

"THE METHOD AND MAIN POINTS OF ENLIGHTENING PUBLIC OPINION ON
THE PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATION RE 1935 NAVAL LIMITATIONS CONFERENCE"

Decided on 12 October 1934

The enlightenment and guidance of public opinion on the preliminary negotiation re 1935 Naval Limitations Conference shall be done based upon the following according to general principles:

ACCOUNT

I. MATTERS OF ENLIGHTENMENT

(1) It is the national right of every country to hold sufficient military forces in order to stabilize her own national defense; at the same time for our Empire, it is a necessary duty in order to secure the peace of East Asia.

(2) Our Empire's claim is not the expansion of armaments but the reduction of armaments; namely, it means to plan the armament reduction of all nations to the utmost based upon the spirit of disarmament and to contrive to lighten the national burden as much as possible in the future. Moreover, it means the promotion of friendship among nations.

(3) In order to establish the principle of no-threats and no-aggression, it is necessary to carry out limitation of armament by abolishing or by reducing offensive force, and by replenishing defensive force.

(4) Our Empire denounces the Washington Treaty, but she hopes to conclude a just and appropriate treaty as a substitute.

(5) In case an agreement is not effected, the Empire has a counter-plan which will make the best of the situation from the standpoint of national defense. However, the Empire will persistently maintain an attitude of just peace and, of course, try willingly not to aggravate peaceful relations with the interested countries.

II. THE WAY OF ENLIGHTENMENT

(1) Internal enlightenment and propaganda shall be performed through journalists and correspondents. In addition, the interested authorities will dispatch lecturers in case of necessity; or it shall be done by contributions to newspapers, by broadcasts, by films, by distribution of pamphlets and so on.

(2) All interested officials shall guide internal newspaper and magazine writers and correspondents. Even though they will avoid as much as possible

taking measures such as banning publication of anything except currently banned matters, each ministry shall exert itself and shall attempt to prevent publication of speeches which might destroy a policy already decided by the Empire, which make special mention of opposition of ministry to ministry, of disunity of internal public opinion, or the publishing of articles which would tend unnecessarily to stimulate internal and external public opinion. Each ministry should try to prevent it.

(3) As the newspaper articles containing announcements for internal enlightenment are promptly translated by foreign journalists in Japan and are telegraphed outside Japan, when the aforesaid announcements are made, we must give ample consideration to the foreign reaction.

(4) We should carry on propaganda for foreign enlightenment according to item (5) in addition to carrying it on through foreign correspondents in Japan and Japanese correspondents. We shall direct organizations abroad such as our foreign companies and non-official groups, and Japanese residents abroad to cooperate with the policy of enlightenment of the Government. Special consideration shall be given to the indirect effectiveness of internal enlightenment.

(5) The enlightenment in foreign countries shall be conducted with foreign diplomatic establishments as centers. Concerning this, the central government shall consider and take measures for close liaison with military and naval attaches in diplomatic establishments abroad.

(6) The guidance and the enlightenment of foreign correspondents should be done with the Foreign Office as a center.

(7) As censorship of the communications of foreign correspondents is not established as a system, we make it a rule not to limit them especially, except in the case of an extreme communication; instead the guidance of correspondence is emphasized.

(8) We should make a separate study concerning refutation and counter-propaganda in response to the propaganda from foreign countries.

(9) We should make a separate study concerning the prevention of the bribing of internal newspapers and magazines by others, and the buying of foreign newspapers and magazines.

(10) We should make a separate study concerning the oppositions and the artificialities, etc., in the public opinion of countries which participated in the Conference, especially those of Britain and America.

(11) The controlled and firm attitude of the authorities is a basic condition of enlightenment and guidance, and at the same time, it is the best protective wall for stopping propaganda from foreign countries. Accordingly officials in charge of each interested ministry should maintain the necessary liaison.

The End

REFERENCE (Confidential) 25 Navy

METHOD OF EXTERNAL PROPAGANDA

I. The policy of Japan is always to maintain peace in the East.

(1) The maintenance of peace in the East is not only one of the greatest pillars for the Peace System of the world, but also it is the important element of existence for Japan without which self-supply and self-support are impossible and the importing and exporting of goods are necessary.

(2) Therefore, the maintenance of peace in the East and the Japanese national defense are closely connected and indivisible.

(3) History testifies that Japan protected, at the risk of her national fortune, the peace of the East every time it was in danger. In fact, Japan has never taken up arms except in the above instance.

(4) For other powers also, the maintenance of peace in the East is the guarantee of their trade in the East.

(5) When the powers look dispassionately at the actual situation in the East, they will discover Japan as the only defender of the peace of the East and will be unable to help thanking her and respecting her.

II. The attitude of Japan is always on a basis of justice and duty, and at the Naval Conference of 1935, Japan is to take the same attitude.

(1) The intention of Japan based on the spirit of the reduction of armament, is to abolish increases in armament and to reduce armament. In this case, the powers with the greatest armament should take the lead in making reductions.

(2) It is absolutely necessary to maintain national existence. Therefore, every country has an equal right to feel at ease about her defense; so each nation has an equal right to provide the armament necessary for national defense.

(3) As naval strength is very easily moved, all powers concerned can be at ease as regards national defense when the treaty based on the principle "NOT TO THREATEN OTHERS" is concluded.

(4) This discriminating ratio of naval strength is a violation of the principle of no-threats and no-aggression and should be rejected.

(5) In order not to menace one another, we should abolish or drastically reduce our offensive force, and assert our defensive armament.

III. The abrogation of the existing treaty is a natural stage in concluding a new impartial treaty.

(1) Ten years have passed since the conclusion of the Washington Treaty and this treaty has lost its validity due to the development of sciences and due to the changes in the international situation. The discriminating ratio gives Japan especially a constant menace and makes her anxious about the safety of her national defense. This stimulates still more the idea of opposing powers, and is not the measure for maintaining the international peace; we must abrogate this as soon as possible.

(2) The Washington Treaty itself anticipates the loss of its validity owing to the passing of time, and provides for the abrogation of the treaty. Therefore, according to the stipulation of the treaty, it will be natural for Japan to announce the abrogation of the treaty; this is based on her constructive hope for concluding a new treaty, impartial and suitable for the present situation.

(3) The London Treaty is originally temporary and it is natural that we abrogate it according to its provision and substitute a new agreement.

(4) It is the traditional spirit of the Japanese that they got along with good neighbors and help their neighbors, making nothing of their own lives in the maintenance of justice. No one can terrorize her by putting on a demon's mask.

NAVAL COMMITTEE VERBAL NOTE
(to be distributed at the 4th Joint Disarmament
Information Commission, 5 October 1934)

All the Ministries cannot carry out the concrete details of propaganda and its diffusion in the same way for they all are in different situations, and it may be advantageous for each Ministry to take a different attitude in attaining the object.

The principle should be that all have a close connection beneath the surface. Under separate cover is contained the elementary methods of propaganda diffusion now being used by the Navy. We shall be pleased if you make a suitable selection and use it.

CONFIDENTIAL - REFERENCE 25

Navy

ELEMENTS OF INTERNAL PROPAGANDA

I. We should be sure to make the people believe that maintaining the national defense power permanently is absolutely essential to the armament reduction treaty.

(1) Generally speaking, it is absolutely necessary that an independent country has the right to armaments necessary to safeguard herself.

(2) Without the safety of national defense, we positively cannot expect to build the international peace system, the stability of the national life, nor the future prosperity of the country.

(3) Therefore, a just and impartial treaty of armament reduction should contain the permanent maintenance of the national defense as its essence.

II. The following items should be emphasized for the conclusion of a just and valid new treaty for armament reduction.

(1) We cannot accept any treaty which threatens the independence of the national defense of Japan and by which the permanence of the national defense of Japan cannot be anticipated.

(2) To insure the principle of no-threats and no-aggression, we abolish the gradation and ratio. Moreover, we should limit our armament on the basis of drastically reducing military strength and replenishing military strength.

(3) All nations should plan to drastically lower their amounts in accord with the spirit of reducing armament.

III. We explain the following concerning the abrogation of the existing treaty.

(1) As ten-odd years have passed since the conclusion of the Washington Treaty, it is not suited to the present situation due to scientific progress and changes in the international situation in the meantime. The treaty itself anticipates its own abrogation, and it is the proper and just preparatory measure for concluding a new and just armament reduction treaty. Therefore, it is not simply as a use of a right proper from the standpoint of the treaty, but as a step in the direction of a fair agreement that we announce the abrogation of the treaty.

(2) The London Treaty is a temporary agreement in force until the end of 1936, and after the term is over it will naturally become invalidated.

IV. Japan who resigned from the League of Nations with regard to the Manchuria Incident experienced the fact that a just claim is not necessarily always recognized in an international conference. Even if our claim should unfortunately not be accepted, and the agreement should not be concluded, we need not necessarily expect the opening of a ship construction race considering the national situation in the various countries. If such competition should appear, the authorities are confident of maintaining the national defense by independent measures. Therefore, we should strongly advocate that the people should not be afraid of it.

V. Due to the situation of the empire, the defense of the empire is connected with East Asiatic peace and indivisibility, and as the maintenance of naval force by Japan is the basis of the peace of East Asia, they should be made to recognize emphatically that the future of Japan depends on the vicissitudes of her Navy.

VI. As the negotiation for the armament reduction reaches its climax, foreign propaganda may become violent. We must spread the warning ahead of time not to be taken in by foreign tricks.

No. 1.

EX 912A

Doc 1618

昭和九年十月十日決定

昭和十年海軍軍縮會議豫備交渉ニ
對スル輿論啓蒙要項及方法

昭和十年海軍軍縮會議豫備交渉ニ對スル輿論ノ
啓蒙指導ハ一般綱領ニ遵由シ右記ニ依リ之ヲ行フ

記

一 啓蒙要項

- (一) 各國力自國ノ國防ヲ安固ニスルニ充分ナル兵力ヲ保有スル
ニトハ當然ノ權利ナルト共ニ帝國ニ取ツテハ東亞ノ
平和確保ノため必然ノ義務ナルコト
- (二) 帝國ノ主張ハ軍備擴張ニ非スニテ軍備縮小ニアリ
即チ軍縮ノ精神ニ基キ極力各國保有量ノ低下ヲ
圖リ以テ將來成ル可ク國民負擔ノ緩和ヲ圖リ
且以各國間ノ平和親交ヲ増進スルニアルコト
- (三) 不脅威不侵略ノ原則ヲ確立スル爲改竅的兵力ヲ
全廢若ハ縮減シ防禦的兵力ヲ充實スルノ趣旨ニ
基キ軍備制限ヲ行フ必要アルコト
- (四) 帝國ハ華府條約ノ廢棄ヲ行フニ乏ニ代ル可キ
公正妥當ナル條約ノ締結ヲ望ムニナルコト

(五) 万一協定不成立ニ終リタル場合ニ於テハ帝國トシテハ國防上之ニ善処スル対策アリ 但シ帝國トシテハ飽ク近公正平和的態ヲ持スルコトトシテ速テ關係國トノ平和的關係ヲ惡化セサルニ努力ムルコト勿論ナルコト

二、啓発方法

(一) 對國內啓発宣傳ニ関シテハ新報雜誌記者通信員ヲ介シテ以テ外務要ニ志シ關係當局ヲ講演官ヲ派遣云或ハ寄稿、放送映画冊子頒布等ニ依リ之ヲ行フモノトス

(二) 國內新報雜誌記者通信員ニ對シテハ各關係官ニ於テ之ヲ指導シ現行禁止事項以外ニ對シテハ成ル可ク掲載禁止等ノ措置ニ出ヅルヲ避クル雖モ帝國ノ既定方針ヲ破壞スル惧アル言論、各省省ノ對立關係、國內輿論ノ統一等ヲ特記シ或ハ不必要ニ内外輿論ヲ刺戟スルガ如キ記事ノ掲載ハ各省協力シテ之ヲ防遏ニ努ムルモノトス

(三) 國內啓発ノ爲メ新報發表記者ハ直ニ在邦外國新聞通信員等ニ依リ翻譯セラレ國外ニ發電セラルルヲ以テ該發表ニ際シ豫メ對外交渉官ヲ充分ノ考慮スルヲ要ス

- (四) 對国外啓発宣傳ニ関シテハ在本邦外国通信員及本邦通信社員等ヲ介シテ行フノ外(五)ニ依ル可キモノトス
- 我在外會社、民間團體等ノ在外機關及在留邦人ヲシテ政府ノ啓発ニ協力セシムル如ク指導ス
- 別ニ国内啓発ノ間接的効果ヲ考慮ニ置クモノトス
- (五) 国外現地ニ於ケル啓発ハ在外公館ヲ中心トシテ之ヲ行フモノトス右ニ関シテハ在外公館附陸海軍武官トノ緊密ナル連絡ヲ中央ニ於テモ考慮措置スルモノトス
- (六) 對外通信員ノ誘導啓発ハ外務省ヲ中心トシテ行フモノトス
- (七) 對外通信員ノ通信ニ對スル檢閲ハ制度トシテ確立セルモノニ非ルヲ以テ極端ナル通信ニ非ル限リ特ニ之ヲ制限セサル建前トシ寧シハ通信員ノ指導ヲ重キヲ置クモノトス
- (八) 海外ヨリノ宣傳ニ對應スル反駁、逆宣傳等ニ関シテハ別ニ攻究準備スルモノトス
- (九) 国内新聞雜誌ノ被買收防止、外国新聞雜誌ノ買收等ニ関シテハ別ニ攻究ス

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(十) 會議參加國就中英米輿論ノ對立作為等ニ
関シテハ別ニ攻究スルモノトス

(十一) 当局ノ統制アル堅確ナル態度ハ啓発指導ノ根本要
件ニシテ同時ニ外部ヨリノ宣傳ヲ抑止スル最上ノ防
壁ナルヲ以テ關係各省係官ハ必要ナル連絡ヲ保持スル
モノトス

(終)

對國外宣傳要項

海軍

一、日本、國策ハ常ニ東洋平和、確保ニアリ

(一) 東洋、平和保全ハ全世界平和機構ノ一大支柱ナルト。同時ニ自給自足不可能ニシテ、物資ノ輸出入ヲ絶対ニ必要トスル日本ニトリテハ、實ニ其ノ存立ニ関スル重大要件ナリ

(二) 從ツテ、東洋平和、維持ハ日本、國防ト密接不可分、関係ニアリ

(三) 東洋平和ノ危殆ニ瀕セル場合ニハ、毎日本ハ其ノ國運ヲ賭シテ之ヲ擁護ニ任レ奉レルハ、青史ノ明證スル處ナリ。

日本ガ干戈ヲ執ツテ、起ケタルハ、實ニ右ノ場合ヲ除キテハ、絶無ナリ。

(四) 列國ニトリテ、モ亦東洋平和ノ保全ハ其ノ對東洋貿易ヲ進展セシムルノ保障ナリ

(五) 而シテ、又、列國ハ冷靜ニ現實、東洋ヲ直

視る時必ず其處ニ東洋平和、唯一擁護者
 たる日本、容ヲ容見シ、敬愛感謝ノ念ニ打タルベ
 キナリ、

二、帝國ノ態度ハ常ニ大義如クニ則スルモノニシテ
 昭和十年海軍軍縮會議ニ對シテ公正妥
 當ノ態度ヲ持スルモノナリ

(一) 日本ノ主張ハ軍縮ノ大精神ニ則リ軍備ノ
 擴張ヲ排シ軍備ノ縮減ヲ期スルモノナリ
 此ノ場合高度軍備國が率先大ナル縮減ヲ
 敢行スベキハ當然ノコトナリ

(二) 國家生存權ノ保有ハ絶対ナリ、サレバ國防ノ
 安全感ヲ満足スベキハ各國平等ニ享有スベキモ
 之ニテ國防上必要トスル限ニ軍備ヲ齊
 整スル權利ハ各國等シク之ヲ有スルモノナリ

(三) 海軍力ノ移動ハ極メテ容易ナルニ鑑ミ其係
 各國ハ互ニ他ヲ警戒セザルニ止リ基礎調トモル軍
 縮條約ヲ締結シテ後始メテ一杯ニ國防ノ安
 全感ヲ得ルモノナリ

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(四) 海軍兵力量ニ差等 ~~ハ~~ 率ヲ設クルガ如キハ將來
 ハ勿論現代ニ於テモ「不脅威不侵略」ノ義則ヲ
 害ヲモノニシテ 断ジテ 排斥スベキモノナリ

~~此~~ 比

(五) 互ニ他ヲ脅威セザラシク為ニ又攻撃力ノ全廢若ハ
 極至ノ縮減ヲ行ヒ防禦力ノ整備ヲ主張スル
 モノナリ

三、既存條約ノ廢棄ハ公正妥當ナル新條約ノ協定ニ進ム当然ノ過程ナリ

(一) 華府條約ハ其ノ協定以來既二十數年ヲ經過シ、其ノ尙科學ノ進歩國際情勢ノ變遷ニ因リ今ヤ其ノ妥當性ヲ失ヒタリ、殊ニ其ノ差等比率ハ日本ニトリテハ不斷ノ脅威ヲ感ゼシメ國防上ノ安全感ヲ傷クルモノアリ、益國際對立ノ觀念ヲ刺戟シ斷ジテ國際平和ヲ維持スルノ所以ニアラザルヲ以テ速ニ廢棄スルノ要アリ

(二) 華府條約自体既ニ斯クノ如キ時代ノ經濟ニ伴フ妥當性ノ消滅ヲ豫期シテ之ガ廢棄ノ規定ヲ設ケタリ
從ツテ日本ガ條約ノ規定ニ從ヒ廢棄通告ヲ行フハ條約上当然ノ權利行使ニシテ而モ新ニ時代ニ適合スル公正ナル條約ヲ協定セントスル建設的希望ニ基クモノナリ

(三) 倫敦條約ニ至リテハ元來暫定的協定ニシテ其ノ規定ニ遵ヒ解消シ新ナル協定ニ更生スルハ当然ノコトナリ
四、善隣ト相親シミ相援ケテ正義ノ爲ニハ

No. 9

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死ヲ鳴毛ヨリモ輕ニシテ進ムハ日本民族ノ傳
統精神ナリ、鬼面人ヲ脅カスガ如キハ斷
ジテ日本人ニ對シテ通用スルモノニアラス

(經)

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No. 10

海軍委員
 第四回聯合軍端情報委員會(於テ)

五代
 配布
 九、一〇、五

宣傳普及、具體的項目ニ至リテハ各者ノ立場ニ依リ必
 スシモ同一筆法ヲ以テ造ムニト能ハサルベク時ニ又異ル表
 現ヲ以テスルヲ大局ノ目的達成上却ツテ有利トスルコト意
 キニシモアラズ。

要ハ只内面的ニ當リニ密接ナル連絡ヲ保持スルニアリ
 別冊ハ現ニ海軍ニ於テ行ヒツツアル宣傳普及ノ要項ナリ
 適当ニ取捨御利用ヲ得ハ幸甚ナリ

對國內普及要項

DOC 1618

一、國防ノ恒久的安全確保ハ軍縮協約ニハ絶對
ノ要件ナルコトヲ國民ノ信念ニ迄徹底セシムルコト

(一) 凡ソ自主獨立ノ國家ガ自國ノ獨立ヲ防護スルニ必要ナル
軍備機^構ヲ確保スベキハ絶對ノモノナルコト

(二) 國防ノ安全ナクシテハ國際平和機構ノ建設モ國
民生活ノ安定モ國家將來ノ繁榮モ斷シテ望ミ得ベカ
ラザルハ明白ナルコト

(三) 從ツテ公正妥當ナル軍縮條約ハ國防ノ恒久的安
全確保ヲ絶對要素トシテ之ヲ包括スルモノナルコト

二、公正妥當ナル新軍縮協定實現ノ爲必要ナル左記各
項ヲ強調スルコト

N.O.11 (一) 帝國國防ノ恒久的安全ヲ期シ得ズ國防自主權ヲ侵
害スルガ如キ協定ハ絶對ニ之ヲ認容スベカラサルコト

No. 12

18 (二) 不脅威不侵略ノ原則ヲ確立スル爲差等比率

16 ヲ撤廃スルト天ニ改竄平的兵力ヲ極力縮減シ防衛的

Doc 兵力ヲ充實スル趣旨ニ基キ軍備ノ制限ヲ行フコト

(三) 軍縮ノ精神ニ則リ極力各国保有量ノ低下ヲ圖ルベキ

コト

三、既存條約ノ廢棄ニ関シテハ左ノ矣ヲ説テスルコト

(一) 華府條約ハ其ノ協定以來十數年ヲ經過シ其間

科學ノ進歩、國際情勢ノ變遷ニ依リ既ニ現状ニ適

ス、之ガ廢棄ハ同條約ノ自体ノ豫見セル所ニシテ且

又公正妥當ナル新軍縮條約協定ニ必要ナル準備過

程ナリ從ツテ之ガ廢棄通告ヲ行フハ單ニ條約上當然ノ

權利行使ニ止マラス公正ナル協定ニ向ツテ一歩ヲ進ムル所以ナ

ルコト (二) 倫敦條約ハ昭和十一年末迄ノ暫定的協定ニシテ有効

期間後ハ当然消滅セシムベキモノナルコト

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四、公正ナル主張モ國際會議ニ於テハ使スレモ島嶼ニ各認

セラルルモノニアラザルコトハ既ニ滿洲問題ニ國際會議
際聯盟ヲ脱退セル帝國ノ經驗セル如クナリ

不幸ニシテ我ノ主張ニ谷シラズ協定ヲ成立ニ終ラザ

ル場合ニ於テモ各國國情ニ鑑ミ必然的ニ建艦競

争ノ開始ヲ豫期スルハ當ニス又斯クノ如キ事態

ニ臨ミテモ當局ハ自主的方法ニ依リ國防ノ固

ヲ期シ得ル自信ヲ有スルヲ以テ國民ハ敢テ之ヲ

懼ルルノ要ナキコトヲ強調スルコト

五、帝國ノ國防ハ帝國ノ國情ヲ推シテ東洋

平和ノ維持ト不可分ノ關係ニアリ

而シテ帝國海軍ノ威力保持ハ實ニ東洋平

和ノ礎石ニシテ之ガ消長ハ帝國國運ノ將來ニ

至大ノ影響ヲ及ボスモノナルコトヲ強調認識

セシムルコト

No. 13

六、軍事縮減交渉ガ高潮ニ達スルニ從ヒ外國ノ巨信

戰艦少トナルベキニ付之等外國側ノ術策ニ乘

セラルル如キコトナキ標警戒スベキコトヲ豫メ考及スルコト

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Ex. 912-A

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Decided on 12 October 1934

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ACCOUNT

I. MATTERS OF ENLIGHTENMENT

- (1) It is the national right of every country to hold sufficient military forces in order to stabilize her own national defense; at the same time for our Empire, it is a necessary duty in order to secure the peace of East Asia.
- (2) Our Empire's claim is not the expansion of armaments but the reduction of armaments; namely, it means to plan the armament reduction of all nations to the utmost based upon the spirit of disarmament and to contrive to lighten the national burden as much as possible in the future. Moreover, it means the promotion of friendship among nations.
- (3) In order to establish the principle of no-threats and no-aggression, it is necessary to carry out limitation of armament by abolishing or by reducing offensive force, and by replenishing defensive force.
- (4) Our Empire denounces the Washington Treaty, but she hopes to conclude a just and appropriate treaty as a substitute.
- (5) In case an agreement is not effected, the Empire has a counter-plan which will make the best of the situation from the standpoint of national defense. However, the Empire will persistently maintain an attitude of just peace and, of course, try willingly not to aggravate peaceful relations with the interested countries.

II. THE WAY OF ENLIGHTENMENT

- (1) Internal enlightenment and propagand shall be performed through journalists and correspondents. In addition, the interested authorities will dispatch lectures in case of necessity; or it shall be done by contributions to newspapers, by broadcasts, by films, by distribution of pamphlets, and so on.
- (2) All interested officials shall guide internal newspaper and magazine writers and correspondents. Even though they will avoid as much as possible

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taking measures such as banning publication of anything except currently banned matters, each ministry shall exert itself and shall attempt to prevent publication of speeches which might destroy a policy already decided by the Empire, which make special mention of opposition of ministry to ministry, of disunity of internal public opinion, or the publishing of articles which would tend unnecessarily to stimulate internal and external public opinion. Each ministry should try to prevent it.

(3) As the newspaper articles containing announcements for internal enlightenment are promptly translated by foreign journalists in Japan and are telegraphed outside Japan, when the aforesaid announcements are made, we must give ample consideration to the foreign reaction.

(4) We should carry on propaganda for foreign enlightenment according to item (5) in addition to carrying it on through foreign correspondents in Japan and Japanese correspondents. We shall direct organizations abroad such as our foreign companies and non official groups, and Japanese residents abroad to cooperate with the policy of enlightenment of the Government. Special consideration shall be given to the indirect effectiveness of internal enlightenment.

(5) The enlightenment in foreign countries shall be conducted with foreign diplomatic establishments as centers. Concerning this, the central government shall consider and take measures for close liaison with military and naval attaches in diplomatic establishments abroad.

(6) The guidance and the enlightenment of foreign correspondents should be done with the Foreign Office as a center.

(7) As censorship of the communications of foreign correspondents is not established as a system, we make it a rule not to limit them especially, except in the case of an extreme communication; instead the guidance of correspondence is emphasized.

(8) We should make a separate study concerning refutation and counter-propaganda in response to the propaganda from foreign countries.

(9) We should make a separate study concerning the prevention of the bribing of internal newspapers and magazines by others, and the buying of foreign newspapers and magazines.

(10) We should make a separate study concerning the oppositions and the artificialities, etc., in the public opinion of countries which participated in the Conference, especially those of Britain and America.

(11) The controlled and firm attitude of the authorities is a basic condition of enlightenment and guidance, and at the same time, it is the best protective wall for stopping propaganda from foreign countries. Accordingly officials in charge of each interested ministry should maintain the necessary liaison.

The End

REFERENCE (Confidential) 25 Navy

METHOD OF EXTERNAL PROPAGANDA

I. The policy of Japan is always to maintain peace in the East.

(1) The maintenance of peace in the East is not only one of the greatest pillars for the Peace System of the world, but also it is the important element of existence for Japan without which self-supply and self-support are impossible and the importing and exporting of goods are necessary.

(2) Therefore, the maintenance of peace in the East and the Japanese national defense are closely connected and indivisible.

(3) History testifies that Japan protected, at the risk of her national fortune, the peace of the East every time it was in danger. In fact, Japan has never taken up arms except in the above instance.

(4) For other powers also, the maintenance of peace in the East is the guarantee of their trade in the East.

(5) When the powers look dispassionately at the actual situation in the East, they will discover Japan as the only defender of the peace of the East and will be unable to help thanking her and respecting her.

II. The attitude of Japan is always on a basis of justice and duty, and at the Naval Conference of 1935, Japan is to take the same attitude.

(1) The intention of Japan based on the spirit of the reduction of armament, is to abolish increases in armament and to reduce armament. In this case, the powers with the greatest armament should take the lead in making reductions.

(2) It is absolutely necessary to maintain national existence. Therefore, every country has an equal right to feel at ease about her defense; so each nation has an equal right to provide the armament necessary for national defense.

(3) As naval strength is very easily moved, all powers concerned can be at ease as regards national defense when the treaty based on the principle "NOT TO THREATEN OTHERS" is concluded.

(4) This discriminating ratio of naval strength is a violation of the principle of no-threats and no-aggression and should be rejected.

(5) In order not to menace one another, we should abolish or drastically reduce our offensive force, and assert our defensive armament.

III. The abrogation of the existing treaty is a natural stage in concluding a new impartial treaty,

(1) Ten years have passed since the conclusion of the Washington Treaty and this treaty has lost its validity due to the development of sciences and due to the changes in the international situation. The discriminating ratio gives Japan especially a constant menace and makes her anxious about the safety of her national defense. This stimulates still more the idea of opposing powers, and is not the measure for maintaining the international peace; we must abrogate this as soon as possible.

(2) The Washington Treaty itself anticipates the loss of its validity owing to the passing of time, and provides for the abrogation of the treaty. Therefore, according to the stipulation of the treaty, it will be natural for Japan to announce the abrogation of the treaty; this is based on her constructive hope for concluding a new treaty, impartial and suitable for the present situation.

(3) The London Treaty is originally temporary and it is natural that we abrogate it according to its provision and substitute a new agreement.

(4) It is the traditional spirit of the Japanese that they get along with good neighbors and help their neighbors, making nothing of their own lives in the maintenance of justice. No one can terrorize her by putting on a demon's mask.

NAVAL COMMITTEE VERBAL NOTE
(to be distributed at the 4th Joint Disarmament
Information Commission, 5 October 1934)

All the Ministries cannot carry out the concrete details of propaganda and its diffusion in the same way for they all are in different situations, and it may be advantageous for each Ministry to take a different attitude in attaining the object.

The principle should be that all have a close connection beneath the surface. Under separate cover is contained the elementary methods of propaganda diffusion now being used by the Navy. We shall be pleased if you make a suitable selection and use it.

CONFIDENTIAL - REFERENCE 25

Navy

ELEMENTS OF INTERNAL PROPAGANDA

I. We should be sure to make the people believe that maintaining the national defense power permanently is absolutely essential to the armament reduction treaty.

(1) Generally speaking, it is absolutely necessary that an independent country has the right to armaments necessary to safeguard herself.

(2) Without the safety of national defense, we positively cannot expect to build the international peace system, the stability of the national life, nor the future prosperity of the country.

(3) Therefore, a just and impartial treaty of armament reduction should contain the permanent maintenance of the national defense as its essence.

II. The following items should be emphasized for the conclusion of a just and valid new treaty for armament reduction.

(1) We cannot accept any treaty which threatens the independence of the national defense of Japan and by which the permanence of the national defense of Japan cannot be anticipated.

(2) To insure the principle of no-threats and no-aggression, we abolish the gradation and ratio. Moreover, we should limit our armament on the basis of drastically reducing military strength and replenishing military strength.

(3) All nations should plan to drastically lower their amounts in accord with the spirit of reducing armament.

III. We explain the following concerning the abrogation of the existing treaty.

(1) As ten-odd years have passed since the conclusion of the Washington Treaty, it is not suited to the present situation due to scientific progress and changes in the international situation in the meantime. The treaty itself anticipates its own abrogation, and it is the proper and just preparatory measure for concluding a new and just armament reduction treaty. Therefore, it is not simply as a use of a right proper from the standpoint of the treaty, but as a step in the direction of a fair agreement that we announce the abrogation of the treaty.

(2) The London Treaty is a temporary agreement in force until the end of 1936, and after the term is over it will naturally become invalidated.

IV. Japan who resigned from the League of Nations with regard to the Manchuria Incident experienced the fact that a just claim is not necessarily always recognized in an international conference. Even if our claim should unfortunately not be accepted, and the agreement should not be concluded, we need not necessarily expect the opening of a ship construction race considering the national situation in the various countries. If such competition should appear, the authorities are confident of maintaining the national defense by independent measures. Therefore, we should strongly advocate that the people should not be afraid of it.

V. Due to the situation of the empire, the defense of the empire is connected with East Asiatic peace and indivisibility, and as the maintenance of naval force by Japan is the basis of the peace of East Asia, they should be made to recognize emphatically that the future of Japan depends on the vicissitudes of her Navy.

VI. As the negotiation for the armament reduction reaches its climax, foreign propaganda may become violent. We must spread the warning ahead of time not to be taken in by foreign tricks.

I.P.S. No. 1618 A

C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Tatsuo TSUKUDO hereby certify
that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the follow-
ing capacity: Member of Archives and Documents Section, Second
Demobilization Bureau

and that as such official I had custody of the document hereto attached
consisting of 1 Volume, dated Sept. and Oct., 1934, and described as
follows: "Guidance of Public Opinion Re: 1935 London Naval Limitations
Conference."

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 (speci-
fying 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): Navy Ministry

Signed at Tokyo on this
3rd day of Oct., 1946.

Witness: R. IMAMURA (SEAL)

TATSUO TSUKUDO
Signature of Official (SEAL)
Member of Archives and Documents
Section, 2nd Demobil. Bureau
Official Capacity

Translator - T. Onuma

prop. no. —
S.A. no. 15042

Sack no. 1

Item no. 57

~~Scanned~~

Title — A guidance of the public opinion in
(1) regard to preliminary negotiations of
the naval disarmament Conference.

This is a file of a draft planned by the Japanese Navy in order to arouse and direct public opinion dealing with preliminary negotiations in the 1935 about the Naval Disarmament Conference.

This draft has been sent to various Government offices.

The following is a translation of gist of the draft

Draft, dated Oct. 12, 1934.

(page 5) The method for arousing and directing public opinions concerning the preliminary negotiations in the 1935 about the naval disarmament Conference.

2.

The guidance and direction of public opinion regarding preliminary negotiation in the 1935 for the Disarmament Conference shall be operated, according to the general principles, as follows:

- (1) It is Japan's inevitable duty to maintain peace in Eastern Asia.
- (2) Japan's insistence is reduction of the armament and not expansion of it.
- (3) In order to establish principle of non-aggrandisement or non-menacing, Japan encourages to abolish armament totally or reduction of it.
- (4) Although Japan abrogates the Washington Naval Pact, but desires to conclude other proper and fair agreement in place of the one abrogated.
- (5) For the case that the Conference is not successful, Japan has a plan to dispose properly, but Japan will make effort to the last to keep friendly relations with the countries concerned.
- (6) (page 6) Within the borders of Japan,

the propaganda and enlightenment shall be performed through the press and magazines. And the authorities shall despatch official lecturers in order to enlighten the people. In order to make this effective, contribution & articles to the press, broadcasting, moving pictures, distributions of pamphlets and etc shall be employed.

(7) Within the borders of Japan, the authorities shall direct and lead the news-paper men and magazine writers to unite as one as far as the public opinion is concerned, and to make them to cooperate with the authorities.

(8) Careful attention must be paid regarding editorial articles and comments in the press and magazine, because they will be translated at once and be sent to foreign countries by the foreign correspondents in Japan.

(9) (page 7) The oversea propaganda shall be performed through the foreign

Correspondents and Japanese Correspondents.

(10) The oversea Japanese business firms and organizations shall be directed to cooperate with the government regarding the enlightenment and propaganda.

(11) The oversea propaganda and enlightenment shall be operated through the Japanese despatched ^{civil} officials as nuclei and by having close liaison with the despatched army or naval attaches.

(12) Encouragement and enlightenment of the news-mongers for foreign press shall be made through the Department of Foreign Affairs as a centre.

(13) It is more effective and wiser way to enlighten the news-mongers rather than to censor their news strictly.

(14) There shall be ^{needed} special preparation for rebuttal and counter-propaganda.

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against propaganda from overseas countries.

(15) Concerning buying off foreign press or preventing being bought off the Japanese press by foreigners shall be considered otherwise.

(16) Concerning activities or counter activities between Powers to participate in the Conference, especially England and America, shall be considered otherwise.

(17) The good order and firm attitude of the authorities are vital importance, therefore, all the officials of the various official departments, who are concerned in this matter, shall cooperate with one another in order to bring a fruitful end.

"Big Ships and Big Gun Principle"

"Big Gun" ~~Prin~~ principles

Over Sea Operations

High Sea

1618

Proj. No. —

S. A. No. 15042

Sack No. 1

Item No. 57

Methodical Guidance of Public Opinion for the
Forthcoming Preliminary Negotiation of the Naval
Disarmament Conference of 1935.

This is a file containing a series of drafts drawn by the Navy Ministry directing the different government offices to arouse, lead and control public sentiments and opinions among the populace on the forthcoming preliminary negotiation of the Naval Disarmament Conference of 1935. The aim of the drafts are, no doubt, to create atmosphere favourable to Japan both internally and externally.

Detailed plans and suggestions are itemized and their methods of propaganda are treated, especially, for those of foreign consumption.

Plans to draw the draft was formally decided by the Navy Ministry on October 12, 1934.

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. *1618*

Date 6 May 1946

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: Guidance of Public Opinion in Preparation For
the Naval Disarmament Conference of 1935.

Date: October 1934 Original Copy Language: *jp*

Has it been translated? Yes No ~~Passively.~~
Has it been photostated? Yes No

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL (also WITNESS if applicable)

Document Division.

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL: Home Ministry.

PERSONS IMPLICATED:

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE:

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE:

Preparation of Jap opinion for war

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS (with page references):

~~This binder~~ contains directives from the Navy Ministry to various government offices on how to arouse, lead, and control public sentiment about the forthcoming preliminary negotiation of the Naval Disarmament Conference of 1935. Detailed plans, suggestions, and methods of propaganda (especially those intended for foreign consumption) are offered. ~~The~~ *A* aim is to create a domestic and foreign atmosphere which will be favorable to JAPAN's attitude at the conference.

Analyst: 2d Lt. Person
ewpp

Doc. No.

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 1618

14 May 1946

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: Guidance of Public Opinion in
Preparation for the Naval Disarmament Conference of 1935.

Date: Oct^v 1934 Original (x) Copy () Language: Japanese

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

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

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL (also WITNESS if applicable)

Document Division.

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL: Home Ministry

PERSONS IMPLICATED:

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE: Preparation of Jap
opinion for war.

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS (with page references):

Contains directives from Navy Ministry to various government offices on how to arouse, lead, and control public sentiment about the forthcoming preliminary negotiation of the Naval Disarmament Conference of 1935. Detailed plans, suggestions, and methods of propaganda (especially those intended for foreign consumption) are offered. Aim is to create a domestic and foreign atmosphere which will be favorable to Japan's attitude at the conference.

Analyst: 2nd Lt. Person

Doc. No. 1618

Doc # 161P was introduced

evidence as Court Exhibit # 912

Clerk of Court has original

and C. J. Cole

C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Tatsuo TSUKUDO hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Member of Archives and Documents Section, Second Demobilization Bureau

and that as such official I had custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 1 Volume, dated Sept. and Oct., 1934, and described as follows: "Guidance of Public Opinion Re: 1935 London Naval Limitations Conference."

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): Navy Ministry

Signed at Tokyo on this 3rd day of Oct., 1946.

TATSUO TSUKUDO
Signature of Official (SEAL)
Member of Archives and Documents Section, 2nd Demobil. Bureau
Official Capacity

Witness: R. IMAMURA (SEAL)

Statement of Official Procurement

I, 2d Lt. ERIC W. FLEISHER O-935000 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 3rd day of October, 1946

ERIC W. FLEISHER
NAME
Investigation Division, IPS
Official Capacity

Witness: HENRY SHIMOJIMA