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昭和十五年九月二十日

東亞各民族對策

「緬甸對策」

國策研究會民族問題委員會

英領緬甸對策

(一) 目的

ビルマヲ東亞共榮圈ノ一環トシテ可及的遠カニ英帝國主義ノ羈絆ヨリ離脱セシメ、ビルマ民族ヲ以テ構成スル一獨立國トナシ、之ヲ東亞協同體ニ加入セシムルヲ目的トスル。

(二) 實行

差當リ考ヘラレル實行案トシテハ次ノ二案デアアル。  
(イ) 獨逸ノ對英作戰進展ノ機會ヲ利用シテ新嘉坡ヲ占領シ然ル後適當ノ方法(場合ニ依リテハ實力ヲ行使スル)ニ依リ目的ヲ達成スル。  
(ロ) 雲南攻略ヲ進メ援蔣路ヨリビルマニ進入ノ態勢ヲ示シテ獨立ヲ促進スル。

(三) 理由

(イ) ビルマ民族ヲ英國ノ支配ヨリ獨立セシメ、之ヲ我

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國ノ指導下ニ置キ日、滿、支、印度支那、タイ其  
他ノ民族ト共ニ東亞共榮圈ノ一環トシテ東亞新秩  
序ノ體制ニ協同セシムル必要ハ、今次事變ヲ契機  
トシテ我輩國ノ精神理想ヲ發展顯現セシムル所以  
デアアル。

(ロ) ビルマ民族ハ第一次歐洲大戰以來漸ク政治的ニ覺  
醒シ、爾來英國ノ羈絆ヲ脱シ獨立國家タラントス  
ル熱望熾ニシテ、幾多ノ政治團體ヲ發生セシメ時  
ニ勢力ノ消長アルモ運動ヲ繼續シ、今次歐洲戰亂  
ノ進展ニ伴ヒ之ヲ絶好ノ機會トシ、我國ノ援助ニ  
依リ多年ノ宿望遂セントスル機運ガ醸成サレツツ  
アル。

(ハ) 此際若シ我國ガ拱手傍觀的態度ニ出ヅルナラバ、  
恐ラクハビルマ民族ヲシテ東亞共榮圈内ニ包擁ス  
ル機會ヲ失スルノミナラズ、或ハ獨、伊、米ノ勢  
力下ニ代替セシムルノ危険ガアル。

#### (四) 準備

(イ) 對緬準備工作ヲ強化スル爲、前貢領事館ヲ總領事  
館ニ昇格シ、且ツ之ニ必要ナル人員ヲ増加シ、以  
テ獨立援助ニ關スル準備工作ヲ促進スルコト。

(ロ) 民族的自覺ヲ促ス爲ニ新聞及ビ小冊子ヲ利用シテ  
英國ノ對緬採取ヲ暴露スルコト。

(ハ) 觀光或ハ産業ノ視察ニ託シ、有力ビルマ人ヲ本邦  
ニ招致シ獨立ノ方策ヲ議スルコト。

(二) ビルマノ獨立自由ヲ綱領トスル各種ノ政黨並ニ僱侶階級ニモ充分連絡ヲ保ツコト。但シ同國僑教ノ根本義ヲ研究シ、ソノ對策ヲ講ズル場合慎重ナル考慮ヲ拂フコト。

(附) 因ニビルマノ獨立獲得ヲ目的トスル政治團體ハ左ノ通りデアル。

(1) 聯合黨 (ユナイテッド・パーティー)

本黨ハ人民黨、バ。シ黨、自由ビルマ聯盟、マンガレ、二十一組、バ。シユエ黨ノ五黨ノ聯合デアビルマ末王ノ孫テイ。チン。ワ公ヲ總裁トシ、多數黨タル人民黨々主バ。ペノ勢力ニ依リ指導セラレル。

(2) バ。モ。イ。黨

前首相法博バ。モ。イ。ヲ黨首トスル有力ナル一政黨デ、共產主義ニ依リ民衆ヲ率ヒビルマノ完全獨立ヲ最終目的トスル。最近バ。モ。イ。ノ拘禁ガ新聞ニ傳ヘラレタ。

(3) チ。ー。ライ。ン。黨

參議會議長チ。ー。ライ。ン。ヲ黨首トシ、漸進的ニ獨立ヲ目的トスル。

(4) タ。キ。ン。黨

別名自由闘争聯盟 (フリードム・ファイトर्स)。リーグ。トモ稱シ僱侶ソヤ。ミネヲ黨首トスル新黨デビルマノ自由獲得ノ爲ニハ敢テ暴力ヲモ辭セ

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ザルコトヲ本領トスル。數萬ノ黨員ヲ有シ獨立  
成ノ爲メ日本ノ援助ヲ求メテキル。  
以上ノ準備工作ハ平行的ニ促進スルコト。

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN TOWARDS THE PEOPLES  
OF EAST ASIA  
(Measures for Burma)

Prepared by the Racial Question  
Committee of the National  
Policy Research Institute  
/Kokusaku Kenkyu Kai/

20 September 1940

SECRET

Kindly note that this report  
is not being published

EXHIBIT. NO. 1029

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MEASURES FOR BRITISH BURMA

(1) PURPOSE

p.1

The purpose is to free Burma, as a part of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, from the fetters of British imperialism as soon as possible to make it an independent state composed of the Burmese people, and to admit it into membership of the East Asia Co-operative Body.

(2) EXECUTION

The following two plans are the practical plans conceivable at this time:

- (A) The purpose is to be achieved by occupying Singapore at a favorable opportunity during the progress of Germany's operations against England, and then by taking some proper means (use force if circumstances require it).
- (B) Independence is to be given impetus by pushing forward the reduction of Yunnan and showing every sign of intending to move into Burma via Chiang Kai-shek's supply route.

(3) REASONS

p.2

- (A) To free the Burmese people from British domination, place them under our guidance, and permit them to cooperate with the peoples of Japan, Manchukuo, China, French Indo-China, Thailand, etc., in the system of the New Order in East Asia as a part of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, is the way to develop and manifest the spirit and ideal of Japan's foundation by taking advantage of the present affair.
- (B) Since the First European War, the Burmese people have gradually waked up politically and have developed strong aspirations to free themselves from the yoke of Britain and to establish an independent state. Numerous political organizations were born, and the movement has been continued, although there have been ups and downs. Taking advantage of the development of the present European War as a grand opportunity, there is now a tendency to bring about a movement to achieve their long-cherished hope with Japan's assistance.
- (C) If Japan should look on with folded arms on this occasion, we would in all probability miss the chance to embrace the Burmese in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Not only that, there is the possible danger of placing them under the influence of Germany, Italy, or the United States.



## (4) PREPARATIONS

- (A) In order to reinforce preparatory measures towards Burma, the Japanese Consulate at Rangoon should be promoted to a Consulate-General and its staff increased by the addition of necessary personnel, whereby the preparatory measures for assisting the attainment of independence may be expedited.
- (B) British exploitation of Burma should be exposed by means of newspapers and pamphlets with the view to stimulating the race-consciousness of the Burmese.
- (C) Under the pretense of sight-seeing or the inspection of industries, influential Burmese should be invited to visit Japan in order to discuss measures for attaining independence.
- p.3 (D) Adequate contacts should be maintained with the various political parties whose platforms call for the independence and freedom of Burma, and also with the priest class. The essence of Burmese Buddhism should be studied and in case counter-measures are to be provided, serious consideration should be given to them.

## (APPENDIX)

By the way, the political parties which aim at independence are as follows:

- (1) The United Party.  
This party represents a federation of five parties, namely: the People's Party, 'Ba Shi' Party, Free Burma League, Mandalay 21 Group, and the Ba Shwe Party. Prince TE CHIN HWA, grandson of the last King of Burma is President of this party, which is guided by the influences of BA PE, head of the People's Party, which is the Majority Party.
- (2) BA MAW Party.  
This is a powerful political party headed by ex-Premier Dr. BA MAW. Leading the masses through communism, this party ultimately aims at the complete independence of Burma. It was reported in the papers recently that BA MAW was held in custody.
- (3) CHI HLAING Party.  
Headed by CHI HLAING, President of the State Council, this party aims at attaining independence gradually.

(4) THAKIN Party.

This party is also known as the Freedom Fighters League. It is a new party headed by a priest named SOYA MINE. It makes it a principle to appeal, if necessary, to force in order to get freedom for Burma. It has ten thousand members, and looks to Japan for assistance to achieve independence.

The foregoing preparatory measures should be pushed forward side by side with each other.

(Statement of Source)

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Kazuo YATSUGI, hereby certify, in my capacity as former Chief of the Secretariat of the National Policy Research Association that the document attached hereto, consisting of five pages and bearing the following title: "The Policies towards the Races of East Asia (The Policy towards Burma)", dated September 20th, 1940 /Showa 15/ was drawn up by the Committee on Racial Problems of the National Policy Research Association.

Signed at Tokyo on this 26th day of September 1946 /Showa 21/

Signature: Kazuo YATSUGI  
(Written seal)

Capacity: Former Chief of the  
Secretariat of the  
National Policy Research  
Association

Witness: Motonori EMURA (Seal)

Statement of Official Procurement

I, Richard H. Larsh, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification 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  
26th day of September, 1946.

/s/ Richard H. Larsh  
Name

Witness: /s/ J. A. Curtis, 2nd Lt.

Investigator IPS  
Official Capacity

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證 明 書

余、矢次一夫ハ元國策研究會學務局長ノ資格ニ於  
テ茲ニ添附セラレタル五頁ヨリ成ル下記題名即チ  
一九四〇年ノ昭和十五年ノ九月二十日附東亞民族  
對策「緬甸對策」ノ文書ハ國策研究會ノ内ノ民族  
問題委員會ガ作製セルモノナルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス

千九百四十六年ノ昭和二十一年ノ九月二十六日

東京ニ於テ署名

署 名	棚 矢 次 一 夫 (署名)
右ノ者ノ資格	元國策研究會學務局長
證 人	江 村 元 則

證明書

余、矢次一夫ハ之國策研究會事務局長ノ資格ニ於テ茲ニ添  
附セラレタル五頁ヨリ成ル下記題名即チ一九四〇年ノ昭和十五年  
九月二十日附東亞民族對策「緬甸對策」ノ文書ハ國策研究  
會ノ内ノ民族問題委員會カ作製セルモノナルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス  
千九百四十六年ノ昭和二十一年九月二十一日

東京ニ於テ四者名

四者名欄

矢次一夫

右ノ者ノ資格

之國策研究會事務局長

證人

江村元則

(江村)

公式入手ニ関スル證明

余、リチャード・エイチ・ラアーシュハ、余カ聯合國日取高  
指揮官總司令部ニ關係アルモノナルコト並ニ上記題名ノ  
文書ハ余カ公務上、日本政府ノ上記署名官吏ヨリ入手シタ  
ルモノナルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス。

一九四六年(昭和二十一年)九月二十六日

東京ニ於テ署名ス

氏

名

リチャード・エイチ・ラアーシュ

右ノ者ノ公的資格

國際檢察部調査官

證人

ク

少尉

グレイ・エイカー