

conjunction with such large-scale and vigorous military operations, grand constructive enterprises in order to realize a radical enhancement of our national total strength, thereby reinforcing further our country's position for sure victory. For this purpose, the Japanese Government, with an inflexible faith and determination, stand always at the forefront of the nation and are exerting their utmost efforts to perfect thoroughgoing preparations and at the same time boldly carrying out various plans in accordance with the internal and external situations, and thus intend to fulfil their heavy responsibilities of assisting the Throne and to meet the people's trust. It was in this spirit that the Government recently dared, in the midst of progress of the War, to request the Throne to order a general election to be held.

With the recent general election as a turning point, the surging tide of patriotic enthusiasm of the people developed into an all-engulfing trend directed toward the complete prosecution of the War as well as the firm establishment of a political structure for assisting Imperial Rule. This trend pervaded all corners of the country. These spontaneous political desires and aspirations of the entire nation have ultimately found their concrete expression in the organization of the Yokusan Seiji-kai or the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association. Thus an organization embodying a new and vigorous political influence has been consummated fulfilling many years' aspirations of the whole nation—a source of profound congratulation for the sake of our Empire.

In response to such enthusiasm of the people, the Government decided that all kinds of people's movements be brought as far as possible under the guidance of the Taisei Yokusan-kai, or the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, in order that they may attain healthy development through earnest and spontaneous efforts of the people themselves and that the Taisei Yokusan-kai may, in conformity with its increased missions, renovate its functions and reinvigorate its spirit and thus go forward as a central organ of all national movements for the assistance of Imperial

Rule and fulfilment of duties of the people to the Throne.

In consideration of this, the Government are endeavouring to simplify and intensify the affairs of various administrative organs so that surplus personnel may be diverted toward the replenishment of those who are actively engaged in various fields all over the region of Greater East Asia.

It is, indeed, a matter for our gratification that our country's internal structure has thus been perfected for the march of the entire one hundred million people whose morale has steadily been heightened, rendering it possible for the Government and people to go forward in perfect battle array to crush the United States and Britain.

Now, I wish to take this occasion to speak briefly about the economic strength of our Empire. Japan's economy has hitherto strongly tended to depend upon the United States and Britain as the result of which we have constantly been restrained and menaced by those Powers. Early realizing this situation, the Government decided after the outbreak of the China Affair to devote their utmost efforts to remedy the defective points in our country's economy and to secure a self-sufficing position with regard to important defence materials. They have, therefore, endeavoured to carry on the hostilities in China on the one hand, and to replenish essential defence materials by formulating a four-year plan on the other. As the results of these efforts our economic strength had grown to such an extent by the time immediately preceding the present War that the country was able not only to counteract the Anglo-American pressure, but to enter ultimately into the War of Greater East Asia. Such a development is certainly the result of the toil and moil of every one of our nation, for whose assiduous efforts I wish to take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of the Government.

By virtue of the magnificent victories of the Imperial Forces since the opening of the War of Greater East Asia, all the important resources for national defence in the regions of the South, such as oil, rubber, tin and others, have come into our

hands, and the independent and self-sufficing position of our national economy has been further strengthened due, also, to our previous efforts. In other words, with the combined resources of Japan, Manchoukuo, and China and those of the South Seas, the basis of self-supplying productive economy of our Empire has been perfectly consolidated and our war-time economy further strengthened so that we can completely replenish the supplies depleted by consumption accompanying the progress of armed combat. At the same time, our plan of expanding fighting strength has been placed on an immutable foundation. The future of our Empire's economy is thus full of promise. Moreover, the situation has so developed as to cut off the supplies of essential national defence resources to the enemy countries and the blow being dealt to them thereby is very heavy, indeed.

In conformity with the new situation above described, the Government, with a view to augmenting speedily our power of prosecuting the War by giving full play to the comprehensive economic strength of all areas of Greater East Asia, have made definite plans for materials mobilization as well as productive expansion for the current year and, with these plans as a nucleus, they have formulated various schemes concerning transportation, labour services, exchange of goods and capital, etc., adopting meanwhile all necessary measures for the realization of these plans.

In view of the absolute importance to the prosecution of the total war of assuring the stability of our people's livelihood, especially food supplies, the Government expect to leave no stone unturned in utilizing the resources of the whole of Greater East Asia, taking into consideration at the same time the economic requirements of the various peoples inhabiting this region. Beginning with this year, therefore, they have established a new mobilization plan of goods concerning the necessities of life, for the realization of which they are receiving a whole-hearted cooperation from the fighting services. Due to the essential character of war-time economy, the plan in part may entail for

the time being some inconveniences and deficiencies which are really unavoidable. But I am very glad to be able to declare that, when it is considered from a broader point of view, there is no cause whatever for any apprehension regarding the people's livelihood in the future however long the War may last.

Now, I wish to say a few words concerning our foreign relations. It is greatly encouraging that Japan, Manchoukuo, China, and Thailand, sharing the same view of the purpose of the present War, are growing steadily more cordial in their mutual relations. On the tenth anniversary of the founding of Manchoukuo, a short time ago, the Special Ambassador of Gratitude, His Excellency Chang Ching-hui, paid a visit to our country in obedience to the profound desires of the Emperor of Manchoukuo and having presented an Imperial Message to the Throne, he conveyed to our Government and people the expression of sincere gratitude of Manchoukuo toward our country. His Imperial Majesty was so gracious as to send His Imperial Highness Prince Nobuhito Takamatsu to Manchoukuo to felicitate the tenth anniversary of that country's founding. Furthermore, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, Mr. Wang Ching-wei, in his capacity as the Chief Executive of that country, visited Manchoukuo contributing powerfully toward a closer friendship between Manchoukuo and China, and, in the meantime, he made a personal observation on the spot of the reality of the phenomenal progress which Manchoukuo has attained in ten years following its establishment. It has been decided that Mr. Chu Min-i will visit our shores as the Special Ambassador to Japan representing his Government. Meanwhile Thailand's Special Envoy for the Felicitation of the Japanese-Thai Alliance Treaty, Lieutenant-General Phahon Phonphayuxasena, came to our country and presented to His Imperial Majesty a Message from his Sovereign, after which he fully exchanged cordial amenities with various official and civilian circles of our country. The foregoing events are an eloquent expression of the ardent spirit of comradeship

among Japan, Manchoukuo, China and Thailand, all of whom want to strengthen further their mutual co-operation and assistance in the political, financial, economic, and military fields and to serve as propelling force for the establishment of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. Together with all of our people the Government wish to congratulate heartily on the situation of Greater East Asia whose peoples are so firmly united.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing the profound respect of the Japanese Government to our Allies, Germany and Italy, and other friendly Powers which are achieving great victories in unity by continuing their indefatigable efforts and surmounting many difficulties in order to attain our common object of the War. Japan intends to continue her victorious campaigns, and, in conjunction with the magnificent fight of Germany and Italy against the United States and Britain, she expects to augment the comprehensive victories of these countries by putting forth her utmost efforts. In particular, she intends to carry on as a matter of course a close co-operation in the strategical sphere with her allies and thereby establish a new world order. The fact that the United States and Britain, irritated by their successive defeats and their gloomy future, are loudly clamouring that the present War is a racial war, is nothing but a malicious intrigue to which they have always resorted in the past to deceive other peoples. It is a well known fact throughout the world that the powerful unity of our Axis Powers, co-operating on the basis of justice, will never be shaken in the least by such mischievous scheme of the Anglo-American Powers.

The traditional crafty policy of the United States and Britain of securing their own expansion and comfortable life at the sacrifice of other peoples has now been universally exposed. It is greatly encouraging that in Burma, which has been cleansed by the gallant advance of the Imperial Forces, the entire Burmese people, under the peaceful guidance of our forces, are accelerating the trend toward glorious independence. With all the

advance bases of the British Empire for the defence of India having come into the possession of the Imperial Forces, the golden opportunity is at hand for the Indian people to rise and attain their independence for which they have long aspired.

The fact that the British-Indian negotiations, with the British Lord Privy Seal Sir Stafford Cripps acting as the central figure, ended at last in rupture without accomplishing anything whatsoever, demonstrates that India has already become spiritually independent from Britain. Thus, the spiritual basis of British possession of India may be said to have disappeared already, and the first historic step toward Indian independence has just been made.

There still remains in India a framework of British possession with various military establishments, and the military forces are being steadily increased. As long as there remain Anglo-American military forces in India, Japan is determined inflexibly to crush them thoroughly. To our regret, it is, indeed, unavoidable that in the progress of such campaign some misfortune may befall innocent Indians. What I expect at this juncture, however, is that the Indian people will rise with an intrepid spirit, expel the Anglo-American forces as well as their influence completely from India and thereby realize the independence of their Fatherland.

With the subjection of the enemy forces in Burma, the Chungking regime has finally become isolated: it is now plodding its way down to its inevitable fall. Due to the efforts of the Imperial Forces in China, there has been an increasing number of Chungking officers and men who surrender and pledge allegiance to the National Government at Nanking, while the fighting spirit of the Chungking armies is fast waning day by day. Such is the pitiable fate of those who, knowing that they are in the wrong, refuse to make amends: Japan intends to deal the final crushing blow to the resistance of the Chungking regime.

Now that the Southwest Pacific has completely been brought

under our control through the concerted operations of the invincible Imperial Army and Navy, Australia has become the so-called orphan of the Pacific. As the result of the Battle of the Coral Sea which recently took place in the vicinity of Australia, the naval forces in defence of that country have disappeared with nothing standing now to defend her before the onslaught of the Imperial Forces. I wish, therefore, to remind the leaders of Australia at this juncture of my sincere desire that they will ponder what I had previously stated in this House, perceiving the international situation and considering Australia's geographical environments, and then courageously and speedily decide upon her most important step.

At this moment India is in commotion, Chungking on the verge of collapse, and Australia isolated!

Turning to Hongkong, Shonan Island, the Philippines, and other areas, we find them in the process of becoming bases for the sphere of new construction as peace and order are being restored, and they are making great strides toward rehabilitation. Our control over the Pacific and Indian Oceans is being extended day after day.

In contrast to this, Britain has lost her important overseas possessions together with the means of acquiring resources, while her internal system and structures have not yet been completed: she is now face to face with a very precarious situation. Suffering defeat after defeat, the United States, hiding the fatal losses from the public, is frantically resorting to false propaganda in order to allay the criticism arising within her borders and to prevent estrangement of neutral countries. I cannot but pity the peoples of the United States and Britain who are fighting under such leaders as those who have given a position of trust to a commander who fled, deserting the helpless officers and men, or who are trying to cover up their defeat by loudly exaggerating the guerilla warfare on the sea, which are both futile and insignificant.

With a firm faith in the ultimate victory, Japan is now

boldly pushing on her operations on a scale unparalleled in world history in its extent and precision. The Government expect, in perfect unison with the whole people, to replenish further the total strength of the nation to be ever more vigilant in victory, further enhance the traditional spirit of sacrifice and service to the State, and thereby attain speedily the object of the war and set the mind of His Imperial Majesty at rest.

The bills presented at this Session have been limited to those which are urgently required in view of the situation such, for instance, as one concerning the assurance of the enforcement of the shipbuilding plan. I request your deliberation on them and your speedy approval.

In conclusion, I wish once again to tender to our Allies and friendly Powers the expression of deep gratitude of the Japanese Government for their co-operation, and, at the same time, to pay profound respect to all of our nation for their self-sacrificing patriotic spirit and indefatigable efforts in serving the State.

8. ADDRESS OF MR. SHIGENORI TOGO, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT THE 80TH SESSION OF THE DIET

May 27, 1942.

It is a great honour for me to avail myself of this occasion of the opening of the eightieth session of the Imperial Diet to express my views on various diplomatic questions during wartime.

Since the outbreak of the war of Greater East Asia, all the American and British bases of aggression in East Asia have been destroyed, and the great work of constructing the sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia has already made a forward stride. These marvelous military achievements are due to the bravery and intrepidity of the gallant and loyal officers and men of the Imperial Forces under the August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, and we, the entire nation

are profoundly grateful to them. It seems that both American and British governments are even now persistently indulging in idle criticism of Japan by willfully misinterpreting our attitude at the outbreak of the war and also the character of the current war but this only betrays their desperate efforts to evade responsibility for an uninterrupted series of military and naval reverses. There is not the slightest doubt, in the light of official records, that the Japanese government had, during the negotiations extending over eight long months with America, consistently endeavoured to seek a peaceful settlement. The fact has been clearly established throughout the world that it is America and Britain who are culpably responsible for the instigation of the war, having forced Japan to gird on the sword in self-defence. In staking her national destiny on the issue of the war, Japan is actuated by the desire to emancipate Greater East Asia from the yoke of exploitation of America and Britain, by shattering their ambition for world hegemony, and also, to realize the great ideal of a new world order. No cause could be more righteous. It is no exaggeration to say that our war aims have few parallels in world history in their righteousness and justice. Justice always prevails. This is an abiding faith which inspires the Japanese people who have, during their twenty-six centuries' existence as a nation, successfully overcome every national crisis and have securely safeguarded their sacred soil under an unbroken line of Emperors.

Our forces proving ever victorious, East Asia is now in a position to give full play to its original aspect, emancipated from the aggression and exploitation of America and Britain. The foundation for the construction of the sphere of common prosperity has now been firmly established throughout Greater East Asia. The great ideal to construct a new order on a moral basis and to enable all the countries and all the peoples in this sphere each to have its own proper place so as to share the honour of the rise of Greater East Asia is on the fair way to its realization. And this moral principle is fully recognized and deeply

appreciated by all the countries and peoples in East Asia. That the peoples in the occupied areas in the South are showing an attitude of vigorous and voluntary cooperation toward Japan while the din of the battle has hardly subsided is one of its manifestations. This is a matter of congratulations for the sake of the future of Greater East Asia.

A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between Japan and Thailand immediately following the outbreak of the war, thus establishing a close cooperation between the two countries in the political and military fields. Economic understandings including the settlement of payments on the basis of placing the yen and baht at par have recently been reached and mutual aid and cooperation between the two countries are being happily effected in the financial, economic and also cultural fields. At the same time, economic negotiations are proceeding smoothly between Japan and French Indo-China. All these are nothing but the result brought about by the enhancement of the above-mentioned moral principle.

Further, Manchoukuo, Japan's ally, who is observing the tenth anniversary of the founding of her Empire has strengthened her pledge to share in Japan's aspiration and ideal, while the recent visit of the President of the National Government of China to Manchoukuo has resulted in a remarkable improvement of the friendly relationship between Manchoukuo and China. All these demonstrate a firm resolve on the part of Manchoukuo and China to proceed towards the construction of Greater East Asia, shoulder to shoulder with Japan.

A section, however, of China deliberately disregards the moral character and historical importance of the construction of Greater East Asia. Greatly dismayed and disappointed at the shocking defeats sustained by America and Britain, it yet persists in blindly following them hoping to ensure its existence, by sticking to its slogan, "National reconstruction through resisting Japan." The rapid advance, however, of the Imperial Forces has completely cut off the Burma road, with the result that

Chungking cannot hope to receive any aid from America and Britain. With its economic unrest mounting everyday, Chungking's plight is being further aggravated. This is, indeed, a natural fate that befalls a regime which has, at the historic transformation of Greater East Asia, obstructed the campaign for the emancipation of Greater East Asia, without realizing its own proper duty, but none the less it commands our commiseration.

With regard to India, it must be noted that as the British Army in India were increasingly exposed to danger consequent to the development of our military operations on a vast scale, Britain made frantic efforts to appease India in order to obtain the latter's positive cooperation, but all her efforts and intrigues have ended in utter failure meeting a blunt rebuff from the courageous Indian leaders. Her endeavours, moreover, only served to exhibit her bad faith towards India before the whole world. More recently, our successful reduction of Burma has added to Britain's worry and anxiety, so that she now finds herself in a great predicament desperately seeking to maintain her military bases in India. Britain's rule of India, extending over two hundred years, is now shaken to its very foundation. But Britain is still trying to drag India into war or to make India resort to a scorched earth policy, by fanning ill will against Japan among the Indian people. Such an outrageous move cannot be expected to draw any support from the Indians. As repeatedly affirmed, Japan harbours no hostility towards India's four hundred millions. We cannot bear to see even a single drop of Indian blood being shed for satisfying the limitless greed of the British Empire which is now on the verge of collapse. For the sake of the happiness of the entire world, Japan hopes and expects that the Indian leaders will seize this golden opportunity to march forward towards the realization of "India for the Indians," and to rise courageously in order to win India's emancipation and construction.

As you are all aware, the current war is intended to construct a new world order through cooperation between Japan on

the one hand and Germany, Italy and other allies on the other. Immediately after the outbreak of the war of Greater East Asia, Japan concluded an epoch-making treaty of alliance with Germany and Italy, pledging their immutable resolve to march jointly towards the construction of a new world order and not to sheathe the sword until and unless their joint war against America and Britain is brought to a successful conclusion. Cooperation among the three powers is close and cordial not only in the military fields but also in the political, economic, and cultural fields. With the cooperation of their European allies, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and others, the bond that binds the Axis Powers is immutably solid. Even now, America and Britain are spreading mendacious propaganda in efforts to alienate Japan, Germany, and Italy, but it is hardly necessary to mention that all such intrigues will be entirely wasted upon the iron alignment of the Axis Powers, which is based upon their common lofty aspirations, animated by their supreme mutual trust. The day for the realization of their common aspirations due to cooperation of their allies is steadily approaching, thanks to the successful military operations of the Axis Powers both in the East and West.

Some time ago, some of the Central and South American countries, under American intimidation and instigation, severed their diplomatic relations with, or declared war upon, Japan and her allies. But most of those countries are still hesitating to extend positive cooperation to the United States. All this time, Argentina and Chile have steadfastly maintained their neutral policy with a firm attitude based upon their independent position.

The relations between Japan and the Soviet Union have undergone no change even after the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia. It has been reaffirmed quite recently that the Soviet Union intends to regulate her relations with Japan by the Neutrality Pact and that, accordingly, she has no intention whatever to place her territory as military bases at the disposal of our enemy countries. With the progress of the war, the

enemy countries will, I presume, intensify their insidious manoeuvres to alienate Japan and the Soviet Union but there is no chance for such intrigues to bear fruit so long as the Soviet Union firmly maintains the attitude mentioned above. Meanwhile, we, on our part, will continue to watch the situation with a calm attitude from the standpoint of preserving security in the North.

Japan and her allies have established positions of a sure victory both in the East and West, completely overwhelming the enemies. The international situation surrounding Japan is developing more and more favorably, whereas there is no gainsaying the fact that the fortunes of America and Britain are steadily waning. Falling back upon their rich natural resources, America and Britain at the outbreak of the war pinned their hope upon war of attrition. In order to gloss over the alarming situation following their reverses, they declared that they would launch a great offensive against Japan after replenishing their armaments in two or three years. The recent unbroken string, however, of setbacks have made them so impatient that they have changed the tune of their propaganda, asserting that the current year will be so critical as to decide the issue of the war and advocating the necessity of armaments expansion and adoption of positive military and naval strategy. From the viewpoint of material resources alone, however, America and Britain are confronted with problems the solution of which extremely difficult, including, for instance, that of shortage of shipping.

Especially critical is Britain's position. Her wholesale retreat from all fronts of East Asia and the remarkable activities of the German and Italian navies in the Atlantic and Mediterranean have made the situation of the British Isles full of unrest. People in England are experiencing increasing difficulty of living, while unrest is sharpening in India, and Australia is exposed to a serious menace. Thus there are increasing indications that the collapse of the British Empire is impending.

On the other hand, the United States is withholding from

the public all news on her uninterrupted series of military and naval disasters while spreading fictitious reports of victory in an attempt to maintain popular confidence. In the past, American statesmen used to stand for frankness and candor, but it is a remarkable tendency that they are recently apt to refrain from speaking the truth. Meanwhile, however, the American people is steadily feeling the pinch of war, so that their standard of living is bound to deteriorate increasingly. It is but natural that dissatisfaction is voiced among the intellectual classes in the United States over the American government which have despotically dragged the nation into an uncertain war with Japan without any chance of success, completely disregarding the welfare of the masses. In short, the fact that the American government resorted to interferences and aggression in violation of the moral principle which inspired the founding of the United States and further that they jumped to the hasty conclusion that they would be able to bring Japan easily to her knees constitutes the major cause for bringing about the current world-wide disturbance. Japan's object consists in destroying the American policy of aggression, which dreams of world domination.

In efforts to cope with popular discontents arising from their military debacles, America and Britain not only unlawfully occupied Madagascar Island, a French possession, under untenable pretexts, but furthermore are stretching their greedy hands to French possessions in the West Indies. Furthermore, Britain has sent military expeditions to Iran which has had no desire but to live in peace. America and Britain have sinned against God by unscrupulously spreading the war to various parts of the world through the pursuance of their traditional policy of victimizing weaker nations. It is clear as day, however, that Britain and America who resort to such an outrageous policy will eventually come to a grief.

The international situation is developing unfavourably for America and Britain. At this juncture, Japan has manifested before the whole world her renewed resolve to prosecute the war

to a successful end, by establishing a new national political structure in a spirit of cooperation on a basis of national unity, which has further strengthened her war efforts under an iron solidarity. I believe that the enemy countries will not fail to be impressed by our immutable faith. It may be easily imagined that America and Britain will resort to counter-offensives in desperate effort to retrieve their defeats. However, it is my unshakable belief that there is no room for doubt that our nation will succeed in prosecuting this great war to a glorious termination and in constructing a brilliant world, by bending their efforts tenaciously with the whole nation united like one man, however long the war may be protracted.

9. SPEECH OF THE PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL
HIDEKI TOJO, AT THE MEETING FOR THE CON-
CENTRATION OF NATIONAL TOTAL STRENGTH

July 27, 1942.

Seven months have passed since the War of Greater East Asia began, and the entire people of Japan, with a renewed faith in the ultimate victory, are determined as ever before to wage this War to its successful conclusion. I am very glad, therefore, to be here with you and to take this opportunity of speaking to you at this juncture.

Eleven years have already elapsed since the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident. In the meantime, the officers and men of the Imperial Army and Navy, under the August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty, have fought in various fronts in Manchuria, on the Chinese mainland, and then in various other regions of Greater East Asia, crossing the wide oceans and precipitous mountains in strange distant lands, flying north and south and surmounting all obstacles and difficulties, and thus have achieved an uninterrupted series of brilliant victories. To these officers and men I wish to tender together with you our deepest respect

and gratitude for their splendid tactics and gallant fight. To the spirits of those who have laid down their lives in action for the cause of peace and prosperity of Greater East Asia, I wish to render my most reverential homage. It is, indeed, encouraging at the same time to see that you people are bravely overcoming the tribulations accompanying the war-time life and are, in perfect unison with the forces at the front, carrying on your loyal services to the State. For the endurance, enthusiasm and earnest endeavour of the entire people of the country I wish once again to express my sincere respect.

I shall now explain the recent war situation. In China, we have speedily crushed the forces under the direct command of Chiang Kai-shek in the provinces of Chekiang and Kiangsi in order to overthrow the lingering Chungking regime and have occupied the Chekiang-Kiangsi Railway, which has served as the main artery of resistance against Japan, completely blockading at the same time those areas from which the enemy has been obtaining his necessary materials. We have simultaneously carried out campaigns to crush the Communist bandits who have been active in various parts of Menchiang, North China and Central China and have thus endeavoured strenuously to make possible the rehabilitation of the Chinese masses and their pursuit of occupation in peace and comfort. In South China, also, we are dealing smashing blows to the enemy in conjunction with these operations. Meanwhile, the National Government at Nanking under the presidency of Mr. Wang Ching-wei is, with Japan's enthusiastic support and co-operation, are achieving substantial results of executing their policies; and especially noticeable are their accomplishments in extending the areas of model peace zones and expelling the old Chungking currency. These accomplishments of the National Government are an eloquent testimony to the fact that the foundation of that Government is being further solidified as days pass, and that that Government are directly and indirectly giving their active co-operation to our country for the prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia is

a matter for our sincere congratulations.

In contrast to the National Government, the resisting power of the defeated Chungking regime, which is now breathing its last in the remote interior, has radically declined due to the interception by the Imperial Forces of the aid from the United States and Britain while its internal unrest and perturbation are becoming more manifest. It is quite natural that the regime, which has run counter to the just and righteous cause of establishing a New Order of Greater East Asia, should thus tread the path to its inevitable downfall. The leaders in Chungking, failing to reflect upon this inexorable truth, are, by serving as tools of the Anglo-American Powers, forcing the innocent people to participate in an altogether futile war of resistance, successively perpetrating various forms of despotic maladministration. The heinous and inhumanitarian attitude of the Chungking regime can never be condoned either by God or man. Therefore, for the sake of justice, Japan is firmly resolved to deal a crushing blow upon that regime.

As regards the United States and Britain, the Imperial Forces have ceaselessly been taking the initiative in attacking these enemies speedily and boldly before they have any chance to attack us. A short time ago, our forces made a sudden attack on the enemy's strategic base at Midway Island, sending to the bottom of the sea the remaining American aircraft carriers and, at the same time, they stormed Dutch Harbor, the enemy's important base in the North Pacific, and occupied a number of strategic places in the Aleutian Islands, thereby consolidating our country's strategic position on a firm basis. Moreover, in the region of the South, our forces attacked Sydney, the principal port in the southern Australia, and they have gone as far as Madagascar, all of which demonstrate that wherever the enemy forces are found they invariably become the target of attack by the Imperial Forces. The military operations of the Imperial Forces, who never cease to act till they exterminate the Anglo-American influence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans about

Greater East Asia, are thus constantly and boldly being prosecuted on a uniquely grand scale.

While Japan is overwhelming the enemies on the continent, in the oceans and in the wide sky, she is steadily taking various steps necessary for the establishment of the New Order, which will enable all peoples of different regions in Greater East Asia to have their proper places. The peoples of the South Seas regions have already grasped the real intentions of Japan, and are willingly and gladly co-operating with us. In other words, the basic structure of our country for the attainment of victory and completion of constructive undertakings is thus being reinforced in a most positive and steady manner.

What this situation in Greater East Asia indicates to the far-sighted leaders of India who have long aspired to realize India for the Indians need not be reiterated here. As was generally expected these leading figures of India, refusing to be coaxed by the cajolery or to submit to the oppressive measures which are Britain's habitual methods, have become spiritually independent of Britain and are now demanding the withdrawal of the insatiably despotic British influence from India. That Japan will not be stinting in extending support and co-operation to India for the realization of her age-long aspiration is as it has been repeatedly declared. Control over India has always constituted the basis of the existence of the British Empire. Therefore, Japan, determined as she is to crush the United States and Britain, absolutely cannot permit the Anglo-American influence to remain in India.

Along with the movement in India, the world's attention has recently been attracted toward the Southwest Asia. The peoples of this region are about to rise for their renaissance by cutting off evil connections with the British Empire. Knowing that this is their natural reaction to the long British oppression as well as the expression of their inherent demand, we cannot but sympathize deeply with them. It is Japan's constant solicitude that various peoples of the world shall attain their proper places

and develop in perfect mutual accord and friendship. We expect and desire, as we do of India, that the Moslems of South-west Asia will take advantage of this golden opportunity afforded by the turning-point of the world and rise for the glorious renaissance of their countries.

Australia, which is now completely isolated in the wide ocean, has exposed her pitiable position of begging hopelessly for aid from the United States. If her statesmen continue to vacillate by failing to perceive the trend of the times and offer useless resistance, there is no need of reiterating that Japan will show no mercy whatever in crushing it.

In South America, Chile and Argentine are steadfastly maintaining their neutrality, despite all kinds of intrigues and intimidations of the United States and Britain, for which I express my deep respect. It is strongly believed that the only way for South American countries to assure their uninterrupted progress as well as to forestall the spread of the present conflagration to their continent is to eliminate all obstacles and maintain steadfastly their neutrality.

As regards our Allies, Germany and Italy, they commenced their bold operations as soon as their careful preparations were completed and have since been achieving brilliant victories on all fronts. On the North African front in particular, they have crushed the British forces with an amazing speed, attaining the position of supremacy in that region; and in the Mediterranean, they are steadily wresting the control of the sea from the British and, furthermore, in various parts of the Atlantic Ocean they are inflicting overwhelming losses to the maritime transportation of the Anglo-American Powers, whose life is thus withering day after day. These losses of the enemy are greatly increasing recently. Such is really due to the dauntless fighting spirit as well as the national strength of our allied Axis countries, and I wish to take this opportunity with you to pay our sincere respect to those European Allies of ours.

The present war situation so favourably developing to the

Axis Powers constitutes the basis on which Japan, Germany and Italy will directly join hands and mete out the final blow to our common enemies. Britain, which has met defeat after defeat, is now experiencing agonies, with her people's livelihood being rapidly restricted on account of the scarcity of daily necessities. In the United States, whose purpose in war is not clear, the people are being made to play to the tune of the vaunted huge armament expansion programme which is not only inopportune but merely a paper plan. The internal conditions there are steadily becoming aggravated as the maritime transportation becomes more and more difficult on account of shipping losses, and the sufferings of the people are increasing recently. In short, both the United States and Britain are now treading the path toward their ultimate collapse.

At the time such as I have described, Manchoukuo is becoming stronger and stronger in her national foundation, and in close co-operation with Japan in both spiritual and material spheres, she is vigorously endeavouring for the attainment of our common objective. The remarkable reconstruction of China under the National Government has already been dwelt upon. Thailand also is closely co-operating with Japan as the partner. Furthermore, various peoples in the regions of the South Seas have awakened from the despotism of their former rulers and are now rising. Such is indeed a source of profound gratification.

Along with such a favourable development of the war situation, the assurance of our country's ultimate victory is being further strengthened. However, the Anglo-American Powers are strenuously trying to expand their material strength on which they largely depend, while they resort to various forms of guerrilla warfare, make attempts at alienation of Japan, Germany and Italy from one another, or demoralization of our people at home, and are thus doing everything possible to resist our attack. Therefore, in order to crush the world-wide influence of the arrogant and persistent Anglo-American Powers from its foundation and subjugate those countries, we must, without

being intoxicated by our initial victories, continue our efforts to overwhelm these stubborn enemies not only in the field of armed combat but in various spheres of politics, economy and thought. It means that we must be more vigilant and prepared, and must concentrate our total strength on the single object of prosecuting this War whenever we receive the report of victory.

The basic policy of strengthening our internal position and structure, I believe, can be summarized in two simple words of "sure victory". The cardinal point in the service behind the guns is to replenish the fighting strength of the Imperial Forces, that is, to fulfil the duties on the home front to enable the Imperial Forces to carry out their operations freely for the subjugation of the enemies.

I now wish to tell you frankly what the Government contemplate to do in accordance with this great policy.

The first is the strengthening of the spiritual unity of the nation. The thought which comes to the minds of the officers and men at the front when they have a brief time of rest is toward their native place and the conditions at the home front. Assurance of national security lies in safe-guarding the homes and the State with vigilance. By so doing we may feel assured that there is no cause for worry on the home front. It is only when the officers and men at the front have no anxiety about their homes that they can fight without any thought of death. And it is in such a condition that our fighting men have achieved magnificent victories such as can never be imitated by the Anglo-American forces. We must never forget that behind these splendid victories has always been the spiritual unity of the entire nation at home.

The Imperial Rescript declaring the War which was graciously granted on the 8th of December last year, indicated most directly and clearly, I humbly presume, the path that this nation should follow. Since that time, the one hundred million of our people, devoting all they have to the prosecution of the War of Greater East Asia, have been solidly united as one man for that

supreme purpose. In order to form a united front the Yokusan Seiji-kai, or the Political Association for Assisting the Imperial Rule, has been organized, and the functions of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association have been renovated and expanded, and with the unity of the whole nation we are concentrating our efforts on the prosecution of the War without the slightest degree of uneasiness or apprehension concerning our internal politics. When we compare such a splendid state of affairs in our country with the condition of Britain where a resolution of non-confidence in the Government was presented in the Parliament, exposing thereby the disunity of national opinion, or with those of the United States where the people's fighting spirit is at low ebb and their grievances and complaints are heard on every street, we feel ourselves extremely blessed. Always placing implicit trust in the people, the Government are administering various affairs of the State with the frankness of mind in whatever they do. The policy of the Government, in other words, is to make known to the people whatever can be announced within the extent of keeping the State secret, as well as to avail themselves of all opportunities and methods to hear the voice of the people. I earnestly hope that the people will fully appreciate such intentions on the part of the Government and endeavour to ensure for a long time the present national unity.

In the second place, it is essential that necessary policies be carried out promptly at the proper time. The war situation in the world is going through changes which are taking place at a dizzy speed. In order to meet this rapid development of the war situation on the one hand and to fill strategic requirements of the Imperial Forces on the other, it is necessary to deal with all domestic questions with the utmost promptitude in a most proper manner. Politics is a living matter, especially so in time of war. The Government intend to take various measures in time, by correctly gauging the domestic and international situations. This accounts for such a step as the Government's decision on the simplification and strengthening of administrative

routine business so as to effect a reduction of the Government personnel with a view to meeting the requirements for official personnel throughout the Greater East Asia.

I should like to add a word. Once the Government decide upon their policy, they are firmly resolved that it be executed without loss of time, never allowing it to be shelved.

Thirdly, the Government intend to maintain the nation's standard of living. To win a victory in a protracted war by enhancing the morale of the officers and men on the first line, it is an extremely important factor to keep the nation free from any anxiety regarding their minimum livelihood and to enable them to devote themselves to the service of the State by guarding their home front positions in a bright and cheerful mood. On the part of the Government, they are endeavouring in various fields to increase the production or importation of foodstuffs as well as production and distribution of materials, by further strengthening the war time structure for the purpose.

In this connection, mention must be made of the co-operation extended by the Army and Navy regarding this point. Seizing every opportunity and standing no small strategical inconveniences, the Army and Navy are co-operating with the Government in a most substantial way to safeguard the nation's standard of living. For instance, while they are actually engaged in fighting, they are sending home rice, rubber, sugar, gasoline and others out of their consideration for possible inconveniences of the people at home. I take this opportunity to express thanks on behalf of the nation to the Army and Navy for their kindnesses, which all the people at home, including myself, deeply appreciate.

Fourthly, the expansion of production, required for strengthening armaments, claims Government's attention. In order to crush the United States and Britain, which are taking military operations on a far-flung front in a vast territorial area, with their ample natural resources and large production capacity as their only hope, it is necessary for us to strengthen and expand

the production of not only arms, but also various other munitions, both in quality and quantity. The expansion of production of munitions and improvement of their quality are indispensable to win a great war. The Government are bending all their energies for the purpose, with a view to attaining a phenomenal progress in this regard.

Last, but not the least important policy is renovation and reinvigoration of education. Arms and other war materials are an important factor in the prosecution of war, but their effectiveness can be brought into full play only by men who use them, especially by the spirit of those men.

It has always been my firm conviction that all pends upon man, and this I have emphasized on all occasions. Never before have I felt more keenly the importance of training men. In order to win a lasting victory in this Great War and to construct a new Greater East Asia with Japan as nucleus of the billion peoples of Greater East Asia, it is most urgent to train men for the purpose, especially men of lofty personality who will lead the next generation so as to enhance further the unique characteristics of the Japanese nation. This calls for re-education and re-training.

Now is the time for reinvigoration and renovation of education. It is my firm belief that both the Government and the people must unite in co-operation in carrying out this national undertaking of reinvigorating and reforming education.

The great national character of the Japanese which has been fostered by the superb policy of our Empire, unparalleled in the world, as well as by the time-honoured traditions handed down from generation to generation since the founding of the Empire, is being brought into full play under an unprecedented crisis confronting this country, thanks to the zeal of the entire nation.

Now, the 2602nd year of the founding of the Japanese Empire, is the time for the entire Japanese nation, united solidly like one man, to go forth for the propagation of our traditional Kodo throughout the world. The hundred millions of Japan

must establish a New Order in the world and build up peace on the basis of morality, taking leadership under the August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor. With a renewed conviction that rise or fall of Japan will affect the destiny of mankind throughout the world, we must set His Majesty's Mind at rest by bringing this sacred War to a successful conclusion.

In capacity of Prime Minister who assumes responsibility for advising the Throne, I am doing all in my power at the head of the entire nation. It is my intention to repay, if possible, even one-ten thousandth of His Majesty's benevolence by doing my utmost under the August Virtue of His Majesty the Emperor. Fortunately, I enjoy vigorous health, as you see, thanks to my training in the army for the past forty years. I am determined to redouble my efforts in my service to the Throne. The entire nation are requested to devote their energy to the successful discharge of their respective occupations with the tenacity of purpose, co-operating with the Government like one man and sharing the latter's determination and zeal. It is my belief that the total power of Japan will be thus concentrated on the prosecution of the War and that the War of Greater East Asia can be expected to be brought to a glorious conclusion. I repeat my heartfelt thanks to the entire nation for their efforts and co-operation and my desire that they will continue their vigorous efforts in service to the State.

10. TÉLÉGRAMME DE M. SHIGENORI TOGO, MINISTRE
DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES, À M. VIGIT VATA-
KARN, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRAN-
GÈRES DE THAÏLANDE

30, juillet 1942.

Au retour de Thaïlande de Monsieur Kōki Hirota et à l'heureux accomplissement de sa mission qui, j'en suis convaincu, a contribué grandement à resserrer davantage les rapports déjà

intimes de nos deux pays, je tiens à adresser, au nom de mon Gouvernement, à Votre Excellence, nos plus sincères remerciements pour l'accueil chaleureux que le Gouvernement Thaïlandais a bien voulu réserver à notre ambassadeur ainsi qu'aux membres de la Mission durant leur séjour en Thaïlande. Ayant appris par M. Hirota la forte résolution du Gouvernement et du peuple thaïlandais de marcher côte à côte et jusqu'au bout avec le Japon, dans une inaltérable confiance en celui-ci, je désire, à mon tour, assurer Votre Excellence de la ferme volonté du Gouvernement Impérial de collaborer toujours étroitement avec la Thaïlande, non moins confiant en sa loyauté et en sa bravoure, pour l'établissement de la Sphère de Prospérité mutuelle de la Grande Asie Orientale.

Dans la conviction que la coopération de Votre Excellence, qui à toujours montré une profonde compréhension pour le Japon ne manquera pas d'être d'un précieux appui pour le renforcement des rapports amicaux de nos deux nations alliées, je La prie d'agréer les assurances de ma très haute considération.

11. MESSAGE FROM THE THAI PRIME MINISTER
LUANG PIBULA SONGGRAM TO THE PRIME
MINISTER GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO
(Entrusted to the Grand Envoy Koki Hirota)

July 30, 1932.

I wish to inform Your Excellency that it has been my greatest honor, on the occasion of the visit to Thailand of the Japanese Grand Mission headed by His Excellency, Mr. Koki Hirota, as Grand Envoy and His Excellency, Mr. Yasukichi Yatabe, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, for the felicitation of the conclusion of the Alliance Treaty between Japan and Thailand, that the Government and people of Thailand, together with me, have been able heartily to welcome and entertain the Mission.

The Thai people are exceedingly glad that, despite the brief sojourn of the Mission here, they have fully accomplished their purposes and have fully manifested the spirit of most cordial friendship and understanding through their conversations with our Ministers of State or their contacts with our people at large. The amicable relations between Japan and Thailand are becoming increasingly cordial through mutual cooperation and assistance in various fields. The completion of the boundary demarcation between Thailand and Indo-China, for instance, is one that the Thai nation will remember forever with gratitude for the assistance of Your Government, and I wish once again to tender to the Japanese Government the expression of our profound gratitude.

The foundation of friendly relations between our two countries is clearly shown in the Alliance Treaty, for the felicitation of which the Japanese Grand Mission was specially dispatched to Thailand and has successfully fulfilled its mission. The cordiality of friendship that binds the peoples of the two countries is such as has never been recorded in history.

I shall deem it my greatest pleasure as well as honour if, in the future, Your Excellency may find an opportunity of visiting Thailand, and I am strongly confident that it will prove an opportunity of promoting still further the amicable relations now subsisting between the two countries. Let me thank you again and express my hope that the Army, Navy and people of your country will attain the ultimate victory and prosper increasingly for the cause of the Sphere of Co-Prosperity of Greater East Asia.

I tender to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

12. REPLY OF THE PRIME MINISTER GENERAL
HIDEKI TOJO TO THE THAI PRIME MINISTER
LUANG PIBULA SONGGRAM

July 30, 1942.

I have been moved by Your Excellency's message entrusted to Mr. Koki Hirota, the Grand Envoy. The cordiality of friendship that binds our two countries is, as Your Excellency has stated, one that has never been recorded in history. It constitutes, indeed, the foundation on which Japan and Thailand in co-operation will achieve the ultimate victory.

I am profoundly moved by the fact that the enthusiastic welcome accorded by the Government and the people of Thailand to the Grand Mission headed by Koki Hirota, the Grand Envoy, for the felicitation of the Japanese-Thai Alliance Treaty, as well as what Your Excellency have expressed in the message, are the proof of the existing amity between our two countries. I thank you cordially and hope earnestly for the health of Your Excellency and prosperity of your country.

13. CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE OF THE PRIME
MINISTER, GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO, ON THE
OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE
SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE
TRIPARTITE PACT

September 27, 1942.

I am very happy to have this opportunity to say a few words of greetings on this occasion of the Second Anniversary of the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact among Japan, Germany, and Italy, which is being celebrated here today with impressive ceremonies.

Two years have passed since our Empire, under the August

Virtues of His Imperial Majesty, desiring to enable all nations to find each its proper place in the world, and all peoples to live in peace and safety, concluded the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy which shared with us the same views and aspirations. At that time, Germany and Italy were already involved in war, while Japan, confronted by a world crisis in the midst of her prosecution of the China Affair, had done everything in her power vis-a-vis the United States and Great Britain in order to settle the situation peacefully. However, the ambitious designs of the United States and Great Britain had at last compelled our Empire to rise in arms and on December 8, the Imperial Rescript declaring war was graciously granted.

In these two years, Japan, Germany, and Italy have steadily grown in the intimacy of their relations and their co-operation has produced substantial results. Especially since Japan's participation in the war the three Powers have in conjunction developed their military operations on a grand scale, both in the East and in the West, and have achieved signal victories unparalleled in world history. Thus, with hope for a brilliant future, they are progressing step by step toward the realization of their common objective. This is a source of profound gratification for the three allies who have pledged themselves as partners and also for each of those countries which are collaborating with the three Powers.

Japan is a nation, loyal to her friends, and strong in her sense of fidelity. It is in this fidelity that our nation finds its iron unity and the three allied Powers, their basis of co-operation. This virtue of Japan, fostered for the past three thousand years, is sublime and immutable and will never be shaken by the vicissitudes of the world situation. It is a virtue that will stand firm no matter what kind of machination the enemy may employ against us.

Japan is determined to achieve the ultimate victory in the present unprecedentedly great war by strict observance of this virtue of fidelity, internally by strengthening further the unity

of the entire nation and externally by cementing the bonds of the Tripartite Pact.

On this auspicious occasion of the second anniversary of the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact, I wish again to express my profound congratulations and firmly pledge that we shall, on the basis of the unshakable bonds of co-operation that bind the three Powers, march forward resolutely toward the attainment of our common objective.

14. CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE OF THE FOREIGN
MINISTER, MR. MASAYUKI TANI, ON THE OCCA-
SION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE SECOND
ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONCLUSION
OF THE TRIPARTITE PACT

September 27, 1942.

It is a great pleasure for me to express my felicitations and my views and opinions on this memorable occasion of the second anniversary of the conclusion of the Japanese-German-Italian Tripartite Pact which is being celebrated today with fitting ceremonies.

It was an event of epoch-making historical significance, two years ago today, when the Imperial Japanese Government entered into the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. At that time the three nations solemnly resolved with the firm belief in the fact which, stated briefly, is that the primary condition for permanent world peace rested upon finding for all nations and peoples each its proper place in the world. With this firm resolve the three Powers, with full consciousness of their task and with a deep sense of responsibility—Japan as the leader in East Asia and Germany and Italy as the leaders in Europe—and in complete concert with each other determined to devote their unstinting efforts to the establishment of a new order—a new order which would assure to the peoples in their respective

regions co-existence and co-prosperity, thus contributing to the establishment of world peace.

From past experience, the Three Powers could well expect that the United States and Great Britain, with their strong adherence to the old order and propelled by sinister designs, would interfere with and obstruct our fair and legitimate efforts for world betterment. In view of this expectation the Three Powers solemnly pledged to render to each other, in case of necessity, every possible assistance, not only politically and economically, but also militarily.

As clearly indicated in the Imperial Rescript which was graciously granted on the occasion of the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact, the true intentions of the signatory Powers were to be found in the early termination of the world disorder and confusion which presented no sign of abatement. However, the United States and Great Britain, blinded as they are by materialistic greed and unable to perceive the light of the new age, turned their backs on our true motives. In East Asia they not only made every effort to keep the peoples of Japan and China at war with each other by inciting the remnant Chungking regime, but also by consolidating their military preparations around and about us by instigating their satellites, thus finally threatening the very existence and honour of our Empire.

In Europe, on the other hand, Great Britain incited the present holocaust by meddling in the peaceful negotiations between Germany and Poland over the question of ownership of a small city, and even worse, by encouraging Poland to challenge Germany. The United States, also, while professing to be a neutral country, took a strange and outrageous attitude such as had never been heard of in all history toward our German and Italian allies.

On December 8, last year, with the issuance of the Imperial Rescript declaring war, our Empire resolutely rose in all her indignation and fury to engage in a punitive war against the United States and the British Empire. Our German and Italian

allies immediately followed our action with a declaration of war against the United States, and, furthermore, an agreement was concluded by the Three Powers concerning the joint prosecution of the war, thus clearly demonstrating that the binding relations between Japan, Germany and Italy under the Tripartite Pact left no room for doubt.

All the policies and measures taken by the United States and Great Britain in the past have been directed toward obstructing the fair and just development of Japan, Germany, and Italy. Their policies and actions vis-a-vis the Manchurian Incident and the China Affair were in their very nature a challenge against our Empire. That Japan, Germany, and Italy have been obliged to wage war against the United States and Great Britain may be regarded as the inevitable impelling force of history.

With the joint war of Japan, Germany, and Italy against the United States and the British Empire in the second year of the Tripartite Pact, a great change, unparalleled in history, has taken place in the world situation, and it is well known to you that day by day the war progresses in our favour. In East Asia, under the August Virtues of our illustrious Sovereign, the brave and loyal Imperial Forces have, within a few months after the outbreak of hostilities, swept away the bases of American and British influence. It is a matter of profound inspiration that our armed forces on land, sea and in the air have achieved a succession of brilliant victories, unprecedented in the history of warfare, on the continent of Asia and on the wide expanses of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

On the other hand, in Europe, in Africa and in the Atlantic the successes of the German and Italian forces to this date have been phenomenal, giving irrefutable proof of the firm determination of the Tripartite Powers for sure victory in their concerted fight in the East and in the West.

Meanwhile, in East Asia, the construction of the New Order is steadily progressing. Manchoukuo has just celebrated the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the country and her

national fortunes are ever-flourishing. A regenerated China under the Wang Ching-wei Government is cooperating in the construction of the New Order, sharing the joys and the sorrows, as our partners in the common effort. The co-operation between us and Thailand and French Indo-China is daily growing in intimacy. The restoration of peace and constructive undertakings in the Southern Area occupied by our Imperial forces are progressing steadily.

In Europe, it is a matter of great encouragement to note that Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and other signatories of the Tripartite Pact are co-operating fully with Germany and Italy in the various construction activities.

As already pointed out, the current of events is flowing in our favour. However, I wish to take the opportunity of this memorable occasion to solicit your interest and reflection on a point which we, the people of Japan, especially must bear in mind and renew our resolve. As clearly set forth in the Imperial Rescript, the aim of our Empire and of our allies is to find for all nations and peoples, each its proper place in the world, and to fulfil the unprecedentedly great task of enabling the peoples of the world to live in peace and safety. In pursuing these high purposes we must overcome many trials and difficulties. The establishment of the new order requires the successful prosecution of the war and the successful prosecution of the war must necessarily be accompanied by construction activities. It is needless to mention that these two are inseparable and must proceed hand in hand. In order to carry out our tasks we on the home front must, with the same mind as the officers and men in the battlefield, bring forth results in our service to the State—the one hundred million joined by one mind and one spirit—and thus advance toward our lofty objectives.

The fulfilment of our great task will be increased in its difficulty if we become intoxicated by our victories and allow our mental attitude to become lax even to the slightest degree. The people must be ever mindful of the fact that if they are led away

by arrogance and forget our pledge with our allies or show any disposition toward self-conceit, we shall only be giving our enemies, the United States and Great Britain, much cause for rejoicing. Internally, we, the people of Japan, must lay to heart the gracious words of the Imperial Rescript, further clarify our concept of our national policy and mutually co-operate in body and soul in our common task. Externally we must, at the same time, increase the intimacy of our co-operation with Germany, Italy, and other allies and in full concert with them overcome all difficulties that may lie in our path and thus faithfully fulfil the August Wishes of His Imperial Majesty.

15. ABRIDGED TEXT OF THE ADDRESS OF AMBASSADOR KURUSU AT THE LUNCHEON GIVEN UNDER THE JOINT AUSPICES OF THE TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI AND THE YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI

November 26, 1942.

I think the causes of the present War of Greater East Asia are remote. The history of the world shows that the world trend since the 19th century has, on the whole, been a record of the east-ward movement of Occidental influences. Since the 19th century, the peoples of East Asia have been compelled to lie inactive before the onrush of the economic forces together with the strong military power of the Western European Powers. As a consequence, many of the Asiatic countries lost their territories or even their very independence. Even our own country could not, until very recently, have its own customs autonomy or judicial power which was bound by the restrictions of various unequal treaties. The historical inevitability of the War of Greater East Asia lies indeed in the reaction of the East Asiatic peoples against the unjust encroachment of these various Western European influences. Germany, Italy, and other Axis

Powers had long ago perceived this general trend and asserted their right of establishing a new order in Europe and, at the same time, recognized as legitimate our establishment of a new order in East Asia. The fact that Japan has allied herself with these Powers and is fighting against such nations as the United States and Britain which refused to acknowledge this general trend and are now endeavouring to obstruct it, is entirely due to this reaction.

(The Ambassador then briefly reviewed the past relations between Japan and the United States.)

As a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898, a group of imperialists and big navy advocates among the American people, small in number but very well organized, dragged the unorganized American masses and eventually caused the United States to abandon its age-old tradition and to annex the Philippines. Thus the United States joined the European Powers in encroaching upon East Asia. Since that time, the United States' policy toward East Asia suddenly changed its character, producing an irreconcilable inconsistency between puritanism and idealism which it upheld externally and imperialistic schemes and designs which it harboured internally. Rather, it would be more accurate to say that the United States came to sugar-coat its imperialistic designs with high-sounding idealism.

(The Ambassador then dealt with United States pressure on Japan which became especially strong after the Russo-Japanese War and its ambition to obtain a dominant position in East Asia.)

The first sign of United States pressure on Japan showed itself at the beginning of the 20th century in the San Francisco School Incident which was followed by the enactment of anti-Japanese movements which ultimately developed into the enact-

ment of the Japanese Exclusion Act, this pressure increased its strength more and more concurrently with the enhancement of Japan's strength and her international position. When the United States convened the Washington Conference in 1921-1922, it caused the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which hitherto had served as the pillar of East Asiatic stability and, at the same time, endeavoured to check the development of Japan's naval strength by the naval limitations treaty and restrict Japan's political influence by the Nine Power Pact. Since the attitude of the United States and Britain toward the Washington treaties was one aimed at restricting Japan, they dared in 1927, when they themselves became the target of China's anti-foreign movement, to send large forces to Shanghai with no hesitation or scruples and finally to dispatch their warships for the joint bombardment of Nanking. They consistently maintained the policy of compelling Japan to observe strictly the various Washington treaties, causing China to conclude blindly that the Nine Power Pact and the other Washington treaties were made by the Anglo-American Powers to checkmate Japan and that Japan's faithful observance for a period of about ten years of the spirit of the Washington Conference was proof of her weakness vis-a-vis the United States and Britain. Since then China, always expecting the support of the United States and Britain, extended and strengthened her policy of resisting and excluding Japan, so much so that she came to threaten the special position which Japan held in Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War, against which Japan rose to liquidate the conciliatory policy which she had maintained for a decade. Thus, the Manchuria Incident broke out.

What I wish to stress especially at this time is that, although the United States and Britain are always professing friendship for China, what they are really after is China, that is, Chinese territory and resources, and not the Chinese people themselves. This is eloquently testified by the hard fact that the laws and statutes of the United States and Britain still contain numerous

anti-Chinese clauses and stipulations.

Upon the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, the United States began to pursue a more flagrant policy of oppressing Japan by giving open support to China. With the beginning of the China Affair, its aid to China turned into actual collaboration with China against Japan. In such a manner, American pressure on Japan culminated in the challenge against our country.

(The Ambassador then discussed American expansion of armaments and consolidation of Western Hemispheric defense against the Axis and its attempts to check Japan's legitimate development toward the south.)

Miscalculating that Japan had already exhausted the larger part of her national strength after four years of the China Affair, the United States lightheartedly concluded that it was able to subjugate Japan by economic pressure. It first tried to intimidate our country by adopting the policy of placing an embargo on exports to our country and as a preliminary to full-scale economic pressure against Japan, it abrogated the Japanese-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. At that time, Japan, in view of the development of a critical international situation in East Asia, was face to face with the serious problem of determining her important national policy. In view of the continued American pressure against her, Japan at last decided to conclude the Tri-Partite Pact between herself, Germany and Italy.

Against this, the United States immediately placed a ban on the export of scrap iron, and in July last year, no sooner had Japan concluded with France the agreement for joint defense concerning French Indo-China than the United States took the measure of freezing Japanese assets and of prohibiting the export of petroleum to Japan. These are measures which may be compared in their seriousness with the opening of war itself

rather than being mere economic pressure. In fact, President Roosevelt himself in a speech made several days prior to the freezing of Japanese assets declared to the effect that since this kind of economic pressure would have led to war with Japan, he had not dared to adopt it, thus purposely using such phraseology as to indicate the past tense which contained the serious implications predicting that economic pressure in the future would be taken on the assumption that it would lead to war. That the United States was prepared for war with Japan at that time is also clear from the speech which Assistant Secretary of State Berle made at Des Moines after the outbreak of the war, on February 20 this year.

The Japanese Government which had been paying serious attention to the question of maintaining peace in the Pacific exhausted all possible means in continuing their utmost efforts at Washington, since the spring of last year, to reach a satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations between the two countries. Despite the fact that the United States had not only resorted in the middle of the negotiations to such provocative pressure against Japan as the freezing of our assets and the embargo on the export of petroleum but also failed throughout the ten months of negotiations to show any spirit of mutual concession, repeating only self-conceited and abstract arguments which completely ignored the reality of Greater East Asia. In spite of such an attitude on the part of the United States, the Japanese Government endeavoured to the last moment to improve the situation in order to prevent the spread of war to the Pacific area. It was indeed with such an intention that the Japanese Government instructed me to fly across the Pacific by airplane.

From a most practical consideration of diverting the critical situation which was steadily becoming more tense and of mitigating the strained atmosphere as much as possible we presented a plan for a modus vivendi under the date of November 20 last year. Its contents are as have already been made public. In brief, its purpose was to restore the situation which prevailed

prior to its aggravation by the freezing of Japanese assets and other measures. However, the United States Government, under the date of November 26, thrust its Note containing points which were clearly known from the very beginning to be absolutely unacceptable to Japan. These points included virtual cessation from the Tri-Partite Pact, the general withdrawal of Japanese forces from China and French Indo-China, the non-recognition of the Nanking Government and the re-constitution of the so-called Washington Conference structure through the conclusion of a multilateral non-aggression treaty. Thus, the negotiations were brought to a final impasse which precluded all hopes of continuation. Subsequently, after the outbreak of the war, one American commentator who saw the United States Note of November 26 which was published together with other documents, declared that it was not difficult to understand why Japan was provoked into war, and charged as unpardonable the step taken by the United States Government of thrusting to Japan without previous consultation with the people an official document such as this which would naturally lead to war. With what frame of mind the United States Government handed this document to us at the time is very clearly shown by an official document in the form of a report which they published after the commencement of the war.

In the report which was submitted under the date of January 24 by the Roberts Inquiry Commission, appointed on December 18, of its investigations on the spot of the real situation relative to the great disaster at Pearl Harbor, it is clearly written that Secretary of State Hull reported to high Army and Navy officials with whom he had constantly maintained close contact both at cabinet meetings and elsewhere that the Japanese-American negotiations were carried on throughout under conditions which precluded any possibility of their being re-opened and that the Chief of the Army General Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations had respectively sent a secret order to Army and Navy Commanders in Hawaii to take necessary measures to begin

operations.

In the light of these facts there can be no doubt that the United States Government was already definitely determined for war with Japan on November 26 last year. Indeed it was the United States that provoked the present war and absolutely not Japan. This has officially been made clear by an official document of the United States itself. In the report of the Roberts Inquiry Commission are to be found numerous facts that prove that the United States was steadily making preparations even before November 27, in conjunction with the developments of the Japanese-American negotiations, to engage in a war with Japan. Special attention is called to the fact that at the very beginning of the Roberts Report is a passage that says: "It has been well known that the policy of the United States as to the affairs in the Pacific was in conflict with the policies of other Governments. It was realized by the State, War and Navy Departments of the United States that unless these policies were reconciled, war in the Pacific is inevitable." Moreover, in another part of the report it is mentioned that "in a letter of January 24, 1941, the Secretary of Navy advised the Secretary of War that the increased gravity of the Japanese situation had prompted restudy of the problem of the security of the Pacific fleet while in Pearl Harbor," and that, furthermore, it was published as an observation at that time that "if war eventuated with Japan, it is believed it is easily possible that hostilities would be initiated by a surprised attack upon the fleet or the naval base at Pearl Harbor" and that the time of the raid was supposed to be before dawn. It is indeed incomprehensible that the United States, even though the surprise attack which had come just as it had anticipated from nearly a year before, has been accusing Japan of having made a "treacherous attack." This is nothing but sophistry calculated to hide its own negligence.

(The Ambassador restated the complete absence of sincerity on the part of the United States Government

toward the negotiations with Japan, sinister designs against Japan, as well as the United States attempt to deceive its own people and other countries with very vague war objectives, such as mentioned in the so-called Atlantic Charter and also the ambition of the Roosevelt administration to put not only Japan but the entire world under the domination of the United States.)

The American Government's real intention must have been not only to subjugate Japan but also to subjugate the whole world. This sinister ambition of the United States was most clearly revealed in the speech of Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles last Memorial Day. According to the report of the New York Times, Under-Secretary Welles stated at that time that one of the major causes of the present war was the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations after the last World War and then, after loudly advocating the emancipation of various peoples and the establishment of racial equality after the present war, he enumerated the following points as the aims of the current war:

1. Punishment of individuals, groups and peoples responsible for the war.
 2. Fixing of a considerably long period of truce after the war during which to disarm the aggressor nations.
 3. The United States and its Allies to maintain and employ international police power until the establishment of a permanent system for the preservation of peace.
 4. Upon the disposal of the economic and social problems after the war, an international organization to be formed by the United States and its allies and the last conclusive peace conditions to be gradually decided upon.
 5. The United States to take the leadership in the establishment of the post-war world order.
 6. The continuation of the present Pan-American structure.
- Of the above items the second, concerning the disarming of

the aggressor nations, and the third concerning the international police force are designed to strip Japan naked and place her under the armed tyranny of the United States, Britain, and Chungking. The fourth and fifth are in brief calculated to put the post-war world under the thumb of the United States or the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and the sixth is aimed at keeping the western hemisphere as the sphere of influence of the United States.

When we consider the spirit contained in the Atlantic Charter concerning the establishment of world peace based on economic freedom and equality together with the above-mentioned fourth and fifth objectives, it is clear that the intention of the United States is to establish an economic structure in which other countries must depend upon the United States and that the United States wants to control other countries whenever it so desires through economic pressure or by the intimation of its application. It is, therefore, not difficult to imagine the conditions which the United States and Britain intend to impose upon our country as their war objective. In other words, it is their intention to place Japan in such a position that she will not be able to rise again as an independent nation. Herein lies one of the reasons why our nation must leave nothing undone to fight and win through to victory.

(Ambassador described the present war as a struggle for life or death between Japan, and the United States and Britain. He then briefly elucidated the conditions in the United States with regard to the prosecution of war, warning the Japanese nation not to minimize the resisting power of the United States.)

But we must on no grounds entertain any feeling of fear of the enemy. We have already crushed and are dominating the enemy on the Asiatic continent and over the vast expanse of land and sea in the North and South Pacific. By developing and mobilizing the resources of these areas we can further strengthen

our undefeatable structure in the material sense and, at the same time, consolidate our position for sure victory in the spiritual sense by emancipating, leading and co-operating with the various East Asiatic peoples in these regions. Furthermore, we, Japanese people have an intense spirit of sacrifice and service fostered by our national tradition of more than two thousand years, as well as our incomparable spirit of patriotism. But the greatest of all, we have above us the boundless August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty which has always shone on our country from time immemorial. Herein lies the firm basis of our faith in sure victory. Therefore, if we devote our total strength henceforth to the realization of our war objective in the military, diplomatic, political and economic fields, further cement our bonds of co-operation with Germany, Italy, and other allied countries, firmly uphold the spirit of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and extend our efforts to translate this spirit into action without permitting it to remain as mere lip-service, there is not the slightest doubt that we shall win ultimate victory; or rather, I believe it is not too much to say that the key to victory is already in our hands.

It is needless to say that what we firmly hold as the object of the War of Greater East Asia is to emancipate the various peoples of Asia who have for many years been subject to the oppression and exploitation of such imperialistic countries as the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands and to enable them each to find its proper place and, at the same time, to lay an unshakable foundation for the peace of the world and the common prosperity of mankind by mutually ministering and complementing each other economically, spiritually, and culturally not only within Greater East Asia but also between similar regional co-prosperity groups in Europe and America.

The intention of Britain which is attempting to obstruct our war objective is to enjoy exclusive prosperity by safeguarding its system of colonial empire which has existed since the 19th century and its monopolistic economic structure such as the so-

called Ottawa System under a new name. The scheme of the United States is to hold the western hemisphere as its exclusive sphere of influence under the high sounding name of Pan-American co-operation and good neighbour policy, etc., on the one hand, and, on the other, to constantly intervene in the affairs of Asia, Europe, Africa, etc., with its ideas of United States leadership of the world, international police force and economic sanctions, etc., contained in the above-mentioned peace principles of Under-Secretary Welles, thereby realizing its ambition of world domination. In fact, many of the Central and South American countries have already witnessed the fact that Pan-Americanism, the original object of which was the defense and co-operation of the western hemisphere, has inordinately and without their knowledge been expanded in its interpretation and practice; they have begun to interfere in East Asiatic affairs which are no concern of theirs by proclaiming war against or severing diplomatic relations with Japan in support of the United States.

In brief, all that we claim is "return to us the things that belong to us," but all that the United States and Britain want is to get not only the things that belong to them but also the things that belong to us. It is clear which demand is just and which unjust. It is an iron rule which has withstood the test of all ages that wrong cannot prevail over right and I am firmly convinced that the ultimate triumph of the rightful claim of our country over the unjust claims of the United States and Britain is the immutable rule of Heaven.

On this 26th day of November, memorable in the history of Japanese-American relations, I fervently hope that the hundred million of our people further strengthen the war-time structure of our country both in the material and spiritual fields and march forward into the second year of the War of Greater East Asia with renewed faith and determination.

16. ANTWORTSREDE DES MINISTERS DES ÄUSSEREN
MASAYUKI TANI AUS ANLASS DES EIN-
JÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS DES ABKOMMENS
ZWISCHEN JAPAN, DEUTSCHLAND
UND ITALIEN

Kaiserliche Hoheit,
Exzellenzen, meine Herren

Mit Erlaubnis Seiner Kaiserlichen Hoheit möchte ich hier in Vertretung aller Anwesenden den Herren Botschaftern von Deutschland und Italien für die heutige Einladung herzlichst danken und mir die Ehre geben, ein paar Worte zu sprechen. Wie die Herren Botschafter von Deutschland und Italien soeben ausgeführt haben, wurde heute vor einem Jahr jenes weltgeschichtlich entscheidende Bündnis zwischen Japan, Deutschland und Italien geschlossen, dessen Ziel in der Niederwerfung unserer gemeinsamen Feinde und in der Erringung des Endsieges besteht. Im Verlaufe dieses einen Jahres sind unsere drei Staaten, als Waffenbrüder alle Freuden und Leiden miteinander teilend, auf dem Wege zum Siege unentwegt vorwärtsmarschiert. Die Waffenerfolge, die Japan, Deutschland und Italien in dieser Zeit gemeinsam mit ihren Verbündeten errungen haben, sind einzigartig und bewundernswert. Wir haben die letzten angelsächsischen Elemente sowohl aus Ostasien wie vom europäischen Festland restlos vertrieben und den Grundstein zum Aufbau einer neuen Weltordnung gelegt. Zu Beginn dieser glänzenden Zeit blicken wir mit Bewunderung auf die grossen militärischen Erfolge, die schon heute durch die tapferen Waffentaten der mit uns verbündeten Nationen in Europa errungen wurden, gleichzeitig auf die verschiedenen Arbeitspläne zum Aufbau einer neuen Ordnung in Europa, die in ihrer Grossartigkeit und Genialität als einmalig in der europäischen Geschichte zu bezeichnen sind. Die Stärke und die Beschaffenheit eines Volkes offenbart sich erst nach mannigfachen Erfahrungen und

in schwierigen Situationen. Die durch nichts zu trennende Einigkeit des deutschen und des italienischen Volkes unter ihren genialen Führern, der tapfere Kampfgeist der Frontsoldaten und die unerschütterliche Heimatfront der beiden Völker haben uns zu unserer grössten Freude bewiesen, was wir schon immer von Deutschland und Italien erwartet haben.

Die Feindmächte, die Niederlage über Niederlage erlitten haben, wollen heute traditionell lügenhaft, die Welt durch falsche Behauptungen über die innere Lage in Deutschland und Italien und das gegenseitige Verhältnis der beiden Länder täuschen. Einer Propaganda dieser Art fehlt aber jede Grundlage. Sie sind nicht in der Lage zu verstehen, dass die Einigkeit des deutschen und des italienischen Volkes auf dem unbedingten Vertrauen zu ihrer Führung beruht und in glänzenden Einsatz für die Idee des Aufbaues einer neuen Welt ihren Ausdruck findet. Im feindlichen Lager gibt es auch solche, die über die Beziehung zwischen Japan einerseits und Deutschland und Italien andererseits lügnerische Propaganda vertreiben. Aber die Beziehungen zwischen unserern drei Völkern sind von dem Geist unerschütterlichen Vertrauens getragen. Unsere drei Völker müssen alle zukünftigen Machenschaften des Feindes von vorneherein durch eine stete und ernste Vertiefung ihrer Beziehungen vereiteln. Wir sind stolz darauf, dass wir diesen grössten Krieg in der Geschichte der Menschheit Schulter an Schulter mit den besten Völkern Europas führen und wir sind ferner der festen Überzeugung, dass auch Japan für Deutschland und Italien ein in jeder Hinsicht zuverlässiger und einsatzbereiter Waffengefährte sein wird.

Anlässlich des heutigen Gedenktages möchten wir im vollen Bewusstsein der uns von Gott auferlegten Aufgabe und Verantwortung erneut das Gelöbnis zur siegreichen Durchführung dieses Krieges ablegen.

Mit Erlaubnis Seiner Kaiserlichen Hoheit erhebe ich nun mein Glas und trinke auf das Wohl der Herren Botschafter des verbündeten Deutschland und Italien.

17. REDE DES MINISTER DES ÄUSSEREN MASAYUKI
TANI AUS ANLASS DES EINJÄHRIGEN BE-
STEHENS DES ABKOMMENS ZWISCHEN
JAPAN, DEUTSCHLAND UND ITALIEN

Exzellenzen, meine Herren!

Ich danke den Herren Botschaftern von Deutschland und Italien, den Herren Gesandten von Ungarn, Rumänien und Bulgarien, sowie allen anderen Anwesenden, dass Sie mir die Ehre und Freude gemacht haben, meiner heutigen Einladung aus Anlass des einjährigen Bestehens des Abkommens zwischen Japan, Deutschland und Italien zu folgen.

Das Abkommen zwischen Japan, Deutschland und Italien wurde gerade heute vor einem Jahr, als Deutschland und Italien, nach der Kriegserklärung Japans am 8. Dezember, mit diesem gemeinsam in den Krieg gegen die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika eintraten, von den Vertretern unserer drei Länder in Berlin feierlich unterzeichnet. Sie gelobten sich, niemals die Waffen niederzulegen, bis der gemeinsame Krieg gegen England und Amerika zum erfolgreichen Ende geführt ist. Wir stellen mit Begeisterung fest, dass im Laufe dieses vergangenen Jahres unsere drei Völker mit ihren Bundesgenossen, in Asien und Europa, ja auf der ganzen Welt geschichtlich beispiellose Waffenerfolge errungen haben. Die Anglo-amerikanischen Kräfte sind aus den grossostasiatischen und europäischen Gebieten vertrieben, und damit ist die Grundlage für den Aufbau einer neuen Weltordnung geschaffen.

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass unsere Feinde, auf ihre materiellen Hilfsquellen pochend, alle Vorbereitungen für Gegenangriffe treffen, werden wir vor der Erreichung unserer gemeinsamen Ziele noch manche Härten und Schwierigkeiten überwinden müssen. Allein ich möchte den wesentlichen Unterschied betonen, der zwischen unserer und der anglo-amerikanischen Weltanschauung vorhanden ist. Während unsere Feinde

auf ihre ausgedehnten Gebiete und reichen materiellen Reserven vertrauen, marschieren wir mit dem starken Geist und den erhabenen Idealen. Darin liegt der Grund unserer wiederholten Siege; mit einem Wort gesagt, der Geist besiegt die Materie. Jeder von uns und jedes unserer verbündeten Völker in Europa glaubt, dass mit dem Einsatz seines Lebens der Baustein für eine neue Ordnung gelegt wird. Jeder glaubt, dass das Ziel seiner Nation der Aufbau einer neuen Welt ist, wo Völker in der Liebe zueinander, ihrer durch die Vorsehung bestimmten Aufgabe getreu, brüderlich sich helfend und ergänzend, gemeinsam gedeihen. Unsere drei Nationen wollen bei ihrer Aufbauarbeit über ihre eignen Interessen hinweg stets auf das Gedeihen der Nachbarländer bedacht sein und ihre Beziehungen zu ihnen auf der Grundlage gegenseitigen Respekts ausbauen. Dieser Standpunkt ist wesentlich anders als der Standpunkt von England und Amerika, deren unmenschliche Ausbeutungspolitik unter dem Motto der "Freiheit" oder "Demokratie" verkleidet wird. Deutlich steht die Tatsache da, dass die trügerische Politik der Feindmächte in der Welterneuerung epochaler Bedeutung zum Zusammenbruch verurteilt ist.

Wir werden zur Verwirklichung solcher erhabenen Ideale unsere Zusammenarbeit noch vertiefen und die Reihen immer fester schliessen, so dass kein Feind uns trennen kann. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass dann der Endsieg unser sein wird.

An dem heutigen Jahrestag des einjährigen Bestehens des Dreimächteabkommens möchte ich meine Siegeszuversicht aussprechen und der Hoffnung Ausdruck geben, dass unser Bund immer fester wird.

Ich gestatte mir, das Glas zu erheben auf das Wohl aller Anwesenden und auf die glorreiche Zukunft unserer verbündeten Nationen.

18. RUNDfunk REDE DES MINISTERS DES AUSSE-
REN, MASAYUKI TANI AUF DEM JAHRESTAG
DES EINJÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS DES
DREIMÄCHTEABKOMMENS

Heute vor einem Jahr haben sich Japan, Deutschland und Italien in einem feierlichen Gelübde fest verpflichtet, diesen Krieg gemeinsam bis zum erfolgreichen Ende durchzukämpfen und für den Aufbau einer neuen Weltordnung auf das engste zusammenzuarbeiten. Es ist mir eine grosse Freude, an diesem historischen Tag das in Worte zu kleiden, was ich empfinde.

Wenn wir heute auf die Kriegslage des Jahres zurückblicken, das seit dem Abschluss des Dreimächteabkommens vergangen ist, so stellen wir die gewaltigen Waffenerfolge fest, die unsere drei Nationen in Ostasien und Europa, ja auf der ganzen Welt errungen haben. Wir können mit gutem Gewissen behaupten, dass dadurch zum Glück für unsere verbündeten drei Nationen und für die ganze Menschheit die Grundlage für den Aufbau einer neuen Weltordnung geschaffen worden ist. Jedoch sind die Opfer der Menschheit auch gross gewesen, bis wir soviel erreicht haben. Die Verantwortung trifft, wie im Dreimächteabkommen deutlich gesagt worden ist, die Führer Englands und Amerikas, die diesen Krieg provoziert haben.

Die Ziele, die Japan lange Jahre hindurch verfolgt hat, sind keine anderen als den Frieden in Ostasien zu sichern und damit zur Aufrechterhaltung des Weltfriedens beizutragen. Die Versuche Japans, die gesunde Entwicklung Mandschukuos zu unterstützen, die Beziehungen zwischen Japan und China zu regeln, die Zusammenarbeit mit Thailand und Indochina zu fördern und die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen mit Niederländisch-Indien zu verbessern, entsprachen diesem erhabenen Ziel. Es waren jedoch die Führer Englands und Amerikas, die Japan an der Lösung des China-Konfliktes hinderten, und die Niederländisch-Indien zum Widerstand aufhetzten. Sie waren es, die Japan einzu-

kreisen versuchten und es sogar wagten, die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen abzubrechen. Sie haben damit diesen Krieg unvermeidlich gemacht. Sie waren keinesfalls bereit, die wahren Absichten Japans zu verstehen und lehnten den Grundgedanken des gemeinsamen Gedeihens der Völker ab. Sie haben damit versucht, Ostasien in ewiger Knechtschaft zu halten und auszubeuten. Man braucht kaum zu erwähnen, dass sie sich in ihrer Politik Deutschland und Italien gegenüber in vollkommen gleichem Sinne verhielten.

Sowohl die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Japan und Mandschukuo, als auch die mit China und den übrigen Völkern Ostasiens sowie das Verhältnis der Achsenmächte zu den Völkern Europas,—alles entspringt aus einer Forderung der Natur, ist ein von der Vorsehung gewolltes Verhältnis, dem die geschichtlichen, geographischen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Gegebenheiten zu Grunde liegen. Wenn es auch deshalb von vornherein wider alle Vernunft und ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit war, seitens Englands und Amerikas, diese Entwicklung durch ihre egoistischen Gewaltmassnahmen zu stören, versuchten sie aus ihrem Weltherrschaftgelüst heraus, durch Verwirrung der Gedanken und durch wirtschaftliche Erpressungsmassnahmen sich in alles Mögliche einzumischen. Sie handelten damit gegen den natürlichen Lauf der Dinge und die gottgewollten Gesetze der Natur. Sie sind derart in ihrer materialistischen Weltanschauung begangen, dass sie nicht in der Lage sind, die Geburt einer neuen Welt zu erkennen, einer Welt, die auf ethischer und moralischer Weltanschauung beruht. Die Schicksalsschläge und Enttäuschungen, die sie dabei erlitten haben, waren umso stärker und übertrafen selbst unsere Erwartungen, jedoch stellen sie die wohlverdiente Strafe dar.

Als vor zwei Jahren Japan, Deutschland und Italien zum Aufbau einer neuen Weltordnung in Grossostasien und Europa ein Bündnis schlossen, hofften sie, dadurch zur Gestaltung des Weltfriedens ihrerseits einen grossen Beitrag zu leisten. Sie hofften, dass selbst die Führer Englands und Amerikas nunmehr

die Entwicklung einer neuen Zeit richtig erkennen und damit ihre Weltherrschaftspläne aufgeben würden. Diese hätten mit uns gemeinsam an der Errichtung eines Weltfriedens mitgewirkt, eines gerechten Weltfriedens, in dem die Völker die ursprünglichen Aufgaben eines jeden Volkes achten und verstehen. Ihre rettungslose Aroganz und Ihr Mangel an Vernunft haben aber alle unsere Hoffnungen über Bord geworfen und schliesslich die gegenwärtige Weltkrise herbeigeführt. Japan, Deutschland und Italien marschieren heute Schulter an Schulter im Geiste einer Völkerverständigung als Vorkämpfer der Welt-erneuerung. Ihr Ziel ist die Errichtung einer gerechten Neuordnung. Wenn wir, mit diesen erhabenen Idealen vor Augen, eng mit einander verbunden, vorwärtsmarschieren, werden wir jeden Widerstand brechen, der uns im Wege steht. Und ich bin fest davon überzeugt, dass die Zeit nicht mehr weit entfernt ist, wo alle Völker in Asien und Europa unter unserem starken Schutz, vom Druck Englands und Amerikas befreit, gemeinsam und glücklich leben.

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass sowohl England wie auch Amerika an die alleinige Herrschaft der Materie glauben, ist es wohl anzunehmen, dass sie im Vertrauen auf ihre ausgedehnten Gebiete und reichen Hilfsquellen zähen Widerstand zu leisten versuchen. Es versteht sich deshalb von selbst, dass unsere gewaltige Aufbauarbeit an einer neuen Weltordnung vor ihrer Vollendung noch manche Schwierigkeiten überwinden muss. Wir müssen uns deshalb an diesem geschichtlichen Tag Wort und Geist des Dreimächteabkommens weiterhin zu eigen machen und den Entschluss fassen, im vollen gegenseitigen Vertrauen, mutig und überzeugt, diesen Krieg siegreich zu Ende zu kämpfen und damit unser gemeinsames Ziel zu erreichen.

SUPPLEMENT II

1. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE ENEMY PROPAGANDA

January 19, 1942.

As has been frequently clarified before, the aim of Japan in the present War of the Greater East Asia is not of aggression or of territorial aggrandizement. Neither is it of racial animosity, nor that against religious freedom, more in particular that against the Catholic church who has been so friendly to Japan hithertofore. As has been stated so many times in the past, the sole aim of Japan is that of self-defence against the aggrandizements of the United States of America and of the British Empire. In spite of all this explanation, the enemy countries are propagandizing that Japan has now started a war of races, of religious intolerance, and of aggression.

We refute these evil propagandas by concrete evidences and facts which go to show that the enemy propagandas are entirely baseless. On January 12 last, the Japanese authorities in Peking met with Bishop Montien and twenty-four other religious representatives, including three Chinese and two Japanese, to confer on the situation and at the time the Japanese aim of war was fully explained along the lines stated previously herein. The conferees fully concurred with the statements of the Japanese Government and they all agreed, headed by Bishop Montien, most willingly to co-operate intimately henceforth with Japan in her constructive undertaking in East Asia.

2. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE LATIN-
AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT RIO DE JANEIRO

January 26, 1942.

Apparently the general assembly of the Rio de Janeiro Conference of American Foreign Ministers is about to adopt a

resolution recommending the severance of diplomatic relations by all the American countries with the Axis Powers.

Nothing would serve the selfish purpose of the United States of America better than a blind obedience of the Latin American nations to her dictate, directing them a step further to plunge themselves in the maelstrom of armed conflict without the least plausible excuse. What the colossus of North America wanted was an interpretation of the so-called solidarity of America in such a way that a war by the United States of America was a war by all other American countries as well, even at the sacrifice of their sovereignty and independence.

Various reports have come stating that the United States of America, in view of the strong oppositions of the leading South American republics, has resorted to all sorts of tactics—political, economic and military—to cajole or intimidate them in order to attain the egotistic end of the northern colossus. For example: Brazil has been reported to have been intimidated by the United States of America by an economic boycott and oppression. Peru is reported to have been challenged by the forcing of an unfavorable decision of her pending border dispute. Argentina was intimidated by the United States of America even to the extent of being interfered with her own internal affairs by a created revolution planned by the United States of America. It has been reported by the U.P. correspondent from Geneva that Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stated that there was a necessity for a Presidential change in Argentina, in case the latter would not agree to the intents of the North American country.

All these examples are an expose of the highly-touted Good Neighbor Policy so often proclaimed by President Roosevelt and Secretary of States Hull. That policy is supposed to respect the sovereignty and the independence of a nation. The true color of the Rooseveltian policy has now become clear not by mere warnings but by concrete facts and definite deeds.

We are glad to learn that Argentina and Chile, in spite of

all these intimidations from the North, have decided not to sever immediately their diplomatic relations with the Axis Powers, thereby maintaining their own sovereign position. We shall remember their gallant fight for their independence and at the same time we have a feeling of high respect for such a show of independent decision.

3. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WAR SITUATION IN THE SOUTH- WESTERN PACIFIC

January 28, 1942.

With the successful landing of our forces on the islands of New Britain and New Ireland as well as at Balik Papan in Dutch Borneo and Menado in the Celebes and with Singapore practically lost, the strategic strongholds of the enemy for the defence of Australia and the Netherlands East-Indies has now come to the verge of collapse, for no effective aid can safely reach them in the face of Japanese military, naval and air superiority in the Southwestern Pacific. It is clear that Great Britain is in no position to aid any country, when she herself is in an imminent danger of internal political trouble with the Cabinet too busily occupied in making explanations for the successive defeats of the British forces in Malaya and Burma, and when another Dunkirk is staring in her face. The United States, on the other hand, has no means by which she can extend her assistance in spite of all the grandiose paper plans. The situation being such, the whole world must have been amazed to hear from Washington that President Roosevelt gave what he himself described as good news to Dr. van Mook, Vice-Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies, that his Government were prepared to strengthen the latter. The frantic appeals of the Australian War Cabinet to Prime Minister Churchill and

President Roosevelt for immediate re-enforcements of planes, ships and materials are now destined to be answered by the usual promises which are high-sounding but empty. The characteristic blunder of the British Cabinet has proved too much for the Australian people to bear with. The Melbourne Argus has burst out in desperation with the complaint that the British assistance is always belated, as may be seen in the cases of Greece, Crete and other areas of important operations. In the defence of the Pacific, the Argus continued, the British Cabinet again revealed its utter incompetence and vacillation, inviting very serious consequences. In view of these circumstances, the Argus said, "We must be ready to see a complete collapse of not only Australia and other British possessions but the entire British Empire and the Allied countries."

To such complaints of Australia Prime Minister Churchill gave a cold reply yesterday in his speech before the Parliament that Britain and the United States are taking measures to re-enforce Australia and New Zealand but if Australian troops want to go back to defend their own country, no obstacles will be made.

Mr. Churchill added that, "I think we must learn other worse news from the Far East because things were bad but the worse is yet coming."

4. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION AT FOREIGN PRESS CONFERENCE CONCERNING THE FALL OF SINGAPORE

February 16, 1942.

Premier Tojo has just announced at the Diet a general outline of Japan's policy in prosecuting the present War of Greater East Asia. I need not, I believe, elaborate on the political and military significance of the fall of Singapore. Suffice it to say that the occupation of Singapore spells the doom of the British

imperialism in East Asia. What I want to say at this time is the phase of the present War which is likely to be forgotten by the general public both at home and abroad.

The War which Japan is now prosecuting against the United States and British Empire is not merely to crush those two powerful opponents in military sense but to realize a new order in this part of the world. Even during the China Affair, Japan has exerted extraordinary effort to increase her productive capacity in economic and industrial fields especially in heavy industries, replenishing necessary equipments. This is testified by the fact, although I cannot give the exact figures under the circumstances which are obvious to you, that Japan's industrial productive capacity has witnessed a remarkable expansion so much so that she is now more than able to carry on the present War with the United States and British Empire to a successful end.

In financial matters also, there has been a phenomenal growth of our country's strength during these war years as shown by the fact that huge budgets have been made to work without any appreciable hitch. As for the development of the natural resources, thanks to the close economic co-operation between Japan, Manchoukuo and China, it has made such progress that the inexhaustible natural resources of both Manchoukuo and occupied territories in China have been steadily developed to the benefit of not only Japan but the peoples of those countries concerned. The deserted mines and factories in China have been revived to produce necessary materials and goods, while a considerable number of industrial plants have already been restored to the Chinese in accordance with the Basic Treaty concluded sometime ago between the Japanese Government and the National Government at Nanking. Not only that, Japan has extended whole-hearted support to the latter Government to realize peace, order and economic prosperity in the regions under the latter's political jurisdiction. Even in the British Concessions in China, peace has been consistently

maintained with their inhabitants contented in their daily life. The prevailing peace in the International Settlement in Shanghai attests to Japan's policy directed toward the recovery of peaceful economic life of the people concerned.

Our relations with French Indo-China is an outstanding example of Japan's peaceful intention. Trade between Japan and French Indo-China has grown considerably in volume with their amicable intercourse increasing in warmth.

As regards Thailand, our ally, her cordial co-operation with Japan has been greatly appreciated by our people. Various political and economic agreements recently concluded between the two countries are the living proof of the constructive efforts on the part of not only Japan but Thailand, notwithstanding the present extensive hostilities.

In the Philippines, we see the Administration, under the leadership of Mr. Vargas, successfully carrying on the task of restoring peace and order immediately after the occupation. His prestige is increasing as the work of reconstruction is progressing. Save for a few exceptions, the vast majority of the Filipinos are inclined to co-operate with the Japanese authorities on the spot, and are eagerly looking forward to new opportunities presented by the changed situation. Already transportation and communication systems are being rapidly restored to accelerate the restoration of normal economic life.

Now turning to the Malay Peninsula, we find that the Sultans and Rajahs, such as, the Sultans of Kedah, Kelantan, and Perak, Abdul Hamid, Sir Ismail and Abdul Aziz, and the Rajah of Perlis, Tuan Syed, and the Rajah of Trengganu, Sir Sulaiman, have all shown their whole-hearted co-operation in restoring peace and order in their lands and reorganizing their respective administrations. The Sultan of Selangor, Hisamuddin alam Shah, broadcast on December 30, from Penang, declaring his loyalty to the Japanese forces, stating: "The Japanese troops are saving Asia; therefore, we must co-operate with Japan." The Crown Prince of Kedah spoke over the same

radio to the similar effect. Practically all of the nine rulers in Malaya are known for the friendly inclination to Japan—a natural reaction against the British domination which has proved destructive of all things cherished by the Malayan peoples. The Sultan of Johore, Sir Ibrahim, is now personally supervising his Royal guards in the work of reconstruction in his State. Such is the general attitude of the Malayan rulers and peoples—a good omen for the future development of that region. I need not add that the Japanese authorities will afford them their whole-hearted support and co-operation to bring about a happy state of affairs in all phases of their lives.

In the British and Dutch East-Indies, it is a foregone conclusion, in view of the policy enunciated by the Premier, that everything will be done to develop natural resources with which those regions abound, and this will naturally be beneficial to the economic life of the Indonesian people.

Although it is premature to state concretely the actual progress of reconstruction work in these South Sea regions where hostilities are in progress, it may be said that the Government's plan of economic construction in these regions as stated by the President of the Planning Board, General Suzuki, on the 23rd of last month, in his reply to an interpellation at the Diet Session, indicates that well-balanced development of various industries is contemplated. Experienced industrialists will be used instead of the so-called special companies for the development of oil, mining and agricultural industries.

As regards the civilian participation in rehabilitating the occupied areas, the recent appointment of the outstanding leaders in various fields of activity in Japan clearly shows that Japan's administration over these regions will be carried on in such a manner as will meet the wishes of the peoples in general.

The latest indication of the scope of constructive efforts of Japan in the occupied areas is the establishment of a powerful new organization called, the Greater East Asian Construction Council, whose members represent all walks of life, and are

reputed for their experience and ability. The Council is to deliberate on questions submitted to it by the Cabinet in connection with all matters of importance to the construction of Greater East Asia. The establishment of such a council comprising outstanding experts in their respective fields foretells an epoch-making construction in Greater East Asia with promise of fulfilling our ideal state of co-existence and co-prosperity of all the peoples in this part of the world.

5. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER'S RADIO ADDRESS OF FEBRUARY 16, 1942 AT THE OCCASION OF THE FALL OF SINGAPORE

February 18, 1942.

The news of the Fall of Singapore seems to have been so painful to the British Prime Minister that even his oratory could not hide his emotion and ease the shock of his listeners throughout the British Empire and the allied camp.

Prime Minister Churchill stated in his radio address (February 16) that the "shield of sea power" "which protected the lands of the Pacific was dashed to the ground" when both the American Pacific Fleet and the British Asiatic Fleet were overthrown, and that the effect "was like the breaking of some mighty dam".

The more significant admission, however, is seen in his own words. He said, "It would never have been in the power of Great Britain to defend the Pacific and the Far East", for "we have only just been able to keep our heads above water at home; —in the Nile Valley and the middle East".

These authoritative words are the most eloquent testimonial of the British inability to come to the aid of her allies, of which

fact the Netherlands East-Indies, Australia and New Zealand as well as Burma and Chungking could not fail to take full notice.

Thus the Australian Prime Minister, John Curtin, who had repeatedly assured his people that the war materials from Britain and America were already on their way to their country, could no longer mislead the innocent people and finally confessed over the radio, on February 16, saying, "no longer may we depend on external forces and external support."

Such is the fate of the much heralded aid—be it to Australia, the Netherlands East-Indies or Chungking, as we have repeatedly warned them in the past.

6. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE EFFECT OF THE FALL OF SINGAPORE ON THE ALLIES

February 23, 1942.

The fall of Singapore have brought confusion and disappointment to the so-called allied camp.

The fact that Premier Churchill, who had refused to reorganize his cabinet only several weeks ago finally had to succumb to the demand for its reorganization, is an eloquent commentary on the non-confidence of the public in his government.

In an article in the Daily Mail, Ward Price lamented that Great Britain spent a huge sum of money for Singapore. However, the Maginot Line of the sea has fallen into the enemy hands. The pillar of the Far East was dashed away; the British efforts and interests accumulated during the past 150 years were wiped away completely during these brief 66 days.

However, he did not forget to pass the buck of the remote cause for the loss of Singapore to the United States of America. Price continued saying, "Singapore had really fallen already on the 7th of December, last year. It was as good as lost when on

that fatal Sunday morning, the American Pacific Fleet suffered such a great setback at Pearl Harbour, for the American fleet was requested by the British to attack Japan."

What Mr. Bernard Akworth, captain of the British navy, says in an article in the Daily Mail of February 10, is enough to open the eyes of those who had been dazzled by the huge figures on the mammoth Armament Program made public by the American and British Authorities. He says, "When all bases in the Pacific are lost, the question becomes no longer of the number of ships between the Axis and the Allies. However strong a navy may be, it is almost powerless when its bases are lost. The only remaining naval bases are Plymouth for the British and Hawaii for the American navy."

The astonishment and confusion of the Australian authorities are beyond imagination.

Although we had in the past repeatedly warned the Australian people that the so-called British and American aids were destined to end in unhonoured cheque and had advised them to reconsider their attitude, they showed no signs of listening to us and had come to face this day, thereby courting disaster by themselves.

Thus, Sydney Daily Telegraph frankly stated that the so-called "large-scale aids" of Britain and the promise for an offensive against Japan in 1943 is now entirely meaningless. What they wish to know is when and where England will take definite resistance against Japan. But this question seems to be a foolish one. For, several weeks ago Premier Churchill replied to the same question in Parliament stating that Britain was fully occupied and that if Australia wished to withdraw her army, she might do so. Such is the reward given by the British Government to the Australian army who fought bravely for the sake of Britain, always ahead of the British line in the Libyan, Near East and Malayan fronts.

It may be easily imagined what kind of further reward will be given to the Indian, Burmese, Dutch East-Indian and Chiang

Kai-shek army, who are induced to fight against Japan, by the opportunistic Britishers.

The Chungking regime also seems to have come to be disillusioned by the disastrous defeats inflicted upon Britain and America.

The Chungking Spokesman Wang stated, on February 17, that the Chungking regime had never promised the United States that it would take a large scaled offensive against Japan. For such an offensive there must be sufficient supply of arms and amunition and that without an assurance of such supplies from the United States and Great Britain, it is impossible for Chungking to carry on offensive operations against Japan.

7. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE POOR
STATESMANSHIP OF CHURCHILL
AND ROOSEVELT

February 27, 1942.

Premier Churchill said in the House of Commons, on February 24, that "with the outbreak of the war with Japan, the British position has been jeopardized several fold" and that their forces in the Southwest Pacific were "inferior numerically". He added that, "It will doubtless prove extremely difficult and involve highest sacrifice for Britain to recover her former position in East Asia", since the mastery of the air and sea was "completely in the hands of the Japanese".

Premier Churchill's confession is quite a contrast to his chauvinistic utterances of the past. Only six months ago, upon his return to England after the Atlantic conference, Premier Churchill, using the customary trick of intimidation, spoke over the radio that if the negotiations between the United States of America and Japan should fail, "we, of course, range ourselves, unhesitatingly, at the side of the United States within an hour

after the American declaration of war".

President Roosevelt also said in his speech of February 23, "The tasks that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost. Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort". While Colonel Knox, secretary of the Navy, addressing to the American Naval forces all over the world said, "You are being asked in most cases to face a foe outnumbering you in men and equipment".

Again these statements are in strange contrast to their bellicose speeches of only a few months ago which are too well-known to require their citation.

There are chauvinists in every country but the far-sighted statesmen always keep their balance in steering their ship of state. Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt have violated all cannons of good statesmanship by allowing themselves to become the foremost standard-bearers of chauvinism in their respective countries. It is they, who have committed inexcusable errors in plunging their country into a war with Japan. For such follies not only the Anglo-American people but also the peoples of the countries who are parties to the so-called anti-axis cause must suffer for generations to come.

8. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE UNTRUSTWORTHINESS OF AMERICAN WAR ANNOUNCEMENTS

March 2, 1942.

As you were informed by the announcement of the Imperial Headquarters, yesterday, the Japanese naval forces in the Dutch East-Indies waters gave a crushing blow to the combined enemy fleet in the battles off Batavia and Soerabaya by sinking 11 war vessels of American, Dutch and Australian fleets. In the light of the past records, we are waiting with the utmost interest what sort of an announcement the American and Dutch Governments

will make concerning this disaster. It is possible that America will announce the loss of the Dutch fleet or claim the destruction of eleven Japanese warships. Let us see one of the past records.

The American Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, announced on December 15, last, that six naval vessels were sunk at Pearl Harbor. While President Roosevelt in his Washington's Birthday Speech, on February 23, announced that only 3 warships were sunk.

On this very subject, our Imperial Headquarters announced, on December 18, last, the total damages of the United States fleet at Pearl Harbor were 8 ships sunk and 12 damaged.

It may be presumed safely that all the intelligent people of America realize the heavy damage, suffered by the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and elsewhere. The only person in a responsible position, who is miserably misinformed seems to be its Chief Executive Roosevelt.

It may be worthwhile for newspapermen to convey some good photographs of the Pearl Harbor disaster, which you have already seen in Japan, to President Roosevelt for his information.

9. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE UNTRUSTWORTHINESS OF BRITISH PROMISES

March 6, 1942.

When it became necessary for Britain to defend her own stronghold, Singapore, she, with the help of America, gathered around her the Dutch East-Indies, Australia and Chungking to draw up the much-heralded ABCD line of attack against Japan. And, she made such inducements as offers of out and out support of Britain and America.

She had her own General Wavell appointed as the Supreme Commander in the Southwestern Pacific. - Britain was thus able to divert a large number of men and materials from Dutch East-

Indies and Australia for the defence of Singapore on the excuse that its defence was vital for the defence of both the Dutch East-Indies and Australia.

Now that Singapore has fallen and the defence of Java and Australia became hopeless, Britain thought the defence of Burma and India means more. So Britain finds it more convenient to desert her comrades-in-war by dissolving the Supreme Command and leaving Java and Australia to fight alone. By withdrawing General Wavell as the Allied Commander at the most critical juncture in the defence of Java, Britain is about to add the Dutch East-Indies and Australia to the long list of deserted countries sacrificed to the altar of British selfishness and treachery, such as Poland, France, Holland, Belgium and Greece.

10. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PER-
SECUTION OF AXIS NATIONALS IN
THE UNITED STATES

March 6, 1942.

Ever since the outbreak of the present War, the American Government authorities have been in a state of hysteria, for they were unable to find any means of appeasing the public in the face of repeated set-backs suffered by their military and naval forces. However, they were successful in diverting the attention of the public from the disasters in the field of battle to the so-called "spy activities" by the Axis nationals. It is still fresh in our memory that the U. S. authorities arrested hundreds of Axis civilians following the debacle at Pearl Harbor on the pretext that that disaster was due to the "fifth columnist activities" of the Axis peoples.

Since then, the American authorities have repeatedly arrested Axis civilians, most of whom are innocent citizens on the ground that they happened to possess quite harmless articles

like auto-maps, cameras or radio sets. It is noteworthy that these arrests had taken place each time following a military or naval reverse which the American authorities attempted to conceal from the public.

The most recent outrage has taken place on the heels of the great naval disasters off Soerabaya and Batavia. According to a press report the American authorities decided to oust from the entire western coast 140,000 Axis nationals, including 120,000 Japanese, the majority of whom are American citizens by birth.

Such persecution of Japanese and Axis civilians by the American Government by forcibly and summarily ejecting them from places where they have led law-abiding lives for years, clearly shows in what state of consternation the American authorities find themselves.

I wish to tender my heartfelt sympathy to my brethren and German and Italian civilians who are made the victims of American spyphobia.

11. STATEMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE
BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE
SALVATION OF AUSTRALIA

March 11, 1942.

After the fall of Singapore and Batavia, Australia is desperately crying for help by having her Minister to the United States Casey make a public appeal that "the utmost Australia could do by itself will not be enough to halt the Japanese."

To this pathetic cry of Australia, Britain's answer was coldly to dissolve the Allied Supreme Command, leaving the Dutch and the Australians alone in the most critical hour of their history.

The American answer was a little more polite as is shown by the statement recently made by the Secretary of War Stimson that "material reinforcements had been sent by the United States to the Southwestern Pacific" the previous week.

But what Australia wants is not mere words but the actual delivery of planes and tanks and guns which, in the face of Japanese naval and air supremacy in that region, are impossible to reach their destination. In this hopeless situation, continued resistance begets nothing but disaster and suffering for the Australian people, as it has just been the experience of the Netherlands East-Indies. A living lesson is before them now. We wonder, for whom and for what purpose the Australian Government continue their useless and hopeless resistance at the expense of the innocent population whose untold suffering and misery are the only rewards for the folly of their Government.

The best and the only way for Australia to take was shown by Premier Tojo on January 21st, at the Diet, when he declared that if "the Australian people continue as at present their attitude of resisting Japan, we will show no mercy in crushing them." But if they "come to understand Japan's real intentions and express willingness to co-operate with Japan, we will not hesitate to extend them our help with full understanding for their welfare and progress."

Should the Australian Government fail to appreciate and take advantage of the advice, the same fate that had befallen Singapore and Java awaits her. She should beware of the handwriting on the wall!

12. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE FLIGHT OF GENERAL MACARTHUR

March 18, 1942.

The former Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies, Tjarda van Starckenborgh Stachouwer is reported to have stated in a press interview on March 17, at Bandoeng, that if he had been free to act as he wanted before the outbreak of the present War, it could have been possible for the Netherlands East-Indies

to prevent such misfortune as has just befallen them and some peaceful solution with Japan might have been found.

The above statement is nothing but an admission of the fact that even the Governor-General could not resist the continuous powerful pressure brought to bear upon the Dutch East-Indies by the United States and Britain to compel that Dutch colony to join in their aggressive war against Japan, and that the Dutch East-Indies had to fight Japan against her own will.

Before the Dutch East-Indies capitulated, the Anglo-American officials, as well as the press, urged the Dutch East-Indies to fight Japan to the last, saying that those islands constituted the last stronghold in the South Seas region to check Japanese onslaught. Now, the same Anglo-American Powers are shouting, "Australia is our last stronghold. We must defend it at all cost."

It is interesting to note that the enemy camp has so many "last strongholds" which they would defend but could not hold despite their much-heralded assistance in men and materials. What the former Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies said must serve to warn Australia against the possibility, nay, the probability of following the foot-steps of the Dutch East-Indies if she continues to listen to the Anglo-American Powers.

I might add in this connection that according to the information just received, the War Department at Washington has announced that General MacArthur left the Philippines with his wife and staff officers, and arrived safely in Australia. The American Government is, of course, clever enough to discover a good excuse for his flight in his appointment as the Allied Commander in the Southwestern Pacific. But the news of MacArthur's flight is a surprise to us, because he was supposed to be the American hero No. 1, defending the Philippines to the last. However, MacArthur has a number of precedents to follow. He is but one of many allied commanders who have forsaken their posts and men as well as the people whom they were supposed to protect, such as, General Popham, Wavell, Bennett and

Admiral Hart. It is always the rank and file who are exposed to an attack, and invariably the innocent populace are left to suffer the consequences of war.

13. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE UN-
O TRUSTWORTHINESS OF BRITISH AND
AMERICAN PROPAGANDA

March 20, 1942.

The British propaganda machine is busy turning out stories in an attempt to re-invigorate the fastwaning morale not only of their people but of their allies as well.

Recently, the British propaganda ministry had its broadcasting staff make public a comparison of the estimated war potentialities of the principal countries. According to this table, taking the German figure as 100, the combined potential strength of the allied Powers is arbitrarily estimated at 370, and that of the Axis Powers as 185.

If the British wish to indulge in the game of juggling figures, they are quite free to do so. But if they think that they can influence the intelligent people of the world by a mere presentation of such dogmatic figures which shows no reliable standard of calculation nor other necessary details, I am sure that they will be greatly disillusioned.

Also it may be noted that the British propagandists are violating their own taboo in propaganda, which they gave out in the same broadcast, namely, "if the lie is recognized for the deliberate untruth then the whole campaign of propaganda falls to the ground."

The more naive and the more childish—therefore the more laughable—means of propaganda is resorted to by the American broadcasting stations. They broadcast from San Francisco, crediting the Chilean journalists, Mr. Carlos Barry, having sent

a dispatch, on the 18th, to the *EL Chileno* of Santiago confirming the suicide of General Honma.

Probably America doesn't know that Mr. Barry, who is now in Tokyo, expressed his feeling of extreme indignation against the American station for deliberately spreading such an utter fabrication and, that he has already sent his strong denial to his home press.

Such clumsy propaganda will do no harm to Japan. On the contrary, it is certain to prove a boomerang to their own publicity program which has been fast losing its trustworthiness.

The American Government must have realized this fact, because the latest information we received says that the American Government officially announced on the 18th that they "will hereafter make public all informations good or bad regarding the war unless they do not help the enemy." This official announcement is an admission, though belated, that the past American official announcements have not told the whole truth.

This decision to tell the truth must be quite pleasant to the American public who are hungry for the true and unadulterated reports of the war by the Government. But, unfortunately the development of the war, both in Greater East Asia and the Atlantic are such as to compel the American Government to issue reports which are bound to help their enemy.

14. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE
CRIPPS PLAN

April 1, 1942.

The Cripps Plan for the settlement of the Indian problem which was jealously kept secret was finally made public the day before yesterday in the form of a statement.

As it has been generally expected, there is nothing new in the Cripps Plan, which has any appeal to the intelligent Indian

people. The gist of the plan is:

First, that India is to furnish to Britain all possible resources in men and materials to fight Britain's war, under the complete control of the British Commander-in-Chief. In other words, India is to serve, as in the last Great War, as tools with which to carry out the British Imperial design.

Secondly, for this out-and-out sacrifice for Britain, India's reward is the usual promise of a self-governing Dominion status, for which negotiations are said to be conducted about a year after the war.

Ignoring all historical circumstances surrounding the question of the Indian problem, Cripps called upon the Indian people to turn their back to the past and accept the British proposal. In order to make the Indians swallow the proposal as a whole, Cripps made an excuse saying that "in these troublous times, we could not set about forging a new constitution. It was too important a matter for the future of India to be improvised in a hurried way." It is superfluous to recall that the similar promise was made to the Indians by the British Secretary of India, Mr. E. S. Montagu, in his statement in the House of Commons, on August 20, 1917, when Britain was, as now, in bad need of India's help.

Twenty-five long years have passed since Montagu's promise was made. Has Britain made any earnest endeavour to carry out that promise during these long years? No! not at all. It seems that Britain can make promises and pledges freely when she is hard-pressed, but to carry out such promises is entirely another matter for her. To say that there is no time to forge a new constitution for India now is tantamount to saying that there will never be time for the consideration of the welfare of the 390,000,000 people of India.

Moreover, if the matter is "too important for the future of India to be improvised in a hurried way", why does Britain force India to decide her future within a brief space of only a few days by presenting to the Indians what amounts to an ultimatum and

threaten them with the "take it or leave it" attitude.

Cripps added that India was now threatened by the aggressor whose hands were "soaked in blood". He seems to be suffering from a severe amnesia.

The whole world knows who has been the aggressor of India and who has exploited her during the past two-hundred years. And the Indian people know best whose hands were soaked with Indian blood in the Amritsar massacre of April 13, 1919, when thousands of innocent Indians were machine-gunned mercilessly to death.

Cripps advised that his plan might "if wisely handled seal forever India's freedom". But we repeat our warning that if India does not handle the problem wisely by avoiding herself from being trapped again by British deception, India's freedom will surely be sealed forever.

15. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE INDIAN NEGOTIATIONS

April 10, 1942.

Various press and other reports indicate that the British compromise plan for the settlement of the question looks to an appointment of an Indian as Minister of Defence and Indian representation in the British War Cabinet and the Pacific War Council. The plan seems to contain also a provision for a gradual modification of India's existing internal political system to appease the Indian people. The changed plan continues to retain for Britain the firm grip on the vitally important command of the Indian fighting services by having a British general as Commander-in-Chief. In other words, the only change made in the original Cripps plan is the appointment of the Indians to posts of titular distinction which can be completely ignored at the whim of the British whenever a necessity arises, especially at

the time of war, when Britain is struggling on the verge of collapse, and is willing to sacrifice the blood and treasures of all except her own to save her life. You may well visualize the scene at New Delhi in which Cripps and Louis Johnson, the representatives of the so-called champions of democracy are resorting to all sorts of persuasion, flattery, intimidation and bribery to inveigle the Indian leaders only to impose their will upon them. The scene is certainly one of comic-tragedy.

Even if some of the Indian leaders acquiesce in the British proposal for their own peculiar reasons, it is more than probable that India will get no practical benefit from the improvised plan of Britain. And her long-cherished aspiration for complete independence will remain unrealized as long as the wily British remain in India with a commanding voice.

What attitude Japan takes regarding the question of India has repeatedly been made clear through the official statements of the responsible officials. But in a nutshell, these Japanese statements lay the greatest emphasis upon the importance that the Indians should endeavour earnestly to bring about "the Government of the Indian people, by the Indian people, and for the Indian people." Nothing short of this will assure the future happiness of India.

16. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION AT THE OCCASION OF THE FAILURE OF THE CRIPPS MISSION

April 13, 1942.

It is natural that Sir Stafford Cripps, British special Envoy to India, and leaders of India have agreed to disagree on the settlement of the relations of British and Indian peoples, as announced by Sir Stafford in his radio message on Saturday night.

The demands made by the Indian leaders for an immediate

revision of its constitution and the organization of a new national government, independent from British interference are entirely reasonable and should have been accepted if Britain's pledge for the free India was sincere. Instead, however, of accepting those rightful demands, Sir Stafford refused the proposal and sought to explain away the failure of his mission by harping on the minority question.

Cripps' bitter disappointment over this failure can be well imagined. And, in his radio message, Cripps charged that Japan was seeking a fresh conquest of India, which was most irrelevant to the negotiation between Britain and India, to say the least; especially since Premier Tojo has repeatedly declared that Japan would do everything in her power to assist India in attaining her long-cherished national aspiration for independence. No less irrelevant is Cripps' charge hurled against Japan that only misery and starvation will come to India as in China, in case Japan conquers India which is wholly imaginary. The Chinese people in Japanese occupied area are co-operating wholeheartedly with Japan in accordance with the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in order to realize Asia for Asiatics. It is true that the Chinese in the unoccupied areas are not fully co-operating with Japan, but they are not to blame, because they are being forced to take such attitude toward Japan by the Chungking regime, which in its turn has been enthralled by Britain and America.

In short, Cripps' message to India on the morrow of his failure is designed to throw ashes into the eyes of intelligent people of India in particular and of the world in general by white-washing Britain's insincerity toward India.

17. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE RAID
OF TOKYO BY ENEMY PLANES

April 20, 1942.

For some time past, the United States Government has been confronted by an extremely embarrassing situation of becoming the object of profound disappointment of the allied powers, particularly Australia and the Chungking regime, at the failure of the so-called American offensive to take place. For this offensive the peoples of these countries including military experts have loudly clamored, and there has been an increasing demand within the United States herself for the start of the promised offensive especially after the fall of the Bataan Peninsula, the stronghold which the American Government and fighting services had previously boasted that they would hold to the last man. The public realized that in these circumstances, the American Government was sure to lose any opportunity for turning the tide of war if it should wait until 1943-1944, the year in which it had claimed to carry out its offensive plan, for the realization of such offensive operations would be rendered utterly impossible by the successive defeats of the American forces on all fronts while their allies were losing their battles in Europe, North Africa and in the Indian Ocean, with the Axis Powers always taking the initiative on all fronts against the Anglo-American combination. The public opinion in America has been desperately shouting the questions, "Where is the American Navy? Where is the American Air Force?" American newspapers have even begun to discuss the possibility of expelling from the cabinet Secretary of the Navy Knox, Secretary of the War Stimson and Secretary of State Hull, all of whom are responsible for the present disastrous situation.

Pushed into the corner where they must do something to appease the public as well as to save its own face, the American

Government at last discovered and resorted to the only measure left as has been carried out on the 18th—an air raid with a propaganda purpose on Yokohama and Tokyo districts. It is clear beyond any doubt that Saturday's raid was a measure calculated to retrieve America's declining prestige over other countries and to pacify the heated internal public opinion as well as to disconcert, if possible, the mind of the Japanese people. It actually proved to be merely a sort of a publicity campaign, and is, therefore, fundamentally different in its nature from the thoroughgoing bombing of the Philippines or Ceylon, which the Japanese forces have carried out, as they always do, with the purpose of exterminating enemy fleets and military establishments. In fact, the American air raid proved to be an extremely ignominious and indiscriminate bombing not distinguishing between peaceful and military establishments, with no definite aims taken at military establishments in particular. It is natural that it failed completely to adversely affect the Japanese people, who remained as calm and composed as usual. In short, the recent American raid accomplished nothing to speak of.

The fact should be remembered, however, that they machine-gunned such institutions as primary schools, where innocent children were either at play or study, and hospitals where helpless invalids were being taken care of, causing casualties among these children, patients and civilians only. Having perpetrated such barbarous acts, even after they were indicted by the whole world for the cruel massacre of Japanese residents at Davao and the manhandling of Filipino soldiers and civilians, the American authorities as well as their publicity organs have completely and permanently deprived themselves of any excuse or pretext to accuse other countries' aerial bombing on grounds of the principle of humanity.

As for the second purpose of the American Government to appease the public opinion, it appears to have been accomplished but only for the time being. As in the cases of the submarine Sea Wolf and the alleged expedition of General Royce to the

Philippines which the American propaganda machine utilized in a manner wholly contrary to actual facts of the case, various organs of American propaganda will no doubt take up the recent air raid to promote their propaganda campaign, claiming as in the past cases, as if this simple raid has dealt an overwhelming blow to Japan's military power. Some people may well be expected to give credence to such false publicity. In fact, American Congressmen in charge of important committees are already reported to have declared boastfully that the recent raid was the beginning of America's offensive. Circles in the Chungking regime and others seem also to have been extremely exhilarated by the report of the raid as if it was a great victory. But, however eagerly they spread reports of such fictitious nature concerning the so-called American military exploits, it would be like a camphor injection to the dying man, the efficacy of which will be but for a moment. The American propaganda, which has already lost its prestige through its deliberate distortion of facts as have been proved thoroughly in the cases of the Pearl Harbor battle and in the case of alleging the suicide of Lieutenant-General Honma in the Bataan Peninsula, is destined to become an object of contempt and ridicule of the intelligent people not only in the United States but in other countries, as the actual facts of the recent air-raid—its complete failure—become clearly known. It would be interesting to see the reaction of the American public as well as that of their allies when the reality of the recent ignoble attempt of American airplanes is clearly revealed in that country, exposing again the falsity of the American propaganda. It will no doubt express itself pathologically in a very despondent state of mind of the American Government and people, which will unquestionably invite a mixed feeling of compassion and scorn on the part of the public of the world.

18. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE LOW
STATE OF REUTERS PROPAGANDA

April 10, 1942.

War has a way of doing many extraordinary things to men. Reuters seems to have become a victim of just such influences.

The Reuters news agency had in the past commanded the respect of the world for its unimpeachable character in news reporting. But the successive defeats suffered by Britain everywhere whether on land, sea or in the air, since the outbreak of the present European war, seem to have made Reuters to resort to more and more distortion of facts for propaganda purposes.

The recent flagrant case is the Reuters' International Broadcast which was sent out from London on the 7th. That broadcast alleged that I said, "regardless of who holds the command of the armed forces in India, we must crush that army."

As you all know, the pertinent points of what I said at that press conference were that if India took the side of Britain, no matter who might retain the command of its army, the only way left for us is to crush that whole army.

Comments or criticisms of other's statements even in a most ugly manner may be tolerated, but the deliberate distortion of a quotation is the meanest and the most disgraceful means of propaganda to which Reuters succumbed, spoiling their own time-honoured tradition.

However, the above example is just one of the many outstanding examples of the enemy's scheme of propaganda to which category also belongs the recent Chungking allegation of the Japanese army's use of poison gases and bacteria, and Australia's propaganda concerning the alleged shooting of the surrendering soldiers in the New Britain Island. These utterly unfounded propaganda are not worth the trouble even of refutation.

All of these utter fabrications may fool some people some

of the time, but eventually the truth will be revealed which will then serve as a boomerang to the spreaders of false propaganda.

19. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON ENEMY PROPAGANDA
REGARDING THE CORAL SEA BATTLE

May 15, 1942.

Another example of the already mounting discord among the enemy allies is found in their allegations concerning the so-called allied victory at the Battle of the Coral Sea.

The fictitious propaganda which emanated from General McArthur's headquarter was taken up by the American and Chungking Agencies in order to mislead their war-weary public into believing the story of victory.

The British and the Australians, however, let the cat out of the bag. The Australian Army Minister Ford, on May 12, forecast "a long and bitter fighting in the Pacific warfare and reverses for the allied forces," saying that "it would be foolish to assume that the action in the Coral Sea repulsed the Japanese permanently."

The Australian newspaper magnate, Sir Keith Murdoch also expressed his gloomy views by saying, "although the Japanese are reported to have suffered more severely than the allied units in the recent naval battle in the Coral Sea, the Japanese fleet is still intact with lots of striking power."

The BBC commentator, on May 12, endorsed the above views by saying that "the fact is, of course, that the main Japanese battle fleet is in no way seriously impaired, if at all."

The clean victory of the Japanese forces and therefore the utter defeat of the enemy allies was admitted by an outstanding naval expert, who, commenting in the New York Post on the Australian Prime Minister Curtin's speech of the 8th, said that "Prime Minister Curtin, no doubt, really knew the true facts

better than we. His speech is filled with the words of a man who knows that he was utterly crushed."

The day will soon come when the Japanese people will welcome a triumphal return of all warships alleged to have been sunk, except a small air-craft carrier; while the peoples of the United States and Britain will wait forever for the return of Saratoga, Yorktown, California, Canberra, and others.

20. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE ROOSEVELT
ADMINISTRATION'S PUBLICITY POLICY
ON WAR DEVELOPMENT

June 1, 1942.

According to the latest information at hand, Vincent Sheean, an outstanding commentator wrote in the magazine, *Look*, of May 5th under the caption of "What we must do to win the War," "We encourage in our press almost irresponsibility in a way of false optimism for the mere purpose of selling papers, 'Japs routed' and 'Japs smashed' every morning and every evening in headlines, while a half of the world is lost to us. I think a very large responsibility must lie upon the high authorities in Washington, all whose duty it is to tell us the truth. It does no good whatever for the President to tell the nation, as he did on February 23rd that it is really all right and need only have a little patience. The net result of that is that the people say 'O.K.' with a sigh of relief, turn off radios and order another round of drinks."

The position of the Roosevelt administration regarding the question of telling the truth was made clear by President Roosevelt himself at the press conference on May 22nd. He said "there is only one reason for withholding bad news from the public, and that is, it might give information to the enemy which will result in more bad news." Roosevelt administration has

been very faithful to this deceptive publicity policy, because once it started deceiving the public, it has had to hide the truth concerning all subsequent developments of war in order to make both ends meet, so to speak, in its propaganda record. Under such circumstances, it is quite natural that some of the American people should entertain hollow and optimistic view of the war, knowing no truth about its development.

An outstanding example of such optimism was expressed by Admiral Harry Yarnell, the former commander-in-chief of the American Asiatic Fleet, at the recent commencement exercise at Clark College in Massachusetts.

He said, "if another war twenty-five years hence is to be avoided, the United States must play a leading role following the current conflict. Germany and Japan must be disarmed, the men responsible for the war in Germany, Japan and Italy should be punished, Manchuria and Formosa should be returned to China and Korea should be given independence. The United States and other members of the United Nations should organize a military force to enforce the peace terms and they should provide security for all."

It would have been more in keeping with his position if he had suggested to his government, instead of talking such nonsense, some useful strategy to recover lost territories in the Pacific, first of all, to survive in the war of survival. And also it would have been more reasonable if he had suggested to the American government to return Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Panama Canal Zone and the Hawaiian Islands to their original owners and also if he had suggested to Britain to give complete independence to Australia, India, African colonies, etc.

At any rate his talk provides entertainment to the world public especially to the Japanese public, when the people all over the world are in the most serious mood watching the development of the present war, and humorous entertainment of this nature is quite welcome, once in a while, for it softens their feeling.

For an answer to such fantastic assertion, however, let me quote his own compatriot's opinion. Mark Sullivan stated in the Herald Tribune of April 19, "a few people realize how greatly we are handicapped by events since the Pearl Harbor and how greatly Japan's situation has been improved. To begin with, a few of our people realize the extent of the disaster at Pearl Harbor and how greatly that disaster and its consequences changed our ability to fight Japan."

21. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE EFFECT OF THE
GREATER EAST ASIA WAR ON CHUNGKING
AND ITS INTERNAL SITUATION

June 3, 1942.

On this significant occasion of the visit to Tokyo of Foreign Minister Chu Min-i of the National Government of China as Special Envoy, whose mission will doubtless result in further cementing the ties of good neighbourly friendship between Japan and China and strengthening their collaboration for a successful prosecution of the Greater East Asia War, it may be worth-while to review briefly the development of the present war as it relates to Chungking and the resulting situation confronting the same regime.

The person who was most glad at the outbreak of the war between Japan and the United States and Britain was Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the person who has been most disappointed by the subsequent progress of the war is none other than himself.

Believing blindly in such fanatical words of irresponsible Anglo-American authorities that three months would be sufficient to crush Japan, the Chungking regime analyzed the situation:

- (1) that Japan would be brought to her knees within a few months and that the Chungking regime would

then be in a position to recover their lost territories with folded arms;

(2) that they can use their whole army against the Chinese Red Army and settle once for all the age-old cancerous trouble, since Soviet Russia, being busy in their desperate effort in the Western front, can not assist the Chinese Red Army; and,

(3) that this would be in perfect harmony with the traditional policy of accomplishing their purpose by setting one foreign power against another.

Contrary to Chungking's expectations, however, not only the ABCD line, which was advocated by Chungking, has been entirely broken through from the very start of the war, but even the widely advertised advance of Chiang Kai-shek's "crack units" into Burma has merely proved to be an addition of another page to their record of continuous defeat and retreat, allowing Japanese forces to advance even far into the Yunnan Province. Confronted by such a situation, Chungking hastened to criticize British retreat in order to save face before their own people and the world.

As early as April 15, the *Ta Kung Pao*, the Chungking organ, observed that, due to continuous retreat of British forces, the Chungking forces alone were exposed to Japanese attack and it condemned the British forces, saying that such retreat was inexcusable.

To such reproach the haughty Briton could not remain silent. General Wavell said, on May 12, to the Burma correspondent of the *Daily Sketch*:

"I had hoped to hang them up in Northern Burma before rain set in, but Burma was untenable for all purposes after the fall of Rangoon. Our main strategy was to hold (with the help of Chinese forces) some central line across Burma. This hope failed when the Chinese withdrew from the Lashio area."

The British and Chinese, who had been exchanging sweet pledges before the Burma disaster are now throwing bitter

words against each other, exposing further, the weakness of the so-called allied camp.

Now let us look into the present situation in Chungking. The Chiang regime have been making strenuous efforts to cover up their weaknesses, but facts have seeped out inspite of strict censorship.

The foremost question that vexes Chungking is the continuous friction between the Kuomintang and the Communist party. These two factions have waged war against each other for more than ten years in the past. Although they are temporarily united under the slogan of resisting Japan, their accord is merely a make-shift intended by each to utilize the other faction to promote its own interest. The Kuomintang is trying to bring about a situation whereby they can exterminate the Communist Army, while the latter is trying to enlarge by infiltration the area of their influence under the camouflage of resisting Japan. Hence the antagonism between the two is more and more intensified even if its most ugly aspect does not appear on the surface. Beside the communist question, there is, even in the Chungking regime itself, a constant internal political struggle, such as the scramble for positions among the Government leaders, friction between the Government and local war-lords, corruption among high and petty officials, and so forth.

The second danger facing Chungking is the financial strain. The deficit for the year 1941 was reported to have amounted to 8 billion Chinese dollars, which was met mainly by the increased printing of *fapi* notes. This issuance of *fapi* is said to have doubled from 8 billion in 1941 to 16 billion at the beginning of 1942.

As the last measure to prevent the financial breakdown, the Government invented various schemes, such as:

- (1) the taking over of the power of levying the Farm-land Tax and of collecting the tax in kind;
- (2) the new imposition of war-time consumption tax (consolidating various local taxes);

- (3) the Government monopoly of 6 essential goods, such as sugar, matches, etc.; and
 (4) virtual confiscation of food-stuffs by the issuance of Food-stuff certificates.

All the above-mentioned measures, however, served only to accentuate the disorder and to increase the hardship of the masses.

In February this year, Chungking obtained the promise for the loan of \$500,000,000 and £50,000,000 from the United States and Britain, respectively, which fact the Chungking regime capitalized for propaganda purposes. However, when foreign trade is at a standstill and communications with the outside world are severed and when the Exchange Stabilization Committee, on whose work the Anglo-American Powers had bent much energy, has lost its *raison d'être*, it is more than clear that these loans will not be of any substantial help in the improvement of Chungking's financial position, although they may be useful as a temporary bait for the ignorant masses in the floatation of internal loans.

The third problem is the one which is closely connected with the above-mentioned question, that is, the skyrocketing of the cost of living. One of the well-known American correspondents sent on May 2nd, from Chungking, an interesting despatch concerning inflation and the suffering of the people from the high cost of living. He particularly emphasized the fact that the conditions he was describing held true throughout the land under the Chungking administration.

"Everyone but banks has money—banks are unable to replenish notes because printing machinery was lost in Hongkong and Rangoon, although few notes are being printed by the Central Trust in small plants here, and due to the wide circulation of notes plus hoarding, the banks have not funds for normal lending purposes.

"Between June 1937 and April 1942, the index of average essential commodity prices, rents and other food has arisen 33

times while that of clothing 60 times.

"The average real wages of an industrial worker in Chungking are only one half of the level prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, since wages have increased only 13 times while the cost of living has increased 26 times. Farmers received 28 times the pre-war prices for their products but prices of clothing materials and other goods have increased at least 50 times."

In giving the figures for the cost of living in Chungking, it is plain that the American correspondent did not take into account the increase in taxes, compulsory apportionment of war bonds and other factors. The real living condition, therefore, must be worse than the actual figures recently reported by him.

The following is a comparison made by the American correspondent of some of the essential commodity prices between 1937 and 1942:

1 pound rice	8 cents (Ch.)	.....	500 cents (Ch.)
wheat flour	11 "	.....	360 "
sugar	16 "	.....	820 "
lard	32 "	.....	1,160 "
soybean sauce	13 "	.....	720 "
pork	23 "	.....	1,100 "
any American coffee per pound		.....	120 yuan
any American cigarette per package		.....	60 "
any five-cents box of cough drops		.....	2 U. S. dollars
fountain pen		.....	50 "
bottle of ink		.....	3 "
typewriter ribbon		.....	7 "
portable typewriter		.....	400 "
inferior grade of women's hosiery		.....	7 "
men's sox		.....	5 "

The American correspondent observed that "shop-keepers keep pace with inflation by raising their own prices, however, white-collared employees with fixed salaries are sometimes in desperate condition."

The fourth problem is the sharp decline in Chungking's power of military resistance. It is true that in comparison with such countries as Britain, Chungking is not suffering from an acute shortage of man-power. However, the arms and ammunition with which to equip the men cannot be produced within their own area, except a small amount of rifles and machine guns. Furthermore, there is absolutely no way of importing from abroad large quantities of arms or machinery and equipments for the fitting out of a factory. And it is needless to say that the Assam road is merely a dream.

The only remaining gateway is the Northwest route. One need not stretch his imagination very far to see how hard Chungking is trying to utilize this route by appealing to Soviet Russia. However, being engaged in a life and death struggle in its own domain, Soviet Russia will not be likely to agree to such a proposition. But even if Russia did acquiesce to Chungking's entreaties, it would not be difficult to imagine that such an aid will only be useful as material for propaganda when we consider the transportation difficulties involved in such a long stretch of the route.

Therefore, it is plain that Chungking's resistance in the future will not be more than a bandit-like nature of guerilla warfare, using up the already scarce reserve war materials. Even such tactics is now losing its effect in the face of incessant Japanese attack from every direction—Chekiang, Shansi, Honan, Hopei, Kwantung and so forth.

Under such circumstances, the only way left for Chungking to save themselves is for Generalissimo Chiang and his followers to face the reality by recognizing the futility of resistance against Japan and stop indulging in mere wishful thinking.

First of all, General Chiang and his followers should understand that the reason for resisting Japan had entirely disappeared at the moment when the Fundamental Treaty regulating Sino-Japanese relations came into being in November 1940, embodying the so-called Konoye principles of neighbourly rela-

tionship, common defence against communism, economic co-operation and respect for territorial integrity.

Secondly, General Chiang and his followers should know that effective resistance is no longer possible with the complete disruption of the ABCD line and the fall of Burma, since the Allied aid can not reach Chungking, regardless of how often and how desperately the latter implores as they have been doing for the last few weeks.

Thirdly, General Chiang and his followers should grasp the fact that the Allied Powers will encourage them, honour them and assist them as long as Chungking's resistance is useful to their own scheme of things, but since the so-called "allied aid" is given not for the sake of Chungking but only for the sake of achieving their ulterior purpose, Chungking will be forsaken at the moment when the allied camp finds the latter's resistance useless, as has been fully demonstrated in the cases of France, Belgium, Holland, Poland and Greece.

And finally, General Chiang and his followers should understand definitely that sooner they cease resistance the sooner the Chinese masses will be saved from unnecessary sufferings and enabled to have hope for the future.

Unfortunately for the Chinese masses and the whole Asiatic peoples as well, General Chiang and his clique can not awaken themselves from the fantastic dreams of "Allied Victory" and of "Japanese collapse", not knowing that Japan—far from meeting disaster—has become decidedly stronger than she was before the present war, and that the countries which are actually on the verge of collapse are none other than Britain and America. Moreover, General Chiang and his men can not decide to cease resistance, for in their lust for power they believe that by continued resistance alone they will be able to enjoy their private riches of many years' accumulation, to enjoy the honour of being worshipped as national heroes and to maintain their dictatorship.

These are the real reasons why General Chiang and a small group of his followers continue the hopeless resistance at the

expense of the welfare of 400 million people of China. We feel deeply sympathetic to the innocent masses of China, who are forced for long to endure the horrors of war and to undergo countless misery for the sheer satisfaction of the egoistic ambition of General Chiang and his clan.

22. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE SO-CALLED
"JAPAN'S SURPRISE ATTACK"

June 3, 1942.

Whenever there is defeat in the Pacific—as a matter of fact there has been continuous defeat and not a single victory—it has become the habit on the part of American propagandists to cover their defeat by such excuses as "Japan's Surprise Attack", "treacherous stab on the back" or "the war caught us unawares".

Have the American Government been so passionately peace-minded and helplessly unprepared as they pretend to have been? Far from it!

Politically speaking, for the past four years, after the outbreak of the China Affair, the United States have actually waged war against Japan. What do the following various measures, which were adopted by the United States, mean? (1) giving military aids and loans to the enemy of Japan, Chungking regime, (2) abrogation of the Commercial Treaty with Japan, (3) clamping embargoes on shipments to Japan, (4) instigation of world-wide boycott of Japanese goods, (5) freezing of Japanese assets in America, and (6) flat refusal even to consider the Japanese minimum claim regarding her national existence. Are they not all tantamount to war actions?

From the military standpoint, they were also well preparing for the war. The report of the Special Commission of Inquiry of the Pearl Harbor debacle headed by Judge Owen Roberts, reveals that as early as January, 1941, the Secretary of Navy

had advised the Secretary of War to perfect the preparation at Pearl Harbor in case of Japanese attack.

The report, furthermore, reveals that on October 26, November 24 and 27, special warnings were sent from Washington to Admiral Kimmel and Lieutenant-General Short at Pearl Harbor that an attack should be expected. On December 3, 4 and 6, additional words were sent to Admiral Kimmel. With regard to the Philippine Islands, they had announced time and again that they had sent enough re-enforcements and munitions to the Islands, according to the very words of Secretary Stimson, who is in a position to make authoritative statements in regard to the Islands. These are astonishing revelation of the facts as they existed prior to the war.

While the United States Government had been preparing for war against Japan, Japan was eagerly endeavouring to come to terms with the United States. Even though the real facts of the American-Japanese Negotiation might have been withheld from the American public, the Washington authorities themselves must have certainly known the sincere desire and earnest efforts on the part of Japan for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific, and they also knew what they were doing behind the screen—elaborate preparation for war.

From the above facts, the impartial and fair-minded observer could easily judge that, though it was Japan who openly declared war, it was the United States who had taken measures tantamount to war and compelled Japan to resort to arms, expecting, of course, the unavoidable consequences of their measures.

What made the Washington authorities adopt such a foolish policy, utterly disregarding the will of the people? The answer is given by Nathaniel Peffer, who wrote for the New York Times Magazine of March 22, that "For several years past, we Americans have been satisfied with palatable self-satisfying view of Japan, instead of trying to grasp the realities of Japan." Another American writer, Edgar Snow, wrote for the Saturday Evening Post of February 21, that the present situation was due

to the under-estimation of Japanese Navy and over-estimation of the United States Navy and to conceited confidence in the false illusion that Japan was on the verge of collapse after four years of hostilities with the Chungking regime.

It is this superiority complex and self-conceit on the part of the governments of the United States and Britain which has caused and will continue to cause war, and it is this superiority complex and self-conceit which we must blow out from this world for the sake of a lasting universal peace.

23. REVIEW OF ENEMY PROPAGANDA DURING
THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE WAR
(ISSUED BY THE BOARD OF INFORMATION)

June 8, 1942.

It is of some significance at this time to summarize briefly the chief events of the past six months of the War of Greater East Asia and present at the same time a few examples of the more notable propaganda confusion to which the Anglo-American powers have resorted.

I. First as to the Central Pacific Region:

When on December 8, 1941, the Japanese Imperial Headquarters announced the attack of the most important American Pacific base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, the world public, least of all the American people, could not believe its ears. When, furthermore, the results of the attack were made known the Americans became a bit worried. On December 17, Secretary of Navy Knox, after a personal investigation of the Hawaiian debacle, reported that the losses suffered were "not so large as the United States were led to believe by the rumours by Axis propaganda." The American and British press and radio particularly stressed upon Knox's statement "that the balance of the United States Pacific fleet is undamaged and is combing the

Pacific for Japan's navy."

The tone gradually changed. On January 25, after an investigation by Supreme Court Justice Roberts which frankly admitted that Pearl Harbor had been a "disaster", the Americans had to find a scapegoat and thereby the same commission accused Admiral Husband Kimmel, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet, and Lt.-General Walter Short, Commandant of the Hawaiian Department, of negligence of duty. Apparently the Secretary of Navy Knox and President Roosevelt were occupants of too high and responsible a position to be questioned.

But on February 17, exactly two months after Knox's happy announcement a more neutral, if not authoritative, source revealed the damage suffered by the American navy. When Singapore fell, Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister, was not feeling very happy. He said, beside the announcement of the startling news that Singapore had fallen, that the American battle fleet in the Pacific which had been counted upon so much by the British as their shield "was crippled" and "the shield of sea power was dashed to the ground". What could be more expressive?

Guam, as well as the outpost of Hawaii, Wake Island, were announced as having been occupied by the Japanese Naval Landing Forces on December 12. But even on the 13th, the American Navy Department had stated that "it had received no confirmation of the alleged occupation of the Island of Guam by Japanese forces." Yet the very next day, the 14th, it was announced that it was believed in Washington that Guam had been captured "because no news had been received of the 500 U.S. Navy men stationed there. It was announced, however, that Wake and Midway were still in American hands."

As to the Wake Island, the American Navy Department announced on December 12, on the basis of its information as of December 11, that the garrison at Wake had repulsed Japanese attacks and in the process had sunk a light cruiser and a destroyer from the air. Now according to a San Francisco radio

"after this report there was excited jubilation throughout the capital in Washington". President Roosevelt came right out and on the 13th expressed words of admiration for the gallant defense of the island by the handful of American troops. Even as late as the 23rd the United States Navy Department said that both Wake and Midway, defended by small detachments of marines, were still holding out. It was finally on the 25th that the Navy Department had to announce the capture of Wake Island by the Japanese landing forces. This is quite a belated admission.

II. Second, Hongkong must be treated by itself.

When the Army Division of the Imperial Headquarters announced on the 8th of December last, that an attack against Hongkong was started, what was the outside reaction? On the 16th of that month, London, in reporting that the British forces were withdrawing from Kowloon, said that the seize of Hongkong had begun and added, "The food and ammunition in Hongkong are sufficient to maintain the garrison for three months." Reliance was put too much upon the materialistic aspect of the situation; little did the enemy consider the spiritual side of the man-power. Within three days, on the 19th, the Imperial Headquarters announced that the Imperial forces had made landings on the island of Hongkong, and on the 25th, as a Christmas present, the surrender of the island was announced. On the 26th, the occupation was completed.

The only comeback that the Britishers could make at the time was to say that Hongkong was not a fortress but a commercial city and that Singapore would be a far different story to tell. Let us see.

III. Third, the Malay campaign.

This campaign was initiated on the 8th of December from Kota Bharu and our forces advanced from 40 to 80 kilometers daily. While the army campaign was going on the Navy Divi-

sion of the Imperial Headquarters announced on the 10th of the month that the British battleships Repulse and Prince of Wales were sunk that day. The very next day, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, admitted that Japan's onslaught had brought to the United States and Britain serious injuries to "our naval power". He added, "In some of my experience, I do not remember any naval blow so heavy or so painful as the sinking of the Prince of Wales and the Repulse. These two ships constituted the essential features in our plans for meeting the new Japanese danger,.....The ships were at the right point at the right moment and in everyway were suited to the task assigned them...." apparently, for they were sunk.

When the Army Division of the Imperial Headquarters announced on the 14th of December that the campaign in Malay was progressing favorably for Japan, the English answer was given on the 19th. Britain's Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Archibald Wavell, in expressing his confidence about the situation in East Asia said that "although the Japanese have gained advantage in the south, there is still a long way to take Singapore or Malay."

On the 20th, Sir Thomas Shenton Thomas, Governor of the Malay Straits Settlements, declared that "Singapore must not fall; it shall not fall" and concluded that "we must protect every inch of ground toward the great task that lies ahead, knowing that, as we can know for certain, the ultimate victory must be ours."

Then, on February 9, 1942, the Imperial Headquarters, despite the British boasts, were ready to announce that after the 8th, the Imperial Army had started actual attack of the Singapore Island. Eleven hours after the Japanese forces had effected a landing on this island, the Commander of the Australian forces in Singapore, Major-General Gordon Bennett, in a dispatch declared, "The situation is well in hand and our forces have taken stand behind a strong line. We have now reorganized our formations and shall counter-attack to recover lost terrain."

As was later shown, Bennett was probably prepared already at this time to desert his men, thus saying that the "situation is well in hand."

On February 15, the Imperial Headquarters announced that on that day the Imperial Army had forced the surrender of Singapore. On the 17th, Prime Minister Churchill, in announcing without his usual confident air the fall of Singapore, mustered all his gift for oratory to sooth the shock of his listeners. "To-night, I speak to you at home, I speak to you in Australia and New Zealand....to you in India and Burma, to the Dutch and the Chinese and to the Americans—I speak to you all under the shadow of a heavy and far reaching military defeat. It is a British and Imperial defeat. Singapore has fallen. All of Malaya has now been over-run by the enemy." Among other things Churchill admitted that Britain did not have the slightest chance against the Japanese even if she had been prepared.

In a speech in the Lower House on the 25th of February, Churchill said, "The Japanese operations in East Asia are proving to be great blows to the Anglo-American Powers, creating a completely new situation. The Pearl Harbor debacle and the loss of two British capital ships off Malaya gives Japan an upperhand at least in the East Asiatic warfronts.....Britain today is confronted with a grave danger and what is more, we must be prepared for further set backs which may be forthcoming in future." This was well said. The Britishers themselves utilized the term "Pearl Harbor debacle" and the grounds for the fall of Corregidor and Burma were well-prepared.

A humorous last act was provided in this comic-tragedy on March 2. The Australian War Cabinet and the Chiefs of Staffs met, and there Major-General Gordon Bennett reported fully on the Malayan campaign including the surrender of Singapore. Prime Minister Curtin eulogized, "He (Bennett) remained with his men until the end, completed all formalities in connection with the surrender and then took the opportunity and risked for

safety." The Australian Minister for the Army, Ford, added this pungent remark in all seriousness, "General Bennett, who obviously had a most glorious experience, will be given an important army post." No doubt that Bennett had a "most glorious experience", thus presenting another excellent example, to wit, McArthur.

IV. Fourth, the Philippine Islands.

When the War of Greater East Asia broke out, President Roosevelt on December 10 sent an enthusiastic message to President Manuel Quezon saying that the people of the world were "watching the magnificent defence" of the Philippine's Government and people. At the same time he also sent a message of encouragement to General McArthur saying, "My personal and official congratulations on the fine stand you are making.....keep up the great work."

The Philippine Army High Command, General Douglas McArthur, on December 14 issued a communique saying, "The situation both on the ground and in the air was well in hand as the first week of the operations came to a close," and gave a résumé of the week's operation in most glowing colors. But only about a week later the Imperial Headquarters were able to announce on the 23rd that Davao on the Mindanao Island had been completely occupied on the 20th of the same month.

According to the war communique issued by the War Department at Washington on December 31, in the Philippines theatre of war though the Japanese were making "advances in spite of the heavy losses suffered at the hands of our forces.... however, according to the report received from General McArthur's Fieldquarter, our forces have now completed making further readjustments and are holding their own." But what actually happened? The Army Division of the Imperial Headquarters announced on January 3, 1942, that on the 2nd, only two days after the above quotation, Manila had been completely occupied.

Now that the Philippines capital had fallen the enemy's reliance was placed upon the fighting on the Bataan Peninsula. On March 2, it was reported that "a lull continues in the battle of Bataan peninsula." The United States War Department issued the text of a proclamation by President Quezon that "although reverses have been suffered, victory will be achieved." He declared that "the enemy was fast spending his force." He concluded the text by saying that "it will not be long before the tremendous military might of America will fully go into action in this part of the world." President Quezon surely had a long time to wait for the promised American aid for on April 13 the Imperial Headquarters announced that on April 11 after eight days of fighting, Bataan Peninsula was captured.

Secretary of War Stimson after this fall of Bataan said that "the fall was a temporary loss" and that the United States will again carry out its pledge to protect and secure the Philippines. Lt.-General Wainwright, who succeeded McArthur, on the very day of the capitulation said that "though Bataan has been lost the fight will continue from Corregidor."

This same Lt.-General Wainwright in a message to his troops on April 16 said, "There can be no question of surrendering this mighty fortress.....Bataan has fallen, but Corregidor will carry on...." But sad to relate, the Imperial Headquarters on May 7 announced that on May 6, Corregidor was captured completely. The only step left for the United States War Department at this time was to quickly confirm this Japanese announcement.

General Wainwright's message at the fall of Corregidor included this interesting statement, "We have been through so much together that my conscience would not let me leave before the final curtain." Now was this intended as a slight at McArthur's desertion? We wonder. Thus, as Wainwright rightfully testified, the final curtain over the Philippines was drawn.

V. Fifth, the Dutch East-Indies region must not be forgotten.

Let us begin with Borneo. On December 16, the Imperial Headquarters had announced that on that day the Imperial forces had landed on Borneo. This was at Mili, English Borneo. On January 24, 1942, the complete occupation of English Borneo was effected by the capture of Tawao.

The Imperial Headquarters for the first time made clear the Japanese attitude toward the Netherlands when they announced that actual warfare had spread to the Dutch East Indies. The Imperial forces landed on the 11th of January at Tarakan, Dutch Borneo, and Menado, Celebes, and they announced that Tarakan had surrendered on the 12th and Menado had also been occupied on that date. It was at Menado that for the first time naval parachutists were so effectively used. On the 25th, Balikpapan, Dutch Borneo, was completely occupied by the Japanese Army. By the 4th of February, the near complete occupation of British Borneo was announced, and finally on February 10, by the capture of Banjarmasin, the capital of Dutch Borneo, the Borneo campaign came to a close. Meanwhile, on January 26, the Imperial Army had taken Kendari and thereby the island of Celebes had come under the folds of Japan.

Let us add a bit of humour at this juncture. A correspondent in Batavia in a direct broadcast to the Columbia Broadcasting Station on January 13, said, in respect to the Borneo campaign, "The Japanese will never be able to penetrate the thick menacing jungles packed with reptiles, roaming beasts and dreadful insects and other weird and blood-hungry birds. The Japanese forces are no match with the jungles. Japanese infiltrations will find the going very hard.....The Japanese will, no doubt, regret having initiated their offensive against the jungles." As an old Japanese adage says, a drowning man even grasps at a straw. The pathetic Netherlanders finally had to rely upon the already over-burdened Mother Nature, with what disappointing results.

Just four days before the termination of the Borneo

campaign, on February 6, the Imperial Headquarters announced the Japanese navy victory at Java Sea. Dutch cruisers of the Java type and the de Ruyter type, and the American cruiser of the Marblehead type were either sunk or damaged. Thus the main forces of the Dutch East Indies fleet were blasted. Nevertheless, a San Francisco radio announced on the next day, the 7th, that "Tokyo Radio, which has consistently been making extravagant claims, reported a great naval victory by the Japanese in Java. In their latest claim, Tokyo Radio reported that two Dutch cruisers had been sunk and another cruiser damaged. However, no confirmations of these claims have been received as yet from Washington or Batavia." But within a month a far more bitter pill had to be swallowed by the Anglo-American camp.

On March 1, the Imperial Headquarters announced that from the 27th-28th of February, the naval battle of Surabaya and on March 1, the battle of the Batavia Sea had been fought and as a consequence, the enemy fleet was just about crushed in the Southwest Pacific.

The United States Navy Department report on March 1 of the Surabaya and Batavia Sea battles says in part, "The Japanese failed in this attempt to land troops on Java. When last seen, enemy transports were retiring to the northward. None of our vessels suffered heavy damage. and our forces are still intact despite the overwhelming superiority in numbers of the enemy naval forces." Meanwhile the Imperial Headquarters were announcing that the Imperial Naval and Army forces were landing at three points on Java from March 1.

Thus, despite the above American Navy Department report, an official Dutch communique on the selfsame day, March 1, said, "During last night, the enemy started his attack on Java. Enemy troops have landed in the northwestern part of the province of Bantam, in the bay of Indramayu, and furthermore, a strong fleet started landings early this morning on an extensive front along the coast about 30 kilometers east of Rembang."

The Java campaign had started in earnest. On March 2, William J. Dunning, NBC correspondent in Java in a transmission relayed from Bandoeng to New York said that when he asked several Dutch officials in the island whether evacuation plans were being considered got a negative reply and he adds, "According to the reasons expressed by the authorities, they declared that since deep down in their hearts they were confident that the war would never spread to Java, they were, therefore, reluctant to create great confusions among the Europeans and the natives on the island. (He concluded), as the Dutch are known to be stubborn people, there is no doubt that they will never evacuate from Java but instead will fight to the last man. With the Westerners remaining and defending their homes, the natives will no doubt stand side by side with the Europeans and fight the invaders."

But it seems that this is a speedy age. Events take place at rapid successions. On March 6, the Imperial Headquarters announced that the Imperial Army had completely occupied Batavia on the 5th. On that day, the 6th, just about the time that the Imperial Headquarters were about to announce the fall of Batavia, in America, on the other side of the Pacific, soothing words were being uttered. The United States Secretary of War Stimson announced that "Great Britain and America will continue intense support to Java. Aircraft and equipment for the aid of Java are being sent."

With all this, however, the very next day, on the 7th, the Dutch came right out with an official communique explaining the fall of Batavia as an evacuation. "In order to obtain greater freedom for the battle of Java, our troops evacuated Batavia" are the exact words of the informative communique.

The next question was the length of time of resistance at Bandoeng, the then temporary capital of Java. We had not long to wait, the Imperial Headquarters announced on March 9 that on that day the whole of Java had fallen into the Japanese hands by the surrender of the American, British, Australian and Dutch

forces.

Before we bring the historical aspect of this particular section to a close we must not forget the island of Sumatra. On February 14, the Imperial Army parachutists for the first time landed at Palembang. The Imperial Headquarters announced that on March 5, by the occupation of Jambi by the Imperial Army South Sumatra was almost completely under the hands of Japan. They finally announced that on March 27, the Dutch forces surrendered unconditionally, thus terminating the Sumatra campaign.

In this fashion by the 9th of March, we can very well consider that the Dutch East Indies region campaign came to a close.

On May 1, Lt. Governor Van Mook declared that the Netherlands East Indies officials, about fifteen in number who had fled to Australia in spite of the pseudo-bold words of W. J. Dunning on March 2 as given above, fled with the purpose of rallying the Dutch sentiment. Van Mook declared that the Dutch officials had left Bandoeng at the command of the Governor-General. He pointed out that the reason for the heads of departments of the Dutch East Indies Government being among those who arrived in Australia was that they were necessary for the reorganization of the Dutch resistance from Australia and not because they were the heads of such departments. A very plausible excuse indeed. In a more bitter but frank mood he concluded, "It is no use hiding the fact that there was a certain amount of bitterness in some places, but our people understand the difficulties in getting things. Our Allies must understand that there was an expectation of more help than actually arrived."

As an underline to the words of Van Mook it has been reported that on March 11 the New York Times in demanding less talk and more action by the United States said, "We said that we would send thousands of planes to all our Allies. The Dutch believed us and were counting on us to turn the tide of the war." Mr. Stimson, in view of your statement as mentioned

above, please note.

VI. Sixth, the Burma Region remains yet to be covered.

It was January 17th that the Imperial Army crossed the border of Thai and Burma. On February 7th, the Imperial Headquarters announced the complete occupation of Moulmein, Burma, on the 31 of January. On January 31, at the very moment that this city was being occupied, from Rangoon "the British Army Headquarters announced that the British had the situation well in hand with reference to the fighting near Moulmein between the British and Burmese troops against the invading Japanese and Thai forces." This is too ridiculous for comment even.

On February 1, a combined Army and R.A.F. report from Rangoon reported that the British forces have been withdrawn from Moulmein to points west of the River Salween. However, the very next day, Prime Minister Winston Churchill was still sending "a congratulatory message to the governor of Burma for the splendid resistance being put up by the Imperial forces against the Japanese. Churchill reassured the Governor that supplies were being rushed to the Far East as fast as possible, and he expressed his confidence that the Allies will shortly abandon their defensive maneuvers and take the offensive." Speed was wanting and the offensive never took place.

However, to the Britishers, Rangoon was still standing. So, on February 8, the Governor of Burma in a statement broadcast over the Empire network from Rangoon declared, "It is our intention definitely to hold Rangoon. More than that, we intend with the men and machine to attack the enemy wherever we may find him." The next day a note of confidence was sounded by the Commander of the United Nations in the Southwest Pacific. General Archibald C. Wavell, visiting the Burma front for the second time since assuming his command, expressed satisfaction with the British defenses especially along the broad Salween River. The British Commander in Burma Lt.-General C. J. Hutton, who accompanied General Wavell, summed it up this

way, "We are in a far stronger position to call a halt to the Japanese than before." All in vain as usual for the Imperial Headquarters announced on March 9, only a month after such optimistic British outbursts, that, on the 8th, the Imperial Army had completely occupied Rangoon.

At this point, we must divert our attention for a very brief moment without comment to other stages of action. The Japanese Imperial forces forced the complete surrender of the Britishers at Port Blair on the South Andaman Islands on March 23. On March 31, Christmas Islands in the Indian Ocean were occupied by the Imperial Navy. On April 5, Britain's most important strategic base in the Indian Ocean, Colombo, Ceylon, and other places were attacked by the Imperial Navy and the victorious results were announced. On April 9, Trincomalee, Ceylon, was attacked by the Imperial Navy and among other ships *Hermes*, a British airplane carrier was sunk.

Still the Anglo-American camp clung to their false optimism in so far as the Burma campaign was concerned until on May 2 the Imperial Headquarters announced that though ever since the end of March, British and Chungking forces had been fighting, the Imperial Army had captured completely on the 1st of May the strategic point of Mandalay. The so-called Burma route was out.

A most laughable stunt to cover up this defeat was attempted by the enemy camp on May 3, a San Francisco radio announced that "a British commentator speaking over the BBC hinted that a withdrawal from Mandalay may be effected because its importance from a military point of view had become insignificant since the fall of Lashio. The Allies were fighting a delaying action in order to raze all military establishments before withdrawing from the city." So they did give up the city after all and not merely a probable withdrawal!

Of course Australia could not possibly let the United States outdo her, so on the same day an Australian radio came right back to announce that though "there is no confirmation from

Burma that Japan has captured Mandalay, the British forces led by Lt.-General Alexander have fallen back west of Mandalay. In their retirement (sic) they blew up roads and bridges to impede the advance of the Japanese."

To be sure a fatal blow was struck at the enemy propaganda when General Joseph Stillwell on the same day, May 3, in a communique admitted that Mandalay had been captured by the Japanese on May 1.

The so-called "withdrawals" continued in rapid succession until finally on May 26 at New Delhi, India, the American General Stillwell "acknowledged that the Allied troops took a severe beating in Burma." With the completion of British withdrawal of the Burma army to India, on May 28, General Wavell in paying tribute to Alexander's army said that it was not beaten. "The withdrawal is not the result of defeat, but because we were unable to complete the supply route to Burma before the monsoon." The conclusion drawn by General Wavell was almost ridiculous if it weren't so pathetic. "The only actual defeat by the Japanese was in the Battle of the Sittang front which with the loss of Rangoon decided the fate of Burma. The rest were only rear guard actions. . . . It was disheartening, but we were unable to give General Alexander's army the air support it deserved." What then was the cause of the "glorious withdrawal"? Was it the unfinished supply route, or the too early arrival of the monsoon, or the lack of air supply, or the Japanese forces?

VII. Seventh and lastly we close with the Coral Sea Battle.

On December 10, 1941, Secretary of Navy, Frank Knox, in his annual report had assured President Roosevelt that the United States "has attained a position of the greatest naval power on earth." Secretary Knox had stressed that "satisfactory progress is being made on the greatest program of expansion ever attempted by the United States Navy, or for that matter, by any other navy in history." This "greatest naval power on earth" suffered a severe setback when the Imperial Headquarters

announced on May 8, last, that from May 7-8, the Coral Sea Battle was fought by the Imperial Navy with great success whereat among other ships airplane carriers of the Saratoga and Yorktown class were sunk.

The only come-back that the American could make was to say vaguely that "the claims made by Japan concerning the battle of the Coral Sea is fantastic." However, Australia feels otherwise for on May 25, her Army Minister Ford said, "In the past few weeks, Australia has entered into the beginning of a decisive stage of the war. We may be pinched and starved, shocked and blasted; we may be chased away from our homes, but we must still hang on."

When we come to write the history of the first year of the War of Greater East Asia what other fields of activities shall we be able to include? Be that as it may, we are loathe to close this résumé without giving a calm observer his due proportion of an opportunity to express his views. It is reported that writing in the Melbourne Herald of May 17, the Australian newspaper magnate, Sir Keith Murdock, again strongly condemned the Anglo-American high strategy in the Pacific. He said that "The Allied forces have been disastrously over-confident in every theater of war, and that the Allied nations so far pitiously underrated Japan's land, sea and air might, which resulted in the most humiliating set-backs of all times."

Let the facts speak for themselves.

24. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE DECLARATION BY
THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT OF THE
EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF WAR
BETWEEN MEXICO AND GERMANY,
ITALY AND JAPAN

June 8, 1942.

The Mexican Government, which had severed its diplomatic

relations with the Axis Powers immediately after the American entry into the war, has declared the existence of a state of war with Germany, Italy and Japan on the ground that a small Mexican tanker was sunk in the middle of May off the coast of Florida by a submarine, the nationality of which is not yet ascertained.

That the Mexican Government should have declared the existence of a state of war with Japan and other Axis Powers before even the nationality of the submarine in question is definitely established must be considered rash and unwise. It would have been the wisest policy for the Mexican Government to maintain strict neutrality and to develop its national strength in order that Mexico might participate actively in the post-war reconstruction.

With a long and vulnerable coast lines along the Pacific as well as the Gulf of Mexico and when the eventual issue of War has already become clear, what in the world can Mexico gain by unnecessarily exposing itself to the danger of military operation by plunging herself into the present War which has hardly any connection with her vital interests?

The step just taken by Mexico is evidently due to a powerful pressure from the United States, which has been doing everything to win over the Latin-American countries, and is not based on the total will of the Mexican people, who are well aware of the fact that there are numerous countries who leaving their destiny in the hands of allied camp have finally met disastrous fate. Indeed it is a pity that Mexico too is now going to add by her own deliberate choice another case to this tragic example.

In view of the traditional friendship which has long characterized the relations between Japan and Mexico, it is greatly regretted that the situation has taken such a course of development and that the calamities of war naturally and unavoidably may befall Mexico and its people.

25. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION WITH REGARD TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT ON JUNE 5, 1942

June 8, 1942.

President Roosevelt is reported to have declared at his press conference on June 5 that he had received a report that Japanese armed forces were using poison gas against the Chinese, and that the United States would consider this action as an attack against the United States and would retaliate in kind and in full measure.

It is recalled that similar allegations have been repeated many times by the Chungking regime since the outbreak of the China Affair. It seems to be the usual habit of the Chungking authorities to spread rumour to the world that Japan is using poison gas against their forces whenever the latter meets a serious defeat. They usually publicize that they have crushed the Japanese—though actual facts are quite the opposite—but eventually they must admit their defeat, for the explanation of which they resort to an excuse that the Japanese have used poison gas. But Chungking has never been able to produce a single evidence which can really incriminate the Japanese.

That the recent allegation is only another example of the time-honoured habit of the Chungking regime is clear beyond any doubt. And, I believe that the world fully realizes by now the sinister falsity of the claim in view of Chungking's past records.

With authority, I hereby declare that Japan has never used and will never use poison gas against any enemy, unless the fact that the enemy has first violated the international law and usage which forbid the use of poison gas in warfare is definitely established.

In this connection, President Roosevelt referred to Prime Minister Churchill's extraordinary remarks in which the latter openly threatened that Britain would retaliate if the Germans

use poison gas against the Russians.

Prime Minister Churchill's remarks caused impartial observers immediately to suspect that Britain had a hidden intention to use poison gas first. Such has been and is the usual practice of Britain to camouflage her real intention, and similar methods were used in the cases such as those of the occupation of Madagascar and Timor. In each of these cases, Britain had first made elaborate propaganda through news agencies all over the world spreading the rumour that Japan's occupation of the island concerned was in sight. When the rumour made its circuit of the world she dashed out from behind the screen of propaganda and seized the island.

President Roosevelt would do well not to be misled by the Chungking regime which has no scruples in choosing the methods to gain its end, and by Britain, whose tricky tactics is too well known to require any explanation.

26. REMARKS OF TOMOKAZU HORI, THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION, ON THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

July 4, 1942.

On this 4th day of July, 166 years ago, there assembled in the Liberty Hall of Philadelphia representative leaders from various colonies on the Atlantic Coast of North America; and these founders of the new Republic, in a most solemn atmosphere, signed their names on the now-famous Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed to America as well as to the world the fundamental principles for the new nation. It said:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

The document concluded with this resolve:

"And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honour."

The humanitarian ideals of the Founding Fathers had been maintained even at the cost of a civil war. In 1863 President Abraham Lincoln had pronounced that a "nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" was being tested whether it could "long endure."

This was the American spirit of 1776, for which I pay my full respect.

In 1796, George Washington in his Farewell Address declared, "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

This advice had been followed by President Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, in 1801, when he coined this phrase, "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations,—entangling alliances with none,....."

This was the wise counsel of the founding days, for which I have nothing but admiration.

The heart of the whole world had been moved by the nobility of these sentiments and by the extent of the sacrifices so bravely borne to uphold an ideal.

However, as the United States has come to develop, step by step, first as a commercial nation and then industrial, and finally as a capitalistic nation, she gradually began to imitate the very method resorted to by Britain—the country against whose injustice and exploitation she had fought for seven long years at untold sacrifices—in a more subtle way; since, though the British imperialistic exploitation was extremely brutal, it had the merit of being at least open and frank, while American imperialistic conquest, by means of force and the dollar, was always camouflaged with the humanitarian cloak of "liberty and justice."

The Founding Fathers do not know that the Monroe Doctrine, which was proclaimed solely as a defence against the inroad of European imperialism into the Western Hemisphere,

has been converted into a bulwark within which the free and unhampered exercise of American imperialism may be enjoyed.

The Founding Fathers do not know by whose manipulation the revolution was stirred up in Hawaii and Independence created for Panama.

The Founding Fathers do not know by whose hands the Maine was blown up and the drama of conquest over Cuba and the Philippines enacted under the cloak of humanitarianism as usual, but in reality to satisfy the capitalist greed.

The Founding Fathers do not know that the 13 million Negroes whom their sons had emancipated even at the expense of a bloody Civil War are today being subjected to eternal discrimination, indescribable humiliations, mob violence and licentious lynching.

The Founding Fathers do not know that the Oriental peoples have been shut out from the "land of freedom" by the mere reason of the difference in color and that the latter's descendants are made the object of discrimination and ill-treatment for the only reason that they were born of Orientals.

The Founding Fathers do not know that by no other reason than that they happened to be Japanese, the Japanese on the Pacific Coast are forced without even a single hearing to leave their lands and their homes which have been reclaimed and built with long years of sweat and labour, and are concentrated in the unbearable desert land of the interior.

The Founding Fathers do not know that these American citizens of Japanese parentage who have pledged their loyalty to the American flag are about to be stripped of the constitutional rights of citizenship only because they were born of Japanese.

The Founding Fathers must never have dreamed that their successors would violate the principles of the sacred document to which they attached their signature and go beyond the bounds of North America to interfere with, oppress and exploit the peoples of Europe and Asia—not to speak of the peoples of the American continent—and finally in 1941 plunge the country into

an unprovoked and unnecessary war, entailing disasters not only to the American people but also to mankind:

All these facts are not known to the Founding Fathers; but the whole world knows that the American spirit of the Founding days no longer exists and that this distorted and degenerated present-day Americanism—which is far from what was intended by the Founding Fathers—is always the cause of endless trouble, miseries and immeasurable suffering of all.

Is not this Fourth of July a golden opportunity for the peace-loving American people to think of the treasured heritage from their wise fathers—in its true and unadulterated form—equality of men, rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, justice and humanity, and above all non-intervention and non-entanglement which alone can insure America's security? It will at once become clear to them how wise the American fathers in their counsel for posterity and how priceless their legacies were.

To the American people of today I ask:

Do you wish to maintain the spirit of '76 as your ideal, or acquiesce in its violation as at present?

Do you still hold the counsels of your Founding Fathers as legitimate, or follow the present Government's Policy of intervention and entangling alliances?

I entertain no doubt that the American people, on this Fourth of July, still believe that equality of men, rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, justice, humanity, non-intervention and non-entanglement are the fundamental and irrevocable principles of American national and international policy.

27. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE 5TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE CHINA AFFAIR

July 8, 1942.

Early in the morning of July 7, 1937, when the Lukouchiao Incident occurred, the world public did not wonder nor were they surprised by its report because the anti-Japanese policy of the then Nanking Government had been so severe, unreasonable and overtly pursued that all countries of the world anticipated that Chiang Kai-shek would ultimately go beyond the limit of Japan's endurance provoking an open hostility at any moment.

Having been educated and trained for so many years in the atmosphere of such anti-Japanism, it is understandable that the Chinese people, especially the young and enthusiastically patriotic element, should have entertained a false conception regarding the real intentions of Japan and been easily induced to take up arms against the Japanese in an absurd belief in the alleged Japanese aggression.

It is not also incomprehensible that the then misguided Chinese people having been completely aroused by the high-pitched and exciting war slogans should have lost their sense of discretion and wisdom and failed to examine what really was the reason for such resistance against Japan and have blindly followed their leaders. But five years have passed since then, and perhaps it is high time for the Chinese people, if not the Chungking leaders, to re-examine calmly and dispassionately if there was and still is really a vitally important reason or cause for which they must stake their own destiny.

The Konoye Statement of December 22, 1938, deprived Chungking of its sole reason for resistance, that is the alleged aggression of Japan. It declared that "if the true object of Japan in conducting the present vast military campaign be fully understood, it will be plain that what she seeks is neither territory nor

indemnity for the costs of military operations..... Japan not only respects the sovereignty of China, but she is prepared to give positive consideration to the questions of the abolition of extra-territoriality and of the rendition of concessions and settlements—matters which are necessary for the full independence of China". This clear-cut statement of the Japanese policy was not seriously taken by most of the Chinese people at the time, and it was only Mr. Wang Ching-wei and a small group of far-sighted leaders who shared his views and ideal who, grasping realities of the situation and understanding the true intentions of Japan, rose in 1938, with a firm determination to establish a new China on the basis of neighbourly relations with Japan.

The Chungking regime accused him as being a traitor to the country and a fifth columnist of Japan; and branded the Wang Ching-wei Government as a "puppet Government", and they heaped whatever imaginable words of reproach and humiliation they could find upon this far-sighted and courageous group.

If Mr. Wang and his colleagues had heeded these attacks, warnings and threats from Chungking and if they had held their personal positions and interests above the happiness of the Chinese masses, as has been the case with most of the present Chungking leaders, they would have remained in Chungking and continued to live in complacency. However, they preferred to follow a righteous path and have since continued their bitter fighting, not for their own sake, but for the sake of four hundred million people of China, sacrificing all their personal interests and even risking their precious lives in order to realize their ideal of a New China.

As the result of their tireless efforts, the National Government returned to Nanking, in 1940 and, in November of that year, the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty founded on co-operation and equality was signed.

The Treaty stipulates that, "Being desirous that these two countries should respect their inherent characteristics and closely

co-operate with each other as good neighbours under their common ideal of establishing a new order in East Asia, and with this as a nucleus contributing toward the peace of the world in general,.....the Governments of the two countries undertake to co-operate closely for the maintenance of common peace and order until the Japanese forces sent to China complete their evacuation", and the evacuation of the Japanese troops "within two years" of the firm establishment of peace and order was definitely promised.

If one examines the details of the Basic Treaty, one can not find a single point which may be construed as a violation of the sovereignty of China.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the National Government at Nanking under the Presidency of Mr. Wang Ching-wei is steadily making sound progress in its internal and external affairs. Already the Government has been recognized by more than ten Powers. Its development is especially conspicuous in the social, financial, and educational fields. The people under the Government are happily settled in their occupations, enjoying the fruits of their labour in peace without being molested by exploitation or oppression at the hands of their Government. Their social and economic life is secure, especially on account of the stabilized currency. Such is the general situation under the Nanking Government in spite of some adverse conditions accompanying the continued hostilities. This offers a vivid contrast to the pitiable conditions of the people under the Chungking regime, whose livelihood is being constantly threatened by the shortage of daily necessities and ever-aggravating inflation, and whose limited incomes are ruthlessly exploited by increasing taxation and other oppressive means.

What reason is there for the people under the Chungking regime to continue to support Chiang Kai-shek's futile resistance against Japan?

There exist today two influences which are desperately trying to force the Chungking regime to continue its resistance

against Japan. One is the Communist Army and the other is the Anglo-American group. Why the Communist Army wants continuation of the resistance is self-evident if we but remember that the attrition and loss of prestige of the Kuomintang forces through an external war is for itself to gain in power and prestige in China. As for the Anglo-American combination, its selfish motive of abetting Chungking's resistance against Japan is widely known in view of its successive reverses on all fronts in Asia and Europe. To it Chungking is the last straw which it must clutch to save itself, or at least to prolong its life. These two groups are resorting to all kinds of propaganda to keep Chungking waging its aimless and hopeless war against Japan. Blinded by their alluring propaganda, the Chungking people still entertain a hope that eventually the Anglo-American camp will emerge victorious and that they will thereby be enabled to profit.

The Anglo-American group in particular must of necessity for its survival maintain some other fronts wherever they may be found in order to check the irresistible onslaught of Japan and her Axis allies. Chungking offers such a front with ever a possibility of becoming a scapegoat in the eventual defeat of the so-called united nations. The United States and Britain are, therefore, extremely profuse with words of praise and admiration for Chungking's resistance, glorifying it as one of the most heroic exploits in world history.

But Chungking's hope can never be fulfilled as there will surely be no chance of victory for the enemy Allies over the Axis Powers. At every battle-field in East Asia, the forces of Britain and America are completely annihilated and even the man in the street knows beyond doubt that there is absolutely no possibility of their come-back.

However, just for the sake of argument, let us assume for the moment that the Anglo-American camp would be victorious, and then examine the possible attitude or policy of Britain and America, and see whether such expectations of Chungking and the people under the regime would be justified.

If the Chinese public expect that with victory the Allied Nations will bring a blessing to China, it will be as futile as to look for a needle in a hay-stack. Has there been any instance in which either America or Britain has ever brought any real blessing to the Chinese people without her own selfish motive? The Anglo-American Powers may pretend to lavish upon Chungking with all kinds of favours, but at the very bottom of their heart they always have the sinister motive of exploiting and enslaving China for their own benefit. Not a single historical fact exists to disprove this.

Who had brought the damnable habit of opium-smoking among the Chinese? Who had provoked the Opium War to force the suicidal poison upon the Chinese? Who had snatched Hongkong and forced upon the unwilling China the disgraceful and mortifying extra-territoriality at the point of the gun, which has for so many years been the cause of national humiliation of China?

Such has invariably been the policy of the Anglo-American Powers toward China. Wherever these Anglo-Saxons went with professions of good-will, humanitarian service and civilizing influence, they carried in their sleeves the instruments of oppression and exploitation which they freely used to prey upon the innocent people.

The Chungking regime, having been hypnotized by the Anglo-American flatteries, is blind to such living facts and is, therefore, beyond salvation. However, it is my belief that the people of China have not wholly lost their sense of reasoning. As one of many Japanese who has nothing but sympathy and understanding toward them, I desire to inform the Chinese people of one important fact, that is, "you have so far paid enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure of your fathers, husbands, brothers and cousins, not to speak of your own indescribable misery and distress caused by the war. These sacrifices and tribulations, you have been told by Chungking are the price of saving China from Japan's aggression. But the truth is that

these costly sacrifices have not in the least benefited China but served only to whet the imperialistic appetite of the Anglo-American Powers or to fatten the small number of profiteers in Chungking."

"Sacrifice for what?" This is my word to the Chinese friends.

28. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE INDIA'S DEMAND
FOR THE IMMEDIATE END OF BRITISH RULE

July 17, 1942.

You will recall that after the dismal failure of the Cripps Mission, the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Allahabad, adopted on May first, a resolution which made clear that no compromise with Britain was possible. It stated then that it was "impossible for Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain even a partial measure of British control and authority in India," and that "it is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations."

The May first resolution further added that the proposals of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps "led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government," and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown.

It was expected, therefore, that the Congress Working Committee, which met recently at Wardha, would adopt a resolution couched in strong terms. The Congress now emphatically demands that the British rule in India must end immediately. Should, however, this demand fail, the resolution concluded that Congress would be compelled to utilize all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920.

The real spirit of the resolution can be gathered from Mahatma Gandhi's statement to the press explaining the mean-

ing of the resolution. He said, "There is no room left for negotiations. Either the British recognize India's independence, or they go out. There is no question of one more chance. I can see a mass movement on the widest possible scale, although of a purely non-violent character." Mr. Gandhi significantly added that he intended to make the movement as short and swift as possible. ●

The representatives of the Indian people, who have so long endured British bondage, exploitation and oppression, will undoubtedly adopt the Working Committee resolution when they meet at Bombay on August seventh.

The capitals of the United Nations are extremely apprehensive over this fresh development in India, and even the *Philadelphia Inquirer* commented, on July 15, that "Britain long ago should have settled this dangerous colonization problem of granting India a complete dominion status." This American paper emphasized the importance of attaching no strings to such a status.

Once again it is a case of too late for Britain. If Mr. Churchill is true to the principles of the Atlantic Charter—which is partly of his own making and which has inspired much of the Anglo-American propaganda—and give the Indian people the right for self-determination, Britain may save not only her own face but the lives, fortunes, and untold suffering of millions of innocent people of India: Article 3 of the "great" Atlantic Charter provides that Britain and the United States "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

What has Britain in her mind when she simply postpones the putting into practice of such solemn declarations of her national policy when the demands for independence are so urgent from India? What the Indian people demand through the All-India Congress is the immediate political emancipation of India

from the British rule and not for a "better future for the world." For the future, let India take care of herself.

29. SPOKESMAN'S COMMENT ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROMISE TO THE SOVIET UNION OF THE OPENING OF A SECOND FRONT IN EUROPE

July 20, 1942.

The communiques issued simultaneously in London, Washington and Moscow, on June 12, after the conclusion of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty and American-Soviet Understanding, solemnly declared that "full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent task of creating a second front in Europe in 1942." This question of a second front was also referred to in the Anglo-American Joint Statement issued at the close of the Roosevelt-Churchill conversations on June 28. It said:

"While exact plans, for obvious reasons, cannot be disclosed, it can be said that the coming operations which were discussed in detail at our Washington Conferences between ourselves and our respective military advisors, will divert German strength from the attack on Russia."

The importance to Soviet Russia of the Anglo-American promise was stressed by Foreign Commissar Molotov in his address before the meeting of the Supreme Soviet Council on June 18, when he stated:

"The question of a second front was given careful consideration both in London and Washington and a complete agreement was reached regarding the formation of such a front in 1942. The importance of this to the Soviet Union is self-evident."

As regards the attitude of Britain herself, there is a growing demand for a second front in Europe. However, according to a Swedish correspondent, British military quarters are of the

opinion that "Britain could hardly take it upon herself the risks of a second front in Europe as long as the developments in Egypt were not concluded in favour of the British forces."

In the United States, the recent Gallup Poll showed that 48% of the American people definitely favoured the immediate opening of a second front in Europe. And the *New York Times* observed that "the United Nations could pick no more important time than the present for a diversion."

In the face of the peoples' clamorous demand that the British and American Governments fulfil their words of honour, have Britain and America ever undertaken the task of establishing a second front?

Chungking, through bitter experiences in the past, knows that nothing but words and propaganda materials come from the Anglo-American camp. Thus the Chungking official organ, the *Ta-Kung-Pao*, made a caustic observation that the Anglo-American talk of opening a European second front this year is "a lot of noise on a staircase nobody uses." It added, "America should throw in her weight in the struggle now, instead of confining herself to construction and preparation."

A country may sacrifice herself for Britain and America; but Britain and America do not and will not sacrifice themselves for her, whatever the words of honour they might have given. Czechoslovakia knows. Poland knows. Belgium knows. France knows. And what shall we say of Greece, Yugoslavia, Holland and Luxemburg? And, last but not the least—Chungking knows the worthlessness of Anglo-American promises.

There is a popular saying in Anglo-American countries: "A friend in need is a friend indeed."

These countries are those who must have definitely learned to their sorrow that neither Britain nor America is a "friend indeed!"

30. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD
OF INFORMATION ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE NANKING TREATY (AUGUST 29) ¹

August 28, 1942.

The history of the past three hundred years of the British Empire is contaminated with the records of aggression, exploitation and unprovoked wars and massacres both on land and sea. The piratical acts, the ruthlessness of which was unmatched in history and slave traffic, the cruelty of which was beyond human imagination, marked her history on the sea, while on the land surface of the globe the British record is nothing but of merciless invasion, exploitation, bloodshed and slaughter. Wherever the British imperialism extended its grabbing hand, there it left a finger print stained with the blood of its innocent victims. Of all the disgraceful and the ugly chapters of the British history, the one that is most infamous was written by the Opium War and the imposition of the notorious Nanking Treaty on China exactly a hundred years ago.

Having shelved these shameful records, Britain is now ostensibly deploring the evils of opium traffic and smoking, posing as if she were an incarnation of humanitarianism. But who forced opium on China in utter disregard of the future welfare of the Chinese people only to satisfy the unscrupulous greed of her "nation of merchants"? Is it not Britain herself which dared to force the Opium War on China for which even her own statesman Gladstone cried out in shameful agony that there was nothing more disgraceful to the honour of Great Britain than that war. After defeating China, Britain forced the Chinese Government to sign the Nanking Treaty by which she seized Hongkong and forced the restriction of customs tariffs. Moreover, she squeezed from the impoverished China an exorbitant amount of indemnity of war which was of her own making. Thus the opening wedge of aggression against China was driven by Britain, who subsequently exploited it to

gratify her insatiable imperialistic ambition.

The country that initiated the establishment of foreign concessions and settlements, established a system of extra-territorial rights, wrested various exclusive political and economic rights from China and the country that led other powers in exploiting China has always been Great Britain. All these baneful acts, from which China has long suffered, have their evil origin in the Nanking Treaty. However, the Nanking Treaty is only a typical example of the British aggression in and against China, and the same tactics and methods have been applied to every land of the earth.

In other words, Britain founded a world-wide empire, of which she had proudly boasted, on the basis of military, political and pecuniary power against the will of the peoples of the regions affected, and, therefore, there has never existed any spiritual attachment between Britain and these conquered and exploited peoples. The so-called Empire is nothing but a conglomeration of diverse territorial elements having no centripetal spiritual force. How many of the 450 million people of the Empire are really devoted to the British cause? No, most of them hate Britain, and Britain knows it. It is, therefore, easy to see that as soon as a situation develops in which the British power of arms and money lose their effectiveness throughout the Empire, the only thing that will remain in the vaunted Empire will only be an intense feeling against the British tyranny. It is quite natural, therefore, that, with the British defeat in Europe and Asia in the present world struggle, there has openly burst out an intense anti-British feeling in the Near East as well as in India, and an anti-British movement is rapidly gaining strength. Even in Australia, South Africa, and in North America we find visible manifestation of antagonism against Britain.

Confronted by such a situation, Britain is now resorting to the use of a double-bladed sword of threat and cajolery in order to mollify the hostile attitude toward her. To India she applies a policy of threat, and to Chungking she applies that of cajolery.

Britain is flattering Chungking leaders saying that all British opinions are unanimous in regarding Chungking's resistance as a crusade to save free people. They are now admiring the superiority of the Chinese people and their culture. The British newspapers and writers are stressing the necessity of treating the Chinese on the basis of absolute equality. They are professing their desire to help China to regain the complete sovereignty.

Britain is thus pouring out and flooding Chungking with all sorts of sweetest words they can conceive, but alas, they are not substantiated by a single action.

Has Britain ever offered the rendition of her concessions? Has Britain ever turned over her actually controlled customs and salt administrations to China of her own accord? Has she ever supplied arms and ammunitions or credit or loans without demanding profitable payment?

Is it really possible for the British, who, for the past hundred years, has regarded Chinese people as an uncivilized people and as the object of their ruthless exploitation, and who until recently maintained a park in Shanghai with a sign-board which read "Dogs and Chinese, don't enter", to regard the Chinese equal to themselves and to respect the Chinese cultural quality? Nonsense! All their lip services will disappear instantly when necessities cease. The proud "Brothers in Arms" will become the same old Chinaman and will be treated accordingly on the day the war ends.

After all, what is learned in the cradle is carried to the grave. The characteristic of the British Empire—the essential condition on which the existence of the British Empire depends—is the continuation of ruthless exploitation of the oppressed peoples—and this trait can not be changed in a day even if the British wish to do so.

The sooner the people of China, India and other countries exploited by Britain grasp this inexorable truth and meet them squarely, the happier and more promising their future will be.

31. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ON THE SOLOMONS SEA BATTLES

September 4, 1942.

Since the American Navy Department issued a communique stating that it was too early to state losses on both sides of the Solomons Sea Battles more than three weeks have already passed without any public announcement coming forth from American source. Meanwhile, the Japanese Imperial Headquarters made announcements on three different occasions, giving out complete and accurate information about the losses of the Allied fleet as well as our damages. Yet the American Navy Department is still mum on this point. Why? Their usual pretext that "they do not want to give information valuable to the enemy" can no longer hold ground when the Japanese Navy has all the exact and necessary information of the Allied losses. However, there is one reason—a very good reason which everyone can understand and be convinced of. It is that, since the American Government had too much emphasized the importance of the first Solomons Sea Battle as if it were really the start of the American offensive in the Pacific, and the American people believed it blindly, the American authorities are now afraid of revealing the truth of their miserable defeat, lest it would give rise to a bitter feeling against the Government and resultant grievances as well as the people's demoralization. In order to sidetrack the popular demands for the truth of the Solomons Sea Battles, the American authorities are now magnifying entirely out of proportion the landing of the Marines in some islands of the Solomons and also the sporadic clashes in New Guinea.

Whatever childish means they may resort to as "Bad news travels fast," the world public knows the true facts. In London and in Canberra and other cities of the Allied countries, the over-

whelming losses of American warships are widely admitted. It is only the American people, except a few well informed persons, who are not aware that 35 of their valuable ships and 58 of the fighting planes on which they depended so much, as well as their fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons whom they loved dearly, now lie quietly at the bottom of the Solomons waters. Under the most strict censorship enforced in the name of "military secrets", the American public are enjoying blissful ignorance in a country which they still believe is a land of freedom of speech and press. They will have to wait two months more, that is, until the coming November election, before they are apprised of the realities of the Solomons battles, because the so-called offensive in the Solomons was evidently resorted to more for the purpose of internal politics, than for any useful strategical reason.

Pity to the American patriotic youths who believed that they were dedicating their lives for the cause of their beloved country and who did not know that their supreme sacrifice was only to be utilized for the benefit of partizan propaganda. The more sympathy to the American families that unknowingly have sent their dear ones to be sacrificed at the altar of party campaign.

32. COMMENTS BY TOMOKAZU HORI, SPOKESMAN
OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE
TREATMENT OF JAPANESE RESI-
DENTS IN BRAZIL

September 26, 1942.

The Brazilian Government, influenced by increased political and economic pressure brought to bear upon them by the United States and Great Britain, at last, on the 28th of January, took the thoughtless action of declaring the severance of diplomatic relations with Japan with which they had maintained cordial

relations of long standing. Japan, however, with an attitude of calmness and broadmindedness, watched the development of the situation.

The Brazilian Government, on the other hand, since the severance of diplomatic relations with this country, steadily took steps to maltreat the Japanese residents there. A few examples of such inhuman treatment are enumerated below:

Firstly, it is widely understood that the possession of fire arms for self-protection is customary and absolutely necessary for the people residing in the interior regions of Brazil. San Paulo authorities, under the false pre-text that all Japanese residents were fifth columnists, confiscated all fire arms in the possession of Japanese residents. As a consequence, many lawless elements seizing the opportunity presented, threatened the Japanese with fire arms, committed acts of burglary, caused innumerable casualties and even maltreated defenseless Japanese women. Yet, the Brazilian police authorities remained aloof and refrained from taking any effective measures for the protection of Japanese residents.

Secondly, the Brazilian authorities without just reasons, detained the Japanese residents and forced them to be confined in the most unhealthy quarters. Because of this many Japanese have been seriously impaired in their health.

Thirdly, the Brazilian police authorities indulged in searching the Japanese houses and without the slightest provocation arrested the Japanese and even took them into police custody, treating them as if they were criminals. As a matter of fact many Japanese were often threatened with physical violence and many were actually hurt.

The Brazilian police authorities entering Japanese stores, seized various merchandise and they carried away whatever they could take, after eating and drinking as they pleased without paying. To cite an extreme example, a certain Japanese was requested by a Brazilian Chief of Police to hand over the money in his possession. Upon his refusal, the Police immediately

imprisoned him. Such an unjust and inhuman act of physical violence, persecution and looting is tantamount to the very desecration of civilization itself. It is a most unworthy act in the history of Brazil which has enjoyed its position as one of the foremost countries of South America.

Looking back into the history of thirty-five years of Japanese immigration to Brazil, I can state with confidence that the Japanese immigrants, who gradually increased to some 250,000 persons, had diligently toiled in the new land and made unparalleled contributions to the economic development of Brazil. This is a fact well-known and recognized even by the Brazilians themselves.

The aforementioned maltreatment of the Japanese residents by the Brazilian authorities cannot, by any means, be tolerated by the conscience of any man. It is indeed, an offense against God and humanity.

It is needless to say that the Japanese Government have from time to time taken effective and proper steps to correct the Brazilian attitude and secure their guarantee against future maltreatment of our countrymen. This resolve of our Government remains unchanged.

We expect, therefore, that the Brazilian Government, refusing to submit to American and British pressure, and on the basis of their own independent policy, waste no time in rectifying their attitude and their treatment of the Japanese people who live in their country.

33. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE INDIAN SITUATION

October 2, 1942.

Today, October 2nd, India's foremost leader, Mohandas K. Gandhi, is celebrating his 73rd birthday in prison where he has

been incarcerated now for nearly two months. The very fact of his imprisonment together with Nehru, Azad and other leaders of Indian independence has led to an unprecedented flare-up of the long smouldering spirit of Indian nationalism and has made the clan of the independence movement more forceful and more widespread than ever before in the history of India.

Despite the frantic efforts of the British Government to minimize the Indian developments, the whole world knows—the Allied nations with deep anxiety and great apprehension—that the situation is critical.

On September 19, Prime Minister Churchill, in a vain attempt to allay British and Allied fears, declared before the Commons that the Indian situation was "reassuring" and "gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm." He also declared that the Cripps Plan to which all Indians strongly objected was "the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament" and tacitly approved the employment of force in the handling of the present situation.

To this the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha Party responded: "The internal situation is far more serious than it has been depicted. The reign of repression has accentuated bitterness and has deepened anti-British feeling to an extent hitherto unknown." The New York Times commented that the American people "must view with alarm his (Churchill's) seeming insistence that force is the only answer to the Indian question. The Bombay Chronicle declared that the speech was "an amazing misrepresentation," while the Madras Hindu bitterly criticized Mr. Churchill as "dangerously irresponsible."

The American Government is maintaining a stony silence for obvious reasons, but the reflections in the press reveal that America is deeply concerned because many of her soldiers are in India, because she wants India's millions on her side and because, if fortune permits, she would like to step into Britain's boots.

That America and Britain are at variance with each other

on the question of India is openly admitted in a bitter editorial complaint of the London Daily Mail against the American press comments. This British paper, commenting on the American demand "to bring India into the ranks of the Allies by beginning now a programme of her own, "as if India were not already in the ranks of the Allies," exclaims with disgust, "how should Americans know? How should they know that if far-reaching constitutional changes were made now India would certainly not be in the ranks of the Allies, but speedily be on her way out?" Such a controversy as this between the American and British press establishes beyond any shadow of a doubt the fact that India is already spiritually independent and no amount of British pressure can keep India under British control.

Chungking also is in a state of apprehension, caught as it is between the contradiction of its sympathy with India's legitimate aspirations and its alliance with Britain and the Allies.

Be that as it may, the well-known high-handed British policy of repression with armed force has caused only the deepest indignation on the part of the Indian people toward British rule and has seriously aggravated the situation. The question of creed or religion has now become a small matter, for with the Hindus and Moslems mutually supporting each other on the vital independence issue, India is spiritually united in seeking the common lofty objective of complete separation from British rule.

The United front of all Indians has been clearly expressed in the statement issued by the Hindu Mahasabha Party which has taken over the leadership of the independence movement after the suppression of the All India Congress Party. It declared that "the demand for Indian freedom and immediate transfer of power to the interim National Government has not been made by the Congress alone, but by all important political parties in the country. Churchill must not shirk this vital issue."

The advance of the people of India toward freedom from the centuries-old bondage of Britain and toward their true birth-right as a sovereign people is now going on unmistakably and

energetically. Has Mr. Churchill forgotten his vision of the "forward march of common people in all lands toward their just and true inheritance," those beautiful lines in his recent book, "Blood, Sweat and Tears?" What has happened to the third pledge in the Atlantic Charter to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live?" Where is the consistency in the aims of the Allies? Where is their moral and spiritual unity?

The insoluble Indian situation, in short, epitomizes the wholly inconsistent position of Britain and her allies.

34. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON BRITISH TREATMENT OF JAPANESE INTERNEES

October 5, 1942.

The first of two exchange vessels bearing Japanese repatriates from England, India, Burma, Malay and Singapore returned to Japan on September 27, bringing back actual eye-witness accounts of the wanton cruelties and gross mistreatment our nationals have been subjected to at the hands of the British authorities since the outbreak of war.

The reports of the terrifying experiences of all the repatriates have not yet been completely assembled as the second exchange vessel is still en route home, but those already on hand are far more than sufficient to describe the repulsive and excessive measures resorted to by the British authorities, apparently on instructions from the home government, in the handling of our nationals, not only those of non-official status, but even those of official status as well as women and children.

Here are a few typical cases taken from many scores of actual experiences recounted by our returned nationals:

1. At the walled Purana Qila Internment Camp near New Delhi, the British authorities violated the most elemental rules

of humanity by perpetrating acts of cruelty which our repatriates declared they could relate only with a deep shudder and unforgettable bitterness. Three thousand of our nationals—about 2,000 men and 1,000 women and children—were herded like cattle into this camp from Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Rangoon, Malay and Singapore and jammed into about 400 dilapidated tents set up directly on the ground and exposed to wind and rain, especially during the rainy season when the conditions were indescribably unbearable. Those from the Malay and Singapore regions had been brought dressed as they were on the day of their arrest, which immediately followed the outbreak of hostilities, in tropical clothes and with hardly any change of clothing. Women with infants and tiny tots, of whom there were over a hundred, were brought with only a few spare diapers and whatever else in the way of baby's needs they could carry in a small bundle. Except for the thin cotton blankets which they were provided they had no protection against the chilly nights when the temperature descended as low as two degrees above freezing point. Firewood was scarce, for the three pounds per each cooking unit provided were insufficient even for cooking purposes alone.

Food was not only insufficient—only about a half a dozen carrots being rationed to 600 persons, to cite an example—but also was frequently stale and at times contained worms. The rice which they were supplied with consisted of one-third sand.

Sicknesses occurred day after day and soon became widespread but there were no drugs or medical facilities. The doctor assigned to the camp offered no medical attention with the excuse that he was without medical supplies.

As a result seventy deaths occurred in this camp. Each death, which occurred in an unsanitary makeshift hospital where patients were taken only when in the most critical condition, was reported a day or two later and when the bodies were brought at the request of the internees they were often in a partially decomposed and offensively smelling state after having been used

as cadaver and dissected and mutilated by the doctor who refused to explain the cause of the deaths. Vigil was kept by the friends of the deceased in the most desolate atmosphere and went on almost every night after the sicknesses and deaths became rampant.

2. The internees from the above and other camps who were repatriated boarded the British exchange vessel in a thoroughly weakened physical and nervous condition. Many became ill during the hot voyage through the tropics to Lourenco Marques. The British ship's doctor and his assistant refused to attend to the Japanese saying that their services were reserved only for British nationals. ¶

3. A consulate chancellor who as an official should be accorded special treatment under international practice was interned in a camp in Rangoon with civilians of non-official status. Having been in transit and thus not having registered, he was taken from the Japanese Consulate where other consular officials were interned by a British official who promised that he would be brought back as soon as he had registered. Instead he became the victim of British trickery and taken to the above-mentioned camp where he was stripped of his clothes, his hat torn to shreds and his shoes ripped apart. From there he was taken to a prison at Insein, eleven miles from Rangoon, and confined with 70 others of our nationals in a small filthy cell. All were obliged to sleep directly on a rough concrete floor and the cell was so cramped that the internees had to lie immovable on their sides when they slept. From this prison the whole group was removed to another prison at Thayetmyo between Rangoon and Mandalay where the members underwent great hardships for two months, principally due to lack of water.

4. The Consul General at Singapore and his staff were first interned in the official residence of the consul general but soon later they were placed in solitary confinement in the Convict Prison at Changi hitherto used for the incarceration of only the most dangerous criminals. When the Consul General strongly

protested against this outrageous treatment, the British authorities responded in an unofficial letter that it was a "strong, modern building" and gave the ridiculous excuse that it was the "best protection against Chinese mobs."

5. When the consular officials at Colombo were removed to India all the money in their possession was taken away on the promise that it would be returned without fail before they left India. This promise was not kept.

6. Before their boarding the exchange vessels all the baggages of our nationals were thoroughly inspected and most of their personal belongings including money, watches, shirts and underclothes were mercilessly confiscated. There was not a single official of the Indian Government aboard the exchange vessel, only scores of British soldiers armed with bayonets closely watching and following every movement of our repatriates during the entire voyage.

These are only a few of many cases of British indecency and barbarity in the handling of our nationals whom they interned. From these few examples alone it is not difficult to imagine the nature of all the other cases or of the experiences that will be recounted by our nationals who are returning on the second vessel which is due to arrive soon.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, addressing the British Parliament last March, spoke vehemently of the alleged atrocities committed by the Japanese authorities against British civilians and war prisoners in Hongkong after its capitulation. Japan at that time was astonished and hard put to understand why the Foreign Minister of a leading world Power should make such a flagrant though unfounded charge. Japan knows now, however. It has now become perfectly clear that the charges were made against us as a world-wide propaganda to conceal Britain's guilty conscience over the atrocities which were being committed at that very moment by her own authorities against our nationals. This is another testimony of the characteristic and "nauseating hypocrisy" of the so-called English gentleman.

35. COMMENTS BY THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON THE 450TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

October 12, 1942.

Today, October 12, marks the 450th anniversary of the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus. On this day in 1492 the whole world was set upon an entirely new course of development, revolutionary in scope and significance.

Great and significant though the developments of the past four and a half centuries following Columbus' discovery have been, the fact that stands out vividly in the pages of history is the brazen record of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. The record is replete with plundering, conquering, exploiting and pre-empting of territory with guns and silver bullets for the satisfaction of its own material lust and sense of racial superiority at the expense and sacrifice of the countries and peoples who came under its domination.

It is a fact of history how Anglo-Saxon imperialism began with the notorious exploits of Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish and other English seadogs who plundered on the Spanish Main, thus weakening the financial power of the Spanish Crown and establishing the basis of its own expansion, and how today the United States and Britain have placed a large part of Hispanic America under their military, political, economic and financial influence. It is a fact of history that after accumulating sufficient national power, the United States, prodigal heir of Anglo-Saxon imperialistic traditions, extended its territory to the Pacific by armed force and then went south of the Rio Grande to expand its sphere of influence in Hispanic America.

To the Hispanic-American countries it is perfectly clear that the chief obstacles to their independent national economic development have been the United States and Britain who have

established ~~dominion~~ over them by their control of the natural resources and of land, sea and air transportation through loans and other methods which enabled them willfully to exercise political pressure to suit their own imperialistic ends. To maintain that dominion even armed force has been freely employed; the seizure of the Canal Zone, the bombardment of Vera Cruz and armed intervention in the internal affairs of various Central American and Carribean countries are notorious examples.

The Monroe Doctrine whose original purpose was to prevent the extension of European political systems into the Western Hemisphere has frequently changed in its interpretation and application to suit the whims and the selfish motives of the United States as occasion required. It has served only as a pretext for the expansion of American power and influence, not the maintenance of the well-being and security of Hispanic America. The "Good Neighbor Policy" is merely another name for the same thing, a better looking disguise for the continuation of American imperialistic expansion which is best symbolized by the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "speak softly and carry a big stick."

Hispanic Americans have not been oblivious of Anglo-American motives. Luis Drago ultimately succeeded in illegalizing the employment of armed force against a nation merely because of its failure to meet the services on its loans. El Salvador vainly requested the United States Government that the Monroe Doctrine be officially defined. Costa Rica requested the League of Nations for an interpretation, but the League evaded the responsibility.

Following the outbreak of the present war, the United States has been exhausting every available means of deception to expand its influence toward the south. When financial inducements and post-war pledges failed to attract the Hispanic Americans, it has resorted to intimidation by economic threats and even to territorial aggrandizement.

Unfortunate though it is, the Hispanic-American nations,

disgusted at the aggressive demands of the United States but unable to refuse, have succumbed one after another to the pressure of the Northern Colossus and are now receiving orders from Washington, handing over military and naval bases in consideration of which they have been promised enormous quantities of aid that will never be realized.

Only Argentina and Chile have resisted the pressure of the United States. A spokesman of the American Government, the professed advocates of the sovereignty of every nation, only few days ago threatened them with the declaration that "I cannot believe these two republics will continue long to permit their brothers and neighbors to be stabbed in the back by Axis emissaries." Why? It is only because these two nations choose to up-hold and maintain their own national policy framed and determined by their own free will and in the light of their independent national interests.

The single fact that should always be kept in mind by the people of Hispanic America is that once the United States seizes a right it will never let go off its hands and that once it gets in it will not get out. For that reason there are some farsighted statesmen in Brazil who are warning their countrymen to prevent their beloved United States of Brazil from becoming the Brazil of the United States.

To the people of the United States today is just Columbus Day. To the people of Hispanic America and their mother countries of Spain and Portugal today is the Fiesta de la Raza, signifying that the discovery of the Western Hemisphere marked the beginning of the expansion and transplantation to the new world of the Hispanic race and their culture—a culture of refinement in contrast to the coarse materialism of the Anglo-Saxons.

It is sincerely hoped that the nations of Hispanic America, with full consciousness of their history and in the positive spirit of the Hispanic explorers of old seek to free themselves from the influences and ambitions of Anglo-Saxon imperialism and cultivate and enrich their own culture in accordance with their

noble traditions. Herein lies Hispanic America's real contribution to a new world of peace, justice and higher standards of civilization and herein lies the real significance of Fiesta de la Raza.

36. COMMENTS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

November 14, 1942.

Reports of post-war developments in the Philippines give every indication that a new country, propelled by new hope, is rapidly in the making. The new and constructive changes that are taking place in every aspect of Filipino life—in agriculture, industry, education and culture—point to the fact that the new Philippines shows every promise of becoming an active and valuable member of the family of Greater East Asiatic nations.

Due to the happy fact that with the exception of Bataan the major part of the Philippines was spared from destruction, the post-war problem has not been one of rehabilitation but one of reform in order to enable that country quickly to become an integral part of the co-prosperity sphere. It is gratifying to note that through the co-operative efforts of the Japanese military administrators and civilian experts on the one hand and the far-sighted Filipino leaders and people on the other remarkable progress has already been made.

By the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Philippines had been promised complete independence from the United States in 1946, but whatever were the arrangements made for the transitional ten-year period, it is clear that Filipino economy would not have become independent but rather remain the object of continued American exploitation and therefore remain in fact a colony of the United States. In order to ensure the Philippines real development and progress toward greater self-sufficiency and

autonomy, the national economy of the country would have to be reorganized so as to enable it to rely upon itself for those things it is capable of doing. This the new Philippines is now making every effort to do.

Under the pre-war arrangement of the United States, the Philippines would have been obliged by American agriculture intent upon protecting its own interests to restrict the export of sugar, the cultivation of cotton and other products and thus unbalance the entire Filipino economy which had been developed by Americans primarily for their own interests without making the necessary fundamental changes which would enable the Philippines to stand on its own feet.

Now that the Philippines has become a member of the Greater East Asiatic comity of nations with an important role to play in the development and prosperity of this sphere, those necessary changes are being made. For example, the production of sugar has been curtailed and the land thus made available has been devoted to the production of cotton under a five-year plan. Already 30,000 acres have been placed under cultivation which are expected to yield nearly 40,000 tons this year. The plan calls for the cultivation of 1,115,000 acres to produce more than 1,500,000 tons of cotton by the end of the period.

Advanced scientific methods of agriculture are being introduced by Japanese experts to expand the food resources of the country. The fishing industry, in which many Japanese were engaged before the war, is being improved and expanded under expert Japanese guidance. The facilities for the mining of iron, copper, nickel and other minerals are being expanded with the improvement and expansion of hydro-electric power plants such as those at Laguna and Luzon. Various light industries are being promoted. In short, the economic opportunities of the Filipinos are being enlarged while, at the same time, the developments are directed in such a way as to ensure the Philippines a more balanced and truly national, not colonial, economy and enable them to participate more effectively in the

general economic life of Asia.

Hand in hand with the changes and improvements made in the fields of agriculture and industry, important changes also are being made in Filipino education and culture. Under United States control the Filipinos had been indoctrinated with traditions and ideologies alien to their racial heritage and thus victimized by American Manifest Destiny. We do not disparage all that Americans have done for the Filipinos, but it cannot be denied that nothing was done to awaken the consciousness of the people to their own native traditions and enable them to live primarily as Orientals. The new educational and cultural objective now being pursued in the Philippines seeks to arouse a stronger Filipino consciousness and to revive their fundamentally Oriental cultural ties from which they have been estranged during their long dominance by alien influences. The schools, from the primary grades to the university, have reopened, charged and inspired with the new mission to educate the youth and the children of the Philippines as Filipinos, to train them and discipline them in such a way as to enable them to serve their country usefully as a sturdy and industrious people and thus enable them to play a conscious and vital part in the life of the co-prosperity sphere.

The Santo Tomas University and the San Carlos and Trinidad Agricultural Schools have re-opened with the definite aim of turning out well-trained and capable citizens charged with the task of building a self-reliant country.

Thousands of Filipino war prisoners are being freed, provided with jobs and eager to contribute their share to the building of a Philippines for the Filipinos and the Philippines of Greater East Asia. The generally increasing enthusiasm of the people of the Philippines for their new destiny and their wholehearted participation in their national renaissance are the best indicators of a promising future.

The fixed policy of Japan in regard to the future of the Philippines has been specifically stated by Premier Tojo in his

address to the Imperial Diet on January 21, this year, when he said, "If the peoples 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 Co-prosperity Sphere, Japan will gladly enable them to enjoy the honour of independence."

It is reported that in Washington tomorrow, November 15, the seventh anniversary of the Philippine Commonwealth will be observed and that speeches will be made by President Roosevelt and President Quezon who was taken by American initiative to the United States capital to head the provisional government of the Philippines there. If there is to be any wishful thinking during the observances, the speakers and the listeners are especially advised to note the scope and the nature and the significance of the developments that are now taking place in the Philippines which promise to do more for the general welfare and progress of the Filipinos than their fondest dreams could ever conceive of.

37. REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ATTITUDE OF CHILE

November 18, 1942.

In response to inquiries made in the past few days by some of the correspondents regarding the attitude of Chile with reference to the war developments, I should like to make the following observations:

Despite its boastful propaganda, the United States today is confronted by a serious shipping shortage due to unrelenting Axis submarine attacks. This fact is evidenced by its inability to fulfil its promises of material aid to the South and Central American countries which it has politically or otherwise forced to sever diplomatic relations with or declare war against the Axis.

Powers.

The result for these Hispanic American countries which had thought that benefits and advantages would be derived from severing relations with or declaring war against the Axis Powers has been nothing but betrayed hopes. They are now suffering greatly from lack of certain commodities hitherto supplied them by the United States and by Britain which is even more dependent upon outside aid. Even the United States is feeling the pinch. The extreme difficulty of importing raw materials and other commodities from South American countries is seriously affecting the expansion of its war industries.

The sinking of vessels plying between Rio de Janeiro and the Amazon, as a result of Axis submarine action, has led to serious suffering in the Amazon region due to lack of food, and the export of Amazon rubber to the United States has been gravely impeded. The Brazilian railways which hitherto have been entirely dependent upon North American coal, can no longer operate smoothly due to the shortage of this fuel.

In Venezuela, the shortage of tankers has compelled the suspension of the petroleum industry and the workers who have been thrown out of work have been obliged to turn to farming for their subsistence.

In Honduras, thousands, hitherto employed in the banana industry have lost their jobs because the United States is unable to maintain the industry.

In Guatemala, chromium ore has accumulated mountain high at the mines because of the inability of the United States to provide transportation facilities.

In Cuba, a serious lack of newsprint has resulted in the suspension of a number of newspapers.

These are only a few examples of the economic consequences of submission to the dictates of the Northern Colossus in whose eyes the welfare and happiness of the Hispanic American peoples are subservient to the interests of the United States.

As to the political consequences we need only note such countries as Peru, Ecuador and Brazil which are being converted into vassal states by the stationing of United States troops.

To summarize briefly, the South and Central American countries which have listened to the beautiful promises and followed the dictates of the United States in the name of hemispheric solidarity have gained nothing. On the contrary, they are suffering from material wants. Their national interests and public welfare are being sacrificed to the selfish interests of the United States. They are losing their independence and sovereignty which they have hitherto so jealously guarded. In short, they are staking their whole future destiny on unkept promises.

In the face of these developments Chile and Argentina, in spite of all sorts of political, economic and military pressure from the United States, have maintained a neutral attitude. Their statesmen are doubtless cognizant of the consequences that are being suffered by their sister republics who have chosen a different course.

As a maritime nation, Chile has traditionally occupied a controlling position in the waters of the Pacific coast of South America. Intelligent Chileans are probably aware that the maintenance of this position has been possible up to now, since the outbreak of the present war, due to their neutrality, in recognition of which Japan, as a matter of course, has taken a considerate attitude toward the navigation of Chilean vessels in that region.

However, frequent reports coming from the United States speak of the fact that the neutral attitude hitherto firmly maintained by Chile has of late begun to waver. Notwithstanding this, which we prefer to consider as American propaganda, it is our belief that the wise statesmen of Chile fully comprehend that the abandonment of their neutral attitude would invite serious and far-reaching political, economic and military consequences. It would mean not only inviting danger to Chilean

navigation and shipping and the ultimate loss of Chile's controlling maritime position in her waters, but also bringing general disorganization to her economic life and suffering to her people. The leaders of Chile are surely aware of the present fate of their sister republics who have chosen the course set for them by the United States, some of whom have become the vassal states of the Northern Colossus.

Chilean statesmen, known for their independent judgement and erudition, well understand, we believe, despite American and British propaganda to the contrary, that Japan by her recent major naval victories, has greatly expanded her influence in the Pacific and that it would be the height of folly to continue to depend upon the guarantees of the United States for the security of their country. They understand that Japan has grasped the position for sure victory against the United States and Britain and that in co-operation with Germany and Italy she is making great strides toward the establishment of a new world order.

It is needless to say that it would be the better part of wisdom for Chile to maintain an attitude of caution and refrain from approaching the danger line of war at this time. Independence and neutrality now would bring to Chile a greater share in the economic opportunities, international trade and national prosperity in the post-war period.

38. COMMENT OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE BOARD OF INFORMATION ON CHRISTMAS DAY

December 24, 1942.

Christians throughout the world are commemorating the day of the birth of Jesus Christ. Christmas this year, however, is a different Christmas, not in its essence perhaps, but in its manner of observance.

Many fathers, sons, husbands and brothers are not at home this Christmas to be with mothers, daughters, wives and sisters

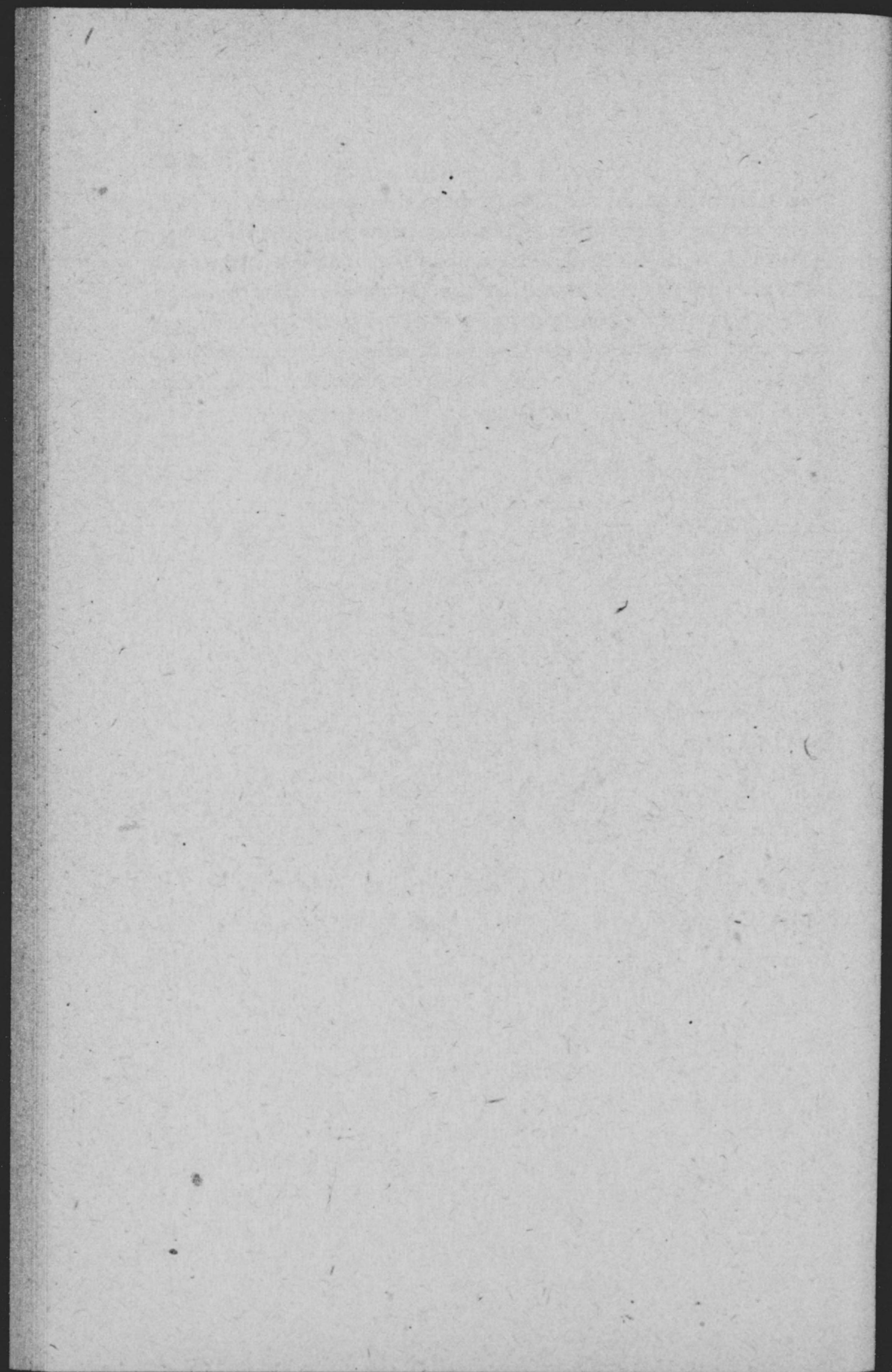
in a united family observance of this memorable day in the Christian world. They are far away, fighting in deserts, mountains, jungles, on the sea and in the air, many lost forever and resting in eternal sleep in foreign battlefields. It is a grim Christmas; not a merry Christmas. It is a Christmas faced with contradictions—a Christmas amid war and blind hatreds, not the Christmas of "peace on earth, good will to men."

It is hardly necessary to point out that these contradictions, these conditions of world strife, have been forced upon the peoples of the world by America and Britain, two countries which have loudly professed their adherence to Christian principles in their international dealings, but whose irresponsible leaders, failing utterly to live up to them in practice, have betrayed the trust of their own people. While preaching Christian idealism they turned their backs to the practice of the principles of justice, equality and fairness and sought only to satisfy their desire for selfish profit and selfish power. They have been aware only of their own welfare, even at the expense of others, and have been utterly blind to the genuine aspiration of other peoples to improve their conditions of life. They have been guided solely by the policy of pressure, not the principle of consideration for others. And now they are trying to put the blame for their own sins upon others.

Our aims and our efforts in this war look to the creation of a world in which the high human principles of brotherhood and mutual consideration will actually govern the conduct of men and nations in their relations, one with the other. They are principles which are cherished in common by all men regardless of race, creed or religion.

Our new world order must be completely free of hypocrisy. It must be free of the practice of exploitation and the pursuit of private gains at the expense and misery of others. It must be a world wherein the common human spirit which even in these dark days of strife burns in the innermost heart of all men will prevail over and administer the affairs of nations and peoples.

Only by eliminating, once and for all, the selfish American and British ambition of world domination and only by establishing a new world order, founded upon the highest ideals of humanity, observed both in principle and in practice, may the Christian peoples of the world celebrate a truly merry Christmas and in complete harmony with the Christmas message of "peace on earth, good will to men."



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訂 正

昭和十六年度政府公表集第一〇八項「帝國政府ノ對米通牒」及第一〇九項「日米交渉經過」ノ外務省發表日附十二月七日トアルハ十二月八日ノ誤ニ付茲ニ訂正ス、右ニ關スル英譯文ニ付テモ亦同シ。

