

DEF. DOC. #2486

Exh. No.

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

The Opening Statement in
Defense of ARAKI, Sadao



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THE OPENING Statement in
Defence of ARAKI, Sadao.

If it pleases the Tribunal, we would like to present counter-evidence in refutation of the charges and assertions of the Prosecution against the accused ARAKI.

1. The charges of the Prosecution against ARAKI are as follows:

Together with all the other accused: counts 1 to 17, 27 to 32, 34 and 44.

Together with some other accused: counts 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 33, 35, 45, 46, 47, and 51 to 55.

The Prosecution, however, points out only the following public career of ARAKI:

Minister of War (Dec. 13, 1931 --- Jan. 23, 1934)

Cabinet Councillor (Oct. 15, 1937 --- May 26, 1938)

Minister of Education (May 26, 1938 --- Aug. 30, 1939)

Chairman of National Spiritual Mobilization (Mar. 28, 1939 --- Aug. 30, 1939)

Cabinet Councillor (Dec. 1, 1939 --- Aug. 3, 1940)

Such being the case except for ARAKI's occupation of the above-mentioned positions, the charges against ARAKI for the remaining ^e period must be clearly expressed; on the other hand in this connection the Prosecution only vaguely enumerates counts, against which, we therefore submit, no counter-evidence is necessary, but only a chart that will show at a glance ARAKI's non-involvement with such counts should suffice.

2. Evidence of his non-participation in conspiracy.

The Prosecution asserted that ARAKI participated in conspiracy, propagated aggression and instigated young officers. We will show that ARAKI is not a chauvinist, nor a Fascist, let alone an aggressionist, but a believer in KO DO (the Imperial Way), a genuine Nipponism. And the KO DO that he believed in is a moderate, unbiased course of service, and according to its so Doctrine a public road, through heaven and earth, and an

everlasting path for humanity, which is infallible for all ages and true in all places. He will further prove his ideas are not so superstitious, self-conceited and conservative as to threaten world peace; that he is a pacifist and a humanitarian; that in all his speeches, articles and actions he has been advocating this KODO for world peace, and that these speeches articles and actions have been definitely opposed to the instigation of propaganda and instruction for any aggressive war. As to HAKKO ICHIU we can clearly prove in what sense he used the phrase.

We will prove that he taught the Army to act as the Imperial forces, which meant they should carry out the Imperial virtue of benevolence, and that his motto in training the Army was: "Never be resented by the enemy in victory; be loved by the natives during your garrison."

From his experiences in World War 1, he warned the world that warfare was deteriorating to a brutal combat; that even in an inevitable defensive war he condemned the use of poison gas or bacteria as a crime, and contended that the destructive power of weapons should be limited and that war damage upon women, children and other non-combatants should be avoided at all costs. We will further prove that he did not believe, from his view of KODO, that impending political issues between Japan and such countries as China, the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States should be settled by war; that his past has been a series of struggles against

radicalism; that Japan could not escape from the world-wide confusion around 1930; that Japan was suffering from unusual and devastating circumstances which occurred one after another internally as well as externally; that he devoted himself to solving these incidents and succeeded in settling them all one by one. Fate, however, seems to have forbidden him any further efforts, for on January 1, 1934, after his settlement of the Manchurian Incident, he became seriously ill, partly from his overwork and he resigned from War Ministership. Because of his worry over the miserable destiny Japan was precipitately following, he was obliged to leave the political arena.

That, from his viewpoint of KODO he opposed expansion of operations in the China Incident, as well as the Tripartite Pact for fear lest it should lead to a World war.

All the above will be proved by documentary as well as oral evidence.

3. We will prove that it was because of ARAKI's efforts that the Manchurian Incident and the 1st Shanghai Incident were settled with the least possible damage, thus preventing them from developing into a wholesale disturbance of East Asia.

We will show that the Manchurian Incident had some factors which could have lead to a great international eruption; that the Incident had broken out three months before so that it could not be returned to Status quo ante when ARAKI was appointed Minister of War, and that in Manchuria the movement for undependence had been brewing because of its historical background and had swayed the entire Manchurian population.

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This however, has already been proven, to some extent, in the general phase. We will however show that the measures taken by him since he became War Minister were neither aggressive nor indicative of occupation, but aimed at the protection of Japan's rights and interests and her residents, in accordance with international law and were the realization of a cabinet decision to terminate hostilities at the earliest possible date; that there were two measures to be taken to cease fire, that one was to pacify disturbances by bandits, and to repulse other challenging activities and to conclude a truce and the other was to calm Japan's internal excitement and to make the nation reflect upon herself, and that ARAKI succeeded in realizing these two steps perfectly. Further, that ARAKI was always prudent in dealing with establishment and recognition of Manchukuo; that he fulfilled his duty, respecting the opinions of the Foreign Office authorities and in acting accordance with the Government's principle that he not only made efforts to cease hostilities, and to prevent them from expanding into general disturbances, but that he tried to propose, despite strong opposition and even at the risk of his life, a Far Eastern peace conference with a view to establishing a foundation for peace in the East; that at his resignation on account of illness from overwork, he entrusted the Cabinet with his plan to secure peace. We will establish this fact.

We will further show that as to international relations, he always followed a principle of mutual cooperation; that he opposed a premature

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recognition of Manchukuo; that after the Shanghai Incident he effected evacuation of all the military personnel despite powerful opposition; that he was the last man to agree to withdraw from the League of Nations. When he ^rlearned this to be inevitable, he tried to establish a plan for world peace in cooperation with Great Britain and the United States; that in dealing with military affairs according to the Government's policies, he respected international treaties and never trespassed beyond their limits. We shall also establish this fact to the satisfaction of this tribunal.

Further that he respected the independence of Manchukuo and wished for her, as in her declaration, to be an ideal state as an oasis of stability in East Asia, and that he had no such wild fancy as to consider Manchukuo as a puppet state.

4. We will establish the fact that ARAKI had no connection with the Army since 1936.

We will also prove that while ARAKI was Minister of War, the May 15 Incident broke out; in which not even one young army officer participated; that the February 26 Incident, however, was an illegal action undertaken by young officers to the discredit of reverence for ^{The Imperial Army} which ARAKI had always advocated; that ARAKI was much concerned about it, and that though quiet reigned for a time, after ARAKI's resignation of the post, they

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disliked ARAKI's sound and moderate ideas, and at the time of the Incident they refused to see him when Minister of War KAWASHIMA asked them to do so.

We will show that ARAKI and five other generals were obliged to leave actual service assuming moral responsibility for the confusion caused by the incident, as it was the proper and expected thing to do because it should have been incumbent upon any superior officer of the army to have known and prevented it in its inception even though they were unaware of such activities; that as soon as they retired from active service, a system was enforced that a Minister of War should be appointed from the active list, which was aimed particularly at these six generals to deprive them from becoming a Minister of War, at any time in the future.

Witness TANAKA, Ryukichi introduced to the court the so-called KODO group. We will prove that there existed no such party, that such a nomination was not made, nor asserted by ARAKI or his friends, but that some one or another began to call those who were in sympathy with KODOism such as ARAKI, the KODO group. We will further show that those who rejected such KODO spiritualism, as being too unwieldy and considered above everything else

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control or an all mobilization campaign system like that of Germany in World War I were called the Control group. We will establish the fact that almost all of the so-called KODO group were expelled from the Army on the pretext of liquidation after the February 26 Incident, though they had no connection with it.

We will show that the Prosecution has mistaken Gen. ARAKI as a leader of the military clique. We will prove that the world-wide fame of Gen. ARAKI was won 15 years ago by his meritorious service when he had settled perfectly the Manchurian Incident preventing it from affecting all East Asia, and we will explain by evidence and the reason why he himself who had been so famous was soon expelled from the Army and Navy even once organized a cabinet.

5. We will establish the fact that though Prince KONOYE asked ARAKI to settle the China Incident, ARAKI could not do so in his capacity of Minister of civil affairs.

We will show that Prince KONOYE recognized the sincere and earnest desire for peace in Gen. ARAKI, and others, who were called the KODO group when the Prince made every effort to have them try to help settle the China

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Incident as they had done with the Manchurian Incident.

We will prove that cabinet councillorship was a system created by Prince KONOYE with the object of settling the Incident with the help of such prudent men as Gen. ARAKI even in his retirement and others and that he made ARAKI together with Messrs. UGAKI and IKEDA enter his cabinet after the above-mentioned renovation, as they would be useless to him outside the cabinet.

However we will further show that after his renovation of the cabinet Prince KONOYE hurriedly organized a system of The five Minister conference (Premier, War, Navy, Foreign, and Finance Ministers) which practically nullified his previous plan as Minister of Education, ARAKI had no opportunity whatsoever in this capacity ^{therefore} to make any contributions to settling the Incident even though he was a cabinet member.

We will show also that there was no truth to the fact that Education Minister ARAKI strengthened military training at schools, as he was opposed to expansion of the Incident; that he opposed banishment of some Jewish professors, and that he made an address to American NISEI's (when requested for his advice) to the effect that if there should be any war between Japan and America it was their duty as good citizens to be loyal and faithful to the U.S., and that if it afflicted them morally they should do their best to prevent any such war. We will establish the fact that he opposed elimination of English from school curriculums as it meant isolated self-complacency; that he contended that Japan's cultural agreement should be reached not only with Germany but with the whole world;

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further that for the first time it was Laron Araki who provided for Christianity in the religious association law, and that in this way his deeds were always in opposition to an aggressive war.

we will show by evidence that the NOMONHAN and the CHANG KU FENG Incidents were border issues that broke out at that time, and that as he was Minister of Education he had no connection with them; that ARAKI had deep sympathy with and understanding of the Russian people, but that he was anxious to prevent Bolshevisation by the 3rd Internationale and that notwithstanding he did not make any preparations to promote aggressive action against the Soviet Union.

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We will clearly show that the chairmanship of the National Spiritual Mobilization Committee was only a natural concurrent position of a Minister of Education; that it was a type of spiritual elevation movement, and that the Prosecution has mistaken it for the chairmanship of a deliberation council under the National Mobilization law which was fundamentally different from the former.

6. We will prove that after his retirement from public life ARAKI had no connection with the current problems.

We will show that realizing a Minister of civil affairs was quite futile in solving the incident he retired from any administrative office with his resignation from the HIRANUMA Cabinet.

We will establish the fact that his councillorship in the ABE and the YONAI Cabinets was accepted in consideration of his friendship with both Premiers, in view of their earnest requests; that a cabinet councillor system had become purely nominal by that time, and that the Prosecution has confounded the Cabinet councillor system (established on Oct. 15, 1937) with the cabinet advisory council system (organized in March, 1943); that these offices were created for different objectives, and that the cabinet councillor, someone having been accused on account of his holding this post, was an honorary post, having merely the function privately to state his opinions to the Premier without any official responsibility.

We will prove that at the formation of the YONAI Cabinet Premier YONAI asked ARAKI to be Home Minister to cooperate with him in settling the incident, but that he refused the offer on the ground that he was not

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sufficiently confident in view of the general trend of the time, and that thus he was not in touch with political activities.

We will show by conclusive evidence that at the formation of the 2nd KONOYE Cabinet, Premier KONOYE sent the Chief Cabinet Secretary to ARAKI asking him to be a Cabinet Councillor, that when ARAKI refused it the Premier himself visited him at his residence, that though they hotly discussed the matter for about five hours, ARAKI did not accept even that post, as he was strongly opposed to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the Tripartite Pact, and that from this time their public intercourse was suspended for all time thereafter.

We will present evidence in covering conspiracy, the Manchurian Incident, the China Incident, and ARAKI's activities after his retirement, dealing with the above-mentioned six items in complete and conclusive refutation and denial of all the charges in the Indictment.

OPENING STATEMENT
INDIVIDUAL - ARAKI

83329-100-101

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荒木に関する

冒頭陳述

ローレンス・ジエー・マクマナス

菅原裕

荒木貞夫に關する冒頭陳述

荒木被告に對する檢事の主張及び立證を反駁する爲め茲に反證を提出致したいと存じますが先づ之れを各々の關係項目に取り纏め其の立證の目的を明かにし以て裁判所の助けと致し度いと思ひます

ノ、荒木に對する檢事の公訴は左の通りであります。

全被告と共に訴因一、一七、二七、三二、三四、四四、一部被告と共に訴因一八、一九、二三、二五、二六、三三、三五、四五、四六、四七、五一、五五

然るに荒木の官歴として檢事の特に指摘される處は左記に過ぎません

陸軍大臣 (一九三一、一二、一三、一、一九三四、一、二三)

内閣參議 (一九三七、一〇、一五、一、一九三八、五、二六)

文部大臣 (一九三八、五、二六、一、一九三九、八、三〇)

國家總動員委員長 (一九三九、三、二八—同年八、三〇)

内閣參議 (一九三九、一二、一—一九四〇、八、三)

故に之れ以外の職務若くは時期に於ける荒木の責任を問はんとすれば、特に其理由を明確にされねばなりません。然るに檢事側は唯漠然と訴因に列擧して居るに過ぎませんから此種のものに對しては別段反駁立證することなく單に年表に依つて關係なき事を一目瞭然たらしめ裁判所の御參考に資し度いと存じます。

2. 共同謀議に加入したる事なき立證

○ 檢事は荒木は共同謀議に加入し侵略思想を宣傳し、教育し且、青年將校を煽動したと主張致しました。併し荒木は超國家主義者でもフアツシヨでも又勿論侵略主義者でもなく純正日本主義たる皇道の信奉者であります而して彼の信じたる皇道は自然の法に合致する天地の公道人倫の常徑に基き之を古今に通じて謬らず之を中外に施して悖らない穩健中正なる奉仕主義でありまして何等世界の平和を脅威するような迷信的な目負的な固陋な思想ではありません。彼れは卓越せる見識を有する平和主義者人道主義者であります。彼れの演説も論文も行動も悉く世界平和の爲めの皇道の提唱であつて侵略戦争の宣傳、教育煽動とは凡そ正反對のものであります。

彼は軍隊訓練に於て皇軍たれと教へました。それは仁愛の皇徳を守る軍隊たる様反省せよと云ふ事でありました。「勝つて敵に怨まれず駐つて居民に慕はれよ」と云ふのが彼の軍隊指導の標語でありました。此彼れの教へが如何に行はれたかの一例を彼の旧部下たりし一參謀の太平洋戦に於ける行動等に依つて證明致します。所謂八紘一字の語に就いても彼れが如何なる意味に使用したかを明瞭に立證致します。

○ 彼は第一次世界大戦從軍以來戦争が野獸の鬭争に迄墮落せんとして居ると警告し夙に世界人の反省を促しました。彼れは獨特の戦争觀

を持つて居て已むなき防衛戦争の場合に於てさへも毒瓦斯や細菌の使用を罪惡なりとし又武器の殺傷力を可成制限すべきであるとし且つ婦女子其他非戰鬥員の戦禍を極力防止すべしと主張致しました

○彼は中國、ソ聯、英、米、に對しても政治的問題を戦争に依つて解決する事は皇道主義の立場から常に反對して居りました。

○荒木の過去は興奮者達に對する彼の悲壯なる闘争の記録であります一九三〇年前後の世界的大混亂、大火災の飛火は頻に日本をも侵しました。日本は國內的にも國際的にも續發する大事件に惱まされませんでした。荒木は次々に爆發した是等の思想的背景を持つて大事件を消止める事に全力を捧げました。そうして悉く成功したのであります。が運命は長く彼れの活躍を許さず滿洲事變を解決した彼は疲労も加はり一九三四年一月一日より大病に罹り遂に陸相を辭任致しました。彼は其後の日本の急速に辿り行く悲惨な運命を悲しみ乍ら次第に實際政治より離れて行つたのであります。

○荒木の仁愛を本とする皇道思想は支那事變の軍事行動の擴大に反對致しました。三國同盟も世界戦争に發展する危険ありとして反對致しました。太平洋戦争當時の戦争指導の仕方にも反對致しました。之等は總て證據に依つて明かに致します。

3、滿洲事變及第一次上海事變の禍亂を最小限度に於て終熄せしめ東洋戦亂の導火索を絶つたのは荒木の苦心の結果であつた事を立證致し

ます。

○滿洲事變は其の原因が既に國際的大爆發の發端であり荒木が犬養に懇望されて陸軍大臣に就任した時は勃發三ヶ月後で到底原狀に戻れない狀況にあり又現地滿洲に於ては其の歴史的背景により獨立機運の大勢が既に決して居た時であつた事は一般段階に於て立證された處であります。更に荒木の就任以後執つた處置は侵略とか占領とかではなくして國際法規の常道を踏んで權益の擁護、居留民の保護と共に一刻も速に禍亂を絶とうとする内閣の方針を實行したものであります。

○禍亂を絶つるの道は二つありました。一つは匪賊等の治安擾亂其他挑駁行爲の排撃と停戦他は日本内部の興奮の鎮靜、反省でありました。荒木は此の二つを完全に實行して目的を遂げた事を立證致します。○滿洲國の建國及其承認に當りまして荒木は常に慎重なる態度を取り外務省の意見を尊重し政府の方針に従ひ善處しつゝ本務に従事したのであります。そして唯兵亂終熄への方途に専念努力しまして全般的に大戰亂になるを防止しました。過激に至らんとした。當時の大勢を押へ更に一歩進んで米、英、ソ、支、をも含む東洋平和の基礎を築かんとする大抱負を提げて極東平和會議の提唱を爲さんと努力致しました。併し之に對しては有力なる反對があり又暗殺されんとする危険もありまし

たが、彼は至誠を盡くして努力致しました。そして遂に病を得て辭職するに當つても尙後事を内閣に托して平和の確立に意を注いだ事を立證致します。

○國際關係に於ては常に協調主義を取り滿洲國即時承認意見にも反對し上海事變後の總引揚にも有力なる反對がありました。引揚を斷行致しました。聯盟離脱にも最後迄踏み止るべきを主張し其離脱の已むなきに至つては米、英と協力して世界平和の基礎を定めんと致しました。又政府の方針によりて軍部の事を處理するに當りましても國際條約を尊重して之れが範圍を越ゆることなきに終始した事をも立證致します。

○滿洲國に對しても其獨立を尊重し其宣言の如く理想國家として東亞安定の基礎たる様に念願し滿洲國を傀儡とせんとするが如き妄念のなかつた事も立證致します。

○荒木は一九三六年以來陸軍とは無關係の状態にあつた事を立證致します。

○2、26事件に於て荒木陸相時代5、ノ5事件に一人も參加しなかつた陸軍青年將校が遂に大學して非合法行動に出たことは皇軍を穢すものとして荒木を深く悲しませました。一旦沈靜して居た彼等は荒木が陸軍大臣を去つた爲終に荒木の穩健中正なる思想を忌避して事件の當日も荒木と會見せよとの川島陸相の要望さへ拒絶致したの

であります

○而して荒木等六大將は此事件に依る混亂の道儀的責任者なりとして現役を去るべく餘儀なくされたのであります

其上彼等が現役を去るや否や陸軍大臣現役制が設けられ彼等の陸軍大臣復歸は完全に遮斷されたのであります

田中隆吉證人の證言に依つて法廷に持出された所謂皇道派とは事實左様な黨派があつたのではなく又荒木等が目ら主張した名稱でもありませんが荒木の皇道主義、皇軍意識の思想に共鳴する人達に對して誰れ云ふとなく、斯く呼び始めたのであります之れに對し精神主義を迂遠なりとして前大戰の獨乙流の總力戰体制や統制万能論を主張する人達を統制派と呼ぶに至つたのであります

所謂皇道派と目された人々の大部は此2、2の事件の肅軍の口實で事件に何等の關係を持たないにも拘らず陸軍を去らされたのであります

○檢事は荒木大將を軍閥の巨頭の如く錯覺して居られるようですがゼネラル荒木の世界的名聲は彼が滿洲事變を完全に消し止めて東洋の禍亂を防止した功績を稱へる一五年前のものであります

此世界的名聲の持主が幾何もなく陸軍から締出され唯一同の内閣組織さへして居ない事實が何に基くかを證據に依つて申上げ度いと存じます

近衛公爵は支那事變終結の爲め荒木の再起を促したが文官大臣の力では如何ともすることが出来なかつた事を立證致します

○近衛公爵は荒木大將等所謂皇道派と稱さるゝ人達の實力と眞面目さとを理解する唯一の重臣でありまして公爵は此人達の力に依つて滿洲事變同様、支那事變を終結して貰をうと凡ゆる努力を傾けたのであります

○内閣參議制も近衛公が閑居して居た荒木大將等自重論者を起用して事變終結に資せんが爲に設けられた制度でありましたが閑外に居ては何とも出来ないので内閣を改造して宇垣、池田兩氏と共に彼の入閣を斷行したのであります

○併し近衛公は内閣を改造するや急に五相會議の方式（首、陸、海、外、藏相）を採用したので首相の前記の計畫は事實上無効となり文部大臣たる荒木は折角入閣し乍ら遂に事變終結の爲に寄與する機會に恵まれなかつたのであります

○彼は事變擴大反對論者でありましたが故に彼れの文部大臣中軍事教育を強化したような事實は一つもありません却つて彼が文部大臣としてユダヤ人教授の追放に反對したり、アメリカ第二世遂に日米若し戦はば市民権を得恩恵を受けて居るからアメリカの爲に忠誠を盡くして立派な市民たれ若しそれが感情上苦しいなら日米戦ふ事をき様諸君の全力を盡せと訓話したり、英語廢止論に對し鎖國的獨善を

- 否として反對したり文化協定は日獨間に限らず全世界と締結すべしと主張したりキリスト教を初めて宗教國体法の條文中に奮入れたりして侵略戦争とは正反對の行動を執つて居た事を一々證據に依つて明白に致します
- ノモンハン及張鼓峰事件は此間に起つた國境紛争問題でありまして文部大臣としての荒木は全然關知する所であつたことを證明致します。
- 荒木は元來露西亞民族に多大の理解と親しみを持つて居りすが第三インタールの赤化侵襲に對しては眞面目に其防護を苦慮して居たのでありまして、ソ聯への侵襲などは何の準備をした事もないことを證據により明瞭にします
- 國民精神總動員委員會委員長は文部大臣の職責としての當然の兼務に過ぎませんでした。而して同運動は一種の生活改善運動であつて檢事の誤解せる國家總動員法に基く審議會委員長とは根本的に異なるものであります。以上は總べて證據に依て明瞭に致します
- 隱退後の荒木は全く時局と無關係であつた事を立證致します
- 荒木は文官大臣の事變解決に全然無力なるを覺り平沼内閣辭職後は隱棲して實際政治より遠かつたことを立證致します
- 阿部、米内兩内閣の參議は兩大將と格別懇親であつた爲其懇望を斷り兼ねて受けたのであります。又當時參議制度は有名無實となつ

て居て全くの名目丈に過ぎなかつたのであります

尙検査は内閣参議制度（一九三七、一〇、一五創設）と内閣顧問會議制（一九四三、三創設）とを混同して居られますが兩者は全然其創設の趣旨を異にするものでありまして前者は他に一人の起訴せられて居る者もないように支那事變終結の爲めに設けられ個人的に總理に意見を述べる丈けて何等の職責のない單なる名譽職に過ぎなかつたのであります

○米内内閣成立に當つては米内總理は荒木に内務大臣に就任して事變解決に協力して貰ひ度いと求められました。時局の大勢に顧み自信がないと斷つた位で實質的には政治的關係を絶つて居たのであります

○第二次近衛内閣成立するや近衛總理は内閣書記官長を使者として荒木に内閣参議就任を懇請しました。荒木が之れを固辭します。或るや總理自ら荒木邸を訪問し激論五時間に及んだが眞實會設置問題と三國同盟締結問題に就ては荒木の反對意見堅く遂に参議就任さへも承諾しなかつたのであります。爾來兩名の公的交際も断絶するに至つたのであります。以上は證據を以て立證致します。私達は大体以上の六項目の事項を共同謀議、滿洲事變、支那事變、隱退後の荒木の順序で證據を提出致します。