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INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 2366, 2367, 2368

3 July 1946

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: KOKUMIN SIMBUN of 1941 with extract of talk between Gen. ARAKI and ISABATA, Gen. Sec'y of I.R.A. of 14 Aug 41; map of Soviet Far East and northern MANCHURIA; KONDO, Shigeki's book "Japanese-English-Chinese War" (all material re plans for aggression against Russia)

Date: Original ( ) Copy (x) Language: Japanese

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

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL

Document Division

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL: Russian Division

PERSONS IMPLICATED: ARAKI; ISABATA

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE: Japanese aggression against USSR

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

Doc. No. 2366

Map of Soviet Far East and northern part of MANCHURIA on 1 sheet. MERCATOR Projection 1:30,000,000

Doc. No. 2367

Files of newspaper "KOKUMIN SIMBUN" of 1941 with an extract from talk between Gen. ARAKI and ISABATA, Gen. Sec. of I.R.A. of 14 Aug 41. (Japanese)

Doc. No. 2368

KONDO, Shigeki's book "Japanese-English-Chinese War", published by Research Institute of Chinese Problem, Tokyo, 1939. (Japanese)

Analyst: 2d Lt Blumhagen

Doc. Nos. 2366, 2367, 2368

Exh 667A

Talks Between General ARAKI and ISHIWATA,  
Secretary General of the Imperial Rule  
Assistance Association.

From the "Kokumin Shimbun" of August 14, 1941  
W 17867

Looking back at the Siberian Expedition, I feel that the plans were complete, but it seems there had been considerable regret on account of the failure to make the expected last stroke. There is a proverb, 'History repeats itself,' and I believe this principle is still the same today.

What will happen if we shall be satisfied by merely looking on with folded arms without dispatching troops or doing anything?

Next, we shall deal with the Siberian Expedition. Unqualifiedly, we simply call it the Siberian Expedition, but there were many very complicated circumstances lying in its background. Japan's present ambition to dominate the Continent may fully be said to have germinated in the Siberian Expedition. Unfortunately, however, I feel that, in the execution of this expedition, there had been lacking in contemporary internal situations, the courage and the determination to strive for the calculated ends by deciding on a Cabinet resolution under a firm and resolute policy. With a very complicated and congested environment as its background, it had been very cleverly planned. However, it is exceedingly regretful that we had met with various obstacles which had arisen at home and abroad and that we had been unable to carry this plan to perfection.

The first foundation of the Siberia incident, thus looking from all angles, has been justified as an impartial and proper measure. So at that time if our country had held strict confidence, had not hesitated to carry out a national retaliatory measure to return for the violation of international agreement law under the guarantee of real ability, and had proceeded resolutely for the stability of East Asia, presenting a common front with the countries with goodwill for us, such a movement as the establishment of new order which is also the heaviest task up to the present would have been set about already and made progress. Now I am thinking about it thus and am full of deep emotion.

Doc. No. 2367

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, E. E. DANLY, hereby certify:

1. That I am Chief of the Document Division of the International Prosecution Section, G. H. Q., S. C. A. P., and as such have possession custody and control of original or copies of captured enemy documents obtained by the said section.

2. That Document No. 2367 was delivered to me by the Russian Division of International Prosecution Section as being a file of the Japanese Newspaper "Kokumin Simbun" for 1941 including the issue of 14 August 1941, and such document has been continuously in my custody since such delivery.

9 September 1946

/s/ E. E. Danly

E. E. DANLY

Doc. No. 2367

CERTIFICATE

I, SOKICHI ISFIGURO, Chief of Section II of the Imperial Library do hereby certify the following, viz:-

The book

Title:	"KOKUMIN SHIMBUN" of July and August 1941 (incl. Issue No. 17867 of Aug. 14).
Publisher:	KOKUMIN SHIMBUN SPA
Year of Publication:	1941
No. of Volumes:	One
Book-shelf No.	<u>"Shin"</u> 501

owned by the Imperial Library, was at the request of the International Prosecution Section, Supreme Command of the Allied Powers, loaned out to the said Section on June 12, 1946.

Dated the 28th day of September, 1946.

SOKICHI ISFIGURO  
(sign and seal)

CHARGE OUT SLIP

DATE 9 July

EVIDENTIARY DOC. NO. 2367

TRIAL BRIEF \_\_\_\_\_

EXHIBIT NO. 667-A

BACKGROUND DOC. NO. \_\_\_\_\_

SIGNATURE Gray

ROOM NO. \_\_\_\_\_

國民新報

昭和十六年八月十四日

6667A

荒木大將と石渡事務總長対談

2367

ことの成否の鍵こそは最後の一押し

忘れ得ぬ「シベリヤ出兵」

祿を脱いで

滿洲事案、五・五事案といふわが島、否！世界的非常時局の進の尖端に立居、陸軍大臣荒木大將、荒木の「舉一動よ？島内に於ける事も、寧ろ世界的關心をとりつゝ、晴耕雨讀、第一次近衛内閣及び平沼内閣の文相に送り、味も、果て東大を入れる件で、學園改革に突進した。その是諦か、受ける印象は、狭骨一兵張りの武斷將軍としか思はれぬかも知れない

他方石渡、廿七太郎氏と言へば、益相、書記官長、要員会事務總長など、常に大を帯の台座を賄ふ如何に侃々諤々、融通の利かぬ、高頭群の總元締めと曲解する向きがあるかも知れない、併し幕を通し眺め、其界は往々として、實在と甚だしく懸け為

これゐるものだ、祿を脱ぎ、益を銜んが時の荒木、石談  
両氏に接するものは今更なる余りに人皆味曲豊かなる  
に驚き、惹き付けられるであらう。諧謔があり、諷刺  
が讀み出し相も方々として心接に違ふからしめ、夏の  
短夜を嘆せしめる。人皆荒木、石談の屈託なき、  
自由會談から何を掴まれるかは讀者諸賢の自由に  
委すこととしよう

内田伯と議論

荒木、日支の要處理に當面し悉く出されることは、  
第一次大戦に従軍し、シベリヤ出兵に参加した当時の  
体験がある、如何に立派な抱負、議論にせよ、後はその  
輪廓が出来上つても、最後の一押しが足りぬ時は、仕掛け  
を完遂し得るものでない。ところがこの一押しこそは非常  
な決意を要するもの、成否の鍵となる。今考へて見ると  
シベリヤ出兵など、輪廓は出来たが最後の一押しが  
随分思ふ通りに行かぬが、憾みがあるやうに見える  
られる。歴史は繰返すとらふか。今日その原則は同じであ  
らうと思ふ

私は當時第一線にゐたのよ、よくおぼえてゐるが、當時ロシア  
國內は日支の歐露派兵を希望し、俄に流血の  
語が行はれ日本兵が来援して第一線に戦つてゐるのを  
目撃したのだ、いふにテマサへ飛んたものだ。ところが日本兵  
が来て呉れ、勝利百パーセントだ、近海州は日本に  
割譲するのと、識者皆にさへ話さず交はされた程だ、今日これ

適用されたる問題などいふべきも、世界が変化するからといって右往左往する路が必要は毫もない、確と自分を見詰めて中心を自分に求めざるを得ない。今日の世界的変遷が前進を始むたいは寧ろロシア革命が右の如きである。此変遷の渦中に入つて自身か血みどろに落ちなければそれは取越されざるに決る。そこでどう渦中に入るべきか入るべきかざるかといふことを決定する為には、大局的見地から世界的觀察を誤らざることが必要と云ふべきである。

欧米派兵の万全論は就してその頃私は時の駐露大使内田康哉伯と議論したものであるが、私としては次のやうな見解を執つた。

世界戦争では各國も戦費を消耗し疲弊し切つてゐる、平和會議に於て案出されることは、何れも常識的方法式の範圍を出てはいないといふ風になる、人々の作る方法式は多寡の知れぬものといふことには、つまりないかも知れないが例を子供にたとへて見ると、十八才位の子供が親の遺産を預つて何もしないでゐる。

然らば金は自然に殖えて来る、これに反して商賣で一方圓使つてしまつた更らば一方圓借金したとする、併し苦勞したために利巧となり人間が進歩する。此が三十五になつたら、一体どんなことになるか、それと同じこと、何等の冒險も試みず、従つて危険も何れも、いやや々國民に落ちたら何うなるか、換言すれば、世界各國が死闘を續け、未曾有の試煉を受けつゝある際、わが方のみが火中に粟を拾ふの冒險を

避け、いさすう安逸と奇貨を貪うんとすればその結果は、何うなるか。多分興亡の浮沈の危局に當面して死活的洗禮を受け未曾有の國難突破に生き延びて来たる国民と、その暫くの安逸と僥倖に耽つて右國民とを比較するならば戦後に於いて起ることありべき人類鬪争に於いて、何れがその試煉に堪へ得るや否やは自ら明瞭であらう。斯かる意味で積極的試煉の場中には経験を爲すべしといふ吾々の意見が用ゐられたいは當らない。出兵もしない、何もせて拱手傍觀、奇利に諷是くつめは、何うにもならぬではないか」と言つて暴虎馮河すべしと云ふのではない遣り方には自ら方法もある、といふのが私の持論であつたか。

### 砲兵集團出兵論はどし一駒がったか 種々の悲劇

次に西比利亞出兵だが一概にシベリア出兵と簡單に言ふか。その背後には非常に複雑なる情の動きが伏在してゐる。シベリアの要は今日のわが大陸経路の萌芽が逸早く萌しをみることを物語るに足るものであるが如何せん、當時の國內情勢はこれを遂行するに當り、確固不拔の大方針の下に廟議を決定して、時期の目的に葛藤するだけの勇氣と決断に怠りなく、思ひ残りの疑念があらぬやうな心持がする、異常に錯雜複雑せる環境を背景として、而も非常な巧妙な手段の下に計画されたものがあるが、内外に

発生せる諸種の障害に遭つて有終の美を發揮し得なかつたことは返すくも遺憾である。

要之國政の大経路、大なる業を完遂する爲めには、毅然たる大方針、不動の鉄則に基き明朗にして恥かしからぬ手段、方針を選ばし以て瞭然たる目標方向を指示し以て國是の根幹を表明し、大旗を掲げて毫も憚る処なき態度を必要とすべきことが肝要である。ことは申す迄もよい。當時を追憶すると種々の悲劇劇が思い浮んで来る。

ロシア革命以後、レーニンが単独講和をやつた後のことである。私は欧露より引揚げの途中、吾々の乗つておる列車の機関車を逃亡兵の二團に奪られまくつたのがあつた。そこで停車場で駅長の処へ怒鳴り込んたところロシアの奴は心縮んで真ぐ取返さずかると辯解し、電報を打て先送りにおたその機関車を取戻して来たが、わづくの機関車を攫つておたは逃亡兵の二團でこれを奪還する時一心抵抗を試みたが遂に撃退され、おたの取戻された機関車に掠奪品が満載され、諒員等は且はぬ副産物に賣されおたもだ。

扱て當時極東に於て燃ゆるが如き及共の熱意を以て起ち上つたものにアタマン・セミヨフがある、僅か廿八才の五月軍大尉である、同志廿有五名と共に満洲王國に及共、独立の旗擧げをやつた。彼こそはレーニン政権に対し、公然且実力的抗爭を開始する最初の勇敢者である。

先駆であらう、予衛隊がそのことある、當時聯合軍側は  
 未だ独逸と交戦状態に在りて交戦権を行使しつゝ、  
 あらざるものにて、ロシアの態度は瞭らるゝに單獨不講和の公  
 約を裏切つた責を負はねばならぬ地位に在つたのである、  
 換言すれば独逸と單獨講和を結成したるロシアに対し  
 ては、列強に何れも公然と其の罪を鳴らし、これを責めたる  
 資格を保有してゐたのであるから、單に反共主義標榜と  
 いふ觀点からのみではなく、國際條約違反といふ見地から  
 レーニシ政權に対し當然これを糾弾し得る權利を有して  
 ゐる譯である。

斯かるる情の下に在りてレーニシ政權打倒のイニシアテイ  
 ヴを執つて決然と起るべきセミヨフ政權を援助することは  
 聯合諸國殊に英佛の双を與へて賛成して在りてあ  
 り、進んで日本と協力し、該政權並て武力の確立に援  
 助を乞ふまぬ意圖を示唆し來つたのである。

### 6 公正なる措置

「シベリアの變の正義基礎は斯くして何れの角交  
 あり觀るも公正なる措置として公認化付けられて

ゐ右モのこある、従つて當時若し我方に断乎在る  
 確信を把握し、國際協定違反に酬ゆる當然の報復  
 手段として、実力保障を敢行するべきことに躊躇する  
 ことなく、既に既に好意を宣せつゝある協商諸國と  
 相提携共同戦線を張る、東亞安定の巨歩に邁  
 進しめ右らんには現下の三箇大課題たる東亞新秩  
 序建設の遅効の如き、早ともその緒に就き、拍車  
 されてゐるやういと相心の新に感慨に堪へぬものがある  
 しかし當時の客觀情勢は頗る複雑怪奇を極め、  
 列國亦何れも自國本位の諸種の事情に妨げられ、  
 セミヨーフ一派の反ソ新運動に對して、完全に歩調を  
 一致することを得ず、次いで轉々と蜂起せるホルワト、  
 デル望ル及びユルヤック政權等の反ソ運動續出にも  
 拘らず、共同目的を達成するを得ず、又我國として  
 尙々在る主張の根據を有しなから、最後の一押し  
 の断なく米國に氣兼ねし旗幟鮮明を缺き、遂には  
 千エゴースプログラキア援助と言ふ如き名目の下で共同出  
 兵するに到り、万事の休するに至ることは寔に

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遺憾 この上もなく、現下極楽式微な現象を  
 眺むるに、つげと心れやうと、心も忘れ得られぬ一なるもの  
 である

2367 cert-

證 明 書

余 *DAILY* / *DAILY* / ダンリイハ茲ニ左記ノ如ク證明ス。

記

一、余ハ聯合國最高指揮官總司令部國際檢察部ニ於ケル文警課長ニシテ、且本職ノ任トシテ右檢察部ノ入手ニ係ル接收敵國文警類ノ原文又ハ寫シヲ所持、保管、管理ニ當ルモノナルコト。

二、文警第二三六七號ハ一九四一年ノ昭和十六年ノ八月十四日ノ發刊ヲ含ム日本新聞、一九四一年ノ昭和十六年ノ度「國民新聞」ノ綴トシテ國際檢察部露西亞課ヨリ余ニ手交セラレタルモノニシテ、且ツ手交セラレテ以來引續キ余ガ保管下ニアルコト。

一九四六年ノ昭和二十一年ノ九月九日

*DAILY* / *DAILY* / ダンリイ

證明書

予は帝國圖書館第二部長 石黒宗吉でありしが左  
如く證明致しませう。  
即ち

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一、書名國民新聞 昭和十六年自七月至八月（八月十四日）  
七八六七号を含む）發行所國民新聞社、發行年昭  
和十六年

一冊 函架番号 新501

は、帝國圖書館の所蔵でありしが昭和二十一年八月十  
日聯合軍司令部國際檢察部の要請に基き同檢  
察部に貸出し了りた。

昭和二十一年九月二十八日

石黒宗吉(印)

23673

# 決戦體制へ地方長官會議

## 首相、鐵石の決意披瀝

### 一億の奮起を促す

皇國存亡の運命に直衝し、東條首相は奮然と軍七十七師團を率いて現下の野戦に奮起する。この日、地方長官會議は首相官邸に召集され、決戦體制の段階に突入しつゝある客觀情勢を説き、地方長官の奮起を要する。この日、地方長官會議は首相官邸に召集され、決戦體制の段階に突入しつゝある客觀情勢を説き、地方長官の奮起を要する。この日、地方長官會議は首相官邸に召集され、決戦體制の段階に突入しつゝある客觀情勢を説き、地方長官の奮起を要する。

# 國民に課された試煉

## 今ぞ一丸總進軍の秋

首相訓示内容

百餘年の歴史の上に於てその責任の重きを感じ、今この苦を分ち、一丸として奮起し、決戦體制の段階に突入しつゝある客觀情勢を説き、地方長官の奮起を要する。この日、地方長官會議は首相官邸に召集され、決戦體制の段階に突入しつゝある客觀情勢を説き、地方長官の奮起を要する。

### 國運隆替の岐路に立つ

帝國を襲ふ四境の敵は既に國境の面を突破し、我が國の領土に侵入し、我が國民の生命財產を脅かす。今や正に悠久二千六百年の歴史に於ける最大の試煉に當つて居る。この時、國民は奮然と一丸となり、決戦體制の段階に突入し、我が國の存亡を賭して奮起せよ。

### 地方長官の職責

地方長官は、地方の治安を維持し、國民の生活を安定せしめ、決戦體制の段階に突入し、我が國の存亡を賭して奮起せよ。

地方長官の職責は、地方の治安を維持し、國民の生活を安定せしめ、決戦體制の段階に突入し、我が國の存亡を賭して奮起せよ。

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士氣の昂揚とを圖り、國民をして國體の本義に徹し、聖戰必勝の信念を以て身を挺して興亞の礎石たらんとする殉國の精神と百難不撓の氣魄とを示さしむると共に、舉國一體、軍官民相携へて奮起せよ。忠誠一貫、以て國難突破のため總進軍をなすに任りしめ、地方長官は、地方の治安を維持し、國民の生活を安定せしめ、決戦體制の段階に突入し、我が國の存亡を賭して奮起せよ。

敏速果斷行政處理に當れ。地方長官は、地方の治安を維持し、國民の生活を安定せしめ、決戦體制の段階に突入し、我が國の存亡を賭して奮起せよ。

官紀肅清相共に難局突破。地方長官は、地方の治安を維持し、國民の生活を安定せしめ、決戦體制の段階に突入し、我が國の存亡を賭して奮起せよ。

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YOMIURI

# 燃やせ民族の魂

## 神勅に基くわが國是

院議企木鈴  
院説演裁總

現下の世界は一大戦亂の世の中にある、かくの如き世界の情勢に燃やせわが國の歩むべき道は一貫不動である、世界の情勢が如何に變化してもわが神勅を奉じて打倒せられたところの國は侵略だもせぬ、唯この國を進行しこの國に基き各段の國家の發展を遂げる途上においては現に幾多の困難が存せしに續いてより大なる困難が生ずることを恐るべきである、この困難を突破し國是を完成するために何ともしもわが國防國家體を急進に確立せねばならぬ、國防國家の第一基盤は何として



これは單なるわれくが今日もてる強ではない、勝入二手數百年幾多の試練を経て今日ある現

國民精神である、この國民精神の面においてはわが日本帝國は世界の如何なる國にも劣らざる最優秀なるものを保持してゐると確信

である、われくの血の中には大崩公の血、さらば元寇の國に暴虐元の大兵を奉じし北條時宗の勇斷の血が流れてゐる、明治維新の志士の血が流れてゐる、國防國家體の他の面はこの邊の上立つ物的面である、過去の日本の經濟は鐵血精神からして戦りにも多く外國に依存した體を取つて來つた、國防國家體の物的面は何と申しても國防國家に必要なる物質の體の確立である、その體はなかく富むることではないが不可能ではない、まづ日滿支三國を通じこれに勝取、

或ひは南洋、かういふ面の天然資源を合せて東亞の霸權體を確立すればこゝにはじめて日本は世界に向つてわれくの主張を訴へ新秩序の建設に對する指導力を把握することが可能であると存する

こゝにおいて私はわれくの天孫民族、われくの祖先がこの島にこの國土を築んだその最初の時に思をいたさねばならぬ、この島に來たわれくの祖先は決して裕福な状態においてこの國土を築き上げたのではない、一體今日の世界情勢の機軸は彼等の功利的思想に立つ現狀維持にある、オタリ會議以來世界經濟界は非常な混亂を來してゐる、かゝるが故にも今後さらに續いて世界の混亂が擴大するといふ場合に遂着するならばその罪は不ギリスのチャーナルである、ルーズウエルトである、古來我が正に勝つてゐることとは斷言である、かゝるが故に私は彼等との戦ひにおいて決して棄きざるわが國家の力を信する

われくはわれくの民族の魂を信し、お互が日本人たるの自尊を強化し國體の本義に徹しこの戰局突破に當るならばわが國の前途は常に洋洋として新しき世界秩序における指導力となることを私は確信するのである

讀 夢 新聞

昭和十六年十一月二十六日

これに燃し  
たすを燃り  
ないこの事  
をまことに  
は國民は人  
いかんがれ  
甲に聞き以  
はたしられ  
してにある



PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE  
IN PREPARATION FOR A DECISIVE BATTLE

PREMIER EXPRESSES FIRM DETERMINATION

Urges

DEMANDS THE HUNDRED MILLION  
PEOPLE TO BRACE UP.

In the face of Japan's unprecedented international crisis, the new Tojo Cabinet had previously explicated, through the extraordinary session of the 77th Diet, Japan's steadfast national policy to cope with the present critical international situation, and had demanded the

444  
all-out cooperation of the hundred  
million people.

The Government held a Provincial  
Governors' Conference at the Premier's  
Official Residence from 8:30 a.m.,  
on the 24th, and Tojo, Premier and  
Home Minister, made the following  
speech explaining the objective situation  
which has finally come to the stage  
for preparation for a decisive battle,  
and ~~demanded~~<sup>urged</sup> the Provincial Governors  
to brace up.

Speech of the Prime Minister TŌJŌ made at the gubernatorial Conference on Nov. 24, 1941.

TRANSLATOR Y. MIURA

Gubernatorial Conference to Adjust the System for the Victory.

Prime Minister Express His Firm Resolution Urging the Nation to Arise. Facing the international crisis most terrible in our history, the newly-formed TŌJŌ cabinet <sup>explained</sup> ~~announced~~ through the 77th extraordinary session of the diet, our immovable national policies to meet the urgent international circumstances of today and requested the whole nation to co-operate with the government.

The government held the gubernatorial conference at 8:30 a.m. on the 24th at the prime minister's official residence, and TŌJŌ, the prime minister and the Home Minister, instructed as stated in a separate paragraph, in which he explained objectively the present state <sup>of affair</sup> where we are now rushing towards the stages of the system for final victory and demanded the prefectural governors to do their utmost.

On this day every prefectural governor visited and worshipped at the Meiji Shrine early in the morning and purged one's mind and body. The following sixty person attended the conference at the prime minister's official residence at 8:30 a.m.: they were every prefectural governors of two urban prefectures and forty-three prefectures including both governors of HOKKAIDO, TOZUKA, and of TOKYO, KASAI, and the director of the Formosan Administration Bureau MORIBE, the director of the Korean Financial Bureau MIZUTA, the governor of KEIKIŌ Prefecture MATSUZAWA, the governor of KEISHŪDŌ Prefecture NISHIOKA, the director of Kwantung Administration Bureau MORISHIGE, and both governors, OGAWA of SAHALIEN and KONDO of SOUTH SEA ISLAND and others. Following the announcement of the steadfast resolution made by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister: TŌJŌ at the beginning, the chief of the Military Affairs Bureau MUTŌ reported, representing the army and navy, the progress of battles and expressed the brave resolutions.

of the Imperial army facing the international critical situation, and then the vice-president of the planning board MIYAMOTO explained in detail about the Resource Mobilization and the establishment of the Self-Supporting Zone of East Asia. Finance Minister KAYA made various explanations in regard to the war-time finance, specially demanding the cooperation in the national saving of the prefectural government offices. Then the Minister of Commerce and Industry KISHI went into detail concerning the reorganization of war-time industry, pointing out the problem of the readjustment and unity, which is essential today, of the middle and small merchants and industrialists and emphasized that every prefectural governor has to, in view of the importance of this problem, adjust and unify these merchants on every governor's own responsibility and especially in accordance with the actual condition of every district. The programme of the morning ended with the instruction of the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry INO regarding the security of the rice and the war-time food both home and abroad, and everyone were present at the lunch-party held at the prime minister's official residence at noon under the sponsorship of Prime minister TOJO. At 1.10 p.m. every bureau director and governor including the concurrent Minister of Home Affairs TOJO and the Home Vice-Minister YUZAWA went to the palace all together and was received an audience by the Emperor. Retiring from the Palace, the afternoon's programme was opened and they met together at the council room no. 1 of the Home Ministry at 2 p.m. at which meeting the instructions and discussions concerning the affairs of the ministries of Foreign and Home and the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and then the ministers concerned and the vice-president of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association ANDO made explanations

regarding the matters under their respective jurisdictions, ending the meeting. They attended the dinner party held at the home minister's official residence under the sponsorship of the home minister and thus all the day's programme ended.

#now is the time when the people must unite and face the trial of the big offensive.  
The Import of the Prime Minister's Instruction.

I feel keenly the importance of my responsibility as I was entrusted with the important mission by the Imperial Command to form the cabinet in this serious situation. I wished you to meet here today because we wanted to announce the government's opinion to meet the present grave situation and wished to do our best in overcoming the difficulties together with you. The circumstances around the Empire is, as you know, very serious and she is standing at the crossroads of either rise or fall and we have never seen in the history for over two thousand and six hundred years. I believe strongly and am confident that this is a test given to the whole nation and the people sharing the burden today, can expect extensive developments in one united body, can overcome the difficulties of the times, who are alive in this emergency and are working in this difficult situation, feel our responsibility important and glorious and are deeply moved. The government intends to devote itself to carrying out the schemes <sup>thoroughly</sup> domestic and foreign and overcome the difficulties with a firm resolution and in accordance with the immovable national policies.

As to the important measures in this situation, the government has been trying steadily to realize them and especially as to the urgent measures to meet the present

imminent circumstances the government got the approval of the diet before. The duties and the responsibilities of the governors in the winning and leading of the people's hearts, the stabilization of the people's life, <sup>and various other current affairs</sup> strengthening of the national defenses, <sup>from the standpoint of manifesting</sup> the total power of the country, are becoming more and more serious. Especially, I want to call your attention to the following points: the cardinal points in both passing the crisis and overcoming the difficulties of the times are, I believe to brace up the national spirit and to heighten the national morale, to tell the nation the true meaning of the national policy, to strengthen the sentiment of revering the gods <sup>to</sup> cultivate the spirit of martyrdom and the inflexible mind, <sup>with a firm conviction that we will win this</sup> holy battle and to make a firm combination of the army, the government and the people and with loyalty to overcome the national crisis. I wish you, the prefectural officials who are charged <sup>with</sup> combining the people and the government, to understand well the government's intention, to explain it to the people, to carry out the national policies perfectly and to lead well the public mind, to perceive the people's conditions, to listen to the people's opinions and moreover to advise and co-operate with the government in its measures. Thus, you should <sup>aim to</sup> strengthen the foundation of the whole nation as one body by the hearty understanding and co-operation of both the government and the nation. <sup>With the transition during the critical period,</sup> the government plans to develop continuously without a pause and moreover various new business of administration will be

placed under the jurisdiction of the prefectural governors who are charged with handling this business and it depends upon the management and the efforts of the prefectural governors whether the good results will be obtained or not. You will be requested to take care not to make a mistake by looking at the general situation of the country and discerning the adequate business for the situation and at the same time to try to bring about concord and unity in various <sup>phases of</sup> administration by noticing the tendencies of the people and investigating the actual circumstances of the national life and to carry out the strong and monistic administrations and obtain the actual results. It is needless to say that you have to execute the phases of administration promptly and resolutely and not to miss the chance. I want you to take great care in penetrating the government's policies throughout the country and in obtaining good results by the proper execution of the administration referring to national life. The key of a government is to win national confidence and for that purpose the government itself has to trust the nation. I recommend you to sympathize with the people in their pains and come into contact with them sincerely and kindly and deal with the matter <sup>in a friendly way.</sup> The nation has been suffering from many pains since the incident and I wish you, who handle the administration directly, would attend to your business considering this point in particular at this time when the nation is going to be forced to suffer from many more pains.

In the present situation the official discipline ought, of course, to be strict and especially as the prefectural governors are charged <sup>with the</sup> commanding and leading of many country people & their actions and attitudes will quickly influence the country people. I earnestly hope that you will maintain

the restoration of official discipline at the head of your junior officers, whom you will care for heartily, and will practice the way of the subjects by harmonizing the members of your offices and helping one another.

I want to announce at this opportunity that both the government and the people must not look after only their own interests, <sup>either</sup> of one district or one group.

It is natural for the prefectural officials to stabilize the national life under their jurisdiction and I hope you will contribute to the general situation of the country and go into <sup>the</sup> service of the public completely, in view of the importance of the situation. The empire is facing an unprecedentedly serious situation, but I'm confident we can pass it without fail, if we endeavor with the whole nation united with steadfast resolutions, in one body.

I am the first ~~to be~~ engaged in the management of the state affairs day and night with

an inflexible resolution. Please cooperate with me in coming through this difficult period. I thank you for your everlasting trouble and at the same time hope for more endeavor in the future.

President of the Planning Board SUZUKI's Speech made at the HIBIYA Public Hall  
in October, 1941.

TRANSLATOR Y. MIURA

The present world is thrown in a terrible war. Our way to meet such situation of the world is immovable. However the situation of the world may be changed, the national policy fixed under the Imperial rescript is absolutely steadfast. There are many obstructions now in carrying out the national policies and practising the various administrations based on the said policies and moreover the larger obstructions is continually going to be produced. In order to surmount this obstacle and carry out the national policies, we have to establish the system of a defensive country promptly. The first foundation of the defensive country is the national spirit. I believe firmly that JAPAN has the most superior national spirit in the world. This is not the mere soul we got just today, but that which has been tried for over two thousand years. The blood of Dainankō (i.e. a loyal Samurai) and of the prompt decision of HŪJŪ Tokimune who exterminated the tyrannical soldiers of GEN (i.e. ancient MONGOLIA) at the time of the MONGOLIAN Invasion. <sup>run in our veins.</sup> The blood of the patriots in the MEIJI Restoration runs in our veins, too. I refer to another surface of the system of the country of national defense, <sup>namely</sup> the material surface based upon the spirit. The JAPANESE economy in the past has been in such a system as depended too much upon the foreign countries, even on the process of its prosperity. The material surface of the system of the country of national defense <sup>is to stabilize</sup> the system of the demand and supply of the commodities which are necessary for the country of national defense. It is not easy to make the demand and supply balanced and not impossible at the same time. I think that JAPAN will be able to announce her opinion to the world and to hold the leadership of constructing the new order only when we shall stabilize the system of demand and supply in East Asia by amalgamating

the natural resources in such districts as French India, Siam or South Seas in addition to the combination of three countries, JAPAN, MANCHUKUO and CHINA. Now we have to put in our minds of the time when our ancestors, the race created by the Heavens, cultivated the earth on this island for the first time. Our ancestors who came to this island did not start their management of the country in the sick condition. Today's confusion of the world owes its origination to the maintenance of status quo based on the utilitarian thought. The economic circles of the world has fallen into an utter confusion since the Ottawa conference, and if, therefore, we shall meet the world's confusion to be continually spread, Churchill of England should hold himself responsible for it, and the same should do Roosevelt. It is a iron-bound rules from the ancient time that vice can not triumphs over virtue and then I believe the power of our country will never be exhausted in the fight against them. I believe firmly if we confide in the soul of our race, promote our self-confidence that we are the JAPANESE each other, realize the real meaning of the national polity and devote ourselves to overcoming the difficulties, our country will be greatly promising and become the leaders of the world's order.

Speech of Finance Minister KAYA, made at the HIBIYA Public Hall on 25th Nov.,  
1941.

The government is giving its most earnest efforts <sup>to the carrying out of the</sup> rigorous national policies in view of the present circumstances. In order to carry out these policies, the nation's powers on both sides, the spiritual and the materialistic <sup>must be well organized.</sup> national total power war, that is the reason that the present war is said to be a <sup>national total power war</sup> ~~war~~.  
If one looks at the present economic condition in Japan, ~~judging from the present economic condition of JAPAN, we know the~~ strength of its potential power is amazing. ~~It is a surprising fact that~~ <sup>Whether</sup> anyone in JAPAN who believed

firmly that JAPAN would be able to digest a public loan of twenty-five billion yen and that she could burden herself with a <sup>during the first four years</sup> tax of fifteen billion yen <sup>to be burdened</sup> ~~to be accepted~~ <sup>in the history of the human race</sup> ~~to be accepted~~ <sup>developed and grew up</sup> ~~to be accepted~~ <sup>under the system of</sup> ~~to be accepted~~ <sup>the system of</sup> the free economy, to ~~the~~ planned economy system.

The economic world's index is said originally to <sup>have been</sup> the three elements; prices, interest and foreign exchange quotations, but the present circumstances of our country show neither any reversal in interest nor any fall of <sup>exchange quotations</sup> ~~exchange quotations~~. We now see a considerable <sup>rise</sup> only in the prices, but its rise compared to that in foreign countries is <sup>no problem</sup> ~~no problem~~. The saving among the nation run up to forty billion yen. I

wish to point out this fact that JAPAN has been promoting the national power while engaging in a war, but we can never feel easy when we think of our future. <sup>The necessary things today are that we remind ourselves of how we</sup> ~~It is necessary for us to recognize the toughness of the JAPANESE~~ <sup>can promote the nation's power and recognizing the toughness of Japan's economy, we must</sup> ~~work all the more positively to develop Japan's economy.~~ <sup>work all the more positively to develop Japan's economy.</sup> ~~during the incidents and to endeavor more positively to promote the economy~~ <sup>during the incidents and to endeavor more positively to promote the economy</sup> of our country.

However hard the government may try to carry out the national policies after submitting a budget and a bill, <sup>governments</sup> the national policies will be insignificant unless the people cooperate and carry these policies out.

The mission of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association [Taisei Yokusan Kai] is also, I think, to cooperate with the government for its policies and organize and lead the nation in the execution of <sup>the government's policies.</sup> The first easiest way to cooperate with the national policies is to practice saving. Saving is a war <sup>time</sup> expenditure. I hope you will try hard to attain the figure of seventeen billion yen in savings.

I think the Prime Minister used, if I remember correctly, the following sentence: the empire is now standing at the turning point of her fate.

I also said so several times. JAPAN stands in the center of a historically great project that is to say, the establishment of the Great East Asiatic Interdependence Zone. [Dai Toa Kyoei Ken]. JAPAN will emancipate East Asia from slavery under the white races. JAPAN, stretching out as far as the continent, will give strength <sup>to</sup> MANCHUKUO's growth and awaken CHINA <sup>means of</sup> by the CHINA Incident and furthermore go to French Indo-<sup>China</sup> and to Siam. All this is done in the spirit of HAKKO ICHIU <sup>[i.e. guess it, the thought that the whole world should be united in one body]</sup>. The general people understand that

the forming of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere means the same thing as the "rise" in "rise and fall" (興廢). However, the possibility in the word "fall" also exists as a solemn fact.

<sup>Somehow, the Japanese like conditions to be good. They</sup> ~~Anyone of the JAPANESE ought not to think that we~~ I don't talk too much about "fall," "destruction," and "decline." I don't think ~~can find no loss in the possible failure of the establishment of the East Asiatic Inter-~~ that people of this sort exist in Japan, and there should not be anyone ~~dependence zone and can be back to the domination as that before the~~ who believes that Japan can be the same as always, before the China CHINA Incident, though I hope that instead of war

Incident if Japan cannot set up the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere.  
Even if one person thinks this, it is a great mistake. A very condition such as  
~~Even if there is such a person, his idea is wrong. The present circumstances~~  
this does not exist in the world today.

~~If the world is not optimistic.~~ As I was in CHINA for several years, I have  
thought about the fact that a considerable number of the CHINESE are conscious  
of the necessity of the SINO-JAPANESE coalition because of the CHINA Incident, although  
the obstinate Chiang Kai-shek clique still remains. However, if we fail in the  
satisfactory completion of the incident once and for all, and fail in concluding  
the China Incident, and because of this do not make all the people of  
the CHINA Incident and shall not be able to let them on the whole land of

CHINA understand the true meaning of the construction of the East Asiatic  
new order, what will happen then? I think hostile ideas of Chinese will loom  
up even in North China, which must be the center of the East Asiatic  
Coprosperity Sphere, which is on such close relationships with Japan  
related to JAPAN and ought to be the central region of the East Asiatic

dependence zone. Supposing such a situation came about, the JAPANESE iron-  
manufacture industry would be, exaggeratedly speaking, annihilated when coal  
a raw material used in the iron-works would be used up. In Japan there is  
a limit to the natural resources and the supply from China would  
the country to which resources there is a limit will be intercepted to have a  
supply cut off.

The experienced Chinese would be oppressed by the bad CHINESE, and  
anti-JAPANESE sentiment would burn violently and there would be no longer  
left for the co-operation with JAPAN. If you think this, what would happen to  
which JAPAN has cultivated over ten years? She would be influenced by the bad  
communists and the mistaken ideas of the CHINESE race would be introduced.

I wonder if she would remain the same as she is today? Moreover  
I wish to say, what would happen to Korea. It's necessary for us to  
reflect upon the histories of both of the SINO-JAPANESE and Russo-JAPANESE

wars. Why did the SINO-JAPANESE War break out? ~~The direct motive was~~

~~that the CHINESE intentions to invade KOREA illegally became clear. This~~  
it was not only for Korea's sake, but because it also influenced the existence  
~~be against the KOREAN's interest and at the same time has an influence upon the existence~~  
of Japan. This was the direct motive.

✓ ~~of Japan~~, How about the Russo-Japanese War, Russia took the Liaotung Peninsula  
back from JAPAN in the so-called Triple Intervention and then came to extend

her influence in MANCHURIA. She tried to stretch her hands so far as  
South Manchuria over North Manchuria and furthermore so far as Korea.

Being such the case the independence of Korea was in danger and even the  
Japanese existence would be affected. You must be able to estimate the  
future of Korea when you think of the fates of NORTH CHINA and MANCHUKUO

Taking a wrong step, Japan will turn back to the condition before  
the Sino-Japanese War. She will retreat as far as the island country  
southeast of TSUSHIMA Straits. I, however, dare say that the Territory

of Japan may still be the same and there are no Japanese federate  
state geographically. KOREA is an another country and MANCHURIA  
may be said to be the same, too, but there is a big difference. That is

to say, JAPAN before the SINO-JAPANESE War was flourishing like the  
rising sun. The sun is perhaps shining at an angle of 40 degrees, but  
this angle is one at 8 o'clock in the morning, and JAPAN at the time of her

retreat is similar to the sun at four o'clock in the afternoon, though the latter  
shines still at an angle of 40 degrees. The sun is going to set. There is the  
difference of absoluteness, and the world is advancing both in good and bad

matters. If we surrender to them without correcting this character

of enemy, I can not help seeing JAPAN there seeing by her hands and feet  
and confined to this island country. It may be unnecessary for the people  
to speak of the said fear before company, but you must impress it on  
your minds each other. That is what I mean JAPAN stands on the cross-  
roads of either rise-in or fall-in. I have no need of explaining the  
circumstances <sup>of the time</sup> when we shall be able to tide over this difficulties in co-  
operation with each other. The great JAPAN will be establish as the  
Prime-Minister, the President [of Planning Board] SUZUKI, I and you know.  
Moreover, JAPAN of HAKKO ICHIU [i. e. guess it the thought that the whole world should be  
united in one body]  
which is not JAPAN in a narrow sense and raise the true Imperial  
way.