

6 June 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Sandusky; Mr. Cunningham; Mr. Dunigan;
Mr. Cunningham.
FROM : EDWARD P. MONAGHAN, Chief,
Investigative Division, IPS
SUBJECT : Defense Witness

1. Please find attached hereto list of material available on the following witness and/or witnesses.

DEFENDANT

SHIRATORI
TOJO
OSHIMA

WITNESS

ARITA, Hachiro

LIST OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE

Report by Lt. Fleisher

2. Please acknowledge receipt of this memorandum by initialling and returning attached carbon copy to this office, Room 300.

Incl
(Described above)

E P M
EDWARD P. MONAGHAN

REPORT ON : The Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai
(National Policy Research Institute)

PREPARED BY : Lt. Eric W. Fleisher
Investigator, I.P.S.

DATE : 4 June 1947

The Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai, a little heard of organization with the outward appearance of a group devoted to the discussion and study of current events has since 1937 played an extremely important part in advising the various departments in regards national policy, the administration of conquered territory and the utilization of the natural resources and materials available in territories already occupied by Japan, and in those that the association considered should be occupied. Its membership consisted mostly of second rate politicians who were devoted to the cause of Japan ruling not only Asia, but of making the Pacific Ocean a "Mare Nostrum" by occupying Alaska and certain countries of South America along the Pacific Coast and thereby spreading Japan's influence into the interior of South America and through the West Coast of the United States. Lacking in power, themselves, the members of the Association sought to influence the greater political figures of the day and to gain the support of those that favored their policy of aggression and conquest, which they did with considerable success. Such men as MOTO, Akira; KAYA, Okinori; SATO, Kenryo; SUZUKI, Teichi; GOTO, Shigenori; KISHI; TAKAHASHI; GOTO, Fumio; ABE, Nobuyuki; ISOGAYA; SHIMOMURA; HORIUCHI; SAKURAI; KOBAYASHI, Seizo; ARITA, Hachiro; IWAKURO, Tokue; SHIBAYAMA, Kaneshiro; MATSUMURA; ARISUE, Seizo; NAGAI, Yatsuji; SHIGEMITSU, Mamoru; and other influential men were affiliated with the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai and many of them made speeches at the meetings or attended them for the purpose of informing the society of recent developments in the political scene in Japan, in the occupied areas, and abroad.

In spite of the fact that the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai claimed to be a private organization under no outside influence, most of its financial backing came from the secret funds or "Kimitsuhi" of the various ministries and departments of the Government and from the larger private concerns. In the early days these contributions rarely exceeded five thousand yen, but later, especially after the outbreak of the "Greater East Asia War" contributions were rarely less and usually well over five thousand yen. The War Ministry and Navy Ministry were the most regular contributors and gave the greatest amounts, but the Greater East Asia Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, the Cabinet Bureau of Information, and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry also gave their support. Out of the almost one hundred private companies that gave financial backing to the KKK, Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Asano, Ayakawa, Sumitomo, Tokyo Shibaura Denki and Osaka Seitetsu are the most well known. Extra amounts were collected from these sources on other occasions for special projects. In the end of 1941, or the beginning of 1942, the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai began research on their "Ten Year Plan for the Development of Greater East Asia."

For this project Muto, Akira of the Military Affairs Bureau gave the KKK 20,000 yen out of secret funds, and the same amount was received from Oka, Keijun of the Navy. The Foreign Office and the Cabinet Bureau of Information contributed 20,000 yen but this time only 5,000 yen was received from the Greater East Asia Ministry. From private companies 200,000 yen was collected.

The Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai, although not organized into definite sections for the study of various areas, did have specialists in each field and committees were formed whenever a project was undertaken, headed by these specialists. For example, specialists studying relations with the United States were Ishida, Reisque (Mitsui Bussan); Tojima (Mitsui Bussan); Isogaye, Reisque; and Sato, Naotake; while Okura, Kinmochi; and Kuroda, Kakuchi were the outstanding specialists on Russia.

The sources of information available to the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai were so extensive that no civilian, none government organization could ever have come near it. Much of this information was gathered from prominent members and their more influential friends, but documents too, from government ministries were in the possession of the society. Through Muto, Akira; Yatsugi, Kazuo of the KKK, was able to acquire and retain in his possession many documents of the Military Affairs Bureau, classified as "Top Secret." Yatsugi obtained documents through Muto as Muto was a good personal friend of his, but information was procured from other government ministries and from other high officials. This information was used in drawing up the various plans put out by the KKK.

In regards the United States a committee was formed in 1939 and functioned through 1941 studying U.S.-Japanese relations and conditions in the United States. The KKK published a full report in 1940 on its findings. So thorough was the knowledge of this committee that it was even familiar with the fortification of the Mandated Islands, something that was known only to a circle of the top ranking military and naval men. The material and statistics published by other societies, such as the Showa Kenkyu Kai and the Towa Kenkyu Kai was available to the KKK. An organization known as the Chosa Kenkyu Doin Honbu (Investigation and Research Mobilization Headquarters) acted as liaison between the many associations. Okura, Kinmochi; senior member of the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai was president of the Chosa Kenkyu Doin Honbu and Kanamori, Tokujiro, Chief of the Political Section of the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai was one of the Directors of the Chosa Kenkyu Doin Honbu.

By the end of 1941 the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai had worked on plans to utilize the facilities of the South Seas, Eastern Russia, Alaska, Canada, Central America, South America and India. Many members, influential sponsors, and associates thought that the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai had gone too far. Even Muto was opposed to including India although he approved of evicting the British from Asia. Regardless, the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai had gone ahead with these plans, some of which were later adopted in a modified form, to suit the Army, and the entire area was called the "East Asia Sphere."

In the spring of 1942 the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai began research on its "Ten Year Plan for the Development of Greater East Asia." There were approximately ten different sections covering an extremely wide scope doing research on this subject. Yatsugi, Kazuo (IPS witness) was the administrative head of the project, and was responsible for financing it. Takahashi, Kamegichi was the chief investigator and Kanamori, Tokujiro was in charge of the Political Section. At first the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai received much support from the different ministries and from high officials in the Government, but as the future of the "Greater East Asia Sphere" became more and more uncertain this support decreased. The plan was finally completed and a final report published, but it was never adopted, for by this time the tide of battle had turned against Japan and she had her hands full just trying to hang on to what territory she had. With this change in the fortunes of war the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai became less and less active. Government circles became more reluctant to give out information and documents were not easily obtained. Government agencies were no longer receptive to advice or plans for the future as they had their hands full with the War and its outcome. Although by 1944 the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai had lost its influence and had become almost inactive, it nevertheless carried on its meetings and still remained well informed in almost every field. Prominent members of the KKK were familiar even with secrets such as the profits from the Opium trade. Satomi, head of the hong at Shanghai, sent the profits to Suzuki, Teiichi who placed them in Tojo's secret fund.

The Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai continued from 1944, when it lost its influence until the end of the War, when it was dissolved, as an organization that was extremely well informed on all matters and could be called on at all times should its need arise.

The foregoing report is based upon the interrogations of Yatsugi, Kazuo and Okura, Kinmochi conducted in June 1946. Okura was again interrogated on 27 May 1947 by this investigator prior to this writing. Documents published by the Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai in the possession of the International Prosecution Section were used as reference and background material in the preparation of this report.

Eric W. Fleischer
 ERIC W. FLEISHER
 1st Lt. Inf.
 Investigative Division, I.P.S.

16 April 1947

UEDA, Kenichi

In connection with this witness, attention is called to IPS Document #724B which was introduced as Prosecution Exhibit #212 at page 2,705 of the Record. Document is a cable dispatched on 7 May 1936 by Ambassador UEDA to Foreign Minister ARITA. Cable deals with plan to set up the Mongolian state and sets forth the details of such plan.

(NOTE: It will be noted from the positions held by UEDA that he was Ambassador to Manchuria in 1936 and that he concurrently held the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army.)

ARITA, Hachiro

Request by: Tojo, Hideki

Address: 426 Shimo-ochiai 1 Chome, Yodobashi-ku, Tokyo

Former Foreign Minister

He will testify as to the policies of the Jap. Govt. specifically
and in detail.

375

15 April 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR : Mr. Lester G. Dunigan

FROM : EDWARD P. MONAGHAN, Acting Chief, Investigative
Division, IPS

SUBJECT : Defense Witnesses.

1. Please find attached hereto list of material available on the following witnesses subpoenaed by the Defense:

DEFENDANT - TOJO, Hideki

<u>WITNESS</u>	<u>LIST OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE</u>
YOSHINO, Shinji	Additional Information
TAMURA, Kosaku	Additional Information
OWADA, Teiji	Additional Information
MURATA, Shozo	Additional Information
ISHIHARA, Kanji (Kwanji)	Additional Information

2. Please acknowledge receipt of this memorandum by initialing and returning attached carbon copy to this office, Room 300.

5 Incls.
(described above)

EDWARD P. MONAGHAN
Acting Chief, Investigative Division,
IPS *am*

Dunigan 375

3 April 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR WITNESS FILE

SUBJECT, ARITA, Hachiro

File No. 250, Serial 17, Page 5, reveals that ARITA, Hachiro, in 1943 was a Member of Dai Toa Senso Chosa Kai (Greater East Asia War Investigation Society.) Purpose of the Society was to prove by means of "actual facts" the war-guilt of U. S. and Britain (as well as to clarify the war aims of the Japanese Empire; the Society published "America's World Aggression" (in Japanese) in Sept. '44.

HENRY A. DOLAN, JR.
Investigator, IPS

16 April 1947

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. David N. Sutton
FROM : Lester C. Dunigan
SUBJECT: ARITA, Hachiro
FOR : Central Files

The above named witness has been subpoenaed to testify on behalf of the accused SHIRATORI, TOJO and OSHIMA.

Mr. Cunningham, who is handling the case of SHIRATORI and OSHIMA, has agreed with me that he will prepare on ARITA.

Copy: Mr. F. Cunningham

Re Trieta

See page 10,744 of record re.
statement of Anita concerning
"Status Quo" of Netherlands East
Indies. (may be material for cross
examination, especially in view
of Japanese subsequent actions
toward Netherlands East Indies

REPORT BY: John A. Curtis

4 Feb 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

SUBJECT: ARITA, Hachiro

Address: Shibuya-ku, Yoyogi Nishihara, Tokyo.

Was Foreign Minister from 1936 to 1937; political advisor to the Foreign Office 1938; Foreign Minister 1939 and 1940.

File 446, serial 101: The above was the most prominent figure in the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936.

File 446, serial 101; Motivating force in the Foreign Office so stated.

No further information concerning the above is contained in the files.

COPIES: 3 File
1 Mr. Newbill

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
OPERATIONS, G-2, G-2
Compilation Branch

SUBJECT: ARITA, Hachiro

- 1921 - 1922 1st Secretary of Embassy at Washington. Became close friend of Ex-Premier HIROTA, who was then Councillor of the Washington Embassy.
- 1936 Feb. Ambassador to China for a brief period in succession to Ambassador ARIYOSHI. "This was the difficult period of negotiations with Chiang Kai Shek, which followed the outburst of a series of anti-Japanese incidents in China".
- 1936 Apr. 2 -
1937 Feb. Foreign Minister in Hirota Cabinet.
Japan-Germany Anti-Comintern Pact signed Nov. 25, 1936.
"Has been interested ever since in strengthening the Anti-Comintern Pact" (Japan Advertiser, Oct. 30, 1938).
- 1938 Oct. -
1939 Jan. Foreign Minister in 1st Konoye Cabinet.
Japan Germany Cultural Pact signed Nov. 1938.
- 1942 Sept. ARITA together with Baron HIRANUMA Kiichiro and NAGAI, Ryutaro went to Nanking as members of the Special Envoy party to the National Government of China.
- 1943 Nov. 4 Attended meeting to further strengthen cooperation among AXIS powers under auspices of Japanese German Italian Goodwill Society.
- 1944 May Listed as Chairman of IRAA Committee dealing with welfare of Japanese in enemy countries.
- 1944 Sept. 18 Appointed Advisor to the GEA Development (or New Asia Movement) General Headquarters of IRAA.
- 1945 Mar. 27 One of the Sponsors of the "Twenty Years' War Assn", established 27 March 1945.

SOURCE: US Office of War Information
Overseas Branch - San Francisco, Analysis and Research Bureau.
Target Intelligence Division. July 25, 1945.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
PAC EAST COMMAND
OPERATIONS, C-18, G-2
Compilation Branch

SUBJECT: ARITA, Hachiro - 2 -

1944 Oct. 24 Appointed Cabinet Advisor of KOISO Cabinet.

SOURCE: Prominent Persons in Japan or Japanese Dominated Territories,
15 May 1945, DIO 14th Naval District.

Hachiro ARITA is associated with the National Activities Committee designed to study the ways and means of carrying on the present war against the Anglo-Americans for 20 years. He is a Cabinet Advisor with a long record of high positions in the Foreign Office. Foreign Minister under Hirota (Apr. 1936 to Feb. 1937), KONOYE (Oct. 1938 - Jan. 1939), HIRANUMA (Jan-Aug 1939) and YONAI (Jan-July 1940). He was a Foreign Minister when the following pacts were signed: Japan-Germany Anti-Comintern, Nov. 25, 1936; Japan-Germany Cultural Nov. 1938. He holds important positions in the PAA and NOAA.

SOURCE: Radio Monitoring
PUBLICATION: FEB Fortnightly Intel Rpt. No. 6

JAPAN REMINDS AXIS OF STRONG TIE HERE

... Foreign Minister Hachiro ARITA yesterday afternoon sent instructions to the Japanese Ambassadors in Germany and Italy, respectively Mr. Saburo KURUSU and Mr. Eiji AMAU, to communicate the views of the Japanese Government on French Indo-China to the Governments to which they are accredited, reports Domei.

The Japanese communication is said to stress these two points:

1. The Japanese Government, in the interest of the stabilization of East Asia, is gravely concerned about French Indo-China both economically and militarily.

2. The Japanese Government shares the world ideals of Germany and Italy.

Domei understand in addition that the German and Italian Governments are being asked to maintain "a friendly attitude" toward French Indo-China and are being reminded that "there is a strong axis among Japan, Germany and Italy based on on the anti-Comintern pact." As a matter of fact, Domei continues, Germany would find it practicably difficult to control French Indo-China by force.

SOURCE: THE JAPAN ADVERTISER, 20 June 1940.

ARITA, Hachiro

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
OPERATIONS, CIS, G-2
Compilation Branch

SUBJECT: ARITA, Hashiro - 3 -

According to him the Anti-Comintern Pact did not mean that Japan was joining a Fascist bloc; he defended the pact warmly and recognized the conquest of Ethiopia.

SOURCE: New York Times, 3 Dec. 1936 p. 15.
(OSS Card File) rpt. 3 Dec. 36.

April 11, 1942 issue of "Argentinische Wochenblatt", newspaper published in Buenos Aires states that subject is liaison officer between Japan and Germany in Peru. Also that he entered South America as Axis agent through the Latin air service.

SOURCE: USMC LA 3148 (OSS Card File)

Henschel interview of Horaguchi.
Zakajiro from August 7 to 8 1946
reveals following.

Subject considers Arita the most
prominent figure in the conclusion
of Anti-Communist Pact. Although
Hirota was Foreign Minister it was
Arita who was the motivating
force behind it.

Arita has always been an advocate
of expansion.

In 1940-41 Arita made several
speeches advocating Japan's taking
the Dutch East Indies into
protective custody since the
"status quo" had been altered
by the collapse of the mother
country.

Subject Horaguchi says
"Kaya was a Yes man for
General Tojo. Both Kaya & Tojo
supported Tojo at the Imperial

Conference of November 29, 1941
when I also advocated war. Kaya
was also an advocate of expansion
on the Asiatic Continent and in
the South Seas.

Sojo Okawa was the most fervent
opponent of the crusade to drive
the whites out of Asia.

6 March 1946

SUBJECT: Report of Interrogation of ARITA, Hashiro

TO : Mr. Carlisle Higgins

This witness contradicted General ARAKI Sadeo in this respect:

ARAKI stated in his testimony when being questioned by the undersigned as to events which transpired during the time when he was Minister of Education in two cabinets, that foreign affairs were handled by the Premier, Finance, War, Navy and Foreign Ministers, and that as Minister of Education he was not afforded an opportunity to discuss and had nothing to do with the management of foreign affairs when acting as such Minister of Education.

He said that the Foreign Minister or Premier announced to the cabinet when certain foreign affairs had been settled, but there was no discussion of these matters before they were settled.

Thus far, and with regard to treaties, ARITA states that the five officers above mentioned reported proposals as to foreign affairs to the full cabinet, which had an opportunity to discuss and then vote on such matters before a recommendation was made to the Emperor.

Both witnesses agree that the cabinet is responsible for the government policy, and ARITA seems to contradict with respect to treaties, at any rate, the former statement of ARAKI.

This matter will be further pursued in interrogation.

THOMAS H. MORROW, Col., A. C.

3/26/46

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RE: ARITA, Machiro

ARITA, Machiro was a career diplomat, active in high government posts until 23 May 1945, when he resigned as Diplomatic Adviser of the Foreign Office. He is sixty-one years old and not at present under arrest. The following epitome reflects the importance of his career:

- 1909 Graduated from the Law College of Tokyo Imperial University and assigned for duty with the Mukden Consulate.
- 1910 Vice-Consul at Mukden.
- 1912 Served with consulates at Chicago and Ottawa.
- 1913 Served with consulate at Honolulu
- 1914 Consul at Honolulu.
- 1917 Dispatched on tour to China.
- 1918 Commissioner of Foreign Office and dispatched on tour of Europe.
- 1919 Member of Plenipotentiary Suite to Peace Conference.
- 1921 Assigned for duty in the United States. Secretary of Embassy and member of the Plenipotentiary Suite to the Washington Conference.
- 1923 Assigned for duty in China and appointed Secretary to the Legation.
- 1925 Appointed Consul-General and assigned post at Feintsin.
- 1927 Chief Director of the Asiatic Bureau of the Foreign Office.
- 1927 Member of Board of Survey on Cultural Enterprise in China.

- 1930 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Austria and Hungary.
- 1932 Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 1932 Member of Tariff Investigation Committee.
- 1932 Member of Central Statistics Committee.
- 1932 Member of Opium Committee.
- 1932 Acting Chief Director of the Bureau of European and American Affairs.
- 1933 Resigned as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 1933 Minister Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary to Belgium.
- 1933 Dispatched on tour of Manchuria and China.
- 1933 Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary to Luxembourg.
- 1936 Dispatched on tour of prefectures of Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Mei and Aichi.
- 1936 Ambassador to China.
- 1936 Appointed Foreign Minister (April 3)
- 1937 Resigned as Foreign Minister (February 2)
- 1938 Member House of Peers.
- 1938 Advisor of the Foreign Office (September 10)
- 1938 Resigned as Advisor of Foreign Office (October 6)
- 1938 Foreign Minister (October 29)
- 1939 Resigned as Foreign Minister (August 30)
- 1940 Reappointed Foreign Minister (January 16)
- 1940 Resigned as Foreign Minister (July 22)

- 1940 Member of Greater East Asia Reconstruction Investigation Committee.
- 1942 Dispatched as Special Envoy to the Nanking Regime on a "good will reply mission" (August 28)
- 1942 Relieved from fulfillment of mission to Nanking. (October 14)
- 1943 Diplomatic Advisor to Foreign Office (July 28)
- 1944 Cabinet Advisor (October 28)
- 1944 Resigned as Cabinet Advisor (April 26)
- 1945 Resigned as Diplomatic Advisor of Foreign Office.

The chief evidence of ARITA's guilt is the circumstance of the positions of responsibility he occupied while the aggressive policy of the Japanese Government was being organized and implemented. Although it must be admitted that most of the overt acts which were the results of Japan's aggressive course occurred during periods when he was not holding a position of high responsibility and that the most significant pronouncements reflecting aggressive policy were also made during such periods.

For example, at the time of the Mukden Incident (18 August 1932) ARITA was not in the country nor was he here when Japanese forces occupied Chinchow (5 January 1932). It was some months after the bombing of Chepei (26 January 1932) and the shelling of Nanking (1 February 1932) that he was appointed Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs (10 May 1932), although he did occupy that position at the time Japan recognized the independence of Manchukuo (15 September 1932). He was relieved from duty as Acting Chief Director of the Bureau of European and American Affairs (1 February 1932) before Japan withdrew from the League of Nations and had not held office as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs (10 May 1932) a year and a half before the Japanese Government gave notice that it elected to withdraw from the obligations of the Washington Naval Treaty (29 December 1934). He was Vice-Minister, however, when the Cabinet decided not to adhere to the London Naval Treaty (23 January 1936) and when the Anti-Comintern Pact was signed (25 November 1936) he was Foreign Minister. He had been out of this office for five months when the 1937 attack was made on China (7 July 1937). Since he did not become Advisor to the Foreign Office until 10 September 1938 he can not be charged with

using the influence of that office to bring about the incidents of 1937, including the air raids on Hanking and Canton (19-25 September 1937), the refusal of Japan to participate in the deliberations of the Far Eastern Advisory Committee of the League of Nations (25 September 1937) and its refusal to discuss the application of the stipulations of the Nine Power Treaty at the Brussels Conference (27 October 1937). The drive on Hanking (13 December 1937) and the attack on neutral ships on the Yangtze occurred during this period, as did Japan's refusal to reveal her naval building plans (5 February 1938). He served as Advisor to the Foreign Office less than a month in 1938 and although it was during this month that Japan refused the League's offer of mediation in the Chinese hostilities, such policy had been long foreshadowed.

ARITA was Foreign Minister from 29 October 1938 until 30 August 1939, and it was during this period that Japan began her drive southward by occupying Hainan Island and the Sinnan Islands, but his connection with these moves and his views thereon are not known - except by inference. It was about the time ARITA was relieved that HARIYOUCHI informed Hull that Japan had decided to abandon any further negotiations with Germany and Italy looking toward closer relations under the Anti-Comintern Pact, and it would seem likely that ARITA might be able to show that this statement reflected his true view.

ARITA was re-appointed Foreign Minister 16 January 1940, which was subsequent to the abrogation of the Japan-Netherlands Treaty (12 January 1940), and remained in office but six months. It was not until after his resignation (22 July 1940) that the new foreign policy for Greater East Asia was announced (1 August 1940). ARITA does not appear upon the historical scene in any policy-making position during the year 1941.

It thus appears that in the critical periods ARITA may be able to prove an alibi. Probably the most incriminating incident occurring during ARITA's first term as Foreign Minister occurred on 20 January 1937, a few days before the resignation of the HIROTA Cabinet (1 February 1937), when the Privy Council, in session with the Cabinet, considered and approved a proposal that a "special exception" be made in order "to open the way for the appointment of naval officers" as administrators of the South Sea Islands. The proposal read:

"Considering the international situation of late, the South Sea Islands have attained a more important position in the national defense of Japan. Therefore, we must consider fully the convenience of the Navy in its military operations with regard to navigational facilities, harbors, road, aviation and communications in the Islands. Consequently, it is necessary to open

the road specially for naval officers to be appointed as administrators who will be concerned with transportation and communication affairs in the Islands."

An Imperial Proclamation was requested so that this action might not appear to be a formal action of the Privy Council. Thus both content and method indicate a purpose to violate the provisions of the Versailles Treaty.

While ARITA was in the YONAI Cabinet he foreshadowed the progress of Japanese aggression by a broadcast in which he declared: "The countries of East Asia and the regions of the South Seas are geographically, historically, racially and economically very closely related. The unity of all these regions in a single sphere is a natural conclusion."

ARITA was interrogated by Colonel Morrow on 4 March in this building. He explained how treaties were authorized, using the Turkish Treaty as an example. He stated that the Tri-Partite Pact was never considered by the full HIRANUMA Cabinet but only by the Premier and the Naval, War and Finance Ministers. He agreed that the actual reason for the resignation of the HIRANUMA Cabinet was the consummation of the German-Russian Treaty of 1939, which embarrassed the cabinet whose course had been consistently anti-Russian, though the reason assigned for the change was "the delicate and mysterious situation in Europe". He said the Tri-Partite Pact was considered many times but could not say that the press reports about how often it was considered were accurate.

ARITA volunteered a statement concerning his experience as Chief of the Asiatic Bureau in the Foreign Office, saying that during the TANAKA Ministry the Japanese in Manchuria were being encircled by the Chinese Warlord Chang Tso Lin, who planned a railroad parallel to the South Manchurian Railroad. He expressed himself as believing that HIRANO worked earnestly to settle the Chinese situation but met difficulties because of the Army's stubbornness and the incidents of violence at Chengtu, Hankow, Pakhoi and Honkew. For his own part, he insists that he tried to get the Army to take a more conciliatory attitude but that local army commanders were continually presenting headquarters at Tokyo with the alternative of having to approve or disavow some action already taken without authority. He designated "both the commanders of the Kwantung Army and the Japanese Army in North China" as the officers responsible for the existence of the condition.

The G.I.C. report (by Benedict Fitzgerald) characterizes ARITA thusly: "Reputed to have reached high position through shrewdness and common sense rather than because of brilliant diplomatic gifts. Apparently able to temper aggressiveness of militarists in dealing with foreign nations without antagonizing former". The report also notes that Ambassador Grew

in "Ten Years in Japan" describes ARITA as "always friendly and at times even sympathetic, but habitually cautious". Grew's book does show, however, that in December 1938 ARITA told him he was going to depart from the policy of his predecessor in undertaking to reconcile principles and realities and would speak plainly about existing facts.

KIDO's diary does not reveal ARITA either as one who wished war with the United States or believed it was inevitable. KIDO reports that on 19 June 1940 ARITA discussed with him two plans which had been before a meeting of four ministers on the day before: the first that "a request shall be submitted to French Indo-China to cease giving aid to Chiang Kai Shek and should this be refused, force shall be applied", and the second that "force shall be used without negotiations". It had been agreed by the four ministers, upon the recommendation of the military ministers, that the first plan would be adopted. ARITA also stated that Italy and Germany had been notified that "Japan holds serious consideration" over the French Indo-China question, both politically and economically, and after receiving replies "England and the United States would be treated accordingly". (This translation is, of course, susceptible to two widely divergent meanings).

The 1 July 1940 entry in KIDO's diary reports that after attending a luncheon "held by the Manchurian Emperor" he had a talk with ARITA about the "Emergency conditions in Hongkong", concerning which the facts were not available; about "the question of the status quo in the Pacific", which Ambassador Grew had proposed, but for which ARITA believed "time was not ripe"; a request by Germany that Japan withdraw representatives from Holland, Belgium, Norway and Luxembourg" as nations which "had lost their facilities" to negotiate; and about an economic envoy to be dispatched to French Indo-China and Dutch Indo-China. (1 July 1940 extract). Three weeks later ARITA was out of office.

On 27 March 1945 Radio Tokyo announced that ARITA was to head a group of prominent civilians who would organize a "Twenty Year War Society", but efforts to this end do not seem to have been persistent.

RECOMMENDATION: In spite of ARITA's many positions of responsibility, there appear to be many others more typical than he of the political leadership which led Japan into aggressive war. Acquiescence rather than promotion is the fault with which he can properly be charged, and this, when his part is judged upon a comparative basis, is not sufficient to warrant his inclusion in the prime list of war criminals.