

Def. Doc. #2760-D

Ex. 3686

3rd line of Page 1

next to "November 6, 1945" add "before the Assembly
of Greater East-Asiatic Conference."

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~~3rd line of Page 1~~

~~next to "November 6, 1943" add "before the assembly
of Greater East-Asiatic Conference."~~

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ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,
HEAD OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND

November 6, 1943

Your Excellency, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, allow me to express my warmest thanks for the honour and the favour shown to me and to my colleagues in allowing us to attend this historic Assembly as observers. I am particularly grateful to Your Excellencies for the sympathy that you have expressed so generously in your speeches and also for the assurance of co-operation and support that you have given us for the future. I went further to express my profound thanks for the resolution moved by His Excellency the Representative for Burma which has been heartily and unanimously adopted by the House. This resolution, I assure you, Your Excellency, will travel far beyond the walls of this stately mansion and will bring hope, encouragement and inspiration to millions and millions of my countrymen groaning under the heel of British oppression, while it will also strike terror in the hearts of all those who have a guilty conscience.

I am sure that we of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and all those who under the leadership of our Government will launch the last struggle against Anglo-American imperialism, will now go to war against sworn enemy with the consciousness that behind us stands not only the invincible might of Nippon, but also the united will and grim determination of the emancipated nations of East Asia.

Your Excellency, as I was sitting, listening to the proceedings of this august Assembly yesterday and today, the panorama of the world's history passed before my mind's eye. My thoughts went back to the many international congresses and conferences held during the last 100 years and more. My thoughts went back to the Congress of Vienna in 1815 after the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire, to the Congress of Paris in 1856 after the Crimean War, to the Congress of Berlin in 1878 after the Russo-Turkish War in the Balkans, to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 at the end of the last War, to the Washington Conference held in 1921 for ensuring the Anglo-American domination of the Pacific and Far East, and to the Locarno Conference in 1925 for ingeniously binding the hands of the German people, once and for all. My thoughts also went back to the Assembly of the League of Nations, that League of Nations along whose corridors and lobbies I spent many a day, knocking at one door after another, in the vain attempt to obtain a hearing for the cause of Indian freedom.

And as I sat listening to the proceedings of this historic Assembly, I began to wonder what the difference was between this Assembly and similar assemblies that the world's history has witnessed in bygone days.

Your Excellency, this is not a conference for dividing the spoils among the conquerors. This is not a conference for hatching a conspiracy to victimize a weak power, nor is it a conference for trying to defraud a weak neighbour. This is an Assembly of liberated nations, an Assembly that is out to create a new order in this part of the world, on the basis of the sacred principles of justice, national sovereignty, reciprocity in international relations and mutual aid and assistance. I do not think that it is an accident that this Assembly has been convened in the Land of the Rising Sun. This is not the first time that the world has turned to the East for light and guidance. Attempts to create a new order in the world have been made before and have been made elsewhere, but they have failed. They have failed because of the selfishness, avarice, and suspicion in those who had to play a leading role in the creation of a new order. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things and in conformity with historic precedent that the world should once again turn to the East for light.

Your Excellency, I believe that history has ordained that in the creation of a new, free and prosperous East, the Government and people of Nippon should play a leading role. This role for the Government and people of Nippon was carved out by history as early as 1905 when, for the first time, an Asiatic nation stood up to resist Western aggression.

As I have often said, I still remember how, as a child, I and millions of my countrymen and millions of Indian children were then thrilled with joy and enthusiasm over events happening so far away from home and I am sure that that was the experience not only of the Indian people, not only of Indian children, but of Asiatic peoples all over the world. Ever since then, Asiatic peoples have been dreaming of a united Asia and a free Asia. And we in India since 1905 have also been dreaming of a free and united Asia. Since then, and particularly since the last World War that dream, that thought, has taken concrete shape in the form of Pan-Asiatic federation.

It should be no surprise to any one that the Indian people from then onwards for two decades have been thinking and dreaming of a Pan-Asiatic federation. This thought is in full conformity with our past tradition and culture.

As Your Excellencies are well aware, from the earliest times, universalism has been a marked feature of Indian thought and culture. In the earliest days, through Buddhism and all the culture centered around Buddhism, India stretched out her hands to the whole of Asia. Later on, with Islamic influence permeating India, that tendency towards universalism also continued, and through Islam, India forged new links with Western Asia.

I must confess, however, to my great sorrow, in this connection, that during the Middle Ages, India developed a false type of universalism and, it is because of this false universalism, that it was so easy for European Powers to settle in, and ultim-

ately to conquer India. But we have learned through sorrow, suffering, and humiliation to distinguish now between the false internationalism and the true. We know now that the internationalism is true, which does not ignore nationalism, but is rooted in it.

We have also studied with great interest the attempts made in Europe and elsewhere to set up a new international order. We have learned from these experiments and from the failure which ultimately crowned these experiments. We are the wiser for this experience, and today, we are convinced that the establishment or the creation of an international society of nations can be possible only if we begin by setting up what I may call regional federations, like this Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Your Excellency, may I humbly point out that the establishment of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere is of interest, of vital interest, not only to the people of East Asia but, if I may say so, to the people of the whole of Asia and to mankind in general.

I claim to have some personal contact with that part of the world stretching from Afghanistan to Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. I claim specially to have personal contact with the suppressed nations living in that part of the world. Over and above this, India has for a long time been a bridge between East Asia and the West. I can, therefore, say with authority that the people of West Asia, the people in that part of the world stretching from Afghanistan to Algeria and Morocco, are following with the deepest interest the happenings in East Asia. I am speaking particularly of these people in West Asia and Africa who have been for some time dominated and oppressed and tyrannized by British imperialism. I can say at least of those people that their liberation in the future depends to a very large extent on the success and the victory of Nippon and her allies in this war. Unless Anglo-American imperialism is wiped out of India, it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, for the suppressed Islamic nations to overthrow the British yoke and recover their lost liberty. The establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere will pave the way towards a Pan-Asiatic Federation. And I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the establishment of an Asia for the Asians, or an All-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, if you will, will ultimately pave the way towards a world federation, a real society of nations, and not the League of robbers that we saw at Geneva.

But, Your Excellency, I must not forget that all these dreams of a new world, of a new Asia, of a new, free and prosperous Greater East Asia depend entirely on our ability to achieve victory in this war. So far as India is concerned our fate is indissolubly linked up with the fate of Nippon and her allies in this war. If our Allies were to go down, there will be no hope for India to be free for at least 100 years. But we know that this time providence, fate, and luck are on our side, and I want to

assure Your Excellency and Excellencies that we, the Indian people, having waited all our life for an international crisis of this sort, are determined to make the fullest use of this opportunity for achieving the final emancipation of our country. For India, there is no other path, but the path of uncompromising struggle against British imperialism. Even if it were possible for other nations to think of compromising with England, for the Indian people, at least, it is out of the question. Compromising with Britain means to compromise with slavery and we are determined not to compromise with slavery any more.

I, therefore, want to assure Your Excellencies that come what may, no matter how long and hard the struggle may be, no matter what the suffering and the sacrifice involved may prove to be, we are determined to fight to the bitter end, being fully confident of our final victory. But I have no illusions about the magnitude of the task that awaits us. I do not minimize the strength of the enemy. I claim to know the British people intimately and at first hand. I have known them since I was a child of five and, knowing them so intimately, knowing the strength and the weakness of the enemy in India, and knowing also our own strength and weakness, I feel fully confident of our ultimate victory.

But we have to pay the price of our liberty. For Your Excellencies the problem is quite different from what it is for India. You have only to repel any offensive launched by the enemy in the future. You have only to retain what you have got now; you have only to preserve your own freedom. But the Indian people have yet to fight and win their freedom. Therefore, I repeat: we have no illusions about the magnitude of the task that awaits us. In fact, I may say that all the time sitting in my chair; as I was dreaming of a new East Asia, a new Asia and a new world, before my mind's eye there floated the scenes of the battle that we will have to fight on the frontier and on the plains of India.

I do not know how many of those who will go to war against our powerful and unscrupulous enemy, I do not know how many of the members of our National Army, will survive the coming war, but that is of no consequence to us. Whether we individually live or die, whether we survive the war and live to see India free or not, what is consequence is the fact that India shall be free, that Anglo-American imperialism shall be wiped out of India, and the menace that now hangs over the whole of East Asia will be removed, once and for all.

Your Excellency, I am aware that there are many people in this world who have an exaggerated notion of the strength of Britain and of her allies. I have just said that we know the British people at first hand. We know their strength and their weakness and we are therefore looking forward with the fullest optimism to the hard and bitter struggle that is ahead of us. Assured of such an invincible ally as Nippon, assured of the sup-

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port which Your Excellencies have so generously given us, and assured us for the future, we shall go to battle fully confident that the day of our salvation is at hand.

Your Excellencies, in setting out to create a new order based on the sublime principles of justice, national sovereignty, reciprocity, and mutual aid and assistance, you are undertaking a task which is the noblest that the human mind can conceive. I pray to God that your noble efforts may be crowned with success. I pray to God that the dreams of Okakura Kakuzo and Sun Yat-sen may be translated into reality. And I pray to God that this Joint Declaration which this historic Assembly has unanimously adopted this afternoon may prove to be a charter for the nations of East Asia and, what is more, a charter for the suppressed nations of the whole world. May this Joint Declaration prove to be in the world's history, the charter, the new charter of liberty for the year 1943 and after.

Your Excellency, may I offer my respectful congratulations to yourself and to your Government for the noble manner in which you have given us the most eloquent proof of your bona fides and sincerity. You have granted independence to Burma and the Philippines. You have recognized the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which represents a population numbering about one-fifth of the human race. You have just entered into a most honourable treaty with China. And what is perhaps the most important, you have proceeded steadily and bravely with the task of reconstruction, while engaged in a life and death struggle with powerful and unscrupulous enemies. I pray that Nippon's role in the creation of a new and free Asia may be fully and finally consummated. In conclusion, I may assure Your Excellency, that if you and your distinguished colleagues succeed in this mission, as I hope, I trust, and I believe, you will--your names will go down in history not merely as the makers of a new Nippon, not merely as the makers of a new East Asia, not only as the makers of a new Asia, but as the makers and the architects of a new world.

九、自由印度假政府「ボース」首班閣下ノ發言（翻譯）

（十一月六日）

議長閣下、閣下並ニ各位、此ノ歴史的會議ニ陪席者トシテ出席スルコ
トヲ許サレマシタルコトハ、私及ビ私ノ同僚ノ光榮且忽忽トスル所デア
リマシテ、茲ニ其ノ御厚意ニ對シ自由印度假政府ヲ代表致シマシテ深甚
ナル感謝ノ意ヲ表スル次第デアリマス、殊ニ閣下各位ガ其ノ御所見中ニ
表明セラレマシタル深キ御同情並ニ我々ノ將來ニ對シ協力援助ヲ確約セ
ラレマシタルコトニ對シマシテ、私ハ衷心ヨリ感謝ヲ捧グルモノデアリ
マス、更ニ又「ビルマ」國代表閣下御提議ノ下ニ、全會一致ヲ以テ深甚
セラレマシタル決議ニ對シマシテモ滿腔ノ謝意ヲ表スルモノデアリマス、
議長閣下、此ノ決議ハ此ノ殿堂ノ壁ヲ越エテ遠カ我が同胞幾億ニ希望ト
激勵ト感激トヲ齎スト同時ニ、心疚シキ所アル總テノ者ノ胸中深ク恐怖
ヲ與フルモノナルコトハ、私ノ信ジテ疑ハザル所デアリマス。

我々自由印度假政府並ニ其ノ指導下ニ在ル總テノ者ハ將ニ米英帝國主
義ニ對シ最後ノ決戦ヲ開始セントシテ居ルモノデアリマシテ、我々ノ背
後ニハ管ニ無敵日本ノ強キ力ノミナラズ東亞ノ解放セラレタル各國民ノ

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總意ト決意アリトノ自覺ノ下ニ、今ヤ我々ハ不俟戴天ノ仇敵繁滅ニ堪軍
セントシテ居ル次第デアリマス。

議長閣下、私ガ昨日及ビ本日此處ニ在ツテ此ノ大會議ノ議事ヲ傾聴致
シテ居リマス際、私ノ眼前ニハ「パノラマ」ノ如ク世界ノ歴史ガ去來シ
タノデアリマス、私ハ過去百餘年間ニ開催セラレマシタル數多ノ國際會
議ヲ回想シタノデアリマス、即チ、「ナポレオン」帝國没落後一八一五
年ニ開催セラレタル維納會議、「クリミア」戰爭後一八五六年ニ開催セ
ラレタル巴里會議、「バルカン」ニ於ケル露土戰爭後一八七八年ニ開催
セラレタル柏林會議、前世界大戰ノ終決ヲ告ゲタル一九一九年「ヴェル
サイユ」講和會議、太平洋及ビ極東ニ於ケル英米ノ支配ヲ確保センガ爲
一九二一年ニ開催セラレタル華府會議及ビ獨逸國民ノ手足ヲ巧ミニ永久
ニ拘束スベク一九二五年ニ開催セラレタル「ロカルノ」會議ニ想ヲ馳セ、
更ニ又、嘗テ私ガ印度ノ自由ノ爲ノ叫ビニ耳ヲ傾クル者ヲ求メテ久シク
其ノ堂内ヲ彷徨シタコトノアル彼ノ國際聯盟ノ會議ヲ想起シタノデアリ
マス。

而シテ更ニ此ノ歴史的會議ノ議事ヲ聽キツ、私ハ此ノ會議ト嘗テ世

界史上ニ現ハレタル類似ノ諸會議トノ間ニ、如何ニ懸隔アルカニ想ヲ致シタノデアリマス。

議長閣下、本會議ハ戰勝者間ノ戰利品分割ノ會議デハナイノデアリマス、ソレハ弱小國家ヲ犠牲ニ供セントスル陰謀、謀略ノ會議デモナク、又弱小ナル隣國ヲ齟齬セントスル會議デモナイノデアリマシテ、此ノ會議コソハ解放セラレタル諸國兵ノ會議デアリ、即チ正義、主權、國際關係ニ於ケル互惠主義及ビ相互援助等ノ尊嚴ナル原則ニ基イテ世界ノ此ノ地域ニ新秩序ヲ創建セントスル會議ナノデアリマス、私ハ新カル會議ガ此ノ日出ヅル處ニ開催サレタノハ偶然ノ事デハナイト考ヘルモノデアリマス、蓋シ世界ガ光明ト指導トヲ東洋ニ求メタルコトハ之ヲ以テ嚆矢トハシナイカラデアリマス、世界新秩序建設ハ、既往ニ於テ且他ノ地域ニ於テ、一再ナラズ試ミラレ來ツタノデアリマスガ總テ失敗ニ終ツタノデアリマス、ソレハ全く新秩序創建ノ指導的立場ニ立ツベキ者ニ利己慾、貪婪及ビ猜疑心ガアツタガ爲デアリマス、故ニ茲ニ世界ガ再ビ光明ヲ東亞ニ仰ガナケレバナラナイコトニ立至ツタノハ洵ニ當然ノ理デアリ歴史的必然ナノデアリマス。

議長以下、自由ニシテ繁榮ニ充テタル新東亞ノ建設ニ當リ、日本皇政府並ニ國民ガ指導的役割ヲ務ムベキコトハ歴史上定メラレタル所デアルクトヲ私ハ信ズルモデアリマシテ、日本國政府並ニ國民ノ斯カル使命ハ夙ニ一九〇五年ニ亞細亞ノ一國ガ西洋ノ侵略ニ抗シテ激起シタル時ニ青史ニ鏤刻セラレタノデアリマス。

今日迄ニ屢々申シタルコトノアリマス通り、當時我が國ヨリ遙カ彼方ニ於テ生起シツ、アツタ種々ノ事情ニ對シ、幼少デアツタ私及ビ幾億ノ我が老幼印度同胞ガ如何ニ歡喜ト熱情トヲ注イダカハ今尙私ノ記憶ニ新タナルモノガアリマスガ、是ハ印度人、印度兒童ノミナラズ世界ニ散在スル全亞細亞人ノ經驗シタ所デアルト信ズル次第デアリマス、爾來亞細亞民族ハ結集セル亞細亞、自由ナル亞細亞ヲ夢見タノデアリ、我々印度民衆モ亦一九〇五年以來之ヲ憧憬シ來ツタノデアリマスガ、其後、特ニ前世界大戰以後、新カル夢想ナリ思想ナリハ汎亞細亞聯盟ノ形ニ於テ具體化シタノデアリマス。

其ノ後二十餘年ニ互リ印度民衆ガ不斷ニ汎亞細亞聯盟ヲ思慕憧憬シ來ツタコトハ何人ニ取ツテモ驚クニ當ラナイ所ト考ヘラレルノデアリマシ

テ、是ハ益ク既往ノ傳統及ビ文化ニ合致スルモノナノデアリマス。

閣下各位ノ既ニ御承知ノ如ク元來印度思想即ニ文化ハ普遍主義ヲ以テ其ノ特色トスルモノデアリマシテ、遂キ音ニアツテハ印度ハ佛教及ビ之ヲ中心トスル有ラユル文化ヲ通ジ全亞細亞ニ光被シ、次イデ同教勢力ガ印度ニ達シタルトキニ於テモ、普遍主義的傾向ハ依然存続スル一方同教ヲ通ジテ西亞細亞ト新タニ紐帶ヲ結ンダノデアリマス。

併シナガラ、悉シムベキコトニハ中世紀ニ入ツテ、印度ハ謬マレル普遍主義ヲ發展セシメ、其ノ結果歐洲列國ノ印度侵入ヲ招來シ、遂ニハ容易ニ印度征服ヲ成シ遂ゲシメタルコトヲ茲ニ告白シナケレバナライノデアリマス、併シ我々ハ斯カル悲哀、苦惱及ビ屈辱ヲ通ジテ、今ヤ眞ノ國際主義ト謬マレルソレトヲ判別スルコトヲ知得シタノデアリマシテ、今こそ我々ハ國家主義ヲ無視セズ、却テ深ク之ニ根ザシタル國際主義ガ眞ノ國際主義ナルコトヲ識ツタノデアリマス。

我々ハ又歐洲其ノ他ノ地域ニ於テ再三行ハレタル國際新秩序建設ノ試ミヲ多大ノ興味ヲ以テ研究シ、斯カル試ミ及ビ其ノ終局ノ失敗カラ多ク望ブ所ガアツタノデアリマス、從ツテ我々ハ斯カル企圖ニ付イテハ遂カ

ニ賢明トナツテ居ルノデアリマシテ、今ヤ諸國家間ノ實際的結集ノ創建ハ私ノ所謂地域的聯盟、例ヘバ大東亞共榮圈ノ如キモノノ建設ヨリ始メルトキニ於テノミ可能ナリト確信スルモノデアリマス。

議長閣下、私ハ茲ニ、大東亞共榮圈ノ建設ハ單ニ東亞民族ノミナラズ、龍フヲ導ベクンバ全亞細亞民族並ニ全人類ニ取ツテ重大關心事タルコトヲ指摘致シタイノデアリマス。

私ハ「アフガニスタン」ヨリ「チュニス」、
「アルジェリア」及ビ「モロッコ」ニ跨ガル地域ヲ親シク識ルモノデアリ殊ニ右地域ニ在ム被抑壓國民ト個人的接觸ヲ有スルモノデアリマスガ、實ハ印度ハ久シキニ互リ東亞ト西亞トヲ結ブ橋梁デアツタノデアリマス、從ツテ西亞、即チ「アフガニスタン」ヨリ「アルジェリア」及ビ「モロッコ」ニ至ル地域ノ諸國民ガ東亞ノ諸事象ヲ深甚ナル關心ヲ以テ注視シテ居ルコトハ私ノ確信シ得ル所デアリマス、殊ニ私ハ多年英國ノ帝國主義ノ專制、支配、抑壓ノ下ニ呻吟シ來レル西亞及ビ阿弗利加ノ民族ニ付キ謂ハントスルモノデアリマスガ、諺クトモ此等諸民族ノ將來ノ解放ハ日本及ビ其ノ與國ガ今次戦争ニ勝利及ビ成功ヲ克チ得ルヤ否ヤニ懸ル所大ナリト請ヒ導ルノ

デアリマス、印度ヨリ英米帝國主義ヲ掃拭スルニ非ズンバ、抑壓セラレタル同敎國民ガ英國ノ桎梏ヲ脱シ、喪ハレタル自由ヲ克復スルコトハ至難デアリマシテ、恐ラクハ不可能トモ請ヒ得ルノデアリマセウ、大東亞共榮國ノ確立ハ汎亞細亞聯盟ヘノ道ヲ拓クモノデアリマシテ、更ニ亞細亞人ノ爲ノ亞細亞、漢言スレバ全亞細亞共榮國ノ確立ガ究極ニ於テ世界聯盟ヘノ途、即チ壽府ニ於テ見ラレタルガ如キ強奪者ノ聯盟ニ非ズシテ、眞ノ國家共同體ヘノ途ヲ拓クモノデアルコトハ私ノ微慮モ莫ハザル所デアリマス。

議長閣下、併シナガラ總テ新カル新世界、新亞細亞、自由ニシテ繁榮ナル新大東亞ノ理想ノ達成ハ一ニ懸ツテ我々が現戰爭ニ勝利ヲ占メ得ルヤ否ヤニ在ルトイフコトハ忘レ得ナイ所デアリマシテ、印度ノ離スル限リ我等ノ運命ハ今次戰爭ニ於ケル日本及ビ其ノ與國ノ運命ト不可分關係ニ在ルノデアリマス、萬一我方與國ガ没落スルコトアラバ、印度ハ夢クモ同後百年間ハ自由ヲ得ル望ミハナイデアリマセウ、併シナガラ今次戰爭ニ當リテハ神龍我ニ在ルノデアリマス、而シテ新カル國際的危機ヲ生涯賭ケテ待望シ來タレル我々印度民衆ハ此ノ好機ヲ徹底的ニ利用シ、最

後的ナル祖國解放ヲ達成セント決意シテ居ルモノナルコトヲ、茲ニ私ハ
 議長閣下竝ニ閣下各位ニ確言スル次第デアリマス、印度ニ取リマシテハ
 英帝國主義ニ對スル徹底的抗争以外ニ途ハナイデアリマス、假令他國
 ハ英國トノ妥協ヲ考慮シ得ルト致シマシテモ、印度兵衆ニ取ツテ
 ハ斯カルコトハ全ク問題ニナラナイデアリマシテ、即チ對英妥協ハ奴
 隸化トノ妥協ヲ意味スルモノデアリ我々ハ斯カル奴隸化トノ妥協ハ決シ
 テ之ヲ行ハザル決意ヲ有スルモノデアリマス。

故ニ我々ハ今後如何ナルコトガ起ラウトモ、又其ノ闘ガ如何ニ長期且
 困難ヲ極メヨウトモ、更ニ又闘争ニ伴フ苦惱及ビ犠牲ガ如何ナルモノナ
 ルニモセヨ、我等ノ究極ノ勝利ヲ確信シ、茲刻ノ途ヲ最後迄戦ヒ抜ク決
 意ニ燃ユルモノナルコトヲ、閣下各位ニ對シ確約致シタイノデアリマス、
 併シ私ハ我々ノ前途ニ横タハル事業ノ重大サヲ輕視スルモノデモナケレ
 バ、敵ノ戦力ヲ過小評價スルモノデモアリマセン、私ハ五歳ノ幼時ヨリ
 英國人ヲ熟知シテ居ルモノデアリマスガ、彼等ヲ新ク熟知シ、印度ニ於
 ケル敵ノ力ト弱點トヲ識ルガ故ニ、私ハ我々が究極ニ於テ勝利者タルコ
 トヲ確信スル次第デアリマス。

併シナガラ我々ハ自由獲得ノ爲ニハ當然其ノ代ニヲ支拂ハナケレバナ
 ラナイノデアリマス、印度ニ取リマシテ此ノ問題ハ閣下各位ニ對スルト
 ハ全ク趣ヲ異ニスルノデアリマス、閣下各位ハ總テ敵ガ加ヘ來ルベキ攻
 撃ヲ排除シ、現ニ保有セラル、モノヲ確保シ、各位自身ノ自由ヲ保持セ
 ラルレバ足ルノデアリマスガ、印度民衆ハ更ニ戦ヒ、己ガ自由ヲ戦ヒ取
 ラナケレバナライノデアリマス、故ニ茲ニ繰返シ申述ブレバ我々ハ決
 シテ我々ノ前途ニ横タハル事業ノ重大サヲ輕視スルモノデハナイノデア
 リマス、洵ニ、私ガ此ノ席上ニ在ツテ新東亞、新亞細亞、新世界ヲ想像
 致シテ居リマス間ニモ、胸中ニハ總テ我々が印度ノ疆域或ハ平原ニ於テ
 戦フベキ數々ノ戦鬪ノ場景ガ彷彿致スノデアリマス。
 彼ノ強力ニシテ假借ナキ敵トノ戦ニ赴クモノノ中、又我が印度國民軍
 將士ノ中ノ幾何方來ルベキ戦ニ生キ残り得ルヤヲ豫想スルコトハ出來ナ
 イノデアリマスガ、我等個々ノ生死、戦ニ勝チ強リ印度ノ自由ヲ目撃シ
 得ルヤ否ヤハ我々ノ意トスル所デハナイノデアリマシテ、我々ノ重大關
 心點ハ印度ガ自由ヲ獲得シ、印度ヨリ英米帝國主義ヲ驅除シ、現ニ東亞
 全域ニ低迷スル脅威ヲ永久ニ芟除スルコト、其ノコトニ在ルノデアリマ

ス。

議長閣下、私ハ多クノ人々ガ英國及ビ其ノ與國ノ實力ニ關シ誇張セラレタル觀念ヲ有シテ居ルコトヲ承知シテ居リマス、先刻申述べマシタ通リ我々ハ英國人ヲ熟知シテ居リマス、我々ハ彼等ノ長所短所ヲ熟知シテ居リマスガ故ニ、前途ニ横タハル凶難深刻ナルベキ闘争ヲモ樂視的氣持ヲ以テ待チ散ケテ居ル次第デアリマス、日本ノ如キ無敵ノ友ニ支援セラレ、閣下各位ノ寛大ナル支援ノ御言葉ヲ得タル以上、我々ハ我々ノ解放ノ日近キコトヲ確信シテ戰場ニ赴カントスルモノデアリマス。

閣下並ニ各位、正義、主權、互惠及ビ相互援助ノ至高原則ニ基ク新秩序創建ノ事業ヲ始メラル、コトニ依リ各位ハ人類ノ考へ得ル最モ崇高ナル事業ヲ遂行セラレツ、アルノデアリマシテ、茲ニ私ハ各位ノ崇高ナル御努力ガ成功ノ榮冠ヲ克チ得、岡倉寛三及ビ孫逸仙ノ理想ガ實現ニ移サレンコトヲ祈ルト共ニ、更ニ、本日午後此ノ歴史的會議ニ於テ滿場一致ヲ以テ採擇セラレタル大東亞共同宣言ガ東亞各國民ノ憲章デアリ、更ニハ全世界ノ被抑壓國民ノ憲章タランコトヲ祈ル次第デアリマス、本大東亞共同宣言ガ本年以後自由ノ新憲章トシテ世界史上ニ遺ランコトヲ祈念

シテ已マナイ次第デアリマス。

議長閣下、閣下竝ニ帝國政府ガ我々ニ對スル誠心誠意ヲ最モ雄辯ニ證
 據立テラレタル崇高ナル態度ニ對シ、茲ニ私ハ衷心ヨリ敬祝ノ意ヲ表セ
 ントスルモノデアリマス、日本ハ「ビルマ」國及ビ「フィリピン」國ニ
 對シ獨立ヲ許與シ、人類全人口ノ約五分ノ一ヲ代表スル自由印度假政府
 ヲ承認シ、更ニ中華民國トノ間ニハ最モ榮譽アル條約ヲ締結セラレタノ
 デアリマス、而モ尙最モ重視スベキハ、日本ハ有力ニシテ假借ナキ敵國
 ト生死ノ戰ヲ行ヒツ、アル一方ニ於テ、著々トシテ再建ノ事業ニ邁進セ
 ラレツ、アルコトデアリマシテ、私ハ日本ノ新自由亞細亞國建ノ使命ガ
 十二分ニ完遂セラレンコトヲ祈ル次第デアリマス、終リニ云ヒ、私ノ結
 望スルガ如ク閣下竝ニ閣下ノ愛レタル同僚各位ガ此ノ使命ヲ達成セラレ
 タル處ニ於テハ、各位ハ實ニ新日本ノ建設者、新東亞、更ニ新亞細亞ノ
 建設者トシテノミナラズ、實ニ新世界ノ創造建設者トシテ、永ク其ノ名
 ヲ青史ニ止メラル、デアラウコトヲ私ハ確信スルモノデアリマス。