

Doc. 3028 Evid.

Folder 12

(9)

VAULT

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 3028

Date 26 May 1947

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: Copy of Speech made by foreign Minister SHIGEMITSU in 84th DIET session.

Date: 1944 Original () Copy (x) Language: Japanese

Has it been translated? Yes () No (x)

Has it been photostated? Yes () No (x)

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL

Document Division

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL

Cabinet Secretariat

PERSONS IMPLICATED:

SHIGEMITSU, Memoru

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE:

Aggressive War

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS (with page references):

SHIGEMITSU blames America's "economic challenge" against Japan as the cause for the war and as a indication of America's intention to invade Asia. Japan, he says, in cooperation with MANCHUKUO, the newly-established Chinese Regime, Burma, the Philippines, Thailand, and the Temporary Government of India will defeat America and England. Close alliance with Germany and Italy and strict neutrality with the USSR will be maintained by Japan.

Analyst: E.T. Garden

Doc. No. 3028

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DATE 25 May

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Signature L. Petros
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State
Minister of Home Affairs (SHIGEMITSU Mamoru)

"Unworthy as I am I unexpectedly took charge of the heavy task of Foreign Affairs in April of last year, and it is my great honour to have the opportunity to express my views on the diplomatic policies of the Imperial Japanese Government at this day.

The war situation is getting more severe day after day, as you know well, and U.S. and British forces have come into contact with the outer lines of the west and the east defence circles of our Axis powers as a result of their counter attacks since last year. Finding it is difficult to make further advance with only their own strength, they decided to borrow other countries' power at any cost, and for this purpose they met together at MOSCOW at about the same time that the Great-East-Asia Conference was held. Next, they conferred at CAIRO and at TEHERAN. Thus they seem to have decided on speedy general counterattacks against the European fortress in the west and against our country in the east. These are their programmes in this year.

The leaders of U.S. and Britain, including CHUNG KING, held the CAIRO conference at the end of November, last year and proposed to force upon Japan an unconditional surrender by increasing merciless attacks on her, and promised to deprive Japan of all her territories except her mainland, taking some parts as their own possessions and giving some to CHINA, thus they attempted to prevent the withdrawal of the CHUNG KING Government from their influence. In spite of their announcement that they are now on their counter attack with all their power against Japan, what they have got so far is nothing but a few scattered islands in our outpost lines, and what they have paid in return is many ships and hundreds of thousands of soldiers sunk to the bottom of the sea (applause), and yet American people are at a loss to understand why they are fighting and have to fight in remote places of East Asia which have no connection with the safety of the U.S.A. (applause)

When his policy "New Deal" had come to a standstill at home, the President of the USA was forced to direct the citizens' attention outside the country by fanning actively the embers of war in order to fasten it on foreign affairs and spread propaganda that the American Continent was about to be attacked and invaded by enemies at any moment. Without USA provocation, the present war was really to be avoided. In spite of the fact that there was nothing at all to threaten the peace and security of the American Continent and that the US people could have enjoyed peace, they have been driven into an unforeseen adventure and must submit to becoming a useless, expensive sacrifice (applause). But he acting as if he were the administrator of the world and ruler of East Asia, not only

provoked the European war but also interfering in the matter of East Asia as he liked, he applied so called Economic Sanctions to Japan and at last resorted to the measure of an economic war. It is clear even according to many documents made public by the USA Government itself that the Pacific War had already been begun by USA before the attack on Pearl Harbour was made. (applause) Thus USA set out towards a colonial war. The war planned by USA is, in short, a war of policy. This is a clear fact judging from the point of view that presumably the USA is making efforts to strengthen all over the world the foundations of governing the world in place of Britain. (applause) USA and Britain intend not only to have allied powers at their beck and call but also to bring neutral nations into the war by every artifice and power and have dared to enlarge the scope of the war with the intention of taking advantage of them as they want. Their oppression of Turkey and others is an action which infringes on international morality and has been incurring general anger. But the attitude of Turkey has not changed at all and Argentine in South America, which was also placed under similar oppression is still maintaining an unflinching attitude (applause). The counter offensive of the USA and Britain in the East and West has thus been commenced on a grand scale but the victory cannot be got by propaganda and deception only. The strong position of the East and the West Axis is standing firmly without the slightest tremor. (applause) On the European front the German troops have consolidated their front line as it has become necessary in order to meet the enemy in a strong position and are now making all the necessary preparations. The fact that the Germans who in the past had a bitter experience and are now undergoing the severest ordeal on record, with united cooperation and firm conviction remain confident of final victory under the leadership of Hitler is indeed a magnificent spectacle in World history (applause). The German troops are, thus, watching for a chance to take the offensive in order to change the war situation and the German people are working vigorously with an inflexible spirit, confident of a final victory inspite of the severe air raids. The enemy cannot do but admit this fact. The Imperial Government at present maintains close relations with the Reich Government, cooperating not only in military matters but also on various other affairs. Under the leadership of Mussolini a new Italy is strongly rising up again, as a member of the Axis Powers, and the time will come soon when she can reclaim her brilliant future by close cooperation with our Empire and Reich fighting a common front (applause). Since the recent political change of Italy, the enemy side frequently speaks of peace for the purpose of causing disturbance among the Axis Powers. This is not only their usual means but also a sign of their internal unrest and their desire of a speedy end of the war, that is, it is nothing but a sign of their impatience (applause). The European Axis Powers are carrying to the finish this common war, with determined steadfastness, in spite of the enemy's persistent propaganda.

Our strong positions, defending East Asia, remain unshaken against the Enemy's severe counter-attacks in the Pacific area. This is no doubt attributable to the august virtue of His Majesty and to the bravery of our forces, to whom all of us feel greatly indebted. (Applause) I sincerely pray for the success in war of our brave men of the Army and Navy and respectfully mourn for those who died for our country.

The United States and Great Britain depend chiefly upon their material power. We cannot deny the importance of material power in present warfare but material power is not the only factor which decides a war. Even from the point of material power, the Enemy have many weaknesses and it must not be overlooked that they have a great deal of trouble and weak points when it comes to manpower. Furthermore, the geographical advantage is on our side. In addition, our people's devotion to war far exceeds that of the Enemy nations. (Applause) Our belief in certain victory, however, does not lie in numbers, or in quantities, or in geographical advantages, but in the harmonious union of our people. The question before us is whether we shall survive or die together. What gives us encouragement is the great achievements of our ancestors who overcame many national crises in the past and the very fighting spirit with which we are determined to secure a glorious future for our Empire. The glorious future of our Empire will surely be brought about only by the all out effort of the whole nation. There is no reason for doubt about our ultimate victory on account of the august virtue of His Majesty, the bravery of our soldiers at the front and the all out efforts of all the people on the home front. This belief of ours in certain victory comes from the fact that we are fighting this war for the existence of our Empire and that the prosperity of East Asia depends upon the issue of this war.

From first to last, the U.S.A. and Britain have been wanting to check both Germany's efforts to extend her influence as a great power in Europe and Japan's efforts to possess a great power and influence in the Orient. This is the reason why they have enforced in Europe the policy of Balance of Power and executed in China a semi-colonial policy under the guise of the principles of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity.

It is their fundamental policy to establish an actual supremacy all over the world during which they utilize together their respective influences to check any collusion. Such was the Pax Britannica in time past and such is the present proposed Pax Americana.

Any effort by Japan and China together towards mutual cooperation in preserving the peace and order or planning the prosperity of East Asia means, from their point of view, the revival of East Asia and their own withdrawal therefrom. In the past, they have taken advantage of the Empire to embark

on a policy of keeping China down and checking the expansion of Imperial Russia; as the Empire grew more powerful, however, they have grabbed China and started a policy of using her to check us. This is the essential background to the confusion in the Far East - in other words, it is their traditional policy of "Divide et impera."

Judging from a recent speech of the President of the U.S.A., the U.S.A. and Britain are planning the absolute obliteration of our Empire, which is why the present war is a war of defense, on which the fate of our fatherland depends. If we collapse halfway, not only will the existence of the Empire be denied forever but East Asia will be brought down to its original condition and the opportunity to maintain our independence will be lost forever. The present war is indeed one of self-existence and self-defense, for all the Axis countries and one of independence for Asia. It is truly a mission from Heaven that the Empire, with its eternal and glorious 3000 years' history, has devoted herself to the great task of emancipating Asia as a great power in the world and restoring East Asia. The Empire, in cooperation with all the nations and all the peoples of East Asia will crush once for all the wicked plans of the U.S.A. and Britain. (Hand clapping)

This great war will really bring about great changes in the world. The war which was begun for the purpose of checking Germany in order to maintain British world imperialism, took on a more profound significance with the clash of Germany and Russia. This condition has been clearly reflected in the world situation since the "Teheran" Conference. Furthermore, the important measures of the emancipation of "Asia" and reconstruction of the Far East were added in actual fact as a result of the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War. The period during which "Asia" was a colony or a semi-colony of Britain and the U. S. A. has already passed away. No one can save Asia but the Asiatics themselves. As long as British and American control lasted, the stability of the Far East could not be hoped for at all, and disturbances would never cease. After the sources of unrest have been rooted out from the East, then for the first time she can return to her own real nature. Although in the past there have been regrettable conflicts on several occasions between Japan and China, today, due to outside control having been driven away, the relations between two countries have turned today to the foundation of eternal stability. China having participated in the war, relations between the two countries, Japan and China have been established on a firm basis and more than one year has passed since. During that year our policy has been carried out steadily and in October last year a treaty of alliance was concluded. The foundation of eternal friendship between two countries has been clearly established, and fundamental friendly relations are now unshakeably fixed. From now on, it is expected that a completely peaceful situation will be established in China. As for the Japanese Empire, she should endeavour to carry out thoroughly and consistently her established policy. As the war progresses, there will naturally follow various economic difficulties but the two countries can work together hand in hand resolved to surmount any difficulties. Japan is very grateful for the great cooperation of Manchukuo who has one mind and is under the same interests with Japan. It is also a matter of the utmost joy that Thai who is an influential member of the Far East has become an ally directly after the outbreak of the war and she is making a great contribution on the united front towards the reconstruction of the Far East. The representatives of the Far Eastern countries together with the head of the provisional government of India met in Tokyo at the beginning of last November and issued Greater East Asia Declaration as the coordinated policy of their respective countries. The ideals of the establishment of the Far East and the great policy which must be the foundation of world peace were clearly announced. Principles expressed in the Great East Asia Declaration are, in short, to liberate, protect and restore East Asia and further to make a positive contribution to the establishment of permanent peace in concert with all countries in the world in general. And these principles, despite the fact they have met with various inconveniences to be done in war time have steadily materialized through the sincere efforts of countries concerned. Now, in the land of East Asia the time for restoration is at the flood and Burma and Philippine who have won the honour of independence, intend to contribute to the development of the world with their newly awakened spirit. Thus they are putting into practice the spirit of the Great East Asia Declaration. And also Indians' long-cherished desire for independence has foundation through the formation of the Free "India" provisional government. This object of restoring East Asia and liberating Asia is indeed the very source that gives

us confidence to fight on to the end of this war in confidence of victory. The foreign policy to which our empire strictly adheres, aims at the development of friendly and good neighbourly relations widely with countries all over the world. The purport of the statement contained in Principle 5 of the Great East Asia Declaration.....promote friendly relations with all nations, abolish racial discrimination, universal interchange of culture, voluntary opening of resources and contribution to the progress of the world.....also exist here. The universal idea of live and let live is not to shut but to open and also is not to exclude but to cooperate. I am convinced that promoting and pushing this policy of international friendship and construction rather than destruction is the great way to relieve the world from disturbances. Our empire, according to the above-mentioned policy, will promote the relation of mutual friendship especially with adjoining nations and furthermore intends to hold generally the same policy towards all nations in the world. With regard to nations which are now neutral as regards our empire whether far or near, we are making efforts not only to avoid the spread of war but to promote friendship with them. Above all, the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union have not been worsened neither by the outbreak of the Great East Asia War nor by the development of the European War, and the neutrality of the two countries has been strictly maintained. Now-a-days, the enemies U.S.A. and Britain are vehemently announcing their all-out attack and taking the offensive against the Axis Powers' strong positions in Europe and Asia. Thus the enemy's counter-attack in the Pacific areas is becoming more intense day by day. From these circumstances, I think the autumn of this year will be the crucial time which will decide the general current of the international war situation. So that, in spite of my small ability, I am ready to do my best to administer our foreign policy complying with the desires of the Emperor. (Applause.)

W.D.C. No. _____

I.P.S. No. _____

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, /s/ Tomoo Satow hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Secretary of the Cabinet and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 14 pages, dated 21 Jan, 19 44, and described as follows: Speech by Shigemitsu in the 84th Diet

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files):

Cabinet Secretariat

Signed at Tokyo on this15th day of May, 1947

/s/ Tomoo Satow
Signature of Official

SEIJ

Witness: /s/ Tsuneharu Baba

/s/ Secretary of the Cabinet
Official Capacity

Statement of Official Procurement

I, /s/ 2d Lt. Eric W. Fleisher 0-935000, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this15 day of May, 1947

/s/ E.W. Fleisher
NAME

Witness: /s/ Johnson F. Munroe

/s/ Investigator, IPS
Official Capacity

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I. P. S. FILE UNIT

DATE: 23 Jan. 1948

I. P. S. Evidentiary Document Number 3028

has been received in the Office of the Clerk of the Court.

Signature: W. W. Haine
For Clerk of Court

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○國務大臣(重光 葵) 不肖昨年四月因らすも帝
國の外政担当の重任を拜し、本日茲に帝
國政府の外交方針に付き所見を前陳する
機会を得たり。此は、私に最も光榮とする所
に感じます。

戦局は御承知の通り益々深刻となり、米英は
昨年より反攻に依り、漸く東西把軸防衛の外郭
に接觸するに至つた。彼等は此の上自力
のみを以て進攻するの困難なるを感じ、如何なる犠
牲を拂ふも必要なる他國の力を借らんとするに至
りたり。是は、度の大東亞會議と前後して、モ
スコに相會し、更に「カイロ及びテヘラン」に至りて協
議款項に下りたり。彼等は斯様にして茲に
西、歐洲大要塞に對し、又東、帝國に對して速に
に總反撃に出づることにした。模範ならず、
是が本年に於ける彼等の企図であります。

No. 1
米英首腦部は昨年十月下旬重慶をも加へた
イロシ會談を開き、帝國に對し仮借なく攻撃を加へ、無
條件降伏を強要すべしと稱し、本土以外の帝國領域
は悉く之を奪取して、或は自分の領土となし、或は之を
支那に分ち與ふべしと約し、重慶政權の離脱を防
止せんと致したる事あります。彼等は今日既に全力を
挙げて対日總反攻に出でて居ると聲明して居る事あり

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リます。今日まで獲得したものは我か前哨線に散
在する数個の島嶼に過ぎず。是が代償として支拂
つたものは海軍に葬り去られたる多数の艦船並に教
才の兵員であります。(拍手)而も米国民は何う
爲に米国の安全とは何等關係のない東亞の僻地
に於て戦つて居るやあるか。又戦はねばならぬかと
あふも、彼等は了解するに苦しんで居る有様あり
ます。(拍手)

米大統領は其の政策たる「ミーン・デイール」なるも
のが国内的に行詰りて来ますや。是が打崩を外
に求めんとす。盛んに戦争熱を煽つて国民の視
聴を強ひて国外に転じ、今にも米大陸の外敵に
依り襲撃を侵襲せらるゝが如き宣傳を去るべき
ます。米國の排外主義をなかつたならば今次の戦争は実
は起つて済んだや否やであります。米大陸の安全を脅威
するものは何処にもなく、米國民は平和を喜樂し得たる
べきに拘らず、不測の冒険に追入れられて、不必要にして高
價なる犠牲を甘んぜしめられて居る次第でございます。(拍手)
而して彼は恰も世界の管理者であり、東亞の支配者であ
るが如き行動に出で、是よりして歐洲戦争を挑発
したる上、恣に東亞に介入し来り、遂に帝國に對して所
謂經濟的制裁を加へ進んで經濟戦争の手段に着手し、
たのであります。太平洋戦争が真珠湾以前に既に
米國によつて開始せられて居つたことは既に米國政府

自身に依りて發表せられた多くの文書に依りては明白な所を以て
いふ事(相手)

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斯くの如くは米國は植民地的戦争に乘出したのでありきして、米國
の戦争は要す。に政略戦争であります。蓋し右は米國が全世界に
互つて英國に代つて世界制覇の基礎を固めんとして、ある兵を以て
も期かなる事案でござります(相手)米英は單に與國を驅使せんとするのみ
でなく、凡ゆる策略威圧を弄して中立國を戦争に引入れ、戦禍の拡大を
憚りず恐に之を利用せんと致して居ります。トルコに其の他に対する
圧迫は國際道義を蹂躪せるものありて、一般の憤懣を招いて居
る所を以ていふ事(相手)が、トルコにこの態度には何等の責任なく、又同様な
脅迫を受けた南米、アルゼンチンは尚ほ毅然たる態度に出るる
次第でござります(相手)米英の東西に於ける反攻は、斯様にして鳴物
入りで開始せられて居るのであります。勝利は單に宣傳や欺瞞に依
つて得らるるものではないのであります。東西軸の堅陣は儼然と
て微動だも致して居らなからあります(相手)

No. 3
歐洲要塞に於ては「ドイツ軍は必要に依りて前線の
整理を行ひ、船石の堅陣と万全の準備をも以て敵を遠慮
せんと期して居るのであります。過言に於て苦き經驗を有する「ドイ
ツ」國民が「ヒトラー」總統統率の下に一致協力して、未曾有の
試煉に成へ確乎たる自信を帯び、終局の勝利に向ふ邁
進したる。状況は實に世界史上の壯觀に言はなければな
りませぬ(相手)斯くて「ドイツ」軍は戰勢を轉換して攻勢の機
を捉へんとして居るのであります。ドイツ國民はびつしき

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空襲の下に不屈の精神を以て勝利を確信し、敢闘を
續けて居るのであります。此の事實は敵側すらも承
認せざるを得ない所であるのであります。帝國政府は
常時「ドイツ」政府と緊密なる連繫を保ち、軍事上
上は勿論、各般の問題に於て凡ゆる協力を遂げつゝある
次第であります。新「イタリア」は「ムソリーニ」統帥指導
の下に、枢軸の環として再び力強く立ち上りつゝあるのであり
ましく、帝國及「ドイツ」との共同戦線に於て、「イタリア」
が光輝ある將來を開くことは、期して俟つべきであり
ます（拍手）過般（イタリア）政変後敵側は頻りに和平
の宣傳を行ひ、枢軸與國を動搖せしめんと策動致した
のであります。是は彼等の常套手段であるのみなら
ず、彼等國內の不安及び戦争早期終結の要切を
反映して居るものでありまして、畢竟するに彼等の焦燥
感を示す以外の何ものでもありません（拍手）歐洲
に於ける枢軸與國は斯かる敵側の宣傳にも拘らず、
確乎不動共同戦争を完遂せんことを期して居る次第で
あります。太平洋方面に於ける敵の熾烈なる反攻に
對し、我が東亞保衛の堅陣は聊かも揺らぐ居りま
せぬ。是は申すまでもなく、御授威の下皇軍の勇戦
奮闘の賜でありまして、全國民の感激措く能はざる所
であります（拍手）私は茲に我が忠勇なる陸海將兵の
武運長久を切に祈ると共に、殉國の英靈に對し謹んで敬

No. 4

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弔の意を表するものであります。米英の恃む所は主として物質力であり、現代戦争に於て物質力の重要なことは固より否定は出来ないのであります。併しながう勝敗は單に物質力の優劣に依つて定まるものではありませぬ。物質力の点から見ては敵に幾多の弱点があるのであります。又人的資源に於ては少からず脆弱点を有することは見逃し難いのであります。地の利は寧ろ我にあるのであります。而も國民戦意の点に至つては彼は到底我が敵ではないのであります（拍手）蓋し我が必勝の信念は数にあらざる、又量にあらざる、將又地の利にもあらざる、実に人の和にあるのであります。我が國民の当面するのは共に生くるか共に死するかの問題であります。吾人を促すものは、過去に於て幾多國難を克服した祖先の偉業を顧み、皇國の偉大なる將來を確保せんことを期する敢闘の精神、其のゆゑであります。皇國の光輝ある將來は一億敢闘に依つて必ず招來せらるるものであります。御稜威の下前線に於ける皇軍の勇戦と、銃後戦線に於ける國民總員の蹶起とに依り、最後の勝利の我にあるべきことは、毫も疑ひを挟む餘地がないのであります。此の必勝の信念は、今次の戦争が我に取つては帝國存立の戦ひであり、東亞に取つては興隆の懸る聖戦である所より生ずるべきであります。歐洲に於て「ドイツ」が大國として其の實力を伸長することは、東洋に於て日本が大國の實力を具備すること

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ともに、米英の終始阻止せんと欲する所でありまして、是れ即ち歐洲に於て勢力均衡政策なるものを實施し、支那に於ては門戸開放、機會均等主義の形に於きまゝ、半植民地的政策を運用し來た所以であります。數個の勢力を以て相互に衝突牽制せしめ、其の間に全世界に亘つて事實上の支配權を設定するものが、彼等の根本政策でありまして、是が所謂過去に於ける英國流の平和態勢であり、現在企圖されて居る米國流の平和態勢なうであります。

日本と支那とが提携^{協力}し、東亞の安定を保ち繁栄を圖ることは、彼等より之を見れば東亞の復興であり、彼等の退却を意味するものではありません。彼等は過去に於て帝國を利用して支那を抑制し、又帝政「ロシヤ」の進出阻止の政策に出で、帝國が強大となるに及び我を控制せんが爲に支那を扱し來つて、之を利用するの政策を執るに至りました。是が東亞禍亂の重要な背景となすもろであります。まして、即ち分割して支配することは彼等の傳統的政策なのであります。米國大統領の最近の演説に徴しまして、米英は實に帝國の抹殺を企圖するものでありまして、此の戦争が我が祖國の興廢を賭する防衛の闘争なる所以であります。吾人にして半途挫折するが如きことあらんが、軍り帝國の存在が永久に否認せらるゝのみならず、東亞も旧態に復せしめられ、自主獨立を完うすべき機會は永遠に失はれるのであります。實に今次戦争は樞軸諸國に取つては、眞に自存自衛の戦争であり、「アジア」に取つて

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は自主獨立の戦争であります。帝國は悠久三千年の光輝ある歴史を有し、帝國が世界の確邦として「アジア」解放東亜復興の大業に投身しつゝあるのは正に天與の使命であります。帝國は志を同じうする東亜の各國各民族と相協力して、米英の非道なる企圖を断乎粉砕せんとするものであります（拍手）

（以下次頁）

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No. 8

今次大戦は正に世界の大変動でございます。英國の世界帝國の維持を目的とする対独挑戰に始りたる戦争は、独逸の戦争に依り其の様相愈々深刻を加へ、右は「テラレ」會議以後の世界情勢に遺憾なく反映されて居る次第でございます。更には大東亞戰火勃發に依り「アジア」解放、東亞復興の重大なる意義が現實に加へられたのでございます。「アジア」が未英の植民地若しは半植民地たる時代は既に去り、た「アジア」を救済するは「アジア」人以外にはあり得ないのてあります。未英の支配勢力が残存する限り、東亞の安定は到底望まざる難く、禍乱は永久に絶えませぬ。攪乱勢力が脱却せられ、茲に初め東亞は其の本然の姿に復歸し得るのでございます。過去に於て日支兩國間に幾多の悲劇（一）「一」紛争を見たり後、今日兩國の間係が永久に安定する基礎を見出したりは、全く外來の支配的勢力が一掃せられたるに起因する次第でございます。支那が戦争に卷れぬを致しまして、日支兩國間に基礎関係が設けられ、既に一年余に及びます。其の間我が政策は著々進捗を見て、昨年十月には同盟條約の締結を見、兩國國交永遠の基調は明定せられ、基本的友好関係は茲に確乎不動のものとなつて居るにございます。今支那内部に於て完全なる和平状態の確立せらるることか、期待せらるる訳であります。帝國としては終始一貫、既定の政策を徹底せしむべく、奴力に致す決意でございます。戦争の進行と共に、經濟問題等幾多の困難の伴ふは當然のことでございます。

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No. 9

が兩國は相共に携へて如何なる難関をも突破する覚悟を以て
 進むに居るに於て、帝國と徳一の關係にある
 満洲國の絶大な協力は、帝國の感謝措く能はざる所
 であり、又東亞の有力なる一員である、國とは既に
 開戦直後同盟關係に入り、共同戦線に立つて東亞
 復興の爲甚大な貢獻をなして、あることは、誠に欣快の至
 りである、東亞諸國代表は、印度假政府首班をも
 迎へて、昨年十月初頭東京に於て相合し、各國共同の
 政策として東亞宣言を發表し、東亞建設の理想と世
 界平和の基礎たるべき方針を闡明致す所ありま
 した、又東亞宣言に依て表示せらるる諸原則は、歸す
 所、東亞を解放し保衛し復興す、と若くは、廣く世界各國
 と提携して恒久平和の確立に積極的の貢獻せむことを期する
 ものであります、是等の原則は、戦時下自ら各種の不便
 があるに拘らず、關係各國の眞摯なる協力に依り、著々実
 現せられたつた次第でございます、今や東亞の天地には復興機
 運澎湃として起つて居るをありまして、独自の榮譽を顧み得
 るべきに及び、フリーピンは、新興の意氣を以て世界の進運に
 寄與せむことを期し、大東亞宣言の精神を實行に移して居
 るに於て、いよいよ、又多事、インドの宿望を以て、自主と自由といふ
 假政府の成を以て、其の基礎が置かれたのであります、この東
 亞復興「アジア」解放の目的こそは、實に吾人に対し飽く迄
 勝ち抜く自信を興ふる所以でもあり、帝國の堅持
 了る對外政策は、廣く國際中間に友好善隣の關係を發

doc 302A

展せしめんとすとのありまして、大東亞宣言の原則第五に謂ふ所の「万邦とりの友誼を以て馬し人種的差別を撤廃し、吾く文化を交流し進んで以て資源を開放し以て世界の進運に貢獻する趣」は自も亦茲に存するをありませう。世界的共存共栄の觀念は閉鎖に非ずして解放に在るをありませう。排他に非ずして協力に在るをありませう。蓋し此の國際親和の政策を以て大推進するとは、世界を禍乱あり救済し破壊を去り建設し就く大道なることを確信致すをありませう。帝國は右の方針に則し、特に隣接諸國と相互親善の關係を唱進するに於て、更に進んで世界各國に對し同一の方針を以て臨まんとすともありませう。現在帝國と中立關係にある遠近の諸國に對しては、戰禍の拡大を避くるは勿論、益々友誼を篤くせむことを努めて居るをいふべきです。就中日ソの兩國の關係は大東亞戦争の勃発に依りても、特又歐洲戦争の進展に依りても、何等影響を蒙らざる所なく、兩國間の中立關係は堅く維持され居るに於て、敵未更は今日頻りに總攻撃を叫び、歐亞に於ける把柄の堅固に對し攻勢を起さざるをありませう。太平洋方面に於ける

No. 10

を加之居る状況に於て、斯様なる状況の下に、蓋し本年は世界戦局の大勢を決定する重大な秋にありうと考へます。依りて私は微力を顧みず、大御心を体し、外政の運用に最善の努力を致す覚悟に於て、いませう（相手）

← 及東も日を返うて熾烈

證明書
典據及ビ公正ニ關スル證明

Doc 302A

余、佐藤トモヲ「ハ、余が下記ノ次資格ニ於テ、
即チ内閣書記官トシテ、日本政府ト公的關
係ニ在ルモノナルコト、並ニ該官吏トシテ余が
茲ニ添附セラレタル十四頁ヨリ成ル一九四四年
一月二十一日附下記題名、即チ「第八十四議會
ニ於ケル重光氏ノ演説」ナル文書ノ保管
ニ任ジ居ルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス
余ハ更ニ添附ノ記録及ビ文書カ日本政府
ノ公文書ナルコト並ニ右カ下記名稱ノ省
又ハ部局ノ公式書類及ビ綴リノ一部
ナルコトヲ證明ス（若シテ「ハ、綴番號又ハ
引用其ノ他公式書類又ハ綴ニ於ケル該文
書ノ成規所在ノ公式名稱ヲモ特記スベシ）
「内閣官房」

一九四七年五月十五日

東京ニ於テ署名

當該官吏署名欄 佐藤トモヲ署名

公右ノ者ノ公的資格内閣書記官

證人 馬場恒春

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公式入手ニ關スル證明

余 軍籍番號 〇一九三五〇〇〇 エリック・ダグリュ
フランク・シャ少尉ハ、余ガ 聯合國 最高司令官
總司令部ニ關 係アルモノナルコト、並ニ上記
題名ノ文書ハ余ガ 公務上日本政府ノ上
記署名官吏ヨリ 入手シタルモノナルコトヲ
茲ニ 證ス

一九四七年五月十五日
東京ニ於テ署名

氏名欄

右ノ者ノ公的資格 國際發給部 副官

證人

ジョン・エフ・シムーンズ