

大正  
外務省  
事務局長事務用

東條内閣總理大臣「パーモ」編制行政府長官  
會見記録

昭和十八年三月二十二日  
於 總理大臣官邸

列席者左ノ通

帝國政府側

- 外務大臣 谷正之
- 大東亞大臣 青木一男
- 内閣書記官長 星野直樹
- 編制方面軍司令官 河邊正三
- 編制方面軍政務部長 磯村武亮
- 兼 參謀副長

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編制行政府側

- 内務大臣 森田喜久
- 財務大臣 寺島謙吉
- 編制防衛 奥平昌三
- 軍司令官 オンサシ少將

東條總理大臣ヨリ編制ノ獨立ニ關スル帝國政府ノ意圖ヲ披露スヘ  
シト前置キテ別紙第一ノ通達ヘタリ

尙別紙第一、中ノ「第三、日編基本關係ニ付テ」ニ關シ東條總理  
大臣ヨリ左ノ通り附加セリ

「日編ノ關係ハ道義ニ基ク精神の連鎖ヲ主トスルモ建國ニ當リ  
テノ承認ニ關シテ兩國間ノ基本關係ヲ律スヘキ條約ノ締結ヲ

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機密



別紙第一

萬邦ヲシテ各々其ノ所ヲ得シメ兆民ヲシテ悉ク其ノ堵ニ安ンセシムルハ帝國不動ノ動是ナリ

帝國ハ此ノ動是ニ基キ緬甸民衆多年ノ宿望タル新緬甸ノ獨立ヲ認ムルモノニシテ茲ニ帝國ノ意圖ヲ披瀝スルヲ得ルハ本大臣ノ最モ欣快トスル所ナリ

第一、建國ノ精神ニ就テ

新緬甸國ノ建設ニ當リ帝國ノ最モ關心ヲ有スルハ其ノ建國ノ精神トス

新緬甸國ハ完全ナル獨立國タルヘク其ノ建國ノ精神ハ固ヨリ緬甸自體ノ決定スヘキモノナリト雖帝國ハ新緬甸國カ大東亞共榮國ノ一環タル運轉ニ蓋ク新國家ニシテ世界新秩序ノ創造ニ寄與スルモ

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豫想スル次第ナリ

尙承認ノ上ハ速ニ大使ノ交換ヲ行ヒ度シト存ス

終ニ當リ東條總理大臣ヨリ左ノ通達ヘタリ

「以上申述ヘタルコトノ中帝國ニ於テ公表スルコト以外ハ機密ニシテ特ニ宣戦ニ關スル件ト獨立ノ時期トハ絶對ニ秘匿致シ度シト存ス」

之ニ應ヘ「バーモー長官ヨリ別紙第二ノ趣旨ヲ陳述セリ

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ノタルヘキヲ確信ス

第二、國家ノ構成ニ就テ

新緬甸國ノ領域ハ茲ニ現行政府管轄區域ナリト聲明セシカモ更ニ「シヤン」一カレンニ」地區以外ノ全緬甸ヲモ包含スルモノナルヲ明言ス

國民ハ緬甸民族ヲ主體トシ領域内ノ諸民族ヲ協和的ニ抱擁スルノ趣旨ニ依リ決定センコトヲ望ム

政治機構ノ決定ニ方リテハ特ニ國政ノ運用ヲ強力簡素ナラシムルコトヲ希冀ス

第三、日緬基本關係ニ就テ

帝國ハ新緬甸國カ其ノ副重ト責任トニ於テ速ニ獨立國ノ實ヲ具フ

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ルコトヲ冀念シ全權ノ交接ヲ爲スヘシ新緬甸國亦大東亞共榮圈ノ一環トシテ政治、軍事、外交、經濟等ノ各般ニ於テ將來ニ互リ帝國ト密ニ提携協力スヘキコトヲ期待ス

第四、對米英宣戰及戰時態勢確立ニ就テ

新緬甸國ハ獨立ト同時ニ米英ニ對シ宣戰スルト共ニ速ニ戰時ニ即應スル諸般ノ態勢ヲ整備シ以テ帝國ト緊密一體戰爭宗遂ニ邁進セシコトヲ切望ス

第五、軍事ニ就テ

新緬甸國ハ作戰上ノ要請ニ鑑ミ軍事上帝國ト完全ニ協力シ帝國軍隊ノ爲一切ノ便宜ヲ供與スルト共ニ緬甸國軍ハ戰時ノ用兵作戰ニ付在緬甸帝國陸海軍最高指揮官ノ指揮ニ服セシメンコトヲ望ム

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第六、經濟ニ就テ

新編甸國ノ經濟ハ大東亞經濟建設ノ一環トシテ其ノ主權ノ下ニ於  
テ公正談判タル活動ニ依リ之カ振興ヲ期セラレ度帝國ハ之ニ所冀  
ノ援助ヲ與フルノ用意ヲ有ス  
而シテ戰爭進行上必要ナルモノニ付テハ帝國ノ政策ニ特ニ順應ス  
ルノ措置ヲ講ゼンコトヲ望ム

第七、獨立ノ準備ニ就テ

以上ノ諸點ヲ了承シ新編甸國ノ首班タルヘキ貴下ハ速ニ獨立準備  
委員會ヲ設ケ獨立ニ趨スル諸般ノ準備ヲ進メンコトヲ望ム  
而シテ獨立ノ時期ハ八月前後ト決定シ之カ準備ハ概ネ六月末迄ニ  
完了スヘキヲ希望ス

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尙細部ニ關シテハ現地軍司令官ヨリ承知セラレ度

惟フニ一國ノ編成ハ容易ノ業ニ非スト雖モ緬甸民衆一千餘萬ノ熱望  
ハ必スヤ之ヲ玉成スヘク之カ指導ノ重責ヲ双肩ニ擔フ貴下等ノ本職  
又之ニ邁タルモノナカラン  
宜シク帝國ノ意圖スル所ヲ体レ有ユル障礙ヲ克服シ以テ建國ノ偉業  
ヲ完成シ相携ヘテ戰爭完遂、大東亞ノ新秩序建設ニ邁進セラレンコ  
トヲ切望シテ止マヌ

昭和十八年三月二十二日

大日本帝國内閣總理大臣 東條 英 機 (署名)

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(譯文)

閣下

余ハ緬甸及其ノ獨立ニ付閣下カ只今述ヘラレタル御聲明ヲ深キ感謝ノ念ヲ以テ拜聴セリ、閣下カ幾ニ帝國議會ニ於テ我々ニ緬甸獨立ノ約ヲ與ヘラレテ以來全緬甸民衆ノ歡喜ト感謝ハ言フルニモノ無キ有様ナリキ、之ハ單ニ歡喜ト感謝ノ念タルニ止マラス、信頼ノ念ナリ日本ノ指導ヘ東亞ノ開放ヲ冀ストノ大ナル信頼ノ念ナリ、更ニ感謝ト信頼ニ加フルニ、緬甸民衆ヘ日本カ東亞ノ再建ノ偉業ニ當リ示シタル現實主義ニ共鳴シ居ルモノナルコトヲ附言致度シ

只今閣下ハ自ラ余ニ大ナル責任ヲ課セラレタリ、余ハ之ヲ大ナル名譽ト考フ、余ハ微力ヲ盡シテ其ノ負託ニ添ヘンコトヲ期ス、又余ハ閣下ノ聲明ヲ上述ノ感謝及信頼ノ念ヲ以テ了解スルニ全力ヲ盡スヘシ

終ニ「ビルマ」全民衆カ閣下ニ對シテ有スル厚キ尊敬ト信頼ノ念ヲ

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披瀝スルヲ誠ニ欣快トスルモノナリ、

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with courage and determination with the successful prosecution of the war as well as with the construction of the new order in Greater East Asia.

The 22nd Day of the Third Month,  
the 18th Year of Syowa.

(Signed) **Hideki Tojo**

Prime Minister of the Imperial  
Government of Nippon.

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Document No. 2.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Your Excellency:

I have heard with deep gratitude the statement on Burma and her independence which you have just made. Since the time you gave us the promise of Burmese independence in the Imperial Diet, the joy and gratitude of the entire people of Burma have been unprecedented. It is not only joy and gratitude, but also trust -- a great trust in Nippon that her leadership will bring about the salvation of East Asia. To gratitude and trust, I wish to add that the people of Burma take to their heart the realism which Nippon has shown in the great task of reconstructing East Asia.

Your Excellency has personally placed upon me heavy responsibilities. I take it as a great honour and I shall do the utmost of my ability to be worthy of it. I will also do my best to understand this statement of Burma in the light of the gratitude and trust I have just mentioned.

In conclusion, it is my great pleasure to convey to Your Excellency the warm sense of respect and trust which the entire people of Burma hold for you.

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Document No. 1.

COPY

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(Translation)

秘

To enable all nations each to find its proper place and all peoples to pursue their lives in peace is the immutable national policy of the Empire of Nippon.

On the basis of this national policy, Nippon is now prepared to enable the Burmese people to attain the independence of the new Burma which has so long been their cherished desire. It is, therefore, my very great pleasure to express to you the intentions of Nippon on this matter.

1. The Spirit of National Foundation

In connection with the establishment of the new Burma, it is her spirit of national foundation in which Nippon entertains the greatest interest. Since the new Burma is to become a fully independent state, it is needless to say that the spirit of her national foundation is a matter to be decided by Burma herself. It is the firm belief of Nippon, however, that the new Burma will be established upon the basis of ethical principles as a member of the Greater East Asian Sphere of Co-prosperity in order to contribute to the creation of a new world order.

2. The Composition of the State

It was previously announced that the territory of the new

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1. Announcing that he will convey the intentions of the Imperial Government regarding the independence of Burma, Prime Minister Tojo stated as recorded on attached document No. 1.

Regarding Item No. 3 in document No. 1 relative to "Basic Relations between Nippon and Burma," Prime Minister Tojo added as follows:

"I place important emphasis on the fact that Nippon-Burma relations are to be established principally on a spiritual link based upon ethical principles, but in reference to the recognition of independence to be given upon the establishment of the new Burma, I expect that a treaty stipulating the basic relations between the two countries will be concluded.

"Also, upon the recognition of independence, I should like to see the early exchange of ambassadors."

In conclusion, Prime Minister Tojo stated as follows:

"Other than what will be publicly announced by the Imperial Government, all matters which I have mentioned above are to be kept strictly confidential, especially the points relating to the declaration of war and the time of independence which I wish to have kept absolutely secret.

2. In response, Dr. Ba Maw, Chief of the Administrative Council of Burma, stated as recorded on attached document No. 2.

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new Burma would comprise the areas under the jurisdiction of the existing Administrative Council, but I hereby declare that it is further to include the whole territory of Burma with the exception of the Shan and Karenni areas.

It is desired that the composition of the new nation be determined in accordance with the aim of harmoniously embracing the various peoples within the territory with the Burmese people as its base.

It is also desired that the political organization be so formed as to render the administration of the state simple and forceful.

3. Basic Relations between Nippon and Burma

Nippon earnestly hopes that, through her own incentive and responsibility, the new Burma will speedily substantiate her status as an independent state and, in this regard, Nippon is ready to afford all possible assistance. She further hopes that the new Burma, as a member of the Greater East Asian Sphere of Co-prosperity, will, on her part, long maintain with Nippon the closest relations of co-operation in all such matters as politics, military affairs, diplomacy and economics.

4. Declaration of War Against the United States and Britain and Firm Establishment of the Wartime Structure

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It

It is sincerely desired that the new Burma will, following her independence, declare war against the United States and Britain and that she will speedily complete a national structure consonant with wartime requirements and, in inseparable union with Nippon, bend her fullest efforts for the successful prosecution of the war.

5. Military Affairs

In view of the requirements of military operations, it is desired that the new Burma will fully co-operate with Nippon in perfect unity and extend every facility to the Imperial Forces and that, at the same time, the Burmese Forces will, in regard to their wartime operations, serve under the command of the commanders-in-chief of the Imperial Army and the Imperial Navy.

6. Economic Affairs

The new Burma is expected to promote her economic development by just and unhampered activities under her own authority as a unit in the general economic construction of Greater East Asia; and in this regard Nippon is prepared to extend the necessary assistance.

In this connection, it is desired that, with respect to matters necessary for the prosecution of the war, measures be taken to secure full co-ordination with the steps to be

taken

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

RECORD OF THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER HIDEKI TOJO AND  
DR. BA MAW, CHIEF OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF BURMA

Held at the Official Residence of the Prime Minister  
22nd Day of the 3rd Month of the 18th Year of Syowa

Other Officials Present Were:

For the Imperial Government of Nippon:

Mr. Masayuki Tani,

Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mr. Kazuo Aoki,

Minister for Greater East Asiatic Affairs

Mr. Naoki Hoshino,

Chief Secretary of the Cabinet

Lieutenant-General Shozo Kawabe,

Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces in Burma

Major General Takesuke Isomura,

Assistant Director-General of the Nippon Military

Administration in Burma and Assistant Chief of Staff

For the Administrative Council of Burma:

Mr. Maung Mya,

Secretary of Internal Affairs

Mr. Thein Maung,

Secretary of Financial Affairs

Major General Aung San,

Commander-in-Chief of the Burma Defense Army

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taken by Nippon.

7. Preparations for Independence

Nippon desires, Dr. Ba Maw, that you who are to stand at the helm of the new state of Burma will, with due understanding of the foregoing several points, soon set up a preparatory commission for independence and push forward all preparations necessary for independence.

The independence of the new Burma is expected to be effected around August and it is hoped that the necessary preparations will be completed by about the end of June.

You are requested to obtain the details thereof from the Commander-in-Chief of Nippon's Forces in Burma.

Although the creation of a state is no easy task, the ardent desire of the over ten million people of Burma will surely bring the efforts to a glorious consummation; and I presume that in carrying out this grand task there is no greater satisfaction to you, gentlemen, upon whose shoulders rest the heavy responsibilities.

It is my fervent hope, that you will bear in mind the intentions of Nippon and, by surmounting all difficulties, will successfully perform the great task of founding a new state, and that, in co-operation with Nippon, you will proceed

with

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極秘

東條總理大臣「パーモ」緬甸行政府長官會見ニ於ケル非公式會談ノ摘要

昭和十八年三月二十二日  
於總理大臣官邸

奥村書記官記

東條總理大臣ヨリ緬甸獨立ニ關スル帝國政府ノ意圖ヲ示達シ之ニ對シ「パーモ」長官ヨリ答之ヲ了承シ微力ヲ盡ス旨ノ應答アリタル後非公式ナル「Informal and off record」談話ノ交換アリタルカ其ノ要領ヲ左ニ摘録ス

「パーモ」長官ヨリ昨秋東條總理ヨリ與ヘラレタル書翰、總理夫妻ヨリ「パーモ」長官夫妻ニ贈ラレタル紀念品及緬甸ノ空襲被害者ニ

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對シ五十萬圓ノ見舞金ヲ送ラレタルコトニ對シ深甚ナル謝意ヲ表シ且又來朝以來ノ厚遇、殊ニ宿舍ニ就テハ總理自ラ檢分スル等ノ配慮ヲ拂ハレタルコトニ對シ深厚ナル感謝ノ辭ヲ述フ  
總理ヨリ敵ノ盲爆ニ依ル緬甸民衆ノ被害ニ對シテハ誠ニ同情ニ堪ヘス、之因ヨリ戰爭遂行ノ爲ニハ首ハバ已ムヲ得サル所ナルヘク、行政府ニ於テモ之カ救済ニハ遺憾無キヲ期シ居ルコトナルヘキモ、帝國政府トシテモ及フ限りノコトヲ爲ス用意アル旨ヲ述フ  
總理ヨリ一行來朝以來成ハ多少奇異ニ感シタルコトアランカトモ思考ス、夫レハ次ノ三點ニ付テナリ  
第一、日本ニ於テハ何處ニ此ノ大戰爭カ行ハレ居ルヤ分ラヌ狀態ニシテ好ク言ハベ餘裕綽々タルモノアルコト

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第三現ニ東京ニ於テ御覽ノ通り若イ者カ路上ニモ溢レ居ルコト  
第三一行ノ行事ニ付 皇室ニ對スル儀事並ニ明治神宮靖國神社等ニ  
對スル参拜ヲ第一ニシアルコト  
之ナリ

第一及第二ノ點ニ就テ言ハバ日本ハ未ダ人的物的ニ充分ノ餘裕アル  
コトヲ示スモノナリ、第三ノ點ハ日本カ 皇室ヲ中心トスル精神主  
義ヲ中心トスルモノナルコトヲ示ス所以ナル旨ヲ詳述ス  
一「バーモ」長官之ニ對シ人京以來明治神宮、靖國神社ニ詣テ日本ノ  
眞ノ姿ニ文字通り開眼ノ喜ヲ得タル思ヲ爲セリ、我々ハ日本ニ來ル  
コト三十年ノ過キニ失シタルヲ痛感スルモノナリ、若シ我々カ三十  
年早ク日本ニ來リタランニハ緬甸ノ地位ニハ隔世ノ變動アリタルナ

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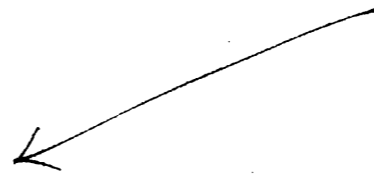
ラント思フト述フ

尙總理ヨリ人的資源ノ問題ニ付緬甸カ其ノ面積日本ニ比シ大差無キ  
ニ反シ人口ハ僅ニ千六百萬ナルハ一考ヲ要スル旨ヲ述フレハ「バー  
モ」長官ハ緬甸ノ人口増加ヲ計リ之ヲ最大資源ノ一ニナサント欲ス  
ト述フ

總理ヨリ日本ハ今ヤ米英相手ニ乘ルカ反ルカノ戰爭ヲ遂行中ナリ、  
只日本及緬甸ハ永遠ニ生キ抜ク使命ト運命ト有シ單ニ一九〇〇年  
代ニ生存スレハ足ルト言フモノニ非ス、日本ハ滿洲事變ニ於テ滿洲  
國ノ獨立ヲ達成セシメ、支那事變ニ於テ支那ヲシテ米英ノ壓迫ヨリ  
脱シ其ノ本然ノ姿ヲ再現セシメタリ、又今因ノ大東亞戰爭ニ於テハ  
緬甸ノ獨立ヲ計リ且泰西ニ付テハ米英ノ稱神ヲ脱シ其ノ本然ノ姿ニ

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立憲ラシメントス、將來ノ比律賓ニ付テ亦然リトス、而シテ日領兩  
島ハ東亞ニ於ケル兄弟ノ國トシテ相提携シ大東亞新秩序實現ノ爲共  
ニ榮ユルヲ期スヘキモノナルコトヲ力説ス



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四

更ニ總理ヨリ日本ノ精神主義ニ就テ敷衍シ、例ヲ日本軍ノ車披ナ  
ル點ニ取り説明ス、即チ米英ハ物ニ於テハ多少有利ナルヤモ知レ  
サルカ戦ハ人之ヲ行フナリ、人トハ何ゾヤ、夫レ即チ精神ナリ、  
米英ハ現ニ緬甸ノ對岸印度ニ於テ百萬ノ兵ヲ有ス、又一方支那領  
ニ於テハ數十萬ノ兵アリ、日本ハ又緬甸ニ於テ數十萬ノ兵ヲ有ス  
ル次第ナルカ、余(總理)ハ常ニ日本軍ノ兵數ニ〇(零)ヲ一ツ  
附ケ足シテ丁度敵ニ對スル實力ヲ現ハスコトナルト思考ス  
歐洲ノ戰爭ニ於テハ一戰闘アル毎ニ何萬何千ノ捕虜ヲ出スヲ例ト  
スルモ日本軍ニ就テハ斯嶽ノコトハ夢想ダモシ得ス、日本ノ兵士  
カ捕虜ニナルコトアリトセバ、ソレハ會々戰傷ノ爲人堪不省トナ  
リタルカ爲ニ過キスレテ彼等ハ 陛下ノ爲刀折レ矢盡キタル後ト

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REEL No. A-1206

雖四肢ノ動ク慢リ戦ヒ續タルモノナリ、實ニ日本軍ハ精神的訓練ヲ主トス、加フルニ優秀ナル統帥アリ、英國軍ヲ瀋甸ヨリ僅々數ヶ月ニシテ屠戮シタルコトハ讀者ノ現實ニ目撃セラレタル所ナルヘシ

總進ヨリ此ノ如ク東亞ノ諸民族、殊ニ日本ニ於テハ精神ヲ重ンズルナリ、之東亞ノ習慣及傳統ニシテ之ニ依リ吾人ハ結合ス、同シ直ヲ分ケ合ヒ居ル固柄トモ言ヒ得ヘシ、例ヲ宗教ニトレバ、日本ニハ神アリ佛アリ、瀋甸ニハ佛教普及シ居レリト聞ク處、「サーモン」ヨリ我々ハ皆佛教徒ナリト述フ一此ノ佛教ヲ通スルノミニテモ日瀋間ニハ共通ノ基礎アルナリ、只米英ハ之ヲ嫌フ、瀋甸ハ久シキニ互リ英國ノ壓制ニ苦シミ來レルカ其ノ精神ハ未タ死セズ

外務省

其ノ芽ハ猶存スヘシ、之ヲ培ヒ之ヲ育テ之ヲ動員スルコト肝要ナルコトナリ

只一ツ遺憾ナルハ水年ノ米英ノ壓迫ノ結果吾人ハ此ノ腐ニ於テモ互ニ語ルニ英語ヲ用ヒ居ル有儀ナリ、「パーモ」一行強ク同感ノ意ヲ表ス一今後ハ互ニ努力シ、固チ日本人ハ瀋甸語ヲ習ヒ瀋甸人ハ日本語ヲ習フコトトシ度

(總進ヨリ外務、大東亞兩大臣ニ對シ何カ話ラセラルルコトナキヤト促シタルニ對シ、外務大臣ハ別ニ話スコトナレト述ヘ) 大東亞大臣ヨリ左ノ趣旨ヲ述フ、固チ

大東亞大臣ヨリ米英カ我國ニ對シ壓迫ヲ加ヘ今次ノ戦争ヲ誘發スルニ至レル原因ノ大ナルモノハ彼等カ我國ノ實力ヲ過少評價セル

外務省

コトニ在リ、日本ハ滿洲事變以來十年、支那事變起リテヨリ三、四年ヲ經テ其ノ經濟力ヲ蕩盡セリト判斷セルコト之ナリ、余ハ大東亞大臣ハ當時金匱說ニ在リ我國ノ經濟統制ヲ掌リタル次第ナルカ、日本ノ統制ハ米英カ患ヒタル如ク經濟逼迫ノ爲行ハレタルモノニハ非ス、支那事變ニ續キ來ルヘキ國際情勢ノ如何ナル變轉ニモ備ヘンカ爲我國ノ謀算、物資及勞力ヲ擧ケテ基礎産業及國防産業ノ爲ニ集中センカ爲ニ行ハレタルモノニ他ナラス、斯クシテ我國ノ生産力ハ最近劇期的發展ヲ遂ケ日滿支ノ資源ヲ動員スル其ノ生産力擴充計劃ハ昭和十八年度ニ於テ其ノ第一期計劃ヲ完了セントス、之ニ加フルニ大東亞戰爭開始以來我國ハ南方ニ於ケル世界の資源ヲ領有スルニ至リ益々不敵ノ趨勢ヲ確立スルニ至レルコト

外務省

トヲ説明ス

總理ヨリ之ニ關連シ戦前米英ノ宣傳ハ日本ノ經濟的脆弱性ヲ專ラ強調シ日本ハ開戦後三ヶ月ニシテ悉クヘン等ト言ヒ立テタルカ現實ハ正ニ御承知ノ通ナリト述ヘ「バーモ」長官大キク之ニ背キ、戦前英米ノ補償及印度等ニ於ケル宣傳ハ民衆ノ耳目ヨリ日本ノ眞相ヲ遮蔽セントスルコトニ集中セフレ層タル次第ニシテ今回來朝以來感得スル所多大ナルモノアルコトヲ述ヘタリ。

(以上)

外務省