

Def. Doc.# 226

ht. 3663

ERRATA SHEET

Page	Line	
2	3rd fr. bottom	"invaded" should be "advanced into"
3	3	"expansion" should be "peaceful develop- ment"
3	12	After "were sent" add "in the latter part of July"
5	13	Change "whish" into "which"

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Translated by the
Defense Language Branch

Excerpt from the Official Report (Extra issue), Monday November
18, 1941 (The 16th year of Showa)

No. 2, The Shorthand Record of Discussions in the House of
Representatives of the 77th Session of the Imperial Diet, Mon-
day, November 17, 1941 (The 16th year of Showa)

Opened at 1: 15 P.M.

(Portion Omitted)

Speech Delivered By The Minister of State

(Minister of State, Hideki Tojo, takes the restrum)

Minister of State (Mr. Hideki Tojo)

The 77th Session of the Diet opens with the situation
grave. I am struck with awe and deeply impressed at the
gracious Imperial Rescript for the opening ceremony.

On this occasion, the Government should like to explain
frankly what it is going to do to carry out national policies.
By doing so, we ask you to cooperate with us, and to have all
the people, being united as a body, overcome with iron will the
unprecedented national crisis we are confronting. Thus, I
believe, we can set the Emperor's mind at ease.

Now I shall explain about the present situations of the
world surrounding Japan: Concerning the China affair, brilliant

results are being obtained on all fronts, as our loyal and valiant forces under the august virtues of His Majesty the Emperor, have fought successfully, and the people at home have worked in earnest.

Thus the resistance of the Chungking Government is being weakened day by day. On the other hand, the reconstruction of China by the National Government is making steady progress. Those states on good terms with us have recognized the new Government and thus the settlement of the Affair is reaching the last stage.

Nevertheless economic and military strategems of those states supporting Chiang Kai-shek are growing more active and have become the sole and the greatest prop for the fighting power of his Government.

This is becoming a great obstacle to the solution of the China Problem. (Clapping of hands)

Further, in the north, since the war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R. last June, it seems that the situation is becoming urgent. The Japanese Empire can not be indifferent to the changes in the state of things. We are having everything arranged in order to secure peace on our northern border.

(Clapping of hands)

In the south, our forces invaded the northern part of French Indo-China last year, the Economic Agreement between our Empire and French Indo-China was concluded, and the troubles

between Thailand (Siam) and French Indo-China were settled by our efforts. Thus friendship and intimacy between our Empire and French Indo-China are being enhanced and the expansion of our Empire towards the south is being started. (Clapping of hands) Britain, the United States, Netherlands etc. have strengthened mutual military and economic cooperation, and made our economic negotiation with the Dutch Indies unsuccessful, and and at the same time, threatened to constitute severe menace to the position of our Empire in the South Pacific Ocean.

Therefore, our Empire made an agreement with the Vichy Government in respect to the joint defence of Japan and French Indo-China. According to this agreement, our forces were sent to the southern part of French Indo-China.

However, Britain, the United States, and the Netherlands, etc., looked with suspicion and apprehension on our justifiable self-defensive measures, blockaded our Empire economically by freezing our assets abroad and by prohibiting exports to Japan; in fact, and at the same time, very rapidly increased their military menace to us. Of course, an economic blockade between countries not at war constitutes no less a hostile act than a war by arms. (Clapping of hands) Such acts can by no means be overlooked, because they not only obstruct, against our will, the settlement of the China Affair, but also constitute a grave threat to the existence of our Empire. (Clapping of hands)

Nevertheless, our Empire desires peace.

We have been patient. We have endured the unendurable. We have made all efforts in order to cope with the crisis by diplomatic negotiations and to settle the trouble in peace. But as yet being unable to realise our intention, our Empire is obliged to stand at a serious emergency at which we must decide our policies for ^{the} coming one hundred years."

(Clapping of hands)

Still now the Government is doing its best in carrying on diplomatic negotiations in order to protect the existence and prestige of our Empire, and to establish a new order in Greater East Asia, based upon the peace loving spirit which we have inherited from our forefathers since the foundation of our Empire. And thereby what our Empire wishes is as follows:

- 1) No third state shall interrupt our bringing the China Affair to completion.
- 2) Those states surrounding our Empire shall not only bring military menace to bear directly against us, but also shall put an end to such hostile acts as the economic blockade and recover normal economic relations.
- 3) The spreading of war over East Asia, as a result of the extension of the European War, shall be prevented to the utmost. (Clapping of hands)

If our objects referred to in these three items are attained through diplomatic negotiations, it is a great blessing

not only for Japan, but also for the peace of the world.

(Clapping of hands)

However, taking consideration of those circumstances which we have faced hitherto, we can not predict whether the negotiations will succeed or not.

Consequently, foreseeing all obstacles lying in ^{the} future, and making ^{the} through preparations, for getting rid of them, the Government is resolved to carry out decisively and fully the national policies which our Empire has already determined, (Clapping of hands) and has a firm resolution thus to maintain the existence of our Empire. (Clapping of hands)

Now we are standing at a crisis unprecedented in our 2600 years' history, - a crisis which will lead either to destruction or success. Therefore, taking all these things into consideration, we are determined to do the best in discharging our duties of assisting the Throne. (Clapping of hands)

In whatever manner the situation may change, the completion of higher defensive system of the state is really the most urgent and important matter. For realising it, the spirits of the people must be much more strained and the level of efficiency of productive economy must be raised to the maximum. In accordance with this, the Government is taking all measures to secure the living standard of the people, but it is really unavoidable that it should be cut down to some extent. What I desire from the bottom of my heart is that all the people should

share present hardships with one another, be united closely, and make efforts to assist the "Holy Work", standing firm in the belief that our Empire is now given a good opportunity for making a stride in our progress and that we can anticipate a boundless expansion in future. (Clapping of hands)

As for the Government, we are resolved to carry out various reforms and readjustments concerning political and economic matters. We shall be careful not to pursue ideals in vain, but in accordance with the current situation, to take measures to obtain the maximum efficiency of each Specific function.

I believe that all the people will realize what the Government intends and positively cooperate with us. (Clapping of hands)

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, YAMAZAKI, Takashi, Chief of the Section of General Affairs in the House of Representatives, hereby certify that the document written in Japanese consisting of five sheets of paper attached hereto, is a copy of the parts of Page 17 and Page 18 of the shorthand Records of Discussions No. 2 of the House of Representatives in the 77th Session of the Imperial Diet opened on the 18th November, 1941 (the 16th year of Showa), which is in my official custody.

December 6, 1946 (the 21st year of Showa)

At the House of Representatives.

Takashi Yamazaki (seal)

(Signature)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed by Takashi Yamada in my presence.

On the same day
at the same place.

Observer Ichizo Yokokura

(Signature)

Translation Certificate

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the ^{attached} certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/s/ William E. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan
Date 16 Jan., 1947

官報 號外 昭和十六年十一月十八日

◎ 第七十七回 帝國議會 衆議院議事速記録 第二號

昭和十六年十一月十七日 (月曜日)

午後一時十五分開議

中略

國務大臣ノ演說

(國務大臣東條英機君登壇)

af. 3663

○國務大臣(東條英機君)現下重大ナル時局ニ際シマシテ、第七十七回帝國議會開會セラレ、開院式ニ當リマシテハ、優渥ナル勅語ヲ賜リ、洵ニ恐懼感激ニ堪ヘマセヌ、此ノ機會ニ於キマシテ政府ハ國策遂行ニ關シマシテ、率直ニ所信ヲ披瀝致シマシテ、各位ノ細協カヲ願ヒ、舉國一體鐵石ノ意志ヲ以テ現下未會有ノ國難ヲ克服シ、以テ聖慮ヲ安ンジ奉リタイト存ズル次第アリマス

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現下帝國ヲ繞ル世界ノ狀態ヲ按ジマヌルニ、支那專權ハ御陵威ノ下忠
誠勇武ナル將兵ノ奮闘ト、又熱誠強ナル統帥ノ活動ト相俟チマシテ赫
々タル戰異ヲ收メ、重慶政權ノ抗戰力ハ日ニ月ニ低下シツツアルノデア
リマス、又他方國民政府ノ建設ハ着々進歩シ、今ヤ多數ノ友好列國ハ國
民政府ヲ承認シ專權解決ハ最後ノ段階ニ到達シテ居ルノデアリマスガ、
援蘇諸國ノ經濟的、軍事的策動ハ益々活潑トナリ、重慶政權ノ抗戰力ニ
對スル唯一最大ノ支柱ト致シマシテ、帝國ノ專權解決ヲ妨ゲテ居ル次第
デアリマス（拍手）

更ニ北方ニ於キマシテハ本年六月獨「ソ」開戰以來、專端漸ク滋カラ
ンコトヲ思ハシメ、專權ノ推移ハ帝國トシテ無關心タルヲ得ザルモノガ
アリマスルノデモ、我ガ北邊ノ安定ノ爲メ遺憾ナキ措置ヲ講ジツツアリマ
ス（拍手）

又南方ニ於キマシテハ、昨年北部佛印ニ皇軍ノ進駐トナリ、次イデ日
。佛印ノ經濟協定、森。佛印ノ紛争調停等、帝國ト佛領「インド」支那
トノ友好緊密關係ハ漸ク増進ヲシ、南方ニ對スル帝國ノ平和的進展ハ、

漸々其ノ緒ニ就カントシテ居リマシタガ（拍手）英米蘭諸國ノ軍事的並ニ經濟的合作ノ強化ニ伴ヒ、蘭印トノ經濟交渉ハ不調ニ終リ、延イテ南太平洋ニ於ケル帝國ノ地位ニ重大ナル脅威ヲ及ボサントスルノ形勢トナリマシタノデ、帝國ハ「ヴィシー」政府ト曰。佛印共同防衛ニ關スル取極メヲ爲シ、之ヲ基キ七月末南部佛印ニ兵力ヲ増派セラルルニトナリマシタ。然ルニ英米蘭諸國ハ、此ノ帝國ノ當然ナル自衛的措置ヲ迎ワルニ猜疑ト危機トノ念ヲ以テシ、資産凍結ヲ行ト、事實上全面的禁輸ニ依リ、帝國ヲ百擧トシテ經濟封鎖ヲ實施致シマスルト共ニ、其ノ軍事的脅威ヲ急遽消滅シテ增加シテ參ツタノデアリマス、蓋シ交戰關係ニ非ラサル國家間ニ於ケル經濟封鎖ハ、武力戰ニ比シマシテ優ルトモ劣ラザル敵性行爲デアリマス（拍手）

斯クノ如キ行爲ハ帝國ノ企圖スル支那事變ノ解決ヲ阻害スルノミナラズ、更ニ又帝國ノ存立ニ重大ナル影響ヲ與フルモノデアリマシタ（拍手）斯ジテ黙過シ得ザルモノデアリマス（拍手）

然ルニモ拘ラズ當ニ平和ヲ欲スル帝國ト致シマシテハ、懲忍自重、忍

ビ難キヲ忍ビ、耐へ難キヲ耐へ、極力外交交渉ニ依リマシテ危局ヲ打開シ
 專断ヲ平和的ニ解決セシメトヲ期シテ參ツタノデアリマスルガ、今尙ホ其
 ノ目的ヲ貫徹スルニ至ラズ、帝國ハ今ヤ文字通り帝國ノ百年ノ計ヲ決スベ
 キ重大ナル局面ニ立タザルベカラザルニ至ツタノデアリマス（拍手）政府
 ハ肇國以來ノ國是デアリマスル平和愛好ノ精神ニ基キ、帝國ノ存立ト權威
 トヲ擁護シ、大東亞ノ新秩序ヲ建設スル爲メ、今尙ホ外交ニ懸命ノ努力ヲ
 傾注シテ居ル次第デアリマシテ、之ニ依ツテ帝國ノ期スル所ハ第一、第三
 國ガ帝國ノ企圖スル支那專横ノ完遂ヲ妨害セザルヨト、第二帝國ヲ圍繞ス
 ル諸國家ガ帝國ニ對スル直接軍事脅威ヲ行ハザルヨトハ勿論、經濟封鎖
 ノ如キ敵性行爲ヲ解除シ、經濟的正常關係ヲ恢復スルヨト、第三歐洲戰爭
 ガ擴大シテ禍亂ノ東亞ニ波及スルヨトヲ極力防止スルヨトデアリマス（拍
 手）以上三項ニ亘ル目的ガ外交交渉ニ依ツテ貫徹セラレマスナラバ、獨リ
 帝國ノ爲ノミナサズ、世界平和ノ爲メ洵ニ幸とデアルト信ズル次第デアリ
 マス（拍手）

併シナガラ從來ノ經緯ニ鑑ミマシテ、交渉ノ成否ハ逆略シ難イモノガアル

ノデアリマス、隨ツテ政府ハ前途ニ横タハル凡ユル障礙ヲ豫見シテ、之ニ對スル萬般ノ準備ヲ整ヘ、斷乎トシテ帝國既定ノ國策ヲ遂行致シマスルニ萬遺憾ナキヲ期シ（拍手）仍テ以テ帝國ノ存立ヲ全ウセントスル固キ決意ヲ有シテ居リマス（拍手）帝國ハ實ニ悠久二千六百餘年ノ歴史ノ上ニ於キマシテ、會テ見ザリシ國家隆華ノ岐路ニ立ツテ居ルノデアリマスルカラ、政府ハ深ク思ヒ茲ニ致シ、全力ヲ盡シテ輔弼ノ責ヲ全ウ致シマスル覺悟デアリマス（拍手）

事能ガ如何ニ發展致シマセウトモ、高度國防國家體制ノ完成コソハ、正ニ喫緊ノ重大要務デアリマス、是ガ爲ニ益々國民志氣ヲ緊張シ、産業經濟ノ繁榮ヲ最高度ニ發揮スルノ要切ナルモノガアルノデアリマス、是ト共ニ政府ハ國民生活ノ確保ニ關シマシテハ萬全ノ策ヲ講ズルモノデアリマスガ、是ガ更ニ緊縮ヲ見ルコトハ洵ニ已ムヲ得ザル所デアリマス、私ガ茲ニ衷心ヨリ希望致シマスルコトハ、全國民ガ、帝國ハ今ヤ一大飛躍ノ秋ニ際會ヲシ、前途ニ洋々タル發展ヲ期待シ得ベキコトヲ確信ヲシテ、相共ニ今日ノ苦ヲ分チ、國民一丸トナツテ聖業ノ翼贊ニ邁進セシムトデアリマス（拍手）

政府ニ於キマシテモ政治經濟ノ運営ニ付テ、各般ノ改革整備ヲ行フ覺悟ヲ
アリマスルガ、其ノ實施ニ當リマシテハ、徒ニ理想ヲ追ハズ、專態ニ即シ
テ各專門的機體ノ有機的能率ヲ最大限ニ發揮セシメルヤウ措置致ス心構へ
テアリマス、茲ハ全體民ガ此ノ政府ノ意ヲ存スル所ヲ認識セラレテ、積極
的ニ政府ニ協力セラルルコトヲ固ク信ジテ疑ハナイモノデアリマス（拍手）