FROM: Matsuoka Yōsuke 松岡洋右. Matsuoka zenken daienzetsu shū 松岡全權大演說集. 東京: 大日本雄辯會講談社, 昭和 8 [1933], pp. 31-37 [from back cover]
Ladies and Gentlemen:

About to take my leave of this great commonwealth and sail out of the beautiful Golden Gate that opens the way to the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean, I am offered the opportunity once more to talk to you. I'll talk very plainly, for I know Americans like it. That is the great characteristic of yours that I like and emulate.

I feel that this present journey through your country has been of great value to me. It has given me proof of what I believed before I came. I believed that American opinion on the Far-Easten situation should not be judged by surface evidence. Day-to-day indication can easily be mistaken. I am glad to have my belief confirmed by this visit, for it will enable me to speak with more authority on this subject to my people back in Japan.

I have not been influenced by surface indications. I have looked below the surface of your attitude and have found at least three important evidences that your country, as a whole, has no anxiety over the situation across the Pacific.
In the first place, if you had anxiety, you would not be planning to withdraw from your Asiatic possessions, the Philippine Islands, and give them independence.

In the second place, if you had anxiety, you would be building your navy up to full treaty strength, in preparation for "possibilities," as they are called.

In the third place, if you had anxiety, your newspapers would be taking far more interest than they do in the fighting between the Japanese army and the semi-bandit forces of several Chinese War-Lords along the line of the Great Wall of China.

You evidently have confidence that the alarm which agitators have tried to create among you regarding Japan's intentions are unfounded.

I think Japan and America are going to mind their own business. I think they should. I am sure they will. We both have enough domestic troubles to keep us busy—haven't we?

If America wants to help the nations of the Far East, the best way, it seems to me, is to help Japan and China to be friends. Neither of them is helped by the encouragement of enmity between them. The world—and least of all America—will gain nothing by the development of such enmity.

It is high time in the affairs of the world for you Americans to know your mind and clearly decide whether you want a real peace or only a form or pretense of it. Do you want "Peace machinery," as it is called, without peace? Do you prefer the
machinery to what the machinery was intended to produce?

Some of you seem to have got the machinery confused with the product, but the great majority of you, it seems to me, think and see very clearly.

If it is peace you want, and not an empty means or form, then you've got to support Japan. Otherwise, you'll see more chaos in the Far East.

That will do no good for the people of either China or Japan, nor for you—except your builders of battleships, and makers of arms and munitions of war. The trouble may even spread across the Pacific and you may not be able to escape the consequences of it. Do you know, Japan, in a sense, is really fighting a battle for all the world, America, Europe and others.

You started your relations with my country eighty years ago,—when Commodore Perry came to Japan and summoned us to open the doors of our hermit kingdom—with good will for and faith and vision in Japan. Will you still persist in that? Has Japan done anything to disappoint you?

History shows that peace in the Far East depended, and still depends on Japan. For the past forty years Japan has been largely responsible for the maintenance of peace in the Far East. I believe in the bigness of the American heart. I am sure the heart of your people is big enough to continue that faith and vision.

We have been very much criticized in America.
recently because you lost your confidence in us. You were led away by scare-mongers and agitators. You were told that we were at war with China. As a matter of fact we have not been at war. We have been only doing some essential police work, just as Britishers, Americans and others were called upon at times to do in China.

Some of you might be tempted to ask—why did the Japanese fight in the spring of last year at Shanghai? Even there at Shanghai we were not fighting China. The diplomatic relations between the two countries were not broken then, and are not broken now. The Chinese Minister remains in Tokyo to-day, and the Japanese Minister remains in Nanking. It is a strange situation, difficult for many Americans to understand.

In Shanghai our marines were landed, in the first place, at the same time that other foreign forces were landed—British, French and American Marines. They were landed because of a threatening situation, which had already cost the lives of several Japanese.

Our marines were fired upon by the troops of one of the independent War-Lords who had approached the city. We had then but one thing to do, namely to beat his army. If we failed to do so, we would have encountered serious trouble wherever our people live, and buy and sell, in China. Many Chinese War-Lords, mistaking our attitude for weakness, would have given us trouble.

But after whipping the Chinese Army, what did
we do? We at once withdrew our troops from Shanghai. Wasn’t this ample evidence of our policy and intentions, despite all the accusations and slanders against us?

China is too vast a country for us to attempt to police the whole of it. It is a country with a territory and a population greater than that of all Europe. The police job we have undertaken is beyond the Great Wall—that is to say in Manchuria, and it is all we are ready to assume.

Compared with China, my country is a small one. Compared with the United States, it is not rich. But I am proud to say it is not poor in a spiritual sense.

Inspite 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, with your abundance of natural resources, of intelligence, of experience, of skill and of courage.

We Japanese are keenly interested in your recovery. We want you to recover quickly and thoroughly. We need more of your trade. Until you recover, we cannot have it.

In saying good-bye to America, it is hard for me to find words adequately to express my deep appreciation of the warm and generous reception that has been given me wherever I have gone. In this, I want particularly to thank the American Press for meeting me with such an open mind. The Press
has given me a square deal. Indeed, I should even say more than a square deal. The sense of justice of the American newspapermen, writer and editor alike, has stood out conspicuously.

But this was what I expected. I knew that Americans were ready to give a hearing to the other side. I have found the American people even eager to learn the truth.

I am convinced that you are interested, in your international relations, primarily in the maintenance of peace—peace with all the world, including Japan. And I think you are beginning to realize that that is also our desire. We seek peace earnestly. Peace is the purpose of our action in the East.

Some people make it their business to talk about navies, and staring to think in terms of imaginary enemies, they often end in believing in real enemies. That is a strange process in human psychology. It is dangerous. But, be sure, we would far prefer to have the navies of both our countries made the guardians of peace on the Pacific, instead of agencies that tempt and allure us into rivalry, distrust and finally war.

Let the banner of the Rising Sun and that of the Stars and Stripes be forever the emblems of peace on the Pacific, with the nations under them marching in confidence and friendship towards the common goal of peace and human happiness.

Allow me to say good-bye to you in Japanese. The word that we use in saying farewell to a friend
is one of the most beautiful in our language. I say it to you—SAYONARA.