

by ancient history of civilization, that if we are to quickly and readily obtain economic rights and interests, it would be more convenient to do so by sea transportation rather than by overland routes. Therefore, I again believe that just as Mr. SHINOHARA stated, we must proceed bravely towards economic development in the south where resources are thought to be in abundance. Therefore, at the present, we should follow the increased tendency of the race towards the continent and the north with more than ample economic development and at the same time, we shall extend our economic rights and interests towards the south with all our might. In this, I think that the necessary movement of the race is absolutely indispensable. In short, I believe that after all, since we should not emphasize any one direction in our northward or southward advancement, we should advance as indicated in Mr. SHINOHARA's talk.

The second question was, then what would you do with the cultural system of Japan which is rapidly advancing towards her world policy? Although I might sound very impertinent, I am one of those who become indignant just to think that there are so few fellow countrymen who completely understand the spirit and culture of Imperial Japan. Japan has been rapidly absorbing Western culture and products for seventy years since the early MEIJI Era, and at present, in the Imperial Universities which are called the highest seat of learning, what does Article I of the University Ordinance say? It says, "The university shall teach the theories in the arts and sciences and their application which are important to the state as well as to inquire into the most profound mysteries as its object". Up to this point, it is all right but it only says further that, "Simultaneously, it should consider the building up of the character of the people and cultivate national thought". The graduates of the said highest seat of learning are leading all the cultural systems in the Empire of Japan.

I think that we must stand more firmly on the spirit that dates back to the very beginning, reflect back to the days of the founding of Imperial Japan and then begin our investigation from the Three Great Oracles handed down by the Sun Goddess AMATERA. With the Emperor revered as the nucleus of the entire nation, and with the attitude of complete national unity, that is, with the moral principles of God as the main principle, and by adding to this oracle, which refers to rice, and important material, we must support the Emperor's destiny which is as everlasting as heaven and earth. I think that this is the underlying principle of the Japanese Spirit. In other words, I think it is the very source of the spirit and culture of Japan. I further think that this is the way of God and also the way of the Emperor. It is commonly said that there is unity between ancestral worship and government. I believe ancestral worship means that God and man enter the same mental frame of mind. And I think that administration is the deciding of all matters with this frame of mind. If the spirit and culture of Imperial Japan which has such an underlying thought, is carried forth, it will spread throughout the world and some day might naturally become the main current of thought in all parts of the world. Speaking from this

point of view, China's rule of righteousness such as Confucianism, Buddhism, or Christianity are all derogatorily speaking, inferior, and I believe that they must all be fostered in the Imperial Way, and the spirit and culture of Japan. Then as to the second question, where should the cultural system of Japan, necessary for world policy, be placed? I believe that this is a question which can be solved by seeking the very origin of Japanese spirit and culture, and judging all our actions, by standing on this source.

I am very sorry that I was so wordy.

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, SATOW, Tomoo, hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Secretary of the Cabinet, and that as such official I have custody of the document attached hereto consisting of 2 pages, dated 17 Feb 1940, and described as follows: Speech of the Minister of State KOISO at the Meeting of Budget Committee on 17 Feb. 1940 in the House of Representatives, 75th Session of the Imperial Diet. I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): Cabinet Secretariat.

Signed at Tokyo on this
25 Day of September, 1947.

/sgd/ T. Satow
Signature of Official

Witness: /sgd/ K. Makimura

Secretary of the Cabinet
Official Capacity

Statement of Official Procurement

I, HENRY SHIMOJIMA, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this
25th day of Sept., 1947

/sgd/ Henry Shimojima
NAME

Witness: /sgd/ Richard H. Larsh

Investigator, IPS
Official Capacity

FILE COPY

RETURN TO ROOM 366

豫算委員第一分科會議錄 第二回

昭和十五年二月十七日

Doc. 3030-N

○小磯國務大臣 只今條原君カラ非常ニ内容ノ豐富ニシテ
貴重ナル御話ヲ承リ、最後ニ二點ニ関シテ御質疑ニ接シタリ
テアリマスガ、其ノ第一ノ御質疑ノ北進カ南進カト云フ問題ハ、
相当重要性ヲ持ツテ居ルモノト思ヒマス。私ガ是カラ申上げマス
コトハ、ドウモ現実ヲ離レタ、ソナナ神憑心リノヤウナコトヲ言フナ、斯
ウ仰セニナルカモ知レマセヌガ、併シドウシテモソコニ觸レマセヌト申
上げラレヌト思ヒマスウ。簡單ニ申上げタイト思ヒマス。元來日
本ノ國是國策トシテ、古來吾々ノ父祖ノ時代カラ牢固トシテ傳
ハツテ居リマスハ、紘一字ト申シマスカ、天業恢弘ト申シマスカ、六合
兼都ト申シマスカ、色々ナ御文字ニ依ツテ表ハサレテ居リマスケレ
ドモ、兎モ角モ此ノト具ニ立派ナ五々ノ確信スル日本精神文化ヲ以テ
世界的ニ擴大ヲシテ行クダ、明治天皇ガ明治元年ニ「親ラ四
方ヲ經營シ汝億兆ヲ安撫シ遂ニ八萬里ノ波濤ヲ拓開シ國威
ヲ四方ニ宣布シ」斯ウ云フ風ニ仰セニナツタノモ、畢竟ソコニ基調
ヲ置カレタ一大文章トデアルト拜察スルノデアリマス。ト云フコトハ何ヲ
意味スルカト云フト、北進トカ南進トカ東進トカ西進トカ、一方ニ偏ス
ルト云フコトハ國是國策ノ上ニ於テ考ヘテ居ラヌ、換言スレバ日本
ノ行ク所ハ東西南北進ダ、唯併シ其ノ時代々々ニ於テ、何レニ重
點ヲ形成スベキヤト云フコトガ、此ノ時代ニ於ケル一ツノ行ク道デアラ
ウ、斯ウ思フノデアリマス。ソレナラバ現代ニ於テドウ云フナラバ宜
イカト云フト、是ハ條原君ノ御話ニマリマシタ如ク、私ハ少シニ妄斷

No. 1

ニナルカモ知シマセヌガ、日本ノ民族ト云フモノハ固ヨリ天孫民族デアリ
 マスケレドモ、ソフニ「エスキモ」モ「アイヌ」モ「インドネシア」モ支那ノ苗族
 モヤハリ入ツテ居ルト思フデアリマス、斯クノ如ク多クノ民族ヲ統制
 シ之ヲ一丸ニシテ行ツタト云フ今日ノ大和民族ト云フモノハ東西南
 北トノ方向ニモ進ミ得、如何ナル文化ヲモ把握シ同化セシメ得ルト
 云フツノ素質ヲ意識スルトセカルトニ拘ラズ持ツテ居ル存在
 カト思フデアリマス、ソレナラバ大和民族ノ大部分ハドウダソ
 レハ紛レモナイ天孫民族デアリ、高天原民族デアルト致シマスト、
 是ハ暑イ方ニ堪ヘ得ルカ、寒イ方ニ堪ヘ得ルカト云フト、是ハ
 學者ノ領域デアリマスカラ、私共ノ断言スルフトヲ憚ラナケレバ
 ナラヌ所デアルト思ヒマス、其ノ點ニ於テハ私ハ篠原君ノ御
 意見ニ全然御同感ヲ表シタイ一人デアリマス、唯併シ
 幸ニ「インドネシア」ノ民族ノ血ヲモ五々ガ持ツテ居ルト云フコトハ
 當ニ南ノ方面ニ向ツテ進展シ得ルト云フ性格ヲモ併セテ持ツテ
 居ルト、斯ウ考ヘネバナラヌト思ヒマス、ソコデ此ノ民族体系ノ主流
 ト云フモノヲ、兎モ角モ現代ニ於テハ北及ビ大陸方面ニ向ハシテ行ク
 ト云フコトハ是ハ自然ノ趨勢カト思ヒマス、併シ國防ヲ離シテ國
 家カナイト同ジャウニ、經濟ヲ離シテ政治ハアリマセヌ、ソコデ經濟
 的ノ權利利益ヲ成ベク早ク容易ニ手ニ收メヨウトスルナラバ、陸
 上交通ニ依ルヨリハ水上交通ニ依ツタカガ便利デアルト云フト
 ハ古来文化史ノ明證スル所デアリマス、隨テ多クノ資源ヲ
 包藏シテ居ルト思ハレマス、南ノ方面ニ對シテ經濟的進展ヲ
 勇敢ニ進メテ行カネバナラヌト云フトモ亦篠原君御説ノ通
 リト思ヒマス、隨テ只今ニ於テハ大陸及ビ北ノ方面ニ向ツテスル所ノ

民族ノ増勢ト云フモノニ、アリ餘ル程ノ十分ナル經濟的發展ヲ之ニ伴ハシメルベキデアルト同時ニ、南ノ方ニ向ウテハ非常ナル努力ヲ以テ經濟權益ノ擴張ヲヤツテ行ク。ソレニ必要ナル所ノ民族ノ移動ト云フコトハ必然的ニ又ヤラネバナラヌト云フ風ニ考ヘテ居ルノデアリマス。之ヲ要スルノニ、南スベキカ北スベキカト云フコトハ、一概ニ方ニ偏シテ極論スベキモノニアラスシテ、ヤハリ篠原君が言ハレタヤウナ趣旨ニ於テ進ムベキモノデアリ、斯ウ考ヘテ居リマス。

第二段ハ、然ラバ世界政策ニ邁進スル日本ノ文化体系ハドウスルノカト云フデアリマスガ、私ハ甚ダ生意氣多申上ケルヤウデアリマス。ケレドモ、一体皇國日本ノ同胞ニシテ、今日本當ニ皇國日本精神文化ト云フモノヲ体得シテ居ル人カ果シテ幾人アルカヲウカト痛憤スル一人ナデアリマス。明治初年以來七十年滔々トシテ批判檢討ノ遑ナク西洋文物ヲ吸收シ來リ、サウシテ今日最高學府ト言ハレル所ノ帝大ニ於テ、其ノ大學令ノ第一條ニ何ト書イテアリマスカ「大學ハ國家ニ須要ナル學術ノ理論及應用ヲ教授シ茲其ノ蘊奧ヲ攻究スルヲ以テ目的トシ」此處マデハ宜イデスケレドモ「兼テ人格ノ陶冶及國家思想ノ涵養ニ留意スヘキモノトス」ト云フ程度ニ示サレテ居ル、其ノ高等學府カヲ出テ居ル所ノ人々ガ總テ我ガ皇國日本ニ於ケル文化体系ヲ「リード」シテ居ル、モウ少し私ハヤハリ報本反始ノ精神ニ立脚シ、皇國日本ノ肇國ノ當時ニ振返ツテ、サウシテ天照大神ノ御下シニナリマシタ三大神勅カラ檢討ヲ始メテ、天皇ヲ中心トシ奉ル此ノ君國、君民不二体ト云フ境地ニ於テ、サウシテ齊鏡ト稻穗ノ神勅デアリマシタカ、詰リ惟神ノ大道ヲ主体トシ、齊庭稻穗ヲスカラ

重要ナル物資デス、之ヲ添ヘテ行クト云フコトニ依ツテ、天壤ト共ニ
 窮リナカルベキ皇運ヲ扶翼シテ行クノカト云フコトガ日本精神
 ノ基調ヲト思フノチアリマス、言世ホヲ換ヘテ言ヘバ、ソレガ日本精
 神文化ノ源泉ヲト思フノチアリマス、是ガ即チ惟神ノ大道ヲモアリ
 天皇道ヲモアルト思ヒマス、祭政一致ト云フコトヲ能ク言ヒマスガ祭
 ト云フコトハ神人一体ノ境地ニ入ルコトト考ヘマス、神人一体ノ境地ニ入ルト
 云フ考ヲ以テ、一切萬事ヲ決裁シテ行クト云フノガ政事ヲラウト思
 ヒマス、斯ウ云フヤウチ考ヲ基調トシタ、即チ皇國日本ノ精神文
 化、是ヲ持ツテ行ケバ、是ハモウ世界廣シト雖モ、何時カハ總ニ此處ニ
 自然ニ合流シ來ルベキモノデハナカラウカ、是カラ言ヒマス、支那ニ於
 ケル王道ノ如キ儒教ノ如キ、佛教ノ如キ、或ハ基督教ノ如キ、總ニテ
 悪ク言ヘバ低級ナモノチアリ、總ニテ皇道、日本精神文化ト云フモ
 ノ中ニ育ミ来ルト云フ風ニナラネバナラヌト思ヒマス、ソコチ第二
 ノ御質問ニ仰セニナリマシタ、日本ノ世界政策上必要ナル文化体系ト云
 フノハ何處ニ置クノカト云フコトニナリマスレバ、私ハ日本精神文化ト云
 フモノノ源泉ヲ索ネテ、其ノ源泉ニ立脚シテ、吾々ノ一切ノ行動ヲ律
 スルト云フコトニ依ツテ、初メテ之ヲ解決シ得ル問題、チアラウカト云
 フ風ニ考ヘテ居リマス、饒古ヲ弄シマシテ相濟シマセヌ

ワシントン 文書局 第 〇号
国際検査部 第三〇三〇号

證明書

典據及び公正に因る證明

余、佐藤朝生ハ余が下記資格ニ於テ、即チ内閣事務官トシテ、日本政府ト公的関係ニ在ルモノナルコト、並ニ該官吏トシテ余が茲ニ添附セラレタル、二百三十九號、千九百四十年、昭和十五年二月十七日附下記題名、即チ千九百四十年帝國議會衆議院豫算委員議錄小磯國務大臣答辯之文書ノ係管ニ任ジ居ルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。

余ハ更ニ添附記録及び文書ヲ日本政府ノ公文書ナルコト、並ニ右ガ下記名稱ノ省又ハ部局ノ公式書類及ビ綴一部ナルコトヲ證明ス。(若シテハ綴番号又ハ引用、其他公式書類又ハ綴ニ於テハ該文書正規所在公式名稱ヲモ特記スベシ)

内閣官房

千九百四十七年、昭和二十二年、九月二十五日

東京ニ於テ署名

當該官吏署名欄 佐藤 朝生 (佐藤)

右ノ者ノ公的次資格 内閣事務官

證人 坂村 慶治 (坂村)

公式入手ニ因ル證明

余、HENRY SHIMOTAJIMA ハ、余が聯盟國最高指揮官總司令部ニ關係スモノナルコト、並ニ上記題名之文書ハ余が公務上、日本政府ノ上記署名官吏ヨリ本年九月二十五日トシテ茲ニ證明ス。

千九百四十七年、昭和二十二年、九月二十五日

東京ニ於テ署名

Henry Shimotajima

右ノ者ノ公的資格 證人 Richard H. Rank

「ワシントン」文書局 第 第 號 號
國際 檢 察 部 第 第 號 號

典據及ビ公正ニ關スル證明

余、山崎 高ハ余ガ下記ノ資格ニ於テ、即チ
衆議院庶務部長トシテ、日本政府ト公的關係ニ在
ルモノナルコト、竝ニ該官吏トシテ余ガ茲ニ添附セ
ラレタル、 頁ヨリ成ル、千九百四〇 年ノ昭和
十五年ノ 附、下記題名、即チ

第七十五回 衆議院決算委員會議録(速記)第五回 ノ文書ノ
帝國議會 保管ニ任ジ居ルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。 昭和十五年三月四日

余ハ更ニ添附ノ記録及ビ文書ガ日本政府ノ公文書ナ
ルコト、竝ニ右ガ下記名稱ノ省又ハ部局ノ公式書類
及ビ綴ノ一部ナルコトヲ證明ス。ハ若シアラバ該番號又
ハ引用、其ノ他公式書類又ハ綴ニ於ケル該文書ノ成規所在ノ公式名
稱ヲモ特記スベシ)

千九百四十年ノ昭和二十年ノ 八 月 十一 日

衆議院ニ於テ署名

當該官吏署名欄

山 崎 高



右ノ者ノ公的資格

衆議院庶務部長

證 人

田 中 俊 一

公式入手ニ關スル證明

余、
ハ、余ガ聯合國最高指揮官總司
令部ニ關係アルモノナルコト、竝ニ上記題名ノ文書
ハ余ガ公務上、日本政府ノ上記署名官吏ヨリ入手シ
タルモノナルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。

千九百四十六年ノ昭和二十二年ノ 八 月 十四 日

Tokyoニ於テ署名

氏 名 欄

Henry D. Smith

右ノ者ノ公的資格

H. D. Smith

證 人

J. S. Munson

「ワシントン」文書局 第 第 號 號
國際 檢 察 部 第 號

證明書

余、山崎 高ハ余ガ下記ノ資格ニ於テ、即チ
衆議院庶務部長トシテ、日本政府ト公的關係ニ在
ルモノナルコト、竝ニ該官吏トシテ余ガ茲ニ添附セ
ラレタル、 頁ヨリ成ル、千九百四 年ノ昭和
十五年 年ノ 附、下記題名、即チ

第七十五回 衆議院決算委員會議録(連記)第五卷第五頁ノ文書ノ
帝國議會 保管ニ任ジ居ルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。

余ハ更ニ添附ノ記録及ビ文書ガ日本政府ノ公文書ナ
ルコト、竝ニ右ガ下記名稱ノ省又ハ部局ノ公式書類
及ビ綴ノ一部ナルコトヲ證明ス。ハ若シアラバ該番號又
ハ引用、其ノ他公式書類又ハ綴ニ於ケル該文書ノ成規所在ノ公式名
稱ヲモ特記スベシ)

千九百四十年^七年ノ昭和二十年ノ 八 月 十一 日

衆議院ニ於テ署名

當該官吏署名欄

山 崎 高
衆議院庶務部長

證 人

公式入手ニ關スル證明

余、
ハ、余ガ聯合國最高指揮官總司
令部ニ關係アルモノナルコト、竝ニ上記題名ノ文書
ハ余ガ公務上、日本政府ノ上記署名官吏ヨリ入手シ
タルモノナルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。

千九百四十六年ノ昭和二十二年ノ 八 月 十四 日

Tokyo ニ於テ署名

氏 名 欄

右ノ者ノ公的資格

Henry John Park
J. J. Munster

證

Committee Member MIZUTANI:

I would like to ask the War Minister a question and that is, there were exchanges of questions and answers concerning the problem of the Army's political voice between a fellow committee man and the War Minister in the general meeting on the Budget the other day. In connection with this I wish to be more certain about a few points, so I again would like to trouble the War Minister for an answer.

The first point is: What was meant by a part of the staff of the War Ministry to which the War Minister referred to as assistant organs at the time of the controversy? Namely, to perform necessary researches and discussions are deemed natural in line of work, and to politically voice under the responsibility of the War Minister is termed a natural organ in line of work. Actually, what does this thing called staff of the War Ministry designate which is referred to as its assistant organ? Do you mean the Military Affairs Bureau? Or does it also include the Information Board? Or a part of the Mobilization Plans Bureau? For example, does it include the War Plans Section, etc.? Or are there others? I wish to have these points a little more clarified.

Minister of State HATA:

While what Mr. MIZUTANI just now indicated included, for instance, the Military Affairs Bureau and the Information Board, I think they would also, as a staff of the Minister would naturally be included its sphere. If there are others deemed necessary, and the problem of speaking arises, it would be up to the Minister to decide at that time, as I have stated previously. This is how I think.

* * * * *

Committee Member MIZUTANI:

In connection with the problem, I think there might have been two indistinct points in the foregoing controversy. One is the complication between the politically voiced controversy and that of the so-called participation in politics. And the other is I believe there is regret as to why there were no distinction in the foundation of the organization whereby a part of the organ is able to voice politically. My information is limited, and I do not know the organization of the Army in detail, but in examining the present controversy a little, it is needless to mention at this time the fact that the Military Affairs Section of the Military Affairs Bureau was organized after the 2.26 Incident, but I have the understanding that as a duty of the staff of the Military Affairs Bureau,

such things as negotiations with the Imperial Diet, items concerning the general national defense policies, propagation of national defense, thoughts, counter-plans, etc., are clearly listed on the Army Organization. Hence, I believe this problem of authority which enables part of these organs to voice politically may be solved plainly by clarifying this fundamental concept of national defense which is specified in the Army organization. Consequently, firstly, as a procedure, I would like to trouble you for a clear reply as to what National Defense is, and where should the basis for National Defense be set.

Minister of State HATA:

The meaning of this defense has heretofore been hotly debated as to whether it is in a broad sense or in a narrow sense but our idea of national defense is, of course, the defending of our country against enemy attacks and invasions, on a basis of consolidated national power which includes military power, politics, economy, thought, and other material and immaterial elements, and the policy of revealing the ideals for establishing our nation, while removing the various obstruction on the execution of our national policy. These in general constitute our interpretation of national defense.

* * * * *

Committee-Member MIZUTANI:

If so, I think I can construe the answer of the War Minister as meaning, in other words, that the national defense means armed warfare "plus" the general political strategy which includes political warfare, economic warfare, ideological warfare, propaganda warfare, and all other such warfares. Then, having understood that point, what I would like to think of is, from the standpoint of the Army, there must be opinions about the question of whether or not it would be fortunate for the sake of the Army to manage, or to be obliged to manage, not only the armed warfare, but general political strategies as well. I think there lies the cause of many problems to arise at present in that, while at this critical juncture of the present Chinese Incident when the general political warfare must be brilliantly and effectively developed for an overwhelming victory of the armed warfare, there is a vagueness in the construction of the national political power, or shall I say the structure of the national political power, which should be able to develop the general political strategy to cope with such an overwhelming victory of the armed warfare. For instance, the other day, the War Minister said in reply to the interpellation of his colleague, Mr. HOSHI, that the strengthening of the wartime organization was very necessary and the social condition was still not efficient. The War Minister further said, in effect, "I agree whole-heartedly with Mr. HOSHI in that in order to cope with this difficult situation, we must put political, economic, military, and all other matters on the wartime organizations; and as for ourselves, we too are not thinking that the present internal social situations in general are in the state

of satisfactory condition; and I hope from the bottom of my heart that both those at home and at the front will manage things, materially and mentally, in the same spirit and with a resolution of being engaged in the holy war." Then the point I would like to ask is that, what, in wartime, is the political structure from the point of view of undertaking which will enable a harmonious amalgamation of the commonly called war strategy political strategy and the political strategy. Instead of the abstract words as answered to Mr. HOSHI, I would like a more thorough and concrete reply as to this point, that is to say, that such and such a wartime organization is desirable; that the Army would easily be able to exert its effort to armed warfare if in such a way a national political organization can be set and the national political power be constructed; and by wartime organization we mean that which will enable us to bring this China Incident to a perfect conclusion; by the so-called war strategy and political strategy mutually becoming a harmonious group. I would like more clarification on these points. As an extension of the answer to Mr. HOSHI, I think these are the points which must be clarified, and I wish to hear the War Minister's opinion on this point.

Minister of State HATA:

The national defense which we are thinking is, as I have just now mentioned. It goes without saying that after all, now is the time when we must settle this Incident by mobilizing the total national power. Therefore, there is no need to say that the Army would like to carry out the Incident by raising the total national power and to establish the new order of the East Asia. However, in carrying out such a program, the standpoint of the Army must be pretty well considered; at any rate on the part of the Army, armed warfare comes first, and then, to other economic, political and ideological aspects, we will extend our support and cooperation to the utmost. In short, the Army puts the armed warfare as its main objective; and for other things it would cooperate and support in order to settle this Incident by raising the so-called total power. I am thinking of proceeding from this standpoint.

Committee-Member MIZUTANI:

Now, in the conclusion of the problem, I think we should distinguish strictly between the expression of political views by the Army and the problem of the Army's so-called meddling in political affairs. In the discussion thus far the interpellants have become confused and those who replied, if you will pardon me, have not made a clear distinction, so that point has not been clarified at all. Under the present wartime conditions when the military must undertake complete responsibility for settling the Sino-Japanese Incident fundamentally and now when the vast portion of the whole budget relates to the Army, I think that, from the above circumstances and from the official organization to which I have referred above, the Army's concern over political affairs and its expression of political

opinions is natural. However, I do not believe that I can by any means state, as a conclusion, that the Army's so-called meddling in political affairs is justified because of that. For instance, there is a representative opinion among the people that is as follows: Speaking frankly, about the anxiety of the people, it is at the time of a change in government than in normal times that the people are anxious about the so-called Army's meddling in political affairs by the military. It is the supreme authority of the Emperor to order the formation of a new Cabinet. The one ordered to form a Cabinet should organize the Cabinet freely without interference from others. If we view past developments, it would be difficult to say that there are no traces of Army interference in the formation of a Cabinet. The military, themselves, would probably not deny this. It is natural that in the formation of a Cabinet in wartime, the person who forms the Cabinet should respect the will of the Army and take pains not to conflict with the Army. However, the Army should refrain from positive interference and hampering. We hope that the Army will consider this "point". I am not one who denies absolutely the fact that the so-called political influence of the Army has become overwhelming since the Manchurian Incident. However, there are some people, shall we say, "liberalists" colloquially speaking, who are extremely displeased emotionally with the above fact and take the attitude of opposing and finding fault with everything proposed by the Army. I think that this too, is very wrong. But, on the contrary, there are other people, who, colloquially speaking, are Army "yes-men". They agree with everything done by the Army and whatever they do is right. I think that the attitude of such people should also be flatly rejected. The mission of the present so-called political parties and so-called politicians under the wartime structure is to declare as right whatever is rightly proposed by the Army which actually has this great political influence and support it to the utmost. However, if there is even the slightest mistake, they should take the attitude of requesting the Army, in the name of the people, to make a reconsideration and to have them proceed in the right direction. I believe this is the grave duty of the politicians and the political parties of today. On this point, I think that the Army, which actually has political power, must never be an Army which brings fear to the people or which is feared by the people. I feel keenly that the Army must maintain its strength by all means on the one hand, but must be loved sincerely by the entire nation, on the other. Although I am a so-called mediocre statesman, at every place and at all times, this has been the attitude which I have consistently taken from the beginning to the end. Consequently, as a so-called general conclusion to the present problem of the Army's meddling in political affairs, I think that the expression of political opinions by the Army is proper from the standpoint of the circumstances and the government system previously mentioned. No one can deny this. However, as previously expressed, if such a situation as the change of Government should arise, in the name of the people, and also from the standpoint of the Army, which must be intimate with the people, it will definitely not be a blessing for the Army and the people. I think it will be very satisfactory if we can obtain a definite answer from the War Minister concerning

the problems of the so-called true expression of political views by the Army and the so-called Army's meddling in political affairs.

State Minister HATA:

It is needless to say that the Army is the Emperor's troops. The so-called "People not distinct from the Army" -- The Army and People are one. Especially, to tide over the present situation, it is extremely necessary that the Army and the people should unite solidly into one body. If viewed from this standpoint, the problem of meddling in political affairs would naturally be settled. We are now striving with all our national strength and progressing towards a holy war in order to realize HAKKO-ICHIU, the great ideal of the founding of our country. Therefore, it is our eager wishes that we can serve our country best to attain this objective. I hope that you will fully appreciate this. Therefore, as to the so-called meddling in political affairs, the margin between meddling in political affairs and the expression of political opinions by some is, as you just stated, very unclear. Unclear as it is, the Army is generally acting from the above-mentioned standpoint. As for my opinion, according to Mr. MIZUTANI's view what is called meddling in political affairs is entirely the business of the War Minister and the expression of political opinions also is the duty of the War Minister. However, as to the so-called practical matters, which is a part of politics, the scope of the expression will change by itself. In short, since the War Minister oversees all these matters, supervision and guidance should be given according to the circumstances or the situation at that time. On this, I am firmly convinced.

典據及ビ公正ニ關スル證明

余、山崎 高ハ余ガ下記ノ資格ニ於テ、即チ

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ルモノナルコト、竝ニ該官吏トシテ余ガ茲ニ添附セ
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余ハ更ニ添附ノ記録及ビ文書ガ日本政府ノ公文書ナ
ルコト、竝ニ右ガ下記名稱ノ省又ハ部局ノ公式書類
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衆議院ニ於テ署名

山崎 高



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ハ、余ガ聯合國最高指揮官總司
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第百五番帝國議會衆議院予算委員會分科會議録(連記)第三冊ノ文書ノ
保管ニ任ジ居ルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。
昭和十五年三月十九日

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ルコト、竝ニ右ガ下記名稱ノ省又ハ部局ノ公式書類
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