

Doc. 3239 Evid.

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IPS Doc. 3239-A

P. 299

13 Feb '41

Japan's Position as Regards a Southward
Advance.

Arrival of a Heroic Age.

This is a meeting for cherishing our memory of Prof. Sugiura. Being a meeting when we ought rather to pass the time peacefully in listening to each other's reminiscences /T.N. of the Professor/ as there are many present here who are engaged in works connected with Prof. SUGIURA. I am, as a matter of fact, somewhat doubtful as to whether it would be befitting to talk on current topics. However, as we are facing a most critical situation today, both internally and externally, as was already stated in the previous speech, and as it is a time when problems dealing with the present situation immediately become the topic of conversation even when three or five persons meet together, I think it would be in order for me to speak a little about what I think as requested.

We were all instructed by Prof. SUGIURA about forty years ago. If we remember correctly, the idea of the popular present-day term "HAKKO ICHIU", that is, we must make the Japanese Emperor the Emperor of the world, which is the mission of the Japanese /p. 300/ people seems to have been the nucleus of his teachings to us. I consider myself very fortunate to have been taught in that way when I was young and susceptible and have been greatly thankful for it ever since.

Now is the time when such an ideal like that of Japan's "Hakko Ichiu" is about to make gigantic strides towards its realization.

It is true that Japan is now confronted with an extremely grave situation both at home and abroad -- generally said to be the greatest national crisis ever since the founding of the Empire, and we cannot deny, of course, that there may be a great danger if we should take a step amiss at this time when the sons of YAMATO are about to take a bold leap. However, I can by no means agree with the opinion that merely says that this is Japan's time of national crisis and that Japan is now facing a very dangerous time. I believe that Japan is now actually facing the most favorable opportunity and the fittest time ever since the founding of the country for making a great leap as long as her people hold themselves firm and steady.

The things which her people fear most are that, after all, the national power has weakened as a result of the continuance of the China Incident for three and a half years, added to /p. 301/ which the relations with the foreign powers are extremely delicate, and we may next have to wage war against Britain and the United States after the fighting in China, apart from the fact that Russia, too, cannot be relied upon. In a word, they think that the shortage of commodities within the country and the great weakening of the national power owing to the war, together with the delicate foreign relations -- these two factors combined make Japan appear to them as being confronted with a grave crisis. Though I think that we ought not

to be too optimistic, on considering matters calmly, I have come to the conclusion that we need not necessarily feel apprehensive if we study minutely the conditions of other countries of the world and compare them with Japan.

Everyone speaks of the impoverished conditions of national power in Japan, but I wonder in what point she has become weakened and what actually troubled her most after continuing on with the China Incident for 3½ years. First of all comes the question that Japan has lost her gold. Japan, indeed, once possessed a little gold, all of which has gone out. Moreover, the national debt has increased considerably. To my great regret, I do not remember precise figures, but I am told that the national debt has increased by ten or twenty billion yen. The national finance is made of deficit bonds year after year, and we cannot make both ends meet. Further, we cannot easily buy commodities, as the various resources and materials are becoming short. Even rice, the staple food of the people, is becoming short. Foodstuff have become scarce. One million Japanese troops are still going through hardships overseas. There is no foretelling when they may end. Materials are becoming more and more needy. Nevertheless, the expansion of production cannot be so easily carried out as hoped for. Discontent prevails within the nation. Signs of fatigue have become visible on the people's faces. Some people are becoming thrown out of work. The above are the various instances that can be mentioned. I also cannot say that the present-

day internal conditions of Japan, financially and politically, are by any means satisfactory. I think, however, it all depends upon the wrong way of doing things. As they are the doings of mankind, ought matters not to become improved even from tomorrow by carrying out a reform at once? This results from the wrong way in which we have hitherto been administering the affairs of the state. If the people want to change same, it all depends upon their resolution. If they say that they cannot do so at all any more, they can well be styled as victims of defeatism or fatalism. It is contrary to the fact, from one point of view, that the national power in Japan has become exhausted. For instance, there is no more gold in Japan. It, however, has not disappeared in vain. The reason why gold is no longer found in Japan is that the greater part of it has gone to America. We, however, have not given an ounce of gold to America for nothing. We have always gotten something in exchange. Some of the said articles may have been exhausted on the battlefields in China, but most of them have changed into other materials for building the power of Japan. These materials have become transformed into various production equipment as weapons and the like. It is a shallow view of thinking to say that you have become poor, as you have no longer any money. Then, you are a slave to the view of "gold" in the past. Contrary to the above, many materials remain now, thereby constituting the real power of Japan. The great increase in debt, as viewed from the nation's finances, may cause apprehension as regards whether the nation would not be experiencing a hard time financially hereafter. It, however, does not mean that the nation owes foreign

countries any money. The government's finances may indicate a "minus", but the people are enjoying a "plus". After all, an increase in the government bonds is, as it were, the same as the parents owing their children some money. From the children's standpoint, their deposits have increased. Therefore, to say that this implies that the national power of Japan has become weakened represents the liberal and individualistic mode of thinking of the Occident. Japan is a state formed by a large family. If you look upon the Emperor as your "great parent" and consider all fellow-nationals as brethren, the increase in the debt is simply a financial technical affair. Radically speaking, things may be said to have only become slightly difficult as regards conducting finances according to past methods.

/P. 304/ As for the articles actually consumed in the Chinese battlefield, were they then of absolutely no use? Or, in other words, were they completely wasted? The fact is not so. The fact that Japan has been fighting with China at a great sacrifice during these last three years may have brought about a decrease in visible things, but, on the other hand, invisible forces have increased doubly or trebly. At the outbreak of the Incident, foreigners estimated Japan's national strength by her national income, production amount and tax revenue of our country, and basing their calculations by their own standards, said that Japan would have to give in within one year or a half year at the most. But after 3½ years of fighting, Japan has not gone bankrupt as they had been hoping.

/P. 305/ They are astounded at the great invisible strength of Japan. The mere fact that Japan was able to display her real strength which foreigners could not conceive, constitutes in itself a great harvest, but how much self confidence were the Japanese able to acquire thereby? If there had been no emergency for the past ten years since the Manchurian Incident, especially of the last 3 years, the Japanese people who had been poisoned by Liberalism for so many years would doubtlessly have degenerated spiritually still further. The fact that the 100,000,000 Japanese are saying that they will unite conjointly as one body and practise the way of subjects /T.N. fidelity or loyalty/ and have become awakened to our national polity, represents in any case the result of the considerable endurance and sacrifices that we have suffered in the past several years. Without these, I think that we could not have attained the present-day spiritual elevation of the people. Especially the greatest fruit of the Incident is the following fact. Up to now Japan could not sustain herself without relying upon Britain and America. We have been bringing materials from America or British colonies and labored hard on these materials. And, even then we do not use these products for our own sake, but have been having other countries buy same from us. Again we obtained raw materials from these compensations. In this manner the same procedure has been continuously repeated. In a sense, the Japanese people were the same as laborers employed by Britain and America. We had to have them buy from, or sell to them.

We could not lift our heads up in any direction. This was the real state of Japan up to now. /P. 306/ Putting things pointedly, Japan was, in a sense not an independent country. But we have fought for three years in the Chinese Incident. As this is Holy War, the Japanese people have been fighting with great resolution in order to carry out the war at any cost. Against this, Britain and America have been laying obstacles in everything. Their hostility penetrated through the marrow of the bones of our people. By this our people finally came to understand that it was wrong to rely upon Britain and America. If there had not been such hostility displayed by Britain and America towards Japan throughout the 3½ years of fighting, we might possibly not have attained this great resolution to form a new world order in cooperation with Germany and Italy against Britain and America. Our endeavors and sacrifices in the China Incident were necessary at any rate for this great start. Viewed in that light, our sacrifices extending for 3½ years were by no means in vain. The strength, money, and materials that we have spent to this day were not in vain at all, but we can say that some were used for some purpose. Needless to say, we have lost hundreds and thousands of precious lives. This is a loss which we cannot recompense eternally. If there was any true loss in the China Incident, I think that it would be the hundreds and thousands of noble lives that were sacrificed. But these spirits of the war dead were most precious sacrifices for the sake of His Imperial Majesty, and viewed from the results obtained so far, they have been duly and

well compensated. As they have become the stepping-stones and human sacrifices by which Japan will take further bold leaps, they are precious sacrifices not in the least inferior as compared with the spirits of those who died for their country during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars.

On viewing matters in this way, I cannot admit unconditionally that Japan has become enfeebled by the Incident.

On account of the unexpected protraction of the Incident, there are some people who are more or less dispirited and even asserting that we have made a mess of the Incident and that the Incident was a failure.

I think that this is a gross mistake. Indeed, if we think that a war is unsuccessful unless Japan gains some visible advantage such as annexing territory or claiming indemnity by promptly deciding the war soon after its outbreak, as was the case in the wars as shown in past history, the China Incident may be called unsuccessful.

Japan however has been fighting from the first with no such idea.

That is the very reason why it is called a Holy War. Of course, the Incident is not a failure. Holy Wars are such where, by nature, they cannot be unsuccessful, as this is not possible. A section of the press played up as a beautiful story the fact that, on being questioned for this Incident, a certain Cabinet Minister presented an extremely emotional scene by covering up his eyes with a handkerchief. How would foreigners think of this? They would probably

think that Japan cannot settle the China Incident, and that the government, diet and the entire nation are placed in an awkward fix. By no means do I look at the China Incident in that light. In fact, the Incident has so far already brought about good results, and I think that, in a certain sense, it has even attained its object.

That Chiang Kai-shek is still holding out stubbornly is immaterial. From the very first, it was never our aim to overthrow just Chiang Kai-shek only. We have been fighting the China Incident for other purposes. First of all, it was for the purpose of enabling the Chinese people to free themselves from being bled by the white race; that is, to liberate China from the state of being a semi-colony.

Of course, from the standpoint of the feelings of the Japanese people, the boycotting and insulting of Japan by China in the past was unpardonable, and it was necessary by all means to punish her once. The said feeling has, however, been already fully satisfied. Japan also sustained losses, but the damage suffered by China is beyond description. The four hundred million inhabitants have doubtlessly experienced quite enough as to what it means to underrate Japan. We have already punished China quite enough. The Japanese Government declared the friendship between Japan and China, cooperative prevention of Communism and economic cooperation as the general plans for settling the China Incident. Now, these objects can already be easily attained. If Japan should really be satisfied with only these conditions, then Chiang Kai-shek would probably agree at any time to entering upon peace negotiations between Japan and China. If economic

cooperation should imply joint exploitation of natural resources in China by Japan and China, and not to bleed China economically, China would probably not disapprove of it.

Also, there is no reason for China to be against the cooperative prevention of Communism.

As to the object of the China Incident, as a matter of fact, due to her relations with foreign countries, the government has never as yet mentioned in its declarations that, as the object of the China Incident, Japan intends to expel the White races from China and to put an end to China's semi-colonial condition. However, the true cause of the China Incident lies in the cajolement of China by the White races who instigated China to harbor anti-Japanese feelings, and so long as they have influence over China, the coalition between Japan and China cannot be brought about, regardless in what manner the China Incident may be settled.

Consequently, the primary object of this Incident should, in reality, lie in obliterating the improper activities of the White races in China, and drive them off from their unmerited position.

/P. 310/ At present Japan does not take only China into consideration but the so-called Southward Advance theory may probably be said to be the universal public opinion in Japan. In plain language, advance theory is to free our Asiatic brethren from the White race. It is to clear away their unjust positions from the places where they have considered as their own territories or colonies. It is no

longer a pending problem, but already an established fact to drive out the white race from China. The lack of clear knowledge regarding the meaning of the China Incident and where Japan's aims lie is responsible for the outcry that Chungking has not yet fallen even after the lapse of 3½ years; that it is annoying to have the war drag along so long; that the people have become tired of war, and that the government authorities should be held really responsible for the said state of affairs. If we consider the China Incident as being a failure, it would not be possible to solve same so easily. The Japanese people are not the kind to readily give in by being told that things are a failure. They try to make things successful at any cost. That is why there are some people advocating that we should resolve on a ten-year war with Chiang Kai-shek. However, ten years or twenty years' fighting with China would be the height of folly. This would imply playing into the hands of Britain and the U.S.A. or Russia. They have been wishing from the beginning that Japan would singe her wings in regard to Chiang Kai-shek and struggle in the swamps of China for many years. This is why they are helping China, and trying to exhaust Japan's national power. To advocate a ten year war would make Japan fall an easy victim to the wishes of the Third Powers. If Chiang Kai-shek refuses to take a wide view of the general situation and persists in resisting against Japan to the last, it would, of course, be necessary to continue punishing him. However, I have so far not heard yet of any statesman who has tried to reason with Chiang Kai-shek from the standpoint of

the general situation of the world by pointing out to him the real intention of Japan. Even the Japanese government has not yet spoken to Chiang Kai-shek in this way. We do not, of course, believe that the Chinese statesmen would readily follow our idea merely on such ideology. In other words, however, since Japan today has determined to establish the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, the Chinese people too are in a position where they must respond to the policy. As you all know, there are as many as four hundred and fifty million people in China. China, has in the past been always considered as being rich in resources, but in reality she is a very poor country as compared with her population. They are even short of food for their own consumption, and I believe that, probably due to the lack of things, hundreds of thousands are literally dying from starvation annually. The Chinese people have come to think that the Japanese are trying to take things from this have-not country, and consider that this is what lies behind Japan's so-called economic cooperation. As they feel that the Japanese are trying to snatch things away from their have-not country, they must needs put up a resistance. This is quite natural. Therefore, economic cooperation causes the greatest uneasiness in the eyes of the Chinese people. China's poverty cannot become remedied even by her cooperating with Japan, and especially the Japanese hardly ever allow the Chinese to make any profit. Against this, the British and Americans, at any rate, bring along money with them, and although they may take things away from China, they make the Chinese at the same time earn a reasonable profit.

Their way of thinking is that although there is no profit in cooperating with Japan, it is profitable to carry on with Britain and the U.S.A. In short, as long as the Japanese think of bringing things from China, Japan and China will not be able to really cooperate, and Japan will not be able to realize the great ideal of Hakko-Ichiu. However, the South whereto Japan expects to advance in the future is the most fertile place in the world. If this area which the Whites have monopolized until now -- and have not allowed Asiatics to use, should come to be thrown open not only to Japanese but also for the Chinese, the manner of thinking of the Chinese people would undergo a complete change. Although the Chinese have thought until now that if they should cooperate with Japan, they would be losing out, China would now, by joining hands with Japan, realize her own salvation at last. Furthermore, as the South is superabundant in materials, it might be possible for Japan to say that she is no longer in need of things from China. This would then, for the first time, settle matters by placing the relationship between Japan and China on an Asiatic standpoint. At the time when the Southward Advance and Southward Policy did not yet come into question, eyes were cast only on China or Japan, Manchuria, and China and as it was attempted to bring the problems between Japan and China to a point of understanding in some way or other under such conditions, matters were extremely difficult. However, if it comes to settling problems over the wide area of the Greater East Asia, it will lead in China's embarking on the Southward Advancing policy, together with Japan. If we should deal with China with this wide view of things,

the China Incident can be solved at once. If the Chinese statesmen should refuse to join hands with Japan from the standpoint of their prestige or feelings, the four hundred and fifty million Chinese people would most probably come to have no more dealings with Chiang Kai-shek.

/p. 314/ As I have said before, the so-called China Incident has already attained its purpose on the whole. From a certain point of view, we may say that there is no longer any reason for continuing hostilities any further, but of course, I say so from the major premise that the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere will be established. The important question of today is the independence of Asia, and the emancipation of the Asiatic race is no longer the question of China alone. Hitherto, the object of the China Incident lay in establishing the New Order in China; but today it has become decided to establish the new order throughout the whole of East Asia. This cannot be done by sticking only to China. We have started upon the great policy of making ourselves independent of the influence of the White race in East Asia as a whole. I, therefore, think it is the wrong way of /p. 315/ doing things at any rate for both China and Japan, the brethren in East Asia, to exhaust their energy by hostilities at such a time. Of course, the national power of Japan is not so weak as many Japanese think or as is hoped by Great Britain and the United States. I personally think that the Southern policy could be even carried out in parallel with engaging in the China Incident, but from the fundamental point of view which I have stated just now,

it is desirable that the China Incident be solved as soon as possible, which I think can be done.

Although our nation has deep interest in the Southern Regions today, there are more complex questions there than in the case of China. As the various European and American countries are still more keenly interested in South-eastern Asia, Japan must take these relations into careful consideration. As for the China Incident alone, no great interference is likely to be forthcoming from anywhere, but when it comes to taking a step further towards the South, we must be prepared to clash severely with the interests of such countries. As France has already fallen into such a powerless condition, the question will lie exclusively with Great Britain and the United States of America, regarding which I should like to say a few words.

/p. 316/ In discussing our relations with Great Britain and the United States, first of all we must take into consideration how the present British-German war will be brought to a conclusion. Most people consider that the emancipation of British colonies in Asia would become easily carried out if Great Britain should actually be defeated and the British Empire should become dissolved. How will the British-German War develop? What is the outlook of the war? To tell the truth, I think that we cannot take the British-German war in such a simple way. Even if Great Britain should be defeated by Germany, the British colonies in Asia could probably not be liberated by Japan so easily and promptly. It is because the present war is in reality of a little more complex nature than a war which

is being fought by Great Britain who is striving to defend her Empire which extends over the seven seas of the world to the last. The matter would be rather simple if the forty-eight /p. 317/ million inhabitants of Britain are united as one man against Germany and if the Government as well as the people are firmly determined to sacrifice their blood to the last drop to defend Britain due to its being the very heart and soul of the British Empire. I believe, however, that in reality it was not the English people that first started this war. It is said that those who decide Britain's policy are the few ruling class men, and especially Britain's politics are lately steered on the whole by the Jewish financial clique and the politicians closely related to them. These persons and the British people have not the same mind among them by any means. They have their relatives in France too. Their present-day headquarters are in the U.S.A. This power of the Jewish financial circles as well as the Anglo-Saxon and American politicians and financial circles closely related with the former, all these constitute an international existence, or, so to speak, an international financial clique. It is not localized only in Britain, the U.S.A., nor in France. Their interests conflict entirely with the way of Totalitarianism as of Germany or Italy. This is why the war between Britain and France as against Germany and Italy is called in short a war between Hitler and the Jews. In fact, this war is characterized /p. 318/ as such Europe. The totalitarian way of Germany and Italy is an arch enemy

in the eyes of the international financial clique. To begin with, they ignored the gold standard and scored a splendid success by setting themselves against the power of international capital. Hitler's totalitarian politics and economy have met with such success that Germany is about to dominate the whole of Europe; should matters be left to take their natural course, a grave situation might result; consequently, the briar must be nipped in the bud. This is the underlying cause of this Anglo-German war. The British people have in fact nothing to do with it. Of course, the politicians have within their grip all the national organizations and social institutions, to say nothing of organs of speech, and have stirred up the people's patriotism as well as animosity. All of the British people are fighting now declaring that it is for the sake of freedom, justice and national independence. But I think it is impossible to say that the British leaders really started this war on the basis of such noble ideals. I wonder whether half of the hearts of the present ruling class of Britain have not already gone over to the American continent. What is most important to them has been removed to America. /p. 319/ It is said there may perhaps not be any more gold ingots in England, as they have removed them all to America. We cannot believe, therefore, it to be their intention of defending these Isles to the last. We cannot but assume that they would avoid heavy losses in warships and trading vessels and ^{with them} move/to Australia, or Canada at the last moment, although they would persist in opposing as long as they can. If this war be one of the

whole nation, it is inconceivable that they would give up the said Isles in order to move elsewhere. They ought to defend their Island to the last so long as even a single warship is left to them. But there are even some who go to extremes in saying that the British Empire is a sort of joint-stock company and Britain is nothing but the site of its head-office. They say that the company would only have to move elsewhere if the head-office should be burnt. Consequently, assuming that the Germans would have landed in England, the British ruling class would not easily give in; it would not bring the war to a close. It admits of no prediction of what operations the Germans will resort to, or whether the Germans would carry out landing operations as expected. But, at any rate, it is inconceivable that the mere seizure of the British Isles by the Germans would simply put an end to this war in Germany's favor. To speak the truth, we can safely say today that the U.S.A. has, as a matter of fact, already taken over this war. / P. 320 / She is engaged in the war by supporting and encouraging Britain just as she is backing China to fight against Japan. In the past the U. S. had depended, in fact, upon England and France; she has neglected her own armaments counting upon the French Army and the British Navy. But France has already fallen and England's position has become rather critical. When England seemed to be in danger last year if the German forces had carried out a landing operation on Great Britain just after the defeat of France, Americans said to England: "Abandon such islands and dash over here quickly with your warships". This was their true idea.

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II. World War and the New World.

1. Establishment of New Spheres of Influence Over the World.

The connection between the war in Asia and that in Europe has become markedly clarified with the signing of the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy.

(P. 65) This is not merely because the recognition has become widespread that Japan as well as Germany and Italy are opposed to a common enemy, Britain and America, but still more because there was a deepened consciousness that Japan and other Axis Powers, as mentioned in the Preamble of the Pact, are acting upon their common noble ideas.

In the days when the three nations were acting individually in the East and in the West, it was a little difficult to make a distinction between the motives and objects of the present war from those of before. In other words, the European war has been regarded as an Anglo-French struggle with Germany and Italy, and a contest for their respective spheres of influence; and the Asiatic war has been criticized as being a manifestation of Japan's aggressive policy against a weak China. Furthermore, until then, actually, the great conception of the "New World Order" mentioned in the Alliance Treaty, was not openly declared by any of the three powers, each of them instead aimed at sweeping away the old order in their respective immediate spheres of influence. However, through this

treaty, Japan has announced at home and abroad her intentions to establish a "Greater East Asia" Co-prosperity Sphere which goes beyond the Japan-Manchukuo-China bloc; while Germany and Italy have clarified their determination to establish a new order over a vast area which includes Europe and Africa; and thus creating a close cooperative relation between the new orders of the East and of the West. Thus, the characteristics and the eventual outcome of the current global upheaval have become definitely clear. Although originally the three nations have been assigned a common mission through world history, when their collaboration and cooperation assume the dignified form of a treaty, it is quite natural that the rival powers strengthen their unity. It is a fact that since the Treaty was made public, the attitude of America has become conspicuously firmer, and the enthusiasm to give assistance to Britain has markedly increased. America has expressed her open hostile feeling against Japan, Germany and Italy, and has even before been trying to obstruct our actions at every turn. But, according to the recent situation, the fear is steadily increasing that America might sooner or later enter the wars in the East and the West, and bring about an unprecedented era of world conflagration.

This is perhaps an unavoidable tendency. The new and old powers that split the present world differ from each other with respect to their characteristics and conceptions in the entire fields of politics, economy, and culture; and America is one nation which most distinctly and powerfully represents the old power.

Since the retreat of the old order in Europe increasingly brings such a position of America to the (page 67) surface, it is quite natural that America feels that she was chosen as the target of attack in the face of the collaboration and cooperation of Japan, Germany and Italy which aim at a new world order. As to the reason why America does not immediately enter the war, there may be divergent reasons, such as her incomplete re-armament, conflicting public opinions, the war situation still not necessitating such an action, etc. There is no mistake, however, that America is in fact waging a war in unity with Britain, and it is impossible to think of the end of the war without America.

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2. America's Entry Into the War is Inevitable.

If America pours her immense manpower and material resources into the war, we must expect the war to certainly cover a long period of time. However, ^{if} one takes this to mean the collapse of the culture of mankind, it is because he does not understand the real significance of the present war to start with. What brought about the current turmoil? The stalemated civilization of liberalism is indeed its cause. Is not the present war the attempt to create a new thing by bursting out of an old shell? The New Order of the East and the West certainly has no significance outside of this. Destruction of human lives and materials is unavoidable. This is neither the destruction of civilization nor the collapse of culture. This is nothing but a sacrifice for the sake of the brilliant birth of a

new culture. The thoughts of mankind in effecting any great change have always had to undergo long periods of such destructions. It is quite natural that America would eventually become involved in this war in one form or other. Not only that, but might this not actually be necessary for the interest of the world, and also for the interest of America herself. The reason is because this is the only way that a change in history and a regeneration of the world can become possible.

(page 68) It is said that the Alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy was concluded for the purpose of stopping America's entry into the war. What the politicians had in mind might have been really just that. If America remains content with her richly blessed surroundings, and does not intervene in any issue of the old world, permitting the new orders of Asia and Europe to take their own courses, the miserable plight confronting mankind will become lighter, and the restoration of peace, so to speak, will be made comparatively easier. This, however, is impossible. Furthermore, it is hardly possible for America, who constitutes the main factor necessitating New Order movements, to remain out of the picture indefinitely. It may be said that actually the treaty which primarily attempted to secure American neutrality, on the contrary made America's participation in the war unavoidable. The reason is because the New Order of Europe and the New Order of Asia have an inseparable relation by this Treaty, and if the Eastern Hemisphere should be completely established under the new system, it is difficult for the Western Hemisphere to maintain the old system alone; and furthermore it is

because the leaders of the internal order of America would never consent to cast off their old conventionalism, unless a world-shattering major war is at stake.

3. The position of Germany and Italy and that of Britain.

As far as the shooting war in Europe is concerned, it seems that it would not last very long, and its result does not seem to be too difficult to imagine, although the destruction in the future might be severe and the losses heavy. It is only a matter of time before the British influence would be swept out of the continent. Germany and Italy will secure under their power vast territories ranging from Scandinavia to the Balkans, the Near East, and Africa, and successively plot the reconstruction, and can easily establish self-sufficiency. Thus, the passage of time will rather make their positions safe. On the contrary, Britain though close to the continent cannot receive any material from that source, and her position is such that she is receiving submarine attacks and air raids from the enemy who has secured strategic positions, and her position would probably become more difficult day by day. It is therefore thought that perhaps it is unnecessary for Germany and Italy to risk the dangers and sacrifices of a landing operation.

Britain rejected the German and Italian peace proposal, although she was well aware of the fall of France; and this matter has already become clear. This was wholly because Britain was determined to fight a death struggle with Germany and Italy, with (page 70) all the power of the Anglo-Saxon world. Thus, Hitler was now

obliged to make a fresh determination and preparation. This might be the reason why he did not take advantage of victory and attempt to invade England. There are many things which Germany must do if she is to wage a long-term decisive war against the whole British Empire, and subsequently with the United States of America. First of all, Germany must consolidate the European continent. On top of this, connections with Asia is also necessary. Although Germany is said to have not been neglecting preparations from the start for both a short-term war and a long-term war, it is believed that she is now seriously determined to fight a delaying war and is making preparations for it. Her Balkans project and her Mediterranean Sea operations are probably for this purpose. Germany must first of all facilitate the position of her ally Italy, and the two of them must be ready to meet a long-term struggle. Therefore, it seems that Germany is not necessarily hurrying the invasion of England. With the coming of spring, Germany may of course start attacks on a major scale, but at present, both Germany and Italy are probably anticipating that the war would not come to an end even if the English mainland falls. If a war with America were unavoidable, it can be said that it might be more convenient for Germany and Italy with their inferior naval strength to draw the U. S. to Europe and engage them in a battle there. If they oust Britain from the Mediterranean Sea, they will not have much worry of receiving damage from that source. Then Britain's worry would be that her homeland inhabited by 48 million people is situated too close to the continent. If they did not have to consider the inhabitants, they can probably strategically abandon that island. However, it is probably most painful to Britain that

she is forced to protect this to the bitter end.

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4. The Four Major Blocs of the World.

In view^{of}/the progress of the situation thus far, and of the future prospects, it is thought that the ultimate British retreat from Europe is an inescapable destiny. However, since America's formal entry in the war before or after that event seems to be a certainty, it is impossible to predict the course which the war will take in the future. Only, it is certain that an American entry in the war would mean a war between Japan and America. Therefore, it is only a matter of course that ravages of war would extend to Asia. I will not say that with the fall of the English homeland, the possibility of peace will become absolutely nil, but we must prepare for the worst. America's rearmament still requires some time before completion; and although whether or not an immediate active battle would take place is another problem, it is necessary in any case to be determined to prepare for an extremely prolonged war.

Futile optimism over the future must be prohibited, but since the current war was caused in the first place by the stalemating of the old world order, it is inconceivable to those having faith in the progress and advancement of human society that the great sacrifices and calamities should again be in vain, resulting in the old world system remaining as before. (Page 73.) Then, in what form will the collapse of the old order, and the establishment of the new order, which may even be called a historical certainty, be realized?

It is said generally that the future world might be divided into four blocs. In other words, it is said that the world would be divided into broad economic spheres, each centered around Japan, Germany - Italy, Soviet Union, and America; that in principle, a self-sufficient pattern of livelihood would be developed in each of these blocs; that foreign trade ministering to each other's needs would be in the form of a barter system; that each bloc would aim at elevating its cultural level, not having as their highest motive only individual prosperity; and that international frictions such as those of the past may thus be eliminated, and peace be maintained.

5. The Last Bastion of the Old Order.

Of these, the Soviet bloc in the present situation is not perfect, its location being too far north. A further southward expansion of her sphere of influence is considered to be necessary, but those who will attempt to oppose such a new order to the very end will be America, and those elements of the old order of the whole world, which (Page 74) are fleeing to seek refuge in America. It is ironical indeed, since this will mean that the American bloc, the one most richly endowed by nature, with the most abundant materials among the four major blocs, is the one which harbors the most dissatisfaction against the new order. This, however, is solely due to their world outlook, and furthermore it can be attributed to the fact that they cannot forget the dreams of a Jewish and Anglo-Saxon

capitalistic exploitation economy. It is absolutely unbearable for them to lose overnight all the glories which they had been enjoying over a long period of time in which they controlled the whole world with their financial power. For that reason, even if they are expelled from Europe, they would probably struggle to hold their footing in Asia, continue their bleeding and looting of other races. For this purpose, it is said that they will not hesitate to plunge the whole of mankind into the vortex of a great chaos lasting from ten to twenty years. However, such tyranny on the part of a small minority certainly would not be allowed by both God and man; in the first place, the American people probably will never tolerate this for long. As long as prosperity continues, a society such as the one in America, will be untroubled, but once it is swept by an emergency, its foundation becomes extremely weak. This is a fact beyond any doubt to those who witnessed the intense shock felt by the American people at the time of the great panic some years ago. (Page 75.)

At the present time, America boasts of possessing most of the gold bullions of the world, and also of her unlimited resources and her gigantic industrial power; and she may be confident that with her ever-increasing military strength and with her material power, she is able to engage in the Herculean task of stemming the revolutionary influences of the world single-handedly. However, we do not believe that such courses which violate the laws of nature and humanity, and which oppose the trend of the times, would go unpunished. By con-

tinuing such blind efforts, America will certainly have countless internal failures, and in the end she cannot help but face a great social revolution.

In other words, we are daring to predict that a historical change will be realized only when the new order rises from within America, the last bastion of the old order.

(Published in the initial issue of the magazine "ITALIA", April, 1941.)

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 3239

22 Dec 1947

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

943596

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: Printed Book "Age of War" by SHIRATORI, Teshio

Date: 10 Apr 1941 Original (x) Copy () Language: Japanese

Has it been translated? Yes () No (x)

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL

IPS Document Division

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL:

PERSONS IMPLICATED: SHIRATORI, Teshio

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE: Greater East Asia War of Aggression;
Collaboration with Germany

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

Collection of speeches, articles and lectures of Shiratori given during late 1940 and early 1941.

Imperial rescript given on the occasion of conclusion of the treaty between Germany, Italy and Japan, 27 Sept 1940.

Gist of treaty concluded between Germany, Italy and Japan.

No preface is given in this book.

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J.P.S doc No. 3239-8

EXHIBIT No. 359A

ニ 在世界戦争と新世界

一 在世界新分野の確定

日獨伊三国條約の締結によつてアジアの戦争とヨーロッパの戦争との相互聯関性は一段と明瞭にあられた。それは單に日本も獨伊も英米といふやうな共同の敵性国家と対立してゐることが一般に認められて来たといふからであらう。之に依り、日本と樞軸側とが條約前文にも記してある通り、共通の崇高なる理念に基いて行動してゐるとの自覚が深められたからである。

三国が東西に分れて別々に活動して来た間は、その動機、目的に關し、従来の戦争とは別なことが補々困難であつた。即ちヨーロッパの戦争は、英佛と獨伊との爭鬪戦であり、繩張の争ひであるといふ。然し、アジアの戦争は、弱き支那に対する日本の侵略政策の現はれであるといふ。評されて来た。之を以て、實際ともその中を以て同盟條約に掲げられた、新世界新秩序といふが如き雄大な構想は、三国共に敢て口にせず、ただそれぞれ目前の分野に於て舊秩序を一掃することとを以て、主眼としたのであつた。然るにこの條約を以て、日本が「日滿支」ブロックを起して、大東亞「共榮圈」建設の意圖を内外に表明すると共に、獨伊も「ヨーロッパ」アフリカを包含する広大な地域に互つて新秩序を建設するの決意を明かにして、しかしてこの東西の新秩序の間に密接なる協力關係を設

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定すべしといかに至つて、こゝに、今日の世界動乱は、その性格と帰趨とが判然として来た。

もともと世界史に依つて、同一の使命と割當てられた三國ではあるが、かうしてその提携合作が儼然たる條約とならざるに及んで、之と對立する勢力も、一層その結束を固めるのは自然である。條約発表以來アメリカの態度が著しく硬化し、そのイギリス援助熱がひとときは昂まつたのは事實である。従来も日本及び獨伊に對し、露はよる敵意を表し、我々の行動とこと毎に阻言して来たのであるが、最近の情勢からは、アメリカは早晩東西の戦争に介入して、有史以來の大戦乱時代

以下次頁

を導入するのではなかつたかの懸念心が、日と共に深まりつゝある。

これは蓋し、不可避なる趨勢である。今日世界を二分する

新旧の勢力は、その政治、経済、文化の一切に巨り性格と理念を異にするのであつて、アメリカは、その旧き勢力を最も顕著に有力に代表するものであり、ヨーロッパの旧秩序の敗退は、

アメリカのさうした地位を益々表面に浮き上らせるのであるから、

夏日独伊が世界の新秩序を目標として協力合作するの事實に当面しては、自らが攻撃の目標に選ばれたるが如く感ずるは

自然である。アメリカが、今直ちに参戦せぬのは、その再軍備の未完成が輿論の不一致とか、戦局がまた之を必要とせぬ為めとか、

色々理由はあるであらうが、事實に於て、アメリカがイギリスと一体となり、ともに戦つてゐるものであることは、向も違ひなく、アメリカを除いた戦争の終局を考へることは不可能である。

2 アメリカの参戦は必至

アメリカが、その絶大なる人的、物的資源を投ぜしむとすれば、戦争は必然的に頗る長期に亘るものと覚悟せらるべきなり。

併し乍ら之に依つて、人類文化の没落を見ることが如きは、抑々今次戦争の意義を解せざるもの言である。今日勤死は何に依つて惹き起されたか。自由主義文明の行詰りなり、その原因ではな

六八頁旧き殻を破つて、新しきものが生れ出でんとするのが、今日の戦争ではな

はなから、東西の新秩序とは、そのことを外にしては、意義がなかつた。生命と物の破壊は、己むを得たり。それは、併し文明の破壊でも、

文化の没落でもなり。熾然たる新しき文化が生れる為めの犠牲

牲に過ぎなから人類の思想が、一瞬転換を遂げたためには、常にこうした長期の破壊時代を経過したためである。アメリカが、この戦争に何等かの形に於て巻き込まれることは当然であるのゆえに、実は必要なのである。また、世界力の為めにも、アメリカ自身力為めにも、何となく、それによって、歴史の転換は可能であり、世界力は更生し得るからである。

以下は「真」

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これに反して、大陸に近接して、しかも一物もこれに仰ぐこと
得ず、徒らに地の利を得たる敵の空爆と潜水攻撃に曝さ
れるイギリスの地位は、日とともにその困難を増すべあらうか
ら、独伊としては、上陸作戦の危険と犠牲を敢てする必要
はないかとも思はれる。

フランスの敗れたる日、既にこのことは明瞭となつたのである
が、之を知りつゝ、イギリスは独伊の和平提議を行つた。
全アングロ。

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七二頁

サウジ、世界の力を與へて獨伊との死闘を以て意した
 からかある。ヒトラーは總統としてもこの新なる決心と
 準備とをしなければならなくなった。勝に乘じて英本土
 の攻略を試みなければならぬ。そのためにはあるまいか。全英
 帝國と次でアメリカ合衆國との長期決戦となればトウ
 としてはなすねはならぬことは甚だ多い。先づ第一に
 ヨーロッパ大陸を固めなければならぬ。そしてアフリカの
 聯繫も必要である。当初から短期戦と共に長期戦
 に對しても用意を怠らなかつたといはれる。トウはあ
 る今日と眞剣に持久戦を覚悟しその準備をなすつ
 であるやうに思はれる。バルカン工作、地中海作戦に乗り
 出したのはそのためであらう。先づ盟邦イタリアの立場
 を容易にし相共に長期抗争の必要を整理へなければ
 ならぬ。従つて必ずしも英本土の攻略を怠るが故に
 も思はれる。勿論春と共に大規模の攻撃は開始
 するであらうが本土が落ちても戦争は結局とはならない
 とは今日では獨伊共に豫見してゐることであらう。

七三頁

アメリカとの戦争が不可避であるならば海軍力の有る獨
 伊としては之をヨーロッパに引寄せた戦ひの勝利がよいと
 云へぬであらうか。地中海からイギリスを駆逐すればもはや
 彼等は多く敵から損傷を受けける心配はないかうなる
 いか。イギリスの艦隊は四千人百万の國民の住む本土の余り
 に大陸に近過ぎることだ。住民十へなくはあの島は戦
 略的に放棄することもあるであらうがいやむも最後迄
 これを死守しなければならぬのは、イギリスの最も苦痛とする
 所であらう。

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4. 吾界の四大アロウク

今日までの経過に徴しても、今後の見通しから云つても
 イギリスが遂にヨーロッパから敗退することは結局免れ
 ない運命と思はれるが、アメリカのその前後に於ては、
 参戦することも必然の勢と見られるから、戦争が將來
 如何なる経路を辿るかは、三予測の限りは無い。たゞア
 カの参戦は、当然日米戦と云ふことになるのであるから、
 禍がアジアに波及することも、勿論である。英本土没
 落と共に、和平の可能性が絶無と云はるは、めか

以下次頁

我々として、最悪に備へなければならぬ。アメリカの再軍備は、未だ完成に時日を要するし、直ちに火柱を散らすの、武力戦となるや否や、別問題であるが、何れの場合、非常なる長期戦の覚悟は必要である。

前途に就て、従らざる樂觀は戒めなければならぬ。抑々今日の戦争は、世界舊秩序の行詰りから起つたものであるから、絶大なる犠牲と惨禍とが、再び水泡に帰して、依然たる舊世界に留まるといふことは、人類社(七三頁)の進歩を向上に信仰を有するもの、想像し得ない所である。然らば、歴史の必然とも云ふべき旧秩序の没落、新秩序の建設は、終局的には如何なる形をとる實現せられるべきである。

一般には、今後、世界は、四つのブロックに分たれるべきらうといわれる。即ち、日本、独、伊、ソ、聯、及びアメリカを中心とする、夫々の広地域経済に分れ、原則的に各ブロック内に於て自給自足の生活を営み、貿易は有無相通する物々交換であり、各ブロックの文化水準を高め、これを以てその目的とし、個人の致富を唯一最富の動機とせず、之によつて従来、の如き国際間の摩擦を除かれ、平和を維持せらるべきらうといふのである。

5 旧秩序の最後の牙城

ソ、ウ、チ、ソ、ヴ、エ、イ、ト、ブ、ロ、ク、は、現、在、チ、チ、チ、チ、北、に、偏、して、完、全、に、な、ら、ぬ、さ、ら、に、南、方、に、向、つ、て、そ、の、圏、域、を、広、大

する必要の甚多と見られるが、斯う如き世界の新秩序に
 対し、最後迄反対をなさざるは、アメリカ及び今後
 四頁ノ ミニに落ちたる所の全世界の旧秩序分
 子であらう。此れは、誠に皮肉なことで、四大ブロックのうち
 最も自然に悪すれ物資の不足なきアメリカ・ブロック
 新秩序に對し、最も不満を抱くといふことにならぬ
 之れは一に、彼等が世界觀の然らざりたるが故に、エダ
 マス、アングロ・サシオンク金融資本的掠取経
 済の益を忘れ得ないことに帰するであらう。彼等と一
 は、金力力を以て、全世界に於て、今一たびまた過去多
 年の栄華を一朝にして失ふことは到底忍び得ないわ
 りである。さやほこし、ヨーロッパを道はれしとなほ、ア
 下に據り、他民族の掠取掠奪を憚りんとしかく、
 可なりし、その甚きは、

以下次頁

人類を馳って十年二十年に亘る大混乱の渦中に投ずるを辞せずと云ふのである。さうなから、少数の者の斯くの如き横暴は、天人共に許さぬところであり、第一アフリカの民衆が長くこれに甘んぜぬであらう。アフリカの如き社会は繁榮が長く続く限り無事であるが、一度非常時の波に洗はれると、その基礎は甚だ脆弱であることは、先年の大恐慌の際に於けるアフリカ民心の深刻なる動揺を目撃したるものには何等疑ふ余地はないのである。目前世界の金塊を大部分その手に収め、無盡蔵の資源と膨大な工業力を誇り、ソの上にも軍備を増強して、この物資力を以てすれば、狂瀾を既倒に回し、世界の革新勢力を一手に堰き止め得ると自負するであらうか、我々は時勢に逆行し、天理人道に反したる、斯くの如き行キテオカ四割を受けずに済むとは考へない。アフリカはさうした無理な目的な努力を続けることによつて、必ず内に破綻百出し、遂には一た社会革命に終らざるを得ぬであらう。

即ち、舊秩序の最後の牙城アフリカそのものに、内部から新秩序が盛り上がることによつて、ここに初めて歴史の大転換が完成されるであらうことを、われわれは敢て予言せんとするものである。

(皇紀二千六百一年「イタリヤ」誌「胃創刊号掲載」)

IPS Doc. 3239(e)

Translated by K. ASAI,

✓ p. 141

Chapter 8. Firmly Establish a Defensive National National Defence Structure.

I. Why need we the defensive nation?

(a) A new structure for the defensive
nation.

According to the change of the foreign
the
relations, cries for new structure are now high
The establishment of
in every part of the country. the Imperial
Rule Assistance Association increased the
cries. It is even understood generally that
the mission of the Imperial Rule Assistance

2

2

Association is to firmly build a new structure. If that be true, does the demand for the new structure come from the necessary conditions in the country? Or does the external circumstances necessitate it?

Although the new structure can not be discussed regardless of the internal conditions,

I think we must think in the first place that our views toward the new structure will greatly change according to our decision whether we now chiefly seek

inwardly or outwardly the causes of urgent necessity for the present JAPANESE new structure.

The cries for the new structure from inward necessity, I think, were formally raised in JAPAN generally from reform or renovation movements — that is, for nearly a century in the past we took from the western culture and adopted the so-called liberalistic or capitalistic structure both in politics and in economy, but

how to correct the various evils which had risen from it have therefore been the social and the internal reformation movements

in JAPAN hitherto. And being the correction

of the evils out of liberalism, this

was, in reality, not a matter of JAPAN

only and was discussed in various

countries and revolutionary changes

were to be seen in several countries

as is widely known. From this

view point in JAPAN, too, the JAPANESE

new structure, that is the necessity of the so-called reformation has been highly discussed.

The necessity and circumstances for it, it is needless to say,

have not been ceased to be in JAPAN (p. 143)

yet. But, in viewing the present

internal and external circumstances am persuaded

generally, I think that the reasons

necessitating the new structure of JAPAN specially

calls our attention to, beside the

~~internal circumstances~~ the external
circumstances, pressure from outside
force or the so-called changes of the
environment, to say nothing of the internal circum-
stances.

The aim of the new structure of
today is nothing but to establish the
so-called defensive nation.

The aim and principles of the Imperial
Rule Assistance Association can be
fully explained in these few words;

"Exercising the way of the subject." Any

mission
further principle or ~~aim~~ for fullfilling ~~the~~

gaps was not added as there was no neces-

sity of doing so. But from the time

^{the} of preparately committee, it had generally

been understood that its aim is to establish

a defensive nation —

that is, a new structure for establishing

a defensive nation,

is the general idea and the requirement

of today. Therefore it is plain that its

character has greatly changed from

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those of the former movements for national and social reformations or reconstructions and the like. I think it may be the most necessary thing to make clear this point for not causing any unnecessary friction to the present new structure movements and to lead 100,000,000 of the people to unite themselves into one mind in order to accomplish the purpose.

第八章

國防國家併制と確立せよ

一 併成に國防國家と必要とするか

一 國防國家のための新併制

外交の物換と契機として、口内に於

ては昨今新併制を要せざるは

津口浦々に旨しい。大政羽書賛成の

成立はこの要旨に相手をかけた。いや

一般に羽書賛成は新併制の確立

を以てその使命とするものと考へられ

ておる。然らば抑も新併制は口内の

情勢に迫られて要求されるのか。それ

と北海の情勢がこれを必要とする

のであるか。勿論口内の情勢を前に

論じて論せられるが、今日、日本が新併制

を急務とする理由を、重として、内に

求めらるかに求めらるかによつて、新併

制そのものに對する考へ方が大きく

變つて來るといふことも、我々は先づ考

へなければならぬと思ふ。

内の必要になつて新併制が唱へら

併し、長らく、目前の内外の情勢を
 大観すると、日本の新体制を必
 要とする理由は、内情と外
 情に、この外情の海軍ありから来るとこの
 因、外力の壓迫と云ふが、環境の
 変化と云ふことが、考電と云
 らなければならぬやうになつて来た
 のである。

今日は新体制の目的は何であるか
 と云へば、それは所謂「防衛」
 の目的であるといはれてゐる。
 公の目的、網羅は、臣道、
 一、網羅に盡さる。その上、何れも、
 目的は、掲げなして、
 網羅と云ふか、目的は、掲げなして、
 いので、掲げられなかつた。併し、
 準備委員の意見の当時から目的は、
 防衛家の連想だとして、
 網羅されて来たのである。
 防衛の家ぬを依るための新体制
 であるといふことが、今日の新体制の

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Translator
T. EBIHARA 9

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At present in several

sphere, it seems there are several

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considerable confrontation of opinion

and friction as to the fact that

to where must we seek the original
principle of the new organization.

For instance, as to the New organiza-

tion of economy, opinions separated,

whether it purpose to reform JAPANESE

economic system aiming at the

self defensive Nations or to reform

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for the sake of reform, that is
to purpose the new organization
to realize the social justice to
establish new economic morality,
By the fact which do they aim of the
two, the consequence differs greatly.
Today ⁱⁿ government authority or
in administrative department,
several policy were going ^{to} applied,
As to the two namely whether it aims
mainly the establishment of the self-

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defensive nation or the establishment
of the New economic Morality, social
justice, to which lay they emphasis,
is there not confrontation of the
opinion? If there may exist any
friction, I think the cause chiefly
attribute to the difference of
Opinion as to this point. Needless
to say to establish selfdefensive
Nation must necessarily be done
view from present JAPANESE circum-

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stances This is categorical imperative,

so to speak. But we can not ignore
wholly,

the economic moral and social justice

for that sake. As a matter of fact,
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these two can view evidently differ

as idea. But present idea of
(concurrently)
self defensive nation, necessitate that

to revise all imperfection of the

existing capitalism or liberalism,

whether willing or not, and though

the idea of self defensive nation issue

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from absolute necessity of the National defence, in effect there borne the new economic morals. But there arouse great difference to adjust the immediate actual policy, by the fact of view-point, or to what set the value.

2. The totalitaristic character of the self defensive Nation

The beginning of the idea of self defensive nation is entirely

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new thinking methode, and when
 there appeared so-called totalitaristic
 world philosophy in politics and
 economy, it arouse first.

It differs greatly from solidification
 of the existing national defence power
 in its sense. Although at present AMERIKA
 are ^(regardless of expense) preparing immense armament with
 her overflowing money, industrial
 power, natural source or man power,
 all through the nation ^{she} devoted to

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repreparation, but we can not

say that present AMERIKA are

intending to establish self-defensive

nation. Leaving democracy.

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liberalism and capitalism as it

stand, although how increase

the preparation or make the whole

country to Ordnance depot, there

can be no self defensive nation

in AMERIKA. And president ROSE

VÉLT and government authority

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all oppose to the idea of self defensive
nation and they always blame ^(severely) at

the totalitaristic manner. Of course

from consideration of national defence

or necessity of repletion of war-

preparation, they rectify the existing

regulations to worker or prevent to

make strike, or restrict the profit

pursuing of private individual,

in such immediate policy, they may

Show some what Totalitaristic manner

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but in its ground it is not
that AMERIKA conceded and move
on toward the political and econom-
ic idea of GERMANY and ITALY

In JAPAN also does they look the idea
of self defensive nation really in that
sense, I have great doubt. In the
first place, in the case of JAPAN every
body said High self defensive nation,
but if this idea of self defensive
nation were new idea independently

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of the old idea concerning Nation;

economy and politics, to add

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the adjective High, though it sound

strong, but the truth is inverse.

if we call ^{it as} A high degree self defensive

nation, we can understand yet,
but

to call High self defensive nation is

ordinary, it may be understand as the

nation that has the strong defensive

power equipping immense tank, airplane

war ship and in that sort,

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In that sense there is no difference from the existing repletion scheme of armament, it is merely the problem of the quantity. But the armament and establishments of the new totaliteristic nations connected closely with their social structure, economic structure and political structure and are in inseparable relation. They are aiming to make self defensive nation which they thinking, that is to make national structure

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that can be endure total war, by changing the structure of such state

and society. There for if JAPAN

recite in very easygoing mood

to make self defensive nation,

I think it is mis'use of this new

idea and new word. Hitherto

the necessity of the National defense were

advanced chiefly by army circle.

Against this the statesmen always

endeavoured to restrict it

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Political parties in the past, make it as their important mission to reduce budget for army. If the self defensive nation advanced at present means merely to have strong armament, I think some of the statesmen pounder over it. Though we call it self defensive nation, but it is not good to sacrifice every thing for the sake of National defence. In the first place we must stabilize people's living, argument

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may be arouse that there's no national
defence without taking sufficient
food, but at present however if
he were not blind to international
situation, no body opposite to the
necessity of the strong national
defence, I think the Diet does not
reduce the budget for army.

but fundamentally by the fact
of understanding the idea of
this self defensive nation,

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deal to make self defensive nation

and attitude to concentrate effort,

be will change extremely

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面 32 39 (e)

今日各方面に於て新体制、根本理念を何レニ求ナルカト云フコト
 二并テ相当ノ意見、対立カマリ相剋摩擦持ガマル様ニ考ヘル
 タトハバ経済新体制ト云フコトニ對テ意見が別ニ国防面
 建設、為ニ日本ノ経済組織ヲ其目的ニ流ラサシ改メ下云
 フノカ目的テアルカトレトモ改革ノ為ニ改革即チ新レイ
 経済倫理ヲ確立スル社会正義ヲ實現スルタメノ新体制カ
 ト云フコトニツノ何レヲ本旨トスルカニヨリテ結果ハ非常ニ重要
 策ル一デアル。今日政府當局或ハ行政部門ニ於テ色々施
 策ガナサレワ、アルガコトニツノコト即チ国防口ヲ建設トイフコト
 ヲ主タル目的トスルノカ、或ハ新レイ経済倫理、社会正義ヲ確
 立セントスルノカ、何レニ重点ヲ置クノカトイフコトニ對テ
 意見ノ対立ガマリハシナイカ。若シ今日相剋摩擦ガカマルトスレ
 バ原因ハ専ラコトニ對テ異ニ見ル意見、相違ニ歸スヘキデアルト思
 一何論ニ防函示ヲ作ルト云フコトハ今日ノ日本ノ環境ヲ見レバトウレテ
 モナサネハナラヌコトトテ、之ハ至ニ命命ナシテアル然レバトウ
 亦ニ経済倫理、社会正義トイフモノヲ全ク無視シテモヨクイフノデハ
 化者ナシ。實ラナシバ觀念トシテコトニツノ明ニ異ナラコトヲ辨
 出スルノテアルガ併シ今日ノ国防面ト云フ觀念ハ同時ニ従来ノ
 資本主義的或ハ自由主義的ナラナル缺點ヲ是正スルトイフ
 コトヲ概テモ必西サトスルノテアル。国防面トイフコトカ
 国防上ノ絶体必要ニ出奔シテモ結果ニ於テハ新経済
 倫理ガ其所ニ生レルコトニナルテアル。タダ其觀念ヲ

何所之置リカ、何レ之最も重キヲ置クカニヨリテ目前ノ實際ノ政策ヲ加減スル上ニ大變ナリ違ヒラ生スルト云フノテアル

2 國防國家ノ全体性

抑之國防國家トイフノハ全ク新キイテ考ヘ方テカワテ政治経済ノ上ニ於テ所謂全体主義的ノ世界觀トイフモカ理シテ来テ始メテ生シタ現象テアル。従来ノ國防實トイフ下トハ大ニ意味が違フ。今自アメリカが有リ余ル金力、有リ余ル工業力、天然資源、或ハ人カノワイフモノニ飽カレテ絶大ナル軍備ヲナシワカリ國ヲアゲテ兩軍備ニ改頭シテ居ルカトイワテ今日ノアメリカが國防國家ノ建設ニ志シテ居ルトハイヒタイ。デモクラシー、自由主義、資本主義ヲノマニシテ如何ニ軍備ヲ増サウトモ國ヲアゲテ兵器廠トサウトモアメリカニハ國防國家ハ出来ナイノテアル。マタルーズベルト大統領ヲ始メアメリカ政府識者モ國防國家的觀念ニアゲテ反対シテ居リ全体主義ノヤリオエハ彼等ハ常ニ激シテ攻撃ヲ加ヘテ居ルハテアル。無論國防上ノ考慮、軍備充實ノ必要ヨリシテ若初者ニおスル從來ノ法規ニ是正スルトカ、ストライキヲ抑カセナイトカ個人ノ利益追おラ制限スルトカ目前ノ政策ハ多少全体主義的ノ行キ方ヲ示カモ知レシイカ根本ニ於テハアメリカが独伊ノ路以經濟ノ觀念トカ日本ノ建國ノ理想國體ノ本義ニ多クテモ讓歩あり一歩ヲ退セズ

近ヨラントスルトイフニテハ決シテナイノ事ナル。

日本ニ於テモ国防国家トイフ事ヲ果シテ凡テ人カサウ
イフ意味ニ見テ在ルカト去フト其所ニ在リ大ニ疑問ヲ
抱キテアル。亦一日本ノ場合誰デモガ「高度国防国家」
ト云テ在ルガ「国防国家」トイフモノガ従来ノ国家
観念、經濟政治ニおスル観念ヲ離レタ新クイニ思ヒ
テアルニスルヤラバコレニ高度トイフ形容 一曰七 詞ヲ
附ケルニトハ言サモハ強イヨウデアルガ事實ハ遠デアル。
高度ノ国防国家トイフノナラバマタワカルガ普通ニ
高度国防国家ト云ツテ在ルハ即チ戰車飛行機軍
艦サウイフモノヲ澤山具フルトコロノ高度ノ国防ヲ
有ツタ国トイフ風ニ取レルデアル。サウスレバ従来ノ軍備
充實計画ト大ナル相違ハナイ。タガ分是ノ問題タル
イフコトニナルデアル。

然ルニ勢ニイテ全体主義諸国ノ軍備、技術ノワクニ在ルト
コトノ国防施設トイフモノハ、彼等ノ社会機構、經濟機
構、政治機構トイフモノト密着シ離レルコトノ出来ナイ
關係ニアル。サウイフ「国家社会」ノ機構ヲ変ヘルコト
ニヨリテ技術、観念スル所ノ国防国家即チ所謂
全体戰爭總力戰争ニ堪ヘ得ルトコロノ国家体制
ヲワカリ上ケルトイフコトニアル。

サウナルカラシテ日本ガ今「国防国家」

ルトイフコトヲ極ク容易ナ氣持ヲ唱ヘテ居ルナラバ
 我ハコノ新ニ観念ヲ新ニイ言基キ、採用セラルト思
 フノテアル。従来国防ノ必要ハ事トシテ軍部ヲ
 強ク唱ヘテ居タ。コレニ對シテ政治家ハ高カコレ
 ヲ抑制スルコトニ努メタ。従来政黨ハ軍部ヲ管掌シテ
 減スルトイフコトヲ以テノ一重ト化務トシテ來タテアル。
 然レ今日唱ヘラレルトシテ国防ニ家カ出陣ニ高座
 一軍備ヲ持ツトイフコトナラバ、之ニ對シテ一部ノ政
 治家ハ野ヲ抱ルカコト思フ。

国防ニ家トイフカ何モ彼モ国防ノ名ヲ儀性ニシテハ
 イケナイ。先ヅ第一國民ノ生活ヲ安定セシメテ又包
 フ元ノヲ食トスニ国防モナイカコト議論モ当然ニ起
 テ事ルテアルカ。今日高座ノ国防ヲ必要トスルコトイフ
 コトハ流石ニ國際關係ニ注目テナイ以上何レニ及サ
 シナイ。往年ノ政黨ノ如ク議會カ軍部ヲ管掌シテ
 イフコトハコト思フ。カ併シ根本ニ於テコノ国防
 國家ノ觀念ヲトク把握スルカトイフコトヨウ、コノ
 國防國家ヲ作ル軌道ニイレシ努力ヲ集中スル
 程度カ非常ニ並タテ来ル。

On account of this, the problem on what things we have to do, or on how we should settle the politics and economics, has also fundamentally changed its structure. In fact what the industrialists or financiers will mention now is nothing but saying that everything could be only done at the extent of the national strengths. Needless to say it is right at the first place to do the national defence within the extent of the national strengths, and nothing can be done beyond the national strengths. If estimated the national strengths by usual way of thinking then so called Have-nots as JAPAN, GERMANY, ITALY would become always impossible to match national defence for the Haves as ENGLAND and the UNITED STATES, or it means to be no hope for the prosperity forever. It is a defeatism to let the matter drop in this way. We have to derive the national strengths sufficiently and abundantly for the military preparation by this way or another. We could say that GERMANY and ITALY should have taken the national structure of the Totalitarianism stimulated by the such situation.

of cause, it is not only by the immediate requirements for these countries nor only by any immense spontaneous motives for the realization of the politics desired by the leaders, but it is because so-called the present totalitarian movement has reached, the world as a whole, at the stages naturally ought to be arrived at in the course of history, or further there must exist a higher and profound reason in it.

Viewing this on the problem of national defence, however, we can say that such positive requirements have compelled GERMANY and ITALY to the revolution, or that this was most powerful.

So I think that JAPANESE case, now-a-day, might have encountered with the same phase. In JAPANESE case, however, the national idea of JAPAN has been built on the ever changeless foundation for all generation from the old time since the establishment of our country. Accordingly without taking any relations with national character, JAPANESE case can be considered by confining

- the problem only to the extent of the immense requirements of the national defence.

As a matter of fact, HITLER has made his pains for ten odd years and MUSSOLLINI also has made his efforts for nearly twenty years until they had built up the structures. Although with such the efforts they have built the structures, in JAPANESE case we have not required for such efforts.

- It is because the original figure of JAPAN could be immediately recovered only by sweeping the foreign thoughts imported to JAPAN and liberalistic thoughts away. I believe that JAPANESE statesmen in this connection have been more favoured than the leaders of GERMANY and ITALY.

3 New definition on "the national strengths"

I think that what means of national strengths

- as many people think of, or a point of view or a way of thinking regarding national strengths, would become more important,

Weighing by means of the former scale the sources of material and the personal and material powers which can be covered with the immense demands for JAPAN, such powers can be derived from the such source of revenue, resources, territories, and population given — in short, what is so called "national strengths", which were derived from the position of the former liberalistic economics or the liberalistic political view, is differed very much from what is understood as national strength according to the totalitarianistic view of the world.

In the countries as the UNITED STATES and ENGLAND, where there are almost inexhaustible materials that have been accumulated in the past, there might be no use of such discrimination in ideas there because they have maintained sufficient capacities and the material held at hand for producing the tanks and air planes or naval strengths.

● Actually the UNITED STATES, having the power more than enough to produce any things required, has been producing abundantly without complaining difficult matters anything else whatever it may be required for the urgent needs.

To the contrary, in order to fully display the national strengths needed now for the totality war, JAPAN, GERMANY, and ITALY will be impossible at any rate to match for the ENGLAND and the UNITED STATES so far as they will have been slaved of

the former idea insisting that, "Capital is no more; /P.152/ the material is also no more; population is no more. This being the limit of our national strengths, we are going to do our military preparation as far as the limit may allow us." That GERMANY has organized the structure of the totaltarianistic politics and economics, and that ITALY has organized her own structure, and that they have accomplished

● the present military preparations, it is undeniable that they had been affected very much by the fact

that so-called the national strengths that they had formerly hold, was insufficient at any rate to accomplish the military preparations by the old fashioned way of thinking.

のみならず、之が如何なることをなさねばならぬか、政治、経済

を如何にすましかの向致か、根柢から性質も変つて来るのである。

現に今日の産業人等は財界人 /p149/ の言ひ所は凡て国力の

限度に依る外はないといふのである。 国力の範囲が国防を

やるこれは勿論一應正しいのであつて 国力を越えて出まゝもよい

はない。併し乍ら、従来の物の志へ方に基いて 国力を算定

するとすると、ドイツやイタリア、日本のやうな所謂持たざる国

は、どうしても 莫米のやうな 持てる国とは国防上 競争が出来

ぬことになる、一生うたがひが上からぬことになる。それでは寝入り

になるのは敗北主義である。何處をどうしても必要にして充ちる

軍備を整へるだけの国力を捻出して置ければならぬのである。

かういふ事情にうまかされて 独伊はあゝ全体主義の体制

をとつたといへないことは、勿論どういつた偶然の、軍に目前の

国家の必要とか或はその指導者の欲するところの政策実現

のための 昇進する動機だけではなく、世界全体として、今日

の所謂、全体主義運動は、これは歴史の過程において当然

到着すべき段階に達したものであつて 更に高く或は深い理由

がそこになければならぬものである。然し国防の向致がいふやう

に、この實際上の必要が独伊の革命を餘儀なくせしめた

ものであり、ま /p150/ 且これが最も有効であつたといふことがいへ

るのであつて、今日、日本の場合も同じ 場面に突き當つてゐる

のではないかと思ふ。たい併し乍ら日本の場合は日本の国家理

今日開闢の昔から蓄古ゆるおさま^礎の上^積てられ^たもの
である。従つて日本の場合は国体といふものは関係なしに
目前の国防の必要といふことおけに問題を限界して考察する
ことが出来る。

また實際由題としてもヒツトラーが十数年苦心のこゝろ、いんりーニ
か同じく二十年近くも努力してあの体制を作り上げたが、さういふ
努力してあの体制を作り上げたが、さういふ努力は日本の場合実
は必要がない。日本は従来の外柔思想、自由主義的なる思想
を排拭すればそれで直ちに本邦の姿が取り返されるのであるからして
このまゝ日本の政治系は独伊の指導者おありは悪くもなると思は

3. 「国力の新しい定義」

併し乍ら日本に於ても多くの人のいふ、国力とは何を意味するのかが、国力
に對する ^{P.151} 見方、考へ方といふものが非常に大切になつて來はしな
いかと私は思ふ。單に目前の日本の需要に充てられ得る所の資源、
或は人的物的の力、さういふものを従来の尺度から計つて、これだけの
奥へ入れたる財源、資源、領土人口から、これだけの力を出さる—
つまり、従来の自由主義経済の立場、或は自由主義の政治観
念、さういふものから割あした所謂「国力」なるものと、全体主義
的は世界觀に基く「国力」の判断といふものとは大きな開きを
生ずるのである。

アメリカの如き、まゝ、四ヶギリスの如き、過去に於いて蓄積した

ものが殆んど、無盡蔵といつておる程ある國々に於ては、必要なる
戦車や飛行機、大砲、海軍力を作るにしても有り合せの力と財力、
材料の都合であつて、こんな觀念の區別は必要でないかも知れない。
現にアメリカ邊りでは、必要なものを造るだけの力が有り餘る
から、むづかしいことは云へず、目前に必要なものは何んでもどしく
作つてゐる。

これになして、日本、ドイツ、イタリアでは今日全体主義戦争
が必要とする。国力を發揮する為には、どうしても従来の觀念に
捉はれて「資本は乏しきなり、材料も乏しきなり」もこれなりしがない。
人口もこれなりしがない、これが我々の國力の限界だからこの限りに
おいて軍備するのむづかしいといふのは、これは到底英米と匹敵する
ことは出来まい。ドイツが全体主義的政治、經濟の体制を作り、
またイタリアがあの体制を作り、そして今日の軍備を作り上げたといふのは、
彼等が従来持つておたところの所謂国力なるものが、
旧式の考へ方では到底その必要とする軍備を整へるに足りなかつた
と云ふことが、大なる利戟になつてゐることを争つない。

今日、日本の政治家が第一になすべきことは従来の外來思想
に基いた、国力算定法を一擲して全体主義的立場から日本の
「国力」と許さるゝことではなかつたと思ふ。たとへば従来は、
吾等人のいふことであるが、日本の国力といふものに就て、
本の分量といふものを決定するものと見るのである。明治以來日
本に於いて蓄積されることの富、資本の額がどれだけあるか、
これを越えるところの軍備は、不可能であるといつてゐるのである。

年 知をらその標準として日本の国力を計るに支那事変
三年平、既に日本の力は限度に達しつつあると云へるものがある。
このうへ ^{19.153/}更に国防施設を整へようといふことは強んじて不可能
な状態にあるのであり、一層やむも従来の觀念を改め
新しい国力に対する算定方法を考へておさなければならぬ。

算に人口、土地或は蓄積資本といふやうな所謂生きた要素
素、これを概算に算えあげて、これが日本の国力だといふ簡単な
敗北主義の考へは、この際根本的に排除せねばならぬ。これは直
ちにその見方、考へ方を根柢から變へる。

I think the first thing to be done by Japanese politicians now will be to give up the method of computing their national power based on the past foreign ideas and to compute the "national power" of Japan from the totalitarian standpoint. For example, this has been quoted by economic people heretofore — they believe the amount of capital decides ^{largely} the national power of Japan. They say it is impossible for Japan to prepare the armaments exceeding the wealth or the amount of capital accumulated since the beginning of Meiji Era. Nevertheless, when computed in such a way, the national power of Japan may be said to have reached the limit as three years and half have passed since the

2.

outbreak of the China Incident. Thus Japan is in a position not to be able to strengthen her national defence furthermore, so that she has to abandon her past idea against her will ~~and~~ and devise a ^{new} method of computing her national power.

A simple idea of defeatism, which calculates the national power of Japan ^{only} by mentioning ^{mechanically} the elements of production such as population, land or accumulated capital must be completely eliminated at this time. This will result in complete change of a way of looking at or of thinking things and the idea of a ~~defended~~ nation must imply the complete change of a way of thinking such a thing — the re-estimation of value.

3.

If the general public of Japan look at the defended nation in such a way, it will be quite obvious whether or not such a nation may be founded in the past political and economic system. In the first place, I pointed out economic ethics and social justice as one idea and the foundation of a defended nation is another and the confusion of both gives rise to struggle and friction. ^{It means that,} Such a distinction may be made ideally but practically a true defended nation will necessitate the establishment of new economic ethics, so to speak, as a secondary effect in its course of foundation.

白鳥敏夫一戦いの時代

今日、日中ノ政治家ガオ一ニナス、ヘキコトハ従来ノ非来思想
ニ基ケタ、国力策定場ヲ一擲シテ全体を義の立場カラ曰
「国力」ヲ計ルコトヲハナイカト思フ。例ヘバ従来ハ、コレハ
統治人ノオコトデアルガ、曰、中ノ国力トイフモノニ就テ大体
資本ノ分量トイフモノヲ決定スルモノト見ル、デアル。明以
来曰、中ニオコテ蓄積サレタ所ノ富、資本ノ額ガトシタケ
アルカ、ソレヲ或ヘル所ノ軍備ハコレハ不可得デアルトイフテ
「ソレ」ニ併シテ、ソノ標準デ曰、中ノ国力ヲ計ルトテ軍事
費ニ年半、既ニ曰、中ノ力ハ限度ニ達シテアルト云ヘルノ
テアル。コト上更ニ国防施設ヲ整ヘルトイフコトハ強トス
可能ナド、既ニアルトアルカラ、圧テモ従来ノ概念ヲ改テ
新ラシイ「国力」ニ於テ、策定方法ヲ考ヘ申サナケレバナラズ。
軍ニ人口、土地、或ハ蓄積資本、中ノコトナソノ所謂「生
要素」、コレヲ機械的ニ数ヘマケテ、コレガ曰、中ノ国力ガトイフ
簡單ナ數北主義ノ考ハ、コノ~~根~~根柢的ニ排除セテバナ
ラズ。コレハ直ニモノノ見方、考ヘ方ヲ根柢カラ考ヘルコトニ
ナル、デアルテ、国防國家ノ概念ハソウイフ事ヲモテスル根柢
以テ考ヘ方ノ轉換、言ハバ價値トイフモノニ於テ、南洋價
ソレヲ含ムモノデアルト云ハナケレバナラズ。

若シ今日、国防國家トイフコトヲ曰、中ノ一般ノ人達ガソウ
見テラバ、従来通りノ政治、統治ノ体制ニヨリテ国防國家
ガ生ルルカ中東ノイカハ極メテ明瞭ニナラズ、果ルト思フ、

ア。テアルカラ、私ガ最御ニ経済倫理、此今正義トイフコト、
因テ国家ヲ作ルトイフコト也ニツハ別ノ概念デ之ヲ根角シテ
イルトコロニ相剋摩擦ガアルトイフタノハ、概念トシテバソウイフ
正別ガ生来ルルコトアルガ、實際ニ於テ、亦キノ意味ノ因テ因
家ヲ作ルナラバソノ過一程ニ過テ、イハバ別作用トシテ新ラ
シイ経済倫理ノ確立ハ必ズアルトイフコトヲ念ナテイフタ
説テアル。

IV A Total War Drawing Near JAPAN

Then, the question changes to that of why JAPAN came to be forced to adopt such a state organization, an organization of politics and economy, and to that of what is the external situation which forced JAPAN to do the construction of a self-defensive nation, and this naturally concerns the diplomatic relations which JAPAN faces. I will next explain about the outline of the

international relations which JAPAN faces.

If we call in question the problem of what is the foreign situation which compells JAPAN to arrange the organization of self-defensive nation as early as possible on this occasion, of course we must first consider the ^{present} relation between JAPAN and the principal countries in the world. It goes without saying that the present relation between JAPAN and

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the U.S. is considerably tense. Though
the situation is not yet full of dynamite,
it is impossible for JAPAN to sit idle
seeing and hearing the words and actions
of the U.S. even if considering very sensibly.

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Translated by KASAHARA

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In CHINA we have been fighting for three years and a half. It is difficult at present for us to foresee its final result. Anyway, considerable consumption of energy is inevitable. Also JAPAN expressed her resolution to establish the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, joining the well-known GERMAN-ITALY Alliance. The establishment of it means release of the vast domain of Southern Asia from the hitherto exploitation and tyranny of white men. It is the great achievement which cannot absolutely be attained

safely and peacefully.

USSR, contacting the border with JAPAN, has carried out the first and the second Five Years Plan and now the third.

From the results of them she has come to secure tremendous industries and military preparations.

I, of course, never presuppose the RUSSO-JAPANESE conflict and just point out the fact that a country, which has the common border and yet not always the same interests, is storing and further increasing her huge armaments.

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It is very clear that under these conditions JAPAN cannot be contented with the present degree of armaments and industrial power. Therefore JAPANESE demand for military preparations is such as would come up in any country under those conditions. We have to consider of the almost absolute necessity in particular under these days, the day of Jotarian War.

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④

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4. 日本と迫る全権戦争

然らば今日、日本がさういふ国家体制も政治・経済の体制を何故に採らなければならなくなったか、国防の国家建設を余儀なくする外、日本の情勢はどうか、いふものであるかといふことになって来たのであるが、自然にこれらは日本の直南する所の外交関係と平らである。以下極く大体、日本の直南する所、即ち関係といふものとして述べて見たい。

日本がこの際一はも速かた、防衛体制を整へることを必要とする海外情勢如何と云へば、論議には現在の日本と世界の主なる国々との関係、これを考慮しなればなるが、申す迄もなく、現在日本とアメリカの関係は相対陰悪である。一觸即発とは行かぬが、極めて警戒的を考へても、今のアメリカが云々おぼしきことを見れば、日本としてこれと日本と安んずることか出来ずなものである。

Mr. Frankfort

支那のあいとも我々は諍々三奇半戦争してゐる。その終局が如何なるかといふことは今の所見透しは困難であり、何れよせよ今後相対の勢力が消耗は必然である。また、日本の周知のは独伊同盟を結んで大東亞共栄圏を作らざる決意を表明した。これが完成は南アフリカのニムスなる領域を、従来の如き白人の搾取、白人の虐政から

解決することを意味するのであつて、到底、無事、手
穩には達成し得ない大きな事業である。

さらぬは、境を接し、二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

勿論、私はソヴエトと日本が衝突するといふことを、三次
提とするものではないが、二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

一致した二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

その軍備を増しつゝ、あることを望むのである。
から、二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次



現存程度、二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

極めて二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

かゝる二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

いて率るのである。こと、二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

代わつて、その必要を認め、二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次
の二次、今の三次、五ヶ年計画を行ひ、その結果、三次

考へたりしれぬ。

1.

5. The Totalitarian War

The real state of the totalitarian armaments

As shown by the military preparations of present day Germany or of Soviet Russia, the characteristics and point of the modern military equipments are mechanisation. So they need a considerable amount of material, especially a large quantity of iron. The mechanical warfare brings a large consumption rate. According more than to the calculation of a certain military critic, 2,000,000 tons of iron are necessary for greatest powers of the world to-day to wage war for one year. Therefore, they have to possess huge military industrial power ever imagined.

2.

It is now said that Germany is in possession of 25,000 aircraft and needless to say, Soviet Russia, too, has more than 20,000.

They have also thousands of tanks respectively. Their aircraft

or tanks are very excellent in capacity. It is the characteristic

of the totalitarian armaments to have a large amount of so

powerful mechanized arms.

And the war waged between the troops with such armaments is far more miserable than that in the past, bringing

always an exterminating result — extermination of the vanquished

which is its characteristic. France was defeated by the German

mechanized troop at Flanders with millions of captives.