

strength of the two great economic spheres of Greater East Asia and Europe and, at the same time, to lay the foundation for permanent economic co-operation between these spheres after the war. The agreements provide for the acceleration of extensive exchange of various kinds of economic goods and services and also for co-operation regarding all matters pertaining to economy and finance.

The contents of the agreements are as follows :

AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND GERMANY CONCERNING ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

The Imperial Government of Japan and
The Government of Germany.

In order to assist mutually with total economic strength in the present war for the construction of the new order in Greater East Asia and Europe and to realize after the conclusion of the war in their victory the new order to secure co-existence and co-prosperity of the peoples concerned by a plan of extensive construction in their respective economic spheres, having decided to render still closer the economic co-operation between them.

Have agreed as follows :

ARTICLE I

Japan and Germany shall accelerate and prosecute with all their power the exchange of economic goods and services in all branches between their economic spheres.

They shall mutually assist in the procurement of materials and in the installation of equipments and effect close technical co-operation.

ARTICLE II

Japan and Germany shall effect close financial co-operation to facilitate Payment arising from the enforcement of the provisions in the preceding article.

ARTICLE III

Japan and Germany shall maintain close contact to make more effective their co-operation regarding the prosecution of their economic policies.

The Governments of the two countries shall make committees, appointed specially for the purpose, to pay constant attention to the development of economic relations between the two countries.

ARTICLE IV

The competent authorities of the two countries shall make agreement concerning necessary details for the enforcement of the present Agreement.

ARTICLE V

The present Agreement shall come into effect from the day of its signature and shall remain valid for the same duration as the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy of September 27, of the 15th year of Syowa or September 27th, 1940.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND ITALY CONCERNING ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

(The text of the Agreement is identical with that of the Japanese-German Agreement. In the preamble, replace "The Government of Germany" with "The Government of the Kingdom of Italy," and in all articles in which the name "Germany" appears, replace with the name "Italy," In Article V added after September 27, 1940, "the 18th year of the Fascist calendar.")

Immediately after the signature of the Agreement between Japan and Germany at the General Headquarters of the German Fuehrer, three arrangements including concrete details pertaining to trade, technical co-operation and payment were concluded

at Tokyo between the Foreign Minister, Mr. Masayuki Tani, and the German Ambassador, Lieutenant-General Eugen Ott, and the Chief of the German Economic Mission, Mr. Helmuth Wohlthat.

As regards the details concerning the enforcement of the above-mentioned Japanese-Italian Agreement they are presently being discussed between the two countries.

VII. STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE JAPANESE-GERMAN AND JAPANESE-ITALIAN AGREEMENTS ON ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

January 21, 1943.

By concluding the Tripartite Pact on September 27, 1940, Japan, Germany, and Italy, recognizing and respecting the leadership of Japan in Greater East Asia and that of Germany and Italy in Europe in the establishment of a new order, pledged among themselves to stand by and co-operate with one another. The treaty is the propelling force of an epochal nature for the construction of a new world order which is primarily aimed at establishing permanent peace. Wherever this force has exercised its dynamic influence the work of constructing a new order in Greater East Asia and Europe has steadily produced concrete results.

The economic agreements which have just been concluded are agreements which give concrete expression to the spirit of the Tripartite Pact in the field of economy. The fact that these agreements have been concluded is in itself a demonstration that the construction of the new order is being further substantiated and that economic collaboration among the three Powers will henceforth be rendered increasingly closer.

In addition, these agreements bring to an end an exploitative economic system with which the United States and Britain have endeavoured to dominate the world under their monopolistic control and have opened the way for the direct settlement of accounts between Japan and Germany and Japan and Italy, another fact which is of very great significance.

It is my firm conviction that the co-operation among these three Powers in both the spiritual and material spheres will thereby be further enhanced in strength and that it will not only contribute powerfully toward the prosecution of the war but also to the completion after the war of the grand undertaking of establishing the new world truly based on fairness and righteousness.

VIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AUTHORITIES RELATING TO CHILE'S SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

January 22, 1943.

The Chilean Minister at Tokyo, Mr. Labra Carvajal, called on the Foreign Office at 10:15 o'clock a.m., January 22, and handed to the Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Shunichi Matsumoto, a notice to the effect that the Chilean Government have suspended diplomatic and consular relations with Japan, Germany and Italy as of January 20.

IX. STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING CHILE'S RUPTURE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

January 22, 1943.

Despite the fact that President Rios of Chile has publicly

espoused an independent diplomatic policy and repeatedly declared that his country would not submit to external pressure, the Government of Chile has finally succumbed to the strong pressure of the United States and has ruptured diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany, and Italy.

In rupturing her diplomatic relations with the Axis by abandoning her autonomous stand, Chile has emulated the fashion set by Peru. From numerous precedents it is clear, however, that the step taken by Chile at this juncture, will not assure her such aid from the United States as she might expect. Moreover, by so doing not only will her very sovereignty be seriously impaired by her submission to the United States, but also her present step will result in the loss of the considerate attitude hitherto shown her by Japan, Germany, and Italy for the safety of Chilean shipping and in the abandonment on her own accord of her controlling position in the waters of the Pacific Coast of South America. That this step would obviously be a great folly, throwing Chile as it does into a position of unprecedented difficulty, is clear to everyone.

It is not difficult to foresee that through this action Chile has taken after the fashion of such countries as Peru and Ecuador and that she will witness sooner or later the stationing of the crude and arrogant American troops in her own territory. If such a situation should come to pass it would mean nothing over than Chile's direct military aid to the American troops—a development which the Japanese Government cannot but regard with the most serious concern. We hereby make it clear that all responsibilities for situations developing from the present rupture must be borne solely by the Government of Chile.

X. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TRANSFER OF CONTROL OF ENEMY PROPERTY IN CHINA

February 8, 1943.

In accordance with the spirit of the Joint Déclaration of the Japanese Government and the National Government of the Republic of China relative to co-operation in the prosecution of the war to its successful conclusion, the Japanese Government have been making preparations for the disposal of enemy property in China, which has been under our seizure since the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, in a manner favourable to China. Having completed the preparations for the transfer of a part of the enemy property, the Japanese Government have, as the first step, decided formally to transfer control to the National Government of the Republic of China of over 1000 (one thousand) of the principal items, the necessary procedure for which was concluded today, February 8.

XI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONVENTION OF AMITY AND CULTURAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND BULGARIA

February 11, 1943.

Having reached an accord concerning the conclusion of a convention for the purpose of strengthening the mutually friendly relations existing between them, the Governments of Japan and Bulgaria have concluded today, February 11, the Japanese-

Bulgarian Convention of Amity and Cultural Collaboration, the aim of which is to deepen mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries by reaffirming their relations of amity and promoting their cultural intercourse. The Convention was signed by Mr. Masayuki Tani, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Yanco Peyeff, Bulgarian Minister to Japan, at the official residence of the Foreign Minister at 4 o'clock P.M.

TEXT OF THE CONVENTION OF AMITY AND CULTURAL
COLLABORATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND
BULGARIA

The Imperial Government of Japan and the Royal Government of Bulgaria,

Being desirous of affirming by a solemn act and of strengthening the amicable relations which happily exist between the two countries, and

Being equally animated by the desire of developing the cultural relations of the two countries and thus deepening the mutual understanding of the two peoples,

have agreed upon the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1

The two Governments hereby reaffirm the relations of amity and mutual confidence existing between the two countries.

ARTICLE 2

The two Governments shall promote, as far as possible, the cultural relations between the two countries and shall assure their closest collaboration for this purpose.

ARTICLE 3

The present Convention shall enter into operation from the date of its signature and shall remain in force for ten years. It shall be prolonged by tacit renewal year by year unless either of

the two Governments shall have given notice to the other six months before the expiration of its intention to terminate it.

XII. STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE
BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE OCCASION
OF THE RENDITION OF CONCESSIONS
AND RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRA-
TERRITORIAL RIGHTS IN CHINA
BY FRANCE

February 24, 1943.

When the Japanese-Chinese Agreement concerning the rendition of concessions and the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China by Japan was concluded, the Italian Government, manifesting their co-operative attitude toward Japan's policy, promptly expressed their intention of rendering concessions and relinquishing extraterritorial rights held by Italy in China. Now the French Government, which have hitherto held similar intentions, have voluntarily made public their desire to do likewise.

Japan's rendition of concessions and relinquishment of extraterritorial rights was motivated by the sincere desire to remove various restrictions arising from inequality which have for many years past been imposed upon China, thereby to extend co-operation toward the improvement of the political status of that country and, at the same time, to accelerate the establishment of a new and just order in Greater East Asia. The fact that the French Government under the leadership of their President, Marshal Petain, have taken this wise decision in response to such intentions held by Japan, is a matter to be sincerely congratulated for the sake of the Republic of China. It also affords equal gratification to Japan which is always solicitous for the progress of the Republic of China.

Following the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia,

British concessions were promptly taken over and the Japanese and Italian Governments, one after the other, decided to retrocede their concessions to China. As a result there will no longer exist in the near future any more exclusive foreign concessions. There are still, however, a number of countries holding extraterritorial rights in China, and it is our earnest hope that since Italy and France which held important rights and interests have, in voluntary co-operation with Japan, declared the abolition of their extraterritorial rights, that the other countries whose rights and interests are comparatively small will soon take similar action on their own accord.

XIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS

February 26, 1943.

It has been clarified on many occasions that Japanese pursues the policy of not stinting deep sympathy and fullest co-operation toward the construction of a new India. In accordance with this policy the Government have decided to revise the treatment of Indians who have hitherto been considered as enemy nationals in so far as concerns the application of the law for control of enemy property and of the asset freezing order from the standpoint of the relations between Britain and India by exempting Indians who understand Japan's war objectives and co-operate with her in the construction of Greater East Asia from the application of the foregoing laws and by not treating them as enemy nationals even in small official matters. It is needless to say, however, that this new ruling excepts those who, not understanding the true intentions of Japan, commit acts of an enemy character.

The same treatment will be accorded to the peoples of the

former territories of the United States, Britain and the Netherlands which are now under Japanese occupation, namely, the Philippines Commonwealth, Hongkong, British Borneo, British Malaya, Burma, and the Netherlands East Indies.

XIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE PRESENTATION OF MEDALS TO THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF MANCHOUKUO

February 26, 1943.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor has been graciously pleased to present the China Affair Service Medal to His Majesty the Emperor of Manchoukuo and Medals in Commemoration of the Celebration of the 2600th Anniversary of the Founding of the Japanese Empire to Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Manchoukuo.

The Japanese Government have therefore decided to order Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Manchoukuo General Yoshiji Umezumi to present these medals to their Majesties and have ordered the following to participate in the presentation ceremony:

Lieutenant-General Kyoji Tominaga
Rear-Admiral Kuninori Marushige
Counsellor of Embassy Yoshitaka Hanawa
Consul-General Baron Yasushi Hayashi
Major-General Sumihisa Ikeda
Rear-Admiral Tasuku Nakazawa
Commander Shigeru Goto
Lieutenant-Colonel Kaname Kato
Lieutenant-Colonel Hidemi Watanabe

XV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF
GREATER EAST ASIATIC AFFAIRS
CONCERNING THE SIGNING OF
THE TRADE AGREEMENT
BETWEEN JAPAN AND
FRENCH INDO-CHINA

March 5, 1943

Director-General Shigeru Kuriyama of the Japanese Ambassadorial Office in French Indo-China and Governor-General Jean Decoux of French Indo-China signed yesterday, March 4, at Hanoi, documents relative to that part of the trade agreement for the year 1943, based on the Japanese-French Agreement pertaining to customs, trade and method of payment between Japan and Indo-China, which concerns exports of French Indo-China products to Japan.

Director-General Kuriyama and Governor-General Decoux have carried on several conversations since the beginning of this year for the purpose of finding method of making closer and firmer the economic relations between Japan and French Indo-China on a new basis to meet the present situation. These conversations, as a result, have not only remedied the various points which hitherto have hindered Japanese-French Indo-China economic co-operation but also have contributed greatly toward making smoother the economic interchange between the two countries.

XVI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE RENDITION OF JAPANESE EXCLUSIVE CONCESSIONS IN CHINA

March 14, 1943.

In accordance with Article 2 of the Agreement between Japan

and China concerning Retrocession of Concessions and Relinquishment of Extra-territorial rights which was concluded on January 9 of this year, the Japanese Government have had their commissioners carry on discussions with the Chinese commissioners with a view to deciding details concerning the enforcement of the rendition of Japanese exclusive concessions in China. These discussions having reached a complete agreement of views between the commissioners of the two countries, an agreement on details and the terms of understanding attached there to concerning the rendition of the exclusive Japanese concessions in China were signed at Nanking today, March 14.

AGREEMENT ON DETAILS CONCERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF RENDITION OF EXCLUSIVE CONCESSIONS

For the purpose of discussing and deciding upon details concerning the enforcement of the rendition of Japanese concessions in the Republic of China in accordance with the Agreement between Japan and China concerning the Rendition of concessions and the Relinquishment of Extra-territorial rights which was concluded at Nanking on the ninth day of the first month of the eighteenth year of Syōwa corresponding to the ninth day of the first month of the thirty-second year of the Republic of China, the Japanese Government appointed Tateki Horiuchi, Toyoichi Nakamura, Akiyoshi Tajiri, and Kiyonobu Shiozawa, and the National Government of the Republic of China appointed Chou Min-i, Wu Sung-kao, Li Sheng-wu, Chou Lung-hsiao, as commissioners stipulated by Article II of the Agreement above referred to.

The said commissioners of the two countries met in conference at Nanking and have agreed on the following terms:

ARTICLE I

The enforcement of rendition of administrative rights of the

Japanese exclusive concessions in Hangchow, Suchow, Hankow, Shasi, Tientsin, Fuchow, Amoy, and Chungking shall take place on the thirtieth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of Syowa, or the thirty-second year of the Republic of China.

ARTICLE II

Such establishments as roads, bridges, sewers, canals, and embankments, in the exclusive concessions shall be transferred to China without compensation.

ARTICLE III

The National Government of the Republic of China shall respect and confirm rights and interests concerning real estate and others which the Japanese Government and nationals have on the basis of the existing conditions in the exclusive concessions and shall take necessary measures for that purpose.

TERMS OF UNDERSTANDING

1. Documents and records which are necessary for the enforcement of administration over the exclusive concession areas shall be delivered as soon as possible to the Chinese authorities of the localities concerned.

2. The Chinese authorities of the localities concerned shall take over the Chinese police whom the Japanese have hitherto had under their employment for the enforcement of administration of the exclusive concessions, as well as the Chinese employees for the management and maintenance of roads and sewers.

3. The establishments to be transferred under Article II of the Agreement on details shall include various fixed establishments attached to them.

4. Concrete matters concerning Article III of the Agreement on details shall be decided by consultation between the Japanese and Chinese authorities of the localities concerned.

XVII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE ARRIVAL IN TOKYO MR. BA MAW, CHIEF OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF BURMA

March 18, 1943.

At the invitation of the Japanese Government, a party composed of Mr. Ba Maw, Chief of the Administrative Council of Burma, and other officials has arrived in Tokyo by air today, March 18. The members of the party are:

Mr. Ba Maw, Chief of the Administrative Council of Burma

Mr. Maung Mya, Secretary of Internal Affairs

Mr. Thein Maung, Secretary of Financial Affairs

Major-General Aung San, Commander of the Burma Defense Army.

XVIII. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE RESTORATION OF THE PEKING LEGATION QUARTER

March 22, 1943.

Along with the negotiations concerning the enforcement of the rendition of Japanese exclusive concessions, which were already agreed upon and signed in accordance with the Agreement between Japan and China Concerning the Rendition of Concessions and Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights concluded on January 9 of this year, the Japanese Government have had

their Ambassador to China conduct negotiations with the Foreign Minister of the National Government of China concerning the restoration of administrative rights over the Peking Legation Quarter by the National Government in accordance with Article 5 of the said Agreement. A complete accord of views having been reached between them, an agreement concerning the enforcement of the restoration of the Peking Legation Quarter and attached terms of understanding were signed today, March 22.

AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF
THE RESTORATION OF THE PEKING
LEGATION QUARTER

With respect to the enforcement of the restoration of the Peking Legation Quarter in accordance with Article 5 of the Agreement Between Japan and China Concerning the Rendition of Concessions and Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights which was concluded at Nanking on the ninth day of the first month of the 18th year of Syowa corresponding to the ninth day of the first month of the 32nd year of the Republic of China, the undersigned have discussed and decided upon the following terms:

ARTICLE 1

The enforcement of the restoration of administrative rights over the Peking Legation Quarter by the Government of the Republic of China shall take place on the 30th day of the third months of the 18th year of Syowa, corresponding to the 32nd year of the Republic of China.

ARTICLE 2

Such establishments in the Legation Quarter as roads bridges, sewers, canals and walls shall be transferred to China without compensation simultaneously with the enforcement of the present agreement.

ARTICLE 3

The Government of the Republic of China shall respect and re-affirm the rights and interests with respect to real estate and others which the Japanese Government and nationals have in the Legation Quarter on the basis of the existing conditions and shall take the necessary measures for this purpose.

TERMS OF UNDERSTANDING

1. Documents and records concerning the administration of the Legation Quarter which are in the custody of the Administrative Commission shall be delivered to the Chinese authorities of the localities concerned as soon as possible as necessity arises.
2. The Chinese authorities of the localities concerned shall take over the police and other Chinese staff and employees whom the Administrative Commission hitherto have had in its employment.
3. The public establishments to be transferred under Article 2 of the present Agreement shall include the fixed establishments attached to them and equipments and materials for management and maintenance.
4. Concrete matters pertaining to Article 3 of the Agreement shall be decided by consultation between the Japanese and Chinese authorities of the localities concerned.
5. The Government of the Republic of China shall, in administering the area following the enforcement of the restoration of the administrative rights over the Legation Quarter, shall maintain at least the standard hitherto maintained with respect to the domicile, occupation and welfare of Japanese nationals resident in the quarter.
6. For the purpose of defraying a part of the necessary expenses for the administration of the area by China, following the enforcement of the restoration of the administrative rights

over the Legation Quarter, the Japanese Government shall, for the period up to the settlement of the question of levying taxes arising from her extraterritorial rights in the Republic of China, contribute a reasonable amount of Japanese donation in accordance with the previous practice and shall collect from the resident Japanese nationals a reasonable amount of levies which they hitherto have borne and transmit the same to the Chinese authorities of the localities concerned.

XIX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE JOINT TECHNICAL COMMISSIONS OF THE THREE POWERS

March 22, 1943.

While the Joint Technical Commissions under the Japanese-German-Italian Tripartite Pact met from time to time in the past, it was decided to convene the Tokyo Commission with some alteration in the membership which had occurred in the meantime. Accordingly on the 22nd of this month the Commission held its meeting at the official residence of the Foreign Minister with Mr. Masayuki Tani, the Foreign Minister, presiding. Attending the meeting were the members of the General Commission including the Foreign Minister Mr. Tani, the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Mario Indelli and the German Ambassador, Mr. H. G. Stahmer. Also present were the officials concerned of the Foreign Office as well as the members of the Military Commission, namely, the officers concerned of the Imperial Army and Navy and the German and Italian naval, military and air attaches. Complete agreement of views was reached at the meeting which considered and discussed various important questions relative to the co-operation of the three countries visa-vis their common enemies.

XX. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION REGARDING THE CONCLUSION OF A MODUS VIVENDI ON FISHERIES BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION

March 26, 1943.

As the negotiations for the conclusion of the Fisheries Convention between Japan and the Soviet Union which were conducted last year were not completed by the end of the year, conversations with a view to concluding a modus vivendi to prolong the validity of the existing Convention to the end of the present year have been carried on since last December. These conversations having reached an amicable agreement, the said modus vivendi was signed at Kuibishev by our Ambassador, Mr. Naotake Sato, and the People's Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Solomon Lozovsky, on March 25.

XXI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO TO THE PHILIPPINES

May 6, 1943.

General Hideki Tojo, Prime Minister and concurrently Minister of War, arrived at Manila yesterday (May 5) for the purpose of inspecting the military situation and the military administration in the Philippines, as well as of holding a frank exchange of views with Mr. Jorge B. Vargas, Chief of the Executive Commission.

XXII. STATEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND
CONCURRENTLY MINISTER OF WAR, GENERAL
HIDEKI TOJO FOLLOWING HIS INTERVIEW
WITH THE CHIEF OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMISSION, MR. JORGE B. VARGAS

May 6, 1943.

My present trip has been prompted by the desire personally to inspect the actual developments in establishing the new Philippines, to tender appreciation to the Japanese and Filipino people who are devoting themselves in complete unison to the successful prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia and the establishment of the new order in East Asia as well as to exchange frank views with the leaders of the New Philippines.

I have been deeply impressed by the manner in which both the officials and people in collaboration with the Imperial Japanese Forces are doing their utmost for the construction of the New Philippines and are steadily achieving remarkable results.

Above all, the foresight and courage with which H. E. Mr. Vargas and other members of the Administration have faced the situation and devoted their very lives to the work of constructing the New Philippines, ignoring all criticisms and personal risks, are worthy of high admiration. For the progress and prosperity of Greater East Asia as well as for the proper development of the New Philippines this is indeed a matter for sincere congratulations.

The aim of the present war is to bring to their knees America, Britain, and Holland, who have long wielded their baneful influence in East Asia and have been given up to satisfying their greedy ambitions at the sacrifice of the peoples of Greater East Asia, and to exterminate their influence, thereby establishing a new order based upon ethical principles in which each people therein will have its proper place.

Surveying the circumstances of American occupation of the Philippines we find that America made no scruples to deceive the Filipinos and forcibly annexed their territory against their will. Not only that, America, utterly indifferent to the true happiness and welfare of the Filipinos, used the Philippines merely as a base for further aggrandizement in East Asia. What she has done is nothing less than blinding the Filipinos by materialistic culture and paralyzing the true Oriental spirit of the Filipinos.

While boastfully displaying her materialistic culture, America repressed the sturdy spirit and initiative which are indispensable for the creation and development of a real nation. Moreover, she skillfully manipulated the Filipinos by offering seemingly beautiful but empty promises of independence, while doing nothing to enable Filipino industries to stand on their own feet economically, and under various pretexts she delayed the granting of independence. In short, what America did was to convert the Philippines into her own colony fearing the awakening of the consciousness and the development of the Filipino people and make it her base for aggrandizement in East Asia.

Centuries ago the Philippines and Japan enjoyed close intercourse in trade and communications. Racially as well as in thought these two peoples closely resemble each other, having characteristically Oriental traits. In the light of this fact as well as their geographical propinquity, it is only natural that they should co-operate in their endeavours for the progress of East Asia. Despite such providence America, ignoring these truths, repeatedly attempted to alienate Japan and the Philippines by resorting to slander and false propaganda and to promote misunderstanding and strife among the peoples of East Asia. It was indeed a series of despicable and unscrupulous policies.

Once the war started, all the American, British and Dutch bases in East Asia were completely wiped out and now the power and prestige of the Imperial Japanese Forces command vast

areas of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Our position of invincibility and sure victory has already been perfected and we are in complete readiness to take the initiative thoroughly to crush the fighting spirit of our enemies.

Now, the solidarity of Japan, Manchoukuo, and China is increasingly firm. Thailand, already in alliance with Japan, has joined the war. French Indo-China too is unstintingly affording us co-operation. As for Burma, under the able and spirited leadership of the Chief Administrator, Dr. Ba Maw, she is wholeheartedly co-operating with us, her independence a matter of imminent realization. Peoples of other regions of the South have regained their true selves under our understanding measures based upon ethical principles and thus the peoples in this region are vigorously marching forward toward the establishment of a new and bright Greater East Asia, each people playing its proper part.

In Europe, Germany, Italy, and others of our Allies are further intensifying their co-operation with us and are preparing for coming great offensives. Thus, both in the East and in the West the great march to crush America and Britain is steadily advancing.

I wish to declare once again that Japan, in concert and mutual trust with the one billion people of Greater East Asia who have long suffered from the materialistic and spiritual shackles of America, Britain, and Holland and who have just been emancipated from their bondage and awakened to their proper mission, is determined to eradicate once and for all the root of long-standing evils in East Asia with the successful prosecution of the war in view and thereby to re-establish these peoples in accordance with their proper inheritance and to secure the permanent peace of the Orient.

It is my earnest expectation that the entire people of the Philippines, appreciating anew the real intentions of Japan as

well as the mission of the Philippines and bearing in mind the honour and responsibility of participating in the War of Greater East Asia, will be united as one man and that independence of the Philippines will speedily be consummated at the earliest possible time.

XXIII. STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE
BOARD OF INFORMATION, CONCERNING
THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE EN-
TERPRISES OF JAPANESE
RESIDENTS IN PERU

May 7, 1943.

Since their rupture of diplomatic relations with Japan in January last year, the Peruvian Government have taken various measures of economic pressure against resident Japanese. They have ordered the compulsory removal of a part of the Japanese from their established homes and, in collusion with the United States, the deportation of several hundreds of leading Japanese to the latter country for internment. In addition to these measure of maltreatment, they have recently promulgated an order that agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, and all other enterprises under the management of resident Japanese be compulsorily transferred to Peruvians and, in case such transfers are not completed by May 31, that they be expropriated by the Government.

Despite the fact that these Japanese residents have contributed enormously to the economic development of Peru during their forty years of residence in that country as law-abiding, upright people, the Peruvian Government, since the outbreak of the present war, have, on no substantial grounds whatever, branded these very people who have done so much for the enrichment and progress of Peruvian life as harmful to the national interest.

Despite the fact that they have gone through revolutions, mob riots and other disturbances and have patiently suffered the consequent damages to life and property, dutifully obeying the laws of their adopted country, yet the Peruvian Government have conceived of no other reward but to consider them dangerous to the maintenance of law and order and have brought to bear upon them the severe pressure already referred to above. Far from satisfied with those severe steps they now propose to take even harsher measures such as to prohibit all economic activity by Japanese, depriving them of the right to honest livelihood and wantonly throwing them to their own resources.

The recent order of the Peruvian Government, a step calculated only to expropriate the property of resident Japanese under the guise of compulsory transfer, is indeed, in its inhumanity and harshness, a measure unknown in civilized countries. Its real motive is to curry the favour of the United States and, at the same time, to benefit the Peruvian people at the expense of the Japanese, as well as to mollify, if only temporarily, the domestic discontent caused by economic depression. However, the management of economic enterprises, built up by resident Japanese after many years of patient toil cannot easily be replaced by Peruvians. Even if Peru expropriates these enterprises it is clear that in the near future they will be faced with bankruptcy.

Against these harsh measures of the Peruvian Government, the Japanese Government have lodged a strong protest. If the Peruvian Government fail to reconsider their steps we will hold them strictly responsible for any consequences thereof.

XXIV. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF SPECIAL VOLUNTEERS FOR THE NAVY FOR THE PEOPLE OF CHOSEN AND TAIWAN

May 12, 1943.

The Government at its Cabinet meeting yesterday, May 11, have decided to establish a system of special volunteers for the navy for the people of Chosen and Taiwan and to make preparations so that a preliminary training of those who will become special volunteers can be commenced during the current fiscal year.

XXV. STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION, CONCERNING THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT'S PROTESTS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN FOR ILLEGAL ATTACKS ON JAPANESE HOSPITAL SHIPS

May 19, 1943.

The dastardly acts of inhumanity committed by the armed forces of the United States and Britain since the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia have been pointed out by us from time to time.

Additional evidence of the Anglo-American enemy's wanton attacks against non-military objectives has been piling up as the war moves on. Since the beginning of this year, their aircraft and submarines have attacked our hospital ships under conditions which absolutely will not absolve them of responsibility, as the

descriptions given below clearly testify.

The names of the hospital ships were duly notified to the enemy countries, sufficiently in advance before their voyage as such, through established procedure and each vessel bore clear markings as stipulated by treaty. The conditions surrounding the attacks were such as to enable clear and full recognition of these markings and the identity of the vessels.

These are the actual facts and the indiscriminate attacks made against these hospital ships are therefore so clearly established that in no way whatsoever can the attackers evade responsibility on the pretext that they could not identify the vessels. They are inexcusable acts of criminality which violate not only the treaty applying the principles of the Geneva Convention to naval warfare, but the very principles of humanity.

The United States and Britain make it a habit to talk loudly and frequently about their observing the rules of humanity and to assert that they are incapable of committing illegal acts. However, these concrete instances definitely prove the utter falsity of their claims and reveal the brazen hypocrisy of their words and actions.

In view of the repetition of these criminal acts, the Japanese Government have recently lodged with the Governments of the United States and Britain a solemn protest through our Protecting Powers.

The names of the Japanese hospital ships which were attacked, the conditions prevailing at the time of the attacks and the damage suffered are as follows :

1. The Arabia Maru, while cruising slowly within the harbour of Rangoon on January 4 of this year, was subjected to repeated bombings by three low-flying aircraft of the Consolidated type which dropped ten and some odd bombs, all of which, falling within 15 metres of the ship, inflicted damage on the vessel. The weather was clear and visibility

extremely good at the time, the clouds lying at an altitude of 5,000 metres.

2. The America Maru, while sailing at a point off the port of Rabaul, 152 degrees 17 minutes 45 seconds East Longitude and 4 degrees 12 minutes 38 seconds South Latitude, at 4:20 A.M. on January 30 of this year, was attacked by an enemy aircraft which dropped four bombs, all toward the rear of the starboard. The enemy aircraft continued the attack by strafing with machine-gun fire, but no damage was caused. As the night markings were illuminated in full, the identity of the vessel was clear at the time of the attack.

3. The Manila Maru was subjected to a torpedo attack at a point 136 degrees 17 minutes East Longitude and 5 degrees 36 minutes North Latitude on March 4 of this year. The enemy submarines discharged two torpedoes, but by swiftly changing its course the ship managed to escape damage.

4. The Ural Maru, while enroute to Rabaul and voyaging at a point 2 degrees 47 minutes South Latitude and 150 degrees 7 minutes East Longitude at 2:59 P.M. on April 3 of this year, was subjected to a dive-bombing attack by enemy aircraft. The ship received one direct hit and several other bombs fell nearby. The damage suffered was considerable, six members of the medical corps and one member of the crew being killed and six members of the medical corps and four members of the crew being severely injured. There were some clouds at the time.

5. The Fuso Maru, while enroute to Shortland Island at a point 152 degrees 20 minutes East Longitude and 3 degrees 33 minutes South Latitude on April 15 of this year, was subjected to three bombing attacks by enemy aircraft as follows, but no damages were received :

a. From an altitude of 2,500 metres in the direction

of the bow of the ship the enemy aircraft dropped one flare bomb and two explosive bombs, the latter dropping at a point 500 metres ahead of the bow of the ship.

b. From an altitude of 1,500 metres in the direction of the bow of the ship on the starboard side the enemy aircraft dropped one flare bomb and two explosive bombs, the latter falling into the sea at a point 35 degrees off the portside about 400 metres distant.

c. From an altitude of 2,000 metres and directly off the portside, the enemy aircraft dropped one flare-bomb and one explosive bomb, the latter falling into the sea about 200 metres directly off the portside.

Furthermore, on the following 16th at Shortland Island, after the patients had been taken aboard and it was on its return voyage, the vessel was subjected to machine-gun strafing twice and bombed four times between 6:13 P.M. and 8:20 P.M. Though none were killed, the ship received some damage. The attacks on both days were made in clear moonlight and the night markings on the vessel were fully illuminated at the time.

6. The Buenos Aires Maru, while voyaging off Hongkong on April 23, was subjected to a torpedo attack by an enemy submarine at 3:45 P.M. Seven persons were injured and the ship suffered slight damage.

In connection with my statement concerning enemy attacks on our hospital ships, I might reiterate the recent remarks of a German commentator who declared that the American troops in the North African campaign were utterly without discipline. To corroborate on this point, no less a person than Hanson Baldwin, military commentator of the New York Times who toured the Tunisian front, wrote a few days ago: "Americans as a people and as soldiers need far more discipline." And he even went on to declare that "the army (American) so far has failed to

produce a fraction of adequate officer leadership which is needed."

An undisciplined armed force incapable of distinguishing between non-military and military objectives, that deliberately attacks clearly recognizable hospital ships, that savagely strafes with machine-guns innocent school children as in the April 18 raid of a year ago and that generally resorts to indiscriminate blind bombing of civilian establishments—that is the kind of enemy we are fighting against today.

As long as such lack of discipline and lack of a sense of moral values exist among the enemy, there never will be peace, justice, and righteousness in this world. In order to prevent these conditions to prevail, we are duty bound to humanity to crush these barbarians.

In addition to these above-mentioned cases concerning which protests have already been made, another hospital ship, the Mizuho Maru, a due notice of which was given to enemy countries on October 28, 1942, was attacked by enemy aircraft on April 27 of this year at 10:30 P. M. off Kokopo. The vessel received 22 shots by machine-gun strafing.

XXVI. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE RESTORATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT OF SHANGHAI

June 30, 1943.

The Japanese Government, in accordance with Article 4 of the Agreement Between Japan and the Republic of China Concerning the Rendition of Concessions and the Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights concluded on January 9 this year, had their Ambassador to China carry on consultations with the Minist-

er of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China relative to the enforcement of the restoration of administrative rights in the International Settlement of Shanghai to the National Government of the Republic of China. Complete agreement of views having been reached, the Agreement and Terms of Understanding for the enforcement of the restoration of the administrative rights in the International Settlement of Shanghai were signed at Nanking today, June 30.

OUTLINES OF THE AGREEMENT AND THE TERMS OF UNDER-
STANDING CONCERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE
RESTORATION OF THE SHANGHAI INTERNA-
TIONAL SETTLEMENT

THE AGREEMENT

In accordance with Article 4 of the Agreement Between Japan and the Republic of China Concerning the Rendition of Concessions and the Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights which was concluded at Nanking on January 9 of the 18th year of Syowa corresponding to the 32nd year of the Republic of China, the following has been discussed and decided upon:

ARTICLE 1

The enforcement of the restoration of administrative rights over the concession based on the Land Regulations of the Shanghai International Settlement and the By-Laws thereof by the Government of the Republic of China shall take place on August 1 of the 18th year of Syowa, corresponding to the 32nd year of the Republic of China.

ARTICLE 2

All public establishments, assets, and property rights belonging to the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement shall without compensation be transferred to the

Republic of China in their existing condition and all liabilities of the said Council shall be taken over by the Republic of China in their existing condition.

ARTICLE 3

The Government of the Republic of China shall respect and re-affirm the rights and interests with respect to real estate and others which the Japanese Government and nationals have in the International Settlement and its Extension Roads on the basis of existing conditions and shall take the necessary measures for this purpose.

ARTICLE 4

After the enforcement of the restoration of administrative rights based on the Land Regulations of the Shanghai International Settlement and the By-Laws thereof, the Government of the Republic of China shall, in their administration of the said area, maintain at least the standard hitherto maintained with respect to the domicile, occupation, and welfare of Japanese nationals resident therein.

ARTICLE 5

Concrete matters pertaining to the enforcement of the present agreement shall be decided by consultation between the Japanese and Chinese authorities of the locality concerned.

THE TERMS OF UNDERSTANDING

1. Documents and records concerning the administration of the International Settlement which are in the custody of the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement shall be delivered to the Chinese authorities of the locality concerned simultaneously with the restoration of the concession.

2. The transfer of the public establishments, assets, and

various property rights and the taking over of the liabilities under Article 2 of the Agreement shall, with the exception of those concerning prisons of the Municipal Council, be made between the Municipal Council and the Chinese authorities of the locality concerned.

3. Public establishments to be transferred under Article 2 of the Agreement shall include all fixed establishments attached to them and equipments and materials for their management and maintenance.

4. Regarding concrete matters with respect to Article 3 of the Agreement consultation between the Japanese and Chinese authorities of the locality concerned shall be held as necessity arises. Land taxes to be paid by Japanese nationals holding perpetual leases shall continue to be maintained at the existing rate pending the settlement of the question of taxation arising from extraterritorial rights which Japan at present enjoys in the Republic of China.

5. After the restoration of the administrative rights based on the Land Regulations of the Shanghai International Settlement and the By-Laws thereof, the Government of the Republic of China shall, as a temporary measure to use for expenses for the administration of the locality concerned, pursue and enforce the existing system concerning rates, fees and all other levies of the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement in the locality concerned.

In the case described in the foregoing paragraph, the Japanese Government shall, pending the settlement of the question of taxation, arising from extraterritorial rights which Japan at present enjoys in the Republic of China, take such measures as will cause the Japanese residents in the said locality to pay to the local Chinese authorities these levies as a contribution.

6. With regard to the official staff and other employees of the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement

to be taken over by the Chinese authorities of the locality concerned, the Government of the Republic of China shall continue to pursue and apply all rules and regulations concerning their allowances, vacations, retirement allowances, and annual pensions and that, in case of any change of these rules and regulations being made, that Government shall make the necessary arrangements in accordance with the spirit of respecting the vested rights of such personnel.

XXVII. STATEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER,
GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO CONCERNING
THE RENDITION OF THE SHANGHAI
INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

June 30, 1943.

The Japanese Government have previously recognized that the National Government of the Republic of China should restore to themselves as early as possible the Shanghai International Settlement in accordance with the Agreement Between Japan and the Republic of China Concerning the Rendition of Concessions and the Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights concluded on January 9 of this year. To carry out the Agreement the Japanese Government have completed the various preparations, and recently as a result of consultations between the Japanese Ambassador to China and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the National Government of the Republic of China a complete agreement of views was reached, resulting in the signature today of the Agreement concerning the Enforcement of the Restoration of the Shanghai International Settlement and the Terms of Understanding.

It is recalled that the Foreign Concessions in China, especially the Shanghai International Settlement, have had their origin in the Opium War of a century ago. Since that time Britain and

the United States have converted the Shanghai International Settlement into their strong base for dominating China politically, economically and culturally, concentrating extensive rights and interests there and have tenaciously endeavoured to protest its existence. The very existence of this International Settlement has been one of the greatest obstacles to the renaissance of China as it has been a cancerous impediment to the construction of Greater East Asia. The fact that these age-long evils are about to be eradicated by the concerted effort of Japan and China is indeed deeply significant inasmuch as it further promotes the development of the new relations between Japan and China which are on the road toward the successful prosecution of the Greater East Asian War and clarifies the true nature of the construction of Greater East Asia.

The object of the present War of Greater East Asia is ultimately to defeat the insidious ambitions of the United States and Britain of grasping the hegemony of East Asia, to eliminate the root evils of disturbing the peace and well-being of this region and thus to emancipate the countries and peoples of Greater East Asia from the long-standing shackles of those Powers, thereby securely establishing those conditions which would enable them to contribute according to their respective inherent qualities toward the welfare of mankind and a just and righteous peace of the world. A year and a half have elapsed since the outbreak of the Greater East Asian War, and meanwhile Japan has firmly established a basic strategic position of sure victory and invincibility. The Chinese National Government and the Thai Government are now waging the common war as one body with our country and so too is Manchoukuo co-operating with us by devoting thereto her total strength and power. Japan furthermore has publicly pledged the independence of Burma and the Philippines and is endeavouring to consummate its fulfilment in the spirit of fidelity. The peoples of Greater East Asia

are, in complete unison and iron solidarity, now going vigorously forward toward the attainment of the object of the war. The sinister designs of the United States and Britain to re-establish their old and egoistic order in East Asia must be regarded not only as inimical to the cause of righteousness and justice among mankind but as the utterly futile illusion of people who are now being driven into certain defeat.

The Shanghai International Settlement after its restoration to China will make its start in a completely new form of East Asiatic character as a part of Greater Shanghai, the central metropolis of China, both in name and reality. Considering the important role which that place is destined to play in the future, we may well expect thereby the further strengthening of the National Government and the more vigorous reconstruction of China. It is the firm belief of the Japanese Government that the National Government, with inflexible determination, will successfully perform the important responsibilities for the reconstruction and development of that metropolis.

SUPPLEMENT I

I. ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL
HIDEKI TOJO, BEFORE THE 81ST SESSION
OF THE IMPERIAL DIET

January 28, 1943.

I have been profoundly moved that at the opening ceremony His Imperial Majesty the Emperor was pleased to grant a most gracious Rescript. It is my resolute intention to carry out together with you our duties in humble obedience to the Imperial Will, by exerting our utmost efforts and to attain quickly the objectives of the war, thereby setting our Sovereign's mind at rest.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to worship in person at the Grand Shrines of Ise on December 12 last. I understand that there is no previous record in our history that our Sovereign has in person worshipped at these Shrines in the midst of the prosecution of a war and I have been profoundly moved by the thought that prompted His Majesty to have done so. We, the one hundred million subjects, firmly pledge to renew our determination and to fight and win through to victory, thus, even if it is the least we may be able to do, to return His Majesty's benevolence.

More than a year has elapsed since the commencement of the War of Greater East Asia. Having already achieved, under the August Virtue of His Majesty, a series of brilliant victories unparalleled in world history through the superb strategy and valiant fight of the officers and men of the Imperial Forces and through the demonstration of the total power of the people in the homefront, our Empire is now making a magnificent advance toward the goal of subjugating the United States and Britain—a source of profound gratification to us all. Together with you I wish to tender the expression of our highest respect to the officers and men of our Imperial Forces who are day and night continuing

to fight furiously with death-defying spirit and also the expression of our heartfelt appreciation to our countrymen who in the home-front are vigorously executing the task of expanding our fighting strength by surmounting numerous difficulties. I wish also to take this opportunity solemnly to tender together with you our profound respects to the spirits of our brave and loyal men who died honourably in the fields of battle and, at the same time, to express my heartfelt sympathy to the wounded and the sick and to the bereaved families.

The Empire of Japan is now in the midst of a war unprecedented in scale against both the United States and Britain, which vaunt their wealth and strength to the world, in order to destroy their sinister ambitions to dominate the world. Needless to say, it has been the great ideal of our Empire since its founding to enable all countries each to find its proper place and all peoples to enjoy their lives in peace and security. Indeed, it is toward the realization of this great ideal that our Empire has, for the past 3,000 years, exerted its efforts. And it is also to realize this great ideal that our nation, with the hundred million united people, in humble obedience to the Imperial Rescript declaring war, is marching to crush the United States and Britain. The object of the War of Greater East Asia lies indeed in speedily stabilizing Greater East Asia and in constructing a new order on the basis of ethical principles and thus in bringing about real world peace in co-operation with our allies who share the same purpose with us. This object, compared with the traditional ambition of the Anglo-American countries to promote their own prosperity at the sacrifice of other countries and to monopolize the world by exploiting other peoples, is wholly different in its very essence.

Moreover, under the August Virtue of His Majesty, our Empire has already in the first year of the war quickly consolidated its foothold to attain the object of the war. As soon as the Imperial Rescript was granted, our Imperial Forces under the

August Virtue of His Majesty at once swept clear the military strength of the United States, Britain and the Netherlands in Greater East Asia and, advancing still further, captured and secured strategic areas. This position of our strategic superiority will be more and more strengthened and perfected through our grand scale offensive operations which is to be effected henceforth through the watertight co-operation between the Imperial Army and Navy, as well as through the expansion of our fighting strength which accompanies such operations. Taking the airplane as an instance in speaking of the present position of our strategic superiority, the power of the land-based aircraft is exceedingly great in operations carried across the sea. At this time when land bases are demonstrating such a great power, our Imperial Forces by their brilliant victories in successive battles since the outbreak of the war have obtained powerful air bases located at suitable points and day by day these are being strengthened. These numerous air bases guarding the vast regions of Greater East Asia with areas containing natural resources which are absolutely indispensable for the prosecution of the war are being enlarged day by day and their power is being demonstrated with the fullest effect. Now that in the important areas and points in our occupied territories powerful strategic bases are steadily being perfected in addition to the air bases which I have already mentioned and in strategic points our invincible land and sea forces have been distributed, our position for both offense and defense has been completed. Herein lies my reasons in mentioning the fact that our Empire in the first year of the war has completed the basis for certain victory.

Before the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia Japan was deficient to no little extent in such important war materials as petroleum and rubber. The United States and Britain looked down upon our country with contempt as a "have-not" country and by taking advantage of this position dared to rupture econ-

omic relations, an act which we can never forget however hard we may try to forget, and thus tried to bring us into submission at one stroke. However, today, after one year of our war of justice the Southern areas, the world's foremost treasure house, have been completely secured by us. Important natural resources which were monopolized by the United States and Britain before the war have changed their owners and have fallen under our control.

In this manner, Japan has come to secure ample resources enabling us to prosecute war however large its scale may be. In contrast to this position of ours, the United States and Britain which boasted of their wealth of resources before the war are now exposing their great shortage in vital war resources. As for the supply of rubber, tin, cinchona, etc., which they had previously obtained from the southwest Pacific regions, they are now so uneasy and distressed that however hard they try they cannot succeed in concealing their predicament. Herein lies the very reason why they are in a mood of daring to come forth for a decisive battle even by risking strategic disadvantages. Japan thus occupies an extremely favourable position with regard to resources besides holding a position of strategic superiority. It will, of course, henceforth require great efforts on our part to make these resources demonstrate their real worth and power. For that purpose, however, a billion industrious people who have awakened to the dawning of Greater East Asia are prepared to co-operate with us and, therefore, we may well expect the effective utilization of these vast resources. At such a juncture as this, the United States and Britain, relying solely on their industrial ability, are feverishly endeavouring to recover their impaired fighting strength, and are already attempting to take counter-offensives. We should not, of course, be off our guard against such a situation, but it is nevertheless a situation which we should exploit most effectively. This surely is a year which may be

called the period of decisive battles through which we must further add to the series of great victories we have achieved during the past year and more and thus consolidate all the more firmly the conditions of sure victory.

Japan intends by effecting still closer co-operation with our allies and in conjunction with them to carry on offensive operations increasingly against the United States and Britain, eventually depriving the enemy of their ability to continue the war and forcing them to give up the will to prosecute the war, attaining speedily thereby our object in the present conflict.

At this time in Manchoukuo, the foundation of her state is becoming increasingly stronger and she is sharing with our country the responsibility of guarding the security of the North, while, as a vanguard of construction of East Asia, she is making phenomenal developments in the war industries, contributing powerfully toward the expansion of our fighting strength, and is thus fully demonstrating her power as a base of war supplies. The present progress and prosperity of Manchoukuo is in itself an epitome of the whole region of Greater East Asia—a fact most reassuring to us all.

The National Government of the Republic of China is growing in strength day by day under the self-sacrificing leadership of the President, Mr. Wang Ching-wei. On the 9th of this month the Government of that country declared war on both the United States and Britain. This act signifies a great forward step toward the successful prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia to crush the United States and Britain. To the resolute determination of the Republic of China which has thus risen in solid unity under President Wang, I wish to take this opportunity to tender my wholehearted respect. With a view to establishing Sino-Japanese relations as will meet the new situation at this time, Japan on the occasion of the declaration of war by the Republic of China decided immediately to take such necessary

steps as the rendition of all Japanese exclusive concessions in China, the recognition of restoration to China of the Shanghai International Settlement, the Amoy International Settlement and the Peking Legation Quarter, the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights and the disposal of enemy property in China. It is ludicrous indeed to note that the United States and Britain, swept off their feet by our action and in consternation, made a promise on the 11th to render their imaginary concessions and settlement issuing declarations which serve no good purpose whatever. The fact that our allies, Germany and Italy, have simultaneously and gladly taken a co-operative attitude toward Japan's new relations with China is very encouraging.

Thailand, with complete national unity under the powerful leadership of the Premier, Field Marshal Pibul Songgram and with her bond with our Empire through the offensive and defensive alliance ever more strongly cemented, is valiantly engaged with us in the joint war for the subjugation of the United States and Britain and bending her earnest efforts toward the achievement of the common purpose of constructing a new Greater East Asia by surmounting all difficulties and obstacles, demonstrating thereby her real worth as the comrade of our Empire.

Turning in the direction of Europe, we find that Germany, Italy and other allies, with their unity with our Empire growing ever firmer and stronger, are manifesting to the fullest extent everywhere their world-astounding fighting power, overcoming various difficulties. Moreover, they are set to develop further their advantageous offensive operations by consolidating the invincible position they have hitherto acquired. A development such as that in North Africa is nothing more than a ripple in the long tide of war and cannot at all affect the general war situation. Nay, this new development means rather the arrival of a golden opportunity to deal a decisively severe blow to the Anglo-American forces. Not failing to grasp this opportunity, Germany and

Italy are increasingly wreaking havoc on the enemy, and, at the same time, they are ever more displaying their might in operations in concert with Japan and are thus steadily perfecting the position of inflicting mortal blows on our common enemy, the United States and Britain, simultaneously in the east and in the west.

Thus our comrades in arms, the allies in the East and in the West, with their friendship with us growing in cordiality year by year, are by rising above themselves working in the closest possible mutual collaboration toward the attainment of the common victory and realization of the common ideal. In contrast to this, the United States and Britain are already exposing to the world's view in the very midst of the war ugly controversies for the sake of their respective self-interest or with regard to post-war problems. This single fact explains clearly by itself, I firmly believe, which side is right and which side is wrong and which side will be crowned with ultimate victory.

Recalling the spectacular activities of our allies and thinking of their brilliant future, I wish, together with you, to tender our sincere respect and congratulation to them for the great accomplishments made until today and thank them for the splendid co-operation they have extended to our country and, at the same time, to express our earnest hope for their continued good fighting and success.

In the Southern areas which are presently under military administration, the various local inhabitants, lavished by the August Virtue of His Majesty, are now already wholeheartedly manifesting their co-operation toward the new construction—a matter of sincere gratification.

It has been the policy of our Empire to castigate decisively any that refuses to understand our true intentions, but to treat sincerely with parental affections those who come under our rule.

In Malai, Sumatra, Djawa, Borneo, Celebes and other places, peace has completely been restored under the guidance of our

Imperial Forces. The inhabitants have returned to their occupations with joy and are about to enter upon a happy, reassuring life such as has never before been known. Furthermore, our country, in accordance with the long-cherished desire of these peoples, is steadily producing concrete results in making their lands a place of peaceful life.

In Burma, peace and order have already been restored and that country, in unison with the great immutable aim of our Empire and under its strong leader, Chief Administrator Dr. Ba Maw, and with all its people, is co-operating with our Imperial Forces on the spot and is steadily constructing the Burma of the Burmese and is thus continuing to make brilliant efforts to contribute to the construction of Greater East Asia. That effort has strongly impressed our country. Our Empire, during this year at the latest, intends to recognize the creation of Burma State out of the areas now being placed under the jurisdiction of the present administrative organ. The independence of Burma, the long cherished aspiration of the Burmese people, which our Government declared before to the world in this very chamber is already about to be realized. It fully meets the desire of our nation that I am able to state this fact in this chamber, and is a source of sincere congratulation not only for Burma but all Greater East Asia.

Last year, I declared in this House that if the people of the Philippines, understanding Japan's real intentions, would co-operate with us as a co-participant in the establishment of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japan would be glad to accord them the honour of independence. I hereby wish to reiterate that declaration. It is indeed encouraging to note that in the Philippines there is being shown a great deal of sincere co-operation under the new leader, Chief Civil Administrator Vargas, and that peace and order are steadily being improved. I sincerely expect that the Filipinos will further strengthen their

co-operation with our country and thus consummate at the earliest possible opportunity the independence of their land.

We can not but be profoundly inspired when we compare the present condition of Burma and the Philippines, so pregnant with promise with that of Burma's neighbour, India, which is now in the throes of miserable agonies. As I said before in this House, India has already become independent in spirit from Britain. But refusing to change her attitude, Britain is engrossed in arresting and imprisoning Indian leaders and patriots and trampling under its iron heels the national aspiration of the Indian people. Moreover, the Anglo-American forces are attempting very hard to realize their covetous desire for Burma by disturbing the peace of the new Burma through the conversion of India into their base of operations. The Imperial Army forces are, therefore, making crushing attacks on these forces of the United States and Britain. A section of the Indian people who already know the real intentions of Japan are actually on the battlefield in co-operation with us. I wish to express Japan's heartfelt sympathy to the leaders and people of India who are at present undergoing pains of labour in and out of India for the construction of a new India, and, at the same time, declare once more that Japan, in confident anticipation of the consummation of their stupendous undertaking at no distant future, is not stinting to afford them full co-operation.

Now that the Republic of China has entered the War of Greater East Asia as an active participant resulting in the definite clarification of the fundamental cause of China of crushing the United States and Britain, and regime at Chungking, still trammelled by circumstances of the past and, as the catspaw of the Anglo-American group, is continuing to harm its people by its own hand and to wage futile resistance, is certainly the enemy of the entire Chinese people and is a traitor to the traditions of the Republic of China. I emphatically declare once more that Japan

will continue to deal telling blows to that regime.

Japan's attitude toward Australia is similar to that toward Chungking. It is similarly unavoidable that we must inflict severe blows to Australia as long as it remains unawakened from its illusion of relying on the United States and Britain.

Our Empire with a grand plan is now in the midst of the great war which will decide the fate of the world. The administration of policies to be effected hereafter will, therefore, be concentrated on the purpose of winning out this great war. In order to win, we must continue to carry on with increasing vigour our valiant fight with armed strength at the front and deprive the enemy of his fighting ability. In order to win, we must also continue more and more at the home front to expand our fighting power in conformity with the requirements of military operations. All domestic measures must accordingly be concentrated on this single purpose of winning the war and augmenting our fighting strength.

The guiding spirit of the Government with regard to the expansion of our fighting power lies in rendering possible the thorough expression of the ever-swelling tide of patriotic enthusiasm of the one hundred million of our countrymen. We, the Japanese people, have always maintained the tradition which is unparalleled in the world of complete national unity with the Imperial Family as the central pivot and of holding our lives as of small worth for the cause of His Imperial Majesty and offering ourselves courageously to the State should emergency arise. In the present great war in particular which will determine the future of our Empire, the entire people, whether they are at the battlefield or at the homefront, are overflowing with the spirit of loyalty and patriotism in the hope of performing their humble part in response to the Imperial graciousness. I am firmly convinced that it is the Government's important responsibility to place their trust in this spontaneously growing enthusiasm and strength of

the people and to afford the means by which they may be fully employed for the augmentation of our fighting strength.

I expressed in this House a short time ago the determination to cause functions of various administrative departments of the Government to be simplified and strengthened as much as possible and to enable the entire personnel thus made available to engage in various activities all over the region of Greater East Asia. The Government are carrying out this scheme, reducing a considerable number of regular official personnel. With regard to the methods of executing official affairs they have earnestly endeavoured to make improvements upon them to suit the war time and are achieving concrete results. Besides, many persons have already gone overseas and are vigorously occupied with the work of construction and management in all parts of Greater East Asia. It is the intention of the Government to produce increasingly such results by pursuing this policy.

Furthermore, the Government have effected the unification of the administration of Japan Proper and overseas territories to conform with the developments of the times and have established the Ministry of Greater East Asiatic Affairs to handle our Empire's administrative affairs in the Sphere of Greater East Asia in a unified and comprehensive manner. In conjunction with the reform of the governmental structure, the Government are perfecting the internal structure with regard to public organizations and in all such fields as farming and commerce in order to perfect our internal wartime structure.

With respect to the expansion of the material aspects of our fighting power, the Government are making more thorough the policy of emphasis on primary requirements by directing, as is natural, all efforts speedily to increase the production of important war materials such as iron and steel, coal, light metals, ships and airplanes which are directly vital in increasing the strength of our fighting power, concentrating on every originality

and device and, with the aim of effecting an epochal increase in production to meet unforeseen developments in the situation, are already making steady progress in securing concrete results. Therefore, in connection with ensuring our maritime shipping capacity, and hence our shipbuilding, which is the basis for increasing the strength of our productive power, the Government are concentrating exceptional efforts. Concrete results are now being steadily obtained and there are no apprehensions whatever as regards the future. Moreover, in the production of iron and steel we are endeavouring to meet various requirements with a new conception untrammelled by old methods throughout the whole region of Greater East Asia.

In order to effect the increase in the production of vital war materials, the Government at this time will consider ways of eliminating the application of such laws and ordinances as will obstruct the purpose and also to strengthen the authority and power of the Prime Minister, thus conforming truly with the actual situation and maintaining elastic leadership; and furthermore, by unifying the guidance and supervision of the government offices to make simple and clear where the producers may seek such assistance. However, to expand the capacity of our fighting power, the Government recognize as vitally important the obtaining of knowledge widely from the thinking people at large. It was in view of this fact that the Council for the Deliberation of Greater East Asia Construction was established and they have received much valuable opinion. It is the desire of the Government henceforth to continue to endeavour as much as possible to receive the valuable opinions of the people at large.

As I have already stated there is now no cause for apprehension regarding the future of the war. However, in order to win through this war, it goes without saying that shortages and inconveniences cannot be helped. In the course of the war until we reach final victory, the people must be able to endure every

kind of hardships. Only after the labours of our one hundred million people multiply will there be born the strength to win through the war. In regard to securing the livelihood of the people, the Government are of course endeavouring to take all possible measures, but beyond this, we, the one hundred million people must, immovable under any circumstances and with fortitude and austerity, establish a simple but vigorous wartime life, making more thorough the reform of our mode of living, our economy in consumption and our increase in savings.

At the present moment our Empire is in need of more and more men to serve as the nucleus in the construction of the Co-Prosperity Sphere of Greater East Asia. While effecting the reform of the educational system and shortening the term of study, the Government are carrying on the expansion and strengthening of those branches of learning that are directly necessary to increase our fighting power and thus are endeavouring to conform with the demands of the times.

Also, the Government deems it most important to promote the vigorous health of the people under wartime. For this purpose, the Government are directing every effort toward various health programs, especially in connection with tuberculosis. It is indeed a matter of great encouragement to report on this occasion that despite the fact that we are in the midst of an unparalleled great war, our population situation has been extremely satisfactory every year. Our births for instance, have attained an unprecedented figure and our deaths are conversely decreasing.

On the basis of the aims I have presented, the Government have submitted the budget and other bills to this session of the Imperial Diet. I hope that speedy approval will be given to them.

2. ADDRESS OF MR. MASAYUKI TANI, MINISTER FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE 81ST SESSION
OF THE IMPERIAL DIET.

January 28, 1943.

It is a great honour for me today to take this opportunity of stating my views on the various problems of wartime diplomacy.

With the commencement of our war against the United States of America and the British Empire, the world, except a few neutral countries, has been divided into two great opposing camps waging, each with its total power and strength, a great world war unprecedented in history, which has resulted in an epochal change in the international situation. Looking back upon the past year and surveying briefly the present world situation, I find, first of all, that in East Asia Japan's rise in arms has indeed afforded an opportunity to the East Asiatic peoples, who had been suffering for many years under Anglo-American oppression, to rouse themselves in unison to action. Manchoukuo, the Republic of China and Thailand, each from its own standpoint, have rendered us whole-hearted co-operation in material and spiritual fields from the very beginning for the prosecution of the current sacred war to a successful conclusion.

At the hands of the Imperial forces, who are brave, careful in planning, sympathetic and considerate, the various peoples in the Southern area having been liberated for the first time from Anglo-American fetters, have come to the realization at long last that the Anglo-American policies are aimed at no other object than exploitation to satisfy their insatiable greed. At the same time, they have realized the historical inevitability of the construction of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere and are now willingly pledging their co-operation with Japan in the construction and defence of this sphere. There are actual facts,

despite the deceptive propaganda issued by American and Britain. Under the great ideal of the Hakko Ichiu, Greater East Asia is step by step making steady progress in realization, while Japan has secured for herself an invincible position of sure victory.

As regards the region of Europe, Japan's brilliant military accomplishments since the opening of hostilities have greatly enhanced the morale of the Axis Powers and have further strengthened their faith in the successful establishment of the new order in Europe. Among the new developments of the present international situation, we see that in North Africa, the German-Italian forces, having withdrawn from the Egyptian front and taken prompt and resolute measures to meet the situation, are now frustrating the Anglo-American offensive, evincing the importance they attach to the region of Tunisia.

Thus, the delusive offensive widely advertised in the typical manner of Anglo-American propaganda, which was undertaken in order to set the Axis Powers at variance, has utterly failed to produce the desired result. The offensive has served only to strengthen German-Italian co-operation and the general position of the whole Axis Powers in Europe, thereby giving rise to the discussion of the question of another second front in the enemy camp. By the wanton invasion of the Anglo-American forces in Northwest Africa, the situation in France was thrown temporarily into confusion, but fortunately, normal conditions have now been restored through the sympathetic understanding of Germany and Italy towards that country and Mr. Laval's inflexible policy of friendliness toward Germany. It is expected that France will render still closer her co-operative relations with Germany and Italy and, with her manpower and material resources, will contribute to the construction of a new Europe.

Despite all sorts of false propaganda disseminated by the enemy, Europe under the Axis Powers is now making steady progress toward stable construction. Now the European coun-

tries with Germany and Italy as their leaders, realizing more and more their common destiny and in unison with Japan, are marching forward with indomitable spirit to strengthen the position of certain victory and invincibility.

Let us now observe the situation in the enemy camp. Japan's series of great victories in the early stages of the war dealt America and Britain tremendous setbacks both materially and spiritually, and for a time both of these countries were thrown into consternation without any idea of how to cope with the situation. However, in the course of the subsequent progress of the war, they hastened to formulate a scheme to meet the situation and, relying chiefly on the abundant resources of the United States, prepared for a protracted war with a view to launching offensive two or three years later. Claiming that they should concentrate their efforts on the overthrow of Germany first, they have helped the Soviet Union, provided it with materials, and obliged to face the mighty German pressure single-handed, while they endeavoured to increase their own fighting power. However, as the Imperial forces continued to win more and more victories, bringing such remote places as the Aleutian Islands and the Indian Ocean under their control, the dissatisfaction of the people both in America and Britain was greatly intensified; and, particularly in the United States, a demand for immediate counter-attacks became increasingly clamorous. Thus the authorities of the two countries were driven into an extremely embarrassing position.

Under such circumstances, the United States and Britain were forced to devise some scheme to create a new development. The United States, therefore, is now making desperate efforts to strengthen further its wartime structure at home, while by the construction of the Alaskan Highway, the strengthening of the Australian defence, and the construction of airplane bases in part of China and in India, she is watching for an opportunity to

launch a counter-offensive against Japan, taking up an encircling position at a remote distance. Moreover, the United States, in conjunction with Britain, is making an attempt to obstruct the advance of Germany and Italy by dispatching reinforcements to the Iran and Iraq areas and by connecting Africa with Southwest Asia. Designating this year as the year of decisive battles they are declaring to the world their intention to launch a great offensive, whether the battle field be in the East or in the West. In view of the conditions which prevail in these countries where politics and propaganda control military operations, one can not tell when and in what direction they will attempt their advance. But if they venture to do so, they will simply re-enact the tragedy of the Mongol Invasion of Japan and that of Dunkirk.

The position of neutral countries caught between these two great opposing camps is extremely difficult. Most of the Central and South American countries have already succumbed to the pressure of the American policy of dominating the Western Hemisphere and have become its victims. Overpowered by the pressure of the United States, Chile recently took such a step as to rupture diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany and Italy, while in sharp contrast Argentina is resolutely maintaining her policy of neutrality, for which I wish to pay a tribute of high respect to that country. It is the desire of Japan to maintain friendship with her. Also the neutral nations of Europe, especially Turkey, Spain and Portugal, have resolutely been maintaining their independent positions despite the insidious schemes of the enemy. It is my confident expectation that the wise leaders of these countries, fully appreciating the existing general situation, will not allow their countries to pursue the wrong course.

While paying constant attention to meeting the above-mentioned changes in the world situation, the Japanese Government are attaching special importance to the promotion of closer rela-

tions with the various countries in the region of Greater East Asia on the one hand and to the strengthening of our co-operation with our European Allies on the other, thereby perfecting the co-operative structure by which to realize our common objective—the successful conclusion of the war against the Anglo-American nations and the construction of the New World Order.

Firstly the relations between Japan and Manchoukuo are based on the immutable basis of the principle of one virtue and one mind. It is needless to say that the two countries have constantly been preserving an attitude of close co-operation.

Secondly, as regards China, the National Government on January 9, declared war on the United States and the British Empire, and made clear both at home and abroad their determination to participate and co-operate far more vigorously in the construction of the New Order in Greater East Asia in complete unity with Japan. As to the measures our Government have taken and will take hereafter in connection with China's entry into the war, you gentlemen must already have familiarized yourselves with them through the "Joint Declaration of the Government of Japan and the National Government of the Republic of China Concerning Co-operation for Prosecution of War" and the "Agreement between Japan and China concerning Retrocession of Concessions and Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights", both of which were promulgated on the 9th current and by the "Declaration of the Imperial Japanese Government" also announced on the same day.

Co-operation between Japan and China is the grand path ordained by Nature. The reason why these two countries could not pursue that path hand-in-hand before is that they were obstructed for many years by the United States and Britain, who had deeply encroached upon China, thus constituting the root cause of the disturbance in East Asia. However, now that the conditions in Greater East Asia have undergone a complete

change as a consequence of Japan's victories, Anglo-American positions in East Asia have entirely been destroyed leaving no possibilities for their restoration in the future. These rights such as the Concessions, and Extraterritorial Rights were acquired as the result of the Opium War and, as such, they embody the monument of the Anglo-American exploitation of the East. This country has desired the abolition of these rights as soon as possible, in view of the past bitter experience. The National Government having been resuscitated, Japan and China—with one mind and one body—are marching forward together to prosecute the war against their common enemies to its successful conclusion.

Thus the independence and prosperity of the Republic of China are in complete conformity with the prosperity and welfare not only of Japan but also of all Greater East Asia. Therefore, it is both a historical inevitability and really a matter for sincere congratulation for all East Asia that Japan at this time should have discarded boldly and positively such an unnatural anachronistic and humiliating system, and that she should trust and maintain friendly intercourse with China in accordance with the real path of East Asia. However, alarmed at Japan's action, the United States and Britain on the 11th of this month concluded with the Chungking regime treaties concerning the retrocession of international settlements and the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights. But such steps on the part of the United States and Britain are designed merely to deceive the world with their hollow promises to return their already lost rights and interests, which fact only shows their craftiness and insidiousness. It is a thousand pities that the Chungking regime should be overjoyed at this dishonoured cheque and behave as if it had forgotten China's country-old grievances. In this connection it is a source of great pleasure to me that our Allies, Germany and Italy, with thorough understanding, have immediately taken the same

attitude in conformity with Japan's new China policy, and that the Italian Government has already taken the necessary steps to retrocede concessions to the National Government. The development of new relations between Japan and China is indeed one manifestation of the great ideal of HAKKO ICHIU, demonstrating clearly to all the world Japan's true intentions and sincerity with respect to the establishment of Greater East Asia and the construction of the new world order. I firmly believe that it will ever more greatly enhance the confidence in Japan not only of the Chinese people, but also of the various peoples in Greater East Asia.

A short time ago Japan and Thailand concluded a cultural agreement. This agreement provides, in addition to the previously existing close military, political and economic co-operation between the two countries, for broad co-operative relations in the cultural field the scope of which is unprecedented in the relation between Japan and other countries. I am convinced that the operation of this agreement will render great contributions not only to the development of Japanese-Thai relations but also to the cultural renaissance of Greater East Asia in general.

French Indo-China already maintains close relations with Japan militarily, politically, and economically. Furthermore, it is a matter for congratulation that French Indo-China is going to co-operate still closely with Japan in the realm of finance in accordance with the agreement which was recently arrived at between the two countries, as already announced. I anticipate that the French Indo-China authorities, by taking a far-sighted view of the world situation and by considering further, and realising rightly, the positions which Japan and French Indo-China itself occupy in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere will co-operate more positively with Japan.

Japan's collaboration with Germany and Italy in the military, political, cultural and other fields is close and firm. Our enemies

are leaving no stone unturned in trying to set the three countries at variance. Thus they expose their inability to recognize the fact that the three countries are bound together by the lofty, ideal of establishing a world-wide peace based upon ethical principles, and that our unity is fundamentally different from that of such countries as the United States and Britain—countries whose alignment is based upon egoistic calculations and liable to constant change. To advance the co-operation between Japan, Germany and Italy still further, not only that these three countries may assist each other with all their respective total economic power for the duration of the present war, but also that they may be enabled to realize a new order which would ensure the co-existence and co-prosperity of every people within their respective economic spheres after the termination of the current war, negotiations have been going on for some time between the Governments of Japan and Germany, and between the Governments of Japan and Italy with the view to concluding an agreement concerning economic co-operation between Japan and Germany and between Japan and Italy. As you already know by the announcement made at the time, the agreement between Japan and Germany and the agreement between Japan and Italy were signed on the 20th of this month, at the German General Headquarters and at Rome respectively.

These agreements realistically and concretely demonstrate in the economic field the spirit of the Tri-Partite Pact which was concluded on September 27, the 15th Year of Syowa. I firmly believe that the operation of these agreements will render economic co-operation between the three countries evermore closer and more harmonious, contributing further toward the strengthening of their fighting power, thus making yet more certain the victory of the Axis Powers.

In connection with the construction of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, it has already been declared that

Japan harbours no intention of excluding others from the Sphere or of enforcing its seclusion. The conclusion of the agreement referred to above not only fully indicates this attitude of Japan but also makes clear that the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere by Japan and the establishment of the European Co-prosperity Sphere by Germany and Italy are real facts and not mere empty propaganda in the manner of Anglo-American contentions, and that our work of construction is steadily making concrete progress.

As regards the Soviet Union, there is no change in Japan's policy toward that country of respecting the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact which was concluded in April, 1941. It is needless to say, however, that this basic policy of our Government is predicated on the Soviet Union's observance of the same neutrality pact.

Taking this opportunity, I should like to express my profound respect and sympathy for a large number of our compatriots who are experiencing hardships and privations in enemy countries or in the countries which have severe diplomatic relations with Japan, and earnestly pray for their good health. At the same time, I declare that our Government have strictly been watching the attitude of these countries toward our countrymen residing there, and taking all kinds of steps such as lodging strong protests against unreasonable oppression in order to alleviate their hardships and privations.

The cause of the present war, as clearly shown in the Imperial Rescript, lies in the fact that Japan was forced by the inhuman oppression of the United States and Britain resolutely to take up arms against them in order to preserve the very existence of our Empire. Likewise, the reason why Germany and Italy rose in arms is that America and Britain under the pretext of protecting the peace of the world, oppressed Germany and Italy by taking advantage of the system of Versailles.

It is well-known that on account of that Anglo-American tyranny, Japan was obliged to withdraw from the League of Nations and Germany, Italy and other countries followed suit. Now, the Anglo-American leaders are resorting to plausible propaganda such as the "Atlantic Charter", regarding their post-war peace plans. These declarations, in the final analysis, amount to nothing more than an attempt at Anglo-American domination of the world similar to the system of Versailles. I believe, therefore, that if this plan of theirs were to be realised the rising nations such as Japan, Germany and Italy would never have any opportunity to acquire each its proper place, and a lasting world peace would never be brought about. The United States and Britain, professing the so-called four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear, are declaring to the world that the present war is being fought to protect these freedoms because, they say, these freedoms have been threatened and trampled upon by Japan and the Axis Powers, and, therefore, it is a "war for freedom" or "war of survival". Thus they are attempting to stir up the morale of their people. But have Japan, German and Italy ever threatened the freedom of America and Britain or their existence? Nothing could be further from the truth than this. Indeed, which are the nations which, though having extensive territorial possessions and abundant resources, first of all, excluded Oriental immigrants engaged in peaceful development? Again, which are the nations that came across the Pacific and perpetrated wanton acts of aggression in East Asia and at present are aiding the remnant régime in Chungking, thereby aggravating the troubled state of this region? The crimes of Anglo-American leaders who distorted the realities of the situation, deceived their peoples and ultimately led them into war can be condoned neither by Heaven nor by man. If those who are responsible for the war are to be punished, as the Anglo-American leaders insist, it

is themselves who should be punished. In short, whatever entrancing words the leaders of the United States and Britain may array in offering their far-fetched explanations, it is no wonder that their war aims should fail to obtain the full approval of their peoples. What the American leaders are aiming at is a world domination entirely alien to the real happiness of the American people; while what the British leaders are solely solicitous about is the maintenance of the antiquated British Empire. As a result, outwardly they profess their common war aims, but inwardly as they are envisaging different ends, it is but natural that a sharp divergence of views has come to the surface between the two countries concerning their war aims and the conduct of hostilities. When the peoples of the two countries calmly reflect upon the just merits of the case. I have not the slightest doubt that they will realize with a shudder not only the crimes which are being committed by their leaders but also the unjustifiableness of their cause and the meaninglessness of their sacrifice.

In contrast, the reason why Japan a year ago resolutely rose up in arms is that she aims at the elimination of oppression from the scheme designed for the selfish control of the world by America and Britain, in order to construct a new order based on ethical principles wherein the just will have a just place. When we speak of enabling each nation to find its proper place, I believe that we are referring to nothing other than this. Indeed, Japan's war aims are perfectly clear in the light of our just cause. It is very clear which side is right and which side wrong, and, accordingly, which side will win the victory. Japan has a glorious history extending ever more than twenty-six centuries of having never suffered a single defeat in war. This is due to the very fact that Japan's wars have always been wars for truth and justice. In scale and intensity the present war is indeed unprecedented in history. It is also extremely profound in its

significance. With the conviction that the cardinal point of wartime diplomacy is fully to grasp the true significance and purpose of the war and with perfect concord between politics and strategy to prosecute it to a successful conclusion, I intend to see to it that no stone be left unturned in furtherance of our Empire's foreign policy.

3. AMBASSADOR KURUSU'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE
OSAKA CHAPTER OF THE TAISEI YOKUSAN
KAI (IMPERIAL RULE ASSISTANCE
ASSOCIATION) ON FEBRUARY

27, 1943.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN NEGOTIA-
TIONS CHIEFLY IN REFERENCE TO AMERICAN-
BRITISH MACHINATIONS

A series of questions and answers took place between Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, and newspapermen on the occasion of the first anniversary of the commencement of hostilities between Japan and America in December, last year. Replying to the question whether Ambassador Kurusu had come for the purpose of deceiving America, the Secretary of State is reported to have stated that the discussion on this question should be deferred till relevant data had been gathered. Again, the White Papers, entitled "Peace and War", made public by the American State Department on January 3, this year, contains a passage which says that Ambassador Grew warned his home government under date of January 27, 1941, against the possibility of a large-scale attack upon Pearl Harbor. Later, on November 3, the same year, that is, some two days before I left Tokyo to undertake an aeroplane trip to America, Ambassador Grew gave, so it is said, another warning to his home government about the possibility of Japan taking with "dramatic and dangerous

suddenness" such a measure as would make a conflict with America unavoidable, deprecating the idea that it would be possible to lead Japan to collapse, by wearing down her economic and financial resources.

This clearly shows that the American Government had no reason to imagine at that time, nor have they any reason to surmise even now, some one year after, that I had flown to Washington with intention to deceive America. Put in another form, it clearly shows that the American Government had no reason whatever to doubt my bona fide intention to further the negotiation; on the contrary, they were fully aware, on the basis of the reports from their Ambassador on the spot, that the situation prevailing at that time was so tense that a step in the wrong direction might prove fatal, setting aside the question of propriety or otherwise of the conclusion arrived at by Ambassador Grew. Why did America, who was supposedly aware of such a fact, hand to us the note of November 26, 1941, which was truly tantamount to an ultimatum? Why did Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, hand to us a note which prompted him to intimate to the Secretaries of War and Navy that the negotiation had been virtually terminated, requesting them to prepare actively for war? This is the first question which naturally arises among those who want to study the causes and circumstances leading to the outbreak of war between Japan and America.

It requires no reiteration that America is a country which, at least ostensibly, pays respect to public opinion in the conduct of politics. It is true that about the time I arrived in Washington in the middle November, 1941, some people in America contended that in case war started between Japan and America, Japan would collapse in several months, nay, in several weeks. To cite an extreme case, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee went to the length of asserting that there was no use continuing negotiations with Japan, demanding that Ambassador

Kurusu be thrown overboard into the Atlantic. But, nonetheless, I can not persuade myself that it was the desire of the majority of the American people to bring such pressure to bear upon Japan as would—as indeed it did—force her to despair of a peaceful settlement with America and thus precipitate an armed conflict.

There is a conception in this country as in Europe, due perhaps to conditions prevailing there, that to influence Tokyo is to influence Japan, while the temper of Berlin represents that of Germany. This is responsible for the tendency among our people to jump to the conclusion that the tone of newspaper comments or articles in New York and Washington reflects public opinion throughout America. But America is vast in territory; besides, each region of America, the East, West, South and Middle East, has its own economic, political and social interests, which are different from the others, while constitutionally each State enjoys a certain degree of sovereignty since the founding of the Republic. For these reasons, it is impossible to judge the trend of public opinion as a whole by merely considering the tone of newspapers in, for example, Washington and New York. A survey in this light made by me for a short period of time since my arrival in America showed that quite a few people west of Chicago and in the South were averse to war with Japan. For instance, former President Hoover in his address, delivered in New York on May 19, last year, stated to the effect that 75 per cent of the American people had been opposed to war prior to the commencement of hostilities at Pearl Harbor. Why, then, did America, who professedly bases her national structure on respect for public opinion, serve upon Japan an official note, tantamount to a challenge to war? This is the second question which inevitably arises.

The replies to those first and second questions may be found partly in America's underrating of Japan's power. Despite

Ambassador Grew's reports mentioned above, America may have thought it possible to make Japan collapse or bring her to her knees with the application of economic pressure, whether war or no war, in view of the fact that Japan must have drained the bulk of her national resources in the hostilities with China, which had continued for more than four years. Again, a section of the American public, the advocates of the New Deal policy or those who stood for drastic domestic social and economic reforms may have planned not only to unify at one stroke the public opinion which had been divided on the question of entry into war, but also to carry out forcibly those reforms under war time structure, by deliberately provoking an armed conflict with Japan. There also may have been various complicated internal circumstances in America which led to the war with Japan. But it is my observation that more deep-rooted causes may be found in America's international relations, the major one of which is the joint machinations of America and Britain in international politics in recent years.

Needless to say, America and Britain have intimate relations, both historically and racially, but what I want to point out specifically is the development of relations between the two countries since the conclusion of the Munich agreement in 1938. In concluding the agreement, Neville Chamberlain, the then British Prime Minister, was motivated by the desire to adjust not only the international situation in Europe, which had been extremely tense, but also to ease the desperate situation between Germany and Britain. Europe heaved a sigh of relief in finding a way out of the deadlock, in which war seemed inevitable, while the majority of the British people jubilantly accorded an ovation to Chamberlain who brought back the agreement. Since that time, however, Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden and their circle, who are now in power in Britain, have been resolutely opposed to Chamberlain's appeasement policy; while a powerful

section of American public opinion has been extending vigorous support and encouragement to them from across the Atlantic.

At that time, I happened to be in Europe, where I had an opportunity to follow closely the development of the situation. An American diplomat confided to me that judging by the trend of events at home, America was intent on inciting war between Germany and Britain, at the same time lamenting that in case hostilities actually broke out, America would not be possessed of any practical preparations to extend aid to Britain and France. The European situation went from bad to worse. Further, the murder of a German diplomat by a Jew in November, 1938, served as a signal for the accentuation of the Jewish purge in Germany, which, in turn, led to a flareup of an anti-German agitation in America where Jewish influences permeate various quarters. In his message to Congress in January, 1919, President Roosevelt took the lead in the anti-German campaign in America. In September, 1939, the European war broke out. Official documents, seized by the German forces in Warsaw, Paris and other places, which were subsequently made public, prove that American diplomats and other agents in Poland, France and other countries in Europe had incited those countries to war, by urging them to pursue a vigorous and vehement policy toward Germany.

It was about this time that a solid foundation was laid for co-operation between America and Britain or rather an alignment between the Roosevelt and Churchill factions. As the American diplomat referred to above confided to me, America at that time was not fully prepared or determined to enter into the war on the side of Britain and France. She apparently planned various diplomatic and military operations on the calculation that the combined fighting power of Britain and France would be strong enough to check the German onslaught and drag Germany into trench warfare, or war of attrition, as it did in the first World

War and, therefore, that it would be enough for America to stand behind and play the role of an arsenal or munitions factory for Britain and France. Once, however, Germany started her attack upon Britain and France, the German forces swept everything before them and easily broke through the Maginot Line which had been vaunted as impregnable. The result was the Dunkirk debacle for the British and French which threatened the very existence of France, with the fate of the British Isles hanging in the balance. America, terror-stricken, placed almost all her stocks of arms and ammunition at the disposal of Britain. There is good reason to believe that President Roosevelt decided upon America's participation in the European war at about this time.

On the other hand, Britain found herself at the cross roads of life or death. The situation confronting her was so critical that there was no other way for her to secure her existence but to drag America into war at any sacrifice. There is reason to believe that Britain has since stinted at nothing to drag America into war. Likewise, Britain's attitude toward the negotiations between Japan and America may be regarded as having been based upon the policy of involving America in war at all costs. Consequently, Britain, it seems, not only pursued a policy to utilize America for safeguarding her position in China and other regions of Greater East Asia, while fighting in Europe herself, but, furthermore, desired the opening of hostilities between Japan and America in order to make sure of the latter's participation in the war.

Viewed in this light, one may be able to read through Britain's inner thoughts in dealing with the Japanese-American negotiations. About November, 1941, when I left Tokyo for America, it was reported that Duff Cooper and his clique in Shonan, which was called Singapore at that time, had advocated a vigorous policy toward Japan and recommended to their home government the policy of dragging America into war, by provoking hostilities

between Japan and America. For instance, a Briton, who had made a tour of inspection of Singapore and other places in the southern area with Duff Cooper, took the same aeroplane with me from Manila for America to make a hurried trip to London. On the way, he told me that the Japanese-American negotiations were then too late to preserve peace. Further, he made vigorous propaganda, calculated to obstruct the Japanese-American negotiations, to newspapermen at Honolulu, San Francisco and elsewhere. Again, while my plane was obliged to stop forty-eight hours at Midway Island, due to some engine trouble, Churchill declared that in case hostilities started between Japan and America, Britain would enter into the war on America's side in an hour's time, thus manifesting an attitude designed, on the one hand, to intimidate Japan and, on the other, to encourage the war party in America. Furthermore, when I arrived in Washington, Britain declared that she would leave everything to America concerning the Japanese-American negotiations. Thus, it was made clear that Britain was so anxious for America's speedy entry into the war that far from endeavouring to promote an amicable settlement of the Japanese-American negotiations, she even desired to precipitate hostilities between Japan and America.

It seems also that the British representative pursued this policy in steering the proceedings of the ABCD conference, or the conference of the representatives of America, Britain, Australia, Chungking and the Dutch Government, convoked prior to the note of November 26. To cite an instance, I am authentically informed that although the Australian representative, fully aware of and deeply concerned over, the gravity of the situation, which would ensue the delivery of the note, approached the conferees with proposals for finding a way out of the difficulties immediately after the note was handed to Japan, his proposals were flatly rejected by the British representative. In addition to the American and British delegates, the Dutch and Chungking

representatives are said to have advocated a vigorous policy at the conference, but they were puppets of America and Britain, whose lead they had to follow more or less blindly. For instance, the Chungking representative was invited to the first session of the conference after the other representatives and was requested to give an almost ex post facto consent to what had been decided upon.

In this fashion, British attitude apparently played no small part in leading the Japanese-American parley to a rupture; but this does not mean that America was content to be led by Britain or that she merely danced to the latter's tune. On the contrary, it is abundantly clear that America maneuvered to assume leadership in the field of international politics and economy by supplanting Britain.

To survey later developments, Canada, Australia and Latin American countries have all fallen under America's preponderant influences one after another in quick succession. Take the Central and South American countries for example. After the first World War, Britain, having turned into a debtor nation, conceded to the United States, as one of the means of payment, those rights and interests which she had possessed in those countries, and, accordingly, the influence of the United States in Latin-American countries increased by leaps and bounds, while that of Britain diminished in proportion to it. Since the present war Britain has again gone into great debt to the United States and, in order to meet her liabilities, she is losing her rights and interests remaining there. On the other hand, these countries in Central and South America, since the outbreak of the present war, have lost most of the European market—which is the main market for their chief exports such as agricultural products and live-stock. Accordingly, they have suddenly been driven into a difficult economic and financial plight and obliged to look for loans from the United States, as a result of which the grip of the

United States on those regions has increasingly been tightened. Since its participation in the war, the United States, by taking advantage of its economic power, has caused those countries one after another to declare war on, or to rupture diplomatic relations with, Japan Germany and Italy and, by means of expropriation or freezing of the assets of the nationals of those three countries and by the wholesale deportation or internment of their nationals who had peacefully secured the means of livelihood there after long years of arduous efforts, it is now trying to wipe out at a stroke the legitimate rights and interests of the three countries in Central and South America. Thus, together with the expulsion of British capital there, the United States is endeavouring to subjugate Central and South America under its sway.

From these facts we can clearly see that the American ambition for world domination is being steadily realised. The frictions and secret strife that are developing between America and Britain in connection with the problems of India and North Africa are but another proof of this ambition. It is more than patent that America is fighting for world hegemony. In an attempt, however, to disarm criticisms both at home and abroad, America strenuously denies her designs to establish Anglo-Saxon control over the entire world. And yet, American statesmen, including President Roosevelt, stress as the goal of post-war world reconstruction total disarmament of Japan, Germany and Italy and establishment of an international police system with American and British armed forces. Vice-President Wallace in his address delivered on December 28 last year advocates the necessity for supervising the educational system of Japan and Germany after the termination of the war. What can such a mental attitude reflect, if not the sinister design of world control?

America and Britain, it is true, are vociferously advocating freedom of world economy in the so-called Atlantic Charter. In the next breath, however, Winston Churchill, in his address

delivered at the Mansion House on November 10 last year, boldly vindicates British Imperialism and defends the conception of the Ottawa bloc. It has elicited hostile criticism from Wendell Willkie and his party in America, leading to a violent controversy between America and Britain. On the part of America, it manifests no intention to modify its high tariff policy, which together with the Ottawa bloc, may well be called the cancer of world economy. Following the termination of the first World War, America suddenly rose to the status of a creditor Power from that of a debtor country. The law of international economics called upon America to rest content with her favourable balance of trade and seek to promote the smooth operation of world economy. After the first World War, however, America checked the inflow of merchandise service from abroad by means of a high tariff and other restrictions and ruthlessly collected payments in gold of the principal and service on its loans to foreign countries. The result was the accumulation of mountains of gold, hoarded away in mountain vaults in Kentucky, with no profitable use ever being found for it. On the other hand, the international economic fabric, which had been operated on the basis of gold, broke down, plunging the world into a panic. American statesmen, from the President down, lavished lip-service on the rectification of their self-centered economic policy, but showed no intention whatsoever to modify America's tariff policy, the most handy way to improve the situation, as I have just mentioned. Freedom of world economy as advocated by America and Britain, therefore, is, after all, freedom to suit their own convenience. Not only that, they have never offered any commitment against exercising in future such economic pressure as freezing of assets or embargo on exports which they applied against Japan. In short, America and Britain mean to make the most of other countries' economic dependence upon them and to bring economic pressure forever to bear upon any country which will not

move at their beck and call. What can such a selfish conception be, if it does not imply the invidious design of world control?

It is to be clearly observed that America's war aims tend toward ultimate world domination, developing a trend, fundamentally opposed to her traditional foreign policy, which had its inception in the famous valedictory address of President Washington. This accounts for the unrest and mistrust felt by not a small body of the American public. For some one year since the outbreak of the war, the American Government have endeavored to press home America's war aims to their people, by mobilizing all the power they possess and by bringing all possible publicity facilities into full play. And yet the latest Gallup Poll, the noted machinery for surveying public opinion, shows that 30 to 40 per cent of the American people entertain doubts on the war aims of their own country. It has also been argued in American Congressional circles from time to time that America's war aims should be clarified in a more definite manner. Besides, growing opposition is seen in America to the Government's policy for world hegemony in the form of opposition to the proposed expansion of the President's dictatorial powers and in the demand for an investigation into the operation of the so-called Lend-Lease Act. Early this year, Britain manifested deep concern over such developments in the situation in America, which she regarded as a sign of the Isolationists raising their heads. The Australian press also reports that Prime Minister Curtin who feared that such a tendency might adversely affect America's aid to Australia attempted to visit America himself to retrieve the alarming situation.

Moves to meet this domestic situation in America are to be seen in the White Papers, in the emphasis placed upon the so-called favorable turn in the war situation and in the exaggerated praise of the results of war production by President Roosevelt, in his message of January 7 to Congress and, more recently, in

the stagy conference held by Roosevelt with Churchill at Casablanca.

There are thus certain domestic difficulties in America, but the power of the American and British Governments in so far as it concerns the active prosecution of the war has so far showed no sign of deterioration. On the contrary, it is being steadily strengthened. Vaunting their economic and material resources as boastfully as ever, both America and Britain assert that the day is not far-off when the war situation in Europe, North Africa and the South Pacific will reach a turning-point and they will launch a general counter-offensive. Such assertions, empty though they are, are actuated by the desire to egg on their own peoples on the one hand and to mislead the neutral nations on the other. Following the recent Casablanca talk, Roosevelt and Churchill ridiculously enough demanded the Axis Powers' unconditional surrender. Churchill has gone the length of asserting that America and Britain will destroy Japan with all their might, after bringing Germany and Italy to their knees. When one hears them talking of an "unconditional surrender," one should not ignore it simply as a piece of clotted nonsense. Behind that idea one may discern their designs that the terms of the Versailles Treaty imposed upon Germany were not vigorous enough to prevent her from resurrecting herself and rising again to arms, and they should destroy Germany once and for all in this war in order to make her incapable of restoring herself and that, in view of the fact that the progress of Japan has given great impetus to the awakening of the coloured races in general and consequently constitute one of the major obstacles to their colonial exploitation, they should clear the way for their ambitions by crushing Japan completely. Thus their designs are so deep-seated that the present war will turn out to be a way in which we crush the enemy or the enemy crush us. Hence, there is no room for a half-way compromise in this war. We are called upon to bend all our energies to over-

whelm the enemy, thereby consolidating our invincible position and implanting an immutable faith in our cause in the minds of the billion peoples of East Asia. At the same time, we are also called upon to continue our march onward toward the goal of constructing a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia until we have attained such an impregnable position as would defy the attempt of any hostile Powers to disturb it. We must fully bear in mind that there is no other way, be it a short-cut or secret path, to attain the objective of the war in which we are now engaged.

In this connection, it may be recalled that even while we were interned in America prior to repatriation the doctrine of racial equality was raising its head in a section of the American public by way of appeasing the Indian independence movement and manipulating the Chungking regime. The doctrine seemingly has since gained in influence, but to our knowledge America has so far failed to amend even a single line of her immigration law or to strike out the anti-Chinese provisions in her legislations. The idea of establishing world peace, as contended by us, by setting up regional machinery or through inter-regional co-operation is gradually coming to the surface in America and Britain. Vice-President Wallace of America in his address, delivered on December 28, last year, referred to above, stated that regionalism is possessed of an outstanding value in dealing with international issues. For example, the Vice-President continued, the European Powers while interested in South American problems should not be engrossed in them, and, likewise, the countries in the Western Hemisphere while interested in the problems of Europe should not be engrossed in them. He concluded that questions of a purely regional nature should be left to the region concerned for settlement. This argument, indeed, shows some approach to Japan's conception of the Greater East Asia Sphere of Common Prosperity. As a matter of fact, however, they have

never tried to consider the problems of East Asia in this light; and the American Government are trying hard to smother the so-called Isolationists in America, who hold that such a regional idea be translated into reality. Besides, a glaring difference between the Anglo-American professions and practices is strongly impressed upon us by President Wilson's fourteen-point declaration, whose whereabouts now nobody knows and also by the prostitution of the spirit of the Washington Conference by America and Britain ever since that conference. Such being the case, we must throw our whole might into the conflict and fight it out till America and Britain conditionally surrender to their own conscience, completely shaking off their superiority complex, prejudice and contempt for the other nations. We must shake the self-confidence and self-conceit of America and Britain to their very foundations, by winning through this war with grim determination.

Before closing, let me avail myself of this opportunity to offer my heartfelt thanks to the officers and men of the Imperial Forces on the battle-front for their recent brilliant military and naval achievements as well as for their gallant fighting. The war aims of America and Britain are based upon their own selfish interests, pure and simple, with the result that a strife has recently developed between those two countries. In sharp contrast, co-operative relations between Japan and China have been further tightened as a sequel to the declaration of war by the National Government of China upon America and Britain on January 9. Furthermore, Prime Minister General Hideki Tojo in his address before the Diet on January 28 pledged anew independence to Burma and the Philippines. Let me sincerely bless with you the smooth and steady progress of the brilliant construction of East Asia. Let me also pledge with you that we, one hundred million strong, unite solidly like one man and throw our whole might into the prosecution of this war steeped in the immutable conviction

that, justice prevailing in the end, our efforts will be crowned with ultimate victory.

4. ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL
HIDEKI TOJO AT THE 81ST SESSION OF
THE IMPERIAL DIET

March 25, 1943.

Today, it is my desire to report to you on recent developments of the general situation.

Regarding the independence of Burma, I stated in this Chamber on January 28 that in response to the enthusiasm of Burma, which, in accord with the great immutable policy of Japan, is co-operating with the Imperial forces on the spot, exerting noteworthy efforts for the construction of Greater East Asia with the strong leader Dr. Ba Maw as the central figure, Japan would recognize the establishment of Burma within this year at the latest. And now, at this time, Dr. Ba Maw and others have come to Japan at the invitation of the Imperial Government in connection with the preparations for independence.

On the 23rd His Majesty the Emperor graciously granted an audience to Dr. Ba Maw and his party and on the 22nd granted decorations. I am profoundly touched and over-awed by the boundless magnitude of the Imperial Graciousness.

On the 22nd I had a meeting with Dr. Ba Maw and his party at which time I conveyed Japan's intentions in regard to the independence of the new Burma, and openly and frankly exchanged views. At this time I should like to announce to you the principal points of Japan's intentions which I stated at the said meeting.

In connection with the independence of Burma, I stated as the earnest hope of Japan that the new Burma will, through her

own incentive and responsibility, speedily substantiate her status as a fully independent state, and, at the same time, closely cooperate with Japan as a new state founded upon ethical principles as a member of the Greater East Asian Sphere of Co-prosperity and thus to contribute to the creation of a new world order, and especially that Japan expects that the new Burma will speedily complete a national structure consonant with the requirements for the successful prosecution of the war.

In regard to the territorial composition of the new State of Burma, it is to include the whole territory of Burma with the exception of the Shan and Karenni areas. Furthermore, I expressed the desire that the nation be determined in accordance with the aim of harmoniously embracing the various peoples within the territory.

The political organization is naturally a matter to be determined by Burma herself but Japan desires that the administration of the state be made simple and effective. Also as regards economic affairs I expressed the earnest desire that the new Burma promote her economic development by just and unhampered activities under her own authority as a unit in the general economic construction of Greater East Asia.

Dr. Ba Maw and others of his party, deeply moved by the special honours bestowed upon them by the Imperial Family and understanding well the real intentions of the Imperial Government, expressed their determination to co-operate whole-heartedly with us, to exert their utmost efforts for the construction of the new Burma, to go forward together with Japan in the successful prosecution of the war. To their intense love of country and their enthusiastic spirit of co-operation toward Japan I wish to express my hearty respect.

A short time ago, I made a visit to the Republic of China to return the courtesy of the visit to Japan at the end of last year of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, President of the National Government of

the Republic of China and concurrently President of the Executive Yuan, and, at the same time, to pay my personal respects with regard to that country's declaration of war against the United States and Britain. Furthermore, I had frank discussions with the leaders of the National Government regarding the plans for the successful joint prosecution of the war. It is my pleasure to state at this time that although my visit was brief, I saw the Imperial Forces, officials and people of Japan on the spot unitedly continuing their valiant efforts and was able to confirm in person that the leaders and others of the Republic of China, fully understanding the true intentions of Japan and impressed by the sincere and concrete measures of our country, are making efforts to cooperate with us in the successful prosecution of the war.

Even among the Chinese people at large the real intentions of Japan have seeped into their minds and the trend is being enhanced among them to exert their voluntary efforts for the construction of a strong country inspired with glorious hope by the recent steps taken by our country and to co-operate wholeheartedly with us for the successful prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia.

It is a matter worthy of note that in the first place these facts demonstrate the strengthening of the political power of the National Government and, in the second place, graphically show the fundamental reason why Chungking's resistance is steadily being lost.

It seems that Chungking is feeling a great shock over the recent clear-cut measures taken by Japan. In other words it seems that the leaders of Chungking are watching with the utmost concern Japan's true intentions and their concrete fulfillment in the future. Furthermore, it can also be perceived that there is ever growing in the Chungking camp sentiments for peace among front line commanders, and compared to before there is now a great increase in the number of those surrendering and

returning to the Nanking camp.

The United States and Britain are unable to conceal the confusion into which they have been thrown by Japan's new policy toward China and they are now making no choice of the means to try to alienate the rejuvenated Republic of China from Japan, but justice triumphs over all enemies and it is most encouraging that the people of China, who are in full concord with the true intentions of Japan and are endeavouring to become true comrades, sharing together joys and hardships and life and death, are increasing from day to day.

It is needless to say that this attitude of Japan toward Burma and the Republic of China is founded upon the spirit of *Hakko Ichiu* and is the demonstration of the immutable national policy of our Empire. That this is steadily being realized in fact today, in the very midst of a great war, is a matter of utmost gratification to us all.

Viewing the European scene, Germany and Italy, their morale ever high, are not only crushing the attacks of their enemies everywhere but are massing their total national power in concentrating their preparations for the coming great offensive.

As against this, the leaders of the United States and Britain are mutually going to and fro and holding conferences to confer on measures to turn the tide of war, but this controversy among them centering around the ambitions of the United States for world hegemony which ignores the sacrifices of other countries and the attachment of Britain to the prosperity and authority of her antiquated empire cannot easily be solved. With pious words they are talking about post-war management and glossing over the present, and thus exposing the distrust and suspicion which they mutually harbour within themselves and the absence of unity in their military camp.

When we compare the enemy situation with the allied countries of Greater East Asia with Japan as the center and the

Axis Powers of Europe with Germany and Italy as the center, increasing more and more the intimacy of their collaboration and with mutual dependence and mutual help, marching forward to crush their common enemies, the United States and Britain, there we note an irrefutable marked difference and we here further strengthen our determination for certain victory.

The Government, in order to increase and strengthen our fighting power through the expansion of our vital productive capacity which is a matter of urgent importance under the present situation, are continuing their indefatigable efforts. Recently in this Diet, the Wartime Special Administration Law and others were approved and, moreover, the Government have abundantly received beneficial opinions from this Diet and, leaving no stones unturned to translate them into action to forward the expansion of our fighting power, have obtained Imperial sanction for the establishment of the Temporary System of Cabinet Advisers and the system of supervising administration and also have established the Wartime Economic Council.

Since the details are known to you through an announcement of the Government, I would like to avoid repetition by explaining them, but in regard to the function of these new system, the Government will, on their part, stimulate the staffs of the various Government departments concerned to leave absolutely nothing to be desired. Also the Government earnestly hope that the people, understanding wherein the intentions of the Government lie, co-operate fully and that the Government and people as one body strive to achieve the desired results and in this I request your further cooperation.

Japan's internal and external situation as I have stated is steadily developing to our advantage. However, the developments of the world war situation permit of no undue optimism and for the complete victory of the War of Greater East Asia we must overcome various obstacles and difficulties which lie ahead.

We, the one hundred million people, further renewing our resolve and surmounting the trials of wartime which will mount even more in the future, intend to bend even greater efforts in the direction of final victory and thus serve in humble obedience to the Imperial Will.

5. ADDRESS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER MASAYUKI
TANI AT THE DINNER PARTY GIVEN IN HONOUR
OF DR. BA MAW AND HIS PARTY AT
THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S
OFFICIAL RESIDENCE

March 25, 1943.

Your Excellencies and Gentlemen :—

It is indeed a great pleasure to the Minister for Greater East Asiatic Affairs and myself to welcome here this evening His Excellency Dr. Ba Maw and the members of his Mission and to have an opportunity to extend our sincere greetings to them.

We have long entertained deep sympathy with their Excellencies Dr. Ba Maw and the other members of his Mission who had to undergo indescribable hardships and sufferings for many years in order to eradicate British domination and regain their independence. With the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War, however, the long awaited chance has arrived. Last year when the British forces were driven out of the land of Burma as a result of brave fighting by the Japanese forces, their Excellencies resolutely rose up to collaborate with the Empire of Dai-Nippon for the prosecution of the war which is fought for the destruction of American and British oppression. It is with profound respect that we of the Empire of Dai-Nippon, whose aim in the war is to establish a new order based upon moral principles and to bring about co-prosperity among the peoples of Greater East Asia, see

rapid progress being made in the reconstruction of a new Burma.

The war which we are waging to-day is unprecedented in the history of mankind not only in its scale but also in its significance. Japan has already scored sweeping victories and has established an invincible position in East Asia. In Europe our Allies, Germany and Italy, are steadily gaining ground. It must be remembered, however, that our enemies are also putting every ounce of their strength into the war.

It is quite natural that there should be vicissitude in the course of any war, but our Empire in its glorious history extending over 2600 years has never been conquered. This, I am convinced, is due to the fact that not only has our fighting power been superior to that of the enemy but also justice has always been on our side. The present war against America and Britain constitutes no exception to this tradition. We are fighting to-day to destroy injustice and preserve justice among the nations. In contrast to this, America and Britain are fighting a war of injustice simply in order to preserve their ill-gotten wealth and position which they gained through aggression on other peoples during a period of many years. There can, therefore, be no room for doubt as to the ultimate outcome of the present war. In this belief, we, one hundred million Japanese subjects are firmly united under His Majesty the Emperor and are confident of our final and complete victory. We can not but sincerely hope that His Excellency Dr. Ba Maw and the other leaders of the New Burma will be confirmed in their belief that victory is always on the side of justice and will exert their utmost effort to establish that independent Burma for which ideal many of their patriotic fore-runners laid down their lives and poured forth their blood. How to protect and develop independent Burma depends solely upon the determination and effort of the leaders and the 17 million people of Burma. It is, and must be, also an important mission and responsibility of the New Burma to Greater East Asia to

give light and hope to the 400 million Indians who are still groaning under the tyranny of British domination. I believe there are a great many things which depend upon the efforts of Your Excellencies. In welcoming Dr. Ba Maw and his Mission I avail myself of the opportunity of expressing the warmest wishes and expectations for the new-born Burma, and I beg to propose Their Excellencies' good health.

6. DR. BA MAW'S ADDRESS AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S DINNER PARTY

March 23, 1943.

I have one regret to-night which I must mention at the very start. On such a memorable and even a historical occasion like this, when for the first time in our history, the leaders of the two eastern peoples, the Nipponese and the Burmese, are gathered together, I am, owing to the tragedy of our history, unable to address this distinguished gathering either in my own language or the language of my hosts. You will therefore have to forgive me for being forced by circumstances, over which I have no control, if I have to address you in an alien, worse than that, in an enemy language. I promise you that I will try my best not to do it again in the future.

I wish next to express my deep and sincere gratitude to the leaders and people of Nippon for the warmth, spontaneity and scale of the welcome that they have extended to us since our arrival here. I wish particularly to convey my deepest thanks to His Excellency Premier Tojo for his daily interest in our comfort while staying here. I shall never forget his courtesy and generosity. His Excellency the Premier was courteous enough to mention our journey to Tokyo. I wish to assure him that we had a very pleasant journey and met with the warmest welcome

and attention in every place we passed through. Since our arrival in Nippon, this welcome has achieved an almost embarrassing climax.

I also thank His Excellency the Premier for inviting us to Nippon. It has enabled me to realize one of my greatest ambitions.

As I see it, the present visit has a very important historical significance. It, in fact, marks a turning point not only in Burmese history but also in East Asiatic history. For the very first time, Burmese representatives have officially travelled to the East. In the past, owing to the tragic circumstances of our history, the Burmese could only go to the West and deal with the West. Anglo-American imperialism, which was based upon the complete disintegration of Asia and Asiatic peoples, kept those peoples apart from one another for centuries and prevented them from looking towards the East. But, now, at last, Burma has turned towards the East and, to-day, a Burmese Mission is on an official visit to Nippon. That is why I say that this visit marks a great turning point in Eastern History. It is symbolical of the way in which the East Asiatic peoples are gathering together in pursuit of a common Asiatic unity and destiny. In all the places, I passed through on my way to Tokyo, I saw this new Asiatic consciousness, this instinctive coming together of the East Asiatic peoples.

The present momentous occasion recalls to my mind by its deepest contrast the conditions in Burma a year ago. A year ago, the British in their despair and anger, were burning and destroying everything they could in Burma and reducing whole towns and tracts to ashes. The entire Burmese people were also actively co-operating with the Imperial Nippon Forces in driving the British enemies out of Burma. Our young men were arming themselves and marching side by side with the Nippon Army against the British. So far as I was concerned, I was in a British

jail and a feast like this was far from my thoughts. Things have moved very swiftly and radically since then. The conditions of last year have completely passed and today, this year, British rule in Burma is definitely a thing of the past. And now, Burmese leaders are actually in Tokyo, labouring together with Nippon, for the establishment of a New Order and Economy in the East.

For all this, the Burmese owe a great debt of gratitude to the Imperial Nippon Forces, who, with their blood and sacrifice redeemed Burma from British domination.

The next debt of gratitude arose when His Excellency Premier Tojo announced in the Imperial Diet that Burma's independence will be recognized by Nippon within this year. While I am in Nippon, I wish personally to tell His Excellency Premier Tojo, and the other leaders of the Nippon Empire how universal Burmese joy and gratitude were over this momentous declaration. Many Burmese literally wept with joy and the emotions of the people were truly indescribable. They felt themselves suddenly redeemed from the tyranny and exploitation of a hundred years.

Some years ago, I told the British people pointedly that the Burmese still had friends in the East. Later, when the present World War broke out, I told my people again to look to the East, more explicitly, to trust in Nippon. All the world knows now how the Burmese acted accordingly. They have trusted in Nippon blindly completely without any question or thought of bargaining. They trusted in Nippon at a time when Nippon could not reward them for this trust. They showed their trust not merely by word but by action. The whole people joined with the Nippon Imperial Army in driving out the British because they trusted in Nippon. Later, that is, last year, after the British had been driven out, again, the Burmese co-operated wholeheartedly with the Nippon Army to restore normal administration in Burma and also to continue the war against the enemy. This too the Burmese did because they trusted in Nippon. As I

have said, there was no thought of reward or bargaining then because no transaction was taking place. It was sheer trust inspired by instincts of race and the deepest affinities. Now, Nippon has definitely undertaken to restore her independence to Burma. Can there be any doubt whatsoever that my people, who had in the past trusted in Nippon blindly and without any bargaining, would, now that Nippon has by a concrete act justified this trust, continue to place the same trust in Nippon. I say that this trust will increase tenfold, a hundredfold, now that Nippon has justified this trust by promising to recognize Burmese independence. I have spoken of Burmese trust in Nippon. This statement will remain incomplete if I do not also speak of Nippon's trust in my people. All throughout last year, I have earnestly worked for such mutual trust, which alone can lay a sure foundation for our future unity. Looking to the future, I wish to say that it is my deepest conviction that the most enduring foundation for the New Order and Economy in the East is trust among ourselves, trust manifested in both words and action, always trust.

I also believe in the importance of the great moral principles upon which Nippon is placing so much emphasis for the establishment of a stable World Order especially in East Asia. I am convinced that the Anglo-American World Order has crumbled to dust because it was not based upon moral principles. The New Order that we shall establish in East Asia under Nippon leadership, will never crack or crumble because it shall be based upon moral principles. It will endure because it will be a just Order, a righteous Order, an Order founded on immutable moral principles. It will further be fortified by a new Asiatic unity of thought, of effort, of aim and leadership. We will establish this New World Order. East Asia, under Nippon leadership, will win this war because we are fighting for justice, for the right to survive as Asiatics in Asia. No right can be more fundamental or sacred than this right.

I will now conclude by giving you the toast of the prosperity of the great Nippon Empire and also the health, prosperity and long life of His Excellency Premier Tojo and other leaders of the Nippon Empire.

7. ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER GENERAL
HIDEKI TOJO AT THE MANILA CITIZENS
GRATITUDE RALLY

May 6, 1943 (8 A.M.).

Excellencies and Friends :

It is a great pleasure for me to be able to attend, in the very midst of the War of Greater East Asia, this solemn gratitude rally of the people of the Philippines and to have listened to the sincere resolution and to the enthusiastic address of the Chief of the Executive Commission, Mr. Vargas.

The present war is a great war for the construction of a new Greater East Asia truly based upon ethical principles by us, the one billion people of Greater East Asia. The Imperial Japanese Army and Navy have occupied and secured all the strategic areas of Greater East Asia and their power and prestige command vast areas in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. We are now in readiness to deal a thorough crushing blow to the enemy's armed power.

I wish to give expression to the conviction of Japan that she will so effectively crush America and Britain that they will not be able again to extend their baneful tentacles into East Asia.

Today, in Greater East Asia our allied countries and peoples are further strengthening their solidarity and the one billion people of this great area are as one body exerting their utmost efforts for the successful prosecution of the war and the construction of a new Greater East Asia.

In Europe, Germany, Italy and others of our allies are

further solidifying their co-operation with Japan for the realization of the common objective of establishing a new world order and are preparing for coming grand scale offensives.

Excellencies and friends, I deeply feel a righteous indignation that the Philippines have for many years past been victimized by American aggression under the false guise of justice and by their superficial materialistic culture as well as their corruptive and selfish economic policies which served to pervert the real spirit and character of you people of the Philippines. My friends, the time has come for all Filipinos to rise. You are about to sweep away swiftly the erroneous and mistaken Americanism, to regain your sturdy and progressive spirit so essential to the rise of a people and to return to your true selves as a people of Greater East Asia. In short, you are constructing a new Philippines with a burning spirit of patriotism.

Japan is extending every possible assistance to these efforts of the people of the Philippines and she will continue to do so in the future. Your future is filled with brilliant hopes.

At the 81st session of the Imperial Diet, I repeated my declaration on behalf of the Japanese Government that if the Philippines continue to substantiate her co-operation with Japan, Japan would enable the Philippines to obtain independence as soon as possible. Having come to the Philippines and having observed the actualities of your strenuous efforts for the construction of a new Philippines and the enthusiasm of your co-operation with Japan, I have been strengthened further in the conviction I expressed in my previous declaration.

I earnestly expect that you will positively co-operate with Japan for the prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia with the same enthusiasm as demonstrated today and that the 18 million people of the Philippines will as soon as possible qualify themselves concretely for the attainment of the glory of independence.

8. ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND CONCURRENTLY MINISTER OF WAR, GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOUR OF CHIEF OF EXECUTIVE COMMISSION VARGAS AND OTHER PHILIPPINE LEADERS.

May 6, 1943.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Your Excellency and all the other leaders of the new Philippines, who are making strenuous efforts day and night for the successful prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia and the construction of the new Philippines, for your presence here at the dinner this evening.

Short though my stay here has been, I have been able to admire the wholehearted effort which Your Excellency and other leaders who are co-operating with the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Army are devoting to the prosecution of the war and the construction of the new Philippines, and also the assiduous endeavours of the people in general in the pursuit of their daily tasks. I have been deeply impressed by the remarkable results already being achieved and I wish to pay my deep respects to your earnest efforts.

Since yesterday I have personally exchanged views and opinions with the high officials of the Imperial Forces as well as those of the Executive Commission and I have been impressed with the firm determination and strong convictions of Your Excellencies, which have led me to have an even stronger faith in the further favourable development of the various measures taken in the Philippines—a matter for mutual congratulations.

This morning at the people's gratitude rally, I expressed the firm faith of Japan in her sure victory, I stated clearly the immovable conviction of the Japanese Empire of crushing America

and Britain and thus preclude all possibilities of their extending again their pernicious tentacles to East Asia.

I want to pay my profound respect to His Excellency the Chief of the Executive Commission, Mr. Vargas, and other leaders of the Philippines for their keen perception and foresight in having placed their trust, at this great turning point of the world, in the real strength of Japan who now occupies a position of invincibility and certain victory and in having discarded all mistaken notions of the past. And I wish to make clear once more that the more Filipinos and the sooner the Filipinos come to rely upon the strength and fidelity of the Japanese Empire the sooner will be the arrival of that day when the "Philippines of the Filipinos" will be realized.

It is my fervent desire that Your Excellencies and gentlemen who are present here will always bear this point in mind and increasingly put forth your efforts toward this end.

9. ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO, BEFORE THE 82ND SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL DIET

June 16, 1943.

I am profoundly moved by the most gracious Rescript which His Majesty the Emperor was pleased to grant us specially at the opening ceremony of the Diet Today. In loyal obedience to the August Will of our Sovereign, it is my firm intention, together with you, gentlemen, to exert our utmost efforts in the performance of our important war-time duties and for a speedy attainment of the object of war, and thereby set His Majesty's mind at rest.

A year and a half have elapsed since the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia. Under the August Virtue of His Majesty,

the officers and men of the Imperial Forces have occupied and are holding fast wide battle areas. They are now extending the war result by destroying the enemy, fighting against diseases, enduring extremes of heat and cold, braving wind and storm, and overcoming all kinds of difficulties. With you I wish to give our heartfelt thanks to the insuperably loyal and brave officers and men for their constant toils as well as their skillful planning and gallant fighting.

To achieve these victories, many a brave fighting man as a shield for the Sovereign has perished on the battlefield and is now enshrined as a guardian god of our land. Especially the sublime death in action of the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, on the foremost front in the South, and the tragic end of Commander Yasuyo Yamazaki and the officers and men under him on the Island of Attu, have strongly moved the hearts of our people. Thinking of the many loyal and brave officers and men, who sacrificed themselves for the eternal cause of loyalty and patriotism, and who have performed such heroic deeds, there is none among the entire people of Japan who will not resolutely rise to follow in the footsteps of these heroes. None of us people will fail to strengthen anew his determination not to cease fighting until the enemy is completely defeated. Only because there are such heroes and those that follow them, are we assured of the final victory in the present war. Recalling together with you the great and distinguished services of the late Fleet Admiral Yamamoto and other loyal and brave officers and men who died, I wish to express our sincere sorrow and to pledge at the same time that we shall dedicate ourselves to the task of defeating our enemies and thus answer to the loyal spirits of these fallen heroes.

I wish also at this opportunity to pray with you, gentlemen, for the speedy recovery of the wounded and sick officers and men, and the early arrival of the day when they will see service

again. On the other hand I wish to tender the expression of our heartfelt sympathy to the families of those who have died on the battle-field.

Now under the August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty our strategic position of sure victory in Greater East Asia is being strengthened day by day, with vast resources of the region being rapidly converted into our fighting power. This development on our part in Greater East Asia is one that seals the fate of our enemies. Alarmed by the rapidity of the development of our position, the United States and Great Britain, are attempting to check or obstruct it at all costs. They increasingly show signs of making counter-offensives by mobilizing their entire material force which is their sole reliance. But these are the things which Japan has naturally foreseen.

Seizing the opportunity of such counter-offensives of the enemies, the Imperial Forces are meeting them wherever they come. Our forces are not only inflicting telling blows on them, but are also developing new methods to defeat them. In fact the Imperial Forces are now carrying out grand-scale operations in China, in the region along Burmese-Indian frontiers, and in the Pacific to deal increasingly severe blows to the enemy. Thus the war situation become increasingly tense and the battles which repeatedly take place more grim and terrific. The time has just arrived when 100,000,000 of our people, firmly holding the position of sure victory, should fully demonstrate the real merit of their spirit of loyalty and patriotism with an inflexible faith in ultimate victory that grows as national dangers increase—a strong point in the tradition of our nation.

In the present circumstances such as described above, let us not overlook the painful and precarious situation which confronts the Anglo-Saxon countries, and which they are trying by all means to hide. Our nation will fight out this war of will-power and win this war of perseverance by putting forth all our efforts

until that day when our adversaries are brought to submission.

The present trend in Greater East Asia reveals that the confidence of the countries and peoples of this region in Japan as well as their sincere and voluntary co-operation with us for the successful prosecution of the war is becoming stronger day by day. Having recently visited China, Manchoukuo and the Philippines, and having had opportunities to witness personally the actual condition on the spot, and to carry on frank exchanges of views and opinions with principal leaders there, I have been further strengthened in my conviction regarding this point.

It goes without saying that it is Japan's immutable policy to free Greater East Asia permanently from the age-long Anglo-Saxon domination and restore this region to its natural and proper condition. The various measures which Japan has taken have all been in perfect consistency with this fundamental policy. With the passing of a year and a half since the outbreak of the war, the entire peoples of Greater East Asia, thoroughly understanding the real intention of Japan, are fully convinced that there cannot be an emancipation of Greater East Asia without complete victory of Japan, and that there can be no happiness for these peoples without the inauguration of a new era in Greater East Asia. This is indeed a matter for congratulation for the whole of Greater East Asia. In view of such situation the Government, in response to the enthusiastic co-operation of these peoples, are considering at this time the initiation of further measures. Let me state frankly the views of the Government on the principal points :

As for Manchoukuo, that country regards Japan as a kindred nation, and with His Majesty the Emperor of Manchoukuo personally setting examples to his people, the co-operation of the whole nation in complete unity toward Japan in both material and spiritual spheres is very great. The cordiality of the friendship that binds Japan and Manchoukuo leaves nothing to be

desired. Japan intends to respond increasingly to this trust of Manchoukuo and to put forth more and more effort for the latter's steady development.

As for China, the Government and people, under the spirited guidance of President Wang Ching-wei, have heartily responded to our sincere attitude and are co-operating with us in the spirit of the Sino-Japanese Joint Declaration, marching steadily forward toward the attainment of the common objective. China, which has suffered for a hundred long years owing to the ambitions of the Anglo-Saxon countries for world domination, is at last free. She is now striving hard to strengthen herself; and by joining forces with Japan, she is ready to contribute her enormous powers as a completely independent nation toward the establishment of a new era in Greater East Asia.

Thus the ideal of China for the Chinese, for the realization of which the Chinese people have aspired for many decades past, is being steadily accomplished. The fact that of late a number of influential leaders like Generals Pang Ping-hsun, Sun Tien-ying, and Jung Tzuheng are one after another leaving the Chungking regime to join President Wang is a natural development attendant upon the rebirth of China. Such a vigorous rise and development of China is indeed a source of genuine gratification as well for China herself and for Asia as for the entire world.

On our part, we heartily felicitate the rise of China, and we are determined more than ever to assist her by all means available. In this spirit we intend to make fundamental revisions in the Treaty between Japan and China with a view to enhancing further the active co-operation between the two countries.

Turning to Thailand, we find that country, having discarded all her intricate relations of long standing with the United States and Great Britain, has bravely joined fate with Japan. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Pibul Songgram she is marching valiantly and vigorously forward, surmounting numerous dif-

facilities in the way, for which I wish to pay my profound respects. In promoting closer collaboration with Thailand, we are firmly resolved to extend her our utmost co-operation in military, economic and political fields. Furthermore, I wish to declare here that Japan, considering the age-old aspiration of the Thai nation, and being solicitous of the further advancement of that country, is prepared to afford her new co-operation.

As regards Burma, we received in our Capital, as you know, Chief Administrator Dr. Ba Maw in March of this year to whom I conveyed the decision of our Government. That we could see clearly the earnest determination of the Chief Administrator and other leaders in regard to the independence of Burma and her co-operation to prosecute successfully the present war is a fact of which you gentlemen are well aware. It is gratifying to note that the Preparatory Commission for Independence was organized on May 8th, and the necessary preparations for independence are steadily progressing. It is my confident expectation that these preparations will be completed in a very short time and the glorious day of historic importance will soon arrive.

With regard to the Philippines, Mr. Jorge Vargas, Chairman of the Executive Commission, and other leaders are earnestly devoting their best efforts toward the reconstruction of the islands as well as toward the co-operation with Japan for the prosecution of the war, while the people in general who have come to understand our true intentions are extending us positive service. Our attitude regarding the independence of the Philippines has already been clarified in our repeated pronouncements in the past. At this juncture, we wish to go a step further and declare that we will accord the honour of independence to the Philippines in the course of the current year.

The people of the Philippines who, toiling under the crafty American rule have long been vainly chasing after the mirage of independence, are now to attain their long-cherished aspiration

within less than two years of the outbreak of the present war. We can well imagine the feeling of gratification on the part of the Filipino people. This is indeed a matter for sincere congratulation for the Philippines in particular and Greater East Asia in general.

The native populations in Malai, Sumatra, Djawa Borneo, Celebes and other places under Japanese military administrations are assiduously extending their co-operation toward Japan. Even in the midst of war, they have been liberated and accorded educational and cultural blessings under the sympathetic guidance of the Japanese authorities so that they are now enjoying a life of hope and happiness never experienced in the past. It is, I believe, a matter of hearty congratulation for the Indonesian people.

It is our intention to go further and, in pursuance of the aspirations of the natives, to take measures step by step envisaging the participation of the native populations in government to the extent commensurate with the degree of their ability in the course of the year. In particular, we intend to realize this state of affairs as early as possible in Djawa in view of the advanced conditions of the island and in response to the desire of the people there.

As for French Indo-China the French authorities there are doing well under a rather complicated and difficult situation. Japan intends to effect ever closer co-operation with French Indo-China in accordance with the Japanese-French Protocol concerning the joint defence of French Indo-China.

In this way, the great ideal, which inspired the founding of the Japanese Empire, that all countries and peoples should enjoy peace and security, is being steadily realized throughout the region of Greater East Asia. A brilliant dawn has thus broken over the peoples in this quarter of the globe who have suffered for many years from the exploitation of other countries. In

contrast with the steady and vigorous development achieved by all the countries and peoples of Asia, India is still going through a terrible ordeal in the process of attaining complete independence under Britain's ruthless oppressions. For this plight of India I feel at once sympathy and indignation. Japan is firmly resolved to exhaust all means in order to help expel and eliminate from India Anglo-Saxon influences which are the enemy of the Indian people, and enable India to attain full independence in a true sense of the term. I confidently look to the day, which I trust will soon come, when the ardent and widespread desires of the Indian people are fulfilled and they regain freedom and prosperity.

Turning to the European situation, we see that Germany, Italy and their Allies are marching ahead toward ultimate victory and tightening their alignment with Japan ever more closely. I firmly believe in the success of the magnificent prosecution of the war by Germany, Italy and their Allies, by virtue of their impregnable position which has already been secured and the inflexible leadership which is assured of victory. Japan pledges to fight it through to the common victory shoulder to shoulder with Germany, Italy and their Allies by drawing closer together and mutually extending aid and assistance.

Our enemies, the Anglo-Saxon countries, are making the end justify the means. They are disturbing peace everywhere in the world, endeavouring to force neutral Powers into the war. After they have induced other nations into their war, they make it a point to let the latter bear the brunt of fighting avoiding sacrifices on their part as much as possible. Once, however, the situation takes an adverse turn, they do not hesitate to forsake their allies, disregarding their past pledges and promises. They used to profess their stand for the protection of the independence of smaller states. But they have now made a complete volte-face, advocating hegemony by great Powers. They have no

scruples. Nor are they ashamed to seek ease and comfort for themselves at the sacrifice of others, I take this opportunity to pay my respects to those nations who firmly maintain their neutrality in the face of Anglo-American intrigues. Amicable relations are being maintained between Japan and those countries. It is hoped that these friendly bonds will be drawn still closer.

The situation at home and abroad is certainly not without difficulties. Under the current situation, the 100,000,000 people of Japan have renewed their will to fight it out in order to discharge their duties as worthy subjects of His Imperial Majesty. They have renewed their pledge to prosecute the war with all their might to a successful conclusion, by sharing in the determination of the officers and men of the gallant Imperial Forces on the battle-field.

At this important juncture, the Government are seeing to it that this renewed pledge is fully carried out. In order to prosecute this great war to a glorious termination, by winning victories on the battle-field and succeeding in construction, the Government are determined to surmount all obstacles whether at home or abroad. Fortunately, our industrial production has been remarkably improved and expanded since the latter part of last year. The Government will further reinforce the war structure with whole-hearted co-operation of the people and concentrate all efforts of the nation on the augmentation of fighting power.

It is for this purpose that the Government have petitioned the Throne to convoke the present extraordinary session of the Diet and submitted budget and bills relating to the readjustment of enterprises and emergency increase in the production of good.

The proposed readjustment of enterprises is intended to make the entire nation contribute to the augmentation of fighting

power, by extending the principle of the past readjustment of enterprises and executing a thorough-going readjustment in every department of industry. Concerted effort of the entire nation is absolutely necessary for a smooth execution of this plan. All the people are urged, therefore, to appreciate the Government's intentions and co-operate with the Government positively, by completing the readjustment as soon as possible and placing the right man in the right place so as to enable each to give full play to his abilities. The measure under contemplation will entail defrayment of several milliards of yen. The bill for disposing of the fund for the readjustment of enterprises has been specially submitted to the Diet for the purpose of dealing with this fund to be defrayed. The entire Japanese people who have already been endeavoring to increase savings and economise consumption are requested to redouble their efforts to check floating purchasing power and to preserve the national economic order.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the Government are taking all possible measures with regard to food which is necessary for safeguarding the national livelihood during wartime. At the present stage of the war, however, particularly strenuous efforts must be put forth for attaining selfsupply and self-sufficiency in food, by paying consideration to all contingencies. In line with this policy, the Government intend to effect an epochal increase in the production of rice, barley, wheat, potatoes and other food stuffs with a view to placing the matter of food supplies in the most reassuring position in these critical times.

While conducting administration in a most efficient manner, the Government intend to march forward toward final victory by suspending or abandoning all activities having no direct bearing upon the prosecution of war and mobilizing both the Government and people for war production. It is in line with this policy that the Government have decided not to hold the

elections for the prefectural assemblies this year and submitted a legislation bill relating to it.

It is my earnest desire that you gentlemen, understanding the Government's intentions I have just stated, will deliberate over and speedily approve the budget and legislation bills submitted by the Government.

10. FOREIGN MINISTER SHIGEMITSU'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

June 17, 1943.

Yesterday in his address before the Imperial Diet Premier Tojo made it clear that it is the immutable policy of Japan to free Asia permanently from the age-old fetters of Anglo-Saxon domination and to restore Asiatic peoples to their proper and rightful places. Furthermore, emphasizing the necessity of constructing and defending Greater East Asia, the Premier referred to the strong conviction which is now rapidly growing among its one billion inhabitants that without a successful conclusion of this war there can be no liberation of Asiatic peoples and that without the construction of Greater East Asia there can be no hope and happiness for them. The Premier also pointed out that now is the time for this country to respond to the seething desire of these peoples and to fulfill their aspiration, reciprocating their spontaneous co-operation. Concrete proposal regarding each nation was set forth in order to restore Asiatic peoples to their rightful places—namely the establishment of a structure of full-hearted neighbourly co-operation among Asiatic nations on the basis of equality and reciprocity, by according complete independence to some member nations and allowing others participation in the administration of their respective lands. The

guiding principle is to inaugurate a new era in our part of the world along these lines and to defend the peace and stability of the region against external threats.

This policy of enabling all component countries of East Asia to fulfil their long cherished aspirations and to bring about a new regime of spontaneous collaboration on the basis of equality and reciprocity has already been demonstrated in concrete forms in the so-called "New Policy" of our Government toward China, which has served to open a new vista in the history of the association of Japan and China by ushering in close and cordial relations as truly good neighbours. The inauguration of this new regime means nothing but the carrying out of this national program thoroughly and extending it in spirit and practice to the whole of Greater East Asia and the consolidation thereby of the unity of the one billion peoples who live in this vast area.

Such a policy is, needless to say, in accordance with the lofty ideal on which our Empire is founded, and in that sense it is, fundamentally speaking, not a new policy. The principle of neighbourliness and co-operation is one so fair and just that it can be applied to all parts of the world. Since the foundation of our Empire our nation has cherished the very same spirit. Therefore, ours is an old policy. Yet in a sense, it is new. Why is it new? Let us examine it from the angle of international relations:

What sort of policy did the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands pursued in the past especially toward the Orient? As you know, "divide and rule" has always been the keynote of their crafty policy. By persistently pursuing this policy, Britain has exploited India ruthlessly, while in Europe she has consistently played the game of so-called balance of power. In the Orient, both Britain and America resorted to the tactics of pitting China against Japan and exercised meticulous cares not to allow any Oriental nation to grow strong. They would not

tolerate the emergence of a Great Power in Asia. Their policy, whatever may be its outward forms, has been basically a policy of destruction, designed to keep the Asiatic countries in constant and continuous turmoil and to permit the intruders to fish in troubled waters. It is the policy of Japan to do away, once and for all, with this evil factor of disturbance and exploitation and to eliminate disunity and division with a view to creating a new era of concord and collaboration throughout the region of greater East Asia.

Unless we take steps to remove such evils, political and economic, there is no way of reconstructing Asia. On various occasions in the past we have attempted to put into practice the lofty principle of our Empire, but we have always encountered multitudes of obstacles which severely hampered our efforts. The circumstances that have blocked our path until today cannot, of course, be ascribed to any single factor. But broadly speaking, the principal factor has been the intrusion of Anglo-Saxon Powers. We have succeeded at last in eliminating malignant influences of destructions and disturbances by dint of fierce struggles—namely by our sweeping victory in the war.

Today the nations of East Asia are no longer in the status of Anglo-Saxon colonies. The policy of Britain and America has always been characterised by closed door, monopoly, and exploitation. Wherever their policy penetrated it entailed an economic war. They have publicly outlawed war and earnestly pledged not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy. Nevertheless, they have attempted to bring other nations into submission by openly waging economic wars. of freezing of assets imposed on Japan may be cited as one of the glaring examples.

Turning to Europe, we see there too an instructive spectacle. It is the Axis Powers who enjoy today the position of the advocate of the cause of those smaller states which have been mercilessly

treated by Britain and America. Curiously enough, the latter now advocating the hegemony of Great Powers, viz, Britain, America and the Soviets seem to have cast to winds the interests of the smaller nations, for whose defense ostensibly they provoked the present war.

It is beyond dispute that Japan's consistent policy toward East Asia is aimed at emancipation and construction as contrasted with the policy of destruction and exploitation which Anglo-Saxon countries relentlessly pursued in the past. This policy of Japan is of a great significance to all peoples and nations—especially it has a profound bearing upon the future of the peoples of East Asia.

I am convinced that the whole world will readily understand and appreciate this policy and that even our enemies will come to understand and admit the justice of our cause. In this sense, we must carry out this great policy and fight this war out. There lies the only way for Japan to live as a great world Power. We are in fact, pursuing vigorously such a fair and just policy in order to construct Greater East Asia, and thereby to contribute powerfully toward the peace of the whole world.

SUPPLEMENT II

I. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON ROOSEVELT'S MES-
SAGE TO CONGRESS

January 9, 1943.

President Roosevelt's annual message to Congress contains nothing new. It is merely a rehash of old gibberish of American and British spokesmen during the past one year.

In his customary manner the President toys with figures in creating high hopes of a big offensive this year, going even to the ridiculous extent of spinning out dreamy tales of disarming the Axis Powers and revising and supervising the educational systems in Axis countries after the war. It would be asinine to make serious comment on such childish ballyhoo.

It is worthy of note, however, that he devotes more than half of his message to singing a paean of praise on the unity and co-operation of the so-called Allies, to laud the war efforts of the people, especially the soldiers and laborers, to emphasize the need of preventing post-war unemployment and to impress upon his countrymen the impossibility of American isolation. In the light of the facts of the past year the American assurance of aid or offensive operations is nothing more than an empty gesture in spite of the very emphatic declarations made by American Government authorities regarding the government's war determination. A good instance is the recently announced White Book.

All this is quite clear from the fact that as the real nature of the war gradually becomes known, the American people are realizing that their involvement in the war at an enormous sacrifice is the sole responsibility of the present administration. The fact that there is growing unrest and uneasiness among the people concerning post-war economic dislocations and unem-

ployment and the fact that there is growing strength among the advocates of traditional American isolationism as a result of the series of defeats on all battlefronts are clear signs that the thinking people of America are becoming conscious of the true meaning of the old American tradition of minding their own business.

The most brazen passage in the Roosevelt message is the one which quotes the Tenth Commandment. It is the height of hypocrisy to refer to the Holy Bible in order to cover up the sins of his own country. Evidently the incumbent President of the United States is ignorant of notorious facts in American history—of California, Texas, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippine Islands, Samoa, Panama, the Canal Zone, Virgin Islands, all of which once belonged to other countries until his own cast covetous eyes upon them.

2. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE RENDITION OF
CONCESSIONS AND THE RELINQUISH-
MENT OF EXTRATERRITO-
RIAL RIGHTS

January 11, 1943.

The step taken by the Japanese Government on the occasion of the Declaration of War by the National Government of the Republic of China and the Sino-Japanese Joint Declaration, to substantiate Japan's pledge to respect China's sovereignty and her desire to strengthen the government of that country by the rendition of concessions and the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights, both long-pending questions, is an epochal event in the history of China. It is a matter for congratulation not only as regards the future of China, but also as regards the future of Greater East Asia.

It is only natural that Japan should, more than any other country, view with sympathy and understanding the natural and legitimate aspirations of the Chinese Government and people. Japan herself, during the long decades from the latter feudal period to the latter Meiji Era, tasted the bitterness of and suffered from the long struggle to repudiate the unequal treaties which were foisted upon the countries of Asia by the Anglo-American Powers as a result of their imperialistic aggression in this part of the world. It is because of this that Japan has, before any other Power, taken the prompt decision to recognize in concrete form China's just desires and aspirations. The sincere effort Japan has made to respect China's sovereignty and to strengthen the bonds of co-operation between our two countries is clear from this fact. Japan's just and unselfish attitude will naturally strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the people of China. The co-operation between our two countries will henceforth mount in intimacy, binding them together as one body and one mind, and will most certainly spur on the prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia and the construction of the new order based upon ethical principles.

Regarding the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights by the United States and Britain, there is, outwardly, a similarity between their proposal and our decision on the matter, but actually there is a wide discrepancy. In the first place, these two countries proposed to relinquish extraterritorial rights and retrocede the concessions as a scheme to neutralize the strong dissatisfaction of the Chungking régime toward them last summer for their uninterrupted series of defeats in East Asia. Rather than act after the Chinese have made demands upon this matter, they took the initiative to make the proposal themselves out of purely selfish considerations to curry the favour of the Chinese. Thus it was that they announced their proposal last October with a tremendous fanfare of propaganda. Their motives were

based upon their habitual utilitarianism and nothing more.

The Anglo-American proposal is conspicuous by the total absence of concreteness. It was natural, therefore, that in spite of their strenuous propaganda the whole world and even Chungking should have regarded it as an empty flattery not worth consideration.

Whereas Japan's relinquishment of extraterritorial rights directly affects 600,000 Japanese nationals resident and engaged in various occupations in China, the Anglo-American proposal would affect only a small number of missionaries as there would be no change in the status of diplomats and military men in territory under Chungking jurisdiction. Furthermore, in contrast to our rendition of exclusive concessions and the International Settlements, the restoration of which to the National Government we have decided to recognize, as well as the Legation Quarter in Peking, all of which total ten in number and, with the exception of two or three, are actually under our control, the United States and Britain do not have a single International Settlement or exclusive concession to retrocede in areas under Chungking control. It is needless to say that their promise to relinquish other special rights is only nominal. Even in regard to the relinquishment of their special rights and rendition of concessions which in fact are non-existent, the United States and Britain have stipulated a formidable array of conditions which, according to reports, have incurred the ire and scorn of the Chungking leaders.

The United States and Britain have sought to win the good will of Chungking by proposing the abandonment of special rights which already have lost their value of existence and the return of concessions which permanently and completely would never again come under their control. Even Chungking which has placed its reliance on the United States and Britain could not be deluded by this deceptive policy of trying to take all and give

nothing and even in their own countries their actions have invited the criticism of informed people who could easily see through the motives.

Such is the fundamental difference between the Japanese and the Anglo-American policy toward China. Such is the contrast between the Japanese and Anglo-American spiritual attitude toward China.

For the sake of all the oppressed peoples I would like to ask the United States and Britain :

If the United States honestly advocates racial equality and freedom, why does it not revise the Chinese Exclusion Act which it could decide on its own volition without the necessity of conducting protracted negotiations?

If the British intentions are sincere to abrogate all unequal treaties with China for the sake of racial equality and freedom, why do they daily imprison and slaughter Indian men and women, old and young, who are struggling for independence—why do they not on their own initiative grant India the independence and the freedom which she has long demanded and has even shed her blood to win?

To this day I have not heard a satisfactory answer to these questions from any responsible quarters in the United States and Britain.

3. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE ANGLO-
AMERICAN ANNOUNCEMENT
OF RELINQUISHMENT
OF EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS

January 13, 1943.

It is most amusing that the United States and Britain, in

their consternation over the prompt decision of Japan to relinquish extraterritorial rights and concessions in China, have with extreme haste signed their agreement with Chungking on January 11 and announced this action.

The Anglo-American motive in relinquishing extraterritorial rights was in the first place to curry Chungking's favour and in the second place to show proof, by this act, of their professed adherence to the principle of national freedom and equality. As I stated the day before yesterday, it amounts to nothing more than an act of deception.

Analyzing the contents of the Anglo-American agreement with Chungking, the cunning and calculating nature of these two countries becomes ever more clear. By this agreement the United States and Britain have agreed to retrocede their special rights enjoyed under the Boxer Protocol of 1901 including the stationing of garrisons in North China, extraterritoriality, and their special rights in connection with treaty ports, inland navigation and coastwise trading. They also promised to relinquish the Legation Quarter, the International Settlements at Shanghai and Kulangsu and administrative rights in exclusive British concessions.

It appears from this action that an enormous amount of rights and interests are being returned to Chungking, but once we peel off its thin covering it is so completely empty that it would not be difficult for even a child to notice it.

That the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights is absolutely meaningless for the British and Americans I have already dealt with before. The promise of retrocession of administrative rights of concessions and settlements applies only in five areas—the International Settlements in Shanghai and Kulangsu, the Legation Quarter in Peking and the British Concessions in Tientsin and Canton. But these are in areas occupied by Japanese forces and, therefore, the Americans and British are in no position

to talk about retaining or retroceding them.

Their promise to renounce special rights relative to treaty ports, inland navigation and coastwise trading is nothing more than an empty gesture. There would have been some meaning in it before the war while they still enjoyed trade relations and were able to navigate their vessels along the coast and up the Yangtze, but not today when their influence has been completely driven out of East Asia and their trade and inland navigation are non-existent. The renunciation of rights for the stationing of garrison troops, who are now all war prisoners, serves only to add a comical aspect to the whole agreement. Even in cancelling these empty and non-existent special rights, the calculating Anglo-Americans have not forgotten to hamstring it with various conditions. Granted that it may be natural to reserve for the time being the promise to open up the interior of China and the rights of American and British nationals to their real property, they are demanding of Chungking the most-favoured nation treatment in regard to inland navigation, coastwise trading, legal proceedings, administration of justice and levying of taxes. In other words they are demanding that whenever another country is granted these rights or receive special treatment on these matters, the same are to be granted them. This shows that they are making their last desperate struggle to preserve in some form the special rights which they previously enjoyed but which they actually cannot enjoy, by hiding behind the cloak of the most-favoured nation clause. What a tragi-comedy indeed!

The foregoing is but one aspect of the Anglo-American character which has been exposed on the occasion of their relinquishment of special rights in China. More than that, it is an expression of their generally deceitful policy which they pursue toward all small or weak countries. There are more than a score of unfortunate countries which have been cajoled by the honey-words of the Anglo-Americans and are dancing to their

tune or which are submitting to their dictates, in their inability to withstand their pressure.

Anglo-American policy toward all these countries is not fundamentally different from their policy toward Chungking. Briefly, their policy is to utilize each and all these countries for their selfish ends for all they are worth and then when nothing more remains to be exploited they abandon them. Their proud professions of respect for right and humanity are always qualified by the reservation: "So far as these principles are compatible with our own interests." The sooner the world understands this truth the sooner will be realized the real happiness of mankind.

4. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN ON AMERICAN ANNOUNCEMENT OF LOSSES IN SEA BATTLE OF SOUTH PACIFIC

January 13, 1943.

It has been announced by the United States Navy Department, at long last, that the American Navy lost the aircraft carrier Hornet, three cruisers and seven destroyers on October 26 in the sea battle of the South Pacific. After making an announcement of estimated results on October 27, our Imperial Headquarters, on the basis of confirmations, announced on November 16 that the full losses of the American Navy consisted of one battleship, three aircraft carriers, including the Enterprise and the Hornet, three cruisers and one destroyers sunk and three vessels of unidentified type and three destroyers damaged.

The United States has demonstrated again its policy of belatedly announcing its war losses and of withholding the complete losses. At the same time, the American admission is

another proof of the promptness and accuracy of Japanese announcements which are facts now well known to the whole world.

Unlike the Pearl Harbor losses which the United States took one full year in making known, the latest admissions, though two months later than ours, is unprecedented in the scale of the admissions. Yet the American naval authorities are still withholding the most serious part of their losses. In other words, one battleship and two aircraft carriers.

Perhaps if we wait another couple of months or maybe half a year, the United States will come around to completing its announcement of losses suffered in the sea Battle of the South Pacific.

It can be surmised that the United States Government made a comparatively full disclosure this time because their distrusting public no longer tolerates announcements of losses in small doses and because the Roosevelt regime needed some sort of a scare to persuade Congress to pass the one hundred billion dollar war budget.

5. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON EX-AMBASSADOR GREW'S BOOK

January 15, 1943.

The former American Ambassador to Japan, Joseph C. Grew, has shown himself to be a cold realist in analyzing and appraising the military, political, and spiritual power of Japan in his recent book, "Report From Tokyo."

Mr. Grew reveals by his observations of Japanese whys and wherefores that he has not whiled away his ten years in Japan, but has done some serious studying. However, in spite of the

superiority of his Japanese analysis to that of others of his countrymen, it must be concluded that ten years are not quite long enough and that living in the Embassy, and associating with a more or less confined circle of Japanese is quite insufficient to give him a complete understanding of Japanese character and psychology.

Indeed the people of Japan are united. We are socially so highly cultured by centuries of homogeneous existence under a unified political system that there are no possibilities of revolt. We are frugal because our whole philosophy of life is based upon simplicity and an inherent love of the beauties of nature. And with our thrift and our traditional spirit of sacrifice and service in the interests of the national whole, we have built up a powerful country because that was and is the only way we could defend ourselves from the aggrandizing ambitions of the predatory Anglo-Saxon Powers.

Yes, we are all that Ambassador Grew states, but we are not fanatical. He will have to be born a Japanese to understand and appreciate that our patriotism, our do or die spirit, and our willingness to sacrifice are inspired by many centuries of unified national existence, the whole people bound together as one family by homogeneous ties of blood, a common tongue, a common cultural heritage and a common ancient center of loyalty and abiding affection, the Imperial Throne. Not fanaticism but a deeply rooted racial spirit which does not exist in such a young heterogeneous country like Mr. Grew's America.

After stressing the various aspects of Japanese strength and declaring that "the Japanese will not crack morally, psychologically or economically, even when eventual defeat stares them in the face," Mr. Grew expresses a few hopeful thoughts, apparently to give some encouragement to his now much bewildered countrymen. He says, "Japan, despite unparalleled expansion over an area many thousands of square miles, her

campaigns in the past winter have not succeeded in removing strong allied positions which flank her defensive chain."

Now, such a penetrating observer as Mr. Grew should know that in the past year Japan has achieved brilliant results, reversing completely the situation which existed up to the outbreak of the war. Japan was then completely encircled by the ABCD blockade ring, but she has since occupied all of the bases which formed the links in the ring and has turned them into her own outposts for offensive and defensive operations. The United States may spend a hundred billion dollars to counter-attack these and to engage in a war of attrition, but the invincible position we have created and are daily strengthening would certainly make it a costly and meaningless course for the American people.

It should not be difficult for the American people to realize that after repeated attempts to dislodge the Japanese from the Solomons since last August, at a tremendous cost in money, ships, planes, tanks and men, including the proud marines, the United States has been unable even to dent our positions in this remotest outpost of Japan, suffering, as a consequence, only a series of defeats so miserable that they cannot be announced to the public.

Not as a reply to Mr. Grew's declarations but for their information, we would like to call the attention of the American people to a few points which the Ambassador seems to have overlooked.

For the ultimate defeat of Japan, Mr. Grew says, Japanese weaknesses "must be exploited, taken advantage of, by determined aggressive action by the United Nations." There are no weaknesses in the Japanese position and there is nothing to exploit or to take advantage of, for we have secured during the past year a position of invincibility. Such is the reality of the situation. Now we should like to ask: What for must the

American people foot the expenditure of enormous funds, suffer the consequences of shortages and falling standards of living and sacrifice their soldiers and sailors to satisfy the megalomaniacal ambitions of their dictator who rules from the White House? What for must the American people fight against such a foe as the Japanese—so realistically described as formidable by Mr. Grew—when the territories Japan has occupied are territories retaken from their alien Anglo-Saxon masters to be returned to the people to whom they belong, the people of Asia? What for must the American people plan and prepare to recapture these territories when there is absolutely no hope now or in the future to regain them?

All the peoples of Greater East Asia, emancipated as they now are from the shackles of Anglo-American imperialism, are today burning with new hope to reconstruct their homelands, no longer as lands to be exploited for alien benefit, but in the interests of their hitherto retarded development and for the enrichment of their own lives, a course which is in faithful keeping with the principles of justice. All the forces of Greater East Asia in manpower and resources have been fully mobilized to fight with determination all enemies who seek to obstruct this hope and this aim. The entrance of the Republic of China into the war as an active participant and the enthusiastic cooperation of the inhabitants of the Southern regions which springs from the consciousness of our common Asiatic racial and cultural heritage are proofs of this determination.

In Greater East Asia, the peoples who have been emancipated from the yoke of Anglo-American imperialism are fighting not only for the pursuit of their now restored inalienable rights to free and autonomous development but also to build a new world founded upon the principles of co-existence and co-prosperity. In the United States, the people of a supposedly free country are now being chained by the shackles of the Roose-

velt dictatorship in all aspects of their daily life and are being forced to pay ever burdensome taxes and to lower their standards of living. We should like to ask again, "What for?"

6. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON ITALY'S RELINQUISH-
MENT OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY
IN CHINA

January 15, 1943.

The voluntary retrocession of their concessions and their relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China by the Italian Government is proof of their understanding of the aspirations of the Chinese people to rid themselves of the restrictions placed upon them by the unequal treaties.

One of the most outstanding acts of good will shown by Il Duce and his Government has been their co-operative attitude toward the developments in East Asia during the past years. The action of the Italian Government no doubt is highly welcomed by the Republic of China. It is also welcomed by Japan, because it concretely recognizes the new situation in Greater East Asia and the determination of the peoples in this area to win through this war and to complete their new order of co-prosperity, thereby contributing to the final victory of the Axis Powers and the realization of the new world order for which we are now fighting with solid unity.

7. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE ROOSEVELT-
CHURCHILL MEETING NEAR CASABLANCA

January 27, 1943.

Roosevelt and Churchill have engaged in another secret

conference, this time near Casablanca, and because Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek seemed unable to attend, it turned out to be a two-man performance. The announcement which came forth on the results of the meeting is too banal to merit serious comment.

However, it would not be amiss to observe the backstage of the drama featuring the four leading actors in the so-called Allied camp—Chungking, Russia, America, and Britain or the C-R-A-B combination.

In the Orient there is an old expression which, translated literally, reads "Same bed—different dreams," and no expression more aptly describes the relations between these four strange bedfellows, for they have more things to crab about than agree upon.

America and Britain both harbour ambitions of world hegemony. While Britain is desperately endeavouring to preserve her empire at all costs, the United States is scheming to replace her on the throne of world empire after the war by extending her influence wherever it can by such shrewd means as despatching American expeditionary forces, which is sword diplomacy pure and simple and the lease-lend which is a raw and cunning form of dollar diplomacy at which it is most adept.

The incompatibility of these ambitions produced the Darlan assassination and the controversy over the question of establishing a successor which have served to aggravate and intensify the rivalry. The storm of criticism against Eisenhower's dictatorship and the demand for his discharge and the squabble over the appointment of Peyrouton as Governor-General of Tunisia are similar manifestations of Anglo-American disunity. The agreement which De Gaulle and Giraud are reported to have reached and the withdrawal of Eisenhower would serve no purpose in alleviating the deep-rooted Anglo-American controversy.

The contradiction that runs throughout Anglo-American

relations vis a vis Soviet Russia is well known. The very denial of British Foreign Secretary Eden in the House of Commons on January 20 of the rumour that there was a conflict of opinions between Britain and Russia is the proof that divergences do exist between the two countries.

Despite the highly propagandized lease-lend gospel, all that the United States and Britain could send to Russia were only 4,600 airplanes and 5,800 tanks to date according to the boastful announcement of the American authorities. But for Russia who has been made to pay the maximum sacrifices to give respite to the frightened British, the promised aid has been too negligible. Hence, Russia's complaints are only natural.

Russia's intense disappointment over the Anglo-American attempt to delude Russia into believing that the promised second front had been established by the landing operations in Africa, which failed to amount to much even in the propaganda sense, is also understandable.

The relations between Chungking vis a vis the United States, Britain and Russia are no exception. The United States and Britain which relinquished their empty extraterritorial rights and concessions with seeming generosity do not nod their heads in assent when it comes to matters of practical and concrete assistance. Roosevelt advertises in his congressional message that material aid is being sent to Chungking by air to the same extent as before the closing of the Burma Route, but Chungking's very denial of this fact and the fact that all Government leaders and newspapers in Chungking are in concert demanding that primary emphasis be placed on the Pacific War, serve to clarify the real situation. Even if the fullest aid from the Anglo-American camp is promised, Chungking leaders would know, much to their own pain, what that would amount to.

Whatever new plans Roosevelt and Churchill have been able to hatch at their Moroccan rendezvous they are likely to

fade away like a desert mirage, just as the unsinkable battleship on which they met in their first rendezvous disappeared into the bottom of the sea. At any rate they will have no effect whatsoever on the general war situation.

8. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON JAPAN'S LIBERATION OF EAST ASIATIC PEOPLES

January 29, 1943.

To enable all nations each to have its own proper place and all peoples to enjoy life in peace and prosperity has been the fundamental principle guiding our Empire since its foundation and it is in pursuance of this principle that we are now fighting to sweep clean from Greater East Asia the evil and predatory forces of the United States and Britain. Our reason in calling this war a "War of Construction" springs from the fact that wherever this principle prevails the conditions of peace, progress, and co-prosperity are established.

On January 21, last year, Prime Minister Tojo declared in the Diet:

"As regards the Philippines, if the people of those islands will hereafter understand the real intentions of Japan and offer to co-operate with us as one of the partners for the establishment of the Greater East Asian Sphere of Co-prosperity, Japan will gladly enable them to enjoy the honour of independence. As for Burma, what Japan contemplates is not different from that relating to the Philippines."

At that very moment Japan's military operations in the Philippines and Burma were at the height of their intensity and the Prime Minister's declaration was therefore especially significant.

When enemy forces were wiped out of Burma and the

Burmese people had fully grasped the real intentions of Japan toward them, our Prime Minister declared once more in the Diet, on May 27:

"It is extremely encouraging that in Burma, which has been cleansed by the valiant advance of the Imperial Forces, the Burmese people throughout the land have risen in unison under the peaceful guidance, based on justice, of the Imperial Forces, accelerating the trend toward their glorious independence. The advance bases of the British forces for the defence of India have all been occupied by the Imperial Forces, presenting a golden opportunity for the Indian people to rise and realize their age-long aspiration for independence."

The Civil Administration of Burma was inaugurated last August. The Burmese people were thus enabled to return to its own proper place and to work for the creation of a new homeland.

At such a time as the present, when the Anglo-American camp is floundering aimlessly for a plan to improve their miserable war situation, Prime Minister Tojo has made it definitely clear that:

"In Burma, peace and order have already been restored and that country, in unison with the great immutable aim of our Empire and under its strong leader, Chief Administrator Dr. Ba Maw, and with all its people, is co-operating with our Imperial Forces on the spot and is steadily constructing the Burma of the Burmese and is thus continuing to make brilliant efforts to contribute to the construction of Greater East Asia. That effort has strongly impressed our country. Our Empire, during this year at the latest, intends to recognize the creation of Burma State out of the areas now being placed under the jurisdiction of the present administrative organ. The independence of Burma, the long cherished aspiration of the Burmese people, which our Government declared before to

the world in this very chamber is already about to be realized. It fully meets the desire of our nation that I am able to state this fact in this chamber, and is a source of sincere congratulation not only for Burma but all Greater East Asia.

“ . . . It is indeed encouraging to note that in the Philippines there is being shown a great deal of sincere co-operation under the new leader, Chief Civil Administrator Vargas, and that peace and order are steadily being improved. I sincerely expect that the people of the Philippines will further strengthen their co-operation with our country and thus consummate at the earliest possible opportunity the independence of their land.”

Japan's attitude toward various peoples in Greater East Asia have thus been clarified beyond the shadow of a doubt. Our attitude toward the establishment of new relations between Japan and China as well as the above-quoted Prime Minister's declaration are expressions of promises that are actually being substantiated. It would be utterly nonsensical even to attempt to contrast the eloquence of Japan's deeds and the obnoxious emptiness of Anglo-American promises which are at best only sugar-coated to attract and to deceive other peoples.

In short, Japan is demonstrating by action and by deeds the fundamental principle of eternal justice, while the enemy camp is revealing its sinister scheme of holding out fancy promises only to delude other peoples for its own selfish ends. The records are only too clear that promises of Philippine independence, repeated by the United States for four long decades, have never been carried out, while Britain cannot even promise independence to the people of India after the war.

9. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION, ON THE RECENT JAPANESE OPERATIONS IN THE GUADALCANAL AND BUNA AREAS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

February 12, 1943.

The enormous successes achieved by the Imperial Forces in the Guadalcanal and Buna areas in only a half year of fighting since last August 7 are comparable in significance to the brilliant victory at Singapore just a year ago. The magnitude of the damages inflicted upon the enemy—the loss of the most strategic Allied bastion at Singapore and the disastrous losses in warships, airplanes and fighting personnel in the Guadalcanal and Buna areas—is an achievement unparalleled in the history of warfare.

The fighting units of the Imperial Army and Navy which were sent out to those remote South Pacific fronts were small, but they were enough to lure huge enemy forces in ships, planes, and men and to deal out such tragic losses as have no precedent. The net results of the campaign indicate conclusively the overwhelming success of Japanese strategy.

No more eloquent proof of our success exists than in the comprehensive results achieved in the six months from last August 7 to February 7 of this year when the Battle off Ysabel Island ended. The enemy losses were: 10 battleships, 8 aircraft carriers, 42 cruisers, 37 destroyers, 10 submarines, 2 minesweepers, 10 torpedo boats, 3 warships of unidentified types, 23 transports, totaling 145, and over 996 airplanes. The loss of 6 battleships sunk and 4 damaged, 4 aircraft carriers sunk and 4 damaged and 36 cruisers sunk and 6 damaged represent the destruction of the main strength and the better part of the American pre-war fleet.

A comparison of the principal losses on both sides—the American losses of 10 to our 2, 1 sunk and one damaged, in battleships; 8 to 1 of ours damaged in aircraft carriers; 42 to 4, 3 sunk and 1 damaged, in cruisers and 37 to 13, 7 sunk and 6 damaged, in destroyers—sufficiently testifies to the mammoth success won by our forces. No navy in the world has achieved as much in so short a time. No soldiers and sailors but ours have the valiant courage and the fighting stamina to put up willingly against great odds and gain so stupendous a result.

It was after inflicting such paralyzing blows on the enemy that our forces in the Guadalcanal and Buna areas were transferred to new strategic positions. This move may be played up by the enemy as our retreat and his victory. In any case he had better look at the box score and realize that he could not occupy a small 60-miles long island in our outermost lines of military operations in spite of the appalling cost of 145 warships, 1,000 planes and over 25,000 casualties in six months of hard fighting. If the enemy still insists that his forces were sent out as a decoy and if he claims such results as a victory, we shall most heartily welcome many more such victories. In connection with the transfer of our forces in these remotest fronts to new positions, we are simply dumbstruck by the blockheadedness of the enemy who, like "sitting ducks", made no effort whatever to obstruct our moves and who, in fact, did not seem to know what was taking place under his very nose.

10. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE
CRISIS IN INDIA

February 22, 1943.

Mahatma Gandhi is now in a most critical condition, but his great spirit, transcending physical agonies, continues the

great struggle for Indian independence. The 400,000,000 people of India have become a single voice in demanding their saintly leader's immediate release from imprisonment and in demanding that India's independence and freedom be granted.

Yet, the British Government continues to look down upon the sincere desire of the Indian people with cold contempt. It is neither strange nor surprising, however, that the British Government, which after the first World War instead of giving promised independence to the Indian people added the most infamous chapter, symbolized by the Rowlatt Law and Amritsar massacre to the already bloody history of Indian oppression, pay no attention or consideration to the fate of Gandhi or the sincere aspiration of the whole Indian people.

In this their hour of destiny, the people of India may be assured of the attitude of Japan as expressed by Prime Minister Tojo on January 28 before the Imperial Diet: "I wish to express Japan's heartfelt sympathy to the leaders and people of India who are at present undergoing pains of labour in and out of India for the construction of a new India, and, at the same time, declare once more that Japan, in confident anticipation of the consummation of their stupendous undertaking at no distant future, is not stinting to afford them full co-operation."

We Japanese are watching the development in India with deepest sympathy and we are certain in the final victory of the Indian people because injustice may rule for a time, but the one that will ultimately triumph should be none other than the just and fair aspiration of human beings.

Ghandi might die and many other Indian civilian may be added to the long list of sanguinary victims of British oppressions but the spirit of India's people will live on.

II. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION, CONCERNING JAPAN'S
ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MOSLEMS

February 26, 1943.

Britain's policy toward the Moslems has always been characterized by arrogance and perfidy as attested to by her attitude toward Egypt and Palestine, as well as by her crafty manipulation of the Moslem people in India.

Following the outbreak of the present European War, Britain violated the independence and integrity of Iran and Iraq by unwarranted invasion of their territory, converted Syria and Morocco into battlefields of war for the attainment of her selfish objectives and forced Iraq to join the war by creating a puppet regime which responded to her will. Hundreds of thousands of innocent Moslems have thus been thrown against their will into the whirlpool of war. Such is British policy, a policy which recognizes only the interests of Britain and ignores completely the welfare of the Moslem people. The United States, a major conspirator in the plot for world domination, has followed suit by sending its armed forces into Iran and Iraq.

On the contrary, the attitude of Japan toward the Moslem people has always been fair and unselfish. Our country has always been solicitous of their untrammelled enjoyment of freedom of faith and of their well-being. Moslems in Japan, for instance, are living in perfect freedom and peace, as are the Moslems in Manchoukuo and China. In the Southern Regions where our Imperial Forces have advanced, they are continuing to pursue their lives and occupations with not the slightest molestation or restriction of their religious freedom. Such being her attitude, Japan deeply sympathizes with the Moslems in western Asia in their present tribulations under Anglo-American oppression.

Japan's attitude was aptly expressed by Foreign Minister Tani before the Imperial Diet on February 23. He said: "It is Japan's ardent hope that the Moslem people, by their deliverance from their present unfortunate condition, will come to contribute with their culture to world civilization. Japan entertains only good will toward them and the desire to respect their faith, hoping earnestly that they will occupy in this world the position which they are naturally entitled to occupy."

Foreign Minister Tani's statement has made clear beyond any doubt the true sentiment of the entire Japanese people toward the Moslem world. The voice of truth is omnipotent, for his statement has aroused the most favourable repercussions among the Moslem people, as may be seen from the telegram he received yesterday, the 25th, from the Grand Mufti Hussein who, though now in self-exile, has devoted his whole life to carrying on the valiant fight against Britain for the freedom of the Arabian people and of Moslems in general.

The Grand Mufti said: "I am extremely gratified with the wise policy of Japan which is directed toward preserving and strengthening the co-operation and friendly relations between Japan and the Moslems. The assurance, even from Your excellency, of the liberation of the Moslems from the shackles of Anglo-American imperialism will be heartily welcomed by Moslems throughout the world with inspiration and gratitude. The victory of Japan and the signatory Powers of the Tripartite Pact may be regarded as the victory of the Arabian countries and the Moslem people. I sincerely hope for a decisive victory."

These words of the Grand Mufti in all probability expresses the genuine sentiments of the whole Moslem world. Although a part of the Moslem people are at present being subjected to the pressure of Anglo-American might, money and materials, there will surely come a time when, with the smashing victory of the

Axis Powers over the baneful Anglo-American influence, the entire Moslem people will witness the realization of their age-long aspiration to return to their true heritage and to enjoy real and unrestrained freedom. That day, we believe, is not far away.

12. COMMENT BY THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON DR. BA MAW'S
ARRIVAL

March 19, 1943.

The entire Burmese people have for the long period of century held firm to their aspirations to rid themselves of the British oppressors, enduring all hardships somehow to attain this vital goal and consistently maintaining the spirit of self-assertion which the British imperialists utterly failed to suppress. The present visitors from Burma are all ardent exponents of their fellow people. They are heroic leaders who have undergone all kinds of trials and tribulations in realizing the aspirations of the people of Burma.

The invincibility of the Imperial Japanese Forces has repeatedly been demonstrated since the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia. The rapid elimination of the enemy forces from Burma is a widely recognized fact. However, we must not fail to note that in the attainment of our objective the people of Burma positively, willingly and gladly offered their most vigorous and effective co-operation to our military operations. At the time of these operations the Anglo-Chungking armies which vainly tried to stem the advance of our forces lamented the fact that in their retreating operations they were withdrawing in an enemy territory. The reasons for such lamentation are self-evident, considering the consistent attitude of the Burmese

people of co-operation with Japan through whose assistance they have long hoped to attain their cherished aspirations.

Burmese co-operation has since increased in vigour and effectiveness. Prime Minister Tojo's recent declaration that Japan would grant independence to Burmese people within this year was indeed in recognition of such a co-operative spirit. By virtue of this declaration, the Burmese people, now emancipated from the century-old British oppression, have entered upon a new period of great promise. It is with profound gratification, therefore, that we welcome Mr. Ba Maw and his party.

I am particularly delighted at their visit, having served as Consul-General at Rangoon up to the outbreak of the present war, and having personally observed with Burmese people the circumstances surrounding the downfall of British power. Among the guests are those whose acquaintance I enjoyed under the trying conditions prevailing at the time. It affords me added satisfaction that not a few of my Burmese friends in all ranks of life whom I came to know during my stay in Burma, as well as the Japanese who shared hardships with the Burmese people in the face of British oppression, are now vigorously carrying on their work of creating a new Burma.

13. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION, CONCERNING THE RE-
LINQUISHMENT OF SPECIAL PRIVILEGES
IN CHINA BY THE SWISS GOV-
ERNMENT

April 9, 1943.

Following the conclusion of the Agreement between Japan and China Concerning the Rendition of Administrative Rights in Concessions and Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights Italy and France speedily on their own accord declared their,

intention to do likewise in co-operation with Japan's action. The attitude of the remaining countries concerned, especially the neutral countries such as Switzerland, has since been a matter of interest both here and abroad.

Now, according to a report from our Minister to Switzerland, Mr. Tamao Sakamoto, the Federal Government of Switzerland declared recently in the Swiss Parliament in reply to an interpellation of a member that Switzerland also was prepared to relinquish her special rights in China in response to the enthusiastic desire of the Chinese people for the abolition of unequal and special rights and that this intention would be carried out in the near future.

The expression of the Swiss Government on the question will naturally have an influence on the other countries concerned, and it is earnestly hoped that the remaining countries will take similar action as soon as possible, thereby bringing about the complete elimination of unequal and special rights in China.

14. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION, REGARDING TWO RECENT POLITICAL VISITS

April 16, 1943.

Last month, the eyes of the world were attracted to the movements of two important personages, one in the West and one in the East. In the West, Major Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, went to Washington at the invitation of the United States Government, while in the East, Dr. Ba Maw, Chief Administrator of Burma, came to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Government. Both were on an important mission and both brought back something to their respective countries.

Time now is just about right to spotlight the results of these two missions and to note their meaning in the light of the larger movements of world history of which there are clear signs today.

The sum total of the Eden mission can be put rather briefly. The British Foreign Secretary held what has been reported as "exploratory" talks with American leaders and in the course of their "explorations" they agreed not to go too far into such matters as the Polish frontier question. Judging from this fact, it is quite clear that Britain and the United States, despite their declarations to the contrary, have proposed to subordinate the rights and interests of the smaller countries to the promotion of their own selfish interests and to disregard the aspirations of these countries whenever it suits their whims and conveniences.

On the other side of the world, in Japan, the conference of Dr. Ba Maw with the Japanese Government produced concrete evidences of hope for those nations, wherever they may be, in their struggles for independence and full sovereignty. Dr. Ba Maw, in returning to Rangoon the day before yesterday, brought home a message of good cheer and of hopes soon to be realized. The picture is bright because all the developments spring from trust, confidence, and co-operation and are directed toward the single common objective of creating a world of nations and peoples founded upon mutual respect for their rightful place in the life of the world community.

In her ignominious retreat from Burma, Britain carried out the most sanguine scorched-earth policy, expecting that it would render Burma too helpless to participate in the war. But in her flight Britain forgot to take along, first, the goodwill of the Burmese people and, second, Dr. Ba Maw, the Burmese leader, who has risen to his fullest stature to unite and to lead his people toward independence and toward the joint prosecution of the

war with Japan.

The fact of the matter is the British had to leave behind Burmese goodwill because they had never had it. It was only natural that during the century of British rule in Burma the British should have won only the ill will and hatred of the Burmese people, who like the people in the now free Malaya and enslaved India, have long been oppressed under an iron tyranny, a fact which was openly and painfully admitted in the British Parliament at the outset of the war. And today, subject to frequent and indiscriminate bombings by the British from India, the Burmese people are even more resolved to fight for the complete security of their land.

The enthusiastic and voluntary co-operation of the entire Burmese people with Japan is the natural consequence of British policy before the war and of Burmese understanding of and trust in Japan whose basic policy has long been to bring into being a free and prosperous Asia. It springs from their deep-seated desire for independence long suppressed by Britain and from Japan's recognition of that desire which is soon to find concrete fulfilment.

While Eden in Washington took a step forward toward snuffing out the hopes of smaller and weaker nations for their sovereign existence, Japan and Dr. Ba Maw have enlivened those hopes. The larger outlines of history as they are now being shaped fall into these two categories and Japan today, in concert with her European allies, is fighting to restore hope to all nations and peoples, large or small, in the chance to live in security, independence, and mutual prosperity and to bring this hope to complete realization.

15. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE
BOARD OF INFORMATION, ON THE FIRST
ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERI-
CAN AIR RAID ON JAPAN

April 17, 1943.

Since the beginning of the war, our enemies have made no choice of the means in their vain efforts to change the tide of battle in their favour and in their frustration and desperation they have resorted to means which not only violate the rules of warfare but offend the instincts of civilized man.

A year ago tomorrow, an American army air force unit carried out a raid on the Japanese mainland—a raid which left in its wake not destroyed military installations or wartime industrial establishments, but a few burning homes, a damaged suburban hospital and dead and injured school children. Although the damages were insignificant, the brutal manner in which it was carried out, such as the machine-gunning of innocent children playing in the school courtyard who were clearly visible to the enemy raiders who dared to fly low, has aroused the deep indignation not only of the people of Japan, but also of people throughout the world who have a high regard for the principles of humanity. Blacked out completely is the illusion of the highly propagandized American morality and chivalry, for these attributes which had once been thought to exist are no more.

Engaged as they are in a losing war in which there is absolutely no hope, now or ever, to win, our enemies have been caught in the snares of a fear-complex; and in their state of mental anguish they are resorting, not to honourable and manly methods of warfare, but to sheer terrorism, presumably with the insane idea that by committing atrocities they could soften the

morale of enemy people and thus turn the tide of war to their advantage.

Enemy atrocities have kept on mounting since the beginning of the war. To cite a few examples :

There was the brutal massacre of innocent Japanese civilians at Davao at the very outset of the war.

There was the running of steamrollers over the prostrate bodies of wounded Japanese soldiers at Guadalcanal, a case of the most perverted cruelty.

There was the wholesale shooting of unarmed Japanese in a New Zealand prison camp.

There has been a series of seven inexcusable daylight attacks on clearly marked hospital ships, the most recent attack taking place against the Ural Maru on April 3.

There are frequent blind and indiscriminate bombings of populated centers in Burma, resulting in the destruction of many great pagodas dedicated to the deep Buddhist faith of the Burmese people.

In Europe, the British and American fanatics have mercilessly bombed the innocent populations of Paris, Antwerp, and other cities professedly "to keep alive the hope" of people in the occupied territories, not knowing or realizing that these blind-bombings which have killed and injured hundreds of defenseless women and children are only alienating people who once had entertained good will toward America and Britain.

It was the desperate need to stimulate their people with news of their country's war prowess by whatever means available that impelled the Americans to raid Japan a year ago and it is precisely for that very reason that the attacks which were carried out were so completely devoid of any sense of honour or decency.

Now our enemies are more desperate than ever. The vaunted second front in Europe has been talked about in boast-

ful terms for nearly a year, but it is still conspicuous by its absence. The American plan to attack Japan by recapturing lost territory island by island is reported to have been abandoned after many months of fruitless fighting and disastrous losses in the remote Solomons area where the fighting is still confined, even Mr. Roosevelt admitting that a "stepping stone" campaign would require a hundred years or so. And the British on the Burmese-Indian frontier have been thrown back with appalling losses and their hopes to recapture Burma and thus to re-open the Burma Route to Chungking have been completely smashed.

Driven more and more into a state of frenzy by the wailing cries of Australia and Chungking for quick action, our enemies, while giving tremendous publicity to their new plan of direct air attack on Japan have, according to Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, suddenly come upon the absurd idea of giving tomorrow the "fully story" of the April 18 raid. In this connection, they should be reminded of the utter foolishness of trying to tell the outside world their "full story" of the blind and wanton attacks on innocent civilians, the details of which have been known to the whole world except the American people since a year ago. Even the carefully treasured American secret of the location of Shangri-la has been known to us for a long time. And it might be added that our enemies should not report the mistake of last year of announcing again that all the American airmen had returned safely, since it is also well-known that those raiders who were captured and found guilty of ignoring the principles of humanity have been properly punished.

16. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION, ON THE AMERICAN
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AIR
RAID ON JAPAN

April 23, 1943.

No sooner had Elmer Davis, Director of the Office of War Information, announced that the United States Army would release the "full story" of last year's air raid on Japan on the occasion of the first anniversary of the raid, than the Army authorities called it off and the anxiously waiting American public got nothing but a brief announcement disclosing only the location of "mysterious Shangri-la".

Then after the detailed revelation of the raid by Major-General Nakao Yahagi, Director of the Press Section of the Imperial Japanese Army, the United States Army authorities made a sudden change of mind and with great haste released their "treasured secret" a half a day later, the only value of which was to underscore the accuracy even of the details of the Japanese announcement and to prove once again the authenticity of Japanese statements.

The number of flyers participating in the raid, the manner in which they were selected, the number and type of planes employed, the manner in which the airmen were trained, the location of "Shangri-la", the training undergone aboard the aircraft carrier, the necessity of changing from a night raid to a daylight raid, and the resultant wrecking of all but one plane—those items check perfectly.

In releasing the story, the American authorities did not forget to give it some weight by offering as an excuse for their belatedness the importance of secrecy. They declared: "As long as this secrecy could be maintained, the Japanese were

obliged to set up defenses against a number of possibilities. They could not be sure whether the planes had come from China or from an aircraft carrier or from stepping stones in the Pacific. They could not know when the attack would be repeated, so the Japanese were forced to tie up part of their military strength during crucial months."

Unfortunately for the enemy, all the details of the raid were already known to the Japanese authorities as proven by Major-General Yahagi's announcement which was made first and corroborated soon after by the American disclosure.

This is the tragic irony: The people of the country that most strongly insists upon the freedom of speech and press have been the only people who have been kept uninformed in the name of military secrecy and the policy of withholding facts which might aid the enemy.

It is no wonder, therefore, that even the conservative New York Times, taxed to the limits of its patience, editorialized just before the disclosure:

"It is altogether probable that the Japanese Government now knows much more about the details of the Tokyo bombing than the American public has been permitted to know. In justice to our own public, which is entitled to know at least as much as the enemy knows, the full story ought now to be told."

To divert public attention away from the American Government's embarrassment over the issue, Mr. Roosevelt and other leaders in Washington have started a propaganda campaign along another line. Immediately and side by side with the story of the raid, they released the text of a communication to the Japanese Government under the date of April 12, which was received only today, protesting against the alleged Japanese mistreatment of the American airmen who were captured.

In publicizing this protest, the American authorities have resorted to cheap name-calling to whip up the waning morale of

the people by fanning hatred toward Japan. They are raising a hue and cry over Japan's "violation" of the terms of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention; they are painting lurid pictures, making out the Japanese to appear as nothing more than brutish beasts who utterly disregard the principles of humanity, while propagandizing that Americans are incapable of committing acts of barbarity.

Whatever may be the efforts of the American authorities at camouflage and even though the American people who are so utterly uninformed about the real facts and situations may be fooled temporarily, the world can never be deceived by obsolete methods of propaganda such as resort to atrocity stories.

Our attitude on this question has already been made clear beyond any argument by the following official statements:

1. On October 19, 1942, the Director of the Army Press Section of the Imperial Headquarters issued a statement which said:

"As a result of investigation of the captured members of the crew of the American airplanes who raided the mainland of Japan on April 18 this year, those who ignored the principles of humanity have been severely punished in accordance with military law."

2. On the same day, the Commander of the General Headquarters for Home Defense issued the following proclamation:

"If members of the crew of enemy aircraft who raid the territory of Japan and come within the reaches of our authority are found to have committed a cruel and inhuman act, the same shall be tried before the military court and punished with death or severe penalty.

On February 17, 1943, the Japanese Government transmitted to the United States Government through the representing Power a note (see Addendum) which stated in effect as follows:

a. Members of the crew of enemy aircraft who are found guilty, as a result of investigation, of committing cruel and inhuman acts will be severely punished in accordance with prescribed procedure; such treatment is not given merely on the grounds of military operations in which they are participants.

b. As the American airmen, who were captured by us after raiding Japan on April 18, willfully bombed hospitals, schools and other non-military establishments, wantonly killing and wounding by machine-gun fire school children playing in the school ground, even though they had recognized them as such, and asserted that it was a proper act, utterly failing to reconsider their conduct, the Japanese Government could not treat them as prisoners of war and capital punishment was meted out to a part of them.

c. The said policy is pursued strictly on the basis of cruel and inhuman conduct with the view to minimizing to the utmost the calamities of war; treatment of prisoners of war will not be refused merely for reasons of air raid. (As a matter of fact the American airmen who were captured after raiding Hongkong sometime ago are being accorded treatment as prisoners of war.)

In other words, although the Japanese, according to their traditional code of Bushido, as well as their ideals, are always ready to accord as human and generous a treatment as possible to the enemies, as is now being done, this readiness is predicated on the self-evident condition that the enemy also acts humanely and honourably and does not commit acts of inhuman cruelty. In this connection, it should be emphasized that Japan can never agree with the absurd and groundless contention that the mere fact that enemy soldiers are wearing military uniforms makes them immune from the responsibility of willfully committing any and all kinds of inhuman acts.

ADDENDUM

EXCERPTS FROM THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT'S NOTE
OF FEBRUARY 17, 1943, ADDRESSED TO THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

1. It is the intention of the Imperial Japanese Government to try before the military tribunal and to punish severely as enemies of humanity those members of the crew of enemy aircraft who, after making a raid on Japanese territory, Manchoukuo or areas of Japanese military operations, fall within the reach of Japanese authority and are found, after inquiry, to be guilty of acts of cruelty and inhumanity. However, they have no intention to impose upon them severe punishment merely "for reason of military operations of which they were participants" as the American Government are said to be informed. This measure taken by the Japanese Government is based on the lofty conception of the morality of respecting humanity with a view to limiting to the minimum the calamities of war.

2. The members of the crew of the American aircrafts who came within the reach of Japanese authority after raiding Japan on April 18 willfully bombed and set on fire such non-military establishments as hospitals, schools as well as civilians situated far away from military installations. What is particularly to be condemned is the fact that they, after having clearly recognized small innocent children playing on the school ground, deliberately attacked them with sweeping machine gun fire, killing and wounding them. The said members of the crew admitted the above fact, asserting that it was a natural act, and failed to reconsider their conduct. The American Government must fully understand that such men are enemies of humanity and are unpardonable criminals. The Japanese Government cannot treat such criminals as prisoners of war.

3. As the guilt of these men was clearly established as the

result of investigations at the military tribunal, they were sentenced to death in accordance with military law. Most of them, however, were specially given commutation of sentence, capital punishment being applied to only a part of them.

4. The Japanese Government intend to treat as prisoners of war those members of the crew of enemy aircraft falling within the reach of Japanese authority after raiding Japan, Manchoukuo and the areas of Japanese military operations who have not committed cruel and inhuman acts.

17. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION, ON CHURCHILL'S SPEECH
TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

May 22, 1943.

Prime Minister Churchill's speech before the United States Congress contains, as usual, a mere repetition of subjects frequently taken up by enemy leaders, such as the imminent threat of a major air offensive against the Axis Powers; the ultimate victory of the so-called United Nations; the warning to the American and British people of the seriousness of the submarine menace; the difficulty of carrying on global warfare; and the urgent necessity of enhancing the unity among the anti-Axis countries—subjects which are hardly worth special comment.

However, a close examination of Mr. Churchill's rhetoric makes it abundantly clear that the significant things were said between the lines. One of the main objects of his visit to Washington was to gloss over the irretrievable blunder he had made in his speech before the British House of Commons on March 21. Probably due to an excessive enthusiasm over the importance of the "Europe First" policy or to his ease of mind of speaking in his own country, Mr. Churchill unwittingly

revealed his real intentions. He declared: "However vigorously the war against Japan is prosecuted, there will certainly be a partial demobilization following on the defeat of Hitler." By this "slip of the tongue" the repercussions to the speech in all the countries allied with Britain were instantaneous.

Observing close at hand the adverse situations brought about by the miserable defeats of crack British forces in the battles in the Arakan area, as well as the surrender of an ever-increasing number of their own armies before the powerful onslaught of the Japanese forces in North and Central China, the disappointment which that speech aroused among Chungking leaders is readily understandable.

The disappointment and grievances in Australia were equally profound for despite her loud propaganda about the so-called Southwest Pacific offensive, she was, as she still is, in fear and trembling before the steadily approaching Japanese pressure from the north.

The United States which had hitherto been reluctantly cooperating in the "Europe First" policy at Britain's request was taken by complete surprise by this irresponsible statement of the British Prime Minister. The American apprehension over the possibility of British desertion when the European war comes to a certain stage was further abetted, resulting in an increasing number of advocates of the "Pacific First" policy among the influential press and congressional circles.

Confronted by this wholly unexpected adverse development, Mr. Churchill hastened to Washington to prevent President Roosevelt and his military chiefs from being over-powered by this ever-mounting public opinion. In doing so, he did not fail to take along General Wavell to explain to the American military experts how difficult it is to undertake a large-scale land offensive against the Japanese forces in Burma, describing in detail the appalling disasters already experienced.

It appears, as a result, that he has finally succeeded in having Mr. Roosevelt confirm once again the "Europe First" policy, at least for the time being. Having thus accomplished the main object of his mission, he took upon himself, at Mr. Roosevelt's request, the task of mollifying the very strong and widespread adverse opinion in the United States, Australia, and Chungking. This may be regarded as the underlying motive of the speech.

Mr. Churchill declared: "Let no one suggest that we British have not at least as great an interest as the United States in the unflinching, relentless waging of war against Japan." And then in another passage, "I repudiate the slightest suspicion that we should hold anything back than can be usefully employed . . . every man, gun and airplane than can be used in this business." And then again, "It is all agreed between us that we should at the earliest moment similarly bring our joint air power to bear upon the military targets in the homelands of Japan."

These statements make it appear as if Churchill were pledging Britain's unconditional co-operation with the United States in the war against Japan. But a keen observer can never fail to note that this shrewd British Prime Minister skillfully avoids the responsibility in the future by qualifying his promises with such conditions as "in accordance with the best strategic employment of our forces", "that can be usefully employed", and "in harmonious accord with the major strategy of the war."

However skillfully Mr. Churchill employs his rhetorical talent, it is hardly possible for him to dispell the distrust and grievances in Australia and Chungking, as well as in the United States, for such verbal evasions, coming as they are from a man whose every movement and every word are the object of the keenest attention, cannot be expected to pass unnoticed.

Another most interesting revelation in Churchill's speech is the passage which reveals how he jumped with joy over the entry of the United States into the war: "I say quite frankly

that in those days after our long and, for a whole year, lonely struggle, I cannot repress in my heart the sense of relief and comfort that we were all bound together by common peril. . . . That was an hour of passionate emotion, an hour most memorable in human recollection, an hour, I believe, full of hope and glory for the future."

We can read between the lines how zealously Mr. Churchill and his governments schemed and maneuvered to drag the United States into the war following the Dunkerque tragedy of June, 1940, and it accordingly becomes evident that American diplomacy leading up to the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia was, in fact, directly and indirectly manipulated by this British desire.

In short, the point which we must take note of is the fact that the United States, by dispatching an enormous volume of her products and armed strength to various countries in all parts of the world, appears as if it were gradually establishing the foundations for its great ambition to secure world hegemony and, because of the several visits to Washington of the clever and kowtowing Churchill, the leadership in the Allied camp appears as if it had been transferred from London to Washington. Despite these outward manifestations of American power, it is clear that it is not Mr. Roosevelt but Mr. Churchill himself who determines the fundamental diplomatic policy as well as the basic strategy of the United States.

All the resources, all the production and all the precious lives of the American people are thus being skillfully sacrificed for the maintenance of the British Empire. This indeed must be considered as a great triumph for Churchillian diplomacy over the United States.

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昭和十八年度(七月—十二月)

政府公表集

—對外關係—

情報局

昭和十八年度（七月—十二月）

政府公表集

—對外關係—

情報局

詔書

天佑ヲ保有シ萬世一系ノ皇祚ヲ踐メル大日本帝國天皇ハ昭ニ忠誠勇武ナル汝有眾ニ示ス
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御名 御璽

昭和十六年十二月八日

各國務大臣副署

凡例

- 一、本書ニハ昭和十八年一月乃至六月ニ引續キ七月乃至十二月ノ期間ニ於ケル帝國政府ノ對外關係ニ關スル發表及聲明並ニ當局者ノ談話、演說、祝辭、挨拶、祝電等凡テ對外問題ニ關スル主ナルモノヲ邦文及英文ヲ併セ採録シ、右ノ中演說、挨拶ノ類ヲ附録（其ノ一）トシ情報局第三部長ノ在京外國新聞記者會見ニ於ケル談話ノ主要ナルモノヲ附録（其ノ二）トシテ收録セリ。
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兼陸軍大臣挨拶 (七月四日)

閣下並ニ各位

今回私ハ久シキニ亘ル念願ヲ達成シ貴國ヲ訪問スル機會ヲ得タル事ハ私ノ最モ欣快トスル所テアル。今夕ハ「ピブン」總理閣下ヨリ私共一行斯クモ御鄭重ナル御招待ヲ受ケ且只今ハ御懇篤ナル御挨拶ヲ頂キ厚ク御禮ヲ申上ケル次第テアル。旅程ノ關係上此度ハ皆様方ヲ御招待致ス事ノ出來マセン事ハ私ノ洵ニ遺憾トスル所テアツテ何卒御諒承ヲ願ヒ度イト存スル。今回ノ訪問ニ際シ「タイ」國 皇帝陛下ニ於カセラレマシテハ私及隨員一行ニ對シ特ニ格別ノ叙勳ノ御沙汰アラセラレ恐懼感激ニ堪ヘナイ次第テアル。扱貴國民ハ多年世局變轉ノ裡ニ毅然トシテ光輝アル獨立ト亞細亞民族トシテノ名譽ヲ保持セラレテ來タノテアル。偉大ナル指導者「ピブン」總理閣下カ身ヲ以テ全國民ヲ率ヒテ、國民精神ノ昂揚ト國力ノ充實トニ、國勢ノ伸張ト東亞ノ興隆トニ努力ヲ續ケラレテ來タノテアル。

而シテ大東亞戰爭勃發スルヤ「タイ」國ハ敢然トシテ多年ニ亘ル米英トノ複雑機微ナル關係ヲ一擲シテ帝國ト行ヲ共ニスルニ至ツタノテアル。爾來幾多ノ困難ヲ克服シツツ第一線ニ於テハ皇軍ト共同作戰ヲ實施スルハモトヨリ凡ユル方面ニ全力ヲ傾倒シ、斷乎トシテ戰爭ノ完遂ニ精進シテ居ルノテアル。此ノ「タイ」國上下ヲ舉ケテノ御奮闘ト帝國ニ對スル御協力トニ對シテハ、私ハ豫ネテ大イニ感銘致シテ居ルノテアツテ此ノ機會ニ改メテ衷心ヨリ敬意ト謝意

トヲ表スル次第テアル。

今回ノ滞在ハ極メテ短時日テアルカ「ビブン」總理閣下ト親シク懇談シ又貴國朝野ノ名士ト斯クモ和カナ寮國氣ノ裡ニ相會スル機會ヲ得タコトハ私ノ又特ニ幸トスル所テアル。曩ニ「ビブン」總理閣下トノ會談ニ於テ必勝ノ信念ト戰爭完遂ノ決意トヲ同シウスルコトヲ明カニシ且日「タイ」協力ノ新方式ニ關シ意見ノ一致ヲ見、以テ相互ノ理解ヲ一段ト深メタルコトハ私トシテハ本懐至極テアルノミナラス兩國ノ戰爭協力増進ノ爲ニモ御同慶ノ至リニ存スル次第テアル。ナホ私ノ到着直前「タイ」國國民ノ生命トシテ又魂トシテ敬仰サレテキル佛舍利ヲ「タイ」國民ヨリ日本國民ニ贈呈サレタルコトハ兩國國民ノ精神的團結ヲ一層強化スルモノテアツテ、「タイ」國民ノ示サレタルコノ美シキ友情ニ對シテ私ハ心カラ感謝ノ意ヲ表スルモノテアル。

閣下竝ニ各位、大東亞ニ於ケル勝利、敵必滅ノ態勢ハ日ニ月ニ強化セラレ、豐富ナル資源ハ急速ニ戦力化セラレツツアルノテアル。此ノ趨勢ハ正ニ米英ノ死命ヲ制スルモノテアル。今コソ大東亞全民族カ愈々ソノ結束ヲ鞏固ニシ益々米英擊碎ノ一路ニ邁進スルノ秋テアル。斯クシテコソ大東亞ノ各國家各民族ハソノ存立興隆ノ爲大東亞戰爭ニ於イテ必スヤ勝利ノ榮冠ヲ獲得スルコトヲ私ハ信シテ疑ハナイノテアル。

大日本帝國ハ爾來「タイ」國ノ主權、領土ヲ尊重スルハ勿論、ソノ興隆ヲ切望スルモノテアツテ「ビブン」總理閣下ヲ首班トスル「タイ」國政府ノ施策ニ對シテ此ノ際更ニ協力援助ヲ強化セントスルモノテアル。

私ハ「タイ」國民カ此ノ上共大日本帝國ノ眞意ヲ理解シ、「ビブン」總理閣下ヲ中心ニ「タイ」國ノ國勢伸張ノ爲、大東亞戰爭完遂ノ爲、而シテ大東亞興隆ノ爲折角御健闘アランコトヲ切望シテ已マナイモノテアル。最後ニ臨ミ

閣下竝ニ各位ト共ニ杯ヲ舉ケテ「ビブン」總理閣下ノ御健康ヲ祝福シ併セテ日「タイ」共同ノ勝利ヲ祈念シタイト存スル。

二、第四回中央協力會議ニ於ケル東條內閣總理大臣

大政翼賛會總裁挨拶 (七月十四日)

本日、茲ニ、第四回中央協力會議總常會ヲ開催スルニ當リマシテ、一言、御挨拶申上ケマス。

大東亞戰爭勃發以來、既ニ一年七ヶ月、廣大ナル戦域ニ互リ、御稜威ノ下、皇軍將兵ハ、愈々、其ノ眞價ヲ發揮シ、赫々タル戦果ヲ加ベツツアルノテアリマス。凡ユル困苦ヲ克服シ、身命ヲ抛ツテ、勇戰奮闘スル忠勇無比ナル陸海將兵ノ勞苦ハ、眞ニ、竝々ナラヌモノカアルノテアリマシテ、我々國民ノ齊シク感謝措ク能ハサルトコロテアリマス。

此ノ間一死以テ國ヲ護ラレマシタル幾多純忠至誠ノ英靈ニ對シ、私ハ、國民諸君ト共ニ、謹ンテ哀悼ト感謝ノ誠ヲ捧クルト共ニ、之等ノ方々ノ遺家族竝ニ傷病將兵各位ニ對シマシテ、衷心ヨリ感謝ト同情ノ意ヲ表スル次第デアリマス。

曩ニ、私ハ、中華民國、滿洲國及ヒ比島ヲ訪問致シ、此ノ度ハ亦「タイ」國竝ニ南方諸地域ヲ歴訪致シタノテアリマスルカ、大東亞ノ諸國家諸民族カ克ク帝國ノ眞意ヲ諒解シ、十億民衆ノ總力ヲ舉ケテ、米英擊碎ノ一途ニ集中シ、

帝國ニ對シテ、全面的ニ協力ヲ致シツツアル實情ニ觸レ、又着々トシテ戦力化セラレツツアル巨大ナル國防資源ノ狀況ヲ目撃シ、大東亞戰爭必勝ノ確信ヲ更ニ強ク致シタ次第デアリマス。此ノ秋ニ當リ、帝國ハ此等ノ諸國家諸民族ニ對シ、常ニ援助ト協力トヲ惜シマス、既ニ御承知ノ通り、逐次之カ具體的措置ヲ執ツテ居ルノデアリマス。斯クテ大東亞戰爭必勝ノ態勢、大東亞新秩序建設ノ根基ハ、着々ト強化セラレツツアルノデアリマシテ、洵ニ御同慶ニ堪ヘナイトコロデアリマス。

又歐洲ニ於キマシテハ、獨伊ヲ始メ、我カ盟邦諸國ハ、益々、帝國トノ結束ヲ固クシ、相呼應シテ共同ノ敵米英擊滅ニ向ツテ、邁進シテ居リマスルコトハ、慶ヒニ堪ヘナイトコロデアリマス。

正義ノ戦ヒノ下、大東亞十億ノ團結ノ前、我等ノ勝利ハ不動デアリマス。然シ乍ラ此ノ勝利ノ獲得ハ決シテ生易シイ仕事テハナイノデアリマス。一億國民ノ非常ナル努力ト犠牲トニ依ツテ始メテ此ノ大戰爭ハ勝ツノデアリマス。

今ヤ、戦局ハ、刻一刻ト緊迫ノ度ヲ加ヘ、國家ノ隆替ヲ決スル重大時機ニ直面シテ居ルノデアリマス。敵米英ハ、唯一ノ恃ミトスル物質力ヲ擧ケテ反攻ノ擧ニ出テ、其ノ氣勢亦侮リ難キモノカアルノデアリマス。然シ乍ラ、斯クノ如キハ帝國ノ夙ニ豫期セル所デアリマシテ、何等恐ルルニ足ラナイノデアリマス。即チ大東亞必勝ノ態勢ノ下、廣ク戦局ノ全貌ヲ遠觀シ、愈々戰意ヲ旺盛ニシ、不撓不屈、飽ク迄モ強靱性ヲ發揚シ、大東亞戰爭終局ノ勝利ニ向ツテ、堂々、邁進スルハカリデアリマス。

茲ニ於テカ、一億國民ハ、申ス迄モナク、鐵石ノ團結ノ下、國ノ内外ヲ問ハス、凡ユル障害ヲ突破克服シ、全力ヲ擧ケテ、一意、戦力ノ増強ニ邁進シナケレハナラヌノデアリマス。

曩ニ政府カ臨時ニ帝國議會ノ開會ヲ奏請致シ、企業整備、食糧緊急増産等ニ關シ協賛ヲ得マシタノモ、一ニ戦局ノ下、寸時ヲ争フ戦力増強ニ寄與セントスルモノデアリマス。

國內ノ總力ヲ擧ケテ戦力ノ増強ヲ圖ランカ爲ニハ、何ヨリ先ツ國民ノ一人一人カ躬ヲ以テ國難ニ當ラントスル氣魄ヲ昂揚セラルルコトヲ必要トスルノデアリマス。私情ヲ棄テ敢然轉廢業セラルル方ニ對シ、私ハ衷心ヨリ敬意ト同情トヲ表スルト共ニ、此ノ曠古ノ重大戦局ニ臨ミ、一億國民カ相共ニ喜ンテ苦シミヲ願タントスル強固ナル結束ノ下ニ、俱ニ各自ノ能力ノ最善ヲ發揮セラレントヲ切望シテ已マナイモノデアリマス。

此ノ戰爭ヲ勝チ抜ク爲ニハ、我々國民ノ一人一人カ、各種各様ノ不便不足ハ寧ロ喜ンテ之ヲ引キ受ケ、アラユル困苦ニ耐ヘテ、戦ヒ拔カネハナラナイノデアリマス。素ヨリ、政府ハ、國民生活ノ確保ニ關シマシテハ、萬般ノ措置ヲ講セントスルモノデアリマスルカ、一億國民ハ、此ノ上共、生活ノ刷新、消費ノ節約、貯蓄ノ増強ニ努メ、如何ナル事態ニモ動セス、進ンテ質實剛健ニシテ、清新簡素ナル生活ノ實踐ニ、徹底致サネハナラナイノデアリマス。

今ヤ、振古未會有ノ重大時期ニ當リ、我々一億國民傳統ノ眞價ヲ發揮シ、輝カシキ國史ノ成跡ヲ彌カ上ニモ光輝アラシメ、延イテハ、大東亞千年ノ運命ヲ決スルハ、此ノ昭和ノ聖代ニ生ヲ享ケタル我々ノ重大ナル責務デアリマス。皇國民タルモノ老幼男女ノ別ナク燃ユルカ如キ忠誠心ヲ振ヒ起シ、皇軍將兵ノ心ヲ心トシ、一人克ク五人分十人分ノ働キヲナシテコソ、眞ニ、戦力ノ飛躍的増強ハ達成セラルルノデアリマス。國家ノ求ムル所、戰爭ノ求ムル所ニ應ジテ、軍、官、民眞ニ一體トナリ、全力ヲ併セ發揮スルコトカ、取りモ直サス、聖業翼賛ノ光輝アル途トナルノデアリマス。

今次第四回中央協力會議開催ノ趣旨モ、實ニ、茲ニ存スルノテアリマシテ、國民諸君ノ迸ル熱意カ茲ニ凝集發揮サレ、戦力増強上、寄與スル所甚大ナルモノアルコトヲ、確信致スモノテアリマス。トウカ、各位ニ於カレマシテハ、本會議開催ノ趣旨ヲ深ク諒解セラレ、必勝國策ノ獨フ所ニ從ヒ、此上トモ、國內施策ノ滲透ニ努メラレ、又其ノ卓越スル識見ト豊富ナル體驗トヲ以テ時艱打開ノ爲積極的ニシテ具體的ナル方途ヲ考究セラレ、以テ、今次中央協力會議所期ノ成果ヲ擧ケラレンコトヲ、衷心ヨリ、切望シテ熾マナイ次第テアリマス。

尙此ノ機會ニ一言致シタイト存シマスルカ、政府ハ、之等國內施策ノ徹底的滲透ト戰時地方行政ノ綜合強化ノ爲、全國九地區ニ、地方行政協議會ヲ設ケ、以テ戰時地方行政ヲ刷新シ、更ニ戦力ノ増強ニ、國民生活ノ確保ニ、萬全ノ措置ヲ講セントスルモノテアリマス。而シテ地方行政ノ問題タルヤ、殊ニ國民諸君ノ積極的ナル協力ニ俟ツ所、極メテ大ナルモノカアリマシテ、私ハ各地方ニ於テ指導先達ノ地位ニ在ラレル諸君ノ、此ノ上共格別ナル御協力ヲ切望スルモノテアリマス。

以上閉會ニ當リ、一言、所信ヲ申述ヘテ私ノ御挨拶ヲ終リマス。

三、第四回中央協力會議ニ於ケル天羽情報局總裁挨拶

(七月十四日)

本日、第四回中央協力會議ニ於テ、所感ノ一端ヲ述フル機會ヲ得マシタコトハ、私ノ誠ニ欣幸トスルトコロテアリ

マス。

昭和十四年、「ヨーロッパ」ニ於テ、獨逸ト英佛トノ間ニ戰爭カ初マリマスヤ、米國ハ此機會ニ乘シテ豫テカラ企ランテ居タ世界制覇ノ野望ヲ遂ケントシテ、英國ヲ援助シ英國ノ旗色カ惡イニツレテ益々戰爭ニ深入リシ、一昨年八月ニハ「ルーズヴェルト」ハ、中立國ノ主權者タルニモ拘ラス交戰國ノ總理大臣タル「チャーチル」ト會合シテ、俗ニ大西洋憲章ト稱セララルル戰爭ノ結末ニ關スル協定サヘツクツタノテアリマス。

事實米國ハ、中立國テアリナカラ、交戰國以上ニ戰爭ニ參加シテキタノテアリマス。

東亞ニ於イテモ、米國ハ、蔣政權ヲ援助シテ事實上交戰行爲ヲ爲シ、次テ日米交渉中ニハ日本人ノ資産ヲ凍結シ、又英、蘭等ト共ニ所謂對日包圍陣ヲ形成シ、次テ交渉ノ最後ノ段階ニ於イテハ三ヶ條件ノ威壓的要求ヲ提出シテ、日本ニ挑戰シタノテアリマス。

斯クテ日本ハ、遂ニ自存自衛ノ爲立タサルヲ得ナクナツタノテアリマス。米英ハ、何時カハ日本ノ興隆ヲ抑ヘムト好機ヲ待ツテ居タノテアリマスカ、コノ戰爭ニヨツテ日本ヲ滅ホサントシテ居ルノテアリマス。米國ノ指導者ハ日本ハ世界ヲ征服スル野心アリトナシ、日本ノ存在ハ太平洋ノ安。全ヲ脅威シ、日本ハ「デモクラシー」ノ敵テアルトシテ日本撃滅ヲ叫ンテ居ルノテアリマス。

日本ニ大使ヲシテ居タ「グルー」ハ、歸國以來自國民ヲ激勵スルタメニ日夜奔走シテ居リマスカ、彼ハ昨年九月其講演ノ中ニ、「征服ノ野望ニ驅ラレテ居ル日本國民ノ殘忍ナル決意ノ中ニハ、温情モナケレハ慈悲モナイ徹頭徹尾殘酷テアリ殘虐テアル。ソコニハ、米國ノ文明ヲ構成シテ居ル美シキ性格ハ全然見出し得ナイ。コレヲ制スル道ハ只一

八
ツ、即チコレヲ全滅スルノミテアル」ト言ヒ、又「日本人カ國ノ爲ニ戦ヒ國ノ爲ニ死ストノ狂信的決意ハ、根本的ニ撲滅セネハ大ラナイ」ト言ヒ、更ニ昨年十二月十七日ノ放送ニヨレハ「ニューヨーク・ポスト」ハ、「グルー」カ「日本人ヲタシナメル唯一ノ道ハ彼等ヲ殺スコトニアル」ト言ツタ、ト報道シテ居ルノテアリマス。彼ハ日本ノ政策ヲ攻撃スルノミナラス日本人ノ國民性ヲ呪ツテ居マス。日本ニ十年モ居テ日本人間ニ多クノ友人ヲ有シ善ク日本人ノ國民性ヲ知ツテ居ル管ノ彼カカクノ如キ惡罵ヲ爲スハ、彼ノ本心ヲ物語ルノテアル乎、將又、戰爭目的ヲ知ラヌ米國人ヲ激勵鼓舞スル爲ノ苦衷ニ出テ居ルノテアル乎、我々ハ今更之ヲ詮議スル必要モアリマセヌ。タタココニ看過シ難キハ彼ノ言葉ニヨツテ反映セラレタ米國人全體ノ感情テアリマス。即チ彼等米國人カ日本人ニ對シテ斯ノ如キ極端ナル憎惡ノ念ヲアラハスハ如何ニ彼等カ時局ヲ深刻ニ考ヘテ居ルカラ意味スルノテアリマス。

次テ、米國側カ故意ニ日本ノ世界征服政策ヲ高調スルノハ米國自身カ世界征服ヲ敢行セントスル下心テアルト解セラレルノテアリマス。

元來所謂「デモクラシー」ハ米英ノ金科玉條テアリマス。米英ハ常ニ「デモクラシー」ノ基本ハ自由平等テアルト説イテ世界ノ同情ヲ得ントシテ居リマス。然シ彼等ノ「デモクラシー」ノ下ニ果シテ眞ノ自由平等アリヤ否ヤ、彼等ノ「デモクラシー」ハ米英人間ノ「デモクラシー」テアリマス。否米英人ノ中ニ於テモ、純粹ノ「アングロサクソン」ノ間ノミノ「デモクラシー」テアリマス。現ニ一部民族ニ對シテハ米英ノ國籍ヲ有スルト否トニ拘ラス自由ト平等ヲ認メテ居ナイ事ハ世界周知ノ事實テアリマス。

又米英ノ文明ノ基礎ハ物質ニアリマス。黄金カ政治モ輿論モ動カシ物質カ人倫ヤ道義ヲモ律シテ居ルノテアリマ

ス。人倫道義ヲ忘レテ物質ニ走ル世界ヲ作ルノ因果シテ人類ノ理想ト云フヘキ乎。彼等ノ謂フ所ノ神ノ攝理テアリマセウ乎、況ンヤ彼等カラ見レハ異民族タル亞細亞民族ノ如キハ、其ノ物質的要望ヲ満足セシムル擗取ノ對象以外ノ何モノテモナイノテアリマス。

現ニ米國ヲ初メ濠洲、新西蘭、加奈陀ノ如キ米英領域ノ開發ハ日本人及其他ノ亞細亞人ノ勤勞努力ニヨツタニ拘ラス其ノ開發カ進ムヤ米英人ハ是等亞細亞人ヲ排斥シテ居リマス。英國ハ自國人テアル印度人ヲ他ノ英國ノ領域ニ入國スルノヲ禁シ、米國ハ米國人タル黑人ヲ私刑ニ處シ、過日モ「デトロイト」ニ於テ、黑人ノ鬱憤カ爆發シテ暴動スラ起シテ居ルノテアリマス。

濠洲ハ、所謂白濠主義ヲ標榜シテ「アジア」人ヲ排斥シテ居リマス。アノ廣大ナル土地ヲ少數ノ英國人ニヨツテ占據シ、働カスシテ樂ニ暮サントスル所謂「痴人ノ樂園」ヲ演出シテ居リマス。

最初ニ濠洲ニ乗り込シ支那人ノ如キハ、アラユル殘酷ナル手段ニヨツテ追放セラレテ居リマス。

一八五七年七月四日、「バツクランドリヴァー」ノ金鑛地ニハ「ヨーロッパ」人カ七百人、支那人カ二千人居テ、金鑛ノ採掘ニ從事シテ居リマシタカ、英國人ハ支那人ノ排斥ヲ企テ暴徒ハ支那人ノ家屋ヲ燒キ拂ヒ、憐レムヘキ支那人ハ、少シハカリノ家具ヲ持ツテ逃レントシタカ、其ノ家具スラ全部ソノ附近ノ河ニ投ケ込ムノ餘儀無キニ至ラシメラレ其ノ河ハ家具ヲ以テ埋マリ、足ヲ濡ラサスシテ渡リ得タトイフコトテアリマス。コレハ濠洲ノ權威アル記録ニ殘ツテ居リマスカタソノ一例ニ過キマセヌ、ソノ殘酷ナル排斥史ヲ緝ケハヨクモアレホト殘酷ニ巧妙ニ且徹底的ニ排斥シタモノカナト痛憤セサルヲ得ナイノテアリマス。英國人ハ、先ツ支那人ヲ追放シ、次イテ日本人其他ノ「アジア」

人ヲ排斥シタノテアリマス。

然シ「アジア」民族ハ永久ニ米英ノ壓迫搾取ノ下ニ呻吟スルモノテハアリマセン。嘗テ「アジア」ハ世界ノ文化ヲ創建シ、世界ノ文明ヲ指導シタノテアリマス。其ノ後久シク眠ツテ居マシタ。然シ日本ハ先ツ覺醒シ、其ノ他ノ諸民族モ覺醒シマシタ。今ヤ「アジア」ノスヘテノ民族ニハ解放獨立ノ氣運カ盛上リ隨所ニ獨立ノ指導者カ驟起シタノテアリマス。

「ビルマ」ノ「バーモ」長官ハ、多年英國ノ壓制ト戦ヒ、久シク囹圄ノ人テアリマシタカ、今ヤ「ビルマ」獨立ノ爲ニ奮闘シツツアリマス。

過日「フイリツピン」獨立準備委員會ノ委員長ニナツタ「ラウレル」博士ハ大東亞戰爭勃發以來、日夜挺身比島獨立ノ爲ニ働イテ居タノテアリマス。本年六月五日、「マニラ」郊外ニ於テ兇漢ノ爲ニ狙撃セラレマシタ。然シ天ハ「フイリツピン」ノ獨立ニ與シテ居リマス。奇蹟的ニモ「ラウレル」氏ハ助カツテ捲土重來奮闘シテ居ルノテアリマス。同氏ノ外「ヴァルガス」氏ニセヨ、「ロハス」氏ニセヨ、其他ノ志士ニセヨ、何レモ同志ト熱トヲ持ツテ獨立ニ邁進シテ居リマス。

印度ノ「チャンドラ・ボース」氏ハ東京ニ於テ、意義深キ獨立ノ抱負ヲ述ヘマシタカ、其中ニ「長イ長イ間、印度及「ビルマ」ニ於ケル「イギリス」ノ牢獄ハ私ノ家テアツタ。然シ今ヤ印度國民、印度民族ニトリ自由ノ曙光ハ見エタ。斯クノ如キ機會ハ、ココ百年位ノ間再ヒ來ヌテアラウ。」ト言ツテ居リマス。

ボース氏ハ今ヤ印度近クニ乗出シテ同志ニ迎ヘラレ自由印度臨時政府結成ノ意圖ヲ發表シマシタ。英國ハ新ニウ

エーヴェル」將軍ヲ總督ニ任命シテ武斷壓迫ノ政治ヲ爲サントシテ居リマス。六月二十二日ノ「ロンドンタイムス」其他ニヨルモ印度ノ諸新聞ハ「ウエーヴェル」ノ任命ニ對シテ舉ツテ不平ヲ洩ラシ居ルトノコトテアリマス。壓制カ勝ツ乎、獨立カ勝ツ乎、シカシ最後ノ勝利ハ正義ニ在ルノテアリマス。

隣邦中華民國ノ覺醒ヲ促シタ國民黨ノ始祖孫文ハ大正十二年二月、廣東テ廣東政府ヲ組織シタ當時常ニ「日本人ト支那人トハ、日本ヤ支那ニ於イテハ爭フコトカアツテモ、共ニ「アジア」人テアル。我々カ故國ヲ去ツテ、東、「カナダ」又ハ「アメリカ」ニ行キ、南、濠洲、「ニュージールランド」ニ行キ、西、南阿ニ行ツタトセハ、日本人ト支那人ニハ區別カナイ。共ニ「アジア」人タル爲ニ入國ヲ拒絕セラレテ居ル。之ニ反シ、英米人ハ「アジア」ニ寇侵略シテ、支那ノ如キハ事實英米ノ植民地同様テアル。支那人ハ彼等ノ奴隸テアル。我々ハ「アジア」人ノ「アジア」ヲツクル爲ニ一致シテ努力セネハナラス。」トイフコトヲ繰返シテ言ツテ居マシタ。誠ニ其通リテアリマス。

而シテ米英ノ態度ハ昔モ今モ何等變ラナイノテアリマス。

「チャーチル」ト「ルーズヴェルト」ハ所謂大西洋憲章ニ於テ民族ノ精神ヲ重ンスルカノ如キ聲明ヲ爲シテ居リマス。是ハ世ヲ欺瞞スル空言ニ過キササルハ事實ノ證明スルトコロテアリマス。

嘗テ米國大統領候補者トシテ「ルーズヴェルト」ト争ヒ、開戦後ハ「ルーズヴェルト」ノ特使トシテ、「ヨーロッパ」ニ使シタ共和黨ノ首領「ウイルキー」ハ、米英ハ何ノ爲ニ戰ツテ居ルカト反問シ、米國カ目的ナキ戰爭ヲ爲シツツアルヲ詰リ、「米英ハ自由ノ爲ニ戰ツテ居ルト言フカ印度ハ如何、英國ハ依然トシテ殆ト自治ヲ與ヘラレテ居ナイ幾多ノ植民地ヲ持ツテ居ル、然シ英國タケテハナク米國モ亦西印度ニ對シテハ獨立ノ約束ヲスラ與ヘテ

居ナイ。米國內ニ於テスラ帝國主義カ横行シテ居ル。」ト言ツテ居ルノテアリマス。

米英ハ何ノ爲ニ戰爭スル乎、米英ハ他國カラハ何等ノ脅威ヲ受ケテ居ナイ、米英人ハ世界ノ富源豐庫ヲ獨占シテ世界到ル所安居樂業シテ居リマス。戰爭スル必要ハ何處ニアリマス乎。コレハ獨リ「ウイルキー」カ疑問ヲ起スノミナラス、一般米國人ノ疑問テアリマス。否世界ノ疑問テアリマス。シカシ夫レハ事實カ答ヘテ居リマス。ソレハ、「ルーズヴェルト」及「チャーチル」政權カ、日本ヲ滅ホシ、支那ヲ滅ホシ、「タイ」、「フィリッピン」、「ビルマ」、印度ヲ壓迫シ、亞細亞人ヲ永久ニ奴隸ニセントスルノテアリマス。彼等ハ世界侵略ノ非望ヲ遂ケ、物質文明、黄金ノ世界ヲ作ラン爲ニ戰爭シテ居ルノテアリマス。コノ戰爭ニヨツテ單ニ米英ノミナラス世界全體ニワタリ異民族壓迫主義、弱肉強食主義ヲ及ホサントシテ居ルノテアリマス。

ココニ於テ吾等ハ「アジア」ヲ米英ノ桎梏ヨリ解放シ新シキ正シキ世界ヲ作ラムカ爲ニ立チ上ツタノテアリマス。「バーモ」、「ラウレル」、「ボース」等、亞細亞獨立ノ志士カ今日驟起シテ居ルノハ決シテ、一日一夜ノ附焼刃テハアリマセヌ。多年米英ノ壓迫ノ下ニ呻吟シタ、汗ト涙ト血トノ結晶カ今日ノ死闘トナツテ居ルノテアリマス。米英ハ獨立ノ志士ヲ壓迫スルコトカ出來ルテアラウ。然シ澎湃タル全「アジア」ノ解放ト獨立ノ精神ハ斷シテ是ヲ抑壓スル事ハ出來ナイノテアリマス。

今ヤ日本ハ「ビルマ」、「フィリッピン」ノ獨立ヲ援ケ、印度民族ノ解放ヲ助ケ、又對支新政策ニヨツテ、眞ニ中國人ノ中國ヲツクルコトヲ助ケツツアリマス。カクテ滿洲國、中華民國、「タイ」國ハ漸次強化セラレ、「ビルマ」、「フィリッピン」ハ近ク獨立シ、「インドネシア」ハ政治ニ參與シ印度モ亦解放セラレ而シテ是等ノ諸國、諸民族ハ互ニ

共存共榮ヲ目指シテ大東亞ノ建設ニ邁進シツツアルノテアリマス。亞細亞解放ノ黎明ハ、今ソ亞細亞ノ天地ニ訪レテ來タノテアリマス。

日本カ生キルカ死ヌカ、「アジア」カ解放セラルルヤ否ヤ、新シキ道義ノ世界カ出來ルヤ否ヤ、正ニ此戰爭コソハ天下分ケ目ノ戰爭テアリマス。

戰況ニツイテハ、何レ陸海軍當局カラ詳シクオ話カアルコトト思ヒマスカラ細カニハ申シ上ケマセヌカ、帝國ハ緒戰ニ於テ赫々タル戰果ヲ擧ケ、廣汎ナル領域ヲ占領シ、物心兩面ノ建設ヲ進捗強化シツツアリマス。「ヨーロッパ」方面ニ於テモ、獨、伊其ノ他ノ盟邦ハ、開戦後間モナク、殆ト「ヨーロッパ」大陸全部ヲ其ノ傘下ニ集メ其ノ陣容ヲ強化シマシタ。シカシ最近英米ハ反撃ニ出テ居リマス。

東亞ニ於テハ、米英ハ太平洋諸島ヲ島傳ヒニ我カ占領據點ノ奪回ヲ企圖シ、又潜水艦及ヒ飛行機ヲ以テ我カ船舶ヲ擊沈シテ東亞共榮圈ノ建設ヲ妨ケ、共榮圈ト日本本土トノ交通ヲ遮斷スルト同時ニ帝國ノ戦力消耗ヲ圖リ、更ニ進ンテ日本本土ノ空襲ヲ企テ、我國民ノ戰意ヲ喪失セシメントシテ居リマス。

斯クテ米英ハ今ヤ南、南太平洋、北、「アリューシャン」ノ方面ヨリ反撃ニ出テ居リマス。

現ニ、敵米英ハ「アツツ」島、「ガダルカナル」及ヒ「レンドバ」方面ニ於テアレタケ莫大ナル損害ヲ受ケサルヲ得ナカツタニモ拘ラス執拗ニモ反撃ニ出テ、太平洋テ失ツタ全地域ヲ回復セントシテ居ルノテアリマス。更ニ米英ハ「ビルマ」方面ニモ降雨期去ラハヤカテハ再ヒ反撃シ來ルコトハ必然テアリマセウシ、又支那大陸ニ於テモ蔣政權ヲ籠絡シ對日攻勢ニ利用セント焦慮シテ居ルノテアリマス。

一方「ヨーロッパ」方面ニ於テハ、最近米英ハ北阿ヲ回復シテ地中海方面カラ伊太利ヲ攻撃シ「シシリー」ニ上陸作戰ヲ試ミ目下同方面ニ於イテ激戰中デアリマス。然シ「ムツソリ」首相ハ、疾クニ此敵側ノ作戰ヲ看破シ既ニ萬全ノ措置ヲ完了シテ戰爭完遂ノ決意ヲ明カニシテ居リマス。最近ノ情報ニヨレハ「イタリー」國民ハ上下一致シテ意氣軒昂、米英ノ反撃ヲ迎ヘ撃ツ用意カ出來テ居リ其ノ上獨逸軍モ亦伊太利軍ト協力、米英ノ侵入ニ對シテハ充分ノ準備ヲシテ居ルノデアリマス。

又「ヨーロッパ」ノ各方面ニ於テ獨逸軍カ其ノ強大ナル戦力ヲ隨時隨所ニ發揮スルハ疑ノ餘地無キ所デアリマス。米英ハ、北部「アフリカ」ニ於テ、多大ノ犠牲ヲ拂ツテヤウヤクソレヲ回復シマシタカ今後、恐ラクハ「ヨーロッパ」大陸ノ侵略ヲ企テル場合ココニ夥シキ人的物的ノ損害ヲ蒙ルコトハ明ラカデアリマス。

斯クノ如ク米英カ非常ナル犠牲ヲ覺悟シテ東西兩方面ニ於テ、日獨伊ニ對シテ反撃ニ出テタルハ深甚ナル注意ヲ要スル所デアリマス。

爾テ米英ノ國內狀態ヲ見マシニ、戰爭遂行上幾多ノ弱點ヲ包藏シテ居ルノデアリマシテ米國ニ於テハ、「ルーズヴェルト」政權ハヒタストラ民心ノ懷柔ニ腐心シテ來マシタカ元來コノ戰爭ハ米國ニトツテハ名モナキ戰爭デアリ、正義ニ悖ル戰爭デアリマス。唯「ルーズヴェルト」ノ一派カソノ政權ヲ維持シ、世界ヲ制覇セントスル野望ニ出タル戰爭デアリマス。故ニ人的物的消耗カ累加スルニツレ、既ニ萌シテキル輿論ノ動搖ヲ激化シ、國內ノ紛淆ヲ招クノハ明カデアリマス。現ニ米國內ニ於テハ、鑛山、鐵道其他ノ罷業ガ續出シ又「インフレーション」ニヨル物價騰貴問題ニ直面スルナト幾多ノ社會問題ヲ惹起シテ政府ヘノ不平トナリ、コノ間ヲ縫ツテ政府部内ニハ「ワレリス」副大統領ト

「ジョーンズ」商務長官トノ抗爭、「デーヴィス」戰時食糧局長官ノ辭職ナトニ表ハレタル如ク内訌ハ漸次醞釀シ、又政府ト議會トハ屢々衝突シ國內ノ政權爭ヒハ次第ニ露骨ニナリツツアリマス。

只ココニ注意ヲ要スルハ我々ハ敵側カ常ニ誇張スル生産額ノ數字ニ惑ハサレテ徒ラニ怖ル必要ハナイカ、近頃米國カラ傳ヘラルル罷業ニ依ル生産減退又ハ「インフレーション」ニ依ル物價騰貴問題ヲ過大視シテ我方ニ於テ氣ヲ安メルカ如キハ深ク慎シマナケレハナラナイト云フコトデアリマス。

英國ノ國內事情ハ、米國ヨリ更ニ深刻デアリマシテ、食糧ハ漸次不足ヲ來タシ、戰線ノ擴大ニ伴ヒ徵用令ハ強化セラレテ可ナリ廣キ範圍ニマテ女子ヲ驅リ出スノ止ムナキニ至リ又常ニ獨逸空軍ノ脅威ニ曝サレテ居リマスカ彼等ハ永キ苦シキ試練モ今一息ト元氣ヲツケテ執拗ニ戰ツテ居ルノデアリマス。

私ハ二年前「イタリー」カラ歸朝以來屢々「此ノ戰爭ハ結局交戰國間ノ妥協ニ終リハシナイカ」トノ質問ニ接シマシタノニ對シ常ニ「現下ノ國際情勢ハ極メテ深刻テアル。結局此ノ戰爭ハ妥協ハナイ、一方カ倒レルマテ戰フテアラウ。」ト言ツテ參リマシタ。

米英ハ六ヶ月前ノ、「カサブランカ」會談以來「樞軸國ノ無條件降伏」ヲ標語トシテ居リマスカ、コレハ必スシモ宣傳テハナカラウ。眞ニ彼等ハ我等ニ對シ無條件降伏ヲ目指シテキルノデアリマス。

我々モ亦米英ノ無條件降伏ヲ期シテ居リマス。我々ハ先ツ米英ノ反撃ヲ擊擢シ、更ニ米英ニ致命的打撃ヲ與ヘ、之ヲ降伏セシメント邁進シテ居リマス。然シ乍ラ、米英ハ戰意マタ衰ヘス、大ナル生産力ヲ頼ミトシテ突進シ、其勢尪ル可ラサルモノカアリマス。少シテモ油斷スレハ由々シキ結果ヲ生スルノデアリマス。

畏レ多クモ、第八十二臨時帝國議會ノ開院式ノ御詔書中ニ「時局洵ニ重大ナリ」ト仰出サレテ居リマス。内外ノ情勢ハ洵ニ重大デアリ現下ノ時期ハ、既ニ決戦段階ニアリマス。一刻ノ油斷モセス、一瞬ノ隙モ見セス、敵ノ抗戦力ニ對抗シ、之ヲ擊摧セサレハ勝利ハ期シ難イノデアリマス。

我々ハ今靜カニ只今何處テ如何ニ敵ト戦ヒツツアルカヲ考フヘキデアリマス。我勇敢ナル將兵ハ太平洋ヨリ東亞ノ大陸ニ亘リアノ廣大ナル戦域ニ於テ毎日毎夜、激戦又激戦、敵ヲ挫クト共ニ我モ亦人ヲ失ヒ、物ヲ損シツツアルノデアリマス。我々ハ前線ニ於ケル我カ勇士カ何等後顧ノ憂無ク充分ニ勇敢ニ奮闘シ得ル様ニ、銃後ニ於テ準備シナケレハナリマセン。之カ我々ノ何ヨリノツトメデアリマス。ソレニハ、先ツ第一ニ戦力ノ増強ヲ計ラナケレハナラヌ。我々ハ生産ヲ増強シ、一臺ノ飛行機、一ケノ彈丸テモ多ク前線ニ送ラネハナラヌ。直接間接軍需ニ關係スル製造ハ勿論、其他一切ノ生産ヲ増加セネハナラヌ。食糧ヲ増産シテ自給自足ヲ計リ最早海外ニ頼ル考ヘヲ擲タネハナラヌ。夫カラ衣食住ヲ簡素ニシテ戦時生活ノ體制ヲ整ヘネハナラヌ。

特ニ戦争ノ過程ニアル一勝一敗ニ一喜一憂スルコトナク安易ナル勝利ニ醉ハス、些々タル挫折ニ氣ヲ落サス、常ニ最終ノ勝利ヲ確信シテ敢闘精神ヲ發揚セネハナラヌノデアリマス。殊ニ戦争カ進ミ時局カ深刻トナルニ從ツテ戦争ト共ニ政治外交ノ方面カ動キ敵側ノ謀略宣傳ハ益々活潑トナルノデアリマスカ、我々國民カ之ニ打勝チ此戦争ヲ完遂スルニ足ル國民的意氣ヲ有スルカ否カカ戦争ヲ決定スル鍵トナルノデアリマシテ國民ノ意氣ノ緩ミアラハ終ニ勝チ拔クコトハ出来ナイノデアリマス。我々ハ此點モ充分ニ注意スル必要カアリマス。

私ハ以上簡單ナカラ今次大戦カ如何ニシテ起リシヤ、如何ナル意義ヲ有スルヤ、我々ハ日本國民トシテ、亞細亞民

族トシテ、將又世界ノ一員トシテ如何ニシテモ此大戦ヲ勝抜カサル可ラサル理由ハ何處ニアリヤ、現在ハ如何ナル狀況ニ在ルヤ、此決戦段階ニ如何ナル覺悟ヲ以テ處スヘキ平等ヲオ話しテ積リテアリマス。我々ハ深ク此等諸般ノ事情ヲ省察シテ前線ノ勇士ノ如ク死ヲ賭シテ戦ヒ拔キ以テ御褒襟ヲ安シ奉ラムコトヲ期シ度イト存シマス。

四、「タイ」國宣傳局長一行ノ歡迎宴ニ於ケル

天羽情報局總裁挨拶 (七月十六日)

閣下並ニ各位

今般「タイ」國政府宣傳局長「バイロート・チャイヤナム」閣下及同國新聞協會長「ブリチャーンサット」氏ノ御兩人カ情報局總裁タル私ノ招請ニ應シ遙々來朝セラレマシタコトハ私ノ最モ欣快トスル所デアリマス。本夕御一行ノ來訪ヲ機ニ聊カ歡迎ノ微意ヲ表スル爲茲ニ粗宴ヲ設ケマシタコロ、戦時下公私御多用中ニ拘ラス斯クモ多數朝野ノ方々カ御列席下サイマシタコトハ、私ノ光榮トスル所デアリマシテ衷心ヨリ厚ク御禮申上クル次第デアリマス。此ノ機會ニ一言御挨拶ヲ申上ケタイト存シマス。

大東亞戦争勃發シテ早クモ一年有半、此ノ間日「タイ」兩國ハ攻守同盟ヲ締結シ國交一段ト緊密ノ度ヲ加ヘ、「ビブン」總理閣下ヲ始メ「タイ」國ハ朝野ヲ擧ケテ東亞諸民族共同ノ大使命タル今次戦争遂行ニ協力セラルルト共ニ、大東亞共榮圈建設ノ重大ナル任務ヲ分擔セラレツツアルノデアリマシテ此ノ事ハ日「タイ」兩國ノ爲誠ニ御同慶ニ堪

へ無イ次第テアリマス。

今回東條總理閣下カ「タイ」國ヲ訪問セラレ親シク「ピピン」總理閣下ト會見ノ結果兩國ハ愈々其ノ協力態勢ヲ緊密化スルト共ニ、「タイ」國多年ノ宿望タル疆域六州ノ劃定ニ付意見ノ一致ヲ見マシタコトハ、兩國ノ精神的結合ノ如何ニ緊密鞏固ナルカヲ具體的ニ世界ニ顯示シタモノテアリマシテ、日「タイ」兩國ノ爲ニハ勿論我々共通ノ大理想タル大東亞共榮圈建設ノ爲ニ努力シツツアル亞細亞十億ノ民衆ノ爲ニモ寔ニ慶賀ニ堪ヘヌトコロテアリマス。此時ニ當リ多年「タイ」國政府ノ宣傳報道ノ重任ニ當ラレ現在其ノ首班トシテ益々日「タイ」親善關係増進ト共同戰爭完遂ノ爲ニ努力ヲ續ケテ居ラレル「パイロート・チャイヤナム」閣下竝ニ操觚界ノ重鎮トシテ輿論ノ指導啓發ニ至大ノ貢獻ヲセラレツツアル「ブリチャーマサット」氏御一行ヲ日本ニ迎ヘマシタコトハ殊ニ意義深キモノアリト信スル次第テアリマス。

申ス迄モナク今次戰爭開始以來武力戰ニ於テ敗退セル敵ハ主力ヲ宣傳戰ニ注イテ躍起ノ策動ヲ續ケテ居リマス。我方ニ於テハ既ニ必勝不敗ノ態勢ヲ整ヘタノテアリマスカ今後益々武力ニ於テ敵ヲ壓倒スルト共ニ宣傳戰ニ於テモ大東亞ノ各國ト緊密ナル連絡ノ下ニ武力戰ノ勝利ヲ速カナラシメナケレハナラヌノテアリマス。此ノ意味ニ於テ今回「タイ」國宣傳局長ヲ迎ヘマシタコトハ兩國宣傳陣ノ強化ノ爲内外ノ期待スル所頗ル大ナルモノカアルノテアリマス。又新聞通信事業ニ就キマシテハ日本カ比較的短期間ニ於テ目覺シキ進歩發展ヲ爲シタ跡ヲ尋ネ又刻下ノ大戰爭ニ際シテ日本ノ言論機關カ如何ニ全國民ノ對敵思想戰完遂ニ貢獻シテ居ルカ其ノ實際ヲ目撃セラレルナラハ裨益セラルル所少ナカラサルヲ信スルノテアリマス。

來朝ノ御一行ノ爲ニハ當情報局ハ勿論朝野關係各方面ハ孰レモ出來得ル限りノ御便宜ヲ取計ヒ度イト存シマス。何卒今次御訪日ノ好機ヲ十二分ニ活用セラレ、戰時下日本ノ物心兩方面ヲ充分觀察頂キマシテ我國ニ對スル理解ヲ更ニ一層深メラレ、御歸國ノ上ハ益々貴國言論思想界ノ正シキ指導ニ努メララルト共ニ相携ヘテ大東亞建設ノ大業完成ノ爲ニ盡瘁セラレントヲ切ニ希望スル次第テアリマス。

茲ニ來賓各位ト共ニ杯ヲ舉ケテ盟邦「タイ」國ノ隆昌ヲ祈リ併セテ御兩氏ノ御健康ヲ祝シ度イト存シマス。

五、駐日「タイ」國大使主催「パイロート」宣傳局長一行

招宴ニ於ケル天羽情報局總裁挨拶 (七月二十七日)

大使閣下、閣下竝ニ各位

「テイレツク」大使閣下カ今般「タイ」國宣傳局長及新聞協會長ノ御來朝ヲ機トシ、公務御多忙中ニ拘ラス今夕斯ク盛大ナ招宴ヲ催サレ私共ヲ御招待下サイマシタ御厚情ニ對シ厚ク御禮申上ケマス。

大使閣下カ東京ニ御着任後日夜ヲ分タス日「タイ」兩國ノ親善關係ノ増進及兩國ノ共同目的ノ達成ノ爲ニ不斷ノ努力ヲ傾注シテ居ラレマス事ハ、平素私共ノ感佩措ク能ハサル所テアリマス。又此ノ度「パイロート」宣傳局長竝ニ「ブリチャーマサット」新聞協會長ノ來朝ハ、大使閣下平素ノ御盡力ノ效果ヲ彌カ上ニモ増大セラレマシタコトハ、御招キ申上ケタ身トシテ此ノ上ノ喜ヒハ有リマセン。御來朝ニ關シマシテハ大使閣下始メ大使館員各位カラ種々御協力

御授助ヲ賜リマシタコトニ對シ茲ニ改メテ厚ク御禮ヲ申上ケマス。

日「タイ」兩國ノ外交及思想宣傳ニ直接携ツテ居ル人々カ今夕此ノ様ニ一堂ニ相會シテ互ニ胸襟ヲ開イテ談話シ得ルトイフ事ソレ自體カ東亞ノ興隆ト兩國ノ緊密ナル關係トノ具體的表現テアルコトハ、私カ指摘スル迄モナイ事柄テアリマス。日「タイ」兩國ハ同シ亞細亞民族トシテ正ニ血ヲ分ケタ兄弟ノ關係ニモ比スヘキテアリマシテ、過去ニ輝ヤカシイ歴史ト傳統トヲ持チ、現在共ニ其ノ全力ヲ合セテ東亞新秩序樹立ト共榮圈建設トイフ共同理想ノ實現ノ爲ニ、武力鬭争ニ將又思想戰ニ勇往邁進シ、又同シク輝ヤカシイ希望ト不動ノ信念トヲ以テ大東亞將來ノ繁榮ト幸福トヲ樹立シ、新シイ歴史ヲ創ル使命ヲ有シテ居ルノテアリマス。

大東亞戰爭ハ今ヤ愈々連續決戰ノ段階ニ入りマシタ關係上、思想戰ノ様相モ益々深刻ヲ加ヘテ參リマシタ。此ノ思想戰完遂上常ニ堅持スヘキ精神の目標トシマシテハ我國ノ先哲岡倉天心氏モ喝破セラレマシタ通り「亞細亞ハ一ナリ」ト云フ一語ニ盡キマス。

亞細亞ハ一ナリ、洵ニ斯クテコソ亞細亞ノ新シイ歴史ハ展開セラレ又舊イ文明ヲ基礎トシタ新シイ文明カ建設セラレ得ルノテアリマス。亞細亞ヲ分割分離シテ搾取スルコト、コレ實ニ從來ノ米英ノ亞細亞政策テアツタノテアリマス。前線ニアル陸海軍將兵ノ善謀勇戰ニ依リマシテ此ノ大理想實現ノ爲ニ必要ナル基礎ノ工事ハ完成セラレタノテアリマスカラ、職ヲ宣傳報道ニ奉スル人々ハ益々共同一致シテ此ノ戰場ノ戰果ヲ一層鞏固ナル精神ノ上ニ確立スヘキテアルト確信致シマス。

宣傳局長竝ニ新聞協會長御兩氏ヲ遙々「タイ」國ヨリ御招待申上ケタ私ノ本旨モ實ニ茲ニアルコト御覽察ノ通りテ

アリマス。御兩氏ニ於カレマシテモ御滞在日數ハ短イノテアリマスカ、戰時下日本國官民カ如何ニ眞劍ニ各自其ノ職域ニ奉公シテ居ルカヲ御兩氏ノ高キ明察ニ依リ親シク見テ戴ケタコトト存シマス。

御兩氏御歸國ノ際ハトウカ親シク見聞セラレタ之等日本ノ印象ヲ貴國民ニ御紹介下サイマシテ、今後共日「タイ」兩國朝野ノ間ノ一層良キ諒解ト親善ノ爲ニ御盡力アランコトヲ祈ル次第テアリマス。

同時ニ是非御願致度キ點ハ「デイレツク」大使閣下カ平素日「タイ」親善ノ爲ニ御盡シニ爲ツテ居ル功績ハ著シキモノカアリ、日本國民ハ官民ヲ擧ケテ大使閣下ニ對シ尊敬ト親愛ノ念ヲ懷イテ居ル事實ヲ直接御傳達下サランコトテアリマス。

聊カ所感ヲ述ヘテ「デイレツク」大使閣下ノ御言葉ニ答ヘ同時ニ「パイロット」、「ブリチャヌサツト」御兩氏ヘ御挨拶ヲ申上ケタ次第テアリマス。

茲ニ杯ヲ拜借致シマシテ各位ト共ニ大使閣下及御兩氏ノ御健康ヲ祝シ同時ニ「タイ」國竝ニ「タイ」國民ノ御隆昌ヲ祈念シ度イト存シマス。

六、最近ノ國際情勢（主トシテ米國ノ國內問題）ニ關スル

情報局第三部磯野對外報道課長放送（七月三十日）

獨「ソ」戦線ハ本月五日ヨリ活潑ト爲リマシタカ、其ノ後一進一退、稀ニ見ル熾烈ノ度ヲ加ヘテ居リマス。七月十

日開始セラレマシタ米英軍ノ「シシリ」島上陸ハ、米英軍カ急速ニ其陣地ヲ擴大致シマシテ、現在獨伊軍ハ「シシリ」島ノ東北地域ニ堅陣ヲ布キ敵ヲ邀ヘ撃ツテ居リマス。「ソロモン」、「ニューギニア」方面ニ於ケル彼我ノ決戦ハ日ニ激烈ノ度ヲ加ヘツツアリマス。又支那ヲ基地トスル米空軍ハ執拗ニ奮動ヲ續ケ、皇軍ノ鐵槌ヲ食ツテ居リマス。去ル二十五日ノ伊太利政變ハ今ヤ世界ノ視聽ヲ集メテ居リマス。伊太利新政府ハ既ニ明確ナル戰爭完遂ノ決意ヲ表明致シマシタ。然ルニ敵側ハ右政變ヲ以テ伊太利崩壞ノ第一歩ナリト爲シ、英米ノ首腦者ハアハ善クハ此ノ機ニ付込テ伊太利ヲ樞軸陣營ヨリ脱落セシメント由ノ良イ考ヲ起シ、「チャーチル」ハ二十七日ニ、又「ルーズヴェルト」ハ二十九日ニ、夫々脅迫カマシイ誘ヒヲカケテ居ル様ナ實情テアリマス。寔ニ世界ノ形勢ハ急速端倪ヲ許ササル變轉ヲ示シ、寔ニ一刻モ忽ニセス、總テノ戰場ニ於テ勝利ノ決戦ニ邁進スヘキ時期ナルヲ痛感スル次第テアリマス。是等諸情勢ニ付キマシテハ別ノ機會ニ御聽取アルコトト存シマシテ、今夜ハ當面ノ敵テアル米國ノ國內情勢ニ關シ暫ク檢討ヲ加ヘテ見タイト考ヘマス。

今日米國政府カ最モ頭ヲ悩マシテ居ル問題ハ所謂「インフレーション」テアリマス。

「インフレーション」ノ問題ハ、戰時何レノ國ニモ付キモノテアリマシテ、勿論米國ニ限ツタ問題テハナイノテアリマス。米國ニ於テハ先月末ニ閉チタ昨會計年度ノ決算ニ於テ七百二十二億弗ヲ消費シタト稱スル如キ老犬ナル軍事費ノ支出ト、急激ナル民需ノ抑壓ト云フ二ツノ事由ニヨツテ、其傾向カ特ニ顯著トナリ、英國側ノ報道ニ依リマスト、現在米國ニ於ケル購買力ト物資供給額トノ開キ、即チ浮動購買力トモ云フヘキモノカ四百五十億弗ト云フ巨額ニ達スルトノコトテアリマス。共ニ、其國內政治上ノ事由ト、國民全般ノ戰爭ニ對スル心構ヘカ我國ニ於ケル如クテ

ナイ爲有效適切ナ防止策ヲ講シ得ナイ點トニ、一層ノ弱味カアルノテアリマス。

云フ迄モ無ク、「インフレーション」防止策ノ第一歩トシマシテハ、國民所得ノ増大ヲ抑ヘルコトト物價ノ統制トテアリ、米國政府トシテモ一應ハ此ノ方策ヲ執ツテ來テ居ルノテアリマス。

所カ米國戰時内政上ノ二ツノ痛トモ云フヘキ勞働問題ト農村問題カ其對策ノ實施ヲ阻碍シテ居ル譯テアリマス。米國有力新聞ノ一ナル「クリスチャン・サイエンス・モニター」ハ勞働團體カ政府ヲ支配シ、農村議員團カ議會ヲ支配シテ居ルト批評シテ居リマス程、此ノ二ツノ勢力ノ米國內政上ニ及ホス影響ハ大ナルモノカアルノテアリマス。殊ニ「ルーズヴェルト」ハ之等ノ勢力ニ向ツテ政權維持ヲ計ツテ來タ經緯カアリ、其處ニ「ル」政權ノ困難カアル譯テアリマス。

先ツ農村問題ヲ見マス。米國トシテハ國內ノ食糧確保ノ外他ノ與國ニ對シテ食糧ノ供給ヲ引受ケ、現ニ最近ノ發表ニ依レハ、一昨年三月貸與法成立以來本年三月末迄ニ食糧ノミテ十四億弗ヲ提供シタト稱シテ居ル程テアリマシテ、極力食糧増産ノ必要ニ迫ラレテ居リマスモノノ、同時ニ「インフレーション」防止ノ爲農産物價格ノ値上リヲ抑ヘル必要カアリマス。然ルニ今日米國ニ於テハ大農業者ノ利益ヲ代表スル議員連ハ農村議員團ト呼ハレル有力ナ團體ヲ組織シ、此ノ團體ハ食糧増産ノ爲ニハ農産物ノ値上ケヲ認メル必要アリト固執シ、其ノ勢力ヲ利用シテ政府ノ物價政策ヲ農産物ニ關スル限り骨抜きニセント畫策シ、之カ爲農産物價格ニハ一應ノ標準ハ定メラレマシタカ、融通性カアル爲次第ニ値上リヲ來シ、政府ノ「インフレーション」防止策上非常ナ障礙トナツテ居ルノテアリマス。

然ルニ農村議員團ハ昨年秋頃ヨリ更ニ農産物價格ノ吊上工作ヲ爲シ、本年一月「バンクヘッド」案ト稱セララル農

産物價引上ケ法案ヲ提出シ上下兩院ヲ通過シマシタノテ、流石ノ「ルーズヴェルト」モ四月二日拒否權ヲ行使シテ此ノ法律ヲ葬リマシタカ、此處ニ「ルーズヴェルト」ト農村議員團トノ正面衝突ヲ見ルニ至リマシタ。

「ルーズヴェルト」ハ右ノ法案ヲ拒否スルト共ニ、四月八日賃銀及物價ヲ昨年九月十五日ノ水準ニ釘付ケスル命令ヲ發シ、農産物價格ヲ其ノ水準迄引下ケル爲、補助金制ヲ採用スルコトトシ、從來補助金ヲ取扱ツテ居タ商品金融會社ヲシテ一部食糧品ニ對シ補助金ヲ與ヘ價格引下ケヲ行ツタノテアリマス。所カ、此ノ會社ノ存續期間カ六月三十日テ終ルノテ政府ハ其ノ延長法案ヲ議會ニ上程致シマシタカ、農村議員團ハ、補助金政策ハ小農ノ利益ハ保護スルカ大農業者ノ利益ヲ保護セス、從ツテ大規模増産ハ不可能テアルトテ反對シ、補助金交付ヲ禁止スル條項ヲ附加シテ、上下兩院ヲ通過セシメタノテアリマス。其處テ「ルーズヴェルト」ハ斯クテハ農産物ノ價格騰貴ヲ來ストノ理由テ再度拒否權ヲ行使シマシタ。

此ノ拒否ニ遭ヒ議會ハ再審議シマシタカ、決定數タル三分ノ二以上ノ多數ヲ以テ大統領ノ拒否ヲ覆スコトカ出來ス、結局會社ノ存續期限ヲ明年一月一日迄延長、會社ノ借入資金ヲ二十六億五千萬弗ヨリ三十億弗ニ増加シ其ノ差額三億五千萬弗ヲ政府カ食糧増産補助金トシテ使用スルコトヲ認メルニ至リマシタ。

斯テ農村議員團トシテハ一應政治的敗北ヲ蒙ツタ譯テアリマスカ、然シ其ノ主張ハ相當強硬テアリ、殊ニ本年度農産物收穫豫想ハ、六月一日農務省發表ニ依レハ、勞働力不足、水害、旱魃等ノ爲數年來ノ不作ト見ラレ、一方食糧ノ需要ハ益々増大スルノテアリマスカラ、補助金政策ノミテ解決シ得ルカ否カ、今後モ注目ニ値ヒスルモノカアリマス。

賃銀問題ニ關シマシテハ米國政府ハ戰時賃銀政策トシテ所謂「小鐵鋼樣式」ヲ採用シテ居リマス。之ハ元來「**1・エス・ステイル**」以外ノ製鐵會社カ賃銀値上ケノ標準トシテ採用シタ方式テ、一昨年一月ヨリ一般日常品物價ノ停止カ行ハレタ昨年五月迄ニ至ル十七ヶ月間ノ生計費騰貴率ヲ一割五分ト認メ、賃銀引上ケハ此ノ範圍内テノミ許可スルト云フヤリ方テアリマスカ、政府ハ、本年四月八日ノ賃銀物價釘付令ニ依リ、此ノ方式ヲ法制化シタノテアリマス。然シ現實ニハ米國ノ生計費ハ昨年五月ヨリ更ニ昂進ノ一途ヲ辿ツテ居リ、殊ニ農産食糧品價格ノ騰貴カ甚タシイ爲、勞働界カ「**小鐵鋼樣式**」ニ不滿ヲ持ツニ至ツタノテアリマス。

シカシ實際上、昨年ノ上半期ニ於テハ參戰ノ興奮モアリ、罷業件數ハ著シク減少シタノテアリマスカ、下半期ヨリ本年ニカケテ物價騰貴ノ傾向カ著シクナルニ及ヒ、罷業カ激増シマシタ。然シ米國ノ二大勞働組合ハ、米國ノ參戰ト共ニ大統領ニ對シ戰爭中ハ罷業ヲ行ハスト云フ誓約ヲ爲シ、政府ノ戰爭遂行ニ協力スル方針ヲ執ツテ居ル爲、假令罷業ハアツテモ、コレ迄カ重大問題化スルコトハナカツタノテアリマスカ、豫テ「ルーズヴェルト」反對ヲ表明シテキタ「**ジョン・ルイス**」ハ約六十萬ノ組合員ヲ擁スル合同炭坑夫組合ヲ率キテ、本年五月一日總罷業ニ入り、翌日ニハ東部十一州ニ亙リ五十萬ノ炭坑夫カ罷業スルトイフ情勢ヲ惹起シマシタ。政府ハ戰時勞働局等ヲシテアラユル罷業調停ノ爲ノ努力ヲシマシタカ「ルイス」ノ態度強硬テ讓ラス、交渉打開ノ爲ニ暫定的ニ二度程復業ハシマシタカ、罷業ノ大勢ハ容易ニ收マラス、結局六月二十二日ニ至リ「ルイス」ハ十月三十一日迄ヲ期限トシテ一應ノ休戰ニ入ルコトトナリマシタカ、復業成績必シモ芳シカラス、本月ニ入ルモ尙多少ノ罷業者カアル様ナ有様テアリマス。

此ノ三ヶ月ニ亙ル罷業ニ依ツテ、米國産業殊ニ製鐵業ノ蒙ツタ損害ハ甚大テ、政府當局ノ發表ニ依レハ、此ノ間ノ

採炭損失量約二千三百萬噸ニ達スル由テアリマス。

斯様ナ罷業ニ關シ、米國議會ハ「ルーズヴェルト」ノ勞働對策ヲ生温シトシテ、罷業禁壓ヲ目的トスル戰時勞働等議法案ヲ立案シ、六月十二日一氣呵成ニ之ヲ通過シタノテアリマス。カ、「ルーズヴェルト」ハ、寧ロ徵兵法ヲ改正シテ現在ノ徵兵年齡制度四十五歳ヲ六十五歳ニ引上ケ、罷業參加勞働者ヲ兵役ニ徵集シ、工場炭坑等ニ強制的ニ就業セシメル方カ效果的テアルトシテ、六月二十五日右法案ニ關スル署名ヲ拒否シタノテアリマス。

然ルニ議會ハ上下兩院共法定ノ三分ノ二以上ノ投票ヲ以テ「ルーズヴェルト」ノ拒否ヲ覆ヘシ、戰時勞働等議法案ヲ法律トシテ成立セシメタノテアリマス。

此ノ經緯ヲ見マスト、「ルーズヴェルト」ハ署名拒否ニ依リ一應勞働階級ノ非難ヲ回避シツツ、而モ爭議禁壓法ヲ成立セシメ、巧ミナ謀略テアルト見ル向キモアルノテアリマス。カ、然シ「ルーズヴェルト」カソノ拒否ヲ蹂躪セラレタコトハ矢張り議會ニ對スル明白ナ敗北ト言ヒ得ルノテアリマス。換言スレハ勞働階級ヲ重要ナ地盤トシテ、政權ヲ獲得シタ「ルーズヴェルト」ハ勢ヒ勞働者ニ媚態ヲ呈セサルヲ得ス、其ノ結果參戰後ノ勞働政策ハ主トシテ、勞働者ノ愛國心ニ訴ヘル如キ微温的ナモノテアツタニ對シ、戰時經濟ノ進展ニ伴フ物價騰貴ハ、「ルーズヴェルト」ノ勞働政策ノ行詰リヲ來サシメタノテアリマス。炭坑夫ノ罷業ハ十月末迄休戰ノ形ニアリマス。カ、炭坑以外ノ産業ニ於テモ隨所ニ險惡ナ賃銀値上ケノ要求空氣カアリ、罷業禁壓法ノアルニモ拘ラス現ニ罷業カ行ハレツツアリ、又續發スル可能性モ包藏セラレテ居ルノテアリマス。

次ニ政府内部ノ抗爭カアリマス。「ルーズヴェルト」ハ參戰後山積スル戰時經濟問題ヲ處理セシムル爲、ヤタラニ

新官廳ヲ設立シマシタカ、之等官廳間ノ權限カハツキリシテ居ラヌ爲、官廳間ノ權限爭ヒニハ相當深刻ナルモノカアリ、屢々表面化シテ問題ヲ起シテ居リマス。カ、最近ノ事例ヲ見テモ、六月二十八日ニ食糧管理局ノ長官テアル「チエスター・デヴィス」カ辭職シマシタ。之モ其ノ原因ノ一半ハ食糧統制局ト物價統制局及ヒ經濟安定局トノ權限爭ヒニアツタコトハ辭職理由書ニ明テアリマス。

「デヴィス」ノ辭職以上ニ天下ニ醜ヲ晒シタノハ副大統領「ウォーレス」ト商務長官「ジョーンズ」トノ爭ヒテアリマス。副大統領兼經濟戰爭局ノ長官タル「ウォーレス」ハ、六月二十九日上院豫算委員會ニ對シ、復興金融會社社長タル商務長官「ジョーンズ」ノ怠慢ノ爲、經濟戰爭局ノ事業遂行カ阻害サレテキル旨ヲ聲明シマシタ。スルト「ジョーンズ」ハ經濟戰爭局ノ業績不良ハ經濟戰爭局自身ノ無能ニ依ルモノテアルトテ逆襲シ、此ノ間戰時動員局長官「バーンズ」カ調停ニ入りマシタカ、兩者ノ軋轢ハ益々深刻化スルニ至ツタノテ、「ルーズヴェルト」ハ遂ニ本月十五日從來ノ經濟戰爭局ヲ廢止シ、其ノ權限ト復興金融會社ノ對外經濟活動ノ權限トヲ新設ノ經濟戰爭局ノ所管ニ移スコトトナシ、新經濟戰爭局長官ニハ敵産ノ管理ニ當ツテ居リマシタ「レオ・クロウリー」ヲ任命、茲ニ喧嘩兩成敗ノ型テ鬼カツイタ次第アリマス。

其レト同時ニ「ルーズヴェルト」ハ各廳長官ニ對シ、「從來官廳間ノ意見對立ハ之ヲ公ニセス、自分ノ許ニ申出ツル様訓令シテ置イタニ拘ラス屢々官廳間ノ對立カ世界ニ喧傳セラレテ居ルカ、今後官廳間ニ不一致ヲ生シタ場合新聞ニ聲明ヲ出ス位ナラ辭職願ヲ提出セラレ度イ」ト官紀肅正ノ訓令ヲ發シタ位テアリマス。

斯ノ如キ米國ノ内情カ生産ニ影響スルノモ當然テアリマシテ、五月四日戰時生産局長官「ドナルド・ネルソン」ハ、

本年一月乃至三月ノ軍需生産狀況ニ關シ、「本年第一四半期ノ軍需生産ハ本年度全體ノ豫定額ノ一割八分ニ過キナカ
ツタ。從ツテ今後四半期毎ニ第一四半期ノ五割増ノ生産ヲシナケレハ豫定ノ増産計畫ハ實現シナイ」ト警告ヲ發シ、
更ニ本月六日ニ至リ、同人ハ五月及ヒ六月ニ於ケル生産量ハ豫定ニ達セス、憂慮スヘキモカアルカ、之ハ罷業、勞
働者ノ缺勤、一般の勞働力不足ニ基クト共ニ國民ニ緊張味カ缺ケテ居ルカラテアルト稱シテ居リマス。

以上ノ如ク米國內ニハ種々ナ困難ナ問題カアリ、當局者モ手ヲ焼イテキルノハ事實デアリマスカ、サリトテ、「ル
ーズヴェルト」ノ人氣カカタ落ニナツタナドト考ヘタラ大間違ヒデアリマシテ、少クトモ戦争遂行ニ關スル限り十分
ノ指導力ヲ持つテ居リ、此ノ點相手ニトツテ不足ハアリマセン。

唯「ルーズヴェルト」自身トシテモ、此ノ人氣ヲツナク爲ニハ相當ノ努力ヲシテ居リ、寧ロ人氣ヲ保ツ爲ニ作戰ノ
上ニモ無理ヲシテ居ル傾向モ窺ハレルノデアリマシテ、斯ク人氣取りノ犠牲ニナツテ無理ナ戰鬪ヲサセラレテキル米
國兵コソイイ面ノ皮トイハネハナリマセン。斯ル内政上ノ諸困難ハ、「インフレーション」トイヒ、勞働問題トイヒ、
戦争ノ重壓カ段々ト國民生活ニ浸透シテ來タコトカ根本原因デアリマシテ、國民力之ヲ苦ニシ初メタコト漸ク顯著ト
爲リ、政府當局モ之ヲ充分見抜イテ居ルト云フノカ現状ト見ラレマス。從ツテ米英殊ニ米國ノ最近ノ言論界ニハ、戰
争ノ局地的成功ヲ以テ、モウ山ハ見エタト爲ス樂觀論カ多ク、其ノ最モ好適ノ例ハ昨日ノ「ルーズヴェルト」ノ演説
デアリマス。此ノ演説ニ於テ「ルーズヴェルト」ハ米國民ニ對シ伊太利カ片附イタカラトイフ如キ印象ヲ與ヘツツ、
珈琲ノ配給ヲ良クスルトカ、更ニ戦後歸還兵ノ待遇ヲ保障スルトカ、戦争カ濟ンタ後ノコトニマテ無理ニ希望ヲ持タ
セルコトニヨツテ、國民ニ現在ニ於ケル戦争ノ影響タル困難ニ堪ヘ抜ク様ニ印象セシメントスル焦慮ト努力トノアト

カアリアリト見エルノデアリマス。

七、「ビルマ」獨立ニ際シテノ東條内閣總理大臣發

「バー・モウ」内閣總理大臣宛祝電 (八月四日)

御懇電ニ接シ感激ニ堪ヘス

茲ニ予ハ衷心ヨリ「ビルマ」國ノ獨立ヲ慶祝スルト共ニ多年英國ノ壓制ノ下飽ク迄モ「ビルマ」再建ノ爲ニ苦闘ヲ續
ケツツ克ク本日ノ歴史の記念ノ日ノ素地ヲ作レル「ビルマ」民衆ノ不撓不屈ノ精神ニ對シ滿腔ノ敬意ヲ表シ併セテ閣
下ヲ始メ「ビルマ」民衆ノ大東亞戦争勃發以來帝國ニ寄セラレタル御協力ニ對シ深甚ナル謝意ヲ表スルモノナリ

今ヤ大東亞解放ノ戦ヒハ着々トシテ進展シツツアリ帝國ハ必勝ノ信念ヲ以テ愈々大東亞諸國家トノ提携ヲ緊密ニシ益
々歐洲盟邦ト相策應シテ共同ノ宿敵米英ヲ擊推シ以テ道義ニ基ク新秩序ヲ建設セントス

茲ニ「ビルマ」國ノ獨立ニ際シ重ネテ祝意ヲ表スルト共ニ閣下ノ逞マシキ統率ノ下「ビルマ」國カ其ノ興隆ト大東亞
戦争完遂ノ爲最善ヲ盡サレンコトヲ切望シ閣下ノ御健康ヲ祈リ上ク