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第八十四回帝國議會ニ於ケル重光外務大臣演説

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外務省

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不肖昨四月... 帝國ノ外政擔當ノ重任ヲ拜シ、本日茲ニ帝國政府ノ外交方針ニツキ所見ヲ開シタルコトハ、私ノ最モ光榮トスル所デアリマス。

戰局ハ御承知ノ通り益々深刻トナリ、米英ハ昨年來ノ反攻ニ依ツテ漸ク東西樞軸防衛ノ外郭ニ接觸スルニ至リマシタ。彼等ハゴノ上自力ノミヲ以テ進攻スルノ困難ナルヲ感ジ、如何ナル犠牲ヲ拂ツテモ必要ナル他國ノ力ヲ藉ラントスルニ至リ、之ガ爲メ大東亞會議ト前後シテ「モスコ」ニ相會シ更ニ「カイロ」及ビ「テヘラン」ニ到ツテ協議シタデアリマス。彼等ハ茲ニ西、歐洲大要塞ニ對シ又東、帝國ニ對シテ速ニ總反擊ニ出ヅルコトニ決シタ模様デアリマス。之ガ本年ニ於ケル彼等ノ企圖デアリマス。

米英首腦部ハ昨年十一月下旬重慶側ヲモ加ヘテ「カイロ」會議ヲ開キ、帝國ニ對シ假借ナク攻撃ヲ加ヘ無條件降伏ヲ強要スベシト稱シ、本土以外ノ帝國領域ハ悉ク之ヲ奪取シテ、或ハ自己ノ領土トシ或ハ之ヲ支那ニ分テ與フベシト約シ、重慶政權ノ離脱ヲ防止セント致シタデアリマス。彼等ハ已ニ全力ヲ擧ゲテ對日總反攻ヲ實行シツツアリト聲明シタデアリマスガ、今日迄獲得シタモノハ我前哨線ニ散在スル數個ノ島嶼ニ過ギズ、之ガ代價トシテ支拂ツタモノハ海底ニ葬ル去ラレタル多數ノ艦船並ニ數十萬ノ兵員デアリマス。而モ米國民ハ何ノ爲メニ米國ノ安全トハ何等關係ノナイ東亞ノ僻地ニ於テ戰ツテ居ルノデアルカ、又戰ハネバナラヌノカラ了解スルニ苦ンデ居ル様子デア

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リマス。

米國大統領ハソノ政策タル「ニュー・ディール」ナルモノガ國內的ニ行キ詰ルヤ、之ガ打開ヲ外ニ求メン  
トシテ旺ニ戰爭熱ヲ煽リ、國民ノ視聽ヲ強ヒテ國外ニ轉ジ、今ニモ米大陸ガ外敵ニ依リ襲撃侵略セ  
ラルルガ如クニ宣傳シタノデアリマス。米國ノ挑發サヘナカッタナラバ、今次戰爭ハ起ラズシテ濟  
ンダ管デアリマス。米大陸ノ安全ヲ脅威スルモノ何處ニモナク米國民ハ平和ヲ享樂シ得タルベキニ  
拘ラズ不測ノ冒險ニ追ヒ入レラレ、不必要ニシテ高價ナル犠牲ニ甘ゼシメラレテ居ル次第デアリマ  
ス。而シテ彼ハ恰モ世界ノ管理者デアリ東亞ノ支配者デアアルガ如キ行動ニ出デ、歐洲戰爭ヲ挑發シ  
タル上、擅ニ東亞ニ介入シ來リ、遂ニ帝國ニ對シテ所謂「經濟的制裁」ヲ加ヘ、進ンデ「經濟戰  
争」ノ手段ニ訴ヘタノデアリマス。太平洋戰爭ガ真珠灣以前ニ已ニ米國ニ依ツテ開始セラレテ居タ  
コトハ、現ニ米國政府自身ニ依リ發表セラレタ多クノ文書ニ依ツテモ明白ナ所デアリマス。斯ノ如  
クシテ米國ハ植民地的戰爭ニ乘リ出シタノデアリマシテ、米國ノ戰爭ハ要スルニ政略的戰爭デアリ  
マス。蓋シ右ハ米國ガ全世界ニ亙リ英國ニ代リテ世界制覇ノ基礎ヲ固メントシツツアル點ヨリ見テ  
モ明ナル事實デアリマス。

米英ハ單ニ與國ヲ驅使セントスルノミナラズ、有ユル策略ト威壓トヲ弄シテ中立國ヲ戰爭ニ引入レ、  
戰禍ノ擴大ヲ憚ラズ恣ニ之ヲ利用セントシテ居リマス。土耳其其他ニ對スル壓迫ハ國際道義ヲ蹂躪

セルモノ、デ一般ノ憤激ヲ招イテ居ル所デアリマスガ、土耳其ノ態度ニハ變化ナク、同様ナ脅迫ヲ蒙  
ツタ南米「アルゼンチン」ハ猶毅然タル態度ニ出テ居ル次第デアリマス。

米英ノ東西ニ於ケル反攻ハ斯クシテ鳴物入りデ開始セラレタノデアリマスガ、勝利ハ單ニ宣傳ヤ欺  
瞞ニ依ツテ得ラルルモノデアリマセヌ。東西樞軸ノ堅陣ハ嚴トシテ微動ダモ致シテ居ラスノデア  
リマス。

歐洲要塞ニ於キマシテハ、獨逸軍ハ必要ニ應ジ前線ノ整理ヲ行ヒ、磐石ノ堅陣ト萬全ノ準備トヲ以  
テ敵ヲ邀撃センコトヲ期シテ居ルノデアリマス。過去ニ於テ苦キ經驗ヲ有スル獨逸國民ガ、「ヒトラ  
ー」總統統率ノ下ニ一致協力シテ未曾有ノ試練ニ應ヘ、確固タル自信ヲ示シ、終局ノ勝利ニ向ツテ  
邁進シツツアル狀況ハ實ニ世界史上ノ壯觀ト言ハネバナリマセヌ。斯クテ獨逸軍ハ戰勢ヲ轉換シテ  
攻勢ノ機ヲ捉ヘントシ、獨逸國民ハ烈シキ空襲ノ下ニ不屈ノ精神ヲ以テ勝利ヲ確信シ敢闘ヲ續ケテ  
居ルノデアリマシテ、コレハ敵側スラモ承認セザルヲ得ナイ事實デアリマス。帝國政府ハ常時獨逸  
政府ト緊密ナル聯繫ヲ保チ軍事上ハ勿論各般ノ問題ニ付テ有ユル協力ヲ遂ゲツツアル次第デアリマ  
ス。

新伊太利ハ「ムソリーニ」統帥指導ノ下ニ樞軸ノ一環トシテ再ビ力強ク立チ上リツツアリ、帝國及  
獨逸トノ共同戰線ニ於テ伊太利ガ光輝アル將來ヲ拓クコトハ期シテ待ツベキデアリマス。過般伊太

利政變後敵側ハ頻リニ和平ノ宣傳ヲ行ヒ、樞軸與國ヲ動搖セシメント策動シタノデアリマスガ、之ハ彼等ノ常套的手段デアルノミナラズ、彼等ノ國內不安及戰爭早期終結ノ要望ヲ反映シテ居ルノデアリマシテ、畢竟スルニ彼等ノ焦燥感ヲ示ス以外ノ何物デモナイノデアリマス。歐洲ニ於ケル樞軸與國ハ敵側ノ宣傳ニモ拘ラズ、確固不動共同戰爭ヲ完遂セントシツアルノデアリマス。

太平洋方面ニ於ケル敵ノ熾烈ナル反攻ニ對シ、我東亞保衛ノ堅陣ハ些カモ搖イデ居リマセヌ。之ハ申ス迄モナク、御稜威ノ下皇軍ノ勇戰奮闘ノ賜デアリマシテ、全國民ノ感激措ク能ハザル所デアリマス。私ハ茲ニ我ガ忠勇ナル陸海將兵ノ武運長久ヲ切ニ祈ルト共ニ殉國ノ英靈ニ對シ謹ンデ敬吊ノ意ヲ表スルモノデアリマス。米英ノ恃ム所ハ主トシテ物質力デアリマス。現代戰爭ニ於テ物質力ノ重要ナルコトハ否定出來マセヌ。然シ乍ラ勝敗ハ單ニ物質力ノ優劣ニ依ツテ定マルモノデアリマセヌ。物質力ノ點カラ觀テモ幾多ノ弱點ガアルノデアツテ、人的資源ニ於テハ少カラズ脆弱點ヲ有スルコトハ見逃シ難イノミナラズ、地ノ利ハ寧ロ我ニ在ルノデアリマス。而モ國民戰意ノ點ニ至ツテハ彼ハ到底我ガ敵デハナイノデアリマス。蓋シ我ガ必勝ノ信念ハ數ニアラズ、又量ニアラズ、將又地ノ利ニモアラズシテ、實ニ人ノ和ニアルノデアリマス。我ガ國民ノ當面スルハ共ニ活クルカ共ニ死スルカノ問題デアリマス。吾人ヲ促スモノハ過去ニ於テ幾多國難ヲ克服シタ祖先ノ偉業ヲ願ミ、皇國ノ偉大ナル將來ヲ確保センコトヲ期スル敢闘ノ精神デアリマス。皇國ノ光輝アル將來ハ一

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億敢闘ニ依ツテ必ズ招來セラルルノデアリマス。

御稜威ノ下前線ニ於ケル皇軍ノ勇戰、統後戰線ニ於ケル國民總員ノ蹶起トニ依リ最後ノ勝利ノ我ニアルベキコトハ毫モ疑ヲ挾ム餘地ガナイノデアリマスガ、此ノ必勝ノ信念ハ今次ノ戰爭ガ我ニトツテハ帝國存立ノ戰デアリ東亞ニトツテハ興隆ノ懸ル聖戰デアル所ヨリ生ズルノデアリマス。

歐洲ニ於テ獨逸ガ大國トシテ其ノ實力ヲ伸張スルコトハ、東洋ニ於テ日本ガ大國ノ實力ヲ具備スルコトト共ニ、米英ノ終始阻止セント欲スル所デアリマシテ、コレ即チ歐洲ニ於テ「勢力均衡政策」ナルモノヲ實施シ、支那ニ於テ「門戶開放、機會均等主義」ノ形ニ於テ半植民地政策ヲ運用シタ所以デアリマス。數個ノ勢力ヲ相互ニ衝突牽制セシメ、ソノ間ニ、全世界ニ亘リ事實上ノ支配權ヲ設定スルノガ彼等ノ根本政策デアリマシテ、之ガ所謂過去ニ於ケル「英國流ノ平和態勢」デアリ、現在企圖サレテ居ル「米國流ノ平和態勢」ナシデアリマス。

日本ト支那トガ提携協力シテ東亞ノ安定ヲ保チ繁榮ヲ圖ルコトハ、彼等ヨリ之ヲ觀レバ東亞ノ復興デアリ、彼等ノ退却ヲ意味スルノデアリマス。彼等ハ過去ニ於テ帝國ヲ利用シテ支那ヲ抑制シ、帝國「ロシヤ」ハ進出阻止ノ政策ニ出デ、帝國ガ強大トナルニ及ビ我ヲ控制センガ爲メニ支那ヲ拉シ來ツテ利用スルノ政策ヲ執ルニ至リマシタ。之ガ東亞禍亂ノ重要ナル背景ヲナスモノデアリマシテ、即チ分割シテ支配スルコトハ彼等ノ傳統的的政策ナシデアリマス。

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米國大統領ノ最近ノ演説ニ徴スルモ、米英ハ實ニ帝國ノ抹殺ヲ企圖スルモノデアリマシテ、此ノ戰爭ガ我國ノ興廢ヲ賭スル防衛ノ闘争ナル所以デアリマス。吾人ニシテ半途挫折スルガ如キコトアランカ、單リ帝國ノ存在ガ永久ニ否認セラルルノミナラズ、東亞モ舊態ニ復セシメラレ、自主獨立ヲ完フスベキ機會ハ永遠ニ失ハレルノデアリマス。實ニ今次戰爭ハ樞軸諸國ニトツテハ眞ニ自存自衛ノ戰爭デアリ、「アジア」ニトツテハ自主獨立ノ戰爭デアリマス。帝國ハ悠久三千年ノ光輝アル歴史ヲ有シ、帝國ガ世界ノ雄邦トシテ「アジア」解放、東亞復興ノ大業ニ挺身シツアルノハ正ニ天與ノ使命デアリマス。帝國ハ志ヲ同フスル東亞ノ各國各民族ト相協力シテ、米英ノ非道ナル企圖ヲ斷乎粉碎セントスルモノデアリマス。

今次大戰ハ正ニ世界ノ大變動デアリマス。英國ノ世界帝國維持ヲ目的トスル對獨挑戰ニ始マツタ戰爭ハ、獨逸戰爭ニ依ツテソノ様相愈々深刻ヲ加ヘ、右ハ「テヘラン」會議以後ノ世界情勢ニ遺憾ナク反映サレテ居ルノデアリマス。更ニ又大東亞戰爭勃發ニ依ツテ「アジア」解放、東亞復興ノ重大ナル意義ガ現實ニ加ハツタノデアリマス。「アジア」ガ米英ノ植民地若ハ半植民地タル時代ハ既に去リマシタ。「アジア」ヲ救フモノハ「アジア」人以外ニハアリ得ナイノデアリマス。

米英ノ支配勢力ガ殘存スル限り、東亞ノ安定ハ到底望ミ難ク、禍亂ハ永久ニ絶エマセス。擾亂勢力ガ驅逐セラレテ茲ニ初メテ東亞ハ其ノ本然ノ姿ニ復歸シ得ルノデアリマス。過去ニ於テ日支兩國間ニ

幾多ノ悲シムベキ紛争ヲ見タル後、今日兩國ノ關係ガ永久ニ安定スル基礎ヲ見出シタノモ全ク外來ノ支配的勢力ガ一掃セラレタルコトニ起因スル次第デアリマス。支那ガ戰爭ニ參加シ日支兩國間ニ基礎關係ガ設定セラレテ既ニ二年餘、ソノ間我政策ハ着々進捗ヲ見テ昨年十月同盟條約ノ締結ヲ見、兩國々交永遠ノ基調ハ明定セラレ、根本的友好關係ハ茲ニ確固不動ノモノトナツタノデアリマス。今ハ支那内部ニ於テ完全ナル和平状態ノ確立セラレルコトガ期待セラレル譯デアリマスガ、帝國トシテハ終始一貫既定ノ政策ヲ徹底セシムベク努力ヲ致ス決意デアリマス。戰爭ノ進行ト共ニ經濟問題等幾多ノ困難ノ伴フハ當然ノコトデアリマスガ、兩國ハ相共ニ携ヘテ如何ナル難關ヲモ突破スル覺悟ヲ以テ進ンデ居ルノデアリマス。

帝國ト一徳一心ノ關係ニアル滿洲國ノ絶大ナル協力ハ帝國ノ感謝措ク能ハザル所デアリ、又東亞ノ有力ナル一員タル泰國トハ既ニ開戦直後同盟關係ニ入り、共同戦線ニ立ツテ東亞復興ヲ爲メ甚大ナル貢獻ヲ爲シツアルコトハ誠ニ欣快ノ至リデアリマス。東亞諸國代表ハ印度假政府首班ヲモ迎ヘ、昨年十二月初頭東京ニ於テ相會シ、各國共同ノ政策トシテ大東亞宣言ヲ發表シ、東亞建設ノ理想ト世界平和ノ基礎タルベキ大方針ヲ闡明致ス所ガアリマシタ。大東亞宣言ニ依ツテ表示セララル諸原則ハ、歸スル所東亞ヲ解放シ保衛シ復興スルト共ニ、廣ク世界各國ト提携シテ恒久平和ノ確立ニ積極的ニ貢獻セシコトヲ期スルモノデアリマスガ、之等ノ原則ハ戰時下自ラ各種ノ不便ガアルニ拘ラズ、

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關係各國ノ眞摯ナル協力ニ依リ着々實現セラレツアル次第デアリマス。

今ヤ東亞ノ天地ニハ復興ノ氣運澎湃トシテ起リ、獨立ノ榮譽ヲ贏チ得タル「ビルマ」及「フィリピン」ハ新興ノ意氣ヲ以テ世界ノ進運ニ寄與セシコトヲ期シ、大東亞宣言ノ精神ヲ實行ニ移シテ居ル次第デアリマス。又多年印度ノ宿望タル獨立モ自由印度假政府ノ成立ニ依ツテソノ礎石ガ置カレタデアリマス。コノ東亞復興、「アジア」解放ノ目標コソハ實ニ吾人ニ對シ飽ク迄勝チ抜ク自信ヲ與フル所以デアリマス。

帝國ノ堅持スル對外政策ハ廣ク國際間ニ友好善隣ノ關係ヲ發展セシメントスルニアリマシテ、大東亞宣言ノ原則第五ニ謂フ所ノ「萬邦トノ交誼ヲ篤クシ人種的差別ヲ撤廢シ普ク文化ヲ交流シ進んで資源ヲ開放シ以テ世界ノ進運ニ貢獻ス」ル趣旨モ亦茲ニ存スルデアリマス。世界的共存共榮ノ觀念ハ閉鎖ニ非ズシテ開放ニ在リ、排他ニ非ズシテ協力ニ在ルデアリマス。蓋シコノ國際親和ノ政策ヲ擴大推進スルコトハ世界ヲ禍亂ヨリ救済シ、破壊ヲ去ツテ建設ニ就ク大道ナルコトヲ確信致スノデアリマス。

帝國ハ右ノ方針ニ則リ特ニ隣接諸國トノ相互親善ノ關係ヲ増進スルト共ニ、更ニ進んで世界各國ニ對シ廣ク同一ノ方針ヲ以テ臨マントスルモデアリマス。現在帝國ト中立關係ニ在ル遠近ノ諸國ニ對シテハ戰禍ノ擴大ヲ避クルハ勿論、益々交誼ヲ篤クセシメテ居ルノデアリマス。就中日蘇兩國

ノ關係ハ大東亞戰爭ノ勃發ニ依ツテモ、將又歐洲戰爭ノ進展ニ依ツテモ、何等影響ヲ蒙ル所ナク兩國間ノ中立關係ハ堅ク維持セラレテ居ル次第デアリマス。

敵米英ハ今日頻リニ總攻撃ヲ叫ビ歐亞ニ於ケル樞軸ノ堅陣ニ對シ攻勢ニ出デ、太平洋方面ニ於ケル反擊ハ日ヲ逐ツテ熾烈ヲ加ヘテ居ル狀況デアリマス。蓋シ本年ハ世界戰局ノ大勢ヲ決定スル重大ナル秋デアリマス。

依ツテ私ハ微力ヲ願ミズ、大御心ヲ體シ外政ノ運用ニ最善ノ努力ヲ致ス覺悟デアリマス。

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ADDRESSES BY MAMORU SHIGEMITSU,  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
BEFORE THE DIET, 1943

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REEL No. A-0007

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アジア歴史資料センター

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ADDRESSES BY MAMORU SHIGEMITSU,  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
BEFORE THE DIET, 1943

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アジア歴史資料センター



ADDRESS BY MAMORU SHIGEMITSU,  
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
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アジア歴史資料センター

**Address Before the Budgetary Session of the  
Eighty-second Session of the Diet,  
June 17, 1943**

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

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our part of the world along these lines and to defend the peace and stability of the region against external threats.

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

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

What sort of policy did the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands pursue in the past especially toward the Orient? As you know, "divide and rule" has always been the keynote of their crafty policy. By persistently pursuing this policy, Britain has exploited India ruthlessly, while in Europe she has consistently played the game of so-

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called balance of power. In the Orient, both Britain and America resorted to the tactics of pitting China against Japan and exercised meticulous cares not to allow any Oriental nation to grow strong. They would not tolerate the emergence of a Great Power in Asia. Their policy, whatever may be its outward forms, has been basically a policy of destruction, designed to keep the Asiatic countries in constant and continuous turmoil and to permit the intruders to fish in troubled waters. It is the policy of Japan to do away, once and for all, with this evil factor of disturbance and exploitation and to eliminate disunity and division with a view to creating a new era of concord and collaboration throughout the region of Greater East Asia.

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

Today the nations of East Asia are no longer in the status of Anglo-Saxon colonies. The policy of Britain and America has always been characterized by closed door, monopoly, and exploitation. Wherever their policy penetrated it entailed an economic war. They have publicly outlawed war and

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earnestly pledged not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy. Nevertheless, they have attempted to bring other nations into submission by openly waging economic wars. The order of freezing of assets imposed on Japan may be cited as one of the glaring examples.

Turning to Europe, we see there too an instructive spectacle. It is the Axis Powers who enjoy today the position of the advocate of the cause of those smaller States which have been mercilessly treated by Britain and America. Curiously enough, the latter now advocating the hegemony of Great Powers, viz., Britain, America and the Soviets seem to have cast to winds the interests of the smaller nations, for whose defense ostensibly they provoked the present war.

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

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

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**Address Before the Budgetary Session of the  
Eighty-third Session of the Diet,  
October 27, 1943**

America and Britain keep to their traditional policy of bringing the major part of the world under their exclusive control, egoistically assuming that the various States on the Continent of Europe as well as the different peoples of Asia are all to submit to their overlordship.

Britain, by playing her favorite game of the balance of power in Europe for the preservation and expansion of her world encircling colonial empire has precipitated the present war. Even now she is desperately trying to increase her control over the Asiatic peoples in Arabia and India, to regain her grasp on Burma, and to win back her domination not only over China but over the whole of East Asia.

America on the other hand wants to take advantage of the present war for the realization of her bold ambition of establishing a world-wide empire of her own. She has not only tightened her grip on the continents of North and South America through improper interpretations and applications of the Monroe Doctrine. Furthermore in the North Atlantic and elsewhere, not to mention North and West Africa, she is establishing her foothold, and taking successive steps to prepare for world hegemony sometimes, it seems, even at the expense of the British Empire. Evidently she plans to

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reoccupy the Philippines to make the islands their base for acquiring the mastery and disturbing the tranquillity of the Pacific. Thus, it is growing clearer than ever that the true intentions of America and Britain are to place the world under the control of America, Britain, and their satellite nations.

Far away from home, sons of America and Britain are now engaged in a desperate fighting with the pick of our army and navy in the North and South Pacific and in the Southwest Asia, on the Solomon Islands direct under the equator, and in the wild jungles of New Guinea. Why must America and Britain so cruelly allow their young men to fall victims to our shells and bullets in distant lands of savages and of epidemics? Why must they dispatch enormous forces to wrest East Asia from the peoples of East Asia? It is all because of their vain ambition to reconstruct, or build anew, a world-wide colonial empire. Being determined to realize this unwarranted ambition at the sacrifice of the nations of East Asia, they have declared that they will continue the current war until our "unconditional surrender." Such a declaration on their part is a blunt confession of their sinister designs. It should be noted that the idea behind that declaration is identical with that absurd idea which was once theirs to conquer Japan and reduce it into a colonial status similar to that of other countries of East Asia.

Since Japan has demonstrated unmistakably her spirit of neighborly amity, by putting into practice a series of her Greater East Asia policies beginning with the "New China Policy", the American and British policy toward Asia appears to have undergone unaccountable alterations.

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They now count China under the Chungking regime as one of the few Powers who are supposed to govern the entire world—something that they had never dreamed of doing before. In order to prevent a change of heart on the part of Chungking owing to Japan's New China Policy, they are busy, trying every means to curry favor with Chungking and to persuade and urge upon that regime to continue its resistance against Japan. They refuse to give up their time-honored policy of making use of Asiatics to check Asiatics. No sooner had Japan begun to put in practice various measures in pursuance of her new policy, than they hastily tried to bribe Chungking with a promise for a solely nominal abrogation of unequal treaties. Their sense of racial prejudice is so strong that, at the Paris Conference of 1918 which met after the First World War, with a view to ushering in an era of enduring peace, the principle of racial equality, accepted by an overwhelming majority, was cast away like worn-out shoes because of opposition by America and Britain. Strange enough, as the war situation develops, their attitude changes. America now seems to show her esteem for Chungking by revising her Immigration Act exclusively for the sake of the Chinese. The independence of the Philippines, which had long been promised by America, was not granted under one pretext or another during the American occupation of these islands.

It was after American soldiers had been driven out from the Philippines by Japanese Forces, that its independence was prepared for and realized. It is Japan's policy always to value deed above word. As if competing with Japan, President Roosevelt is now reported to have requested the Congress

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the authority to grant the Philippines their independence at once, which America refused to do when she could have done. Such is the way of Anglo-Saxons. Nothing could save East Asia but the resolute efforts made by the peoples of East Asia themselves.

British aggression in Asia has a long history. As to India, whenever Britain found it impossible to exert sufficient pressure, she would patch up for the moment with fine promises only to ignore them as soon as she was in a position to renew her oppression. This is exactly the method which she employed at the time of the last Great War, and which she is employing at present.

Now that the Provisional Government of Free India has been established under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose, it is not improbable that Britain will offer India, as in the case of Chungking, some kind of promissory note which she has no thought of redeeming. The restoration of India to its proper status as an independent nation cannot be realized by any means other than by the awakening and self-exertion of Indian people themselves.

To America and Britain, East Asia may be a convenient colonial territory for aggression and exploitation. But to us, East Asia is our native land—our home and hearth, which we must certainly defend at all costs.

The current war, having originated in the American and British attempt to seek destruction of this country economically as well as militarily, is for Japan a war of self-defense and self-preservation. Should we, together with our brethren of East Asia, fail to defend East Asia, Japan as a great Power would cease to exist. Moreover, all the subject peoples of

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East Asia would be deprived forever of an opportunity to regain their sovereignty and independence. It is obvious that they would never be restored to East Asia, but they would be made forever helpless victims of exploitation as so many colonies of America and Britain. To East Asia and to its peoples, this is a war of racial awakening—a war for the renaissance of East Asia. No wonder that all peoples of East Asia have risen en masse to join in this supreme and stupendous enterprise.

China is being already restored to the Chinese. Thailand has regained its old territories which she had lost due to a series of British aggression. Burma and the Philippines have declared independence, while India has answered the clarion call of fight for freedom. The day of East Asia's renaissance has dawned. We will all defend our homeland from the aggression of evil powers, guard it from their exploitation, and lead it on the road of common prosperity. Such is our war aim.

The present war is to us a war of national emancipation, while to our enemy it is nothing but a war of aggression. To us, it is a war for the defense of homeland, while to him it is only a colonial war for world hegemony. Rarely in history has an imperialistic war waged for aggressive purposes proved successful. The Opium War is an exception. And even that war has after all served no other end than to expose the infamy of Britain. America has a record of having won her freedom from British tyranny after a terrible war of several long years. Americans, in whose mind the memory of Valley Forge is still alive, should know better than anyone else that justice prevails in the end. Factors of victory are

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not simply the number of weapons of war or the volume of industrial output. The power of our fighting forces and the strength of our national morale are, indeed, rooted in the justice of our cause.

The War of Greater East Asia is a war for justice to combat aggression. It is a war of liberation, to defend East Asia, our home, and to redeem it from exploitation, to establish peace and stability and to bring about common prosperity throughout the vast region of East Asia. We strive for construction, while our enemy aims at destruction. This is the reason why the kindred nations of East Asia, confident of the final victory, are firmly resolved to fight to the last man.

The construction of Greater East Asia on the basis of the sovereignty and independence of all the nations therein and for the common prosperity and well-being of the entire region will be made possible only through the establishment of fraternal relations of mutual aid and amity in accordance with the principles of equality and reciprocity. Of course, East Asia, waking up fully to the situation, must put forth vigorous efforts. It must cherish its traditions and enhance its culture and regain confidence in itself. However, East Asia is not exclusive. Common prosperity and well-being in East Asia is part and parcel of world peace. While we will deal decisively with any attempt at aggression against East Asia, we shall be ready to extend welcome to all those who grasp the meaning of the New East Asia. In fact, East Asia wants to enter upon cultural intercourse, abolish racial discriminations, develop reciprocal economic relations, and promote free traffic and free access to resources throughout

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the world so as to contribute to the peace and progress of mankind.

Our East Asia policy is being put into practice, and it is making progress. Its consummation will come with victory.

All the nations and peoples of East Asia, including those who have newly attained their independence, are full of bright hope for the future. What they ask of the world is nothing but the common prosperity and well-being of all in accordance with the principle of equality and reciprocity.

Today the nations and peoples of East Asia are marching on hand in hand as trusted friends and good neighbors to fight this war to the finish for the emancipation and enhancement of East Asia.

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