

極秘

大東亞會議ニ於ケル東條内閣總理大臣挨拶及所見開陳

先ッ本代表ヨリ、主權國ト致シマシテノ、御挨拶ヲ申シ述ベ、併セテ帝國政府ノ所見ヲ簡潔致シタイト思ヒマス。

大東亞戰爭完遂ト大東亞新秩序建設ノ方針ニ觀シ、隨意ナキ勳業ヲ遂グル爲、今般、大東亞會議開催方ヲ提議致シマシタ所、幸ヒ關係各國ノ衷心ヨリノ御贊同ヲ得マシテ、茲ニ、大東亞各國代表トシテ各閣下ノ御參集ヲ見マシタルコトハ、主權國トシテ最モ欣幸トシ、深ク感謝ノ意ヲ表スルトコロデアリマス。尙、御來朝中ノ自由印度假政府首班閣下ノ御陪席ヲ得マシタルコトハ、之又、洵ニ、欣幸ト存ズルトコロデアリマス。

1 惟フニ、英帝國ハ過去數世紀ニ亘リ侵略ト征服トニ務ツテ、全地球上

2 ニ廣大ナル領土ヲ獲得シ、而シテ其ノ優越的地位ヲ、飽ク迄モ、維持

セントシテ、世界各地ニ於テ、他國ヲシテ、相互ニ、獨立抗爭セシメテ來タノデアリマス。能方、米國ハ、歐洲ノ動亂常ナキ情勢ニ樂ジテ、米大國ニ新體ヲ確立スルニ止ラズ、獨ホ、米西戰爭ヲ契機トシテ、太平洋、及、亞細亞ニ爪牙ヲ伸バヌニ至リ、遂ニ第一次世界大戰爭ヲ轉機トシテ、英帝國ト共ニ世界制覇ノ野望ヲ逞ウシ來ツタノデアリマス。而シテ今次ノ世界戰爭勃發ニ於テハ、米國ハ、東ニ飛躍シテ、北「アフリカ」、西「アフリカ」、大西洋、濠洲、近東、進ンデ、印度方面ニ到シテモ、遂次、其ノ魔手ヲ伸シ、英帝國ノ地位ニ齒ツテ代ラントシテ居ルノデアリマス。

米英ノ平等鳴通スル國際正義ノ確立ト、世界平和ノ保障トハ、畢竟、

歐洲ニ於ケル諸國家ノ分裂抗争ノ助長ト、亞細亞ニ於ケル殖民地の搾取ノ永續化トニ依ル、利己的秩序ノ維持ニ外ナラナイノデアリマス。而シテ亞細亞ニ於ケル米英ノ遺リ方ヲ見マヌルニ、彼等ハ、政治的ニ侵略シ、經濟的ニ搾取シ、更ニ、教育文化ノ美名ニ匿レテ民族性ヲ喪失セシメ、相互ニ相衝突セシメテ、其ノ非望ノ達成ヲ圖ツタノデアリマス。斯クテ、亞細亞ノ諸國家諸民族ハ、常ニ、其ノ存立ヲ脅威セラレ、其ノ安定ヲ擾亂セラレ、民生ハ其ノ本然ノ發達ヲ抑壓セラレテ、今日ニ至ツタノデアリマス。彼等ノ呼號スル門戶開放、機會均等主義モ、東亞ヲ殖民地視スル、根本概念ニ發シタルモノデアリマシテ、實ハ彼等ガ東西侵略ノ非望ヲ遂ゲンガ爲メ、便宜手段ニ過ギナイノデアリマス。彼等ハ、自國ノ領土内ニ於テハ、東西ノ諸民族ニ對シテ常ニ

4 門戶ヲ閉鎖シ、機會ヲ不均等ナラシメ、交易ヲ阻碍シツツ、只管、彼等ノ利己的榮榮ヲ追及シタノデアリマス。洵ニ、米英兩國ノ抱ク、世界制覇ノ野望コソハ、人類ノ災厄、世界ノ禍根ト云フヘキデアリマス。顧ミレバ、東亞ノ諸國家諸民族ノ間ニ於テ、解放ノ機運ノ起ツタコトハ、一再ニ止マラナカッタノデアリマヌルガ、或ハ、米英ノ暴戾飽クナキ武力的彈壓ニ依リ、或ハ、彼等ノ異民族統制ノ常套手段タル惡辣極マル離間策ニ依リ、多クハ失敗ニ歸シタノデアリマス。此ノ間ニアリテ、日本ノ興隆ハ、米英ニトツテ、最も好マシカラザルモノトナッタノデアリマス。茲ニ於テカ、彼等ハ、一方ニ於テ、羣衆ニ、日本抑壓ノ懸慮ニ出ヅルト共ニ、他方ニ於テ、日本ト東亞ニ於ケル爾後ノ諸

5

國家諸民族トノ離間ヲ策スルコトヲ以テ、彼等ノ東亞政略ノ要諦トスルニ至ツタノデアリマス。蓋シ東亞ノ隸屬化ヲ維持スル爲ニハ、東亞ニ於テ何レカノ國ガ強國トシテ勃興スルコトモ、又、東亞ノ諸國家諸民族ガ團結スルコトモ、彼等ニトリ其ノ最モ不利トスル所デアルカラデアリマス。而シテ斯クノ如キ米英ノ東亞隸屬化ノ野望ハ、特ニ、最近數年間ニ於テ、愈々、惡質露骨トナツテ參ツタノデアリマス。即チ、蔣政權ヲ使嫉シテ、日華兩國ノ國交ヲ阻碍シ、其ノ極、終ニ、不幸ナル支那專權ノ勃發ニ至ラシメ、之ガ解決ニ對シテモ、有ユル手段ヲ弄シテ、其ノ妨碍ヲ策シタノデアリマス。而シテ、今次歐洲戰爭勃發後ニ於テハ、戰爭ノ必要ニ藉口シテ平和的通商ヲ妨碍シ、更ニ進ンデ、其ノ本質ニ於テ戰爭ト異ラザル經濟斷交ノ手段ニ訴ヘ、他面、東亞ノ

S 1.7.0.0 -48

103

6

周邊ニ於テ武備ヲ増強シ、以テ我ニ屈從ヲ強キント試ミ、東亞ノ安定ハ根柢ヨリ重大ナル脅威ヲ受クルニ至ツタノデアリマス。斯クノ如キ米英ノ態度ニ拘ラズ、帝國ハ、只管、禍亂ノ東亞ノ天地ニ波及スルヲ避ケント欲シ、隱忍自重、最後迄、平和的交渉ニ依リ時局ノ收拾ヲ圖ツテ參ツタノデアリマス。然ルニ、米英ハ何等反省互讓ノ態度ニ出デズ、却テ、益々、脅喝ト、壓迫トヲ強化シテ、帝國ノ存立ヲ危殆ニ瀕セシメタノデアリマス。帝國ハ終ニ自存自衛ノ爲激然起ツテ東亞ニ對スル挑戰ニ應ズルノ止ムナキニ至リ、茲ニ、一切ノ障礙ヲ破碎シテ、東亞永遠ノ平和確立ノ爲、國運ヲ賭シテ征戰ニ邁進スルコトトナツタノデアリマス。

S 1.7.0.0 -48

104

大東亞戰爭開始セラレマスルヤ、帝國陸海軍ハ、善謀勇戰、開戦後半

歳ナラズシテ、克ク、東亞ノ全地域ヨリ、米英ノ侵略勢力ヲ驅逐掃蕩シタノデアリマス。大東亞各國ハ、或ハ、宣戰ヲ布告シテ、共ニ戰ヒ、或ハ緊密ニ戰爭完遂ニ協力シツツアリマシテ、今ヤ、大東亞諸民族ノ自覺ト熱情トハ、澎湃トシテ、大東亞ノ天地ニ漲リ、内ニ於テハ、各國相信ジ、相和シ、外ニ對シテハ、米英ノ反攻ヲ擊摧シテ、自存自衛ヲ全ウシ、以テ大東亞永遠ノ安定ヲ確立スル爲、勇躍邁進シツツアルデアリマス。

7
惟フニ、今次ノ戰爭ハ大東亞ノ全民族ニトリマシテハ、實ニ其ノ興廢ノ岐ルル一大決戰デアリマス。此ノ戰ヒニ勝チ抜クコトニ依リマシテ始メテ、大東亞ノ諸民族ハ、永遠ニ、其ノ存立ヲ大東亞ノ天地ヲ確保シテ、共榮ノ樂ヲ偕ニスルコトガ出來ルノデアリマス。洵ニ大東亞戰

8
爭ノ完遂コソ、大東亞新秩序建設ノ確立ヲ意味スルモノデアリマス。素ヨリ、米英ハ、其ノ特ミトスル物質的戰力ヲ擧ゲテ、大東亞ニ反攻ヲ繰リ返スコトハ、當然デアリマス。大東亞ノ諸國家ハ、其ノ全力ヲ盡シテ、之ヲ徹底的ニ破碎シ、更ニ、彼等ニ痛撃ヲ加ヘ、以テ戰爭ヲ完遂シテ大東亞永遠ノ安定ヲ確保シナケレバナラナイデアリマス。此ノ秋ニ當リ、帝國ハ、緒戰ニ獲得セル戰略的優位ニ立ツテ、雄渾ナル作戦ヲ續行シテ居ルノデアリマス。而シテ國內ニ於キマシテハ、此ノ雄渾ナル作戦ニ呼應致シマシテ、愈々、國內態勢ヲ整備シ、時ニ、最近、之ガ決戰化ヲ圖リ、眞ニ、一億一心、必勝ノ確信ノ下ニ、強固ナル闘志ヲ以テ、物ク迄モ、此ノ大戰爭完遂ニ邁進致シテ居ルノデ

リマス。

茲ニ、各位ニ依テ代表セララル、大東亞諸國モ亦、帝國ト策應シ、其ノ全力ヲ擧ゲテ、宿敵米英ノ反抗ヲ擊碎シ、以テ、大東亞永遠ノ安定ヲ圖ラントスル決意ノ、蓋函ナルモノアルコトヲ、私ハ、確信スルモノデアリマス。

次ニ大東亞ノ建設ニ關スル帝國政府ノ基本的見解ヲ申シ述ベタイト存ジマス。

抑々、世界各國ガ各々其ノ所ヲ得相倚リ相扶ケテ萬邦共榮ノ榮ヲ儲ニスルハ世界平和確立ノ根本要諦デアルト信ズルデアリマス。而シテ特ニ關係深キ諸國ガ、互ニ、相扶ケテ、各自ノ國體ニ培ヒ、共存共榮ノ紐帶ヲ結成スルト共ニ、他ノ地域ノ諸國家トノ間ニ協和偕榮ノ關係

10

ヲ設定スルコトハ、世界平和確立ノ最モ有效ニシテ、且、實際的方途デアルト申サネバナラナイデアリマス。

大東亞ノ各國ガ、アラユル結ニ於テ離レ離イ緊密ナル關係ヲ有スルコトハ、否定シ得ザル事實デアリマシテ、斯カル關係ニ立ツテ大東亞ノ各國ガ、協同シテ、大東亞ノ安定ヲ確保シ、共存共榮ノ秩序ヲ建設スルコトハ、各國共同ノ使命デアルト確信致スノデアリマス。

大東亞ニ於ケル共存共榮ノ秩序ハ大東亞固有ノ道義的精神ニ基クベキモノデアリマシテ、此ノ點ニ於テ、自己ノ繁榮ノ爲ニハ、不正、欺騙搾取ヲモ敬テ辭セザル、米英本位ノ、舊秩序トハ、根本的ニ異ルモノデアリマス。

大東亞各國ハ、互ニ其ノ自主獨立ヲ尊重シツツ、全體トシテ、親和

ノ關係ヲ確立スベキモノデアリマス。相手方ヲ、豈ニ手段トシテ、利
用スル所ニハ、親和ノ關係ヲ見出スコトハ出來ナイデアリマス。
親和ノ關係ハ、相手方ノ自主獨立ヲ、尊重シ、他ノ繁榮ニ依テ、自ラ
モ繁榮シ、自他共ニ、其ノ本來ノ面目ヲ發揮スル所ニノミ、生ジ得ル
モノト信ズルデアリマス。

11
由來、大東亞ニハ、優秀ナル文化ガ存シテ居ルデアリマス。唯ニ大
東亞ノ精神文化ハ、最も、崇高、幽玄ナルモノデアリマス。今後、愈々、
之ヲ長養醇化シテ、廣ク世界ニ及ボスコトハ、物質文明ノ行詰リヲ打
開シ、人類全般ノ福祉ニ寄與スルコト妙カラザルモノアリト信ズルモ
ノデアリマス。斯カル文化ヲ有スル各國ハ、相互ニ、其ノ光輝アル傳
統ヲ尊重スルト共ニ、各民族ノ創造性ヲ伸揚シ、以テ、大東亞ノ文化

ヲ、益々、昂揚セネバナラヌト考フルデアリマス。
更ニ大東亞ノ各國ハ、民生ノ向上ト國力ノ充實ヲ圖ル爲、互惠ノ下、
緊密ナル經濟提携ヲ行ヒ、協同シテ大東亞ノ繁榮ヲ増進スベキモノト
信ジマス。大東亞ハ米英多年ノ擯取ノ對象トナツテ來タデアリマス
ルガ、今後ハ經濟的ニモ自主獨立、相倚リ、相扶ケテ、其ノ繁榮ヲ期
サナケレバナラヌト思フデアリマス。

新クノ如クニシテ建設セラルベキ大東亞ノ新秩序ハ、排他的ノモノデ
ハナク、廣ク世界各國トノ間ニ政治的ニモ、經濟的ニモ、將又、文化
的ニモ、積極的ニ協力ノ關係ニ立チ、以テ世界ノ進運ニ貢獻スベキモ
ノデアリマス。口ニ自由平等ヲ唱ヘツツ、他國家他民族ニ對シ抑壓ト
差別トヲ以テ臨ミ、他ニ門戶開放ヲ強キツツ、自ラハ老大ナル土地

ト資源トヲ發掘シテ、他ノ生存ヲ脅威シテ顧ミズ、世界全般ノ進退ヲ
阻害シテ來ツタ米英從來ノ遣リ方トハ、全ク趣ヲ異ニシテ居ルノデア
リマス。

道義ニ基ク、大東亞ノ新建設ハ、現ニ、戰塵ノ眞只中ニアツテ、着々
ト實現ヲ見ツアルノデアリマス。然ルニ米英側ノ印度ニ對スル遣リ
口ハ、果シテ如何デアリマセウカ。今ヤ、英國ノ歴史ハ、日ニ月ニ、
其ノ度ヲ加ヘ、又最近ニ於テハ、米國ノ野望モ加ヘリ、彼等ト印度民
衆トノ軋轢、乖離ハ、愈々、激化シ、印度印度ノ民衆ハ、言語ニ絶ス
ル苦惱ヲ續ケテ居ルノデアリマス。特ニ最近、之ニ依テ招來セラレタ
ル、空前ノ飢饉ハ、米英自ラモ、之ヲ認ムルトコロデアリマス。

斯クテ、印度ニ於テハ、志アルモノハ、悉ク牢獄ニ投セラレ、無辜ノ

14 民衆ハ、繼テ飢エニ泣イテ居ルノデアリマス。是レ、正ニ世界ノ悲劇
デアリ、人類共同ノ痛恨事デアリ、義憤ニ燃ユル我々大東亞民族ノ、
斯ジテ放置シ得ザルトコロデアリマス。時ナル後、「スパス、ヂヤン
ドラ、ボース」氏ノ蹶起スルアリ、之ニ呼應シテ、内外ノ印度人士ハ
立ち上リ、茲ニ印度假政府ノ樹立ヲ見、印度獨立ノ基盤ハ現ニ成ツタ
ノデアリマス。帝國ハ、曠ニ印度獨立ノ爲、アラユル協力ト支援トヲ
致スベキコトヲ、中外ニ闡明致シタノデアリマス。大東亞ノ諸國家モ
亦、齊シク、印度獨立完成ノ爲、心カラナル協力ヲ寄セララルコトヲ
私ハ、確信致スモノデアリマス。米英ガ、所謂大西洋憲章ニ依ツテ、
標榜セル所ト現ニ、印度ニ對シテ實際ニ執リツツアル憲章トヲ、彼等ハ
如何ナル論理ニ依ツテ之ヲ調和セントスルモ、其レハ不可能ノコトデ

アリマス。然シ乍ラ、吾人ハ今更彼等ノ矛盾ヲ見テ驚クモノデハナイ
ノデアリマス。全世界ノ人々ハ、今日迄米英ノ表面ニ福グル美シキ看
板ヲ、其ノ吐裏ニ包藏スルモノトノ矛盾ヲ餘リニ多ク見セツケラレ、
欺瞞ト偽裝ト迷彩コソ、彼等米英ノ本性デアルコトヲ、己ニ熟知シテ
辱ルノデアリマス。假令敵側ノ爲ス所ガ如何ナルモノデアルニセヨ、
帝國ハ大東亞各陸ト相撈ヘテ、天地ノ公道ヲ歩ミ、大東亞ヲ米英ノ極
權ヨリ解放シ、大東亞各陸ト協同シテ大東亞ノ復興與隆ヲ圖ランコト
ヲ期スルノミデアリマス。今ヤ大東亞諸國家諸民族ノ結集ハ成リ、萬
邦兵燹ノ理想ニ向ツテ、大東亞新建設ノ巨歩ハ堂々發足シタノデアリ
マス。

歐ツテ歐洲ノ情勢ヲ見マヌルニ、盟邦獨逸ハ、愈々國民的結束ヲ強固

ニシ、必勝ノ信念ヲ以テ、米英撃滅ト歐洲建設トニ、邁進シツツアリ
マシテ、洵ニ力強キ限リデアリマス。

大東亞戰爭ハ、實ニ、破邪顯正ノ聖戰デアリマシテ、大義名分、何乎
トシテ我ニ在リ、正義ノ向フ所、敵ナク、究極ノ勝利ノ我ニ歸スベキ
コトハ、我等ノ信ジテ疑ハザル所デアリマス。
茲ニ大東亞諸國ガ、衷心ヨリ、大東亞戰爭ニ協力セラレツツアルコト
ニ對シマシテ、深甚ノ謝意ヲ表スルト共ニ、今後、益々、奇烈ノ慶ヲ
加ヘントスル戰局ニ對シ、帝國ハ、大東亞諸國ト共ニ、歐洲盟邦ト
ノ提携ヲ愈々固メ、必勝ノ確信ノ下、不拔ノ闘志ヲ以テ、如何ナル困
難モ、之ヲ克服シ、我等ノ共同使命トスル此ノ大東亞戰爭ヲ完遂シ、
大東亞建設ヲ完成致シマシテ、眞ノ世界平和ノ確立ニ貢獻センコトヲ、

17

固ク期スル次第デアリマス。

S 1.7.0.0 -48. 115

REEL No. A-1211

0072

アジア歴史資料センター

United States and Britain put up and the evil designs which they harbour within. We know too well that deception and camouflage constitute their very nature. However, regardless of what the enemy may do, Japan is determined to follow, together with the other nations of Greater East Asia, the path of justice, to deliver Greater East Asia from the fetters of America and Britain and, in co-operation with her neighbour nations, to strive toward the reconstruction and development of Greater East Asia.

Today, the unity of the countries and peoples of Greater East Asia has been achieved and they have embarked upon the gigantic enterprise of constructing Greater East Asia for the common prosperity of all nations. This surely must be regarded as the grandest spectacle of human effort in modern times.

As regards the situation in Europe, we are very glad that our ally, Germany, has still further solidified her national unity and, with conviction in sure victory, is advancing to crush the United States and Britain and to construct a new Europe.

The War of Greater East Asia is truly a war to destroy evil and to make justice manifest. Ours is a righteous cause. Justice knows no enemy and we are fully

convinced

convinced of our ultimate victory.

Japan is grateful to the nations of Greater East Asia for the whole-hearted co-operation which they are rendering in this war. Japan is firmly determined, by co-operating with them and by strengthening her collaboration with her allies in Europe, to carry on with indefatigable spirit and with conviction in sure victory this war, the intensity of which is expected to mount from day to day. Japan, by overcoming all difficulties, will do her full share to complete the construction of Greater East Asia and contribute to the establishment of world peace which is the common mission of us all.

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field to gain prosperity, by mutually depending on and helping each other.

The new order of Greater East Asia which we are building is not exclusive unto itself, but rather it seeks positively to enter into co-operative relations with the nations of the world, politically, economically and also culturally, and thus contribute to the world's advancement. This differs completely from the way of the United States and Britain which, while advocating freedom and equality, oppress and discriminate against other nations and other peoples; which, while imposing the open door on others monopolize vast territories and natural resources, threaten the existence of others without compunction and retard the general advancement of the entire world.

The construction of Greater East Asia is being realized with a grim steadiness in the midst of war. In contrast, what are America and Britain doing in India? Britain's oppression of India grows in severity with every passing day; while America's ambition has recently asserted itself. Discord and friction between Britain and America on the one hand and the Indian masses on the other

other are aggravating, and the Indian people are being subjected to indescribable hardships and tribulations.

The famine of unprecedented magnitude which has been caused by such a situation in India has recently been admitted by Britain and America. All patriots of India are imprisoned, while the innocent masses are starving. This is the world's tragedy -- a calamity of all mankind. The peoples of Greater East Asia could never let it go unattended. Happily, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose responded to the call of the hour and with him rose the Indian patriots both within and without their country. Thus was the Provisional Government of Free India created and the foundation of Indian independence laid. The Japanese Government have already declared to the world that they will extend every cooperation and assistance for the independence of India. I am confident that the other nations of Greater East Asia will also give wholehearted support for the realization of Indian independence.

By no logic and reason could America and Britain possibly reconcile what they advocate under the so-called Atlantic Charter with what they are actually doing in India. But we are not even surprised at their contradictions between the beautiful signboards which the

United

It is an incontrovertible fact that the nations of Greater East Asia are bound, ~~in every respect~~ by the ties of ^{an} inseparable relationship. I firmly believe that such being the case, it is ~~their~~ their common mission to secure the stability of Greater East Asia and to construct a new order of common prosperity and well-being.

This new order of Greater East Asia is to rest upon the spirit of justice that is inherent in Greater East Asia. In this respect it is fundamentally different from the old order designed to serve the interests of the United States and Britain who do not hesitate to practise injustice, deception and exploitation in order to promote their own prosperity.

The nations of Greater East Asia, while mutually recognizing their autonomy and independence, must, as a whole, establish among themselves relations of brotherly amity. Such relations cannot be created if one country should utilize another as a means to an end. I believe that they come into being only when there is mutual respect-for one another's autonomy and independence, when all countries are willing to accept the principle of "live

and

and let live," and give expression to their real selves.

A superior order of culture has existed in Greater East Asia from its very beginning. Especially the spiritual essence of the culture of Greater East Asia is the most sublime in the world. It is my belief that in the wide diffusion throughout the world of this culture of Greater East Asia by its further cultivation and refinement lies the salvation of mankind from the curse of materialistic civilization and our contribution to the welfare of all humanity. It is incumbent upon us all mutually to respect one another's glorious traditions and to develop the creative spirit and genius of our peoples and thereby to enhance even more the culture of Greater East Asia.

Furthermore, I believe that in order to promote the welfare of the people and to replenish the national power, the nations of Greater East Asia must carry on close economic collaboration on the basis of reciprocity and jointly promote the prosperity of Greater East Asia. Hitherto, Greater East Asia has been for many years the object of Anglo-American exploitation, but henceforth we must be also autonomous and independent in the economic

field

outcome depends their rise or fall. It is only by winning through this war that they may ensure forever their existence in their Greater East Asian home and enjoy common prosperity and happiness. Indeed, a successful conclusion of this war means the completion of the very task of constructing the new order of Greater East Asia.

The United States and Britain may naturally repeat their counter-offensives against Greater East Asia with all their material might upon which they rely, but we, the nations of Greater East Asia, must summon up our total strength to repel these attacks. We must deal out crushing blows to our enemy and thereby finish the war victoriously and secure to East Asia an enduring peace and stability.

At this moment, Japan is carrying out extensive operations from the position of strategical advantage which she has acquired by her early victories in the war. On the home front, the internal structure, in parallel with these operations, has been steadily improved. Especially through the recent reorganization it has been so adjusted as to meet fully the needs of decisive warfare. Her one hundred million people with but a single mind, with a firm

conviction

conviction in sure victory and with an inflexible fighting spirit are marching forward to triumph in this great war. I firmly believe that the other Greater East Asian nations, whom you represent here, are also grimly resolved to shatter the counter-offensives of their age-old enemies, America and Britain, by throwing their full weight into the field in concert with the Japanese nation and thereby to secure lasting stability for Greater East Asia.

Next, it is my desire to express to you the fundamental views of the Japanese Government regarding the construction of Greater East Asia.

It is my belief that to enable all nations each to have its proper place and to enjoy the blessings of common prosperity by mutual efforts and mutual help is the fundamental condition for the establishment of world peace. And I must furthermore say that to practise mutual help among the neighbouring nations, in one region, fostering one another's national growth and establishing a relationship of common prosperity and well-being, and, at the same time, to cultivate relations of harmony and concord with nations of other regions is the most effective and the most practical method of securing world peace.

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cardinal point of their East Asia Policy, ^{on the one hand,} to restrain ^(at every turn and on the other) Japan to alienate her from the other countries of East Asia. It was obviously unwise for them to permit either the rise of any one country as a great Power or the banding together of the various nations and peoples. These American and British methods became more and more sinister and high-handed, especially in the last several years.

For example, they made of the Chiang Kai-shek regime a tool of theirs and so aggravated the Sino-Japanese relations as to lead to the unfortunate China Affair. Furthermore, they resorted to every possible means to obstruct a settlement. Following the outbreak of the present war in Europe, they interfered with free commerce under the pretext of wartime necessity and even resorted to the severance of economic relations with Japan which is tantamount to an act of war. At the same time, they augmented their military preparations in East Asia in an effort to force Japan's submission. Despite such an attitude on the part of the United States and Britain, Japan, desiring to prevent war from spreading into East Asia, endeavoured to the last to find a solution by peaceful negotiation. However, the United States and Britain, not only failing completely to

manifest

manifest an attitude of reflection and mutual concession, but intensifying instead their threats and pressure, endangered the very existence of our nation. Japan at last was compelled to rise in self-defense and to fight for her existence, and thus accepted the challenge that was hurled against East Asia. Staking her national fortunes, Japan marched forth to battle in order that permanent peace might be established in East Asia.

With the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, the Imperial Army and Navy fought with heroic courage under carefully-laid plan, and within less than half a year expelled America and Britain from the entire region of East Asia. The various countries of Greater East Asia have either declared war to fight with us, or are closely co-operating for the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. Today the ardour and enthusiasm of the peoples of Greater East Asia have spread throughout our region. With mutual trust and harmony among our nations, we are valiantly marching forward together to secure our existence, and to establish permanent stability in Greater East Asia by crushing the counter-offensives of America and Britain.

It is my belief that for all the peoples of Greater East Asia, the present war is a decisive struggle upon whose

outcome

and engaged in conflict one against another. On the other hand, the United States which, by taking advantage of the disorder and confusion in Europe, had established its supremacy over the American continents, spread its tentacles to the Pacific and to East Asia following its war with Spain. Then, with the opportunities afforded by the First World War, the United States began to pursue its ambition for world hegemony. More recently, with the outbreak of the present war, the United States has further intensified its imperialistic activities, making fresh inroads into North Africa, West Africa, the Atlantic Ocean, Australia, the Near East and even into India, [redacted] [redacted], apparently in an attempt to usurp the place of the British Empire.

The need of upholding international justice and of guaranteeing world peace is habitually stressed by America and Britain. They mean thereby no more and no less than the preservation of a world order of their own, based upon division and conflict in Europe and upon the perpetuation of their colonial exploitation of Asia. ^{They sought} [redacted] to realize their inordinate ambitions in Asia, [redacted] ^{through} [redacted] political aggression and economic exploitation; they brought on conflict among the various peoples; they tried

tried to destroy their racial integrity under the fair name of education and culture. Thus, they have to this day threatened constantly the existence of the nations and peoples of Asia, disturbed their stability, and suppressed their natural and proper development. It is because of their notion to regard East Asia as a colony that they harp upon the principles of the open door and equal opportunity simply as a convenient means of pursuing their sinister designs of aggression. While constantly keeping their own territories closed to us, the peoples of Asia, denying us the equality of opportunities and impeding our trade, they sought solely their own prosperity.

The Anglo-American ambition of world hegemony is indeed a scourge of mankind and the root of the world's evils. Movements for emancipation have occurred from time to time among the nations and peoples of East Asia, but due to the ruthless and tyrannical armed oppression by America and Britain, or due to their malicious old trick of division and alienation for ruling other races, these patriotic efforts ended largely in failure. Meanwhile, ^{Japan's} [redacted] rise of [redacted] in power and prestige [redacted] was looked upon by America and Britain with increasing dislike. They made it the

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ADDRESS OF PRIME MINISTER GENERAL HIDEKI TOJO
BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY OF THE GREATER EAST-ASIATIC NATIONS

As the representative of the sponsor nation, I have the privilege to extend to you the sincere greetings of the Japanese Government and to make a statement of their views.

Some time ago, the Japanese Government proposed the convening of an Assembly of the Greater East-Asiatic Nations for the purpose of holding frank deliberations on policies relative to bringing the War of Greater East Asia to a successful conclusion and to constructing a new order in Greater East Asia. This proposal, I am happy to say, met with hearty approval on the part of all the countries concerned, and it is with a sense of great pleasure and profound gratitude that today at this gathering I bid welcome to Your Excellencies as representatives of the nations of Greater East Asia. I am also happy to say that this Assembly is honored by the presence of His Excellency, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India.

During the past centuries, the British Empire, through fraud and aggression, acquired vast territories throughout the world and maintained its domination over other nations and peoples in the various regions by keeping them pitted
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