也向異教的上帝獻祭，「可以得出結論，他是既有美國聖經傳教士的虛偽，又有亞洲日本人的狡猾」。1941年5月8日，松岡拜謁天皇說，如果美國加入歐戰，日本應該支持軸心國，進攻新加坡(Singapore)。他預言，在華盛頓的談判將一事無成。如果談判竟能成功，那也只意味著要犧牲德國和義大利，才能安撫美國。「如果發生這種情況，我恐怕不能在內閣留任。」6月21日，美國國務卿赫爾終於對日本的提案作出了正式的回答：「日本必須放棄三國同盟條約。」此外，還拒絕了日本提出的一些其他要求，近衛及其內閣對美國的答覆甚為震驚。尤其使松岡激怒的是，赫爾在答覆的同時還發表了一篇口頭聲明。大意是說，近日來，某些日本官員發表的公開言論，似乎成了談判道路上無法克服的障礙。松岡認為這是對他進行的人身攻擊，並把它作為完全停止和華盛頓談判的理由。

1941年6月22日，由於德國背信棄義地對蘇聯發動了突然襲擊，導致德蘇戰爭爆發。受此影響，日本的國際環境急劇複雜化，日美關係開始日益惡化。此時，在大本營和政府聯席會議上，就「是南進還是北進」分成兩派，進行爭論。松岡雖不主張對美開戰，但也主張南進，攻擊新加坡。以迫使英國加速投降，支援德國。可是，在6月30日的聯席會議上，松岡突然來了個180度的大轉彎，摒棄了南進論，轉而採取了北進論，他堅信德國能迅速擊敗俄國。他建議日本立刻進攻西伯利亞，推遲南進。昭和天皇感到驚異，因為這個方針意味著朝兩個方向擴張。松岡力主進攻蘇聯的意見，遭到了以

陸相東條英機為首的軍方的強烈反對。鑑於張鼓峰事件(Battle of Lake Khasan)和諾門坎事件(Battles of Khalkhin Gol)的教訓，東條不主張急於同時與蘇聯和美國開戰。海相及川古志郎也說，同時與兩國海戰，實屬困難。「為了這種局面，不要叫我們既進攻蘇聯，同時又南進。海軍目前不想惹蘇聯。」松岡說：「在德國消滅蘇聯後，我們不能坐享其成。」然後，他說了一些與外相身分不相稱的話。「我們要麼是流血，要麼就開展外交。我看還是流血好些。」第二天，他進一步闡述他的論點。他問道：「南邊重要，還是北邊重要？」陸軍參謀總長杉山元回答道：「同樣重要。我們正在靜觀時局如何發展。」頭腦伶俐、脾氣暴躁的陸軍參謀次長冢田攻說：「一切取決於時局。我們不能齊頭並進！」松岡又找東條進行爭辯，他說，根據德國的通報，俄國的戰事不久就會結束，英國在年底前也得投降。「如果我們在德國擊敗蘇聯後再著手討論蘇聯問題，在外交上我們將處於不利地位。假如立即進攻蘇聯，美國就不能參戰。」他堅信能用外交手腕拖住美國3個月到半年。「如果我們像統帥部建議的那樣坐等結果，我們就將受到英國、美國和俄國的包圍。我們必須先北進，然後南進。……」他像開了閘的河水，滔滔不絕地講下去，直到他看見他的話毫不發生作用時，方才罷休。最後松岡以挑釁的口吻說：「本人的預言從來沒有不應驗的。現在我預言，如果戰爭從南面開始，英、美兩國必然參戰，不然我們走著瞧吧！」

為了清除松岡對軍部政策的干擾，有人建議近衛首相立即把他免職。但是，近衛卻不想與松岡鬧翻，因為松岡在與希特勒和史達林會談後，在一部分人的心目中還是一個了不起的人物。近衛決定找個藉口把松岡搞掉，他要求全體閣僚集體辭職。然後重新組閣，起用豐田貞次郎海軍大將成為新的外相。他於16日6時30分召開內閣非常會議。近衛提出這個建議，沒有人反對。松岡抱病在家，這樣，這位日本外交史上最能言善辯的人物的暴風雨般的生涯，就宣告結束了。

1941年12月8日，日本偷襲珍珠港(Pearl Harbor)，太平洋戰爭爆發。齋藤良衛博士拿著日美交戰新聞，來到千谷松岡私邸。松岡病容憔悴，眼含淚水對齋藤說，現在越發痛感締結三國同盟是他一生中最大的失策。他主張建立三國同盟的目的，是防止美國參戰。但事與願違，三國同盟竟成了太平洋戰爭的遠因。

死不悔改 頑抗到底的甲級戰犯

1945年8月初，美軍在日本廣島、長崎先後投擲了兩個原子彈，接著蘇聯又對日宣戰。在走投無路的情況下，日本天皇決定接受《波茨坦公告》(Potsdam Declaration)，準備無條件投降。當時，陸相阿南惟幾與其他的死硬派軍國主義分子反對投降。主張打到底，甚至準備發動軍事政變，松岡洋右則堅決站在阿南一邊。他本來因肺結核已臥病不起多年，但當時竟以有病之身，四處活動。他到處鼓吹「絕不能向美國示弱」，並參與了軍部少數死硬分子策劃的未遂軍事政變。8月13日，松岡洋右在訪問皇族東久邇宮稔彥王時，對準備向盟軍投降的鈴木貫太郎內閣進行激烈的攻擊，並強調說：「挽救我國唯一的一道路，就是下定決心把戰爭繼續下去。進行本土決戰，以便置之死地而後生。」

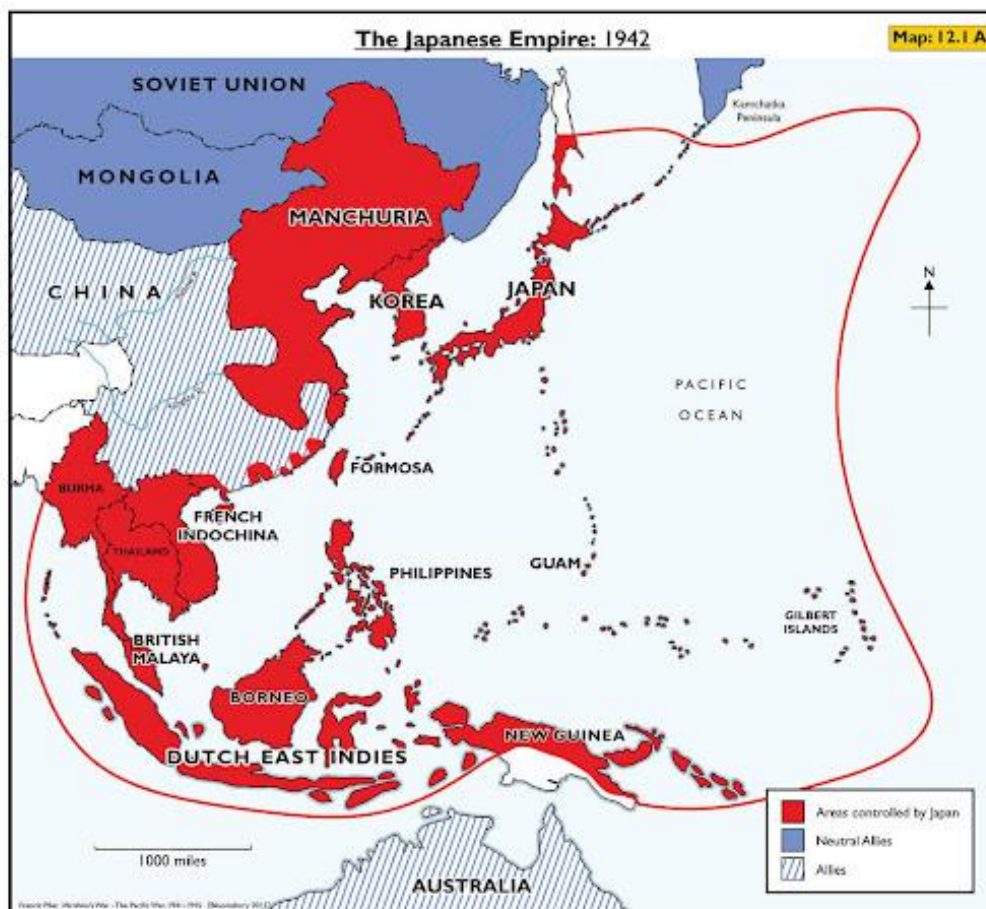
然而，無情的歷史車輪碾碎了松岡等人「打到底」的夢想。日本帝國終於在1945年8月15日宣布無條件投降，戰犯們的末日來臨了。不久，盟軍總司令部公布了戰犯名單，松岡洋右等被定為甲級戰犯。11月19日，盟軍總司令部通過電台，播送了逮捕松岡洋右等甲級戰犯的命令。松岡聽到這個廣播後，感到自己罪責難逃，頹喪地對他左右的人說：「現在已發出了逮捕令，也許我將被判處死刑。既然失敗了，這是必然的。要是在過去，也許還將罪及九族呢！」

但是，直到這時，松岡仍拒不認罪，堅持頑固到底的立場。被捕前，他的兒子擔心他在獄中受苦，悄悄把一包毒藥塞到他手裡，示意他自殺。但松岡拒不接受，說：「我不要這種東西，自殺是怯懦的表現，我決不自殺。我不為自己蒙受侵略合謀的污名而悲嘆，因為締結三國同盟絕不是為了侵略。」

松岡洋右直到死，仍在堅持這種拒不認罪的態度。在遠東國際軍事法庭受審時，他甚至還用英語說自己是「無罪」的。受審期間，松岡洋右因病住進了美軍醫院。1946年6月27日，松岡在病中死去，時年66歲。松岡洋右憑著病死，逃過了國際軍事法庭對他的最後審判。但他所犯下的累累罪行：「作為領導人、組織者、煽動者或共犯，制定或執行共同計劃，或陰謀發動侵略戰爭和違反國際法的戰爭」，罪責難逃，死有餘辜。

遠東國際軍事法庭（International Military Tribunal for the Far East），又稱東京國際軍事法庭、東京審判、東京大審，是第二次世界大戰結束後特設之國際軍事法庭。於1946年5月3日至1948年11月12日之間，由身為勝方的同盟國，為解決敗方大日本帝國戰犯陰謀發動戰爭、常規戰爭罪和反人類罪等罪行，確認責任歸屬而創立。法庭設於東京市谷本村的原陸軍士官學校大講堂，位於今東京都新宿區市谷本村町的自衛隊設施「防衛省市谷地區」內。在本次審判中有28名大日本帝國軍政要人被指控犯有55項不同的戰爭罪行，包括但不限於：發動侵略戰爭、謀殺或虐待盟軍戰俘以及對占領區平民實行屠殺（見南京大屠殺）等戰爭罪行；其中被告更不乏政府高級領導人，有日本戰時首相東條英機、前外務大臣東鄉茂德等。最終審判庭裁定被告的45項罪名成立，除兩名被告在審判期間死亡外，其餘所有被告都被判定至少犯有一項罪行。判決分別從7年監禁到死刑不等。

除東京審判外，盟國還在南京、馬尼拉、新加坡、仰光、西貢、伯力等地，對乙、丙級戰犯進行了審判。據統計，被盟國起訴的日本各類戰犯總數為5,423人，被判刑者4,226人，其中被判處死刑者941人。



From the book 《Hirohito's War : The Pacific War, 1941-1945》 by Francis Pike