

TOKUTOMI, (Saka) ICHIRO

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(5)

88
NAME: TOKUTOMI, (Goho) Ichiro.

PRESENT STATUS: Detained under House Arrest by Internment Orders dated
1 December 1945.

POSITIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS: Founded Kokumin Shimbun, President Dai Nippon
Press Association, Advisor Greater East Asia Federation, Advisor Greater
East Asia Development Headquarters of IEAA, Member "Black Dragon."

REMARKS: This veteran journalist and outstanding political commentator
was an ardent jingoist.

SECRET

NAME: TOKUTOMI, (Seho) Iichiro.

PRESENT STATUS: Detained under House Arrest.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

Founded Kokumin Shinbun; President Dai Nippon Press Association; Advisor, Greater East Asia Federation; Advisor, Greater East Asia Development Headquarters of IRAA; member of the Black Dragon Society. No recommendations regarding the final disposition of SUBJECT have been received from CIS/G-2, FEC.

REMARKS:

The positions held by SUBJECT in the Japanese Government, his connections with political organizations and the nature of his activities in these, show that during the period involved he took an active part in the

"planning, preparation, initiation or waging of war of aggression or a war in violation of International Treaties, agreements and assurances, or participation in a common plan for the accomplishment of the foregoing"

within the meaning and intent of paragraph 1.a. of Reference A.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that SUBJECT be retained in custody as a Class A war criminal suspect and tried before an International Military Tribunal in Tokyo.

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TOKUTOMI, ICHIRO

National Spirit Mobilization
20gr.

See:

G-2. HUZUU TAB. M.

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RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that SUBJECT be retained in custody as a Class A war criminal suspect and be tried before an International Military Tribunal in Tokyo.

"Toward the end of the TOJO regime the pretense of harmony among the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations as well as within the respective societies could no longer be maintained. When the coalition cabinet of KOISO representing the militant nationalists and YONAI representing the rationalists succeeded TOJO in July 1944 the rifts were very apparent. ABE Nobuyuki, who had been IRAPS president since its inception was sent to Korea as governor general; a large number of TOJO's protagonists followed him out of administrative and advisory posts in the political society; in ABE's stead KOBAYASHI Seizo, a navy man of the OKADA-YONAI-NAGANO group which had been prominent in the naval armament reduction negotiations of 1927-1930, took ABE's place. On the other hand, the old ideological rightists and some of the rightists who were not so ideological mustered their forces in the YOKUSAN SONEN DAN, with TATEKAWA Yoshitsugu as commandant, with HASHIMOTO Kingoro and KOBAYASHI Junichiro as vice commandants, and with such people as MATSUI Iwane, SUETSUGU Nobumasa, TOKUTOMI Iichiro, KANOKOGI Kazunobu, SHIMONAKA Yasaburo, HOZUMI Goichi (SHICHISEI SHA), MIKAMI Taku (5-15), and OMORI Issei (JIKISHIN DOJO) in administrative positions; in other words men who had taken part in the assassination incidents of the 30's became influential in the organization. By the end of 1944 the friction in the IRA groups had become so acute that disintegration seemed unavoidable."

Legal Section (ATTN: INVEST DIV.) Tokutomi, Ichiro
(2546)

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
~~UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC~~
FAR EAST COMMAND
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File No.:

Subject: TOKUTOMI Iichiro, Internee under House Arrest

Note
No.

From: G-2

To: Legal Section
(Attn: Invest. Div.
Lt. Col. R. E. Rudisill)

Date: 21 JUN 1947
CIS/OD:TPD/cn

Info Copy to: IPS (Attn: Invest. Div.
Mr. E. P. Monaghan)

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1. Curriculum vitae of 84-year old TOKUTOMI Iichiro (TAB A) indicates that he is a veteran journalist-writer whose active literary career lasted for more than 50 years - from 1887 until his internment in December 1945-- and whose prodigious historical, philosophical, religious and political writings lead to his eventual involvement in wartime propaganda and to various honorary political positions in the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations.

2. "Japanese Government Officials - 1937-1945", published by Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C., 21 July 1945, evaluates TOKUTOMI as per TAB B.

3. "Biographies of Prominent Japanese", published by the Office of Naval Intelligence, 15 September 1945, evaluates TOKUTOMI as per TAB C.

4. Evaluation of TOKUTOMI at the time of his arrest in December 1945 reads as per TAB D.

5. Direct and implied accusations embodied in these documents (TABs B, C and D) are as follows:

a. "TOKUTOMI is spoken of as one of Japan's great author-journalists, a famous historian, commentator, philosophical leader, and revered senior. He is described as a venerable jingoist and nationalist reactionary who was long considered the voice of the military in Japan; an ardent patriot and equally ardent hater of communism. Despite his years, he is still believed to have tremendous prestige in Japan."

b. "His 'Reader for the People of Showa' published in 1939 encouraged the revival of Japanese Imperialism as the only solution to bring the so-called 'Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere' and 'One World Under One Emperor' doctrines to successful realities. Throughout the book he supports signing of the Axis Tri-Party Pact as the only means of safe-guarding against the dangers of Communism spreading to the Asiatic continent and Japan."

c. "He utterly denounces foreign powers, that is, the U.S., Britain, France, and Russia claiming they are the foreign powers causing

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the trouble among the Asiatic countries."

d. "He was reportedly president of Dai Nippon National Service Press Association in June 1943."

e. "In August 1944 he was appointed an advisor to the GEA Newspaper Council, formed during 1943..."

f. "In September 1944 he was appointed an advisor to the East Asia Development General Headquarters (under administration of IRAA)."

g. "Throughout the war he has done all possible to unify the people to action and spur them on to greater efforts."

h. "TOKUTOMI has also dared to be critical of the actions of his government and scorned the authorities for withholding the truth of news reports. His commentaries on defense of the Homeland were optimistic from the Japanese view, but he was critical of the manner in which the government met its tasks."

i. "TOKUTOMI should be apprehended for his major responsibility in laying the foundations, in domestic affairs, in preparation for aggression and totalitarian control."

6. In addition, TOKUTOMI held various positions in the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society) as well as serving on its preparatory committees; and is listed as an advisor of the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Great Japan Rise Asia League) and the DAI NIPPON YOKUSAN SOMEN DAN (Imperial Rule Assistance Manhood Group); and president of the DAI NIPPON KOKUSHI KAI (Japan Historical Association) and the TOA CHOSAKAI (East Asia Research Society).

7. Careful study of TOKUTOMI's case, with respect to the charges, direct and implied, made against him shows the following:

a. TOKUTOMI's writings of more than half a century, (TAB E - Books by TOKUTOMI Iichiro), were motivated by current events both national and international. Educated as a liberalist, under Christian instructors, he became an ardent nationalist in his later years, or, in the words of HAYASHI Fusao, "TOKUTOMI is one of the greatest converts from socialism to nationalism in Japan" (TAB F - TOKUTOMI's Statement).

In his early youth TOKUTOMI was tutored by his father who was a pupil of the liberalist YOKOI Shonan (1809-1869). YOKOI was believed to

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be a Christian and participated in the Meiji Restoration after which he was murdered by a group of TOKUGAWA sympathizers. Later TOKUTOMI entered Doshisha University and studied under NIIJIMA Jo (1833-1890), the great Christian liberalist who founded Doshisha University following his American education at Amherst College and Andover Theological Seminary. Although TOKUTOMI says that he was educated in spiritual liberalism but at the age of 19 became a disciple of his principle KOSHITSU CHUSHIN SHUGI (The Imperial Household Centralization) (TAB F - TOKUTOMI's Statement (1932), his early associations with these great teachers influenced him for many years if not throughout his life and Japanese today refer to him as "the greatest Christian liberalist of the Meiji Era."

As early as 1923, when TOKUTOMI was 60, he stated in his KOKU-MIN KYOIKU RON (Education of the People) (TAB G), "I consider myself a loyalist and a patriot...a patriot of an Imperial nation...a democrat under Imperial rule...an imperialist not advocating military might...I do not favor aggression...an imperialist in the sense of developing and expanding the Yamato race." In the same year, 1923, TOKUTOMI's KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON (Essay of National Consciousness) (TAB H) was published. In this speech delivered to soldiers TOKUTOMI stressed the need for a strong, straight-forward diplomatic policy and the need for armaments, rather than disarmament, to preserve world peace. He said that the world was unstable; there was no prospect for permanent world peace; the war to end wars was over but there was still the menace of another war." As a result of World War I, America became the great world power and now (1923) we witness Bolshevik Russia and capitalistic and imperialistic America in the spotlight of the world play. Japan stands in the middle of these two world menaces." TOKUTOMI wrote this when nationalist circles severely criticized the government and naval officials responsible for signing the Washington Naval Agreement of 1922 which cut the forces of Britain, America and Japan to the 5-5-3 ratio.

Some years later, 1929, TOKUTOMI in his "NIPPON TEIKOKU NO ICHI TENKI" (The Turning Point of Imperial Japan) (TAB I) criticized Japan's politicians for her foreign policy and recommended international cooperation: "Japan is poisoned by money and political parties...the victim of questionable plutocrats and politicians...In the international picture, Japan is threatened by militaristic, economic and cultural imperialism. Japan cannot afford isolation from the rest of the world."

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In February 1939 TOKUTOMI's nationalistic SHOWA KOKUMIN TOKUHON (Showa National Reader) (TAB J) was published. This book expounded the theories of Japanese imperialism and "Asia for the Asiatics" and in 1939 TOKUTOMI was feted for the sale of half a million copies. TOKUTOMI, further expounding on the "Ideal of the Reconstruction of Asia" (TAB K) in a speech delivered on 21 March 1940, turned to Confucianism "...the peoples of Japan, Manchukuo and China...must decide their cause to march forward... Confucianism...a system of moral government peculiar to China...has exerted a benign influence upon all men and women...its introduction to Japan, has reinforced the Great Way of our Gods...It is clear that the New Confucianism...is the axis round which the three countries...can perform spiritual cooperation..."

A month before Pearl Harbor TOKUTOMI, ailing and 79 years old, attacked the attitude of the United States before a packed house at Hibiya Hall (Attitude of U.S. Hit in TOKUTOMI Speech - TAB L). TOKUTOMI said that peace could be enjoyed if the countries bordering the Pacific mind their own business. He further stated that there would be peace in the Pacific if America gave up her Oriental kibitzing...and that the only path Japan should follow was to go hand-in-hand with Germany and Italy toward the common objective of establishing a new world order..." Immediately following the outbreak of the Great East Asia War, TOKUTOMI published three articles "Upon Reading With Reverence The Imperial Rescript" (TAB M) in which he tried to (1) justify Japan's declaration of war as a war in self-defense for the liberation of East Asia and world peace; and (2) arouse and unify the nation. Shortly thereafter TOKUTOMI, continuing his war propaganda, reported Japan's great victories and vitriolically damned America for her intrigues in the Far East and blamed America for the eventual downfall of her own ally, Britain (TOKUTOMI Chastises Anglo-U.S. Intrigues - TAB N).

As the war progressed, TOKUTOMI continued his literary efforts along nationalistic propaganda lines. In September 1942, in his KOA NO TAIGI (The Cause of Justice and Humanity in East Asia) (TAB O), TOKUTOMI declared that the mission of Japan was to establish order, security, welfare and happiness in East Asia; and as signs of victory diminished, TOKUTOMI published his KOKOKU HISSHO RON (Theory of Certain Victory for the Imperial Country) (TAB O) in which he reassured the people that the Yamato spirit was the intangible power that the western countries failed to evaluate and it...

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would greatly determine victory for Japan. Both of these books were banned by SCAP on 15 February 1946--after the war was over.

TOKUTOMI warned against the spread of communism and supported the Axis Tri-Partite Pact as a means of safe-guarding against the dangers of communism. In his KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON (Essay of National Consciousness) (TAB H); TOKUTOMI said that "the defeat of Germany gave Russia a good opportunity for her worldwide "Red march...there were two ways to check this Red march of Russia." (1)"prohibit "Red" propoganda at all costs"and (2) "isolate leftists from the general public...we should watch the Red Movement within our own country..."

TOKUTOMI never hesitated to criticize his own government as pointed out before. In July 1945, TOKUTOMI publicly chastised the government officials, including Prime Minister SUZUKI, and the military in his "Prevention of Discord Among the People, Government Officials and the Army" (TAB P): "Why have we let the enemy get this close to our homeland? why is it impossible to obtain the truth while our very eyelashes are being singed?"

b. TOKUTOMI served as a member of the preparatory committees of the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society), after which he became a consultant. Validity of such activity as basis of war crimes charges depends upon the ultimate evaluation of the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations. In its study "War Politics in Japan", of which LS and IPS have copies, CIS has already given its opinion of these societies and of the men active in them.

"These societies were neither secret nor terroristic. Nor did they disband for the purpose of avoiding detection. They were basically political and patriotic organizations whose part in the wartime life of Japan was to gear the nation's politics and economy to the war effort.

"Activity in one or more of these societies should not in itself be considered prime evidence of war responsibility but should be weighed carefully as to the extent of that activity as well as in the light of the individual's actions in other fields."

c. TOKUTOMI was president of the TOA CHOSA KAI (East Asia Research Society) founded and supported by the Osaka Mainichi to carry on political, economic and scientific research in connection with its editorial policies. In 1941 when this society became a member of the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Japan Rise Asia League) (TAB Q) an ideological nationalistic organization, composed

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of 61 societies interested in overseas affairs, TOKUTOMI became a director. When the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI changed its name to KOA SOHOMBU (Rise Asia Headquarters) on 23 May 1943, and bodily moved into the IRAA as its official headquarters directly under Premier-President TOJO, TOKUTOMI was made an advisor.

The DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Speech and Publication Serve-the-Country Association) (TAB R) was established in December 1942 after the election forced a second functional and organizational upheaval in the IRAA. Associations for the mobilization of national life which had been supervised or administered by various ministries were transferred to the IRAA and thus became associations to supervise production and cultural activities. The GENRON HOKOKU KAI replaced the HYORON ZUIHITSUKA KYOKAI (Critics and Essayists Association) founded in 1926, and its membership represented literary, social, bureaucratic and other fields. TOKUTOMI was made chairman on the recommendation of TANI Masayuki, Chief of the Cabinet Board of Information, motivated by his eminence in the journalistic field and his popularity among the Japanese masses. TOKUTOMI remained a sort of figure-head of the organization except for his contributions to the society's organ, the GENRON HOKOKU (Save the Country by Speech and Publication).

TOKUTOMI served as an advisor during the lingering stages of the DAI NIPPON YOKUSAN SOMEN DAN (Imperial Rule Assistance Manhood Group) in 1944-1945. This appointment undoubtedly was also motivated by his popularity and it is likewise more than probable that TOKUTOMI's position was of an honorary nature and that he was not active because of his then 81 years.

All these activities, likewise, should be judged in the light of the general policy with regard to the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations, since the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI, the KOA SOHOMBU, the DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI, and the DAI NIPPON YOKUSAN SOMEN DAN were parts and parcels of the IRAA.

8. In summary, accusations against TOKUTOMI appear to be of an ideological and political nature. He was a veteran journalist writer who advocated nationalism and imperialism, in line with the "Asia for Asiatics" doctrine of Japan's Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and eventually held honorary posts in the wartime patriotic-nationalistic organizations.

9. TOKUTOMI's career, in its literary gravitation toward nationalism,

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does not appear to provide sufficient evidence for indictment as a Class A, B or C war criminal. G-2 recommends that this 84-year old man be released from internment under house arrest without preference of charges.

- TAB A - Curriculum vitae of TOKUTOMI Iichiro
- TAB B - Extract from "Japanese Government Officials, 1937-1945"
- TAB C - Extract from "Biographies of Prominent Japanese"
- TAB D - Evaluation of TOKUTOMI Iichiro at time of arrest
- TAB E - Books by TOKUTOMI Iichiro
- TAB F - TOKUTOMI's Statement during the trial of the SHIMPEI TAI Incident
- TAB G - KOKUMIN KYOIKU RON
- TAB H - KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON
- TAB I - NIPPON TEIKOKU NO ICHI TENKI
- TAB J - SHOWA KOKUMIN TOKUHON
- TAB K - Ideal on the Reconstruction of Asia
- TAB L - Attitude of U.S. Hit in TOKUTOMI Speech
- TAB M - Upon Reading With Reverence the Imperial Rescript
- TAB N - TOKUTOMI Chastises Anglo-U.S. Intrigues
- TAB O - KOA NO TAIGI and KOKOKU HISSHO RON - Books Banned
- TAB P - Prevention of Discord Among the People, Government Officials and the Army
- TAB Q - DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI
- TAB R - DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI

for P.S.B.
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21 JUN 1947
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TOKUTOMI Iichiro, Internee under House Arrest

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Legal Section
(Attn: Invest. Div.
Lt. Col. R. E. Rudisill)
Info Copy to: IPS (Attn: Invest. Div.
Mr. E. P. Monaghan)

21 JUN 1947
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4. Evaluation of TOKUTOMI at the time of his arrest in December 1945 reads as per TAB D.

5. Direct and implied accusations embodied in these documents (TABs B, C and D) are as follows:

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c. "He utterly denounces foreign powers, that is, the U.S., Britain, France, and Russia claiming they are the foreign powers causing

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the trouble among the Asiatic countries."

d. "He was reportedly president of Dai Nippon National Service Press Association in June 1943."

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6. In addition, TOKUTOMI held various positions in the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society) as well as serving on its preparatory committees; and is listed as an advisor of the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Great Japan Rise Asia League) and the DAI NIPPON YOKUSAN SOMEN DAN (Imperial Rule Assistance Manhood Group); and president of the DAI NIPPON KOKUSHI KAI (Japan Historical Association) and the TOA CHOSAKAI (East Asia Research Society).

7. Careful study of TOKUTOMI's case, with respect to the charges, direct and implied, made against him shows the following:

a. TOKUTOMI's writings of more than half a century. (TAB E - Books by TOKUTOMI Ichiro), were motivated by current events both national and international. Educated as a liberalist, under Christian instructors, he became an ardent nationalist in his later years, or, in the words of HAYASHI Fusao, "TOKUTOMI is one of the greatest converts from socialism to nationalism in Japan" (TAB F - TOKUTOMI's Statement).

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cooperation..."

A month before Pearl Harbor TOKUTOMI, ailing and 79 years old,
attacked the attitude of the United States before a packed house at Hibiya
Hall (Attitude of U.S. Hit in TOKUTOMI Speech - TAB L). TOKUTOMI said that
peace could be enjoyed if the countries bordering the Pacific mind their
own business. He further stated that there would be peace in the Pacific if
America gave up her Oriental kibitzing...and that the only path Japan should
follow was to go hand-in-hand with Germany and Italy toward the common ob-
jective of establishing a new world order..." Immediately following the out-
break of the Great East Asia War, TOKUTOMI published three articles "Upon
Reading With Reverence The Imperial Rescript" (TAB M) in which he tried to
(1) justify Japan's declaration of war as a war in self-defense for the
liberation of East Asia and world peace; and (2) arouse and unify the nation.
Shortly thereafter TOKUTOMI, continuing his war propaganda, reported Japan's
great victories and vitriolically damned America for her intrigues in the
Far East and blamed America for the eventual downfall of her own ally,
Britain (TOKUTOMI Chastises Anglo-U.S. Intrigues - TAB N).

As the war progressed, TOKUTOMI continued his literary efforts
along nationalistic propaganda lines. In September 1942, in his KOA NO
TAIGI (The Cause of Justice and Humanity in East Asia) (TAB O), TOKUTOMI de-
clared that the mission of Japan was to establish order, security, welfare
and happiness in East Asia; and as signs of victory diminished, TOKUTOMI
published his KOKOKU HISSHO RON (Theory of Certain Victory for the Imperial
Country) (TAB O) in which he reassured the people that the Yamato spirit was
the intangible power that the western countries failed to evaluate and it...

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TOKUTOMI Iichiro, Internee under House Arrest

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would greatly determine victory for Japan. Both of these books were banned by SCAP on 15 February 1946--after the war was over.

TOKUTOMI warned against the spread of communism and supported the Axis Tri-Partite Pact as a means of safe-guarding against the dangers of communism. In his KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON (Essay of National Consciousness) (TAB H); TOKUTOMI said that "the defeat of Germany gave Russia a good opportunity for her worldwide "Red" march...there were two ways to check this "Red" march of Russia." (1) "prohibit "Red" propaganda at all costs" and (2) "isolate leftists from the general public...we should watch the Red Movement within our own country..."

TOKUTOMI never hesitated to criticize his own government as pointed out before. In July 1945, TOKUTOMI publicly chastised the government officials, including Prime Minister SUZUKI, and the military in his "Prevention of Discord Among the People, Government Officials and the Army" (TAB P): "Why have we let the enemy get this close to our homeland? Why is it impossible to obtain the truth while our very eyelashes are being singed?"

b. TOKUTOMI served as a member of the preparatory committees of the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society), after which he became a consultant. Validity of such activity as basis of war crimes charges depends upon the ultimate evaluation of the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations. In its study "War Politics in Japan", of which LS and IPS have copies, GIS has already given its opinion of these societies and of the men active in them.

"These societies were neither secret nor terroristic. Nor did they disband for the purpose of avoiding detection. They were basically political and patriotic organizations whose part in the wartime life of Japan was to gear the nation's politics and economy to the war effort.

"Activity in one or more of these societies should not in itself be considered prime evidence of war responsibility but should be weighed carefully as to the extent of that activity as well as in the light of the individual's actions in other fields."

c. TOKUTOMI was president of the TOA GHOSA KAI (East Asia Research Society) founded and supported by the Osaka Mainichi to carry on political, economic and scientific research in connection with its editorial policies. In 1941 when this society became a member of the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Japan Rise Asia League) (TAB Q) an ideological nationalistic organization composed

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of 61 societies interested in overseas affairs, TOKUTOMI became a director. When the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI changed its name to KOA SOHOMBU (Rise Asia Headquarters) on 29 May 1943, and bodily moved into the IRAA as its official headquarters directly under Premier-President TOJO, TOKUTOMI was made an advisor.

The DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Speech and Publication Serve-the-Country Association) (TAB R) was established in December 1942 after the election forced a second functional and organizational upheaval in the IRAA. Associations for the mobilization of national life which had been supervised or administered by various ministries were transferred to the IRAA and thus became associations to supervise production and cultural activities. The GENRON HOKOKU KAI replaced the HYORON ZUIHITSUKA KYOKAI (Critics and Essayists Association) founded in 1926, and its membership represented literary, social, bureaucratic and other fields. TOKUTOMI was made chairman on the recommendation of TANI Masayuki, Chief of the Cabinet Board of Information, motivated by his eminence in the journalistic field and his popularity among the Japanese masses. TOKUTOMI remained a sort of figure-head of the organization except for his contributions to the society's organ, the GENRON HOKOKU (Save the Country by Speech and Publication).

TOKUTOMI served as an advisor during the lingering stages of the DAI NIPPON YOKUSAN SOMEN DAN (Imperial Rule Assistance Manhood Group) in 1944-1945. This appointment undoubtedly was also motivated by his popularity and it is likewise more than probable that TOKUTOMI's position was of an honorary nature and that he was not active because of his then 81 years.

All these activities, likewise, should be judged in the light of the general policy with regard to the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations, since the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI, the KOA SOHOMBU, the DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI, and the DAI NIPPON YOKUSAN SOMEN DAN were parts and parcels of the IRAA.

8. In summary, accusations against TOKUTOMI appear to be of an ideological and political nature. He was a veteran journalist writer who advocated nationalism and imperialism, in line with the "Asia for Asiatics" doctrine of Japan's Great East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, and eventually held honorary posts in the wartime patriotic-nationalistic organizations.

9. TOKUTOMI's career, in its literary gravitation toward nationalism,

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TOKUTOMI Iichiro, Internee under House Arrest

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does not appear to provide sufficient evidence for indictment as a Class A, B or C war criminal. G-2 recommends that this 84-year old man be released from internment under house arrest without preference of charges.

- TAB A - Curriculum vitae of TOKUTOMI Iichiro
- TAB B - Extract from "Japanese Government Officials, 1937-1945"
- TAB C - Extract from "Biographies of Prominent Japanese"
- TAB D - Evaluation of TOKUTOMI Iichiro at time of arrest
- TAB E - Books by TOKUTOMI Iichiro
- TAB F - TOKUTOMI's Statement during the trial of the SHIMPEI TAI Incident
- TAB G - KOKUMIN KYOIKU RON
- TAB H - KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON
- TAB I - NIPPON TEIKOKU NO ICHI TENKI
- TAB J - SHOWA KOKUMEN TOKUHON
- TAB K - Ideal on the Reconstruction of Asia
- TAB L - Attitude of U.S. Hit in TOKUTOMI Speech
- TAB M - Upon Reading With Reverence the Imperial Rescript
- TAB N - TOKUTOMI Chastises Anglo-U.S. Intrigues
- TAB O - KOA NO TAIGI and KOKOKU HISSHO RON - Books Banned
- TAB P - Prevention of Discord Among the People, Government Officials and the Army
- TAB Q - DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI
- TAB R - DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI

-----G.A.W.-----

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Curriculum vitae of TOKUTOMI Iichiro

Curriculum vitae of TOKUTOMI Iichiro (pen name Soho)

- 1863 Jan - Born, Kumamoto Prefecture
- 1872 (up to) - Educated by his father, TOKUTOMI Kazunori
- 1880 - Graduated Doshisha University (Chinese Classics and English)
- 1883-1887 - Founded Oe Gijuku (private School) Kumamoto
- 1887 - Established MINYU SHA to publish "KOKUMIN-NO-TOMO" (People's Friend)
- 1888 - Served at Imperial Headquarters in Hiroshima; went on an inspection tour of Liao-Tung Peninsula and returned to Japan in May 1889
- 1889 - Founded KOKUMIN SHIMBUN
- 1896 May - Toured Europe and America
- 1897 June - Returned to Japan
- 1897 Aug - Appointed Councillor, Home Ministry
- 1897 Sept - Appointed Member, Political Affairs Investigation Committee
- 1897 Oct - Appointed Government Delegate of Home Ministry to the Imperial Diet
- 1900 Apr - Appointed Member, Examination Committee for National Language
- 1917 - Visited China
- 1920 May - Appointed Member, Text Books Investigation Committee
- 1921 June - Appointed Member, National Language Investigation Committee
- 1923 - Special Writer, Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun
- 1924 Apr - Appointed Member, Literary Administration Committee
- 1925 June - Appointed Member, Imperial Academy by Imperial Favour
- 1929 Nov - Appointed Member, National Treasures Preservation Committee
- 1929 - President, TOA CHOSAKAI (The East Asia Research Society)
- 1937 June - Appointed Member, Imperial Academy of Arts
- 1938 - President, DAI NIPPON KOKUSHI KAI (Japan Historical Association)
- 1939 May - Feted for "SHOWA KOKUMIN TOKUHON (Showa National Reader)
- 1940 - Special Writer, Osaka Mainichi Shimbun and Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun
- 1942 - Appointed Member, Greater East Asia Establishment Committee
- 1942 - YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society) Member of Preparatory Committees
YOKUSANSEIJI TAISEI KYOGIKAI 1942 Feb
YOKUSAN SEIJI RYOKU KESSHO JUNBI KAI 1942 Feb
Consultant 1942 Aug, Member 1942

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- 1942-1944 - Advisor, DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Great Japan Rise Asia League)
 - 1943 May-1944 Aug - Advisor, KOA SOHOMBU (Rise Asia General Headquarters)
 - 1944 - President, DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Speech and Publication Serve-the-Country Association)
 - 1944 - SOHO Society established in TOKUTOMI's honor. SOHO newspaper award.
 - 1944-1945 - Advisor, DAI NIPPON YOKUSAN SOMEN DAN (Imperial Rule Assistance Manhood Group)
 - 1945 Dec - Interned under House Arrest as a War Crimes Suspect

List of Japanese Government
Officials, 1937-1945*

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Extract from "Japanese Government
Officials, 1937-1945"

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Extract from "Japanese Government Officials 1937 - 1945", published by
Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D. C.,
21 July 1945.

"Iichiro TOKUTOMI (pen name "Soho"): Councilor, New Asia Movement of
Imperial Rule Assistance Association. Member House of Peers.

1863 Jan	Born Kumamoto Prefecture. Son of late Ikkei Tokutomi. Married Shizuko, daughter of Matazo Kurazono.
1880	Educated Doshisha University.
*	Founded Oi Gijuku (private school), Kumamoto. Established Minyu-sha. Publisher, Kokumin-no-tomo (People's Friend).
1889	Founded Kokumin Shimbun (newspaper)
1896	Toured Europe and America
1897	Councilor, Home Office.
1911	Nominated to House of Peers.
*	Member, Imperial Academy, Imperial Fine Arts Academy, Special writer, Osaka Mainichi Shimbun and Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun.
1942	President Japanese Press Association.
1944 Sept	Appointed Councilor to New Asia Movement of IRAA.

Address: 2832, Sanno 1-chome, Omori-ku, Tokyo.

A prodigious writer, veteran journalist and outstanding Japanese political commentator who is widely respected in government circles. Tokutomi, an ardent jingoist, in January 1944 stated that "because Japan is a country of gods, our Emperors are gods, and we are children of gods, our confidence over the current situation is firm and we thoroughly believe we shall win ultimate victory." Author of "National History of Japan in Recent Age" (in Japanese)."

* Exact dates unknown

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Extract from "Biographies of Prominent Japanese"

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Extract from ONI's "Biographies of Prominent Japanese" of 15 September 1945

"Ichiro (pen name Soho) TOKUTOMI - Author-Journalist: Member of the House of Peers.

"TOKUTOMI was born January 1863 in Kumamoto-ken. He graduated from Dishisha in 1880 and has become a person of great prominence. During his career he has founded the private school, Oe Gijiku, in Kumamoto; has published "The Nation's Friend"; founded the "Kokumin Shimbun, a daily which he edited for forty years; toured Europe and America, 1896; became a councilor to the Home Office, 1897; and was nominated to the House of Peers, 1911. As of 1939 he was a member of the House of Peers, Imperial Academy, Imperial Fine Arts Academy, and guest member (editor) of "Osaka Mainichi Shimbun" and "Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" (dailies). TOKUTOMI is spoken of as one of Japan's great author-journalists, a famous historian, commentator, philosophical leader, and revered senior. He is described as a venerable jingoist and nationalist reactionary who was long considered the voice of the military in Japan; an ardent patriot and equally ardent hater of Communism. Despite his years, he is still believed to have tremendous prestige in Japan. Most of his books are in the form of messages to the people. His "Reader for the People of Showa" published in 1939 encouraged the revival of Japanese Imperialism as the only solution to bring the so-called "Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere" and the "One World Under One Emperor" doctrines to successful realities. Throughout the book he supports signing of the Axis Tri-Party Pact as the only means of safeguarding against the dangers of Communism spreading to the Asiatic continent and Japan. He utterly denounces foreign powers, that is, the U.S., Britain, France, and Russia, claiming they are the foreign powers causing the trouble among the Asiatic countries. He further made a spectacular display in supporting the Tri-Party Pact against opposition among his countrymen. He was reportedly president of Dai Nippon National Service Press Association in June 1943. In August 1944 he was appointed an adviser to the GEA Newspaper Council, formed during 1943 for the purpose of "achieving unity of thought throughout the GEA sphere." In September 1944 he was appointed an adviser to the East Asia Development General Headquarters (under administration of IRAA). In January 1945 he was referred to as one of the originators of the Asia Kindred Spirits Association (or GEA "Same Minded" Association), an organization enabling "those who have enthusiasm to strive for the accomplishments of the great task of reconstructing Asia to full exchange their views." Yanan Radio calls TOKUTOMI "the Fascist propaganda chief." Throughout the war he has done all possible to unify the people to action and spur them on to greater efforts. He has said, "Because Japan is a country of gods...our Emperors are gods...and we are children of gods... our confidence, naturally, over the current situation is firm and we shall win ultimate victory (1/44)." Following the report of damage to the Ise Shrine in a bombing attack, TOKUTOMI stated, "The Americans

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Iichiro TOKUTOMI

have committed a terrible profanation... The only way we take revenge for this American attitude is to reiterate our determination to annihilate all the American forces in East Asia." TOKUTOMI has also dared to be critical of the actions of his government and scored the authorities for withholding the truth of news reports. His commentaries on defense of the Homeland were optimistic from the Japanese view, but he was critical of the manner in which the government met its tasks."

STATEMENT OF TOKUTOMI ICHIRO BY THE U.S. SENATE

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Evaluation of TOKUTOMI Iichiro at time of arrest

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Evaluation of TOKUTOMI Iichiro (Soho) at time of his internment.

TOKUTOMI, Iichiro (Soho)

Born 1863. One of the leading journalists and writers in Japan today. Some of his more important positions include: Founded the Kokumin Shimbun (daily popular paper), 1890; Councillor of the Home Ministry, 1897; member of the House of Peers, 1911; affiliated with the Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun, 1923; president of the Dai Nippon Kokushi Kai (Japan Historical Association) - an association founded in 1931 to study Japanese history and guide the thoughts of the nation, 1939; guest member of the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun and Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun, 1940; president of the Dai Nippon Press Patriotic Service Association, 1944; adviser to the GEA Press Federation (or Newspaper Council), 1944; adviser to the GEA Development Headquarters (or New Asia) of IRAA; one of the founders and a member of the GEA Doshi Kai (GEA "Same Minded" Association) which was under the administration of the GEA Ministry, 1945.

Subject has been referred to as the Dean of Japanese journalists and has been a prominent political commentator. He has written over two hundred books on politics, diplomacy, literature, and history. Most of these contained propaganda to develop a powerful Japan, drive the "whites" out of Asia, and teach the people loyalty to the Emperor. From the beginning of Japan's war with China until Japan surrendered to the Allies, "Soho" devoted himself to accomplishing his life's ambition of uniting all Asia under the rule of Japan. He wrote propaganda and organized patriotic associations to increase the people's support of Japan's war aims. This propaganda was disseminated by books, newspaper articles, and speeches.

TOKUTOMI should be apprehended for his major responsibility in laying the foundations, in domestic affairs, in preparation for aggression and totalitarian control.

He qualifies under Paragraph 7-a of Joint Chiefs of Staff Basic Directive for Post Surrender Military Government in Japan Proper of 3 November 1945."

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Books by TOKUTOMI Iichiro

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BOOKS by TOKUTOMI Iichiro

Books written by TOKUTOMI during the period beginning with the Washington Naval Conference in 1921 and ending with the London Naval Agreement in 1930 are:

- SOHO SHISO (Poems by Soho), 1922
KOKUMIN KYOIKU (Popular Education), 1923
KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON (Popular Awakening), 1923
YAMATO MINZOKU NO KAKUSEI (Awakening of the Yamato People), 1924
SEIKAI NO KAKUSHIN (Reform of Politics), 1924
SHOSEI SHOKUN (Teaching How to Live), 1924
KATEI SHOKUN (Family Teachings), 1924
ENKA SHOYU KI, 1924
KOKUMIN SHOKUN (Teachings for the People), 1925
SANJU SHICHI-HACHI NEN EKI TO GAIKO (Diplomacy and Russo-Japanese War), 1925
SOHO ZUIHITSU (Essays by Soho), 1925
DAI-NI SOHO ZUIHITSU (Second Collection of Essays by Soho), 1925
DAI-ICHI JIMBUTSU ZUIROKU (Essays by Soho), 1926
SAIGO NANSHU SENSEI (Biography of SAIGO Nanshu), 1926
OKUBO KOTO SENSEI (Biography of OKUBO Koto), 1927
SHOWA ISSHIN RON (Showa Restoration), 1927
RAI SANYO SHOKAN SHU (Letters of RAI San'yo), 1927
NIHON MEIFU DEN (Biographies of Famous Japanese Women), 1928
FUFU NO MICHI (Ways of Married Life), 1928
CHUYO NO MICHI (The Middle Road), 1928
SOHO SOSHO (Works of Soho), 1928
KIDO SHOKIKU SENSEI (Biography of KIDO Shokiku), 1928
AKAO GISHI KAN (Views on AKAO Gishi), 1929
ISHIN KAITEN NO IGYO NI OKERU MITO NO KOSEKI (Meritorious Deeds of Mito Clan in the successful Work of the Epoch Making Restoration), 1929
JIDAI TO JOSEI (Time and Women), 1929
TAIWAN YUKI (Travel Account of Taiwan), 1929
TOSA NO KINNO (Loyalty of Tosa Clan), 1929
NIHON TEIKOKU NO ICHI TENKI (Turning Point of Imperial Japan), 1929
NINGEN KAI TO SHIZEN KAI (World of Nature and World of People), 1929
ROKI-SHA SOWA (Tales of Old Reporters), 1930
BUNROKU KEICHO IGO NIHON NI OKERU CHOSSEN NO KANKA (Influence of Chosen on Japan After the Bunroku and Keicho Periods), 1930
SHOSO ZAKKI (Essays), 1930
SEIKATSU TO SHOSEKI (Books and Living), 1930
JISEI TO JIMBUTSU (Current Trends and People), 1930
KEIGYO TO JISEI (Admiration and Self-Examination), 1930

Books written during the period from the Manchurian Incident in 1931 to Japan's withdrawal from the Washington Naval Treaty in 1936 are:

- GENDAI NIHON TO SEKAI NO UGOKI (Modern Japan and Movement of the World), 1931

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SHUSHI YOKA , 1931
 SHINSEN WAKA RONGO (New Essays on WAKA), 1931
 TAKUJO SHOWA (Tales Told over Table), 1931
 HITO SAMAZAMA (Various People), 1931
 WAGA HAHA (Our Mother), 1931
 MEIJI TENNO NO GOSEITOKU (Virtues of Period of Emperor Meiji), 1932
 NINGEN SANYO TO SHIKA SANYO (Sanyo as a Man and Sanyo as a Historian), 1932
 MYOE SHONIN RINJU KI (Account of Priest MYOE's Death), 1932
 CHOBAKU KOSHO HEN (Negotiation Between Imperial Government and Bafuku), 1932
 TENSEKI SEIWA (Tales on Books), 1932
 DOKUSHO JIN TO SANSUI (Reader and Nature), 1932
 DAIJI SHOJI (Essays), 1932
 SHIKYO HENREKI (Historical Sights), 1932
 ANSEI DAGOKU ZEN PEN (Coup of Ansei Period), 1932
 II NAOSUKE SHISSEI JIDAI (Age of Dictatorship Under II), 1932
 KATSU KAISHU DEN (Biography of KATSU Kaishu), 1932
 AISHO GOJU NEN (50 Years of Love of Reading), 1933
 OSHU GENDAI SEISHI NO ANRYU (Dark Current in the Contemporary History
 of Europe), 1933
 TOZAI SHI RON (History of East and West), 1933
 SEITOKU KEIGO (Administration of Imperial Virtue), 1934
 KANSEKI WO MIRU (Reading Chinese Books), 1935
 SANJO SANEMITSU KO - SANJO SANHEYOSHI KO (Prince SANJO Sanemitsu - Prince
 SANJO Saneyoshi), 1935
 SHUJI KAKYO (Essays), 1935
 SOHO JIDEN (Autobiography of Soho), 1935
 MEIJI ISHIN NO TAIGYO (Great Work of Meiji Restoration), 1935
 WARERA NO NIHON SEISHIN (Our Japanese Spirit), 1936
 NIHON SEISHIN TO NIJIMA SEISHIN (Japanese Spirit and Niijima Spirit), 1936
 SO-O GENSHI ROKU (Teachings of Soho), 1936
 SOHO SENSEI CHOSAKU GOJUSSEN (50 Works of Soho), 1936
 SHIRON SHINSHU (History Notes), 1936

Books, written during the period starting with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict in 1937 through the Great East Asia War.

ISHIN SHI NI OKERU AIZU (Aizu Clan in the History of Restoration), 1937
 GENDAI JOSEI KUN (Teachings for Modern Women), 1937
 SENJI GAIGEN (Wartime Thoughts), 1937
 SOHO HYAKUZETSU (100 Best Works of Sono), 1937
 CHOSHU SEIBATSU (Subjugation of Choshu), 1937
 ROKI-SHA NO TABI (Travels of Old Reporters), 1937
 MEIJI ISHIN TO KOKUMIN SEISHIN (National Spirit and Meiji Restoration), 1938
 WAGA KOYU ROKU (Our Acquaintance), 1938
 KODO NIHON NO SEKAI KA (Internationalization of Imperial Japan), 1938
 SHOWA KOKUMIN TOKUHON (Reader for People of the Showa Era), 1939
 JIMBUTSU KEIKAN , 1939

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MEIJI TENNO MIU SHI (History of Emperor Meiji Period), 1939
MANSHU KENKOKU TOKUHON (Reader of Establishment of Manchuria), 1940
KOKOKU NIHON NO DAIDO (Great Way of Imperial Japan), 1941
NIHON WO SHIRE (Know Japan), 1941
KAWAKAMI SOROKU (Biography of KAWAKAMI Soroku) 1942
FUJI HACHIJU JI (80 Roads to Fuji), 1942
SENSEN NO TAISHO (Imperial Rescript), 1942

TOYOTA's Statement during the trial of
the MANCHURIAN Incident

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TOKUTOMI's Statement during the trial of
the SHIMPEI TAI Incident

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TOKUTOMI Ichiro (Alias TOKUTOMI Soho)

An excerpt from NIPPON KOKKA SHUGI (History of Japanese Nationalism) by TSUKUI Tatsuo. Published in CHUO KORON (Central Review) Magazine, May 1941.

HAYASHI Fusao in his recent book points out that TOKUTOMI Soho is one of the greatest converts from socialism to nationalism in Japan. His present thinking is entirely different from that of the period when he was editor of the KOKUMIN-NO-TOMO (People's Friend). Following is TOKUTOMI's statement as a witness in the Shimpei Tai (Gods Soldiers) trial (1932). I once read this statement in an article of the magazine ISHIN KORON (Public Opinion of Restoration). As I do not have the magazine on hand, I have copied his statement from the book written by HAYASHI Fusao.

(Ed. Note: TOKUTOMI was one of the prominent men called by the defense to give his general opinion of the conditions in Japan.)

TOKUTOMI's Statement

My principle, KOSHITSU CHUSHIN SHUGI (The Imperial Household Centralization), is not as superficial as that advocated by the Seiyukai Party. It is the principle I reached after many years' thinking. This principle has never been taught me or suggested to me by anybody. I am already 71. When I was born Japan was in a terrible turmoil. I was brought up in the surroundings of liberalism when western culture was most highly admired. Since I was unconvinced of FUKUZAWA Yukichi's materialistic liberalism, or of KATO Hiroyuki's plutocratic liberalism, I did not go to the Imperial University. I viewed society from the standpoint of so-called "spiritual liberalism". Broadly speaking I might be classified as a cosmopolitan man.

In my boyhood I read and digested the books of Cobden, Bright, Gladstone and Macaulay. I was educated in the Manchester school and brought up in spiritual liberalism. I never forgot "loyalty to the Emperor" as stressed by YOKOI Shonan as my father was a pupil of YOKOI who was of the school of YANAZAKI Ansai. My father told me that George Washington was a man like the Great Emperors of Gyo and Shin in ancient China and that Abraham Lincoln was like some other great man. I entered DOSHISHA School in Kyoto and was educated under NIIJIMA Jo. He was a devoted patriot and a liberalist. I am a man educated in liberalism. Now the question arises, as to how I became a devotee of the principle of Imperialism. The European and American nations advocate liberalism but are not faithful to liberalism. They pass their own liberalistic ideas on to others. They are arbitrary, selfish and egotistical. I have deduced from various facts that there is no such thing as benevolence actually prevailing in this world. I have read Japanese history over and over again. I read NIHON GAISHI (Japanese History) by RAI Sanyo and NIHON SEIKI (The Political History of Japan) when I was a boy not more than ten

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years old. So there was no need for me to read them over again but when I viewed Japanese history from a different angle, the glory of the Japanese Constitution struck my humble mind. Japan is a great country incomparable to any other country. (The Chief Judge asked TOKUTOMI when had he formed such an idea). I am ashamed to say it was when my hair had all turned gray but since I had gray hair when I was 19, it doesn't mean that I was an old man at that time. I became convinced when I was on my world trip in 1896. It was about 1894-1896 when I first had such an idea. I was convinced that the ideas I had before 1896 were entirely wrong. Spiritually, I was another man. I made up my mind to start a new life...If Japan had not been ruled by the Emperor at the time of the Meiji Restoration, the TOKUGAWA Shogunate might have asked France for assistance; and the SATSUMA and NAGATO clans, Great Britain, and some other clans, Russia. Thus, Japan would have followed India. I was deeply impressed with the fact that the Imperial rule had united Japan despite the conflicting interests of the Shogunate and various clans.

Passing through various thorny paths, I was all worn out when I finally reached my goal: the principle of Imperialism. There I took a pause. I now have a peaceful state of mind. If I die having proclaimed this principle throughout the world, I shall feel that my life has been worth living. I appeal to you not to mix my principle with other similar ones.

KOKUMIN KYOIKU RON

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Book Digest

KOKUMIN KYOIKU RON
(Education of the People)

By TOKUTOMI Iichiro

Published in 1923 and dedicated to the grammar school teachers.

The following paragraph, page 32, is of importance:

"No matter how anyone may attack me (TOKUTOMI) for my articles which are outdated, I am neither a socialist nor an anarchist. If I am forced to admit my sentiments, there is nothing to do except to consider myself a loyalist and a patriot. To state this more clearly, I am a patriot of an Imperial nation of a ruler and his subjects. Again, to define more clearly I am a democrat under Imperial rule. By the rest of the world I would be considered an Imperialist. That is, an Imperialist, not advocating military might and it goes without saying that I do not favor aggression. Furthermore, I am an Imperialist in the sense of developing and expanding the YAMATO race. Then, should this not be regarded as Imperialism, there would be no objection to whatever one may say. That is, in this nation of an Emperor and his subjects, the national strength shall be demonstrated as national unity. This is the ideal or the ultimate objective which I seek. This ultimate objective is not something thought up today but an ideal that has been developed over a period of years. To accomplish this, national education is of primary importance. Within this primary importance of national education falls the education of the individual. This is necessary in order to build men who are men."

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KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON

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Book Digest

KOKUMIN JIKAKU RON
(Essay of National Consciousness)
By TOKUTOMI Iichiro

Published by MINYU SHA, Tokyo, April 1923.

This is a resume of a speech the writer delivered to soldiers and reservists under the auspices of the Commander of the AZABU Military District Corps.

In the preface, the writer says that the best policy for smoothing the relations between Japan and the United States is to insist on what Japan believes and to act straight forwardly. Weak-kneed diplomacy is a dangerous policy, he asserts. The writer claims that he has no affiliations with political parties or politicians. "I am an old student who is worrying about the future of our country, and as such, I wish to appeal to the brethren of my country".

The present age is the depression period of the militarists as disarmament is the consensus of the nation. The funds economized by the reduction of armaments shall be appropriated for education, social reform and the improvement of transportation facilities. It is, however, a great error to assume that armaments are unnecessary because the world is at peace. The world is not stabilized; there is no prospect for permanent world peace. World War I taught us the necessity for all nations maintaining soldiers. Disarmament means the reduction of military specialists on one hand and the enlargement of non-professional soldiers on the other. It means the whole nation should cultivate the warrior's spirit.

A peace without self-protective power is a peace of slavery. Chivalry is to prevent conflicts among nations and it is for the preservation of peace. Chivalry is for the protection of self-interest, right, prestige and truth. A "peace without arms" is undoubtedly peace but it is the peace of other powers and not the peace of one nation--independent peace. A dependent peace will be disturbed at any moment by other countries.

Many stress the importance of cooperation among world powers. I agree with this. Cooperation is possible only when we have "our own ego". Without ego, there will be no cooperation in the true sense of the term. It is the surrender in blind obedience to others in the beautiful name of cooperation. The Naval Disarmament Conference at Washington cut the naval forces of Great Britain, the United States and Japan to the ratio's of 5-5-3. Because of the powers at the command of Britain and the United States, Japan presumably was forced to agree to these ratios.. There is no country in the world which behaves more willfully in her own way than

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the United States. I am not blaming the United States. I am only telling the truth. Nobody but President Wilson advocated the League of Nations and it was the United States Senate which tore it up as waste paper. If Japan had done even one hundredth of what the United States did, she would have been blamed as the enemy of the whole world. Why did all the countries of the world remain silent about the irresponsible and rude conduct of the United States? Why did the rest of the world flatter America? It was because America was the strong nation. The weak nations must apologize for the crime of somebody else. This is the status quo of international co-operation.

After all, World War I was the fight between Great Britain and Germany for world hegemony. It was the clash of British Imperialism with German Imperialism. The United States was nobody but a "rooster". As a result of the propaganda Great Britain and the United States spread abroad, Germany was blamed as an enemy of the world. After the hostilities when Germany was no longer a menace to Great Britain, an Englishman, Austin Harrison, rightly said that all European countries engaged in the conflict were as guilty as Germany. Recently, the British Government has been rendering hearty help in the reconstruction of Germany and has been rejecting France, her former ally. This was due to the fact that Germany had become a weaker nation and it was necessary for Great Britain's self-interest. Beware of propaganda. Don't misjudge the world situation.

DARK OUTLOOK

As a result of the war some people still believe civilization won over barbarism, liberalism over despotism, and humanitarianism over brutality. The war to end wars is over but there is still the menace of another war. The world under present conditions is still in danger of another war. Now the European countries and America who advocate international cooperation, are insisting on their respective interests. Don't be afraid of what others think of Japan. Let's establish our own principles.

RED RUSSIA AND CAPITALISTIC AMERICA

As a result of World War I, capitalistic and imperialistic America became the great world power. The defeat of Germany gave Russia a good opportunity for her world wide "Red" March. We now witness Bolshevik Russia and capitalistic and imperialistic America in the spotlight of the world play. World War I made America - from debtor to creditor country - the greatest world power. Self conceit, whether good or bad, is one of the characteristics of the American nation.

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD MENACE

In his book, entitled "Americanism; A World Menace", W.T. Colyer of England says that the world has become the arena for Russian communism

and American capitalism. He prefers the Russian to the American ideology and summarizes Americanism as follows:

1. Americanism is the self conceit of the American nation based on material development achieved by knowledge, endeavour and diligence of their own and other nations. This Americans call patriotism.
2. All American enterprises, whether spiritual or intellectual, are for money-seeking purposes. Americans evaluate enterprise by monetary return.
3. Americans welcome abstract democracy.
4. Americans disregard law in spite of orderly procedures. This Americans call the great spirit of America.

In America even religion and education are tools of the capitalists who use them for their own interests.

DON'T MISUNDERSTAND AMERICA

The American slogan is liberty, equality and the Monroe Doctrine. When we trace back America's history, we find that she has made use of arms, monetary power and strategy whenever necessary to conquer others. Japanese are discriminated against in America because they believe Japanese are hard to assimilate. They don't care whether the lynching of Negroes is inhumane in so far as it is their own problem. I am not criticizing such a problem but I am dissatisfied with American discrimination against Japanese and with American encroachment into Far Eastern territories which Japan acquired at the cost of war. The so-called Christian American has adopted the doctrine: "Don't give to others what the United States wants". Try to understand America as she is. America is not a simple materialistic country. We find Americans devoted to religion. Religion is the great influence in American society. We pay high respect to the patriotism of the American people. We are impressed with the loyalty of American businessmen who work for a dollar a year, devoting themselves to their country.

The world wide Russian Red March made a good start. There are two ways for us to check this Red March of Russia: (1) prohibit "Red" propaganda at all costs, and (2) isolate leftists from the general public. However, the fundamental measure is the elimination of the causes of Bolshevism. To accomplish this, we must insure freedom and rights to the people which they deserve. We criticize aristocrats for indulging in their own interests and pleasures. We also criticize plutocrats for misappropriating monetary power for their own interests. No matter how loyal and faithful the Japanese people are to the Emperor, who cannot say that they do not revolt against these special privileged classes?

Japan stands in the midst of two world menaces: American capitalism and Russian Bolshevism. We should watch the Red movement within our own country rather than within other countries. To check the Bolshevik movement at home, we should equally distribute our national honor and interests to the general public. Don't let the aristocrats and plutocrats monopolize all privileges.

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NIPPON TEIKOKU NO ICHI TENKI

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Book Digest

NIPPON TEIKOKU NO ICHI TENKI
(The Turning Point of Imperial Japan)
by TOKUTOMI Iichiro

Published by MINYU SHA, Tokyo, 25 September 1929

In the preface, the writer says that Japan is poisoned by money and political parties. To speak freely, Japan is the victim of questionable plutocrats and politicians. They are administering the country as they like and the majority of people are helpless. In the international picture, Japan ^{is threatened} by militaristic, economic and cultural imperialism. Japan cannot afford isolation from the rest of the world. She must find out who among the nations are her friends. If Japan becomes a country of justice and the rest of the world believes in the justice of Japan, she will find many nations friendly toward her. This is the only way left for Japan to get out of the international predicament which she is facing today.

In what direction is Japan drifting? We are looking for purification, peace and progress. Twelve years have passed since the armistice of the First World War but the world is still unstable. Europe is suspicious and in fear of another war. Great Britain has fallen into financial difficulties as a result of the last war. The United States, on the other hand, has become the greatest power in the world without losing any property or many lives. The United States demands that other countries faithfully abide by international contracts but she, herself, is quite indifferent in her own behavior toward others.

The nations of the world are faced with two menaces. The capitalistic imperialism of the United States and the communistic imperialism of Russia. Both are trying to control the world; one by the means of capital and the other by communistic thought. Ultimately the world will be divided into two camps: the United States will dominate Western Europe and the present British colonies while Russia will dominate all the Asiatic territories.

Some say that Japan and the United States cannot be friends if either wishes to dominate the Pacific. To make such an assumption is a great error. The Pacific is so vast that Japan and the United States can get along friendly and peacefully if neither tries to dominate the whole area. If the United States is satisfied with co-existence and co-prosperity in the Pacific, Japan and other countries will be her friends. But if she tries to dominate all the area by herself, the world will be her enemy. Some think America is the enemy of Japan because Japanese emigrants are discriminated against in the United States. I believe that

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such an assumption is entirely wrong. Japanese are discriminated against not only in the United States but also in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Economically speaking Japan and the United States are dependent on one another. They can live and prosper together without jeopardizing each other's interests. Some critics of the Third-rate powers predict war between Japan and the United States. I believe that such a war would not be beneficial to either the United States or Japan. It is the Third-rate powers who will rejoice and benefit by the outbreak of hostilities between the two. They are eagerly waiting for the time when Japan stands up to keep America from exercising international despotism. No country in the world will shed tears of sympathy if Japan is defeated by the United States. Also, I venture to warn the United States that Japan is not the country who intends to attack the United States. It is another country who is the real enemy of America.

The United States is the world menace in two aspects: (1) her materialistic power, and (2) her principle of money worship. Her politics, her diplomacy, her Navy, her press and even her religion are all managed and poisoned by dollars.

Japan is indebted to various countries. In ancient times Japan imported culture from India and China and more recently from Great Britain, Germany, France and America. We have to pay off our debts with accrued interest to these countries. The only way for Japan to pay off her debts is to contribute to world culture by means of her Imperial way. Even if our neighbor steals chickens from our farm, we should refrain from revengefully stealing sheep from our neighbors. Japan should elevate her international moral standing from her own moral point of view.

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SHOWA KOKUMIN TOKUHON

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Book Outline

SHOWA KOKUMIN TOKUHON
(Showa National Reader)
By TOKUTOMI Iichiro

Published by Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun, 7 Feb 1939

In May 1939, TOKUTOMI was feted for sale of half a million copies of this book.

- I. Imperialism is the fundamental principle of Japanology.
- II. Good citizens of the world are not always good citizens of Japan, but good citizens of Japan are always good citizens of the world.
- III. Japan is not only the divine land of history but she is also the divine land today.
- IV. The French value their land while the Germans value their race and this is the reason why the Germans are enjoying prosperity.
- V. The unique culture of Japan has not been recognized by her own people; much less by other peoples.
- VI. Japanese should know Japan. The key is to study Japanese history. The study of Japanese history is the realization of the Imperial Household.
- VII. Italy is the essence of Latin Culture. Germany is the core of Teutonic Culture. Japan is the center of Oriental Culture. The consolidation of these extra-ordinary cultures will greatly contribute to the progress of the world. The Tri-Partite Anti-Communism Treaty.
- VIII. Americans say "America for Americans", Europeans say "Europe for Europeans". Why do they object to our saying "Asia for Asiatics".
- IX. The understanding of Japanology is easy but the practicing of it is very difficult. It is sine qua non (necessary) to practice it with indefaligable spirit and emotion, to become a royal nation.

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Ideal on the Reconstruction of Asia

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General Meeting for Lectures
on the
IDEAL OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ASIA
held under auspices of
Shibunkai and the Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun

21 March 1940

DECLARATION by TOKUTOMI Iichiro

We respectfully know that his Majesty the Emperor of illustrious virtues made it known at the beginning of his august reign that "He wishes ever to maintain the peace of the world and to increase the universal happiness of mankind"; and that since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese incident He has been deeply concerned and has greatly regretted that it should have occurred. Now the war has gone on for almost four years, and with His Majesty's boundless grace and the brave efforts of both our officers and men, the greater half of China has been conquered. Now is the time when our people in unison should deal with the incident constructively and endeavour to establish a new order in East Asia. It is said, "A wise man attends to the fundamental". What is "the fundamental"? It is the establishment of the ideal of reconstructing Asia. With this ideal in view, the peoples of Japan, Manchukuo, and China that number 530,000,000 in all must decide their course to march forward.

Confucianism has ever been a system of moral government peculiar to China. Through the past four thousand years it has shown a steady development, becoming for an individual a law of governing oneself, and for statecraft a Royal way. It has exerted a benign influence upon all men and women, and has never been out of place in any age. Since its introduction to Japan, it has reinforced the Great way of our God, served to help the reign of our successive emperors, and guarded our Empire which is without peer in all the world. Manchukuo on her foundation also declared that she was formed on the principle of the Royal way. From this point of view, it is clear that the New Confucianism which has been completed by being refined by our Imperial way and by absorbing the Western cultural heritage is the axis round which the three countries of Japan, Manchukuo, and China can perform spiritual cooperation. It is the life of the new-born China. And therein also lies the ideal of the reconstruction of Asia.

Mr. Chang Kai-shek and his followers, however, have thought of nothing but relying upon Europe and America, have made "Let one's enemy fight another enemy" the foundation of their policies; by completely ignoring the principle of cooperation for mutual prosperity have for many years enforced the anti-Japanese education; and have consequently brought on the present war and its calamities. And yet, not awakening

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from their fond dream, they continue pursuing their own selfish interests by declaring that they will "rebuild the country by opposing Japan", and in addition, cooperate with the Communist party, causing great suffering among the people. This is undeniably a total disregard of the divine purpose, a complete destruction of their national tradition, and a wilful attempt to hinder the coming dawn of prosperity in East Asia.

At this time Mr. Wang Ching-wei standing up to cry out "Peace and National Salvation", has revised the Three-People Principle so as to base it on the characteristic Way of China, has suited it to the Royal Way, and by deeming the revised principle to be the same as the one on which one should govern one's life, home, country, and the world, has proclaimed it both at home and abroad. This is, indeed, a great undertaking to grasp the ancient tradition and embody it in the present. By this alone one can inspire life into the new-born China.

Our country must, by working in accord with Manchukuo and Mr. Wang's Central Government which will soon come into existence, punish the Chang Government of Communism and Anti-Japanism to its utter downfall; help China to become an absolutely independent country; save the four hundred million people out of flood and fire; and by restoring peace in the shortest possible time determine a great and permanent project for East Asia. Thus must we set His Majesty's mind at ease, and at this same time bring comfort to the spirits of our brave warriors who died for our country. It is, therefore, imperative that all of us who remain in the country, everthinking of the most trying experiences our officers and privates are going through, stand the greatest hardships and privations, and be ready to devote ourselves wholly to the service "behind the gun".

On the occasion of the glorious twenty-sixth centenary of the foundation of our Empire, while looking back, on the one hand, upon the great intention of the Emperor Jimmu to bring about universal brotherhood, in the world and reminding ourselves, on the other, of the urgent need for establishing a new order in East Asia, we here hold on this auspicious day this general meeting for lectures on the ideal of the reconstruction of Asia, to address all our friends and fellow countrymen and call upon them to rise to the occasion.

ATTITUDE OF U.S. HIT IN TOKUTOMI SPEECH

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Attitude of U.S. Hit in TOKUTOMI Speech

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ATTITUDE OF U.S. HIT IN TOKUTOMI SPEECH

Aged Journalist Vitriolic Toward American
Actions Vis-A-Vis The Far East

PEACE CAN BE ENJOYED

Pacific Waves High Because Uncle Sam
Insists on Poking Nose in
Neighbor's Affairs

Before a packed house at the Hibiya Public Hall, 79 year old SOHO TOKUTOMI, Japan's pioneer newspaper man, poured fire and brimstone on the attitude of the United States toward Japan, in a lecture meeting staged by the Nichi Nichi Monday afternoon.

As his car drew close to the Public Hall a large crowd of people greeted him with thunderous ovations of "Banzai!".

At the outset of his speech, Mr. Tokutomi said: "As I have just pulled through an illness, I may fall down in the midst of my speech, but in that case my friend, Seigo NAKANO, here will take care of the rest of the rally". In his speech, he stated that there is absolutely no reason why Japan and America should have to come to grips over a vast ocean of the Pacific occupying 36 per cent of the earth's surface, adding that peace can be maintained if the countries bordering the Pacific mind their own business.

He went on to say that it is because that United States tries to poke its nose into the affairs of the East Asia that the waves of the Pacific beat high. He further stated that there will be peace in the Pacific if America gives up its Oriental kibitzing.

In connection with the China affair, Mr. Tokutomi explained that General Chiang Kai-shek is resisting Japan as a faithful dog of America and is offering the latter all available rights and interests.

"The fundamental point is" Mr. Tokutomi stated, "that America is behind Chungking and that America is sticking to the Nine Power Treaty, the 'Equal Opportunity' and the 'Open Door' principles and that America is insisting upon bringing East Asia back to pre-Manchurian affair conditions, wherein lies the difficulty of the Japanese-American negotiations."

Japan is now on the verge of rise or fall, he remarked. To talk about the Nine Power Treaty at this time is out of question, he stated, adding that the Nine Power Treaty has already been buried in its dead past.

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AMERICAN REPLY

In the beginning of his speech, Mr. Tokutomi stated that the American reply to the dispatch of Ambassador Kurusu as a peace envoy was the action taken by the Panamanian Government, a henchman of the United States, to shut out all Japanese residents there, designating the Japanese as an "undesirable race."

Referring to the Empire's foreign policy, Mr. Tokutomi stated that the only path Japan should follow is to go hand in hand with Germany and Italy toward the common objective of establishing a new world order as was enlightened by the Imperial Edict promulgated on September 27 last year on the occasion of the conclusion of the Three Power Pact.

Devoting the latter half of his speech to a review of Japanese-American relations from the time of the visit of Commander Perry in 1852, Mr. Tokutomi stated that the two nations had been on good terms with each other until the end of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, after which the United States grew jealous of Japan's successes.

The friction of the United States with Japan neared its peak when the former abrogated the Japan-American Commerce and Navigation Treaty on July 26 in 1939 and froze Japan's assets on July 16 this year, he said.

Pointing out that America is trying to bottleneck Japan, even enlisting the support of the Dutch East Indies, he stated that America's ambition is quite clear and that it is considering the Pacific as its own lake.

He continued to say that America is trying to grab the Pacific by joining hands with the Soviet Union and drawing Australia and the Dutch East Indies on its side, as well as Chungking.

Mr. Tokutomi declared that the United States is the ringleader of the peace disturbers.

AMERICA IS RINGLEADER

Historical facts show, Mr. Tokutomi stated, that America has fought 11 wars within the short period of one hundred years. It is the United States which is supplying war materials to Chiang Kai-shek, making huge profits by selling arms and ammunitions and getting interests and trying to stick its nose into others' affairs, he continued.

Mr. Tokutomi again declared that the center of the world earthquake is the United States, quoting a report that the United States has agreed to loan to the Soviet Union \$1,000,000,000 without interest, adding that this should be taken with many grains of salt and that there was fear that Vladivostok had already been pawned with the United States.

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In concluding his lengthy speech which covered nearly three hours, Mr. Tokutomi reminded the hearers of Hojo Tokimune (1251-1284) who smashed the Mongolian invading troops in 1281 as the chief administrator of that time.

The 100,000,000 nation of Japan of today are all Hojo Tokimune who was self-possessed in the face of the national crisis.

Source: Japan Times & Advertiser, 11 November 1941.

Upon Reading with Reverence The Imperial Rescript

Upon Reading With Reverence The Imperial Rescript

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Article Digests

Upon Reading With Reverence The Imperial Rescript
By TOKUTOMI Iichiro

Newspaper Article Published in Three Parts
on 13, 14 and 15 December 1941

Part I

Our nation's declaration of war against the United States and Britain is the most difficult task to confront Japan in her long history. It is certainly an imposing undertaking. The Imperial Proclamation of War, issued on the 8th of December 1941, is sublime and befitting to this great incident.

Although the Imperial Rescript is simple and brief, it is inspiring when its righteous words and clear meaning are thoroughly digested. This rescript, I know, will stimulate and encourage the hundred million people of our nation. Among all the Imperial Rescripts in Japan's history, including the rescripts of the Meiji and Showa eras, this rescript is the most distinguished. Everyone is impressed.

It is necessary to give an explanation of the purport of this rescript. I will attempt to briefly explain the essential points of the entire rescript which has impressed us so deeply. I, also, look forward to the fulfillment of our duty.

After reading this Imperial Rescript, I firmly believe that our war against the United States and Britain is truly a righteous war. If the Imperial Rescript is read without any prejudice by not only the people of Japan and her allies, but also by the people of neutral countries, the fact that this war is an unusually righteous war in the history of the world will be acknowledged. I believe that not even the people of the United States and Britain, our enemies, can deny that our Imperial Forces are fighting for a rightful cause.

In short, this war is (1) a war for our national preservation and self-defense, (2) a war to liberate the one billion people of East Asia, and (3) a war to bring peace and tranquillity to the two billion people of the world. If this is not considered a righteous war, what then can be said to be a war for a rightful cause? The Imperial Rescript is not only applicable to the Japanese but it also clarified the meaning of righteousness to all the people of the world.

America and England are the tyrants and the public enemy of the

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world. They possess approximately one-third of the world's population, six-tenths of the world's area, and over two-thirds of the world's wealth. Looking at the United States and England today, their positions are reversed and the latter is now playing a secondary role. The temper of the United States is observed in every little affair; her wishes are obeyed and everyone is endeavoring not to offend her feelings.

There are occasional opponents to the views expressed by England. Therefore, Germany was unavoidably forced into declaring war (against Britain) in September 1939. However, even Germany, the rising world power today, has endeavored in all ways not to offend the United States. In other words, in "letting a sleeping dog lie", she has kept a respectful distance from the United States and has not made any attacks. Since this is the attitude of Germany; it is more so of the other countries.

The United States, as the greatest tyrant of the world, has grown presumptuous. She has finally fostered an aspiration to control the entire world. Her insatiable paws have reached out to Europe and have extended further to East Asia. Nevertheless, the Americans, themselves, claim that the United States is the arsenal of democracy. However, nine out of ten world disturbances are caused, prolonged and enlarged by the United States. If the United States had not aided England, the Anglo-German war would probably have ended in a few months. If the United States did not instigate or promise aid to the small countries in Europe, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Belgium and others, they would probably not have indiscriminately opposed Germany.

In East Asia, the China Incident has prolonged for five years and cost several billion yen and a million soldiers' lives. However, through peerless strategy and tactics, victory has been won in every engagement. Despite this, however, the United States is responsible for the existence of the Chiang Government and the rampaging bandits because of her assistance. The paws of the United States have further extended to the Soviet Union. Resentment is present in England today because the United States has extended so much aid to the Soviet Union; thus, reducing the aid being sent to England.

If these examples are cited, the two billion people of the world will realize that the United States is the originator of all world disturbances. Even amongst the 140 million Americans, there are not a few who clearly realize this. If the hearts of the Americans were publicly revealed, probably at least half of them are afraid that the United States is gradually being dragged to destruction by President Roosevelt. If that is the case, the United States is the public enemy of the world.

Part II

The United States is not only the public enemy of the world but also the public enemy of East Asia and the Imperial Country. Our Emperor is benovelent as was Emperor Seitaku. We, the hundred million people of Japan, are very grateful to the Emperor for his efforts toward the stabilization of East Asia and the peace of the world. However, the United States not only interfered with the growth of the Imperial Country but also threatened its existence. The Emperor could not help but declare war against the unscrupulous and violent United States.

It is clearly stated in the Imperial Rescript "that it is impossible to avoid war". This is a war in which righteousness is unbeatable. It is not only a righteous war but a humane war. When our country rose to destroy the public enemy of the world even at the sacrifice of all her men and material, our allies, Germany and Italy, voluntarily declared war on the United States four days after our Emperor declared war. Together with Japan, they expect to accomplish the purpose for which the war was declared. Until they accomplish their objective, they will carry out their activities in dependently. We are pledged to fight together and attain peace together. We have strengthened and concretely materialized the Tri-Partite Alliance of 29 September 1940. On 11 December 1941 the new treaty strengthened the old alliance and Japan finally started out to establish world peace..

Our Imperial country, guiding our two allies, created an epoch in world development because of our perspicacious Emperor's decision. We are a burden to our country but at the same time we are an asset.

At the same time as the Imperial Rescript was promulgated, our Navy and Army struck Hawaii, raided Singapore, invaded Hongkong, landed on Malaya, occupied Guam and is capturing the Philippines. We crippled almost all the enemies of the Asiatic fleet. The attack was as swift as the wind and like a tidal wave. Actually, the world was astonished. There is no enemy to oppose us, we are invincible. Never in history was there such a righteous war. Our loyal and invincible soldiers are fighting in the name of god. There is nothing more logical.

Part III

When we fought China in the war of 1894-95, the world was apprehensive of a midget fighting a giant. However, contrary to all doubts, we were finally able to attain complete victory. When we were about to wage the War of 1904-05 with Russia, the entire world--even England who was our ally at the time--thought that our prospects for victory were very slim. Even the men of our country charged with the execution of military affairs could not count on certain victory. They decided to gamble the nation's

fate by exerting the utmost effort. Nevertheless Japan once again was able to dispel the world's skepticism by a grand victory.

Today's great power of the United States and Britain compared with that of Russia in 1904-05 are ten times or rather they are said to be 100 times as strong. Nevertheless, in less than one week, we have crushed their influence in the orient. We are continuing the destruction of their strongholds. In spite of this, we must not be satisfied with our immediate and fortunate victory. At the same time we are fighting, we must work for the establishment of peace. In other words, we must not fail in our construction of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

This war is not a war for the sake of war. We must set up a peaceful administration to carry out a wartime economic policy whereby natural resources are developed. We must be self-sufficient so that anxiety will not be necessary even if this war should last a hundred years.

In order to bring this about, the authorities must not assume a superior attitude, but must seek worldly knowledge, particularly by recruiting qualified men throughout our nation. Concerted action is of utmost importance. The essential points of such concerted action are: (1) harmony between the Army and the Navy, (2) cooperation between the civil and military officials, (3) harmony between the government officials and the people, (4) harmony between the allied countries of East Asia, and (5) cooperation with our allies in Europe, namely Germany and Italy. We must not forget these points for even a short moment. Prince SHOTOKO's bequeathed words to us: "Harmony is the most important factor" are most significant at this time. The means of war is killing but the desire for harmony is the cause of conflict and through this desire for harmony, the objective of this war must be accomplished. There is truly no enemy against such a righteous objective.

Our enemies, the United States and Britain, do not specialize in lightning warfare when confronted with the opportunity. Moreover, it is frequently the case that they are brought to their senses after a dogged persistence and when they become weary. It is not known to what extent our enemies will employ the tactics presently being used by Chiang Kai-shek. We must take heed from the proverb: "The energetic morning spirit degenerates at eventide" and always maintain the inspiration gained from the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript.

There is one other factor which calls for apprehension. Our enemies possess excellent skill in thought and propaganda warfare. Therefore, employing their skill they will attempt to instigate the masses within our nation thereby destroying the unity of our people. We must by all means prevent such corruption from within while we are fighting like a stonewall on the outside. Our enemies succeeded in in this phase of warfare in the first world war. We must prepare against this now so

that if our enemies use these tactics, they will not be successful.

We should uphold two slogans: "An ultimate victory for the Imperial Forces" and "The completion of our objective". If this war should last for one hundred years, we must stand by these two slogans and thoroughly embrace the Imperial Rescript. We must obey and carry out the Imperial Rescript. Some might say that this is a national crisis. If so, this national crisis is not to be feared. A national crisis of today is not a calamity leading to national ruin but a way pointing to the rise of our nation.

This is how our position as the leader in East-Asia will be established and when our nation will contribute to the new order of the world. The national crisis is not to be feared. The relaxation of the people's mind is the only thing which needs to be feared. I repeat that our only slogan must be "An ultimate victory for the Imperial Forces" and "The completion of our objective".

TOKYOCHI Chastisea Anglo-U.S. Intrigue

TOKUTOMI Chastises Anglo-U.S. Intrigues

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TOKUTOMI CHASTISES ANGLO-U.S. INTRIGUES

Cites Post Designs That Impeded Japan's
Progress From 1904-1941 at
Lecture Meeting

"The War of Greater East Asia is not a war caused by temporary sentiment, nor is it one to end in sentiment. Why had we to fight? The answer is simple. The present war is not for merely beating the United States and Great Britain, but those enemy nations have to be thoroughly destroyed.

"In the present war, I had three big surprises. The first is the glorious Japanese victory far greater than any expectation. In the Battles of Hawaii and the Malay Coast, the Japanese Navy gained an unprecedented victory, and we sincerely desire to express our appreciation and respect to our forces. The second surprise is the miserable defeat the United States sustained. If President Roosevelt had only conceded to our wishes, the present war would never have happened. I may add Heaven has been kind to Japan to enable her to win the great victory. The third surprise is how they had persisted in committing wilful acts. I will cite a few examples. They insisted that Japan should withdraw her troops from China and French Indo-China. They refused to recognize the Nanking Government and turned right around by aiding Chungking. They demanded that the Tripartite Alliance be abolished. Thus oppressed, Japan had to rise and fight the Anglo-American bloc; however, war could have been averted if they only had sense. As you know, Japan has been in a gloom these two or three years, but once we received the gracious Imperial Message declaring war against the United States and Great Britain, we felt the time had come at last. Therefore, we must unite as one and smash the United States and the British Empire, who are the enemies of the whole world.

"It is racial discrimination that we must rectify in the world. Fortunately, Chancellor Adolf Hitler is fully recognizing Japan, and Premier Benito Mussolini of Italy is a type of statesman who considers it an honor to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Japanese. Some 60 years ago, I read a book in which was written that the Colored race exists for the White race. But none objected to the statement. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, that eminent Chinese scholar, said that the Russo-Japanese War opened a way for the Asiatic races to gain self consciousness and his great Asia principle was also due to the Russo-Japanese War.

U.S. INTRIGUES IN THE PAST

"But since the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, the United States watched for a chance to humiliate and destroy Japan and commenced to plot even while Japan and Russia were still in a row. This is substantiated by the fact that she tried to purchase the South Manchurian Railway,

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or attempted to make it neutral, or to build a new railway line parallel to it, or to evict Japan out of Manchuria and the Pacific. Yet in spite of all these scheming acts, Japan had always regarded the United States as a friend, while the latter treated us as her enemy. This attitude continued up to the beginning of the present month and we lost our patience. America is the real originator of the yellow peril fear.

"Everyone knows the United States made every effort to nullify the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Great Britain wished to be in good favor with the United States, while on the other hand, she did not desire to hurt Japan's feelings. She was in a quandry. However, just at that time it was the present British Premier Winston Churchill who insisted that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance be abolished. You will recall the Washington Conference was held in 1922-23 but to the Japanese it is a conference that can never be forgotten. Here again, the United States and Great Britain collaborated on this intrigue. By the result of that conference, the United States brought down the British naval strength to the level of her own, while drastically reduced the Japanese naval strength to the ratio of 5-5-3; subsequently, caused the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and also attempted to drive Japan out of East Asia by concluding the Nine-Power Treaty. But when that conference is viewed today, it may be said it was the first chapter of the history of Japan's progress and also the first chapter of the history of the downfall of the British Empire.

INSULTED JAPANESE RACE

"At the time of the great earthquake, the United States sent us various supplies, but in the following years she promulgated the new immigration law by legally closing the country to Japanese immigrants. Ambassador Masanao Hanihara to the United States at that time then wrote a letter to the President of the United States and said that the situation would lead to 'grave consequences' if it was not rectified but the American Government asked the Ambassador what was meant by 'grave consequences', and needless to say, that incident later closed the official career of Mr. Hanihara. At that time, a certain American said that if the Japanese inflicted upon the Americans the same insult as given by the Americans to the Japanese, the anger of America would be two-fold. Thus, the channel for the Japanese to develop was closed everywhere and they were obliged to open the way themselves. As a gesture to block our existence, I may mention the United States sent troops to Siberia for preventing our nationals from settling there.

"I have most sincerely advised Americans to reshape their policy and have tried to do so even by publishing my books in the United States. When the Japanese-American relation became restrained, I met American Ambassador Joseph C. Grew, through the introduction of Admiral Isamu Takeshita, my friend. I conveyed to his Excellency the sentiment of the Japanese through an American Interpreter. Soon afterward Ambassador Grew

returned home and I thought that when he went to Washington, the attitude of the State Department authorities would change.

"But when the Ambassador returned to Tokyo, he delivered an address at the Imperial Hotel on October 19, 1939 which the Japanese people can never interpret. Fortunately, I was not present there but among the Japanese in the audience there were some who applauded the speech and shook hands with him. Ambassador Grew became anti-Japanese because he returned to Washington. Since then, I have severed all relation with the United States, whatever attitude others might have taken.

"Thus, Japan is now forced to a position where she has to fight for her life and destiny. Because China attempted to oppress Japan with the strength borrowed from Western countries, the progress of East Asia was delayed 50 years and 350,000,000 Indians were oppressed by less than 100,000 British. And some of the Indians are now fighting against the Japanese forces in Malaya. Such is really regrettable for the peace and salvation of East Asia.

"After all, the United States and Great Britain could not understand Japan. Thus, Japan had to finally rise. The Japanese people regard it a great honor to offer their lives for the sake of the Imperial Family. I would like to say in concluding that every one of the 100 million people of Japan is a hero."

Source: Japan Times & Advertiser, 20 December 1941.

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KOA NO TAIGI and KOKOKU HISSHO RON - Books Banned

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS BANNED FROM PUBLIC

15 February 1946

KOA NO TAIGI

(The Cause of Justice and Humanity in East Asia), by TOKUTOMI Iichiro. Published by Meiji Shoin, 25 September 1942.

"The Cause of Justice and Humanity in East Asia" exclaims that Britain and America are the greatest tyrants and enemies of the world, and that Japan, as a means of self-defense and as the protector, and leader of East Asia, was compelled to wage war against these two countries.

The mission of Japan, the author proclaims, is to establish order, security, welfare, and happiness in East Asia. In doing so, he considers power and virtue as the greatest force: power to expel the Anglo-Saxons from Asia, and virtue to maintain peace and harmony among the Asiatics.

The role of the Emperor is discussed from a purely sentimental and nationalistic point of view.

This book expounds nationalistic and anti-Anglo-Saxon theories to the utmost.

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KOKOKU HISSHO RON

(Theory of Certain Victory for the Imperial Country), by TOKUTOMI Iichiro. Published by Meiji Shoin, 28 February 1944.

"Theory of Certain Victory for the Imperial Country" is basically war propaganda; emphasizing nationalistic, anti-American and anti-British sentiments.

America is severely criticized for enforcing the Embargo Act against Japan, contending that she attempted to control Japan to suit her own aims. Consequently, Japan faced the challenge by resorting to arms against the Anglo-Saxon countries as a means of self-defense.

Britain, too, is criticized for imposing her undue authority upon India, and for denouncing the Japanese-British

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Alliance. Britain and America intend to invade China by using Japan as a stepping stone, but, unfortunately, discovered Japan to be a keen competitor.

This book reassures the people that the YAMATO spirit is the intangible power that the western countries fail to evaluate; and it is this spirit that will greatly determine the victory for Japan.

Revolution of Japan's Army for People, Government
Officials and the Army

Prevention of Discord Among the People, Government
Officials and the Army

Article Digest

PREVENTION OF DISCORD AMONG THE PEOPLE
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE ARMY

By TOKUTOMI Iichiro. Published in the Asahi Newspaper, 12 July 1945.

It is imperative that great care be exercised regarding this matter. First, there is discord between the Army and the government officials. Secondly, discord between the people and the Army and thirdly, discord between the government officials and the people. Precedents of this existed in Italy and more recently in Germany. Although considerable effort was made to avoid such a situation, it was finally brought about. We must be most careful. However, if we stick to our guns, the enemy will lose his will to fight. We are fighting for life or death and our enemies are fighting for privileges and profits. If they lose, they merely lose the profits. If we win, we preserve our nation and if we lose, we lose our national entity. As explained above, their and our fundamental concepts of war differ. If our enemies realize that we resist, they will not profit from fighting. Their fighting vigor will diminish and it is certain that eventually they will lose their will to fight. This war is not prosperous for us. It will determine our national fate. It is not a question of whether we become emaciated or fat. It is a question of whether we live or die. This war means as much as that. One hundred million strong, our husbands and fathers will fight under the Imperial Standard of His Highness, the Emperor, and therefore what enemy will dare to come out and fight.

Loyalty of the Senior Statesmen Toward the Emperor

Finally, I should like to say a few words to the cabinet members and the senior statesmen. Statesmen, the sovereign has bestowed upon you many favors. Why have you not returned these favors? We expect you, gentlemen, to fulfill these obligations. I regret that you have not gone before the Emperor on this occasion of extreme emergency and shown your loyalty. Although this situation has been kept secret, we, the people, must know. I am criticizing because we do not know what you senior statesmen have done besides meet at the Prime Minister's residence.

Mr. Prime Minister Be Politically Courageous

I have something to say about Prime Minister SUZUKI.

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SUZUKI is steadily glowing brighter. "Nagoya's fame is due solely to the castle but unfortunately there is no castle" is proverbial and, needless to say, the cabinet's fame rests on the prime minister. Why is it that when we take a step forward now, we also take a step backward? It is not necessary for the prime minister to hide his individualistic spirit (bravery), nor is praise necessary. Why does the prime minister not exhibit fearlessness in his political actions? My second point is the utter folly of all this useless talk. It is said that immediate action no matter how bad, is better than delayed action well prepared. This statement most certainly applies to the present situation. While we confer, discuss and talk, we give the enemy precious free time. Why have we let the enemy get this close to our homeland? Why is it impossible to obtain the eternal truth, while our very eyelashes are being singed? So long as the people realize that a national crisis exists, there is no doubt that we shall gain victory if we follow the course I have outlined. The question is simple: Whether or not we take the road to victory.

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DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI

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DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI
(Great Japan Rise Asia League)

The DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI was established on 6 July 1941 as a league of 61 societies interested in one way or another in overseas affairs:

<u>Society</u>	<u>Representative</u>
AIKOKUSHA (Love Country Society)	IWATA Ainosuke
AJIA TAIRIKU-KYOKAI (Asiatic Continent Association)	KOMORI Sadahisa
CHUKA MINKOKU HOSEI KENKYUKAI (Central China Republic Law Study Society)	MATSUMOTO Joji
CHUO CHUSAIKI TOHAN (ASAHI) (Central Research Society East Asia Bureau)	OGATA Taketora
CHUO MANMO KYOKAI (Central Manchuria-Mongolia Association)	HATTA Yoshiaki
DAI AJIA KYOKAI (Great Asia Association)	MATSUI Iwane
DAI NIPPON DOSHIKI (Great Japan League)	MATSUMOTO Noriaki
DAI NIPPON KAIKYO KYOKAI (Great Japan Mohammedan Association)	HAYASHI Senjuro
DAI NIPPON KEIZAI RENMEI (Great Japan Economics League)	ICHIJO Sanetaka
DAI TOA KAITAKU KOCYOSHA KYOKAI (Great East Asia Exploitation of Industry Association)	GODO Takuo
DAI TOA KENSETSU KOKUMIN UNDO KENKYUKAI (Great East Asia Establishment Peoples Movement Study Society)	TAMAN Kiyoomi
DAI TOA KYOKAI (Great East Asia Association)	KAWASAKI Saburo
DAI TOA SEINENTAI (Great East Asia Youth Corps)	MIKI Suketaka
DAITO BUNKA KYOKAI (Great Eastern Culture Association)	MATSUDAIRA Yoriyoshi
DOJINKAI (Fraternity Society)	MIYAGAWA Yoneji
DOMEI TOA KENKYUKAI (DOMEI News East Asia Study Society)	FURUNO Inosuke
GAKUTO SHISEIKAI (Students Sincerity Association)	NAGATA Hidejiro
KAIKYOKEN KENKYUJO (Mohammedan Affairs Study Institute)	OKUBO Koji
KAIYO SEISAKU KENKYUJO (Ocean Policy Study Institute)	FUJIMORI Seiichiro
KITA SHIN KYOKAI (North China Association)	YOSHIZAWA Kenkichi
KOA KENKYUJO (NIPPON DAIGAKU) (Rise Asia Study Institute)	YAMAOKA Mannosuke
KOA MENKYO RENMEI (Rise Asia Anti-Communist League)	IDA Iwakusu
KOA SEINEN UNDO HONBU (Rise Asia Youth Movement Headquarters)	KODAMA Yoshio

DAI NIPPON KOKA DOMEI (Great
Japan Rise Asia League)

Society

KOKA UNDO DOSHIKAI (Rise Asia Movement League)
KOKURYUJIKAI (Amur Society)
NANPO CHOSOKAI (NACCHI) (Southern Research
Society)
NANYO KYOKAI (South Seas Association)
NANYO SHIBIKAI (South Seas Culture
Association)
NICHIRI CHUO KYOKAI (Japan Manchuria Central
Association)
NICHIRI GAKUIN (Japan Thailand Academy)
NIKKI GAKKAI (Sino-Japanese Education Society)
NIKKI JITSUGYO KYOKAI (Sino-Japanese Industry
Association)
NIPPON INDO SHIN KYOKAI (Japan Indo China
Association)
SEIKYOSHA (Politics and Religion Society)
SEKAI KOMINJI KAI KOENKAI (World Red Buddhist
Cross Society Discourse Society)
SHIBUN KAI (Prose and Poetry Society)
SHINA KENKYU KYOKAI (China Study Association)
SHIN KOKAI (New Rise Asia Society)
TAIHEIYO KYOKAI (Pacific Ocean Association)
TAISAI DOSAIKAI (Relations with China League)
TAIMAN NANO KYOKAI (Formosa Southern
Association)
TOA CHOSOKAI (East Asia Research Society)
TOA DOBUNKAI (East Asia Uni-Cultural Society)
TOA HOSO KYOKAI (East Asia Judicial Association)
TOA KEIZAI KONDENKAI, NIPPON SHIBU (East Asia
Economic Round-Table Society, Tokyo Branch)
TOA KENKYUJO (East Asia Study Institute)
TOA KENSETSU KYOKAI (East Asia Establishment
Association)
TOA KYOKAI (East Asia Association)
TOA MONDO KENKYUKAI (YOMIURI) (East Asia
Problems Study Society)
TOA RENMEI KYOKAI (East Asia League)
TOA SHINCHITSUJO KENKYUKAI (New Order in East
Asia Study Association)
TOA SHINKOKAI (East Asia Progress Society)
TOHO BUNRI GAKUIN (Eastern Culture Academy)
TOHO BUNRI KENKYUJO (Eastern Culture Study
Institute)
TOMAN JI MINZOKU KAIHO DOMEI (Southeast
Asia People's Liberation League)
TOYO FUJIN KYOGIKU KAI (Oriental Women's
Education Society)

Representative

FUJII Kiko
KUZUU Yoshihisa

SAKIMOTO Shumma
H. YASHI Hisajiro

SAKIMOTO Masahara

MIYATA Mitsuo
HAYASHI Senjuro
HOSOKAWA Goryu

KODAMA Kenji

ITO Jiromaru
IRIE Tanenori

MATSUI Nanao
TOKUGAWA Kuniyuki
UCHIDA Katsushi
SAKANISHI Rihachiro
NAGATA Hidejiro
KUZUU Yoshihisa

SAITO Ki
TOKUTOMI Iichiro
ABE Nobuyuki
YAMOKI Mannosuke

GO Seinosuke
KONOE Fumimaro

ENDO Ryusaku
YAMATA Hakudo

TAKAHASHI Yusai
ISHIWARA Kanji

SUZUKI Takeshi
SAKANISHI Rihachiro
TAKI Seiichi

MATSUMOTO Bunzaburo

ADACHI Kenzo

MITSUDA R. Nobuko

DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Great
Japan Rise Asia League)

Society

Representative

TOYO KEIZI KENKYUJO (Oriental Economics Study Institute)	K. SUYA Soichi
TOYO KYOKI (Oriental Association)	MIZUNO Buntaro
TOYO SEISHIN KENKYUKAI (Oriental Spiritual Study Society)	MOROOKI Zon
Y. MATO HOKOKU UNDO HONBU (Y. MATO Save-the Country Movement Headquarters)	SHIMAMOTO Shoichi
ZENRIN KYOKAI (Neighborly Friendship Association)	ICHIJO Sanetaka

The societies were divided into four kinds:

JIGYO DOMEI (Project Groups)
KENKYU DOMEI (Study Groups)
SHISO DOMEI (Doctrinal Groups)
UNDO DOMEI (Movement Groups)

Member societies ranged in type from the notorious KUMURYU KAI (Imur Society) of TOYAMA Mitsuru, and HOKOKU SHI (Love-Country Society) of IWATA Minosuke to study groups like Prince KONOE's TOYO KENKYU JO (East Asia Study Institute) and philanthropic groups such as the DOJIN KAI (Fraternity Society) which has operated hospitals and clinics in Japan, Korea and China since 1902. In order to join the league an individual must obtain the recommendation of two or more members; a society the consent of the majority of the DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI's board of directors. The declared principles of the league were:

1. Abide by the spirit of the national foundation and extend it to all nations of the earth to bring happiness and prosperity to the human race by promotion of peace and civilization under the New Order.
2. Achieve the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by adherence to the joint declaration of Japan, Manchuria and China for economic cooperation and coordination of national defense.
3. Enroll as members those who will abide by the national policy of raising Asia through hardship and difficulty to accomplish the Holy War.

The statement issued at the time of establishment almost simultaneously with the imposition of economic sanctions upon Japan by the ABCD powers set the tone of ideological Japanese nationalism:

"The greatest conflagration since the dawn of history is now sweeping across the entire face of the earth. The lofty ideal of our Emperor to establish a New Order which will allow each nation to enjoy an unfettered existence is the only means whereby the flames may be quenched throughout the world.

D.I NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Great
Japan Rise Asia League)

"Let us turn our eyes to the history of Asia, where we find that the European races have encroached by a series of invasions and where it is our profound mission to eliminate the dominion of those European powers and to establish a new and just co-prosperity sphere blessed by the righteousness of our Gods and the historic accomplishments of our nation.

"Five costly years have elapsed since the outbreak of the China conflict. When we consider the precious life-blood which has been shed across the continent, when we consider that more than a hundred thousand of our countrymen have lost their lives, we realize that we must achieve prosperity for all men of Asiatic races in order that our compatriots' sacrifice may not have been in vain.

"The magnitude of the task which our country has undertaken calls upon every man to do his part toward fulfilment of the great mission of the Empire. However difficult the task may seem, we may feel confident of success if we unite in duty.

"It is upon this principle that the D.I NIPPON KOA DOMEI has been formed.

"Practically the D.I NIPPON KOA DOMEI was an effort to coordinate the activities of the various societies behind the Imperial Rule Assistance Association."

Since the original rules of the organization provided that the president of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association be chairman of the league, Prince KONOME held the post until he was superseded by TOJO Hideki at the time of the cabinet change in October 1941. In March 1942 the rules were changed to allow appointment of the chairman by the president of the I.R.A.A. TOJO forthwith appointed H. Y. SHI Senjuro to the job.

Operationally, the league headquarters was divided into nine bureaus:

SOMU KYOKU (General Affairs Bureau)
SHISO KYOKU (Doctrinal Bureau)
KIKAKU KYOKU (Planning Bureau)
RENSEI KYOKU (Training Bureau)
D.I ICHI KYOKU (First Bureau)
D.I NI KYOKU (Second Bureau)
D.I SAN KYOKU (Third Bureau)
D.I YON KYOKU (Fourth Bureau)
D.I GO KYOKU (Fifth Bureau)

The intent of the named bureaus is obvious. The numbered bureaus handled research and affairs relative to geographic areas:

1. Japan Proper, Formosa and Korea
2. Manchuria

D.A.I NIPPON KO. DOMEI (Great Japan Rise Asia League)

- 3. North China and Mongolia
- 4. Central China
- 5. The Southern Area

In March 1942 the D.A.I NIPPON KO. DOMEI eliminated by dissolution its doctrinal and movement member-societies, including the D.A.I AJIA KYOKAI (Great Asia Association), D.A.I TO. SEINEN TAI (Great Asia Youth Corps) and the KOKURYU KAI (Amur Society) and on 23 May 1943 the D.A.I NIPPON KO. DOMEI changed its name to KO. SOHOMBU (Rise Asia Headquarters) and moved bodily into the organization of the IR... as a headquarters directly under the supervision of the president, thereby replacing the old KO. KYOKU (Rise Asia Bureau) in IR... headquarters.

Officers of D.A.I NIPPON KO. DOMEI were:

SOS. I KONOYE Fumimaro (July-October 1941)
 TOJO Hideki (October 1941-March 1942)
 H. Y. SHI Senjuro (March 1942-May 1943)

KOMON ANDO Kisaburo
 ARAKI Sadao
 GODO Takuo
 H. T. T. Yoshiaki
 ICHIJO Sanctaka
 HISHIKARI Takashi
 KODAMA Hidco
 KOISO Kuniaki
 MATSUMOTO Joji
 N. G. T. Hidejiro
 OI Narimoto
 TOKUTOMI Iichiro
 TOYAMA Mitsuru
 Y. N. G. M. Heisuke
 YOSHIZAMA Kenkichi

SOMU IIN H. Y. SHI Senjuro, Chairman
 ABE Nobuyuki
 A. D. CHI Kenzo
 HONJO Shigeru
 IIDA Iwakusu
 KUZUU Yoshihisa
 H. TSUI Iwane
 MIZUNO Rentaro
 OKURA Kimochi
 OTA Koza
 S. K. NISHI Rihachiro
 T. K. H. SHI Sankichi
 TSUDA Shizue

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D. I NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Great
Japan Rise Asia League)

SOMU IIN
(cont'd)

YAMAOKI Mannosuke
YOKOYAMA Sukenari

KYOGIKAI GIIN

MIYATA Mitsuo, Chairman
MIKI Bukichi, Vice Chairman
ARAIKE Jtsushi (Ko)
FURUNO Inosuke
H. SONUMI Monzo
H. YASHI Hisajiro
H. Y. SHI Katsura
HORIUCHI Bunshiro
HOSOKAWA Goryu
ICHINOMIYA Fusajiro
IDOGAWA Tatsuzo
IMAI Yoshiyuki (Kako)
ITO Jiromaru
KANDA Masao
KATO Kanji
KATO Tatsuya
KAWADA Shiro
K. YANO Nagatomo
KIKUCHI Takeo
KOBAYASHI Junichiro
KODAMA Kenji
KOJIMA Kazuo
KURACHI Tetsukichi
KURIMOTO Yunosuke
KUSUMOTO Chozaburo
MITSUDA Teisuke
MITSUDA IR. Nobuke
MITSUMOTO Tadao
MITSUSHIMA Hajime
MIYAGAWA Yonaji
MIYAJIMA Daihachi
MIZUNO Baigyo
MURAKAWA Kongo
MURASE Teijiro
M. SU Ko (.kira)
OBIYASHI Kazuyuki
OGAWARA Nagao (Chosai)
OGATA Taketora
OKUBI Nagakage
SHIMMOTO Shoichi
SHIODEN Nobutaka
SHIONOYA Jtsushi
SHIBAKAWA Tomokichi
SOEJIMA Giichi
SUGISAKI Teijiro
SUMIOKA Tomoyoshi

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DAI NIPPON KOA DOMEI (Great
Japan Rise Asia League)

KYOGIKAI GIIN
(cont'd)

SUZUKI Yoshimichi
T. KADA Toyoki
T. NABE Bunchiro
T. NABE Yasunosuke
TOKUGAWA Kuniyuki
TSUKUDA Nobuo
UMEZU Kanbei
UZAWA Somei
WADA Tsuyoshi
YANO Jinichi
YASUKI Masaatsu
Y. TABE Yasukichi
YOSHIGAMI Jisaburo

RIJI

N. GAI Ryutaro, Chairman
ENDO Ryusaku, Vice Chairman
AKAGAMI Byojo
AKIYAMA Akiyoshi
AYAGAWA Takoji
FUJII Shinji
FUJIKIIE Suematsu
FUJIMORI Seichiro
FUJISAWA Chikao
HARA Tamashige
HIJIKATA Seibi
HIROSE Takebumi
HONGO Yoshikazu
IIZUMI Ryoze
IKEDA Hiromu
IRIE Tanenori
ITO Kiyoshi
IWATA Ainosuke
KANAI Kiyoshi
KANEMITSU Kunizo
KANBUCHI Ryosuke
KARASAWA Toshiki
KASUYA Soichi
KAWAHARA Jikichiro
KAWAHARA Shinichiro
KAWASAKI Saburo
KAYANO Kengo
KIMURA Takao
KIYOFUJI Akiko
KODAMA Yoshio
KOMORI Sadahisa
KUNIJIMA Kazuo
M. SUEJINI Tatsunosuke
MITSUE Toyohisa
M. TSUI Nanao

DLI NIPPON KO. DOMEI (Great
Japan Rise Asia League)

RIJI
(cont'd)

M.TSUKI Yoshikatsu
M.TSUMOTO Bunzaburo
M.TSUMOTO Noriaki
M.TSUMOTO Shigoharu
M.TSUMURO Takayoshi
MIKI Suketaka
MIYAZAWA Yutaka
MORITA Sho
MOROOKA Akira (Son)
N.GAYAMA Tadanori
N.KAJIMA Soichi
N.KAMURA Tamoo
N.NONO Yosaku
N.NAKAKI Hisashi
N.NAKATANI Takayo
N.N.SAKI Kanichi
NISHIMORI Hisaki
ODA Hideto
OGAWA Zensaburo
OKANO Ryuichi
OKUBO Koji
OKURA Kunihiko
OYA Genko
OZAKI Keigi
S.ITO Mitsugu
SAKAMOTO Masaharu
S.KAMOTO Toshima
SHIMOJI Genshin
SOS. Tanetsugu
SUGAMARU Yutaka
SUICHI Yoshio
SUIIDA Minoru
SUZUKI Takeshi
TAKAGI Rokuro
T.KAGI Tomigoro
T.KAWASHI Yusai
TAKEI Juro
TAKEI Seiichi
T.MAN Kiyoomi
T.MURA Kosaku
TONITA Kisaku
TOYAMA Hidezo
TSUBURAJI Yoshimatsu
UCHIDA Katsuji
UJITA Naoyoshi
URYU Kisaburo
YAJIMA Yutaka
YAMAGUCHI Hisashi
YANAGIDA Kizo
YATSUGI Kazuo
YAMATA Hakudo
YOSHIDA Seiichi

DAI NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI

D.A.I NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI
(Great Japan Speech and Publication Serve-the-Country Association)

A. Establishment of the Society.

The D.A.I NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Speech and Publication Serve-the-Country Association) was founded as a SHADAN HOJIN (corporate juridical person) in December 1942, one year after the declaration of the Pacific War. The ASAHI SHIMBUN of 24 December 1942 reported that this society, promoted by the Board of Information of the Cabinet, had held its inaugural meeting on the previous day, attended by about 500 members including OKUMURA Kiwao, Vice-Chief of the Board of Information, Lieutenant Colonel SASAKI of the Information Section of the War Ministry, Commander TASHIRO of the Information Section of the Navy Ministry, YANAGI Renichi of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, MIYAKE Yujiro (Setsurei) the writer on philosophy, OGATA Taketora the editor of the ASAHI SHIMBUN, SUGIMORI Kojiro Professor at Waseda University and HASEGAWA Manjiro (Myozukan) the writer and commentator. It was organized to replace the HYORON ZUIHITSUKU KYOKAI (Critics and Essayists Association) founded in 1926, and had a membership of about 1,000 people from all manner of literary, social, bureaucratic and other fields.

The most complete record of the organization is contained in a pamphlet KAIIN MEIHO (Register of Society Members) printed by the association itself in June 1943, which contains the organization's constitution and shows the officers at time of inauguration, the aims of the organization, the officers on 1 May 1943 and the roster of members on 1 May 1943. This can be considered an unusually complete record since the 2 and 3 year terms of officers carried them throughout the life of the society.

B. The Constitution of the Society.

The constitution of the Society reads as follows:

CHAPTER I. General Provisions.

Article I. This organization shall be called the SHADAN HOJIN D.A.I NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Speech and Publication Serve-the-Country Association).

Article II. The office of the organization shall be located in Tokyo. The organization shall set up branches or liaison stations within and outside the Empire whenever necessary. Rules and regulations for branches or liaison stations will be set forth separately.

CHAPTER II. Aims and Undertakings.

Article III. This organization embodies the ideals of the Empire, and in order to complete the Holy War, has been designed for the mutual

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training of its members, for the establishment of a Japanese World Concept, for the clarification of the concepts and principles of the New Order in Greater East Asia and for the coordination of all efforts to promote the internal and external ideas of the Empire.

Article IV. This organization, in order to accomplish the aims outlined in Article III., shall be guided by the JOHO KYOKU (Board of Information) in such undertakings as:

1. The mutual training of its members.
2. Cooperative research with regard to the concepts and principals of a New Order in Greater East Asia.
3. Research and investigation with regard to thought trends inside and outside the Empire.
4. Active proselytizing of the Empire and of the outside world.
5. Training and guidance in public speaking and general publication.
6. Compilation and improvement of propaganda material for internal and external consumption.
7. Coordination of propaganda policies in all parts of Greater East Asia.
8. Liaison with governmental offices concerned and with various other organizations.
9. Any other work which may be deemed necessary for achieving the aims of the organization.

This organization will ask the advice of the government with regard to its work when necessary.

CHAPTER III. Membership.

Article V. This organization shall have the following types of members:

1. SEI KAIIN (Regular members)
2. MEIYO KAIIN (Honorary members)
3. SANJO KAIIN (Patron members)

Article VI. A regular member shall be any person who shall strive for the achievement of the aims of the organization, and who has been recommended by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and approved by the chairman.

Article VII. An honorary member shall be any reputable patriotic speaker or writer recommended by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and approved by the chairman.

Article VIII. A patron member shall be one who sympathizes with the aims of the organization, who will help in the work and who has been recommended by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and approved by the Chairman.

Article IX. Regular members shall pay dues as otherwise stated.

Article X. For any person to join this organization as a regular member or to resign from this organization, it shall be necessary to file proper application as specified elsewhere and to receive the approval of the chairman.

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Article XI. Any member of this organization classified under any one of the following categories shall by a ruling of the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) be disqualified by the chairman.

1. Anyone who disgraces the name or integrity of this organization.
2. Anyone who disgraces the honor of being a member.
3. Anyone who causes disturbances or by speech obstructs the attainment of the aims of the organization.
4. Anyone who has unpaid back dues of more than 6 months.

CHAPTER IV. General Meetings.

Article XII. Regular general meetings shall be held once yearly. Extraordinary general meetings will convene when deemed necessary by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) or when requested by a majority of members. It shall be required to post notices at least 10 days before such general meetings are held, stating the purpose, aims, place and date of such meetings.

Article XIII. Regardless of specifications as stated elsewhere in this constitution, the following will be considered at general meetings:

1. Budget and statement of accounts.
2. Activities and business reports.
3. Amendments of the constitution.
4. Proposal for dissolution of the organization.
5. Any other matters deemed necessary by the chairman.

Article XIV. Resolution of the general meeting will be carried by a majority of the members present. In case of a tie on any issue the presiding officer will have the deciding vote. Each member shall have the right to cast one vote. Votes by proxy shall not be recognized. The last two sentences of the above clause shall also apply to issues relative to amendments of the constitution or dissolution of the organization.

Article XV. Resolutions adopted at a general meeting shall not be effective without government authorization.

CHAPTER V. Officers.

Article XVI. This organization shall have the following officers:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. KAI CHO (Chairman) | 1 |
| 2. RIJI (Directors) | Numbers unspecified |
| 3. KANJI (Inspectors) | 5 or less |

Article XVII. The Chairman shall be recommended by the President of the Board of Information (JOHO KYOKU SOSAI). As director, the chairman shall represent this organization and guide its activities. The chairman shall call and preside over general meetings, (RIJI KAI) Directors Meetings and HYOGIIN KAI (Consultants Meetings).

Article XVIII. The chairman shall select the RIJI (Directors) and KANJI (Inspectors) from the membership.

Article XIX. The chairman shall select one SEMMU RIJI (Managing Director) and three JOMU RIJI (Standing Directors).

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Article XX. The SEMMU RIJI (Managing Director) shall assist the chairman in guiding the organization's activities and shall preside at meetings in the absence of the chairman. The SEMMU RIJI (Managing Director) will act in the capacity of JIMU KYOKU CHO (Chief of the Business Bureau).

Article XXI. The JOMU RIJI (Standing Directors) shall help the SEMMU RIJI (Managing Director) in the management of the organization's business and may represent the SEMMU RIJI in his absence. The JOMU RIJI (Standing Directors) will act in the capacity of BUCHO (Section Chiefs) of various operational departments.

Article XXII. Officers' terms shall be three years, after which they may be re-elected. In case RIJI (Directors) or KANJI (Inspectors) are appointed to fill vacancies, their terms will be for the remainder of the terms of the men whom they replace.

Article XXIII. The sanction of the chief of the JOHO KYOKU (Board of Information) must be obtained for the appointment or retirement of RIJI (Directors) or KANJI (Inspectors) as well as replacement or resignation of the JIMU KYOKU CHO (Chief of the Business Bureau) or JIMU KYOKU BUCHO (Section Chief of the Business Bureau).

Article XXIV. The RIJI (Directors) shall form a RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and shall decide upon all important business of the organization.

Article XXV. The chairman shall call the RIJI KAI (Directors' Meeting) when necessary. Such meetings shall be convened at the request of three or more RIJI (Directors) or of a KANJI (Inspector).

Article XXVI. A RIJI KAI (Directors' Meeting) shall be dispersed until 5 or more RIJI (Directors) are present. Resolutions of a RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) shall be carried by a majority vote of those present. In case of a tie the presiding officer will have the deciding vote.

Article XXVII. The following matters shall be taken up at a RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) as well as other specifications as stated elsewhere in this constitution:

1. Matters pertaining to business plans and methods of execution.
2. Matters pertaining to the setting up, changing or closing of branch offices or liaison offices.
3. The appointment of officers or key personnel.
4. Budget and statement of accounts.
5. Administration of the organization's property or any other important business. Any decisions relative to Nos. 2 and 4 preceding must have the sanction of the Chief of the JOHO KYOKU (Board of Information Bureau).

Article XXVIII. KANJI (Inspector) shall undertake the duties stated in article 59 of the Civil Code.

CHAPTER VI. KOMON (Advisors), SANYO RIJI (Councillor-Directors), SANYO (Councillors), HYOGIIN (Consultant), IIN (Committee Member).

Article XXIX. This organization shall have KOMON (Advisors), SANYO

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RIJI (Councillor-Directors), SANYO (Councillors), HYOGIIN (Consultants) and IIN (Committee Members).

Article XXX. KOMON (advisors) shall be chosen from among the officers of various related organizations or reputed scholars after recommended by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and approved by the Chairman. The duty of a KOMON (Advisor) shall be to advise the Chairman with regard to all important business of the organization.

Article XXXI. SANYO RIJI (Councillor-Directors) are appointed from BUCHO (Chiefs of Departments) and KACHO (Chiefs of Sections) of the JOHO KYOKU (Board of Information) by the Chairman. SANYO RIJI (Councillor-Directors) may attend a RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and express their opinions.

Article XXXII. SANYO (Councillors) are selected from officials of related government offices and officers of related organizations, after recommended by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and approved by the Chairman. SANYO (Councillors) are consulted with regard to important organizational business.

Article XXXIII. HYOGIIN (Consultants) are selected from the members by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) after approved by the Chairman. HYOGIIN (Consultants) shall form a HYOGIIN KAI (Consultants Meeting) to investigate questionnaires.

Article XXXIV. The terms of SANYO (Councillors) and HYOGIIN (Consultants) shall be two years, but they may be re-elected. In case of appointments to fill vacancies, their terms will be for the remainder of the terms of the men whom they replace.

Article XXXV. In case of appointments of SANYO RIJI (Councillor-Directors) or SANYO (Councillors) by reason of their official positions, their terms shall be duration of their official appointments.

Article XXXVI. IIN (Committee Members) shall be chosen from the officers and members of this organization, officials of related government offices and men of reputed scholarship, after recommended by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and approved by the Chairman. Formation, organization and duties of IIN KAI (Committee Meetings) shall be decided by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) when necessary.

CHAPTER VII. Employees.

Article XXXVII. The organization shall have KYOKU CHO (Bureau Chiefs) BUCHO (Section Chiefs) SHUJI (Superintendent) SHOKI (Secretary) and other SHOKUIN (Employees).

CHAPTER VIII. Property and accounts.

Article XXXVIII. The property of this organization will be derived from dues, donations, subsidies and other income.

Article XXXIX. The accounting period of this organization will begin on 1 April of every year and end on 31 March of the following year.

Article XL. The disposal of the property of this organization in case of dissolution of the organization shall be decided according to

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decisions of a general meeting.

CHAPTER IX. Appendix.

Article XLI. The necessary details relative to the execution of this Constitution shall be decided by the RIJI KAI (Directors Meeting) and sanctioned by the JOHO KYOKU SOSAI (Chief of the Board of Information).

Article XLII. Officers at the inauguration of this organization are as follows:

KAICHO (Chairman): TOKUTOMI Iichiro
SEMMU RIJI (Managing Director): KANOKOGI Kazunobu
JOMU RIJI (Standing Directors): IZAWA Hiromu
NOMURA Shigeomi
TSUKUI Tatsuo

RIJI (Directors): AKIYAMA Kenzo OKUMA Nobuyuki
FUJITA Tokutaro ONO Seiichiro
FURUKAWA Takeshi OSAKA Seiken
HANAMI Ttsuji OSHIMA Yutaka
HASHIZUME Akio SAITO Kiyoshi
HOZUMI Shichiro SAITO Ko
ICHIKAWA Fusae SAITO Tadashi
INAHARA Katsuji SATO Michitsugu
KADA Tetsuji SHIMIZU Masamichi
KOMAKI Saneshige TAKAYAMA Iwao
NAKANO Tomio TOMIZUKA Kiyoshi
OGUSHI Toyoo YAMAZAKI Seijun

KANJI (Inspectors): FUNADA Chu
MORISITA Kunio
SUMITA Shoichi

C. Officials of the Society

Consolidation of the list of the officials at time of establishment of the Society in December 1942 and the list of officials on 1 May 1943 shows that the officials throughout the life of the society were:

KAICHO (Chairman):	TOKUTOMI Iichiro	Dec 1942
KOMON (Advisors):	ABE Genki	May 1943
	CHIKUSHI Kumashichi	May 1943
	HASEGAWA Manjiro	May 1943
	IMAIZUMI Teisuke	May 1943
	INOUE Tetsujiro	May 1943
	KAKEHI Katsuhiko	May 1943
	KUMAKI Genyoku	May 1943
	MATSUI Iwane	May 1943
	MIYAKE Yujiro	May 1943
	NISHI Shinichiro	May 1943
	OKAWA Shumei	May 1943
	OKUMURA Kiwao	May 1943
	OTANI Kozui	May 1943
	SAKURA Soichi	May 1943

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KOMON (Advisors):	SASAKI Yukitada	May 1943
	SHIRATORI Toshio	May 1943
	SUETSUGU Nobumasa	May 1943
	SUGIMORI Kojiro	May 1943
	TANAKA Kokichi	May 1943
	YAMADA Takao	May 1943
SEMMU RIJI (Managing Director):	KANOKOGI Kazunobu	Dec 1942
JOMU RIJI (Standing Directors):	IZAMA Hiromu	Dec 1942
	NOMURA Shigeomi	Dec 1942
	SAITO Tadashi	Aug 1943
	TSUKUI Tatsuo	Dec 1942
RIJI (Directors):	AKIYAMA Kenzo	Dec 1942
	FUJITA Tokutaro	Dec 1942
	FURUKAWA Takeshi	Dec 1942
	HASHIZUME Akio	Dec 1942
	HOZUMI Shichiro	Dec 1942
	ICHIKAWA Fusae	Dec 1942
	INNHARA Katsuji	Dec 1942
	ITO Choji	May 1943
	KADA Tetsuji	Dec 1942
	KOMAKI Saneshige	Dec 1942
	KOSAKA Seiken	Dec 1942
	KURAUCHI Kazuta	May 1943
	NAKANO Tomio	Dec 1942
	OGUSHI Toyoo	Dec 1942
	OKUMA Nobuyuki	Dec 1942
	ONO Seiichiro	Dec 1942
	OSHIMA Yutaka	Dec 1942
	SAITO Kiyoshi	Dec 1942
	SAITO Ko	Dec 1942
	SAITO Tadashi	Dec 1942
	SATO Michitsugu	Dec 1942
	SHIMMEI Masamichi	Dec 1942
	SOSA Tanetsugu	Dec 1942
TAKAHASHI Seijun	Dec 1942	
TAKAYAMA Iwao	Dec 1942	
TOMIZUKA Kiyoshi	Dec 1942	
TSUKUI Tatsuo	Aug 1943	
YAMAZAKI Seijun	Dec 1942	
SANYO RIJI (Councillor-Directors):	HASHIMOTO Masazane	May 1943
	HAYASHI Kaoru	May 1943
	HORI Koichi	May 1943
	INOUE Shiro	May 1943
	MIYAMOTO Yoshio	May 1943
	MIZUTANI Shiro	May 1943

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SANYO RIJI (Councillor-Directors):	MURATA Goro	May 1943
	MUTO Tomio	May 1943
	TAKEMOTO Magoichi	May 1943
KANJI (Inspectors):	FUNADA Chu	Dec 1942
	SUMIDA Shoichi	Dec 1942
	MORISHITA Kunio	Dec 1942
SANYO KAIIN (Patron Members):	AKAO Yoshio	May 1943
	ISHIBASHI Tanzan	May 1943
	ISHIKAWA Takemi	May 1943
	ISHIYAMA Kenkichi	May 1943
	MASUDA Giichi	May 1943
	MURAYAMA Chokyo	May 1943
	NOMI Shoichi	May 1943
	OHASHI Shinichi	May 1943
	SHIMONAKA Yusaku	May 1943
	SHIMONAKA Yasaburo	May 1943
	SHORIKI Matsutaro	May 1943
	TAKISHI Shingoro	May 1943
	YAMAMOTO Sanehiko	May 1943
SANYO (Councillors):	ABE Kenichi	May 1943
	AKIYAMA Katsureku	May 1943
	AKAMATSU Katsumaro	May 1943
	ASAHIN Sakutaro	May 1943
	AZUMA Sueniko	May 1943
	HASHIMOTO Kingoro	May 1943
	HAYASHI Kazuo	May 1943
	HIGASHIUCHI Shimpei	May 1943
	HIRAIZUMI Cho	May 1943
	HISATOMI Tatsuo	May 1943
	IKEDA Hiromu	May 1943
	INOBE Shigeo	May 1943
	IPO Masanori	May 1943
	KATO Kanji	May 1943
	KAWADA Retsu	May 1943
	KAWANISHI Jitsuzo	May 1943
	KIDO Motosuke	May 1943
	KIMURA Kinji	May 1943
	KITA Soichiro	May 1943
	KOMURA Shoji	May 1943
	KONO Shozo	May 1943
	KOSAKI Masayasu	May 1943
	KOZUKI Tamotsu	May 1943
	KUME Masao	May 1943
	MATSUMOTO Shigeharu	May 1943
	MATSUNAGA Tai	May 1943
	MINODA Muneyoshi	May 1943

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SANYO (Councillors):	MITSUI Koshi	May 1943
	MIYATA Mitsuo	May 1943
	MIYAZAKI Mitsuo	May 1943
	NAGAOKA Katsuaki	May 1943
	NAKAMITSU Yoshichika	May 1943
	NAKAMURA Sannojo	May 1943
	NAKASHIBA Suezumi	May 1943
	NISHINA Yoshio	May 1943
	OBAMA Toshie	May 1943
	OBATA Churyu	May 1943
	OGATA Taketora	May 1943
	OKAMURA Jiichi	May 1943
	ONO Shunichi	May 1943
	OTA Masataka	May 1943
	SENGE Takatake	May 1943
	SENGE Takanobu	May 1943
	SHIOTEN Nobutaka	May 1943
	SHIOZAWA Genji	May 1943
	TAKEDA Gensaburo	May 1943
	TANABE Tadao	May 1943
TANAKA Kazumaro	May 1943	
TANAKA Nagashige	May 1943	
TOMOEDA Takahiko	May 1943	

HYOGIIN (Consultants):	ABE Kinzo
	ARAKI Shumma
	ASANO Akira
	ASHIZU Nobuhiko
	FUJISAWA Chikae
	FURUSAWA Isojiro
	FURUYA Yoshio
	FURUYA Yoshisada
	HANAMI Tatsuji
	HARADA Minoru
	HIDA Takube
	HIGO Kazuo
	HIRANO Tennoyuke
	HONMA Kenichiro
	ISHIMUR Chuji
	KATO Fumiteru
	KOBAYASHI Goro
	KOJIMA Shigeo
	KONNO Gempachiro
	KONO Tatsuzo
	KUMURA Teshio
	KURODA Satoru
	MEDA Ryuichi
	MASUDA Masao
	MATSUOTO Tokumei
	MIYAMA Iwao

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HYOGIIN (Consultants): MISHIMA Yazuo
MURAI Tojuro
MURAMATSU Hisayoshi
NAGATA Kiyoshi
NAGAYAMA Tadanori
NAKAGAWA Yoichi
NAKAGAWA Yonosuke
NAKAKOJI Akira
NAKAMURA Yoshinosuke
NISHIMIZU Teiji
NISHIMIZU Yahei
NISHIGUCHI Masaru
NIWA Goro
NODO Chusuke
OIGAMI Yasushi
OKUMA Takeo
OTA Yoshio
OTSUKI Ichiro
OZAKI Shiro
SABUSA Shigetomo
SAITO Ryutaro
SAKAGUCHI Saburo
SANO Kazuhiko
SAITO Yoshio
SATSUMI Yuji
SEGAMI Jiro
SHIMADA Haruo
SHIMURU Rikujo
SHIRANE Takayuki
SUGANAMI Saburo
SUGAWARA Heiji
SUGI Yasusaburo
SUGINO Tadao
SUGIYAMA Kenji
SUZUKI Shigetaka
TAKASE Kensuke
TAKEMUCHI Shigeo
TERADA Yakichi
TONEGAWA Toyo
TSUNOOKI Takio
UEHARA Torashige
YANAGIDA Kenjuro
YASUDA Tetsumatsu
YOSHIDA Saburo
YOSHIMURA Tadashi

D. Analysis of the Society's Officers and Personnel.

1. KICHO (Chairman):

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According to Article XVII of the Constitution, the Chairman was recommended by the Chief of the Cabinet Board of Information. TANI Masayuki selected TOKUTOMI Iichiro, veteran 79 year old nationalist in the field of journalism.

2. SEIJI RIJI (Managing Director) and JUMU RIJI (Standing Directors):
According to Article XIX of the Constitution the Managing Director and the Standing Directors were selected by the chairman. TOKUTOMI Iichiro chose as Managing Director the extremely active ultra-nationalist journalist KINOKOGI Kazunobu and as Standing Directors IZUMI Hiromu, NOMURA Shigeomi and TSUKUI Tatsuo who were likewise prolific writers in the field of Nationalism. In May 1943 TSUKUI's place was filled by S. ITO Tadashi, who had published NOMURA's hand-book of Nationalism in 1941.

3. KOUNIN (Advisors):
According to Article XXIX of the Constitution the Advisors were chosen from among the officers of various related organizations or reputed scholars by recommendation of the Directors and approval of the chairman. Consequently this body of 20 men was comprised of a heterogeneous group of prominent officials, newspaper officials, professors and other scholars. Whereas the group included such well-known nationalists as HIRAZUMI Teisuke, MATSUI Iwane, OKADA Shumei, SHIMIZU Toshio and SUETSUGU Nobumasa, it likewise contained such liberals as HASEGAWA Manjiro and SUGIMORI Kejiro. HASEGAWA Manjiro, better known by his pen-name NYOZEKIN (The Easy Going Fellow) has been known as a liberal writer since the days following World War I when he was a member of the editorial staff of the ASAHI. It was because of the writings of NYOZEKIN and his associates that MURAYAMA Ryuei, the paper's president, was tied to a telegraph pole by members of the KOKURYU KAI (Amur River Society). In 1935 he was a member of the YUIBUTSU RON KENKYU KAI (Materialism Study Society) with HIRANO Yoshitaro and others who were regarded by the police as Communist sympathizers. SUGIMORI was a professor at Waseda University well-known for his liberal views.

4. RIJI (Directors):
According to Article XVIII of the Constitution, Directors were selected by the Chairman from among the members. TOKUTOMI selected a varied group of 27 individuals from various walks of the intellectual life of the nation. Whereas the group included such well-known nationalists as HOZUMI Shiichiro, S. ITO Kiyoshi and SOS. Tanetsugu, it likewise included liberals like ICHIKAWA Fusae, the suffragette who had fought for women's rights for 20 years, ONO Seiichiro, professor of law at Tokyo Imperial University, authority on criminal law and author of such books as "Safeguarding of Honor in Criminal Law" and "Development of Japanese Jurisprudence", and SHIMIZU Masamichi, well-known figure in Japanese Christian circles and professor of law at Tohoku Imperial University.

5. SANYO RIJI (Councillor-Directors):
According to Article XXXI of the Constitution, Councillor-

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Directors were appointed by the Chairman from the Department and Section Chiefs of the Cabinet Board of Information. In actual fact, the Chiefs of all departments of the Information Board plus the heads of sections vitally concerned with publicity such as broadcasting and the press became SANYO RIJI.

6. SANJO KAIIN (Patron Members):

According to Article VIII of the Constitution, patron members were people who sympathized with the aims of the organization; who would help in the work and who had been recommended by the Directors Meeting and had been approved by the Chairman. To a man, the individuals recommended and approved were the presidents of the large publishing houses, presidents and chairman of the big newspapers, the most prominent men in their field:

AKAO Yoshio, President of OBUN SHA (Publishing House)
ISHIBASHI Tanzan, President of TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO SHA (Oriental Economist)
ISHIKAWA Takemi, of SHUFU NO TOMO (Housewives' Companion)
ISHIYAMA Kenkichi, Publisher of the "Diamond" (Economic Magazine)
MISUDA Giichi, Publisher of JITSUGYO NO NIHON (Business World of Japan)
MURAMATSU Chokyo, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the ASAHI SHIMBUN (Asahi Newspaper)
NOMURA Shoichi, President of KODAN SHA (Publishing House)
OHLSHI Shinichi, President of HAKUBUN KAN (Publishing House)
SHIMONAKA Yusaku, President of CHUO KORON SHA (Publishing House)
SHIMONAKA Yasaburo, President of HEIBON SHA (Publishing House)
SHORIKI Matsutaro, President of the YOMIURI SHIMBUN (Yomiuri Newspaper)
TAKAISHI Shingoro, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the ASAHI MAINICHI (Osaka Daily)
TAKENAKA Osamu, Director of the YOMIURI SHIMBUN (Yomiuri Newspaper)
YAMAMOTO Sanehiko, President of the KAIZO SHA (Publishing House)

Of this group, the only individual who may be unqualifiedly called a nationalist is SHIMONAKA Yasaburo.

7. SANYO (Councillors):

According to Article XXXII, Councillors were selected from among the officials of related government agencies and officials of related organizations by recommendation of the Directors Meeting and by approval of the Chairman. The individuals selected came from various organizations such as newspapers, press associations, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, societies etc.

8. HYOGIIN (Consultants):

According to Article XXXIII of the Constitution, Consultants were chosen by the Directors Meeting with the approval of the Chairman.

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from among the members of the society. This body of men selected as Consultant apparently because of their ideologies and not because of professional, intellectual or official connections, was the most consistently questionable group in the organization, including in its number such ideological nationalists as FUJISAWA Chikao and FURUYA Yoshisada, such ideological fundamentalists as ASHIZU Nobuhiko and such "direct action" ultra-nationalists as HOMMA Kenichiro of the 7.5 Incident, YASUDA Tetsunosuke of the SHIMPEI TAI Incident, and SHIMURA Rikizo and SUGANAMI Saburo of the 2.26 Incident. 1,000 individuals from various political, official, intellectual and social circles. It is impossible to classify this large group into categories. However, the following list is representative of the many liberals who joined the society because it was either fashionable or necessary to do so in the first and second year of the war:

NAKAYAMA Ichiro, Professor of Economics at Tokyo University of Commerce, at one time associated with the RONDO HA (Labor-Farmer Group) "Professor Group".
GONDA Yasunosuke, Director of the OHARA Social Problems Research Institute.
SUEKAWA Hiroshi, President of RITSUMEI KAN University, once ousted from Kyoto Imperial University for his liberalism.
TERUOKA Yoshito, President of the Institute of Labor Science.
ROYAMA Masamichi, Chief Editor of the CHUO KORON (Central Review).
TOBITA Seiichi, Professor at Tokyo Imperial University.
ISA Hideo, private secretary to OZAKI Yukio.
OGURA Kinnosuke, president of the MINSHU KAGAKUSHA KYOKAI (Association of Democratic Social Science).

F. Publications.

The society's organ, the GENRON HOKOKU (Save the Country by Speech and publication), of which the first issue was published in September 1943 and which lasted through the war, was rapidly patriotic during the first year, with such men as TOKUTOMI Ichiro, TSUKUI Tatsuo, NOMURA Shigeomi, SOSA Tanetsugu, SAITO Kiyoshi and SHIRATORI Toshio among the most consistent contributors. As the war progressed, more general subjects dealing with public welfare and social problems entered the table of contents. In 1945 the paper shortage reduced the magazine to a flimsy pamphlet of 14 or 15 pages. The April 1945 issue contained two articles NISSHIN NICHIRO-DAI TOU SENKA NO GENRON JIN (Sino-Japanese; Russo-Japanese; Commentators during the Great East Asia War), a discussion between TOKUTOMI Ichiro and IZAWA Hiromu and SEISAN SEN ZAKKI (Miscellaneous Notes on the War of Production) by MORIYASU Shinjiro.

G. Activities:

Study of the GENRON HOKOKU Magazine leaves no doubt that the organi-

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zation was very active during the first years of the war, holding frequent meetings of the Directors and the Consultants, sponsoring debates, discussions and committee meetings. TOKUTOMI Iichiro remained a sort of figure-head of the organization except for his contributions to the GENRON HOKOKU, for KUROKOGI Kazunobu or TSUKUI Tatsuo invariably presided at meetings. Attendance at meetings was small. For example the 4th Directors Meeting held on 26 April 1943 was attended by only 13 of the 28 Directors plus 2 of the 3 Inspectors and 5 men from the Board of Information. At the 1st meeting of the SHISO SEN T. ISAKU IIN K.K.I (Thought War Planning Committee) on 25 June 1943 only 31 of the 62 committee members appointed, put in an appearance. A series of lectures, KAIIN KENKYU K.K.I (Member's Study Society) held in June 1943 attracted an attendance of only 32. As time went on meetings were less frequent and attendance smaller.

H. Evaluation:

The D.I NIPPON GENRON HOKOKU K.K.I (Great Japan Speech and Publication Serve-The-Country Association) was a patriotic organization formed a year after the outbreak of the Great East Asia War as a psychological influence in war-time Japanese life. It was an extremely undemocratic institution in that the Chairman, appointed by the Chief of the Cabinet Information Board, selected the Managing Directors, the Standing Directors and the Directors who in turn selected the other officers and members with the Chairman's approval. Indicative of the autocratic control exercised by the Managing Director and the Standing Directors was their concurrent occupancy of other key positions:

KUROKOGI Kazunobu, Managing Director
JINBU KYOKU CHO (Chief of Business Affairs Bureau)
TSUKUI Tatsuo, Standing Director
SOMU KYOKU CHO (Chief of General Affairs Bureau)
IZAWA Hiromu, Standing Director
KIKUKU BU CHO (Chief of Planning Section)
NOMURA Shigeomi, Standing Director
CHOSA BU CHO (Chief of Investigation Section)

It is apparent that the activities of this large, country-wide organization were closely directed by its leaders. It is recommended that association with this organization per se be not considered evidence of militarism, expansionism or ultra-nationalism because the society was semi-official, because the holding of office and membership were contingent upon official, professional social, and intellectual position, because many well-known liberals became members and indeed officers because participation was patriotic and fashionable. It is recommended that officers and members be judged on their individual merits because the nationalists in the group show their colors plainly in their various activities in other fields.