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「佛領印度支那に對する緊急處置案」

國策研究會事務局

委員 永田 安吉君 提出

（本案に就ては既に一部事態の變化せるものあるも不取敢覽に供す）

佛領印度支那に對する緊急處置案

第一、緊急處置を行ふ根據

一、一千年來獨立を保持して印度支那半島の王者であつた安南人、曾ては大文化を有した東蒲寨人、その他老樞人等の印度支那諸民族は約八十年前から佛國の侵略に會ひ、相繼いで武力に依つて征服せられ、現在はその被保護國となつて居り、内、交趾支那は安南より割讓して佛國の領土となつてゐる。しかし保護領と謂ひ、領土といふも、事實上は何れも内外の政治は佛人に依つて行はれて居ることは一様である。

二、佛國は此等民族及其の國土を搾取の目的とし、土着民族を制壓して其の發展を阻害し、資源に富む國土を獨占して外國に閉鎖し、しかも自らは人口及び企業心の缺乏と地理的遠隔等による自然的條件の不便とになり其の大部分を未開發のままに抛擲してゐる。

三、此くて此等諸民族は昔の氣力を失ひ、文化を忘れ、資力を奪はれ

て原始的未開人の状態に還元せる不幸の境遇に呻吟し、國土の大部分は、徒に猛獸、毒蛇の跳梁に委せられてゐる。

佛國が世に公言して後進民族を指導啓發して歐洲文化に浴せしめてゐると稱するが如きは一片の空宣傳に過ぎない。此れは一度現地の土着人の實情を視た者の直ちに看破し得る所であり、更に此等地方の状態を泰、朝鮮、臺灣と比較せば何人も明らかに認むる所である。

四 我國は國民生活の安定と、國防資源の確保といふ單なる生存保持の見地よりしても、既に此等地方の資源に俟つ所大なるのみならず、その國力の發展といふ積極の見地よりせば、此等資源の開發利用に求むる所頗る大なるものがある。他面土着民族はその文化風俗・生活様式より考へても、我國の工業製品を求むること大なるのみならず、地理的に近接し、しかも高度の工業を有する我國に依り、最も自然にしかも有効に該地方の資源を開發せられて繁

榮の道に赴くことが出来るのである。約言すれば、彼我の間に相互依存、共存共榮の條件が具備してゐるのである。

五よつて我國は過去四十年に亘つて此等地方との貿易及經濟的提携を平和的に實現せむ爲に努力したが、佛國は我國との經濟的提携は私の政治的進出の前驅を成すものとして之に懸せず、その結果我國は、貿易上の待遇に於ては他の亞細亞諸國と同様歐米諸國に比して非常に不利なる重税を課せられ、また入國後の待遇に於ては土地所有權、漁業權等を有する支那人に比して歐米人と同様に不利なる待遇を受けて居る。結局我國は最惠國待遇を求めて、實は漫虐待國待遇を受くるの狀態に甘んじてゐるのである。

更に佛國は、印度支那に於て我國人及製品を虐待し來つたのみならず、我國の東亞に於ける發展は歐洲に於ける獨逸の發展と同様佛國を脅威するものとして終始之を妨害するの方策を實行した。即ち平時に於ては印度支那に於て右の如き虐待を敢てしながらも我國人の大部分が之に無關心なるを利用して却つて我を自己の歐

洲政策に利用して、獨逸を牽制せむため親善を標榜しながら、一度我國が重大の事變に遭遇すると、常に我國と抗爭する勢力に加擔して積極的に我に對して敵性を發揮したのである。幕府又は賊軍を援けて維新大業に妨害を加へたるは我國内問題に對する干涉としてこゝに加へずとするも、日清戰爭に於ける三國干涉、日露戰爭に於ける露國援助（特に印度支那の「カムラン」灣を「バルチック」艦隊の基地に使用せしめたるが如き）滿洲事變に於ける聯盟を指導しての抗日行動、今次支那事變に於ける援蔣行動が即ちこれである。世界の大國中、我が國の重大時期に當つて此の如く終始一貫、反日態度を持した國は未だないのである。而かも彼をして此の政策を採らしめる最大の原因は彼が佛印領有の安全を計らむとすることにある。果して然らば佛國の佛印領有こそ我國禍根の一なりと斷定せざるを得ないのである。

六之を要するに、佛國がこれ迄佛印に關して行つた政策は土着人の



繁榮と其の國土の開發を阻害し、日本と佛印との共存共榮を佛國の利益獨占の犠牲とするものである。

七、此の如き不合理、不公正なる政策も印度支那内部に對しては、保護權又は統治權の作用として、また外國に對しては自主權の行動として之を正當化し、安南人が苦痛の餘り、屢々企圖したる絶望的獨立運動を暴徒の反亂とし、他國人にして之を賣むれば不當の干涉又は侵略的意圖と看做し、しかも自らの過去及現在の暴力不正の侵略と搾取行爲を何等反省する所がないのである。

八、依つて我國は最早平和的手段を以てしては印度支那民族の繁榮と、東亞に於ける諸民族の共存共榮を實現することは不可能であると斷定して、武力を以つてしても佛國勢力を此の地より驅逐して我國と此地の諸民族との眞の共存共榮を計り得べき新事態を建設する外途なし、と謂はねばならぬ。之が爲には適當の機會を捉へて決然立つの覺悟を要するのである。これが我國の根本的對佛印政

策であるべきである。

九、然るに現在は右政策實行の絶好の機會である。即ち佛本國自身が危機に遭遇して殖民地を顧みる暇も餘裕もない状態にあるからである。しかも其の上に佛國は現實に我が日支事變處理に對して援蔣路として佛印を使用して露骨に我に敵性を示してゐるのである。尤もこの援蔣行爲を停止せしめるのみであるならば今日では容易の事で斷乎たる態度を以て威嚇せば彼は直ちに之を停止し、且その約束實行の爲例へば我が監視員を海防その他必要の地點に駐在せしむるが如きことも容易に承諾すべしと認めらる。併し我國は今日に於てはかくの如き眼前の問題のみの解決を以て満足すべきではなく、實は援蔣行爲は我武力行使の理由として之を捉らへてよつて以て究極の目的たる印度支那民族を解放して東亞新秩序建設の一部分を斷行することを眼目とせねばならぬ。

第二、緊急處置の表面上の理由とその究極の目的

一、我國は支那事變の解決に専念して居る。而して佛印は有力なる援

蔣路で明かに我に敵性を示してゐる。依つて我は之を停止せしめる爲止むを得ず武力行使を成すことを表面の理由となす。

以上の様な理由を高唱するのは、之によつて我國が此の機會に於て我に害を與へない他の英・佛・蘭の東洋の殖民地をも順次攻撃せむとするの意志を有してゐないことを一般に推察せしむる爲である。然し右意圖のないことは聞く者の推察に止め、我より進んでは之を聲明することはなるべく避ける。蓋し更に後に至つて香港、在支租借地、租界、蘭印及マレー半島に工作を行ふ場合に言質として利用せられることを避くるためである。

二、究極の目的はこの機會に於て佛印の諸民族即ち安南人（東蒲寨及老樹）は安南の屬國とするか否かは更に後に考究）を獨立せしめ、我國の計畫すべき東亞協同體に加入せしむること。

以上を目的とするを以て我國の武力行使も亦、佛印の海防、河内等接蔣路に直接關係の個所のみならず佛國勢力を完全に驅逐する

に必要なる一切の個所に行ふこと絶對に必要なり、また土着民族の獨立運動に對しては最初の程は表面上は彼等が獨自の意見を以て行ふ自決の行爲として、我は大に同情を有するも干與する所にあらずとの態度を採ること、且つ既に一應獨立の形態樹立の上は民族の意向と東亞の共存共榮に合致するものとして大に支持し、之に對する干渉は何國にも容認し得ざる態度を持つることを要す。今次我が政府が獨伊に對し、帝國は佛印に對し非常なる關心を有するにより、この意向を充分に斟酌して佛印の現狀に對し非友好的なる變更を加へざる様切望することを申出でたるが如きことは自ら進んで既に佛印が獨伊の手中にあることを認めて、今後の佛印の處理に關し終始彼をして介入せしむるの道を開き、東亞の新事態建設に獨伊の容喙を承認することゝなり、頗る不利の結果を生づるに至るべし。尙本緊急處置に對し左の如き反對論を豫想すること  
 が出る。

(1) 他國の危急に際して火事場泥棒、又は空巢狙的行動を行ふは道

義に反し國際的信用を害して國家永遠の大策に反すとの精神論もあるべし。然し佛國は、常に日本とは嘗て戦ひたることなしと稱して、親善を口にしながら、我が國が危急多事なるに際しては常に例外なく我に敵對する行動を敢てしたる世界無比の國であることは前述の通りであるから、佛國自らにかゝる道義論を云々するの資格なし、さらばとて我に於ては決して彼の暴に報ゆるに暴を以てする意志はないのであるが、前述の如く我の目的とする所は國際正義の實現に外ならざるのみならず、現に彼自らが我に敵對行爲を繼續しつゝあるに於ては之を防止するの策をとるに何の恥ずる所あらむや、である。

或曰、以<sub>レ</sub>德報<sub>レ</sub>怨、何如、子曰何以報<sub>レ</sub>德、以<sub>レ</sub>直報<sub>レ</sub>怨、以<sub>レ</sub>德報<sub>レ</sub>德（論語）

(2) 我國は目下支那事變の處理に専念すべきであるに、更に佛印に手を延ばすは徒らに事態を複雑化せしめ、二兎を追ふものは一兎を得ざるの結果となる。といふ説あらむも、佛印より佛國勢力を驅逐するは有力なる援蔣路を絶ちて支那事變の解決に資す

ること大なるのみならず、更に雲南及「ビルマ」に對する威壓となり必要の場合佛印より、これ等の地に對し適當の處置をなし得ることゝなるべく、更に次に述ぶる土着人に對する工作によつて本處置は極めて容易に完行し得べしと認めらるゝにより、之によつて生ずる我が損失は僅少に過ぎない。其の上に佛印解放の曉には之より經濟的には直ちに米、石炭、鐵鐵、マンガン、錫鐵、硅砂、鹽、漆、木材、棉花、ゴム等必要なる物資を容易に獲得することが出来ることになり、更に順次豊富なる資源を開發利用することが出来るのである。

(3) 英國は干涉せずとするも米國は我行爲に對し武力若くは少くとも輸出禁止の如き手段を以て干涉し來る可しと案ずる説もあるべし。

米國は佛印に對しては蘭印と異り、現實の利害を有せず。即ち何等の利權を有せざるのみならず貿易關係も論ずる程のものな

し。唯精神的に民主々義國が東洋に於ける殖民地の一角を失ふ端を開くことは、一般的政策の見地より容認し得ずとして之に對し抑壓の態度に出づることは豫想に難からず。然し我が國が佛印に對する行動は、援蔣路遮斷の敵性行爲阻止、即ち支那事變解決の不可避なることを高唱して彼をして更に英・佛・蘭の諸殖民地攻撃の意思なきことを推察せしむる方途を採らば今日直ちに武力干渉を行ふことなかるべく、又他面我方への物資の輸出禁止に關しては我より先んじて若し米國にてかくの如きを行はゞ、我は又止むを得ず支那事變遂行及一般國防上緊要の物資確保の爲蘭印をも手中に收むるに至るべしとの態度を豫め示し置かば東洋に戰禍の擴大するは彼の禁輸行爲が因を爲すこととなるを以て之をも敢行し得ざるべしと認めらる。

(4) 佛國は將來第二流國となるべし。従つて過去の行動は兎も角、今後は佛印に關しても我國の該地方進出に對して大いに讓歩的態度に出づ可きを以て今日特に武力行使等の行動に出づる必要

なく將來は萬事平和的に有利に解決し得べしとの意見もあるべし。

この意見は從來の現状維持論者の腦裡に深く滲透し居るものなるも期待外れにすぎず。第一このまゝにせば、佛國が將來も引續き印度支那を保有し得るや否やは疑問なるも、假りに之を爲し得とするも今次戦争の結果多くの領土及殖民地を失ふべき佛國は、將來佛印に依存する程度は過去に比して一層大となるべく、従つて彼は之を防禦すること益々嚴となるべし。しかも佛國より考ふれば佛印を脅威するは日本なり、依つて益々我に對して警戒を嚴すべく、しかも彼一國にては防禦し得ざるを以て必ずや米。英（特に米）を引き入れて、我に當らしむる策をとるべし。従つて今日迄は自己の國際的威力と外交的處置とにより自力により佛印を防禦し得と考へ居たるを以て英。米等に對しても程度の差こそあれ、鎖國的政策を採り來りたるも今後



は積極的に米國等の投資を歓迎し、更に進んで之に利權を供して利害關係を密にし、また米・英等の援助によつて國防を強化し、例へば「カムラン」灣等に軍港の設備を完備して之を前記諸國の共同使用に供して第二の「シンガポール」たらしむるに至るべきは火を見るよりも明かなり。

かくては米・英をして佛印迄進出せしむることとなり、我國と佛印自體との關係については勿論、支那との關係よりみるも我國は過去に比して一層不利なる状態に置かるゝに至るべし。

更に我國は今回獨。伊に對して佛印に非友好的變更を加へざることを要求し、恰も自ら佛國の爲の番犬たるの役をなしたる觀あり。獨。伊も戰爭中の今日に於ては一應これを承諾すべきも若し勝利を以て戦局を結びたる上は如何なる態度に出づ可きやは計るべからず、特に所屬を變更するに至らずとするも少くとも利權その他の待遇に關し、自己に有利なる状態を發生せしめ、

戦勝の餘威を以て大いにこれ等地方に進出し來るべく、かくては更に我に對する競争者の増加となり、東亞協同體の建設は益益困難となる。結局佛國將來の衰退は佛印に對する我の威力を増すに效ありとするも諸大國も亦同様威力を加へ得るを以て、我一國のみが有利に進出し得と豫期するが如きは全く一個の夢想となり終ることを豫期せねばならぬ。

更に獨。伊が一應今回の我國の申出を承諾するとするも佛印の諸民族特に安南人は日本の不徹底の態度頼むに足らずとして恐らく獨逸に對して獨立援助を請ふに至るべし。若し將來獨逸が之に應じて東亞被壓迫民族の解放を名として講和條約等に於て佛印民族の獨立を行はむとせば、我は如何なる態度をとるか。彼等は獨立の期に達せずとか、その他の理由を以て之に反對せば東亞民族に對する日本の精神的威力と信望は全く地に墜つるに至るべく、若し之に賛成せば（賛成と同時に經濟關係等有利

の條件を附しおくとするも、最早や該地方に對する獨逸の威力は獨立の父として斷然我に勝るべくかくて該地方は事實上、獨逸の支配下に立つに至るべし。

以上前記處置に對し豫想せられる反對說に問へたのであるが、更に右處置を斷行すべきことは左記事態を考慮する場合益々其の緊要なるを認めるのである。

即ち、我國はワシントン會議に於てヴェルサイユ平和條約による山東の權益（之は英・佛は戰時中より密約により我に認めたる權益である）等を米英の共同強制の下に吐き出さねばならぬ窮狀に陥つたが此等の前例を考へると今日軍備全般に亘つて驚異的大擴張を行つてゐる米國がこの擴張完成後今日彼が妨害しつゝある我が對支行動によつて發生した事態を覆すが如き要求を彼一國又は歐洲諸國と聯合して我に行ひ來らずと誰が斷言し得るか。その際既に彼の石油、

鐵屑の輸出禁止のみにては戦争行爲の繼續不能に陥ることを虞れ居る人々は如何なる態度を採らむとするか。若し他よりこれ等物資を求めて米に對抗せむとするならば必ず先ずその場所を確保し置く必要がある。しかもこれを歐米の地に求むることは出來ない。是非とも近接の東洋、南洋に求めねばならぬ。しかるに徒らに是等の地方の歐洲諸國支配權承認の現状維持のみを目的として行動して居つては、右の如き重大危機に於ては是等の支配國は今日我國の好意にも拘らず必ず物資を我に供給せざるのみか、積極的に我に向つて敵對行爲に出づるであらう。

果して然らば今日我國が專念するといふ支那事變による成果も結局十年後には又吐き出さねばならぬ結果となるではないか。故に今日我國は、歐米が歐洲戦争に心身を忙殺されてゐる際に、他日軍擴を完成した米國のこの行動に充分對抗して我地歩を確乎として防衛し得るの實力を準備しておく必要がある。それには東亞諸地方の解放

を斷行して、常に我と提携すべき事態を樹立してその資源と軍略的地位とを我又は、我が味方たるべきものの中に入れて置かねばならぬのである。

### 第三、緊急處置の實行方法

一、我國は前記の第二の一の理由を聲明して速時に海防、トウラン

(Tourane) 西貢(米を徒らに刺戟する虞あらば最初は此は除く)

等の要港を封鎖し同時に廣東、廣西の陸上より又適當の海岸より軍を進撃せしめて先づ海防、及び河内を占領し、其他所要の地點に軍事行動を行ふ。

二、豫め我國、支那及泰に亡命せる安南獨立を計畫せる志士を急遽招集し置きて我が軍と共に彼地に乘込ませしめて安南獨立假政府の如きを組織せしめ、安南人に對し佛勢力を驅逐し獨立の完成に協力すべきことを大々的に宣傳せしめる。

三、事急なるを以て事實上彼等に於て新政府の機能を充分發揮し得ざ

るべきは論なしと雖も安南の國家組織は強固にして發達せる社（町村）の自治に基本を有し、従つて一時、中央、及地方官憲の機能停止するとするもしかく混亂に陥るものにあらず、況や地方の官憲は中央獨立政府の何分の命令ある迄は佛勢力の驅逐以外は暫く從來の通り其の職務を行ふべきことを命ぜばしかく混亂すべしとは考へられず、尤も當分の間は我が國に於て軍政を施行して治安維持に當る等適當の施政を行ふ要あるは勿論である。

四、我が軍が佛印に進撃の際、其の目的が佛國の援蔣行爲防止にありて佛印の國土の攻略にあらざることとを宣傳すべきは申迄もないが特に安南獨立假政府が行ふべき安南人に對する獨立運動參加要求の宣傳方法としては、右政府所屬の安南人の宣傳部隊を佛軍支配區域へ潜入せしめて宣傳せしむる外、更にラジオ、飛行機による宣傳文の配布、其他の方法を以て安南人軍隊、鐵道、汽車、（現船）電信、電話等の交通、通信機關の従業員、各工場、農園の労働者の如き

團體、及官廳、學校、組合、新聞社等の職員の如きを目標として  
 獨立行動に對する協力を求め、各人をして其の地位と事情とに應  
 じて或は前記諸設備の占據、破壞、運轉の妨害等を行はしめて先  
 づ佛軍及官憲の機能の滅殺に努め、しかる後順次一般安南人に  
 對する宣傳に及ぼす。我が國は直接の目的とする所は援蔣路遮斷  
 にあることを標榜するを以て最初の程は獨立運動には關係なき態  
 度を持すべきも漸次に安南人が年來の宿望たる獨立を達成するこ  
 とは東亞の共存共榮に資すること大なりとして大に支持すること。  
 佛印には若干の佛兵、外國人傭兵あり、飛行機、戰車、軍艦等も  
 あるべしと雖も論ずるに足らず、安南人軍隊及一般人の大部分は  
 直に獨立運動に参加するか、少くとも中立の態度を採るべく、中  
 には佛國の強制によつて最初は我に抵抗する者あらむも、既に佛  
 本國が獨軍に降服せる今日佛軍隊に戰意あるべしと思はれず、若  
 干形式的反抗の上順次各地方とも本國の例に倣つて無防備地帯を

宣言するに至るべし。かくして印度支那民族の解放の實現は容易に行ひ得るものと認めらる。

尤もさらばと云つて侮つて可なりといふのではなく、なほ兎を打

つ獅子に學んで渾身の力を以て向ふべきは勿論である。

五以上の如くにして安南人の解放實現に努むる一方、之を指導援助

して新秩序の建設に取りかゝらねばならぬ。其れがためには軍事

行動以外、政治、經濟、文化其他各般事項に亘つて我が國の充分

の努力と準備を要するが、此は第二次の事に屬し先づ右第一次の

處置を行ふ決心を朝野に於て爲すことを緊急問題と認むから第二

次の問題に關しては今こゝに述べず。

(昭和十五年六月十九日)



INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

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SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

Major aspects of this project introduced by Committeeman NAGATA, Yasukichi.

1. Outline of basis for taking urgent measures.
  - a. Natives anxious to receive industrial production of Japan.
  - b. Aid to CHIANG KAI SHEK coming through French Indo-China.
    - (1) Japan must resort to arms to conclude China Incident.
  - c. Japanese wish for independence of ANNAMESE and their admission into East Asia Corporation.

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Trans 1

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DRAFT OF

URGENT MEASURES TO BE

~~undertaken~~ TAKEN TOWARD FRENCH

INDO-CHINA

// Strictly Secret //

// June 26, 1940 //

// Racial Problem Committee,

Office of National Policy Research

// Presented by committee member NAGATA

Yasukichi

// (Regarding this ~~project~~ <sup>draft</sup>, although there <sup>(have)</sup> ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~already~~ ~~been~~ <sup>some changes</sup> <sup>(in the)</sup> ~~situation~~ ~~we~~ ~~still~~ offer <sup>this</sup> for the reader's inspection) //

~~X~~ Draft of urgent measures to be undertaken  
toward French Indo-China.

I. Basis for taking urgent measures.

The various peoples of

1. Indo-China nations such as the Annamese (maintained their independence and) who had been ruled for <sup>a</sup> thousand years, over the ~~of~~ Indo-China Peninsula

maintaining their independence the Cambodians once had a civilization who have had great culture, the Laotians<sup>†</sup> etc, were

invaded by France about eighty years <sup>ago</sup> and, successively <sup>with</sup> ~~in succession~~ were conquered by her military forces.

They have become a protectorate and today, ~~are protected states under~~ and moreover, French governing power; among them, Cochinchina has been ~~is~~ ceded from Annam ~~to~~ French

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Spores The less  
territory. ~~Although they are given different names~~  
whether ~~they~~ be <sup>(the name)</sup> such as protectorate or territory, ~~yet~~ it is, <sup>in reality,</sup> the  
as far as  
same ~~that~~ their internal and external affairs of  
state <sup>being</sup> ~~has been~~ <sup>actually</sup> administered by the French people, <sup>is concerned,</sup>

2. In spite of the fact that France <sup>has made</sup> ~~making~~  
these peoples and their countries <sup>the</sup> target of  
her exploitation, <sup>she has</sup> ~~she~~ oppressed the native peoples and  
prevent <sup>has</sup> their development, and ~~locked out~~ foreign  
countries <sup>and</sup> ~~to~~ monopolized <sup>(rich resources of these</sup> the countries, full of  
~~resources,~~ <sup>yet,</sup> due to the ~~she has left~~ the most part of them in  
a ~~condition of~~ underdevelopment owing to the decrease  
~~of its population and~~ <sup>(people and the fever for</sup> lack of <sup>enterprising</sup> spirit,

and ~~inconvenience~~ <sup>also from</sup> ~~inconvenience~~ of natural conditions ~~due to~~ <sup>inconvenience</sup>  
such as being (in a) geographically remote position, France has left  
the greater part still a backward region.

3. Thus, these people <sup>who have</sup> lost their former  
vigour, forgotten culture and were robbed of <sup>their</sup> resources,  
~~has~~ moaned under <sup>the</sup> unfortunate circumstances <sup>of</sup> being

~~reduced to a state of primitive uncivilized people,~~  
~~and <sup>the</sup> greater part of its countries has been left~~  
~~in a condition infested by fierce animals and venomous~~  
~~serpents.~~

The French declaration asserting <sup>that by leading</sup> ~~that she~~  
and enlightening the younger generation she  
~~has younger nations back in a favor of Europe~~  
is blessing them with European culture  
civilization by instructing and enlightening them in

is but a meaningless ~~mere empty~~ propaganda. This can easily be seen <sup>when</sup> ~~through~~  
~~one~~ <sup>has</sup> ~~by a person who~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~witnessed~~ <sup>of the natives</sup> actual conditions ~~on the spot and~~  
 when the conditions of this area is  
 furthermore, ~~when~~ compared with that of Thailand, Korea, and  
 Formosa, everyone can clearly recognize this.

4. Even <sup>from</sup> ~~under~~ the viewpoint of <sup>merely</sup> ~~merely~~ maintaining  
~~an~~ <sup>by stabilizing the livelihood of the nation</sup>  
~~existence such as stabilization of national life and~~  
 and securing resources for national defence,  
~~security of national defence resources, our country~~  
<sup>largely</sup>  
 depends ~~on~~ upon the resources of these regions.

Furthermore, <sup>from</sup> ~~under~~ if considered <sup>from</sup> the positive view-  
<sup>developing</sup>  
 point of ~~development~~ <sup>the</sup> national strength, ~~we~~  
 development and utilization of these resources  
~~are in urgent need of development and~~  
 are of vital importance for us.  
~~utilization of these resources.~~ On the other hand,

~~the native peoples are under the great necessity of our~~ <sup>urgently require our</sup>  
~~products as seen from~~  
industrial manufactures ~~for~~ their culture, manners

and customs, and style of living, ~~are taken into~~  
Furthermore, with Japan being adjacent  
~~consideration, and they can proceed to the road to~~  
geographically and ~~having~~ <sup>being</sup> a highly industrialized  
~~prosperity having the resources of their territories~~  
country, the resources of these regions can  
~~developed most naturally and effectively by our~~  
most naturally ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~effectively~~ <sup>only</sup> be developed  
~~country adjacent geographically and having a~~  
and led on the road to ~~prosperity~~  
high state of industry. In short, there are con-

ditions of mutual aid, ~~and~~ co-existence and  
possessed by both these regions  
co-prosperity ~~will furnished with~~ between ~~self~~  
and Japan.  
~~and others.~~

5. Our country, therefore, has endeavored

to peacefully realize trade and economic coalition

with those regions for <sup>the</sup> past forty years, but France  
has not responded thinking that  
~~refused it requesting the~~ economic coalition with our

would lead to ~~delbouchment.~~  
country as a ~~strider~~ of political advance. As the

and other Asiatic countries  
result, ~~that~~ our country has been levied ~~for~~

~~unfavorable~~ heavy ~~taxes~~ <sup>duties compared to</sup> European coun-  
tries, in commercial treatment, ~~in the same way~~

as the other countries in Asia, and Regarding

our treatment after the entrance into the country,

we receive a <sup>unfavorable</sup> ~~disadvantageous~~ treatment ~~in the~~

as the <sup>in not having</sup> ~~same way~~ as European people, ~~compared with the~~  
right to own ~~land~~ and not being granted  
~~Chinese who possess a land property right and~~



fishing rights as the Chinese,  
~~a fishery right.~~ The conclusion is that our  
 country, in trying to be treated as the most  
~~country, in reality, suffers herself to be treated~~  
~~favoured nation is, in reality, being treated~~  
~~as the most mal-treated country in stead of being~~  
 as the most maltreated nation.  
~~treated as the most-favored nation.~~

Furthermore, France not only ~~used to~~ <sup>abused</sup>  
~~treat~~ our people and <sup>products</sup> ~~manufactures~~ <sup>in French</sup>  
~~Indo-China, but, from first to last, carried out~~  
~~of Japan in East Asia <sup>to be</sup> as a menace to France~~  
~~measures of obstructing our development in~~  
 just as the development of Germany in Europe,  
~~East Asia on the ground that it will become a~~  
 and have always taken a policy to obstruct  
~~menace to France as in case of German deve-~~  
 Japan's development. While committing such  
~~lopment in Europe. Namely, while, in peace time,~~  
 maltreatment against us in French Indo-China  
~~France dared to commit the above mal-treatment~~

During peace times, they have taken advantage  
 in Indo-China, on the other hand, she professed  
 of the indifferent attitude of the Japanese  
 herself to be in a friendly relation with our  
 people and have ~~used~~ <sup>utilized</sup> ~~us as a~~ ~~power~~ for  
 country to check Germany, taking advantage of  
 their <sup>European</sup> policy. They profess to be friendly  
 the indifference by the most part of our people and  
 with us in order to check ~~the~~ Germany but  
 utilizing our country for her European policy,  
 once our country encounters a crisis,  
 but when our country is once encountered with  
 she has always sided with the parties  
 a serious accident, she always displayed enemy  
 opposed to us and ~~has~~ has always  
 character positively to us by standing on the  
 taken positive antagonistic actions  
 side of powers disputing against us. ~~Aside from~~  
 toward us. <sup>Aside from</sup>  
 the intervention <sup>in</sup> to our internal affairs of state  
 by which France, <sup>obstructed</sup> ~~disturbed~~ the great work of the  
 by aiding the SHOGUNATE and rebels,  
 Restoration, the Triple Intervention in the Sino-

Japanese war, assistance to Russia in the Russo-  
 Japanese war (especially the granting of  
 permission to use the KAMURAN Bay / T.N. phonetic /  
 to use Kamuran Bay / T.N. phonetic / as her naval base) anti-  
 as a base for the Baltic fleet) anti-Japanese  
~~Japanese~~ movement leading the League of Nations

in the Manchurian Incident, and the movement ~~of~~  
 assisting ~~assistance to~~ CHIANG Kai-shek ~~all these explain~~  
 in the China Incident) ~~more this.~~

~~his~~ There has never existed such a country

among great powers in the world that ~~remained~~ <sup>steadfastly</sup>

maintained <sup>an</sup> anti-Japanese attitude, <sup>in times of</sup> ~~at our critical~~  
 our national crisis.

situation, to the last like this. Moreover, the greatest

cause to make her take this policy lies in ~~looking~~

(supervising her possession)

~~to her safety for the possession of French Indo-China.~~

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If that be the case, we can not but draw a con-

clusion that <sup>the</sup> French possession is, indeed, one  
of French Indo-China

of the root of our evils.

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~~Transitory~~  
9.7.40

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6. In short, the French policy which has hitherto been adopted in relation to French Indo-China ~~is to hinder~~ the prosperity of the natives and the development of the land, ~~and is to~~ <sup>It</sup> aim <sup>for</sup> at the monopoly of ~~the~~ French interests at the sacrifice of the co-existence and co-prosperity relations between Japan and French India.

7. But <sup>even</sup> such an irrational and unfair policy would be justified as an act of autonomy rights towards foreign countries and an exercise of protective and administrative rights when applied to the domestic affairs of Indo-China;

~~of protection~~

~~and would be justified when applied to~~  
~~foreign countries as~~

~~of inherent rights~~, and when the Annamese,  
 from unexpressable agonies resorted from  
 time to time to desperate independence movements,  
 they brand it as an insurgent, uprising,  
~~agonies of the Annamese as uprisings~~, and  
 any adverse criticisms <sup>by</sup> ~~of the~~ foreigners <sup>(were branded)</sup> as undue  
 interference or aggressive intentions; and,  
<sup>they</sup> moreover, ~~the French~~ never reflected <sup>(which was an)</sup> whatsoever  
 on their own present and past <sup>aggression</sup>  
 of violence and unfairness and <sup>acts of</sup> exploitation.

~~presentings.~~

we came to the decision that it  
 8. Accordingly, ~~it must be alleged that one~~  
 was impossible for our country to realize the  
~~country should, concluding that the pros-~~

co-existence and

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co-prosperity of the various people in East Asia  
~~perity of Indo China races and the co-~~  
and ~~the~~ also the prosperity of the Indo-China  
~~existence and co-prosperity of East Asiatic~~  
races by resorting to peaceful measures,  
~~races can no more be realized through~~  
and therefore deem that ~~there is no other~~ <sup>the only</sup>  
~~pacifist measures, not to other than to~~  
way ~~to~~ to establish a new order that is  
~~drive away the French influence even with~~  
capable of bringing about the true co-existence  
~~the military forces and establish the new~~  
and co-prosperity with other races here with  
~~situations which can afford planning the~~  
our country ~~by resorting to military force~~  
real co-existence and co-prosperity  
is to drive away the French influence from  
~~relations between our country and the~~  
these areas even if it requires military force,  
~~races of the land. To this end, we~~  
In order to do this, we need to prepare ourselves  
~~must be prepared to rouse ourselves~~  
~~and grasp the first~~ and rise with the first opportunity  
to action taking advantage of an opportunity <sup>available</sup>

This must be the fundamental policy of our country towards French India.

9. Now it is <sup>the</sup> high time <sup>(for us to)</sup> to carry out the said policy because France <sup>itself is now in</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>face</sup> with a crisis and is in such a situation that ~~ing a crisis, can not afford to have regards~~ she cannot look after her colonies. In addition, she ~~to the colonies. And in addition to this,~~ has utilized French Indo-China as a route to assist Chiang France is openly expressing enemy character Kai-Shek in our current China Incident, thereby ~~er against us by using French India~~ ~~showing us~~ expressing to us openly her ~~as the route of assistance to Chiang Kai-Shek~~ enemy feelings. ~~Of course, if~~ ~~against our settlement of the Japan-China~~ Incident. It is, however, quite <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ easy <sup>(for us)</sup> matter at present to make France dis-



~~her reinforcement to~~  
 continue reinforcing Chiang Kai-Shek, and if  
~~only her~~ we threaten with a firm attitude, ~~she will, it seems,~~  
 she will ~~discontinue it at once,~~ <sup>As for carrying out</sup>  
~~her~~ <sup>it could be easily conceived that</sup> ~~she will~~ <sup>consent to us</sup>  
~~for instance,~~ <sup>stationing our watchmen at Haiphong</sup>  
~~to-day,~~ and other necessary places. But, our country  
<sup>near-sighted</sup> should not be satisfied with such a settlement  
 of problems ~~under our very noses.~~ In reality  
 we must avail ourselves <sup>on</sup> of the reinforce-  
~~ment of Chiang Kai-Shek as the reason~~  
~~of our exercise of the military forces~~  
<sup>make it the aim of ours to emancipate</sup>  
 and thereby ~~aim at to carry out a part~~

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the people of Indo-China, which is  
~~of establishing the new order in East Asia~~  
our profound objective and also in the  
~~by emancipating the races of Indo China.~~  
establishment of a part of the new order  
in East Asia.

The ulterior motive of the  
 II. The ostensible reason and the  
 urgent measures and its final objective  
 final aim of the urgent measure

- 1. Our country ~~is being~~ devoted <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ the

settlement of the China Incident. But,

Indo-China to  
 French India, being one of the important  
 reinforcement routes  
 routes of assistance to Chiang Kai-Shek  
 and has expressed  
 government, is clearly ~~expressive~~ <sup>expressed</sup>  
 animosity towards  
 enemy character against our country.

We should, therefore, make it the  
 ulterior that we have been forced to  
 ostensible reason. To resort to arms  
 use arms in order to have them discontinued  
 necessarily in order to remove this  
 situation.

The reason why we emphasize the  
said reason is to suggest <sup>to</sup> the world, at  
this opportunity that we ~~are~~ <sup>do</sup> not <sup>possess</sup> of the intention  
<sup>of attacking</sup> ~~to deliver attacks~~ successively <sup>the</sup> upon other  
Oriental colonies of Britain, France, and  
Netherlands, which are not harmful to us.

The absence of the said intention should,  
however, be left to the bystanders' con-  
and we should ~~not~~ refrain from  
jecture and ~~effecting positive statement~~  
making any positive statement on this.  
made by us should be avoided if possible.  
<sup>to avoid being availed as a pledge</sup>  
That is, ~~it is contemplated that~~, when after-  
wards we execute our plans to Hongkong,

leased territories and concessions in China,  
 Dutch Indies, and Malay Peninsular, ~~the~~  
~~statement shall not be made available of~~  
~~a pledge.~~

2. Our profound objective lies in the  
~~The final aim is to make, at this~~  
 emancipation of the various people <sup>of</sup>  
~~opportunity, various races of French~~  
~~the Annamese French Indo-China, namely,~~  
 India, that is, the Annamese (the question  
 the Annamese by taking advantage of this opportunity,  
 (whether ~~the~~ Cambodians and Laosians are  
 the question of) Annam  
 to be ~~tributaries to the Annamese~~ or not  
~~territories of~~  
 should be given consideration afterwards)  
~~should be considered afterwards), in-~~  
 have  
 dependent and to make them join  
 the Co-operative Body of East Asia which

~~which is to be planned by us.~~

Such being our aim, the exercise  
 of our military forces <sup>will be</sup> is absolutely necessary  
 to be extended not only to such points  
 as Haiphong and Hanoi which are <sup>directly</sup> located  
 in <sup>connected</sup> direct relations <sup>to</sup> with the <sup>reinforcement</sup> route of ~~our~~  
~~routes~~ <sup>routes</sup> to Chiang Kai-Shek but also to all  
 necessary) that ~~we~~ can  
~~the~~ points ~~necessary~~ to drive away the  
 French influence. And, <sup>in regard to</sup> as for the inde-  
 pendence movements of the natives, ~~press~~  
 let it <sup>(to be a)</sup>  
 making them ~~to~~ appear ~~as~~ spontaneous  
 actions) (through) <sup>volition</sup>  
~~not~~ caused by their own determination,

in the beginning and we must take the  
~~we should, at the beginning, take upon~~  
attitude that although we have profound sympathy  
~~ourselves to do no interference though~~  
for them, we do not interfere.  
~~we have profound sympathy.~~ And, once

they have accomplished shaping <sup>their</sup> inde-  
~~pendence, we ought to support them posit-~~  
~~ively on account of their concurrence~~  
<sup>must</sup>

because it would be in  
~~to the~~  
~~with our racial intention and co-existence~~

and co-prosperity of East Asia, and we must

assume a firm attitude <sup>to permit</sup> ~~that~~ no interference  
from  
~~of any other country is admissible.~~

Such <sup>a</sup> measure as was taken recently

by the Empire towards Germany and

Italy requesting them to take into their  
 consideration the fact that ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> Empire has  
 deep concerns for <sup>Indo-China</sup> and  
 is concerned with French India so much  
 therefore ~~and~~ <sup>bringing about any unfriendly</sup>  
 to refrain from ~~projecting~~  
 changes on the status quo of French Indo-China,  
 by the present conditions thereof, is to

admit spontaneously ~~on our part~~ that  
<sup>Indo-China</sup>  
 French India is already in their hands,  
 this  
~~and is to~~ opening the door for their  
 of our  
 interference ~~in the~~ future treatment  
 of French India <sup>China</sup> and also  
 to admit their  
 interference <sup>on the</sup> ~~in the~~ new establishment  
 which brings about  
 of East Asia, to a great disadvantage



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to us

~~of ours.~~

Against this measure we can anti-

cipate the following antagonisms:

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~~Yutaka~~

There will be an opinion from the moral point  
resort to force - this  
of view that we should not, ~~taking advantage of another~~  
~~or pilfer activities in another nation's crisis,~~  
~~resort to such a dirty trick as that of~~  
~~since it is immoral and will injure the~~  
~~a thief at a confused scene of fire or of a thief who~~  
~~international reputation and will be~~  
~~sneak into a house while the dwellers are absent, for~~  
~~inconsistent with the far-fetched~~  
~~such a conduct is immoral and injure our credit among~~  
~~policies of our nation. However, France~~  
~~nations as well as being inconsistent with the permanent~~  
~~has always pointed out that she has never~~  
~~policies of our nation. But France is not in a~~  
~~fought against Japan and while expressing~~  
~~position to blame us, since she is, as I already pointed~~  
~~friendship on the surface, she is the most~~  
~~out, the most notorious nation in the world who, on~~  
~~notorious country in the world which never~~  
~~one hand, <sup>have</sup> expressed her wish to maintain a friendly~~

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fails to <sup>p. 5</sup> take hostile actions toward our country  
~~relation with us, referring the fact that she has never~~  
 in time ~~of~~ when Japan is in imminent danger,  
 taken up arms against us, did not lose any oppor-

~~tunity to take hostile actions against us~~ <sup>on the other hand</sup> ~~when we were~~  
 This fact has been mentioned before so France  
 in imminent danger. Our aim is to realize the

is in no position to <sup>comment</sup> ~~criticize~~ on morality,  
 international justice, having no intentions of meeting

However, we have no intention to retaliate  
 force with force. But, ~~Today when she continues to~~  
 force with force but, as mentioned before,  
 take hostile actions against us, is there any reason  
 our aim is not only to realize international  
 to be ashamed of us in preventing them?

justice but what is it that we have to be

A man said to Confucius: I think we should  
 ashamed of in attempting to stop their continuing  
 return good for evil. What do you think about it?

hostile actions against us today?

Confucius said: what do you return for good?

A man ~~said~~ <sup>asked</sup> Confucius, "What do you mean by 'return good for evil'?" Confucius replied, "What do you return for good? You should ~~return~~ <sup>be</sup> straightforward in returning evil and return good ~~you should return straightforwardness for evil and good~~ for good."  
~~for good.~~ (the Analects of Confucius)

2. Some men will express their view that we should

concentrate all our efforts to settle the China Incident ~~and~~ because meddling into the affairs of French Indo-China if we have a finger in the affairs of French Indo-China, Indo-China will only complicate the situation. It will result in as an old saying goes, ~~resulting more complicated situation~~ ~~an old saying goes~~ <sup>an old saying goes</sup>,  
~~an old saying goes~~

"He who <sup>chases</sup> after two hares will catch neither."

However, the elimination of French influence ~~become true of this case in the end.~~ The elimination from French Indo-China will not only intercept ~~of French influence from French Indo-China, however,~~ the effective aid-Chiang route and contribute will not only go a long way for the settlement of the ~~to the settlement of the~~ China Incident but ~~China Incident since it result the interception of~~ <sup>will</sup> result the interception of

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will bring pressure to bear on YUNNAN and  
~~supply routes for Chiang Kai-Shek's army, but it will~~  
Burma and will enable us  
~~to be a demonstration to Burma and Yunnan and enable us~~

to take proper measures ~~for~~ <sup>in</sup> these areas <sup>if necessary,</sup> ~~in case of need.~~

it is believed that this step can be  
Furthermore, ~~this step will be done quite easily by~~  
easily accomplished by propagating the  
~~effecting a measure for natives which will be explained~~  
natives, which will be explained later, and  
~~later, and~~ consequently, our damage in carrying out

this step will be slight. In addition to the

above advantages, when French Indo-China is liberated,

economically, we can ~~then~~ <sup>readily</sup> get from that area such

necessary materials as rice, coal, iron ore, manganese,

tin ore, silicon <sup>sand,</sup> salt, lacquer, timber, cotton,

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rubber, etc.,  
~~and gum~~ and gradually we <sup>can also</sup> ~~also~~ can exploit and  
<sup>the</sup> utilize abundant resources there.

3. There may be a conjecture that though Britain may

not meddle with our <sup>actions</sup> ~~steps~~, America <sup>may</sup> ~~will~~ interfere ~~with~~  
with force ~~and~~

~~using their armed force~~ or at least, by the means of

~~export sanctions~~ prohibiting exports to this country.  
~~prohibiting exportation to our country~~

America, <sup>America</sup> unlike Dutch East Indies, has no practical

interests, namely no vested rights, in French Indo-China and

the trade with her is insignificant. But America is

quite likely to put pressure upon us because from the

general  
political point of view, they can not tolerate <sup>spiritually</sup> ~~morally~~

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the fact that <sup>a democratic country</sup> ~~one of democratic countries~~ is about to lose  
a part of her colonies in the East. But if we emphasize  
that our step against French Indo-China is indispensable  
to stop ~~her~~ hostile actions <sup>against us by</sup> cutting off <sup>the</sup> supply routes for  
Chiang's ~~army~~ army, and ~~to settle the China Incident,~~  
America that we have no intention to attack the  
~~and~~ assure America of our having no  
English, French and Dutch colonies,  
~~intention of aggressing colonies of Britain, France and~~  
~~the Netherlands,~~ America will not ~~recort~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~recort~~  
armed intervention at once. <sup>On the other hand, if</sup> ~~we~~ we show an indication that  
~~America carries out the prohibition of exports~~  
if America forbids the exportation of her goods to Japan.  
~~to Japan,~~  
prior to the said step, we shall be compelled to

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occupying Dutch East Indies to secure resources of vital

importance for the successful execution of the China

Incident and for the general national defence, America

will be unable to resort to ~~forbidding exportation~~ <sup>prohibiting export</sup> to Japan

because it will be the cause to <sup>in the East</sup> ~~which will~~ make the present hostilities more extensive.

4 France will become a second-rate power. Naturally

Regardless of the past activities, there will be an ~~opinion that~~ ~~with regard to our~~

opinion that France hereafter will take a

~~advance into French Indo-China, France will be,~~

concessive attitude toward our advance

hereafter, very concessive, unlike her attitude to us

in that area ~~so that armed actions will~~

~~in the past~~ and <sup>that</sup> everything will be settled successfully

~~to unnecessary and that~~

in peace without appealing to arms.



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Men who ~~are~~ are in favor of maintenance of the status quo are deeply imbued with this opinion, but they are wrong. In the first place, in their anticipation. ~~France~~, assuming that France can continue holding ~~held the continent~~ possession of French Indo-China, although it is doubtful judging from the present circumstances - France will lose much territory and colonies, ~~the~~ <sup>proportion</sup> of dependence of France, whose many in this war so that she will become more parts of territories and colonies will probably be dependent on French Indo-China than is lost as a result of the present war, upon French the part which will be reasons for her Indo-China will become very great and naturally strengthening the defence of French Indo-China. ~~the defence of French Indo-China will be strengthened.~~ From France's point of view, the country France think it is Japan that menace French Indo-China.

to menace French Indo-China with Japan.

Therefore, she will be more cautious of us and furthermore,

~~and since~~

she has not enough power to defend herself against us

singlehanded, it is most likely that she will <sup>attempt to</sup> ~~do~~

induce

America and Britain (especially America) ~~to her side,~~  
against us.

~~making them our antagonists.~~ She had maintained a

toward

somewhat exclusive policy even ~~to~~ Britain and America

regarding French Indo-China,

heretofore) since she <sup>was confident that she was able</sup> ~~believed that she can defend~~ French

to defend French Indo-China with her international  
~~Indo-China thanks to her national prestige and her diplo~~

prestige and diplomacy.

But hereafter, she will willingly induce

America's investment <sup>in</sup> ~~to~~ the colony, and will establish

close economic relation ~~to~~ America <sup>with</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>her</sup> offering ~~of~~ special

rights.

Furthermore, it is quite certain  
~~It is quite sure, furthermore,~~ that she will  
strengthen her national defence with the aid of  
Britain and America, <sup>by</sup> completing a naval port,  
the second Singapore, in Kamran (transliteration)  
Bay for instance, for the joint use of the above  
nations.

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Translated by ~~NISHI, Ai~~  
Date started 10 September 1946  
Date finished 12 " " 35"

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In this way, France would let Britain and U.S. emerge as far as French Indo-China, and Japan would be put in a more unfavourable situation ~~when~~ <sup>when considering the</sup> compared with the past, ~~in~~ relation not only between French Indo-China, but also between China. Moreover, our country seems to have acted herself a part of a watch-dog <sup>for France</sup> by demanding Germany and Italy <sup>stress</sup> not to ~~lay~~ any unfriendly changes on French Indo-China. Germany and Italy, <sup>may</sup> belligerent at present, ~~might~~ <sup>may</sup> once admit this demand of ours; but if the war should end in their victory,

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it would be hard to tell what attitude they would take.

They <sup>may</sup> ~~would~~ not go ~~perhaps~~ so far as to change the

ownership in particular, but they would probably

bring about some conditions favourable to them,

with regard at least [to rights and interests as well

14 as other treatments; and they would advance a great

deal into these areas with their remaining power;

and thus ~~increase~~ <sup>(the number of)</sup> our rivals, ~~they would make it~~ thereby making it

still more difficult for us to establish the co-operative

~~operation~~ <sup>body</sup> of the East Asia. Although the future

decline of France ~~might~~ <sup>will be effective</sup> after all depend upon

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<sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ increasing of our power in French Indo-China, and  
~~any~~ <sup>since</sup> other great nations could also <sup>similarly</sup> ~~increase their~~ <sup>bear</sup> power,

We must bear in mind, therefore, that it would  
be just a dream to expect that our country  
alone could advance favourably.

Besides, even if Germany and Italy should  
agree to our offer, it is probable that all the  
<sup>in French Indo-China,</sup>  
tribes, especially, the Annamese would ask Germany  
to assist them <sup>in</sup>  
~~for help for~~ their independence, saying that the  
lukewarm attitude of Japan is not trustworthy.

If Germany, in compliance with this request,

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(to establish the)

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should try ~~in future~~ for the independence of the tribes

(at the peace treaty)

in French Indo-China, on the plea of releasing

the oppressed tribes of the East Asia, what attitude

should we take? If we <sup>should</sup> object their independence

accounting it for

~~on account of~~ prematurity or for any other reason

whatever, Japan's spiritual influence over

the tribes of the East Asia and their confidence

in Japan would entirely fall to the ground:

and if we should agree to it, (even if we add to the

agreement some favourable conditions, economical,

15 etc,) the German influence, as a father of

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their

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independence, would decidedly surpass that of  
ours, and those areas would come practically  
under the control of Germany.

The above has been stated in response to

the supposed objections against the aforesaid step

Furthermore,

to be taken. Considering the following situation,

we ~~cannot~~ <sup>have to</sup> but admit <sup>that</sup> the necessity of taking

the decisive step ~~to be~~ <sup>is</sup> all the more urgent.

At the Washington Conference, our country fell into a

~~By a joint compulsion of England and~~  
sad plight being forced to give up

~~America, at the Washington Conference, our~~

~~country fell into a sad plight to give up~~



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→ due to joint compulsion by ~~the~~ America and Britain

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our rights and interests in Shantung (these were established by the Versailles Peace Treaty) <sup>recognized</sup> the rights and interests which had been admitted by Britain and France by a secret treaty since the time of War). <sup>Considering</sup> To think of the previous example, who could affirm that the United States, who is now enforcing a <sup>sensational expansion</sup> ~~marvelous enlargement~~ of armaments <sup>in all fields will,</sup> ~~generally,~~ after its completion, ~~would not offer independently, or in alliance with~~ European countries, such demands as to turn over the situation brought by our execution of the Chinese Policy which she is now disturbing?  
(U.S. TN)

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In such case, what attitude would they take —

<sup>already fear</sup>

16 those who ~~are already~~ afraid that Japan would

not be able to continue the ~~warfare~~ <sup>war</sup> because of the

~~embargo~~

~~prohibition of exportation~~ of petroleum and scrap iron?

If we ~~are~~ <sup>are to obtain these</sup> going to get these materials from ~~some~~ <sup>else</sup>  
where and cope with

~~other countries to confront~~ America, we should,  
at first, secure the place.

~~have to be sure to secure the place first.~~ Yet

And <sup>obtain</sup> the fact is that we cannot get them from ~~any~~ <sup>America</sup>

<sup>or</sup> ~~part of Europe.~~ By ~~any~~ <sup>all</sup> means we must ~~get~~ <sup>obtain</sup> them

from ~~the~~ <sup>the nearby</sup> East or from the South, ~~nearby.~~

Nevertheless, as long as we ~~go on~~ <sup>act</sup> with its ~~sole aim~~ <sup>objective</sup>

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<sup>only</sup> of recognizing <sup>of the controlling</sup> Page 8.  
of ~~maintaining~~ the status quo, ~~that is, the~~  
rights of these  
~~maintenance of the recognition of the control of the~~

European countries over these areas, those  
controlling countries <sup>at this crisis</sup>  
~~controlled countries~~ would <sup>not only</sup> stop their supply  
of materials to us, but <sup>also</sup> would <sup>positively</sup> ~~be sure to~~  
take hostile actions  
~~operate positive hostilities~~ against us in spite of  
our good will.

If such is the case  
~~If the matter should be such, is not~~  
the fruits of  
~~the fruit, gained by the China Incidents,~~  
to which our country is said <sup>now</sup> to be devoting  
will eventually have)  
~~herself~~ at present, to be given up ~~in~~ ten years

hence.

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after all? Therefore, while Europe and America

are entirely occupied with the battles in

it is necessary for us to prepare our  
Europe, ~~we must be prepared for real ability~~

~~power to defend our ground firmly~~

~~to be able to defend our ground firmly against~~  
that could sufficiently cope with

after  
the movement of America in future when she will

expansion of her armaments,  
~~have accomplished the enlargement of her armaments.~~

For that purpose, we ~~should~~ <sup>must</sup> carry out resolutely

16 the emancipation of ~~the~~ East Asia, ~~to establish~~  
established)

such a situation as ~~they could~~ <sup>as that which can</sup> cooperate with us,

also to  
and secure the resources and strategic position

into ~~the hand of ours~~ <sup>our hands</sup> or <sup>to</sup> that of our friends.

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~~by J. K. ...~~  
~~SEP 44~~ 44

III.

~~Article three.~~

~~How to carry out urgent managements.~~  
Method of Executing Emergent Measures.

7. ~~After Japan announces the aforementioned~~  
~~Announcing the reason mentioned in~~

reasons given in Item 1 of Article 2,

~~No. 1 of the article, we will promptly~~

HAIPHONG, TOURANE and SAIGON

blockade important parts, such as

(SAIGON may be omitted at first if there is

Hai fang, Tourane and Saigon (the

danger of irritating U.S.) will be blockaded

~~shall except Saigon at first, if~~

~~at the same time,~~  
and troops will be landed in KUANG-TUNG

~~there is a fear that we shall stimulate~~

KUANGHSI or some other convenient

~~America vainly) and at the same~~

coast to attack and capture HAIPHONG

~~time, we will occupy Hai fang and~~

and HANOI and also to commence

~~Hanoi by advancing our troops~~

military operations at various points

~~from the lands of Kuang-tung and~~

~~of importance.~~

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~~Kuanghsi or from suitable coasts,  
and take military actions for the  
other important places.~~

Hurriedly summon Anamese patriots  
2. ~~Previously we will hastily call  
who have planned for Anamese independence  
together the Anamese patriots,  
and who have previously found refuge in  
who have come as refugees to  
Japan, China and Siam. Have them  
Japan, China and Thailand and  
patriots ~~send~~ <sup>enter</sup> to French Indo-China  
have been planning their country's  
together with the armed forces and have  
independence. We will make them  
them form something like an Anamese  
go to French Indo-China, establish  
Imperial Independent Government and  
the temporal government of Annam  
also propagate on a grand scale to  
independence, and propagate on~~

a grand scale, that the Annamese  
 oust the French influence and to cooperate  
 must ~~overcome~~ <sup>accomplish</sup> the French influence and  
 for the attainment of independence.  
 co-operate for the completion of  
 the independence.

3. It is out of question <sup>the</sup> ~~that they can~~ to expect them  
 to ~~not~~ fully display the functions of <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~  
 new government because <sup>of the lack of</sup> ~~this management~~  
~~per time but~~ <sup>urgent.</sup> But the Annamese national  
 system is <sup>sound and based on their</sup> ~~firm founded on their~~  
 advanced "sha" (township and villages)  
~~self-government of the advanced~~  
 system of self-government.  
 Sha system (town-village system)  
 Therefore, although the functions of the  
 accordingly even if the functions

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central and local governments may cease  
~~of the centre and local authorities~~  
temporarily, there may not be much  
~~stop for a while, they will not be~~  
confusion. The local authorities will  
~~thrown into confusion.~~ If they are  
prosecute their duties as usual ~~until~~  
~~ordered that until the proper orders~~  
~~order <sup>to do so by the</sup> from the central government,~~  
~~of the central independent~~  
although they may not act to oust the  
government are issued, they should  
French influence until orders arrive  
~~prosecute their duties as usual~~  
from the central government. ~~However,~~ <sup>Of course,</sup>  
~~excepting the expulsion of the~~  
it will be necessary for Japan to form a  
French influence. ~~The local~~  
military government for the time being  
authorities, we think, will not  
to maintain peace and order and to  
~~be thrown into confusion, but~~  
form a suitable administration.  
~~it is a matter of course~~



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~~that for the time being we must~~  
~~carry on proper government, such~~  
~~as maintenance of public order~~  
~~under our military administration.~~

4. It goes without saying that, when  
our troops advance <sup>into</sup> French Indo-  
China, we <sup>must</sup> ~~should~~ propagate that  
our aim is ~~for checking the French~~ to check the aid - Chiang  
activities by the French and not to ~~activities of Chiang assistance~~  
capture the territory of French-Indo-China.  
and not for the occupation of  
Especially, the method to be used by the  
the land of French Indo-China  
Anamese Temporary Independent Government  
Regarding the propaganda that

to propagate the demand for Annamese  
the temporary government of the Annam  
to join the movement for independence,  
independence should demand the  
should be by sending Annamese propagating  
Annamese to participate in the inde-  
pendence movement. We will make  
agent into the territory controlled by the  
French. Also <sup>by radio, pamphlets dropped from planes, and</sup> ~~by the cooperation of Annamese~~  
by other means, <sup>Annamese</sup> ~~the Annamese~~ propaganda corps  
troops, workers ~~in railway, ships, trains,~~  
attached to the above government,  
in communication ~~and~~ transportation organizations  
propagate by their entering secretly  
in railway, trains, ships, telegraphs, telephones,  
the areas under command of  
bodies of laborers in factories and plantations,  
the French forces, and moreover by  
officials in schools, unions, newspapers  
radio, planes scattering of propaganda  
should be the object from whom cooperation  
bills and the other means, the corps  
for an independent movement be appealed.  
shall require the Annamese people

~~to cooperate in the independence~~  
According to position and circumstances  
movement, who are soldiers,  
of each individual, he ~~shall~~ will occupy,  
~~workers of communication organs~~  
destroy or sabotage the aforementioned  
such as railways, trains, ships,  
organs and thus destroy the functions of  
telegraphs and telephones, labor  
the French troops and authorities. After  
~~of factories and farms, and~~  
this is accomplished, propaganda ~~will~~ shall  
~~personnel of corporations government~~  
be gradually spread among the Anamese  
offices, schools, associations and  
in general. Since Japan shall advocate  
newspaper offices. In accordance with  
that the direct object is to intercept the  
~~their occupations and circumstances~~  
aid-Chiang route, she must at first  
~~they shall occupy and destroy the~~  
take an indifferent attitude towards  
~~above equipments, and disturb~~

~~the managements, and thus they shall~~  
the independence movement. But  
~~decrease the functions of the French~~  
gradually, the movement shall be  
forces and authorities. Afterwards  
supported by asserting that ~~if~~ if  
they shall come step by step to the  
~~will greatly contribute to the~~  
propaganda for the general annamese.  
The long-cherished independence  
At the beginning we must keep our  
is accomplished, it will greatly  
~~attitude that we have nothing to~~  
contribute to the mutual existence  
~~do with the independence movement,~~  
and prosperity of ~~the~~ East  
because we have declared that our  
Asia.  
~~direct aim is to check the Chiang~~  
assisting route. We must gradually  
~~support the Annamese independence~~

~~by asserting that it will contribute  
much to East Asia mutual existence  
and prosperity that the Annamese  
accomplish their independence, which  
has been their long cherished~~

~~desire. There may be a number  
of French troops and troops of the  
Foreign Legion; they may be a number of  
soldiers, planes, tanks and  
planes, tanks and warships but they  
warships in French Indo China,  
are of no consequence. Annamese  
but they are of no consequence.  
Troops and the majority of the people will  
The majority of the Annamese  
immediately join the independence  
soldiers and civilians will~~

~~the~~ movement or at least, ~~they~~ will  
at once take part in the independence  
Take a neutral attitude. There may  
movement, or maintain neutrality at  
be some that may be forced to ~~at least~~  
least. At first some ~~Annamese~~  
~~by the French~~ by the French to  
may resist us under French  
resist. But since the French homeland  
compulsion, but we can imagine  
has surrendered to the Germans, it  
that the French forces have no  
is believed that the French troops  
hostile intention at the present  
today have no real intention to fight.  
when their home country has  
They may make a weak display of  
surrendered to the German forces  
resistance but will gradually follow the  
After they resist formally a little  
example of their homeland and proclaim  
every district may <sup>gradually</sup> come to proclaim  
"free" zones. In this manner, the  
their non-defence zone, following

emancipation of the French Indo-China  
~~their home country's example.~~  
inhabitants will be easily accomplished,  
~~And thus we can easily realize~~

~~the emancipation of the Indo-China~~

This does not mean that we  
~~naïves.~~ But even if we can easily  
can be over-confident. As when the  
~~do, we must not make light of~~  
lion strikes a rabbit, we must be  
~~them.~~ It is out of question that we  
prepared to exert every effort to  
~~should do with all our heart and~~  
accomplish our objective.  
~~soul, learning the lesson that~~

~~a lion can't catch a rabbit~~  
~~without might and main, even if~~  
~~a lion is big and a rabbit is~~  
~~little.~~

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5. As mentioned above, <sup>effort will</sup> ~~we must~~  
~~we made to~~  
~~make efforts to~~ realize the Anna-  
mese emancipation on the one  
hand, and we must begin to  
establish the new order, on the  
other hand, <sup>to</sup> ~~as we~~ lead and  
support them. In order to  
~~accomplish these aims,~~ <sup>aside from military activities</sup> we must  
endeavor and <sup>be fully prepared</sup> ~~prepare fully~~ in  
political, economical, cultural  
~~besides our military actions~~  
and <sup>the</sup> other matters, ~~but this is~~  
However, this is a secondary problem.  
~~the second problem, so I do not~~



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~~13~~  
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元

~~state this here, because I think~~  
~~We must first be determined to carry~~  
we must <sup>promptly</sup> determine to manage  
~~out~~  
the first problem.

~~(June 19, Showa 15 / 1940 /)~~  
~~Japanese~~  
The government and the public  
must make a firm determination  
to carry out the primary ~~prob~~ problems.

Since this is considered to be the ~~first~~  
~~problem~~, most urgent problem, the  
secondary problem will not be  
discussed here.

June 19, 1940

#2379

Cover of enclosed book  
reads from right to left

June 26, 1940.

Racial Problem Committee

Secretariat of National Policy  
Research Institute.

Draft of urgent measures  
to be taken in connection with  
French Indo-China.

Submitted by Nagata Yasuichi,  
a committee member.

[In regard to this draft there may  
be some changes to be made. This  
is only for your reference.]

d. Japan was forced by U.S. and England at Washington Conference, to give up rights in SHANTUNG. Since U.S. might prohibit exportation of petroleum and scrap iron to Japan, Japan must carry out liberation of all areas in East Asia acquiring such resources as oil and iron and strategic positions favorable to Japan.

2. Practical ways of carrying out urgent measures.

a. Block ports of TOURANE and SAIGON.

b. Occupy HANOI by marching troops from KANTUNG, KANSI, or points along coast, and carry out other military action at strategic points.

c. Collect refugee ANAMESE in Japan, China, and Thailand, transport them to French Indo-China, organize a provisional gov't, propagandize natives, and drive out French influence.

3. In preface, document says:

"Japan for the purpose of stabilizing national defense, has long had her eyes on the resources of this area".