

1603

CERTIFICATE

The documents of the War Ministry and ^{the} General Staff Office of Japan which ^{still} remain (now) are kept by this office, and I certify that the following documents are ^{be} ~~cannot~~ found ^{among those in our custody:} ~~in the others~~ ~~which we keep.~~

lists omitted. (same as the one on the AMANO's affidavit.)

14 ~~th~~ May 1947

chief of the archive ^{ives} ~~ive~~ section of the ~~Board of~~ 1st Mobilization Board

[Yōzō Miyama (SEAL) ~~signed~~]

WAW 1603

證 明

當局ハ舊陸軍省參謀本部ノ殘存書類ノ保管ヲ爲シテイマスガ左記書類ハ保管書類中ニハ見當ラザルコトヲ證明シマス

左 記

一、關東軍司令官ニ與フル訓令

帝國陸軍作戰計畫要領（一九四〇年、一九四一年、一九四二年、一九四三年）

二、關東軍作戰計畫（一九四〇年、一九四一年、一九四二年、一九四三年、一九四四年）

三、關東軍國境警備要綱（一九三九年九月十月）

四、關東軍作戰準備要綱（一九四二年二月）

昭和二十二年五月十四日

第一夏員局文書課長

美 山 要

藏



Def Doc 1603

証明



当局ハ舊陸軍省參謀本部ノ残存書類ノ保管
ヲ爲シテイマスカ左記書類ハ保管書類中ニ見
ラザルモノトテ証明ス

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二、関東軍作戰計畫(一九四〇年、一九四一年、一九四二年、一九四三年、一九四四年)

三、関東軍国境警備要綱(一九三九年九月十日)

四、関東軍作戰準備要綱(一九四二年二月)

昭和二十二年五月十四日

才一復員局文書課長

美山 要藏



No. 1115 Date Mar 19 1947

Subject 平沼首相汪会谈要領 (昭和14年6月10日) GIST OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN PREMIER HIRANUMA AND WANG (10 JUNE 1939)

Defense Counsel 神崎

Certificate is attached to this, will be lately complete.

Phase China Priority II

- (A) ~~Copy only~~ (The official translation is attached to this.)
- (B) Translationed Copy (Translation for reference is not attached to this.)

Sign

Note



List of Conversation between Premier
Kobayashi and Wang.

Ref. No. 71/403

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平沼首相汪會談要領

自午前八時

昭和十四年六月十日 至 同九時半

汪 今、拜顔、上、御指放、仰、ク、機会、ヲ、得、タル、コト、ハ

光榮、堪、ヘ、ス。

平 貴下、ガ、日、支、問題、ノ、タ、メ、努力、セ、ラ、レ、居、ル、ハ、敬、服、ス、ル、所、ナリ。

御承知、通り、日本、ハ、上、ニ、萬、一、系、ノ、皇室、ヲ、戴、キ、

皇室、ノ、御、趣、旨、ハ、仁、愛、ノ、道、ヲ、以、テ、人、類、ノ、平和、ヲ

維持、ス、ル、コト、古、来、一、貫、セ、ル、所、ナリ、而、シ、テ、日本、ハ、武、ヲ

尊、フ、所、謂、尚、武、ノ、國、ナル、カ、武、ハ、此、ノ、御、趣、旨、ヲ、達成、ス

ル、タ、メ、ノ、モ、ニ、ニ、テ、此、ノ、欧、米、諸、國、ノ、武、力、ト、ハ、全、ク、異、ナ

ル、モノ、ナリ、外、國、人、ハ、往、々、此、ノ、美、ヲ、解、セ、ズ、日本、ノ、武、ヲ

以、テ、侵略、ノ、具、ナリ、ト、看、做、ス、モ、アル、ハ、今、ク、此、ノ、仁、愛、ノ、大

精神、ヲ、知、ラ、サ、ル、モ、ト、謂、ヘ、ン、吾、々、ハ、皇室、ヲ、輔、翼、ス

ル、責任、ノ、地、位、ニ、アル、ヲ、以、テ、右、御、趣、旨、ノ、實現、ニ、努力、

セ、サ、ル、ベ、カ、ラ、ズ、而、シ、テ、古、界、人、類、ノ、平和、ヲ、維持、ヲ、図、ル

ニ、ハ、先、ツ、東、洋、殊、ニ、日、支、兩、國、ノ、間、ニ、永、遠、ノ、平和、ヲ、招、来

セ、サ、ル、ベ、カ、ラ、ズ、之、ガ、タ、メ、ニ、ハ、西、國、ノ、有、力、者、互、ニ、協、力、シ、テ

之、ガ、實現、ニ、邁、進、セ、サ、ル、ベ、カ、ラ、ズ、貴下、ガ、今、回、ノ、事、變、ニ

際、ニ、日、支、西、國、ノ、タ、メ、奮、起、セ、ラ、レ、タ、ル、ニ、對、シ、敬、意、ヲ、表、シ、共

ノ、努力、ヲ、希、フ、次、サ、ナリ。

汪 日本、ノ、皇室、ノ、御、精神、ノ、程、ハ、能、ク、諒、解、セ、リ、就、テ、ハ

御、参考、迄、ニ、支、那、現在、ノ、國民、ノ、心理、ニ、付、テ、才、詠、致

ス、ベ、シ、現在、日、支、平和、問題、ニ、關、シ、共、産、黨、及、共、産、黨、ト

ト連絡アル一部、者、其、眼中支那ナク又東洋ナク今ノ
「コミンテルン」ノ走狗トシテノ活動ニ居ルモノニシテ彼等ニ対
シテハ奈何トモスヘキナシ即チ最後迄徹底的ニ打倒スル
ノ途ヲ取ルノ外ナシ其、他大部分ノ國民ニ至ッテハ何レモ
心中和平ヲ欲シ日本ガ敵トシテ、努力ニ依リ集テ上テ
タル東洋先進國トシテノ地位ヲ認識シ日支西國提携スル
ニ非サレハ東洋ノ平和ヲ確保スルニ途アリコトモ亦信シ居ルカ
唯此ノ和平ヲ口ニ出シ得サル事情ニアリ夫レハ今尙大部分、
モノカ唯今ノ諒、如キ日本ノ真意ヲ諒解シ居ラサルカ
ナリ自今ハ皆チ蔣介石ニ對シ敵トシ、和平ヲ勤メタル
モ彼ハ日本ト和スレハ支那全土ノ獨立ト自由ハ失ハルヘシ抗戦ヲ
繼續スレハ假令一小部分ト雖トモ占領セラレサル地域タチ
ハ完全ナル支那國土トシテ存在スヘシトノ簡單ナル答ヘラナス
ヲ常トセリ是レハ獨リ蔣ノ考、ミナラス大部分ノ者、考ル所
ヲ代表シ居ルモノト見カラス即チ今チ支那ノ民衆ハ依
然トシテ日本ノ是レ大テノ武力ヲ財カトラ儀性ニシタル以上
恐ラク支那支配ノ慾望ヲ捨ツルコトアカルヘシト觀察ニ居ル
ナリ日本政府ノ數回ニ亘リ發セル声明ニ依リ勘ナカラサル希
望ヲ支那國民ニアタハタルコトハ否ムヘカラサル事實ナルモ右希
望カ果シテ具體的ニ實現セラレ、ヤ否チテ危惧ニ居リ斯カ
ル事情ハ重慶其他ノ方面ノ者ヨリ、通信ニ依ルモ窺フニ難
カラス此ノ日本ノ真意ノ内地ニ届キ居ラサルコトハ宣傳方面
ニ於テ缺クル所アルニ依ルヘク西國識者今後ノ努力ニ俟
タサルヲ得サル譯ナルカ共產黨ハ此、支那國民ノ日本ニ對スル

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危惧、念ヲ利用シ、和平ヲ言フモノハ、帝國政アリト宣傳シテ、
^{圧迫ノ手ヲ加ヘ}是レカタメ今日支那内地ニ於テ、和平ヲ言フ事
極メテ困難ナルノミナラス、海外ニ於ケル支那人スラ、容易ニ和
平ヲ言フ得アル状況ナリ。

平、歐洲ノ國際關係、總テ利害ニ基キ利害ニ依リ相争フヲ
常トス、彼ノ歐洲大戦ノ「ベルサイユ」平和條約ノ如キモ要スルニ
各國ノ利害、打算ヲ基礎トセル不合理ナルモノナリ、其ノ結果
生レタル國際聯盟ノ如キモ要スルニ自^己ノ利益ヲ主張シ合フ
會議タルニ過デス、既ニ早クオニ次、世界戦争ヲ勃發セシ
ムル危険ヲ含ムモノナリ、我カ東洋ニ於テハ、決ニテ此ノ歐洲
ノ轍ヲ覆ムハカラス、宣シテ道義ニ基ク關係ヲ樹立シテ永遠
ノ平和ヲ確保^保シ、再ヒ斯カル事變ノ起ラサルコトヲ努ムルヲ
要ス。

日本ノ行動ハ此ノ東洋永遠ノ平和ヲ確保スルニ目
的ヲ達成スル迄ハ、断ニテ停止スルモノニ非ス、支那国民力徹
底的ニ日本ノ真意ヲ諒解スル迄ハ、何処迄モ之ヲ繼續
スルコト予ノ断言マル所ナリ、殊ニ彼ノ共產黨ニ至ッテハ、世界
ノ平和ヲ攪亂スル人類ノ敵ニシテ、其ノ存在ヲ許スヘカラス
吾人ノ最少限度ヲ先ツ東洋ノ天地ヲ一之ヲ驅逐セザルヘカ
ラス、彼レ思想ヲ以テ来レハ吾レ思想ヲ以テ之ニ対スヘシ
而シテ現在ノ狀態ニテハ、武力ヲ以テ之ヲ排撃セザレハ不可
ナル程度ニアリ、日本ハ共產主義ノ排撃ノタメニハ、武力ニ訴ヘ

テモ飽ク迄之ヲアリ、遂ケル方針アリ、蔣介石ノ如キハ、恐ラ
ク心中、日本ノ真意ハ諒解ニ在ルナランモ、現在容共政策ヲ
採リ居ル以上、日本国民ハ彼ヲ信スルコト能ハス、共產黨ト手ヲ切ラ

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サル限リ之ヲ許シ難キ次第ナリ。

尙日支西國ハ其ノ相互ノ經濟發展ノタメ緊密ナル提携ヲ
必要トスル譯ニシテ西國ガ右反共ト經濟提携ノ共同目標ニ
向ツテ邁進スルニハ茲ニカ強キ中央政府ノ樹立セラルルヲ要ス
是レカタメニ貴下ハ全責任ヲ以テ之レニ當ラルルモノト予ハ確信
シ共ニ成功ヲ期待スルト共ニ吾方ニ於テモ充分ナル援助ヲ
與フヘキコト言フ迄ニ至ル要スルニ支那ノ容共抗日ノ政策ヲ
一擲ニ新東亞建設ノタメ日本ト協力スルニ至ル様奮闘
セラレタシ中央政府樹立ニ伴フ具體的ニ作ニ関シテハ陸軍
大臣海軍大臣其他關係各大臣ト委シテ可合セラレ度シ

汪

微勳ヲカラ中央政府樹立ニ付努力スヘシ尙之ヲ具體的工作

ノ進行ノタメ關係各大臣ト面談ノ機會ヲアタヘラレルコト誠

ニ感謝ニ堪ヘス唯茲ニ御參考迄一二申述ヘタキ具アリ

自分ハサキニ蔣宗武ヲ貴國ニ遣ハシ自分ノ意見ヲ述ノルト

共ニ總理始ノ貴國政府當局ノ御意見ヲ聴取セシメタ

ルヲ以テ貴國ノ御方針ハ大體諒解シ居ル所ナルカ第一

當時蔣介石カ縱然悔悟スレハ蔣ヲ相手トシテ和平ヲ

實現スルモ不可ニアラサルヘシトノ豫想ナリニカ事今日ニ至リ

テハ右ハ殆ント見込ナルヘシ 第二ニ國民政府以外ノモノ

ヲ聯合セシメ此ノ時局ヲ擔當セシムヘシトノ意見モアリ

カナル事態トナラハ吾人モ之ニ參加シテ微力ヲ盡スヲ

許サレヘシト申述ヘ置キタルカ今日支那ノ情勢ヲ見ルニ

國民黨ノ除外ニテ其ノ他ノ勢力ヲ以テ時局ヲ收拾スルコ

トハ極メテ困難ナリト思惟ス 第三ニ自分ハ蔣ノ時局解決ノ

4

タメ下野スレハ共ニ下野シ外遊スレハ共ニ外遊スルモ可ナリ
ト之ヲ支持ナリシカ蔣ハ之ヲ拒絕シ却ツテ立腹シ居ル
状態ニテ最早ヤ自分一人責任ヲ以テ起タサルヘカラサル
羽目ニ陥リタリ

ソレヲ自分ハ國民黨ヲ中心トシ之ニ各黨各派ヲ聯合セシメ容共
抗日政策ヲ抛擲スル國民政府ヲ作ルコト最モ適當ナリト思
惟ス蓋シ國民政府ノ形態ヲ存スルコトハ支那國民ヲシテ日
本ノ壓迫ノタメニセヒタリトノ念ヲ抱カシムルコトヲ避ケ重慶
方面ヨリ多數ノ同志ヲ獲得スルタメ便利ナレハナリ元來
國民黨ノ標榜スルニ民主主義ニ対シテハサキニ高宗武ヲ派遣
シタル際日本側ニテハ其ノ共產主義トノ関連性ヲ清算シ
所謂新ラシキニ民主主義ニ復活セサルヘカラストノ御意見ナリ
シカ右ハ誠ニ尤モナル御意見ニテ元來孫文先生ノ三民主義
ハ共產主義トハ截然別個ノモノニシテ自分等ハ此後此ノ三民
主義ノ真意ヲ發揮スルタメ最大ノ努力ヲ拂フ心算ナリ
平招ノ共產主義ト完全ニハナレタルニ民主主義ノ下ニ國民黨ノ更生ヲ
図リ之レト他ノ各黨各派ヲ聯合セシメ中央政府ヲ組織シ
容共抗日ノ政策ヲ改ムル途ヲ講スルコトハ賛成ナリ彼ノ
重慶政府ハ今日既ニ中央政府ト言ヒ得サルモノニシテ若シ從
來ノ態度ヲ改メ来ルニ於テハ日本ノ仁愛ノ精神ヲ以テ之ヲ
容ルルニ各ナラサレトモ重慶政府ノ今次事變ヲ發生セシメタ
ル責任タテハ到底之ヲ免ルル事能ハズ即チ蔣介石ハ下野スル
カ当然ナリ而シテ蔣ノ下野シタル場合ト雖モ貴下ハ全責任ヲ
以テ事ニ當リ重慶方面ノ者ヲ全部轉向セシムルニ層ノ努力ヲ

併ハレニコトヲ望ム要スルニ此後全責任ヲ以テ此ノ事業達
成ニ努メラレニコトヲ要望ス

汪 自分ハ事ヲアチタル曉重慶其他ノ方面ヨリ果シテ幾何ノ
者ヲ集メ得ルヤ今断言ヲ憚ルトコ和ナルカ少クモ國民黨ニ
関スル限リ黨ニアルコト於十年ノ歴史ヲ有スルモノナルヲ以テ
皆ツテ國民黨既往ノ誤レル政策ヲ改メ東洋和平實現ノ一勢
カタラシムル事ハ自分ノ責任ニ於テ之ヲ断行スルノ決意ナル事
ハ茲ニ明言シ得ル処ナリ

平 充介御奮闘ヲ望ム

汪 自分ハ曾テ三十四年前東京ニ留學シ居リ當時總理ノ司
法官時代公ニセラレタル法律ニ関スル講義ヲ讀ミタル事アリ
爾未敬慕ノ念ニ甚ハサリシカ因テ面談ノ機會ヲ得テ欣快ニ
堪エス

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

(三號)

自分、林 啓 ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ 六 頁ヨリ成ル平沼首相汪公談要録ト題スル書類ハ日本政府(外務省) 府ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ據奉ニ正確ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年 三月十一日

於東京

林

啓

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人

浦部

晴

馬



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TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch,
hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the
above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief,
a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning
of the original document.

William E. Clarke
/s/ William E. Clarke



Tokyo, Japan
Date 8th May 1947

(Def. Doc. # 1403)

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI Kanru, who occupy the post of the Chief of the Archives Section of the Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 6 pages and entitled "gist of Conversation between Premier HIRANUMA and Wang" is an exact and authorized ~~excerpt from~~ ^{copy of} an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (Foreign Office).

certified at Tokyo,
on this 12th day of March, 1947

HAYASHI Kanru

(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on this same date.

Witness:

URABE Katsuma

(seal)

Gist of Conversation between Premier
HIRANUMA and Wang.

Ref No - 1403

On June 10, the 14th year of Showa. (1939)

From 8:00 a.m.

To 9:30 a.m.

WANG: I ~~esteem~~^{deem} it a great honor to meet
you, and to talk with you to-day.

HIRANUMA: I (have) appreciated your efforts for
the settlement of Sino-Japanese problems.
We have been reigned over and governed
by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages
eternal. From time immemorial the
ultimate object of the Emperors was to
maintain peace among human beings with
the Way of Benevolence. Our nation has
valued ^{highly} the so-called military spirit, but
it is only for realizing (the) ultimate object
(this)

of the Emperors, and ^(it) is quite different from the
 military spirit which is prevailing among the
 people of the European powers. Foreigners have
 often misunderstood the meaning of this word,
 taking it for ^{a means of} aggression. ^{This is}
~~(It might have)~~
~~(been so,)~~ only because they ^{can} ~~could~~ not under-
 stand the great spirit of the Way of Benevolence.
 I believe that we ^{must} ~~have to~~ make efforts to
 realize that ultimate object, as we are in
^a ^{in which we are} the post responsible for assisting the Emperor.
 Further, I believe that we ^{must} ~~have to~~ ^{bring about} ~~(initiate)~~
 perpetual peace in East Asia, especially in the
 relations between Japan and China, in order
 to maintain peace among ^{all} ~~the~~ ^(whole) peoples
 of the world. For that end, the influential
 persons of ~~the~~ both countries have to cooperate
 and make their best efforts to realize it.
 I offer my respects ^{to} ~~for~~ you who have risen
 up at this incident for the cause of Japan
 and China, and I hope ^{for} your further efforts.

W: I have perfectly understood the spirit of the Japanese Emperors. ^{Now,} (Then) I will tell you about the recent psychology of the Chinese for your information. As for the Communist party and the persons who have ~~some~~ connections with that party, we have no way but to throw them down to the ground in order to establish peace between Japan and China, as they have set both China and East Asia at naught, and have acted as a tool of the Comintern. But most of the Chinese, except them, ^{longing for} ~~are wanting~~ ^{at heart} peace ~~at the bottom~~ ^{and} have recognized Japan, which has achieved its position with the effort of ^{more than half a century} ~~several dozens of years~~, as ^{their} ~~the~~ senior nations in East Asia, and ~~are~~ ^{believing} that peace can not be secured in East Asia without the cooperation of Japan with China. But they can not speak

~~It~~ in public. Because there are still many people who do not know the true intention of Japan. as ^{has been} ~~spoken~~ ^{mentioned} ~~by~~ you just now.

I have advised peace to CHIANG Kai-shek for several dozens of times, but he used to reply briefly, 'If we conclude peace with Japan, the independence and freedom of China will be lost ^{throughout} ~~on~~ the ~~whole~~ territory.' But as long as we continue ~~the~~ resistance, China will survive in ~~the~~ ^a territory, which, even if it be small, is not under the occupation of Japan.' This represents not only CHIANG's conclusion, but also that of almost all the Chinese. ~~(Many)~~ Most of the Chinese ~~(are)~~ ^{are} still ^{believing} ~~to-day~~, that Japan will not give up her ambition to dominate China, since Japan has made sacrifices of such vast military power and money to the war.

denied.

5.

It can not be denied that the declarations which have been made several times by the Japanese Government, gave ^a somewhat bright perspective to the Chinese people. But they are entertaining misgivings regarding the actual realization of their hope. Such ^{an} atmosphere can be ^{inferred} ~~(deduced)~~ even ^{from} ~~(by the)~~ letters from Chungking and other places. This fact that the true intention of Japan has not penetrated ^{into} to the interior of China, may be ^{due to} ~~(caused by)~~ some defect in the way of advertisement. I believe the efforts of the intelligent public of ^(the) both countries ^{will} ~~(may)~~ be necessary for improving it. The Communists, however, taking advantage of this misgiving of the Chinese against Japan, are ~~propagandizing that those~~ ~~(proclaiming that the person)~~ who speaks of peace ^(are) ~~(is the)~~ ^{sure} traitors, betrayers, and they are oppressing those persons. On account of that, it is

very difficult for a Chinese to speak of peace even in foreign countries as well as in home land.

H: The European powers, in their international relations, have usually struggled ~~for~~ ^{for} their own interests. The Peace Treaty of Versailles after the First World War, too, was unreasonably based upon the reckoning of interests of each power. And the League of Nations also was ~~only~~ ^{did nothing but} ~~such~~ a machine in which they ~~would claim each~~ ^{insisted upon their own} interests ~~and which already~~ ^(in it) ~~that it might~~ ^{contained} the ~~(risk of leading)~~ ^{germ of a} ~~(to the outbreak of the)~~ Second World War.

In our East Asia, we ~~(have not)~~ ^{must not} follow this bad ^{example} instance. We ~~(are to)~~ ^{must} establish mutual relations based on justice, and ~~(to)~~ secure eternal peace between us in order to avoid the recurrence of such incidents. ^{cease} Japan will not ~~(drop)~~ her action until

7.
her ultimate object to establish perpetual peace
in East Asia (will) be achieved. I declare
that Japan will continue her action until the
whole Chinese ^{people} (will) understand the true intention
of Japan. Especially, as regards the Communist
party, they are the common enemy of human beings,
as they are disturbing ^{to} peace of the whole world.
We cannot allow their existence in the world.
We ^{must} ~~have~~, at least, ~~to~~ drive them away from
~~the~~ East Asia. If they challenge us with
thoughts, we will fight with thoughts.
But in the present situation, they cannot be
driven without arms. And Japan has
the steady determination to drive them
away, even if she has to resort to war
for that end. I believe that CHIANG Kai-shek
(was) ^(A) understanding the true intention of
Japan. But now that he ^{has} ~~(is)~~ ^{ed} ~~adopting~~ the

pro-Comintern policy, the Japanese can not rely upon him. We can not ^{countenance} allow him as long as he does ~~(will)~~ not break off ~~(relations)~~ with the Communists.

Further, Japan and China need close cooperation in order to promote their mutual economy. Then with a view to pursuing these common objects — that is, the Anti-Communist policy and ~~the~~ cooperation in the field of economy, it is necessary for ~~(the)~~ both countries to establish a powerful government in ~~(the)~~ central China. I believe that you will exert yourself to the utmost for that end, and I hope for your success while we will give you full assistance for it. In short I hope you will make every effort to lead China to ~~(the)~~ cooperation with Japan in establishing a new East Asia, making China

throw away its pro-communists policy. As regards the actual ~~business~~ ^{procedure} concerning the establishment of the central government, I advise you ~~to~~ ^{to} confer with the War and Navy Ministers and other Ministers concerned.

W: Powerless as I am, I will make every effort to establish the central government. And I am very obliged that you have given me the opportunity to talk with the Ministers concerned regarding the progress of the actual ~~business~~ ^{procedure}. Only I have ^{a few} ~~(one or two)~~ things ~~(or other)~~ which I want to ~~(speak to)~~ ^(tell) you now. I think that I understand your policy, as I sent the other day KAO Tsung-wu in order to deliver my opinion to you, and to know ^{your} ~~(the)~~ opinion ~~(of you)~~ ^(as well as that of) the Premier and other authorities in the Japanese Government. ^(-ly) First, it was expected at that time, ^{that,} if CHIANG Kai-shek would alter his policy,

we might cooperate with him to ~~realize~~ ^{bring about} peace.

But now this is quite impossible. Secondly, it ~~was once proposed that we should tide over~~ ~~the present situation, by rallying all groups,~~ ~~(to manage the affairs) joining with some other,~~ ~~(party than) the Kuomintang,~~ ~~that time~~ ~~was ready~~ ~~that I would not avoid,~~ ~~to make efforts;~~ ~~if the case needs me.~~ ~~But~~ ~~it seems very~~ ~~difficult for us to~~ ~~cope with~~ ~~the present situation~~ ~~as a result of~~ ~~by the influence of some other parties than~~ ~~the Kuomintang.~~ Thirdly, I determined once that I might resign my office, if CHIANG would do so in order to settle the present situation, and I might go abroad, if CHIANG would do so. But CHIANG refused this, and resented ~~(against)~~ me about it. ~~I~~ ^I ~~(have)~~ ² had no way but to ~~get on~~ ~~with~~ ~~my own responsibility.~~ ~~go ahead or~~ ~~ahead~~

I think it is best to reorganize the

National Government by uniting all other
and thus to make it a government which
parties with the Kuomintang, (giving up the)
will give up its old

Anti-Japanese-Pro-Communist policy. Because,
if we

~~do~~, (to) ^tre~~main~~tain the original form of the
National Government, it will serve

(Kuomintang is favorable to) the pur-

pose ~~(to) save~~ ^{of preventing} the Chinese nation from ~~(the)~~ feeling

that their country ^{has} surrendered to ~~(the)~~ Japan-

ese oppression and ^{of} rallying a large

number of our comrades from ^{the} ~~Chang~~ ^(N.)

^{circles} ~~king~~ ^(quarters). At the time KAO ^{Tsing-wu} ~~(Ling-wei)~~ was

despatched to Japan by us the Japanese Government

opined that Three Principles of the People to

which the Kuomintang adhered ^{should be}
~~revised~~

~~(renewed)~~, getting rid of the relation with

2.

~~relation with~~ (the) communism. I think
such ^{an} opinion of the Japanese Government is
really reasonable; SUN Yat-sen's Three Principles
of the People (also) is ^(a) ~~(another)~~ thing to be
clearly distinguished from (the) communism. We will
hereafter exert ourselves to the utmost so as
to make this doctrine develop along its true
^{axis} ~~meaning~~. I approve of devising such a
measure that ~~you can~~ ^{as} changing the Anti-Ja-
panese-Pro-Communist's policy by establishing
a central government through the resurrection
of the Kuomintang combined with every
other party and ^{group} ~~(faction)~~, following the
new banner of the revived Three Princi-
ples of the People, entirely broken ^{away from} ~~off~~ with
(the) communism. The Chungking Government

is no longer ^{to be} called the central Govern-
 ment. But if it changes its present attitude,
 Japan ^{will} ^{be} ^{ready} ^{willing} to tolerate it from
 her benevolent viewpoint. Nevertheless, the
 Chungking Government ~~can~~ not be free
 from ~~the~~ responsibility ^{as the} ~~(for an)~~ author of
 the present Incident. Then it is a matter
 of course that CHIANG Kai-shek should retire
 from his post, But ^{even} in case of CHIANG's
 retirement I hope you ^{will} ~~(may)~~ hold
 all responsibility for converting the
 Chungking circles to the revived Three
 Principles of the People. In a word
 I ^{earnestly} hope that you ^{will} ~~(may)~~ endeavor
 to complete this task, ~~on~~ ~~(all)~~ your own
 responsibility. ^{entirely}

WANG, I cannot say here positively how many persons I can call to my banner from Chungking and other quarters when I rouse myself for the sake of the country. But as far as the Kuomintang is concerned, ^{as} I have shared my fate with the Kuomintang these scores of years, I assert that I will take the responsibility of making the Kuomintang change its past mistaken policy and become which will ~~grow~~ a power contributing to the realization of peace in the Oriental countries.

HIRANUMA, I hope you will ~~may~~ make a strenuous effort for the (success) of this accomplishment task.

WANG, I studied in Tokyo thirty-four
years ago, and since I read (yours)^a
lecture on law you published when
you ~~was~~^{were} a judicial official I have
had deep reverence and affection ~~for~~^{for}
you. It is with great pleasure that
I was unexpectedly given the honour
of seeing you.