

voyage in the intense heat of the sun while repelling attacks from enemy submarines and aircraft, we expect to face considerable difficulties. However, if we take a broad view of the situation, the enemy forces are scattered over a wide area and moreover separated by stretches of water, making coordinated action difficult. We, on the other hand, can concentrate our forces, undertake sudden raids, and destroy the enemy piecemeal. Therefore, we are fully confident of success, given close cooperation between the army and the navy. As for operations after we land, we have complete confidence in our victory when we consider the organization, equipment, quality, and strength of the enemy forces.

After the initial stage in our operations has been completed, we will endeavor to shorten greatly the duration of the war, using both political and military strategies, particularly the favorable results from our naval operations. Nevertheless, we must be prepared for the probability that the war will be a protracted one. But since we will seize and hold enemy military and air bases and be able to establish a strategically impregnable position, we think we can frustrate the enemy's plans by one means or another.

We will firmly maintain in general our present posture with respect to defense against the Soviet Union and operations in China while we engage in operations in the South. In this way we will be able to strengthen our invincible position vis-à-vis the North, and there will be no problem in carrying on in China as we have been doing. With regard to China, the favorable results of the operations in the South should particularly contribute to the settlement of the China Incident.

3. On the situation in the North resulting from operations in the South:

The Red Army has suffered massive losses at the hands of the German Army; and there has been a marked decline in the productivity of the Soviet armament industry. In addition, the Red Army in the Far East has sent westward to European Russia forces equal to thirteen infantry divisions, about 1,300 tanks, and at least 1,300 airplanes since last spring. Its war potential, both materially and spiritually, is declining. Consequently, the probability of the Soviet Union taking the offensive, so long as the Guandong Army is firmly entrenched, is very low.

However, it is possible that the United States may put pressure on the Soviet Union to permit America to utilize a part of the Soviet territory in the Far East for air and submarine bases for use in attacking us; and the Soviet Union would not be in a position to reject these American demands. Hence we must anticipate the possibility that we might see some submarines and aircraft in action against us from the North. Consequently, it cannot be assumed that there is no danger of war breaking out between Japan and the Soviet Union as a result of such causes and charges in the situation. Thus our Empire must conclude its operations in the South as quickly as possible, and be prepared to cope with this situation.

4. On the relationship between operations and diplomacy:

Up to now, in accordance with the decision of the Imperial Conference of September 6, we have limited our preparations for operations so that they would not impede diplomatic negotiations. But from now on, given the decision for

war, we will take all possible measures to be ready to use force at the beginning of December. This will have the effect of goading the United States and Great Britain; but we believe that diplomacy, taking advantage of progress in war preparations, should be stepped up. Needless to say, if diplomatic negotiations succeed by midnight of November 30, we will call off the use of force. If they do not succeed by that time, however, we would like to receive the Imperial Assent to start a war in order not to miss our opportunity and thereby to achieve fully the objectives of our operations.

DOCTRINAL BASIS FOR THE WAR

On August 1, 1941, four months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese Ministry of Education issued a booklet entitled The Way of Subjects (Shimmin no Michi) (Document 7), which was assigned as required reading in most universities and secondary schools. Unlike other nationalistic writings, the booklet was systematic and showed Japanese jingoism at its best. It claimed that the traditional character of the country was much impaired by the "influx of European and American culture," which brought the evils of "individualism, liberalism, utilitarianism and materialism." The way of subjects was to return to the Japanese spirit, to guard and maintain the Imperial Throne and to perform services for the state selflessly. To this end the Japanese people were called upon to make sacrifices for the Emperor and to create a national defense state in time of peace as well as in war.

Expansionism was much in evidence. The China Affair was regarded not as a conquest, but as an attempt to rescue China from the control of the West which reduced that country to a state of "quasi colony." And Japan's new order in East Asia was viewed as the manifestation of the Shintō doctrine of Hakkō Ichiu, or of extending the benevolent rule of the emperor.

7 The Way of Subjects (Excerpts), 1941¹²

Preamble

The way of subjects of the Emperor issues from the polity of the Emperor, and is to guard and maintain the Imperial Throne coexistent with the Heavens and the Earth. This is not the sphere of the abstract, but a way of daily practice based on history. The life and activities of the nation are all attuned to the task of giving great firmness to the foundation of the Empire.

In retrospect, this country has been widely seeking knowledge in the world since the Meiji Restoration, thereby fostering and maintaining the prosperity of

¹²Japanese Ministry of Education, *Shimmin no Michi*, translated into English under the title *The Way of Subjects* and published in the *Japan Times Advertiser*, August, 1941.

the state. With the influx of European and American culture into this country, however, individualism, liberalism, utilitarianism, and materialism began to assert themselves, with the result that the traditional character of the country was much impaired and the various habits and customs bequeathed by our ancestors were affected unfavorably.

With the outbreak of the Manchurian Affair and further occurrence of the China Affair, the national spirit started to be elevated gradually, but there is still more or less to be desired in point of understanding the fundamental principle of polity by the people as a whole and their consciousness as subjects of the Emperor. It is to be deeply regretted that, well knowing the dignity of the polity of the Empire, people are likely to be satisfied with making it a mere conception, and fail to let it be manifest in their daily lives.

If this situation is left unremedied, it will be difficult to eradicate the evils of European and American thought that are deeply penetrating various strata of the national life of Japan, and to achieve the unprecedentedly great tasks by establishing a structure of national solidarity of guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial Throne. Herein lies an urgent need of discarding the self-centered and utilitarian ideas and of elevating and practicing the way of the subjects of the Emperor based on state services as the primary requisite.

Part I

An old order that has been placing world humanity under individualism, liberalism, and materialism for several hundred years since the early period of the modern epoch of history is now crumbling. A new order is now in the making amid unprecedented world changes. An outline of the modern history of the world must be looked over to give clearness to the significance of the new world order.

Modern history, in a nutshell, has been marked by the formation of unified nations in Europe and their contests for supremacy in the acquisition of colonies. Early in the modern period of history, the American continent was discovered and, stimulated by this, Europeans vigorously found their way to India and China by sounding the furrows of the oceans. Their march into all parts of the world paved the way for their subsequent world domination politically, economically, and culturally and led them to act freely as they pleased, facing them to believe that they alone were justified in their outrageous behavior. . . .

The industrial development propelled by invention of machines demanded a considerably large amount of materials and the consequent overseas markets for the disposal of manufactured goods. The result was that a severe contest for colonial acquisition and trade competition ensued naturally and that wars of the strong preying on the weak were repeated. The history of wars waged among Spain, Portugal, Holland, Britain, France, and other countries in the modern age, and the rise and fall of their influence, have close connections with their overseas aggression. . . .

. . . The self-destruction in the shape of the World War finally followed. It was only natural that cries were raised even among men of those countries after the war that the Occidental civilization was crumbling. A vigorous movement was started by Britain, France, and the United States to maintain the status quo by all means. Simultaneously, a movement aiming at social revolution through class conflict on the basis of thoroughgoing materialism like communism also was developed with unremitting vigor. On the other hand, Nazism and Fascism arose with great force. The basic theories of these new racial principles and the totalitarianism in Germany and Italy are to remove and improve the evils of individualism and liberalism.

That these principles show great concern for Oriental culture and spirit is a noteworthy fact that suggests the future of the Occidental civilization and the creation of a new culture. Thus the orientation of world history has made the collapse of the world of the old order an assured conclusion. Japan has hereby opened the start for the construction of a new world order based on moral principles.

The Manchurian Affair was a violent outburst of Japanese national life long suppressed. Taking advantage of this, Japan in the glare of all the Powers stepped out for the creation of a world based on moral principles and the construction of a new order. This was a manifestation of the spirit, profound and lofty, embodied in the Empire-founding, and an unavoidable action for its national life and world mission. . . .

Part III

Viewed from the standpoint of world history, the China Affair is a step toward the construction of a world of moral principles by Japan. The building up of a new order for securing lasting peace of the world will be attained by the disposal of the China Affair as a steppingstone. In this regard the China Affair would not and should not end with the mere downfall of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Until the elimination of the veils of European and American influences in East Asia that have led China astray is realized, until Japan's cooperation with New China as one of the links in the chain of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere yields satisfactory results, and East Asia and the rest of the world are united as one on the basis of moral principles, Japan's indefatigable efforts are sorely needed. The objective of the conclusion of the Tripartite Treaty is none other than the restoration of world peace. In this sense, Japan doubly and trebly owed an obligation to the world.

Japan has a political mission to help various regions in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, which are reduced to a state of quasi colony by Europe and America, so as to rescue them from their control. Economically, this country will have to eradicate the evils of their exploitation and then set up an economic structure for coexistence and co-prosperity. Culturally, Japan must strive to fashion East Asiatic nations to change their following of European and American

culture and to develop Oriental culture for the purpose of contributing to the creation of a right world. The Orient has been left to destruction for the past several hundred years. Its rehabilitation is not an easy task. It is natural that unusual difficulties attend the establishment of a new order and the creation of a new culture. The conquest of these difficulties alone will do much to help in establishing a morally controlled world, in which all nations can cooperate and all people can secure their prosper position. The spirit of the founding of the Empire, which has penetrated Japanese history, has served greatly for the orientation of world history since the outbreak of the Manchurian Affair, amply aided by the China Affair. . . .

The development of the situation has made clear the importance of Japan's mission, and this has induced the nation to see that this country is facing an unprecedentedly serious situation, which calls for national solidarity permitting no temporizing mind. . . .

It is an urgent matter for Japan to realize the establishment of a structure of national unanimity in politics, economy, culture, education, and all other realms of national life. Defense is absolutely necessary for national existence. A nation without defense is one that belongs to a visionary world. Whether defense is perfect or not is the scale that measures the nation's existence or ruin. National growth and development can hardly be expected without the perfection of defense.

A concrete objective of the establishment of a new structure is the perfecting of a highly geared and centralized defense state and the strengthening of a total national war framework. . . .

With the change of war from a simple military to a complicated total affair, distinction between wartime and peacetime has not been made clear. When the world was singing peace, a furious warfare was staged behind the scenes in economy, thought, and so on, among nations. Unless a country is systematized even in time of peace, so that the total war of the state and the people is constantly concentrated on the objective of the country, and the highest capacity is displayed, the country is predestined to be defeated before taking to arms. If the state structure is disjointed, and political factions bicker, and economics is left to the ideas of individuals and to free competition, and cultural enterprises, including science, art and others, do not contribute to the state interest, and thought runs against polity and demoralizes the popular spirit, such a state will be a state only in name. . . .

Part IV

The cardinal objective of strengthening the total war organism is solely to help the Imperial Throne, and this can be attained by all the people fulfilling their duty as subjects through their respective standpoints. The Soviet Union has world domination through communism as its objective, and for this that country follows the policy of using compulsory rights through class dictatorship.

Standing on the national principle of blood and soil, Germany aims at de-

stroying the world domination of the Anglo-Saxon race and the prevailing condition of pressure brought to bear upon Germany. She rests on the gravity of her voice for the right of national existence, and for this she has succeeded in achieving thoroughgoing popular confidence in, and obedience to, the dictatorship of the Nazis, and is adopting totalitarianism. Italy's ideals are the restoration of the great Roman Empire, and her policy for realizing them is not different from that of Germany. The country stands on the dictatorial totalitarianism of the Fascists.

In contrast to these, Japan, since the founding of the Empire, has been basking under a benign rule of a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal, and has been growing and developing in an atmosphere of great harmony as a nation, consisting of one large family. However diverse the Empire's structures in politics, economy, culture, military affairs, and others may be, all finally are unified under the Emperor, the center. The country has lived under the Imperial rule and glory.

The ideals of Japan are to manifest to the entire world the spirit of her Empire-founding represented by the principle that "the benevolent rule of the Emperor may be extended so as to embrace the whole world" (*Hakkō Ichiu*). There is virtually no country in the world other than Japan having such a superb and lofty mission bearing world significance. So it can be said that the construction of a new structure and a defense state is all in order that Japan may revive her proper national structure and come back to her original status of national strength and leaving no stone unturned in displaying her total power to the fullest extent. . . .

Part V

The Imperial Family is the fountain source of the Japanese nation, and national and private lives issue from this. . . .

The way of the subjects is to be loyal to the Emperor in disregard of self, thereby supporting the Imperial Throne coextensive with the Heaven and with the Earth. . . .

The way of the Japanese subjects is made clear from the precepts bequeathed by the Imperial ancestors and the brilliant achievements that have embellished the annals of this country. In the course of the Imperial Rescript of Emperor Meiji on Education it is said:

"Our subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty hereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. . . ."

In Japan, filial piety cannot exist singly without its absolute counterpart. It is loyalty. Loyalty is the principle. Filial piety at home must be loyalty. Both are one and inseparable. This is the Japanese characteristic unexcelled by other countries. In Japan, husband and wife do not form the standard of home, as in the Occident, but the relations of parents and sons are its center. It is natural that filial piety is given great prominence. The first prerequisite of filial piety is to

fulfill the duty of subjects of guarding and maintaining the Imperial Throne in observance of the bequeathed will of their ancestors. This is the essence of filial piety. . . .

The great duty of the Japanese people to guard and maintain the Imperial Throne has lasted to the present since the Empire founding and will last forever and ever. To serve the Emperor is its key point. Our lives will become sincere and true when they are offered to the Emperor and the state. Our own private life is fulfillment of the way of the subjects; in other words, it is not private, but public, insofar as it is held by the subjects supporting the Throne. . . .

The China Affair is a bold task for Japan to propagate the ideals of the Empire founding throughout East Asia and the world over. . . . In order that Japan may be able to obtain her mission and establish a new order, it is natural that the country must be prepared to meet with many difficulties and obstructions in the future. This is the very moment that the Japanese nation should thoroughly understand the fundamental character of the Empire, eliminate selfish and utilitarian ideas, enhance national morals of service to the state as prior to all, have keen insight into the international situation, and fulfill the duty of the people with indomitable and unflinching determination, thereby diffusing the glorious and great principle of the Japanese Empire to the world.

Japan is the fountain source of the Yamato race, Manchukuo is its reservoir, and East Asia is its paddy field.

IMPERIAL RULE ASSISTANCE ASSOCIATION

The Taiseiyokusankai, or the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, came into being on October 12, 1940. By then all political parties had voluntarily disbanded, but the Association never took their place. Symbolically, the Association chose the name of an association (kai) to differentiate itself from political parties (tō). The Association covered people from all walks of life, including civil servants, schoolteachers, university professors, monks, clergymen, women, and veterans, making it an incohesive entity. It received its funding through governmental appropriation and the prime minister was the ex-officio president of the Association. Yet in Japanese domestic politics it never attained the status enjoyed by the Nazi Party in Germany or the Fascist Party in Italy.

Its chief contribution to Japan's war effort was propaganda. Its main purpose, as articulated in Document 8 (issued December 14, 1940), was to disseminate the ideals of Japan's new order to her people. And in this task the Taiseiyokusankai was remarkably successful. It controlled all channels of communication. It was divided into prefectural, city, township and village units. Each unit was further subdivided into groups of ten or so households, which were called neighborhood groups (tonarigumi). These groups were required to circulate papers sent from the Taiseiyokusankai headquarters, and to hold

monthly meetings to read and discuss the contents of directives sent from Tokyo. In this way a directive sent from Tokyo reached every adult citizen, residing in urban centers as well as in the remotest corners of the country. A sample of the Association's organizational setup is given in Document 9, which was issued on September 11, 1940 (a month before the formal organization of the Association but in preparation for it).

8 Basic Outline for Implementing the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, 1940¹³ At a turning point in the world history today our Imperial country, which advocates the realization of the principle of extending the benevolent rule of the Emperor (*Hakkō Ichiu*), is destined to become the glorious moral leader of the world. Toward this end, we, the nation of 100 million, must with singleness of mind dedicate our all to the Emperor and establish a national system with unity of spiritual and material things. This Association, being an assemblage of His Majesty's subjects, shall promote mutual assistance and mutual encouragement and become the vanguard of our nation. We shall maintain a relationship of close cooperation with the government at all times and endeavor to let the will of those who are above be transmitted to those who are below, and to let the desires of those who are below be known to those who are above. In this way we shall work toward the realization of a nation highly organized for national defense.

We hereby advocate the following outline for implementation.

1. We shall fully devote our energies to the implementation of the *Way of Subjects* (Document 7). We shall believe in our national polity, which is a manifestation of the incomparable, absolute, and universal truth. We shall hold as sacred the rescripts issued by generations of Emperors, and shall make manifest the great way of restoration.

2. We shall cooperate in the building of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. We shall complete the system of co-prosperity in Greater East Asia and plan for its growth. At the same time, we shall work actively toward the goal of establishing a new order in the world.

3. We shall cooperate in the establishment of a political system that assists the Imperial rule. We shall endeavor to establish a strong and comprehensive political system that will unify our economic and cultural life under the spirit of assisting the Imperial rule.

4. We shall cooperate in the establishment of an economic system that assists the Imperial rule. We shall endeavor to establish a comprehensively planned economic system through the maximum utilization of our imagination, ability, and scientific knowledge. We shall endeavor to bring about a sharp rise in our productivity and thus work toward the completion of a self-sufficient economy in Greater East Asia.

¹³Asahi Shimbunsha, ed., *Shiryō Meiji Hyakunen*, p. 511.