

濟的合作ノ強化ニ伴ヒ、蘭印トノ經濟交渉ハ不調ニ終リ、延テ南太平洋ニ於ケル帝國ノ地位ニ、重大ナル脅威ヲ及ハサントスルノ形勢トナリマシタノテ、帝國ハ「ヴィシー」政府ト日・佛印共同防衛ニ關スル取極メヲ爲シ、之ニ基キ七月末南部佛印ニ兵力ヲ増派セラルルコトトナリマシタ。然ルニ英米蘭諸國ハ此ノ帝國ノ當然ナル自衛的措置ヲ迎フルニ猶疑ト危惧トノ念ヲ以テシ、資産凍結ヲ行ヒ、事實上全面的禁輸ニ依リ、帝國ヲ目標トシテ經濟封鎖ヲ實施スルト共ニ、其ノ軍事的脅威ヲ急速度ニ増加シテ參ツタノデアリマス。蓋シ交戰關係ニアラサル國家間ニ於ケル經濟封鎖ハ、武力戰ニ比シテ優ルトモ劣ラサル敵性行爲デアルコトハ言フ俟タナイノデアリマス。

斯ノ如キ行爲ハ帝國ノ企圖スル支那事變ノ解決ヲ阻害スルノミナラス更ニ又帝國ノ存立ニ重大ナル影響ヲ與フルモノデアリマシテ斷シテ默過シ得サルモノデアリマス。

然ルニモ拘ラス常ニ平和ヲ欲スル帝國ト致シマシテハ隱忍自重、忍ヒ難キヲ忍ヒ、耐ヘ難キヲ耐ヘ、極力外交交渉ニ依リテ危局ヲ打開シ、事態ヲ平和的ニ解決センコトヲ期シテ參ツタノデアリマスルカ、今尙其ノ目的ヲ貫徹スルニ至ラス、帝國ハ今ヤ文字通り、帝國ノ百年ノ計ヲ決スヘキ重大ナル局面ニ立タサルヘカラサルニ至ツタノデアリマス。政府ハ盛國以來ノ國是タル平和愛好ノ精神ニ基キ、帝國ノ存立ト權威トヲ擁護シ、大東亞ノ新秩序ヲ建設スル爲、今尙外交ニ懸命ノ努力ヲ傾注致シテ居ル次第デアリマシテ、之ニ依リ帝國ノ期スルトコロハ

(一) 第三國カ帝國ノ企圖スル支那事變ノ完遂ヲ妨害セサルコト

(二) 帝國ヲ圍繞スル諸國家カ、帝國ニ對スル直接軍事的脅威ヲ行ハサルコトハ勿論、經濟封鎖ノ如キ敵性行爲ヲ解除シ、經濟的正常關係ヲ恢復スルコト

(三) 歐洲戰カ擴大シテ禍亂ノ東亞ニ波及スルコトヲ極力防止スルコトデアリマス。

以上三項ニ互ル目的カ外交交渉ニ依リテ貫徹セラルルナラハ獨リ帝國ノ爲ノミナラス、世界平和ノ爲、誠ニ幸テアルト信スル次第デアリマス。然シナカラ從來ノ經緯ニ鑑ミ、交渉ノ成否ハ逆諸シ難イモノカアルノデアリマス。

從テ政府ハ前途ニ横ハルアラユル障害ヲ豫見シテ、之ニ對スル萬般ノ準備ヲ整ヘ、斷乎トシテ帝國既定ノ國策ヲ遂行スルニ萬遺憾ナキヲ期シ、依テ以テ帝國ノ存立ヲ完ウセントスル固キ決意ヲ有シテ居リマス。帝國ハ實ニ悠久二千六百餘年ノ歴史ノ上ニ於テ、曾テ見サリシ國家隆替ノ岐路ニ立ツテ居ルノデアリマスルカラ、政府ハ深ク思フ此ニ致シ、全力ヲ盡シテ輔弼ノ責ヲ全ウ致ス覺悟デアリマス。

事態カ如何様ニ發展致シマセウトモ、高度國防國家體制ノ完成コソハ正ニ喫緊ノ重大要事デアリマス。之カ爲ニ益、國民志氣ヲ緊張シ産業經濟ノ能率ヲ最高度ニ發揮スルノ要切ナルモノカアルノデアリマス。之ト共ニ政府ハ國民生活ノ確保ニ關シテハ萬全ノ策ヲ講スルモノデアリマスカ、之カ更ニ緊縮ヲ見ルコトハ誠ニ已ムヲ得サル所デアリマス。私カ茲ニ衷心ヨリ希望致シマスルコトハ、全國民カ帝國ハ今ヤ一大飛躍ノ秋ニ際會シ、前途ニ洋々タル發展ヲ期待シ得ヘキコトヲ確信シテ相共ニ今日ノ苦ヲ分チ、國民一丸トナツテ 聖業ノ翼贊ニ邁進センコトデアリマス。政府ニ於キマシテモ政治經濟ノ運營ニ就テ各般ノ改革整備ヲ行フ覺悟デアリマスルカ、其ノ實施ニ當リマシテハ徒ラニ理想ヲ追ハス、事態ニ即シテ各専門的機能ノ有機的能率ヲ最大限ニ發揮セシムルヤウ措置致ス心構ヘデアリマス。私ハ全國民カ此ノ政府ノ意ノ存スル所ヲ認識セラレ、積極的ニ政府ニ協力セラルルコトヲ固ク信シテ疑ハナイモノデアリマス。



今回提案致シマシタ豫算案ハ、主トシテ緊迫セル現下ノ事態ニ對處スルニ必要ナル經費ヲ計上致シタモノデアリ、又、提出法律案モ、特ニ今日緊急ノ要アルモノノミニ限定致シタノデアリマス。諸君ニ於カレマシテハ政府ノ意ノアル所ヲ諒トセラレ、慎重審議ノ上、協贊ヲ與ヘラレ度イノデアリマス。終リニ臨ミ、政府ハ、滿洲帝國及中華民國々民政府カ帝國ニ寄セラレタル渝ラサル協力ニ深甚ナル謝意ヲ表シ、又盟邦特ニ獨伊兩國ノ偉大ナル功業ニ對シテ深厚ナル慶祝ノ意ヲ表スルト同時ニ、帝國ト共ニ正義ニ基ク世界新秩序建設ニ成功セシコトヲ祈ルモノデアリマス。

本大臣ハ此ノ重大時局ニ處シ、諸君ト相携ヘテ 大政ヲ翼贊シ奉ルヲ深ク光榮トスルト共ニ、責任ノ愈々重大ナルヲ痛感致ス次第デアリマス。惟フニ難局ノ突破、時艱ノ克服ハ全國民カ職域奉公ニ邁進シ、國民ノ總力カ結集セラレテ始メテ成就シ得ルト信スルモノデアリマス。何卒諸君ニ於カレマシテモ此上トモ御支援御協力ヲ御願ヒ致ス次第デアリマス。

最後ニ護國ノ英靈ニ敬弔ノ誠ヲ捧ケ、戰線統後ノ奮闘努力ニ衷心感謝ノ意ヲ表スルモノデアリマス。

### 三三、第七十七回帝國議會ニ於ル東郷外務大臣演說 (十一月十七日)

不肖今回圖ラスモ、帝國ノ外政擔當ノ重責ヲ負フコトト相成リマシテ、本日玆ニ帝國政府ノ外交方針ニ付聊カ所見ヲ申述フルノ機會ヲ得マシタコトハ私ノ最モ欣幸トスル所デアリマス。

帝國ハ東亞新秩序建設ノ爲ノ征戰ニ從事スルコト既ニ四年ヲ閱シ、舉國一致時艱ノ克服ニ邁進シツツアルノデアリマス。私ハ先ツ 御稜威ノ下ニ前線ニ奮闘スル我陸海軍將兵ノ武運長久ヲ祈願スルト共ニ幾多ノ尊キ英靈ニ對シ敬弔ノ意ヲ表スルモノデアリマス。

帝國ノ對外國策ノ基本方針カ東亞ノ天地ニ、正義ニ立脚スル平和ヲ確立シ、以テ世界人類ノ福祉増進ニ寄與セントスルニ存スルコトハ、更メテ多言ヲ要セヌ所デアリマス。帝國カ明治維新以來屢々乎トシテ國運ノ伸張ヲ成シ遂ケマシタノモ、實ニ此ノ大義ニ立脚セル不斷ノ努力ノ賜ニ外ナリマセヌ。願ミマスルニ過去七十餘年間帝國ハ幾度カ國難ヲ打開シテマキリマシタ。就中日露ノ戰役ハ東亞ノ平和ニ對スル障害ヲ排除セントスル舉國決死ノ大事業デアリ、爾來帝國ハ東亞ニ於ケル安定勢力トシテノ歩武ヲ進メテ來タノデアリマスルカ、今ヤ東亞ノ天地ニ、正義ニ基ク新秩序ヲ確立シ、以テ世界平和ニ貢獻セントスルノ大業ニ邁進シツツアルノデアリマス。

幸ニシテ獨伊兩國ハ、帝國ト其ノ意圖ヲ同ウシ曩ニ三國條約ノ成立ヲ見タノデアリマシテ、同條約カ過去一ケ年餘ノ期間ニ於テモ、既ニ其ノ使命タル東亞及歐洲ノ新秩序ノ建設及戰爭ノ擴大防止ニ對シ大ナル貢獻ヲ爲シ來リマシタコトハ御承知ノ通りデアリマス。

滿洲帝國ハ建國以來國礎愈々固キヲ加ヘ同國ヲ承認致シマシタ國ハ既ニ十三ヶ國ノ多キニ達シ、其ノ國際的地位モ日ヲ逐ウテ向上シ國運隆盛ニ赴キツツアリマス。支那ニ於キマシテハ帝國ハ重慶政權屈服ノ爲武力戰ヲ敢行シツツアルノデアリマス。帝國ト中華民國トノ提携ニ依ル東亞ノ安定ヲ確保シ以テ共榮ノ實ヲ擧ケントスルハ支那事變ニ處スル帝國ノ根本方針デアリマス。帝國ト國民政府トノ間ニハ曩ニ日華間ノ新關係ヲ律スル基本條約ノ成立ヲ見タノデアリ



マスルカ、帝國政府ハ此ノ上トモ同政府ノ強化ニ協力スル決心テアリマス。支那事變ノ處理ト共ニ帝國ノ重大關心事ハ、北方及南洋方面ニ存スルノテアリマス。曩ニ歐洲戰爭勃發致シマスルヤ、帝國ハ東亞全局ノ平和維持ノ見地ヨリ禍亂ノ東方ニ波及シ來ルコトヲ防止スル爲、凡有ル努力ヲ爲シ來ツタノテアリマスルカ、本年四月締結セラレマシタ日蘇中立條約モ亦右ノ方針ヨリ出テテ、北方ノ安全ヲ確保セントスルモノテアリマス。其後獨逸ト蘇聯邦トノ間ニ戰禍ノ發生ヲ見ルニ至リマシタケレトモ、政府ハ依然北方ノ安全ヲ確保セムトスルノ態度ヲ堅持シ來レルモノテアリマシテ、畢竟我方ニ於テハ北方ニ於テ、平和攪亂セラルルカ如キ素因構成セラレ、又ハ帝國ノ權益カ脅威セラルルカ如キ事態ノ發生スルコトニ對シテハ飽迄之ヲ防止セントスルモノテアリマス。

南方ニ關シマシテハ帝國政府ハ曩ニ泰、佛印國境紛争ノ調停ヲナシ、又佛印トノ間ニ政治的、經濟的緊密關係ヲ設定シ、次テ佛印ヲ繞ル國際情勢カ佛印ノ安全ヒイテ東亞ノ靜謐、帝國ノ安全ニ重大ナル脅威ヲ及サントスルノ形勢トナリマスルヤ、之ニ對處センカ爲日、佛印共同防衛ニ關スル議定書ヲ締結シ、更ニ芳澤大使ヲ同地ニ派遣致シマシテ緊密關係ノ増進ニ努メ、又泰國トノ間ニモ經濟的關係ヲ緊密ニスルト共ニ大使ヲ交換シテ兩國提携ヲ益、堅クシテ居ルノテアリマス。然ルニ第三國側ヨリ恰モ帝國カ此等方面ニ侵略的意圖ヲ有スルカ如キ惡意ノ宣傳カ行ハルルハ寔ニ心外トスル所テアリマシテ、私ハ東亞ニ位スル諸國諸民族カ能ク帝國ノ眞意ヲ了得シ、新秩序建設ノ爲帝國ト協力スルニ至ルコトヲ確信シテ疑ハサルモノテアリマス。

以上ノ如ク帝國ハ一意支那事變處理ト東亞ニ於ケル新秩序ノ確立ニ眞摯ナル努力ヲ傾注シテ居ルノテアリマスルカ、曩ニ述ヘマシタ共同防衛ニ關スル議定書ニ基キ本年夏我軍カ南部佛印ニ進駐致シマスルヤ、英米兩國ハ右ヲ以テ自國領域ニ對スル脅威トナシ、兩國ニ於ケル我資産ヲ凍結シ以テ事實上經濟斷交ニ等シキ措置ニ出テ、英國各自治領植民地悉ク之ニ倣ヒ、蘭印亦之ニ和シタノテアリマスルカ、英米ハ更ニ濠洲、蘭印、重慶ヲ誘ツテ、對日包圍ノ態勢ヲモ取ルニ至リマシタ。

斯クノ如クニシテ、帝國ヲ繞ル國際情勢ハ一日ト緊迫ノ度ヲ加ヘ來ツタノテアリマスルカ、英米ノ我方ニ對スル此ノ種壓迫ハ事重大テアリマシテ、帝國ノ生存ニモ甚大ナル影響アル次第テアリマス。

故ニ各方面ノ注意ヲ願ヒタイノハ斯ル情勢ナルニモ拘ラス從來帝國政府カ太平洋、ヒイテハ世界全局ニ於ル平和ヲ維持シ、最惡ノ事態ヲ回避セントノ崇高ナル動機ヨリ局面ノ打開ノ爲最善ノ努力ヲ傾注シ來レルコトテアリマス。抑、支那事變勃發以來、日米關係ハ惡化ノ一路ヲ辿リ逐次其勢ヲ加ヘ來リ、之ヲ放置致シテ置キマスナラハ勢ノ趨ク所最惡ノ事態ニ立至ルコトナキヲ保シ難キ情勢ト相成リマシタ。若シ斯ノ如キ事態トモナラハ太平洋ヲ圍ル諸國ニ對シテノミナラス、全世界人類ニ大ナル慘禍ヲ及ホスモノテアリマシテ誠ニ寒心ニ堪ヘヌ所テアリマス。

仍テ平和ヲ念トスル帝國ハ此處ニ思フ致シマシテ、本年四月以來米國政府トノ間ニ日米問題ノ根本的調整ニ關スル話合ヲ行ヒ來ツタノテアリマスルカ、前内閣ニ於テハ今夏後ニ於ケル情勢ノ逼迫ニモ願ミ、銳意日米交渉ノ成立ニ努力致シマシタニモ拘ハラヌ、彼我意見ノ一致ヲ見ルニ至ラナカッタノテアリマス。

現内閣ニ於キマシテモ國際危局ヲ救済シ太平洋ノ平和ヲ維持セムカ爲、右日米會談ヲ繼續スルニ決定シ爾來交渉中テアリマス。其ノ内容ニ就テハ遺憾乍ラ今茲ニ詳細申上クル自由ヲ有シマセヌカ、若シ夫レ米國政府カ、帝國政府ト同



様、眞ニ世界ノ平和ヲ願念スルトモニ帝國ノ自然的要求ト東亞ニ於ケル帝國ノ地位トヲ了解シ、且又東亞ニ於ケル事態ニ付現實ニ即スル考慮ヲ加ヘマスルニ於テハ、本件交渉ノ妥結モ決シテ不可能テハナイト考ヘル次第デアリマス。而モ彼我ノ見解ハ過去半歳餘ニ互ル話合ニ依リ概ネ明白トナツテ居リマスルノテ、技術的方面ヨリ見マスルモ今後ノ交渉ニ長時間ヲ費スノ要ナキコトハ米國側ニモ明ラカテアルト信スルノデアリマス。

事態斯クノ如クデアリマシテ、帝國政府ニ於テハ本交渉ノ成立ニ向ツテ最善ノ努力ヲ傾注シテ居ル次第デアリマスルカ、我方ノ協調的態度ニモ自ラ限度カアリ、事苟モ帝國ノ生存ヲ脅カシ又ハ大國トシテノ權威ヲ毀損スルコトトナルカ如キ場合ニハ、飽迄毅然タル態度ヲ以テ之ヲ排除セネハナラヌコトハ勿論デアリマシテ、私ト致シマシテハ此點ニ付キマシテハ、十分ノ決意ヲ以テ交渉ニ臨ンテ居ル次第デアリマス。

今ヤ帝國ハ未曾有ノ難局ニ遭遇シ、一致團結之カ打開ニ邁進スルノ要アル次第デアリマス。元來軍事ト外交トハ一體デアリ、内政ト外交亦表裏ノ關係ニアルノデアリマスルカ、官民一致國家ノ總力ヲ擧ケテ事ニ當ルノ要アルヲ痛感スルコト、今日程切實ナルモノハナイノデアリマス。

以上率直ニ本大臣ノ所見ヲ披瀝致シマシテ、茲ニ一億同胞ノ支援ト協力トヲ切ニ冀望スルモノデアリマス。

### 三四、海外同胞激勵大會ニ於ケル東條總理大臣

挨拶 (十一月十八日於日比谷公會堂)

國際情勢頗ル緊迫ヲ告クル秋、茲ニ海外同胞激勵大會ノ開催ヲ見ルハ誠ニ時宜ニ適シタル企テトシテ主催者ニ對シ深甚ノ敬意ヲ表スルモノデアリマス。

私ハ昨年、皇紀二千六百年奉祝海外同胞東京大會ニ於テ陸軍大臣トシテ此ノ演壇ヨリ一場ノ祝辭ヲ述ヘタノデアリマス。一年後ノ今日、計ラスモ再ヒ此處ニ立ツテ、海外同胞ニ向ツテ激勵ノ辭ヲ申上ケルコトハ一層感慨深イモノデアリマス。

我カ國ノ海外移植民ハ僅カニ七十年ニ過キス、他ノ列強ニ比スレハ遙カニ日淺イノデアリマス。現在ニ於テハ世界各地ニ散在スル同胞ハ既ニ二百五十萬ヲ算スルニ至リ、國威ノ顯揚ニ資シタル所多ク、而モ海外發展ノ思想ハ澎湃トシテ全國ニ漲リツツアルノデアリマス。最近ノ國際關係ハ此ノ海外發展ノ氣運ヲ阻ムカニ思ハルル點モアリマス。コレハ一時的現象デアツテ、必スヤ近キ將來ニ於テ我カ民族ノ世界ニ雄飛スルコトアルヲ信シテ疑ハナイモノデアリマス。

惟フニ海外發展ノコトハソノ國運ノ盛衰ヲ象徵スルモノデアツテ、ソノ隆盛ナル秋ハ國力榮へ、然ラサル時ハ國威衰退ノ時代デアリマス、一國家乃至ハ一民族ノ興隆ニ當リマシテハ既存スル舊勢力ノ壓迫妨礙ヲ見タ事ハ歴史ノ上ニ示ス事實デアリマス。

此ノ意味ニ於キマシテ帝國ノ前途ニハ幾多ノ難關ノ横ハルノヲ想フモノデアリマス。カ今後如何ナル事態ノ發生ヲ見ルニ至ルトモ帝國不動ノ國策遂行ニ當ツテハ聊カノ搖キナキ事ヲ確信スルモノデアリマス。

國際關係カ今日ノ如キ状態ニナルニ及ンテ、二百五十萬ノ海外同胞ノ存在ハ益、ソノ重要性ヲ加フルニ至リマシタ。



今日マテ幾多ノ艱難ヲ忍ヒツツ世界各地ニ雄飛シツツアル在外ノ諸君ニ對シ遙カニ敬意ヲ表スルモノテアリマス。カ、新タナル事情ノ發生ニ伴ヒ、壓迫ハ更ニソノ度ヲ加ヘ來ル場合モアルカト考ヘラレマス。今日コソ一層諸君ノ健闘ヲ要望スルモノテアリマス。

本日此ノ會場ニモ多數、現地ヨリ引揚ケラレタル人々カ出席サレテ居リマス。カ引揚ケニ至ルマテノ心情ニ對シテハ衷心ヨリ同情ヲ表スモノテアリマシテ、政府ト共ニ國民モ一丸トナツテ此ノ引揚ケラレタル人々ニ對シ慰撫ノ方法ヲ講スルト共ニ、尙ホ現地ニ在ツテ奮闘シツツアル同胞諸君ニ對シ強キ後楯トナリ、海外發展ニ寄與センコトヲ熱望スル次第テアリマス。

### 三五、海外同胞激勵大會ニ於ル東郷外務大臣挨拶

撈 (十一月十八日於日比谷公會堂)

今ヤ帝國ヲ繞ル國際情勢ハ、日一日ト緊迫ノ度ヲ加ヘ來リ、我カ官民朝野モ既ニ萬全ノ對策ト、確乎不拔ノ信念トヲ持シテ、靜カニ事態ノ推移ヲ監視シテ居リマス。際、親シク二百萬海外同胞ニ呼ヒカケテ、コノ人々ノ絶エサル健闘ニ感謝ノ言葉ヲ送リ、更ニ一段ノ發奮及協力ヲ求メンカ爲、茲ニ激勵大會ノ催シヲ見ルニ至リマシタコトハ、正ニ其ノ機ヲ得タルモノト存シ、關係各位ニ深ク敬意ヲ表スル次第テアリマス。

更メテ申スマテモナク、帝國ハ目下空前ノ難局ニ直面シテ居リマス。然シナカラ、此ノ難局ハ、畢竟スルトコロ、我カ國運國勢ノ一大躍進ニ附隨スル摩擦ノ結果テアルト斷スルノ外ハアリマセン。帝國ノ對外國策ノ基本方針カ東亞ノ天地ニ正義ニ立脚スル平和ヲ確立シテ世界人類ノ福祉増進ニ寄與セントスルニ存スルコトハ改メテ多言ヲ要セス所テアリマス。然ルニ之ヲ誤解又ハ曲解シテ、我カ正當ナル行動ヲ妨害シ、嫉視反目ノ末、障アラハ附ケ入ラントスル如キモノヲ見カケマスルコトハ、眞ニ遺憾ノ極ミテアリマス。

殊ニ一點其ノ善意ヲ疑フノ餘地ナキ我カ在外ノ同胞ニ對シ、或ハ政治上、或ハ經濟上無法ナル壓迫ヲ加ヘ、此ノ人々カ粒々辛苦ノ結果築キ上ケタル生活ノ基礎乃至事業ノ根柢ヲ危殆ニ瀕セシムルカ如キ實例ヲ見受ケマスルノハ、誠ニ意外且慨嘆ニ堪ヘサル所テアリマス。

是等ノ不當ナル非人道的取扱ヒヲ敢テスル諸外國政府ニ對シテハ、最善ヲ竭シテ強ク反省ヲ促シ、同胞ノ捲土重來ノ一日モ速カナランコトヲ期スルモノテアリマス。カ、此ノ間ニ處シテ緩急宜シキヲ誤ラス、堅忍不拔、毅然トシテ現地ニ踏ミ止マリ、各般ノ活動ヲ續ケラルル同胞諸子ノ意氣ニ至ツテハ、壯烈情夫ヲシテ起タシムルニ足ルモノカアリマス。而シテ此等ノ人々ヲ代表セラルル數氏カ、只今東西兩半球ノ現地ヨリ遙々本大會ニ列席セラレ、具サニ其ノ體驗及覺悟ヲ披瀝シ更ニ祖國ノ實情ヲ目撃シテ、聖戰完遂ニ資セラレントスルハ、本大會ヲシテ彌、其ノ意義ヲ深カラシムルモノト存シ外交並ニ拓殖事務ノ當局ト致シマシテ、衷心感激ノ外ハアリマセン。

惟フニ在外ノ同胞ハ、大和民族ノ本領ヲ宇内ニ發揚スヘキ平和ノ戰士テアリマス。未曾有ノ受難時代ニ於テ、此ノ人カ雄々シクモ健闘ヲ續ケラルルコトハ、我カ民族ノ旺盛ナル精神力ヲ目ノ當リ立證スルモノト頼母シク感スル所テアリマス。國家ノ興廢ヲ決スヘキ重大時局ニ際會シテ、本激勵大會ノ開催ヲ見マシタコトハ、自ラ我カ總力戰ノ前途



ヲシテ益々多幸ナラシムルモノト確信シ聊カ所感ヲ述ヘテ御挨拶ニ代ヘ、飽クマテ海外同胞諸子ノ御健闘ヲ祈ル次第  
テアリマス。

三六、日華基本條約締結及日滿華共同宣言發表一周年記念晩餐會  
ニ於ケル東郷外務大臣挨拶 (十一月三十日於帝國ホテル)

閣下並ニ各位

本日茲ニ日華基本條約締結及日滿華共同宣言成立一周年ヲ記念シ粗宴ヲ設ケマシタ處滿洲國及中華民國兩大使閣下及  
獨逸伊太利ヲ始メトシテ盟邦各國代表閣下並ニ來賓閣下各位ニ於カセラレテハ御多忙ノ際ニモ拘ハラヌ御賓臨ヲ辱フ  
シ感謝ニ堪エマセヌ

願ミマスレハ昨年三月三十日新國民政府成立致シマスルヤ帝國政府ハ阿部大使ヲ南京ニ特派致シ交渉ヲ重ネマシタ結  
果十一月三十日兩國ノ間ニ永遠ノ友好關係ヲ確立スル日華基本條約ヲ締結セラレ之ト同時ニ日滿華三國共同宣言ノ成  
立ヲ見タノテアリマス而シテ此等條約及宣言ノ趣旨ト致シマス所カ東亞固有ノ道義的精神ヲ基礎トシテ日滿華三國カ  
相互ニ主權ヲ尊重シ政治、經濟、文化ノ各方面ニ於テ提携協力シ、以テ共存共榮ヲ計リ東亞新秩序建設タル共同ノ一  
大目的ヲ達成セントスルニ在ルノテアリマスカ爾來一年間ニ於ケル友邦兩國ノ進展振リハ目覺マシイモノカアルノテ  
アリマス

即チ滿洲帝國今日ノ國運隆昌ニ就キマシテハ既ニ各位ノ充分御承知相成ラルル通りテアリマスカ一方中華民國ニ於キ  
マシテモ新政府ノ成立以來汪主席閣下ヲ始メトシ官民一致幾多ノ困難ヲ克服シテ新政府ノ強化ニ努力セラレ特ニ前記  
條約ノ成立後ハ政治ニ經濟ニ軍事ニ乃至ハ文化ノ各方面ニ互リ極メテ顯著ナル發展ヲ遂ケラレタノテアリマシテ又其  
ノ國際的地位モ飛躍的進展ヲ遂ケ既ニ日滿兩國ノ外獨逸、伊太利、西班牙、羅馬尼、洪牙利、丁抹等十一ヶ國ノ正式  
承認ヲ得タノテアリマス更ニ去ル二十五日ニハ進ンテ防共協定ニモ參加セラレ茲ニ東亞ノミナラス歐洲ノ諸國トモ相  
提携シテ正義ヲ基調トスル世界文化ノ樹立ニ盡力セラルルコトトナリマシタコトハ誠ニ御同慶ノ至リニ堪ヘナイ次第  
テアリマス

今ヤ世界ハ未曾有ノ動亂ニ直面シテ居リマスルカ大東亞ニ於キマシテハ飽ク迄モ日華基本條約並ニ日滿華三國共同宣  
言ノ精神ニ基キマシテ益々三國ノ緊密關係ヲ強化シ、東亞諸民族ノ共存共榮ヲ基調トスル東亞新秩序ノ建設ニ邁進ス  
ヘキモノナルコトハ言フ俟タナイノテアリマス現ニ對米交渉ニ於テモ帝國政府ハ一貫シテ此ノ趣旨ヲ堅持シテ居ルノ  
テアリマスカ米國ハ動モスレハ東亞現實ノ事態ヲ認識セサルノミナラス世界ノ現狀ニ副ハサル架空的諸原則ヲ強ヒテ  
東亞ノ諸國ニ適用シテ新秩序建設ヲ阻害セントスルノ傾向カアルカ如キハ甚タ遺憾トスル所テアリマス東亞ノ新秩序  
ヲ確立シ以テ世界恒久ノ平和樹立ニ貢獻セントノ大使命ヲ完遂スルニ當リマシテハ從前ニ倍スル難關障礙ニ逢着スヘ  
キコトハ十二分覺悟シテ置カネハナリマセヌ併シ乍ラ私ハ日滿華三國ノ鐵ノ如キ意思ヲ以テ其ノ靱帶ヲ鞏化シ協心戮  
力以テ此ノ大目的ニ邁進スルトキハ必スヤ之等ノ難關ヲ突破シ得ヘク而シテ東亞諸民族ノ前途ハ極メテ洋々タルモノ  
ナルコトヲ信シテ疑ハナイノテアリマス



茲ニ杯ヲ舉ケマシテ閣下並ニ各位ト共ニ 滿洲帝國皇帝陛下並ニ中華民國政府主席閣下ノ御健康ヲ衷心ヨリ御祝ヒ申上ケタイト存シマス

三七、大詔ヲ拜シ奉リテ(東條總理大臣放送) (十二月八日)

只今宣戰ノ 御詔勅ガ渙發セラレマシタ。  
精銳ナル帝國陸海軍ハ今ヤ決死ノ戰ヲ行ヒツツアリマス。  
東亞全局ノ平和ハ、之ヲ熱願スル帝國ノ凡ユル努力ニモ拘ラズ、遂ニ決裂ノ已ムナキニ至ツタノデアリマス。  
過般來、政府ハ、アラユル手段ヲ盡シ對米國交調整ノ成立ニ努力シテ參リマシタガ、彼ハ從來ノ主張ヲ一步モ讓ラザルノミナラズ、却テ英、蘭、支ト聯合シテ支那ヨリ我ガ陸海軍ノ無條件全面撤兵、南京政府ノ否認、日獨伊三國條約ノ確棄ヲ要求シ帝國ノ一方的讓歩ヲ強要シテ參リマシタ。之ニ對シ帝國ハ飽ク迄平和的妥結ノ努力ヲ續ケマシタガ、米國ハ何等反省ノ色ヲ示サズ今日ニ至リマシタ。若シ帝國ニシテ彼等ノ強要ニ屈從センカ、帝國ノ權威ヲ失墜シ支那事變ノ先途ヲ期シ得ザルノミナラズ、遂ニハ帝國ノ存立ヲモ危殆ニ陥ラシムル結果トナルデアリマス。  
事茲ニ至リマシテハ、帝國ハ現下ノ危局ヲ打開シ、自存自衛ヲ全ウスル爲斷乎トシテ立ち上ルノ已ムナキニ至ツタノデアリマス。

今宣戰ノ 大詔ヲ拜シマシテ恐懼感激ニ堪ヘズ私、不肖ナリト雖モ一身ヲ捧ゲテ決死報國唯々 宸襟ヲ安ンジ奉ラン

トノ念願ノミデアリマス。國民諸君モ亦、己ガ身ヲ顧ミズ、醜ノ御楯タルノ光榮ヲ同ジクセラルルモノト信ズルモノデアリマス。

凡ソ勝利ノ要訣ハ、「必勝ノ信念」ヲ堅持スルコトデアリマス。建國二千六百年、我等ハ、未ダ嘗ツテ戰ヒニ敗レタルヲ知リマセン。コノ史績ノ回顧コソ、如何ナル強敵ヲモ破碎スルノ確信ヲ生ズルモノデアリマス。我等ハ光輝アル祖國ノ歴史ヲ、斷ジテ、汚サザルト共ニ、更ニ榮アル帝國ノ明日ヲ建設セムコトヲ固ク誓フモノデアリマス。願ミレバ、我等ハ今日迄隱忍ト自重トノ最大限ヲ重ネタノデアリマスガ、斷ジテ安キヲ求メタモノデナク、又敵ノ強大ヲ惧レタモノデモアリマセン。只管、世界平和ノ維持ト、人類ノ慘禍ノ防止トヲ願念シタルニ外ナリマセン。然モ、敵ノ挑戰ヲ受ケ祖國ノ生存ト權威トガ危キニ及ビマシテハ、驟然起タザルヲ得ナイノデアリマス。

當面ノ敵ハ物資ノ豐富ヲ誇リ、之ニ依テ世界ノ制覇ヲ目指シテ居ルノデアリマス。此ノ敵ヲ粉碎シ東亞不動ノ新秩序ヲ建設セムガ爲ニハ、當然長期戰タルコトヲ豫想セネバナリマセヌ。之ト同時ニ、絶大ノ建設的努力ヲ要スルコト、言フ要シマセヌ。斯クテ、我等ハ飽ク迄、最後ノ勝利ガ祖國日本ニアルコトヲ確信シ、如何ナル困難モ障碍モ克服シテ進マナケレバナリマセン。是コソ、昭和ノ臣民我等ニ課セラレタル天與ノ試煉デアリ、此ノ試煉ヲ突破シテ後ニコソ、大東亞建設者トシテノ榮譽ヲ後世ニ擔フコトガ出來ルモノデアリマス。

此ノ秋ニ當リ滿洲國及中華民國トノ一德一心ノ關係愈、致ク、獨伊兩國トノ盟約益、堅キヲ加ヘツツアルヲ、欣快トスルモノデアリマス。帝國ノ隆替、東亞ノ興廢、正ニ此ノ一戰ニ在リ、一億國民ガ一切ヲ擧ゲテ、國ニ報ヒ國ニ殉ズルノ時ハ今デアリマス。八紘ヲ宇ト爲ス 皇謨ノ下ニ、此ノ盡忠報國ノ大精神アル限り、英米ト雖モ何等惧ルルニ足ラナ



イノデアリマス。勝利ハ常ニ 御後威ノ下ニアリト確信致スモノデアリマス。  
私ハ茲ニ、謹ンデ微衷ヲ披瀝シ、國民ト共ニ、大業莫實ノ丹心ヲ誓フ次第デアリマス。

三八、獨伊兩國大使招待午餐會ニ於ル東郷外務大臣挨拶

(十二月十三日於外務大臣官邸)

閣下並ニ各位

本日日獨伊三國協定ノ締結ヲ記念シ聊カ慶祝ノ微意ヲ盡サンカ爲獨逸國大使閣下、伊太利國大使閣下及閣下並各位ヲ御招待申上ケマシタル處兩大使閣下ヲ初メ閣下各位ノ御出席ヲ得マシタ事ハ私ノ最モ光榮トスル所デアリマス  
抑、日獨伊ノ三國カ客年九月二十七日三國條約ヲ締結致シマシタノハ公正ナル世界ノ新秩序ヲ確立セントノ熱烈ナル要望ニ出テタノデアリマスカ爾來米英兩國ノ日獨伊三國ノ道義的要求ニ對スル惡意アル妨害ハ日ト共ニ増大シ遂ニ其ノ底止スル所ヲ知ラサル狀態ト相成ツテ參ツタノデアリマス、帝國カ米英兩國ニ對シ決然干戈ヲ執ツテ正義ノ擁護ニ立ツニ至ツタノモ誠ニ當然ト申サネハナリマセン、獨伊兩國ハ一昨日帝國ト相呼應シテ米國ニ宣戰ヲセラレ且同日三國ハ伯林ニ於テ共同戰爭完遂單獨不講和及世界新秩序建設ニ對スル協力ヲ嚴肅ニ誓ヒ三國ノ實踐的協力ニ最高ノ表現ヲ與ヘ以テ最後マテ此ノ聖戰ヲ戰ヒ且勝チ拔ク事ト相成リマシタノハ衷心ヨリ御同慶ニ堪エヌ所デアリマス  
斯テ世界ハ形式的原則論ヲ弄ヒテ只管自己ニ有利ナル現狀ヲ維持セントスル國家ト公正ナル新秩序ヲ建設シテ實體的

正義ヲ具現セントスル國家ニ分レテ相爭フ歷史的轉換期ニ際會スル事トナツタ次第デアリマス、獨伊兩國ニ於カレテハ既ニ歐洲及阿弗利加ノ天地ニ赫々タル戰果ヲ擧ケテ居ラレノデアリマスカ帝國又其ノ緒戰ヨリ皇軍ノ大武勳ニヨリ米英ノ勢力ヲ東亞ノ天地ヨリ驅逐シツツアルノデアリマス而シテ邪ノ正ニ勝ツナキハ、神意デアリマスノテ本戰爭ノ歸趨ハ極メテ明ナリト申サネハナリマセン

茲ニ私ハ閣下各位ト共ニ杯ヲ擧ケ日獨伊三國ノ共同戰爭ノ輝シキ前途ヲ祝福スルト共ニ獨伊兩國ノ戰爭ヲ指導セララルル「ヒットラー」總統閣下、伊太利國皇帝陛下並ニ「ムツソリー」首相閣下ノ御健康並ニ本協定ノ成立ニ多大ノ貢獻アリタル「オット」獨逸國大使閣下及「インデルリ」伊太利國大使閣下ノ御健康ヲ祝シ度イト思ヒマス

三九、ピブン泰國首相發東條總理大臣宛祝電 (十二月十三日發表)

開戦日ヲ出テスシテ赫々タル戰果ヲ收メタル日本軍隊ノ勇武ハ痛ク余ヲ感激セシメタリ茲ニ閣下ニ對シ衷心ヨリ祝賀ノ意ヲ表シ併セテ貴國民ノ慶福ヲ祈ル

四〇、東條總理大臣發ピブン首相宛答電 (十二月十三日發表)

開戦勇頭收メ得タル帝國陸海軍ノ赫々タル戰果ニ對シ早速祝電ニ接シ感佩ノ至リニ堪ヘス將兵及銃後國民ノ意氣益



四一、第七十八回帝國議會ニ於ル東條內閣總理大臣演說 (十二月十六日)

本日開院式ニ當リマシテ、特ニ優渥ナル 勅語ヲ拜シマシタコトハ洵ニ恐懼感激ノ至リテアリマス。私ハ謹テ 聖旨ヲ奉戴シテ一意専心報效ノ誠ヲ竭シ、此ノ前古未曾有ノ重大難局ヲ克服シ、以テ 宸襟ヲ安ンシ奉リ度イト存スルモノテアリマス。

過般第七十七回帝國議會ニ於キマシテ私ハ國策遂行ニ關スル政府ノ所信ヲ率直ニ披瀝シテ各位ノ御協力ヲ願ツタ次第テアリマス。其ノ後モ政府ハ引續キ米國ニ對シ既ニ當時申述ヘマシタル通り第三國カ帝國ノ企圖スル支那事變ノ完遂ヲ妨害セス、帝國ヲ圍繞スル諸國家カ、帝國ニ對スル直接軍事的脅威ヲ行ハサルコトハ勿論、經濟封鎖ノ如キ敵性行爲ヲ解除シ、經濟的正當關係ヲ恢復スルコト、及歐洲戰力擴大シテ禍亂ノ東亞ニ波及スルコトヲ極力防止スルコトノ目的ヲ外交交渉ニ依テ貫徹センカ爲、忍ヒ難キヲ忍ヒ耐ヘ難キヲ耐ヘ有ラユル努力ヲ重ネタノテアリマス。然ルニ米國ハ帝國ノ隱忍ト自重トヲ以テ與シ安シト爲シ帝國ノ公正ナル主張ニ耳ヲ籍ササルノミナラス、從來ノ彼自身ノ提案スラモ之ヲ裏切り、密カニ英國ト謀議シテ、新タニ暴慢ナル提案ヲ爲シ來ツタノテアリマス。其ノ詳細ハ既ニ政府ヨリ發表シタ所テアリマス而シテ帝國トシテ最モ忍ヒ得サル點ハ

(一) 支那及佛印ヨリ陸、海、空及警察ヲ含ム一切ノ帝國軍隊ヲ撤收スルコト

(二) 重慶政府ヲ除ク如何ナル政權ヲモ軍事、政治、經濟的ニ支持セサルコト

(三) 第三國ト締結シ居ル如何ナル協定モ太平洋全地域ノ平和確保ニ矛盾スルカ如ク解釋セラレサルコトニ同意スルコト

ノ三點ニ在ルノテアリマス。是ハ換言スレハ、帝國ノ支那及佛印ヨリ全面的撤兵、南京政府ノ否認、三國條約ノ破棄ヲ要求スルモノテアリマシテ、米國ノ意志ハ經濟斷交ト武力脅威トヲ以テ我ニ挑戰シ之ニ依リ帝國ヲ屈從セシメントスルニ在ルコトカ明カトナツタノテアリマス。若シ我ニシテ米國ノ要求ニ屈從センカ大東亞ノ安定ノ爲傾注シ來レル帝國積年ノ努力ハ悉ク水泡ニ歸スルノミナラス、帝國ノ存立スラモ危殆ニ瀕シ且又、世界平和ノ克復ニ協力センコトヲ約シタル盟邦トノ誓ヲ放棄シ帝國ノ信義ノ失墜ヲモ強要セラレルモノテアリマス。斯ノ如キハ帝國トシテ斷シテ忍フヘカラサルモノテアリマス。事茲ニ至リマシテハ如何ニ平和愛好ノ念ニ燃ユル帝國ト致シマシテモ其ノ權威ト自存トヲ擁護スル爲斷乎トシテ立タサルヲ得ナカツタノテアリマス。即チ本月八日長クモ米國及英國ニ對スル宣戰ノ大詔カ渙發セラレタ次第テアリマシテ、 聖慮ノ程ヲ拜察シテ誠ニ恐懼感激ニ堪ヘマセン。

一度開戰ト定マリマスルヤ、大命一下、我カ陸海軍ノ將兵ハ未タ旬日ヲ出テスシテ忽チ敵ノ要衝ヲ擊破シ、布哇ヲ基地トスル米國艦隊ノ大半ヲ覆滅シ英極東艦隊ノ主力ヲ擊滅スル等敵カ誇張シ宣傳シ且膏喝ニ努メテ居リマシタ對日包圍陣モ隨所ニ突破セラレ、既ニ崩壞ノ一途ヲ辿リツツアルノテアリマス。此ノ偉大ナル戰果ハ世界ノ驚異ノ的トナリ國威ヲ中外ニ輝カスニ至ツタノテアリマス。之レ偏ニ 御稜威ノ然ラシムル所テアリマシテ、誠ニ感激ニ堪ヘマセン。 獸々トシテ隱忍自重、積年練武ノ勞ヲ重ネテ今日アルノ準備ヲ盡ヘ、一度戰トナレハ、君國ニ殉センカ爲生還ヲ期セ



サル我カ陸海軍ノ勇士ノ偉大ナル力ノ發揮ニ對シマシテハ、滿腔ノ感謝ト崇敬トヲ禁シ得サルト共ニ銃後官民ノ責任ノ愈々重大ナルヲ痛感致ス次第デアリマス。

今ヤ帝國ノ隆替ハ正ニ此ノ一戰ニ懸ツテキルノデアリマス。我カ同胞ハ一大國難ニ直面スレハ、必ス打ツテ一丸トナリテ殉國ノ精神ヲ發揮シ、如何ナル艱難ヲモ克服シテ國威ヲ中外ニ發揚シ國運ノ隆昌ヲ致シテ居リマスコトハ明カニ史績ノ示ス所デアリマス。凡ソ戰ノ要訣ハ必勝ノ信念ニ在リマス。私ハ全國民カ我カ國體ノ本義ニ徹シ、建國以來二千六百年未タ嘗テ戰ニ敗レタルコトナキ帝國ノ光榮アル史績ヲ回顧シテ、固キ必勝ノ信念ノ下ニ如何ナル艱苦ヲモ堪ヘ忍ビ、職域奉公ニ遺憾ナキヲ期シ、必ス終局ノ戰勝ノ光榮ヲ招來スルニ至ランコトヲ確ク信シテ疑ハサルモノデアリマス。

然シナカラ敵ハ領土ノ廣大、資源ノ豊富ヲ誇リ、之ヲ以テ世界制覇ノ野望ヲ逞ウセントスル米英兩國デアリマス。帝國ハ大東亞ノ禍亂ヲ裁定スルト共ニ此ノ強大ナル敵ヲ摧カナケレハナラナイノデアリマス。從テ長期戰ハ固ヨリ覺悟ノ前デアリマス。即チ帝國ハ今後幾多ノ困難ニ當面スルコトアルヘキヲ深ク肝ニ銘シ、敵兵力ノ殲滅ニ慮、奮闘努力シテ、緒戰ニ於ケル赫々タル戰果ヲ擴充スルト共ニ新ニ參加スル南方諸地域ヲ加ヘテ各般ニ互ル一大建設ヲ行ヒ以テ此ノ長期戰ニ堪ヘ得ル態勢ヲ速ニ整備セネハナラナイノデアリマス。戰ハ寧ロ今後ニアリマス。我等國民ハ個々ノ戰勝ニ醉フコトナク、又個々ノ現象ヲ憂フルコトナク、愈々正氣ヲ擴充シテ互ニ相倚リ相扶ケ、内ハ荒怠ヲ戒メ外ハ邪惡思想ノ滲透ヲ防キ必勝ノ確信ノ下ニ飽ク迄獻身殉國ヲ念トシ、誓ツテ征戰ノ目的ヲ貫徹セネハナリマセン。

此ノ際盟邦滿華兩國カ、帝國トノ一心同體ノ關係愈々厚ク、戰端一度開カルルヤ直ニ帝國ニ對シテ有ラユル協力ヲ與ヘ

ラレツツア是事ニ付キマシテハ私ハ茲ニ滿腔ノ感謝ノ意ヲ表スルモノデアリマス。尙帝國ハ曩ニ佛印ト共同防衛ノ約ヲ締結シ、今亦泰國ト攻守同盟締結ニ付意見一致シ、此等兩國カ愈々帝國トノ提携ヲ固ク致シマシテ、相共ニ新秩序建設ノ爲ニ、邁進シツツアルコトハ欣快トスル所デアリマス。

抑々帝國カ今回南方諸地域ニ對シ新ニ行動ヲ起スノ已ムヲ得サルニ至リマシタノハ米英ノ暴政ヲ排除シテ大東亞諸地域ヲ明朗ナル本然ノ姿ニ復シ、新ナル大建設ヲ行ハントスルニ外ナラヌノデアリマス。大東亞數億ノ住民モ亦、帝國ノ眞意ヲ了解シテ無益ノ抵抗ヲ行フコトナク、寧ロ我等ノ同志トシテ速ニ帝國ノ企圖スル大東亞共榮圈建設ノ聖業ニ參加スルニ至ランコトヲ切望シテ已マヌ次第デアリマス。此ノ際重慶政權カ尙抗戰ヲ續ケテ居リマスコトハ甚ク遺憾トスル所デアリマス。

若シ彼ニシテ今後モ依然抗戰ヲ繼續スルニ於テハ、帝國ハ今後ト雖モ毫モ壓迫ノ手ヲ弛メルモノテハアリマセン。然モ其ノ抵抗ノ根元モ今ヤ覆滅ニ瀕シツツアルノデアリマシテ、禍亂ノ裁定モ遠カラサルモノト存スル次第デアリマス。

此ノ秋ニ當リ盟邦獨伊兩國カ帝國ノ開戰ト共ニ參戰シ、帝國ト共ニ確固不動ノ決意ヲ以テ一切ノ強力手段ヲ盡シ、世界平和ノ爲ノ共同ノ敵ニ對シ勝利ヲ得ル迄ハ斷シテ干戈ヲ收メサルコトヲ誓ヒ、又相互ノ完全ナル了解ニ依ルニ非サレハ米英兩國ノ何レトモ休戰又ハ講和ヲ爲ササルヘキコト及公正ナル新秩序招來ノ爲將來益々密接ニ協カスヘキコトヲ約シ日獨伊三國ノ締盟愈々固キヲ加フルニ至リマシタコトヲ、洵ニ同慶ノ至リニ存スルト共ニ、米英兩國ヲ屈服セシムル迄ハ斷シテ戈ヲ收メサル帝國ノ固キ決意ヲ茲ニ表明スルモノデアリマス。



尙此ノ機會ニ於キマシテ私ハ開戦以來ノ國民ノ熱誠溢ルル愛國ノ至情ニ對シマシテ、衷心ヨリノ感激ヲ表明スルモノテアリマス。

今回政府提出ノ豫算案及法律案ハ何レモ戰時遂行上緊急ナル事項ニ限定セラレテ居ルノテアリマス。何卒速ニ御審議ノ上協賛ヲ與ヘラレンコトヲ切望致シマス。

#### 四二、第七十八回帝國議會ニ於ル東郷外務大臣演說 (十二月十六日)

長クモ本月八日米英兩國ニ對スル宣戰ノ 大詔渙發セラレマスルヤ皇軍ハ忽チニシ太平洋ヲ制壓シ國威ハ宇内ニ輝キ國運將ニ劃期的發展ノ緒ニ就キマシタ秋ニ當リ茲ニ諸君ト相見エ所見ヲ開陳スルハ私ノ最モ光榮且欣幸トスル所デアリマス。

日米交渉ヲ打切ルノ止ムヲ得サリシ事情ハ曩ニ詳細公表致シマシタ通りデアリマスルカ今次大戰ノ由テ來ル所ハ米英兩國政府カ帝國ニ對シ重慶政權援助ニ依ル對日壓迫ニ懣ラス進ンテ經濟斷交ヲ行フト共ニ八月月ニ渉ル我方ノ公正ナル主張ニ耳ヲ藉スコトナク却テ南方ニ包圍陣ヲ強化シ帝國ニ對シ挑戰的態度ヲ執リ來ツタコトニ存スルノデアリマス更ニ其ノ根源ヲ究明スレハ米英兩國政府カ専ラ自國ノ利益本位ノ現狀維持ヲ計リ萬邦共榮ノ要義ヲ排除シテ其ノ搾取的支配ヲ押通シ全世界ヲ其ノ制覇ノ下ニ屈從セシメントシタルコトニ原因スルモノデアリマス而モ驕慢ナル米英兩國政府ハ帝國ノ實力ヲ輕侮シ軍事的經濟的威嚇ヲ以テ容易ニ帝國ヲ屈服シ得ヘシト臆斷シ交渉ヲ遷延セシメツツ包圍

ノ態勢ヲ強化シ來ツタノデアリマス。

若シ夫レ米英兩國ノ斯ル態度ヲ容認スルカ如キコトアリトセハ帝國ハ支那事變四ヶ年ニ互ル建設的成果ヲ犠牲トスルニ止マラス帝國ノ生存ヲ脅威シ權威ヲ失墜セシムルコトナルノデアリマスルノテ帝國政府ハ本交渉打切ヲ米國政府ニ通告シ帝國ノ自存ノ爲又東亞ノ安定ノ爲已ムヲ得ス米英兩國ヲ敵トシテ立上ルニ至ツタノデアリマス。

然ルニ米國政府ハ帝國カ無警告ニ突如戰爭ヲ開始セリト宣傳シテ居ル趣デアリマスカ先ツ決戰態勢ヲ執リ挑發シ來ツタモノハ米國政府自體デアリマス帝國ノ平和維持ニ關スル熱望ヲ裏切り戰ヲ我ニ強制シタルモノハ實ニ米英兩國政府デアリマス私ハ前議會ニ於テ帝國ノ協調的ノ態度ニモ自ラ限度アルコトヲ明確ニシテ置イタノデアリマシテ此ノ點ハ米國政府ニ於テモ充分承知シテ居ツタ筈デアリマス又米國政府ハ帝國ノ容認シ得ル限度カ如何ナルモノナリヤニ付テモ長日月ノ交渉ニ依リ篤ト承知シテ居ツタ筈デアリマス夫レニモ拘ラス米國政府カ此ノ限度ヲ超エタル要求ヲ我ニ強要スルコトカ如何ナル結果ヲ招來スルヤハ米國政府ニ於テ當然豫測シ居タル筈デアリマス若シ夫レ帝國ノ協調的態

度ニモ限度アリトノ聲明ヲ駭引又ハ恫喝ナリト考ヘテ居ツタトスレハ米國政府モ迂濶テアツタト云フノ外アリマセシ。

目下米英兩國國民ハ自己ノ非ヲ蔽ハントスル政府ノ宣傳ニ耳ヲ奪ハレテ居ル模様デアリマスカ段々其ノ氣持カ落着クニ從ヒ冷靜ニ戰爭ノ發生原因ヲ考察シ日米交渉ヲ正シク批判シ「ルースヴェルト」「チャーチル」外交ヲ再吟味シ此ノ戰爭ノ眞ノ原因カ那邊ニ存スルヤノ點即チ米英現政府カ總テ其ノ責ニ任スヘキモノナルコトニ付了得シ來ルヘシト考フルモノデアリマス。



今次ノ對米英戰爭ハ要スルニ國際體制ニ於ケル舊秩序維持ト新秩序建設ノ鬭爭戰タルノ本質ヲ有スルノテアリマス米英兩國政府ハ舊秩序維持ノ爲ノ手段トシテ從來全世界ニ互リ自己ニノミ好都合ナル原則ヲ固守シテ參ツタモノテアリマシテ今次交渉ニ於テモ米國政府ハ英國政府ト苟合シ利己の原則ノ主張ヲ一步モ讓ルコトナク支那其ノ他ノ諸國ヲ隸屬視スル傳統的態度ヲ更メナカツタモノテアリマス從テ今次ノ戰爭ハ大東亞解放ノ性格ヲ有スルモノテアリマス此ノ點ハ我國民ノミナラス東亞ノ諸國カ篤ト了解スヘキ所テアリマス從テ帝國カ一度奮起スルヤ東亞ノ諸國ハ帝國ノ平和理念及今次大戰ノ由來ヲ了解スルトトモニ東亞ノ大勢ヲ明察シテ奮然トシテ帝國ニ協力シテ參リマシタノテアリマス。

即チ滿洲國ハ逸早く帝國ト全面的ニ協力スルノ態度ニ出ツルコトヲ闡明シ又中華民國國民政府モ帝國ニ對シ完全ナル協力ヲ聲明セル次第テアリマス今や過去百年ノ久シキニ互ツテ東亞ヲ植民の搾取ノ對象トナシ來ツタ米英ノ勢力ハ支那ヨリ驅逐セラレントシツツアルノテアリマシテ開戦後忽チニシテ米英ノ支那ニ於ケル搾取政策ノ據點タリシ租界其ノ他ニ於ケル政治的勢力カ排除セラルルニ至リマシタコトハ三十年前ノ中華民國々民政府革命ノ第一ノ宿願カ今日始メテ達成セラレタモノテアリ其ノ意義極メテ重大ト申サネハナラヌノテアリマス。

更ニ泰國トノ關係ニ於キマシテハ、同國政府ハ克ク帝國ノ意圖ヲ諒解シマシテ、其ノ決斷ニ依リ帝國軍隊ノ泰國通過ニ關シ了解ノ成立ヲ見、爾來帝國軍隊ハ平和裡ニ同國ヲ通過シツツアリマス而モ今回更ニ攻守同盟締結方ニ關シ坪上大使ト「ビボン」首相トノ間ニ意見ノ合致ヲ見マシタルコトハ獨リ日泰兩國ノ爲ノミナラス東亞ノ興隆ノ爲寔ニ喜ハシキ限リテアリマス尙佛領印度支那ニ於テモ佛國側カ帝國ノ立場ニ充分ナル理解ヲ示シ帝國ト佛印トノ協力ヲ一層強

化スルノ態度ニ出テ共同防衛ノ實施ニ付アラユル便宜ヲ供與シテ居ルノテアリマス如斯ニシテ赫々タル戰果ト相俟ツテ友邦トノ平和的提携ニ依リ包圍陣突破ノ態勢カ急速ニ擴充強化セラレタノテアリマス。

從來東亞ノ諸國中ニハ帝國ノ眞意ヲ了解セス疑惑ノ眼ヲ以テ眺ムルモノモ存シタノテアリマスカ今回帝國カ破邪ノ劔ヲ振フヤ東亞ノ諸國ハ帝國ノ目標トスル所カ東亞ノ解放興隆ニ在ルコトヲ了解シ衷心協力スルニ至ツタノテアリマス斯クシテ東亞ハ其ノ本然ノ姿ニ歸リツツアルノテアリマシテ眞ニ慶賀ニ堪エサル所テアリマス素ヨリ之ニ依リ東亞諸國ノ帝國ニ對スル期待ヲ増大セルコトハ申ス迄モナイノテアリマシテ之ニ伴フ帝國ノ責任ハ一層重大トナツタノテアリマスカ我國民ハ此ノ期待ニ副ハンカ爲牢固タル覺悟ヲ以テ最善ノ努力ヲ致スヘキテアリマス。

更ニ進テ獨伊兩國トノ關係ニ付テハ御承知ノ通り帝國ノ對米英宣戰ニ引續キ去ル十一月一日獨伊兩國ハ米國ニ對シ宣戰スルト共ニ伯林ニ於テ日獨伊三國間ニ新ナル協定カ成立致シマシタ即チ之ニ依リ日獨伊三盟邦ハ米英兩國ヲ共同ノ敵トシテ勝利ニ終ル迄干戈ヲ收メサル確乎不動ノ決意ヲ闡明シ單獨不講和ヲ約シ且三國同盟條約ノ意義ニ於ケル新秩序建設ニ對スル協力ヲ誓ツタモノテアリマスルカスノ如キ戰爭ノ共同遂行ト共ニ世界究極ノ平和ヲ目標トスル條約カ三國間ニ締結セラレ東西ニ位スル日獨伊三國カ更ニ團結ヲ固メマシタコトハ誠ニ史上ノ壯觀テアツテ三國ノ協力ハ必スヤ之カ結實ヲ見ルヘキコト毫無疑ノ餘地カナイノテアリマス尙歐洲ニ於キマシテハ獨伊兩國ノ外洪牙利、羅馬尼、芬蘭ハ曩ニ英國ト交戰状態ニ入ツタノテアリマスルカ今次獨伊ノ對米宣戰後直チニ洪牙利、羅馬尼及「ブルガリア」ハ對米參戰ヲ宣シマシタ斯ノ如ク歐洲ノ諸盟邦カ帝國ニ呼應シテ共通ノ敵ニ向ツテ立上リツツアルコトハ眞ニ快心ニ堪エサル所テアリマス今や世界ハ前古ニ比類ナキ大轉換期ニ際會シテ居ルノテアリマスルカ帝國ハ益々獨伊始メ盟邦諸國



トノ提携ヲ緊密ニシ此ノ正義ノ爲ノ戰爭ヲ完全ナル勝利ニ至ル迄遂行スルト共ニ米英兩國ノ現狀維持ヲ基礎トスル獨善の平和理念ヲ排撃シ公正ナル新秩序ノ建設ニ邁進シ恒久的世界平和ノ確立ニ貢獻セントスルモノデアリマス。最後ニ蘇聯邦トノ關係ニ付テハ前議會ニ於テモ明カニ致シ置キマシタ通帝國政府ハ北方ノ安全ヲ確保セントスル態度ニ何等ノ變更ナキモノデアリマスルカ蘇聯政府ニ於テモ日蘇中立條約ヲ遵守スルノ意嚮ハ屢々之ヲ表明致シテ居ル次第デアリマス。

凡ソ一國カ四圍ノ不當ナル障害ニ依テ平和裡ニ自然的發展ヲ爲スヲ阻止セラルル場合ニハ其ノ障害ヲ排除スル爲干戈ヲ執ルノ已ムヲ得サルニ至ルコトアルハ世界史上幾多ノ事例ヲ存シ我カ明治ノ發展期ニ於テモ日清日露兩戰役ニ於テモ此ノ實例ヲ見タ次第デアリマスカ今次大東亞戰爭ハ帝國ノ隆替ノミナラス東亞ノ興亡世界ノ運命ノ岐ルル所デアリマシテ其ノ意義重大ナルハ日清、日露兩役ニ幾倍スルモノデアリマス尙又今次戰爭ハ長期戰ヲ豫想セラレマスノテ内ニ在リテハ一億一心鐵ノ如キ結束ノ下ニ如何ナル困苦缺乏ニモ堪ユルノ決意ヲ固メ外ハ帝國ト志向ヲ同ウスル友邦各國ノ一層緊密ナル聯繫ニ力ヲ致シ戰爭目的ノ貫徹ニ完璧ヲ期スルノ要アルヲ痛感スルモノデアリマスカ帝國ニシテ右ノ覺悟ヲ持シ必勝ノ信念ヲ以テ邁進スル場合光輝アル終局的勝利ヲ博スヘキコトヲ信シテ疑ハサルモノデアリマス。

### 四三、日泰攻守同盟條約成立ニ際シ東郷外務大臣發ビブン泰國首相祝電

(十二月二十一日外務省發表)

本日盤谷ニ於テ閣下竝ニ坪上大使トノ間ニ調印ヲ了シタル日泰攻守同盟條約ニ依リ日泰兩國國民ハ東亞興隆ノ崇高ナル使命達成ノ爲相提携シ泰國ハ大東亞戰爭ノ完遂ニ全面的ニ協力セラルルコトナリタルハ慶賀ニ堪ヘス。茲ニ余ハ閣下竝ニ閣下ヲ通シ貴國官民ニ對シ滿腔ノ祝意ヲ表シ併テ貴國ノ隆昌ヲ祈ル。

### 四四、東條總理大臣宛ビブン泰國首相祝電

(十二月二十一日)

余ハ只今接受シタル貴電中ニ表明セラレタル閣下ノ友好精神ニ對シ取急キ感謝ノ意ヲ表ス。今朝宮殿内ニ於テ行ハレタル日本國泰國間同盟條約ノ署名ハ完全ナル親睦ノ裡ニ最高ノ儀式ヲ以テ執リ行ハレタルモノナリ。余ハ本條約ヲ以テ單ナル外交文書トハ思考セス眞ニ神聖ナル文書ト思考スルモノナリ。故ニ本條約ノ署名ニ對シテハ昔ニ泰國ノミナラス緬甸及印度ノ大部分ニ於ケル人民ニ依リ厚ク信仰セラルル王宮寺院内ノ「エメラルド」ノ佛前ニ於テ取り行ハルル様手配ヲナシタリ。余ハ右儀式ハ全亞細亞民族ノ心ヲ結合セシムルニ與リテ力アルモノナルコトヲ確信ス。泰國ハ東亞ノ進展及安定ノ爲凡ユル方面ニ於テ日本國ト協力スヘシ。東亞ノ運命ヲ形作クル事業ニ吾々ヲ參加セシムヘク余竝ニ我國民ニ閣下カ與ヘラレタル高キ名譽ニ對スル余ノ感謝ヲ受諾セラレシコトヲ切望ス。

日本國民ノ大成功ヲ祈願ス

一九四一年十二月二十一日盤谷



泰國總理大臣 ビブン・ソングラム

日本帝國內閣總理大臣

東條 英機 大將閣下

四五、東條總理大臣宛ウアニチ・バナナダ泰國藏相代理

祝電 (十二月二十一日)

本日兩國間條約ノ締結ニ深ク感激シ、日本ノ協力ニ對シ余ノ深甚ナル感謝竝ニ兩國ノ成功ニ對スル余ノ確信ヲ御傳ヘ申上ク

大藏大臣代理 ウアニチ・バナナダ

東京

總理大臣 東條 英機 大將閣下

四六、東條總理大臣發ウアニチ・バナナダ泰國藏相代理宛

答電 (十二月二十一日)

御懸篤ナル貴電ニ對シ深ク感謝ス

東亞ノ妨害セラルルコト無キ發達ヲ實現セントスル我等ノ共同目的ノ成功ニ對スル余ノ確固タル信念ヲ閣下ニ披瀝ス

總理大臣 東條 英機

大藏大臣代理

ウアニチ・バナナダ閣下

四七、ビブン泰國外相發東郷外務大臣宛 (十二月二十一日)

本日行ハレタル同盟條約署名ニ對シ貴電ヲ以テ寄セラレタル祝賀ニ對シ閣下ニ感謝申上ク。

本同盟條約カ大東亞戰爭ヲ光榮アル終結ニ導クモノナルコトニ付閣下ト同感ナリ。泰全國民ハ日本ト協力スルコトヲ最モ欣快トシ最終ノ結果ヲ得ル爲彼等ノ最善ノ能力ヲ行使セントス。

余ハ日本國民竝ニ全亞細亞民族ノ上ニ彼等ノ崇高ナル使命カ大成功ヲ收ムル様宇宙ノ凡ユル聖ナルモノニ祈願ス。

四八、日泰兩國首相祝辭交換放送ニ於ル東條總理大臣ラジオ祝辭

(十二月二十三日情報局發表)

私ノ最モ尊敬シ且親愛スル泰國總理大臣閣下竝ニ泰國官民諸君



今回日泰攻守同盟締結ニ當リ衷心ヨリ祝意ヲ表シ併テ御挨拶ヲ申上クルノ機會ヲ得マシタコトハ私ノ最モ光榮且欣快トスル處デアリマス。

泰國民力由來自由獨立ノ氣象ニ富ムコトハ史實ニ徵スルモ明カデアリマスカ、殊ニ閣下カ泰國ノ自主ヲ提唱セラレ泰國民ノ精神作興ニ努メラレマシタルコトハ私ノ常々敬服措ク能ハサリシトコロデアリマス。然ルニ不幸ニシテ貴國ハ過去一世紀ニ互リ英國ノ政治的經濟的壓迫ノ對象トナリ、之カ爲ニ貴國ノ發展カ阻害セラレ來ツタコトニ對シテハ兼々深く御同情申上クルト共ニ我々東亞民族ト致シマシテモ均シク遺憾ニ存シテ居タ次第デアリマス。

貴國ト我カ國トハ三百年ノ長キニ互リ傳統的友好關係ニ結ハレ參ツタノデアリマス而シテ、近年兩國ノ親善關係ハ益々緊密トナツテ參リマシタ即チ昭和十二年十二月ニハ泰國ノ治外法權撤廢ノ金字塔トモ云フヘキ日泰通商航海條約ノ締結ヲ見、昨年六月ニハ友好親條約成立シ、又本年ニ入りマシテハ帝國ノ調停ニ依リ貴國ト佛印間ノ國境紛争カ平和的ニ解決致シマシタノデアリマス。

之ト併行シマシテ兩國ノ經濟的關係モ近年頓ニ重要性ヲ加ヘ、兩國ノ重要物資ノ交易モ急激ニ増加シツツアルノデアリマス。

東亞新秩序ノ建設ハ東亞諸民族ノ均シク念願トスル處デアリマシテ、我々ハ過去十年ニ互リ之カ爲最大ノ努力ト犠牲トヲ拂ツテ來タノデアリマス。然ルニ近年之ヲ妨害セントスル米英諸國ノ帝國ニ對スル軍事的、經濟的壓迫ハ、益々熾烈ニ、愈々露骨トナリ遂ニ帝國ハ敢然立ツテ米英擊滅ノ干戈ヲ執ルノ止ムナキニ至ツタノデアリマス。東亞千年ノ運命ヲ決スヘキ此ノ重大時局ニ際シ、泰國カ閣下ノ一大勇斷ト明智トニヨリ機ヲ失セス帝國ト全面的ニ協力セラル

ルコトトナリ、茲ニ劃期的日泰攻守同盟ノ締結ヲ見ルニ至リマシタコトハ東亞興隆ノ爲定ニ欣快ニ堪ヘサル處デアリマス。

開戰以來帝國陸海軍ハ赫々タル戰果ヲ擧ケ今ヤ米英ノ東亞ニ於ケル據點中、香港ハ既ニ我カ手中ニアリ馬尼刺、新嘉坡ノ陷落モ目睫ノ間ニ迫リ、大東亞ヨリ英米勢力ヲ完全ニ驅逐シ、東亞共榮圈建設ノ基礎確立ノ日モ亦遠シトセサルコトヲ確信致シマス。

冀クハ今後益々閣下竝ニ貴國官民トノ提携ヲ緊密ニシテ相協力シテ大東亞建設ノ爲メノ戰爭ノ輝シキ勝利ニ向ツテ一路邁進致シ度ト存シマス。終ニ臨ミ私ハ現在貴國ニ在ツテ貴國軍ト共ニ戰ヒツツアル我カ國軍隊ニ寄セラレツツアル貴國官民ノ多大ノ御厚意ニ對シ感謝ノ意ヲ表シマスルト共ニ閣下竝ニ貴國民ノ幸福ト繁榮トヲ祈ル次第デアリマス。

#### 四九、日泰兩國首相祝辭交換放送ニ於ルビブン首相祝辭

(十二月二十三日情報局發表)

私ノ尊敬スル日本帝國總理大臣閣下竝ニ日本國民諸兄私ハ閣下ノ御言葉ヲ非常ナル喜ヒヲ以テ傾聽致シマシタ。私ハ泰國民ニ代リ前述閣下ノ御言葉ハ泰國民ニ深甚ナ感銘ヲ與ヘタコトヲ確信ヲ以テ述フルモノデアリマス。私ハ閣下カ泰國民ハ自由及獨立ヲ愛スル氣性ヲ認ムルト述ヘラレタコトヲ稱揚スルモノデアリマス。私ハ此ノ自由及獨立ハ吾人ノ生命テアツテ、且又自由及獨立ノ喪失ハ國家ノ滅亡ニ外ナラサルコトヲ強調スルモノデアリマス。故ニ泰國民



ハ攻守同盟條約中、日泰兩國ハ相互ニ其ノ獨立及主權ヲ尊重ストノ條項ノ規定セラレアルヲ喜フモノデアリマス、之レハ泰國民ヲシテ全力ヲ盡シ日本ト協力セシムル基礎デアリマス。

閣下ハ歴史ヲ引用シテ、日泰兩國間ノ友好關係ハ三百年ニ互リ繼續シ來タレルモノナリト述ヘラレタケレトモ、正ニ其ノ通りテアツテ、日泰友好史ヲ研究スルトキハ益々、友情及信賴ヲ増スニ至ルテセウ。私ハ日本ト友好關係ヲ持續シ來リタル國ハ世界ニ泰國一國ノミテアルヲ附言スルモノデアリマス。如何トナレハ日本ハ外國人ニ門戸ヲ閉鎖シ永年ニ互リ外國トノ交通ヲ遮斷シテ時代ニ於テスラ日泰兩國ノ交通史ニ依レハ泰國船竝ニ泰國人ハ日本トノ通商ヲ強化セラレテ居リマシタ。之ハ日泰友好關係カ特殊關係ノアルコトヲ示スモノデアリマス。泰國ノ歴史ハ日本ノ夫レト同様テアツテ日本カ過去ニ於テ受ケタル同様ノ壓迫ヲ泰國モ受ケテ居リマス。即チ佛曆二四〇七年英國、和蘭、佛國及米國ノ四ヶ國軍艦カ日本ノ下關ヲ砲撃シ強制的ニ日本國ヲシテ三百萬弗ノ償金ヲ支拂ハシメマシタカ三十年後即チ佛曆二四三六年佛國軍艦ハ「メナム」河ニ侵入シ「タイ國」ヲ強制シテ三百萬「バート」ノ償金ヲ支拂ハシメマシタ。閣下ハ我々兩國カ同様ノ運命ニ遭遇シタコトヲ認メラレテセウ。又更ニ和蘭ハ「アユチヤ」王朝時代カラ泰國ニ壓迫ヲ加ヘタモノテアツテ、一方英國ハ鈔カラサル泰國領土即チ豐饒ナル南部地方及ヒ純粹ノ泰民族ノ住居スル「タイヤイ」地方ヲ奪取ラレマシタ。閣下ハ我々ノ歴史カ外國ノ壓迫ヲ受ケタ點ニ於テ同様テアルコトヲ認メラルヘク之ハ我々ヲシテ相互ニ同情シ友好親善關係ヲ緊密ニスヘキハ當然デアリマス。

新ニ調印セラレタル本條約ニ依リ、日泰兩國軍隊ハ亞細亞ノ名譽ノ爲協力シテ居リマスカ、此ノ日泰兩國軍隊ノ協力ハ、事新シイモノテハナク、既ニ三百年前ニ日泰兩國軍カ協力シテ戰ツタコトハ史實ノ明カニ示ス所デアリマス。常

ニ日本ハ吾等ノ好キ友邦デアリマシタ、嘗テ泰國ヲ壓迫シタコトモ、泰領ヲ奪ヒ取ツタコトモナク、却テ日本ハ常ニ泰ヲ援助シ曩ニ調停ノ勞ヲ執ラレ泰領ノ一部ヲ返還シテクレマシタ。以上ノ理由ニ依リ、私ハ日本ト協力シ生死ヲ共ニスルコトニ付絶對的ノ決心ヲ有スルモノデアツテ、私ハ國家ノ運命ヲ決定スル上ニ重大責任アルコトヲ知ルモノデアリマス。

然シ私ハ閣下竝ニ日本國民ヲ信賴シ歴史ハ從來通りノ軌道ヲ歩クモノナルコトヲ確信シマス。私ハ全力ヲ傾倒シ崇高ナル道義心ヲ持ツ日本國民ヲ信賴スルト共ニ此ノ度私ノ決心カ正當テアルコトニ付確信ヲ持ツモノデアリマス。泰國ニ駐屯スル日本軍隊ハ軍規正シク又泰國人ハアラユル點ニ友好的態度ヲ以テ之ヲ迎ヘ泰國軍隊ハ日本軍隊ト協力シ亞細亞ノ名譽ノ爲ニ戰フコトヲ喜ンテ居リマス。閣下ハ泰國カ印度又緬甸ノ獨立回復ノ中心地ナルコトヲ知ルテセウ。祖國ヲ愛スル印度人並ニ緬甸人ニシテ自由ヲ回復セントスル者多數泰國ニ居住シテ居リマス。永年ニ互リ自由ヲ回復セント努力セルモ未タ適當ナル機會ニ惠マレナカッタカ、今ヤ其ノ秋カ來マシタ。今日印度人ハ印度自由恢復黨ヲ結成センカ爲集會シ明日緬甸人ハ緬甸自由恢復黨ヲ結成センカ爲集會スルテセウ。泰國ハ之等自由恢復黨ニ對シ凡ユル援助ヲ吝マサルモノデアリマス。泰國カ日本ト協力シテ生死ヲ俱ニスルニ至ツタコトト日本軍隊ノ各方面ニ於ケル勝利トニ依リ亞細亞諸民族ハ驚異ノ眼ヲ瞪リ白人諸國ノ權力ノ下ニ重壓ニ苦ンテ來タ諸民族ハ等シク自由恢復ヲ考ヘテ居リマス此ノ情勢ハ私ヲシテ最後ノ勝利ハ必ス亞細亞ノモノナルヲ確信セシメルモノデアリマス。

一方私ハ閣下ニ對シ條約ノ成立シ又協力提携ノ順調ニ運ハレテ居ルコトハ坪上大使閣下ヲ始メトシ日本大使館員竝ニ武官カ情勢ヲ正確ニ指示シ泰國官憲ト協力セラレタ賜テアルコトヲ告ケ、私ハ茲ニ閣下ニ此ノ慶ビヲ表明スルモノ



デアリマス。

私ハ閣下カ私竝ニ泰國ニ名譽ヲ附與セラレ友好的態度ヲ示シ且閣下カ今夕貴重ナル時間ヲ割カレ私ト挨拶ヲ交ハサレタコトニ對シ深甚ナル謝意ヲ表明スルモノデアリマス。

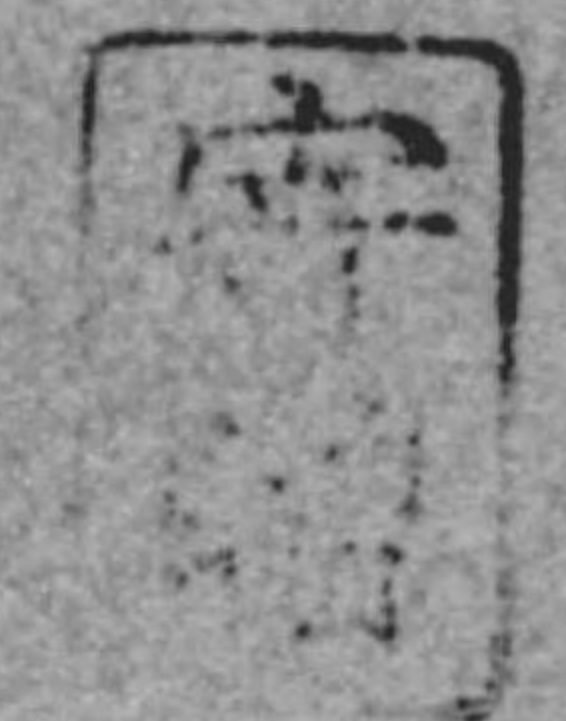
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### 滿蒙國境確定混成委員會ノ任務終了ニ關スル滿蒙共同コムニユニケ

(滿洲帝國外務局十月十五日發表)

滿洲帝國及蒙古人民共和國間國境確定混成委員會ハ九月二十三日ヨリ滿洲國哈爾濱市ニ於テ會合シ今夏實施セル現地作業ノ成果ニ關スル各種文書ノ作成ニ當リ居リシ處會議ハ順調ニ進捗シ十月十五日兩國全權委員間ニ前記諸文書ノ署名調印ヲ了シ之ヲ以テ前記混成委員會ハ完全ニ其ノ任務ヲ終了セリ。





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**OFFICIAL  
ANNOUNCEMENTS  
CONCERNING  
FOREIGN  
RELATIONS**

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SIXTEENTH YEAR OF SHOWA (1941)

**BOARD OF INFORMATION**



## IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

**W**E, by grace of heaven, Emperor of Japan, seated on the Throne of a line unbroken for ages eternal, enjoin upon ye, Our loyal and brave subjects:

We hereby declare war on the United States of America and the British Empire. The men and officers of Our army and navy shall do their utmost in prosecuting the war, Our public servants of various departments shall perform faithfully and diligently their appointed tasks, and all other subjects of Ours shall pursue their respective duties; the entire nation with a united will shall mobilize their total strength so that nothing will miscarry in the attainment of our war aims.

To insure the stability of East Asia and to contribute to world peace is the far-sighted policy which was formulated by Our Great Illustrious Imperial Grandsire and Our Great Imperial Sire succeeding Him, and which We lay constantly to heart. To cultivate friendship among nations and to enjoy prosperity in common with all nations has always been the guiding principle of Our Empire's foreign policy. It has been truly unavoidable and far from Our wishes that Our Empire has now been brought to cross swords with America and Britain. More than four years have passed since China, failing to comprehend the true intentions of Our Empire, and recklessly courting trouble, disturbed the peace of East Asia and compelled Our Empire to take up arms. Although there has been re-established the National Government of China, with which Japan has effected neighbourly intercourse and co-operation, the régime which has survived at Chungking, relying upon American and British protection, still continues its fratricidal opposition. Eager for the realization of their inordinate ambition to dominate the Orient, both America and Britain, giving support to the



Chungking régime, have aggravated the disturbances in East Asia. Moreover, these two Powers, inducing other countries to follow suit, increased military preparations on all sides of Our Empire to challenge us. They have obstructed by every means our peaceful commerce, and finally resorted to a direct severance of economic relations, menacing gravely the existence of Our Empire. Patiently have We waited and long have We endured, in the hope that Our Government might retrieve the situation in peace. But our adversaries, showing not the least spirit of conciliation, have unduly delayed a settlement; and in the meantime, they have intensified the economic and political pressure to compel thereby Our Empire to submission. This trend of affairs would, if left unchecked, not only nullify Our Empire's efforts of many years for the sake of the stabilization of East Asia, but also endanger the very existence of Our nation. The situation being such as it is, Our Empire for its existence and self-defence has no other recourse but to appeal to arms and to crush every obstacle in its path.

The hallowed spirits of Our Imperial Ancestors guarding Us from above, We rely upon the loyalty and courage of Our subjects in Our confident expectation that the task bequeathed by Our Forefathers will be carried forward, and that the sources of evil will be speedily eradicated and an enduring peace immutably established in East Asia, preserving thereby the glory of Our Empire.

The 8th day of the 12th month of the 16th year of Syōwa.

(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)

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I. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING GENERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND FRENCH INDO-CHINA

January 6, 1941.

An interview between Mr. Hajime Matsumiya, Japanese Ambassador, and Mr. René Robin, chief of the French Delegation, was held at the official residence of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs from 3 to 6:30 o'clock this afternoon, at which they continued the exchange of concrete views concerning general economic relations between Japan and French Indo-China.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE SEIZURE OF MONEY BELONGING TO JAPANESE BY BRITISH AUTHORITIES IN BERMUDA ISLAND

January 7, 1941.

With regard to the incident occurring on the 23rd of last month in which the British authorities in Bermuda Island seized money belonging to Mr. Kitamura and eight other Japanese passengers on the United States vessel, the Japanese Government promptly made investigations of actual facts of the case. As they have become clear, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, made this afternoon at the Foreign Office a strong protest to the British Ambassador in Tokyo, Sir Robert L. Craigie, pointing out that the measures taken by the British authorities in Bermuda Island are clearly an abuse of the belligerent rights and an illegal act infringing the legitimate rights of free movement of the subjects of Japan which is a neutral country. The Foreign Minister demanded



in this connection that the British Government promptly take satisfactory steps for the settlement of the case.

### III. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE JAPANESE-FRENCH CONVERSATIONS AT TOKYO

January 9, 1941.

Mr. Hajime Matsumiya, Japanese Ambassador, held an interview with Mr. René Robin, Chief of the French Delegation, at the official residence of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs from 3:00 to 5:30 o'clock this afternoon, at which they continued to exchange views concerning concrete matters pertaining to the economic relations between Japan and French Indo-China.

### IV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE JAPANESE-FRENCH CONVERSATIONS IN TOKYO

January 10, 1941.

The fifth meeting between the Japanese and French Delegates regarding Indo-China was held at the official residence of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2:30 to 4:30 o'clock this afternoon. Discussion was continued on concrete economic questions, resulting in considerable progress.

### V. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE JAPANESE-SOVIET *MODUS VIVENDI* ON FISHERIES

January 21, 1941.

A *modus vivendi* was signed at midnight of the 20th of

this month at Moscow by the Japanese Ambassador, General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa, and the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Viacheslav Molotov. The substance of the agreement is as follows:

1. The existing Japanese-Soviet Fishery Convention will remain in force as it is to the end of this year.
2. The *modus vivendi* is to be replaced by a new Fishery Convention to be concluded during this year. The said *modus vivendi* was not concluded at the time of negotiations conducted in the latter part of last year because of the Soviet proposal with respect to the method of payment for rental of leased fishery lots, which would increase enormously the burden on fishing concerns. The Soviet Government, however, have agreed to withdraw this proposal, resulting in an amicable settlement of the question on the basis of additional payment by Japan for this year of the amount which is equivalent to twenty percent of the rental of leased fishery lots and of global tax.

### VI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THAILAND AND FRANCE OF THE PROPOSAL BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FOR MEDIATION IN THE BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN THAILAND AND FRENCH INDO-CHINA

January 24, 1941.

The proposal of the Japanese Government for the cessation of hostilities and their mediation of the border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China has been accepted by the Governments of Thailand and France.

As the relations between Thailand and French Indo-China



became increasingly tense since the rise of the movement in Thailand for the recovery of her lost territories, the Japanese Government, out of consideration for the peace and tranquillity of Greater East Asia and the co-existence and co-prosperity of the peoples of this region, have entertained a hope that such a question would be peacefully settled without recourse to arms and have taken the necessary steps. Unfortunately, however, an armed conflict subsequently broke out. In the early part of December, the Japanese Government informally proposed to the French Government, through the latter's Ambassador at Tokyo, Mr. Charles Arsène-Henry, that they were prepared to mediate for the settlement of the dispute. The situation, however, has not only failed to take a favorable turn for a settlement but has become so serious that it was deemed a matter for grave concern as to its future course since the hostilities between the two countries have recently become increasingly extended.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, therefore, made a formal proposal of the Japanese Government on January 20 to the Governments of France and Thailand regarding an immediate cessation of the hostilities and a mediation of the dispute, to which the two Governments, respectively, have replied their acceptance.

VII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING JAPANESE DELEGATION FOR THE ARMISTICE CONFERENCE BETWEEN THAILAND AND FRENCH INDO-CHINA

January 29, 1941.

It has been decided that the armistice negotiations regarding the Thailand-French Indo-China border dispute be held aboard a Japanese warship on the high seas off Saigon. The Japanese Government have notified the Governments of the two

countries that Japan will send the following delegates to the said conference:

Consul-General Yasushi Hayashi.  
 Consul-General Fujio Minota.  
 Consul-General Shunsuké Asada.  
 Major General Raishiro Sumita.  
 Colonel Hiroshi Tamura.  
 Captain Shinichi Torikoshi (Navy)  
 Captain Kanye Nakado (Navy)

VIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THAILAND AND FRENCH INDO-CHINA

January 31, 1941.

As the result of the armistice conference between France and Thailand which has been in progress aboard a Japanese warship on the high seas off Saigon, with the Japanese Delegates participating, an armistice agreement was reached at eight o'clock on the afternoon of the 31st January, and the fully authorized delegates of the two countries and the Japanese Delegates, respectively, signed the agreement and affixed their seals thereto.

The fundamental settlement of the border dispute between the two countries awaits discussion at the peace conference to be held shortly in Tokyo. However, the fact that the armistice which constitutes the preliminary condition of such a solution has been so speedily concluded is due to the complete understanding of, and the earnest efforts for, peace and tranquillity within the sphere of common prosperity of East Asia on the part of the two countries concerned—a matter with which the Japanese Government are exceedingly gratified.



IX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE EXAMINATION OF THE RESPECTIVE CREDENTIALS OF THE FRENCH AND THAI PLENIPOTENTIARIES

February 7, 1941.

Mr. George Gautier and Mr. Nai Thavi Tavedhikul, secretaries-general of the French and Thai Delegations, respectively, met at the official residence of the Foreign Minister at noon today in the presence of the secretary-general of the Japanese Delegation, Mr. Ototsugu Saito.

They presented to each other their Credentials and found them in good and due form, after which they, together with Mr. Saito, held a conference with regard to the procedure to be followed.

X. JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JAPAN, FRANCE AND THAILAND CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

February 7, 1941.

The first formal session of the conference for the mediation of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute was held at 4:00 o'clock this afternoon at the official residence of the Prime Minister. On behalf of the Mediators, Japan's Chief Delegate, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, the Foreign Minister, delivered the inaugural speech to which the French and Thai Plenipotentiaries respectively replied. Then, the secretary-general of the Japanese Delegation made a report on the method of procedure of the conference, which had been agreed upon among the secretaries-general of the countries concerned. Following the approval of this report by French and Thai Plenipotentiaries the meeting closed at 4:40 o'clock.

XI. JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JAPAN, FRANCE AND THAILAND CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

February 8, 1941.

The first informal meeting was held at the official residence of the Foreign Minister at 3:00 o'clock this afternoon (February 8). The meeting was attended by Mr. Hajime Matsumiya, Delegate, Mr. Ototsugu Saito, secretary-general, and several other assistants to the Mediators, for Japan; Messrs. Arsène-Henry and René Robin, the Delegates, and two of their assistants, for France; and Prince Varnvaidyakara Varavarn, Messrs. Phya Sri Sena and Phra Silpa Sastrakom, the Delegates, and two of their assistants, for Thailand. An exchange of views was held and the meeting closed at 5:30 o'clock.

The second informal meeting will be held at the official residence of the Foreign Minister at 3:00 o'clock tomorrow afternoon (February 9).

XII. JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JAPAN, FRANCE AND THAILAND CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

February 9, 1941.

The second informal meeting was held at the official residence of the Foreign Minister at 3 o'clock this afternoon. The meeting was attended by Mr. Hajime Matsumiya, the Delegate, Mr. Ototsugu Saito, the secretary-general, and several other assistants to the Mediators, for Japan; Messrs. Arsène-Henry and René Robin, the Delegates, and three of their assistants, for France; and Prince Varnvaidyakara Varavarn, Messrs.



Phya Sri Sena and Phra Silpa Sastraskom, the Delegates, and two of their assistants, for Thailand. An exchange of views on concrete matters was held and the meeting closed at 5:05 o'clock.

XIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE EXTENSION OF THE VALIDITY OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BETWEEN FRANCE AND THAILAND

February 12, 1941.

As the agreement between France and Thailand for the cessation of hostilities was to expire on February 11, the Japanese Government, on February 8, after the first informal meeting of the Delegates of Japan, France and Thailand at Tokyo, made a proposal to the Governments of France and Thailand for the extension of its validity for two more weeks. The French and Thai Governments, in their notes under date of February 10, sent their replies respectively to the Japanese Government accepting the latter's proposal.

XIV. STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING ALARMING REPORTS WITH REFERENCE TO THE EAST ASIATIC SITUATION

February 18, 1941.

Various alarming reports have reached Japan purporting to give an impression that the situation in East Asia has become radically tense. We are surprised to learn that some foreign countries felt undue concern regarding the alleged tension in the situation in East Asia, and want to emphasize that so far as we can see there is no ground for entertaining alarming views on the East Asiatic situation.

We want to repeat that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact is peaceful. We can not help feeling, therefore, a certain amount of anxiety, if not misgivings, as to the war-like preparations of the British and American Governments to meet supposed contingencies in the Pacific and the South Seas. The press reports, concerning these movements on the part of Britain and the United States originating from British and American sources and elsewhere, are causing increasing misgivings, resulting in the contention advanced in some quarters in Japan that Japan should lose no time to take necessary steps to meet the worst eventuality in these regions. If the American Government could only be persuaded to restrict their activities in this respect to the Western Hemisphere and avoid causing anxiety unnecessarily in the mind of Japanese people, the situation would indeed be greatly mitigated.

We are utterly unable to see any good purpose to be served by prolonging war, whatever the motive may be. The present situation demands statesmanship of a high order. Such statesmanship, we trust, will not be wanting in the British Empire or elsewhere.

In concluding, we want to make it clear that Japan is fully prepared to act as a mediator or to take whatever action calculated to recover normal conditions, not only in Greater East Asia but anywhere in the world. Leading Powers have great responsibility of restoring world peace and civilization; and such responsibility can only be fulfilled by a wise and generous statesmanship willing to listen to other's claims and contentions.

XV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING TRADE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION

February 20, 1941.

In accordance with an agreement of views reached a short



time ago between the Japanese Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Lieutenant-General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa, and the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Viacheslav M. Molotov, conversations on trade between the two countries were held for the first time in Moscow on February 17. The meeting was attended by Ambassador Yoshitsugu Tatekawa, Counsellor Funao Miyakawa and Secretary Akira Oye, representing Japan; and by Commissar of Foreign Trade, Mr. A. I. Mikoyan, Assistant Commissar of Foreign Trade, Mr. U. M. Kaganovich, Director of the Eastern Division of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade, Mr. P. N. Kumykin and one another, representing the Soviet Union.

XVI. JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JAPAN, FRANCE AND THAILAND CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

February 24, 1941.

With regard to the conference for the mediation of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute, following the second informal meeting of which public announcement has recently been made, the third informal meeting was held at the official residence of the Foreign Minister on the 17th of this month. Since then, the Mediators held negotiations individually with the French and Thai Delegates. In view of the fact that the period of cessation of hostilities between France and Thailand has only a short time left, and moreover, there are some points requiring further consultation, the Japanese representatives, as Mediators, requested the French and Thai Delegates yesterday (February 23) to prolong by ten days (ending at noon of the 7th of March according to Japan time) the period of cessation of hostilities, which request was accepted on the same day.

The fourth informal meeting was held today, from 5:00

o'clock to 6:15 o'clock in the afternoon, at the official residence of the Foreign Minister. The meeting was attended by Messrs. Yosuke Matsuoka and Hajime Matsumiya, the Mediators, the Secretary-general Mr. Ototsugu Saito and several assistants to the Mediators, for Japan; Messrs. Arsène-Henry and René Robin, the Delegates, and three assistants, for France; and Prince Varavaidyakara Varavarn, Messrs. Phya Sri Sena and Phra Silpa Sastrakom, the Delegates, and two assistants, for Thailand; and the conversations were held in an amicable atmosphere.

XVII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PARTICIPATION OF BULGARIA IN THE THREE POWER PACT

March 1, 1941.

Bulgaria having recently decided to participate in the Three Power Pact concluded among Japan, Germany and Italy, a Protocol concerning the Bulgarian participation was signed at Vienna, on March 1, by the Japanese Plenipotentiary, Ambassador Hiroshi Oshima, the German Plenipotentiary, Foreign Minister Joachim Ribbentrop, and the Italian Plenipotentiary, Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano, representing the three Powers, and by the Bulgarian Plenipotentiary, Prime Minister Bogdan Silov.

The contents of the Protocol are similar to those of the Protocol signed at the time of participation of Hungary and others last year.

Bulgaria's participation in the Three Power Pact has been expected to take place sooner or later since last year. At the time when the Balkan situation is tense, as at present, it is of important significance that Bulgaria has at last completely joined the Axis group of nations—a matter to be heartily congratulated upon.

The friendship between Japan and Bulgaria has steadily



increased in cordiality since the establishment, the year before last, of the Japanese Legation at the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, and, needless to say, it will become still more closer through the present participation of Bulgaria in the Tripartite Pact.

XVIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA, AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, MR. ARSENE-HENRY

March 2, 1941.

The French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry, called on the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, at 11:30 o'clock, this morning (March 2nd), and having handed the French reply to the Japanese plan of mediation, the Ambassador left at 12:30 o'clock.

XIX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA, AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, MR. ARSENE-HENRY

March 4, 1941.

The French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry, called on the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, at the Foreign Office at 5:30 o'clock this afternoon (March 4), and held an important conversation with the latter with reference to the Japanese plan of mediation for the settlement of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute and left at 6:10 o'clock.

XX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE VISIT OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, MR. CHARLES ARSENE-HENRY, TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA

March 6, 1941.

The French Ambassador, Mr. Charles Arsène-Henry, called on the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, at 11:00 o'clock this morning (March 6), and after an important conversation with regard to the mediation for the settlement of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute, he left at 11:55 o'clock.

XXI. JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JAPAN, FRANCE AND THAILAND CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

March 6, 1941.

The Mediation Plan presented by the Japanese Government has been agreed to by both French and Thai Governments on the principal points and the remaining points of detail are likely to be settled within a few days.

XXII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

March 6, 1941.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka called on the



French Ambassador, Mr. Charles Arsène-Henry, at the latter's official residence at 5 o'clock this afternoon (March 6), and held conversation until 6 o'clock regarding the remaining points of detail excluding the principal points which have already been agreed to by the French and Thai Governments. The Foreign Minister left at 6 o'clock.

XXIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

March 6, 1941.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, requested the French Ambassador, Mr. Charles Arsène-Henry, to call on him at 8:00 o'clock this evening (March 6), and resumed the conversation which was held at 5:00 o'clock this afternoon. The Ambassador left at 8:00 o'clock. The negotiation on the question is still progressing.

XXIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

March 7, 1941.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, received the Thai Plenipotentiary, H. H. Prince Vamvaidyakara Varavarn, from 3:30 to 4:00, and the French Plenipotentiary, Ambassador Charles Arsène-Henry, from 4:30 to 5:00, this afternoon (March 7), and held conversations concerning the points of

detail of the mediation plan presented by the Japanese Government.

As the result of these conversations considerable progress was made toward the final settlement.

XXV. JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF JAPAN, FRANCE AND THAILAND CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEDIATION

March 11, 1941.

Since the Mediation Conference for the settlement of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute was opened in Tokyo with its first formal session held on February 7, three informal meetings have been held besides daily individual conversations in which the Mediators have steadily exercised their good offices to bring about an agreement of views of the two countries concerned. As the result of these endeavours, it became clear that an agreement could in all probability be reached. The Mediators, therefore, presented a plan of mediation at the fourth informal meeting, held on the 24th of the same month, following which they have continued to persuade the two parties concerned to accept that plan. The Governments of France and Thailand have accepted it with some modifications and have initialled the terms of mediation at 4:00 o'clock this afternoon (March 11).

The essential points of the mediation terms are as follows:

1. France cedes to Thailand the district of Paklay, which is mentioned in Article II of the Convention between France and Siam of February 13, 1904, and the region lying to the north of the boundary line between the Provinces of Battambang and Pursat and the region lying on the right bank of the Mekong River bounded in south by the line running northward along the Longitude from the point touching Grand Lac and the southernmost end



of the boundary line between the Provinces of Siem Reap and Battambang to the crossing point of that Longitude and the line of the 15th degree G of the Latitude and then eastward along that line of the Latitude to the Mekong River. However, a small area lying opposite to Stung Treng is reserved to French Indo-China.

2. All of the above-mentioned ceded territories are to be made demilitarized zones, and French nationals and the people of French Indo-China are to enjoy an absolutely equal treatment with nationals of Thailand throughout these areas with respect to entry, domicile and occupations and their pursuit.
3. The Government of Thailand will respect the mausolea of the Luang Prabang Royal House situated in the triangular zone lying opposite to Luang Prabang, and afford facilities for its preservation and worship, etc.
4. The Mekong frontier will be fixed in accordance with the principle of the deep water channel, but the two islands, namely, Khong and Khone, will, under the sovereignty of Thailand, be jointly administered by France and Thailand, and the existing French establishments on the islands shall belong to France.

In signing the above-mentioned terms of mediation, letters were exchanged between Japan and France and between Japan and Thailand which have clarified to the effect that Japan guarantees the definitive nature of the settlement of the dispute by the aforementioned terms of mediation and that agreements will subsequently be made with respect to the maintenance of peace in Greater East Asia and the establishment and promotion of the specially closer relations between Japan and Thailand and between Japan and French Indo-China.

The friendly and peaceful relations between France and Thailand will thereby be promoted and the bond of friendship that binds Japan, France and Thailand will further be strengthened.

## XXVI. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEDIATION

March 11, 1941.

The Plenipotentiaries of France and Thailand signed to-day the terms of mediation presented by Japan concerning the final settlement of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute. It is exactly thirty-three days since the first formal meeting took place on February 7, following the conclusion of the armistice agreement between France and Thailand which was done in accordance with Japan's offer of mediation to the two Governments on January 20. Special mention must be made of the fact that such a difficult task has been accomplished in such a short period of time.

A tribute is due to France for assuming an attitude marked with conciliation and concession, thereby facilitating an amicable conclusion of the conference, worthy of a great Power, while Thailand, maintaining a co-operative and friendly attitude throughout the conference, thereby demonstrating her goodwill in contributing to the construction of the new order in East Asia, demands our profound esteem. Last year when the border dispute broke out between Thailand and French Indo-China, Japan took the earliest opportunity to communicate to the two countries her willingness to mediate in an effort to restore tranquillity in that region, but, the effort was not successful, because time was apparently not ripe. The situation was complicated with third powers' machination so that an armed clash took place between the two countries at last. As time passed, the conflagration spread in all directions, bringing about a situation which could not be left alone. It goes without saying that such a development of the situation was a matter of profound regret for Japan who wants to secure tranquillity and order in Greater East Asia at any sacrifice. It is needless to say that Japan absolutely cannot overlook machinations of third powers



amidst disturbance, calculated to hamper her mission to establish a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia. This is the reason Japan formally offered her mediation to both parties on January 20, this year. Fortunately, Japan's offer was promptly accepted by the Governments of the two countries.

As the first step for the solution of the conflict, an armistice conference was held aboard a Japanese warship off Saigon on January 29. Three days after, namely, March 1, the Armistice Conference was brought to an amicable conclusion, providing for cessation of hostilities for two weeks without delay and immediate convocation of a peace conference in Tokyo.

In accordance with the decisions of the Armistice Conference, the Japanese Government immediately called a Mediation Conference in Tokyo, to which France and Thailand each sent her Plenipotentiaries and their staff of members. Those who participated in the conference exceeded forty in number, including the Japanese mediators.

The curtain was raised for the Mediation Conference with its first formal meeting on February 7. Several informal meetings have since been held, with scores of individual conversation taking place between them. The Conference proceedings were not necessarily plain sailing, with the result that armistice had to be extended twice. It is no wonder, when it is remembered that an important issue of territorial cession was involved. Within three weeks of the start of the parley, however, Japan was able to grasp the main points of the contentions of the two countries. Working out a mediation plan which she thought to be just and fair, Japan presented it to the two countries on February 24. The Plenipotentiaries of the three countries concerned kept up their negotiations on the basis of this plan. Their conversations were often held late into night and sometimes in the small hours of the morning. In more than ten days the two countries have accepted the Mediation Plan with some modifications.

The acceptance of the Mediation Plan has not only settled the conflict which might have taken a serious turn if any slip had been made, but also restored the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries and further tightened the strong ligament of mutual existence and prosperity binding Japan and the two countries. It forms a stable corner-stone of the peace fabric in Greater East Asia in particular and in the world in general. It is a matter for profound congratulation for the sake of not only the two countries concerned but also of humanity at large. Especially gratifying is it to Japan who is bending her energies to the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia because tranquillity and order, secured in South Eastern Asia, forms the most essential factor in the establishment of the projected sphere of co-prosperity and because the materialization of Japan's mediation marks a step forward in the attainment of her task.

Attempts have been made by some of the third powers to obstruct the Mediation Conference by creating phantom from their base motive and by accusing Japan of seeking her own advantage under the pretext of mediation, but those intrigues have all been exploded and the difficult task of question of mediation has been amicably settled, demonstrating Japan's fair and just attitude.

Negotiation for conclusion of agreement in accordance with the above-mentioned mediation terms is to be finished in the shortest space of time by the Plenipotentiaries of the two countries with friendly attitude and in a spirit of mutual conciliation and concession. No effort shall be wanting on the part of Japan to extend a full measure of assistance and co-operation and to discharge her own responsibility in facilitating the negotiation and also in working out a formula for the prevention of recurrence of the dispute in the future.



XXVII. LETTER OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR.  
YOSUKE MATSUOKA, ADDRESSED TO THE  
FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARY, MR.  
CHARLES ARSENE-HENRY

(Unofficial Translation)  
Tokyo, March 11, 1941.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to state that the Japanese Government, in view of the greatest importance which they attach to the maintenance of peace in Greater East Asia, have been watching with concern the development of the dispute to which French Indo-China, whose special relations with Japan have grown still closer as a result of the agreement of the 30th of August, 1940, is a party against Thailand.

The Japanese Government, from the standpoint of the maintenance of peace in Greater East Asia, and recalling the peaceful and friendly spirit which prompted the conclusion of the afore-mentioned agreement between Japan and France, have offered their mediation to the Governments of France and Thailand with a view to bringing to an end the dispute between French Indo-China and Thailand. They, therefore, propose to the Government of France their plan of mediation which is presented on separate sheet with confidence that it will be unconditionally accepted by the latter Government. The Japanese Government are prepared, upon its acceptance by the French Government, to guarantee to the Government of France that the settlement of the said dispute through the mediation plan submitted by them will be definitive and irrevocable.

The Japanese Government, on the other hand, entertain no doubt that the Government of France, on their part, will endeavour for the maintenance of peace in Greater East Asia and especially for the establishment of good neighbourly and amicable relations between Japan and French Indo-China, as

well as for the promotion of closer economic relations between Japan and French Indo-China, and that they will declare to the Japanese Government that they will not enter into any agreement or understanding with a third Power or Powers regarding French Indo-China envisaging political, economic or military co-operation aimed either directly or indirectly against Japan.

It is understood that the afore-mentioned guarantee by the Japanese Government and the declaration of the French Government shall by formal documents be confirmed simultaneously with the conclusion of a treaty for the settlement of the dispute between France and Thailand.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

XXVIII. LETTER OF THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARY,  
MR. CHARLES ARSENE-HENRY, ADDRESSED  
TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER,  
MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA

(Unofficial Translation)  
Tokyo, the 11th March, 1941.

Monsieur le Ministre,

By the letter under today's date, Your Excellency was good enough to inform me as follows:

(text of the Japanese letter)

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the above letter and to inform Your Excellency that the Government of France are disposed, under the present situation, to accede to the instance of the Japanese Government, although they are not obliged to renounce the benefits of their treaties freely negotiated and concluded with the Government of Thailand, either from the standpoint of the local situation or from that of the fortune of arms. The Government of France, being constantly solicitous of the maintenance of peace of Greater East Asia, have never



taken initiative of such a nature as of disturbing that peace, but testify to their fidelity to the basic spirit which inspired the agreement of August 30, 1940, by accepting the Mediation Plan presented on separate sheet. On the basis of that spirit and being desirous of avoiding all kinds of engagement which will involve their possessions in the Far East in a conflict between third Powers, the Government of France hereby declare that they have no intention of entering into any agreement or understanding with a third Power or Powers regarding French Indo-China envisaging political, economic or military co-operation aimed either directly or indirectly against Japan. Moreover, it is expected by the Government of France that the Government of Japan will assure the strict observance of the agreement of the 30th of August, 1940, and the subsequent military agreements.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

XXIX. LETTER OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR.  
YOSUKE MATSUOKA, ADDRESSED TO THE THAI  
PLENIPOTENTIARY, HIS SERENE HIGHNESS  
PRINCE VANVAIDYAKARA VARAVARN

March 11, 1941.

Your Highness,

I have the honour to state that the Japanese Government, in view of the greatest importance which they attach to the maintenance of peace in Greater East Asia, have been watching with concern the development of the dispute to which Thailand, whose special relations with Japan have grown still closer as a result of the treaty of the 12th of June, 1940, is a party against French Indo-China.

The Japanese Government, from the standpoint of the maintenance of peace in Greater East Asia and recalling the

peaceful and friendly spirit which prompted the conclusion of the afore-mentioned treaty between Japan and Thailand, have offered their mediation to the Governments of Thailand and France with a view to bringing to an end the dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China. They, therefore, propose to the Government of Thailand their plan of mediation which is presented on separate sheet with confidence that it will be unconditionally accepted by the latter Government. The Japanese Government are prepared, upon its acceptance by the Thai Government, to guarantee to the Government of Thailand that the settlement of the said dispute through the Mediation Plan submitted by them will be definitive and irrevocable.

The Japanese Government, on the other hand, entertain no doubt that the Government of Thailand, on their part, will endeavour for the maintenance of peace in Greater East Asia and especially for the establishment of good neighbourly and amicable relations between Japan and Thailand, as well as for the promotion of closer economic relations between Japan and Thailand, and that they will declare to the Japanese Government that they will not enter into any agreement or understanding with a third Power or Powers envisaging political, economic or military co-operation aimed either directly or indirectly against Japan.

It is understood that the afore-mentioned guarantee by the Japanese Government and the declaration of the Thai Government shall by formal documents be confirmed simultaneously with the conclusion of a treaty for the settlement of the dispute between Thailand and France.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Highness the assurance of my highest consideration.



XXX. LETTER OF THE THAI PLENIPOTENTIARY,  
HIS SERENE HIGHNESS PRINCE VANVAIDYAKARA  
VARAVARN, ADDRESSED TO THE FOREIGN  
MINISTER, MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA

(Unofficial Translation)  
March 11, 1941.

Monsieur le Ministre,

By the letter under today's date, Your Excellency was good enough to inform me as follows:

(text of the Japanese letter)

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the above letter and to inform Your Excellency that the Government of Thailand are disposed, under the present situation, to accede to the instance of the Japanese Government, although they are not obliged to do so either from the standpoint of the local situation or from that of the fortune of arms. The Government of Thailand, being constantly solicitous of the maintenance of peace of Greater East Asia, have never taken initiative of such a nature as of disturbing that peace, but testify to their fidelity to the basic spirit which inspired the treaty of June 12, 1940, by accepting the Mediation Plan, presented on separate sheet. On the basis of that spirit and being desirous of avoiding all kinds of engagement which will involve their country in a conflict between third Powers, the Government of Thailand hereby declare that they have no intention of entering into any agreement or understanding with a third Power or Powers envisaging political, economic or military co-operation aimed either directly or indirectly against Japan. Moreover, it is expected by the Government of Thailand that the Government of Japan will assure the strict observance of the treaty of the 12th of June, 1940.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

XXXI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE  
CONCERNING THE TRIP TO EUROPE  
OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER,  
MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA

March 11, 1941.

Foreign Minister Mr. Matsuoka will shortly visit Germany and Italy to exchange personal felicitations with and meet the leaders of Germany and Italy in connection with the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact. The views regarding the intended trip were exchanged among the three Governments at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty but the duties of the Foreign Minister have so far prevented him from acting thereon.

The Minister will incidentally avail himself of the opportunity to make a personal observation, on the spot, of the situation in Europe.

MEMBERS OF THE SUITE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER  
MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA IN-HIS TRIP TO EUROPE

Foreign Office	
Tamao Sakamoto	Director of the Bureau of European and Asiatic Affairs.
Toshikazu Kase	Secretary to the Foreign Minister.
Shinsaku Hogen	Secretary in the Foreign Office.
Shinichi Hasegawa	Research Secretary in the Foreign Office.
Yoshio Noguchi	Secretary-interpreter.
Shirokichi Kusano	Chancellor in the Foreign Office.
Mitsugoro Funakoshi	Chancellor in the Foreign Office.
Toshikazu Nakanishi	Extra Secretary to the Foreign Office.
Kinkazu Saionji	Extra Secretary to the Foreign Office.
War Ministry	
Yatsuji Nagai	Colonel.
Navy Ministry	
Shigeru Fujii	Commander.



Mr. Niichi Okamura, Special correspondent of the Domei News Agency, will make a trip with the party.

XXXII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JAPAN AND VENEZUELA FOR THE ACCELERATION OF THEIR TRADE

March 18, 1941.

The understanding between Japan and Venezuela by which Japan undertook since July 1, 1939, to purchase as much of Venezuelan products as possible and Venezuela agreed not to adopt unreasonably restrictive measures against Japanese goods for reason of an equilibrium of trade between the two countries expired at the end of February of this year. The Japanese Government have conducted, in view of importance of Venezuela as market for our exports, negotiations with the Venezuelan Government through our representatives there for the conclusion of a new understanding for similar purpose. As the result, an understanding was reached on March 11, by which the two countries will adjust their trade relations for a year beginning March 11, on the basis of the understanding concluded on July 1, 1939.

XXXIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PARTICIPATION OF JUGOSLAVIA IN THE THREE POWER PACT

March 25, 1941.

Following the participation a short time ago of Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia and Bulgaria in the Three Power Pact, Jugoslavia has also decided to join and the Protocol concerning her participation was signed on March 25, at the Belvedere

Palace in Vienna between the Plenipotentiaries of Japan, Germany, and Italy and the Plenipotentiary of Jugoslavia. The contents of the Protocol are exactly similar to those of the participation of Hungary and others. In view of the fact that Jugoslavia is an influential nation in the Balkans and her course of action has for sometime past attracted attention, her participation in the Tripartite Pact has great diplomatic significance. It is not, therefore, too much to say that the trend of the Balkan situation has now become definitely clear. With the historic visit of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, to Berlin to take place tomorrow, we can well imagine the gratification of the peoples of Germany and Italy—a fact which is to be sincerely congratulated upon.

Since 1924, Japan has maintained friendly relations with Jugoslavia by appointing her Minister to Rumania concurrently as her Minister to Jugoslavia, but at present, on account of the absence of our Minister to Rumania, the Japanese Minister to Hungary is in charge of the matters pertaining to the relations between Japan and Jugoslavia. Needless to say, the cordial relations between Japan and Jugoslavia will become increasingly closer through the latter's participation in the Three Power Pact.

XXXIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PACT OF NEUTRALITY BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION

April 13, 1941.

The Japanese Representatives, namely, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, and the Ambassador, Lieutenant-General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa, and the Soviet Representative, namely, the President of the People's Council and the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Viacheslav Molotov, signed at Moscow at two o'clock this afternoon, April 13, the Pact of



Neutrality between Japan and the Soviet Union.

A gist of the Pact is as follows:

The Japanese Empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics prompted by their desire of strengthening the peaceful and friendly relations subsisting between the two countries have decided to conclude a Pact of Neutrality and have mutually agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The two High Contracting Parties agree to maintain peaceful and friendly relations between them and to respect each other's territorial integrity and inviolability.

ARTICLE 2. In case either one of the High Contracting Parties becomes an object of military action by one or more third Powers, the other Party shall observe neutrality throughout the entire period of such a conflict.

ARTICLE 3. The present Pact shall be enforced from the day of the completion of its ratifications by both High Contracting Parties and it shall be valid for the period of five years. In case either one of the High Contracting Parties does not make notice of its abrogation a year before the expiration of the said period, the Pact shall be regarded as having automatically been prolonged for the next five years.

ARTICLE 4. The present Pact shall be ratified as soon as possible. An exchange of ratifications shall take place in Tokyo as soon as possible.

Simultaneously with the signature of the Pact, the Governments of Japan and the Soviet Union issued a Joint Declaration to the following effect:

The Government of the Japanese Empire and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in order to assure the peaceful and friendly relations subsisting between them on the basis of the spirit of the Neutrality Pact concluded between the two countries, respect, on the part of the Japanese Empire, the territorial integrity and inviolability of the People's Republic of Mongolia, and on the part of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics, the territorial integrity and inviolability of the Empire of Manchoukuo.

XXXV. STATEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER,  
PRINCE FUMIMARO KONOYE

April 13, 1941.

The Japanese Government some time ago made public both at home and abroad their unalterable determination, by concluding the Tripartite Pact among Japan, Germany, and Italy, to prevent a world-wide spread of war and to secure the peace of Greater East Asia with that Pact as the axis of the country's foreign policy. It goes without saying that, in order to realize such a purpose, it is essential that Japan and the Soviet Union, which are neighbours in the Far East, should strengthen their peaceful and friendly relations on a lasting basis, reinforcing thereby the spirit of the said Pact of Alliance. With this conviction, the Government have for some time been conducting negotiations with the Soviet Government with a view to bringing about a fundamental adjustment of Japan's relations with the Soviet Union. With the present visit to Moscow of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, as a turning point, the conversations between the two Governments have made rapid progress, resulting in the signature today, April 13, of the Pact of Neutrality between the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka and Ambassador Lieutenant-General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa, and the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Viacheslav Molotov, which has just been announced. At the same time, the Joint Declaration by the two countries has been issued through which Japan respects the territorial integrity and inviolability of the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Soviet Union respects the territorial integrity and inviolability of Manchoukuo, thereby expecting to bring tranquillity



to the Manchoukuo-Soviet and Manchoukuo-Outer Mongolian borders.

It is my belief that the present Pact has an epoch-making significance in the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union and that it will greatly contribute toward the promotion of world peace. I have no doubt that the Pact will serve as a basis for rapid solution in a concrete manner of various pending questions between the two countries.

XXXVI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE VISIT TO JAPAN OF THE GERMAN ECONOMIC AND GOODWILL MISSION

April 18, 1941.

The German Economic and Goodwill Mission headed by Mr. Wohlthat and consisting of six members, which is now en route to Japan, will reach Hsinking on the 19th and, after holding informal conversations with the authorities of Manchoukuo, will leave there on the 23rd, via Fusan, and will arrive at Tokyo, at 7:30 o'clock a. m., on the 26th.

The members are as follows:

Mr. Helmuth Wohlthat, Director of the Division for Four Year Plan and Superintendent of the Netherlands Bank.

Dr. Voss, Chief of the Far Eastern Section of the Trade Bureau, Foreign Office.

Dr. Joachim von Spindler, Chief of the Section for Far Eastern Affairs, Ministry of Economics.

Mr. Buchwald, Member of the Section for Far Eastern Affairs, Ministry of Economics.

Mr. Nelson, Chief of the Section for Far Eastern Affairs, Ministry of Food.

Mr. Rosenbruch, Representative of the Reichsbank.

Preparations are now being made in Japan for their welcome. In the meantime, Consul Akira Kodaki, representing

the Foreign Office, will fly to Hsinking on the 19 to meet the German party.

XXXVII. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER UPON ARRIVAL IN TOKYO

April 22, 1941.

Here I am back in Tokyo again. My journey to Germany and Italy took some six weeks. I had a series of extremely useful conversations with the leaders of the countries with whom I have formed personal acquaintanceship. I realize fully the truth of the proverbial saying that to see one is better than to hear a hundred times, for I feel I can now speak with better authority on the situation in Western Europe, having ascertained on the spot many a doubtful point through my own in the conduct of our foreign relations. I have also become acquainted with the eminent leaders of the Soviet Government including Monsieur Stalin with whom I have had two frank and friendly conversations. In fact, it was he who made the prompt decision at the last stage of negotiations regarding the recently concluded Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact. This is only one of the many examples of how great leaders of the powers are today disposing quickly the affairs of state involving sometimes the fate of their nations when international situation is so full of swift and surprising changes. Vacillation and hesitation are, indeed, fatal.

We, too, must be quick in action in order to cope with the momentous need of the times. We should not confuse deliberation with procrastination just as the Tripartite Pact does not affect the relations of the Three Powers vis-à-vis the Soviets so that the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact and the declaration affect in the least the Tripartite Pact which remains



the immutable basis of our foreign policy. On the contrary, the Neutrality Pact is a reinforcement in a sense of the Tripartite Pact. There has, of course, been no misunderstanding or misapprehension among the three allied Governments in connection with the Neutrality Pact. Nothing proves this better than the fact that both Germany and Italy are sincerely welcoming the conclusion of the Pact. The Pact is an eloquent indication of the improvement in our relations with the Soviets and together with the Tripartite Pact, Sino-Japanese Treaty of last year and the recent mediation in the France-Thailand dispute, it stands as a fit symbol of the spirit of Hakko Ichiu, which inspires the foreign policy of Japan, the aim of which is universal peace and good neighbourliness.

Finally, if my European journey contributed ever so little to the cause of our nation, it is above all, due to the Gracious Influence of our Imperial House and also to the great power of our country—the Japanese Empire.

XXXVIII. COMMUNIQUE OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE JAPANESE AND MANCHOUKUOAN REPRESENTATIVES AND THE GERMAN ECONOMIC MISSION

April 30, 1941.

The German Economic Mission had an exchange of views with the representatives of the Japanese and Manchoukuoan Governments in the most friendly atmosphere at the Vice-Foreign Minister's official residence on the morning of the 30th of April. They agreed upon the procedure and the principal lines of future discussions regarding the adjustment of trade relations between Japan, Manchoukuo and Germany under the present conditions.

XXXIX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE JAPANESE-FRENCH INDO-CHINA ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS

May 6, 1941.

The Japanese-French Indo-China Economic Conference, which was opened in Tokyo, in December last, for the purpose of establishing on a new basis the economic relations between Japan and French Indo-China, has since been held daily in an amicable spirit of mutual comprehension. Despite the wide scope and complexity of the matters under negotiation, a complete agreement of views has been reached on various questions thanks to the earnest and labourious discussions between the two countries' Delegations headed, respectively, by the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Hajime Matsumiya, and the French Governor of the Colonies, Mr. René Robin, resulting in the signature today of the Convention of Establishment and Navigation and the Agreement concerning the Customs Tariff, Trade and Method of Payment by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuo, and the Ambassador, Mr. Hajime Matsumiya, for Japan and the Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry, and the Governor, Mr. René Robin, for France.

The conclusion of the said Convention and Agreement will contribute greatly toward making closer the Japanese-French Indo-China economic relations, thereby ushering in a new phase of collaboration between Japan and France in East Asia—a fact which is a source of mutual congratulations.

CONTENTS OF THE CONVENTION AND THE AGREEMENT

May 6, 1941.

The Convention of Establishment and Navigation provides for the reciprocal treatment of nationals and vessels of the two Parties. It stipulates that Japan and French Indo-China



will reciprocally accord national treatment in the main or the most favoured nation treatment as occasion demands concerning the entry, the establishment, the acquisition and possession of movable and immovable property, the exercise of commerce and manufacturing industry, the imposition of taxes of various kinds and the treatment of companies. Concerning vessels of the two countries, it also provides that they will be treated in principle on an equal footing.

The Agreement concerning the Customs Tariff, Trade and the Method of Payment is a voluminous one consisting of thirty Articles and annexed documents, and contains the following provisions:

Regarding the Customs tariff, the two Parties agree to accord mutually the most favoured nation treatment. Besides, French Indo-China agrees to afford the advantage of the exemption of Customs tariff or the reduction of the existing minimum customs tariff to the principal products of Japan and to levy the minimum tariff on all other Japanese products; and Japan, in turn, agrees to accord the privilege of favourable Customs tariff to the principal products of Indo-China.

As regards trade, provisions have been made, with a view to increasing the trade between the two countries, for the export to Japan of rice, maize, coal, minerals and other principal products of French Indo-China and for the export to French Indo-China of textiles, other manufactured articles and miscellaneous products of Japan.

With regard to the method of payment, commercial payment between Japan and French Indo-China is based on the principle of compensation, and its settlement is made in the Yen and the Piastre directly through the intermediary of the Yokohama Specie Bank and the Bank of Indo-China, dispensing, thereby, with the exchange in foreign currency. Moreover, French Indo-China agrees to accord special favour with respect to the payment for Indo-China rice purchased by Japan.

An agreement of views has also been reached with regard

to the questions of admission of Japanese commercial firms into the Federation of Importers and Exporters in French Indo-China, the participation of Japanese capital in agricultural, mining and hydraulic concessions in French Indo-China, the establishment of Japanese schools in French Indo-China and the institution of periodical economic conference for the examination of general economic questions between Japan and French Indo-China.

XL. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THAILAND

May 9, 1941.

With regard to the Terms of Mediation for the settlement of the border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China which were signed on March 11 of this year between the three countries concerned, discussions have been continued for two months since then between the Delegates of France and Thailand for the purpose of putting them into the form of treaty, with the Japanese Representatives, as Mediators, exercising their good offices. As the result of these efforts, a complete agreement of views has been reached between the countries concerned, and the Treaty of Peace between France and Thailand has been formally signed today May 9.

That the purpose of the Mediation Conference convoked by the Japanese Government in Tokyo for the settlement of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute has been completely accomplished in the brief period of three months is, of course, due to the fact that the Japanese Government have consistently exercised their effort with sincerity in order that amicable and good neighbourly relations may be established among various countries of East Asia and the ideal of co-existence and



co-prosperity of these peoples may be realized. It also represents the fruit of earnest negotiations of both the French and Thai Governments, the Parties directly concerned with the dispute, who have fully understood the real intentions of Japan. The peace and order of the Southeastern Asia have thus been secured on a new basis, thereby opening a new epoch in the construction of a new order in East Asia, a fact which is a source of profound gratification shared by the Japanese Government together with the French and Thai Governments.

It is particularly a significant result of the Conference that the documents previously exchanged between Japan and France and between Japan and Thailand have been signed as formal documents simultaneously with the conclusion of this Peace Treaty, thereby completing the understandings between Japan and Thailand and between Japan and French Indo-China concerning the establishment of amicable and good neighbourly relations, the promotion of closer economic relations and also with reference to political, economic and military relations between them. It is our firm belief that the bond of close relations between the countries concerned will thereby be cemented still more strongly.

The gist of the French-Thai Peace Treaty is given on separate sheets. (See XLI.)

#### XLI. CONTENTS OF THE PEACE TREATY AND PROTOCOLS CONCERNING GUARANTY

May 9, 1941.

##### I. The Treaty of Peace between France and Thailand.

The Peace Treaty is the one arranged in the form of a treaty of the Mediation Terms initialled on March 11 of this year. Its contents, excepting a few points, are almost the same as the Mediation Terms. It has twelve Articles, besides the Preamble and the concluding paragraph.

The Preamble makes clear that France and Thailand, having accepted the Japanese offer of mediation and deeming it essential for the purpose of preventing a recurrence of border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China, to re-adjust the frontiers and reach an agreement concerning the method of maintaining peace and tranquility in the border regions, and desiring to restore completely the traditionally friendly relations between France and Thailand, have decided to conclude this treaty.

ARTICLE I. states that the friendly relations between France and Thailand are restored, and therefore direct diplomatic negotiations shall soon be opened for the purpose of solving the pending questions between them.

ARTICLE II. provides for the readjustment of the frontiers ceding thereby the districts of Paklay and Bassac as well as the greater part of Cambodia to Thailand.

ARTICLE IV. provides for the establishment of a Commission which will undertake the task of delimiting the boundaries.

ARTICLE V. provides for the conditions for the incorporation of the ceded territories into Thailand. It also provides for the demilitarization of that part of the ceded territory which has hitherto belonged to Cambodia, for an absolutely equal treatment of French and Thai nationals in all of the ceded territories, and for respect to be paid to the Royal mausolea of Luang Prabang.

ARTICLE VI. provides that Thailand may maintain only the police force and may not maintain fortifications, military aviation fields, etc., in the demilitarized zones.

ARTICLE VIII. provides for the principles governing the change of nationality and the transfer of domicile and property of the inhabitants of the ceded territories.

ARTICLE IX. settles the financial claims between the countries arising from the cession of territories through payment by Thailand to France of six million piastres in six annual installments.



ARTICLE X. provides that, if any dispute arises in the future concerning this treaty, it shall be submitted to Japan's mediation.

Exchange of ratifications is due to take place in Tokyo within two months after the signing of this treaty.

The boundary between Thailand and French Indo-China as adjusted under Article 11 is as follows:

Beginning from the north, the boundary line runs from the converging point of the frontiers of French Indo-China, Thailand and Burma down along the Mekong River to the point where the line crosses the 15th degree of the Latitude (The island of Khong on the Mekong continues to belong to France, and the island of Khone reverts to Thailand). The line then runs westward along the 15 Latitude, and turns southward along the line of Longitude which passes through the point where the present boundary between the Provinces of Siem Reap and Battambang ends in Grand Lac (the mouth of the river Stung

Kombot). The boundary on Grand Lac is drawn by a circular arc, whose radius is twenty kilometres, which joins the point where the present provincial boundary line of Siem Reap and Battambang ends in that lake (the mouth of the river Stung Kombot) and the point where the present boundary line between the Provinces of Battambang and Pursat ends in Grand Lac (the mouth of the river Stung Dontri). The boundary line then runs from the mouth of the Stung Dontri toward the southwest along the present provincial boundary between Battambang and Pursat to the point where the latter boundary line meets the present boundary line between French Indo-China and Thailand (Khao Koup), and then runs along the present national boundary, without change to the sea.

Annexed to this Treaty of Peace are three Protocols: the first, concerning the evacuation and delivery of the territories affected; the second, concerning the composition and operation of the Commission for the Delimitation of Boundary; and the third, concerning the fulfillment of the terms stipulated with

respect to the demilitarized zones. As regards the latter two Protocols, the Japanese Government have signed them as one of the Parties concerned.

## II. The Japanese-French and Japanese-Thai Protocols concerning the Guaranty and Political Understanding

These two Protocols have been made in conformity with the purpose of the documents exchanged between the Japanese and French Delegations and between the Japanese and Thai Delegations at the time of the signature of the Mediation Terms on March 11 of this year.

The Japanese-French Protocol clearly states in its Preamble that the two countries, in accordance with the spirit of the documents exchanged between the Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, and the French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry, on the 30th of August, last year, and desiring to preserve the stability of the friendly relations between France and Thailand, have concluded this Protocol. In the text proper, Japan guarantees that the settlement of the dispute as embodied in the Treaty of Peace between France and Thailand and its annexed documents is definitive and unalterable; and France, accepting the said Japanese guaranty and pledging herself to the establishment of amicable and good neighbourly relations between Japan and French Indo-China, declares that she has no intention of entering into any agreement or understanding with the Third Power or Powers envisaging political, economic or military co-operation of such character as is opposed either directly or indirectly against Japan. This Protocol, also, stipulates that exchange of its ratifications shall take place in Tokyo within two months after its signature.

With the exception of the reference in its Preamble, to the Japanese-Thai Treaty of Amity of June 12, 1940, and the absence of regional limitation concerning the agreement or understanding with the Third Power or Powers in the text proper, the Japanese-Thai Protocol has exactly the same contents as the Japanese-French Protocol.



XLII. COMMUNIQUE OF JAPANESE-GERMAN-ITALIAN  
MIXED COMMISSION CONCERNING THE MEET-  
ING OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION UNDER  
THE TRIPARTITE PACT

May 9, 1941.

The General Commission under the Tripartite Pact held its meeting at 4:30 p. m. May 9th, at the official residence of the Foreign Minister, under the chairmanship of His Excellency Mr. Matsuoka. Their Excellencies General Ott and Monsieur Indelli took part in the meeting. Question relating to the co-operation among the three Powers under the Tripartite Pact, including economic matters, were brought up and fully discussed. It was agreed that the Commission shall sit as often as possible with the assistance of the Military and Economic Commissions and continue its work in close co-operation with the Commissions established in Berlin and Rome.

XLIII. STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD  
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING FORMAL  
RECOGNITION OF MANCHOUKUO BY  
BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT

May 20, 1941.

It is a matter for gratification that the Bulgarian Government accorded a formal recognition to Manchoukuo. In nine years since her establishment, Manchoukuo has received recognition from Japan, China, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia and Salvador, followed by the present recognition from Bulgaria.

While it is natural that Manchoukuo should thus be recognized in view of her remarkable progress in spheres of internal and external affairs, it is nevertheless a source of pro-

found satisfaction to Japan, which is constantly interested in helping the healthy development of that country.

The step taken by Bulgaria is greatly significant; and we firmly believe that it will serve to enhance intimate relations subsisting between Manchoukuo and Bulgaria and between Japan and Bulgaria.

XLIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFOR-  
MATION CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF  
RATIFICATIONS OF THE TREATY OF  
AMITY BETWEEN JAPAN  
AND IRAN

May 29, 1941.

The exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of Amity between Japan and Iran, which was signed at Teheran on October 18, 1937, and ratified by Japan on December 16, last year, was completed at the Foreign Office of Iran on the 27th of this month between the Japanese Minister, Mr. Hikotaro Ichikawa, and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Iran, Mr. Ameri. The treaty will, therefore, be enforced from June 11 of this year by under provisions of its Article 4.

XLV. THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S STATEMENT CLAR-  
IFYING JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

May 30, 1941.

Some American newspapers are said to have recently carried reports conjecturing that Japan is becoming indifferent toward the Tripartite Pact. The Foreign Minister stated in this connection that there is no question whatever as to the fact that the Pact constitutes the immutable basis of Japan's foreign policy, and that he could hardly believe the American



authorities to be entertaining such a misunderstanding. If there were any misunderstanding of that sort, he continued, it was an absurd misconception and that if such erroneous views were current in America, he could not but ascribe it to misleading information spread wilfully. Considering that it would not be entirely useless to clarify Japan's position on this point, he said as follows:

1. Japan's fundamental policy has for long time been firmly established and has undergone no change whatever.
2. Since the conclusion, on September 27 last, of the Tripartite Pact, Japan's foreign policy has consistently been conducted with this Pact as its pivot. This should be clear to all from the statements on various occasions by Prime Minister Prince Konoye and myself as well as from the subsequent development of Japan's policy. There has, of course, been not the slightest deflection from this course of policy.
3. It is, therefore, absolutely impossible to imagine that Japan should fail in the slightest degree to carry out faithfully her obligations under the Tripartite Pact.
4. As has frequently been affirmed, Japan's policy toward the South Seas is peaceful. Should, however, untoward international developments render the execution of such policy impossible, it is a possibility that Japan may have to reconsider her attitude in the light of the changed situation.

#### XLVI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING VISAS FOR THE ENTRY OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS INTO BRAZIL

June 1, 1941.

As the issuance of entrance visas for about four hundred Japanese immigrants to Brazil, who were due to leave Kobe

by the Montevideo Maru, on May 21, was delayed for lack of proper procedure due to the fact that regulations had not been decided upon for the enforcement of the Brazilian order restricting entrance visas promulgated on April 9 of this year, the Japanese Government, through their Ambassador in Brazil, Mr. Itaro Ishii, negotiated with the Brazilian Government to solve the question. These negotiations failed to be concluded in time to enable the immigrants to leave and the Montevideo Maru left Kobe without them, on May 26.

The Japanese Government have continued the negotiations for a satisfactory settlement of the question through Ambassador Ishii, who has reported to the Foreign Office to the effect that, as a result of his conference with President Vargas on May 29, a sanction has been given for the granting of visas for the said four hundred Japanese, and that the Brazilian Government has, on May 31, sent telegraphic instructions to their consul at Kobe.

#### XLVII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION

June 12, 1941.

For the purpose of concluding an Agreement concerning Commercial Relations between Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and an Agreement concerning Exchange of Goods and Payments between Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, conversations have taken place at Moscow since the 17th February between Lieut-General Y. Tatekawa, the Japanese Ambassador, and Monsieur A. I. Mikoyan, the People's Commissar for Foreign Trade. Owing to the conciliatory spirit on both sides, the negotiations had a favourable progress, and on the 11th June the necessary steps were taken for fixing upon the texts of the two Agreements.



XLVIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT WANG CHING-WEI OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

June 14, 1941.

Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the National Government of China and concurrently President of the Executive Yuan, in order to repay the courtesies tendered him from various quarters in Japan since the establishment of the new Central Government as well as for the purpose of discussing with the authoritative quarters concerning the question of co-operation between Japan and China, has left Shanghai on board the Yawata maru for Japan today (June 14th).

President Wang's party is scheduled to land at Kobe on the 16th, arriving at the Tokyo station the next morning. As President of the National Government, Mr. Wang will pay his call at the Palace on the 18th; and after the 19th, in his capacity as the President of the Executive Yuan, he is expected to meet with the Prime Minister as well as Ministers for Foreign affairs, Army, Navy and Finance.

President Wang's party include, besides himself, Mr. Chou Fo-hai, Vice-president of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance; Mr. Hsu Liang, Minister for Foreign affairs; Mr. Lin po-sheng, Minister of publicity; and several others.

XLIX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE REPLY OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES GOVERNMENT TO THE JAPANESE PROPOSALS

June 14, 1941.

The instructions of the Government to Mr. Kenkichi

Yoshizawa, our chief delegate at Batavia, have been sent this afternoon.

L. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PARTICIPATION OF CROATIA IN THE THREE POWER PACT

June 15, 1941.

Croatia, recently recognized by the Japanese Government, having decided to participate in the Three Power Pact, concluded among Japan, Germany and Italy, a Protocol concerning her participation was signed at Venice, on June 15, by the Plenipotentiaries representing the three Powers and by the Croatian Plenipotentiary.

The contents of the Protocol are similar to those of the Protocols signed at the time of the participation of Hungary and others.

LI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DEMARCATION, ON THE SPOT, OF THE FRONTIER BETWEEN MANCHOUKUO AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MONGOLIA

June 16, 1941.

Although the work for demarcation of the frontier between Manchoukuo and The People's Republic of Mongolia on the spot was begun in September 1940, in accordance with the Togo-Molotov agreement, it had met technical difficulties unforeseen by both parties; and the approach of severe winter left no choice but to suspend the work.

However, having decided to continue the work with the coming of Spring, the representatives of Manchoukuo and The



People's Republic of Mongolia have met in conference at Chita since May 28, and succeeded in the most amicable atmosphere in eliminating completely the above-mentioned technical difficulties. Both parties, therefore, decided to begin the work of demarcation of the frontier on and from June 27.

LII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE JAPANESE-NETHERLANDS EAST-INDIES NEGOTIATIONS

June 18, 1941.

The recent developments surrounding the Netherlands East-Indies have rendered difficult a smooth progress of the negotiations between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies which have been conducted at Batavia since September of last year. As the result, the Japanese Government, deeming such contents as are embodied in the reply of June 6 from the Netherlands Delegation unsatisfactory to be specially made into an international agreement at this time, have decided to discontinue the negotiations and ordered Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, our special Envoy, to return to Japan.

LIII. STATEMENT OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION, MR. KOH ISHII, CONCERNING THE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE JAPANESE-NETHERLANDS EAST-INDIES NEGOTIATIONS

June 18, 1941.

As early as in November, 1939, the Japanese Government proposed to the Netherlands Government to open economic negotiations between Japan and Netherlands East-Indies. Having

received the latter's acceptance of our proposal in principle we informally showed them the outline of our proposal. In the meantime, we carried on negotiations with the Netherlands authorities at Tokyo, the Hague and Batavia with respect to the opening of negotiations in a concrete manner. However, the European War spread to the Netherlands in May, 1940, and the Netherlands East-Indies came to feel its effects with the result that the situation developed in such a manner that Japan, striving as she has been for the establishment of a new order in East Asia, could not remain indifferent. The Japanese Government, therefore, made a request to the Netherlands Government that the negotiations, with the view to establishing relationship of economic co-operation between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies be speedily opened.

The situation at that time was such that, since the Netherlands Government had moved to London and decided to carry on the war in alliance with England and the economy of the Netherlands East-Indies was mobilized for war purposes, the economic relations between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies were bound to be gravely affected. Due to the necessity of establishing relationship of common prosperity through close co-operation among the peoples of East Asia, the Japanese Government cannot, of course, remain indifferent to the spread of the European War to the South Seas. Moreover, it was clear that her demand for the resources in the Netherlands East-Indies would steadily increase in the course of her establishment of high degree-defence state. Under these circumstances, it was necessary for Japan to be assured, as soon as possible, of the supply of essential resources, and to establish economically co-operative relations between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies, thereby bringing about the stabilization of East Asia. The Japanese Government accordingly requested the Netherlands Government, in May of last year, an assurance of supply to Japan of those important materials and goods which Japan expected of the Netherlands East-Indies under



the prevailing situation. In response to this, the Netherlands Government expressed their intention of actively co-operating with Japan, by assuring that the economic relations of the Netherlands East-Indies with Japan would continue as smoothly as before, and confirming that such relations would be in harmony with vital interests of the Netherlands East-Indies and would contribute toward the peace and stability of East Asia. On the basis of this agreement of views between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies, the Japanese Government have conducted economic negotiations at Batavia since September of last year, exerting utmost efforts for their amicable conclusion.

The negotiations between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies are so varied as to include not only the question of acquiring materials and goods, but the question of promoting general trade relations, the entry of the Japanese into the Netherlands East-Indies, the pursuit of occupations, the investments in the enterprises, shipping, aviation service, and communications. As regards the aforementioned matters, especially aviation connections, they are already being carried on between the third Powers and the Netherlands East-Indies; and in investments in enterprises, such as the oil industry, the Anglo-American capital has been showing remarkable activities. The third Powers are thus very liberally permitted to engage in all these enterprises. In the light of these facts, the requests of the Japanese Government are very reasonable. If such Japanese requests, as for the participation of the Japanese in the development of abundant natural resources of the Netherlands East-Indies, the entry of the Japanese there accompanying such development, the pursuit of occupations, the call of Japanese ships at closed ports for the purpose of transporting materials produced by such development, partial opening of the coast-wise navigation to Japanese ships and the development of the fishing industry by the Japanese who are there, were dealt with on the basis of promoting economic co-

operation between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies, the solution of these questions would be very simple.

Regarding these requests, the Netherlands East-Indies Government, on their part, have stressed that the basis of their policy lies in the progress, prosperity and emancipation of the inhabitants of the Netherlands East-Indies. It is clear, however, that the proposal of the Japanese Government does not in any respect run counter to such a policy of the Netherlands East-Indies. It is needless to say that the progress, prosperity and emancipation of those inhabitants can be promoted on the part of the Netherlands East-Indies through the establishment of economic co-operation between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies, and thereby contribute toward the peace and stability of East Asia.

However, along with the intensification of economic warfare the situations surrounding the Netherlands East-Indies have made smooth progress of the negotiations difficult. The reply of the Netherlands of June 6 is not only very unsatisfactory but asserts, in connection with the question of acquisition of essential materials and goods to which Japan attaches importance, that their quantities may be decreased at any time to suit their own convenience. In view of the fact that regarding this question, the Government of the Netherlands and as well as the Netherlands East-Indies authorities have, on many occasions in the past, made promises or declarations to Japan, the Japanese Government, deeming such contents as are embodied in the Netherlands reply to be hardly worth being specially incorporated in an international agreement, have decided to discontinue the negotiations and to withdraw their Delegation, ordering Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, their special Envoy, to return to Japan. However, it goes without saying that Japan will hold fast to her just and fair contentions, while the normal relations between Japan and the Netherlands East-Indies will by no means be affected by the discontinuance of the negotiations.



LIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING EXTENSION OF A LOAN TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

June 28, 1941.

In response to the desire of the National Government of China, the Japanese Government have decided to extend to them a loan to the maximum of Yen 300,000,000. With regard to its execution, the Yokohama Specie Bank, etc., will be in charge.

LV. STATEMENT OF DR. NOBUMI ITO, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION, CONCERNING THE RECOGNITION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA BY GERMAN, ITALY AND OTHERS

July 1, 1941.

It is a source of profound gratification on the part of the Japanese Government that the Governments of Germany, Italy, Rumania, Slovakia and Croatia have accorded recognition to the National Government of the Republic of China. Since their establishment on March 30 of last year, the new National Government have steadily grown in strength. By the Basic Treaty concluded between Japan and China on November 30 of last year, Japan took the initiative in recognizing that Government and have since been extending utmost aid toward the efforts of that Government which have been exerting themselves to attain the objective of co-existence, co-prosperity and reconstruction of East Asia. The fact that German, Italian, Rumanian, Slovakian and Croatian Governments have recognized the National Government is a telling blow to those

who, having not yet realized the great ideal of the establishment of the East Asian New Order, still continue the folly of resistance against Japan. With this recognition as a turning point, we believe, the establishment of a new world order will make a great step forward.

LVI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

July 2, 1941.

At the Imperial Conference today an important policy to meet the present situation has been agreed upon.

LVII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE CABINET

July 2, 1941.

The Imperial Conference was held at the Imperial Palace today from 10:00 o'clock a.m. It was attended by the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Home Minister, Finance Minister, War Minister, Navy Minister, President of the Planning Board, President of the Privy Council, Chief and Vice-Chief of the Army General Staff, and Chief and Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff. The conference closed at noon.

LVIII. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA

July 2, 1941.

As announced by the Government today, an important policy has been decided upon at the Imperial Conference. It goes without saying that the situation arising from the German-Soviet War cannot be dealt with such a simple idea that



a war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union.

We, therefore, intend to watch closely developments of the situation with the utmost caution and preparations, in which we may well place our confidence, as well as with firm determination, paying close and constant attention not only to circumstances directly attendant upon the war but also to the situation embracing the whole world as well as the trend of individual Powers and the relations between them.

I feel that a really grave state of emergency is developing before our eyes throughout the entire world, including East Asia, with direct concern to our country. The more serious the situation, the more calm and composed must our nation be, and with unity of all classes, they must, in reponse to the August Will of His Imperial Majesty, endeavour not to make even the slightest mistake in the direction of the settled path of our country.

LIX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS OF THE TREATIES RELATING TO MEDIATION CONFERENCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THAI-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE AND ECONOMIC AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND FRENCH INDO-CHINA

July 5, 1941.

Regarding the Treaty of Peace between France and Thailand and the Protocol concerning guarantee and political understanding between Japan and France, and between Japan and Thailand, which were signed at Tokyo on May 9 of this year, the countries concerned have since been, respectively, taking procedures for their ratification which have now been completed. Accordingly, exchanges of ratifications of these docu-

ments were held today at the official residence of the Foreign Minister between France and Thailand, between Japan and France, and between Japan and Thailand.

Of the annexed documents of the Treaty of Peace, the Protocol concerning the organization and working of the Commission for the Delimitation of Boundary, as well as the Protocol concerning the enforcement of the provisions with reference to unfortified zones, which Japan also signed, required an approval by the Japanese Government. As the Imperial Sanction was given thereto yesterday, July 4, the Japanese Government notified the French and Thai Governments under today's date.

An exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of Establishment and Navigation between Japan and France concerning French Indo-China and the Japanese-French Agreement with reference to customs tariff, trade and method of payment between Japan and French Indo-China, which were signed at Tokyo on May 6, also took place at the same meeting following the above exchange of ratifications. As the above mentioned documents provide that they be effective from the date of the exchange of their ratifications, they are in effect from today, July 5.

Gist of the above mentioned documents is as has been previously announced. However, the provisions of the Protocol concerning the organization and working of the Commission for the Delimitation of Boundary are to the following effect:

1. Five Commissioners and five Assistant Commissioners each are to be appointed by Japan, France and Thailand. The Commissioners may take with them a number of experts and clerks whom they consider necessary.
2. The Chairmanship of the Commission is to be entrusted to one of the Japanese Commissioners.
3. The Commission is to define boundaries on land and on rivers on the spot and map out such boundaries. It is also to erect boundary marks on required spots.
4. Expenses to carry on the work of the Commission is



to be borne equally by the French and Thai Governments, and these two Governments will afford all necessary facilities to the Commission to carry out its duties.

LX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF THAILAND-FRENCH INDO-CHINA BORDER DELIMITATION COMMISSION

July 12, 1941.

The exchange of ratifications of the Peace Treaty between France and Thailand effecting the settlement of the border dispute between French Indo-China and Thailand, which was brought about through the mediation of the Japanese Government, took place on July 5, as has already been announced. Under the provisions of the Treaty, Japan, France and Thailand are each to appoint five members and five assistant members to make up the Border Delimitation Commission in order to define concretely the boundaries on the spot.

The Japanese Government have, therefore, appointed five members and five assistant members of the Commission, selected from the Foreign, War and Navy Ministries. These Japanese members of the Commission will shortly go to Saigon accompanied by their suite, and will meet French and Thai members to formulate a plan and to carry out their assigned work. They will commence the work of border delimitation on the spot which, it is stipulated, is to be concluded within a year. In accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, the Chairman of the Mixed Commission will be Mr. Makoto Yano, the former Minister, who is chief of the Japanese Commission.

The members of the Border Delimitation Commission are:

Former Minister Mr. Makoto Yano.  
Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Tsuyoshi Inouye.  
Colonel Takanobu Manaki.  
Lieutenant-Colonel Kazuo Iwahashi.

Captain (Navy) Jin Ikeda.

The assistant members of the Border Delimitation Commission are:

Consul Tadayuki Takashima.  
Lieutenant-Colonel Kaoru Takeuchi.  
Major Matsuichi Iino.  
Commander Takanobu Sasaki.  
Engineer Commander Taro Ishida.

LXI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER PRINCE FUMIMARO KONOYE AND PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA MR. WANG CHING-WEI

July 23, 1941.

Upon the formation of the third Konoye Cabinet, the Prime Minister, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, and the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, Mr. Wang Ching-wei, exchanged the following messages, renewing thereby the determination of Japan and China to march bravely forward for the establishment of the New Order in East Asia.

MESSAGE OF PRIME MINISTER KONOYE TO PRESIDENT WANG CHING-WEI

The recent Cabinet change was effected to render more vigorous the execution of national policies in meeting the world situation by perfecting and strengthening with speed the internal structure of our country. The fact that a renovation has been effected in the composition of the Cabinet through the change is as Your Excellency knows through our Government announcements and others.

There is, of course, no change whatever in Japan's for-



eign policy, and our fixed policy toward your country and the close and cordial relations between the two countries, which have further been strengthened through Your Excellency's recent visit to Japan, will remain unaffected in the least. I earnestly hope that Your Excellency will take note of this fact and continue to exert your valiant efforts for the stabilization of East Asia. As for my part, I wish to add that, in accordance with the pledge made between Your Excellency and myself, I will continue to render with increasing effort a hearty co-operation for the collaboration between your country and mine and for the prosperity of China.

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT WANG CHING-WEI  
TO PRIME MINISTER KONOYE

Upon learning yesterday that Your Excellency was commanded by the Throne to form a new Cabinet, I hastened to tender to Your Excellency my congratulations by telegram through Ambassador Chuo Min-yi, which I trust Your Excellency has already read. Having now received Your Excellency's message through Minister Mr. Shinrokuro Hidaka, I can not but feel exceedingly delighted as well as reassured with the knowledge of your great aspirations.

Japan and China must put forth joint efforts on the basis of their immutable policies for the realization of peace and stabilization of East Asia, the foundation for which has already been deeply and solidly laid by Your Excellency. Having had the opportunity last month personally to exchange views with Your Excellency and to enhance our mutual cordiality, I have been enabled to co-operate and go forward with Your Excellency. This is solely due to the ardour of our mutual trust. My self-confidence has also increased, and accordingly, I intend to exert my utmost efforts to attain the ultimate object.

Thanking Your Excellency respectively for your cordial message and hoping for the prosperity of your country and the health of Your Excellency.

LXII. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT FOR JOINT DEFENCE OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA

July 26, 1941.

Indo-China and Japan have from olden times been closely bound in cultural, historical and economic relations. Prior to the closing of Japan to foreign intercourse by the Tokugawa Shogunate, there were two Japanese towns each in Annam and Cambodia and very prosperous trade was carried on with Japan. However, these relations were interrupted when the Shogunate prohibited Japanese from going abroad. In recent times, Indo-China has reestablished the old relations with Japan in a new sense as a source of materials for the industries of Japan. The renewed relations have of late steadily become closer and more cordial with Indo-China constituting an important link in the sphere of common prosperity of Greater East Asia which Japan is endeavouring to establish.

Fully appreciating such close relationship of Indo-China to Japan and its importance, France definitely recognized the preeminent position of Japan in French Indo-China through the exchange of documents between the then Foreign Minister, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, and her Ambassador in Japan, Mr. Arsène-Henry, in August of last year. Then, in May of this year, she concluded with Japan the economic agreement and signed the protocol concerning political understanding, striving thereby to solidify the good neighbourly and amicable relations and to promote the close political and economic relations between Japan and French Indo-China. France has thus consistently continued her friendly co-operation with Japan.

However, the internal and external conditions of French Indo-China have recently been greatly affected by the changes of situations in Europe and East Asia with increasing signs



of even the security of French Indo-China being threatened if such developments were left alone. If by any chance the situation so develop that French Indo-China is thrown into a chaotic condition, it cannot, in self-defence, be overlooked by Japan, not to mention France herself. It has been keenly felt, therefore, by both Japan and France that they were bound by very close relationship as well as common interest with regard to the position of French Indo-China.

From such point of view, the Japanese Government, since a short time ago, carried on negotiations through the Japanese Ambassador in France, Mr. Sotomatsu Kato, with the Government at Vichy. These negotiations progressed smoothly in an extremely friendly atmosphere and, on the 21st of July, a complete agreement of views was reached between the Governments of Japan and France concerning their joint defence of French Indo-China. Japan and France have thus been ushered into a more intimate relations with each other with French Indo-China serving as their connecting link. Needless to say, it will powerfully contribute toward the stabilization, coexistence and co-prosperity of Greater East Asia.

It scarcely need reiteration that the Japanese Government intend strictly to observe various existing agreements between Japan and France concerning French Indo-China and to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of French Indo-China, and Japan will put forth increasing efforts for the promotion of the Japanese-French friendly relations, thereby realizing common prosperity of the two countries.

#### LXIII. STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

July 26, 1941.

The relations between Japan and French Indo-China have of late become rapidly closer as the result of the agreement reached in August of last year between the Foreign Minister,

Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, and the French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry, and other agreements made on various occasions subsequently. A complete agreement of views has now been reached through friendly conversations between the Governments of Japan and France regarding their joint defence with respect to French Indo-China.

Japan intends to observe strictly her obligations arising from the various existing arrangements between Japan and France, especially the solemn promise of respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of French Indo-China, and at the same time to endeavour for the promotion of the amicable relations subsisting between Japan and France, thereby realizing common prosperity of the two countries.

#### LXIV. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE NOTIFICATION BY GREAT BRITAIN OF HER INTENTION TO ABROGATE TREATIES OF COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION WITH JAPAN

July 26, 1941.

Sir Robert Craigie, British Ambassador, under instructions of his Government, called on the Foreign Minister, Admiral Teijiro Toyoda, at the latter's official residence at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon, and handed the latter an official note under the date of today notifying the intention of the British Government to abrogate the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of April 3, 1911; the Japanese-Indian Treaty of July 12, 1934 regarding their trade relations; and the similar treaty between Japan and Burma of June 7, 1937, on the ground that the British, Indian and Burmese Governments have reached the conclusion that the purpose held by these Governments at the time of their conclusion could no longer be satisfied.

In this connection, it may be recalled that the Anglo-



Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation will be in effect for one year after notification of its abrogation, while the other two treaties will be effective for the period of six months.

LXV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE JAPANESE-FRENCH PROTOCOL WITH RESPECT TO JOINT DEFENCE OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA

July 29, 1941.

Regarding the conclusion of the Protocol between Japan and France with respect to their joint defence of French Indo-China, necessary procedures were taken, and yesterday, July 28, an Imperial Sanction has been given thereto. The Government, therefore, immediately sent instructions to the Ambassador to France, Mr. Sotomatsu Kato, to sign the Protocol, which was duly signed and sealed at Vichy today, July 29, by the Ambassador and the French Vice-Premier and concurrently Foreign Minister, Admiral Jean-François Darlan, and it went into effect on the same date.

The full text of the Protocol is as follows: (See IXVI.)

LXVI. THE PROTOCOL BETWEEN JAPAN AND FRANCE CONCERNING JOINT DEFENCE OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA

July 29, 1941.

(Unofficial translation)

The Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of France,

Taking into consideration the present international situation, And recognising, as the result, that there exist reasons for Japan to consider that, in case the security of French Indo-

China should be threatened, general tranquillity in East Asia and her own security would be exposed to danger,

And renewing at this opportunity the promise made by Japan, on the one hand, to respect the rights and interests of France in East Asia, especially the territorial integrity of French Indo-China and the French sovereignty over the wholes of the Union of French Indo-China; and the promise made by France, on the other hand, not to conclude with any third Power or Powers any agreement or understanding regarding Indo-China envisaging political, economic or military co-operation which is directly or indirectly aimed against Japan.

Have agreed upon the following provisions:

- 1) The two Governments mutually promise military co-operation for joint defence of French Indo-China.
- 2) Measures to be taken for such co-operation shall be the object of special arrangements.
- 3) The above stipulations shall be valid only so long as the situation which has motivated their adoption exists.

In witness whereof, the undersigned, having been duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed and affixed their seals to the present Protocol to go into force from today.

Done at Vichy, in duplicate, in the Japanese and French languages, this 29th day of July, the 16th year of Showa, corresponding to the 29th day of July, 1941.

Sotomatsu Kato.

Jean-François Darlan.

LXVII. STATEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE RECOGNITION OF MANCHOUKUO BY THAILAND

August 1, 1941.

The formal recognition of Manchoukuo by the Government



of Thailand is a step both natural and opportune in view of the new situation in East Asia. More than nine years have elapsed since the establishment of Manchoukuo, whose national foundation has steadily grown firm. She has achieved signal progress in both fields of internal and external affairs. More than ten countries—Japan, China, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Slovakia, Salvadore, etc.—have already recognized Manchoukuo. The establishment of formal relations between Manchoukuo and Thailand through the present step taken by the Thai Government is a source of profound gratification on the part of Japan, being as she is constantly solicitous of progress and prosperity of East Asia.

LXVIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ELEVATION OF THE JAPANESE LEGATION IN THAILAND TO THE STATUS OF EMBASSY

August 15, 1941.

On the basis of further enhancing the traditionally friendly relations between Japan and Thailand, the Japanese Government held conversations with the Thai Government as the result of which the two Governments have decided mutually to elevate their Legations to the status of Embassy. Accordingly, the Japanese Legation in Thailand has been made the Embassy on August 16, 1941.

The Government have decided to appoint as the first Ambassador to Thailand Mr. Teiji Tsubokami, regarding whom they have already obtained an agreement from the Thai Government.

STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE ELEVATION OF THE JAPANESE LEGATION IN THAILAND TO THE STATUS OF EMBASSY

August 16, 1941.

Thailand, the only independent nation in the South Sea

region, is historically in an especially close relationship with Japan; and it is well-known that in recent years the friendly relations subsisting between the two nations have become increasingly more cordial.

It is needless to reiterate the historical relationship between Japan and Thailand. In recent years, however, their relations have grown steadily closer, beginning with the conclusion, in December, 1937, of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, by virtue of which Japan abolished her rights of extraterritoriality. This was followed, in June 1940, by the conclusion of the Treaty of Amity. The recent Thai-French Indo-China border dispute was amicably settled through the mediation of Japan, in connection with which the Protocol concerning Political Understanding was signed, in May last, between Japan and Thailand. More recently, on August 5, Thailand formally recognized Manchoukuo.

In the economic field, also, the relations between the two countries of ministering to each other's needs have grown year after year; and especially since last year, Japan has been buying from Thailand important materials, such as rice, tin, rubber, etc., while Thailand has also been purchasing from Japan necessary commodities, which has served to increase greatly the trade between the two countries. Furthermore, the communications between Japan and Thailand also have greatly improved since the opening of the air-mail service, and the number of Japanese residents in Thailand has radically increased.

In view of the foregoing situation, the Japanese Government have been considering the question of elevating their Legation in Thailand to the status of Embassy and had been making necessary preparations. A complete agreement of views having been reached, the Japanese and Thai Governments have decided to elevate each other's legation to the status of Embassy, as announced today by the Board of Information. It is expected that the present step will contribute powerfully



toward the promotion of cordial relations between the two countries.

LXIX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MESSAGE OF THE PRIME MINISTER, PRINCE FUMIMARO KONOYE, ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

August 29, 1941.

On August 28, Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, Japanese Ambassador to Washington, called on the President of the United States and handed to the latter a message of the Prime Minister, Prince Fumimaro Konoje, expounding Japan's conviction regarding the Pacific problems pending between Japan and the United States.

LXX. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE DESPATCH OF JAPANESE VESSELS FOR EVACUATING JAPANESE ABROAD

September 9, 1941.

In view of a sharp increase recently of the Japanese residing in various parts of the British Empire, who are desirous of returning to their fatherland, the Japanese Government have decided to send passenger ships to accommodate them. One ship will be sent to the Malaya and one to India, the Near East and East Africa. At the same time, another ship will be despatched to Europe for the purpose of sending diplomats, military and naval attachés and others to relieve those who are stationed there. The latter ship on its return voyage will bring back the Japanese evacuees from Europe.

These vessels will shortly leave Japan for their respective

destinations; and various preparations are now being made for the purpose.

LXXI. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY IN POLAND

October 4, 1941.

The Japanese Government, having decided to discontinue their Embassy in Poland, have completed the necessary procedure for the purpose. Simultaneously, the Government, having considered the Polish Embassy in Tokyo as already having fulfilled its function, notification to that effect was made to the Polish Ambassador.

LXXII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PARTY FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF RESOURCES IN FRENCH INDO-CHINA

October 9, 1941.

On the basis of the economic agreement concluded in the Spring of the year between Japan and French Indo-China, our Government circles, with the whole-hearted co-operation of the French Indo-China authorities, have since been making preparations for the dispatch of a party to investigate undeveloped resources of French Indo-China as the first stage of the Japanese-French Indo-China economic collaboration. The investigation party consisting of officials of the governmental departments concerned and civilian experts has been organized. Mr. Masayuki Yokoyama (former Minister to Spain), the chief of the party, and the staff members will shortly leave for the spot with duties to realize Japan-French Indo-China economic co-operation.



LXXIII. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE DESPATCH OF JAPANESE VESSELS TO THE UNITED STATES

October 11, 1941.

The Japanese Government have been consulting with the United States Government concerning the despatch of Japanese vessels to the United States. As the first step the Government have decided to send three vessels to the Pacific Coast of the United States beginning with the Tatsuta Maru which will leave Japan on the 15th of this month.

LXXIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF JAPAN AND PORTUGAL WITH RESPECT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AERIAL SERVICE BETWEEN PALAO AND DELI

October 14, 1941.

An agreement between the Governments of Japan and Portugal concerning the establishment of aerial service between Palao and Deli was signed at 11:00 a. m., yesterday, at Lisbon between the Japanese Minister to Portugal, Mr. Shinichi Chita, and the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar.

Deli is the capital of the Island of Timor belonging to Portugal. The establishment of an aerial route connecting this city with Palao has been a pending question since June last year, concerning which negotiations have been conducted by our Government with the Portuguese Government. That these

negotiations have successfully resulted in the conclusion of the present agreement is a source of profound satisfaction.

With the understanding of the Portuguese Government, test flights were carried out seven times in all between October last and August this year, while negotiations were carried on. As these test flights were greatly successful, regular service will shortly be inaugurated upon the completion of various preparations. In view of the shortening of the distance between Japan and the South Sea Islands which will render closer their relations which have hitherto been handicapped by the lack of communication facilities, the establishment of this aerial route must be said to have a deep significance.

The contents of the agreement will be made public later by both Governments.

LXXV. JOINT STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN AND COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE HIYE MARU

October 15, 1941.

The Hiye Maru, which had been despatched sometime ago for the purpose of evacuating Japanese nationals residing in the regions of South-western Asia, East Africa and India, safely anchored off the port of Bandar Shapour, Iran, on the forenoon of October 13; and after having taken 49 Japanese on board, she sailed for East Africa on the following day at 1:30 a. m.

LXXVI. STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

October 18, 1941.

It is our inflexible national policy to bring the China Affair to a successful conclusion and to establish firmly the sphere of common prosperity in Greater East Asia, thereby contributing toward world peace.



The Government, in meeting the unprecedentedly grave situation prevailing at present, intend, externally to promote cordial relations with friendly Powers, and internally, to perfect the defence-state structure and thus, under the August Virtue of His Majesty, to go forward to accomplish the holy task with unity of the entire nation.

## LXXVII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION

October 25, 1941.

With regard to the agreement between the Governments of Japan and Portugal for the establishment of an aerial service between Palao and Deli which was concluded at Lisbon on October 13, necessary procedures in our country have been concluded resulting in its promulgation in the official gazette under today's date. The text of the agreement is as follows: The Government of Japan and the Government of Portugal, Desiring to establish aerial connection between Japan and the Island of Timor, have mutually agreed upon the following provisions:

### Article 1

The Government of Portugal accord to a Japanese aerial transportation company designated by the Japanese Government an authorization to engage in the business of regular commercial aerial service between Palao or other point in the neighbourhood of Palao, designated by the Japanese Government, and Deli, and vice versa.

### Article 2

The Government of Japan, on their part, accord to a Portuguese aerial transportation company designated by the Portuguese Government an authorization to engage in the business

of regular commercial aerial service between Deli and Palao or other point in the neighbourhood of Palao, designated by the Japanese Government, and vice versa.

### Article 3

The aerial transportation companies stipulated under the preceding two Articles shall have the obligation of transporting mails, passengers and goods, and the Governments of the two countries mutually undertake not to impose any unjust restriction upon the transportation of such mails, passengers and goods by the company designated by each other.

The provisions of the present Agreement do not prevent either of the two Governments from prohibiting within their respective territory, for reason of the State, the transportation of mails and the debarkation or stay of all employees of the company engaged in the aerial service stipulated in Articles 1 and 2 of the present Agreement or of the members of the crew of the said company or passengers thereof.

### Article 4

The aerial transportation company designated by the Japanese Government to carry on the business of aerial service provided under Article I must execute at least one return trip during the period of two weeks unless it is impossible to do so by reason of *force majeure*. The Portuguese company designated by the Portuguese Government provided under Article 2 shall have the same obligation.

### Article 5

The Portuguese Government assure to the Japanese company, designated by the Japanese Government, the utilization of ground equipments and technical facilities which are considered necessary for the execution of the flight over the route over the territory of Timor; and the Japanese Government, in turn, assure to the Portuguese company, designated by the



Portuguese Government, the utilization of ground equipments and technical facilities which are considered necessary for the execution of the flight over the route over the territory of Japan.

#### Article 6

The technical details necessary for the execution of the present agreement shall be fixed in the document signed between the competent authorities of the two countries.

#### Article 7

The Japanese Government reserve to themselves the right of revoking the designation accorded to a company and of designating another Japanese aerial transportation company in its place. The Portuguese Government reserve to themselves the same right. In such a case the concession shall immediately become invalid with respect to the first company and the terms of the concession shall be applied to the company designated subsequently, the first company having no power to make any demand on account of this against the Government from which it has received the notice of revocation.

#### Article 8

The present Agreement shall become invalid in case the Japanese aerial service provided under this agreement is not inaugurated within the maximum period of six months from the day when the utilization of ground equipments and technical facilities are deemed possible. The present Agreement shall also become invalid in case the said service is interrupted for a period exceeding six months, except in the case for reason of *force majeure*.

#### Article 9

The management of the aforementioned aerial service shall be regulated by the provisions of the Convention relative to aerial navigation of October 13, 1919, and by the laws and

regulations in force within the territories over which the flight is made in so far as it does not contravene the said Convention of 1919. The aeroplanes of Portuguese and Japanese companies shall fly over the territories respectively of Japan and Portugal over the route designated by the Government of the country over which the flight is made. The departure from the said route may be made only in case of an emergency or with the consent of the Government of the country over which the flight is made.

#### Article 10

The concessions provided under this Agreement shall not be of an exclusive character. Both Governments reserve to themselves the right of authorizing the establishment of other aerial services in their respective territories in accordance with the conditions they deem proper.

#### Article 11

In case of the extension of the services provided under the Article 1 and 2 outside the territories of Timor and Japan, respectively, both Governments shall fix by common accord the conditions under which such an extension will be made.

#### Article 12

The present Agreement shall be in force thirty days after the date of the signature and be valid for the duration of five years; and thereafter shall be prolonged automatically each year. However, either of the two Governments may abrogate the present Agreement by giving notice to the other Government at least six months prior to the expiration of the first period of validity or the extended year.

In witness whereof, the undersigned, having been duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed and affixed their seals thereto.

Done at Lisbon, in duplicate, in the French language, on



this thirteenth day of October of the 16th year of Showa,  
corresponding to the thirteenth, October, 1941.

(signed) S. Tiba

Oliv. Salazar

LXXVIII. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE UNIFICATION OF JAPANESE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS IN CHINA

November 1, 1941.

The question of unifying our administrative organs in China under the Foreign Office and the China Affairs Board has been under consideration for some time. It has now been decided the offices on the spot of the Home Ministry, the Communications Ministry (affairs relating to shipping) and the Overseas Affairs Ministry (affairs relating to Governments-General of Chosen and Taiwan) be, for the most part, brought under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office.

The unification, the actual method for which is now under discussion, is expected shortly.

LXXIX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DESPATCH OF AMBASSADOR SABURO KURUSU TO THE UNITED STATES

November 5, 1941.

It has been decided to send Ambassador Saburo Kurusu to the United States for the purpose of assisting Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura.

LXXX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISASTER OF KEHI MARU

November 6, 1941.

The passenger ship, Kehi Maru, of the Nipponkai Steamship Company, which is on the regular run between Tsuruga and Seishin, met with a disaster, shortly after 10:00 p.m. last night, on the Japan Sea by contacting a mine while on its way to Tsuruga. Several rescue ships hurried to the spot immediately upon the receipt of the S. O. S.

LXXXI. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE DISASTER OF KEHI MARU

November 6, 1941.

It is clear from the wireless messages sent out by the Kehi Maru and other circumstances that the disaster that befell the Kehi Maru was caused by a floating mine which had drifted from within the territorial waters of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Haruhiko Nishi, on the afternoon of the 6th, requested the Soviet Ambassador at Tokyo, Mr. Constantin Smetanin, to call on him at the Foreign Office and presented to the latter the most solemn protest, demanding his Government to make a reply with sincerity.

LXXXII. JOINT STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN AND COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE TATUTA MARU AND OTHERS

November 6, 1941.

The Tatuta Maru and two other vessels which were sent



to North America and Hawaii sometime ago safely departed for Yokohama as follows:

Vessel	Date of Departure	Port of Departure	Number of Passengers
Tatuta Maru	Nov. 2	San Francisco	863
Hikawa Maru	" 1	Vancouver	145
	" 4	Seattle	223
Taiyo Maru	" 5	Honolulu	456

LXXXIII. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING THE CANCELLATION OF BUSINESS PERMITS FOR JAPANESE FIRMS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA

November 8, 1941.

The Government of Panama, having revised their national constitution in January of this year, placed the Yellow Race in the category of an "undesirable race" and designated its members as prohibited immigrants giving them the same treatment as is given to members of the Black Race.

Again, in March of this year, the Government of Panama promulgated the law for the regulation of commerce and industry prohibiting the above-mentioned prohibited immigrants from engaging in business, thereby attempting to drive the Japanese residents out of the country. However, as the result of the efforts by the Japanese Government to prevent the enforcement of the said law, the former President, Dr. Arnulfo Arias, agreed to allow some of the principal Japanese trading firms to continue their business and permitted Japanese residents to turn to agriculture, promising to offer agricultural land without compensation. He, moreover, decided at his Cabinet on the policy of enabling the Japanese trading firms to continue their business.

However due to the coup d'état of October 8, arising from the prohibition by President Arias of the arming of Panamanian

vessels, the latter took refuge in Havana, and the present President, Ricarlo Adolfe de la Guardia, assumed the post of presidency. The Government of the United States immediately recognized the latter.

Since then the attitude of the new Government of Panama toward Japan has suddenly changed for the worse, and the decision of the former Government above referred-to was revoked. Finally, on October 28th, the new Government notified the Japanese Minister, Mr. Masatoshi Akiyama, that on and after October 29, all the business permits held by Japanese residents would be cancelled.

Not only did the Government of Panama fail to agree to postpone the enforcement of the new decision but they also would not permit an extension of time for the disposal of stocks held by the Japanese firms. Furthermore, that Government insisted that the above decision was final and that there was absolutely no room for reconsideration. They have since persisted to maintain an attitude of refusing to listen to the representations of the Japanese Government.

Such an attitude on the part of the Government of Panama have evidently been motivated by their firm decision to drive all Japanese residents out of the areas close to the Panama Canal, a fact to be deeply regretted by the Japanese Government. The measure taken by the Government of Panama is not only intended to enforce racial discrimination but it will result in the deprivation of the means of livelihood of the Japanese residents, an inhuman outrage without a parallel.

It is one of the most important policies of Japan to eliminate racial discrimination, which cannot be overlooked for the sake of all Asiatic peoples. It is well-known that Japanese residents in Panama have greatly contributed toward the prosperity of that country and that the Japanese Government have always striven for close friendship with Panama. In view of this fact, the Japanese Government absolutely can not accept



such an abnormally unfriendly act even taking into consideration the special international position of Panama.

The Japanese Government sincerely hope that the Government of Panama will revert to their free and independent attitude and settle the question in a friendly manner without being influenced in anyway by a Foreign Power or Powers.

In connection with this matter, the Japanese Government have lodged a strong protest on November 1st and again on the 7th with Minister of Panama at Tokyo, and instructed at the same time the Japanese Minister to Panama, Mr. Akiyama, to make similar protest to the Government of Panama, demanding the reconsideration by the latter Government and are now watching the developments.

LXXXIV. JOINT STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN AND COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE HIKAWA MARU

November 17, 1941.

The Hikawa Maru, which had left Yokohama on the 20th of last month for Seattle and Vancouver, has safely completed her voyage as originally scheduled, and is expected to reach the port of Yokohama at 10.00 a.m. tomorrow (the 18th).

The ship's passengers, classified according to their native Prefectures, are as follows:

<i>Prefecture</i>	<i>No. of Persons</i>	<i>Prefecture</i>	<i>No. of Persons</i>
Wakayama	59	Fukui	5
Kumamoto	15	Tokushima	5
Shiga	35	Hyogo	4
Kagoshima	14	Saga	4
Hiroshima	34	Yamaguchi	3
Fukuoka	11	Mie	3
Okayama	23	Yamanashi	3
Tottori	8	Fukushima	3
Ehime	20	Nagano	3
Kanagawa	6	others	100
Shizuoka	5	Total	363

The Hikawa Maru is the last of the three ships despatched to North America to arrive at Yokohama.

LXXXV. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE DISPATCH OF M S, TATSUTA MARU TO AMERICAN PORTS

November 24, 1941.

Following the first dispatch of vessels to the United States, the Japanese Government have concluded negotiation with the United States Government with a view to making the second dispatch of vessels. As the result an understanding has been reached, and they have decided to send the M.S. Tatsuta Maru to Los Angeles and Balboa. The M.S. Tatsuta Maru will leave Yokohama as soon as she has completed her preparations and she probably will do so within this month.

LXXXVI. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE PARTICIPATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA IN THE ANTI-COMINTERN PACT

November 25, 1941.

As the National Government of the Republic of China have decided to participate in the Anti-Comintern Pact, the necessary procedures were completed today (November 25).

The National Government of China have long since realized that the activities of the Communist International are detrimental to the peace of the Far East, and thus Article 3 of the Basic Treaty between Japan and China, provided that the latter should co-operate with Japan for defence against the destructive activities of the Comintern.

It is most gratifying to the Imperial Government that the



National Government of China have now adhered to the Anti-Comintern Pact.

LXXXVII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE PROTOCOL WITH RESPECT TO THE EXTENSION OF VALIDITY OF THE ANTI-COMINTERN PACT

November 25, 1941.

Since the conclusion on November 25, 1936, between Japan and Germany of the Agreement against the Communist International—or the so-called Anti-Comintern Pact—Italy adhered to it on November 6 of the following year (1937), as original signatory. She was then followed by Manchoukuo, Hungary and Spain, bringing the number of the participants to six countries, thus displaying its effectiveness. As the five-year period of the validity of the Agreement was about to expire, the Signatory Powers consulted among themselves, which resulted in an agreement of views to extend its validity for five more years. A new Protocol concerning the extension of validity of the Agreement was signed today, November 25, at Berlin between the plenipotentiaries of the six Powers, namely, Japan, Germany, Italy, Manchoukuo, Hungary and Spain.

It requires no reiteration that the Communist International, or the Comintern, with its world-wide organization, is carrying on disruptive machinations of communistic nature in all parts of the world. Accordingly, defence against such machinations must be of a world-wide scope. With the task of establishing a new order in East Asia as the basis of her national policy, Japan feels keenly the increasing necessity of safeguarding against the Comintern. That the Anti-Comintern Pact has accordingly been renewed and that participation of countries, which will share similar intentions under the provisions of the new Protocol, is envisaged, is a source of profound congratulations.

The contents of the new Protocol are as follows:

PROTOCOL

The Government of the Empire of Japan, the Government of Germany, the Government of the Kingdom of Italy, the Government of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Government of the Empire of Manchoukuo, and the Government of Spain;

Recognizing that the Agreement concluded between them for safeguarding against the activities of the Communist International has been most effective;

Believing firmly that the common interests of their countries require their close co-operation against the said common enemy, have decided to extend the period of validity of the above-mentioned Agreement, and have agreed upon the following provisions for the purpose.

Article 1

The Agreement against the Communist International consisting of the Agreement and the attached Protocol of November 25, 1939, and the Protocol of November 6, 1937; and the Protocol of February 24, 1939, the Protocol of February 24, 1939, and the Protocol of March 27, 1939, by which Hungary, Manchoukuo and Spain respectively participated, shall be prolonged for five years beginning with November 25, 1941.

Article 2

The countries, which desire to participate in the said Agreement through the invitation by the Governments of the Japanese Empire, Germany and Italian kingdom, shall communicate to the German Government by written document the declaration of their Participation; and the German Government shall notify the Governments of the other Signatories concerning the said communication. Such participation shall become effective from the day of the receipt by the German Government of the declaration of participation.



## Article 3

The present Protocol shall be made in the Japanese, German and Italian languages and shall be the official texts of the respective countries. The present Protocol shall come into force from the day of its signature.

The Contracting Powers shall, at a suitable time, prior to the expiry of the five-year period stipulated in Article 1, come to an understanding concerning the method of their subsequent co-operation.

In faith whereof the undersigned, having been duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed the present Protocol and have affixed their seals thereto.

LXXXVIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE NEW PARTICIPANTS IN THE ANTI-COMINTERN PACT

November 25, 1941.

In accordance with the procedure for adherence, newly provided in Article 2 of the Protocol concerning the extension of validity of the Anti-Comintern Pact, which was signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries of the six countries, namely, Japan, Germany, Italy, Manchoukuo, Hungary and Spain, at Berlin, on the 25th of November, 1941; seven countries, namely, China, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Slovakia, Croatia and Denmark, have joined the Pact under today's date (November 25).

LXXXIX. JOINT STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN AND COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE DESPATCH OF THE TATSUTA MARU TO THE UNITED STATES

November 26, 1941.

It has been decided to despatch the Tatsuta Maru to the United States on the following schedule:

December 2 (noon)	Leave Yokohama
14	Arrive Los Angeles
16	Leave Los Angeles
24	Arrive at Balboa (Panama)

XC. MEMORANDUM TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

December 7, 1941.

I. The Government of Japan, prompted by a genuine desire to come to an amicable understanding with the Government of the United States in order that the two countries by their joint efforts may secure the peace of the Pacific area and thereby contribute toward the realization of world peace, has continued negotiations with the utmost sincerity since April last with the Government of the United States regarding the adjustment and advancement of Japanese-American relations and the stabilization of the Pacific area.

The Japanese Government has the honor to state frankly its views concerning the claims the American Government has persistently maintained as well as the measures the United States and Great Britain have taken toward Japan during these eight months.

II. It is the immutable policy of the Japanese Government to insure the stability of East Asia and to promote world peace, and thereby to enable all nations to find each its proper place in the world.

Ever since the China Affair broke out owing to the failure on the part of China to comprehend Japan's true intentions, the Japanese Government has striven for the restoration of peace and it has consistently exerted its best efforts to prevent the extension of war-like disturbances. It was also to that end that in September last year Japan concluded the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy.

However, both the United States and Great Britain have resorted to every possible measure to assist the Chungking ré-



gime so as to obstruct the establishment of a general peace between Japan and China, interfering with Japan's constructive endeavours toward the stabilization of East Asia. Exerting pressure on the Netherlands East Indies, or menacing French Indo-China, they have attempted to frustrate Japan's aspiration to realize the ideal of common prosperity in co-operation with these regions. Furthermore, when Japan in accordance with its Protocol with France took measures of joint defence of French Indo-China, both American and British Governments, wilfully misinterpreted it as a threat to their own possessions and inducing the Netherlands Government to follow suit, they enforced the assets freezing order, thus severing economic relations with Japan. While manifesting thus an obviously hostile attitude, these countries have strengthened their military preparations perfecting an encirclement of Japan, and have brought about a situation which endangers the very existence of the Empire.

Nevertheless, to facilitate a speedy settlement, the Premier of Japan proposed, in August last, to meet the President of the United States for a discussion of important problems between the two countries covering the entire Pacific area. However, the American Government, while accepting in principle the Japanese proposal, insisted that the meeting should take place after an agreement of view had been reached on fundamental and essential questions.

III. Subsequently, on September 25th, the Japanese Government submitted a proposal based on the formula proposed by the American Government, taking fully into consideration past American claims and also incorporating Japanese views. Repeated discussions proved of no avail in producing readily an agreement of view. The present Cabinet, therefore, submitted a revised proposal, moderating still further the Japanese claims regarding the principal points of difficulty in the negotiation and endeavored strenuously to reach a settlement. But the American Government, adhering steadfastly to its original as-

sertions, failed to display in the slightest degree a spirit of conciliation. The negotiation made no progress. Thereupon, the Japanese Government, with a view to doing its utmost for averting a crisis in Japanese-American relations, submitted on November 20th still another proposal in order to arrive at an equitable solution of the more essential and urgent questions, which, simplifying its previous proposal, stipulated the following points:

- (1) The Governments of Japan and the United States undertake not to dispatch armed forces into any of the regions, excepting French Indo-China, in the South Eastern Asia and the Southern Pacific area.
- (2) Both Governments shall cooperate with a view to securing the acquisition in the Netherlands East Indies of those goods and commodities of which the two countries are in need.
- (3) Both Governments mutually undertake to restore commercial relations to those prevailing prior to the freezing of assets.  
The Government of the United States shall supply Japan the required quantity of oil.
- (4) The Government of the United States undertakes not to resort to measures and actions prejudicial to the endeavours for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China.
- (5) The Japanese Government undertakes to withdraw troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area; and it is prepared to remove the Japanese troops in the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part upon the conclusion of the present agreement.

As regards China, the Japanese Government, while expressing its readiness to accept the offer of the President of the United States to act as "introducer" of peace between Japan



and China as was previously suggested, asked for an undertaking on the part of the United States to do nothing prejudicial to the restoration of Sino-Japanese peace when the two parties have commenced direct negotiations.

The American Government not only rejected the above-mentioned new proposal, but made known its intention to continue its aid to Chiang Kai-shek; and in spite of its suggestion mentioned above, withdrew the offer of the President to act as the so-called "introducer" of peace between Japan and China, pleading that time was not yet ripe for it. Finally, on November 26th, in an attitude to impose upon the Japanese Government those principles it has persistently maintained, the American Government made a proposal totally ignoring Japanese claims, which is a source of profound regret to the Japanese Government.

IV. From the beginning of the present negotiation the Japanese Government has always maintained an attitude of fairness and moderation, and did its best to reach a settlement, for which it made all possible concessions often in spite of great difficulties. As for the China question which constituted an important subject of the negotiation, the Japanese Government showed a most conciliatory attitude. As for the principle of non-discrimination in international commerce, advocated by the American Government, the Japanese Government expressed its desire to see the said principle applied throughout the world, and declared that along with the actual practice of this principle in the world, the Japanese Government would endeavour to apply the same in the Pacific area, including China, and made it clear that Japan had no intention of excluding from China economic activities of third Powers pursued on an equitable basis. Furthermore, as regards the question of withdrawing troops from French Indo-China, the Japanese Government even volunteered, as mentioned above, to carry out an immediate evacuation of troops from Southern French Indo-China as a measure of easing the situation. It is presumed that the

spirit of conciliation exhibited to the utmost degree by the Japanese Government in all these matters is fully appreciated by the American Government.

On the other hand, the American Government, always holding fast to theories in disregard of realities, and refusing to yield an inch on its impractical principles, caused undue delays in the negotiation. It is difficult to understand this attitude of the American Government and the Japanese Government desires to call the attention of the American Government especially to the following points:

1. The American Government advocates in the name of world peace those principles favorable to it and urges upon the Japanese Government the acceptance thereof. The peace of the world may be brought about only by discovering a mutually acceptable formula through recognition of the reality of the situation and mutual appreciation of one another's position. An attitude such as ignores realities and imposes one's selfish views upon others will scarcely serve the purpose of facilitating the consummation of negotiations.

Of the various principles put forward by the American Government as a basis of the Japanese-American agreement, there are some which the Japanese Government is ready to accept in principle, but in view of the world's actual conditions, it seems only a utopian ideal, on the part of the American Government, to attempt to force their immediate adoption.

Again, the proposal to conclude a multilateral non-aggression pact between Japan, the United States, Great Britain, China, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, and Thailand, which is patterned after the old concept of collective security, is far removed from the realities of East Asia.

2. The American proposal contains a stipulation which states; "Both Governments will agree that no agree-



ment, which either has concluded with any third 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." It is presumed that the above provision has been proposed with a view to restrain Japan from fulfilling its obligations under the Tripartite Pact when the United States participates in the war in Europe, and, as such, it cannot be accepted by the Japanese Government.

The American Government, obsessed with its own views and opinions, may be said to be scheming for the extension of the War. While it seeks, on the one hand, to secure its rear by stabilizing the Pacific area, it is engaged, on the other hand, in aiding Great Britain and preparing to attack, in the name of self-defense, Germany and Italy—two Powers that are striving to establish a new order in Europe. Such a policy is totally at variance with the many principles upon which the American Government proposes to found the stability of the Pacific area through peaceful means.

3. Whereas the American Government, under the principles it rigidly upholds, objects to settling international issues through military pressure, it is exercising in conjunction with Great Britain and other nations pressure by economic power. Recourse to such pressure as a means of dealing with international relations should be condemned as it is at times more inhumane than military pressure.
4. It is impossible not to reach the conclusion that the American Government desires to maintain and strengthen, in collusion with Great Britain and other Powers, its dominant position it has hitherto occupied not only in China but in other areas of East Asia. It is a fact of history that the countries of East Asia for the past

hundred years or more have been compelled to observe the status quo under the Anglo-American policy of imperialistic exploitation and to sacrifice themselves to the prosperity of the two nations. The Japanese Government cannot tolerate the perpetuation of such a situation since it directly runs counter to Japan's fundamental policy to enable all nations to enjoy each its proper place in the world.

The stipulation proposed by the American Government relative to French Indo-China is a good exemplification of the above-mentioned American policy. That the six countries—Japan, the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, China and Thailand—excepting France, should undertake among themselves to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of French Indo-China and equality of treatment in trade and commerce would be tantamount to placing that territory under the joint guarantee of the Governments of those six countries. Apart from the fact that such a proposal totally ignores the position of France, it is unacceptable to the Japanese Government in that such an arrangement cannot but be considered as an extension to French Indo-China of a system similar to the Nine Power Treaty structure which is the chief factor responsible for the present predicament of East Asia.

5. All the items demanded of Japan by the American Government regarding China such as wholesale evacuation of troops or unconditional application of the principle of non-discrimination in international commerce ignore the actual conditions of China, and are calculated to destroy Japan's position as the stabilizing factor of East Asia. The attitude of the American Government in demanding Japan not to support militarily, politically or economically any régime other than the régime at Chungking, disregarding thereby the existence of the Nanking



Government, shatters the very basis of the present negotiation. This demand of the American Government falling, as it does, in line with its above-mentioned refusal to cease from aiding the Chungking régime, demonstrates clearly the intention of the American Government to obstruct the restoration of normal relations between Japan and China and the return of peace to East Asia.

V. In brief, the American proposal contains certain acceptable items such as those concerning commerce, including the conclusion of a trade agreement, mutual removal of the freezing restrictions, and stabilization of the yen and dollar exchange, or the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China. On the other hand, however, the proposal in question ignores Japan's sacrifices in the four years of the China Affair, menaces the Empire's existence itself and disparages its honor and prestige. Therefore, viewed in its entirety, the Japanese Government regrets that it cannot accept the proposal as a basis of negotiation.

VI. The Japanese Government, in its desire for an early conclusion of the negotiation, proposed that simultaneously with the conclusion of the Japanese-American negotiation, agreements be signed with Great Britain and other interested countries. The proposal was accepted by the American Government. However, since the American Government has made the proposal of November 26th as a result of frequent consultations with Great Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and Chungking, and presumably by catering to the wishes of the Chungking régime on the questions of China, it must be concluded that all these countries are at one with the United States in ignoring Japan's position.

VII. Obviously, it is the intention of the American Government to conspire with Great Britain and other countries to obstruct Japan's efforts toward the establishment of peace through the creation of a new order in East Asia, and especially to preserve Anglo-American rights and interests by keeping Japan

and China at war. This intention has been revealed clearly during the course of the present negotiation. Thus, the earnest hope of the Japanese Government to adjust Japanese-American relations and to preserve and promote the peace of the Pacific through co-operation with the American Government has finally been lost.

The Japanese Government regrets to have to notify hereby the American Government that, in view of the attitude of the American Government, it can not but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement through further negotiations.

#### XCI. SUMMARY OF THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS

December 7, 1941.

1. Negotiations between the Governments of Japan and the United States of America were begun at Washington in spring of this year. In the middle of April, the American Government submitted an informal draft proposal. It contained stipulations on the following items:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.
3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.
4. Commerce between both nations.
5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.
6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.
7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

The proposal was intended to serve as a basis for a general agreement concerning the questions of the entire Pacific area.



But the proposal contained a number of points unacceptable to the Japanese Government. For instance, with reference to the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy, the American Government asked the Japanese Government to give an undertaking not to menace the security of the United States when the latter should participate in the European war on the plea of self-defense. Again, as regards the China Affair, the American Government would undertake to use its good offices for the initiation of peace negotiations between the Japanese Government and the Chungking régime on such terms as were acceptable to the United States.

Accordingly, the Japanese Government sent a counter-proposal in the middle of May, modifying the American proposal. Concerning the Tripartite Pact, it was explicitly stated that Japan's obligation to render military assistance would arise as stipulated under the said treaty, while with regard to the China Affair, it was provided that the American Government, accepting the premises of the three Konoye Principles, the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty and the Joint Declaration of Japan, Manchoukuo and China, and relying upon Japan's Policy of neighborly friendship, would urge upon the Chungking régime to enter into negotiations with the Japanese Government for the restoration of peace, and it was further stipulated that in case Chungking refused to accept the American advice, the United States was to cease from aiding the Chungking régime. Negotiations were continued further when in the latter part of June a new counter-proposal was submitted by the American Government, which, as compared with its proposal of April, set forth American claims in a more concrete manner. Discussions were continued to be held, revolving round this June proposal.

2. In July, soon after the formation of the third Konoye Cabinet the Japanese Government took measures of joint defense of French Indo-China in accordance with the Protocol concluded between Japan and France, whereupon the American

Government applied economic pressure by freezing Japanese assets. But the Japanese Government still hoped for a peaceful settlement, and in August Premier Prince Konoye sent a personal message to President Roosevelt, setting forth fully the peaceful intentions of Japan, and proposing a meeting without delay between the responsible heads of the two Governments with a view to averting the crisis in the relations of the two countries. While accepting in principle the Konoye proposal, the American Government stoutly maintained its stand that it could not see its way to putting it into practice unless an agreement of view had been first reached on the pending issues, especially on the questions of the Tripartite Pact, the stationing of Japanese troops in China, and the non-discriminatory treatment in international commerce; and moreover, it held fast to its June proposal, refusing to make any concession. Accordingly, the Japanese Government submitted on September 6 a proposal, followed by yet another proposal submitted on September 25, which took into account the American proposal of June and incorporated Japanese claims. Negotiations were continued until October 2, when the American Government requested clarification of Japan's intentions regarding the application of the four principles long advocated by the United States as fundamental principles of international relations—namely:

1. Respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of each and all nations.
2. Support of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
3. Support of the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity.
4. Non-disturbance of the status quo in the Pacific except as the status quo may be altered by peaceful means.

At the same time, it demanded the Japanese Government to clarify further its views concerning the three questions mentioned above. As a result, the negotiations struck an impasse. In the meantime, the Konoye Cabinet resigned in the middle of October.



Such divergence of view as above mentioned between the two Governments was produced largely because the American Government obstinately adhered to utopian principles based on selfish views for dealing with international relations, and insisted upon the application thereof in China and elsewhere, regardless of the real conditions of East Asia. It was evident that so long as the American Government persisted in that attitude, there was little chance of bringing negotiations to a successful conclusion.

3. The present Cabinet in its solicitude for the peace of the Pacific decided to continue the negotiation. With a view to effecting a settlement on an equitable basis, the Japanese Government formulated the following proposal concerning the three principal issues in the negotiations—namely, (1) the right of self-defense in connection with the Tripartite Pact, (2) non-discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and (3) evacuation of troops from China and French Indo-China.

1. The American Government undertakes not to enlarge unduly the meaning of "self-defense."
2. The Japanese Government recognizes the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations to be applied to all the Pacific area, including China, on the understanding that the said principle is to be applied uniformly to the rest of the world.
3. Following the restoration of peace between Japan and China, the Japanese troops despatched to China in connection with the China Affair will be stationed for the necessary duration in specified areas, and the rest of the troops will be withdrawn upon the conclusion of peace and in accordance with the agreement between Japan and China. The troops in French Indo-China will be withdrawn immediately either upon the settlement of the China Affair or the establishment of peace in East Asia on an equitable basis.

Negotiations were conducted on the basis of the above

proposal. Meanwhile, the Japanese Government requested the American Government to use its good offices, upon the conclusion of the Japanese-American negotiation, for the conclusion of a similar understanding with Great Britain and other countries concerning relevant subjects. Moreover, in order to do the utmost in the negotiation, dispatched Ambassador Kurusu post-haste to Washington to assist Admiral Nomura.

On the other hand, the American Government repeatedly urged that there would be no need for Japan to maintain the Tripartite Pact after the consummation of a Japanese-American agreement, and expressed its hope that the said treaty would cease to exist or become a dead letter. As regards the principle of non-discrimination in international commerce, the American Government, insisting on its unconditional application to China, proposed the economic development of China jointly by the Powers. To this proposal the Japanese Government replied to the effect that with regard to the commercial non-discrimination principle Japan hoped for its application throughout the world, and that it would recognize its application of China in accordance with the realization of this principle throughout the world, and also that the American proposal for the joint international development of China was unacceptable to Japan as it would open the way for the joint international control of China. On these grounds, the Japanese Government requested the American Government to withdraw the proposal in question.

4. On November 17 and thereafter, Admiral Nomura, together with Ambassador Kurusu, repeatedly met the American President and Secretary of State and strongly urged upon the latter two the necessity of bringing about speedily an amicable conclusion of the negotiation. Discussions were extended over a few meetings at which the President stated that he was prepared to act as an "introducer" of peace between Japan and Chungking, and the Secretary of State emphasized that Japanese-American negotiations would prove difficult at long as Japan co-operated with Germany, and it was necessary to remove this



fundamental difficulty. Despite these discussions, it became clear that the difficulty lay as before in the questions of the Tripartite Pact, of the international commercial non-discriminatory treatment and of China. In order to avert the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the Japanese Government, presented on November 20, the following new proposal for calculated to achieve an equitable solution of the more essential and urgent questions.

1. Both the Governments of Japan and the United States undertake not to make any armed advancement into any of the regions, excepting French Indo-China, in the South Eastern Asia and the Southern Pacific area.

2. The Governments of Japan and the United States shall co-operate with a view to securing the acquisition of those goods and commodities which the two countries need in the Netherlands East Indies.

3. The Governments of Japan and the United States mutually undertake to restore their commercial relations to those prevailing prior to the freezing of the assets.

The Government of the United States shall supply Japan a required quantity of oil.

4. The Government of the United States undertakes not to indulge in measures and actions prejudicial to the endeavors for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China.

5. The Japanese Government undertakes to withdraw troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area.

The Government of Japan declares that it is prepared to remove the Japanese troops now stationed in the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part of the said territory upon the conclusion of the present agreement.

Regarding the above proposal, the Secretary of State contended that it was impossible for the American Government to accept the item 4 of our proposal and cease aiding the Chiang Kai-shek régime unless Japan clarified her relations with the Tripartite Pact and gave assurances regarding her adoption of a peaceful policy, and that the President's offer to act as "introducer" of Sino-Japanese peace was predicated upon Japan's adoption of a peaceful policy. Thereupon, the Japanese Government instructed the two Ambassadors to request reconsideration by the American Government, pointing out to the Secretary of State that, in case direct negotiations were opened between Japan and Chungking through "introduction" by the President, the continuation of aid to the Chiang Kai-shek régime by the United States, the peace introducer, would constitute an interference with the realization of peace, and that the American contention was therefore inconsistent.

5. Meanwhile, the American Government consulted with the representatives of Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and Chungking, and on November 22 the Secretary of State told our two Ambassadors that withdrawal of troops from southern French Indo-China alone would not be enough to ease the tense situation in the Southern Pacific and that he considered the time was not yet ripe for the so-called "introduction" of peace between Japan and Chungking by the President.

Subsequently, the American Government continued consultations with the representatives of the Powers above-referred to and on November 26 the Secretary of State presented to our Ambassadors, as a basis for future negotiations, a proposal to the following effect, stating that, although the American Government had carefully studied the Japanese proposal of the 20th and consulted with the countries concerned, they could not unfortunately bring themselves to agree to our proposal.

(A) In the new proposal, American Government reiterated, with reference to political relations, the above-mentioned four principles as the fundamental principles to be practically ap-



plied to mutual relations between Japan and the United States. However, it changed the item 4 to "the principle of reliance upon international co-operation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes." As regards economic relations, the American Government elaborated the third political principle concerning the equality of opportunity and equal treatment in commerce.

(B) As measures to be adopted by the Governments of Japan and the United States it proposed as follows:

- (i) 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.
- (ii) Both Governments will endeavor to conclude among the American, British, Chinese, Japanese, the Netherlands and Thai Governments an agreement whereunder each of the Governments would pledge itself to respect the territorial integrity of French Indo-China and, in the event that there should develop a threat to the territorial integrity of Indo-China, 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.

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 Indo-China and would use its influence to obtain for each of the signatories equality of treatment in trade and commerce with French Indo-China.

- (iii) The Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indo-China.
- (iv) The Government of the United States and the Govern-

ment 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.

- (v) Both Governments will give up all extraterritorial rights in China, including rights and interests in and with regard to international settlements and concessions, and rights under the Boxer Protocol of 1901.
 

Both Governments will endeavor to obtain the agreement of the British and other Governments to give up extraterritorial rights in China, including rights in international settlements and in concessions and under the Boxer Protocol of 1901.
- (vi) 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.
- (vii) 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.
- (viii) 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.
- (ix) Both Governments will agree that no agreement which either has concluded with any third 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.
- (x) 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. Regarding the above proposal our Ambassadors refuted the American claims pointing out their unreasonableness. But the Secretary of State failed to show any sign of concession, and on November 27 the President told our two Ambassadors that, although he still hoped for an amicable conclusion of the Japanese-American negotiations, he considered that it would be futile to try to surmount the crisis by a *modus vivendi* so long as the fundamental policies of the two countries were not in accord.

The Japanese Government, therefore, requested reconsideration of the the American Government, because, despite the fact that our proposal of November 20 was made after fully considering the claims of both sides on the most equitable basis, the American Government, maintaining that it could not agree to this proposal, made a new proposal which entirely ignored the realities in East Asia and in particular completely changed its attitude with respect to the China question—a fact which led the Japanese Government to doubt the sincerity of the American Government. On December 2, however, the American Under-Secretary of State Welles, stating that he was acting under Presidential order, made an inquiry to our Government regarding our true intentions, saying that, according to their information, movements and reinforcement of Japanese troops were recently taking place in the region of French Indo-China. To this inquiry, the Japanese Government replied that, in view of the recent marked activities of the Chungking forces in the neighborhood of the frontier between French Indo-China and China, Japan had made partial reinforcement of its troops in northern French Indo-China as a precautionary measure and that this naturally had resulted in movement of the troops in the southern area. Meanwhile, the American Government rapidly reinforced the encircling front against Japan and led public opinion to its own advantage and thus prepared the ground with a view to meeting the situation arising from

the rupture of the negotiations.

6. The Japanese Government made clear their attitude regarding the above-mentioned American proposal in its Memorandum to the American Government under date of December 7, the full text of which is published separately.

## XCII. STATEMENT OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

December 8, 1941.

An Imperial Rescript declaring war having been graciously granted, the Japanese Government hereby makes an announcement to all the world.

It is the immutable policy of Japan to insure the stability of East Asia and to contribute to the cause of world peace, while the guiding principle of its foreign policy has been to carry out the aforesaid national policy by cultivating friendship with all nations. Unfortunately, the China Affair broke out, owing to the fact that China failed to comprehend Japan's true intentions, and provoked a conflict. But under the August Virtue of our Sovereign, our Imperial forces proved victorious wherever they went. All important points in China have now fallen into our hands, and far-sighted Chinese leaders sharing the same views with us have established anew the National Government of China, with which Japan has formed the ties of neighbourly friendship, and which has already been recognized by as many as eleven friendly Powers. Today, the Chungking Government, surviving in the remote interior, can do no more than continue its futile resistance. However, the United States of America and the British Empire, unwilling to alter their senseless policy of keeping East Asia permanently in a servile position, obstructed by all means the settlement of the China Affair. Moreover, they instigated the Netherlands East Indies, menaced French Indo-China and



resorted to all possible measures with a view to alienating Japan and Thailand. So busily engaged were these two Powers in frustrating Japan's natural aspiration to promote with these countries of the south the relationship of common prosperity, that it appeared they were about to open a planned attack upon us. Finally, they went so far as to adopt the outrageous measure of severing economic relations with Japan. Between non-belligerent Powers, the rupture of economic relations constitutes a hostile action comparable to a challenge by armed force. Not content even with such an impermissible action, the two Powers, inducing other countries to follow suit, caused the increase of armed forces on all sides of Japan, creating a grave menace to our existence. Despite such menace to the existence of Japan and the stability of East Asia, the Japanese Government, anxious to preserve the peace of the Pacific and to prevent the spread of war-like disturbances to all the world, conducted patiently and prudently for eight long months diplomatic negotiations with the United States. We urged upon the United States, and Britain at its back, and also other countries under the influence of the two Powers, reconsideration of their attitude. We showed the spirit of conciliation as far as it was compatible with both the existence and prestige of our Empire, and we endeavoured toward a peaceful settlement. We tried all that could be tried, and did all that could be done. However, the American Government, toying with utopian principles, refused to recognize the plain realities of East Asia. Blinded by its material strength, it failed to see the real power of Japan. And in conjunction with its associate Powers, the American Government increased military menace in the belief that it could thereby compel Japan's submission. No longer there exists any hope or formula to maintain the peace of the Pacific in co-operation with the United States and associate Powers through the adjustment of our relations with them by peaceful means. The stability of East Asia and the existence

to Japan are now in jeopardy. Such being the situation, an Imperial Rescript declaring war on the United States of America and the British Empire has been issued. The Government is filled with awe on receiving the Imperial Injunction. It is time for us, one hundred million subjects of His Majesty, to stand up resolutely with a unity of will strong as iron, and devote the nation's total strength to the prosecution of the war in order that we may eliminate forever the sources of evil in East Asia and thereby meet the August Wishes of our Sovereign.

There remains, glorious as the sun and stars, the Imperial Rescript on Japan's mission to enable all nations to have each its proper place in the world. And immutable is our policy to realize common prosperity of Japan, China and Manchoukuo through the co-operation and collaboration of the three countries, and to lay the foundation for the rise and progress of East Asia. And firm and unshakable as ever is our national resolve that, in alliance with Germany and Italy sharing the same aspiration with Japan, we should mark a foundation for world peace and march forward toward the construction of a new order. Japan is now obliged newly to take action in the various regions of the South, but it should be stressed that we harbour no hostile intention toward the peoples of those regions. We only desire to do away with the tyranny of America and Britain and to restore East Asia to its proper and undefiled state of existence and share in the enjoyment of common prosperity with them. We are convinced that the peoples of these regions will understand Japan's true intentions and look forward to a new beginning of life in a new East Asia.

The rise or fall of our Empire, and the progress or decline of East Asia, depend upon the present war. All our people, mindful of the origin and the mission of this campaign, should not act rashly nor be neglectful. But through our industry and endurance we should prove worthy of the best traditions of our forefathers.



Looking up to the brilliant accomplishments of those in history who turned every crisis into an opportunity of furthering our national fortune, we should pledge ourselves to assist in the noble and far-sighted Imperial policy, and to attain the aims of the present campaign and to set thereby our Sovereign's mind forever at ease.

**XCI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE NEGOTIATION FOR THE CONCLUSION OF AN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THAILAND**

December 11, 1941.

It is reported that the agreement of views concerning the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between Japan and Thailand was reached between the Japanese Ambassador at Bangkok, Mr. Teiji Tsubokami, and the Thai Prime Minister, Luang Pibula Songgram, at 11:00 o'clock a. m. (according to Thailand time).

**XCIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN, GERMANY AND ITALY WITH RESPECT TO THEIR JOINT PROSECUTION OF WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE, ABSTENTION FROM CONCLUDING PEACE AND CO-OPERATION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW ORDER**

December 11, 1941.

Germany and Italy having decided to wage war in common with Japan against the United States of America, an agreement

was signed today (December 11) at Berlin between the Japanese Plenipotentiary, the Ambassador to Germany, Lieutenant-General Hiroshi Oshima, the German Plenipotentiary, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Joachim Ribbentrop and the Italian Plenipotentiary, the Ambassador to Germany, Mr. Dino Alfieri. The contents of the agreement are as follows:

**Agreement between Japan, Germany and Italy**

In the unflexible determination not to lay down arms until the common war against the United States and the British Empire is successfully concluded, the Imperial Japanese Government, the German Government and the Italian Government have agreed upon the following stipulations.

**Article I**

Japan, Germany and Italy shall prosecute the war forced upon them by the United States of America and the British Empire with all forceful means at their command until it ends in their victory.

**Article II**

Japan, Germany and Italy pledge that, without complete understanding between themselves, they will not conclude armistice or peace with either the United States of America or the British Empire.

**Article III**

Japan, Germany and Italy shall, even after the termination of the war in their victory, co-operate most closely for the purpose of realizing a righteous new order in the meaning of the Tripartite Pact which they concluded on September 27, 1940.

**Article IV**

The present Agreement shall come into effect on the date of its signature and shall remain in force as long as the Tri-



partite Pact of September 27, 1940 is in force. The High Contracting Parties shall, at an appropriate time before the expiration of the said period of validity, reach an understanding concerning the manner of subsequent co-operation provided in Article III of the present Agreement.

XCV. STATEMENT OF MR. SHIGENORI TOGO, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

December 11, 1941.

It is a matter for sincere congratulation that an agreement has been promptly signed among Japan, Germany and Italy in Berlin today, December 11, closely following Japan's declaration of war on the United States of America and the British Empire, solemnly pledging their co-operation in prosecuting their joint war with the United States of America and the British Empire to a complete conclusion, in abstaining from concluding a separate peace and in constructing the new order of the world.

Germany and Italy, who are closely bound with Japan by the Three Power Pact, have today declared war upon the United States of America and joined the conflict on Japan's side. Further, by virtue of the present agreement, they have manifested their intentions to prosecute the joint war to a glorious victory. This, together with marvellous achievements attained by the Imperial armed forces, is unfolding a bright future before the Japanese Empire, which is resolutely proceeding with construction of the new order of the world. We are overwhelmed with emotion realizing that all this has been entirely due to the August Virtue of H. I. M. the Emperor.

At this juncture when the world stand at a great turning-point, unprecedented in history, it is source of great pleasure that Japan with her confidence strengthened in winning a glorious victory and, with her determination renewed, is marching

toward construction of an equitable new order as well as of a moral world in close co-operation with her allies, Germany, Italy and others.

XCVI. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AUTHORITIES REGARDING THE MEASURES TAKEN BY BRAZIL, ARGENTINE AND PERU FOR THE CONTROL OF MOVEMENT OF JAPANESE MONEY

December 13, 1941.

Upon the opening of the present war between Japan and the United States and the British Empire, Brazil, Argentine and Peru, in the supposition that their commercial and economic relations with Japan will become confused, have taken temporary steps to restrict or prohibit generally the movement of money between their respective countries and Japan until the situation becomes clearer, and definite measures to meet the situation are decided upon. Therefore, these measures are of a temporary emergency character and are different from the so-called asset-freezing.

According to official reports so far received at the Foreign Office, the practical application of these control measures in those three countries is not strict, with no restriction whatever on the withdrawal of deposits for living and business expenses, only a large withdrawal of deposits at one time and foreign remittance by Japanese being prohibited.

XCVII. MESSAGE FROM THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. SHIGENORI TOGO, TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS, RESPECTIVELY, OF ARGENTINE, BRAZIL, CHILE, AND PERU

(Announcement of the Foreign Office)  
December 19, 1941.

Propaganda stories have been spread through the American



and British news agencies representing Japan as if she had some ulterior designs toward the South American countries in connection with the present War of Greater East Asia. The real purpose of Japan in having commenced the present War against the United States and the British Empire is to eliminate the Anglo-American influences, which have been the motive force for disturbing stability of East Asia, and thereby to insure the existence and security of Japan herself, and at the same time to realize stability and prosperity in East Asia and, furthermore, to contribute toward peace of the world. Therefore, Japan entertains no evil designs whatever toward the South American countries. I believe that your Government and people will not be influenced by malicious propaganda of the United States and the British Empire. I have the honour again to inform your Government, in the name of the Imperial Japanese Government, that the policy of the Japanese Government to maintain and promote friendly relations with your country remains absolutely unchanged.

XCVIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF A PACT OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THAILAND

December 21, 1941.

Since the agreement of basic views concerning the conclusion of an alliance pact between Japan and Thailand was reached between our Ambassador, Mr. Teiji Tsubokami, and the Thai Prime Minister, Luang Pibula Songgram, on the 11th of this month, discussions were held regarding the drafting of the pact, which resulted in a satisfactory conclusion. Following the completion of necessary procedure, therefore, the Pact of Alliance between Japan and Thailand was signed between Ambassador Tsubokami and Prime Minister and concurrently Foreign Minister Pibula Songgram in Bangkok at 10:00 o'clock a.m. (noon, according to Japan time).

Contents of the pact are as follows:

The Pact of Alliance between Japan and Thailand

The Imperial Government of Japan and the Royal Government of Thailand, firmly convinced that the establishment of a new order in East Asia is the only way of realizing prosperity of that region and the indispensable condition for the restoration and promotion of world peace, and animated by a firm and inflexible determination to eliminate all baneful influences which are obstacles to such purpose, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

An alliance is established between Japan and Thailand on the basis of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty.

Article 2

In case either Japan or Thailand finds herself in an armed conflict vis-à-vis one or more third Powers, Thailand or Japan shall immediately range herself on the side of the other country as her ally and shall aid the latter with all political, economic and military means.

Article 3

The details relative to the execution of Article 2 shall be determined, by common accord, between the competent authorities of Japan and Thailand.

Article 4

Japan and Thailand, in case of war prosecuted in common, engage not to conclude an armistice or a peace without their complete mutual accord.

Article 5

The present Pact shall come into effect simultaneously with its signature and shall remain valid for the duration of ten years.



The Contracting Parties shall consult between them regarding the renewal of the present Pact at a suitable time before the expiration of the said duration.

XCIX. STATEMENT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER,  
MR. SHIGENORI TOGO, ON THE OCCASION OF THE  
CONCLUSION OF THE PACT OF ALLIANCE  
BETWEEN JAPAN AND THAILAND

December 21, 1941.

Japan and Thailand have for many years been bound to each other in bonds of traditional friendship as nations of the Oriental race. To strengthen further these bonds of close friendship, the Treaty of Amity and Friendship was concluded between the two countries in June of last year. Then at the beginning of this year, the border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China was peacefully settled through the mediation by Japan as the result of which Thailand succeeded in recovering her lost territories which had been long-standing aspiration. At the same time the Protocol concerning political understanding between Japan and Thailand was concluded, resulting in further increase in the warmth of their mutual cordiality.

On the other hand, Thailand has for many years been made an object of political intrigue and economic exploitation by Great Britain, in whose fetters she groaned. The present Thai Prime Minister, Luang Pibula Songgram, has long advocated autonomy in dealing with state affairs of Thailand. In order to realize the purpose through co-operation with Japan, a friendly Power in East Asia, he has exerted his efforts to promote and solidify the amicable relations between Japan and Thailand.

When Japan commenced war against the United States and the British Empire on December 8, our Government, with a view to repelling British invasion of Thailand, in-

structed Ambassador Tsubokami to negotiate with Prime Minister Pibula Songgram to obtain Thailand's assent to the passage of Japanese forces through the latter's territory. The Prime Minister, perceiving the general trend of affairs, agreed to Japan's proposal and an understanding with regard thereto was reached on the same day. Since then, in order to adjust the Japanese-Thai relations to the new situation as well as to accelerate the promotion of the close friendship between the two countries, Ambassador Tsubokami proceeded with the negotiations with Prime Minister Pibula Songgram. Through the courageous decision of the Prime Minister, an agreement of views concerning the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between Japan and Thailand was reached on December 11. Subsequently, a draft treaty was decided upon, and following the completion of internal procedures, the Pact of Alliance between Japan and Thailand was signed between Ambassador Tsubokami and Prime Minister and concurrently Foreign Minister Pibula Songgram at 10:00 o'clock a.m. (noon, according to Japan time) in the 21st of this month in a grand chapel of the Royal Palace in Bangkok.

The Alliance Pact, which is epoch-making in the history of Greater East Asia, has thus come into being. Thailand has, at a time when the war against the United States and the British Empire, which will determine the destiny of East Asia for centuries to come, is being prosecuted, expressed clearly and concretely her determination to prosecute the present war in co-operation with Japan until victory is won. This is indeed a matter for profound felicitation for the sake of the establishment of a new world order as well as the rise of East Asia.



**SUPPLEMENT**



1. MESSAGE OF THE PRIME MINISTER, PRINCE  
FUMIMARO KONOYE

January 1, 1941.

With the glorious history of 2,600 years behind, the Japanese nation feel at the beginning of 1941 that they have stepped into a historic new era, filled, to be sure, with hardships and difficulties, yet full of hopes and promises.

The task of paving the way for a New Order in East Asia, has been progressing, with bright prospect of bringing about welfare and prosperity for the peoples of this region—a task for which we have gained hearty co-operation not only of Manchoukuo and New China, the countries with which Japan is inseparably bound, but of Germany and Italy.

It is our confident hope that the lofty ideals, to the realization of which we are devoting our united effort, will be properly understood, and the basis of lasting peace will be established, in due time.

Japan is indeed as firmly determined as hitherto to do everything in her power for the cause of justice and righteousness, so that mankind will be permanently saved from exploitation and oppression.

It is our fervent hope that the peoples all over the world will discard their emotional antipathy and prejudice and regain the proper spirit of co-operation and sympathy.

2. ADDRESS OF MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA, MINISTER  
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE 76TH SES-  
SION OF THE IMPERIAL DIET

January 21, 1941.

It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity of explaining at the reopening of the 76th session of the Diet the recent course of our country's foreign affairs.

Needless to say, the aim of Japan's foreign policy is that of enabling all nations of the world each to take its own proper place, in accordance with the spirit of the Hakko Ichiu, the very ideal which inspired the foundation of our Empire. The object of the Three-Power Pact concluded between Japan, Germany and Italy on September 27 last is none other than the realization of the same great ideal. We are, one and all, profoundly moved that His Majesty the Emperor was graciously pleased to grant an Imperial Rescript on the conclusion of the Pact, clearly indicating to the nation the path which they should follow.

The Three-Power Pact stipulates that Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia. It is our avowed purpose to bring all the people in Greater East Asia to revert to their innate and proper aspect, promoting conciliation and co-operation among them, and thereby setting the example of universal concord. The Pact also provides that Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in their similar endeavours in Europe. Far from antagonizing any country, the Pact is the embodiment of a peaceful but powerful co-operation directed towards the establishment of a new world order. In accordance with the provisions of the treaty, arrangements have already been made for setting up mixed commissions at the capitals of the three countries. Friendly relations between the three nations are thus becoming evermore closer, politically, militarily, economically and culturally. During the month of November, last year, the Pact was adhered to by Hungary, Rumania and Slovakia. It need not be repeated that the keynote of Japan's diplomacy is the ideal of the Hakko Ichiu and that it revolves round the Three-Power Pact as its axis. In this connection, I should like to touch briefly upon Article Three of the Three-Power Pact. That article provides that the Contracting Parties undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means if one of the



Contracting Parties is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European War or in the Sino-Japanese conflict. In case such an attack should be made, the obligation stipulated by this article would, of course, arise. Incidentally, reference may be made to Italy's military operations. There appear to be various species of malicious propaganda circulated on this head, but I have no doubt that our ally Italy will attain her object before long.

Of the nations in Greater East Asia, Manchoukuo has special and inseparable relations with this country. As you are aware, during the ten years which have already elapsed since her emergence as an independent nation, her national foundations have become strong and secure while her international position has been greatly enhanced, her teeming millions ever enjoying an increasing measure of prosperity. In June, last year, the Emperor of Manchoukuo paid a visit to Japan to offer His felicitations personally to our Imperial House on the auspicious occasion of the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of our Empire. This is a source of genuine congratulation for the peoples of Japan and Manchoukuo, as it is a conspicuous manifestation of the unique relations subsisting between the two nations, sharing, as they do, common aims and aspirations. By the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty concluded with the National Government at Nanking, and through the Joint Declaration made by Japan, Manchoukuo and China, the Republic of China recognized Manchoukuo, with the result that an exchange of ambassadors has been arranged between them.

Inasmuch as an early settlement of the China Affair is desirable in the interests of the creation of this sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, the present Government ever since their formation, have urged the Chiang Kai-shek régime to reconsider and reverse its attitude, with a view of bringing about its amalgamation with the Nanking Government, but it remains still struggling against Japan. The Chiang régime, however, is riddled with internal disruption and

friction which are rapidly growing acute, while the masses under its control are suffering from high prices, a dearth of commodities and other severe tribulations. While the armed resistance of Chiang's régime has notably declined, the Chinese communist troops have greatly gained in influence, with the result that they are steadily encroaching upon the sphere of influence of the Chungking armies. The leader in Chungking now seems to be greatly harassed by the rampancy of the communist forces. Despite its being in such a miserable plight, the Chiang régime is still advocating national reconstruction through continued resistance against Japan. This is due to its misplaced hopes in assistance from Great Britain and the United States, especially the latter, and also to past circumstances the effect of which that régime can not easily escape. In June, last year, Great Britain temporarily suspended the traffic of goods destined for the Chiang régime by the Hongkong and Burma routes. On October 18 of last year, however, following the announcement of the Three Power Pact, that country reopened the Burma route and has since been trying to transport goods by that route. Furthermore, Great Britain recently granted the Chiang régime a ten million pound sterling loan, while about the same time the United States, too, offered a loan of one hundred million dollars. The latter country is now endeavouring to extend assistance to Great Britain on a large scale by mobilizing her entire resources, while the Burma route is being seriously and successively damaged by appropriate measures taken by our loyal and gallant air forces. It seems highly problematical, therefore, what assistance Great Britain and the United States can actually afford the Chiang régime. In the light of such an international situation, the Japanese Government, in pursuance of their fixed policy, recognized the National Government at Nanking and on November 30 of last year concluded with the latter the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty. This Treaty embodies the three basic principles of good neighbourliness, economic co-operation and joint defence against communist activities. It



stipulates that both Japan and China respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and undertake close economic cooperation on the basis of equality and reciprocity, and that Japanese forces be stationed in certain specified areas in Mengchiang and North China. Not only does Japan demand no territorial cession and no indemnities, but she has willingly pledged to China a policy of abolishing extraterritoriality and also of restoring the "concessions" to China. This is an eloquent testimony of her sincere desire for the attainment of a moral union of the Asiatic peoples. Now that the Basic Treaty has been signed and the Joint Declaration by Japan, Manchoukuo and China issued, it is incumbent upon us to concentrate our efforts on assisting the Nanking Government to develop into the general government of China both in name and in fact. We have thus maintained an attitude to surmount all obstacles for the purpose of establishing a sphere of co-prosperity throughout Greater East Asia with Japan, Manchoukuo and China as its pivotal point.

Let me now make a brief survey of our relations with the Netherlands East Indies, French Indo-China, and Thailand, which lie within the above-mentioned sphere of common prosperity.

The Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China, if only for geographical reasons, should be in intimate and inseparable relationship with our country. Therefore, the situation which has hitherto thwarted the development of this natural relationship must be thoroughly remedied and relations of good neighbourliness secured for the promotion of mutual prosperity. With this in view, early in September last, the Government despatched Mr. Ichizo Kobayashi, Minister of Commerce and Industry, to the Netherlands East Indies as a special envoy. Mr. Kobayashi was obliged to return to Japan by circumstances preventing his prolonged sojourn abroad, when a definite stage had been reached in his negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies authorities concerning purchases of

oil and other urgent questions. As his successor, the Government have recently sent to the Netherlands East Indies Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had already resumed the negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies authorities.

As regards French Indo-China, it formed the most important route of supply for Chungking since the beginning of the China Affair. Consequent, however, upon the sudden change in the European situation last June, a change has occurred in the relations between Japan and French Indo-China, resulting in the closure of the border between French Indo-China and China itself, and the entry, by agreement, of Japanese armed forces into French Indo-China. Negotiations are now in progress in Tokyo in an amicable atmosphere on the basis of the Notes exchanged between the French Ambassador and myself in August last. It is my opinion that a realization by France of the necessity for co-operation with Japan, in the light of the new situation in the world in general and in East Asia in particular, is responsible for this development.

In connection with the French Indo-China question, I should like to refer to the relations between our country and Thailand. It may be recalled that at the General Assembly of the League of Nations dealing with the Manchurian Affair, in 1933, the Thai delegate did not leave the Assembly hall but remained in his seat, and boldly announced his abstention from voting. This is still fresh in the memory of our people.

In June, last year, a Treaty of Amity and Neutrality was concluded by Japan with Thailand. With the exchange of ratifications, completed on December 23, at Bangkok, the bonds of friendship between the two countries have been drawn still closer. A movement is now stirring the Thai people for the recovery of the lost territories which are at present incorporated in French Indo-China. The Thai troops are confronting the French Indo-China forces across the border with frequent conflicts occurring between them. Japan, the leader



in East Asia, cannot afford to remain indifferent to such a dispute, which she hopes will be settled at the earliest possible opportunity.

An exchange of diplomatic representatives has taken place between Japan and Australia. We expect that the two countries will make contributions toward the promotion of the peace of the Pacific by further advancing their friendly relations through cordial co-operation and the elimination of unnecessary misunderstandings.

The relations between Japan and Near Eastern Countries have recently increased in cordiality. Our ratification of the Treaty of Amity with Iran is only one of many proofs that illustrate this happy state of affairs.

Japan and the Argentine have agreed to elevate the status of their Legations in each other's country to that of Embassies. With Brazil, a cultural agreement was signed in September last, and it has already been sanctioned by His Majesty the Emperor. Relations between Japan and Brazil are thus growing more and more cordial. It is a matter for hearty congratulation that Japan and those Latin American countries have of recent years become increasingly closer in their political, economic and cultural relations.

While diplomatic relations have taken such a favourable turn, the development of the European war has obliged us to suspend or temporarily withdraw some of our diplomatic establishments in that region. But Japan's diplomatic service abroad is being steadily strengthened on the principle of attaching special importance to specific countries. We are specially reinforcing our diplomatic machinery in Greater East Asia.

In establishing a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, and ensuring the peace of the Orient, it is not desirable that the present diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union should be left as they are. The utmost efforts are being made, therefore, to remove mutual misunderstandings and, if possible, to bring about a fundamental and far-reaching adjustment of diplomatic relations.

We are pursuing negotiations at this moment upon such questions as the frontier demarcation between Manchoukuo and Outer Mongolia, the fisheries and the Japanese concessions in North Saghalien. Regarding the fisheries question in particular, an agreement of views has already been reached concerning the establishment of a mixed commission composed of Japanese and Soviet representatives for the purpose of revising the long-term treaty and also concerning the conclusion of a *modus vivendi* for fishing industry for this year. On this point both Germany and Italy share Japan's desire. The provisions of Article V of the Three Power Pact also make it clear, in accordance with the above-mentioned intentions of Japan, that the Pact is not directed against the Soviet Union. We earnestly hope that the Soviet Union will understand Japan's true intentions and that the two countries, actuated by the spirit of mutual concession and conciliation, will succeed in achieving the readjustment of their relations.

Japan's foreign trade, with the exception of that with Manchoukuo and China, is conducted mostly with Great Britain, the United States and their respective colonies and possessions. Since notifying Japan of the abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation in July, 1939, the United States has been enforcing in succession embargoes or restrictions on the exports of Japan of aircraft, arms and ammunition, aviation gasoline, machine tools, scrap iron, iron and steel manufactures, copper, nickel and other important war materials, while the British Dominions and colonies are in various ways interfering with Japan's shipping. The Japanese Government have lodged protests against such actions on each occasion, but this tendency has recently been so greatly aggravated that Japan must meet the situation adequately prepared. No other course is left to Japan but to go forward with perfecting herself as a state highly organized for national defence, not only in order to meet this pressure that I have referred to but also to secure an economic life of self-supply and self-sufficiency within the region of Greater East Asia.



In this connection, I should like to refer to our relations with the United States. The United States has evinced no adequate understanding of the fact that the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia is truly a matter of vital concern to Japan. She apparently entertains an idea that her own first line of national defence lies along the mid-Atlantic to the east, but westward not only along the eastern Pacific, but even as far as China and the South Seas. If the United States assumes such an attitude, it would be, to say the least, a very one sided contention on her part, to cast reflections on our superiority in the Western Pacific, by suggesting that it betokens ambitious designs. I, for one, believe that such a position assumed on the part of the United States would not be calculated to contribute toward the promotion of world peace. Speaking frankly, I should extremely regret such an attitude of the United States for the sake of Japanese-American friendship, for the sake of peace in the Pacific and, also, for the sake of the peace of the world in general. It is my earnest hope that a great nation exerting the influence that the United States does will realize her responsibility for the maintenance of peace, will reflect deeply on her attitude with truly God-fearing piety, will courageously liquidate past circumstances and bend her utmost efforts to allay the impending crisis of civilization.

The prevailing confusion of the international situation shows no sign of subsiding, but on the contrary, it tends to increase. Should the United States unfortunately become involved in the European war, and should Japan too, be compelled to participate in the war, another great World War both in name and reality would ensue, precipitating a situation which would defy all attempt at saving it. Should the war take its furious course, unleashing formidable new weapons which have not hitherto been used, no one could guarantee that it would not develop into a war spelling the downfall of modern civilization. The Three Power Pact has been concluded for the purpose not only

of making sustained efforts for the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, but of preventing, in its course, any further extension of the present disturbances. We must endeavour to terminate the current war as speedily as possible and to settle the chaos in which the world is plunged. We must, meanwhile, study in advance to discover some formula for the prevention of the recurrence of any such disturbance in the future.

With an unbroken line of Emperors reigning since its foundation, our Empire constitutes a unique family-State unparalleled in the world for unity and solidarity, which grow stronger with every national emergency. It is reassuring, moreover, to observe that the Japanese Empire is endowed with most favourable geographical conditions, powerful enough to influence the course of world politics. With the conviction of our race that Light radiates from the East and with the great ideal of Hakko Ichiu, we must put forth our utmost efforts in the great task of establishing a new world order which is the object of the Tripartite Pact. That we shall succeed in this regard I have not the slightest doubt. If we are fully prepared for this task under these circumstances, the future of our Empire, I firmly believe, is full of promise.

In concluding my address, I respectfully pay my tribute to the spirits of these loyal and valiant officers and men, our countrymen, who have fallen in action, and at the same time, I tender my warm thanks to the armed forces of our nation for enduring so many hardships and privations, devoting to them my most sincere wishes for every success in the field.

### 3. THE INAUGURAL SPEECH OF FOREIGN MINISTER MATSUOKA AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE IN TOKYO

February 7, 1941.

Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, and Gentlemen,



I wish first of all to welcome you most heartily, and express my most sincere appreciation of the trouble you have taken in coming such a long way to attend this conference.

It is my firm belief that the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Great East Asia is not only Japan's policy, but indeed a historical necessity in the event of world history. And those countries which exist in that sphere can contribute to the peace of East Asia as well as to that of the world by their procuring each its own place and enjoying common prosperity amongst them. For that purpose I need hardly say that it is of vital importance that there should be security and stability in this part of East Asia. Therefore, when there arose a dispute concerning the boundary between Thailand and the French Indo-China last year, I sincerely wished that the dispute would be amicably settled. Unfortunately, however, hostilities began between the two countries. The Japanese Government considered that it would be undesirable in the interests of the whole East Asia if this state of affairs were allowed to last long, and therefore we have decided to mediate between the two countries.

Now that we have entered upon the task of mediation, it will readily be appreciated that the Japanese Government are prepared to endeavour to bring about the settlement of the dispute with determination and responsibility.

It was most fortunate that the Conference for the Cessation of Hostilities held at Saigon so speedily came to a satisfactory end. I wish from the bottom of my heart that both the French and Thai Delegates would show at this Tokyo Conference for the Settlement of Dispute such a perfect understanding and earnest spirit of co-operation as were manifested by them at the Saigon Conference for the Cessation of Hostilities, so that the dispute may speedily be settled and friendly relations restored between the two countries, thus making an invaluable contribution towards the peace and stability of Greater East Asia.

ADDRESS OF THE THAI PLENIPOTENTIARY,  
H. S. H. PRINCE VANVAIDYAKARA VARAVARN,  
IN REPLY TO FOREIGN MINISTER  
MR. MATSUOKA'S ADDRESS

February 7, 1941.

Your Excellency,

The Thai Delegation wish to record their heartfelt appreciation for Your Excellency's kind words of welcome. The offer of mediation by the Imperial Japanese Government has been readily accepted by the Royal Thai Government not only because it is a friendly act of a great Power, with whom Thailand maintains the most friendly relations, but also because His Majesty's Government have been consistently in favour of the adoption of peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes. In undertaking mediation in the present dispute between Thailand and France relating to French Indo-China, the Imperial Japanese Government have given evidence of their high sense of responsibility, due to their eminent position in East Asia, and of their sincere solicitude for the maintenance of permanent peace and order in this part of the world, so that there may be prosperity for each and stability for all.

The common interests of permanent stability and peace for the countries concerned have always been the main preoccupation of the Royal Thai Government, whose foreign policy is to promote friendship and good understanding among nations upon a lasting basis of reason, equity and justice. It is upon this basis that they have used their best endeavours to adjust their relations with France, more particularly in regard to their relations with France Indo-China; and it is upon this basis that they will seek the rapid settlement of the pending dispute with France.

The success of the negotiations at Saigon for the suspension of hostilities is a happy augury for the deliberations of the



present Conference, and the Thai Delegation are confident that, under the high presidency of Your Excellency, the matter under consideration will receive the care and attention that it deserves as affecting so essentially the peace and prosperity of Southeastern Asia.

4. DISCOURS INAUGURAL DU MINISTRE MATSUOKA  
À LA PREMIERE SEANCE PLENIERE DE LA  
CONFÉRENCE DE LA MÉDIATION

7 Février, 1941.

Altesse,  
Excellences,  
Messieurs,

Je désire tout d'abord vous souhaiter du fond du coeur la bienvenue et vous remercier sincèrement d'être venus de si loin pour participer à la présente Conférence.

Laissez-moi vous dire ensuite ma conviction que l'établissement de la zone de prospérité mutuelle de la Grande Asie-orientale est non seulement le principe directeur de l'Empire du Soleil Levant mais aussi un aboutissement naturel de l'histoire, si nous considérons le fait sous l'angle de l'histoire mondiale. Aussi pensé-je que remettre dûment chacun des peuples de cette zone à sa propre destinée et leur assurer une existence fraternelle et une prospérité mutuelle, c'est contribuer à la paix asiatique et, partant, à la paix universelle. Il va sans dire que l'apaisement et la stabilité de l'Asie-orientale sont pour cela une condition indispensable. Ainsi, lorsqu'un différend de frontière a éclaté à la fin de l'année dernière entre la Thaïlande et l'Indochine française, nous avons espéré que les deux pays arriveraient à régler amiablement le conflit sans en venir aux armes. Mais des combats se sont malheureusement déclenchés entre eux. Or un tel état de choses, s'il devait se prolonger, pouvant être nuisible à toute l'Asie-orientale, nous avons fini par nous charger du rôle de médiateurs.

Inutile de dire que, du moment que notre Empire a accepté de faire médiation, il fera tous ses efforts, avec résolution et responsabilité, pour la solution du problème.

Nous nous félicitons de tout coeur que les négociations à Saïgon de suspension des hostilités, qui constituent la première phase de la médiation, aient si rapidement abouti à une conclusion satisfaisante. Nous espérons donc bien fermement qu'au cours de la Conférence de la médiation qui commence ici à présent, messieurs les délégués français et thaïlandais s'efforceront de régler rapidement le différend en y montrant la même compréhension parfaite et le même esprit de sincère entente que ceux dont ils ont fait preuve aux négociations de Saïgon, et contribueront à la pacification et à la stabilité de la Grande Asie-orientale en rétablissant entre leurs deux pays des relations amicales et cordiales.

5. GREETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER,  
MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA IMMEDIATELY  
PRECEDING THE SIGNING OF THE  
DOCUMENT AT THE SECOND  
FORMAL MEETING

March 11, 1941.

Since an agreement of views has happily been reached between Thailand and French Indo-China at the mediation conference aimed at the solution of border disputes between them, and in order to witness the above-mentioned fact, the plenipotentiaries of the parties concerned, namely, Thailand and French Indo-China, and the Japanese mediation committee shall now initial the terms of mediation.

Although it is needless to mention, I hope that treaty negotiations will be opened immediately by the parties concerned with a view to materializing the terms of mediation to be initialled to-day.



6. ADDRESS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA, AT THE SECOND FORMAL MEETING OF THE MEDIATION CONFERENCE

March 11, 1941.

Since the Mediation Conference for the purpose of settling the border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China was opened with its first formal session held on February 7, informal conversations have daily been held with sincere attitude between the representatives of the two countries concerned and the mediating country. Due to the spirit of mutual comprehension and concession on the part of the French and Thai representatives as well as the indefatigable efforts of the mediating country in exercising its good offices, the point of agreement of opinions was happily reached. Signature for confirmation of the agreement has today been completed between the two countries concerned and the mediating country, and the negotiations have thereby reached an amicable conclusion a little more than a month since the opening of the Mediation Conference.

By this signature, the friendly relations between France and Thailand have been restored and the bond of co-existence and co-prosperity of Japan on the one side and those two countries on the other has further been cemented, thereby contributing in some measure toward the establishment of peace in Greater East Asia and the world in general. This has been due to the mutual concession and compromise between France and Thailand which deeply understand the determination and responsibility of the mediating country—a fact to be heartily congratulated upon for the sake of well-being of mankind.

That the representatives of France and Thailand, coming as they did from afar to our capital in the midst of winter, have fulfilled auspiciously their respective missions with the appearance of the first sign of spring, reaping the fruits of their

conciliation, is in itself symbolic of the start on the great way toward a lasting peace between France and Thailand and peace and well-being of the entire mankind, which is truly a source of congratulation.

7. ADDRESS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. YOSUKE MATSUOKA, ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE FRENCH AND THAI PEACE TREATY

May 9, 1941.

On this auspicious occasion of the signature of the French and Thai Peace Treaty, I wish to say a few words of congratulation.

In accordance with the Terms of Mediation for the settlement of the Thai-French Indo-China border dispute which was signed on March 11, between the French and Thai Delegates and the Japanese Mediators, earnest discussions have been held for the past two months between the Delegates of France and Thailand with the object of putting them into a shape of treaty, while Japan has exercised her good offices. We are very glad that the peace treaty between France and Thailand has today been formally signed.

This treaty serves not only to dispel the dark clouds which have hovered between Thailand and French Indo-China for the past half year as well as to restore the friendly relations between those two countries but to insure them for the future. It assuredly marks the new epoch in the French and Thai relations, and, therefore, we wish to tender our profound gratification to the two countries. At the time when the whole world is trembling in fear of war, this fact is of a great significance.

A fact which I want specially to point out at this occasion is that the documents exchanged between Japan and France and Thailand, respectively, at the time of signature of the Terms



of Mediation have been signed as formal documents. By virtue of this document, Japan has guaranteed the new boundaries and has concluded the understanding concerning the establishment of amicable and good neighbourly relations, the promotion of closer economic relations, and also with reference to political, economic and military relations with respect to Thailand and French Indo-China. The relations among Japan, France, and Thailand have been considerably made closer and stronger. Japan deems that the close relations thus strengthened shall never be weakened or overthrown by sinister designs from outside.

Three and half months have elapsed since Japan offered her mediations in which the present task contributing toward peace has been accomplished. I believe that this is due to the fact that the French and Thai Delegates, fully understanding the actual situation in East Asia and the world at large, have sincerely conducted the negotiations, and tender to them the expression of appreciation for their efforts.

#### 8. STATEMENT OF THE THAI DELEGATION

May 7, 1941.

Your Excellency, M. l'Ambassadeur and Gentlemen:

In the name of the Thai Delegation, I wish to express our gratification at the happy conclusion of the negotiations for a Convention of Peace between Thailand and France under the mediation of the Japanese Government.

I am instructed to tender, in the name of His Majesty's Government and the Thai people as well as on behalf of the Premier, Major-General Luang Pibulasongram, an expression of grateful thanks to the Japanese Government and the Japanese Delegation for their very kind assistance in bringing this matter to a very successful conclusion.

The Thai Delegation are well aware of the strenuous en-

deavours of the Japanese Mediators and of the many difficulties which had to be overcome. They would therefore take this opportunity of recording their heart-felt gratitude.

Now that the friendly relations between Thailand and France have been restored, I am confident that the mutual good understanding manifested in the present negotiations, together with the guarantee of the Japanese Government, will result in the promotion of peace and stability in East Asia. In the name of the Thai Delegation, therefore, I would extend our good wishes for the ever increasing mutual prosperity in this part of the world.

#### 9. STATEMENT OF MR. WANG CHING-WEI, PRESIDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE YUAN OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

June 18, 1941.

The purpose of my present visit to your country is to tender the expression of gratitude for the goodwill of your country, which has been supporting my country, as well as to exchange views with your Government authorities regarding various fundamental questions requiring co-operation of our two countries.

It is indeed a great honour for me to have been able, as President of the National Government of the Republic of China, to have an audience with Their Majesties the Emperor and the Empress, and to tender to Them the profound gratitude of my Government and people. His Majesty, in His solicitude for the future of my country and East Asia, was so gracious as to have accorded me words of encouragement, whereby, I am most profoundly moved.

I intend to call on your Government authorities from tomorrow and fully exchange opinions with them and, at the same



time, to express my innermost thoughts to the people of your country. I do not hesitate to declare that in my country both the Government and the people are equally exerting consistent efforts for the realization of the three principles of good neighbourly and amicable relations, joint defence against Communism and economic co-operation declared previously by Prime Minister Prince Konoye and completely to fulfill the terms of the Basic Treaty between Japan and China and the Joint Declaration of Japan, Manchoukuo and China which were concluded last year. They are, thereby, endeavouring to bring about general peace and carry out the responsibility for the establishment of the new order in East Asia and thus establish permanent peace in East Asia and contribute toward the peace of the world.

Since landing at Kobe, I have been enthusiastically welcomed and the special courtesy of the Imperial Household and the cordiality of the people accorded me have given me an impressein which I shall never forget throughout the rest of my life and for which I desire to express my profound thanks.

10. RADIO SPEECH OF DR. NOBUMI ITO, PRESIDENT  
OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION IN COM-  
MEMORATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVER-  
SARY OF THE CONCLUSION OF  
THE THREE POWER PACT  
BETWEEN JAPAN,  
GERMANY AND  
ITALY

September 26, 1941.

Exactly a year has elapsed since the Three Power Pact was concluded between Japan, Germany and Italy on September 27 last year. Following its conclusion Hungary joined it on November 20, last year, followed by Rumania on the 23rd of

the same month, and Slovakia, on December 24. On March 1, this year, Bulgaria participated in the Pact and on June 15, Croatia followed suit. In such a manner the Pact has gained successively new participants and all the signatory Powers in the East and West have been exerting themselves to their utmost for the construction of the new world order. We, the people of Japan, must bear in mind that tomorrow's anniversary is the day to be heartily felicitated.

The real meaning of the spirit of the Three Power Pact is clear from the Imperial Rescript granted on the day of its conclusion and from the message of Prime Minister Konoye. In the Imperial Rescript is stated, "We fervently hope that the cessation of the disturbances and the restoration of peace will be realized as swiftly as possible", and in the Prime Minister's message, also, the same sentiment is expressed. As stated in the Prime Minister's message, it goes without saying that the maintenance of world peace as well as the stabilization of East Asia are attributable to the spirit of the founding of our Empire and constitute our immutable policy. The Three Power Pact is nothing other than a concrete expression of this spirit which constitutes the basis of our foreign policy at present.

The situation prevailing at the time of its conclusion was such that more than a year had already passed since the outbreak of the European War with the hostilities steadily expanding in scope and warlike clouds appearing to spread over the whole world. Ever being solicitous of the maintenance of world peace, the Japanese Government, considering it to be of urgent necessity for the welfare of mankind to forestall the spread of the war, concluded the Pact. Expressed in other words, the Three Power Pact is not one like military alliances of the past which were made for the purpose of acquiring advantages for the prosecution of war.

The fundamental purpose of its conclusion lay in the prevention of world-wide conflagration and the establishment of world



peace on a firm foundation. It was this spirit which largely motivated the conclusion of the Three Power Pact.

The second point is the fact that by this Pact the leading position of Japan in the establishment of the new order in Greater East Asia was definitely recognized. The very fact that Japan, with a view to bringing about the permanent stabilization of East Asia, has already waged more than four years of hostilities for the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek régime which is the cat's paw for the defense of the countries clinging to the old order, can be considered as one of the great movements for the change in the world at present. It is indeed regrettable that the real intentions of our country have not yet been fully understood throughout the world. Some think mistakenly that to persist to maintain the old order means peace, and some, although they recognize the necessity of change, still cling to the status quo; and thus they are prone to oppose the construction of the new order in Greater East Asia by Japan. Under such circumstances, it is quite natural that Japan should co-operate with Germany and Italy, which share with us the same ideals and aspirations.

In the region of Europe, Germany and Italy have, with irresistible power, made signal progress towards the establishment of the new order since the conclusion of the Pact. It needs not be elaborated here what a strong encouragement it has been to Germany and Italy that Japan, as one of the signatory Powers, has maintained in the meantime a firm attitude in East Asia. In East Asia the first forward step was made for the construction of the new order with the three countries—Japan, Manchoukuo and China—serving as its pivot following the recognition in November last by Japan of the National Government of China under Mr. Wang Ching-wei. Not only that, our country mediated the border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China in the early part of this year and

successfully settled it, and, in July, concluded the Agreement for the Joint Defense of French Indo-China under which our forces made a peaceful entry into that country. Thus, the construction of the new order is also making steady progress in Greater East Asia where our country is shouldering her responsibility in this part of the world.

As I have already said, a year has passed since the conclusion of the Three Power Pact with new participants increasing, and in East Asia as well as Europe each signatory Power has steadily marched forward for the construction of the new order. There are undeniably many difficulties lying in the path of our country as is mentioned in the Imperial Rescript in which His Imperial Majesty graciously stated. "The task of enabling each nation to find its proper place and all individuals to live in peace and security is indeed one of the great magnitude, unparalleled in history. The goal lies still far distant." As for us, it is my belief that we must be strongly determined to exhaust all peaceful means possible in accordance with the spirit of the Pact, and if there be any interference by a third Power, to dispel it resolutely, and to go forward with steady steps toward the ultimate realization of the new world order.

In welcoming the first anniversary of the Three Power Pact, I congratulate upon the various accomplishments of the past year. Whatever changes there may be hereafter in international situation and whatever difficulties we may encounter, there will not be any change whatever in the fact that the spirit of the Three Power Pact constitutes the key-note of our diplomacy and that it will not be affected in the least by the activities of third Powers to alienate the three countries from each other. This point I wish specially to emphasize in view of the present delicate international situation.



11. ADDRESS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER, ADMIRAL  
TEIJIRO TOYODA, AT THE LUNCHEON IN  
COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST ANNI-  
VERSARY OF THE CONCLUSION OF  
THE THREE POWER PACT

September 27, 1941.

Excellencies and Gentlemen,

As the first anniversary of the conclusion of the Three Power Pact falls on today, I invited you to join me in celebrating this auspicious occasion. I feel greatly honoured to have the presence of Their Excellencies, the Ambassadors of Germany and Italy, the Minister of Rumania and Chargé d' Affaires of Hungary.

During the year following the conclusion of the Three Power Pact the situation of the whole world has undergone a great change. When we recall the mission performed by the Pact in this period, we think it is of great significance that the Pact has been further strengthened through the successive participation of those countries which, sharing the same ideals with Japan, Germany and Italy, are willing to co-operate for the construction of the new order, such as Hungary and Rumania.

The next point is that Japan, Germany and Italy are steadily making great strides toward the construction of the new world order respectively in Europe and East Asia. The constructive efforts of Germany and Italy in Europe and those of Japan in East Asia will still be confronted by many difficulties, and, therefore, increased efforts, will be required. However, I am firmly convinced that the accomplishment which the three Powers, making the Pact the basis of their respective diplomacies, have made in co-operation in the brief period since the conclusion of the Pact will play a great role in the history of the world.

Thirdly, the Three Power Pact has a lofty mission of preventing the extension of the dispute as well as the spread

of hostilities as far as possible. I have no doubt that in the past year the Pact has also accomplished a great deal in this respect.

The ideal as enunciated by the Three Power Pact is the accomplishment of the noble mission of mankind and, needless to say, the mutual co-operation, trust and patience are essential in order to achieve this ideal. On this day of commemorating the first anniversary of the conclusion of the Pact, each signatory Power should renew its attitude with regard to this point and its determination to surmount whatever difficulties there may be in its path.

Let us rise and drink to the health of Their Excellencies.

12. RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER,  
GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO, ON THE OCCASION OF  
HIS ASSUMPTION OF PREMIERSHIP

October 18, 1941.

At a time when the world is confronted with an unprecedentedly grave situation, I was commanded unexpectedly by the Throne to organize a new cabinet and was overwhelmed with a feeling of trepidation.

It is my strong conviction that an iron will and speedy action which is most appropriate to the occasion, under the aegis of the August Virtue of His Majesty the Emperor, are the only way to overcome the present difficulties.

In this belief, I am firmly resolved to assist the Throne and take the lead in the conduct of the affairs of the State with an unflinching determination.

Needless to say, it is our inflexible national policy to bring the China Affair to a successful conclusion and to establish firmly the sphere of common prosperity in Greater East Asia, thereby contributing toward world peace. And, I am certain that our objective can be attained when the whole nation, united as one body and with determination, march forward.



With the support and confidence of you all, I sincerely hope to be able, by our common endeavour, to add to the glory of the history of three millenniums of our Empire.

13. RADIO BROADCAST OF THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. SHIGENORI TOGO

October 20, 1941.

I have been unexpectedly called to the Ministership of Foreign Affairs and concurrently of Overseas Affairs for which I am greatly moved. I am determined to do everything in my power and to serve the country as well as I can in meeting the present unprecedentedly grave situation.

There has seldom been a rise in the fortunes of State which was not accompanied by difficulties, and the future of our country will, I believe, truly be bright only after overcoming the present ordeal. However, we must protect with a firm attitude the existence and prestige of our Empire in case they are prejudiced and thus endeavour for the fulfillment of our glorious and historical mission.

The foreign policy of our country must, therefore, be aimed at promoting our national fortune by strengthening the united front of diplomatic and military services and by facing realities with a strong and just conviction, thereby contributing toward the peace of the world.

It is certain that we can overcome the difficulties which confront the nation, if we resolutely maintain this attitude and go forward toward the attainment of justice without fear or haste. We may then look forward to an uninterrupted period of national development.

I take this opportunity of asking you for your undivided support

14. ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO, DELIVERED AT THE EXTRA-ORDINARY SESSION OF THE DIET

November 17, 1941.

With the 77th session of the Diet convened at this critical hour, I am profoundly moved that His Majesty the Emperor was pleased to grant a most gracious Rescript at the opening ceremony. The Government desire at this opportunity to state frankly their views and conviction regarding the execution of national policies, and with your co-operation, to surmount the unprecedented national crisis with an inflexible will of the united nation and thus hope to set our Sovereign's mind at rest.

In looking over the present world situation with reference to our Empire, we find that, in the China Affair, thanks to the vigorous efforts of the loyal and gallant officers and men of the fighting services under the August Virtue of His Majesty the Emperor and to the activities of the earnest and determined people on the home front, brilliant results have been achieved, and the Chungking régime's power of resistance is fast diminishing. The constructive work of the National Government of China on the other hand has made a steady progress resulting in the recognition of that Government by many friendly Powers. The task of settling the China Affair has thus entered upon its final stage. However, the economic and military activities of the countries aiding Chiang Kai-shek have become increasingly more vigorous. They constitute the last remaining pillar of Chungking's power of resistance, obstructing the successful conclusion of the China Affair.

In the region of the North, the situation since the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June of this year has led one to think of possibilities of its eventful future, and Japan can not afford to be indifferent to its development. We are, therefore, seeing to it that all the necessary measures are taken in



order to secure the stability in the North. In the South, there took place last year the peaceful entry of the Imperial forces into northern French Indo-China, and as the result of the conclusion of an economic agreement between Japan and French Indo-China and our mediation of a dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China, close and cordial relations between our country and French Indo-China have gradually been established and Japan's peaceful advancement toward the South was about to commence. But, as the military and economic co-operation of Great Britain, the United States and the Netherlands East-Indies became strengthened, Japan's economic negotiations with the Netherland East-Indies fell through, a situation pregnant with grave menaces to the position of Japan in the southern Pacific. Japan, thereupon, entered into an agreement with the Vichy Government for the joint defence of French Indo-China and in accordance with this agreement our reinforcements were despatched to southern French Indo-China in the latter part of July. But Great Britain, the United States and the Netherlands East-Indies, viewed these legitimate measures of self-defence with suspicion and misgivings. They froze our assets in their countries, and, by resorting to virtually complete embargoes, enforced an economic blockade, and at the same time, rapidly augmented their military measures against our country. It hardly requires an explanation that economic blockade resorted to as between non-belligerent countries constitutes a measure little less hostile in character than an armed warfare. Such an act not only impedes the settlement of the China Affair which Japan intends to bring about, but it gravely affects the existence of our Empire, and as such we can by no means acquiesce in it.

Notwithstanding this, Japan, earnestly desiring peace as she always does, has consistently maintained her patience and perseverance and has exerted her utmost efforts for a peaceful solution of the situation by tiding over the crisis through diplomatic negotiations. Our purpose has not as yet been realized, and the Empire has come to face a serious situation where she

must literally decide her course for generations to come. Nevertheless, the Government, in a peace-loving spirit which has inspired the nation since the foundation of the Empire, are even now devoting their utmost efforts to a diplomatic settlement in order to safeguard the existence and prestige of the Empire and establish a new order in East Asia. The Japanese Government expect that:

1. The third Powers will refrain from obstructing a successful conclusion of the China Affair which Japan has in view;
2. The countries surrounding our Empire will not only refrain from presenting a direct military menace to our Empire, but nullify such measures of hostile character as economic blockade and restore normal economic relations with Japan; and
3. Utmost efforts will be exerted to prevent the extension of the European war and the spread of the disturbances into East Asia.

If the above-mentioned triple purpose is realized by diplomatic negotiations, it will, I believe, be a matter for gratification not only for the sake of Japan alone but for the cause of peace in East Asia and the world at large. In view of past experiences, however, the prospect of the negotiations still remains uncertain.

The Government, therefore, anticipating obstacles lying in their path, are determined firmly to assure the existence of our Empire by perfecting all kinds of preparations leaving no stone unturned for the purpose of vigorously executing the fixed national policy of our country.

As our Empire now stands at a crossroad of national destiny unparalleled in her history of more than two thousand six hundred years, the Government are fully resolved to fulfill with all their power their responsibilities of assisting the Throne.

Whatever may be the development of the situation, the perfection of a state structure for high degree national defence is a matter of most urgent importance. For the purpose it is



essential to enhance the national morale to a higher pitch and to increase the industrial and economic efficiency to a maximum degree.

Although the Government are simultaneously taking all possible measures to assure the livelihood of the people, a further curtailment will be unavoidable. I sincerely hope that the entire nation, with a firm belief that our Empire must now make a great forward stride and may well expect an unlimited development of national fortune, will share together the present hardships, and, go forward as one man in assisting to accomplish the sacred work of His Majesty. The Government are prepared, with regard to the political and economic administration, to undertake renovations and perfections of various kinds, but in their execution they intend not to follow ideals merely but to take measures in conformity with the actual situation so that the organic efficiency of various technical systems may be given a full play.

I am firmly convinced that the entire nation, understanding the intentions of the Government, will extend their whole-hearted co-operation.

The budget which has been submitted consists principally of the expenditures required in meeting the present critical situation, and the proposed bills have been limited specially to those which are now urgently required.

I desire that you will understand the intentions of the Government, carefully deliberate upon them, and give your approval. In conclusion, the Government wish to tender the expression of their deep appreciation for the constant co-operation extended to our Empire by Manchoukuo and the National Government of the Republic of China. The Government also wish to express their sincere felicitations on the accomplishments of the friendly Powers, especially of Germany and Italy. They hope that these Powers will achieve success together with our Empire in establishing the new world order based on justice.

In coping with the grave situation prevailing at present,

I feel greatly honoured to assist the Imperial Rule together with you, gentlemen, and feel deeply the great responsibilities. I believe that the difficulties can be surmounted and the present crisis solved only when the entire nation do their part for the cause of public service in their respective occupations and when the total strength of the nation is concentrated for the purpose. I earnestly request that you will give further support and co-operation to the Government.

Lastly, I wish to render my sincere respects to the spirits of those who gave their lives for the defence of the Empire, and to express my profound appreciation to all my fellow countrymen on the front-line and the home-front for their strenuous endeavours.

15. ADDRESS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. SHIGENORI TOGO, DELIVERED AT THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE DIET.

November 17, 1941.

With the heavy responsibilities for the conduct of foreign affairs having unexpectedly devolved upon me it is a great pleasure for me to avail myself of this opportunity today of speaking on the foreign policy of the Imperial Government.

Japan, engaged for the past four years in military operations for the construction of a new order in East Asia, is now marching forward to surmount current difficulties with the unity of the entire nation. First of all, I wish good fortune and success to the officers and men of our gallant fighting services who are distinguishing themselves on the front under the August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty, paying, at the same time, my humble and sincere tribute to the honoured spirits of many who have fallen.

It needs no reiteration that the fundamental principle of Japan's foreign policy aims at the establishment of peace in



East Asia based on justice, thereby contributing toward the promotion of general welfare of mankind. It is nothing other than the fruit of the constant efforts exerted in espousal of this great principle that our country has witnessed and unceasing development of her national fortune since the Meiji Restoration. It may be recalled that in the past seventy and odd years Japan has, on more than one occasion, successfully overcome national crises. Especially noteworthy is the Russo-Japanese War, in which Japan staked her national existence in order to eliminate an obstacle to the peace of East Asia. She has since been advancing her position as the stabilizing force in East Asia, and is now endeavouring with unflinching courage to accomplish the great task of inaugurating a new order in East Asia on the basis of justice for contributing toward the peace of the world.

Fortunately, Germany and Italy having similar views with Japan, the Three Power Pact was brought into being. In a little more than a year of its existence, as is well known, the Pact has made, as intended, a great contribution toward the construction of a new order in East Asia and Europe, as well as toward the prevention of the spread of the war.

The Empire of Manchoukuo has become increasingly strong in her foundation since her establishment. No less than thirteen countries have already recognized Manchoukuo, and her international status, together with her national prosperity, is being steadily enhanced. In China, Japan is conducting military operations to subjugate the Chungking regime. The basic policy of Japan toward the China Affair consists in establishing co-operation between Japan and China, thereby securing the stability of East Asia and the advancement of common prosperity in this region. The Basic Treaty regulating the new relations between Japan and China was concluded some time ago between the Japanese Government and the National Government of China. It is the determination of the Imperial Government to extend their co-operation toward further strengthening of the National Government of China.

Along with the successful conclusion of the China Affair, Japan takes a great interest in the region of the North and also in the South Seas. Following the outbreak of the European War, Japan has exerted every effort to prevent the conflict from spreading to the East from the standpoint of maintaining the peace of East Asia in general. The Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact concluded in April of this year is also intended to secure the safety in the North in conformity with the said policy. Although hostilities subsequently broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, our Government have steadfastly maintained this policy of preserving security in the North. It is, in a word, Japan's determination to prevent by all means not only the causation of factors likely to disturb peace in the North, but also the development of such a situation as will menace the rights and interests of Japan.

As regards the South Seas region, the Imperial Government successfully mediated in the settlement of the border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China, and also established close political and economic relations with French Indo-China. They further concluded with France the Protocol for the joint defence of French Indo-China to meet the international situation confronting the latter when it began to threaten seriously the security of French Indo-China, and consequently the tranquillity of East Asia and the security of Japan. They have dispatched Mr. Yoshizawa as a special Ambassador to French Indo-China to draw still closer the bonds of friendship between Japan and that country. They have also strengthened the economic relations with Thailand and are endeavouring to promote co-operation between the two countries by exchanging Ambassadors.

It is extremely deplorable, however, that malicious propaganda should be let loose by some third Powers, representing Japan as harbouring aggressive designs toward those regions. I have not the slightest doubt that the peoples of East Asia,



understanding the real intentions of Japan, will co-operate with our country for the establishment of a new order in East Asia.

Japan is thus concentrating her sincere and utmost efforts on the successful termination of the China Affair and the initiation of a new order in East Asia. But when our troops entered the southern part of French Indo-China this summer in accordance with the Protocol for the joint defence referred to above, Great Britain and the United States chose to regard it as a menace to their territories and froze Japan's assets in their countries which constitutes a measure tantamount to rupturing economic relations. The British dominions and colonies have all followed suit, and the Netherlands East-Indies, too, joined in similar steps. Great Britain and the United States have even gone the length of establishing encircling positions against Japan by inducing Australia, the Netherlands East-Indies and the Chungking regime to join in.

The international situation confronting Japan has thus become increasingly tense day after day, and the pressure of the kind above referred to from Great Britain and the United States toward our country constitutes a really serious question affecting, as it deeply does, the very existence of our Empire. In this connection, I should like to call attention of everyone here and abroad to the fact that despite such developments, the Imperial Government, prompted by the high motive to preserve peace in the world particularly in the Pacific and also to avert the worst eventuality, have hitherto exerted their utmost efforts in order to overcome the difficult situation.

Since the outbreak of the China Affair, the Japanese-American relations have progressively deteriorated so that, if they were left to drift without a timely check, there was no knowing whether the situation would not ultimately end in a catastrophe. Should such an eventuality occur, it would entail great suffering not only on the countries in the Pacific basin but on the entire mankind as well.

Solicitous for peace as ever, the Japanese Government have,

since April last, carried on conversations with the Government of the United States with a view to bringing about a fundamental adjustment of the Japanese-American relations. The former Cabinet endeavoured earnestly to reach a successful conclusion of the negotiations, in view particularly of the tension in the situation which had been accentuated since the summer of this year, but an agreement of views was not reached between the two countries.

The present Cabinet, in order to avert the international crisis and preserve the peace of the Pacific, decided also to continue the negotiations which are still in progress. I regret to say that I have not the liberty of revealing at this juncture the details of the negotiations. But I think an amicable conclusion is by no means impossible if the Government of the United States are, on the one hand, genuinely solicitous for world peace as are the Imperial Government and, on the other, understand Japan's natural requirements and her position in East Asia and consider the situation as it exists there in the light of realities. Moreover, the views of the two countries have generally been made clear through the conversations which have now lasted more than six months, and consequently, I believe it must be evident to the United States Government that, viewed even from the technical angle, there is no necessity of spending much time on the negotiations hereafter.

Such being the circumstances, the Japanese Government are bending their best efforts to the successful conclusion of the negotiations, but there is naturally a limit to our conciliatory attitude. Should an occasion arise such as might menace the very existence of the Empire or compromise the prestige of Japan as a great Power, it goes without saying that Japan must face it with a firm and resolute attitude. For my part, I am taking charge of the negotiations with a firm resolve regarding this point.

Japan is now confronted with an unprecedentedly difficult situation and it is necessary that the entire nation should unite



and join forces to overcome it. National defence and diplomacy are inseparable while internal politics and external policy are counterpart of each other. At no time is the need for the mobilization of the nation's total strength, with the Government and the people uniting, felt more acutely than at the present juncture.

In concluding the frank statement of my views and opinions, I earnestly hope that hundred millions of my fellow countrymen will extend their full support and co-operation.

#### 16. ON RECEIVING THE IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

(RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER.)  
GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO.

December 8, 1941.

Just now an Imperial Rescript declaring war has been granted.

At this very moment our brave military and naval forces are defying death in the field of battle.

In spite of all that our Empire has done, ardently desiring the preservation of the general peace of East Asia, our efforts have ended in a failure.

The Government have employed every means at their disposal in their endeavour to bring about a successful adjustment of Japanese-American relations. But the United States refused to make the least concession but instead, joining in league with Britain, the Netherlands and Chungking, demanded unilateral concessions on our part, such as unconditional and wholesale evacuation of our military and naval forces from China, non-recognition of the Nanking Government, and the annulment of the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy. Even then, we have continued to the last our efforts to reach a peaceful settlement. But the United States has shown no sign of reconsidering its own attitude. Should we submit to such imposition,

the prestige of our Empire would be compromised. It would mean not only a failure to settle the China Affair, but it would also result in endangering the very existence of our Empire.

Things having come to this pass, Japan is now obliged to go to war in order to surmount the present crisis and to defend itself and to preserve itself.

On reading the Imperial Rescript, I am filled with awe and trepidation. Powerless as I am, I am resolved to dedicate myself, body and soul, to the country, and to set at ease the August Mind of our Sovereign. And I believe that every one of you, my fellow countrymen, will not care for your life, but gladly share in the honour to make of yourself "His Majesty's humble shield."

The "key to victory" lies in a "faith in victory." For 2600 years since it was founded, our Empire has never known a defeat. This record alone is enough to produce a conviction in our ability to crush any enemy no matter how strong. Let us pledge ourselves that we will never stain our glorious history but go forward to construct even a greater Japan of tomorrow. It is true, we have shown until today the maximum measure of patience and endurance. But that is not because we sought ease and comfort, or because we feared the power and size of our enemy. It is only because we desired to preserve the peace of the world, and to prevent a calamity from befalling the mankind. However, now that our enemy has challenged us, and he threatens the existence and prestige of our fatherland we cannot but stand up with resolution.

Our adversaries, boasting rich natural resources, aim at the domination of the world. -In order to annihilate this enemy and to construct an unshakable new order of East Asia, we should anticipate naturally a long war. At the same time it requires, needless to say, a tremendous amount of constructive energy. We must march on, surmounting every possible obstacle, with a firm conviction in the final victory. This is a heaven-sent opportunity to test the mettle of us, Japanese of