

Photo
Learned
FILE COPY

Doc. No. 1987

RETURN TO ROOM 361

679

REPORT OF THE SOCIETY "KOKUSAKU
KINKYUKAI"

Ex

/page 2/

CONTENTS

I. Gist of policy for management of the southern areas occupied as a result of the Greater East Asia war. (December 1941).

II. Plan for management of territories in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere. (December 1941).

III. Report of the Committee for administrative measures. (October 1941). (Including the register of the Committeemen, the reference materials and the circumstances of the Committee meetings.)

/page 7/

Plan for management of territories in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

/page 14-15/

Chap. 3. Future of Soviet territories.

Though this problem cannot be easily decided at present inasmuch as it is to be settled in accordance with the Japanese-German Pact, the Maritime Province shall be annexed to Japan, the district adjacent to the Manchurian Empire shall be put into the sphere of influence of that country, and the Trans-Siberian Railroad shall be placed under the complete control of Japan and Germany with Omsk as the point of demarcation.

/page 19/

Chap. 5. Independent states in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and their defence.

/page 21/

The problem as regards Siberia as a whole cannot be decided this instant; it will be influenced by the Japanese-German Pact as well as the extent to which the Soviets survive.

/page 29/

(This plan was made by the military authorities and the Department of Oversea Affairs in December 1941.)

/page 38/

Members of the Committee for Administrative Measures, in the National Policy for the Investigation of the Society (KOKUSAKU KINKYUKAI):

Mr. Nobuyuki ABE
Mr. Shigeo ODATE
Mr. Shinsuke KISHI
Mr. Fumio GOTO
Mr. Hiroshi SHIMOZURA
Mr. Kensuke HORIUCHI
Mr. Rensuke ISOGAI
Mr. Kinmochi OKURA
Mr. Seizo KOBAYASHI
Mr. Hyogoro SAKURAI
Mr. Sankichi TAKAHASHI
Mr. Hatao YAMAKAWA

/page 39/

Report of the Committee for Administrative Measures, together with reference materials.

The Administrative Office of the National Policy Investigation Society.

Chap. I. The purpose of establishing this Committee.

Assuming that Japan will inevitably expand in the near future either southwardly or northwardly, if our measures are taken without any preparations, it is probable that we shall simply repeat what we are experiencing in the administration of Manchuria and North China. To be unprepared is hazardous. Therefore, our Society is establishing this Committee for administrative measures with the purpose of studying and discussing without delay many sorts of problems forwarding the results to the Government and requesting the Government to make the necessary preparations.

Chap. II. The original plan with an epitome of each member's opinion.

/page 43/

To what extent ought we to make use of the natives in the matters of administration?

1. The original plan.

As to this point we must need pay different heed to different cases, that is, for permanent occupation (suppose the Soviet Maritime Province) and in the other events (suppose the Dutch East Indies). For example in the above two cases we are required to think how to make use of the Soviet people, the Indonesians and the Dutch according to the case. Is it good or bad to make use of the natives? If we do, what will be the highest position they can get? Is it proper or improper to place Japanese in the regional

prefectural and village administrations. (of course, in order to watch the others)?

How ought we manage the native officers who were popular or unpopular among the native people?

Is it good or bad to have the system of G.P.U. propped by the natives? Specifically in the case of the USSR., is it advisable to employ White-guard Russians, or not? Especially in Dutch East Indies, is it good to employ Indians, Burmans, Malayans, Chinese, etc. or not?

2. Every member's opinion about the original plan.

Member A. "Needless to say natives should not be used in the Dutch East Indies. Inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies should not be employed either, except special persons. In the case of the USSR I think it would be good to make use of the White-guard Russian emigrants."

/page 54/

(7) Is it advisable or not to send colonists to the actual places?

1. The original plan.

It may be considered as a good plan for expanding the influence of Japan and at the same time supplying the vegetables and other things that the army needs that we send the simple armed cultivators immediately after the first four months of occupation. This might be necessary in the Dutch East Indies, but in the case with the U.S.S.R., it may be worth even more serious consideration.

- END -

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Lt. Colonel G. I. TARANENKO, a member of the military forces of the U.S.S.R., do hereby certify that the document "List of Policy for Management of the Southern Areas Occupied as a Result of the "Greater East Asia War," on 58 sheets, was delivered to me by the Red Army Chief Military Prosecution Department, Moscow on or about March 22, 1946, and that the original of the said document may be found in the record office of the Red Army Chief Military Prosecution Department.

I do further certify that this document was found by the Red Army forces in 1945 in South Sakhalin in the files of Karafuto Co. Ltd.

Lt. Col TARANENKO
(signature and rank)

Tokyo, Japan,

May 29, 1946.

4/66

Goto

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al.)

- AGAINST -)

KAMI, SADAO, et al.)

A F F I D A V I T

I, GOTO, Fumio, do swear on my conscience that the following is true:

I was Minister for Home Affairs in the OKADA Cabinet in 1936. During this time the so-called Army rebellion of 1936 occurred in Tokyo. An attempt was made by the insurgents to assassinate the Prime Minister Admiral OKADA. I acted as interim Prime Minister for about three days while Admiral OKADA was besieged in the Prime Minister's residence. I remember very distinctly that Admiral OKADA and his cabinet experienced difficulties with the Army. The highest officers in the Army at this time were General KANASUDA, Yoshiyuki, Minister of War; the Chief of the Army General Staff, Prince KAMIN, who was not very active; the Vice Chief of the Army General Staff, General UGIYAMA; the Inspector General of Military Education, General MATANABE, Jotaro; the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, General MAI, Kyoshi; the Commander in Chief of the Kwantung Army, General INAMI, Jiro; and the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, General TAGAKI.

Later on in 1940 when Premier Prince KONOYE decided to set up the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, he asked for my advice and counsel in the formulating of the plans for this organization. I met many times with the preparatory committee appointed by Prince KONOYE to set up this organization. Colonel WASHIOTO, Kogoro was one of the members of this committee and later occupied a position in the General Affairs Committee and participated in the affairs of the foresaid organization.

After the formation of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, no other important political parties or organizations existed. The result was to create one important public organization which was controlled in its entirety throughout the country by government officers who occupied some of the high positions. This aforesaid organization was subsidized by government funds to the extent of eight million yen per annum. This organization reached into every prefecture, ward and street in Japan.

/s/ Goto, Fumio
GOTO, Fumio

worn and subscribed to before the undersigned officer by the above-named GOTO, Fumio, at the War Ministry Building, Tokyo, Japan, this 18th day of June, 1946.

s/ Arthur A. Sandusky
Captain, J.A.G.D.



C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Jerry M. Sumiyoshi, HEREBY CERTIFY That I am fully conversant with the Japanese and English languages, and that I, this day, read the foregoing Affidavit to the above-named GOTO, Fumio in Japanese, and in so doing, truly and correctly translated the contents thereof from English into Japanese; and that said GOTO, Fumio stated to me that the contents of said Affidavit were the truth, and that he was willing to sign said Affidavit under oath; and that said GOTO, Fumio was duly sworn in my presence and signed said Affidavit under oath in my presence; and that all proceedings incidental to the administration of said oath and the signing of said Affidavit were truly and correctly translated from Japanese into English and English into Japanese and fully understood and comprehended by said Affiant.

Dated this 18th day of June, 1946, at Tokyo, Japan.

/s/ Jerry M. Sumiyoshi

SECRET

Record of the Meeting of Privy Council Held on 3 July, 1935.

- Re: A) The conclusion of an agreement between Japan and Manchoukuo on the establishment of a Joint Economic Committee.
- B) The changes to be made in the organization of the Ministry of Communications.

The meeting of the Privy Council was opened on 3 July 1935 in the presence of His Majesty the Emperor.

Others present were as follows:

Chairman	ICHIKI
Vice-Chairman	HIRANUMA

Members of the Cabinet:

Premier	OKADA
Home Minister	GOTO
Navy Minister	OSUMI
Foreign "	HIROTA
War "	HAYASHI
Communication Min.	TOKONAMI
Commerce & Industry	MACHIDA
Agriculture & Forestry	YAMASAKI
Overseas Min.	KODAMA

Councillors:

KUBOTA	ISHII	ISHIZUKA
TOMII	ARIMA	SAKAMOTO
KURODA	HARA	ISHIWATA
SAKURAI	KUBOTA	SHIMIZU
ARAI	MOTODA	FUJISAWA
KAWAI	SUZUKI (Soroku)	HAYASHI
SUZUKI (Kantaro)		

The absentees:

Imperial Princes:

Prince YASUHITO
 Prince NOBUHITO
 Prince KOTOHITO

Ministers:

Minister of Finance	TAKAHASHI
" " Justice	OHARA
" " Education	MATSUDA
" " Railways	UCHIDA

Councillors:

KANEKO, ISHIGURO, ISHIHARA, KURINO.

/Names of other minor members will be omitted here/

Chairman ICHIKI: The meeting will now be opened.

Our subject will be the conclusion of an agreement on the establishment of a Joint Economic Committee between Japan and Manchuria. We shall have the first reading, and omitting the recitations we shall immediately hear the report of the chairman of the Investigation Committee.

Reporter ARAI: Having been appointed members of the Investigation Committee to study on the subject which was referred to the Privy Council by His Majesty the Emperor for deliberation, we held a committee meeting on the 27th of this month, and after inquiring the Minister of State and other authorities connected with the subject, we have completed its investigation.

The Empire's basic policy toward Manchukuo is, as it has been declared in the Rescript of March 1933, on the withdrawal from the League of Nations and in the Japanese-Manchurian Agreement concluded in Sept. 1932, to recognize and respect Manchukuo's independence and help its progress and development by maintaining an inseparable relationship between the two countries.

It has been the constant wish of the Japanese Government to adhere to this principle in taking any form of measures and to secure a strong connection with Manchukuo. Thereby, based on the article on the united front in the Japanese-Manchurian agreement, Japan has established the right to garrison Japanese troops permanently in Manchukuo and has also formed military agreements with her.

In the diplomatic field, it was concluded in the official documents exchanged at the time of the establishment of the Manchurian Empire last March, that Manchuria should submit, beforehand, all diplomatic and military matters to the Japanese government for thorough and unreserved deliberation. However, in comparison to the military diplomacy, no system has been established, as yet, for cooperative measures in the economic field which plays a close and vital role in uniting the two countries. Therefore, the Japanese Government has no formal voice

in the management of the economic problems of Manchuria which have important relations with that of Japan, especially in the supervision of the Japanese-Manchurian joint concern having its object in the important industries of that country; and Japan, at present, is obliged to leave it up to the discretion of the Manchurian Government.

This is no way to hold an inseparable tie between the two countries, nor is it without doubt, the way to strengthen the economic interdependent relations of our countries. As long as it is related to the unity of both countries, it is necessary that Japan should gain formal voice in the economic field as well as in the military and diplomatic fields through the establishment of cooperative measures based upon an organization. To meet this necessity Japan has found it well to conclude a pact with a view to establishing a joint instrument between the two countries, and has been able to draft concrete plans for this purpose by having a Japanese diplomat in Manchuria negotiate with that government.

The agreement of the programme is a document entitled:

"An agreement between Japan and Manchukuo on the ~~the~~ establishment of a Joint Economic Committee", with an "annex" giving the precise details of the agreement and is a "matter of understanding concerning the conclusion of a pact for the establishment of a joint committee, agreed upon by representatives plenipotentiary of both countries." The fundamental principles of each department are as follows:

I. The Agreement.

- (1) A Joint Economic Committee of Japan and Manchukuo will be established permanently in Hsinking, Manchoukuo.
- (2) The committee will deliberate on and answer all questions submitted by the Japanese and Manchurian governments on all important matters concerning the economic tie of the two countries and the supervision of business of the Japanese-Manchurian Joint special corporation. The two governments cannot settle any of the above matters until they have been submitted to the committee for deliberation.
- (3) If necessary, the committee may make proposals to the governments of Japan and Manchukuo on any matter concerning the rational economic unification of the two countries.
- (4) The organization and operation of the committee will be prescribed in the annex.

- (5) The agreement will go into effect on the date of signature. Both Japanese and Chinese will be the official language, and in case of a difference in the interpretation of the two texts, it will be settled according to the Japanese text.

II. Annex.

The fundamental principle of the organization and operation of the committee will be prescribed in the annex.

- (1) The committee shall consist of eight members, four from each country, which shall report to each other. In case of absence of any member, a proxy will be appointed through the conference of the Japanese plenipotentiary in Manchukuo and the Prime Minister of Manchukuo. If necessary, the two governments may appoint the same number of temporary member after a consultation.
- (2) The chairman of the committee will be elected by mutual vote among the members. (He will be elected at every meeting.)
- (3) The same number of secretaries will be appointed by the two governments from among the staff members to take care of the general affairs of the committee.
- (4) All matters of the committee will be decided by a majority. The chairman has the right to vote as a member, and in case of a tie he has the right to make the decision.
- (5) The rules for the proceedings in the committee will be set by the committee after obtaining approval of the two governments.

III. Understood matters.

More definite rules on the organization and power of the Joint Economic Committee will be given here in detail:

- (1) Japan's permanent members of the committee shall consist of the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, the Chief Councillor in full service at the Japanese Embassy in Manchukuo, Chief of the Kwangtung Bureau, and one member specially appointed by the government.

The Manchukuo members shall consist of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Industry, and Finance, and Head of General State Affairs.

- (2) The important matters to be deliberated by the committee, and are connected with the economies of the two governments are: the export, import and tariff problems; the development and control of the important industries; the enactment and amendment of laws concerning the establishment of a special Japanese-Manchurian Joint Corporation; investments and other important problems concerning the economic connection of the two governments and are within the power of the Manchurian Government. These matters important to the economic ties of both governments but are within Japan's power will not be taken up by this committee. Because they will not be deliberated by the committee they will be made into unilateral contracts binding only the Manchurian Government.
- (3) The important matters to be deliberated by the committee concerning the supervision of business of the special Japanese-Manchurian Joint concern include: the important amendments in the regulations of corporations, the purpose of which is to materialize important industries concerned with economic unity of both governments, and which have been established according to the laws of one of two countries and more than half of whose capital has been raised by the government, citizens, or juridical persons of the opposite government; the disposition of the profit of said corporation and the recognition of the decision to amalgamate or dissolve.

As there is as yet no corporation established according to the Japanese law with more than half of Manchurian investment, the agreement in reality binds only the Manchurian Government in this point also. Due to the existence in the document of such one sided articles binding only Manchukuo, the authorities have declared, after an agreement brought forth by the two governments, to have this point kept secret.

The point is that the agreement aims at the realization of a rational unification of the economies of the two countries by a full and close cooperation to strengthen permanently the economic relations according to the principles of the Japan-Manchukuo Agreement. For the purpose the Japanese-Manchurian Joint Economic Committee has been formed. Whenever important economic question relating to the two countries arise, the committee will deliberate on it and settle it.

In view of the special relationship of the two countries and the

assistance the committee will accord Japan in accomplishing her Manchurian policy, the said agreement is approvable in its general principle with little or no disapproving points in the articles. It is needless to say, such special provisions without proper application will never attain expected results, so the authorities must give their fullest attention in enforcing the agreements. The agreement has been approved unanimously by the Investigating Committee with hopes that the authorities will not err in their enforcement and would render the best results.

The result of the investigation has been reported as above.

MOTODA: According to this agreement, matters concerning Japanese-Manchurian joint concerns with more than half of capital invested by opposite party must be deliberated by the committee. Is it proper to set the investments of both countries on an equal basis?

Furthermore, the committee shall consist of ^{Four} members from each country, from among whom the president is appointed by mutual election. The chairman not only has a right to vote but has the power of decision, acquiring for herself a tremendous power. His term, moreover, has not been set.

According to the investigation report the chairman is elected at every meeting, but such matters require more definite rules or it will give rise to doubts. I think it proper to set this rule in the agreement and also in the proceedings regulations. At any rate, with only the rules of agreement the question brought to the committee for deliberation are apt to be decided by the chairman alone. The agreement, I feel is not completed on this point. May I hear the opinions of the authorities regarding this matter?

HIROTA: By his question, I take counsellor MOTODA to mean that should the committee consist of four members from each country Japan might be at a disadvantage in case a matter is decided by the chairman. I ask him to consider the fact that three out of the four from Manchukuo are Ministers and the remaining one is the Chief of General State Affairs who is, and will be, a Japanese forever, I am confident. Although he is an official of Manchurian, he is the central organ assuming the leadership of that country. Therefore, in case of a difference of opinions between the two countries, it cannot be imagined that he will make any decision that will be disadvantageous to Japan.

The chairman may make the final decision at times, but we felt it improper for him to have a permanent position, so we have adopted the system of electing the chairman at every meeting according to the nature of the matter to be deliberated. This point, however, may need full reconsideration when regulations for the proceedings are enacted in the future.

In short, the set up of the committee may apparently seem equal on the part of both countries, but in reality it is not. Such being the case, we should like to have the agreement stand as it is despite some points that may be difficult to interpret.

MOTODA: I do not think that there is any need of enforcing treaty rights between the two countries today, but not to form any agreement for this reason should be a lack of prudence. If agreements are to be formed, it should be made so as to be applicable to the nation's plans for a hundred years.

It has been stated in the Investigation Report that the fullest attention should be paid in enforcing the agreement, that no error should be made, etc. I hope that the authorities will give their full consideration to this point, which I think comprises many meanings.

SAKAMOTO: I agree with the opinion of Councillor MOTODA. According to the Foreign Minister's reply, a Japanese is appointed as Chief of General State Affairs, and as he will do his duty as a Japanese, he will not act against Japan's interest. Should he act in favor of Japan in case of an opposition of the two countries' interest, he will incur the ill-feeling of the Manchukuo people. As long as he is an official of Manchukuo, we must not be too sure that he will not act against Japan's interest. I should like to ask the authorities' opinions on this point. Furthermore, there is no case in our country where a chairman is elected at every meeting. Can the authorities tell me of such a case, if it should exist? .

HIROTA: I take the question to mean that even if he is a Japanese, the Chief of General State Affairs must do his duty as a loyal official of Manchukuo; and that therefore, it will be impossible for him to decide in favor of Japan's interest. The Chief of General State Affairs, who is the general manager of the Japanese officials there, is employed by the Manchoukuo Government to guide it. He is an official of Manchoukuo and simultaneously a leading instrument dispatched by Japan. He, therefore, must perform both duties, and it is his primary duty to see that there will not be any opposition between Japan and Manchoukuo.

In case the Manchoukuo members of the Committee should purposely scheme to act against Japan's interest after the committee is formed, the chief of General State Affairs will take proper measures after giving due consideration to the interests of both countries. It will be his duty to lead Manchukuo in such a way that such fear would be unnecessary.

KURIYAMA (member of Investigation Committee): There was a question as to the existence of such a system of legislation in which the

chairman is elected by mutual vote from among the members. The chairman of the Board of Directors of the League of Nations is generally elected by mutual vote at each meeting from among the members, and he acts as the temporary chairman until the new chairman is elected. The election of the chairman of the Joint Economic Committee will function almost in the same manner. We are thinking of establishing detailed prescriptions on this point in the procedure regulations that will be set up in the near future. As the members of this committee are formally Japan and Manchoukuo on an equal basis, we have taken this form of election.

SAKAMOTO: I feel that this committee is different from that of the League of Nations, but I shall not relate on that at present. The idea seems to be that there will be no mistakes because the Chief of General State Affairs occupying the important position of 'leading Manchuria' is an official of Japanese descent. However, we cannot be too positive that the present relations between Japan and Manchuria will never change forever, so I hope the authorities will put their fullest efforts in fulfilling the points stressed in the Foreign Minister's reply.

Chairman ICHIKI: As there are no more discussions, we shall omit the second reading and pass on to the vote. Those in favor of this plan will please stand up. ②

(Every member stands up.)

Chairman ICHIKI: The whole council has decided in favor of it.

Chairman ICHIKI: We shall now proceed to the changes to be made in the organization of the Ministry of Communication. We shall have the first reading, and omitting the recitation, we shall immediately hear the investigation report.

Reporter MURAKAMI: Upon investigating the matter of making changes in the organization of the Ministry of Communication, which has been referred to the Privy Council by His Majesty the Emperor for deliberation, we deem it necessary to make the following changes.

To complete the establishment for supervising wireless electric facilities such as telegraph, wireless telephone, and others, which have shown a remarkable progress, a secretary, an engineer, two clerks and two assistant-engineers will be newly appointed. To have a more strict control over the electric wire, electric equipments, and the laborers in the engineering works, one administrative official, three clerks, and three assistant engineers will be added.

To take charge of the business affairs connected with the maintenance of the newly established air route between FUKUOKA and TAIHOKU, one aviation official and two assistant engineers will be appointed. Two clerks and one assistant engineer will be added as the business affairs for the purchasing and rationing of necessary supplies have increased with the progress of the communication business. A clerk will be added to supervise and take charge of the business affairs concerned with the plan of increasing the non-collecting and non-delivering third class post offices in every district.

As the ordinary mails have greatly increased in number, an engineer, six clerks and two assistant-engineers will be appointed to supervise and make plans for setting up machineries and other establishments. Four clerks will be appointed to intensify the censorship of foreign mails, which is necessary in controlling dangerous ideologies. Nine clerks and five assistant engineers will also be added to take charge of the business concerned with the maintenance of the expanding telephone business.

We hereby wish to make the above changes in the present organization of the Ministry of Communication. The number of employees will be increased by one secretary, one administrative official, and one officer in charge of aviation, two engineers, twenty-seven clerks, and fifteen assistant engineers.

Considering the fact that this draft for the Imperial Ordinance has been drawn to make necessary increase in the employees to cope with the increasing business affairs in the Ministry of Communication, and as we see no points to be contradicted, we believe it quite permissible to pass the plan as it is. My report on our investigation is as above.

Chairman ICHIKI: As there is no proposal, we shall omit the second reading and the rest and immediately proceed with the vote. Will those in favor of the plan please stand up?

(All stand up.)

Chairman ICHIKI: The whole council has decided in favor of it. The meeting will be adjourned for today.

(Time of adjournment: 11:05 a.m.)

Signed:

Chairman: ICHIKI, Kitokuro
Chief Secretary: MURAKAMI, Kyoichi.
Secretaries: HORIE, Sueo.
MUTO, Morio.

Agreement on the Establishment of a Joint Economic
Committee between Japan and Manchuria.

Annex
(Excluding Secret)

Hoping to realize a rational unification of the economies of Japan and Manchoukuo in order to strengthen permanently the economic relations now existing between the two countries, and deeming it necessary to have a full and close cooperation on all economic problems essential to the relationship of both countries, according to the principles of the Japan-Manchoukuo Agreement signed on 15 September 1932, (15 September of the 1st year of Tatung) the two governments have decided to establish a Joint Economic Committee. The agreement on the establishment of the said committee is as follows:

Article I. A Joint Economic Committee between Japan and Manchoukuo will be established in Hsinking, Manchoukuo.

Article II. The committee will deliberate on and give opinion on all questions, submitted by the Japanese and Manchurian governments, concerning the economic tie of the two countries and the supervision of business of the Japanese-Manchurian joint special corporation.

Article III. The two governments shall execute any of the above matters only after having submitted them to the committee for deliberation.

Article IV. If necessary, the committee may make proposals to the governments of Japan and Manchoukuo on any matter concerning the rational economic unification of the two countries.

Article V. The organization and operation of the committee will be prescribed in the annex.

Article VI. The agreement will go into effect on the date of signature. Both Japanese and Chinese will be the official language, and in case of a difference in the interpretation of the two texts, it will be settled according to the Japanese text.

The following have signed to the agreement as proof to the above with proper authorization from their respective governments.

ANNEX

1. The committee shall consist of eight members. The governments of Japan and Manchoukuo each will appoint four members and report to each other. In case of absence of any member, a proxy may be appointed through the conference between the Japanese plenipotentiary in Manchoukuo and the Prime Minister of Manchoukuo. The proxy will perform his duties

as a member. Beside the above, the two governments may appoint, if necessary, the same number of temporary members after consultation.

2. The chairman of the committee will be elected by mutual vote from among the members.

3. Secretaries will be placed in the committee to take care of the general affairs. The same number will be appointed by the two governments from among the staff members.

4. All matters of the committee will be decided by a majority. In case of a tie the chairman will make the decision. The chairman may join in the vote as a member.

5. The committee will decide on its rules for procedure after obtaining approval of the two governments.

Imperial Ordinance No. _____

The following changes shall be made in the organization of the Ministry of Communication.

"Seventeen secretaries" in Article II shall be changed to "eighteen secretaries".

"Sixteen full-time administrative officials of the Ministry of Communication" in Article VII shall be changed to "seventeen full time administration officials of the Ministry of Communication".

"Eleven full-time officials in charge of aviation" in (2) of Article VII shall be changed to "twelve full-time officials in charge of aviation".

"Sixty-seven engineers" in Article VIII shall be changed to "sixty-nine engineers".

"Three hundred eighteen full-time clerks" in Article IX shall be changed to "Three hundred forty-five full-time clerks."

"One hundred twenty-nine assistant-engineers" in Article X shall be changed to "One hundred forty-four assistant engineers".

Supplement:

This ordinance shall go into effect on and after the day of promulgation.

C E R T I F I C A T E

W.D.C. No. _____
 I.P.S. No. 875

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Shuzo Jimbo, hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Private Secretary to the President of the Privy Council, and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of _____ pages, dated July 3rd, 19 35, and described as follows: Consideration of Agreement Establishing Joint Japanese-Manchurian Committee on Financial Affairs.

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): Privy Council, at the Imperial Palace Ground.

Signed at Tokyo on this
10th day of July, 1946.

/s/ Shuzo Jimbo
 Signature of Official
 Private secretary to the SEAL
 President of the Privy Council
 Official Capacity

Witness: /s/ Kichi. Chosokabe

Statement of Official Procurement

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

Signed at Tokyo on this
10th day of July, 1946.

/s/ EDWARD P. MONAGHAN
 NAME

Witness: /s/ William C. Prout

Investigator I.P.S.
 Official Capacity

List of Officials of Japanese Government
Project No. 1648
21 July 1945

Fumio GOTO: Member House of Peers; three times Cabinet Minister.

1884 Mar. Born Oita Prefecture. Son of Yoshitomo Goto. Married Haru, sister of Viscount Hisaakira Kano.
1908 Graduated Political Department, Tokyo Imperial University, entered Home Office
* Director Police Bureau of Home Office
1924 Director General, General Affairs Department, Government General of Taiwan
1930 Member House of Peers
* Director General Japan Young Men's Association
1932-34 Agriculture and Forestry Minister of Saito Cabinet
1934-36 Home Minister of Okada Cabinet
1936 Acting Premier
1940 Director Imperial Rule Assistance Association
1942 June- Director, General Affairs Bureau, IRAA
1943 Apr. 1944 Vice President, IRAA
July
1943 May 1944 Minister without Portfolio in Tojo Cabinet
July
1944 Jan.- President Youth Corps, IRAA
Aug. Counselor Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society (now dissolved)
1944 Sept.

Address: 29 Konno-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo

Bureaucrat, nationalist and a supporter of the Army and its policies. Exercised great influence over young men of the middle class. (1) Leader of the Fascist Shin-Nippon Domei. As early as 1932 was criticized for his fascist leanings. As agriculture Minister in the Saito Cabinet, Goto did valuable work in rice control and farm relief against the opposition of those that would have poured the nation's entire purse into the military coffers. (35) In 1936 Premier Keisuke Okada was reported assassinated. Proved to be his cousin but Okada was kept hidden, and Goto acted as Premier until Hirota was appointed to form a new Cabinet. (20) Member of Preparatory Committee charged with working out details of organizing IRAA. In December 1944 named member of Committee for Investigation of Political Treatment of Chosenese and Taiwanese.

Proceedings of the Privy Council
 Re: Signing of the Protocol between JAPAN and MANCHUKUO

Meeting opened at 10:10 a.m. September 13 (Tuesday), 1932.
 In the presence of His Majesty the EMPEROR.

Persons present:

Chairman KURATOMI
 Vice-Chairman HIRANUMA

Ministers:

Premier	SAITO	No. 4
Finance Minister	TAKAHASHI	No. 5
Home Minister	YAMAMOTO	No. 6
Foreign Minister	UCHIDA	No. 7
Railway Minister	MITSUOCHI	No. 8
War Minister	ARAKI	No. 9
Education Minister	HATOYAMA	No. 10
Navy Minister	OKADA	No. 11
Justice Minister	KOYAMA	No. 12
Communications Minister	MINAMI	No. 13
Commerce & Industry Minister	NAKAJIMA	No. 14
Agriculture & Forestry Minister	GOTO	No. 15
Overseas Affairs Minister	NABEI	No. 16

Councillors:

Councillor	KUBOTA	No. 20
"	TOMII	No. 21
"	ISHIGURO	No. 22
"	KURODA	No. 23
"	FURUICHI	No. 24
"	SAKURAI	No. 25
"	ARAI	No. 26
"	KAWAI	No. 27
"	KAMADA	No. 29
"	SUZUKI (Kantarō)	No. 30
"	ISHII	No. 31
"	MIZUMACHI	No. 32
"	OKADA	No. 33
"	ARIMA	No. 34
"	HARA	No. 35
"	KUBOTA	No. 36
"	KURINO	No. 37
"	MOTODA	No. 38
"	SUZUKI (Soroku)	No. 39

RETURN TO ROOM
 COPY

Persons absent:

Princes of the Blood:

Prince YASUHITO	No. 1
Prince NOBUHITO	No. 2
Prince KOTOHITO	No. 3

Councillors:

Councillor ITO	No. 18
Councillor KANEKO	No. 19
Councillor ISHIWARA	No. 28

Committee Members:

Director of the Bureau of Legislation	HORIKIRI
Councillor " "	KANAMORI
Vice-Foreign Minister	ARITA
Director of the Bureau of Treaty, Foreign Minister	MATSUDA
Director of the Bureau of Asia, " "	TANI
Secretary of Foreign Office	YANAI
" " "	MORISHIMA
" " "	HARIMA
" " "	TERAJIMA
Vice Minister of War	YANAGAWA
Director of the Bureau of Military Affairs, War Minis.	YAMAOKA

Reporter:

Chairman of the Judging Committee	HIRANUMA
Chief-Secretary:	
Chief Secretary	FUTAKAMI
Secretaries:	
Secretary	HORIE
"	MUTOH

Chairman (KURATOMI): Meeting is called to order. The subject for discussion today is "Re: Signing of the Protocol between JAPAN and MANCHUKUO." Please note that, because today's meeting has suddenly been called at the request of the Cabinet, the usual procedural steps such as convocation, etc., were dispensed with. First of all, we open the 1st reading. Omitting the oral reading, I request the report of the chairman of the Judging Committee.

Reporter (HIRANUMA): Regarding the signing of the Protocol between JAPAN and MANCHUKUO, which had been referred to this council by His Majesty the Emperor for deliberation, we, who were appointed members of the Judging Committee, called a Committee meeting on the 11th of this month and instituted a close investigation into the matter, after having listened to the explanations given by Ministers and the officials concerned.

When the old North-Eastern Regime was destroyed with the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident in September of last year, influential persons in various districts of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA assembled and consulted with each other. As the result, they declared on March 1, this year, the establishment of MANCHUKUO, whereby they broke off relations with the Republic of CHINA and established MANCHUKUO. They further made public the principles of the foundation of the new country, making clear to the world a very fair and proper political programme. Further, the Manchukuo Government gave notifications to our Imperial Government as well as other governments, with the request that formal diplomatic relations be established between MANCHUKUO and these countries. Our Imperial Government firmly believed that, in view of the aforesaid process of the establishment of MANCHUKUO and her sincere attitude at home and abroad, it would be advisable to recognize that country without delay and foster her development not only to maintain the stability of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA, but also to promote permanent peace in the Far East. Nevertheless, our Government, in order to use prudence and caution, watched for half a year since then the developments in MANCHUKUO as well as the attitudes of the League of Nations and other countries. However, MANCHUKUO has since then shown a steady progress and already realized actual independence, which promises for her a very bright future. Besides, indications are that our country's recognition of that country, although it will, as may be easily imagined, cause for a time no small shock to the world, will not bring about any international crisis. Under the circumstances, our country considered it advisable at this juncture to give MANCHUKUO our formal recognition and open friendly relations with her. As the result of negotiations carried for some time between the representatives of the two countries, an agreement of opinion has been arrived at. Accordingly, with a view to regulating the basis of diplomatic relations between the two countries and also maintaining and extending the rights and interests of our country with the object of co-existence and co-prosperity, our country intends to take measures for recognizing MANCHUKUO by concluding an arrangement through this Protocol and the Notes exchanged between the two countries.

The outlines of this Protocol and Notes exchanged are as follows:

1. Protocol

This protocol consists of a preamble and a text. In the preamble, our country approves the fact that MANCHUKUO was freely formed by the will of her people and became an independent state. MANCHUKUO, on the other hand, declared that she will respect the international agreements concluded by the Republic of CHINA so far as the same are applicable to MANCHUKUO. Thereupon the two countries announce that they enter into this Protocol in order to permanently strengthen their good neighborly relations, mutually respect each other's territorial integrity, and secure peace in the Far East. The text contains two clauses:

The first clause provides that, unless special arrangements are made between JAPAN and MANCHUKUO in the future, all rights which JAPAN and her subjects possessed heretofore in MANCHUKUO territory under various Sino-Japanese arrangements and public and private contracts shall be confirmed and respected by MANCHUKUO.

The second clause provides that both JAPAN and MANCHUKUO shall consider every menace against the territory and peace and order of one party as a menace against the tranquility and existence of the other party, that they pledge to jointly defend themselves, and that, Japanese troops necessary for this purpose shall be stationed in MANCHUKUO.

This protocol shall come into force on the date of its signature (Refer to the closing sentence.) by the representatives of the two countries. That is, Imperial sanction must be obtained before signing, instead of resorting to ratification procedure.

2. Notes exchanged /between the two countries/.

The notes exchanged comprise four in all, consisting of a note exchanged in the past between the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army of JAPAN and the Regent of MANCHUKUO and three arrangements concluded between the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army of JAPAN and the Prime Minister of MANCHUKUO. The MANCHUKUO Government confirms these notes at this time and positively declares that these notes shall continue to remain effective. That is, these notes shall be deemed as international agreements and shall have legal validity, in addition to the virtual effectiveness they hitherto possessed, to be retroactively effective from the days on which they were exchanged or concluded and that these arrangements shall be made strictly confidential by mutual understanding between both JAPAN and MANCHUKUO.

The outlines of the said four documents and for arrangements are as follows:

(1) A letter addressed to HONJO, Commander of the KWANTUNG Army, from the Regent of MANCHUKUO under date of March 10, 1932 and a letter in reply addressed to the Regent of MANCHUKUO from the Said Commander.

In the letter addressed to the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army from the Regent of MANCHUKUO, it is stated that the Regent of MANCHUKUO deeply appreciated the efforts made by our country since the outbreak of the MANCHURIAN Incident in maintaining peace and order in the whole territories of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA and also the serious damages sustained thereby by our Imperial Army as well as our people, and asked for the consent of our country to the undermentioned items inasmuch as MANCHUKUO is convinced that her development cannot be expected without the support and guidance of our country. In the letter in reply thereto, viz., the letter addressed to the Regent of MANCHUKUO from the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army, it is mentioned that there is no objection on our side to the proposal in question.

A. MANCHUKUO shall entrust to our country her national defense and maintenance of peace and order and shall bear all the necessary expenses therefor (Clause I)

- B. MANCHUKUO agrees that the control of the existing railways, harbours, waterways, air routes, etc., as well as the construction of new routes so far as the same are required by our Imperial army for the purpose of national defense shall be wholly entrusted to our country or such organizations as our country may designate (Clause II)
- C. MANCHUKUO shall give every possible assistance in connection with various establishments deemed necessary by our Imperial Army. (Clause III)
- D. Japanese with long-sighted views and high reputation shall be appointed state councillors of MANCHUKUO and, besides them, Japanese shall be appointed officials of central as well as local government offices. The selection of such officials shall be made on the recommendation of the commander of the KWANTUNG Army and their dismissals shall be subject to the consent of the said Commander. The increase or the decrease of the total number of state councillors shall, in case our side has a proposal to make, be decided through consultations between the two countries (Clause IV)
- E. The purport as well as the provisions of the afore-mentioned clauses shall be the basis of treaties to be concluded in future between the two countries. (Clause V)

(II) The convention and supplementary agreement on the control of MANCHUKUO Government railways, harbours, waterways, air-routes, etc., as well as the construction and control of railway tracks, concluded between Commander HONJO of the KWANTUNG Army and MANCHUKUO Prime Minister CHENG under date of August 7, 1932.

- A. MANCHUKUO shall entrust the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army with the following matters, particulars thereof to be agreed upon separately: The control of ten railway lines, such as "SIN-TAO" Line, "KI-CHANG" Line, "KI-TUNG" Line, etc., national railways necessary for the national defense which are to be newly constructed in future, three harbours including that of HULUTAO, waterways on eight rivers, including the SUNGARI River, and AMUR River, and air-routes, the construction and the control of ten newly constructed specific railway lines, other national railways and waterways. (Article I)
- B. The Commander of the KWANTUNG Army shall control the railways, harbours, waterways, and air-routes in accordance with the provisions of law and of this agreement. (Article II)
- C. MANCHUKUO shall obtain the prior understanding of the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army in regard to the enactment, alternation and abolition of important laws concerning transportation. (Article III)

- D. The Commander of the KWANTUNG Army shall entrust the South Manchuria Railway Company with the management and construction of railways, harbours, and waterways which have been placed under his control. (Article IV)
The funds needed for their construction and improvement and other fixed funds shall be raised by the said company. (Article V)
A loan contract for the total amount of loans, consisting of the afore-mentioned funds, the railway loans, against the railways possessed by the said company in MANCHUKUO, and the total amount of claims based upon construction work contracts, secured by all properties attached to the railways, harbours, and waterways, shall be concluded between the said company and the MANCHUKUO Government. (Article VI)
- E. The balance remaining after deducting the amount for the payment of principal and interest on the loans from the profit that may be realized from the control of the railways, harbours and waterways shall be appropriated for the defrayment of part of the expenses incurred for national defense and maintenance of peace and order by the Imperial Japanese Army. In case a further surplus remains, this shall be acquired by the MANCHUKUO Government and the South Manchurian Railway Company. (Article VII)
- F. MANCHUKUO shall obtain the prior understanding of the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army in case she intends to grant license for the construction of railways other than those under the control of the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army.
- G. MANCHUKUO shall have a specially established organ to manage all aviation enterprises under the assistance of Commander of the KWANTUNG Army and entrust the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army with their control. The particulars in this connection shall be agreed upon separately. (Article IX)
- H. MANCHUKUO shall carry into effect the construction and improvement of the main roads, after obtaining the understanding thereto of the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army. (Article X)
- I. MANCHUKUO shall employ military advisers designated by the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army and consult them with regard to important transportation facilities necessary for national defense. (Art. XI)

As a supplement to this convention, it has been provided that the contract, relative to new construction and management of railways and loans against them, concluded between the President of the South Manchuria Railway Company and the Governor of KIRIN Province under date of November 1, 1931 and also the contract, relative to loans against and management of "SSU-TAO" railway, concluded between the said President and the Director of the "SSU-TAO" railway Bureau under date of December 1, of the same year, both of which will become useless as the result of the enforcement of this convention, shall become null and void.

By an accessory agreement entered into between both parties of this agreement, it has been provided that the MANCHUKUO Government shall separately conclude a contract with the South Manchuria Railway Company on the trusteeship management of railways, harbours, waterways, etc., and the construction of railway lines.

(III) Agreement relative to the establishment of an air-way company, concluded between the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army and Prime Minister CHENG under date of August 7, 1933.

- A. Both parties, by mutual agreement, shall establish an air-way company for the transportation of passengers, cargoes and mails as well as the management of accessory enterprises. (Clause I) This company shall be a joint JAPAN-MANCHUKUO concern chartered under MANCHUKUO laws, and capitalized at 3,500,000 Yen, which amount may be increased by mutual consultation in case it becomes necessary in order to cope with the expansion of the enterprise in future. (Clause II)
- B. MANCHUKUO shall appraise the value of specially designated aerodromes and mid-way landing air-fields, and other facilities at 1,000,000 Yen and invest this amount in the air-way company, for which she shall receive shares corresponding to the amount of investment after the company has been established. These shares shall not be transferrable. (Clause III) The rest of the capital shall be met by 1,500,000 Yen to be invested by the South Manchuria Railway Company and 1,000,000 Yen by Sumitomo Goshi Kaisha. (Art. IV)
- C. MANCHUKUO shall lend free of charge the land the buildings of the former MUKDEN air-plane repair factory and of the Army Engineering School to the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army, who in turn shall lend them, together with the confiscated machineries attached to the said factory and school, to the air-way company. (Art. V)
- D. MANCHUKUO shall not permit other persons to manage any aviation enterprise in MANCHUKUO without obtaining the consent of the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army. (Article VI)
- E. MANCHUKUO shall grant annually to the air-way company a specially fixed amount of subsidy. The amount of this subsidy shall be subject to alteration by the mutual consultations of both parties, according to the business conditions of the said company.
- F. MANCHUKUO shall entrust the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army with the inspection of all air-planes and examination of their crews.
- G. With regard to the provisional law for the establishment of the air-way company, detailed rules shall be discussed and decided by JAPAN and MANCHUKUO within a month after this agreement is concluded. (Clause IX)

- H. MANCHUKUO agrees to permit the air-way company to instal necessary aviation facilities, such as exclusive communications and wireless beacons, etc. at its own expense and to use the facilities exclusively. (Clause X)
- I. As to the transport of mail matter, this shall be agreed upon separately. (Clause XI)
- J. MANCHUKUO shall exempt the payment of all taxes on the various facilities attached to the air-way company and on its business as well as the import duties on the articles needed for the use of the company. (Clause XII)

(IV) Agreement relative to the establishment of mining rights necessary for national defense, concluded between Commander MUTO of the KWANTUNG Army and Prime Minister CHENG under date of September 9, 1932.

- A. MANCHUKUO agrees to respect all mining rights /"KOGYOKEN"/ within her territories which had been already acquired by Japanese and also to revise the existing arrangements or agreements, in order to meet the requirements of national defense. Among the said mining rights /"KOGYOKEN"/, the exploiting rights /"SAIKUTSUKEN"/ shall remain valid for an indefinite period of time. (Article I)
- B. MANCHUKUO shall grant to JAPAN-MANCHUKUO corporation, to be designated by mutual consultation between the two countries, the mining rights with the exception of vested rights, of 38 specially indicated mines of coal, oil, light metal ores, iron ore, oil-shades, lead ore and nickel ore.
- C. In respect to also mines containing special minerals other than those enumerated above, MANCHUKUO shall grant mining rights thereof only to a joint JAPAN-MANCHUKUO corporation of either one or both nationality. (Article III)
- D. MANCHUKUO shall confer beforehand with our country in respect to the establishment and release of blockaded zones of the minerals necessary for national defense. (Article IV)
- E. The mining rights stipulated in this agreement shall be governed by the existing provisional law /"BEMPO"/, with the exception of the clauses on the qualifications for acquiring mining rights and the limitation of capital holdings, until such time as a new mining law is enforced in MANCHUKUO. In enacting or revising the mining law relative to minerals necessary for national defense, MANCHUKUO shall obtain beforehand the consent of our country. (Article V)

Of the above-mentioned various documents, the Protocol and the Second, Third, and the Fourth out of the Notes exchanged, that is, the Agreements concluded between the Commander of the KWANTUNG Army and the Prime Minister /of MANCHUKUO/ shall be written in both Japanese and in Chinese. In the event that any doubts occur as to the interpretation thereof, the decision shall be made according to the Japanese text. (Refer to the closing sentence of the Protocol, and others.)

Now that MANCHUKUO has become independent by the will of her people and has already completed the substance of a new state, we consider it a matter of course for our country to recognize that country in order to establish permanent peace in the Far East. And in view of the fact that the objectives of the arrangements under consideration are to recognize the independence of MANCHUKUO, to regulate the foundation of the relations between JAPAN and MANCHUKUO, and at the same time to secure and extend our proper rights and interests, these arrangements may be considered as very opportune measures. However, since in connection with the enforcement of these arrangements there will arise many problems important to our country, our authorities concerned must endeavor to cope with the situation properly, taking every possible precaution in regard to various matters. Especially, as it will greatly affect the finance of our country in the future, we cannot but wish ardently that an appropriate financial programme would be immediately adopted so as to have it enforced properly. Under the circumstances, it has been unanimously agreed upon by the Judging Committee that this bill be passed without modification, together with the above-mentioned wishes.

The foregoing is the report on our findings.

No. 33 Councillor (OKADA) I am in favor of this bill and have no objection at all, but I consider that the Manchurian question cannot be settled merely by our recognition of MANCHUKUO, I should think that difficult problems rather lie in future. I therefore take this opportunity to ask for the views of the authorities concerned on one or two points.

I consider that at this juncture the utmost consideration should be given to international relations. The explanations given to the Diet by the Ministers concerned in regard to the so-called Anti-War Pact was quite to the point, but I think that the existence of the Nine-Power Pact is a source of evil. Although the Foreign Minister explained in the Diet that our recognition of MANCHUKUO would not contravene the Nine-Power Pact, the UNITED STATES and others will not be satisfied with such explanations. Further, the Foreign Minister stated that MANCHUKUO had become independent by the free will of her people and that JAPAN had not agreed by the Nine-Power Pact to prevent the independence of the Chinese People. For example, he said, supposing that CANTON became independent, the countries signatory to the said Pact are not under obligation to prevent this independence. However, the Americans might say that it would be all right if MANCHUKUO had become independent by the free will of her own people, but that it is a violation of the said Pact and a disregard of CHINA's sovereignty for JAPAN to assist and maintain this independence.

The Foreign Minister's explanations on this point is inadequate. What explanation is the Foreign Minister prepared to give in reply to this? Besides, a comparison of the secret agreements in this bill with the Nine-Power Pact shows that there are not a small number of points of doubt in respect to the conflict between the two. I wish to ask how will the Foreign Minister explain this. Moreover, is it possible after all to keep the agreements strictly confidential? It may be possible for JAPAN, but it is hardly possible for MANCHUKUO to do it. I consider it advisable to assume that secrecy cannot be kept. In the event that the secrets are divulged, CHINA will not remain silent and she will demand the convocation of a conference of the countries signatory to the Nine-Power Pact. If, as a result of such a conference, JAPAN's movements be decided to be

a violation of the said Pact, I consider JAPAN would be placed in a very difficult position. Therefore, the authorities concerned should be fully prepared for such a contingency. Nay, such preparedness alone is unsatisfactory. Preparations should be made beforehand to prevent such clash. In this connection I would like to ask the Foreign Minister what preparation he has made to cope with this matter.

No. 7 (UCHIDA) Before answering Councillor OKADA's questions, I wish to say that we will do our utmost to meet the wishes of the Judging Committee, giving careful consideration to the advice and wishes given in the report of the Judging Committee. As to the Nine-Power Pact, the first question of Councillor OKADA, I think I have fully explained our attitude. The action of the Japanese Army to cope with the incident which occurred on Sept. 18 of last year was nothing but the exercise of our right of self-defense. It is true, however, that this action was availed of by the thirty million people of MANCHUKUO for creating a new state, but it is not in the least improper to recognize that the creation of the new state was entirely based on the free will of the people of MANCHUKUO. The Nine-Power Pact provides that the Chinese territorial integrity shall be respected, but it makes no provision at all for a case where a part of CHINA becomes independent as the result of CHINA's own disintegration. Of course, in this respect, various views are held in the UNITED STATES and other countries, but these are their own views. For our part, we should go ahead with the view given above. Of late, the motive and process of the creation of this new state have come to be generally understood and the feelings of the Powers also have been eased to no small degree. In fact, when Ambassador DEBUCHI recently approached the American Government authorities and informally asked if they would protest in case JAPAN should recognize MANCHUKUO, they replied that they had not the slightest intention of making a protest or convoking a Nine-Power conference, inasmuch as there was no hope of such a conference reaching any conclusion. Besides, the convocation of Nine-Power conference will be opposed by some of the European countries.

As to the second question, namely, whether or not there is doubt that the contents of the strictly secret treaty are incompatible with the Nine-Power Pact, I am confident that there is no conflict between the two, as I have just stated. The powers are concerned with the open-door principle, principle of equal opportunity, etc., but we do not see any conflict between the documents of this bill and these principles. I see no objection to the fact that JAPAN has been entrusted by MANCHUKUO with such matters as that country can do herself. As to the question what will be done in the event that the secret arrangements between JAPAN and MANCHUKUO are divulged, I do not believe it would leak out from our side and therefore, MANCHUKUO is being cautioned to take special care to prevent leakage on her side. Even if by any chance it should leak out, I firmly believe that there is nothing to be ashamed of.

No. 33. (OKADA) I now understand the situation from the explanation given just now by the Foreign Minister, but my sole anxiety is whether or not the Powers will be satisfied with such explanations. Inasmuch as I am inclined to think that there will be some nations that will surely oppose the conclusion of this treaty. I wish that sufficient study and preparations would be made beforehand.

No. 22. (ISHIGURO) I feel not a little relieved by the explanations given by the Foreign Minister, but the 2nd Note exchanged, that is, the letter addressed to the Commander of our army from Premier CHENG contains the following sentence: "This country shall entrust the national defense and maintenance of public peace in future to your country, all necessary expenditure for which shall be borne by our country." Is there any time limit to this? And is the military expenditure being borne by MANCHUKUO at present also?

No. 9. (ARAKI) At present, no budget for this has been provided by MANCHUKUO, but according to the program of our War Ministry authorities, MANCHUKUO will be able to defray some part of the expenditure after 1933 if her internal conditions become stabilized, since she has reliable income from railways. After a lapse of about five years, I think MANCHUKUO will be able to defray the necessary expenditure.

No. 22. (ISHIGURO) Is it impossible to obtain payment for the expenses before the lapse of five years?

No. 9. (ARAKI) The national defense of MANCHUKUO is at the same time the national defense of our country. Consequently I consider it not fair and reasonable to make MANCHUKUO alone bear the whole amount of expenses necessary for national defense. It will be possible, I think, for MANCHUKUO to pay annually 9,000,000 Yen from the year 1933, and 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 Yen after five years.

No. 22 (ISHIGURO) Do you mean to say that 9,000,000 Yen can be paid in the coming year?

No. 9. (ARAKI) Although it is only a plan, I believe that an annual amount of 9,000,000 Yen can be paid by that country, provided that the country is stabilized.

No. 23 (KURODA) It is a matter for congratulation that our empire has now concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with MANCHUKUO. Judging from the explanations and answers given just now by the Foreign Minister, our future relations with other countries will become more and more eventful. I therefore hope the authorities would give careful consideration to the maintenance of amicable and harmonious diplomatic relations with the Powers. The defrayment of expenses, of course, should be cautiously handled, but inasmuch as /the national defense of MANCHUKUO/ is also the national defense of our country, it is hoped that the Army and Navy would give due consideration to the matter. Inasmuch as the present action of JAPAN is to exalt the fundamental spirit of our empire, I anxiously desire that the whole people, united as one, would do their utmost to settle the MANCHURIAN question.

No. 31. (ISHII) I wish to express my heartiest endorsement of the signing of the Protocol between JAPAN and MANCHUKUO. On looking back, the past one year has been really a year of so-called extraordinary emergency in which our country trod a very critical path. However, thanks to the proper measures taken by the present cabinet since its formation, we have now arrived at the stage of concluding a JAPAN-MANCHUKUO Alliance treaty, whereby MANCHUKUO has been recognized. This is a matter for congratulations to our country.

JAPAN vs. the MANCHURIAN question and JAPAN vs. the international problem were the two problems over which I had deeply worried, because my doubts had not been dispelled throughout the previous Cabinet and the one before it. JAPAN possessed from the outset special rights and interests in MANCHURIA. Therefore, our position was a special one. Since last year, while we were repelling CHINA's infringement of those rights and interests, we inadvertently perceived an intention on the part of the Manchus and Mongols of gaining independence and gave them facilities for realizing their aspiration. This was only proper for us to do. However, what I feared was that MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA, after they became independent, would later on come to lack mutual understandings. Such men as NU-CHEN and YUAN, who threatened against JAPAN in the past, were Mongols. Even if the Mongols respect JAPAN as a leader today, who knows that they will not in the future change their attitude and ignore our rights and interests, becoming a second CHANG HSUCH-LIANG? In Europe there is a nation which met with an unexpected calamity owing to its failure to make necessary preparations in international negotiations. I called the attention of our authorities by citing the case of BULGARIA. However, I now observe that our vested rights have been fully secured, according to the Notes exchanged. This has dispelled my doubts, and I feel exceedingly glad. Secondly, I felt very uneasy about JAPAN's contention in regard to the connection between the Manchurian problem and the League of Nations. The main point of our contention was that JAPAN cannot agree to the disposition of the Sino-Japanese dispute over MANCHURIA by the council of the League of Nations under Article XV of the League's Covenant. It was my fear that, inasmuch as some countries among the members of the League had laid before the League, prior to resorting to war, disputes arising inside their own territories and had received deliveration under Article XV, JAPAN's contention could not be carried through after all. I considered that, should the dispute over MANCHURIA, which is not Japanese territory, be disposed of according to Article XV, Japan's contention would be rejected by the world's public opinion as well as the International Court of Justice. However, when MANCHUKUO is recognized by JAPAN and becomes an independent state and also JAPAN-MANCHUKUO Alliance is concluded, according to the proposal now under consultation, the point most disadvantageous to JAPAN will be thereby almost removed. This, I think, will be the most desirable result of our formal recognition of MANCHUKUO and the conclusion of a JAPAN-MANCHUKUO Alliance.

It was almost an established view of a large number of the people of the UNITED STATES and other countries that our action in MANCHUKUO violated the anti-war Pact and the Nine-Power Pact. However, now that JAPAN has formally recognized MANCHUKUO and entered into an alliance with her, JAPAN will be able in future to assert that the independence of MANCHUKUO was due to the disintegration of CHINA and that the territorial integrity of the Republic of CHINA was broken by none other than MANCHUKUO. This will nullify the argument that JAPAN violated the Nine-Power Pact. Now that JAPAN has concluded an alliance with new MANCHUKUO for joint national defense, I believe there will be no room for opposing the stationing of Japanese troops in MANCHURIA, thus making the League's past resolution a dead letter.

No, supposing that the LYTTON'S Inquiry Commission recognized CHINA's sovereignty over MANCHURIA and recommended that CHINA allow autonomy to MANCHUKUO, and supposing that the League adopted this recommendation, JAPAN need not comment on it. It is for MANCHUKUO herself to assert that an

independent state should not be placed under the sovereignty of any other country. In regard to the connection between JAPAN and AMERICA and also other countries, MANCHUKUO herself will bear the brunt of the attack, or back up JAPAN to ease JAPAN's position. At any rate, in consequence of the independence of MANCHUKUO, it has become unnecessary for the League of Nations to deliberate on the Manchurian question under Article XV of the League's covenant. It was rather strange that the Manchurian and Mongolian races had started no independence movement up to now. It was a matter of course that MANCHUKUO has become independent as soon as the old regime under CHANG HSUEH-LIANG collapsed. After all, MANCHURIA became a part of CHINA, when it was brought as a downy by AI CHIN CHAENLO, who subjugated CHINA proper. Lord LYTTON's party also must have studied the history of MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA and it will not be difficult to make them understand the creation of MANCHUKUO as well as the problem of racial self-determination. Consequently, I believe that through the independence of MANCHUKUO, Japan's position has been improved considerably in respect to her foreign relations.

In short, the present JAPAN-MANCHUKUO Treaty will prove effective in fully maintaining and expanding our special rights in MANCHURIA and MONGOLIA on the one hand and in elevating, on the other hand, JAPAN from a position of predicament full of troubles at home and abroad to a triumphant one. Here I feel that there is a bright future for the Manchurian and Mongolian problem. With this in view, I heartily endorse the exchange of Notes relative to the JAPAN-MANCHUKUO Alliance. However, as has just been stated by the chairman of the Judging Committee and Councillor OKADA, many difficulties still lie ahead and I, therefore, hope the matter would be carried to perfection by the authorities with further cautious reparations.

Chairman (KURATOMI): Before putting the bill to a vote, I should like to call your attention, for cautious sake, to the fact that, although the bill discussed today is termed "Matter on the Signing of JAPAN-MANCHUKUO Protocol," its contents are composed of the Protocol and the Notes exchanged. As there are no further speakers, I shall immediately take a vote on the matter, omitting the Second Reading, etc. The ayes are requested to stand up.

(All rise up.)

Chairman (KURATOMI): The bill has been passed unanimously. Today's meeting is adjourned.

His Majesty the Emperor withdrew to the inner palace.

(The meeting adjourned at 11:45 a.m.)

Chairman, Baron KURATOMI, Yuzaburo.
 Chief Secretary FUTAKAMI, Hyoji.
 Secretary HORIE, Sueo.
 " MUTOH, Morio.

NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF RECORD
(July 1, 1946)

(GOTO-Direct)

DIRECT EXAMINATION OF GOTO, FUMIO - Mr. Helm.

Page
1638

The witness stated that he lived in Tokyo, Setagaya, Tamagawa, Nogemachi, No. 364, where his family lives. That he made an affidavit in the case and the paper shown to him was the affidavit; that he had signed it. It was not read to him in Japanese but the general meaning was told to him * and while certain points may be insufficient insofar as he was able to understand it, it was incorrect.

1639

The affidavit of GOTO, Fumio, was admitted into evidence as Exhibit 166 and is summarized as follows:

1640

The witness was Minister for Home Affairs in the OKADA Cabinet in 1936 and during that time the Army rebellion of 1936 occurred and an attempt was made to assassinate Prime Minister OKADA. The witness acted as Prime Minister for three days while OKADA was besieged. OKADA and his Cabinet experienced difficulties with the Army. The highest officers in the Army at that time*were General KAWASHIMA, Minister of War; Prince KANIN, Chief of the Army General Staff, who was not very active; General SUGIYAMA, Vice Chief of the Army General Staff, General WATANABE, Inspector General of Military Education, General INAI, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, General MINAMI, Commander in Chief of the Kwantung Army, General ITAGAKI, Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army.

In 1940 when Premier KONOYE decided to set up the I.R.A.A. he asked for the witness to advise him with respect to forming the plans of the organization. The witness made many attempts with the preparatory committee of which HASHIMOTO was a member. He later occupied a position in the General Affairs Committee and participated in the affairs of that organization.

1641

After the formation of the I.R.A.A. no other important organizations existed. The result was to create one important public organization which was controlled in its entirety by * Government officers who occupied high positions. It was subsidized by Government funds to the extent of 8 million yen a year. It reached to every prefecture, ward and street.

CROSS EXAMINATION BY MR. HAYASHI

The witness stated that he took part in the formulation of the I.R.A.A. its practical policy and also of its movement policy. He was one of the Directors of the I.R.A.A. and although he doesn't remember the exact number of the members of the Committee it was somewhere between thirty and forty.

1642

* The organization was founded on October 10, 1940 and was dissolved during the SUZUKI Cabinet in 1945. By the words in the platform of the I.R.A.A. that "we shall become the moral leaders of the world" it meant that they endeavored to raise the moral standard of the nation and gain respect from other countries.

As to the words in the second Article of the platform "that the Society shall strive for the establishment of a new world order", the witness stated that the Society had no time to do it and fortunately never gained enough power to do it.

1646

*The witness stated that the object of the I.R.A.A. was nothing less than "the entire nation shall fulfill their duties each in his own sphere, and establishing such an organization shall work in order that this organization shall function smoothly and in this way strive to fulfill their duties as subjects." There is not included in the purpose the idea of being the moral leader of the world and to work for the establishment of a new world order. By calling it a public organization, he meant it as one which is not a political organization. He stated that the organization was controlled by the government * and not that the organization controlled the people.

1647

NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF RECORD.
(July 1, 1946)

Page (GOTO- Cross)

1647 The sum of eight million yen received from the government was used to operate the Association so that the people might carry out their duties as subjects.

1648 *By carrying out the duties of subjects, he meant that the Japanese nation carries out duties which are incumbent upon the people of Japan, including duties of military service, payment of taxes and other legal and moral duties.

1649 The I.R.A.A. was not formed to prepare the people for inhumane and illegal war against Great Britain and America. There were somewhere between thirty and forty people on the preparatory commission. He could not state definitely whether these people all knew each other or were assembled from people who did not know each other very well, but from
1650 his experience, he had met most of them before * although there were some he did not know well.

Some of the Directors did not know each other before. HASHIMOTO resigned as Director after a little more than six months.

1651 With respect to OKADA's difficulty with the Army, it was chiefly during the latter period of his tenure of office. The difficulties were the budget question, and the fact that certain elements of the Army were hoping for internal reform. * He could not state definitely who these elements were, but the result was dissatisfaction with the OKADA Cabinet.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. McMANUS:

1652 The witness stated that he is presently in Sugamo Prison and was incarcerated there when he signed the affidavit, which he signed at the War Ministry Building. He said that he had no special purpose for listing the highest ranking officers in his affidavit and had done so in answer
1653 to the question of the prosecution. * There was no special connection between these Officers and the Cabinet's difficulty with the Army.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. FUJII:

The witness stated that he did not hear HIRANUMA's statement to the Diet on the nature of the I.R.A.A. but had seen it in the paper after the reopening of the Diet Session in either February or March 1941.

1654 In answer to the question that HIRANUMA had stated that the Association was not a political one, but a public one - he did not remember the exact details of the matter but recalls that a hygienic organization was given as an example of a public organization.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. ITO:

1657 The witness reiterated that after the establishment of the I.R.A.A. there were no other important political parties left. He said he didn't
1658 say that the I.R.A.A. was a political organization. * Before the formation of the I.R.A.A. political parties were dissolved; after its formation many political organizations were also dissolved; there may have been some left. However, his statement was that no important organizations were left. He doesn't mean that from 1940 to 1945 there were no political parties or organizations in Japan but is describing the situation which prevailed immediately after the foundation of the I.R.A.A. and is fully aware of the fact that the I.R.A.P.S. was later formed and
1660 a subsidy was given to that organization for the first time. * He believed that political parties existed after the dissolution of the I.R.A.A.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. NARITOMI:

1661 With respect to the Preparatory Committee and the Directors of the

NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF RECORD
(July 1, 1946)

Page I.R.A.A. some of the posts were filled by the same men. The number of men on the Preparatory Committee were less than the number of Directors. The witness did not meet SHIRATORI often; he knew he resigned later on but doesn't recall the fact. He didn't remember whether SHIRATORI was asked to become a member.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY CAPTAIN KLEIMAN:

1664 The witness stated with respect to the distinction between public association and political association, that it requires an explanation from two viewpoints, the legal and the general. According to the Public Security Peace Law and other Laws, there are two types of organizations-- political and public.

1665 Political organizations are those which center around activity in the Diet and which have a direct influence on the policies of the Government by gaining public influence and making the people at large agree with their political views -- organizations with a political purpose. All other organizations under this law are either public, ideological, social welfare, educational and other organizations. These are all grouped together as public organizations and organizations which lay particular stress on ideological problems fall into this category.

1666 *From a legal standpoint, there is no distinction between political and partly political. The I.R.A.A. legally, was a public organization and not a political one.

1667 The witness stated that there was quite a lot of connection between the fact that the political parties disappeared with the advent of the I.R.A.A. and reappeared on the disappearance of that organization. Political parties were not dissolved as a result of the establishment of the I.R.A.A. Parliamentary political parties were dissolved before the Preparatory Committee had been assembled. There was a prevailing opinion that KONOYE was about to form one great political party and the witness believes that the leaders of the various parties were dissolving their parties with the idea of joining this one joint party. He might be mistaken, but the political parties were dissolved. KONOYE abandoned his original plan of forming one party; at the same time the trend of public opinion was that such an idea was not in accordance with Japanese national structure. In this atmosphere the Preparatory Committee met.

1668 KONOYE's ideal thus was to form an organization in which all strata of the Japanese people could be in agreement, even though they would have different political ideologies and political opinions. It was not the one great political party with a definite platform and the ability to push it, but an organization in which all kinds of people of all kinds of opinions and trends could agree and cooperate. For those persons who had desired a strong party, the Association was a disappointment. They had dissolved their parties so they could join the I.R.A.A. but they were greatly dissatisfied with its lack of political power.

1669 *The Organization continued until 1945. However, the politicians felt the need of establishing a new political party which would have power so they resigned from the I.R.A.A. and formed the I.R.A.P.S. It was at this time the KONOYE Cabinet declared in the Diet that the I.R.A.A. was a public organization, not a political one.

1670 *The I.R.A.A. carried on mainly movements of a spiritual kind, as to what the people of Japan should do and what their duties should be. It was mainly concerned with domestic movements; for instance, the increase of production and the regulation of national living. After the formation of the I.R.A.P.S. there was not much change in the functions; it continued its functions whereas the I.R.A.P.S. indulged in parliamentary activities and the assertion of a political platform.

NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF RECORD
(July 1, 1946)

(GOTO-Cross)

1671 *HIRANUMA was not a member of the I.R.A.P.S., as the regulations provided members of the Cabinet should be Advisors to the Association. When the Cabinet changed, the advisors changed. The advisors had no say in the practical administration of the I.R.A.A.

1672 *The witness could not state that HIRANUMA had joined the KONOYE Cabinet to insure that the I.R.A.A. would not be a political association, but he had heard that HIRANUMA's idea was that the Association should not be political, but purely public and had entered the Cabinet with this idea in mind.

The witness was not in the Cabinet at that time and did not meet HIRANUMA, but believes that he did believe in the rightfulness of parliamentary government.

1674 Exhibit 167, being the Regulations of the Provincial Planning Committee of the I.R.A.A. was introduced and received in evidence.

This document states that the outline of the Practical Activities of the I.R.A.A. is in accordance with the policy of bringing about "Hakko Ichiu" -- Japan aims to become the ethical leader of a glorious world and to establish a spiritual and physical united national structure. The outline of the Practical Activities is to endeavor to be faithful, loyal subjects, to cooperate in the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and to establish a new order in the world; to cooperate in the establishment of the I.R.A.A. political system, economic system, and cultural system and a new system of living. The document then goes on with the regulations of the I.R.A.A. movement setting up its governmental structure. The Propaganda Division is charged with the duty of investigating all matters pertaining to foreign information. The Asia Development General Headquarters is to popularize Asia Development ideology; train persons going overseas and Asiatic peoples residing in Japan; to perform liaison between the various organizations in the Greater East Asia Organizations; collect and investigate, and conduct research on all materials. It sets up a whole organization for carrying out these ideas.

Exhibit 168, being the personnel list of the I.R.A.A. from 8 July 1942 until late 1945 was offered and received in evidence.

With respect to MATSUI, Iwane, it shows that he was Vice President of the Greater Japan-Asia Prosperity Alliance; an advisor of the I.R.A.A. Headquarters Adult Corps, an advisor of the I.R.A.A. Peace Section. Certain members of the Asia General Headquarters were members of his clique.

1675 As to HASHIMOTO, it shows that he was manager of the Bureau of Thought Control of the Japan-Asia Prosperity Alliance, Vice President and Headquarters Director, as well as section chief of the Guidance Section of the Adult Corps of the I.R.A.A.; that he was a Vice President and Chief of Headquarters and Chief of the Control Section of the Central Headquarters of the I.R.A.A.

As to KOISO, he was a member of the Liberating Committee of the Adult Corps and President of the I.R.A.A. when Premier.
