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ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: Extract from Bound Volume of Periodicals entitled "Radio Lectures and Lessons" Nos 124-132 inclusive, Jan 1941-Sept 1941 compiled by Japan Broadcasting Association, Excerpt April Number pp 1-11 - Address by SHIRATORI

Date: 1 Mar 1941 Original Copy Language: Japanese

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SOURCE OF ORIGINAL: Japan Broadcasting Association

PERSONS IMPLICATED: SHIRATORI, Teshie

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE: Greater East Asia - War Preparations

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

"Observations Upon the Current Situation at Home and Abroad"
(Broadcast by Teshie SHIRATORI)

We are now face to face with the most serious crisis in history both at home and abroad. Japan is beset with unprecedented difficulties, while the world at large is plunging headlong into an enormous commotion which promises to be protracted, for how long no one knows.....

.....In order to stabilize the situation, it is imperative that the difficulties be faced in terms of the world as a whole. The fact that Japan, Germany and Italy entered into an alliance last fall must ~~itself~~ otherwise be viewed in such a perspective. It is true that the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact has resulted in an increased aggravation of relations between Japan on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other. It must also be admitted that the inter-relationship between the wars in Asia and in Europe has thereby become more pronounced. But this is not necessarily to be considered an outcome of the Tripartite Pact. Since the time of the Manchurian Incident and throughout the China affair, the

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interests of Japan and those of the Anglo-Saxon Nations have clashed on more than one occasion, and their respective opinions and claims were found irreconcilable. It became plain that it is entirely hopeless for Japan to settle satisfactorily the China affair and to establish a new order in East Asia on the basis of compromise and co-operation with the Anglo-Saxon Powers. That is the reason why Japan at last grasped the hands of Germany and Italy, whose interests and views have been found in complete accord with those of Japan.

.....A war lasting for ten, twenty years, is not unthinkable, and Japan will inevitably become involved therein. That is clear enough if only from the letter of the Tripartite Pact.

.....There is need for an entirely new start. The cry for a new political and economic system, the movement for the "observance of the way of the Imperial subjects", and the demand for "high degree national defense", are they not measurementant to meet the requirements, of the extraordinary world situation?

.....The construction of the so-called "defense-state" must in my opinion aim primarily at the adjustment of the internal structure in such a way as to enable us to cope with the world emergency. Its immediate purpose is the expansion of the country's productive power.

.....Once preparations for a long and total war are completed on the basis of a new national structure we can well expect the country to overcome all dangers, and its future to be full of promise.

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ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

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Greater East Asia, war preparation

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

"Observations Upon the Current Situation at Home
and abroad" (Broadcast by Toshio SHIRATORI)

[Bracketed material with dots of omission
(... ...) between excerpts]

Analyst:

JH

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ラジオ講演。講座の抜萃

内外時局と語る

白鳥敏夫

今日は内外も歴史以来以來の重大時期であります。日本は未層有の困難に直面えかると云はれます。世界はひに長期大動乱の眞唯中に突入しつつあるのであります。

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日本に非常時の戸を聞いてから、最早十年になリます。その中最近の三年半と云ふもの、私は開闢以来の大戦争を支那でやう參りました方あります。その間に国内の状勢も大大にかります。十萬人かの尊い人柱も出て行きました。親王大臣^{ヨウエイジン}の方には幾十萬の多くに達するなりであります。國民の生活も大部分窮屈になり、色々と不便な困難があります。國民とて一日も速りに平和安穏の時代を迎へたと希望します。モリカワせん、トケンハシがこの非常時は之は日本だけの原因で起つてもうござりません。支那、戦争東洋だけの理由、日本と支那との間の關係の勃発した戦争ではあります。モリカワ、実は世界共通をひに止める深い原因と必然性とに其きものであります。日本だけで、こう非常時を解消しても、常に庚下わけには参らぬのであります。

どうしてか、之は世界全体と云ふ問題が解決されなければ到底治りますまいあります。昨年秋、日本とドイツ、

ソ連軍事同盟を結んだのも、さうした關係があるから

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であります。同盟の出来た結果は、日本と英米との間が益々悪くなつて参つたことは予想であります。亞細亞の戦争ヨーロッパの戦争とが之によつて漸く相互の聯屬性をほつきりさせて来たことを認めなければなりません。しかし、ながら、之は強ち三國同盟の結果であるとは申せないのですあります。満洲の変以来新に支那戦争の期間を通じて、日本と英米とは、こと毎に利害が衝突し、意見が一致しなかつたのであります。彼等ヒリ妄想にあり、彼等ヒリの勢力に依つて、支那の変を圓く治め、東亞新秩序を建設するといふことは到底其の望みがほんの少しが分つたりで、日本は遂にドイツと云ひイタリアと云ひ、我々と完全に利害が一致したる國々と手を握つたのであります。であるから、イギリスやアメリカヒの關係が悪くなつたと云ふことは三國同盟の結果ではなくして、むしろその原因であつたのであります。同盟などと餘計なものを作らかう、外交の關係がむづかくなつたと云ふものがあるさうであります。が、之は本末顛倒の議論であることを特に申上げて置き度いのであります。

かやうに致しまして、今日之世界は完全に二つの陣営に分れて参りました。政治的にも、經濟的にもまた思想的にも全く相容れぬ、新旧の勢力の対立抗争もふとが、目前の世界大動乱であります。一方は英米佛蘭と云ふやうな、過去に於てこの地球上に自ほ一地方を大部分独占して仕舞ひ殊に我々同胞であ

タヒア、アジアの後進民族を虐げて榨取して今日の彼等、
富と勢力をも築いたやうであります。他們は日独伊の七く民
族は優秀であります。勤勉にして一貫、勇敢にして团结心に
富んで居りますが、只英半佛等は比べて立ち後れなつた
事より領上から狭く物資は足らず、民の生計立ち難い。如何
して云々天理人道と無視して義と公平に反した今日の
英國は力で有りうるが大勇猛へ奮起したふうであり
ます。かうか全く立場が異つた物の考究の違ひを今間
の衝突がありすがら、之は却く一朝一夕にして平和回復を
見ることは困難であります。

例へば支那事變は致しまして四年近くに亘つて未だ解決
しきりは本來の相手が支那では全く支那の四億五千万
の民衆を利用して掠取し支那を何時まで半殖民地狀
態に陥して置かうといふ日本と全く考へ違ひ行き方の違つ
た英米の件を早く背後にあよからであります。今日は誰
知りぬことはない。是迄は我々は獨力で斯かるが、勢力と戦つ
て来た。彼等の称する物質主義、弱肉強食主義、國民には
日本の天皇とは如何なるもの不存在であらせられ、ハ結一室
理想は如何なるのであるか、日本が其有共榮とは如何な
る意味か。かういふことは今リ申せ、又へかうと申せず只
日本は支那といふ弱國をいじわる悪者である侵略者と
あよと言つて來たのである。單に悪口ばかりでは、實際は於
こも事實中英米は隣分支那を助け、日本の邪魔をして
して来たことは我々日本や民の骨身に沁みたれることので
きな所であります。彼等が背後にある限り日本支事

度はいやでも非常な長期戦となさるを得なかつたがあります。所がヨーロッパ戦争の始まると共に、局面上は一喜一悲となりました。あるほど英米は今迄われわれ日本に敵意を表してゐてゐるのでありますから、行掛り上流で支那を助けると言つてあります。日本に対する經濟上極めて圧迫を加へ来てをりますか、いかゞでは何と云は、ともも、もはや實際上彼等は支那の事に多くがまつてかられなくなつた、支那を有効に助けることが出来なくなつた。今や彼等から見て立戰場はヨーロッパに移つては無難なつてあります。自然支那戰争は段々影が薄くなつて参りました。英米といふ立派と申るが舞台監督と申すが、さう、ふ者共があちこちで乞食になつたのでありますから、二らうの舞台からいまになつたはさう然であります。かつて風に當るの張下人かぬくては見れば、後は日本と支那と、もともとジアの兄弟同志であるから、話も合ひはらくな筈であります。今更に蔣介石始めまだ摩加醜めなりて、世界の様子が一變と来たことを知らず、自支事務の仕事が高々とあたたかく分らざる依然として英米に附下り、日本に抵抗を続けておりますが、今に彼等もほんとうに今見え参ります。私は支那事務だけは間もなく一筋形づくであらうと考へまし、又日本では早く形づけなければならぬと存するのであります。

か一なかう、一時遠方に行つてゐる鬼は、ちきまれアジアに帰つて参る。あらう、云ふことを忘れてはなりません。我らの「鬼の店」の間、洗濯もあヨタのつくりは出来ないを、ライとヨーロッパで、直角なこと、あれど、それだけ引込んでしまふ鬼ではな。

英米の勢力がヨーロッパから締め出されると、今度は彼等はアラビアが、今までより一層大事な事になつて来る。彼等は日本までトリし、一段とアラビアに勢力を集中して下さい。日本が大東亜共同防衛圏を作ることから、之は直接彼等の領分が侵奪されるのでありますから、イギリス、アメリカは之に對しては支那の問題だけはもと強く日本を反対するのであります。さうであるならば彼等がヨーロッパで勝てば勿論のことをさせてしませんが、日本が支那へ帰るにはまづ、我々のアラビア独立、アラビア開放の聖業は、今後は愈々大きな努力と犠牲を必要とするものであることを覺悟しなければならぬ。

又トイット致しましたし、イギリスドヨーロッパ敗戦、英本と占領したといつたけりけ決して安らかないと思ひます。戦争はそれでお終いにならぬことを見なければなりません。イギリスは必ずその海軍力を中心としてアラビア方面の植民地やカナダ、豪洲に據て抵抗を続けゝと思はれますし、又アメリカも今はまだ準備ができてゐない上に、國論一致してゐる様であつたら、直ちに先に戦げすよいが、彼の國が軍備ができ上つたことは、公然戦争には入れると見えなければならない。一ズムルト大統領等は昨今は丸で自公が戦争をやつてゐる事を口吻でありますから、アメリカの參戦は必然と云はなければならぬ。實は今日でも名は何と呼ばうとアメリカは事実上戦争であるのであります。

さうすると、この戦争は全世界に亘る恐ろしく長期の戦
 爭になります。二十年二十年も続くことが考へられます。日本
 は無論その中に捲き込まれる。之は三国時代明後かに決
 てゐるあります。之は見やうに依つては支那戦争が拡大
 して世界戦争になつたと云へます。又東西の戦争が一
 に融けり込んだと見ることができると思ひます。何
 がいこし、日本がこの世界戦争を袖手傍観するもので
 きなれば明らかであります。

之の情勢を見て取つて、昨今国内には少すからず恐慌
 を起してゐる向へあるやうあります。又何うかして、この勢
 を喰ひ止めやうと努力する人々もあるまうであります。しか
 しながらそれは畢竟無益であります。人類の思想が大
 轉換を遂げたために、常に長期の戰乱時代を経過して
 参つてゐる。力ありきして、人力を以て之を堰き止めると
 けであります。之はあります。いはへてしまつたのであります。
 我々日本国民としては、この長期世界戦争は際して、徒
 にあやてたり心配したり、又歴史に逆行する様を行はず
 で考へたりしまして、何より先づ、國內を固め、長期戦立派、戦ひ抜く覺悟を決めなければなりません。支那
 事變の三年半で随分困難増して來てゐるのに、この上
 た十年と二十年と戦争をえて甚るが、笑談より加減にする
 がいいといふお叱りを受けるが、知れぬ勿論、私戦争
 が日は早く済むことを希望する段になれば、人後に落す
 るものではない。しかし専らそれが今日の大勢であり、

不可能であるならば、我々としては、之に備へなければなりません。
支那事変を戦ひまことに通つての方法では、やうに行けないことは
明らかである。この際我々は根本的に出直さなければならぬ。
新体制となり、庄道実践となり、国防國家となるのは、實は
お容易ならず世界の情勢に対するためにこそ、どう必要
がある。ありますせう。

由来日本は世にも有り難い國柄であります。現人神に平しま
す。上御一人を太御親と仰ぎ奉て、國民は何れも心懸り
に依て結ばれたる兄弟家族であります。國難に遭遇するに付
る程愈々の結束を固くする。他國に例見する日本國
民の特質であり、大半が淳味であります。仁人や機械的集
団、天賦人权の自由平等などして、人でに勝手を振舞
ひとする民主主義の国とは大に違つております。今後
如何に長期に亘り試練にさらされても、日本では内訌が
破綻を來すが如き懸念は絶対にならないでありますから、先
づこれほど安心なことはないわけであります。

又我々は必ず利を得てをりますから、兵備の發達した今宵
でも戰禍が日本本土に及ぶことは、先づ考へられな
のであります。日本と境を接する國としては支那はあり通り
であります。今後は段々關係は良くなりつて行きます
。セラレーフの方の心配はないと確信致します。之見ゆは日本
太平洋は広いとあります。我々は我が無敵海軍に信

頼る余り取戻苦勞せねがよろしく。老人子弟を都會
から移すなどのは、誠に徒々な人騒かせて百害あって
一利なしとあります。

十年、二十年といふ長期戦と申しますと、火薬を散らすの
武力戦より、むしろ經濟戦、思想戦が主になつて参ります。
即戰即決の短距離競走に対するのはマラソン競走であります。
我々の心構へも従つて変つて来なければなりません。
ゆつたりと神經を大い構へなければならず、心身でのやう
に戦時だ、一時は何とか、二年、三年、四十棒などと云ふ伸びる氣
持では長期戦は出来ません。さうではなくて之が常態で、
いや戦争をやめながら、之を一段々國內は良くなるのだ、
良くしなければならぬこと、つまり、餘裕のある能密度を達
きること思ひます。それ又、この度の戦争の性格であります。
新秩序建設のための戦争でありますから、戦ひ乍ら建
設もやつて行くのであります。戦争不消までのには、或は外
とあらかた新秩序ができるといふことは、今は理想
的であります。

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国防國家の建設と申しますと、この長期に亘るうちの國內制
整の事とが主眼であります。目前は生産力拡充を算
可急務と致しますが、之より國民の心構へが大切で
あります。國民がよく今日の國際情勢を認識し、日本立
場を了解し、總力戦の本質を把握して、之は一つ奮臂を
なけれはなりない、我慢は云つてゐらぬ事と心から目醒め
るべ下りれば、生産拡充は困難であります。

不可能であるならば、我々としては之に備へなければなりません。
支那事変を戦つてまた通つての方法では、やつて行けないことは
明らかである。この際我々は根本的に出直さなければならぬ。
新体制^{として}、臣道^{として}実践^{して}、国防國家^{として}のは、實は
この容易ならぬ世界の情勢に對応するためこそ、必ず必要
があるあります。

由来日本は世にも有り難い國柄であります。現人神にま
す、上御一人を大御親と仰ぎ奉て、國民は何帆^の轍^を走り
に依て結ばれたる兄弟家族であります。國難に遭遇^{する}に付
る程愈々^{より}結束を固くする。本他國に例を見ず、日本國
民、特質であり、大きな滋味であります。但人爲機械的^に集
つて、天賦人权^{たる}の自由平等^を守りて、んで勝手を鼓舞
ひをする民主主義^の國とは大に違ふ^であります。今後
如何に長期に亘り試練にさらされ^{ても}、日本では^は節が
う破綻^を來すか如き懸念^は絶対^{にな}りますが、それ
がこれほど定心なことはないわけであります。

又我々は也、利を得てをりますから、兵畠^の登達した今月
で^しも戰禍が日本本土に及ぶことには、先づ考へられな
ります。日本と境を接する國としては支那はあり通じ
であります。ヨーロッパは、今後は段々關係^は良くなつて行きま
せう。その方へ配はないと確信致^{します}。して見れば日本
も^とは今日海面だけを見詰めてゐればよろしく^でせう。
太平洋は広い^であります。我々は我が無敵海軍^に信

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頼る余り敗北する力はせぬふよも。老人の供で都合
がう移すなど、矢張誠に徒々を人間強かせて百姓をまつて
一利なしとあります。

十年二十年くらの長期戦と申しますと、火薬と前線の
武力戦より、むしろ經濟戦、思想戦が主になつて参ります。
即戦即決の短距離競走に對してはマラソン競
走もあります。我々の心構へも従つて変つて来なければなりません。
ゆつてりと神經を太く構へなければならず、一回までやう
に戦財た、一けん何とかし。二年三十棒たと云ふ様な氣
持では長期戦はやれません。ヤニではなくして之が常態か
いや戦争をやさがら、之が一段々国内は圓くなるの左、
良くなければなしを、といつ仰り、餘裕のある態度を營
まること思ひます。それが又、一度の戦争とは格であります。
新秩序建設のための戦争であります。しかし、戦ひ方を建
設をやつて行くつてあります。戦争不消しまでのには、内外
からかた新秩序木できるといふことあれば、これは理想
的であります。

国防国家の建設と云ふこと、この長期に歸むるの國内
一整つのことの主眼であります。目前は生産力拡充を第一
の急務と致しますが、之ニやはり国民の心構へが大切で
あります。国民がよく今日の國際情勢を認識し、日本立
場を了解し、總力戦の本質を把握し、之は一つ奮闘せ
なければならぬ、我儘は云つてみら申すと心から目醒め
るなりば、生産拡充は困難であります。

政府が何とか法律で権力で強制してやつて解決する結果は得られない。何より人間の本能、人間の天性、生きて活動をすければならない。たゞ戦時、戦時よりも必要に国民の心を暗くさせ、何等前途に希望を持たせぬやうな、やり方は力んで避けなければならずが、マテソ競走であり、前途は遠ざかであらう、あまりせかくにはけます。由来日本の国民性は明るかであり、陽性であるべき筈であります。大和民族の歴史に於て最大の大困難は大神様が天の岩戸にお隠れになり、天下を眞暗にした時であります。そこで際ハ百萬の神々は何となきてあります。決して唯む泣たり悲しきなりはしなかつた。岩戸の前に集つて、高天原し搖りとびろくばかりに踊り興じ笑ひやわのいたではありますせぬか。之が困難に處する日本民族特有の態度であると思ひます。

抑、日本が非常時とすべきは、初口申した通り、人間の智慧では、はかり得ない、萬々深い原因から起つてあります。滿洲事變も支那戰争も、いはへ天意であつて誰れが始めたことでも、誰の責任でもない。我々の爲すべしとはその天意とこしく汲み取ることであります。今日日本國民は彼等に非常の困苦を蒙り、彼等と戦うとする神々の深き意図を詮議りながら、抱くであると思ひます。誰れ云ふとなく、支那事變の解決は八九一宇の皇謨即ち

行はれなければならぬと云ふが今日輿論になつてゐます。
 また國內の新体制は、一億国民の臣道実践を可能に
 しめるとして以て、眼目にしておられます。日本
 本の内外非常時の爲めの如き方法を以て解決せら
 るべきものであるといふことに期せずして國論が一致した
 しましたのは、誠に素晴らしい事実であります。これは日本
 民族が有史以來の難局に当面して、よく國体の本義
 を想ひ、民族使命に自醒めたことを語るものであります
 て、この自覺に基き、この精神を貫くならば、百の内憂
 ヲ、千の外患シナリ恐れる必要はないと存じます。

今までは、河といつても支那相手の戦争であると、十箇年命で國民もまだに真鍮には切り切つてゐなかつた。それと多くは英米流の考へ方に染まつてゐる。個人主義、物質主義の悪思想が抜けなかつてから、戦時体制に色々と缺陷があり、國民は不満を唱へ、生産は減退し、有る物も出来未だいと、十有種でありますしがいよ／＼世界的の長期大動乱の渦中に日本もいや應ず／＼に巻き込まれる。されば國民の覺悟も自ら違つてあります。國体觀念も一段と徹底して来るとしてありますから、我々は今後に大いなる期待を持ち得る事を確信致すのであります。

日本にこの持久戦、總力戦の体制が出来てへすれば國難の突破は勿論、國家の前途は洋々たるものであると思ひます。今日の戦争は世界の舊体制の行き詰まりが、根本の原因でありますから、その行詰まりで舊体制が敗退する事が自然であります。新舊の兩勢力が大なる犠牲を拂ひ死力を盡して戦ひ、後に再び舊体制が勝つて、一切の犠牲も苦勞も水泡に帰すと、ふとほ、之は人類社會の進化の理法から申しても到底考へられない事であります。日本としては、舊体制に本體を残し、之と共に没落するが子寧大辱を過ぎ犯さない限り決して將來に不安はない存ります。

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Defense Language Branch

SHIRATORI Document No. 11

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CURRENT SITUATION AT HOME AND ABROAD

(Broadcast by Toshio SHIRATORI, on March 1, 1941)

We are now face to face with the most serious crisis in history both at home and abroad. Japan is beset with unprecedented difficulties, while the world at large is plunging headlong into an enormous commotion which promises to be protracted, for how long no one knows.

Ten years have already elapsed since the cry of emergency was first heard in our country. Of this period, we have spent the last three and a half years in carrying on a war on the largest scale in the history of our country since its opening to the world. In the meantime, considerable changes have occurred in our internal situation. About one hundred thousand precious lives have been lost, leaving behind hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who have been deprived of their fathers, husbands, sons or brothers. Our daily livelihood is becoming more and more cramped and various inconveniences and hardships are experienced at every turn. There is no Japanese who is not desirous of the return as soon as possible of the days of peace and comfort. But the present emergency has not arisen on account of Japan alone. The China affair is not a conflict that broke out for reasons confined to the Orient alone, nor solely as a product of Sino-Japanese relations. Its origin must be traced to deeper causes rooted in the inevitability of world-wide developments. It is impossible, therefore, for Japan alone to solve the present extraordinary situation.

and return to "normalcy."

In order to stabilize the situation, it is imperative that the difficulties be faced in terms of the world as a whole. The fact that Japan, Germany and Italy entered into an alliance last fall must likewise be viewed in such a perspective. It is true that the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact has resulted in an increased aggravation of relations between Japan on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other. It must also be admitted that the inter-relationship between the wars in Asia and in Europe has thereby become more pronounced. But this is not necessarily to be considered an outcome of the Tripartite Pact. Since the time of the Manchurian Incident and throughout the China affair, the interests of Japan and those of the Anglo-Saxon Nations have clashed on more than one occasion, and their respective opinions and claims were found irreconcilable. It became plain that it is entirely hopeless for Japan to settle satisfactorily the China affair and to establish a new order in East Asia on the basis of compromise and co-operation with the Anglo Saxon Powers. That is the reason why Japan at last grasped the hands of Germany and Italy, whose interests and views have been found in complete accord with those of Japan.) The aggravation of our relations with Britain and the United States is, therefore, the cause and not the result of the Tripartite Pact. The argument is said to be advanced in some quarters that Japan's diplomatic dealings have become difficult because of the conclusion of such a superfluous connection. It must be pointed out here that such a suggestion puts the cart before the horse.

In this way, the world has been divided into two camps, of old and new forces, which are altogether incompatible with each other, politically.

economically and ideologically. This in brief is the picture of the great world commotion which we envisage today. Composing one camp are the countries of Britain, the United States, France and the Netherlands, which have founded their present wealth and influence by monopolizing the best part of the world and more especially by oppressing and exploiting the backward peoples of Asia who are kith and kin of our own race. On the other side are countries like Japan, Germany and Italy, whose people have all the superior qualities of industry, honesty, bravery and a spirit of unity, but whose lands and resources are limited due to their belated appearance on the international stage, with the consequence that they find it not a little difficult to maintain the livelihood of their teeming millions; nations who have gallantly resolved by some means or other to reconstruct a world order which is against reason and humanity. Since the clash is thus between two groups of countries whose ideas and positions are so diametrically opposed to each other, to restore peace is a task that cannot easily be accomplished.

Take for instance, the question of the China affair. High upon four long years have elapsed and a solution is not yet in sight. It is simply because, as everyone is now aware, China is not the only nation to deal with but there are countries like Britain and the United States behind China which, unlike Japan, evidently consider it to their interest to prolong the semicolonial status of China in order to exploit the four hundred million Chinese. We have hitherto been fighting single handed against these influences. Believers in the materialistic doctrine of the survival of the fittest, these countries do not and will not understand what the national character and ideals of Japan are, or what "Sino-Japanese

"co-existence and co-prosperity" really means to the peoples of Japan and China. They have simply been accusing Japan of oppressing the weak China and of being an aggressor. Not only have they abused Japan but have actually been aiding Chungking and obstructing Japan's efforts ever since the outset of the unfortunate affair. Their anti-Japanese activities have sunk deeply in the minds of the Japanese who cannot easily forget them.

The protraction of the Sino-Japanese conflict was inevitable so long as such Anglo-American activities continued. With the outbreak of the European war, however, the situation began to change. Having hitherto shown so much enmity toward this country Britain and the United States cannot but avow their intention of continuing to aid Chungking, and have actually been increasing their economic pressure on Japan. But whatever they may say, the actual developments of the world situation are such that they cannot afford to concern themselves too much with China. For them to help Chungking effectively is now impossible. The principal theater of war has been shifted to Europe and the China scene has gradually been relegated to the background. Since the star actors or the stage directors of the Sino-Japanese drama are kept busy in Europe, the Far Eastern theater has naturally to be neglected. In the absence of the promoters of the affair, Japan and China, being racially and culturally brother nations of Asia, ought to be able to come to an understanding. Chiang Kai-shek and his followers, however, are still under an illusion. Shutting their eyes both to the altered aspect of the world situation and to the change in character which the China affair has undergone, they continue their resistance against Japan in hopes of continued assistance from

Britain and America. It is hoped that sooner or later the truth will dawn upon them. I for one am persuaded that the China affair will before long be settled. We of Japan must surely do all we can to wind it up as soon as possible.

We must not forget, however, that those "headmen" who have gone away for the moment will come back to Asia soon enough. The mice cannot afford to play too merrily while the cat is away. Even if they be baffled in Europe, they are not the sort of ^{headmen} who will give up the game. If shut out from Europe, Asia would become more than ever important for them, and they would unquestionably concentrate their efforts on the affairs of this part of the world. Inasmuch as Japan's idea of establishing a sphere of common prosperity in greater East Asia must, in their eyes, be an encroachment on their own interests, the Anglo-Saxons would oppose it with even greater vigour than in the case of the China affair. If that be the case, we must bear in mind that our position will not be made easier through their defeat in Europe alone, not to speak of our plight in case they win. We must be prepared for more and more efforts and sacrifices for the lofty task of realising Asia's independence and emancipation.

As for Germany, she will not be able to rest content by merely defeating or ever occupying Britain in Europe. The German-British struggle will not come to an end with that. It is to be expected that Britain will move, with her sea power intact, to her Asiatic colonies, Canada or Australia, and try to continue her resistance. Besides, it must be presumed that the United States will participate openly in the war when her preparations are completed, though her immediate entry is problematical, as she is not at present prepared, and, moreover, there

seems to exist a division of opinion in that country regarding her involvement in the war. At any rate, with President Roosevelt striking an attitude as if his country were already in the war, American participation must be considered inevitable. In point of fact, the United States is now virtually a belligerent, whatever name one may choose to give to her present status.

Under these circumstances, the European war has every prospect of developing into an extremely protracted war all over the world. A war lasting for ten, twenty years, is not unthinkable, and Japan will inevitably become involved therein. That is clear enough if only from the letter of the Tripartite Pact. Such an eventuality may, from Japan's point of view, be considered an expansion of the China affair into a general world war, or a melting together of the wars in Asia and Europe. Be it what it may, it is clear that Japan will not be allowed to stand aloof from such a world-wide conflagration.

Such a prospect cannot but be a source of intense apprehension to many people in this country, nor are endeavours wanting, I understand, to curb the progress of events. I am afraid, however, that such efforts will after all prove fruitless. History is eloquent in testifying to the truth that all great changes in human thought have resulted from long periods of struggle. No human power can check the overwhelming tide of a historic inevitability.

When such a long-term world war does come, our nation should not be uselessly upset or worried, or vainly think of a course running counter to historic necessity. Before everything, we must put right our internal conditions so that we may successfully cope with the impending world

cataclysm. I know that I shall be taken to task by some people who would say, "Three and a half years of warfare in China is more than enough. How could we bear further ten or twenty years of armed struggle and tribulations? Stop your nonsense!" I yield to none in hoping for as quick a termination of the war as possible. Nevertheless, if the trend of the times is otherwise and cannot be avoided it is imperative that we should be prepared for the worst. That the way in which we have been carrying on the China affair will be utterly inadequate is clear enough.

There is need for an entirely new start. The cry for a new political and economic system, the movement for the "observance of the way of the Imperial subjects", and the demand for "high degree national defense", are they not measurement to meet the requirements, of the extraordinary world situation?

Japan is a country standing unique in the world for her national and state characteristics. Looking up to the Emperor, "the Son of Heaven", as their father, the people are conscious of their blood relationship one with another, the whole nation thus being formed into a large family and brotherhood. The greater the difficulties confronting them, the more firmly tightened are the ties that bind them together. That is the rare quality and strong point of this nation. That distinguishes them from some of the democracies where individuals are mechanically assembled together and in the name of the natural rights of man, liberty and equality, every one acts as he pleases. That there is in this country no possibility of an internal breakdown, however long and severe a test the people may be put to, ought more than anything else to contribute to our equanimity of mind.

Moreover, Japan's geographical position is such as to render her practically immune from war's ravages in spite of the great modern improvement in the instruments of war. As regards the countries adjacent to her, China is as every one knows, while our relations with the Soviet Union are expected progressively to improve, leaving no cause for anxiety from that quarter. It is only on the sea that we must keep watch. The Pacific, however, is a boundless ocean. It behoves us not to entertain too much apprehension, placing our trust in our unbroken navy. The talk about removing the old and the young from the cities is to my mind worse than useless, causing as it does unwarranted misgivings among the general public.

In a long-term struggle, economic and ideological warfare will play a more important part than an actual clash in arms. It is so to speak a marathon race as compared to lightning stroke warfare which may be likened to a sprint race. In a struggle of this kind serenity of mind and strong nerves are essential. So far we have been told that "it is war time, that it is a temporary phenomenon, and that it is a matter of perseverance for only a year or two". That is not the proper attitude of mind in face of the trying difficulties ahead of us. On the contrary it is desirable that we should have enough composure of mind to tell ourselves that the war conditions have come to stay and that we must try to improve our internal conditions while fighting in China. That ought naturally to arise from the character of the war we are now engaged in, for is it not a war for the establishment of a new order? We must construct while fighting. It would be an ideal development if it could be shown that when the war is over the new order is there both at home and on the continent.

The construction of the so-called "defence-state" must in my opinion aim primarily at the adjustment of the internal structure in such a way as to enable us to cope with the world emergency. Its immediate purpose is the expansion of the country's productive power. But this cannot be achieved unless we are one and all fully awake to the reality of the international situation and, realizing the essential requirements of a modern warfare, give up all selfishness. Without the conscious cooperation of the people, no amount of legislation or exercise of governmental authority will bring any good results. Above all, human instinct and human nature must be given free play. All methods should therefore be avoided which, in the name of war-time requirements, unnecessarily darken the hearts of the people and hold out no hope for the future. Although mental slackening must be guarded against, yet fidgeting and bustling will get us nowhere for it is a Marathon, and a long one at that which we have to run. Cheerfulness is the one ineradicable trait of the Japanese people. The greatest national calamity that befell the Yamato race in its long history, was when the Great God Ira-torazu hid behind the Heavenly Cave throwing utter darkness upon the whole world below. What did the eight hundred thousand gods do in face of the emergency? Were they helplessly given to weeping and sorrowing? Far from it, they assembled before the Heavenly Cave and sang and danced and laughed till the heavens shook and rang again. That, I take it, is the characteristic way of our race in meeting difficulties.

As I said at the outset the extraordinary situation with which Japan has been confronted in recent years has arisen from deep causes beyond

human comprehension. Both the Manchurian incident and the China affair must be attributed as it were to a Heavenly disposition: they were not of our own making, nor are any group of men to be held responsible for them. What we should do is to grasp the meaning of that Disposition. I venture to believe that today the Japanese people have rightly grasped the deep significance of the Divine will in putting them to the test of the emergency privations. It is not known who said it first, but it is now the consensus of opinion that the solution of the China problem must be along lines worthy of the Imperial idea of universal brotherhood or one world family. In regard also to the proposed new structure at home, it is pointed out that the one thing needful is how to enable the hundred million people to put in practice unhampered the way of the Imperial subjects. It is indeed noteworthy that such a method ^{should} spontaneously be proposed for the solution of our difficulties both at home and abroad. That would soon to prove beyond chance that the sons of Yamato, faced with the gravest situation in history, have awakened to the true meaning of our national structure and of the mission imposed upon them. So long as we maintain that consciousness and live up to that spirit, no amount of difficulties or calamities need cause us any misgiving or apprehension.

Frankly speaking, our people have made light of the China war and failed so far to put forth their efforts to the full. Moreover, since the dregs of individualism and materialism have not altogether been eliminated from their thought, there have been various defects in the country's wartime system, giving rise to complaints, decrease in production and failure of goods to appear on the market. But, once the country should be drawn into the world maelstrom whether we like it or not, may it not

be expected that the attitude of the people will naturally undergo a
revolutionary change.

Once preparations for a long and total war are completed on the basis of a new national structure we can well expect the country to overcome all dangers, and its future to be full of promise. The present conflicts in the East and the West are at bottom due to the fact that the old order has reached its limits throughout the world. Its defeat seems therefore natural. That, after the life-and-death grapple between the new and old orders at enormous sacrifices, the old should emerge victorious, rendering fruitless the efforts and sacrifices of the new, is hard to imagine in the light of the theory of the evolution of human society. Unless, therefore, we commit the error of sticking to the old system at home and falling along with that system, we need perhaps not be too tragic about the future of this nation.

C E R T I F I C A T E

To hereby certify that the treatise in the accompanying paper, entitled "On the Current Situation at Home and Abroad" written by Mr. SHIRATORI Toshio is a true and exact copy of an article given on p. 9-11 of "Radio Lectures and Courses", edition No. 127, which is in the custody of this Association.

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TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/S/ William E. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan

Date 23 Jan. 1947

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