

The circumstances under which our Government had to discontinue the Japanese-American negotiations have already been published in detail. The cause of the present war lies in the fact that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, not being content with bringing pressure to bear upon Japan through their aid to the Chungking régime, ruptured economic relations with us and, moreover, assumed a hostile attitude toward our country by strengthening their encircling front in the South, utterly disregarding Japan's just claims for eight long months. Tracing the basic origin of the war, we find that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, bent solely on the maintenance of the status quo advantageous to themselves, attempted to subjugate the entire world and under their hegemony by opposing the essential principle of common prosperity of all nations and insisting on the perpetuation of their domination by exploitation. Holding in contempt the real strength of our Empire, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain arrogantly took it for granted that they could easily compel Japan to submission with military and economic intimidations, while prolonging the negotiations and strengthening their encircling positions against us. If we had acquiesced in such an attitude of the two Governments, it would have resulted for Japan not only in the abandonment of the fruits of constructive effort spent in connection with the China Affair ranging over four years but in the menace to the very existence and the loss of the prestige of our Empire. Our Government, therefore, were compelled to notify the American Government of our intention to discontinue negotiations with them, and to appeal to arms against the United States and the British Empire to safeguard the very existence of our Empire and to insure the stability of East Asia.

The American Government are said to be propagating mischievous reports to the effect that Japan suddenly waged war without warning, but it is the American Government themselves

who first provoked us by assuming a decisively warlike attitude. It is none other than the Governments of the United States and Great Britain who trampled upon Japan's earnest desire for the maintenance of peace and forced war upon us. At the previous session of the Imperial Diet, I stated clearly that there was a limit to Japan's conciliatory attitude. The American Government ought to have known this fully. That Government must have also been fully aware, through the protracted negotiation, what constituted the limit to which Japan could acquiesce in. They should naturally have expected what consequences would ensue if they forced demands upon us beyond that limit. If they truly misunderstood that the statement clarifying the limit of our conciliatory attitude as implying a bargaining or bluff, we must conclude that the American Government were utterly blind to the actual situation.

It now appears that the peoples of the United States and the British Empire are wholly misled by the propaganda of their Governments, who are intent upon concealing their own faults and blunders. However, as they recover gradually the tranquillity of their mind, they will, I believe, calmly study the genesis of the present war, judge correctly the merits of Japanese-American negotiations, re-examine the foreign policies of Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill, and will comprehend wherein lay the real causes of the war, or, in other words, they will come to the conclusion that the present Governments of the United States and Great Britain must bear all the responsibilities for the war.

The present war against the United States and the British Empire is essentially a struggle, in the field of international structure, between two contending forces, viz., those for the maintenance of an old order and those for the construction of a New Order. The Governments of the United States and Great Britain have heretofore been clinging throughout the world to the principles which are advantageous only to themselves as a means of perpetuating the old order. Indeed, in the recent

negotiation, the American Government, in collusion with the British Government, refused to withdraw even an inch from their egoistic principles and did not alter their traditional attitude of regarding China and other Eastern countries as their vassals. The present war, therefore, is also endowed with a character of a war to emancipate Greater East Asia. This is the point which not only the Japanese people but the nations of the entire East Asia should fully understand. It is only too natural that as soon as Japan took up arms, the countries of East Asia, fully understanding our peaceful ideals and the circumstances attendant upon the outbreak of the present war and also perceiving the general trend of East Asia, have all proffered co-operation with Japan.

The Government of Manchoukuo immediately declared their attitude of full co-operation with Japan, and the National Government of the Republic of China, also, declared their full collaboration with us. The Anglo-American influences, which for hundred long years past have made East Asia the object of their colonial exploitation, are now eliminated from China. The fact that, immediately after the commencement of hostilities, the political influence in foreign settlements etc., which served as the bases of Anglo-American policy of exploitation in China, has been eradicated, means that the foremost aim of the Nationalist Revolution of China of thirty years ago has for the first time been attained, the significance of which must be said to be very far-reaching, indeed.

As regards our relations with Thailand, the Government of that country showed a full understanding of Japan's intentions and, through their courageous decision, an understanding has been reached concerning the passage of Japanese forces through Thailand, and, the Imperial forces are since then peacefully passing through the territory of that country. Moreover, it is truly a matter for gratification not only for the cause of Japan and Thailand but for the rise of East Asia that an agreement of view has been reached between our Ambassador Tsubokami

and Prime Minister Luang Pibula Songgram concerning the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between the two countries. With respect to French Indo-China, France has manifested her complete understanding of our position and has been strengthening further the co-operation between Japan and French Indo-China, rendering all facilities for the execution of the joint defence. Our position for breaking through the encircling front has thus been rapidly augmented in scope and strength through our peaceful co-operation with friendly nations together with brilliant victories of the gallant Imperial forces.

Some of the East Asiatic countries have hitherto failed to understand the real intentions of Japan and looked upon us with misgivings. Seeing that Japan has girt on the sword of righteousness, the countries in East Asia have now come forward to co-operate whole-heartedly with us, realizing that our real objective is to secure emancipation and advancement for East Asia. It is a matter of sincere congratulations that East Asia is thus being restored to its natural and proper character. Needless to say, this has increased the East Asiatic countries' expectation of Japan, thereby adding greatly to the responsibility of our Empire. It is incumbent upon the Japanese nation to do their best with a firm resolve in order to meet their expectation.

With regard to Japan's relations with Germany and Italy, those Powers, as you are already aware, declared on December 11, war on the United States, closely following Japan's declaration of war on the United States and the British Empire. At about the same time, a new agreement was concluded in Berlin between Japan, Germany and Italy. By virtue of the new agreement, Japan, Germany and Italy, the three Allies, have manifested their firm determination not to lay down their arms until the War against the United States and the British Empire, their common enemy, is brought to a victorious conclusion, pledging to one another not to conclude a separate peace and to co-operate for the construction of the New Order as stipulated under the Tripartite Pact. That the treaty has been concluded among the

three Powers, aimed at the joint prosecution of war as well as the establishment of ultimate peace in the world, bringing about a further tightening of the solidarity between Japan in the East and Germany and Italy in the West is, indeed, a spectacular event in history. There is not the slightest doubt that the co-operation among the three Powers is destined to be highly successful. In Europe, Finland, Hungary and Rumania, besides Germany and Italy, have already been at war with Great Britain. Immediately after the declaration of war by Germany and Italy upon the United States, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania followed suit. It is a fact of profound gratification for us that our allied nations in Europe are rising to meet our common enemy in co-operation with us. At this juncture, when the world stands at a great turning-point, unparalleled in history, we are not only prosecuting the war of justice to a complete victory, by tightening our co-operation with Germany, Italy and other Allies, but are marching toward the construction of the righteous New Order so as to contribute toward the establishment of a lasting peace in the world, eliminating the self-conceited concept of peace of the United States and the British Empire, which is based on the maintenance of the status quo.

In reference to Japan's relations with the Soviet Union, there is no change in the Imperial Government's attitude for ensuring security in the North, as already clarified at the previous session of the Diet. On the part of the Soviet Government, they, too, have repeatedly enunciated their intentions to abide by the Neutrality Pact with Japan.

Lastly, it may be recalled that in world history, there are numerous examples of a country which, its natural development by peaceful means being thwarted by unwarranted external obstacles, is compelled to take up arms to remove those obstacles. Such instances occurred also in our war with China and with Russia during the period of our rise in the Meiji era. Upon the outcome of the present War depends the rise or fall of the Japanese Empire, and of East Asia, and also the fate of the world. Its significance is many times as great as those of the

Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. It is, moreover, expected to be a long war. Therefore, the need is keenly felt for making a grim determination at home to bear any hardship and privation, with one hundred millions of people united as one man in iron-like solidarity and, also, for strengthening externally the alignment between Japan and our Allies and friendly nations who share in our aspirations, in order that nothing will be left undone for the attainment of the objective of the War. By marching forward with such a determination and with unshakable faith in victory, we shall, I firmly believe, ultimately attain a glorious victory.

22. MESSAGE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER  
MR. SHIGENORI TOGO, SENT TO THE THAI  
FOREIGN MINISTER, LUANG PIBULA SONG-  
GRAM, ON THE OCCASION OF THE CON-  
CLUSION OF THE OFFENSIVE AND  
DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE PACT  
BETWEEN JAPAN AND  
THAILAND

December 21, 1941.

It is indeed a matter of sincere felicitation that the Offensive and Defensive Alliance Pact between Japan and Thailand has been signed today at Bangkok by Your Excellency and Ambassador Tsubokami.

By the conclusion of this Pact, the way is now clear for the two nations to co-operate fully to bring this War of Greater East Asia to a glorious and successful conclusion and thus to achieve the lofty mission of realizing the prosperity of East Asia.

May I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency and through your goodself to the people of Thailand my heartfelt congratulation and also my earnest prayer for the prosperity and welfare of your nation.

23. TELEGRAM FROM LUANG PIBULA SONGGRAM,  
PRIME MINISTER OF THAILAND, TO PRIME  
MINISTER GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO

December 21, 1941.

I hasten to thank Your Excellency for the friendly spirit expressed in Your Excellency's telegram which I have received just now. The signature of the Pact of Alliance between Japan and Thailand which took place this morning was done in perfect cordiality and with highest ceremony. I do not consider this Pact as a simple diplomatic document but as a sacred document. I have therefore arranged for the signature on this Pact to be done in the Royal Chapel before the Emerald Buddha which is highly worshipped by the people, not only in Thailand but also in Burma and a great part of India. I am confident that this ceremony will help to unite the heart of all Asiatic people. Thailand will co-operate with Japan in every way for the progress and stability of the East Asia. Please accept my thanks for the high honour Your Excellency has given to me and to my nation in allowing us to participate in the work of shaping the destiny of the East. I pray for great success of the Japanese nation.

Pibula Songgram, Prime Minister of Thailand.

24. TELEGRAM FROM PRIME MINISTER GENERAL  
HIDEKI TOJO TO HIS EXCELLENCY  
VANICH PANANDA, MINISTER ACTING  
FOR FINANCE MINISTER

December 21, 1941.

His Excellency Vanich Pananda, Minister Acting for Finance Minister, Bangkok.

Deeply appreciate your cordial message. Let me assure Your Excellency of my firm faith in the success of our common cause of realizing unobstructed progress of East Asia.

Hideki Tojo, Prime Minister.

25. TELEGRAM FROM PREMIER, LUANG PIBULA  
SONGGRAM TO FOREIGN MINISTER  
SHIGENORI TOGO

December 21, 1941.

His Excellency Foreign Minister Togo, Tokio.

I beg to thank Your Excellency for your telegram conveying felicitation for the signature of the Pact of Alliance which took place today. I agree with Your Excellency that this Pact of Alliance will bring the War of Greater East Asia to the glorious end. The whole Thai nations is highly pleased to co-operate with Japan and will use their utmost ability to achieve the final result.

I pray all sacred things in the universe to bestow upon the Japanese nation as well as all Asiatic nations the great success for their noble task.

Pibula Songgram, Foreign Minister of Thailand.

26. GREETING OF PRIME MINISTER GENERAL HIDEKI  
TOJO TO PRIME MINISTER PIBULA SONGGRAM  
AND PEOPLE OF THAILAND OVER THE RADIO

December 23, 1941.

My most esteemed and dear Excellency, the Prime Minister of Thailand and Thai officials and people:

I feel greatly honoured and delighted to have this opportunity, upon the conclusion of the Japanese-Thai Offensive and Defensive Alliance Pact, to express to you my hearty congratulation and my greetings.

It is the historically established fact that the nation of Thailand are abundantly gifted with the spirit of freedom and independence. I can not but always pay respect especially to

Your Excellency that you have long advocated autonomy of Thailand in her state affairs and exerted efforts to inspire the spirit of the Thai people. I have had deep sympathy toward your country in view of the fact that Thailand, by misfortune, has been made the object of political and economic pressure by Great Britain for the past hundred years and her progress has consequently been impeded. At the same time we, the Japanese nation, being the people of East Asia just as your nation are, have equally felt regret for such a situation.

For three hundred long years, your country and mine have been closely bound together by the ties of traditional friendship. This cordial friendship has steadily grown in warmth in recent years, as may be seen in the fact that, in December of 1937, the Japanese-Thai Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which may be regarded as a golden monument to the abolition of extraterritorial rights in Thailand, was concluded. In June, last year, the Treaty of Amity and Friendship was made between your country and Japan, and in the early part of this year the border dispute between your country and French Indo-China was peacefully settled through Japanese mediation.

Along with such development, the economic relations between Thailand and Japan have of late rapidly grown in importance, resulting in a phenomenal increase in the volume of their mutual trade in staple goods.

Now, the establishment of a new order in East Asia is the ideal which is equally cherished by the peoples of East Asia. We have paid our utmost effort and sacrifice for the past ten years to realize it. But, recently, the United States and the British Empire which are intent upon obstructing the attainment of our ideal, have intensified their brazen machinations of bringing military and economic pressures upon Japan. At last, the situation became such that the Japanese Empire was forced to rise in arms to crush the United States and the British Empire. In this grave situation, which may well determine the destiny of East Asia for many centuries to come, it is certainly

a source of profound congratulation for the progress and prosperity of East Asia, that, thanks to Your Excellency's courageous decision and foresight, Thailand has come to co-operate throughgoingly with Japan, resulting in the conclusion of the epoch-making Pact of Offensive and Defensive Alliance between Japan and Thailand.

Since the opening of the present War against the United States and the British Empire, the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy have been achieving brilliant victories. Of the Anglo-American bases in East Asia, Hongkong is already in the Japanese hands while the fall of Manila and Singapore is imminently expected. I believe firmly, therefore, that the day is not distant when the Anglo-American influences will have been entirely expelled and the foundation for the construction of the sphere of co-prosperity of East Asia securely consolidated.

It is my earnest hope that, by rendering closer the co-operation with Your Excellency and officials as well as the people of Thailand, our two nations will march forward side by side to achieve a brilliant victory in this War for the construction of Greater East Asia.

Lastly, I wish to tender to Your Excellency the expression of my heartfelt gratitude for the great good-will by the Government and people of Thailand shown to the Japanese forces who are now in your country and are fighting together with your forces. At the same time, I wish Your Excellency and the people of Thailand happiness and prosperity.

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**SIXTEENTH YEAR OF SHOWA (1941)**

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