

Against such ~~intrigues~~ barefaced intrigue, no. 9.  
Some ~~of us~~ <sup>the military, others</sup> wanted to negotiate directly with  
the Nanking Government, ~~not to ease~~  
~~for such a military.~~ Some people wished  
in Japan feel contradictions ~~hoping that~~  
the Japanese military should ~~be cautious,~~  
self-discipline. Thus there were internal contradictions in our <sup>country</sup>  
One could see that these five <sup>internal</sup>  
~~different conditions, internally and~~  
~~externally, internal, were~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~immanent within this,~~  
But, ~~since the outbreak of the shooting at the~~ <sup>one affair</sup>  
Marco Polo Bridge, the efforts of those <sup>who sought</sup>  
~~happening at Peking, the party~~ <sup>to prevent the</sup>  
~~wanted not to enlarge the war.~~ <sup>and the situation grew worse and worse</sup>  
~~was in vain, then our army were~~  
with the ~~dispatch of Japanese troops~~  
~~all patched there and we found~~  
~~ourselves on the road to the~~

~~disadvantage under the declaration~~  
<sup>in the name</sup> of so-called "the independence of

the ~~prerogative of~~ <sup>for future reference</sup> supreme command."

¶ Then I should like to refer <sup>here</sup> to the  
internal cause which ~~made the war~~ <sup>enlarged the affair</sup>  
~~long out enlarged,~~ <sup>to</sup> and the political  
situation which ~~could not~~ <sup>failed to</sup> settle the affair.

~~the affair~~, in order that my reference should become the materials of our reflections for the re-construction of new Japan in future.

It is true that the <sup>country</sup> reaction of the Chinese racial movement which was held

since the Manchuria Incident should ~~constituted~~ become one cause of the China Incident,

but we cannot deny the fact that

the <sup>insatiable ambition for honor</sup> greedy members of our military leaders were responsible for it. It seems that they

Manchurian Incident was the outcome of a clash of opinion among the young group of our military officers,

discussed which they should ~~make~~ whereas one faction advocated overseas expansion, the ~~first~~ territorial aggression, the other faction favored

the internal reformation first. It was ~~they~~ finally decided to undertake <sup>territorial expansion first</sup> territorial expansion first

as they thought that we should expand first to the foreign countries and then

turn back their force to ~~the~~ internal reformation, and ~~so~~ the

Manchuria Incident ~~is~~ ~~not~~.

From <sup>about</sup> January, 1931, ~~the 1st year of Showa~~, they began to ~~develop~~ <sup>make gradual</sup> courses ~~to the exterior~~ <sup>development</sup> gradually. The Manchurian Incident and the 9.18 affair broke out on Sept. 18<sup>th</sup> of the same year. In October of the same year, the "Kinshi" (imperial standard) ~~the Imperial~~ <sup>revolution</sup> ~~was undertaken~~ <sup>attempted</sup>. In the next year, ~~7th year of Showa~~ <sup>1932</sup> that is, 1932, the May 15<sup>th</sup> affair ~~occurred~~ <sup>happened</sup> and this gave the decisive blow ~~influence~~ <sup>impulse</sup> to the political situation.

Thus the relation ~~between~~ <sup>the</sup> external situation and the internal ~~situations~~ <sup>situations</sup> were inseparably related to each other like ~~that of~~ <sup>this was true of the</sup> the pentium movement. Our territorial China Affair also; the movement directed externally ~~at the expense of China~~ <sup>aggression</sup> as contained at the same time ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> closely connected with ~~our~~ <sup>internal</sup> elements ~~reformation~~.

The main ~~body~~ <sup>forces</sup> which ~~made~~ <sup>enlarged</sup> the Incident ~~was~~ <sup>at last</sup> ~~made~~ <sup>finally</sup> were: (1) ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> stubborn group of the <sup>Kwantung</sup> Kanto Army ~~which~~ <sup>had</sup> failed in the Pailin ~~Incident~~ <sup>Incident</sup> (Hyakunin ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> affair), (2) a part of the Japanese garrison troops ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> North China, (3)

the ~~head~~ <sup>head</sup> of the ~~Korean~~ <sup>Chosen</sup> army, and <sup>(4)</sup> the  
~~the central part~~ it was Chinese section  
 of the ~~General Staff Office~~ <sup>Army</sup> and the ~~leaders~~  
 leaders of the ~~military~~ <sup>War Ministry</sup> at that time.  
 Although ~~As~~ their motives were ~~different~~ <sup>varied from</sup> one  
 another, it is clear that the incident  
 was ~~executed~~ <sup>executed</sup> under ~~a close~~ <sup>the</sup> liaison among these  
 four groups. As to this liaison, it seems that  
~~About this~~ <sup>the</sup> chief of the  
 1st section of the General Staff Office  
 took his power who ~~opposed~~ <sup>strongly</sup> it at that  
 time, probably held control  
~~to the stationary troops at North China.~~  
 In the case of the first group, <sup>Kwantung</sup>  
 (The stubborn group of the ~~Kwantung~~  
 Army had the intention of making another  
 attempt ~~to cover up the failure of their~~  
~~against~~ <sup>in the</sup> Inner Mongolia. ~~The economic~~  
 appears that the economic construction <sup>with the understanding</sup>  
~~of the heads of the War Ministry, planned this conspiracy~~  
 with the aim of ~~the~~ <sup>influencing</sup> internal politics, ~~planned~~  
~~to take part in the stationary troops at North~~  
~~China unexpectedly.~~

<sup>case of the</sup>  
In the third group, the Commander <sup>in-chief</sup> of the Chosen, No. 13.

The ~~soul~~ of the Korean Army issued a ~~surprising~~ <sup>political statement</sup>, declaring:

~~to form the succeeding cabinet and the~~  
~~commander-in-chief made the wonderful~~  
~~declaration as follows,~~ "The Korean Army

is seriously interested in the North-China

incident, <sup>apparently with the object of being selected as</sup> The Russian section of the

General Staff <sup>(In the fourth group) (China?)</sup> <sup>Premier</sup>

~~rose~~ ~~stood up~~ in excitement ~~in~~ not to miss this grand chance <sup>headquarters of the Russian section.</sup>

Especially the <sup>motive</sup> intentions of the leaders of the <sup>War Ministry is entirely</sup> military are mysterious, and <sup>one</sup> can

~~may be~~ that the people <sup>hardly</sup> cannot understand their true <sup>motive</sup> intentions. But the <sup>truth</sup> fact is

that the <sup>leaders of the War Ministry</sup> military wanted to <sup>quiet down</sup> ~~the~~ growing dissatisfaction of the military and other circles <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ ~~base~~ ~~quarters~~ of the military

~~and of the people~~ <sup>by turning their attention</sup> to North China, and as the dissatisfaction with them ~~became~~

at the same time, ~~gradually~~ <sup>gradually</sup> ~~exalted~~, and ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> planned

(to settle the North-China incident, if chance favoured them. <sup>Thus, they</sup> ~~intended~~)

~~to set forth a plan~~ it was speculated

# METED

to shoot down two birds with a single shot. 19.

~~The~~ dissatisfaction of ~~some of~~ the military and ~~of the people~~ <sup>other circles?</sup> seemed to be as follows.

They were dissatisfied with the fact that discriminatory punishments had been meted out to the ~~various participants in the Feb. 26 Incident~~ <sup>the men</sup> who had the ~~relation to the 2.26 affair~~ <sup>suddenly</sup>, because the military ~~sentenced to death~~ <sup>sentenced</sup> the civilians, regarding them as ~~the leaders~~ <sup>the</sup> of the movement in spite of the fact that

to have restrained the plotters on the ground that it was premature, were suddenly given death sentences as the ~~first stage of the plot~~ <sup>first stage of the plot</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> the military ~~sent~~ <sup>sentenced</sup> fourteen or fifteen ~~judgments~~ <sup>judgments</sup> ~~young officers~~ <sup>young officers</sup> to ~~death~~ <sup>death</sup> within several days. ~~after ten sentences~~ <sup>two others</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~only two of them~~ <sup>only two of them</sup> were not

executed and ~~these two~~ <sup>used for gathering further</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> employed in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> evidence. <sup>Mysterious</sup> ~~documents~~ <sup>documents</sup> written by the ~~imprisoned officers~~ <sup>imprisoned officers</sup> and ~~circulated in small~~ <sup>circulated in small</sup> ~~number~~ <sup>number</sup> ~~seriously~~ <sup>seriously</sup> impeached the ~~leaders of the~~ <sup>military leaders</sup> ~~military movement~~ <sup>of the</sup>, and ~~these records~~ <sup>these records</sup> were published at that time.

The meaning of the records was as follows.

The contents of the document follow:

no. 15.

" (1) ~~The~~ <sup>Did not the</sup> supreme responsible persons <sup>say that he</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>had</sup> recognized the <sup>nature</sup> ~~spirit~~ of our movement, and they ~~participated~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~in~~ it.

The subject of the succeeding cabinet was ~~not discussed~~ <sup>only because</sup> it belongs to the <sup>supreme</sup> ~~prerogative~~ <sup>power</sup>.

" (2) We ~~were~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~said~~ <sup>charged</sup> with having occupied strategic points in Tokyo, but we had an order to guard these <sup>points as a subordinate unit of</sup> the Kotenji corps.

" (3) We ~~were~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~said~~ <sup>accused</sup> of having disobeyed the Imperial Order that we ~~should~~ <sup>to</sup> return to our <sup>own</sup> corps, but we ~~deny~~ <sup>deny</sup> having ~~known~~ <sup>any</sup> Imperial Order at that time.

(In fact, <sup>we had</sup> some private negotiations <sup>seem</sup> to have been carried on, ~~discussed~~ <sup>at that time</sup>, but <sup>it</sup> is very uncertain who <sup>issued</sup> the order and who received it.) <sup>For</sup> these reasons the <sup>military</sup> ~~authorities~~ <sup>cannot</sup> ~~call~~ <sup>us</sup> ~~rebels~~ <sup>rebels</sup>.

" These are the main points of the ~~document~~ <sup>document</sup>. This ~~document~~ <sup>document</sup> and the ~~ominous~~ <sup>ominous</sup> atmosphere <sup>prevailing</sup> within and outside military circles ~~greatly~~ <sup>greatly</sup> troubled the military leaders. We can ~~well~~ <sup>well</sup> understand ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~concern~~ <sup>concern</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> these circumstances.

appeared to have

no. 16.

~~I think~~ it is very regrettable that the military ~~made the plan~~ <sup>adopted the policy</sup> for pandering the North China Incident, to some extent as ~~the means of checking their ominous reputation.~~ <sup>a means of checking their ominous reputation.</sup> atmosphere

At the time when one called the ~~was still called~~ <sup>was still called</sup> the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the War Minister ~~suddenly declared that it would be called~~ <sup>suddenly declared that it would be called</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~China~~ <sup>China</sup> ~~North~~ <sup>North</sup> Incident.

(At the Cabinet meeting ~~in presence~~ <sup>in presence</sup> and in disregard of diplomacy, which comes within the ~~military~~ <sup>military</sup> ~~province~~ <sup>province</sup> ~~of state affairs~~ <sup>of state affairs</sup> in a wilderness, the military authorities ~~moved~~ <sup>moved</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~despatched~~ <sup>despatched</sup> ~~troops~~ <sup>troops</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~coming~~ <sup>coming</sup> ~~within~~ <sup>within</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~own~~ <sup>own</sup> ~~orders~~ <sup>orders</sup> ~~regarding~~ <sup>regarding</sup> it as ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~supreme~~ <sup>supreme</sup> ~~command~~ <sup>command</sup>, ignoring the ~~international~~ <sup>international</sup> ~~intercourse~~ <sup>intercourse</sup> ~~which~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~should~~ <sup>should</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~considered~~ <sup>considered</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~assistance~~ <sup>assistance</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Emperor~~ <sup>Emperor</sup>.

Thus the ~~discrepancy~~ <sup>discrepancy</sup> ~~between~~ <sup>between</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~relations~~ <sup>relations</sup> ~~between~~ <sup>between</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~supreme~~ <sup>supreme</sup> ~~command~~ <sup>command</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~state~~ <sup>state</sup> ~~affairs~~ <sup>affairs</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~exposed~~ <sup>exposed</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~greatest~~ <sup>greatest</sup> ~~degree~~ <sup>degree</sup>.

The ~~suppression~~ <sup>suppression</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~enlargement~~ <sup>enlargement</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Incident~~ <sup>Incident</sup> ~~came~~ <sup>came</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> ~~these~~ <sup>these</sup> ~~reasons~~ <sup>reasons</sup>. The majority of the public ~~also~~ <sup>also</sup> ~~supported~~ <sup>supported</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup>.



The publication of

the military action. Moderate views

no. 17.

the military and ~~the~~ sound argument  
were prohibited ~~to~~ <sup>seen</sup> as helping the enemy  
or ~~anti~~ <sup>war</sup> ~~militarism~~. One of my friends who

sent a telegram to me <sup>saying a compromise</sup> ~~that~~ could  
make ~~peace~~ with ~~So~~ <sup>Song Che Yuan had</sup> ~~been~~ ~~affected~~

this opinion was ~~particuarly~~ <sup>pressed hard in China</sup> and  
threatened ~~in~~ <sup>a strong</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~strong~~ <sup>strong</sup> opinion

that <sup>even</sup> Mitsuru Toyama, <sup>the foremost leader</sup> ~~who was a senior~~  
of the Japanese people ~~at large~~, <sup>should</sup> be arrested

as a ~~man of~~ <sup>traitor</sup> ~~altimosa~~, <sup>prevailed at that time</sup> ~~was prevailing~~.

Third Lecture

~~The 3rd time~~

November 1872.

"The difficult settlement of the China  
Affair Incident and the failure in constituting  
the Imperial Rule Assistance Association."

## Third lecture

~~The 3rd time~~; Broadcasted on November 18th.

6.30 P.M.

The difficult settlement of the China  
~~Incident~~ and the failure in constituting  
 the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

The China ~~Incident~~ <sup>proved</sup> ~~was after all deemed to be~~  
~~insoluble~~ ~~settled~~ ~~finally~~, but <sup>so far as I</sup> ~~know~~ <sup>know</sup> we had  
 at least three opportunities <sup>to</sup> ~~of~~ settlement.

The <sup>first</sup> ~~was~~ the negotiation with Britain  
 by ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Foreign Minister, Ugaki. At that  
 time Britain <sup>was</sup> ~~fairly~~ <sup>fairly</sup> conciliatory, ~~and she~~ <sup>demanding</sup>  
~~required~~ <sup>gradually</sup> that Japan ~~should~~ <sup>withdraw</sup>  
~~her army~~ <sup>from</sup> China and ~~she should~~ <sup>absolutely refrain</sup>  
~~from extending her hand to~~ <sup>not invade</sup> India. As I heard this  
 story from Ugaki's staff, <sup>unless</sup> ~~I am~~ <sup>sure</sup> ~~appaid~~.  
~~it~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~due~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> ~~misinformation~~ <sup>misinformation</sup>,  
 however, <sup>shined judges</sup> ~~I think~~ <sup>think</sup> it was possible for us to  
 settle it, if we had the attitude of  
 mutual concession. One cause of its flat  
 failure was that the Home Minister,

✓

who ~~had~~ advocated a strong policy toward ~~China~~ ~~and~~ ~~had~~ a staff ~~of~~ ~~young~~ ~~men~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~last~~ ~~Chinese~~ ~~era~~ ~~and~~ ~~who~~ ~~was~~ ~~under~~ ~~the~~ ~~influence~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~right~~ ~~wing~~ ~~party~~ ~~supported~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~ ~~who~~ ~~wanted~~ ~~to~~ ~~occupy~~ ~~the~~ ~~headquarters~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Seiyukai~~ ~~and~~ ~~Minseitō~~ ~~parties~~ ~~and~~ ~~opposed~~ ~~the~~ ~~negotiations~~ ~~with~~ ~~Britain~~.

The Home Minister said at last that he could ~~not~~ ~~protect~~ ~~and~~ ~~assure~~ ~~Ngaki's~~ ~~life~~ ~~even~~ ~~if~~ ~~he~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~minister~~ ~~who~~ ~~planned~~ ~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~an~~ ~~attempt~~ ~~at~~ ~~peace~~ ~~negotiations~~ ~~when~~ ~~the~~ ~~war~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~over~~ ~~and~~ ~~as~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~a~~ ~~man~~ ~~of~~ ~~ambition~~ ~~and~~ ~~consequently~~ ~~the~~ ~~Foreign~~ ~~Minister~~ ~~decided~~ ~~to~~ ~~resign~~.

The reason for his resignation ~~was~~ ~~his~~ ~~assumed~~ ~~attitude~~ ~~of~~ ~~general~~ ~~contention~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~creation~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Asia~~ ~~Development~~ ~~Board~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~unification~~ ~~of~~ ~~Japan's~~ ~~policy~~ ~~toward~~ ~~China~~. The Foreign Office ~~felt~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~creation~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Board~~ ~~infringed~~ ~~upon~~ ~~the~~ ~~Foreign~~ ~~Minister's~~ ~~right~~ ~~of~~ ~~unifying~~ ~~policy~~ ~~and~~ ~~assuring~~ ~~the~~ ~~supremacy~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Foreign~~ ~~Minister~~ ~~in~~ ~~diplomacy~~ ~~and~~ ~~assisting~~ ~~in~~ ~~diplomacy~~ ~~power~~, although Koain was established in order to ~~unite~~ ~~our~~ ~~policy~~ ~~towards~~ ~~China~~.

To ~~unite~~ ~~the~~ ~~various~~ ~~policies~~ ~~towards~~ ~~China~~ of several ministries ~~towards~~ ~~China~~ ~~under~~ ~~one~~ ~~unified~~ ~~organ~~ ~~would~~ ~~help~~ ~~to~~ ~~remedy~~ ~~the~~ ~~confusion~~. As the ~~same~~

The diverse disconnected situation, since Mr. Lyabi said to me at the time of his appointment to the post ~~to me that he was not always opposed~~ that he was not necessarily opposed to this unification, this matter was apparently not the true cause of ~~to be the true cause of~~ his resignation.

I think the true cause of the resignation was ~~that he~~ <sup>his</sup> conflicted with the Home Minister ~~and the~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~stubborn~~ parties; and ~~his indignation over~~ <sup>his indignation over</sup> support given them by the Cabinet ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> insufficient.

The second <sup>opportunity</sup> was the efforts made by Lt. General Yanagawa <sup>about the time of the battle</sup> ~~when~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~happened~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Ranking~~ <sup>Ranking</sup>. ~~Such efforts probably come within the sphere of~~ <sup>It may belong to the power</sup> ~~his right as~~ <sup>his right as</sup> Commander-in-Chief. To suspend hostilities

The aim was ~~and he wanted~~ to settle the war as fast as possible, as he personally disapproved ~~of it~~ <sup>of it</sup> ~~and he could not take interest~~.

The means employed was ~~of a~~ <sup>essentially</sup> technique ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> similar to that ~~of~~ <sup>used by</sup> Bismark ~~during~~ <sup>during</sup> the Austro-Prussian War. ~~At the~~ <sup>believing</sup> ~~Prussian~~ <sup>thought</sup> that the entrance of the Prussian ~~aggression~~ <sup>aggression</sup> against Vienna, the capital of Austria, ~~might~~ <sup>would</sup> sow the seed of vengeance ~~between~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~two~~ <sup>hundred</sup> ~~countries~~ <sup>years</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~wanted~~ <sup>decided</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~settle~~ <sup>end</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>hostilities</sup> ~~war~~ <sup>before</sup> ~~before~~ <sup>inviting</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~interference~~ <sup>interference</sup> of France could interfere.

However, the result of Lt.-General Yanagawa's efforts turned out to be close to what happened during the Franco-Prussian War. <sup>No. 9</sup>  
~~But~~ Bismarck met with the opposition <sup>of the military</sup> confronted by the stubborn party who wanted to demand of Moltke and the military to invade Paris in the Prussian-Austrian war, and their leader was Moltke.

Thus we achieved the same result as

~~in the case of Bismarck.~~ The severe battles at Shanghai and Hanking, <sup>by striking at the vital parts of China as a modern state</sup> ~~seemed to have a chance of settling the war,~~ offered the most feasible chance because these cities are vital places in modern China. Alas, the attempt failed. ~~it was~~

One reason <sup>for this failure</sup> was that some Japanese civilians, ignoring the powerful racial movement in China and the Chinese proposal to the Cabinet that we should not ~~people's faith and trust in~~ <sup>make terms with</sup> Chiang Kai-shek's <sup>government</sup> severely reproached the cabinet for its ~~stern~~ policy of trying to effect compromise with Chiang, who, they said, would become a <sup>real</sup> military ally after fleeing from Nanking, and they ignored the national reliance on Chiang Kai-shek's government which promoted greatly the Chinese racial movement.

Another reason <sup>was</sup> that the German Minister <sup>(called Trautmann)</sup> ~~was~~ at Nanking wanted to <sup>secure for Germany</sup> get the greatest rights

spheres of influence in China, and powers except Japan, as a reward for mediating between Japan and China. ~~we~~ <sup>our</sup> thought that the vigorous Germans <sup>entered the</sup> ~~points us,~~ <sup>Chinese market,</sup> ~~it would~~ <sup>not go well for the Japanese.</sup> ~~be better for us that British interests.~~

Because, we know of the <sup>German</sup> policy to make Africa, South America and China their three new

great markets entertained by merchants in Hamburg and Von Reuter in order to promote German trade, moreover, we

know the facts that our army took precautions against Germany as Von

Falkenhansen and scores of his subordinates were helping the Chinese <sup>Army of Chung Kai-shek.</sup> ~~But the most~~ <sup>These facts</sup> ~~invited the Japanese to be on guard against the Germans.~~

<sup>However, the most</sup> ~~important~~ <sup>crucial</sup> cause is as follows. The War Minister and the Vice <sup>War</sup> ~~minister~~ <sup>believed</sup>

that if <sup>the</sup> General Yanagawa, <sup>who was regarded</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>as the leader</sup> of the party opposed to the war and ~~was~~ <sup>successful</sup> in the landing <sup>along Hangchow</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>Keelung</sup> Bay, ~~so~~ <sup>should come</sup> to hold the <sup>key to the settlement of</sup> ~~power of settling~~ the affair, ~~that~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~should~~ <sup>would</sup> lose leadership in the military of the war ministry.

By this selfish <sup>motive of the army leaders</sup> ~~way of thinking~~, they seemed to have rejected in the cabinet meeting the policy ~~of the settlement~~ <sup>the settlement policy of the President</sup> for the settlement of the affair at the cabinet conference.

The ~~third~~ <sup>third</sup> opportunity of settling the China Incident ~~was found~~ <sup>appeared</sup> at the last stage of the Second Kono Cabinet. At that time, as the government was completely in harmony with the army and navy, the China Incident was about to be settled. <sup>Probably</sup> ~~Perhaps~~, American Ambassador Grew <sup>had a conversation with this</sup> ~~co-operated us, and~~ they seemed to bring the incident ~~and~~ <sup>with China were to be conducted parallelly</sup> the negotiations <sup>to those with</sup> ~~to a conclusion~~ <sup>to those with</sup>. The golden opportunity was however lost because <sup>in accordance with the wishes of the Foreign Ministry</sup> that we should wait for the Foreign Minister's coming back <sup>who was on his way home from</sup> ~~Germany and Soviet Russia~~. <sup>of the Foreign Minister from</sup> ~~This golden~~ opportunity was lost simply on account of that we followed their directions.

The Foreign Minister, of course, <sup>intended</sup> ~~resolved~~ to carry on the negotiations <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ settlement of the <sup>affair</sup> ~~incident~~ and <sup>also</sup> the negotiations with America, ~~but~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~his~~ <sup>however,</sup>



a strong attitude

no. 7.

The method <sup>advocated</sup> ~~adopted~~ by him was to conduct with ~~an~~ <sup>argued</sup> attitude ~~was~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~stubborn~~. He ~~thought~~ <sup>argued</sup> that the negotiations <sup>would</sup> ~~could~~ not ~~be~~ <sup>materialize</sup> ~~concluded~~ if we were not ready to fight. <sup>When</sup> His Imperial Majesty asked him, "What ~~shall~~ <sup>will</sup> we do if Soviet Russia <sup>enters</sup> ~~takes part~~ in the war ~~when~~ <sup>is our</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>will</sup> fight with America?" He answered, ~~for it~~, "We ~~should~~ <sup>also</sup> fight with Soviet Russia also." By such strong opinion he won popularity among young military <sup>officials</sup>. The entire Cabinet ~~Ministers~~, <sup>including</sup> not ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> speak of the Ministers of War and Navy, ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> feared ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> him. and they decided ~~the~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~general~~ <sup>visit</sup> ~~recognition~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>Foreign</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Minister</sup> Cabinet. <sup>Thus</sup> The 3rd Kono Cabinet included the ex-Foreign Minister. Some people who ~~had~~ <sup>advocated</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~opinion~~ <sup>of</sup> southward advance censured the government, <sup>under</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~mistaken~~ <sup>belief</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> the change of Foreign Minister was forced by America, and ~~it~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~impaired~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~dignity~~ <sup>dignity</sup> of ~~the~~ <sup>an</sup> independent nation. But it ~~was~~ <sup>can</sup> ~~clear~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>said</sup> the Cabinet excluded Mr. Matsunoka in order to settle the war.

~~in fact,~~

The internal situation of Japan was not such as would enable Japan to succeed in diplomacy so good as to be settled in harmony with ~~by bluffs~~. We should deeply reflect upon our diplomatic affairs. As we were touched that among the agitators and propagandists there were people with afflicted bodies similar to those of palsied people. When we do not <sup>correctly</sup> understand the internal political conditions, our diplomatic techniques, however superior, ~~is not~~ <sup>is not</sup> ~~successful~~, even if we are excellent in here, the same danger as the one Japan underwent in ~~deploring~~. We could not help seceding from the League of Nations, even if ~~throughout delegates~~ <sup>throughout delegates</sup> ~~less this country with the mission~~ <sup>we did not want it, because we had</sup> of not seceding from it, we had to finally secede because of our self-righteous <sup>and our</sup> public opinion, which was ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~comparatively ignorant of~~ <sup>selfish</sup> ~~international politics,~~ <sup>international politics,</sup> as in this case.

This course of events brought us two misfortunes. One is that we lost the last chance <sup>for</sup> settling the <sup>China</sup> ~~Incident~~ <sup>China</sup> ~~Incident~~ before <sup>the outbreak of the</sup> the Great War and ~~changed~~ <sup>this caused</sup> internal political ~~reform~~ <sup>changes</sup>.

The other is that this ~~strong~~ <sup>strong</sup> diplomatic policy gave an impulse to the ~~army~~ <sup>army</sup> War Minister General Tojo, who favored prudence up to that time, ~~the War Minister~~ <sup>suddenly</sup> favored suspension of negotiations, ~~as he felt~~ <sup>seeing that he</sup> ~~was losing~~ <sup>was losing</sup> popularity at that time on account of his being prudent ~~in War~~ <sup>stand</sup>. In the 3rd Kono Cabinet, he firmly ~~maintained to close~~ <sup>advocated cessation</sup> of the negotiations, ~~and thus~~ <sup>thereby causing the</sup> fatal misfortune of ~~the internal~~ <sup>splitting the country's opinion</sup> ~~disintegration~~.

At any rate, we were given three chances of settling the ~~subject~~ <sup>affairs</sup> before the Great War, and we ~~lost~~ <sup>missed</sup> all of them. Afterwards, in the Koiso and Suzuki Cabinet some efforts were made for the solution, but ~~they were too late~~ <sup>it was too late</sup> ~~then~~ <sup>then</sup> their objects ~~thus~~ <sup>appeared to be</sup> to settle the Great War ~~by the~~ <sup>through a</sup> compromise between Japan and China, as in the case of General Ugaki's ~~journey~~ <sup>travel</sup> to the continent. ~~If now~~ <sup>Let us</sup> look back ~~upon~~ <sup>upon</sup> what ~~diplomatic~~ <sup>diplomatic</sup> ~~how~~ <sup>how</sup> the efforts were made ~~to arrange~~ <sup>internally</sup> systematically ~~the internal affairs~~.

in order to settle the China ~~question~~ <sup>Affair</sup> ~~in~~ external efforts for the settlement of the Chinese Affairs. ~~harmony with such diplomatic negotiations.~~

I should like to ~~see~~ <sup>see</sup> what ~~sort~~ <sup>sort</sup> of internal movements ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> carried out in addition to the efforts in the Cabinet and the progress of international diplomatic ~~affairs~~ <sup>developments</sup>.

~~I know~~, Of course, there were ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> General Ugaki, Lt.-General Homma, Mr. Shumei Ōkawa, ~~these~~ <sup>movements</sup> were connected with the movements of Mr. Nakanō, Mr. Hatoyama, and Mr. Amano ~~at the Tojō Cabinet~~ <sup>time of the</sup> ~~the movement by~~ <sup>generals</sup> Masaki, Araki, Yanagawa, Kobata, and the ~~League~~ <sup>East-Asia</sup> League Movement led by Lt.-General Ishiwara. ~~These movements had as their aim the~~

~~exchange of cabinet, or the reshuffle of the military~~ <sup>leaders.</sup> However, it was the "Yokusankai" movement ~~the most remarkable one was~~ <sup>the most remarkable one was</sup> ~~which had the most conspicuous influence on the~~ <sup>masses.</sup> While this movement hoped for the purification of the military from a consequential standpoint, ~~it had the wide motive of~~ <sup>it had the wide motive of</sup> ~~establishing~~ <sup>establishing</sup> political power

within the people's organization; This movement <sup>no. 11.</sup>  
~~in people.~~ But it failed, because it was ~~not~~  
~~started~~ not as a simple practical movement, but as a  
systematic operation. The systematic organization  
~~The systematization~~ (of ~~each~~ occupation)  
had to ~~be~~ <sup>Why? it was not</sup>  
~~possible to expect~~ <sup>possible to expect</sup> made on a large scale, ~~because~~  
the industrial production or ~~the~~ coal mining ~~to~~  
~~would~~ ~~cannot~~ be promoted by the influence of  
Minseitō (political Party). <sup>even the</sup> Minseitō <sup>Party</sup>  
had a good reputation among merchants  
and industrialists, and the increasing  
production of rice and wheat does not  
seem possible by the active movements  
of Seiyuntai, <sup>like</sup> even if <sup>the</sup> Seiyuntai <sup>Party</sup> was firmly  
rooted among the <sup>one</sup> farmers, <sup>could not expect</sup>  
an increase in rice and wheat production through <sup>the</sup> party's influence. <sup>On the contrary</sup>  
it is due to the fact that the signs  
could be seen in all Japan that  
the political factions and occupational <sup>groups</sup> or village  
groups in the towns and villages united themselves  
to solve these problems <sup>autonomously and co-operatively.</sup>  
Hence, we could scarcely find errors  
in the re-organization of <sup>the</sup> occupations, ~~that~~ It  
was rather in the <sup>phase</sup>  
~~if we judge from the political point of view~~

that unrescuable ~~we could find~~ <sup>unrescuable</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>mistakes</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>methodology</sup> ~~we should start~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>national</sup> ~~movement~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~in order to~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~reformation~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Diet</sup> — this reformation aimed at the improvement of <sup>the quality</sup> ~~members~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Diet</sup> ~~parliament~~ by general election and the <sup>improvement</sup> ~~development~~ of its functions by <sup>the reorganization</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Diet</sup> ~~system~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>constitution</sup> ~~of~~ ~~the~~ <sup>Diet</sup>. But we started ~~launched~~, it was attempted to organize a pseudo-national structure which would be a mirror of everything existing in the country. This was the cause of irredeemable failure. It is clear that this constitution. Why? Because, it is very plain that such a system ~~embodies~~ <sup>stimulates</sup> ~~officials~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~military~~ <sup>officials</sup>. The bureaucrats and the military to the fore. Furthermore, if we adopt civilians in every society, its personnel is to be obtained widely from the civilians, the influence of nazism or fascism, <sup>becomes</sup> ~~becomes~~ <sup>(within all probability)</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>overwhelming</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>all probability</sup>, ~~and~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~subsequent~~ <sup>among</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>civilians</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>strongly</sup> ~~connected~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>military</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>totality</sup>.

I still remember that the <sup>Director</sup> ~~staff~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Bureau</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>Military</sup> ~~Affairs~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>time</sup> ~~maintained~~ <sup>strongly</sup> ~~advocated~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~plan~~ <sup>proposed</sup> ~~by~~ ~~the~~ <sup>army</sup>. ~~his~~ ~~stubborn~~ ~~opinion~~. (The main point of ~~this~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~argument~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>partition</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>people</sup> ~~into~~ <sup>two</sup> ~~groups~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~army~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>civilians</sup>.)

(as a single national body), establish NO. 13.  
~~an~~ inspection division (Kestapo), and ~~the~~  
~~Assistance Association and the inquiry section~~  
immediately organize it ~~as an overall~~  
and to establish the ~~co-operative association~~  
~~system~~ ~~by an Imperial order~~ obtain an imperial rescript  
for its organization into an overall system.

① How meaningless and selfish (such a  
political party <sup>was!</sup> ~~was!~~ ~~because~~ ~~its~~ ~~aim~~ ~~is~~  
a clash between <sup>moreover,</sup> ~~the~~  
~~by force~~ and ~~causes~~ the opposition between  
those who secure leadership and those who are subjected to  
~~leadership~~ and being led in civilian life which  
this leadership and becoming dictatorial, it would  
originally ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~co-operative~~ ~~and~~ ~~finally~~  
finally exert <sup>on</sup> ~~it~~ ~~pressure~~ ~~to~~ the Supreme prerogative  
thus disturbing the people's living, which should  
~~be~~ ~~co-operative~~ by its very nature.

② ~~It~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~cause~~ ~~of~~ ~~confusion~~  
By creating a third police power in addition to  
making a triangular position of ~~police~~ as  
The gendarmes and police, which were already at  
~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~matters~~ ~~worse~~, the opposition  
daggers head with each other, it would cause  
between police and military police becomes  
further confusion  
serious now.

③ Moreover it would give  
direct ~~giving~~ troubles to His Imperial Majesty by  
~~in~~ ~~spite~~ ~~of~~ ~~that~~ ~~we~~ ~~do~~ ~~not~~ ~~give~~ ~~large~~  
assistance to him. (responsibility of performing  
as the result of arguments  
~~the~~ ~~above~~ ~~mentioned~~ ~~points~~ these three ~~points~~ ~~are~~  
and took ~~them~~ ~~off~~ (proposed by the Director of  
Military Affairs) were deleted in view of the

foregoing reasons.

But it is regrettable <sup>since</sup> that no change was made in the policy of laying emphasis on the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, organizing operations. The outcome was an enormous, inefficient organization, ~~not change the attack importance to its constitution.~~ Moreover, ~~the~~ <sup>as its</sup> main ~~body~~ <sup>thought and driving force</sup> were vested in the hands of its ~~ideas and real ability~~ <sup>was</sup> the same as military officers and civilians with inclination that of absolutism of military and people, toward Nazi's dictatorship.

It could not bring forth ~~the~~ <sup>its own</sup> political power as a self-initiating ~~organization~~ <sup>national</sup> organization, ~~and as a result~~ <sup>inevitably</sup> it was inevitable.

to settle the <sup>China Affairs</sup> ~~incident~~ through ~~arranging~~ <sup>the purification</sup> of the military. ~~A high official~~ <sup>army</sup> once ~~said to me~~ <sup>of the military</sup> that ~~the~~ internal reformation might not be ~~possible~~ <sup>possible</sup> if the ~~China Affairs~~ <sup>China Affairs</sup> were settled.

Whereupon, I retorted, "Is it all right to ~~leave this such~~ <sup>leave this such</sup> ~~off~~ <sup>off</sup> ~~incident~~ <sup>incident</sup> which is a fatal affair for Japan?" ~~Are you thinking of~~ <sup>Are you thinking of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> reformation for the ~~country~~ <sup>sake of the</sup> or ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> reformation for ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~country~~ <sup>country</sup> ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup>?" ~~He~~ <sup>He</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> no words for reply.

He ~~remained~~ <sup>settled</sup> about it. It is not too much to say that the ~~China~~ <sup>China</sup> ~~incident~~ <sup>Affairs</sup> ~~could not~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup>



prevented by ~~to~~ such a mistaken ~~of~~ ideology  
settled prevented ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~wrong~~ ~~belief~~ ~~of~~.

Thus ~~we~~ failed to realize the  
anticipated results ~~of~~ the efforts of these  
military leaders to purify the military, the operations ~~of~~  
~~a~~ ~~strong~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~military~~, ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~operations~~ ~~of~~  
The cabinet and ~~in~~ the national movement failed  
to fully achieve their objectives. In the meantime  
Before long the peace ~~negotiations~~ ~~between~~  
the peace negotiations between  
Japan and America ~~was~~ ~~about~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~reached~~  
an impasse, resulting rapidly proceeded toward  
~~at~~ ~~last~~ ~~and~~ ~~at~~ ~~last~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~  
in a crisis ~~in~~ the period between 1941.  
in July and October of ~~the~~ ~~year~~  
~~of~~ ~~Shan~~

Fourth Lecture

~~The 4th Time~~

November 1922.

"The <sup>Outbreak</sup> ~~Happening~~ of The Greater <sup>East-Asiatic</sup> ~~Far~~ East War and its Progress."

Fourth Lecture

no. 1.

~~The 4th time~~: Broadcasted on November 19th.

P. M. 6.30

The outbreak of the <sup>Greater East-Asiatic</sup> ~~Great Far East~~ War and its progress.

In the initial <sup>stage</sup> of the China <sup>incident</sup>, Japan denounced ~~the~~ Chiang Kai-shek ~~government~~ <sup>(I mean the military and some of its officials)</sup> and some civilians thought that the Chiang Kai-shek's government, <sup>for adopting a</sup> ~~which permitted~~ <sup>comprised</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>ambivalent</sup> ~~attitude~~ <sup>toward</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Chinese Communist ~~Communism~~, was no good and when ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> fighting extended to central ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> South China, Japan ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> began to ~~think~~ <sup>say</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>denounce</sup> (America and Britain ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> no good ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~helping~~ <sup>helped</sup> in every stage of the war ~~Chiang Kai-shek's~~ <sup>Chiang Kai-shek's</sup> government.) Our diplomatic policy ~~was~~ <sup>showed</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>no</sup> ~~change~~ <sup>change</sup>, apart from ~~admiral~~ <sup>admiral</sup> Germany and Italy. ~~in~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~every~~ <sup>maintained</sup> ~~stage~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>hostile</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>attitude</sup> ~~war~~ <sup>toward</sup> Soviet Russia, America and British <sup>we</sup> ~~looked~~ <sup>looked</sup> upon ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~prolonged~~ <sup>prolonged</sup> war with China ~~as~~ <sup>nothing</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~thought~~ <sup>thought</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> a series of victories ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~created~~ <sup>created</sup> propagandized to deceive everybody. ~~Some~~ <sup>Some</sup> prudent people ~~feared~~ <sup>feared</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~think~~ <sup>think</sup> that such an ~~arrogant~~ <sup>arrogant</sup> and ~~stupid~~ <sup>stupid</sup> attitude ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~stupidity~~ <sup>stupidity</sup>.

would ~~might become~~ to ruin <sup>our</sup> country, ~~and to~~ They also  
 feared and felt apprehensive that a self-righteous, vain  
~~thought that a selfish and vain thought~~  
 egoistic thought would also ~~might become~~ to ruin our country. ~~It was~~  
 by those, who ~~reflected upon themselves and depended~~ self-reflecting,  
~~their response on~~ felt regret at ~~not thinking~~ these two lessons,

Only some conscientious military officials,  
 government officials and civilians, ~~or some~~ <sup>old</sup> people  
 who <sup>at least</sup> knew <sup>about</sup> the serious circumstances, self-  
 reflected, and depended their response, on these two lessons.  
 But those who were proud of their powers ~~or~~

military powers were not ashamed of  
 themselves. The third lesson which we  
 learned ~~if we want to learn~~

from the <sup>Affair is this:</sup> ~~it is as~~  
~~inhibition~~ ~~from the Incident,~~

~~follows.~~ It was wrong to ~~keep~~ <sup>keep</sup> the people  
 uninformed. ~~It was a fatal error to give out misinformation~~  
~~unknown.~~ ~~To report wrong intentionally~~

or to suppress <sup>the</sup> freedom of speech, was a  
 fourth, ~~fatal error~~. ~~As a result,~~ <sup>the people</sup> ~~they died~~  
 were not treated, ~~not~~ <sup>being</sup> as human and ~~we were~~

forced to live in the same circumstance

as that of slaves, although they <sup>were</sup> ~~the~~  
~~regarded people~~ <sup>called</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>manpower,</sup> ~~resources.~~

Indeed, it was a fundamental mistake to ~~make us fall into the adversity in~~ place the people in such a condition which made it impossible for them to display their ~~which we could not demonstrate our~~ initiative and total strength.

~~initiative~~ initiative and total strength.

(note: The following part of the ~~attached~~ manuscript ~~was omitted from the broadcast~~)

In <sup>this</sup> connection ~~with it~~ I show you an

instance <sup>of my own</sup> ~~of experience~~. Before the battle <sup>to give a political</sup> of Hankow, I was asked <sup>my</sup> opinion

about it by one of my friends who was

a military official. <sup>Before giving this opinion, I asked</sup>

him <sup>if it was all right to express frankly what I really thought</sup>

after obtaining his affirmative answer, I counter asked him to

~~I asked him the object of war~~ state the object of the campaign. The objects were:

~~announced for it.~~ (1) To ~~occupy~~ <sup>is occupied,</sup> the area

from Shanghai to Hankow ~~means to take~~ <sup>It would be</sup>

~~the most important place in China~~ <sup>and we</sup> ~~could get~~ a complete victory. (2) <sup>Since</sup> ~~Geographically,~~

Hankow is <sup>geographically located at a point which separates</sup> ~~at a place at which we can~~

~~intercept~~ <sup>Chungking</sup> the National Government from the

Chinese Communists, <sup>its capture by Japan</sup> ~~so if we can get Hankow~~

would help to separate <sup>There is strong possibility</sup> ~~them.~~ (3) America and <sup>that</sup>

British, who ~~have adopted~~ <sup>were taking a</sup> "Wait and See"

policy, <sup>when they see Japan's complete victory</sup> would become conciliatory toward Japan <sup>NO. 9.</sup>  
policy, ~~would become conciliatory~~ ~~may become to take a conciliatory~~  
~~attitude towards us~~ <sup>when they see</sup> ~~to know Japan's~~

~~complete victory in China, being afraid of~~  
~~9 years that they would lose their interests in China,~~  
~~losing their interests there~~

Then I told him my opinion as follows:

- ① ~~If we consume so trenchly our national strength~~  
~~power in battle, we may prove a~~  
~~failure,~~ <sup>Even if we gain victory on the surface,</sup> ~~although we may see~~ <sup>we may get</sup>  
~~the campaign may be regarded as a failure should we undergo~~  
~~heavy attrition of national strength~~ ② As racial unification from  
is based on a spiritual and political plan <sup>rather than weaker</sup>  
for the <sup>existence of the race,</sup> ~~plan~~ it may be strengthened ~~if they~~  
so long as the necessity exists even though geographically  
~~far apart~~ <sup>in communication.</sup> ③ There is greater possibility that  
greater inconvenience to ~~both~~ <sup>the</sup> America and Britain  
~~will~~ <sup>may</sup> continue to ~~wait~~ <sup>their</sup> "Wait and See"  
policy <sup>in the belief that</sup> ~~to see~~ <sup>and they</sup>  
~~may think that Japan will~~ <sup>would in the</sup> ~~end~~ <sup>become</sup>  
~~failure by consuming her national~~  
~~power~~ <sup>completely exhausted by advancing further, into the</sup>  
④ ~~I told him frankly my opinion~~ <sup>whereas this military officer</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>(American)</sup>  
had asked me, <sup>to give a frank opinion</sup> ~~but he got very angry~~ <sup>he grew angry</sup>  
on hearing my opinion <sup>and said,</sup> ~~to me,~~

"Are you going to ~~let~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~your~~ <sup>interfere</sup> ~~in~~ the prerogative of <sup>the</sup> supreme command?"

I was struck dumb with astonishment. □

From ~~after~~ <sup>after</sup> the outbreak of the Far East Greater War every advice ~~was not taken~~ <sup>was rejected & persecuted</sup>. Every ~~effort~~ <sup>argument for peace and way</sup> to settle the war, ~~was made~~ <sup>became almost impossible</sup> even by underground methods.

~~Failure~~ of Mr. Seigo Nakano, who advised the Government and ~~acted~~ <sup>undertook critical</sup> actions, ~~was~~ <sup>finally</sup> obliged to ~~kill~~ <sup>take his own life</sup> himself.

A professional person holding the post of the ~~chief of section~~ <sup>chief of section</sup>, ~~who pointed out~~ <sup>who pointed out</sup> ~~scientific technical~~ <sup>scientific technical</sup> failures, was called ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> the colours as a second-class private in the engineering corps.

~~He was ordered to get on~~ <sup>put on</sup> board a ~~gun-powder~~ <sup>gun-powder</sup> vessel with his ~~troops~~ <sup>troops</sup> and ~~was transferred to~~ <sup>was transferred to</sup> another vessel at a harbour in Formosa. ~~By~~ <sup>By</sup> this transfer he escaped from sharing the fate ~~he could avoid~~ <sup>he could avoid</sup> because ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> of the ~~gun-powder~~ <sup>gun-powder</sup> vessel, ~~which~~ <sup>which</sup> was torpedoed and sunk by a submarine. Moreover, to our

surprise, ~~the~~ <sup>an</sup> order of prohibiting the ~~discharge~~ <sup>discharge</sup> of this second-class private was sent to the Commander ~~by the War Minister~~ <sup>by the War Minister</sup>.

~~in-chief, by War Minister, although~~  
~~he was only a soldier.~~

A certain Major, <sup>who was</sup> ~~who was~~ an expert in  
 war preparations, ~~and who presented a sincere~~  
~~Saipan where landing operations began~~  
~~as a punishment that he offered his~~  
~~own opinion about war preparations,~~  
 was transferred, as punishment, to Saipan where the enemy had begun  
~~and I heard he died on Tinian.~~ (Landing)

A certain Lt.-Colonel of <sup>the Gendarmerie</sup> ~~M.P.~~ was relegated  
 to a post on the battle-raging Southern Front on the  
 alleged failure to ~~account of that he did not~~ arrest the  
 desired number of people. ~~We saw~~

These ~~kind of~~ <sup>occurred</sup> misdeeds in every ~~society~~ <sup>place and</sup>  
~~every case.~~ <sup>and</sup> It was a general tendency at that  
 time. The military seemed to ~~compel~~ <sup>purposely force</sup>  
 people ~~to~~ do only what ~~they did~~ <sup>they did</sup> not want.

In ~~any case~~ <sup>any case</sup>, this ~~great war~~ <sup>great war</sup> was  
 a tragedy of the century, ~~and~~ It was  
 a shameful war. In the latter half of 1941  
~~the 16th year of Showa,~~ <sup>final</sup> contention was  
 continued between ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> warlike party and the



peaceful party. In <sup>a</sup> council <sup>held</sup> in the presence of His Majesty <sup>Imperial</sup> on July 2nd, ~~which was held~~ soon after the outbreak of <sup>the</sup> Soviet-German ~~Soviet~~ Russian War on June 22nd, it was decided that we <sup>would be</sup> ~~were~~ ready to fight with America, Britain and Holland <sup>in case</sup> ~~when~~ we could not attain our object in the negotiations with America. This decision, <sup>according to its wording,</sup> ~~was~~ a compromise between <sup>the two opposing</sup> ~~two~~ parties, but, in fact, the main idea of it was to continue <sup>the</sup> negotiations. In order to make the military consent to this, the strongholds ~~they made some conditions in order to satisfy~~ were affixed under a certain supposition. ~~the military.~~ Afterwards ~~we had~~ another imperial council <sup>was held</sup> on September 4th. It was decided in this council ~~they resolved~~ to start war in case the situation arises under which there is no prospect of settlement by His Imperial Majesty, at that council, <sup>the</sup> Chief of Army General Staff and the Chief of <sup>diplomatic</sup> ~~negotiations~~ <sup>staff</sup> ~~negotiations~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~members~~ <sup>in a loud voice</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Imperial</sup> ~~Staff~~ <sup>Staff</sup> and quoted Emperor Meiji's poem <sup>composed in 1904</sup> ~~and~~ reading, "In this world where <sup>all</sup> the seas are considered brothers, why do the waves roar!" His Majesty declares ~~that his heart lies in this poem and graciously~~ ~~The Emperor advised them to say that~~ ~~my object consisted in this part,~~

advised that the negotiations be continued with this spirit in mind. It is said you should attend to the negotiations. The majority of those present keeping my spirit in mind that those who

attended a council shed bitter tears.

In the frequently held "Four Ministers' Conference" from the end of September down through October, we had ~~four~~ <sup>our</sup> ~~four~~ <sup>four</sup> ministers' conference and ~~but~~ <sup>argument</sup> was continued. The American proposal to limit the subject of negotiations to four points there. They made a proposal of their

center of argument, and the proposal was to abbreviate American program in

four points. (Although) called this American proposal an ultimatum, it was not ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> was the last notification, but it

parently. It proposed <sup>that</sup> these points be made the ~~was~~ <sup>foundations</sup> of discussion. Its object was to ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> to ~~settle~~ <sup>settle</sup> the confusion of ~~conference~~ <sup>conference</sup> re-arrange the confused <sup>mutually</sup> fragmentary and fundamental ~~and to arrange~~ <sup>of</sup> promptly all the ~~conclusion~~ <sup>conclusion</sup> subjects into basic principles and promptly arrive at the ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~fragmental~~ <sup>fragmental</sup> affairs ended with that ~~conclusion~~ <sup>conclusion</sup> of ~~fundamental~~ <sup>fundamental</sup>.

As for <sup>the</sup> German-Japanese Alliance, ~~we~~ <sup>in view of</sup> the Imperial command not to enlarge the war, we should not regard ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> exchange of shots between the (allied) convoys and German ~~ships~~ <sup>warships</sup> as an attack by America, ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~should~~ <sup>should</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup>

By interpreting that ~~attack~~ ~~was~~ ~~made~~ Only when  
No. 7.

The United States severs  
the severance of diplomatic relations ~~to~~

~~Germany~~ or ~~proclamation of war~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~  
Japan should interpret that an attack has been  
made and therefore her obligation to fight the United States arises  
between Japan and America was possible.

By such interpretation it would have been possible to reach  
a point this point the four ministers who  
a compromise between Japan and the United States  
attended the conference had no objection

to it. As for <sup>the</sup> open-door principle

and the principle of equal opportunity,

the utilization of foreign capital and  
technique ~~as~~ ~~helpful~~ ~~for~~ the reconstruction

of ~~the~~ <sup>work</sup> ~~desolated~~ China, <sup>since</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Japanese Government

in its frequent statements, ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Japanese~~ ~~Government,~~ ~~the~~ ~~action~~ ~~of~~ ~~foreign~~ ~~rights~~

and interests in China, ~~if~~ ~~we~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~

need whatever to)

to attain this object we should never

mind the probable criticism that international  
Japan had ~~yielded~~ ~~on~~ these two principles.

For this could be interpreted in the sense that she was

Also in this point the consideration between  
living up to her promise. Thus, consideration between

Japan and America was possible ~~and~~ ~~on~~ ~~this~~  
point also and the ~~were~~ ~~four~~ ~~ministers~~ ~~agreed~~ ~~on~~ ~~this~~ ~~point~~

their opinions. } on this point

Foolishly

no. 10.

In regard to ~~As for~~ Wang Ching-wei's government, after the battle of Nanjing, Japan made a self-consolatory and very arrogant declaration, ~~of which we could scarcely find a similar example in the international~~ the like of which is not found in diplomatic history, that ~~we made light of~~ Japan would no longer deal with Chiang Kai-shek's government, thereby denying from a conceptual standpoint the existence of a party against which Japan was actually fighting. ~~We denied him ideologically and we could not find~~ As a result, Japan lost the means of negotiating for peace ~~by means of peaceful negotiations~~ Under the circumstances Japan had to resort to the tactic of ~~surrounding~~ us ~~about~~ Wang Ching-wei ~~to~~ ~~over~~ ~~take~~ ~~control~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~situation~~ ~~and~~ ~~bring~~ ~~things~~ ~~back~~ ~~along~~ ~~right~~ ~~lines~~ of winning to her side Wang Ching-wei, who ranked with Hu Han-min and Hu Han-min. Plotters, who took charge of this problem, overdid themselves and made Wang Ching-wei's government independent, ~~by overhauling~~ ~~it~~ ~~still~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~impossible~~ ~~to~~ ~~dissolve~~ ~~it~~ ~~and~~ ~~bring~~ ~~things~~ ~~back~~ ~~along~~ ~~right~~ ~~lines~~ ~~to~~ ~~turn~~ ~~them~~ ~~as~~ ~~before~~. Mr. Wang Ching-wei was not a man to be regarded as a traitor. At the time of his debut, he stood ~~by the peaceful~~ ~~and~~ ~~nothing~~ ~~but~~ ~~peace~~ ~~the~~ ~~Japanese~~ ~~Government~~ ~~when~~ ~~he~~ ~~came~~ ~~forward~~ ~~the~~ ~~man~~ ~~let~~ ~~the~~ ~~National~~ ~~Government~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~Chiang~~ ~~Kai-shek's~~ ~~Government~~ ~~incorporated~~ ~~together~~, ~~as~~

Accordingly, even if their merger <sup>should</sup> ~~did~~ No. 11.  
~~their cooperation was hopeful, although~~  
~~it might bring about~~ the dissolution of <sup>the</sup> National  
Government, ~~it could be explained without any inconsistency~~  
Among our four ministers  
there was no ~~remarkable~~ <sup>extreme disagreement on</sup> ~~disagreement~~ about  
this point, and conciliation with America  
also seemed to be ~~successful~~ <sup>possible</sup>

Only the problem of evacuation <sup>of Japanese troops</sup> ~~was~~ difficult.  
constituted an obstacle, with the  
War Minister ~~did not~~ <sup>alone remaining</sup> ~~yield~~ <sup>stubbornly</sup>  
for no other reason than that evacuation  
was impossible. He said, if we evacuated  
our army, ~~we could not keep~~ <sup>the army would get out of</sup> ~~control.~~ <sup>control.</sup>  
Moreover, ~~he emphasized~~ <sup>for this reason, he emphasized</sup>  
~~that the negotiations had no hope~~  
~~about it.~~ <sup>strongly urged that the negotiations</sup>  
be closed, saying that there was no room for further negotiations.  
This discord <sup>of Cabinet opinion</sup> ~~in opinion~~  
finally <sup>within the</sup> caused a political change before long.

Moreover, War Minister Tōjō, who was considered  
the leader of <sup>the</sup> war ~~the~~ party <sup>and who had advocated</sup>  
the closing of <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ negotiations, was recommended as  
the most suitable man to check the army's  
and continue <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ negotiations.

nothing <sup>could be</sup> more strange than this. What is  
~~from~~ ~~we~~ ~~have~~ a noteworthy ~~fact~~ here is the  
 fact that just before the political change, there was not  
 one person among the responsible leaders of the  
~~responsible persons~~ of army and navy  
 who gave any ~~did not give~~ positive opinion that  
 we should close <sup>the</sup> negotiations ~~on the ground~~  
 that there was a ~~good~~ <sup>chance</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>the Navy</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Minister of</sup>  
~~Navy~~ ~~made~~ a proposal that the matter of  
 continuing or discontinuing ~~the~~ ~~of~~ negotiations ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~left~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Premier's~~ ~~discretion~~  
~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Prime~~ ~~Minister~~, but  
 The War Minister, ~~did not~~ ~~approve~~ ~~of~~ ~~this~~ ~~plan~~,  
~~proposal~~ ~~because~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~strong~~ ~~opinion~~ ~~prevailing~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Army~~  
~~which~~ ~~opposed~~ ~~the~~ ~~entrustment~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~matter~~ ~~to~~ ~~a~~ ~~civilian~~  
~~Prime~~ ~~Minister's~~ ~~opinion~~ ~~on~~ ~~account~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~Premier~~,  
~~who~~ ~~they~~ ~~believed~~ ~~was~~ ~~timid~~  
~~Prime~~ ~~Minister~~ ~~was~~ ~~a~~ ~~civil~~ ~~official~~ ~~and~~  
~~was~~ ~~excessively~~ ~~a~~ ~~fraid~~ ~~of~~ ~~war~~. But  
 on October 14th or 15th, ~~some~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Army~~  
~~military~~ ~~made~~ a proposal <sup>to this effect</sup> that it might be  
 able to check the army ~~if~~ ~~the~~ ~~Navy~~, upon whom  
 the greatest responsibility would ~~rest~~ ~~in~~ ~~case~~ ~~of~~ ~~war~~, ~~would~~  
 advocate prudence in starting war. ~~Do~~  
~~this~~ ~~proposal~~ ~~the~~ ~~Navy~~ ~~replied~~ ~~that~~ ~~if~~ ~~it~~ ~~should~~ ~~say~~  
~~proposal~~ ~~we~~ ~~were~~ ~~convinced~~ ~~and~~ ~~suspected~~ ~~A~~

such a thing, it would be unable to reply to the people's censure, asking what the armaments are for.)

no. 13

~~if navy had a military preparations or not,~~  
moreover if such a proposal ~~was made~~ <sup>was made</sup> from the lips of the Navy it would have serious civil influence. For these reasons the Navy could not accept such a proposal and we left

it to a Prime Minister demand. Hence, the matter has been left to the Premier's discretion, the Navy said. Thus the Minister of Navy asked to the Premier, (Navy) relied on

Minister, the Prime Minister, the War Minister, the Premier in turn relied on the Army in turn relied on the Navy. While this matter was being passed along round and round, finally they

missed this historically important

chance. After

formed, the military reigned supreme. Since almost all ~~we could not know the development of~~

political and military matters were decided ~~within the inner military circles, it is not possible to know the developments during this period.~~

It would be safe to say that they military ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> very busy with technical preparations

for war. ~~It~~ <sup>It</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~thought~~ <sup>thought</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> it may be said that from the standpoint of internal politics the war was begun ~~on October~~ <sup>on October</sup>

on October, ~~as it happened militarily it~~ <sup>although</sup>

on October, ~~as it happened militarily it~~ <sup>although</sup> began on ~~December~~ <sup>December</sup> 8.

As for the progress of war, it is a matter of common knowledge. Here I ~~but we~~ <sup>inquire into</sup> want to ~~know~~ the reason why our army and navy ~~went~~ <sup>went</sup> out of step ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~second~~ <sup>second</sup> stage of the war, ~~compared with~~ <sup>in contrast to</sup> the systematic execution of the ~~first~~ <sup>first</sup> stage.

Certainly, the difference in strategic ideas is one ~~cause~~ <sup>cause</sup> of this disharmony. A certain ~~fleet commander~~ <sup>fleet commander</sup> said ~~we could~~ <sup>that by ordinary means</sup> ~~not~~ continue the fight <sup>only for</sup> about a year and a half ~~by ordinary means,~~ <sup>with extraordinary</sup> and ~~even if we took~~ <sup>special</sup> means, we could not continue more than two years and a half. So this

The Navy ~~the~~ regarded the War as a short-term war. On the other hand, ~~some of the military thought~~ <sup>army officers, either from sheer force</sup> ~~of habit developed from the protracted~~ <sup>of habit developed from the protracted</sup> ~~prolonged China Incident or~~ <sup>prolonged China Incident or</sup> ~~account of~~ <sup>account of</sup> ~~that they had~~ <sup>that they had</sup> ~~spent knowledge of~~ <sup>spent knowledge of</sup> ~~at mobile~~ <sup>at mobile</sup> mechanized warfare, called it "A Hundred Years' War". Such a protracted war might have been possible ~~in the middle ages when~~ <sup>in the middle ages when</sup> ~~only professional soldiers~~ <sup>only professional soldiers</sup> ~~did all the fighting, leaving the farmers~~ <sup>did all the fighting, leaving the farmers</sup> ~~at home engaged in husbandry~~ <sup>at home engaged in husbandry</sup>



and artisans to their respective occupations;

~~and~~ when the <sup>used</sup> weapons were bows, arrows, swords and spears, ~~and speed was~~ <sup>killing only one person at a time,</sup> and when the speed of march was no faster than that of a horse. It ~~was also~~ <sup>might have been also possible in the colonization age when</sup> a conspicuous difference in strength existed among ~~to secure~~ <sup>to secure</sup> ~~persecuted~~ <sup>persecuted</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~nations.~~ <sup>nations.</sup>

~~in power,~~ <sup>in a modern all-out war,</sup> ~~the weapons used possess~~ <sup>the weapons used possess</sup> ~~rather than~~ <sup>rather than</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~exterminatory character,~~ <sup>exterminatory character,</sup> ~~and means of~~ <sup>and means of</sup> ~~communications~~ <sup>communications</sup> ~~or~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~reduce~~ <sup>reduce</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~world,~~ <sup>world,</sup> ~~and in which the all-~~ <sup>and in which the all-</sup> ~~strength of the whole people must be exerted,~~ <sup>strength of the whole people must be exerted,</sup> ~~it is~~ <sup>it is</sup> ~~absolutely~~ <sup>absolutely</sup> ~~impossible to fight~~ <sup>impossible to fight</sup> ~~one hundred years.~~ <sup>one hundred years.</sup>

~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~fight~~ <sup>fight</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> ~~hundred~~ <sup>hundred</sup> ~~years.~~ <sup>years.</sup> If it is claimed that

~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~effect~~ <sup>effect</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~quite~~ <sup>quite</sup> ~~contrary.~~ <sup>contrary.</sup> ~~It~~ <sup>It</sup> ~~gives~~ <sup>gives</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~impression~~ <sup>impression</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> ~~fight~~ <sup>fight</sup> ~~slowly~~ <sup>slowly</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~lazily,~~ <sup>lazily,</sup> ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~difference~~ <sup>difference</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~war~~ <sup>war</sup> ~~ideology~~ <sup>ideology</sup> ~~between~~ <sup>between</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~two~~ <sup>two</sup> ~~military~~ <sup>military</sup> ~~arms~~ <sup>arms</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~caused~~ <sup>caused</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~same~~ <sup>same</sup> ~~cause.~~ <sup>cause.</sup> ~~Another~~ <sup>Another</sup> ~~reason~~ <sup>reason</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~follows.~~ <sup>follows.</sup>

~~It~~ <sup>It</sup> ~~gives~~ <sup>gives</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~impression~~ <sup>impression</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> ~~fight~~ <sup>fight</sup> ~~slowly~~ <sup>slowly</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~lazily,~~ <sup>lazily,</sup> ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~difference~~ <sup>difference</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~war~~ <sup>war</sup> ~~ideology~~ <sup>ideology</sup> ~~between~~ <sup>between</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~two~~ <sup>two</sup> ~~military~~ <sup>military</sup> ~~arms~~ <sup>arms</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~caused~~ <sup>caused</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~same~~ <sup>same</sup> ~~cause.~~ <sup>cause.</sup> ~~Another~~ <sup>Another</sup> ~~reason~~ <sup>reason</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~follows.~~ <sup>follows.</sup> ~~We~~ <sup>We</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~a~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~recent~~ <sup>recent</sup> ~~observation~~ <sup>observation</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~show~~ <sup>show</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup>

the subconscious wishful thinking that NO. 16.

Soviet Russia <sup>would be defeated early so that</sup> and Britain <sup>would</sup> be defeated

before long, ~~then the Axis may fight~~ <sup>with only America</sup> leaving only the United States

~~to fight against Japan, Germany, and Italy.~~ <sup>At the 2nd stage of the War, the Navy made</sup>

~~directed its main operations against~~ <sup>much of</sup> the ~~interests~~ of Australia, while

the Army attached importance to India, instead

~~and they did not~~ concentrating their powers

upon ~~a place~~ <sup>one point</sup>, but they dispersed their strength

in all directions. <sup>On the other hand, America, always</sup> concentrated her

total strength <sup>upon a single</sup> point, and ~~gradually~~ <sup>at least she</sup>

attained her strategic object, concentrating

also her mobile forces upon each of

strategic <sup>and steadily achieved them</sup> ~~important~~ points. ~~The cause of~~ strategic aims,

Japan's strategic <sup>lay</sup> defeat seemed to ~~lie~~ in this point, even

if we overlook the numerous ~~political~~ <sup>political</sup> and economic defeats: In short, we were

~~have been~~ defeated in <sup>every field</sup>. We were

completely defeated by China in diplomacy,

in ~~the~~ national will to resist, ~~and~~ etc.

It is necessary for us to recognize this

point, ~~seriously~~. heerly

No. 17.

We <sup>were</sup> ~~have~~ not ~~been~~ defeated by America,  
British<sup>ain</sup> and Soviet Russia alone.

Fifth Lecture

~~The 5th Time~~

November 20th

"An evil of Bureaucracy and  
the epilogue."

Fifth lecture: Broadcasted on

No. 2.

~~The 5th time.~~ (November 20th.)

→ The evils of bureaucracy and <sup>Conclusion</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>apologue</sup>.  
(Note: The following part of the ~~abbreviated manuscript of broadcast~~ was omitted from the ~~broadcast~~.)  
Needless to say, ~~of course~~ it was bureaucracy ~~to take~~ <sup>(broadcast)</sup> which took the charge of guidance and control of the home-front throughout the ~~entire~~ <sup>Great</sup> East-Asian ~~war~~ <sup>the fact of the Great War</sup>, just as it did in <sup>the</sup> ~~as well as~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~case of~~ the China <sup>Affair</sup>.

Perhaps

the history of our bureaucracy cannot be studied without looking back <sup>as early as</sup> the time of Meiji Restoration (1868). Generally speaking, bureaucracy was in Japan just the same tendency as in other countries, ~~that~~ the administrative, executive <sup>division</sup> ~~section~~ of the government took charge of leadership.

From the standpoint of political history, it developed from the status of a <sup>lower</sup> ~~lower~~ <sup>division</sup> ~~constitution~~ of the clan government of the early Meiji Era then into an auxiliary organ of party government from the ~~beginning~~ <sup>beginning</sup> of the Taisho Era (1912) and finally ~~after the 15th~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~affairs in the 6th year of~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Shinmei through the time when it was a~~ <sup>since the May 15th Incident of 1931</sup> ~~auxiliary system attached to the party~~ <sup>politics in the Taisho era.</sup>

Very sorry!

as such

no. 2.

Bureaucracy did not gain political power by itself. Bureaucracy has not been the main body of politics, or it has not acquired political power. It merely filled in the propaganda (space?) after <sup>the collapse</sup> of party politics government. This bureaucracy was placed in a situation where it had to undertake bureaucratic government. On this point one is not justified in blaming bureaucracy for the defects of bureaucratic government as the executive organ. But it could not correct the errors done by the military, moreover it was inclined to promote the errors. In this point the evils of bureaucracy were unbearable. It concentrated the strength of national powers and relegated the people into a position of obeying everything almost identical to servitude. This fact became one of the important causes of defeat. In this point, the responsibility of bureaucracy was very great and serious.

During the War I heard the following story:  
 A certain iron manufacturing factory in the Heikin districts had no quay capable of accommodating a ~~freighter~~ freighter, which ~~was~~ brought the ores to be used by this factory.

So the ore had to be transhipped by ~~they are obliged to take on board at~~  
 the affray ~~by~~ a small steamer of 1000 to  
 2000 tons. It happened that ~~there were no stakes~~  
 at the seashore ~~and it was in consequence~~  
 unloading of the cargo difficult, ~~as steamer moved unsteadily.~~  
 Accordingly ~~from the factory~~ <sup>applied</sup> application for permission  
 to drive in ~~driving~~ piles at the seashore ~~to the~~  
 government. To ~~our~~ <sup>great</sup> surprise, ~~the~~ <sup>eight</sup> government  
~~should be permitted by~~ <sup>officials</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>concerned in</sup>  
 this application. Even the Ministry of  
 Agriculture and Forestry ~~had~~ <sup>was concerned with it</sup>  
~~in order to examine~~ <sup>to examine</sup> bacteria in imported  
 plants, moreover, as ~~every~~ <sup>each</sup> office ~~had~~ <sup>made</sup>  
 difficult ~~orders~~ <sup>demands</sup> or opinions, it took six  
 months to ~~be~~ <sup>receive</sup> the permit. The work of  
 driving in the piles took only ~~hours~~  
~~in a few hours.~~ We cannot help being  
 surprised that ~~such~~ <sup>such</sup> a ~~disposition~~ <sup>disposition</sup> was  
 necessary for a very ~~important~~ <sup>important</sup> industry.

Five or six hundreds officials visited a  
 single ~~the~~ company in a month. Of course,  
 civilians ~~could not~~ <sup>would</sup> ~~inspect~~ <sup>be permitted to</sup> ~~on account of~~

in order to ensure ~~nothing~~

no. 9.

that it was a military secrecy. ~~But~~ That

~~the~~ company had such a large number of ~~people~~ <sup>off</sup> officials made visits was due to the fact that ~~there were~~ <sup>off</sup> ~~visitors~~, as it had many interested offices, ~~and~~ <sup>led to frequent</sup> changes ~~of~~ <sup>in their personnel,</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>of</sup> officials ~~and~~

~~from~~ the visitors, ~~and~~ <sup>without any</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>had no</sup> evil intention,

~~as~~ they come for business and ~~to~~ study,

but the chief ~~of~~ engineers, who ~~had~~ <sup>must welcome</sup> them, is ~~was~~ extremely busy, ~~and~~ <sup>so</sup> if he lets his

subordinate guide them, ~~the~~ <sup>officials</sup> would feel ~~sure~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>without</sup>

~~permitted~~ <sup>or postponed</sup> what should be permitted ~~by~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~and~~, saying

~~that~~ the chief ~~of~~ engineers ~~take~~

no interest in ~~boosting~~ <sup>boosting</sup> production, they would refuse

permission even when it should be granted, ~~such~~ <sup>such</sup> being

the case ~~of~~ the chief ~~of~~ engineers ~~who~~ <sup>was</sup> obliged to guide them again ~~unwillingly~~, ~~as~~ <sup>even</sup> though it interferes with his ~~work~~ <sup>work</sup> of his company and his

leadership in the plant management.

HP (The following was omitted from the broadcast):

~~HP~~ ~~from~~ ~~another~~ ~~similar~~ ~~story~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Great~~ ~~War~~. A certain ship-building

company in Kyushu was permitted to hire

1000 ~~to~~ <sup>requisitioned</sup> 2000 ~~workers~~ ~~called~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~

~~government~~. When ~~the~~ company ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~been~~ ~~prepared~~ ~~for~~ ~~them~~

~~bed~~ <sup>bedding</sup> ~~clothes~~, lodging houses



with considerable trouble, and provisions, and when all preparations were ready, the company received information that the government would send ~~some~~ prisoners instead of <sup>requeritioned</sup> workers. The company cancelled the orders for ~~equipment~~ <sup>these furnishings</sup> ~~to prepare all equipments for them,~~ because ~~such~~ <sup>these</sup> lodging-houses or ~~bed-places~~ were not necessary for prisoners, moreover, it had to file ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> documents ~~to~~ with the Ministry of Justice, <sup>in addition to the Welfare Ministry.</sup> ~~if they would there~~ <sup>was</sup> Such a change repeated twice or thrice <sup>it was</sup> and ~~workers came there~~ 6 or 7 months ~~after~~ <sup>thereafter that the workers actually came for work</sup>

P. A disector

of a certain aeroplane company in the Kantu districts made it his important ~~mission~~ <sup>duty</sup> to bring out <sup>and hide</sup> materials from warehouses <sup>where</sup> ~~and~~ government officials came for inspection. To conceal them, it was a business of the ~~deceived~~ <sup>newly</sup> ~~cheated~~ officials to distribute materials to that company, since it had only a small quantity of ~~materials~~ <sup>materials</sup> left in <sup>the</sup> warehouses. The Army and Navy competed with each other in <sup>standing in</sup> ~~giving~~ orders, or in hiring ~~accepting~~ engineers.

They made prepayments indiscriminately. ~~They~~ Although they paid ~~prepayment tax~~ and ~~the~~ the amount ~~of~~ ~~700,000,000~~ ~~to~~ 500,000,000 yen, ~~it~~ reached

~~it~~ it could not be used for production, because there were not enough ~~of~~ materials and equipments ~~used~~

Under such circumstances the money was used to ~~enough~~ ~~consequently~~ ~~they~~ ~~ought~~ ~~to~~ ~~grow~~ ~~to~~ ~~or~~ ~~make~~ ~~a~~ ~~profit~~ buy land or loaned at call.

~~I wonder~~ Why <sup>could such</sup> ~~these~~ absurd things be ~~done~~ ~~alone~~ ~~in~~ ~~this~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~?~~ Herein lies the ~~main~~ ~~reason~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~existence~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~evil~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~system~~ ~~alone~~.

defects and evils of bureaucracy. The bureaucrats

~~do~~ do not know business. ~~They~~ <sup>had</sup> know ~~not~~ ~~about~~ ~~the~~ ~~conditions~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~. They are so corrupt that ~~not~~ ~~little~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~their~~ ~~hands~~. ~~With~~ ~~their~~ ~~unfair~~ ~~practices~~ ~~and~~ ~~unfair~~ ~~practices~~ ~~they~~ ~~pretend~~ ~~not~~ ~~to~~ ~~see~~. They require

a great deal of red tape ~~official~~ ~~documents~~ ~~are~~ ~~very~~ ~~complicated~~ ~~in~~ ~~each~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~.

procedure and form. ~~Ministers~~ ~~do~~ ~~not~~ ~~know~~ ~~business~~ ~~and~~ ~~do~~ ~~not~~ ~~know~~ ~~the~~ ~~conditions~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~. ~~They~~ ~~are~~ ~~so~~ ~~corrupt~~ ~~that~~ ~~not~~ ~~little~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~their~~ ~~hands~~. ~~With~~ ~~their~~ ~~unfair~~ ~~practices~~ ~~and~~ ~~unfair~~ ~~practices~~ ~~they~~ ~~pretend~~ ~~not~~ ~~to~~ ~~see~~. They require

~~These~~ ~~characters~~ ~~are~~ ~~responsible~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~existence~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~evil~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~system~~ ~~alone~~. ~~These~~ ~~characters~~ ~~are~~ ~~responsible~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~existence~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~evil~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~system~~ ~~alone~~.

Originally ~~administration~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~duty~~ ~~of~~ ~~officials~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~administer~~ ~~laws~~. ~~Superintendence~~ ~~is~~ ~~their~~ ~~main~~ ~~duty~~. ~~At~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~time~~ ~~their~~ ~~duty~~ ~~extends~~ ~~to~~ ~~promotional~~ ~~and~~ ~~disciplinary~~ ~~administration~~.

However,

no. 17

They are obliged to ~~be concerned~~ <sup>handle</sup> in political affairs on account of ~~the absence of~~ <sup>the absence of</sup>

political parties as <sup>a</sup> ~~a~~ political organ.

In short, ~~administration takes place of~~ <sup>they perform political functions</sup> through administration. (Herein lies ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> source of unreasonableness.)

② <sup>Properly speaking,</sup> ~~political~~ <sup>political</sup> responsibility ~~should~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>judged by its</sup> consequences. ~~When~~ <sup>Even when</sup> the unsatisfactory results are due to ~~political~~ <sup>political</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~due to~~ <sup>due to</sup> ~~force~~ <sup>force</sup>

~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> natural calamity ~~or~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> other ~~causes~~ <sup>causes</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~due to~~ <sup>due to</sup> ~~force~~ <sup>force</sup> majeure, politicians must ~~take~~ <sup>assume</sup> responsibility ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> them, although they could not anticipate

those calamities ~~when they started~~ <sup>at the outset</sup>. On the other hand, ~~the bureaucrats~~ <sup>the bureaucrats</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~excused~~ <sup>excused</sup> from ~~responsibility~~ <sup>responsibility</sup> even when the consequences are bad, so long as they, as

good managers, ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~made~~ <sup>made</sup> ~~proper~~ <sup>proper</sup> ~~investigations~~ <sup>investigations</sup>, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> proper procedure, ~~without~~ <sup>without</sup> ~~committing~~ <sup>committing</sup> ~~any~~ <sup>any</sup> ~~violations~~ <sup>violations</sup> against ~~official~~ <sup>official</sup> discipline. They ~~do~~ <sup>do</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~see~~ <sup>see</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~responsibility~~ <sup>responsibility</sup> ~~shift~~ <sup>shift</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~others~~ <sup>others</sup> ~~or~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~blame~~ <sup>blame</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup>.

Sometimes ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~say~~ <sup>say</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup> ~~did~~ <sup>did</sup> ~~nothing~~ <sup>nothing</sup>.

It was the disposition of present-day officials to feel <sup>No. 8.</sup> self-complacent in drawing up ~~plans~~ ~~they should consider~~ the degree of capacity ~~instead of taking into due consideration~~ and knowledge of the people, ~~which they~~

~~make plans~~, but they often made idealistic ~~plans~~ and ~~asked~~ ~~they~~ compelled people to do them,

This was the spirit of modern officials, ~~International relations~~ ~~character~~ ~~of the military bureaucrats~~ ~~which~~ ~~to shift responsibility on another's~~

~~to~~ ~~should have~~ ~~any self-interest~~ ~~entirely to external sources~~ ~~in their relations~~ ~~and thereby brought about a hopeless war~~ ~~against~~ ~~such a hopeless battle in which~~

~~we should conflict with~~ all the countries

of the world. ¶ <sup>(3)</sup> ~~As for~~ The evils of rivalry among the various ministries and their subdivisions, ~~and their~~ officials' ambitions and ~~the principle of~~ desire for advancement have been already described ~~success~~ ~~indicated~~ ~~before~~.

(4) ~~The fact~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~the bureaucrats~~ ~~officials~~ were not ~~selected~~ ~~for~~ ~~public~~ ~~people~~, their ties with the people were rather ~~loose~~, ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~not~~ ~~closely~~ ~~connected~~ ~~with~~ ~~people~~, ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~cared~~ ~~little~~ ~~for~~

~~treated~~ ~~neglect~~ ~~fully~~ ~~the~~ ~~welfare~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~; ~~we~~ ~~may~~ ~~regard~~ ~~this~~ ~~part~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~fundamental~~ ~~faults~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~bureaucrats~~.

in their capacity as ~~the~~ <sup>overall national</sup> directors of ~~total~~ organization.

The Only <sup>peculiar</sup> feature of bureaucracy, compared with <sup>the days of</sup> ~~old~~ party ~~politics~~ government is found <sup>in the fact</sup> that the bureaucracy stood for statecraft, whereas ~~contrary to~~ the political parties indulged in competition <sup>for power</sup>. But even in respect to this point, ~~ministries~~ <sup>ministries</sup> competed with one another, and ~~as~~ <sup>and dispersed</sup> fundamental leadership was plural.

It was natural that <sup>the bureaucrats too rivaled</sup> ~~they~~ ~~became~~ ~~to~~ ~~fall~~ with each other, because ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~intestination~~. <sup>¶ I explained it as</sup> ~~the~~

That the real cause <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ ~~fault~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~militarist's~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ ~~ignored~~ ~~the~~ ~~supreme~~ ~~prerogative~~, ~~acted~~ ~~arbitrarily~~ ~~and~~ ~~arrogantly~~ without any thought of being bound to the people, and pushed quarrels with foreign countries, at their own discretion.

In bureaucratic government also, each ~~without~~ ~~the~~ ~~virtue~~ ~~of~~ ~~modesty~~, forgetting to love people. In bureaucracy every ministry, ~~forgetting~~ ~~its~~ ~~status~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~technical~~ ~~and~~ ~~administrative~~ ~~organ~~ auxiliary organization of administration for assisting imperial rule, ~~the~~ ~~assistance~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~seems~~ ~~of~~ ~~government~~, ~~neglected~~ ~~its~~ ~~duty~~ ~~of~~ ~~acted~~ ~~self-complacently~~ ~~and~~ ~~was~~ ~~prideful~~ ~~of~~ ~~itself~~, ~~selfishly~~. Consequently, they ~~became~~ ~~gradually~~ alienated from the people, ~~and~~

circulated official orders and instructions, thus  
~~the spread of official documents.~~

Such a limping  
~~This common~~ leadership of the military and  
 Government officials, which, ~~was to be~~ <sup>though seemingly</sup> controlling  
~~or to be~~ systematic, ~~but it was~~, in fact,  
 confused and anarchical, ~~and~~ <sup>could not bring</sup>  
 active powers, ~~as a result it has~~ <sup>into being, not matter how much they tried,</sup>  
 since there was no motive force, no speed could be  
 speed in administrative power! <sup>(developed)</sup>

In Saipan and in Okinawa our total  
 strength ~~power~~ could not be concentrated on the vital  
~~most important place.~~ <sup>Even</sup> if we had one-tenth  
 of the mobile power of America, this <sup>was not concentrated</sup> power  
 but ~~was~~ <sup>all over</sup> scattered in the South-Sea, on the Continent  
 and in Japan Proper, ~~not to be concentrated.~~  
 Its condition was <sup>similar to the allocation</sup> ~~the same as in the case of~~  
 distribution of <sup>the budget</sup> ~~estimated amount~~ in our  
~~official world government.~~

War is an <sup>political</sup> extension of politics.  
 Politics is a <sup>dynamics</sup> ~~moving~~ phenomenon, <sup>just</sup> as modern  
 war is a mobile battle. <sup>It is very well</sup> To investigate the  
 present condition, is ~~serviceable.~~ But  
 all <sup>the</sup> ministries ~~assemble and seal~~

it takes two or three months for the various ministries concerned to discuss together ~~in significant documents 20 or 30 times~~ ~~and~~ arrive at a definite conclusion, and draw ~~up~~ ~~it~~ ~~takes~~ 2 or 3 months to make a ~~up~~ ~~the~~ ~~concrete~~ ~~plan~~, after obtaining twenty or thirty ~~definite~~ ~~plans~~. They can manage based on <sup>signatures</sup> ~~the~~ ~~plan~~. But in the meantime, situation may have completely ~~will~~ ~~changed~~ and ~~they~~ ~~are~~ ~~always~~ ~~far~~ ~~behind~~ ~~the~~ ~~reality~~. Under such a condition, politics is always behind time. One must judge ~~in every political affair~~. We should ~~be~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~understand~~ the ~~political~~ ~~motivation~~ ~~in~~ the present <sup>political</sup> ~~situation~~.

whereas ~~As for~~ ~~administration~~ ~~we~~ ~~should~~ ~~regard~~ ~~the~~ ~~statistical~~ ~~present~~ ~~situation~~ ~~as~~ ~~reality~~, ~~the~~ ~~reality~~.

~~but~~ ~~as~~ ~~for~~ ~~politics~~ ~~we~~ ~~should~~ ~~regard~~ ~~the~~ ~~dynamic~~ ~~direction~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~reality~~ ~~as~~ ~~reality~~. If ~~we~~ ~~firmly~~ ~~grasp~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~and~~ ~~act~~ ~~accordingly~~, the political measures will score direct ~~hits~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~changing~~ ~~situation~~. ~~policy~~ ~~will~~ ~~be~~ ~~applied~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~mobile~~ ~~situation~~. This method should be ~~called~~ ~~the~~ ~~forestalling~~ ~~politics~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~fast~~ ~~revolutionizing~~ ~~world~~.

(Note: The following was omitted from the broadcast)  
 As I emphasized to you in ~~my~~ ~~first~~ ~~prologue~~ ~~of~~ ~~my~~ ~~first~~ ~~lecture~~ that we should be ~~on~~ ~~our~~ ~~guard~~ ~~against~~ ~~old~~ ~~partisan~~ ~~politics~~ ~~and~~ ~~ideological~~ ~~ideology~~, it would be a great mistake if we think that the present ~~political~~ ~~situation~~ ~~represents~~ ~~the~~ ~~future~~ ~~also~~. ~~we~~ ~~should~~ ~~not~~ ~~regard~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~ ~~situation~~ ~~as~~ ~~that~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~future~~ ~~also~~.  
 form also.

As yet, the <sup>main</sup> political body for the reconstruction No. 12  
of Japan has not fully appeared. We do not know the time ~~subject~~ of politics  
to re-construct new Japan. I am sure that  
such a body will grow out of the true self-realization  
of the young people, ~~with their eyes on the world~~  
~~have been coming back from the front and~~  
who have experienced the most severe pains and  
sorrow of the past <sup>war</sup> years and those who are now  
returning from the front. It will arise from their  
deep self-reflection on national politics. War leadership  
~~upon themselves~~ ~~Leadership~~ ~~was~~ ~~based~~  
~~was~~ ~~found~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~mis~~ ~~taken~~, and those officers and  
soldiers, who ~~did~~ ~~not~~ ~~do~~ ~~illegal~~ ~~acts~~ ~~under~~  
this stupefaction, should be looked upon as having  
been misled down in this crucible of error, however  
great. It's the only thing we can see.  
But returned soldiers, who fought ~~hardly~~ ~~and~~  
did much <sup>serious</sup> thinking and ~~thought~~ ~~deeply~~, should not be  
looked upon ~~with~~ ~~sympathy~~ ~~only~~ on the simple ground  
that they ~~took~~ ~~part~~ ~~in~~ the war. Nay, ~~the~~  
~~the~~ ~~reconstruction~~ of new Japan will arise  
from these people, I am sure. One  
must grasp ~~They should completely understand~~ the true  
essence of Japan based upon the just  
and equitable principle of <sup>heaven and earth</sup> ~~nature~~.



## A national polity

They should make the group and nation  
which will serve ~~are~~ <sup>will serve</sup> ~~serviceable~~ to the universal  
~~humanity and justice.~~ <sup>must arise from it.</sup>

They will understand ~~from~~  
through hard application, <sup>occupations and</sup>  
what they must do in their profession ~~or~~

in politics, by realizing bitter experiences

every day. The politics, the philosophy and

the theory <sup>is</sup> which emerge from it <sup>strongly</sup> will ~~lead~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~of~~

the ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> Japan of peace

Systematic theories <sup>can</sup> ~~cannot~~ <sup>only</sup> be developed <sup>in</sup> the

ripened stage of each age. ~~The~~ <sup>Various</sup>

theories or ideologies, which are <sup>current</sup> ~~popular~~

now, were ~~made~~ <sup>developed</sup> in the past, and we

should ~~copy~~ <sup>take in from them</sup> what ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> good ~~for us~~

as ~~our~~ <sup>important</sup> reference materials. But

they <sup>do</sup> ~~are~~ not <sup>serve</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> textbooks for Japan now,

present ~~age~~. They are nothing <sup>more</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>than</sup> one

~~kind~~ of materials which we should

respect and utilize. ~~We find~~ <sup>The true ones</sup>

~~are~~ <sup>lie</sup> in ~~the~~ faithful <sup>self</sup> ~~practice~~ <sup>application</sup>

and <sup>in the</sup> practical theory which ~~leads~~ <sup>guides</sup>  
our ~~practice~~ <sup>actions</sup>

If we take an unselfish attitude, ~~respecting~~ <sup>respecting</sup> God and Heaven and forgetting ourselves ~~by Heaven and suppressing our desire,~~  
 we can find in ~~a~~ <sup>each practice of each</sup> practical theory ~~of~~ <sup>the fragment</sup> ~~part~~ of truth, goodness and beauty which is destined to bloom into a ~~systematic theory~~ <sup>systematic theory</sup> in future.

I repeat, to ~~say~~ <sup>re</sup> ~~that~~ theories and ideologies, which are <sup>current</sup> popular now, ~~are~~ <sup>all</sup> are ~~nothing but a material~~ <sup>nothing but a material</sup> for existence and construction, although they can serve as a good reference. ~~The~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~truth~~ <sup>truth</sup> theories and ideologies lie ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> the process of application ~~which should be done by ourselves.~~ <sup>which should be done by the people.</sup>  
 Pragmatically speaking, there is only one ~~subject~~ <sup>subject</sup>, namely, whether or not it ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~serves~~ <sup>serves</sup> for benefits of society, country, world and ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> humanity. ]

In ~~Japan~~ <sup>Japan</sup> With the almost complete destruction of the production machinery, the ~~shortage~~ <sup>shortage</sup> of foodstuffs, ~~and the absence of the main political body~~ <sup>and the absence of the main political body</sup>, ~~a minimum provision, moreover, the main~~ <sup>a minimum provision, moreover, the main</sup> body of our political parties, which should fundamentally ~~reconstruct~~ <sup>reconstruct</sup> ~~Japan~~ <sup>Japan</sup> ~~completely~~ <sup>completely</sup> ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup>.

Japan is now in a condition which

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~~Our present situation is far~~ worse than

France, Germany and Soviet Russia ~~is~~ during

the periods of their ~~their~~ revolutions.

(Note: The following was omitted from the broadcast)

~~If we should make a new phase and a~~  
~~We are now at the bottom of adversity, and there~~  
~~are ideas of reason, proceeding from~~  
~~a fundamental point, and without this~~

It is doubtful whether we can ~~live~~ live unless  
we re-start from fundamentals and create theories and conceptions ~~of that~~. Indeed, we are in such D

~~adversity~~ If somebody asks

me whether we can do this ~~or not~~,

I ~~shall~~ <sup>would</sup> firmly answer, ~~for that~~, "It can  
be done." Did not we,

at the lucky end of the War

on August 15th, did everybody ~~every~~ <sup>of you</sup> ~~every~~ <sup>should resolve</sup> ~~with~~

think how to die? We ~~resolved~~ ~~to~~ <sup>resolved</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>with</sup>  
this great determination which did not fear death, ~~we~~ there

is no reason why we can not break through  
these crossroads; one way leads to

this cross-road of construction or  
a better Japan, the other to confusion

~~and~~ chaos. But if we set with

this resolution, it is axiomatic that

~~we can~~ make our way through the

present difficult situation. — End. —