

26 Aug. 1947

Report by
J. G. Lambert

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Mr. Sutton; Mr. Comyns-Carr; Mr. Brown
FROM: E. P. Monaghan, Chief, Investigative Division

A check of the Investigative files, IPS reveals that the following named persons are referred to as indicated;

| <u>Witness</u> | <u>Requested by</u> | <u>File Reference</u> |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| ARTTA, Hachiro | ARAKI SHIRATORI TOJO OSHIMA | Case File 345 |
| YOKOMIZO, Koki | ARAKI | No. info |
| ISHIWATA, Sotaro | TOJO ARAKI | Case file 257 |
| ABE, Nobuyuki | SATO ARAKI | Case file 153 |
| TOMITA, Kenji | ARAKI | File No. 5 Ser 6, 83, 84 File No. 59 Ser 4, 11, 52 164, 249 File No. 68 Ser 6 File No. 89 Ser 15 File No. 270 Ser 1 File No. 436 Ser 187 File No. 440 Ser 86 File No. 447 Ser 69 File No. 463 Ser 23 File No. 91 Ser 84 |
| YASUOKA, Masaatsu | ARAKI | File No. 185 Ser 19 File No. 251 Ser 11 |
| MATSUYAMA, Tsunejiro | ARAKI | No information |
| OMORI, Soyen | ARAKI | No information |
| OBATA, Kazuo | ARAKI | No information |
| MAEDA, Masami | ARAKI | No information |
| NAKAMURA, Kaju | ARAKI | File No. 462 Ser 2 |
| SHIMIZU, Shigeo | ARAKI | No information |

17 Sep 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Comyns Carr; Mr. Brown; Mr. Sutton ✓
FROM : EDWARD P. MONAGHAN, Chief,
Investigative Division, IPS
SUBJECT : Defense Witness

1. Please find attached hereto list of material available on the following witness and/or witnesses.

DEFENDANT

ARAKI

WITNESS

MAEDA, Masami

LIST OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE

Curriculum Vitae

2. Please acknowledge receipt of this memorandum by initialling and returning attached carbon copy to this office, Room 300.

Incl
(Described above)

EPM
EDWARD P. MONAGHAN

Personal History of MAEDA, Masami

Permanent residence and status: NARA Prefecture - warrior class.

Date of birth: 10 November 1892.

Name: MAEDA, Masami.

Former status: warrior class.

Former name: MAEDA, Masami.

29 May 1911: Graduated from the Central Military Preparatory School.

31 " " : Appointed a cadet and assigned to the 15th Engineer Battalion by the Inspectorate General of Military Training.

5 June " : Enlisted into the 15th Engineer Battalion.

" " " : Given the rank of Superior Private, Engineer Corps, by the 15th Engineer Battalion.

1 August 1911 : Promoted to the rank of Corporal, Engineer Corps, by the 15th Engineer Battalion.

30 October " : Promoted to the rank of Sergeant, Engineer Corps, by the 15th Engineer Battalion.

1 December " : Entered the Military Academy.

26 May 1913 : Graduated from the Military Academy.

" " " : Awarded a silver watch for meritorious achievement upon graduation from the Military Academy.

27 " " : Rejoined his former regiment.

" " " : Promoted to the rank of Master Sergeant and appointed a probationary officer by the 15th Engineer Battalion.

29 October 1913 : Passed by the Officer Selection Board in accordance with Article 12 of the Army Replacement Regulations by the 15th Engineer Battalion.

25 December " : Commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant, Engineer Corps, by the Cabinet.
Assigned to the 15th Engineer Battalion by the War Ministry.

20 March 1914 : Conferred with the 8th Court Rank, Senior Grade.

7 November 1915 : Decorated with the War Medal, 1914-1915.

- 6 August 1917 : Promoted to 1st Lieutenant, Engineer Corps, by the Cabinet.
- 1 October " : Conferred with the 7th Court Rank, Junior Grade.
- 18 January 1919 : Relieved of principal duty and appointed a member of a subsection of the Land Survey Department by the War Ministry.
- 10 December " : Ordered to attend the Army Staff College by the War Ministry.
- 24 January 1920 : Relieved of principal duty and assigned to serve with the 15th Engineer Battalion by the War Ministry.
- 1 December 1921 : Relieved of principal duty, assigned to the 15th Engineer Battalion, and appointed to assume temporarily the duties of a Captain by the War Ministry.
- 15 August 1922 : Promoted to Captain, Engineer Corps, by the Cabinet.
- 15 August " : Assigned to serve with the 15th Engineer Battalion.
- 11 September 1922 : Conferred with the 7th Court Rank, Senior Grade.
- 5 December 1922 : Relieved of assignment to serve with the 15th Engineer Battalion and appointed a company commander of the 15th Engineer Battalion by the War Ministry.
- 11 December 1923 : Ordered to serve with the Headquarters of the General Staff by the War Ministry.
- 6 May 1924 : Relieved of principal duty and assigned to serve with the 15th Engineer Battalion by the War Ministry.
- 20 August 1924 : Relieved of principal duty and made a member of the Headquarters of the General Staff by the War Ministry.
- 29 July 1925 : Decorated with the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, 6th Class.
- 1 October 1927 : Conferred with the 6th Court Rank, Junior Grade.
- 10 August 1928 : Promoted to Major, Engineer Corps, by the Cabinet.
- 12 December 1928 : Assigned to serve with the First Railway Regiment by the War Ministry.
- 1 August 1930 : Assigned to the Army Ordnance Depot. and, concurrently, to serve with the Military Affairs Bureau, the War Ministry.
- 2 April 1931 : Made a member of the Headquarters of the Fortifications Department and, concurrently, of a section in the Military Affairs Bureau, the War Ministry, by the War Ministry.

- 11. July 1931 : Decorated with the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, 5th Class.
- 21 January 1932 : Appointed a member of the Headquarters of the General Staff by the War Ministry.
- 27 June 1932 : Appointed an adjutant in the War Ministry and, Concurrently, a private secretary to the War Ministry.
- 8 August " : Promoted to Lieut. Colonel, Engineer Corps, by the Cabinet.
- 5 September 1932 : Appointed a private secretary to the War Minister and, concurrently, an adjutant in the War Ministry by the War Ministry.
- 1 September " : Conferred with the 6th Court Rank, Senior Grade.
- 23 January 1934 : Assigned to serve with the Army Ordnance Depot and, concurrently, with the War Minister's Secretariat by the War Ministry.
- 6 April 1934 : Appointed a member of the party of the Second Special Inspector by the War Ministry.
- 17 May " : Appointed Director of the Laboratory of the Army Engineer School and, concurrently, an instructor in the same School by the War Ministry.
- 26 March 1935 : Appointed a member of the party of the Second Special Inspector by the War Ministry.
- 1 August " : Appointed staff officer with the Depot Unit of the 3rd Division by the War Ministry.
- 29 April 1934 : Decorated with the Small Cordon of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun for services in the 1931-1934 Incident.
- 28 April 1936 : Appointed CO of the 1st Engineer Battalion by the War Ministry.
- " " " : Relieved from appointment as staff officer with the Depot Unit of the 3rd Division by the War Ministry.
- 1 August 1936 : Promoted to Colonel, Engineer Corps, by the Cabinet.
- 1 October " : Conferred with the 5th Court Rank, Junior Grade.
- 5 July 1937 : Assigned to serve with the Headquarters of the KWANTUNG Army by the War Ministry.
- 13 August 1938 : Decorated with the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, 3rd Class.
- 9 March 1939 : Promoted to Major General by the Cabinet.

- 1 April 1939 : Conferred with the 5th Court Rank, Senior Grade.
- 9 March 1940 : Relieved as chief of staff of the Third Army and assigned to serve with the Headquarters of the 13th Army by the War Ministry.
- 9 May 1941 : Decorated with the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, 2nd Class.
- 6 November 1941 : Promoted to Lieutenant General by the Cabinet.
- 15 April 1942 : Conferred with the 4th Court Rank, Junior Grade.
- 10 November 1942 : Placed in the First Reserves.
- 29 April 1940 : Decorated with the Imperial Order of the Double-Rays of the Rising Sun for services in the China Incident.

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FAR EAST

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al

vs

ARAKI, Sadao, et al

A F F I D A V I T

MAEDA Masami



1. I am Ex-Lieutenant-General MAEDA, Masami. I am living now at No. 1252, 5-Chome, Nishi Nakanobu, Shinagawa-Ku, Tokyo.

2. At the end of June, 1932, I was appointed Secretary to War Minister and in that capacity served General ARAKI until he resigned from the post of War Minister on January 23rd, 1934.

3. At the time when I assumed my new post, Manchoukuo had already declared her independence and the central army authorities were busy in devising the measures to cope with the situation. Upon my assumption of the post, the War Minister explained to me the mental attitude that a War Minister Secretary should always maintain in attending his duty. Among these, he emphatically stated with firm determination upon his face as follow.

"The Manchurian problems since the former Cabinet have unnaturally complicated. Despite the advocated non-expansion policy, they are gradually expanding as far as the disturbed area is concerned, and this state of affairs is not causing a good feeling among the foreign countries. On top of it, the recent Shanghai Incident served to aggravate the already deteriorated situation. It is my belief that the state of hostility must be immediately stopped in conformity with the government policy. Because of this belief, I have settled the Shanghai Incident, but I can not as yet feel reassured with the state of affairs in Manchuria. Furthermore, the recent birth of Manchoukuo has complicated the situation more than ever. At this juncture, it is very important that we should not make any false move which is against justice, and I am sure I will not do it. It can be expected that the general public as well as the people within the army circles will make various opinions about it, and so you must always be prepared to deal with them. However, I may be criticized by others, but I will not take any step which might induce to the occupation of Manchuria or cast a reflection upon the honor of a newly founded country.

4. At the time when the formal recognition of Manchoukuo was unanimously agreed upon at the Diet, and the government was absorbed in taking steps accordingly, the War Minister had a high regard for the views of the Foreign Office from the aspect of international law. When the government decided to formally recognize this state, he left all such matters as the time and procedures of recognition to the care of the Foreign Minister, and spared no pains in preventing further entanglement of international relations which might cause disturbances in Manchuria.

5. There was a considerably strong opinion at that time that Manchuria should be placed under Governor-General.

The War Minister was of the opinion that since the inhabitants of Manchuria had declared independence, it had to be respected. He said that such idea of treating it as a kind of colony was definitely wrong, and insisted upon exchange of ambassadors on an equal standing.

At the time when his assertion was realized, the hostilities had not yet been settled and the whole Manchuria revealed a state of a theatre of fighting. In view of the state, it was temporarily decided that the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army should concurrently be the Ambassador, and in accordance with this regulation, General MUTO who was appointed this post, belonged to the Foreign Minister as an Ambassador, to be in charge of diplomatic affairs, and as the Commander-in-Chief in Charge of military affairs, he belonged to the War Minister for military administrative matters and to the Chief of General Staff for operation. Thus War Minister ARAKI was exceedingly careful in respecting the independence of Manchukuo.

6. Minister ARAKI had a firm faith in his views on international justice. He believed that among the nations there should be a standard of moral based on the nature of human beings, in order to regulate their conduct, just as there should be the same among individuals. If the country with whom he was negotiating had sufficient cause of justice, he was not reluctant in admitting their request, even at the risk of suffering from certain inconveniences on our side.

At the time of importation of Siamese rice, a question which had begun at the end of 1933, he insisted that Japan should accede to the request of Siam even if it were to affect to some extent to our rural districts. At the occasion of the question of cotton piece goods from Lancashire, he said Japan should contribute to the international peace by making concession from boarder point of view. There was once a time when a dispute arose in the Diet with regard to a heavy burden of nearly 200,000,000 Yen which Japan had been paying, annually, to Manchoukuo. The Minister insisted, in answer to the question, that since Japan had decided to bring up and strengthen this new state as a younger brother, Japan as his elder brother should have such sympathy as to take off his own coat and give it to the younger brother even if he had to feel cold by doing so. The Minister added that to regard the Manchurian problems from mere materialistic view based on the mercenary consideration would be detrimental to the true spirit of Japan's Manchurian policy whose object was in the peace of the East.

7. It may be needless for me to add that, with regard to recognition of Manchoukuo and the international problems arising therefrom, Minister ARAKI respected the research and view of the Foreign Office over those problems and took such caution as would not infringe international law. He was also careful in this particular point in executing the duty of the army, and when the negotiation with the League was commenced, he was of the opinion to avoid withdrawal from the League, and insisted that Japan should do her best to get the League fully understand the actual state of affairs. When it was turned out that Japan had to quit from it, he still regarded it a temporary phenomenon and expected that something could be done about it at a later date.

8. Meanwhile, the Tangku Agreement was concluded and the hostilities in Manchuria were actually ended. After that he vehemently devoted himself to the task of working out means with which to secure peace in and round Japan, and continued this work until he resigned from his post. This work of his caused a misunderstanding among certain people, and he suffered from an agitation of expelling him from his post. Once he became an object of assassination. However these did not in any way discourage him of his work, He simply went on with all his might toward his idea of Far Eastern Peace Conference as one of the means of realizing his great ideal of world peace. He made a suggestion to the Premier to hold a Five Ministers' Conference among the ministers concerned from about September, and conferences were actually held over twenty times deliberating first upon national defense and diplomacy and then upon internal administrative problems, to frame an outline of each of those matters.

It was at the end of December, 1933, after a Five Ministers' Conference on domestic administration with rural district problems as main point at issue war ended that he called me and confided me his desire of completing his preparation by the end of January of the following year when the Diet was to be convened, and to consolidate his plan into a definite form of a national policy at the Diet. In order to do so, he said he wanted to arrange into proper order and good shape all of his plans at a quiet place, undisturbed by the people, during the vacation at the end as well as the beginning of the year, and ordered me to select a suitable place to this purpose. I went to HATAGE Hot Spring Resort in IZU district on the New Year's Day to make a preparation, but on the night of the 2nd of January, I received a telegram instructing me to return to Tokyo on account of illness of the Minister.

10. For two weeks after my return the Minister Actually hovered between life and death and it was barely on about 17th of January that his doctor in attendance allowed him to see me. When I met him, he was too weak to talk enough. On the following day, he called me to his bed and asked me whether the government had further conference to debate upon his plan for national policy, and when I replied that the matter had been left alone, he conferred with Vice-Minister YANAGAWA. Then he called me again and dictated me a letter addressed to the Premier, expressing his intention of resigning from his post. The circumstances in which this letter and his basic plan for emergency policy were presented to the Premier have been stated in my affidavit (Def. Doc. No. 2133).

In the meantime, several cabinet ministers and the Chief Cabinet Secretary came to request me to change my mind about resignation, but the Minister only wished those people to set up national policies and did not change his mind.

11. During the First Shanghai Incident, I was serving under OBATA, Chief of operation Section, as one of the members of the General Staff. On March 15th, OBATA, Chief of the Section called me and ordered me as follow: "Truce Agreement was concluded in Shanghai and the expeditionary force in China is expected to return home, leaving behind it only a part of its strength. I want you to go over to Shanghai immediately and make an investigation as to which division of the force should be left behind. I want you also to consult this matter with the leading staff of the expeditionary force." Accordingly I went over to Shanghai and after several investigations, reached a conclusion that the 9th Division suited best to be left behind. With this report, I set forth on my return journey, but while I was still on board the ship, I received a telegram informing me of the decision that the whole troops were to return to Japan, and with it I knew that my mission to Shanghai was thrown away. I returned to Tokyo and reported to Section Chief OBATA, who told me that although the General Staff had had an intention of leaving a part of the force in Shanghai, War Minister ARAKI insisted upon overall withdrawal from his high regard to the sovereignty of China as well as from his principle of international harmony, and that the General Staff finally agreed to it.

12. Later, when I became a secretary to the War Minister, I had a chance of talking over this matter with the Minister. He said. "Military action should be conducted discretely and it must base upon justice. The action, once taken, must be swift, as otherwise it will disgrace the honor of sword," and so saying he depicted several instances during the Siberian Incident and cautioned me.

13. He spared no efforts in directing the young officers. I also did my best to enhance the Minister's intention to the young officers who had been indignant to the current situations in and round Japan, by sometimes scolding them, and sometimes exhorting them. The Minister often met them and personally admonished them not to commit an imprudence. Some of those pure and unstained young officers listened to him and devoted henceforth their unswerving attention to their military duty, whereas those who had been made a cat's paw of the outer influence showed difficulty in observing his admonition, but the Minister successfully restrained them and kept them away from any of the improper conduct. Except for the case of the May 15 Incident, in which a few army cadets of the Military Academy, enticed by the navy officers, were participated, I do not believe there was a single army officer throughout the tenure of his War Ministership, who stepped out of the scope of his duty by acting recklessly.

14. I was very closely associated with the production of the movie picture entitled "Emergency Japan", as would be easily surmised by my appearing on the screen. This film was manufactured as the result of an ardent request of the Motion Picture Department of the OSAKA MAINICHI Newspaper.

The Newspaper Company first brought a draft of the Minister's speech for approval, but the Minister was not satisfied with it because he thought it had not sufficiently revealed the true feature of Japan and her troops, and in order to request the people their reflection upon themselves and, thereby, to promote their standard of morality and justice, he wrote a draft of speech of his own in the midst of his busy hours.

The Newspaper people had free hands in the manufacture of this film. The War Office and its Press Section had not directly associated themselves with the contents of this film, except only once when they rendered them some convenience by granting them a permit to take picture of maneuvers of the army force.

On the contrary, they cautioned the manufactures not to make a picture which might provoke an international sentiment.

15. As it was during the Manchurian Incident, the Minister had several visitors including Lord Lytton and other foreigners and foreign pressmen. In all of those occasions, Lieut-Col. FURUJO, Col. HOMMA or Major MATSUI worked as an interpreter and most of the cases, I also was present,

The contents of those interview were printed and preserved, and a copy of it was sent to those who had this interview. I know an interview which the Minister gave to Dr. Lind, a staff correspondent of a Switzerland newspaper, at the fall of 1932.

I have kept a copy of record of that interview as well as a questionnaire of Dr. Lind raised separately from the interview and the Minister's answer to the same.

I also remember the address made by Mr. Price, an English Journalist, on an occasion of a welcome lunch party given to his honor in March 1933, upon his return from an inspecting tour of Jehol. When the Minister met those people, his manner was frank and friendly, having an air of his fundamental desire for the establishment of the world peace in the future. He never refused an interview however busy he may have been.

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL
FOR THE FAR EAST

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al)

vs)

ARAKI, Sadao, et al)

AFFIDAVIT

DEPONENT: MAEDA, Masami

I. MAEDA, Masami, make oath and say as follows:

I am living at No. 1252 5-Chome, Nishi-Takenobu, machi, Ebara-ku, Tokyo City.

I have been acquainted with the accused ARAKI these twenty years. I was private secretary to him from the summer of 1932 till January 1934 when he was War Minister. In January 1934 he was bedridden with pneumonia, and during his illness he often called me to his sick bed in order to dictate letters and make me discharge my other general duties as secretary. On one of these occasions he handed me an article in his own handwriting in which he set forth basic suggestions for emergency policies to cope with the serious crisis Japan was confronted with at that time, telling me to make 21 copies of it and to have several ready to submit to the then Premier Viscount S. ITO. At the same, he dictated a letter to me regarding his presentation of the above-mentioned document containing his intentions and reasons for resigning the portfolio of War Minister.

He told me to make about as many copies of this letter as the document and to have them ready to submit to the above-mentioned Premier S. ITO.

I made as many copies as requested and handed thirteen or fourteen copies to Vice War Minister Y. NAGAWA, as I was told, asking him to present them to the Premier.

On the same day Vice Minister Y. NAGAWA visited Mr. ARAKI in his sick bed and informed him in my hearing that he had fulfilled his duty of submitting the documents to the Premier. For further reference I preserved a copy of "Basic Suggestions for Emergency Policies" and the letter regarding the presentation of the document; these have been in my custody since 1934. I hereby certify that these documents attached are true and correct copies of those handed to Y. NAGAWA with a view to submitting them to the Premier in 1934.

Def. Doc. # 2133

At the request of the Defense Counsel of the accused
ARAKI, I have handed these documents to him for use at
any appropriate phase in the court.

MAEDA, Masami (seal)

Subscribed and sworn to before the under-signed
officer by the above-named MAEDA, Masami, at the War
Ministry Building, Tokyo, Japan, on this _____ day of
August 1947.

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al.

-VS-

ARAKI, Sadao, et al.

Basic Suggestions for the Emergency by ARAKI sadao,
January 20th, 1934.

His Excellency the Premier,
Viscount Minoru SAITO.

20th January, 1934

Your Excellency,

It is a matter of great congratulation for the Empire that Your Excellency and the members of the Cabinet are all in good health and are performing the important mission of being advisors to the Imperial Throne in order to cope with the present critical situation of our country.

At this grave moment I fell ill a fact, which fills me with trepidation concerning His Majesty; it also makes me ashamed of myself before Your Excellency and to the members of the Cabinet who are rendering important service as advisors to the Imperial Throne. I further feel ashamed of myself before all the people of this country.

Please accept my heartfelt gratitude for the valuable consideration that Your Excellency has extended to me while I was confined to bed. Fortunately, I am recovering day by day, and since yesterday I am permitted to meet a limited number of visitors. At present I am not conscious of any unusual symptoms. In fact, I feel I am greatly recovering my physical strength every day; but the doctor in attendance has advised me to take another four weeks rest cure, much to my disappointment.

In view of the present state of affairs, I am not inclined to idle my time away, more so when I consider the importance of the coming session of the Diet where several important military problems, including the Military Budget Bill as the most conspicuous issue, are to be debated. This very important Diet Session which deals with the outstanding problems of the day am I unable to attend --unable, at least, with the present condition of my health, for the former half of the session of the House of Representatives when the deliberation on the Budget Bill is to take place; I feel I am derelicting my duty as an advisor to the Throne



on one hand, and as a Cabinet Minister to cope with the momentous nature of the coming Diet on the other, and so while appreciating the sympathetic consideration extended to me by Your Excellency, by members of the Cabinet, by the members of the Diet and others, I am not disposed to stay in my post under the circumstances, and, furthermore, I consider that the most proper way for me to deal with the important session of the Diet under the present emergency situation would be to recommend a suitable person to take over my post and let him fulfil the task of advisor to the Imperial Throne. In these circumstances, I now solicit that Your Excellency will kindly accept my resignation and will submit the same to the Throne.

In tendering my resignation, I feel exceedingly sorry for Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and Home Minister YAMAMOTO, who, despite their advanced ages and not too good health, exert their utmost day and night to achieve their mission as Ministers of State. I offer my most profound apology to these gentlemen;

Next I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to those who, since the ITUKAI Cabinet, have been my fellow Cabinet members for the past two years and also to those who have been with me in the present cabinet for the past one and half years; all of these gentlemen have kindly supported me through the various difficult problems that I was confronted with during those periods. I sincerely pray for their very good health and their successful activities in the future.

The present situation of Japan, both internally and externally, may appear in different ways to those who look at it from different angles, but if I may be allowed to tender my own appreciation, I firmly believe that this is not an emergency situation from a mere phraseological point of view, but a truly critical juncture at which the fate of our Empire is solely at stake. Opinions seem to differ among the general public as to whether or not a crisis in Japan will result, but real important affairs of a State are apt to arise without even a day's notice and my humble opinion is that a nation must be ready at all times, morally and materially, to avoid any possible portentous trouble and to secure a basis for her further development. This precaution, I may add, has been necessary throughout all ages.

From this viewpoint, I am not inclined to believe that we can afford to take a rose-coloured view of things. In fact, the potential danger of a nation is often made an actual one when people try to avoid tackling difficult problems and seek to comfort themselves by taking a light view of matters. Ill-informed though I am, this is how I feel when I trace back the history of the varied fortune of races.

I do not believe it a far-fetched opinion or an intentionally created pessimism if we forecast unseen difficulties in the immediate future of our country. On the contrary, I trust this is the very moment when national unity is most urgently required to bring about the prosperity of the Empire.

To cope with this important situation, I have in fact already expressed my views on various occasions, including that of the Five Minister Conference. However, as I regard it as a question of vital importance, I take the liberty of making my further suggestion, though it may partially overlap what I said before, under a separate cover, and solicit Your Excellency's valuable consideration over the future of Japan and that you kindly put it into practice.

It has not entirely slipped my notice that some

people are filled with misgivings concerning the attitude of the military authorities toward international problems. To this I may say that our attitude has been consistent and rigid in the past, and will remain so in the future, vis-a-vis those whose ideology and views on national polity are not reconcilable with the character of the national polity of our Empire. However, with my poor knowledge of international relations and also in an endeavour to maintain as close contact as possible with the relative branches of government authorities, I have been exerting what little service I could toward promoting our position among the powers and their confidence in us, explaining to them wherever possible the principle of the foundation of our Empire in connection with the national policies and principles of the present. My intention in doing so has been to seek either implicitly or explicitly for friends among the powers so that the Empire may not be reduced to a state of international isolation. I hope that Your Excellency will render your assistance in realizing closer relations between the foreign and military authorities, with whose cooperation, Japan may maintain her present superior position among the international communities, and her rightful claim may be duly complied with. ^{that}

I am afraid I have not expressed myself quite clearly, on account of my being confined to bed, but I hope Your Excellency will kindly surmise what I intended to say, and will adopt my humble suggestions.

There are some more matters that I should very much like to allude to, but I have already exhausted myself and am not able to continue any further. Please accept my apology for having had to dictate this letter to another person instead of writing it myself.

Before I close, I wish to tender again my profound gratitude to Your Excellency and the members of the Cabinet, who have given me the most valuable guidance and direction in various matters. My sincere wish is that Your Excellency will be very careful of your health and will accomplish your great mission as adviser to the Imperial Throne.

I shall have the pleasure of expressing further views of mine when I had the honour of personally seeing you upon recovery from my illness.

Kindly give my best regards to all the members of Your Excellency's Cabinet.

I remain, Your Excellency,

Your obedient servant

Sgd
Sadao ARAKI

C E R T I F I C A T E

- (A) A letter of Sadao ARAKI dated 20th January 1934, addressed to His Excellency the Premier Viscount Minoru SAITO.
- (B) Top Secret No. 20 - Basic Suggestions for Emergency Policy.

This is to certify that (A) mentioned in the above is a copy of a letter which War Minister ARAKI dictated to me, who was then his secretary, on January 20th when he was combined to bed. When this letter was dictated to me, I had it transcribed by a clerk and together with a copy of (B) mentioned in the above, which was completed in October of the previous year, it was handed over to Lieutenant-General Heisuke YANAGAWA, Vice-Minister of War, who, as an emissary of War Minister ARAKI presented them to Premier SAITO. I further certify that these are the true copies of the above-mentioned documents and that I have kept them in my hands since then until today.

Dated on August 1st, 1946

At No. 1252, 5-chome, Nishi Nakanobu,
Ebara-ku, T OKYO.

Signed

Masami MLEDA

Unfulfilled

It is a matter of urgency at present to inspire the people with the moral sense of our Empire and to reveal at home and abroad the essential qualities of its culture by means of perfecting its national power based on nation wide harmony, and moreover, to aim at strengthening the recognition of our national structure and furthering the peace and security of our national life internally, and to expedite the establishment of peace in East Asia and the Pacific externally.

Due to the international crises marking the 10th year of Showa (1935) and to the general tendency toward renovation running high among the jurisdictional courts and also among other circles, several unfavourable social trends are expected to be revealed in the proceedings of trials and in other aspects of social life, especially in public speeches, etc., and these are liable to produce general unrest among the people and among rural communities in particular.

Combined with the disturbance in educational circles and the unrest in the labor field will be aggravated and there is a fear that some, if not all of the army and navy personnel may be influenced by these unfavourable conditions and be led into restlessness.

The general situation at present seems to be in apparent tranquility, but it is my opinion that it would be impossible for the government to tide over the real difficult situation, both internal and external, unless means are devised completely to dispel the prevailing unrest in public feeling.

Now that these tendencies have gathered strength discord and unrest refuse to be driven away by any ordinary or mediocre measures.

I really think the affairs of state of Japan should be a matter of religious service. The fundamental aims should be to enable the people to live in peace & contentment by observing such virtues as due worship of gods, intimacy between the sovereign and his subjects and perfect harmony between the high and the low.

Therefore, we should make it our noble cause to act in observance of various virtues peculiar to our Empire and to reject both Communism and Fascism. Government means adjustment of tendencies as well; a tendency should be adjusted after it is taken into consideration, and then directed so that it may take a proper course. Natural tendencies do not always take reasonable courses but sometimes go astray; therefore those in a position to govern must devote themselves to assisting in the Emperor's rule, in conformity with nature and by transcending reason, so as to bring about the development of our national power and let the people live a peaceful life. This is the true way to govern.

Since these tendencies have already gathered strength and the crisis of our country is impending, we must, acting upon the fundamental principle mentioned above, be prompt in judging where this trend will lead us to. We must sacrifice ourselves in order to render allegiance and assistance to the Emperor in compliance with the source of our government which aims at worship of gods, intimacy between the sovereign and his subjects and perfect harmony between the high and the low. Since appeal to His Majesty's benevolence and then to transgress His Imperial virtues, would constitute an act certainly deserving our inevitable death, we must petition His majesty to grant amnesty to our brethren for their past crimes. Thus we may purify this bewildered phase of life and drive the offenders to devote themselves to a new

way of living in expiation of their sin. Hereby we can effect a complete change of public feeling, and furthermore, without scruple, we must carry out a large scale reform in diverse fields of government. For this purpose we shall have to request the Imperial decision so that the people may be informed on the boundless august plan, and shall have to adjust this tendency which is apt to be distorted, on this the eve of the national crisis and thereby consolidate the basis of our Empire which is destined to be everlasting and noble. Thus establishing the basis of development of our national power, we must thoroughly discharge at this juncture, our great duty of being of assistance to the Imperial Throne.

According to the purport stated above, I hereby suggest the following policy.

Policy

Petitioning the Emperor to exercise the Imperial prerogative in accordance with the provisions of Article XVI of the Constitution, we must, first of all, refresh public feeling and stir up popular sentiment by allowing our people to enjoy universally the boundless Imperial favours; whereby, next, we must urge the people to enter into the general spiritual mobilization to start our life all over.

We must make clear at home and abroad the great cause of our Empire and must strive with all the power of the nation, the power of unity, for the materialization and enforcement of various rules of government which are based on this great cause.

Thus we make it our fundamental principle to lay the basis of the prosperity of our Empire, by internally emphasizing the immutability of our national structure and securing the safety and soundness of our national life, and by externally securing the peace in East Asia and the Pacific.

Acting on the foregoing policy, the following provisions must be enforced.

1. The Revival of Public Feeling. We must revive public feeling, and with bright liveliness, by expelling all the past gloomy mud-flings, we shall lead the people to national unity. In order to attain this effect we should, according to the Imperial prerogative provided for in Article XVI of the Constitution, petition the Emperor for a general amnesty for various political criminals and other offenders in connection with them, which ought to be properly restricted to a certain limit in compliance with His Majesty's most benign will, and with due consideration of offences committed, their respective characters and their future activities, regardless of their past whether they belonged to the right wing or to the left. And at the same time, by petitioning the Emperor to issue an Imperial rescript, we must unify public feeling in the sole cause of assistance of the Imperial scheme and thus put the people's mind at rest; moreover we should lead the people, and together, devote ourselves to the cause of assistance and loyalty, and hereby pave the way to national revival and prosperity.

This article is to be put into operation first of all as the fundamental principle for the enforcement of our national policy. By such means we can awaken the whole national from the gloomy atmosphere, in which our people indulged in conventionalism and were unable to effect

any innovation, holding on to selfishness and cliquism throughout their respective classes. Thus, in consequence, we can effect a revival of public feeling and make a clean sweep of all the past grievances, whereby the people would be made conscious of the keynote upon which State affairs should be conducted.

I fully admit that it is with great trepidation that we humbly petition the Emperor to exercise the Imperial prerogative. However, judging from the origin of our national structure, we deem this the sole and unique way to reveal the truth, good and beauty of our national character by which we are enabled to save the situation and display our national virtue.

2. Emergency Policies.

The coming three years or so shall be the first term of urgency and importance. In this term we must establish national policies, adaptable to circumstances at home and abroad, upon inspiring the moral sense of our Empire, and then put in practice various institutions urgent and necessary to the occasion. Administration of diverse affairs should be conducted and ruled along the lines of this policy, and readjustment of urgent State affairs should be achieved with promptitude, while comprehensive regulation is required in general administration.

In order to attain this effect, the general principles demanding prompt enforcement are as follows:

A. Spiritual Restoration

In obedience to the Imperial order, we urge the people to put it in to daily practice. We also encourage their positive display of good morals and manners agreeable to our national condition, and especially with the cultivation of the character of statesmanship as well as of the virtues of countesy and faith, we must cultivate not only the fullness of our national power but also awe and respect of other nations.

B. International Policies

By judging the international situation, we shall determine our policies towards the political situation in the world, among which especially those towards Soviet Russia, U.S.A. and China are ranking. For this purpose the following must be decided upon, while preparations must be made for the invitation, at a suitable opportunity, of a Peace Conference among powers to establish a basis for peace in East Asia and the Pacific.

- a. Our policy towards Soviet Russia mainly in respect of the international relations in thought.
- b. Our policies towards China, U.S.A. and the League of Nations mainly in respect of The Manchurian Problems.
- c. Our policies towards Great Britain and U.S.A. mainly in respect of the London Disarmament Conference.
- d. Our policies towards Great Britain, U.S.A. and China mainly in respect of the international economic relation.

C. Home Policies.

Based upon the required policies to cope with the above-mentioned situations both at home and abroad, and in order that we may accord with them, both spiritually and materially, we must carry out necessary innovations and reforms to effect the regulations of

central and local administrations as well as to promote the prosperity of our rural communities and to stabilize our middle-class, all of which are partly the most urgent steps, to say nothing of general reforms in politics, economics, finance, education and armament. Thus, by taking such steps, we should establish the basis for general national spiritual mobilization and encourage its progress.

I have given in the foregoing only an outline of my suggested emergency policies. It is requested that the competent branches of government authorities should lay down their practical plans in conformity with the above, and those of importance should be passed by Cabinet channels, while those of less importance should be enforced forthwith.