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ISSUED BY THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT,
BY COMBINED PERSONNEL OF UNITED STATES AND BRITISH SERVICES
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P A C M I R S

W A R C R I M E S

I N F O R M A T I O N S E R I E S

No 12

15 Mar 1946

Speeches by Prominent Japanese on the Greater East Asia War

ISSUED BY THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT,
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S U M M A R Y O F C O N T E N T S

Speeches by Prominent Japanese on the Greater East Asia War (PACHIRS Project 518 - Part 2)

Three inflammatory speeches, delivered by Japanese militarists shortly before Pearl Harbor, appear here in summarized form. They are offered as war-guilt evidence against the three men.

The first speech is by NAKANO Seigo, president of the jingoistic Eastern Society (TOHOKAI). He berates Japanese politicians for "truckling to England and America" and failing "to follow the lead of the Army and back it to the full in carrying out national aims". He repeats a 1940 recommendation that Japan capitalize on the war by seizing the Dutch East Indies, and further advocates taking over the foreign settlements in Shanghai and blockading the entire coast of China.

In the second speech, Colonel HABUCHI Itsuo, publicity chief of Imperial General Headquarters, says that Japan is the victim of an economic blockade by the Americans, British, Chinese and Dutch. He calls upon the people to rise up in arms and "end this encroachment once and for all".

The theme of Anglo-American-Dutch encirclement is also stressed in the third speech, by Rear Admiral SOSA Tanetsugu, permanent director of the Asiatic Development League. At the same time he says that the United States secretly aims to take over British possessions and control the Pacific after the defeat of Britain by Germany. He analyzes the strategic and tactical situation and concludes that Japan will win if war comes. "Our navy has completed all necessary preparations," he says, "and is ready for action at a minute's notice. If it appears that hostilities are about to begin, the navy is undoubtedly prepared to strike first and inflict great damage upon the enemy."

This completes PACHIRS Special Project 518 on speeches and articles by Japanese militarists. The first part was published as PACHIRS War Crimes Information Series No 3, 7 December 1945.

Pages 1 through 16

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PACMIRS SPECIAL PROJECT 518

(Part 2)

SPEECHES BY PROMINENT JAPANESE

ON THE GREATER EAST ASIA WAR

Editor's Note

The three speeches which follow were taken from copies of a Japanese magazine called "Public Speeches". These are condensations rather than complete translations, since the original speeches contained much repetitious and irrelevant material. Some important passages have been translated in full. Such extracts are set off in quotation marks.

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I. "THE POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR JAPAN IN A CRISIS"

A speech by NAKANO Seigo, president of the Eastern Society (TOHOKAI). Delivered at Japan Young Men's Hall, 25 Mar 1941. Printed in "Public Speeches", Vol 503, 20 Apr 1941.

(TN: The speaker opens by telling why he left the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and giving reasons for its failure as a strong political party)

A. What Were Prince KONOYE's Original Intentions?

The TOHOKAI Party originally joined the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in response to Premier Prince KONOYE's plea for unified political support to meet the emergency and bring about a harmonious relationship between the military and the government. The only way to attain this end is for the government to follow the lead of the Army and back it to the full in carrying out national aims. The professional politicians, by reason of their lack of knowledge of changing domestic and international problems and their interest in maintaining the status quo, are forgetting their leadership. By truckling to England and America they are selling out their country for their own selfish interests.

The bureaucratic government, as the instigator of a national policy, has ended in failure because of the inability of the bureaucrats to recognize and cope with changes and inconsistencies in established procedures, systems and organizations. A bureaucratic government cannot be expected to take the initiative in coping with emergencies. Its ignorance of conditions in general, and its failure to give due consideration to the peculiarities and national traditions of the Japanese contributed further to the lack of unity between the government and the military.

B. The Significance and Mission of a Patriotic Organization

The people of Japan should be unified under one patriotic organization, with none of the class or rank distinction which characterizes a bureaucratic form of government. If clear decisions are placed before the people, and hope and understanding offered for sacrifice and effort, not through a show of power and authority from above but through a common bond of mutual self-sacrifice, the people will rise and follow. In this respect, the TOHOKAI has the support of the people more than any other political party.

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Prince KONOYE, recognizing this need, undertook the formation of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, but this organization failed to function as a strong political party because of its mixed membership group whose political views are at variance.

C. A Foreign Policy of Words Without Action

Premier KONOYE's first and second cabinets, which signed the Tri-Partite Axis Agreement and announced the establishment of a New Order in East Asia and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, did not carry out the aims of these movements. In other words these movements simply exist on paper, without any practical application. If the TOHOKAI party were in power it would carry out a policy by which Japan could expand and establish herself as a self-supporting nation.

"Gentlemen, you probably remember my statement during the spring of last year, when I foresaw the development of the war and strongly urged that the Dutch East Indies should be taken then. If we had taken the Dutch East Indies during May and June of last year, when Germany invaded Belgium, Holland and northern France, we would have been in a position to tell America, 'We have enough oil here in the Dutch East Indies. We are now self-sufficient; go ahead and bring economic pressure upon us. But remember, we are now in a position to cut off your vitally necessary tin and rubber. We are not afraid of your threat of economic blockade. If you are not careful we, rather than you, will carry out a blockade. Reconsider your position. You must suffer the consequences if your support of England is not restrained.'"

D. Efforts of the American Reporter, Byas, to Alienate Japan, Italy and Germany

British and American reporters, diplomats, financiers, critics and missionaries are organizers of a fifth column which works among the upper classes of the Japanese people. Hugh Byas, Tokyo correspondent of the New York Times, is considered one of the most prominent organizers. His dispatch to the New York Times under the heading of "Japan Has No Intention of Going to War for Her Partners" is a slanderous report. In this report, Byas claims that the Tri-Partite Pact was concluded because the destiny of England seemed to be hanging in the balance, and that if Japan desired to avoid war with America--a war which Foreign Minister Matsuoka feared would end in the destruction of civilization--she should study the war declaration clause of the Tri-Partite Pact for the answer.

Byas explains that the clause is not airtight and can be interpreted by Japan in such a way that she would not have to declare war on America even though America did declare war on Germany. The true character of the Japanese, according to Byas, is exemplified by the native conserva-

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The foreign settlements in Shanghai should be taken over and the entire coast of China should be blockaded.

F. The Strategic Reasons Behind America's Firm Attitude Towards Japan

It is a matter of attacking or being attacked. If America should attack across the Pacific, she would have to cut through the Japanese mandated islands, whose defenses make them a veritable Siegfried Line stretched across the ocean. These 600-odd islands could base submarines and airplanes and destroyers. In addition, the Japanese Navy would remain on hand. A large American fleet would virtually be swallowed and digested by these islands before it could push through.

The southern expansion of Japan is justified by British and American policies in the South Pacific and by the extensive military preparations being carried on in their possessions in the South Pacific.

G. The Impregnable British-American Positions Are Almost Completed

The British and Americans are spreading false propaganda among the 70,000,000 Indonesians to the effect that the Japanese are cruel and ruthless and that they are being defeated in China. The British and Americans are strengthening their defenses in the South Sea Islands and reinforcing these islands with hundreds of planes, submarines and tanks, thus gradually tightening their military might around the Southwest Pacific Islands. When these islands are completely fortified it will be very difficult for Japan to attack and capture them. The United States will be in a position to enforce her economic blockade.

H. We Will Not Permit the British and Americans to Seize the Dutch East Indies

Japan must not permit Britain and America to seize the riches of the Dutch East Indies. The 8,000,000 tons of yearly production of oil in the Indies is quite adequate to meet the needs of Japan. Japan must attack first before Britain and America are able to solidify their defenses in the South Seas.

The Dutch are asserting that they will burn the oilfields before they are seized, but according to a certain traveller who has been in that region, they are burying these oil wells. If this is so, the oil wells will be ours as soon as we land. America and Britain are dominating the Dutch East Indies by economic and political pressure. We must clearly indicate to Britain and America that Japan will not tolerate any change in the status quo of the Dutch East Indies.

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I. The General Who Worries about Attacks from Both Flanks is a Defeatist

When Japan begins her expansion to the south, Russia will not attack because of the threat of Hitler on the western front. It is not absolutely necessary for Japan to conclude a non-aggression pact with Russia. Japan has her finest army equipped with the most modern arms on the Russo-Manchurian border. Therefore, appeasement of Russia should be discontinued.

Japan must concentrate her energies on the accomplishment of her objectives in the south and stop fearing an attack from the Russians. Otherwise she will not succeed in her aims.

If Britain, America and Russia should attack simultaneously, Japan would have no hope of winning. However, in view of such factors as distance and difficulty in transportation, this seems most unlikely. Therefore, Japan must seize this opportunity to consolidate her position firmly in the Pacific with the Dutch East Indies as her ultimate goal.

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II. "THE WAR ROLE OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE"

A speech by Colonel MABUCHI Itsuo, chief of the Army Information Department, Imperial General Headquarters. Delivered at KANDA Public Auditorium, 1 Sep 1941. Printed in "Public Speeches", Vol 518, 20 Sep 1941.

TN: The speaker deals with the current international situation and Japan's predicament.

The question of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere is a matter of life and death for Japan. The ABCD powers have an alliance which is tightening the ring of economic blockade around Japan with the deliberate intention of interfering with her peace and well-being. A peaceful solution can be only a temporary measure when the occidental powers are determined to destroy Japan.

On several historical occasions, the entire Japanese nation has risen to defend its shores against foreign invasion. The people must now unite and rise to end this encroachment once and for all.

"If there is no way to settle the difficulties with these countries by peaceful diplomatic negotiation, we must appeal to force of arms to break through the anti-Japanese blockade and accomplish the objectives of the Sacred War. The problem must be solved once and for all. Since this war is the last and the only means left for the Empire to preserve its existence, we must fight to the last man under enemy fire even if the war turns into a long, arduous and severe one, and the land turns into ashes. We must preserve and protect our nation, and enable its glorious history to be handed down through the ages. The breaking of the anti-Japanese blockade is the only way we can crush the powers that lie behind the anti-Japanese elements in China. This is the only way we can bring to a successful conclusion the China Incident, which has lasted so long. On this foundation, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere can be firmly established."

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III. "ANTI-JAPANESE ENCIRCLEMENT AND THE REMOVAL
OF THE CANCER OF THE PACIFIC"

A speech by Rear Admiral SOSA Tanetsugu,
permanent director of the Asiatic Development League. Delivered at the MARUNOUCHI Building, 25 Sep 1941. Printed in "Public Speeches", Vol 522, 30 Sep 1941.

A. The Encirclement of Japan by the ABCD Powers, and
Its Historical Background

Encirclement of Japan by the ABCD powers is an actual fact. Witness the following statement by (US) Secretary of State Hull at a press conference:

'If Japan had not carried out her policy of southward expansion, anti-Japanese encirclement would not have been put into force. Because Japan is expanding southward, anti-Japanese encirclement by the ABCD powers has been carried out. We were forced to take this action.'

The cause activating this encirclement is the cancer of the Pacific. This Pacific problem has an old, old story behind it. Oppression of Japan has been advocated in the United States as far back as Theodore Roosevelt's administration. It has since become the traditional foreign policy of America. The motive for such a foreign policy is clearly expressed in the following statement made by Theodore Roosevelt: 'Supremacy in the Pacific will make America great in the future.'

In order to realize this ambition, the United States has sought to bring Japan within her sphere of influence, or to place Japan under her power. From this policy comes the conflict between the United States of America and Japan, and the storm brewing over the Pacific. In other words, America's utilitarian interests and her dollar-imperialism constitute the cancer of the Pacific. Be it in the Manchurian Incident or in the present incident, this American foreign policy is an underlying factor creating uneasiness in the Pacific.

If the United States would adhere to the Monroe Doctrine, there would be peace and quiet over the Pacific. America observes the Monroe Doctrine within her own domain in order to wipe out all foreign intervention. In the Pacific, however, she adopts an aggressive policy, and demands an open door, equality of opportunity and so on as a means of extending her own power. This is the inconsistency in American foreign policy, and this inconsistency is the root of all troubles in the Far East. It is the cancer of the Pacific.

America is a great country bounded by both the Pacific and the Atlantic. She has limitless natural resources which insure her self-sufficiency. To add to this advantage, there is no strong nation in her orbit. All the major

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powers of the world are located across either the Atlantic or the Pacific Oceans. Consequently she faces no threat to her national defense. In spite of this, the United States is enlarging her navy with the hope of making it the largest in the world. This one fact indicates clearly her ambition to control the Pacific, and to push her program by armed force. America is, indeed, eyeing both the Pacific and the Far East in her foreign and naval expansionist policy.

B. America's Aid to Britain and Her Plan of Operation in the Pacific

Now, what did America think about the situation? The defeat of England is inevitable. Then what is the use of aiding her? These were the thoughts that ran through the minds of many of America's intellectuals. In spite of such public opinion, the Roosevelt Administration passed the Lend-Lease Act to aid England to the limit.

America also thought that if Great Britain was to follow a one-way highway to destruction, all her colonies and possessions in the Far East must necessarily follow the same course. America believes that she is the natural heir to the vast riches of the British estate. Therefore, outwardly America talks about aiding Great Britain, but actually her efforts are directed toward taking over British interests. This is apparent in the fact that America has now replaced Britain in aiding Chiang Kai Shek to continue the war of attrition against Japan. Furthermore, she has gathered up materials vital to Japan in carrying on her war, such as oil, rubber and tin, and she refuses to supply Japan these items.

America deliberated that by aiding England and by keeping strategic war materials from Japan, she would get bases in the Pacific in return. Consequently, America passed the Lend-Lease Act to send material aid to England without regard to price. But in return, it appears that America proposed that England offer her Far Eastern colonies and islands to America to be used as bases in the Pacific. I said that "it appears", but such a proposition was in fact made by the United States. Britain, driven by necessity, agreed and permitted the American fleet to use her island possessions in the Far East--Singapore, Australia, New Guinea, New Zealand and other defense bases--and promised to cooperate with the United States in operations.

America's position in the Pacific had now become very advantageous and her naval policy to suppress Japan was finally completed. Thereafter, America adopted a more dominant and aggressive attitude in her policy towards Japan.

C. Joint Anglo-American Operations in the Pacific

As you know, the Pacific Ocean is very wide, making it very difficult to carry out an operation. Even prior to this

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time, intensive research had been carried out to find a way to crush Japan. A northern route to Japan through construction of naval and air bases in Alaska and the Aleutians had been proposed, and also another route by way of Midway, Wake, Guam, and the Philippines, with air bases on these islands and with Hawaii as the advance base. The fleet would advance under air cover provided by these bases. Such study and research had been carried on for over 10 years at the Naval College in the United States. Admiral Pratt, Chief of Naval Operations; advanced the so-called "circular formation" plan, designed to advance the Navy close to Japan's shores without injury to the bulk of her fleet, and to challenge the Japanese Navy to a decisive battle at one stroke. The "circular formation" is a very strong formation of fleet units, with the capital ships in the center surrounded by cruisers, destroyers, etc. It is designed so that the battleships in the center of the formation will come through without a scratch and carry the battle to our shores, even if the fleet is attacked by our submarines or destroyers.

However, all these plans were rendered ineffective by the abrogation of the Washington and London Disarmament Treaties, which made it possible for Japan to arm and fortify her South Pacific mandates without hesitation. The Japanese mandates in the South Pacific cover a vast area, stretching over 1,200 miles north and southland 2,500 miles east and west, in which there are countless islands. Most of the islands are, of course, small, but there are some with large bays offering excellent anchorages for a large fleet. Therefore, all the cruisers, destroyers, and submarines needed in the area can be harbored in these bays. To bolster defenses, air bases can be constructed on these islands. If the American fleet should decide to come across the Pacific, it will be immediately subjected to a flank attack by our submarines and air-raiding units based on these islands. This makes it extremely dangerous for the US Fleet to approach Japan even with the "circular formation". Therefore, no matter how formidable a fleet the United States is able to build, she will not be able to touch the Japanese fleet. This is a source of anxiety for America.

Because of the unfavorable situation in Europe, America was able to obtain the use of bases on British possessions in the Far East and in the South Pacific. The US Fleet could now proceed to the bases in Australia through the southern route outside the danger area, and thence to the bastion of Singapore by passing through East Indies waters. At Singapore, Great Britain has a naval base big enough to accommodate a large fleet. There, ships can be repaired and supplied. If the American Fleet can be advanced this far, then the United States can use the Philippines as the forward base and throw a long-range economic blockade around Japan. If Japan can be effectively blockaded, she will be gradually weakened. Then, America can prepare to push gradually northward and send her fleet safely into our home waters to challenge the Japanese fleet.

In the final analysis, control of the bases in the Pacific means control of the Pacific itself. At any rate, without bases it is impossible to come 6,000 miles across the Pacific. If there are no naval bases to return to for repairs, damaged ships may be sunk on the way to home ports.

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D. Strategic Analysis of the ABCD Encirclement of Japan

Before launching a military operation, it was necessary for America to throw Japan into an economic dilemma. The best way to do so was to control the resources of the tropical zone and keep them from Japan. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to bring the Dutch East Indies under the sphere of American influence.

The Dutch East Indies was never strong enough to defend herself against military might. Previously she had depended upon the British Navy for national defense. However, in this great war most of the British Navy was called back for the defense of England proper, so that Singapore was left almost empty. The Dutch East Indies, therefore, could no longer depend upon England. She had either to defend her domain with her own Navy or depend upon some other strong navy. It was only natural that she looked to America for help. Under the circumstances, the Dutch East Indies would comply with anything England or America might request. Anglo-American power was now completely established in the Southwest Pacific. The most strategically invulnerable seas in the Dutch East Indies were under the control of the Anglo-American powers, and so were such resources as rubber, oil, tin and non-ferrous metal.

Now the A, B and D powers had banded into one camp, and any great American fleet movement from Hawaii to Singapore along the chain of islands belonging to England and the Dutch East Indies could be carried out without danger from Japan. Nothing could be more advantageous to the United States. She could maintain liaison with the Philippine Islands, making the entire area an Anglo-American line of strategic bases.

This placed America in an ideal situation to deal with Japan economically or militarily. Still, America and England were not satisfied. To complete their program of encroachment upon Japan, Chiang Kai Shek of China must be included in their coalition to destroy Japanese flesh and blood with the flesh and blood of the Chinese army. A policy of positive aid to Chiang Kai Shek was agreed upon to re-equip and rebuild the Chinese army and air force to deliver a great blow to the Japanese Army.

In this way Japan would be blockaded by the Anglo-American Navy on the sea and attacked by Chiang's rejuvenated army on land. This situation would place Japan in a very difficult position militarily and economically. For this reason America and England decided to bring China into the anti-Japanese encirclement and to complete the ABCD coalition.

E. The Anti-Japanese Encirclement and Japan's Strategic Position

Now that Japan is encircled on all sides, it may appear that she is in an impossible predicament, but actually she is not at the end of her tether. This so-called ABCD anti-Japanese

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Encirclement has certain weaknesses. If we have strong bases from which to take an offensive stand, this encirclement is nothing to fear. One strong point which assures us of our position is that we have entered into a joint defense entente with French Indo-China. Up till now, both Singapore and the Netherland East Indies have been 3,000 miles away from us, but when our forces enter French Indo-China this distance will become less than 600 miles. Japan holds air and sea superiority all along the Chinese coast from Japan to the South China Sea, and between lie our fortresses of Formosa, Hainan and the Paracel Islands. The Japanese Fleet has brought the flag of the Rising Sun as far as Camranh Bay. Therefore, should a war break out between England and Japan, the Japanese Air Force can fly to Singapore with ease and the whole of the South Pacific can also be brought within range of our bombers from Formosa and Hainan. Thus, our strategic position is such that Japan is able to cut through this encirclement.

A French strategist once said that no amount of maneuvering on the part of America can endanger the strategic position of Japan. If Japan is able to obtain Hainan and the Paracel Islands and extend her power over French Indo-China by basing her navy and air force in Camranh Bay and Saigon, the whole of the South Pacific, including the Netherland East Indies, Singapore and the Philippines, will be brought within the operational range of the Japanese forces. The ABCD Encirclement will be shattered. This comment is quite correct, and the situation is exactly as he explained. Such a situation makes it very difficult if not impossible for America to bring her great naval fleet into Singapore.

Again there was an article in the Manila magazine, "Graphic" warning of the danger to Singapore. The article states that in the past Gibraltar determined the fate of England, but today, it is Singapore that determines the fate of the empire. However, (the article says), Singapore has one great weakness. Although she cannot be attacked from the sea, she is extremely vulnerable in an attack from the rear. Once the enemy (the article did not say Japan, but obviously that is what it meant) put ashore a large force on the Malay Peninsula from the Bay of Siam, there would be only 120 kilometers between the enemy and Singapore. If the enemy succeeded in this landing operation, the rear flank of Singapore would immediately be placed within the enemy's range of attack. If that failed, the enemy could still land his troops in the vicinity of the railroad terminal. This would place the enemy at a greater distance from Singapore, but the enemy could follow the railroad along the coast. Even in this way it would not be so difficult for him to attack Singapore. If the enemy should take either of these two courses of action Singapore would be in great danger. England must take immediate steps for the defense of Singapore. This is a warning made by an American, and as such it carries more weight than a statement made by a Japanese.

Therefore, if hostilities should start, we need not make a landing by force in the face of the enemy, but can strike

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at the rear of Singapore. By that time most of the installations at Singapore--docks, oil depots, warehouses and other facilities--would be destroyed by bombs dropped by our air force. Should Singapore, the nucleus of the ABCD entente, be subjected to an attack, the entire framework would collapse.

When this happens, the ABCD Encirclement will be shattered and have no value whatever. Both the Philippines and Australia would be isolated, and Hongkong would be as good as lost. The Burma Route would be completely cut off. Chiang Kai Shek would be isolated, and a determined attack by the Japanese would bring him to his knees. So, if Singapore falls, the ABCD Encirclement will be completely destroyed.

F. The Anti-Japanese Economic Blockade and Strategic Value of the Southern Sphere

However, if it does not come to open warfare and the ABCD powers encroach upon Japan economically, cutting off supplies of oil, tin, rubber, copper and iron from the Dutch East Indies, Japan will indeed be placed in a grave situation. Fortunately French Indo-China and Thailand are cooperating with Japan, so that the food problem is solved. Even if the rice crop does fail in Japan, rice can be obtained from Thailand and Saigon. Rubber production in Thailand and French Indo-China is still in its early stages, but sufficient quantity is already produced there to fill Japan's needs. Since Thailand is the center of tin production Japan will have a plentiful supply. Therefore, if Japan can have Thailand and French Indo-China to cooperate with her, she will become self-sufficient in all necessary resources except oil. Cobalt must still be imported from America, and copper from Canada, but for those items and for nickel and mica some form of substitute can be used. Oil is all that is lacking.

For the time being oil needs can be met with synthetic oil, oil from Sakhalin or the use of oil in storage, but this supply will not last long. At the present time some oil is being imported from blank but if this source is cut off, Japan must find some other way to supply not only herself but also Thailand and French Indo-China. If the oil supply can be assured, Japan need not worry about a prolonged economic siege.

If war should break out, Japan could take advantage of her strategic position, as previously explained, and bring Singapore and the Dutch East Indies within her sphere, thus solving the oil problem. As for the Burma Road, we can bomb the bridges from bases in French Indo-China, but American engineers immediately construct temporary bridges and send trucks over in no time. Some way must be found to block the route completely.

At the present time, England is very much distressed over the question of Burmese independence. The Burmese people hope fervently for independence. It is still not too

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long since they were brought under the protection of England and they still remember when they were their own masters. The rising new generation is full of spirit and clamoring for independence. They lack only weapons and a strong leader. That is why the Burmese cannot institute a movement for independence just yet. If we take a stand to aid the Burmese, it will turn into a great struggle for liberty, and the Burmese may be able to obtain complete freedom. Once the Burmese gain their independence, it will affect the people in India, and may lead to the destruction of the British colonial empire. Consequently, England is very concerned about the Burmese question. From our standpoint it is a righteous war to free the Asiatics from the bondage of slavery.

G. If a Storm Should Break Over the Pacific

We can now see that the ABCD Encirclement alone is not sufficient to bring Japan to her knees. There are many ways in which Japan can break through such an encirclement. Once war is declared, the American navy cannot approach Japanese waters and the war will necessarily be prolonged. In a long war of attrition both sides are constantly poised to strike, but do not seek to fight a decisive battle. To seek a decisive battle, the American navy must enter Japanese waters. However, with the navy that America now has, it is impossible for her to send her main fleet to Japan because of our naval task forces. At the time of the Manchurian Incident Admiral Pratt said that the American navy could not win against the Japanese Navy. Today the ratio between the Japanese and American navies is even more advantageous to the Japanese. Therefore, it is absolutely impossible for the American navy to cross the Pacific and attack us. It is my opinion that warfare between Japan and the United States will eventually end with a war of attrition, guerrilla warfare, and the destruction of trade and commerce.

Now the question is, who will succumb first, America or Japan? I believe that America will be the first to crumble. From the economic standpoint, America is not in the best of shape. If the war is to continue for two or three years, this situation will become much worse. Taxes will increase and social conditions will turn from bad to worse. In this lies the weakness of the American structure. There will be riots, strikes, sabotage and even a Communistic uprising. The various states adhere to their own local policies and at the present time Texas and other southern states are harboring ill feeling towards the Roosevelt administration. The Roosevelt administration will not sell cotton to Japan, and now the South has no buyers for the cotton it produces. The government buys up certain quantities of it and then, declaring that there is a surplus, burns it up.

Again, the United States is calling upon the South American countries to stop their trading with Japan. The United States is striving to organize an economic bloc, including all of the North and South American nations. The South American

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countries are said to be opposed to this. South America is composed of agricultural countries. It markets its agricultural products in Europe and buys machinery and industrial articles from America. However, the United States of America is attempting to prevent the South American countries from selling anything either to Europe or Japan, and proposes to buy up everything itself.

The United States of America is a manufacturing as well as an agricultural country. She produces a large quantity of agricultural products, and consequently she will not be able to buy all that South America has to sell. The trade situation between North and South America would then become very strained, and would eventually lead to a depression in the South American countries. To prevent this, the United States must do what she did for Texas and buy up South American products and either throw them into the ocean or burn them. Such a policy will lead America into an economic crisis.

Under the circumstances, it is very difficult for America to support England in her war against Germany, help Russia in the East, send aid to Chiang Kai Shek and launch a vast rearmament program on top of that. America will be fighting a global war singlehanded, and, no matter how great a nation she is, she cannot possibly hope to continue for long. On top of all this, if America is to join in the actual warfare, it would be a more difficult task for America to defray all the expenses. The war budget is ten times that of Japan. No matter how rich she may be, it will not be an easy matter, for there will be internal dissension and social instability. It will be America who will succumb first.

H. The Future of Japan

Under such circumstances, no matter how much we lack in materials, we must unite as one and strive for the establishment of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. In due course, America will go down on her knees, sue for peace and ask to go hand in hand with the Axis powers. I believe firmly that this is the correct analysis of the situation.

If Germany takes the Ukraine and occupies the Caucasus, the food and oil problem of Europe will automatically be solved. The New Order will be established in Europe, just as the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere will be established in the Far East. America will lose all her markets in Europe and in the Far East, and will have no outlet for her products. She will have overproduction, and her economic position will deteriorate rapidly. For these reasons, we have nothing to fear in a prolonged war of attrition.

Of course, we must expect some air attacks on Japan and submarine attacks within our home waters, but we will not lose the war because of these attacks.

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Recently, there seems to be an air raid scare among the Japanese people. There is nothing to fear. London is subjected to severe air attacks almost daily by the German air force. So far, there is not a complaint from the residents of London. We hold complete air supremacy over the skies of Japan. Some enemy planes may penetrate through our network of aerial defense, but they will not be able to do much harm. Even if we do suppose that some American planes attack us from bases in Kamchatka, we can attack them too. We have nothing to fear even if America joins with Russia and obtains bases along the Siberian coast and in Kamchatka. It is certain that if we take them by surprise first, there is nothing to fear from enemy air raids. I am certain that our air force is not inferior to that of America under any circumstances.

Our navy also has completed all the necessary preparations and is ready for action at a minute's notice. If it appears that hostilities are about to begin, the navy is undoubtedly prepared to strike first and inflict great damage upon the enemy.

Therefore, in the final analysis Japan need not worry about whether there will be war or no war. Japan holds the key to war or peace. The Japanese people have nothing to fear. They must go about their daily tasks and work only towards the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

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SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

Includes following Subjects, taken from captured Japanese documents:

Doc. No. 2425

Issue No. 1, Philippine PW Internment Camp Reports.

Doc. No. 2426

Issue No. 2; Roster 14th Army Military Police Unit.

Doc. No. 2427

Issue No. 3, Articles by Prominent Japanese on the Greater East Asia War. Nationalistic, hate-preaching articles by NAKANO, SAITO, and SHIRATORI, Toshio, latter of whom hails Japanese as super-race, foresees even AXIS under their domination. (Magazine GENDAI, June 42)

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Issue No. 4, Combat Reports: Third Phase of Philippine Mopping-up Operations. (1943) Covers PANAY-CEBU Area.

Doc. No. 2429

Issue No. 5, The Philippine Press and Government in March 1942. Estimates of leading Philippine personalities.

Doc. No. 2430

Issue No. 6, (a) Field Military Police Duties and Problems. (b) Names of Japanese MP's in Philippines.

Doc. No. 2431

Issue No. 7, Philippine Officials.

Doc. No. 2432

Issue No. 8, Report on Activities of Indians living in the Philippines.

Doc. No. 2433

Issue No. 9, Medical Records, MUKDEN, Prisoner of War Camp.

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Issue No. 10, Japanese Nationalistic Organizations.

Doc. No. 2435

Issue No. 11, Deaths of Allied PWs in MUKDEN Prison Camp.

Doc. No. 2436

Issue No. 12, Speeches by Prominent Japanese on OFA War, (No. II). Jingoistic speeches immediately preceding Pearl Harbor by NAKANO, Seigo; Col. MABUCHI, Itsuo, publicity chief of Imperial General Hq, and Adm. SOSA, Tanetsugu.

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Issue No. 13, Records of Japanese Courts-Martial proceedings, (16th Army, Java Trials 1943 - Sep 1945). Two years imprisonment for murder of Swiss.

Doc. No. 2438

Issue No. 14, List of Japanese MPs in the HANKOW area.

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Issue No. 15, Victims of Japanese Military Courts in Java.

Doc. No. 2440

Issue No. 16, MP Organization, BURMA.

Doc. No. 2441

Issue no. 17, Roster of Personnel of Philippine Police Force.

Doc. No. 2442

Issue No. 18, Japanese Military and Civilian Personnel at MUKDEN PW Camp.

Doc. No. 2443

Issue No. 19, Japanese Staff and Allied Internees at CANTON, CHINA Internment Camp.

Doc. No. 2444

Issue No. 20, Japanese Courts Martial Proceedings in Java.

Doc. No. 2445

Weekly accession List, No. 28 of 8 July 46.

Analyst: W.H.Wagner

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