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REEL No. A-0530



アジア歴史資料センター

ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL  
HIDEKI TOJO, DELIVERED AT THE  
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE DIET 2262

November 17, 1941.

With the 77th session of the Diet convened at this critical hour, I am profoundly moved that His Majesty the Emperor was pleased to grant a most gracious Rescript at the opening ceremony. The Government desire at this opportunity to state frankly their views and conviction regarding the execution of national policies, and with your co-operation, to surmount the unprecedented national crisis with an inflexible will of the united nation and thus hope to set our Sovereign's mind at rest.

In looking over the present world situation with reference to our Empire, we find that, in the China Affair, thanks to the vigorous efforts of the loyal and gallant officers and men of the fighting services under the august Virtue of His Majesty the Emperor and to the activities of the earnest and determined people on the home front, brilliant results have been achieved, and the Chungking regime's power of resistance is fast diminishing. The constructive work of the National Government of China on the other hand has made a steady

progress

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progress resulting in the recognition of that Government by many friendly Powers. The task of settling the China Affair has thus entered upon its final stage. However, the economic and military activities of the countries aiding Chiang Kai-shek have become increasingly more vigorous. They constitute the last remaining pillar of Chungking's power of resistance, obstructing the successful conclusion of the China Affair.

In the region of the North, the situation since the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June of this year has led one to think of possibilities of its eventful future, and Japan can not afford to be indifferent to its development. We are, therefore, seeing to it that all the necessary measures are taken in order to secure the stability in the North. In the South, there took place last year the peaceful entry of the Imperial forces into northern French Indo-China, and as the result of the conclusion of an economic agreement between Japan and French Indo-China and our mediation of a dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China, close and cordial relations between our country and French Indo-China had gradually been established and Japan's peaceful advancement toward the South was about to commence. But, as

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the military and economic co-operation of Great Britain, the United States and the Netherlands East-Indies became strengthened, Japan's economic negotiations with the Netherland East-Indies fell through, a situation pregnant with grave menaces to the position of Japan in the southern Pacific. Japan, thereupon, entered into an agreement with the Vichy Government for the joint defence of French Indo-China and in accordance with this agreement our reinforcements were despatched to southern French Indo-China in the latter part of July. But Great Britain, the United States and the Netherlands East-Indies, viewed these legitimate measures of self-defence with suspicion and misgivings. They froze our assets in their countries, and, by resorting to virtually complete embargoes, enforced an economic blockade, and at the same time, rapidly augmented their military measures against our country. It hardly requires an explanation that economic blockade resorted to as between non-belligerent countries constitutes a measure little less hostile in character than an armed warfare. Such an act not only impedes the settlement of the China affair <sup>which</sup> Japan intends to bring about, but it gravely affects the existence of our Empire, and as such

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we

we can by no means acquiesce in it.

Notwithstanding this, Japan, earnestly desiring peace as she always does, has consistently maintained her patience and perseverance and has exerted her utmost efforts for a peaceful solution of the situation by tiding over the crisis through diplomatic negotiations. Our purpose has not as yet been realized, and the Empire has come to face a serious situation where she must literally decide her course for generations to come. Nevertheless, the Government, in a peace-loving spirit which has inspired the nation since the foundation of the Empire, are even now devoting their utmost efforts to a diplomatic settlement in order to safeguard the existence and prestige of the Empire and establish a new order in East Asia. The Japanese Government expect that:

1. The third Powers will refrain from obstructing a successful conclusion of the China affair which Japan has in view;
2. The countries surrounding our Empire will not only refrain from presenting a direct military

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menace to our Empire, but nullify such measures of hostile character as economic blockade and restore normal economic relations with Japan; and

- 3. Utmost efforts will be exerted to prevent the extension of the European war and the spread of the disturbances into East Asia.

If the above-mentioned triple purpose is realized by diplomatic negotiations, it will, I believe, be a matter for gratification not only for the sake of Japan alone but for the cause of peace in East Asia and the world at large. In view of past experiences, however, the prospect of the negotiations still remains uncertain.

The Government, therefore, anticipating obstacles lying in their path, are determined firmly to assure the existence of our Empire by perfecting all kinds of preparations leaving no stone unturned for the purpose of vigorously executing the fixed national policy of our country.

As our Empire now stands at a crossroad of national destiny unparalleled in her history of more than two thousand six hundred years, the Government are fully

resolved

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resolved to fulfill with all their power their responsibilities of assisting the Throne.

Whatever may be the development of the situation, the perfection of a state structure for high degree national defence is a matter of most urgent importance. For the purpose it is essential to enhance the national morale to a higher pitch and to increase the industrial and economic efficiency to a maximum degree.

Although the Government are simultaneously taking all possible measures to assure the livelihood of the people, a further curtailment will be unavoidable. I sincerely hope that the entire nation, with a firm belief that our Empire must now make a great forward stride and may well expect an-unlimited development of national fortune, will share together the present hardships, and go forward as one man in assisting to accomplish the sacred work of His Majesty. The Government are prepared, with regard to the political and economic administration, to undertake renovations and perfections of various kinds, but in their execution they intend not to follow ideals merely but to take measures in conformity with the actual situation so that the organic efficiency of various

technical

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technical systems may be given a full play.

I am firmly convinced that the entire nation, understanding the intentions of the Government, will extend their whole-hearted co-operation.

The budget which has been submitted consists principally of the expenditures required in meeting the present critical situation, and the proposed bills have been limited specially to those which are now urgently required.

I desire that you will understand the intentions of the Government, carefully deliberate upon them, and give your approval. In conclusion, the Government wish to tender the expression of their deep appreciation for the constant co-operation extended to our Empire by Manchoukuo and the National Government of the Republic of China. The Government also wish to express their sincere felicitations on the accomplishments of the friendly Powers, especially of Germany and Italy. They hope that these Powers will achieve success together with our Empire in establishing the new world order based on justice.

In coping with the grave situation prevailing at

present

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present, I feel greatly honoured to assist the Imperial Rule together with you, gentlemen, and feel deeply the great responsibilities. I believe that the difficulties can be surmounted and the present crisis solved only when the entire nation do their part for the cause of public service in their respective occupations and when the total strength of the nation is concentrated for the purpose. I earnestly request that you will give further support and co-operation to the Government.

Lastly, I wish to render my sincere respects to the spirits of those who gave their lives for the defence of the Empire, and to express my profound appreciation to all my fellow countrymen on the front-line and the home-front for their strenuous endeavours.

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ADDRESS BY THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
MR. SHIGENORI TOGO, DELIVERED AT THE  
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE DIET

November 17, 1941.

With the heavy responsibilities for the conduct of foreign affairs having unexpectedly devolved upon me, it is a great pleasure for me to avail myself of this opportunity today of speaking on the foreign policy of the Imperial Government.

Japan, engaged for the past four years in military operations for the construction of a new order in East Asia, is now marching forward to surmount current difficulties with the unity of the entire nation. First of all, I wish good fortune and success to the officers and men of our gallant fighting services who are distinguishing themselves on the front under the August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty, paying, at the same time, my humble and sincere tribute to the honoured spirits of many who have fallen.

It needs no reiteration that the fundamental principle of Japan's foreign policy aims at the establishment of peace in East Asia based on justice, thereby contributing toward the promotion of general welfare of mankind. It is

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nothing other than the fruit of the constant efforts exerted in espousal of this great principle that our country has witnessed an unceasing development of her national fortune since the Meiji Restoration. It may be recalled that in the past seventy and odd years Japan has, on more than one occasion, successfully overcome national crises. Especially noteworthy is the Russo-Japanese War, in which Japan staked her national existence in order to eliminate an obstacle to the peace of East Asia. She has since been advancing her position as the stabilizing force in East Asia, and is now endeavouring with unflinching courage to accomplish the great task of inaugurating a new order in East Asia on the basis of justice for contributing toward the peace of the world.

Fortunately Germany and Italy having similar views with Japan, the Three Power Pact was brought into being. In a little more than a year of its existence, as is well known, the Pact has made, as intended, a great contribution toward the construction of a new order in East Asia and Europe, as well as toward the prevention of the spread of the war.

The Empire of Manchoukuo has become increasingly strong in her foundation since her establishment. No less

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than thirteen countries have already recognized Manchoukuo, and her international status, together with her national prosperity, is being steadily enhanced. In China, Japan is conducting military operations to subjugate the Chungking regime. The basic policy of Japan toward the China Affair consists in establishing co-operation between Japan and China, thereby securing the stability of East Asia and the advancement of common prosperity in this region. The Basic Treaty regulating the new relations between Japan and China was concluded some time ago between the Japanese Government and the National Government of China. It is the determination of the Imperial Government to extend their co-operation toward further strengthening of the National Government of China.

Along with the successful conclusion of the China Affair, Japan takes a great interest in the region of the North and also in the South Seas. Following the outbreak of the European War, Japan has exerted every effort to prevent the conflict from spreading to the East from the standpoint of maintaining the peace of East Asia in general. The Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact concluded in April of this year is also intended to secure the safety in the North in conformity with the said policy. Although hosti-

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ties subsequently broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, our Government have steadfastly maintained this policy of preserving security in the North. It is, in a word, Japan's determination to prevent by all means not only the causation of factors likely to disturb peace in the North, but also the development of such a situation as will menace the rights and interests of Japan.

As regards the South Seas region, the Imperial Government successfully mediated in the settlement of the border dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China, and also established close political and economic relations with French Indo-China. They further concluded with France the Protocol for the joint defence of French Indo-China to meet the international situation confronting the latter when it began to threaten seriously the security of French Indo-China, and consequently the tranquillity of East Asia and the security of Japan. They have dispatched Mr. Yoshizawa as a special Ambassador to French Indo-China to draw still closer the bonds of friendship between Japan and that country. They have also strengthened the economic relations with Thailand and are endeavouring to promote co-operation between the two countries by exchanging

Ambassadors

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Ambassadors.

It is extremely deplorable, however, that malicious propaganda should be let loose by some third Powers, representing Japan as harbouring aggressive designs toward those regions. I have not the slightest doubt that the peoples of East Asia, understanding the real intentions of Japan, will co-operate with our country for the establishment of a new order in East Asia.

Japan is thus concentrating her sincere and utmost efforts on the successful termination of the China Affair and the initiation of a new order in East Asia. But when our troops entered the southern part of French Indo-China this summer in accordance with the Protocol for the joint defence referred to above, Great Britain and the United States chose to regard it as a menace to their territories and froze Japan's assets in their countries which constitutes a measure tantamount to rupturing economic relations. The British dominions and colonies have all followed suit, and the Netherlands East-Indies, too, joined in similar steps. Great Britain and the United States have even gone the length of establishing encircling positions against Japan by inducing Australia, the Netherlands East-Indies and the Chungking regime to join in.

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The international situation confronting Japan has thus become increasingly tense day after day, and the pressure of the kind above referred to from Great Britain and the United States toward our country constitutes a really serious question, affecting, as it deeply does, the very existence of our Empire. In this connection, I should like to call attention of everyone here and abroad to the fact that, despite such developments, the Imperial Government, prompted by the high motive to preserve peace in the world, particularly in the Pacific and also to avert the worst eventuality, have hitherto exerted their utmost efforts in order to overcome the difficult situation.

Since the outbreak of the China Affair, the Japanese-American relations have progressively deteriorated so that, if they were left to drift without a timely check, there was no knowing whether the situation would not ultimately end in a catastrophe. Should such an eventuality occur, it would entail great suffering not only on the countries in the Pacific basin but on the entire mankind as well.

Solicitous for peace as ever, the Japanese Government have, since April last, carried on conversations with the Government of the United States with a view to bringing about

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about a fundamental adjustment of the Japanese-American relations. The former Cabinet endeavoured earnestly to reach a successful conclusion of the negotiations, in view particularly of the tension in the situation which had been accentuated since the summer of this year, but an agreement of views was not reached between the two countries.

The present Cabinet, in order to avert the international crisis and preserve the peace of the Pacific, decided also to continue the negotiations which are still in progress. I regret to say that I have not the liberty of revealing at this juncture the details of the negotiations. But I think an amicable conclusion is by no means impossible if the Government of the United States are, on the one hand, genuinely solicitous for world peace as are the Imperial Government and, on the other, understand Japan's natural requirements and her position in East Asia and consider the situation as it exists there in the light of realities. Moreover, the views of the two countries have generally been made clear through the conversations which have now lasted more than six months, and consequently I believe it must be evident to the United States Government that, viewed even from the technical angle, there is no necessity

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of spending much time on the negotiations hereafter.

Such being the circumstances, the Japanese Government are bending their best efforts to the successful conclusion of the negotiations, but there is naturally a limit to our conciliatory attitude. Should an occasion arise such as might menace the very existence of the Empire or compromise the prestige of Japan as a great Power, it goes without saying that Japan must face it with a firm and resolute attitude. For my part, I am taking charge of the negotiations with a firm resolve regarding this point.

Japan is now confronted with an unprecedentedly difficult situation and it is necessary that the entire nation should unite and join forces to overcome it. National defence and diplomacy are inseparable while internal politics and external policy are counterpart of each other. At no time is the need for the mobilization of the nation's total strength, with the Government and the people uniting, felt more acutely than at the present juncture.

In concluding the frank statement of my views and opinions, I earnestly hope that hundred millions of my fellow countrymen will extend their full support and cooperation.

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昭和十六年十一月二十一日

東條首相、東郷外相議會演説の反響

秘

外務省調査部第五課

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反響概観

伊太利

△獨、伊、米、英、支、蘭、

米 國

△シヨルナルレ・デイタリア (一一・一八社説「日本の立場」)

英 國

△華府ポスト (一一・一八)

英 國

△紐育ヘラルド・トリビューン (〃)

英 國

△ロンドン・タイムス (一一・一八)

英 國

△マンチェスター・ガーディアン (〃)

英 國

△デイリー・スケッチ (〃)

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反響概観

△獨逸―ベルリン十八日發同盟電によれば、東條首相及東郷外相の演説は十七日D N B通信として各紙に配送されたか、獨當局は右を以てドイツ國民に對する宣傳用としては不適當と認め、演説内容はやたら掲載されず、唯議會の開會か簡單に報道された丈たと傳へられてゐるか、十八日正午過ぎ、外務當局は、記者團との定例会見において、日本の政策か三國同盟を基調とする點を強調して次の如く述べたといはれる(註、その後兩相の演説要旨掲載される)「この演説にも明らかになされてゐる如く、日本外交の基調か三國同盟にあることは明かである。アングロサクソンの日本包圍政策、タイ國に對する陰謀、接蔭行爲などは、英國か米國を使嫉し共同して行つてゐるものであるか、これに對する日本の方策は、東條首相の三ヶ條の外交基本政策に盡きてゐる。東郷外相はこの條件に基き日米交渉を行つてゐるものであるか、これか今後繼續され

るか乃至は安結に至るか否かは日本の問題であり、我々は第三者として見てゐるはかはない。」  
 尙ほ同盟電は、兩相の演説かドイツ側の一部で期待してゐたほと積極的なものでなく、また日獨關係についても實質的な發言か爲されなかつた爲に好評を博してはゐない模様か如く傳へ、また消息通の意見として、支那事變の解決は英米の妨害を排除しなければ不可能であるといふことか明言されたことは從來の諸演説に比して一步前進であること、日本か三ヶ條の根本原則を固守する限り日米交渉の成立は不可能であるかと見るより外にないことか指摘されてゐる旨報しられてゐる。  
 △伊太利―ステファニーは、十七日、東郷外相演説の末段における「もしそれ米國政府か、、、、、」以下「今後の交渉に長時間を費すの要なきことは米國側にも明かであるかと信する」までを削除した以外の全文を發表し、同日の各紙は右ステファニー通信を掲

載、「日本の譲歩には限度あり」、「太平洋紛争の責任は米國にあり」、「ロンドンとワシントンに對する警告」等の見出しで、大きく取扱い、また十八日、ジョルナル・デ・イター紙は「日本の三つの要求、東條首相は日米交渉成功の可能性少しとす」、ポロ・デイタリア紙は「東條首相日本の斷乎たる態度を明かにす」、ラポロ・フアシスタ紙は「國策完遂に關し日本政府の決意不動」、トリビューン紙は、「日本決意の秋、東條首相は英米との交渉に信を置かず」等の大見出しで報道した。

尙ほ外交消息通聞では、日本の外相演説てかくも明白に對米決意か語られたことは曾つてなかつたとしてゐる旨傳へられてゐる。別項所載ガイダの論説も、ステファニーニ通信の削除した部分を引用して、その點を指摘してゐる。

△米國十七日の朝刊各紙は、鑛山労働者の罷業問題を中心題目として居り、東條首相及東郷外相の演説は幾分小さく扱はれたか、ニューヨーク・タイムス、ヘラルド・トリビューン兩紙が演説全文を掲載したほか、夕刊各紙も演説要旨を載せ、何れも東條首相の三條件及び東郷外相が「日本の協調的態度にも限度あり」と述べた點に重點を置いて報道した。右の演説に對し政府は批評を避けてゐるか、一般の印象は無論よくなく、來栖大臣の活動開始の背景としては餘りにも強硬、非妥協的と見られ、衆議院が交渉妥結に關し特別の権限を有し、右の演説より離れて別個の提案を爲さない限り、交渉妥結は望みかないと見られてゐる。十八日のニューヨーク・タイムス紙が社説稿で、東條首相の三條件を論評し、その何れも米國の國策と根本的に背馳するものであり、これか承認を米國に求める如きは全くナンセンスであると論じてゐる如き、その代表的なものである。

△英國—東郷外相の演説の入電は朝刊締切時間間に合はず、十七日朝刊では、タイムスカ略々全文を掲載したのみで、他は要諦のみを簡単に掲げ、「日本交渉に時限を附す」、「三國同盟を讚美」等の見出して刺戟的に報道し、十八日には各紙とも重要欄において報道、それぞれ論議において批評を行ったか、各紙とも好感を示さず、東條首相の三原則の聲明、東郷外相の三國同盟詠歌によつて交渉妥結は望み薄となつた、何れにせよ日本が眞實の譲歩を為さざる限り経済斷交の撤回を求むることは不可能であり、太平洋の戦争はいよいよ切迫しつつあり、と論じてゐる。

△支那—十七、八日上海各紙は、兩相演説を第一面に大きく掲載したか、各紙の論調は左の通りである。

「英字紙は何れも、兩相の議會演説によつて、日本の既定政策に變化の無いことか明白となり、日米交渉妥結の望みは全く絶え、今や戦争か否かは日本の出方如何に懸るに至つたと懸るに一致

してゐる。即ちデイリーニュース紙は、「若し首相及外相の演説にして、極東に於ける日本の侵略政策が齎した日米間の現状に對する日本政府の最後の言葉であるとすれば、日米交渉の成功は全く望みかない。尤も右交渉の決裂は直に戦争を意味するものではないか、日本か今後とも侵略政策を繼續するなら、英、米、蘭印との衝突は避け難いと論じ、上海タイムズ紙は、「兩相の演説によつて日本は樞軸關係及支那問題に付き其の既定政策に變化無きことを明白にしたか、米國の政策は、この點に就し根本的に相違して居り、米國が譲歩しない限り、日米關係の恒久的解決は不可能なるのみならず戦争を誘發するやうな事件が續發するであらう。従て來松大佐の成功の見込みは少いけれども、若し成功したなら全世界の感謝を受くることにならう。」と述べてゐる。

三、英字紙の中、抗日紙は何れも、首相及外相の演説は暗に「絶望

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的な語論を含む」とか、「既定方針には何等変更の模様無し」との大見出しで機要を報じてゐるか、十八日までの所未だ論評してゐるものはない。

三 露字紙—露聯邦紙ノワヤジーズは「東郷外相の演説に於て來社大佐の使命並に日米交渉に關し言明か為されなかつたことは物足りないか、日蘇中立條約を支持する旨の言明か為されたことは意味深いものもあり、且つ又石演説は、日本の平和的傾向を示して啓り、日本は戦争よりも寧ろ通商を選んでゐるのであるから、日米交渉は重大なる意義を有してゐる」と述べた。

△露印—夕刊各紙は十七日兩相演説を大々的に取扱ひ、特にバターイアシェ、ニュースブラッド紙は、「日本南洋に多大の關心を寄す。A B O D 陣に重大事起る」の見出してセンセーショナルに取扱つた。十八日の露字紙は、演説の内容に反駁を加へ、太平洋

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の危機を豫告する論説を掲げてゐる。(別項参照)。尙ほ土紙も同様大きく取扱つてゐるか、ブマンドンガン紙は論評を避け、他のものも單に戦争の危機増大を指摘するに止つたかクバンジャン紙のみは、A B O D 陣の強化を誇り、日本の越北の必至を強調し、併せて暗に露人と土人との團結の完全でないことをも示唆した。

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伊太利

△シヨルナル・デイタリー(一八社説「日本の立場」ガイド)  
 「日本の議會においてこのやうな演説の行はれたことは嘗てなく、また日本の外交政策に關する外務大臣の言葉かかくも論旨明快に、且つ斷乎たる警告の形をとつたことは嘗てなかつたことである。日本政府自體は、これまで日本に對する英米の威嚇、日本と英米との競争の可能性に對して自重の態度を持して來た。然るに東郷外相の演説は、彼等の重要な演説となつた。東郷外相の主張は、英米の侵略政策に對する日本の計費と方法を闡明したものであり、特に東亞に於ける日本の政策の力強い展開を斷乎高唱してゐる。」

米國

△華府ポスト紙(一八社説「兩相演説批評」)  
 「日本の首相、外相兩者の演説を讀み、此れを讀むところより判斷すれば、來栖大使の使命は極東の事態を日本か欲する通りの風に米國

も解する様にと最後の機會を米國に與へることを目的とするもの如くである。首相の演説も外相の演説も何れも日本か米國に求むる讓歩に對し代償を提供するの用意あることは寸毫も仄めかしでは居ない。否、反對に日本の自體部は米國に對し最後通牒に近いものを突き付けたとすらしつゝある。若し來栖大使か此の日本の苛酷な要求以外に何等隱微な提案を携行してゐないとすれば、同大使は時間を空費するのみであらう。米國の協調態度にも限度があることを忘れてはならぬ。日本か決裂を欲するならば米國はこれを與へる覺悟がある。」

△社説ヘラルド・トリビューン(一八社説)

東條首相、東郷外相の演説に照し、來栖大使の使命か如何なるものであるかは想像か出來よう。日本の所謂平和的提案に對して米國の與へ得る回答は唯だ一つ、即ち平和なものによりけりて、ものによつては戦争以上に米國の趣味にあらぬものかある。日本の新秩序觀と米國の世界觀とは到底一致し得ぬものかと答へるなけた。

英 國

△ロンドン・タイムス(一一・一八)「來栖大使の使命」

「來栖大使はワシントンで、若し日本が本國側の譲歩を望むならばその償ひとして日本も亦相當の譲歩をしなければならぬことを悟るてあらう。その譲歩は言葉だけのものではなく行動に依るものになければならず、更に過去十年間日本が自己の損害に於いて實施して來た政策に根本的變化を齎すものでなければならぬ。若し來栖大使が何等か日本關係の緊迫を解くべき提案を携行してゐるとするならば、問題はそれが如何なるものであるかに懸つてゐる。東條首相の所謂三項目は、來栖大使の使命に何等の光明をも投ずるものではない。日本政府が來栖大使を日本交渉打開のため派遣すると發表したとき、米國側では先づ何等か決定的な示唆が國務省に提示されるたらうと考へてゐた。しかしこの像想は日本の各新聞並に一部閣僚の好戰的言辭によつて打破された。日

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本側は、軍需を全部米國側に負はせ、米國は絶對的に日本の立場を諒解し、本國の凡ゆる政治家かその國の領事なる考慮に基づく政策となした所のものを重複して、日本の要求に歩調を合せらへきてあると主張したのである。

東條首相も亦同様の方向をとり、彼自身今次會談の目的たといつてゐる「日本關係の根本的再調整」については先づ支那並にその他の極東にある日本の隣國に對する日本の政策なり態度なりの再調整が必要たといふことを全然理解してゐない。一方東郷外相の演説も日米間の緊張を緩和する上には何等の希望をも増すものではない。同外相はその議會演説に於て相當部分を日本の見解か獨伊と同様たといふことに割き、三國同盟は東亞並に歐洲に於ける新秩序建設に甚大なる貢獻をなすものであると賞讃した。元來三國同盟は米國に向つてなされたものであり、來栖大使はこの同盟交渉に參加し、之に署名してゐる點は注目さるべく、東郷外相の演

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説中我々を元氣づけるものは日ソ中立條約に言及した所だけを、あれで兎ると外相は向は有効と見てゐる様である。」

△マンチエスター・ガーヂアン紙(一一・一八)

「東條首相及び東郷外相の演説は、周知の事實たる日本が極東嶽に入る瀬戸際に立つてゐることを公式に確認したものである。東條首相が日本外交の目的として挙げた三項目は、第一に米國は支那を放棄すべし、第二に米國は日本が支那を擧げずるはかりてなく、北に出てソ聯を襲ふか或ひは南進して新たな領土に侵入するため日本の經濟力を維持せよと要求してゐることを意味するものた。右し右か至て明かとなつたならば、日米會談は來朝大使の來着によつても依然として失敗であるたらう。東郷外相はより自由な立場で日本の侵略行爲を平和と正義に對する情勢の所爲にしてゐる外、東條首相が述べたこと以外に新しい事は何も言つてゐない。東郷外相は日本也國陣を形成したとて英米を非難してゐるか

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「弱き者地を早け繼ぐべし」の原則に對するこの例外には相當苦痛を感じてゐるらしい。また東郷外相が三國條約に關して言及した言辭は、彼が平相への奇異といふ言葉で意味する所のものを示唆してゐるか、これ程虚構に尤ちたものは又とあるまい。此等の言葉に依つて明かなやうに、現日本政府から期待し得るものは殆んどないと言へやう。

東郷外相は、日本は政策の修正を米國に約束し得るとは明らさまに言つてをらす、會談を無期限に延けて行くことは出來ないと附言してゐる。日本は反省する暇を持つてゐる。日本がしかけぬ限り戦争の勃發する恐れは全然ない。併し太平洋諸國は日本に侵込みを要はれた時何の準備もしてなかつたと言ふ辯解の餘地はない。一九四〇年に日本は出し扱けたロシアに襲ひ掛つたし、これか今の流行なのだ。」

△デイリー・メール紙(一一・一八)

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來猶大使は小さな黒靴を一つつけてワシントンに到着した。しかし若しこの靴の中に果味首相の言つた所以上の何かよい條件が入つてゐないとすれば、來猶大使は無駄骨を折つたことにならう。眞屋藏相は、日本の使節は盛東から英米勢力を驅逐するにありと云つてゐるし、果味外相も、日本の隠忍にも限度ありと云つてゐるか、こんな言葉か使節を派遣して本國と折衝させてゐる政府から出るといふことは不思議である。太平洋の平和は、ソ聯の地位がはずつと黒くならぬ限り、日本が聯合國に對する挑戦的態度をすてることによつて保障されるであらう。

△デイリー・スケッチ紙(一一・一八)

「ワシントンに於ける日米交渉の結果を待つてゐる間に餘り憂鬱な見解を述べることは危険である。日本が穩健な途を歩むことを納得させるやうな一聯の争負が最後に日本を理性に訴へさせるかも知れないと云ふことは非常に困難なことたか全然不可能なことで

はな。 閣印

△ジャワ・ボーデ(一一・一八)

「兩相の演説は、日本が連軸國を支持する一方、大東亞共榮圏の確立を計り、英米との競争は寧ろ避けたいか、石の埋念から一歩も退かないものであるを明かにした。けれども、本國の盛東よりの後退は全然考へられない。兩者間の主張には斯くの如き大きな懸隔があり、來猶大使の努力も好結果を齎すとは全く期待し得ない。かくて戦争か平和かの決定は日本の手に移つた。今や英國の決意は固く、英米、ニュージブラントも亦之を支持して居り、和蘭は盛東に於て英國と何等相互援助條約を有してゐないか、戦禍一度相互の領土に及ぶ場合には何れも之を默視し得ないことは勿論である。

△バタヴィア・ニューズプラットフォーム紙(一一・一八)

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1.5.2.0-1-2

第七十七回帝國議會に於ける内閣總理大臣演説

現下重大なる時局に際し、第七十七回帝國議會開會せられ、開院式に當りましては、優渥なる勅語を賜り、洵に恐懼感激に堪へません此の機會に於きまして政府は國策遂行に勵し、率直に所信を披瀝して、各位の御協力を願ひ、舉國一體鐵石の意志を以て、現下未曾有の國難を克服し、以て 聖慮を安んじ奉り度いと存するのてあります。

現下帝國を繞る世界の情勢を按じまするに、支那事變は御稜威の下忠誠勇武なる將兵の奮闘と、熱誠強靱なる統後の活動と相俟つて赫々たる戦果を收め、重慶政權の抗戦力は日に月に低下しつゝあります。又他方國民政府の建設は着々進捗し、今や多數の友好列國は國民政府を承認し、事變解決は最後の段階に到達して居るのであります。援蔣諸國の經濟的、軍事的策動は益々活潑となり、重慶政權の抗戦力に對する唯一最大の支柱として帝國の事變解決を妨げて居

昭和拾六年閏月拾七日

一兩相の議會演説は太平洋繁栄の度を益々強め、危機の軍大化を示唆してゐる。しかし不國は今や毅然たる態度を保持し、英國も亦其の決意を固め、A B U I 戦線は頗る強化されたから、日本は之に對し猪突猛進しないであらうと考へるのは當らない。吾人は總ゆる事態に備へなければならぬ。

「東京毎日」の演説よりして、我々の執つた経済制裁か如何に有效なつたかを窺ふことか出来やう。日本にして窮境切抜けの爲の戦争行爲に出てんか、夫は自殺行爲を意味する。」

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る次第であります。

更に北方に於ては本年六月獨ソ開戦以來、事端漸く滋からんことを思はしめ、事態の推移は帝國として無關心たるを得ざるものかあります。又、南方に於ては昨年北部佛印に皇軍の進駐となり、次で日、佛印の經濟協定、泰、佛印の紛争調停等、帝國と佛領印度支那との友好緊密關係は漸く増進し、南方に對する帝國の平和的進展は漸く其の緒に就かんとして居りましたか、英米蘭諸國の軍事的並に經濟的合作の強化に伴ひ、蘭印との經濟交渉は不調に終り、延て南太平洋に於ける帝國の地位に、重大なる脅威を及ぼさんとするの形勢となりましたので、帝國はヴィンシー政府と日、佛印共同防衛に關する取極めを爲し、之に基き七月末南部佛印に兵力を増派せらるることとなりました。然るに英米蘭諸國は此の帝國の當然なる自衛的措施を認ふるに猜疑と危惧との念を以てし、資産凍結を行ひ、事實上全面的

禁輸に依り、帝國を目標として經濟封鎖を実施すると共に、其の軍事的脅威を急速度に増加して參つたのであります。蓋し交戰關係にあらざる國家間に於ける經濟封鎖は、武力戰に比して優ることも劣らざる敵性行爲であることは言を俟たないのてあります。

斯の如き行爲は帝國の企圖する支那事變の解決を阻害するのみならず更に又帝國の存立に重大なる影響を與ふるものであります。然るにも拘らず常に平和を欲する帝國と致しましては隱忍自重、忍び難きを忍び、耐へ難きを耐へ、極力外交交渉に依りて危局を打開し、事態を平和的に解決せんことを期して參つたのであります。今尙其の目的を貫徹するに至らず、帝國か今や文字通り、帝國の百年の計を決すへき重大なる局面に立たざるへからざるに至つたのであります。政府は驛國以來の國是たる平和愛好の精神に基き、帝國の存立と權威とを擁護し、大東亞の新秩序を建設する爲、今尙外

交に懸命の努力を傾注致して居る次第でありまして、之に依り帝國の期するところは

- (一) 第三國か帝國の企圖する支那事變の完遂を妨害せざること
- (二) 帝國を圍繞する諸國家か、帝國に對する直接軍事的脅威を行はざることとは勿論、經濟封鎖の如き敵性行爲を解除し、經濟的正常關係を恢復すること

(三) 歐洲戰か擴大して禍亂の東亞に波及することを極力防止することでありまして。以上三項に亘る目的か外交交渉に依りて貫徹せらるるならば獨り帝國の爲のみならず、世界平和の爲、誠に幸であると信する次第であります。

然しなから從來の經緯に鑑み、交渉の成否は逆睹し難いものかあるのであります。

從て政府は前途に横はるあらゆる障害を豫見して、之に對する萬般の準備を整へ、斷乎として帝國既定の國策を遂行するに萬遺憾なき

を期し、依て以て帝國の存立を完うせんとする固き決意を有して居ります。帝國は實に悠久二千六百餘年の歴史の上に於て、曾て見ざりし國家隆替の岐路に立つて居るのでありますから、政府は深く思

を此に致し、全力を盡して輔弼の責を全ふ致す覺悟であります。

事態か如何様に發展致しませうとも、高度國防國家體制の完成こそは正に喫緊の重大要事であります。之か爲に益々國民志氣を緊張し

産業經濟の能率を最高度に發揮するの要切なるものかあるのであります。之と共に政府は國民生活の確保に關しては萬全の策を講ずる

ものであります。之か更に緊縮を見ることが誠に已むを得ざる所

であります。私か茲に衷心より希望致しますることは、全國民か帝

國は今や一大飛躍の秋に際會し、前途に洋々たる發展を期待し得へ

きことを確信して相共に今日の苦を分かち、國民一丸となつて、聖業

の翼贊に邁進せんこととあります。政府に於きましても政府經濟の

運営に就て各般の改革整備を行ふ覺悟でありますか、其の實施に

當りましては徒らに理想を追はず、事態に即して各専門的機能の有機的能率を最大限に發揮せしむるやう措置致す心構へてあります。私は全國民か此の政府の意の存する所を認識せられ、積極的に政府に協力せらるることを固く信じて疑はないものであります。今回提案致しました豫算案は、主として緊迫せる現下の事態に對處するに必要な経費を計上致したものであり、又、提出法律案も、特に今日緊急の要あるもののみに限定致したのであります。諸君に於かれましては政府の意のある所を諒とせられ、慎重審議の上、協賛を與へられ度いのであります。終りに臨み、政府は、滿洲帝國及中華民國國民政府が帝國に寄せられたる替らざる協力に深甚なる謝意を表し、又盟邦特に獨伊兩國の偉大なる功業に對して深厚なる慶祝の意を表すると同時に、帝國と共に正義に基く世界新秩序建設に成功せんことを祈るものであります。

本大臣は此の重大時局に處し、諸君と相携へて大政を翼賛し奉るを深く光榮とすると共に、責任の愈々重大なるを痛感致す次第であります。惟ふに難局の突破、時艱の克服は全國民か職域奉公に邁進し、國民の總力か結集せられて始めて成就し得ると信するものであります。何卒諸君に於かれましては此上とも御支援御協力を御願ひ致す次第であります。最後に、護國の英靈に敬甲の誠を捧げ、戦線銃後の奮闘努力に衷心感謝の意を表するものであります。

臨時議會に於ける東郷外務大臣演説

昭和十六年十一月十七日

不肖今回圖らずも帝國の外敵適當の重責を預ふことと相成りまして、本日茲に帝國政府の外交方針に付聊か所見を申述ふるの機会を得ましたことは私の最も欣幸とする所であります。

帝國は東亞新秩序建設の爲の征戰に従軍すること既に四年を閲し、舉國一致時艱の克服に邁進しつづつあるに於てあります。私は先づ御稜威の下に前線に奮闘する我陸海軍將兵の武運長久を祈願すると共に幾多の尊き英靈に對し敬弔の意を表するものであります。

帝國の對外國策の基本方針が東亞の天地に正義に立脚する平和を確立し以て世界人類の福祉増進に寄與せんとするに存することは、更めて多言を要せぬ所でありませぬ。帝國が明治維新以來遠々乎として國運の伸張を成し遂げましたのも、實に此の大義に立脚せる不斷の努力の賜に外なりませぬ。顧みまするに過去七十余年間帝國は幾度

昭和拾六年十一月十七日

か國難を打開してまゐりました。就中日露の戦役は東亞の平和に對する障害を排除せんとする舉國決死の大事業であり、爾來帝國は東亞に於ける安定勢力としての歩武を進めて來たのであります。か、今や東亞の天地に、正義に基く新秩序を確立し、以て世界平和に貢獻せんとするの大業に邁進しつづつあるのであります。

幸にして獨伊兩國は、帝國と其の意圖を同うし、遂に三國條約の成立を見たのであります。同條約が過去一ヶ年餘の期間に於ても、既に其の使命たる東亞及歐洲の新秩序の建設及戰爭の擴大防止に對し大なる貢獻を爲し來りましたことは御承知の通りであります。

滿洲帝國は建國以來國體愈々固きを加へ同國を承認致しました國は既に十三ヶ國の多きに達し、其の國際的地位も日を遡うて向上し、國運隆盛に赴きつつあります。支那に於きましては帝國は意圖政權屈

版の爲武力戦を取行しつゝあるのてありまするか、帝國と中華民國との提携に依り東亞の安定を確保し以て共榮の實を擧げんとするは支那事變に處する帝國の根本方針であります。帝國と國民政府との間には舊に日華間の新關係を律する基本條約の成立を見たのでありまするか、帝國政府は此の上とも同政府の強化に協力する決心であります。

支那事變の處理と共に帝國の重大關心事は、北方及南洋方面に存するのてあります。茲に歐洲戦争勃發致しまするや、帝國は東亞全局の平和維持の見地より禍亂の東方に波及し來ることを防止する爲凡有る努力を爲し來つたのでありまするか、本年四月締結せられました日蘇中立條約も亦右の方針より出て、北方の安全を確保せんとするものてあります。其後獨逸と蘇聯邦との間に戰禍の發生を見るに至りましたけれども、政府は依然北方の安全を確保せむとするの態度を堅持し來れるものでありますして、畢竟我方に於ては北方に於て平和の擔

亂せらるるか如き素因解成せられ、又は帝國の權益が脅威せらるるか如き事態の發生することに對しては、即返之を防止せんとするものてあります

南方に關しましては、帝國政府は茲に泰、佛印國境紛争の調停をなし、又佛印との間に政治的、經濟的緊密關係を設定し、次て佛印を繞る國際情勢が佛印の安全を慮て東亞の靜謐、帝國の安全に重大なる脅威を及ぼさんとするの形勢となりまするや、之に對處せんか爲日、佛印共同防衛に關する議定書を締結し、更に芳澤大使を同地に派遣致しまして緊密關係の増進に努め、又泰國との間にも經濟的關係を緊密にすると共に大使を交換して兩國提携を益々堅くして居るのであります。然るに第三國側より尙も帝國か此等方面に侵略的意圖を有するか如き惡意の宣傳が行はるるは、是に心外とする所てありますして、私は東亞に位する諸國諸民族が能く帝國の眞意を了得し、新秩序建設の爲帝國と協力するに至ることを確信して疑はざるものであります。



以上の如く帝國は一意支那事變處理と東亞に於ける新秩序の確立に眞摯なる努力を傾注して居るのであります。茲に述べました共同防衛に關する議定書に基き本年夏我軍が南部佛印に進駐致しまするや、英米兩國は右を以て自國領域に對する脅威となし、兩國に於ける我資産を凍結し以て事實上經濟斷交に等しき措置に出で、英國各自治領植民地悉く之に倣ひ、爾印亦之に和したのであります。英か、英米は更に濠洲、爾印、重慶を誘つて、對日包圍の體勢をも取るに至りました。

斯くの如くにして、帝國を繞る國際情勢は日一日と緊迫の度を加へ來つたのであります。英米の我方に對する此の種壓迫は事重大でありまして、帝國の生存にも甚大なる影響ある次第であります。茲に各方面の注意を願ひたいのは斯る情勢なるにも拘らず從來帝國政府が太平洋、惹ては世界全局に於ける平和を維持し、最悪の事態を回避せんとの崇高なる動機より局面の打開の爲最善の努力を傾注し來れることとあります。抑々支那事變勃發以來日米關係は悪化の一路を辿り遂次其勢を加

へ來り、之を放置致して置きますならば勢の趨く所最悪の事態に立至ることなきを保し難き情勢と相成りました。若し斯の如き事態ともならずは太平洋を圍る諸國に對してのみならず、全世界人類に大なる慘禍を及ぼすものであります。誠に寒心に堪へぬ所てあります。仍て平和を念とする帝國は此處に思を致しまして、本年四月以來米國政府との間に日米問題の根本的調整に關する話合を行ひ來つたのであります。前内閣に於ては今夏後に於ける情勢の逼迫にも顧み、銳意日米交渉の成立に努力致しましたにも拘はらず、彼我意見の一致を見るに至らなかつたのであります。

現内閣に於きましても國際危局を救済し太平洋の平和を維持せむか爲、右日米會談を繼續するに決定し爾來交渉中でありませぬ。其の内容に就ては遺憾乍ら今茲に詳細申上ぐる自由を有しませぬか、若し夫れ米國政府か、帝國政府と同様、眞に世界の平和を顧念するとともに帝國の自然的要求と東亞に於ける帝國の地位とを了解し、且

又東亞に於ける事態に付現實に即する考慮を加へまするに於ては、本件交渉の妥結も決して不可能ではないと考へる次第であります。而も彼我の見解は過去半歳餘に亘る話合に依り概ね明白となつて居りますので、技術的方面より見まするも今後の交渉に長時間を費すの要なきことは米國側にも明らかであると信するのであります。事態斯くの如くでありまして、帝國政府に於ては本交渉の成立に向つて最善の努力を傾注して居る次第でありますか、我方の協調的態度にも自ら限度があり、事苟も帝國の生存を脅かし又は大國としての權威を毀損することとなるか如き場合には、飽迄毅然たる態度を以て之を排除せねばならぬことは勿論であります。私と致しましては此點に付きましては、十分の決意を以て交渉に臨んで居る次第であります。

今や帝國は未曾有の難局に遭遇し、一致團結之か打開に邁進するの要ある次第であります。元來軍事と外交とは一體であり、内政と

外交亦表裏の關係にあるのでありまするか、官民一致國家の總力を擧げて事に當るの要あるを痛感すること、今日程切實なるものはないのであります。

以上率直に本大臣の所見を披瀝致しまして、茲に一億同胞の支援と協力とを切に冀望するものであります。

分類 / 5. 2. 6. 1-2)

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昭和十六年十二月十六日  
臨時議會ニ於ケル外務大臣演說

長クモ本月八日米英兩國ニ對スル宣戰ノ大詔渙發セラレマスル  
ヤ皇軍ハ忽チニシテ太平洋ヲ制壓シ國威ハ宇内ニ輝キ馳進將ニ劃  
期的發展ノ緒ニ就キ<sup>3/13</sup>秋ニ當リ茲ニ諸君ト相見エ所見ヲ開陳  
スルハ私ノ最モ光榮且欣幸トスル所デアリマス

日米交渉ヲ打切ルノ止ムヲ待サリシ事情ハ曩ニ詳細公表致シマ  
シタ通リデアリマスルカ今次大戦ノ由テ來ル所ハ米英兩國政府カ  
帝國ニ對シ重慶政權援助ニ依ル對日壓迫ニ慊ラス進シテ經濟斷交  
ヲ行フト共ニ八ヶ月ニ渉ル我方ノ公正ナル主張ニ耳ヲ籍スコトナ  
ク却テ南方ニ包圍陣ヲ強化シ帝國ニ對シ挑戰的態度ヲ執リ來ツタ

S 1.5.2.0 - 3 1391 596

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コトニ存スルノデアリマス更ニ其ノ根源ヲ究明スレハ米英兩國政  
府カ專ラ自國ノ利益本位ノ現狀維持ヲ計リ萬邦共榮ノ要義ヲ排除  
シテ其ノ搾取的支配ヲ押通シ全世界ヲ其ノ制覇ノ下ニ屈從セシメ  
ントシタルコトニ原因スルモノデアリマス而モ驕慢ナル米英兩國  
政府ハ帝國ノ實力ヲ輕侮シ軍事の經濟的威嚇ヲ以テ容易ニ帝國ヲ  
屈服シ得ヘント臆斷シ交渉ヲ遷延センメツツ包圍ノ態勢ヲ強化シ  
來ツタノデアリマス

若シ夫レ米英兩國ノ斯ル態度ヲ容認スルカ如キコトアリトセバ  
帝國ハ支那事變四ヶ年餘ニ亘ル建設的成果ヲ犠牲トスルニ止マ  
ラス帝國ノ生存ヲ脅威シ種威ヲ失墜センムルコトトナルノデアリ

S 1.5.2.0 - 3 1392 597

マヌルノテ帝國政府ハ本交渉打切ヲ米國政府ニ通告シ帝國ノ自存  
 ノ爲又東亞ノ安定ノ爲已ムヲ得ズ米英兩國ヲ敵トシテ立上ルニ至  
 ツタノテアリマス  
 然ルニ米國政府ハ帝國カ無警告ニ突如戰爭ヲ開始セリト宣傳シ  
 テ居ル趣テアリマスルカ先ツ決戰態勢ヲ執リ挑發シ來ツタモノハ  
 米國政府自體テアリマス帝國ノ平和維持ニ歸スル熱望ヲ裏切り戰  
 ヲ我ニ強制シタルモノハ實ニ米英兩國政府テアリマス私ハ前議會  
 ニ於テ帝國ノ協調的ノ態度ニモ自ラ限度アルコトヲ明確ニシテ置  
 イタノテアリマシテ此ノ點ハ米國政府ニ於テモ充分承知シテ居ツ  
 タ筈テアリマス又米國政府ハ帝國ノ容認シ得ル限度カ如何ナルモ

ノナリヤニ付テモ長日月ノ交渉ニ依リ篤ト承知シテ居ツタ筈テア  
 リマス夫レニモ拘ラス米國政府カ此ノ限度ヲ越エタル要求ヲ我ニ  
 強要スルコトカ如何ナル結果ヲ招來スルヤハ米國政府ニ於テ當然  
 豫測シ得タル所ナリテアリマス若シ夫レ帝國ノ協調的態度ニモ限度ア  
 リトノ聲明ヲ既引又ハ恫喝ナリト考ヘテ居ツタトスレハ米國政府  
 モ迂闊テアツタト云フノ外アリマセン  
 目下米英兩國國民ハ自己ノ非ヲ蔽ハントスル政府ノ宣傳ニ耳ヲ奪  
 ハレテ居ル模様テアリマスカ段々其ノ氣持カ落着クニ從ヒ冷靜ニ  
 戰爭ノ發生原因ヲ考察シ日米交渉ヲ正シク批判シ「ルーズヴェル  
 ト」「チャーチル」外交ヲ再吟味シ此ノ戰爭ノ眞ノ原因カ那邊ニ

存スルヤ即チ米英現政府カ總テ其ノ責任ヲ擔スハキモノナルコ  
トキ得ルヘント考フルモノテアリマス

今次ノ對米英戰爭ハ要スルニ國際體制ニ於ケル舊秩序維持ト新  
秩序建設ノ兩爭戰クルノ本質ヲ有スルノテアリマス米英兩國政府  
ハ舊秩序維持ノ爲ノ手段トシテ從來全世界ニ亘リ自己ニノミ財都  
合ナル原則ヲ固守シテ悉ツタモノテアリマシテ今次交渉ニ於テモ  
米國政府ハ英國政府ト苟合シ利己の原則ノ主張ヲ一步モ譲ルコト  
ナク支那兵ノ他諸國ヲ隸屬視スル傳統の態度ヲ更メナカツタモ  
ノテアリマス從テ今次ノ戰爭ハ大東亞解放ノ性格ヲ有スルモノ  
テアリマス此ノ點ハ我國民ノミナラス東亞ノ諸國カ篤ト了解スハ

キ所テアリマス從テ帝國カ一度奮起スルヤ東亞ノ諸國ハ帝國ノ平  
和理念及今次大戰ノ由來ヲ了解スルトトモニ東亞ノ大勢ヲ明察シ  
テ翕然トシテ帝國ニ協力シテ參

即チ滿洲國ハ逸早ク帝國ト全面的ニ協力スルノ態度ニ出ツルコ  
トヲ闡明シ又中華民國國民政府モ帝國ニ對シ完全ナル協力ヲ聲明  
セル次第テアリマス今ヤ過去白年ノ久シキニ亘ツテ東亞ヲ植民的  
搾取ノ對象トナシ來ツタ米英ノ勢力ハ支那ヨリ驅逐セラレントシ  
ツツアルノテアリマシテ開戦後忽チニシテ米英ノ支那ニ於ケル搾  
取政策ノ據點タリシ租界其ノ他ニ於ケル政治的勢力カ排除セラレ  
ルニ至リマシタコトハ三十年前ノ中華民國國民革命ノ第一ノ宿願

カ今日始メテ達成セラレタモイデアリ其ノ意義極メテ重大ト申サ  
ネハナラヌノデアリマス

更ニ「タイ」國トノ關係ニ於キマシテハ同國政府ハ克ク帝國ノ  
意圖ヲ諒解シマシテ其ノ決斷ニ依リ帝國軍隊ノ「タイ」國通過ニ  
關シ了解ノ成立ヲ見爾來帝國軍隊ハ平和裡ニ同國ヲ通過シツツア  
リマス而モ今回更ニ攻守同盟締結方ニ關シ坪上大使ト「ビフィン」  
首相トノ間ニ意見ノ合致ヲ見マシタルコトハ獨リハ「タイ」兩國  
ノ爲ノミナラス東亞ノ興隆ノ喜ハシキ限リデアリマス尙佛  
領印度支那ニ於テモ佛國側カ帝國ノ立場ニ充分ナル理解ヲ示シ帝  
國ト佛印トノ協力ヲ一層強化スルノ態度ニ出テ共同防衛ノ實施ニ

付凡有ル便宜ヲ供與シテ居ルノデアリマス如斯ニシテ赫々タル戰  
果ト相俟ツテ友邦トノ平和的提携ニ依リ包圍陣突破ノ態勢カ急速  
ニ擴充強化セラレタノデアリマス

從來東亞ノ諸國中ニハ帝國ノ眞意ヲ了解セス疑惑ノ眼ヲ以テ眺  
ムルモノモ存シタノデアリマスカ今回帝國カ破邪ノ劔ヲ振フヤ東  
亞ノ諸國ハ帝國ノ目標トスル所カ東亞ノ解放興隆ニ在ルコトヲ了  
解シ衷心協力スルニ至ツタノデアリマス斯クシテ東亞ハ其ノ本然  
ノ姿ニ歸リツツアルノデアリマシテ眞ニ慶賀ニ堪エサル所デアリ  
マス素ヨリ之ニ依リ東亞諸國ノ帝國ニ對スル期待ヲ増大セルコト  
ハ申ス迄モナイノデアリマシテ之ニ伴フ帝國ノ責任ハ一層重大ト

ナツタノテアリマス我國民ハ此ノ期待ニ副ハンカ爲牢固タル覺悟ヲ以テ最善ノ努力ヲ致スヘキデアリマス  
 更ニ進テ獨伊兩國トノ關係ニ付テハ御承知ノ通り帝國ノ對米英宣戰ニ引續キ去ル十一日獨伊兩國ハ米國ニ對シ宣戰スルト共ニ伯林ニ於テ日獨伊三國間ニ新タナル協定カ成立致シマシタ即チ之ニ依リ日獨伊三國邦ハ米英兩國ヲ共同ノ敵トシテ勝利ニ終ル迄干戈ヲ收メサル確乎不動ノ決意ヲ闡明シ單獨不講和ヲ約シ且三國同盟條約ノ意義ニ於ケル新秩序建設ニ對スル協力ヲ誓ツタモノデアリマスルカスノ如キ戰爭ノ共同遂行ト共ニ世界究極ノ平和ヲ目標トスル條約カ三國間ニ締結セラレ東西ニ位スル日獨伊三國カ更ニ國

結ヲ固メマシタコトハ誠ニ史上ノ壯觀テアツテ三國ノ協力ハ必スヤ之カ結實ヲ見ルヘキコト毫無疑ノ餘地カナインデアリマス尙歐  
 洲ニ於キマシテハ獨伊兩國ノ外洪牙利・羅馬尼・芬蘭ハ曩ニ英國ト交戰状態ニ入ツタノデアリマスルカ今次獨伊ノ對米宣戰後直チニ羅馬尼ハ對米參戰ヲ宣シ洪牙利ハ米國ノ敵交ヲ斷絶致シマシ  
 斯ノ如ク歐洲ノ諸盟邦カ帝國ニ呼應シテ共通ノ敵ニ向ツテ立上  
 リツツアルコトハ眞ニ快心ニ堪エサル所デアリマス今ヤ世界ハ前  
 古ニ比類ナキ大轉換期ニ際會ンテ居ルノデアリマスルカ帝國ハ益々獨伊始メ盟邦諸國トノ提携ヲ緊密ニシ此ノ正義ノ爲ノ戰爭ヲ完  
 全ナル勝利ニ至ル迄遂行スルト共ニ米英兩國ノ現狀維持ヲ基礎ト

スル獨善の平和理念ヲ排撃シ公正ナル新秩序ヲ建設シ邁進シ恒久繁榮  
 的世界平和ノ確立ニ貢獻セントスルモノテテリ安和ノ確立ニ貢獻  
 最后ニ蘇聯邦トノ關係ニ付テハ前議會ニ於テモ明分致意置キ  
 マシタ通帝國政府ハ北方ノ安全ヲ確保セントスル態度ニ何等ノ變  
 更ナキモノテアリマヌルカ蘇聯政府ニ於テモ日蘇中立條約ヲ遵守  
 スルノ意向ハ屢々之ヲ表明致シテ居ル次第テアリマヌルカ  
 凡ソ一國カ四圍ノ不當ナル障害ニ依テ平和裡ニ自然的發展ヲ爲  
 スラ阻止セラレルル場合ニハ其ノ障害ヲ排除スル爲干戈ヲ執ルル已  
 ムヲ得サルニ至ルコトアルハ世界史上幾多ノ事例ヲ存シ我カ明治  
 ノ發展期ニ於テハ日清日露兩戰役ニ於テモ此ノ實例ヲ見カ次第テ

アリマス。而シテ今次大東亞戰爭ハ帝國ノ隆替ノミナラス東亞ノ興  
 亡世界ノ運命ノ岐ルル所テアリマシテ其ノ意義重大ナルハ日清、  
 日露兩役ニ幾倍スルモノテアリマシ。且今今次戰爭ハ  
 スノテ内ニ在リテハ一億一心鐵ノ如キ結束ノ下ニ如何ナル困苦缺  
 乏ニモ堪ユルノ決意ヲ固メ外ハ帝國ト志向ヲ同ウスル友邦各國ト  
 ノ一層緊密ナル聯繫ニカラ致シ戰爭目的ノ貫徹ニ完璧ヲ期スルノ  
 要アルヲ痛感スルモノテアリマヌカ帝國ニシテ石ノ覺悟ヲ持シ必  
 勝ノ信念ヲ以テ邁進スル。場合を以テ終局的勝利ヲ博スヘキコトヲ信  
 シテ疑ハサルモノテアリマス。



To be released at            p.m.

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外相演説

ADDRESS BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. SHIGENORI TOGO,  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE 78TH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF  
THE DIET ON DECEMBER 16, 1941

When, upon the issuance of the Imperial Rescript declaring war upon the United States and the British Empire on the 8th of this month, the Imperial forces have speedily secured the mastery of the Pacific, with our national prestige being enhanced throughout the world and our national fortune just starting on an epochal development, I feel greatly honoured and gratified to have this opportunity of stating to you, gentlemen, my views and opinions.

The circumstances under which our Government had to discontinue the Japanese-American negotiations have already been published in detail. The cause of the present war lies in the fact that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, not being content with bringing pressure to bear upon Japan through their aid to the Chungking regime, ruptured economic relations with us and, moreover, assumed a hostile attitude toward our country by strengthening their encircling front in the South, utterly disregarding Japan's just claims for eight long months. Tracing the basic origin of the war, we find that the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, bent solely on the maintenance

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of the status quo advantageous to themselves, attempted to subjugate the entire world and under their hegemony by opposing the essential principle of common prosperity of all nations and insisting on the perpetuation of their domination by exploitation. Holding in contempt the real strength of our Empire, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain arrogantly took it for granted that they could easily compel Japan to submission with military and economic intimidations, while prolonging the negotiations and strengthening their encircling positions against us. If we had acquiesced in such an attitude of the two Governments, it would have resulted for Japan not only in the abandonment of the fruits of constructive effort spent in connection with the China Affair ranging over four years but in the menace to the very existence and the loss of the prestige of our Empire. Our Government, therefore, were compelled to notify the American Government of our intention to discontinue negotiations with them, and to appeal to arms against the United States and the British Empire to safeguard the very existence of our Empire and to insure the stability of East Asia.

The American Government are said to be propagating mischievous reports to the effect that Japan suddenly waged war without warning, but it is the American Government themselves who first provoked us

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by assuming a decisively warlike attitude. It is none other than the Governments of the United States and Great Britain who trampled upon Japan's earnest desire for the maintenance of peace and forced war upon us. At the previous session of the Imperial Diet, I stated clearly that there was a limit to Japan's conciliatory attitude. The American Government ought to have known this fully. That Government must have also been fully aware, through the protracted negotiation, what constituted the limit to which Japan could acquiesce in. They should naturally have expected what consequences would ensue if they forced demands upon us beyond that limit. If they truly misunderstood that the statement clarifying the limit of our conciliatory attitude as implying a bargaining or bluff, we must conclude that the American Government were utterly blind to the actual situation.

It now appears that the peoples of the United States and the British Empire are wholly misled by the propaganda of their Governments, who are intent upon concealing their own faults and blunders. However, as they recover gradually the tranquillity of their mind, they will, I believe, calmly study the genesis of the present war, judge correctly the merits of Japanese-American negotiations, re-examine the foreign policies of Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill, and will comprehend wherein lay the real causes of the war, or,

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in other words, they will come to the conclusion that the present Governments of the United States and Great Britain must bear all the responsibilities for the war.

The present war against the United States and the British Empire is essentially a struggle, in the field of international structure, between two contending forces, viz., those for the maintenance of an old order and those for the construction of a New Order. The Governments of the United States and Great Britain have heretofore been clinging throughout the world to the principles which are advantageous only to themselves as a means of perpetuating the old order. Indeed, in the recent negotiation, the American Government, in collusion with the British Government, refused to withdraw even an inch from their egoistic principles and did not alter their traditional attitude of regarding China and other Eastern countries as their vassals. The present war, therefore, is also endowed with a character of a war to emancipate Greater East Asia. This is the point which not only the Japanese people but the nations of the entire East Asia should fully understand. It is only too natural that as soon as Japan took up arms, the countries of East Asia, fully understanding our peaceful ideals and the circumstances attendant upon the outbreak of the present war and also perceiving the general trend of East

Asia

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Asia, have all proffered co-operation with Japan.

The Government of Manchoukuo immediately declared their attitude of full co-operation with Japan, and the National Government of the Republic of China, also, declared their full collaboration with us. The Anglo-American influences, which for hundred long years past have made East Asia the object of their colonial exploitation, are now eliminated from China. The fact that, immediately after the commencement of hostilities, the political influence in foreign settlements etc., which served as the bases of Anglo-American policy of exploitation in China, has been eradicated, means that the foremost aim of the Nationalist Revolution of China of thirty years ago has for the first time been attained, the significance of which must be said to be very far-reaching, indeed.

As regards our relations with Thailand, the Government of that country showed a full understanding of Japan's intentions and, through their courageous decision, an understanding has been reached concerning the passage of Japanese forces through Thailand, and the Imperial forces are since then peacefully passing through the territory of that country. Moreover, it is truly a matter for gratification not only for the cause of Japan and Thailand but for the rise of East Asia that an agreement of view has been reached

between

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between our Ambassador Tsubokami and Prime Minister Luang Pibula. Some program concerning the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance between the two countries. With respect to French Indo-China, France has manifested her complete understanding of our position and has been strengthening further the co-operation between Japan and French Indo-China, rendering all facilities for the execution of the joint defence. Our position for breaking through the encircling front has thus been rapidly augmented in scope and strength through our peaceful co-operation with friendly nations together with brilliant victories of the gallant Imperial forces.

Some of the East Asiatic countries have hitherto failed to understand the real intentions of Japan and looked upon us with misgivings. Seeing that Japan has girt on the sword of righteousness, the countries in East Asia have now come forward to cooperate whole-heartedly with us, realizing that our real objective is to secure emancipation and advancement for East Asia. It is a matter of sincere congratulations that East Asia is thus being restored to its natural and proper character. Needless to say, this has increased the East Asiatic countries' expectation of Japan, thereby adding greatly to the responsibility of our Empire. It is incumbent upon the Japanese nation to do their best with a firm

resolve

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resolve in order to meet their expectation.

With regard to Japan's relations with Germany and Italy, those Powers, as you are already aware, declared on December 11, war on the United States, closely following Japan's declaration of war on the United States and the British Empire. At about the same time, a new agreement was concluded in Berlin between Japan, Germany and Italy. By virtue of the new agreement, Japan, Germany and Italy, the three Allies, have manifested their firm determination not to lay down their arms until the war against the United States and the British Empire, their common enemy, is brought to a victorious conclusion, pledging to one another not to conclude a separate peace and to co-operate for the construction of the New Order as stipulated under the Tripartite Pact. That the treaty has been concluded among the three Powers, aimed at the joint prosecution of war as well as the establishment of ultimate peace in the world, bringing about a further tightening of the solidarity between Japan in the East and Germany and Italy in the West is, indeed, a spectacular event in history. There is not the slightest doubt that the co-operation among the three Powers is destined to be highly successful. In Europe, Finland, Hungary and Rumania, besides Germany and Italy, have already been at war with Great Britain. Immediately after the declaration of war by Germany and

Italy

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Italy upon the United States, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania followed suit. It is a fact of profound gratification for us that our allied nations in Europe are rising to meet our common enemy in co-operation with us. At this juncture, when the world stands at a great turning-point, unparalleled in history, we are not only prosecuting the war of justice to a complete victory, by tightening our co-operation with Germany, Italy and other Allies, but are marching toward the construction of the righteous New Order so as to contribute toward the establishment of a lasting peace in the world, eliminating the self-conceited concept of peace, of the United States and the British Empire, which is based on the maintenance of the status quo.

In reference to Japan's relations with the Soviet Union, there is no change in the Imperial Government's attitude for ensuring security in the North, as already clarified at the previous session of the Diet. On the part of the Soviet Government, they, too, have repeatedly enunciated their intentions to abide by the Neutrality Pact with Japan.

Lastly it may be recalled that in world history, there are numerous examples of a country which, its natural development by peaceful means being thwarted by unwarranted external obstacles, is compelled to take up arms to remove those obstacles. Such

instances

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instances occurred also in our war with China and with Russia during the period of our rise in the Meiji era. Upon the outcome of the present war depends the rise or fall of the Japanese Empire, and of East Asia, and also the fate of the world. Its significance is many times as great as those of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. It is, moreover, expected to be a long war. Therefore, the need is keenly felt for making a grim determination at home to bear any hardship and privation, with one hundred millions of people united as one man in iron-like solidarity and, also, for strengthening externally the alignment between Japan and our Allies and friendly nations who share in our aspirations, in order that nothing will be left undone for the attainment of the objective of the war. By marching forward with such a determination and with unshakable faith in victory, we shall, I firmly believe, ultimately attain a glorious victory.

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To be released at 9:30 p.m.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER,  
GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO,  
BEFORE THE 78TH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE DIET

December 16, 1941.

I am profoundly impressed with the Gracious Speech from the Throne granted today at the opening ceremony of the Imperial Diet. In respectful response to the Imperial Wishes, it is my intention to overcome this difficult situation, unprecedented in history, by devoting my heart and soul to the service to the State, and thereby to put His Majesty's mind at rest.

At the previous 77th session of the Diet I asked for your cooperation, by frankly laying before you the Government's convictions with regard to the execution of national policies. Since then, the Government continued their negotiations with the United States of America. As already explained on that occasion, the negotiations were conducted for preventing third Powers from interfering with the successful conclusion of the China Affair which Japan has in view, for making various Powers surrounding Japan not only to refrain from giving direct military menace to Japan but also to cancel such hostile measures as an economic blockade against Japan and restore normal economic relations with us, and also for preventing the European war from

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spreading

spreading to East Asia. Bearing the unbearable and enduring the unendurable, the Government redoubled their efforts to attain the said purpose through diplomatic negotiations. The United States, however, took Japan's patience and prudence for a sign of weakness. She not only refused to listen to Japan's just contentions but furthermore withdrew her original proposals, and in collusion with Britain she submitted her new arrogant proposal to Japan. Details of the American proposal are as already made public by the Government. Three points of the American proposal which Japan could by no means accept were as follows:

- 1) Withdrawal of all Japanese military, naval, air and police forces from China and French Indo-China.
- 2) Withholding of support---military, political, and economic---from any government or regime in China other than the Chungking regime.
- 3) Agreement that no agreement, already concluded with any third Power, shall be interpreted in such a way as to conflict with the establishment and preservation of peace throughout the Pacific area.

In other words, the United States demanded Japan to withdraw all her armed forces from China and French Indo-China; to repudiate the Nanking Government; and to renounce the Three-Power

Pact

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Pact. It became clear that the intention of the United States was to challenge Japan with a rupture of economic relations and military intimidation, and thereby to bring Japan to her knees. Had Japan accepted the American demands, not only the strenuous efforts of Japan for long years in the stabilization of Greater East Asia would have been brought to naught, but, furthermore, Japan's very existence would have been jeopardized and Japan's faith would have been lost by being compelled to break her pledge given to her allies for co-operation in restoring world peace. Such a thing could never be borne by Japan under any circumstances. When things came to such a pass, Japan, though ardent in her desire for peace, had no course left to her but to rise up with arms to safeguard her prestige and existence. This is the reason the Imperial Rescript was issued on the eighth of this month, declaring war upon the United States of America and the British Empire. I am overwhelmed with emotion and inspired by the Imperial will and vision. Once hostilities were opened at the Imperial Command, the gallant officers and men of our fighting services have speedily broken through the enemy key positions within less than ten days! The bulk of the American fleet, which had its base in Hawaii, is destroyed; the main body of the British Far Eastern fleet is crushed; the encircling front against Japan, whose strength the enemy has

exaggerated

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exaggerated and given wide publicity in an attempt to intimidate Japan, is shattered at various places. The anti-Japanese encircling front is already on the fair way to collapse. These great military achievements have become a wonder of the world, enhancing our Empire's prestige both at home and abroad. This is entirely due to the August Virtue of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, a source of my profound inspiration.

We owe the officers and men of the Army and Navy debts of heartfelt gratitude and unstinted admiration for the demonstration of their great powers. For years they have been silently going through hard training in preparation for this day. Once war starts, they go to the front, with no thought of returning alive, for the cause of the State. At the same time I feel keenly that the Government and people behind the guns are shouldering increasingly heavy responsibilities. On the outcome of this war depends the fate of the Japanese Empire. History clearly shows that the Japanese Nation, when confronted with a great national crisis, solidly unite like one man and successfully overcome all difficulties, by giving full play to their self-sacrificing spirit in the cause of their State, thereby enhancing national development. The secret of winning war lies in an abiding faith in sure victory. I am firmly convinced

that

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that the entire nation, in pursuance of Japan's national polity and recalling the glorious history of the Empire, which has never been sullied with a single defeat in war during her twenty-six centuries' existence, will endure all sorts of hardship and privation, inflamed with their adamant faith in sure victory, and will bring the present war to a glorious termination by fulfilling their duties in their respective occupations.

However, our enemies are the United States and the British Empire which boast of their extensive territories and bountiful resources by means of which they are intent on realizing their ambition of grasping the world hegemony. It is the task of Japan to settle the disturbances in Greater East Asia and to defeat these powerful opponents. We are prepared that the war will be a long one. We must, therefore, definitely bear in mind that our country will hereafter meet many a difficulty, and endeavour to extend the brilliant victories won at the beginning of the war by increased efforts for the annihilation of enemy forces, and at the same time undertake great construction of all kinds by adding various regions of the South which newly participate in the task, and thereby perfect rapidly a structure capable of withstanding such a long-term war. The war remains rather to be fought hereafter. We people should not be

intoxicated

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intoxicated with individual victories and worry about individual phenomena: we must increasingly reinvigorate the inherent spirit of Japan, and help one another guarding internally against negligence and preventing externally the infiltration of evil thought, and thus with a firm faith in our victory, exert ourselves resolutely to attain the object of the war with the thought of sacrificing ourselves for the cause of our Empire.

I wish here to express the profound appreciation to our allies, Manchoukuo and China, with which Japan's inseparable relations are evermore cordial and which have, since the opening of the war, been rendering all sorts of co-operation to our country. It is also gratifying that Japan has previously concluded the joint defence agreement with French Indo-China and has also reached an agreement of views with Thailand concerning the conclusion of an offensive-defensive alliance with that country and that these two countries are going forward together with us toward the construction of the New Order by further strengthening their co-operation.

What Japan has been obliged to take action at this time in the regions of the South is for no other purpose than to bring to an end the tyrannical policies of the United States and the

British

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British Empire and restore all regions of Greater East Asia to their original aspect as well as to undertake the task of construction on a grand scale. It is earnestly hoped that several hundred millions of people of Greater East Asia will understand the real intentions of Japan and, without needless opposition, will participate rather as our partners in the consecrated task of constructing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. It is very deplorable that the Chungking regime is at present still continuing its resistance. If it persists in offering resistance hereafter, Japan will not in the least relax her pressure upon it. As a matter of fact, however, the fountain-head of its resistance power is now on the verge of complete collapse. A settlement of the disturbance in China is, I believe, not very far.

It is a source of mutual gratification at this time that our allies, Germany and Italy, have joined the war immediately after Japan's declaration of war and have, together with Japan, pledged with an inflexible determination to take all forceful means and never to lay down arms until a victory is won against the common enemies of world peace. They have also agreed with Japan not to conclude an armistice or peace with either the United States or the British Empire without a complete mutual understanding among the three countries and to co-operate more and more closely in

future

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future for the realization of a righteous New Order, which has resulted in a further consolidation of the bond of alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy. I wish here to express the firm determination of the Japanese Empire never to sheathe the sword until the United States and the British Empire are brought to submission. I also wish to take this opportunity to express the heartfelt appreciation for the enthusiastic display of patriotic spirit of our nation since the outset of hostilities. The budget and bills submitted at this session are all confined to matters of urgent nature for the prosecution of the war. I hope that you will speedily deliberate and give your approval upon them.

S 1.5.2.0 - 3 624 1412

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昭和十八年二月三日

東條首相、谷外相議會演說反響

調査局第四課資料室

S 1.5.2.0 - 3 625 1420

極秘

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米國

△紐育二日發A.P.ハ「東京「ラジオ」ハ東條首相カ議會開會豫定日ニ風邪ヲ引イタ爲開會ヲ一週間延期スルコトニナツタト傳ヘタカ當地テハ東條ノ病氣ハ所謂政治的病氣テ其ノ實ハ彼ノ獨裁權強化案ヲ作成スル時間ノ餘裕ヲ得ル爲タラウト想像シテキル」ト述ヘタカ(同盟符情)二十八日行ハレタ東條首相ノ大演說ニツイテハ遂ニ何事モ語り得ス完全ニ沈黙センメラレタ。

寰洲

△A.B.C. (寰洲放送局廿八日)

日本首相並ニ外相ノ演說ハ英國政府筋テモ一東條首相ノ自信ニ滿チタ語調ハ「ビルマ」ニ對スル獨立ノ對與トトモニ特ニ注目ニ値スル」ト洩ラシテ居ル。太平洋ニ於テ反響輻重カ當面シテキル困難ハ日本首相ノ指摘スル迄モナク承知シテキル所テ寰洲首相カ耳

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緬甸

三ノ演説ヲ強調シテキル通リタ。

△「バ・モ」博士以下平常通り執務中緬甸建國ニ關スル東條聲明カ傳ヘラレ忽チ割レルヤウナ歎呼ノ爆發テアツタ。(譯電)

△二十八日午後二時三十三分全緬甸放送局ハ「緬甸獨立ノ日ハ近シ」ト東條聲明ヲ傳ヘ「誕生ミ」ノ歎呼ハ首都蘭貢ノ街カラ佛塔ノ慈光ニ輝ク村々ヘ飮シテ行ツタ。(毎日特電)

△「ビルマ」語各紙ハ何レモ「トツブ」全段抜キノ大見出シテ「緬甸ノ獨立本年中ニ實現セン」「緬甸ノ獨立確定ス」ナドト報シ、東條首相ノ歴史的聲明全文ヲ掲載スルト共、附説ヲ掲ケテ日本ニ感謝シ、マサニ獨立國家ノ國民タラントスル一千七百萬ノ「ビルマ」民衆ニ對シ新タナル觀點ニ立ツテ戰爭完遂ト對日協力ノ一大決意ヲ固ムヘキコトヲ要望シテキル。

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印度

△「ニューデリー」放送ハ嘗テ屢々「日本ノ聲明ハ一片ノ反古デアルト」ト毒ツイテキタカ今次東條聲明ハ斯ル「デマ」ヲ見事粉碎シタモノテ印度ニ對スル影響ハ蓋シ圖ルヘカラサルモノカアル(朝日特電)

△在盤谷印度獨立聯盟本部ハ二十九日夜「ラジオ」ヲ通シ全印民衆ニ呼ビカケ「全印民衆ハ今コソ狐疑遠巡スル事ナク日本ノ援助ヲ受ケル可キタ」ト述ヘ對英抗爭ヲ激勵シタ。(讀賣特電)

比律賓

△比島行政長官「ヴァアルガス」ハ二十九日正午「マラカニヤン」官殿ニ於テ帝國ノ公平ナル態度ニ感謝シ比島民ノ愛國心ニ訴ヘル聲明ヲ發表シタ。同時ニ各部長官會議ヲ開催、早クモ獨立ヲ目標トスル前進ヲ協議シタ(讀賣特電)

△「ヴァアルガス」長官以下ハ緬甸ニ一歩先ンシラレタ事ニ關シ深甚

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ナ反省ノ色カ見え獨立ニ向ツテ總ユル努力ヲ結集セントスル決意  
カ現ハレタ。(毎日特電)

ドイツ

△首、外兩相ノ演説ハ我カ國策ノ基調ヲ明示シタモノトシテ伯林テ  
ハ極メテ注目サレテヤル。(讀賣)

△首、外相ノ演説ハ二十八日ノ獨逸夕刊各紙第一面ニ大々的ニ掲載  
サレ獨逸國民ニ非常ニ力強イ印象ヲ與ヘタ(同盟)

△谷外相カ亞爾然丁ノミナラス土耳其、西班牙、葡萄牙等ノ歐洲諸  
國ニマテ言及シテ其ノ中立ヲ要望シタ事ハ日本カ大東亞戰爭ノミ

ナラス歐洲戰局ノ歸趨ニモ重大ナ關心ヲ有スル事ヲ示スモノテ、  
之ニ對シ歐洲諸國ハ日本カ最後ノ勝利達成マテ繼軸ト運命ヲ共ニ  
セントスル決意ヲ有スルモノトシテ感激シテヤル。(朝日特電)

4

瑞典

△「ストックホルム」ニ於テハ二十八日、夕刊紙「アレヘンダ」ハ  
首相ノ議會演説ヲ詳細ニ報道、二十九日「ダグスホルラン」紙及  
ヒ「ダゲンスニヘター」紙ハ外相演説ノ要點ヲ報シ(執レモD.N.B)特ニ「ニヘター」  
紙ハ外相カ日本ノ封鎖政策ハ變リナク日「ソ」中立條約ノ基礎ニ立脚シテヤル  
カ日本ノ態度ハ向條約ニ對スル餘地ノ態度如何ニ懸ルト述ヘタ如ク特筆シテヤル。  
又「ソシアル・デモクラテン」紙ハ伯林特電トシテ獨外務省ノ見  
解ヲ傳ヘタ。其他ニ論評ヲ摘ケタモノハナイ(公電)

茶 函

△緬甸カ獨立ヲ全ウスル事ハ南方五族共乘同古ノ運前カラ泰國ニト  
ツテモ慶祝スヘキ事デアルトシ、日本カ襲ノ監約ヲ輕重シタ事ハ  
日本ノ正義ト信義ヲ中外ニ闡明スルモノデアルトシテ泰國ノ日本  
ニ對スル信頼性ヲ更ニ倍加スルテアラウト見テヤル。(朝日特電)

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國

△兩洲國ニ於テハ目民皆シク大東亞建設ノ決意ヲ固クシ政治、軍事、經濟各部野ニ且ツテ日協力ヲ一層推進セシメントノ覺悟ヲ研ニシタ。 (續頁)

中  
國

△中國ハ日本ニ對スル切心兩面ノ協力ヲモツテ木矢打倒ト重慶復滅ニ一切ノ力ヲ集中スヘシトシテキル (朝日特電)

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