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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE  
GREATER EAST ASIATIC NATIONS HELD  
ON NOVEMBER 5 AND 6, 1943, AT  
THE DIET BUILDING, TOKYO

**CONTEMPORARY JAPAN:  
A REVIEW OF EAST ASIATIC AFFAIRS**

VOL. XII, NO.11 (November, 1943), pp. 1337-1386.

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# ASSEMBLY OF GREATER EAST ASIATIC NATIONS

The Assembly of the Greater East Asiatic Nations was opened at 10 a.m. on November 5 with an address delivered by Premier General Hidéki Tohjo, the representative of Japan. Nominations for chairman were begun and through a motion by Prince Wan Waithayakon, the Thai representative, Premier General Tohjo was unanimously elected to the chair.

With Premier Tohjo, as chairman of the Assembly, seated at the head of the squared horseshoe, to his right were representatives of China, President Wang Ching-wei ; Prime Minister Chang Ching-hui, the Manchoukuo representative ; and Prime Minister Ba Maw, the Burmese representative. To Premier Tohjo's left were His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon, the Thai representative ; President Jose P. Laurel, the representative of the Philippines ; and Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and observer to the Assembly. Behind each of the representatives were the associates.

The conference concentrated on the statement of active opinions concerning fundamental measures for the successful prosecution of the war of greater East Asia and the construction of a greater East Asia. Only the representatives were given voice and it was decided that the representatives should speak in Japanese alphabetical order.

During the morning session, only Premier Tohjo and President Wang were scheduled to speak, but the proceedings progressed so rapidly that Prince Wan Waithayakon, the Thai delegate's speech, originally scheduled for the afternoon, was finished during the forenoon and that the noon recess came forty minutes earlier.

The afternoon session opened at 1 p.m. The first speaker was Prime Minister Chang Ching-hui of Manchoukuo. He urged the need for greater East Asia's unity as it was felt by Manchoukuo, the senior State in the co-prosperity sphere.

The next speaker was Dr. Jose P. Laurel, the Philippine delegate, who exhibited his brilliant eloquence.

The session came to a recess at 3 p.m. and was resumed twenty minutes later. Prime Minister Ba Maw, the Burmese representative,

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expressed the unflinching resolve of the new-born State.

This completed the speeches by a delegotes of the six participating nations and the session adjourned

at 4:30 p.m.

The representatives of the countries of greater East Asia at Assembly follow :

Japan—General Hidéki Tohjo, Premier.

China—Wang Ching-wei, President of the Executive Yuan.

Thailand—Prince Wan Waithayakon, representative of the President of the Council.

Manchoukuo—Chang Ching-hui, Prime Minister.

The Philippines—Dr. Jose P. Laurel, President.

Burma—Dr. Ba Maw, Prime Minister.

In connection with the Assembly, the following announcement was made by the Board of Information :

" The countries of greater East Asia which have been striving vigorously for the attainment of their common objective on the firm basis of neighbourly friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation have decided, in order to carry on frank discussions among their representatives concerning the successful prosecution of the war of greater East Asia and the plan for the construction of a greater East Asia, to hold an Assembly of greater East Asiatic nations in Tokyo.

" The names of the representatives, associates and observer are as follows :

### *Japan*

Representative :

His Excellency General Hidéki Tohjo Premier

Associates :

His Excellency Admiral Shighétaro Shimada Minister of the Navy

His Excellency Mr. Kazuo Aoki Minister for Greater East Asia Affairs

His Excellency Mr. Mamoru Shighémitsu Minister of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Mr. Naoki Hoshino Chief Secretary of the Cabinet

His Excellency Mr. Eiji Amau President of the Board of Information

His Excellency Mr. Shun-ichi Matsumoto Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Mr. Kuma-ichi Yamamoto Vice-Minister for Greater East Asia Affairs

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His Excellency Mr. Shin-ichi Kamimura Director of the Bureau of Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Major-General Kenryo Sato Director of the Bureau of Military Affairs, Ministry of War

His Excellency Vice-Admiral Takazumi Oka Director of the Bureau of Naval Affairs, Ministry of the Navy

His Excellency Mr. Shimpei Také-uchi Director of the Bureau of General Affairs, Ministry for

## *China*

Representative:

His Excellency Mr. Wang Ching-wei President of the Executive Yuan

Associates :

His Excellency Mr. Chow Fo-hai Vice-President of the Executive Yuan

His Excellency Mr. Chu Min-yi Minister of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Lieutenant-General Chen Chang-tsu Member of the Military Council and Aide-de-Camp to the President

His Excellency Mr. Chow Lang-siang Secretary-General of the Executive Yuan

His Excellency Mr. Hsueh Feng-yuan Deputy Secretary-General of the Executive Yuan

## *Thailand*

Representative :

His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon Representative of the President of the Council

Associates :

His Excellency Major-General Chai Prathipasen Minister of State acting for the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Secretary-General of the Council of Ministers

His Excellency Mr. Sit Sitsayamkan Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Monsieur Wisut Anthayuk Director-General of the Eastern Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mom Chao Wongsanuwat Thewakun First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Major at Chareonsin

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## *Manchoukuo*

Representative :

His Excellency Mr. Chang Ching-hui Prime Minister

Associates :

His Excellency Mr. Li Shao-keng Minister of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Mr. Wang Yun-ching Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

His Excellency Mr. Akira Oh-é Director of the Political Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Mr. Masuo Matsumoto Secretary of the State Council

Mr. Kao Pei-kun Secretary of the State Council

## *The Philippines*

Representative :

His Excellency Dr. Jose P. Laurel President

Associates :

His Excellency Mr. Claro M. Recto Minister of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Mr. Quintin Paredes Minister of Public Works and Communications

Dr. Jose Laurel, Jr. Member of the National Assembly and Private Secretary to the President

## *Burma*

Representative :

His Excellency Dr. Ba Maw Prime Minister

Associates :

His Excellency U Tun Aung Minister for Co-operation

His Excellency Dr. Thein Maung Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

His Excellency U Shwe Baw Foreign Secretary

U Nyun Han Social Secretary to the Head of the State

Lieutenant-Colonel Bo Yan Naing Military Secretary to the Head of the State

## *Provisional Government of Free India*

Observer :

His Excellency Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose Head of the Provisional Government of Free India

Associates :

His Excellency Lt.-Colonel J. K. Bhonsle Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command, Minister without Portfolio

His Excellency Mr. A. M. Sahay Minister without Portfolio, Chief of the Cabinet Secretariat

His Excellency Lt.-Colonel D. S. Raju attached to the Supreme Command

Mr. A. Hassan Private Secretary to His Excellency Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.



During the past centuries, the British Empire, through fraud and aggression, acquired vast territories throughout the world and maintained her domination over other nations and peoples in the various regions by keeping them pitted and engaged in conflict one against another. On the other hand, the United States who, by taking advantage of the disorder and confusion in Europe, had established her supremacy over the American continent, spread her tentacles to the Pacific and to East Asia following her war with Spain. Then, with the opportunities afforded by the first World War, the United States began to pursue her ambition for world hegemony. More recently, with the outbreak of the present war, the United States has further intensified her imperialistic activities and has made fresh inroads into North Africa, West Africa, the Atlantic Ocean, Australia, the Near East and even into India, 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 might to realize their inordinate ambitions in Asia through political aggression and economic exploitation ; they brought on conflict among the various peoples ; they 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

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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, thus 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 rise in power and prestige was looked upon by America and Britain with increasing dislike. They made it the cardinal point of their East Asia policy, on the one hand, to restrain Japan at every turn and, on the other, 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 a tool of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and so aggravated 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 war-time necessity and even resorted to the severance of economic relations with Japan, an act tantamount to 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, in her desire 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 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-defence and to fight for her existence, and thus she 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

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Army and Navy fought with heroic courage under carefully-laid plans 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 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 her position of strategical advantage 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 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 Asiatic 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 a 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 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 closely related nations in one region, fostering 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.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the nations of greater East Asia are bound, in every respect, by ties of an inseparable relationship. I firmly believe that such being the case, it is 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 which 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 practice injustice, deception and exploitation in order to promote their own prosperity.

The construction of a greater East Asia is being realized with 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. More recently, America's ambition there has asserted itself, and discord and friction between Britain and America on the one hand and the Indian masses on the other are being aggravated ; and the Indian people are being subjected to indescribable hardships and tribulations.

The famine of unprecedented magnitude, which such a situation has recently brought about in India, has even been admitted by Britain and America. All patriots of India are imprisoned, while the innocent masses are starving. This is a world 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 co-operation 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 or reason could America and Britain possibly reconcile what they advocate under the so-called Atlantic Charter with : they are actually doing in India. But we are not even surprised at the contradictions between the beautiful signboards which they 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 construction 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 a 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 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.

### III

*The speeches of the delegates follow :*

#### President Wang's Speech

The convening of the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations

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in the capital of our ally, Japan, is an event of great significance in the history of the world. I have been greatly inspired by the address of His Excellency Premier Tohjo to which we have just had the honour of listening.

British and American aggression in East Asia began a hundred years ago. Today, in this grave period, it is only by virtue of the military power of Japan and upon her strength—political, economic and cultural—that we can, for the first time, check the aggressive ambitions of America and Britain, preserve East Asia and prevent those two countries from dominating this part of the world. Recently with the outbreak of the war of greater East Asia, the aggressive influence of the United States and Britain has been expelled, and their military and naval bases in the eastern Pacific and in the South Sea region have been either destroyed or occupied. Furthermore, with a view to securing the common prosperity and well-being of the nations and peoples of East Asia on a basis of the Oriental spirit of

justice, Japan has undertaken to assist their independence and autonomy and to enable them to realize their patriotic aspirations. And, by so doing, she has caused them to assume their respective posts, to display their fullest efforts and to share in the responsibilities for bringing the war of greater East Asia to a successful conclusion and for completing the task of constructing a greater East Asia. For such noble and grand aims and for such brilliant achievements, I wish to pay to Japan my highest respects.

Also, I wish to express my sincere respect to Manchoukuo and Thailand with whom we enjoy amicable relations, as well as to the newly-risen Burma, the Philippines and Free India, all of whom with inflexible determination and inspired efforts are doing their share in the war of greater East Asia and in the construction of a greater East Asia.

I am exceedingly happy to have been accorded an opportunity to speak on the determination and the efforts of the National Government of China to bring the war of greater East Asia to a successful termination and to construct a greater East Asia.

Throughout his life, it was the aspiration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic, to liberate China and East Asia from the fetters of America and British domination and to realize complete independence and autonomy. And it was with such aspirations that he continued his struggle for forty long years until his death. Three months before he passed away, Dr. Sun spoke in Kobe, Japan, on two

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occasions: In his first speech on November 28, 1924, which was devoted to the subject of the Greater Asia Doctrine, he said : " Our Asia, despite its being the fountain head of the world's oldest culture, has suffered from the aggression of Britain and America for a hundred years and declined to the point where there existed hardly a single completely independent nation among us. However, when that decline reached the lowest level, a great turning-point suddenly arrived. This was the Meiji Restoration of Japan, and it is in this restoration that we find the reason for Japan's rise as the leader of Asiatic nations and, at the same time, the starting-point for the reconstruction of Asia. The nations of Asia must naturally, in a spirit of unity and co-operation with Japan and on a basis of the Oriental culture of the Kingly Way, win over the Occidental culture founded upon the rule of force, completely expel the aggressive influence of America and Britain and secure their independence and sovereignty. Only by so doing can they lead Asia out of decadence and set it on the road of reconstruction."

On the other occasion in the same year, Dr. Sun stated that Japan naturally must assist China and abolish the unequal treaties, and further added : " Japan and China are like brothers. Japan, once subjected to the yoke of unequal treaties, roused herself and broke that yoke and became the leading nation of the East and a world Power. China is now endeavouring to bring about the abolition of the unequal treaties and desires the utmost assistance of Japan. The liberation of China is the liberation of East Asia."

These two speeches were the last to be delivered by the Father of our Republic, for soon after Dr. Sun became ill and, in the following year, on March 12, 1925, died in Peking. At the time of his death

he left to his disciples a will, commanding them to carry on the struggle for the emancipation of China.

What is most unfortunate is that following the death of Dr. Sun, when his desires remained still unfulfilled, Sino-Japanese relations did not see any improvement, but became more aggravated culminating in the outbreak of the China affair in July, 1937.

Because the relations between Japan and China broke down, America and Britain, considering this as a golden opportunity, manoeuvred for the extension and prolongation of the conflict by causing further ill-feeling and division between the two countries. We, the followers of Dr. Sun, were distressed to see his will remain unfulfilled and the relations between Japan and China deteriorate from day to day. We were almost at the point of despair when, fortunately, the Japanese

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Government announced their policy to terminate the incident as soon as possible and also made clear that the aim of Japan did not lie in the downfall of China but in her rise, that Japan expected China to share in the task of reconstructing East Asia, that Japan was determined to assist China, and that Japan looked forward to the realization of China's desire to recover her full sovereignty and independence. In the declaration of Japan's true intentions, we saw hope for an amicable adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations and for the fulfillment of the will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Accordingly, we advised the abandonment of resistance and the restoration of peace to the Chungking regime, But because they would not listen, we had no choice but to escape from Chungking and carry on by ourselves our movement for peace. Thus the National Government returned to Nanking to exert their utmost efforts in working properly and effectively for Sino-Japanese collaboration and for the construction of a new East Asia.

As I have said before, the United States and Britain made constant efforts to cause friction and division between Japan and China in order to extend and prolong the China affair. These efforts were further intensified after the return of the National Government to Nanking, the United States and Britain taking all possible measures to buttress Chungking's resistance and to prevent peace. It is a fact well known to all that, following the outbreak of the war of greater East Asia, the United States and Britain, because of the collapse of their influence in East Asia, utilized Chungking more than ever as a tool for checking Japan. We say with confidence that all such machinations will soon end in failure. Why? Because the military and civil leaders of Chungking and the general masses of the people under that regime are all believers in the teachings of Dr. Sun, and because, since January 9 of this year, Japan has taken successive steps retroceding her concessions and relinquishing her extra-territorial rights ; and especially, the recent Pact of Alliance has replaced the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty and all the documents annexed thereto.

The Greater Asia Doctrine propounded by Dr. Sun has already borne fruit. Assistance to China and abolition of the unequal treaties which Dr. Sun desired of Japan have also become a reality. Regardless of what attempts the United States and Britain may make at seduction and obstruction, no longer can they prevent the awakening of Chungking. Even if they succeeded in gaining temporary control, Chungking would soon and surely realize that reliance upon America and Britain is to betray

public. I can positively state that the day of Chungking's awakening is Inevitably coming.

At this most important juncture, the National Government, in accordance with their fixed policies, are redoubling their efforts on the one hand to urge the Chungking leaders to awaken and return to Nanking so as to consummate national unification and on the other, to set up a model zone in the area under their control. This programme lays stress on the following three points : first, purification of thought ; second, guarantee of peace and order ; and third, production increase.

The purification of thought is intended to liquidate thoroughly Anglo-American individualistic and utilitarian ideas and replace them with the ethical spirit of the Orient in order that the peoples of East Asia may regain their proper status through East Asiatic awakening and strive with one mind and one virtue for their common prosperity and welfare. As to the guarantee of peace and order, it means that China will maintain peace and order in the rear lines of the war of greater East Asia so as to free the officers and men of her ally in the fighting lines from any anxiety about the home front. And then, she will go a step further by sending her own troops to the front lines to share, even to a small degree, the hardships and privations of Japan's fighting forces. The increase of production aims at augmenting China's strength for a decisive total war with emphasis laid on the economic and financial plans. Economy of consumption and utilization of waste are also included in the plan for production increase.

These three points form the backbone of the National Government's programme for co-operation toward the prosecution of the war of greater East Asia. The meaning of this war of construction which the National Government have learned by experience is this : China is to band together with her fellow nations in a fraternity of East Asiatic nations, bound by common aspirations and resolve to share the bitter and the sweet, to live and die together, so that without, she may help defeat America and Britain, our common enemies, shatter their aggressive influences and frustrate their aggressive designs, and within, do her full part in the construction of East Asia with ceaseless industry and resolute courage

In the war of greater East Asia, we want victory ; in the construction of a greater East Asia, we want common prosperity. All the nations of East Asia should love their own countries, love their neighbors, and love East Asia. Our motto for China is resurgence of

China and defence of East Asia. When China has gained independence and autonomy, then can she shoulder her share in the responsibilities for the defence of East Asia ; when the defence of East Asia has been secured, then will China's independence and autonomy be guaranteed It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to make our own country not only independent and autonomous, but also a powerful factor in East Asia. Inasmuch as all the nations of East Asia have each its own unique character, it is necessary to safeguard their independence and autonomy on the one hand and to respect one another's

independence and autonomy on the other. No less necessary is it for all the nations of East Asia to march forward together toward their common goal and seek their common prosperity and welfare. Japan already has made manifest to the world the full glory of her sovereignty. She has now enabled the other nations of East Asia to win their independence and autonomy and has freely helped them unite together and exert themselves toward the attainment of their common goal. Now that we have won political independence and autonomy, we shall inevitably attain our common objective when diplomatically we have an agreement on policy and militarily a common front against the enemy.

The triple successes achieved by Japan, in preserving her own culture, in promoting Oriental culture and in assimilating world culture, command our profound respect. I confidently believe that the newly risen nations will make strenuous efforts to go forward in a similar manner. We, the Chinese nation, must concentrate on the revival of our culture. It is my belief that the fusion and creation of cultures is an essential factor in drawing closer the bonds of friendship among nations as in the case of the interchange of thought between China and India in ancient times through the introduction of Buddhism, which added a unique feature to the history of Oriental culture.

In the economic field, too, all the nations of East Asia should work out a formula for deriving benefits mutually, by complementing each other and ministering to one another's needs on the basis of reciprocity. For instance, cotton which we grow in China is required by various neighbouring countries, while gasoline, rubber and tin produced in the southern region may be supplied to neighbouring countries in fairly large volumes. Everything will be settled, if only we approach the question from the viewpoint of mutual aid. All policies of exploitation and monopoly pursued by America and Britain in the past must be razed to the ground, and in their place a new world which conforms to the principles of humanity must be created.

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when what I have said is realized, there is not the slightest doubt asperibit the prosperity and welfare of all the nations of East Asia will be promoted, not only providing a guarantee of East Asia's common prosperity, but further by laying a foundation for world peace. Before us stretches a road of bright hopes for the nations of East Asia to march along hand in hand.

Before closing, I should like to add that those countrymen of mine who are resident in Thailand, Burma and the Philippines and the former British and Dutch colonies, now under Japanese occupation, number no less than seven or eight millions. Well treated by the respective governments, they are actively engaged, shoulder to shoulder with the local peoples, in developing communication facilities and natural resources at great pains and by the sweat of their brows. It should go a long way not only to unite the local peoples with them, but also to hasten the awakening of the East Asiatic peoples.

The Chinese people are not free from shortcomings, but at the same time they are possessed of strong points. They are peace-loving, sincere, hard-working and simple. They share with the local peoples both joys and sorrows, weal and woe, with the result that an inseparable relationship of friendly co-operation has developed between the two with mutual appreciation of their strong points and by mutually supplementing their shortcomings. It is my firm belief that this relationship will be further



strengthened and consolidated by the war of greater East Asia and further that it will contribute to the common prosperity of greater East Asia.

The Three-Power Joint Declaration among Japan, Manchoukuo and China of November 30, 1940, has already provided a strong central body. And today, with the Assembly of the Greater East Asiatic Nations attended by the representatives of three more countries, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines, and also by Free India as guest, the sphere of common prosperity has been further expanded.

In closing, I desire to express my best wishes for the success and prosperity of all the countries represented in the Assembly and also for the happiness of their peoples.

### Prince Wan's Speech

Monsieur le President, Your Excellencies,

His Majesty's Government have been happy to accept the invitation extended by the Japanese Government to take part in the present Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations, because His Majesty's

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Government are convinced that this Assembly will produce results most beneficial to the prosecution of the war of greater East Asia to its final conclusion as desired, as well as to the permanent and ever-prospering establishment of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere. His Excellency Field-Marshal P. Phibun Songkhram, His Majesty's President of the Council of Ministers, however, greatly regrets that he is unable to attend the Assembly in person, since the state of his health does not at present permit such a long journey to Tokyo. He has, therefore, entrusted me with the duty of representing him in this Assembly.

The views of His Majesty's Government concerning the conduct of the war of greater East Asia and the establishment of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere are that the lines of conduct already practised, particularly those following upon the principles of Japanese-Thai relationships, are already well-suited. The task to be undertaken is to promote the friendship, the mutual co-operation and the good understanding that already so happily exist to a closer degree so as to form one single mental and physical force for bringing to their successful conclusion the prosecution of the war and the establishment of a co-prosperity sphere in greater East Asia.

The reasons, which I would like to bring to the support of what I have stated, are those which I would bring from the history of the development of greater East Asia. The continent of Asia was the source of human development and had attained the highest degree of development from olden times. Such development is the pure light that shines in the heart of humanity, that urges humanity to look for peace and happiness and is composed of friendship and goodwill firmly based on the principle of righteousness. This is the principle of development inherent in the Thai nation that venerates

Buddhism as the national religion, and such principle of development is also the principle of culture traditionally held by Asiatic nations in general, or to put it in another way, development according to Asiatic traditions is culture. This is recognized by the people of the West as borne out by the saying *ex occidente lex, ex oriente lux*, from the West, law, from the East, light.

European development takes another form, namely that of a civilisation, which has as its aim the promotion of worldly development, that is to say, the promotion of State and economic power. For this reason, in the modern period of world history, various European nations have expanded from Europe, and more particularly since over a hundred

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years ago, Great Britain and the United States of America have extended their power to greater East Asia by taking territories in this region, partly as colonies, partly as their exclusive field of exploitation for the acquisition of raw materials for production into manufactured goods and partly as markets for the distribution of their manufactured goods. Consequently, various nations in greater East Asia had either to lose their independence and their sovereignty, or were subjected to limitations placed upon their independence and sovereignty by the regime of extra-territoriality and by unequal treaties, having no reciprocity in accordance with international law. Instead of being a continent composed of political solidarity, Asia had become a mere geographical name.

The distress arising out of such a situation remains fixed in the sentiment and memory of the greater East Asiatic nations in general. With profound foresight, the Japanese Empire has seen that progress in the modern world has to depend on the methods of Western civilization, but with reliance on the cultural principle of the East. She has, therefore, modified her form of development to conform to the modern pattern, did away with extra-territoriality and advanced with rapidity to the status of a great Power. Thailand, for her part, has also proceeded in the same manner, and even if it has taken several years, she has, with untiring endeavour, thrown off extra-territoriality and successfully regained her independence and sovereignty.

In truth, greater East Asia is a territory abundant in wealth ; it has natural resources and industrial localities capable of development so as to make this sphere co-prosperous in accordance with the principle of self-sufficiency. The Japanese Empire had, accordingly, followed the policy of establishing a co-prosperity sphere, abiding by the ideal of *hakko ichiu*—the union into one family—on the basis of justice, righteousness and peace, and had adopted peaceful means in the execution of this policy, such as in the case of the dispute between French Indo-China and Thailand, in which, in order to establish the friendship between the two countries on a basis free from resentment due to the loss of national territory, Thailand had requested the return from France of certain part of the lost territory, the Japanese Government kindly consented to mediate so that an agreement based on justice was reached. The Thai people will never forget this favour on the part of Japan.

The pursuance by Japan of her policy by peaceful means did not, however, meet with success because of various obstructive obstacles

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put up by the United States of America and Great Britain. Consequently, the war of greater East Asia had perforce to break out, and great and glorious victories achieved by the Imperial Japanese forces fill the peoples throughout Asia with joy, for therein lies hope of the peoples of greater East Asia to be able to establish on a solid basis the envisaged co-prosperity sphere in this region.

Thailand, a country who had maintained close relationship with Japan for several hundred years with ties of friendship that have progressively grown tighter and firmer, has well understood the purpose of Japan, and His Majesty's Government, under the lead ship of His Excellency the President of the Council of Ministers, have immediately co-operated as ally of Japan, as shown by the Pact of Alliance concluded with one another with, as its important object, the establishment of a co-prosperity sphere in greater East Asia and the total elimination of the evil influences which stand as obstacles in the achievement of this aim. The principles laid down in that pact are (1) the establishment of an alliance on the basis of mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and (2) the rendering of mutual assistance with all the political, economic and military means each other's command.

Militarily, the Thai armed forces have joined with the Japanese forces in fighting with bravery and stubborn endurance achieving the desired success. They are now prepared to make sacrifices for the further conduct of the war till final success is attained. Economically, Thailand is already co-operating fully with Japan, and any request she makes of Japan for assistance in this respect is limited only to what is necessary for the maintenance of her economic power in order to conduct the war to a victorious conclusion. Moreover, Thailand has also promoted her national culture so that the Thai people may be inspired with a united and vigorous strength of mind for the benefit of the prosecution of the war, and has concluded a Cultural Agreement with Japan so that the spirit of the two nations may be bound in close co-ordination. The spirit is the special feature inherent in the culture of Asia, and it is this strength of mind that will constitute one of the most important factors in bringing about victory in the war.

Politically, the friendly relations between Thailand and Japan are in a condition of the closest cordiality, having mutually a good understanding of one another. The Japanese Government are large-hearted in sympathizing with Thailand in her aspirations to recover lost Thai territories and to unite the strength of the people of the Thai race. The

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Government have, therefore, concluded a treaty recognizing the incorporation into Thailand of the four states in Malaya and the two States in the Shan region. This bears witness to the fact that Japan does not only respect the independence and sovereignty of Thailand, but also promote the solidarity as well as the increased power of Thailand. The Thai Government and the Thai people are most deeply and sincerely grateful to the Japanese Government and the Japanese people.

The goodwill, such as Japan has shown toward Thailand, she has also shown toward the other countries in greater East Asia as befits each case ; for instance, she has assisted in the restoration of complete sovereignty to China, has helped in the establishment of the independence of Manchoukuo,

Burma and the Philippines as well as in the establishment of the Provisional Government of Free India for the purpose of regaining the independence of India. Thailand rejoices at these achievements, and whole-heartedly gives her support, since she has had for a long time past cordial friendly relations as well as cultural ties and good neighbourly relations with all these countries.

Now that greater East Asia is no longer a mere geographical name but a co-prosperity sphere on a firm basis, the great task before all the greater East Asiatic nations is to co-operate with one another in the conduct of the war till absolute success is achieved, each nation contributing all the strength at its command for the permanent establishment in the joint interest of all of the co-prosperity sphere.

The principle that will keep this region in continued prosperity is the promotion to the highest degree of the power of each country, including material, moral and spiritual power, through respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, through development of economic relations with one another on the basis of reciprocity and through close co-operation and assistance with one another in conformity with the principles of righteousness and of justice, so as to insure peace happiness and prosperity of each country and of this region as a whole. In this way, the various greater East Asiatic nations will permanently develop in conformity with their own national culture, and will, at the same time, pursue the common object of enhancing the well-being and progress of this co-prosperity sphere. As for the relations between the greater East Asiatic nations and the other countries in the world, whether in general amity, in commerce or in culture, reliance should be made on the same principles, more particularly on the principle of respect for independence and sovereignty and that of reciprocity.

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This will help to make the peace of the world solid and secure.

The Japanese Empire is the nation that leads the way in the adaptation of Asiatic culture as a factor of progress by making use of scientific knowledge and the methods of organization of modern civilization. Thus arose the co-prosperity sphere of greater-East Asia. In the name, therefore, of His Majesty's Government, I beg here to express our gratification and gratitude.

In conclusion, I beg. in they name of His Excellency Field-Marshal P. Phibun Songkhram, President of the Council of Ministers of Thailand, to express the very best wishes for the success of the deliberations of this historic Assembly, thereby further increasing the security and prosperity of Greater East Asia.

### Prime Minister Chang's Speech

It affords me great pleasure to have this opportunity today of meeting the heads of the Governments of greater East Asiatic nations and of exchanging views in plain words and with great hopes even though it be in the midst of a fateful war of unmitigated severity. I desire to tender my sincere thanks to the Japanese Government who have sponsored this historic gathering and, at the same time, to pay my respects to His Excellency Premier General Tohjo and other Government leaders of the countries

participating in the Assembly. Furthermore, on behalf of Manchoukuo as one of the countries guarding the home front in the war of greater East Asia, I desire to convey the heartfelt gratitude of my nation to the Empire of Japan and other countries who are taking an active part in the war and to their officers and men for their excellent planning and gallant fighting.

Since the commencement of the war of greater East Asia, Japan achieved magnificent results unparalleled in the annals of war and succeeded thereby in defeating and driving out America and Britain, who, for long years, had encroached upon East Asia and victimized it in order to maintain their prosperity. It is within less than two years that Burma and the Philippines have regained their independence, and the other peoples of East Asia, each rediscovering its true self and occupying its proper place, are facing the future with hope. They are recovering their vitality of which they have been robbed by the insatiable greed of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. The fervent aspiration toward emancipation which had always animated the subject peoples throughout East Asia, despite the oppression and chicanery of then Anglo-Saxon rulers, is being realized at one stroke in the name of

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greater East Asia. Thanks to the consistent policy of Japan based upon ethical principles and her immense energy for action, these peoples are now able to bid adieu to the miseries of their past and to win back their honour that has been trampled under foot. Elated as we are on encountering this golden opportunity to be met only once in a thousand years, we cannot but be overcome with a sense of solemn sadness as we recall the martyrdom of those many patriots of the various countries who bled and died for the cause of East Asia's liberation.

At this very moment I am filled with deep emotions on recollecting the fact that Manchoukuo was founded ten years ago as the first newly risen State possessing a truly East Asiatic consciousness. I myself took part with an irrepressible zeal in the task of building up the new empire. What was lacking most in Manchuria of those days was a government based upon ethical principles. Consequently, the people were not being guided or organized toward an ideal of any sort whatsoever. The land was laid to waste. Under the feudalistic rule of militarists, squeeze and extortions ran rampant. Indeed, Manchuria had the appearance of a typically East Asiatic country without freedom and without creative faculties. The military clique headed by Chang Hsueh-liang was then the ruler of Manchuria, which preyed mercilessly upon the people.

However, when under the influence of the Anglo-Saxon policy of disturbing East Asia, Chang Hsueh-liang came to assume an attitude that was brazenly anti-Japanese, Japan rose and destroyed his regime. As the result, the 10,000,000 people of Manchuria were united for a single purpose of establishing an autonomous ethical State which would truly seek the advancement of the people's welfare and the prosperity of the land. That was the most natural development of the situation. It was our aim to convert Manchuria, who had menaced constantly the stability of East Asia owing to foreign interferences and consequent international complications of all kinds, into a stabilizing force of the entire East Asia as a strong and righteous nation founded upon the ethical tenets of the old Orient, and awakened to the consciousness of a new East Asia. We believed that for East Asia to turn back to its glorious moral heritage, to revert to its real self and to contribute thereby to the world's civilization was exactly the same as for European nations to live as European nations and for American countries

to maintain their existence by themselves as American nations, which was all too clear in the light of the great principles of humanity. Indeed, such was, we thought, the inevitable course of history which no one

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could stop as long as East Asia kept its East Asiatic consciousness.

However, America and Britain, who do not relish East Asia having an East Asiatic consciousness, beset us with all manner of obstacles by manipulating the League of Nations, their puppet institution, or by instigating the Chiang Kai-shek regime which was then situated at Nanking. What my nation will remember forever with gratitude is the fact that at this juncture Japan, although she had driven out Chang Hsueh-liang at great costs in money and blood, showed not an inkling of territorial ambition, but assisted in a fair and just manner our independence and autonomous development. Moreover, while supporting the independence of Manchoukuo, Japan, on the other hand, proclaimed her policy for the establishment of a new order in East Asia and made known her firm attitude to all the world by withdrawing from the League of Nations. Thus, it may be said that the founding of Manchoukuo was really the very first and significant step in the construction of a greater East Asia which is being carried on today throughout the entire region.

Now, as for Manchoukuo so established, what results has she achieved in the course of the past ten years—and by what policies? It is a point on which the attention of the whole world is specially focussed. I avail myself of this occasion to offer explanations touching upon a few of the fundamental aspects.

Firstly, on the harmony of races. In Manchoukuo there live together many different peoples. But there do not exist such relationships among Japanese, Manchurians, Mongolians as those between ruler and ruled, or between exploiter and exploited, which have generally prevailed hitherto in a community composed of different races. Instead, the various peoples of Manchoukuo are all co-operating toward the attainment of the national purposes, while manifesting respectively their distinctive qualities. This is a point where it differs radically from the rule of Anglo-Saxon imperialism over alien peoples. I venture to say that the harmony of races in Manchoukuo, reflecting as it does the spirit in which the Japanese Empire was founded, is suggestive of the formula for the common prosperity and well-being among the various nations and peoples of greater East Asia.

Secondly, the defence of the northern frontier. For the construction of a greater East Asia it is absolutely necessary not only that we should perfect the national defence of our own Empire, but also that our country herself should serve as a bulwark for greater East Asia so that the work may be carried on without the least apprehension.

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This has been considered from the beginning as one of the most important missions of our nation. We have made of Manchoukuo an impregnable bastion of the north by concluding a joint defence pact of alliance with Japan. I desire to assure Your Excellencies that in this regard there is no cause for

apprehension now and that we will do in the future, too, all that is expected of us.

Thirdly, the stabilization of the people's livelihood and the training of a strong and upright people.

Immediately after the founding of our nation, the Government speedily unified the monetary system which had been in a state of extreme disorder and had been considered difficult to bring under control. As the result, they succeeded in stabilizing prices and securing the stability of the people's livelihood to an extent such as prevails to-day. Parallel with this, the establishment of peace and order was carried out. Today, compared with the time of the founding of our nation when some 300,000 bandits overran the country, there is hardly a single trace of them. In addition, with the establishment of the system of national military conscription last year, a strong national army equipped with modern arms has been created. This, coupled with the efficient police system, enables the people in every section of the land to live and work in peace and security.

On the other hand, the Government, through various measures such as the system of labour service and the promotion of education, is devoting its efforts to the training of the people by fostering national consciousness, by promoting respect for work and by bringing up the youth so strong in mind and body that they may become worthy people of East Asia. They are growing rapidly in number. Much is expected of them, this new generation, in connection not only with the co-operation of our country in bringing the war to a successful conclusion, but also with the future development of our national fortunes.

Finally, the development of industry. On the fifth year of the founding of our nation, the Government put into operation a five-year plan for industrial development, and completed it last year with great success after overcoming many difficulties. Continuing, a second five-year plan was instituted and put into effect. The speeding up of production of such raw materials of heavy industry as iron, coal and non-ferrous metals and the acceleration of the light metal indispensable in wartime, have, parallel with the perfection of the facilities for the epochal increase in electric power, made steady progress, and in every aspect are approaching the levels of the world's

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great Powers. In the field of agriculture, Manchoukuo is fully demonstrating her capacity as an agricultural country, and is increasing at present her production as planned, achieving great results as one of the foremost granaries of East Asia.

To give a few figures to explain the successes of the construction enterprises to which I have referred, the total revenues and expenditures of Manchoukuo, which were only a little over ¥270,000,000 at the time the nation was founded, have swelled to more than ¥4,450,000,000 today, which means an increase by sixteen times in ten years. The railroad mileage has leaped from 6,000 kilometres to 12,000 kilometres. Primary school children who numbered only 500,000 have increased to 2,500,000. In the field of production, the output of coal has increased by four times, and steel by five times, indicating the high *tempo* of their development. Improvements in the facilities devoted to public health and sanitation are too numerous to mention. But, to give a noteworthy example, let me say a word about the evil of opium-smoking, of which America and Britain have made a means of

aggression in East Asia, while denouncing it with vituperous words in the name of humanity. There were 130,000 users of opium at the time of the founding of our nation; today, there are only a very few, and it is expected that these will, in the near future, disappear altogether.

As one responsible for my Government, I often reflect and feel a sense of shame for my lack of effort, but what I feel most keenly as I watch the growth in our national fortunes is the unchanging fidelity and friendship of Japan. From the very beginning of the founding of our nation the relations between Japan and Manchoukuo have been naturally and inevitably characterized by a oneness in mind and virtue. The friendship between the Imperial Houses of our two countries grows with years, setting a noble example for the peoples. Our decade of unparalleled national development owes much to the assistance extended by Japan out of her great friendship. We are engaged today in successfully carrying out the rear line duties in the war of greater East Asia, but, in doing so, we feel that no matter how much we do as a nation we cannot return enough.

Next, I wish to express some of my views as to the aims of the construction of a greater East Asia.

As I have said before, Manchoukuo was founded with the aim of emancipating East Asia and establishing a new order. It is her desire to contribute to the establishment of a greater East Asia in every way and at every opportunity.

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As regards the relations between Manchoukuo and the other countries of East Asia, I have already spoken of the inseparable ties of oneness in mind and virtue that bind our country with Japan.

Two years ago, the seat of the National Government of the Chinese Republic was restored to Nanking under the leadership of His Excellency President Wang Ching-wei. Shortly afterwards, Manchoukuo, together with Japan and China, issued a three-Power joint declaration, setting down mutual good neighbour relations among Japan, Manchoukuo and China. Manchoukuo also established friendly relations with Thailand. More recently, when Burma and the Philippines proclaimed independence, Manchoukuo was among the first to extend formal recognition to the new States. It is the intention of Manchoukuo to draw still closer her bonds of friendship with those nations. It is unprecedented in the history of East Asia that within so short a space of time six independent States have come into existence, not including the Provisional Government of Free India, which has already been set up. At this juncture, I believe it is essential for the construction of a greater East Asia that all the nations of East Asia should act on a conviction of common destiny of all East Asiatic nations as a single entity. All our sympathy goes to the four hundred millions of India, who still groan under the brutal oppression of Britain and America; while it is our sincere hope that the Chung-king regime, the orphan of East Asia, which still labours under an illusion may reflect and come to embrace the great cause of greater East Asia.

Henceforth, all the nations of East Asia should be inspired with lofty intentions to take part in the righteous development and evolution of the world, by obliterating all traces of Anglo-American imperialistic crimes and shaking off every vestige of colonial bondage, removing thereby once for all the blot on the history of East Asia. They should then co-operate under their proper status in harmonious relationship with the other nations of the world who are willing to follow the dictates of



humanity and justice. In this sense, it is my ardent desire that Germany and her Axis partners, who are bravely fighting in Europe for similar purposes, may win ultimate victory, thereby accelerating the construction of a new order of Europe, and further that a new order such as our own may prevail throughout the world. And it is my firm belief that the future relations among the East Asiatic nations should be eternally

regulated under the idea of East Asia being one family and upon the

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basis of family-and-blood relationship, which constitutes the traditional feature of Oriental morality. This is fundamentally different from the old international relations, under which nations joined or parted company by interests, as may be witnessed in the relations among the anti- Axis nations in the current world war. It requires no reiteration that the nations of East Asia should live according to their respective traditions and natural endowments and by respecting those of another but at the same time they should complement each other and minister to one another's needs politically, economically, culturally and other- wise, thereby contributing to the development and progress of East Asia as a whole. With regard to the concept of boundaries, I am of the opinion that those between the States of East Asia should not be conceived as those separating nations opposed to each other in an un-Oriental way, but as those linking nations who are eager to participate in a common enterprise through mutual co-operation. Therefore, all barriers which have hampered free interchange and communion between nations should be removed without further loss of time.

The construction of a greater East Asia, as envisaged by us, means at once the renaissance of the old, glorious East Asia and the creation of a new East Asia. Accordingly, all the nations of East Asia must be possessed of the consciousness and the ability to meet the requirements of the new era. This is why I have referred to the new, gigantic construction now going on in Manchoukuo in both the material and spiritual fields. as never seen before. I take this opportunity to recall with sympathy and emotion the address delivered by Premier General Hideki Tojo before the eighty-first session of the Diet in January last, in which he stated that the development achieved by Manchoukuo of today indicates what may be the. tomorrow of the entire greater East Asia.

A survey of the war situation shows that our enemies, America and Britain, are worried over the big stride made by the construction of a greater East Asia and the awakening of the peoples everywhere in East Asia which have followed their general retreat from East Asia in the initial stages of the war. They are now launching counteroffensives by mustering all their power. The current war is the last of the aggressive wars to be waged by them with East Asia, and that on the largest scale. We must fully realize that this is not only the only chance given us by providence for the fulfilment of our ardent desire for the construction of a greater East Asia sphere, but the supreme moment that is to decide forever the rise, or fall, of all the peoples of

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East Asia. What we must do may be summed up in one sentence : Convert all the material and moral strength of all the-countries of greater East Asia into fighting power and crush the Anglo-American enemies with the total strength of East Asia.

There is no shadow of a doubt that glorious final victory will be on our side, if only we, the billion peoples of Asia, construct as we fight, fight as we construct, and push the war with vigour, by fully mobilizing the natural resources of greater East Asia, unexampled in the world, as well as our superior spiritual power, which is the proud heritage of our nations.

In pursuance of the Imperial Rescript, which was granted on the outbreak of the war of greater East Asia and which says that Manchoukuo and Japan stand or fall together through life or death, our Government and people have mobilized all their manpower and material resources in order to cooperate in the prosecution of the greater East Asia war, while discharging our important responsibilities for the defence of our northern frontier.

In conclusion, I desire to assure you that our determination is firmer than ever and to pledge on behalf of my nation that together with the other nations of East Asia and with an abiding faith in our victory, we will devote ourselves to the sacred task of constructing a greater East Asia.

### President Laurel's Speech

Your Excellency, Your Excellencies, Gentlemen :

in all humility, I rise to say a few words in behalf of the Republic of the Philippines on this momentous and glorious occasion. My first words shall be those of profound appreciation and gratitude to the great Empire of Japan and to her great leader, His Excellency Premier General Hideki Tohjo, who is sponsoring this great convention of leaders of the peoples of the greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere, so that they may discuss the common problems affecting their safety and their general welfare and so that, also they may, through personal contact, know one another and thereby hasten the establishment and perpetuation of the greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere, for the glorification not only of the Asiatic peoples, but of the entire mankind.

My second thought is one of greetings to Your Excellency, to His Excellency the Representative of China, to His Excellency the Representative of Thailand, to His Excellency the Representative of

Manchoukuo, to His Excellency the Representative of Burma, and if I may be allowed, Your Excellency, to His Excellency Subhas Chandra Bose, who represents a new epoch in world history of the Asiatics for freedom of the Indian people.

In fact, as I look back, Your Excellency, and recall the history of human civilization, I feel that this meeting of the peoples of greater East Asia should have been held a long time ago ; but, whereas, in the past we have been kept as strangers, one and all, it is really gratifying to note that through the trying efforts of the great Empire of Japan, for the first time in the history of the peoples of greater East Asia, we are gathered and grouped together, never again to be separated as in the past, ready to fight oppression, exploitation and tyranny, so that we may proclaim to the world that, no longer shall the one billion peoples of Asia be subjected to domination and exploitation by a few Western Powers of the world. At this juncture, will you allow me, Yours Excellency, to mention three reasons, why, in my opinion, we have not been permitted' to meet, unite and discuss our common problems here ?

The first reason is that the policy of the Western Powers, especially of England and America, has always been to dominate politically and exploit economically the oppressed peoples of greater East Asia, with the possible exception of Japan, and, naturally, that policy of exploitation and domination has weakened the peoples of Asia, has sapped their vitality and, therefore, has deterred and dwarfed their initiative ; and because of that policy of the peoples of England and America, we have not been able to meet earlier to discuss the common problems of greater East Asia.

The second reason is, in accordance with that policy and as a corollary to that policy, America and England have always intended to divide the peoples of greater East Asia in accordance with the principle of divide et impera in order to weaken the morale, the vigor and the vitality of the peoples of greater East Asia. America and England have divided these peoples by establishing divisions in

their religion, in their classes and by encouraging political differences among them. They have divided, at least, the people of my country. They have divided, I am sure, the people of China, and I am sure they have divided the peoples in other parts under their jurisdiction and sovereignty, so that the peoples of greater East Asia, divided and weakened, may not be able to consolidate their forces and rise to uphold the honour and dignity of the Orient.

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The third reason is based on the experience of the small and young Republic of the Philippines. America and England have taught us to hate the Japanese on the pretext that Japan is a conquering Power, greedy and imperialistic; that Japan desires to expand its authority and prestige and that, when we have come in contact with its people, we shall be exploited and oppressed. Realizing that Japan is the only country in this part of the world which could not be subdued because of its great spiritual and material powers and because its people are united, Western diplomacy manoeuvred to create a feeling of hatred and suspicion toward the Japanese people, making us think and believe that they were our enemies and not our friends and brothers. These, in my opinion, are the reasons why the peoples of greater East Asia have not been able to unite and band together for the purpose of discussing, as I have said, the common problems affecting their security, their prestige and their very honour.

I was, Your Excellency, very deeply touched the first time that the representatives of the participating countries were asked to partake of Your Excellency's hospitality. As I entered your reception room, tears flowed from my eyes and I felt strengthened and inspired and said : " One billion Orientals ; one billion peoples of greater East Asia ! How could they have been dominated, a great portion of them, by particularly England and America? I wonder ! " And so it is really with the utmost pride and satisfaction that I have come to re-present a small Republic like the Philippines and extend my greetings to Their Excellencies who have come in response to the invitation of the illustrious leader of the great Japanese Empire.

I have listened with attention and enthusiasm to the following words employed by His Excellency Premier General Hideki Tojo and I will ask your permission just to read a few lines which I believe express fundamentally the guiding principles which, under the leadership of Japan, will guide and govern the conduct of the Oriental peoples, the peoples of greater East Asia, and which will make us go on forward until the war is won and until the principles of the co-prosperity sphere shall have been firmly laid. His Excellency said : " 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 one prospers

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through another's prosperity and all countries give expression to their true selves." In other words, the greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere is not being established for the benefit of any integral unit of that sphere. According to His Excellency, the starting-point of the establishment of the sphere is recognition, respect for the autonomy and independence of every integral unit, so that, with that recognition of political independence and territorial integrity, each nation may develop in accordance with its own institutions, without any particular member monopolizing the resulting

prosperity of any given country or nation, but with the object in view of extending that welfare and that prosperity to the other integral units, on the theory that the prosperity of all is the prosperity of the integral parts, but that the prosperity of the integral parts is not necessarily the prosperity of the whole.

In other words, co-existence, co-operation and co-prosperity, if I may be allowed to say so, are the three words, the three magic words, which underlie the sacred cause championed by the great Empire of Japan and subscribed to by the other peoples and nations of the greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere. To enable the peoples and nations of greater East Asia to enjoy the natural right to live, the great Empire of Japan is sacrificing life and property and is staking even its very existence in this sacred war. It is fighting not for the Japanese alone but for all the peoples of greater East Asia. Japan will not be happy, I know to live alone and see its brethren in East Asia die. It wants to live, it is true. At the same time, however, it wants its brother Orientals also to live, and to co-exist with its. Japan lives, China lives, Thailand lives, Manchoukuo lives, Burma lives, India lives, the Philippines lives. And all of us living, we shall endeavour to achieve, not alone the prosperity of China or any other nations or integral unit, but the prosperity of all and working together in the achievement of the means necessary for national existence, co-operate with each other—co-operate with the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity, no longer to be dominated by Western Powers, but occupying a rightful place under the sun, with peoples happy under their own respective laws and institutions, welded together into a compact and solid bloc and contributing to the happiness and well-being, not of Asia and Asiatics only, but also and as well of the entire world.

There is another part of the speech masterly delivered by His Excellency the Premier which I would like to obtain permission to quote and to emphasize for the benefit of myself, and for the benefit,

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perchance, of the other gentlemen who have been invited to this gathering, so that we may preach and enlighten our peoples when we go back and give them an account of what transpired in this Assembly. The quotation has reference to Oriental culture, to the much-needed spiritualization of Oriental peoples. And I desire to quote it particularly, Gentlemen, because I need it for my own country. His Excellency said : " A superior order of culture has existed in greater East Asia from the very beginning. Especially is the spiritual essence of the culture of greater East Asia 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." His Excellency enjoins upon us all mutually to respect one another's glorious traditions and to develop the creative spirit and genius of our peoples and thereby enhance even more the culture of greater East Asia. This spiritualization, this efflorescence of cultural supremacy of the Oriental type, is something that we shall not only conceive and preserve and transmit as a heritage to generations yet unborn but as a basic idea, as it does coming from the lips of His Excellency, should be planted deep in the hearts of all Orientals, especially those coming from a country, which, unfortunately, as weak and small as mine and languished long under the domination and influence of materialistic Western Powers, under Spain for more than 300 years and under America for forty years. And that is the reason why this spiritualization of the people particularly of my country is necessary. Indeed, we the leaders of our respective countries should renovate and change our entire educational systems so that our peoples may feel, think and act as Orientals. That is perhaps the best way of helping the Japanese obtain this spiritualization of all the peoples of greater East Asia.

It is needless for me to say anything about the military aspect here. That is taken for granted because we cannot enjoy our freedom—neither Burma nor the Philippines can enjoy the freedom that has been granted to them for any length of time—unless Japanese arms emerge victorious in the current war. We fully realize this and, while we are undergoing difficulties we are determined to carry on and forge ahead until the goal of victory is achieved by the Empire of Japan. The fight of China, the fight of Thailand, the fight of all the peoples of greater East Asia for freedom and integrity depends upon that victory. The establishment of the co-prosperity sphere depends upon that

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victory. The attainment of the supreme aspirations of the peoples of greater East Asia depend upon that victory. Without that victory, there can not be a co-prosperity sphere ; nor can there be freedom for my country or for any other country in East Asia. There can never be prestige for the Orientals and, as in the past, Occidental Powers will try to dominate us more and more unto exhaustion and even death.

May I be permitted, Your Excellency, on this occasion to pledge my support and the support of my people to Your Excellency, may I offer and pledge also to their Excellencies, the representatives of different countries, the sympathy and co-operation of my country, however small and however newly born it may be, and our desire to lend at least the encouragement and sympathy of eighteen million Filipinos who, dominated by a spirit of materialism in the past, in keeping with the general trend of events, have awakened to the consciousness of their true Oriental character and are called upon to play the role which God in heaven has assigned to them.

Yours Excellency, it has been my privilege to join this conference with one single purpose in mind and that is, to contribute in a small measure to the general awakening of the peoples of our part of the globe. At the same time, I desire to express officially the gratitude and appreciation of the Filipino people for the great boon of independence which has just been granted to them and which has enabled me to come and attend this conference and meet the worthy representatives of the peoples of Greater East Asia to this august Assembly.

May I express the hope, Your Excellency and gentlemen, that, linked together as we are, not only in body and in spirit but in all that is needed for the successful prosecution of the current war, after the termination of this war in favour of the great Empire of Japan, no longer shall we have a bleeding China, a country inhabited by five hundred million divided and exploited Orientals, but a happy and united China which will be a decisive factor, in co-operation with Japan, in trying to make this part of Asia a safe place for Orientals to live in. When the time comes for us to close our eyes and go to our graves, we can do so happily, knowing that our children no longer would be exploited and dominated by Western Powers. May I also express the hope that no longer shall India, now under the able and inspiring leadership of Mr. Bose, be dominated and divided religiously and politically by the British ; no longer shall India's 350,000,000 strong be subjected to the influence, tyranny and oppression of Great Britain or any other Power, for that matter, And may I express the belief, Your Excellency,

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that with the co-operation of Burma, of Manchoukuo, of Thailand, of China, and of the peoples of Java, Borneo, and Sumatra whose interests cannot be different from those of other peoples of greater East Asia, may I express the belief, I repeat, that united with Japan, united together one and all into a

compact and solid organization, there can no longer be any Power that can stop or deter the acquisition by the one billion Orientals of the free and untrammelled right and opportunity of shaping their own destiny, without the oppressive intervention of any Powers of the West.

The East is the cradle of human civilization. It has given to the West its religion and its culture, and yet the West has used the same civilization to exploit the peoples and countries from whence that civilization came. God in His infinite wisdom will not abandon

Japan and will not abandon the peoples of greater East Asia. God will come and descend from heaven, weep with us and glorify the courage and bravery of our peoples and enable us to liberate ourselves and to make our children and children's children free, happy and prosperous. I thank you.

Prime Minister Ba Maw's Speech

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies :

It is with some diffidence that I am addressing the Assembly. On an occasion like this it is only natural that there should be just one thought in our minds. Our words may be many, but our thought is one, one thought arising from one mind, one will, one objective. Therefore, it will be equally natural that in my speech I shall be often repeating thoughts, emotions, facts, which have already been expressed. But I consider it worthwhile to do so, for Burma, too, must express the same thoughts.

In a sense I have come from my country to speak the same words others have spoken here, to convey the same message, for, after all, there can be only one message. As I look around now, my thoughts go back to the meetings which political circumstances forced me to attend in the West. There, people met together, were polite to each other, laughed, discussed the weather among many other things. But always I felt there like a stranger among strangers, like a Greek slave in ancient Rome.

It is impossible to exaggerate the feelings which are born out of an occasion like this. For years in Burma I dreamt my Asiatic dreams. MY Asiatic blood has always called to other Asiatics. In my

dreams,

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both sleeping and awaking, I have always heard the voice of Asia calling to her children. Today, for the first time, I hear Asia's voice calling again, but this time not in a dream. We have come together, Asiatics, in answer to the call, to the voice of our mother. I have listened with the greatest emotion to all the speeches delivered around this table. All these speeches have been memorable, moving, and—I may be exaggerating, but you must forgive me—I seem to hear in them the same voice of Asia gathering her children together. Some how or other, whatever the different representatives may say, whatever local colour they may add, the undertone, the voice, is the same. There is always a unity of design and purpose and mind which, I say, is the call of our Asiatic blood. This is not the time to think with our minds ; this is the time to think with our blood, and it is this thinking with the blood that has brought me all the way from Burma to Japan.

Among the speeches made, the most memorable has been the speech of His Excellency the Chairman. His Excellency the Chairman has, as always, delivered a fighting speech—indeed, today, more than a fighting speech. It is a working speech. His Excellency has chosen every word of his as a true samurai chooses his weapon. He has streamlined and orientated every word to one consuming purpose; and for this I join the other representatives in expressing my profound gratitude to him.

The world is indeed moving very swiftly. Before the war, it seemed that such a meeting as this would be inconceivable. It would have been impossible then for Asiatics to gather together like this. Yet now we are here. I see with my mind's eye a new world being created. I see in the speech of His Excellency the Chairman a new world structure actually organized, an Asiatic world for Asiatics.

Only a very few years back, the Asiatic peoples seemed to have lived in another world, even in different worlds, divided, estranged, and not knowing each other or even caring to know each other. Asia as a homeland did not exist a few years ago. Asia was not one, then, but many, as many as the enemies which kept her divided, large parts of her following like a shadow one or another of these enemy Powers.

In the past, which now seems to be a very long time ago, it was in-conceivable that the Asiatic peoples should meet together as we are meeting here today. Well, the impossible has happened. It has happened in a way which outstrips the boldest fantasy of dream of the boldest dreamer among us. Today, an East Asiatic Assembly is sitting in the capital of East

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Asia. Thus, a new world has come into existence, a new order, a new citizenship. For the first time in history, the East Asiatic peoples are meeting together as members of a free and equal brotherhood which is founded and consecrated upon the truth that East Asia is one and indivisible.

Today's gathering of the East Asiatic peoples has not appeared out of nothing, out of an empty hat as it were. It is only the climax of a long sequence of happenings which have destroyed one world and created another in East Asia. These happenings, as I have said, have been great and very far-reaching. Japan's assumption of Asiatic leadership, the swift march of her invincible forces across East Asia and the equally swift destruction of the anti-Asiatic Powers, the great rally, unique in all history, of the East Asiatic peoples around Japan against the common enemy, and then, as another great turning-point in our progress, the independence of Burma and the Philippines. Nothing greater or more important has ever happened to the East.

Before I proceed further, I wish to express a thought which has already been expressed by all the other representatives. But Burma also must have the honour of expressing it.

These events which I have described as having changed the East so completely could never have happened without Japan. It is Japan, as the leader of the East, who has led us out of the long wilderness in which so many of us have for so long wandered, lost and unredeemed. To her all East Asia owes much and all East Asia, I am perfectly certain, will gladly repay her much.

I say that today's meeting is a great symbolic act. As His Excellency the Chairman has said, we are truly creating a new world based upon justice, equality and reciprocity, upon the great principle of live and let live. From every point of view, East Asia is a world in itself ; materially self-sufficient and even rich to overflowing ; strategically strong as a rock which can defy all enemies ; spiritually, one and complete representing an entire world of its own. We, Asiatics, forgot this fact for long centuries and paid heavily for it, for as a result the Asiatics lost Asia. Now that we have once more, thanks to Japan, recaptured this truth and acted upon it, the Asiatics will certainly recover Asia. In that simple truth lies the entire destiny of Asia.

I am speaking now as one coming from a country which has learned this lesson at a great price. Many countries and peoples have paid this bitter price for the lesson. Burma paid the price heavily to

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an enemy who never knew either mercy or justice. We are still paying the price with death and destruction in every form. When we were only sixteen million Burmese although we struggled for our birthright, it was in vain. For generations our patriots rose, led the people against the British enemy,

but because we never realized that we were a part of Asia, that what sixteen million Burmese cannot succeed in doing a thousand million Asiatics can easily do, and because we never realized these basic facts every revolt of ours against the enemy was mercilessly crushed. Thus, some twenty years ago in a national revolt Burmese villages went up in flames, Burmese women were massacred. Burmese patriots were imprisoned, hanged, exiled. But although the revolt ended in defeat the flame, the Asiatic flame, kept burning in every Burmese heart. One revolt was followed by another and in this way the struggle went on. The day has at last come when our strength is not the only strength of sixteen million Burmese, but the strength of a thousand million East Asiatics, that so long as East Asia is strong Burma is strong and invincible.

I have spoken of East Asia as a whole, but the fact is East Asia is not yet a whole. We must admit that the circle still remains incomplete ; there are still gaps in it here and there. At this moment I am thinking particularly of India. No one can think of the East without thinking of India. There is no need at all for me to give reason for this. I have often said that there can not be a free Burma without a free India. I will go further now and boldly declare that there can not be a free Asia without a free India. India is the armory and treasure-house, the foothold of anti-Asiatic aggression in Asia. The aggressor must therefore be driven out of India, with her endless treasures and resources, her manpower, her material power ; these resources of India must be wrested from the hands of the enemy. That is why I am confident that you will join me in expressing quite definitely the view that Indian independence is an integral part of Asiatic independence and, therefore, India's struggle is Asia's struggle, our struggle, our war.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose will, I am sure, know that I am speaking quite literally and with absolute conviction.

I now come to the present East Asiatic war and East Asiatic order. There is hardly anything I can add to what has already been said by the other representatives. I will however put it quite categorically. For us, this war cannot be anything else than imperative. Either East Asia wins this war and lives, or she loses and dies. It is quite

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literally a matter of life or death. There is no other alternative. It is a war for the very existence of East Asia and her peoples, for her independence and peace and prosperity for a thousand years. Let us face facts squarely. Burma is facing facts in a terrible way and therefore I am speaking boldly. I am sure I am also speaking for all other East Asiatic countries represented here. Everything is possible to East Asia if she is united, strong and self-sufficient. A thousand million East Asiatics standing together can win any war or any peace.

As for the new Eastern order and economy, I am, as I have said, profoundly grateful to His Excellency the Chairman for his clear and unequivocal statement on it. He has declared with his characteristic courage and decision its basic principles to be justice, reciprocity, and mutual respect for one another's independence and sovereignty. These are clear, reassuring words. These will be forever an East Asiatic charter, a charter which will last as long as the new East Asiatic order will last.

Founded upon those principles the new Eastern order will stand like a rock forever. This new East Asiatic world has already the material conditions necessary for stability. Nature has, as I have said, provided those material riches richly for this new world of ours. Materially, we lack nothing to make our world stable and strong against our enemies. But this decidedly is not enough. Together with this material unity there must be a spiritual unity based upon understanding and tolerance, based upon the fundamental proposition of one for all and all for one. Together with our different nationalisms there



must be a wider nationalism. Together with our territorial horizons there must be a single East Asiatic world horizon. These are not mere sentiments or phrases, but a deadly task which we must accomplish or perish in the attempt. This is a general perspective of the whole question which is now before us. As all the representatives have emphasized, each one of us, all the individual nations must also travel their own way, move in their own orbit, and make themselves strong in their own countries. We must make ourselves good Asiatics, good neighbours, by primarily being good citizens of our own countries. As I have said more than once a strong Burma is Burma's best contribution to East Asia. Burma's strength will be the strength of East Asia and so also the strength of China, Thailand, Manchoukuo, the Philippines and, last but not least, India. And the strength of East Asia must be the united strength of all these separate countries, moving, working, and co-operating in a free and equal world of their own.

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I will now try to apply this East Asiatic principle to actual happenings. I will speak of my own country, Burma. She is as you all know, on the very front line of the East Asiatic war. You know what that means, the hardships, the terror, the loss of lives and homes--lives existing one day and destroyed the next day. As I said, Burma is facing these perils not only for herself but for all East Asia, that by guarding the common front line, she is guarding the other parts of East Asia. I can assure you that Burma will continue to maintain the front line to the end. I wish, however, to ask the other East Asiatic countries to remember that the war which is now actually raging in Burma is also their war, that this war must be fought on the principle of one for all and all for one, that it must be fought with the strength of all East Asia. There must be a pooling together of all our war strength and resources in order to use them in the defence of the whole of East Asia, in any country, on any front. In other words, just as East Asia is one, her efforts and economy and planning must be one. There must be material oneness. The isolationist policy of every man for himself would be the grossest act of betrayal and would destroy all of us, sooner or later, above all, the isolationists themselves. Burma, as I have said, will continue to be an East Asiatic front line and to fight this war as East Asiatics for East Asiatics. She, at the same time, naturally expects the other East Asiatic countries to do the same. You must pardon me if I am speaking so much about war conditions in Burma. You will understand that I have come as the representative of a people actually engaged in a total war in their own country. You will understand me if I say that the people of Burma are living today in front line conditions. Their homes and lives, their property, everything that life means for them is daily exposed to enemy action. That is the reason why I have come, frankly, with a firing-line complex in my mind. The Burmese in history have always proved themselves to be great fighters. I can assure you that they are still possessed of great fighting qualities. Two years ago, our Burmese boys fought without arms. They had to kill an enemy to get a gun and they did it. Today, the war morale in Burma is strong and unbroken. Nothing will ever break it, for every Burmese knows he is fighting for everything he holds dear.

I have spoken sufficiently of East Asiatic oneness and the need to fight this war together as East Asiatics and to construct a world together as East Asiatics. We have started this work in the right way at this Assembly. It is, however, necessary to continue the present

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work ; further than this, much further, to extend the work we have begun so well today so that it should cover the whole area of the present war and the future peace. In other words, there must be a

permanent East Asiatic central organization which will guide the common destiny of East Asia in a planned collective way. This alone will make our unity real and effective, a weapon indeed for both war and peace. Needless to say, the council will represent the free and equal nations of greater East Asia. The road before us therefore is clear. We are only at the beginning of it now, but we shall march forward. Past history shows that whenever the Asiatic peoples came together, whenever they found unity and leadership, they were able to march anywhere, even to the world's end:

Again and again in history the East has marched against its enemies and destroyed them. It was only in times when Asiatics forgot Asia that they broke before the enemy. But now, thanks to the great Nippon Empire, we have discovered once more that we are Asiatics, discovered our Asiatic blood, and it is this Asiatic blood which will redeem us and give us back Asia. Let us, therefore, march ahead to the end of our road, a thousand million East Asiatics marching into a new world where East Asiatics will be forever free,"prosperous and will find at last their abiding home.

IV

Prime Minister Ba Maw's speech on the Indian question at the close of the main business:

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies :

Now that the main business of the Greater East Asia Assembly has concluded, I wish to draw your attention to a collateral question which follows us constantly like a shadow. That question is nothing less than the Indian question. His Excellency, the Head of the Indian Provisional Government, is present among us as a guest. His presence is sufficient to endorse whatever statement I may make on this great Indian question.

Yesterday in the course of my observations, I made a categorical statement that in my view Asia cannot be free unless India is free. Having made that observation, it is my duty to pursue it logically, Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies. As the representative of Burma, I am in a peculiarly fit position to pursue the Indian question as I have

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not yet exhausted it and because I understand that my friend Mr. Bose will also have an opportunity to address Your Excellencies. All that I wish to say will be in the nature of preparatory observations, preparing the way for the Indian leader.

Burma is in a peculiar position to speak on the Indian question. For a generation, as the world knows, by the forces of historical circumstances, Burma and India had to travel the same hard, bitter road. Linked in every way, we had to pursue the same struggle against the same enemy. We had to act in unity of purpose of action, of objective. I am proud to admit that much of the political philosophy that the Burmese learned, much of the political techniques that Burma learned, were learned from India. Burma derived in the past her religious philosophy from India. In the present, I, as a leader of my people, cheerfully acknowledge that we learned much of our political philosophy also from India. For generations the Burmese and Indians had to carry on the same struggle. Most of you will not understand the real meaning of my words. It was a struggle against the most powerful, the most merciless, the most predatory Power in the world. It was a struggle between men and guns. Needless to say, every time the guns won. The men every time rose, but the guns crushed them every time. And it was in those battles—it was at the time of bitter struggle against odds of the most overwhelming character—that I learned my present realism, that whatever we may say of our philosophy, of this, of that, the ultimate decisive victor is force. But, we still carried on. I am not ashamed to say that my country rose at every turn. Every revolt was crushed with guns. As I

happened to tell an English-man in England, it is easy to keep sixteen million people down with guns, if they gave me the guns, if they gave me a force of 100,000 armed with guns, I can keep the whole of Britain down. Only the guns were in their hands and not in ours.

That, in short, is the substance of the common struggle that India and Burma had to carry on. And out of this struggle, out of the fires of these constant revolutions rose men, great men, selfless men, men of light and leading, who gave their lives and careers, everything they possessed, to the cause of their motherland. Among these great patriots, patriots of international reputation is, as we now have as guest here, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am perfectly certain that the story of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is known to all of us—that he symbolize the resurgent, the revolutionary

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spirit of India—India, although divided, yet remaining unbroken. And we must all be glad to know that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is now with us prepared to carry on the same struggle, and now not isolated but with a thousand million East Asiatics behind him. I will emphasize the fact that there cannot be a free 'Asia without a free India. I am speaking quite literally. For a hundred years Great Britain pursued her colonial policy in Asia with Indian strength. With Indian resources from even in the West right down through Singapore and Hongkong in the East. It was with Indian manpower, Indian resources, Indian wealth that Great Britain built her great, her vast predatory empire.

I am speaking from personal experience that my own country collapsed before the British, because the British, according to the intraditional policy, never fought themselves. They fought and won Burma with Indians just as they fought every war with every other persons except themselves. This war they will fight to the last Russian ; they will fight to the last American ; fight to the last Indian, but Britain according to her traditional policy will never use her own self and resources.

And following her traditional policy, she came to Burma, saw Burma, she conquered Burma with Indian manpower and Indian wealth. That is why she pursued the same policy downward to the right and from India upward to the left across Asia. It was Indian wealth that maintained British power, and it was Indian manpower that gave Britain the instrument of a colonial policy.

That is why you will understand me when I say that if we wish to destroy that predatory empire, if we wish to destroy anti-Asiatic Powers, we must burn them out, drive them out of their Asiatic stronghold, and that stronghold is India. The British Empire cannot be goaded until and unless British power, British domination of India, is destroyed.

I will not say more—this is not an occasion for words. The great Indian leader who will follow me will, I am sure, state the Indian case. He will state it with his usual clarity and force, and so as I have said, these remarks of mine are just preliminary, just to propose before this Asembly that we do here solemnly declare that we give our complete support to the cause of India's independence, to His Excellency Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who as the Head of the Indian Provisional Government is pursuing that struggle, preparing for the day when he and his Indian Independence Army will march into Delhi and redeem India.

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The following is the speech of Mr. Bose after the unanimous adoption of the Joint Declaration :

Your Excellency, Your Excellencies and Gentlemen :

On behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, allow me to express my warmest thanks for the honour and the favour shown to my colleagues and I in allowing us to attend this historic Assembly as observer. I am particularly grateful to Your Excellencies for the sympathy that you have expressed so generously in your speeches and also for the assurance of co-operation and support that you have given us for the future. I want further to express my profound thanks for the sentiments expressed by His Excellency the Representative for Burma which have been so heartily and unanimously endorsed by the House. These sentiments, I assure you, Your Excellency, will travel far beyond the walls of this stately mansion and will bring hope, encouragement and inspiration to millions and millions of my countrymen groaning under the heel of British oppression, and also will strike terror in the hearts of all those who have a guilty conscience.

I am sure that we of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and all those under the leadership of our Government will launch the last struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and will now go to war against the sworn enemy with the consciousness that behind us stands not only the invincible might of Nippon but also the united will and grim determination of the emancipated nations of East Asia.

Your Excellency, as I was sitting, listening to the proceedings of this august Assembly yesterday and today, the panorama of the world's history passed before my mind's eye. My thoughts went back to the many international congresses and conferences held during the last hundred years and more. My thoughts went back to the Congress of Vienna in 1815 after the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire, to the Congress of Paris in 1856 after the Crimean War, to the Congress of Berlin in 1878 after the Russo-Turkish War in the Balkans, to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 at the end of the last World War, to the Washington Conference in 1921 for ensuring Anglo-American domination of the Pacific and the Far East, and to the Locarno Conference held in 1925 for ingeniously binding the hands of the German people once and for all. My thoughts also went back to the Assembly of the League of Nations, that League of Nations along whose cor

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ridors and lobbies I spent many a day knocking at one door after another in the vain attempt to obtain a hearing for the case of Indian freedom.

And as I sat listening to the proceedings of this historic Assembly, I began to wonder what the difference was between this Assembly and similar assemblies that the world's history has witnessed in bygone days.

Your Excellency : This is not a conference for dividing the spoil among the conquerors. This is not a conference for hatching a conspiracy to victimize a weak Power, nor is it a conference for trying to defraud a weak neighbour. This is an assembly of liberated nations on the basis of the sacred principles of justice, national sovereignty, reciprocity in international relations and mutual aid and assistance. I do not think that it is an accident that this Assembly has been convened in the Land of the Rising Sun. This is not the first time that the world has turned to the East for light and guidance. Attempts to create a new order in this world have been made before and are being made elsewhere, but they have failed. They have failed because of the selfishness, avarice, and suspicion in those who had to play a leading role in the creation of new order.

It is, therefore, in the fitness of things and in conformity with historic precedents that the world could once again turn to the East for light.

Your Excellency, I believe that history has ordained that in the creation of a new, free and prosperous East, the Government and people of Nippon should play a leading role. This role for the Government and people of Nippon was carved out by history as early as 1905 when, for the first time, an Asiatic nation stood up to resist Western aggression.

As I have often said, I still remember how, as a child, I and millions of my countrymen and millions of Indian children were thrilled with joy and enthusiasm over events happening so far away from home and I am sure that this was the experience not only of the Indian people, not only of Indian children, but of Asiatic peoples all over the world. Ever since then, Asiatic peoples have been dreaming of a united Asia and a free Asia. And we in India since 1905 have also been dreaming of a free and united Asia. Since then, and since the last World War that dream, that thought, has taken concrete shape in the form of an Asiatic federation.

It should be no surprise to any one that the Indian people from then through the decades have been thinking and dreaming of pan

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Asiatic federation. This thought is in full conformity with our past tradition and culture.

As Your Excellencies are well aware from the earliest times, universalism has been a marked feature of Indian thought and culture. In the earliest days, through Buddhism and all the culture centred around Buddhism, India stretched out her hands to the whole of Asia. Later on, with historic influence permeating India, that tendency to-ward universalism also continued, and Islam India forged new links with Western Asia.

I must, however, confess, to my great sorrow in this connection, that during the Middle Ages, India developed false ties to universalism and, and it is because of this false universalism that it was so easy for European Powers to attack and ultimately conquer India. But we have learned through sorrow, suffering, and humiliation. We have learned to distinguish now between false internationalism and true internationalism. We know now that that internationalism is true which does not ignore nationalism but rooted in it.

We have also studied with great interest the attempts made in Europe and elsewhere to set up a new international order and we have learned from this experience and from the philosophy which ultimately crowned this experience. We are the wiser for this experience, and today, we are convinced that the establishment or the creation of an international system of nations can be possible only if we begin by setting up what I may call regional federations like this greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere.

Your Excellency : May I humbly point out that the establishment of a greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere is of interest, of vital interest, not only to the people of East Asia but, if I may say so, to the people of the whole of Asia and to mankind in general.

I claim to have some personal contact with that part of the world stretching from Afghanistan to Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. I claim to have personal contact with the suppressed nations living in that part of the world. Over and above this, India has for a long time been a bridge between East Asia and the West. I can, therefore, say with authority that the people of West Asia, the people in that part of the world stretching from Afghanistan to Algeria and Morocco are following with the deepest interest the happenings in East Asia, and I am speaking particularly of other people who have been for some time dominated and oppressed and tyrannized by British imperialism.

can say at least of the other people that their success and their liberation

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in the future depends to a very large extent on the success and the victory of Nippon and her allies in this war. Unless Anglo-American imperialism is wiped out of India, it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, for the suppressed Islamic nations to overthrow the British yoke and recover their lost liberty. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the establishment of an all-Asia for the Asians, or an all-Asia co-prosperity sphere, if you will, ultimately will pave the way toward a world federation, a real society of nations, and not the league of robbers that we have seen at Geneva. But, Your Excellency, I must not forget that all these dreams of a new world, of a new Asia, of a new free and prosperous greater East Asia depend entirely on our ability to achieve victory in this war. So far as India is concerned, our fate is indissolubly linked up with the fate of Nippon and her allies in this war. If our allies were to go down, there will be no hope for India to be freed for at least a hundred years. But we know that this time providence, fate, and luck are on our side, and I want to assure Your Excellency and Excellencies that we Indian people, waited all our life for an international crisis of this sort, are determined to make the fullest use of this opportunity for achieving the final emancipation of our country. For India, there is no other path but the path of uncompromising struggle against British imperialism. Even if it were possible for other nations to think of compromising with England, for the Indian people, at least, it is out of the question. Compromising with Britain means to compromise with slavery and we are determined not to compromise with slavery any more.

I, therefore, want to assure Your Excellencies, come what may, no matter how long and hard the struggle may be, no matter what the suffering and the sacrifice involved, we are determined to fight to the bitter end, being fully confident of our ultimate victory. But I have no illusions about the magnitude of the task that awaits us. I do not minimize the strength of the enemy. I claim to know the British people intimately and at first-hand. I have known them since I was a child of five and knowing them so intimately, knowing the strength and the weakness of the enemy in India, and knowing also our own strength and weakness, I feel fully confident of our ultimate victory. But we have to pay the price of our liberty. For Your Excellencies the problem is quite different from what it is for India. You have only to repel any offensive launched by the enemy in the future. You have only to retain what you have got now and your own freedom, but

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the Indian people have yet to fight and win their freedom. Therefore I repeat : we have no illusions about the magnitude of the task that awaits us. In fact, I may say that all the time sitting here in my chair as I was dreaming of a new East Asia and an Asia in a new world before my mind's eye there floated the scenes of the battles that we will have to fight on any front line and on the plains of India. I do not know how many of those who will go to war against our powerful and unscrupulous enemy. I do not know how many of the members of our national army, will survive the coming war, but that is of no consequence to us. Whether we individually live or die whether we survive the war and live to see India free or not, what is of consequence is the fact that India shall be free, that Anglo-American imperialism shall be wiped out of India, and the menace that now hangs over the whole of East Asia

will be removed once and for all.

Your Excellency : I am aware that there are many people in this world who have an exaggerated notion of the strength of Britain and of her allies and I have just said we know the British people at first hand. We know their strength and their weakness and, therefore, we are looking forward with the fullest confidence to the hard and bitter struggle that is ahead of us. Assured of such an invincible ally as Nippon, assured of the support which Your Excellencies have so generously given us and assured us for the future, we shall go to battle fully confident that the day of our salvation is at hand.

Your Excellencies : In setting out to create a new order based on the sublime principles of justice, reciprocity, mutual aid and assistance you are undertaking a task which is the noblest that the human mind can conceive. I pray to God that your noble efforts may be crowned with success. I pray to God that the dreams of Okakura Kakuzo and Sun Yat-sen may be translated into reality and I pray to God that this Joint Declaration which this historic Assembly has unanimously adopted this afternoon may prove to be a charter for the nations of East Asia and, what is more, a charter for the suppressed nations of the whole world. May this Joint Declaration prove to be in world's history, the charter, the new charter, for the year 1943 and after.

Your Excellency, may I offer my respectful congratulations to yourself and to your Government for the noble manner in which you have given us the most eloquent proof of your bona fides and sincerities. You have granted independence to Burma and the Philip-pines. You have recognized the Provisional Government of Azad

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T Hind which represents the population numbering about one-fifth of the human race. You have just entered into a most honourable treaty with China. And what is perhaps the most important, also you have proceeded in a steadily and life and death bravely with the powerful and unscrupulous engage

enemy. I pray that Nippon's role in the creation of a new and free

Asia may be fully and finally consummated, and that we assure you, your Excellency, that you and your distinguished colleagues succeed in the highest wish of mankind as I hope, I trust, and I believe, Your names will go down in history not merely as the makers of a new Nippon, not merely as makers of a new East Asia, not only as the makers of a new Asia, but as the makers of the architecture of a new world.

VI

The following is the full text of the Joint Declaration adopted by the Assembly of Greater East Asiatic Nations

November 6, 1943 :

It is the basic principle for the establishment of world peace that the nations of the world have each its proper place, and enjoy prosperity in common through mutual aid and assistance.

The United States of America and the British Empire have in seeking their own prosperity oppressed other nations and peoples. Especially in East Asia, they indulged in insatiable aggression and exploitation, and sought to satisfy their inordinate ambition of enslaving the entire region, and finally they came to menace seriously the stability of East Asia. Herein lies the cause of the present war.

The countries of greater East Asia, with a view to contributing to the cause of world peace, undertake to co-operate toward prosecuting the war of greater East Asia to a successful conclusion, liberating their region from the yoke of British-American domination, and assuring their self-existence and self-defence, and in constructing a greater East Asia in accordance with the following principles :

(i) The countries of greater East Asia through mutual co-operation will ensure the stability of their

region and construct an order of common prosperity and well-being based upon justice.

(2) The countries of greater East Asia will ensure the fraternity of nations in their region, by respecting one another's sovereignty and independence and practising mutual assistance and amity.  
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(3) The countries of greater East Asia by respecting one another's traditions and developing the creative faculties of each race, will enhance the culture and civilization of greater East Asia.

(4) The countries of greater East Asia will endeavour to accelerate their economic development through close co-operation upon a basis of reciprocity and to promote thereby the general prosperity of their region.

(5) The countries of greater East Asia will cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world, and work for the abolition of racial discriminations, the promotion of cultural intercourse and the opening of resources throughout the world, and contribute thereby to the progress of mankind.