

IPS 4195

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IPS Doc No 4195

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei

DATE: 5 March 1946

INTERROGATOR:

Mr. Hugh B. Helm

CASE NO. 182

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INTERROGATION OF DR. OKAWA, Shumei

5 March 1946

SUMMARY

Dr. OKAWA admits knowledge of Manchurian Incident.
Plotted by Japanese Militarists in Tokyo and Kwantung
Army.

Ringleaders: Major CHO and Col HASHIMOTO, Kingoro.

Dr. OKAWA admits membership in the following ultra-nationalistic societies whose purpose was reformation of the government for realization of Japanese heavenly mission:

1916 - Roso Kai
1919 - Yuzon-Sha
1923 - Gyochi-Sha
1932 - Jimmu Kai

All but Roso Kai were organized by Dr. OKAWA as founder.

Dr. OKAWA admits he plotted and participated in the following military coups in attempts to overthrow the government:

March 1931 Incident
October 1931 Incident
May 15 1932 Affair

Dr. OKAWA admits he wrote the following inflammatory books advocating war with the United States and Britain, Asia for the Asiatics:

1924 - "Asia, Europe and Japan"
1941 - "History of Anglo-American Aggression in East Asia."

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei

Date and Time: 5 March 1946, 0930-1130 hours.

Place : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan

Present : Dr. OKAWA, Shumei
Mr. Hugh B. Helm, Interrogator
Lt Commander Frank B. Huggins, Interpreter
Miss Edna Hickam, Stenographer

Questions by: Mr. Hugh B. Helm

Oath of Interpreter: Administered by Mr. Helm:

Mr. Helm: Do you solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that you will truly and accurately interpret and translate from English into Japanese and from Japanese into English, as may be required of you in this proceeding?

Lt Commander Huggins: I do.

Q. Did you ever know a man named MITSUKAWA, Kametaro?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever make a trip to Oshima with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Doctor, I have here a book marked "Document No. 686." It contains some bound issues of the monthly magazine, "Ishin" (Restoration) published by Heibonsha. There are some articles in here by MATSUOKA, and Prince KONOYE, and then there are several articles in here about you. I would like to ask you about these articles. I believe that the Heibonsha Company is an ultra nationalistic publishing company -- is it not?

A. Yes.

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Q. The head of this company was SHIMONAKA. Do you know him very well?

A. I know him.

Q. Are you familiar with this publication?

A. Yes.

Q. Directing your attention to an article on page 99 entitled, "The Thoughts and Character of OKAWA, Shumei," I ask you if you don't find the following written there:

"A Trip to Oshima with Mr. OKAWA -- By MITSUKAWA, Kametaro:
When the writer was introduced to OKAWA for the first time, OKAWA was a young man of 30 years of age and was an ardent sympathizer of the Indian Independence. Once Admiral YATSUSHIRO asked the writer what kind of man OKAWA was. He replied, 'OKAWA is too hot-blooded for a scholar, and has too much knowledge for an enthusiastic patriot.' The writer went on a trip to Oshima Island with OKAWA. In one of the speeches OKAWA made he stood like a prophet and said 'Within a month or two, a shocking incident will occur in Manchuria.' It came true on the 18th of September, six weeks after he prophesied it."

Do you not find that written in this book?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that true?

A. It may be, but I don't remember what I said.

Q. Do you remember making a speech at Oshima on this occasion?

A. Yes.

Q. And this man was with you?

A. Yes. So this may be true, but I don't remember.

Q. He quoted you as saying that within a month or two the Manchurian incident would occur. Did you prophesy that?

A. I don't remember.

Q. You could have said that?

A. I think so.

Q. You had knowledge, then, of the Manchurian incident in advance?

A. Not only I, but others also.

Q. What others, Doctor? Will you take your time and see if you can recall all the names of those that knew this incident which took place on the 18th of September was going to occur in September?

A. There were many meetings, you know.

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Q. What kind of meetings?

A. It was the anticipation of many people at the time that something would occur in Manchuria. Of course, I do not mean concretely that the September 18 incident was to be the one.

Q. Well, Doctor, isn't it a fact that a group of people within Japan planned to force an incident in Manchuria before this September 18 affair happened?

A. Yes, I believe certain military men planned it.

Q. For your information, Doctor, General TANAKA, Ryukichi has told us that this incident was plotted in Tokyo and that certain military extremists brought it about. Do you think that is true?

A. I think it is true. Yes.

Q. General TANAKA says that Col Kingoro HASHIMOTO was in on this? Is that true?

A. I am not certain, but it may be.

Q. Will you tell me what you know about this? You were in affairs here in Japan -- you were in on these movements, and you know about these things. Let's get the record straight for history.

A. At this time Chang Tso Lin was opposing the Japanese in Manchuria, and it looked as though Japan would lose all that she had gained in the Russo-Japanese war, so that many meetings were held in Japan to learn the true facts of what was going on in Manchuria. As far as any actual plot went, this knowledge was not passed on to the people in general.

Q. Well, did you know about the plot?

A. No -- no.

Q. Did you know about it afterwards?

A. Yes.

Q. Who told you about it?

A. Either CHO or TANAKA.

Q. What did Maj CHO tell you about it?

A. CHO was on the General Staff.

Q. We know all about Maj CHO. He was killed down on Okinawa as Lt General; he was Chief of Staff on Okinawa. Please continue and tell us just exactly what Maj CHO told you at the time about this plot.

A. I do not recall the details.

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Q. Did he tell you that he was in it?

A. I believe so.

Q. As a matter of fact, don't you know so, Doctor?

A. I think so.

Q. Did Col HASHIMOTO ever tell you anything about this plot?

A. CHO and HASHIMOTO were always together, so that I might have heard it from HASHIMOTO also.

Q. Did they tell you that there had been a plot arranged by leaders in Japan to blow up this railroad and precipitate hostilities?

A. I do not recall what they said at the time, but I did hear about it afterwards.

Q. Let's get definite, Doctor. You may not recall the exact words or even the details, but don't you recall that they said that certain people in Japan were responsible for the Manchurian incident?

A. I do not know what connection the men in the Japanese military had with military men who were in Manchuria, but it is an actual fact that there was a group in Japan also.

Q. And this group in Japan, together with the group in the Kwantung Army, arranged for this incident?

A. I think so.

Q. Don't you know so?

A. I think so.

Q. Isn't that in substance what Maj CHO and Col HASHIMOTO told you?

A. Yes.

Q. Now in this same Document No. 686, there is an article entitled "A Sketch of Mr. OKAWA," by AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. Do you know this writer?

A. Yes.

Q. He says there, "The writer has heard about OKAWA from his childhood. Like most of his friends, OKAWA was interested in socialism, but when he read Plato's 'Republic' his zeal for socialism died and he became interested in nationalism. His contributions to the proletariat movements were great though hidden. We must not forget his ideological influences on the military. To be more concrete, his contributions to the whole military through his influence over the younger officers should not be neglected."

Is that a correct appraisal of you?

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A. On the whole.

Q. He goes on to say, Doctor, "OKAWA's influences have much to do with this fact. His contributions in the background of the foundation of Manchukuo are not well known, but when the people come to know about them, they will be grateful to Mr. OKAWA."

Is that true? I mean about your having to do with the setting up of Manchukuo.

A. Had I had so much to do with the furthering of Manchukuo I should have received a decoration from them, which I have not received.

Q. Well, as a matter of fact, your years of research for the South Manchurian Railway and along colonization lines were placed at the disposal of those who set up the state of Manchukuo, were they not?

A. Yes.

Q. Now who set up this state? To whom did you furnish the results of your years of study?

A. They were not given to any special person. If it had been so necessary to use me they should have called me to Manchuria and used me as an official in some capacity, which they did not do.

Q. Now, Doctor, I want you to go back and tell me all you know about Roso Kai?

A. This was a group that MITSUKAWA set up to get both right wing and left wing people together to tell of their points of view.

Q. Didn't you help him found it?

A. No. I got to know MITSUKAWA at the Club. I did not know him well before that.

Q. Doctor, we have a secret document that was written in 1938 for the "Section for the Maintenance of Public Peace" of the Bureau of Police Affairs of the Home Ministry, that sets out a history of all of these renovation, reform movements. In Section 2 on "Reform Movements of the Earlier Period" is listed "ROSO-KAI," founded in 1916 by OKAWA, Shumei and MITSUKAWA, Kametaro.

A. That is a mistake.

Q. You did belong to this organization, though, and you say it was founded by MITSUKAWA alone?

A. Yes.

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Q. And the motto was "Studies on social reformation on Japanese principles."

A. No. There was no such aim.

Q. What was the aim of this group?

A. Simply to get people of many different ideologies together.

Q. And interested in reforming the government?

A. There was no such aim. It was simply a gathering place of people from all walks of life with different ideologies -- socialists, militarists, right wing, and left wing.

Q. In 1919 this document says that you and MITSUKAWA and KITA, Ikki formed the YUZON-SHA.

And on page nine of this secret document from the Home Ministry we find this paragraph: "This organization was no longer satisfied with studies and discussions, but wanted to start actions whenever there was a chance. Is that true?"

A. Yes.

Q. And you were largely guided by KITA, Ikki's hand-book on revolutionary methods, entitled "NIHON KAIZO HOAN TAIKO"?

A. Yes.

Q. Further, in this same record we find: "They tried to prevent the Prince Regent's (HIROHITO) visit to Europe. Is that correct?"

A. Yes.

Q. "And attempted to kill SAIONJI"?

A. No. That was another association that tried to do that.

Q. What association was that?

A. Massatsusha (erase or effacement society).

Q. How do you know this?

A. The man who tried it was caught.

Q. You had no connection with this outfit?

A. No.

Q. You knew some of the members though?

A. No. They were anarchists.

Q. Was ASAHI, Heigo a member of YUZON-SHA?

A. No.

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- Q. In July 1920 did this outfit publish a paper named "Otakebi" (War Cry)?
- A. Yes, three issues.
- Q. Did you write for that publication? Did you write most of it?
- A. Mr. MITSUKAWA was the editor. Mr. KANOKOGI also wrote for it. I also wrote for it.
- Q. From this official document I read you a quotation from Otakebi. "We, the Japanese race, must be the whirling center of the war for the liberation of mankind. Accordingly, the Japanese nation is the absolute entity that makes us fulfill our ideals of world revolution. The idealistic fulfillment and fighting organization of the Japanese nation is the work of God himself, created for this absolute aim. . . . We must not be satisfied only with the reformation or revolution of Japan herself. As we believe in the destiny of the Japanese race as the great missionary of the war for the liberation of mankind, we want to set about liberating Japan herself first." Do you remember that?
- A. I do not recall it, but I imagine it was in the publication.
- Q. Would that be an accurate statement of the way you felt at this time -- in 1920?
- A. Yes in general.
- Q. Did you make speeches, public speeches to that effect at this time?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Reading to you further from this official document of the Home Ministry, the seven principles of the YUZON-SHA were as follows:
- Q. 1. Establishment of revolutionary Japan?
- A. Dr. OKAWA nodded his assent.
- Q. 2. Idealistic fulfillment of the Japanese people?
- A. That would be better stated as realization of Japanese ideals.
- Q. 3. Rational organization of the Japanese nation?
- A. That means rational organization of the Japanese people.
- Q. 4. Movement for liberating the races?
- A. Dr. OKAWA nodded his assent.
- Q. 5. Prosecution of a moral foreign policy?
- A. Yes.

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Q. 6. Communication between reform movements?

A. Yes.

Q. 7. Spiritual cultivation of fighting comradeship.

Would that be the same as the Samurai Spirit Code of Bushido?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you familiar, Doctor, with a book entitled "Leaders of the Renovation Movement," published in December 1941 by NAGAMATSU, Asazo and YAMAZAKI, Kazuyoshi?

A. No I don't know of this book.

Q. This book states as one of the principles and policies of YUZON-SHA, "Building a great empire by revolutionary measures." Would that be correct?

A. That would be correct, I think.

Q. Quoting further, "organization of a large military force for the liberation of Asia." Would that be correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now we find stated here the YUZON-SHA was disbanded in 1923 and the GYOCHI-SHA was organized by OKAWA the following year.

A. Yes.

Q. Now the statement is made that the GYOCHI-SHA had the same objectives as the YUZON-SHA. Is that correct?

A. All the same. It was started because I could not agree with Mr. KITA and MITSUKAWA.

Q. Your disagreement was not of aims, but over means of accomplishing these aims, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And this organization published a paper entitled "Nippon," did it not?

A. It was a monthly journal.

Q. Would you state that the character of this publication was highly inflammatory?

A. No. It was for the purpose of instruction and enlightenment.

Q. You were still trying to bring about a revolution though, were you not?

A. Yes.

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- Q. And you were still urging at this time publicly the liberation of all Asiatic peoples, were you not? From white domination?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And you urged the accomplishment of this by force if necessary, did you not?
- A. I could not make such statements because I would have been suppressed, but I did think so.
- Q. And you advised many people so privately?
- A. I might have talked about it privately. I wasn't out to propagandize -- I don't like things of that sort.
- Q. In 1936, after you got out of jail, did you form the Shimbu Kai?
- A. No.
- Q. When did you organize the Shimbu Kai (Sacred Militaristic Society)?
- A. No. I do not know of the Shimbu Kai. I know of the Jimmu Kai.
- Q. All right, when was Jimmu Kai formed?
- A. In 1932.
- Q. And what were the aims and policies of Jimmu Kai?
- A. The same as Gyochi-Sha. Gyochi-Sha was only for the purposes of instruction and enlightenment and Jimmu Kai was formed for the purpose of carrying out these ideas.
- Q. You say that the principles and policies of Jimmu Kai were the same as those of Gyochi-Sha, and you said a while back that the principles and policies of Gyochi-Sha were the same as Yuzon-Sha -- so through the years, Doctor, your aims remained the same, did they not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And the principles of Yuzon-Sha were accurately stated as the seven principles in the secret document from the Home Ministry, were they not? (Showed Dr. OKAWA typewritten synopsis of this document.) You have already admitted, Doctor, that was true, and you told me that was the same thing as the Samurai Spirit Code of Bushido.
- A. Written down are the principles of Gyochi-Sha which differ from those of Yuzon-Sha.
- Q. But your record has been consistently one advocating revolution all along, hasn't it, Doctor?
- A. Reformation.

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Q. Reformation of the government along nationalistic lines?

A. Yes.

Q. With emphasis on increased armaments so that Japan could defend Greater East Asia?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Doctor, I will ask you if you didn't write a book after the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War entitled "Bei Ei Tōa Shinryaku-Shi" (History of Anglo American Aggression in East Asia)?

A. Yes.

Q. And in that book you referred to a book you wrote in 1924 entitled "Asia, Europe, and Japan," did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. Quoting -- "I published a book in 1924 under the title 'Asia, Europe, and Japan.' I concluded the book as follows: These two countries, America and Japan, are destined to fight each other as Greece had to fight against Persia, and Rome against Carthage. Oh, Japan, will that be in a year, ten years, or thirty years? No one can tell. It is entirely in the hands of heaven to call you to that holy mission. Prepare yourselves every moment for that heavenly call! My prediction proved correct after the passage of 16 years. Today my opinion on the Japanese-American war is not a bit different from that of sixteen years ago."

Is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Doctor, you told me the other day that you admitted planning and active participation in three revolutionary affairs, the March 1931 affair, the October 1931 affair, and the May 15 or Shimpei Tai affair. Is that not true?

A. Yes, that is true.

Q. I want you to collect your thoughts and let's set down an accurate account of each one of these three incidents, giving names of all those that you remember were connected with them. We will start with the March 1931 incident. Tell me what was the purpose of this incident?

A. Dissolution of the Diet.

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- Q. You wanted to overthrow the government and put in an Army dictatorship, didn't you?
- A. We wanted to set up a nationalistic government that would go more in accord with the peoples' wishes.
- Q. You also wanted a government that would bring about the realization of the liberation of Asia from the white man, too, didn't you?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You were willing to resort to the physical elimination of the members of the government that stood in your way in these aims, were you not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Now, Doctor, who planned this incident?
- A. HASHIMOTO and CHO.
- Q. And who else?
- A. They were the ring-leaders.
- Q. With you?
- A. The civilian was myself.
- Q. You wanted to put General UGAKI in as Premier, did you not?
- A. No. I didn't have any connection with what they were going to do later. It might possibly have been that they were going to put UGAKI in.
- Q. Col HASHIMOTO told me that you personally talked to UGAKI and UGAKI asked you to call the thing off.
- A. When I saw UGAKI, I asked him in case a revolution took place what would be the Army's stand in the matter, and UGAKI said -- "We won't talk about that, but let me cite to you the rice riots in 1919, at which time I, UGAKI, was Division Commander around Kobe and didn't do anything about quelling it."
- Q. Then General UGAKI indicated to you that he was with you on this matter.
- A. Yes, but putting in UGAKI as Premier is another matter.
- Q. General TATEKAWA, NINOMIYA, SUGIYAMA, KOISO -- they were in this plot with you? They favored this plot, didn't they?
- A. Yes.
- Q. General KOISO told you the others were for it, didn't he?
- A. Yes.

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Q. Why did this plot fail?

A. Because General KOISO told me to pull off the followers, which I did.

Q. You and General KOISO felt then that the time was not quite right, didn't you? At the last moment you thought the time was not quite right?

A. I think it was because there were people within the War Ministry who opposed it.

Q. You continued your planning and plotting, though, and it ran into the October 1931 affair, did it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Now your aim was still the same in the October affair as it had been in the March affair, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Were the people the same who planned and plotted this October affair as those that plotted in the March affair?

A. Yes.

Q. Tell me about the May 15 incident. What were the purposes of the May 15 incident. Were they the same as the purposes you stated for these other two incidents?

A. They were different.

Q. What were the aims?

A. I do not know anything about the details. Two Naval Officers came to me and simply asked for my help. I do not know in detail what their plans were.

Q. I am not worried about the details. They told you they were going to bring about a revolution, didn't they? And you said you were for it, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. And you gave them three thousand yen and pistols and ammunition?

A. Yes.

Q. And you knew they were going to kill somebody, didn't you?

A. Yes. But I didn't know who they were going to kill.

Q. You knew they were going to kill some members of the government and put in a new government, didn't you?

A. Yes.

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Q. And you were subsequently convicted of participation in this plot?
And served how many years in prison?

A. Five years.

Q. And served five years in prison for participation in this plot?

A. Yes.

Q. What connection did you have with the 2-26 incident?

A. My only connection with the 2-26 incident is that Marquis TOKUGAWA came to me while it was going on and suggested that we go together to where the insurgents were, get some of them into the Marquis' car and take them into the palace grounds where they could talk over the matter with the Prime Minister. This was in order to get them to lay down their arms and was in opposition to KITA who was trying to get them to continue with the incident.

Q. The Marquis knew that a lot of them were your followers, didn't he?

A. No, they were my enemies.

Q. Why did he think that you would have influence in persuading them to abandon their design?

A. My name is well known among military men, so that he must have thought I would have influence. I think that I was among those that were included in the 2-26 incident as intended victims.

CLOSED AT 1130 hours

Certificate of Interpreter

I, FRANK B. HUGGINS, _____
(name) (Serial Number)

being sworn on oath, state that I truly translated the questions and answers given from English to Japanese and from Japanese to English respectively, and that the above transcription of such questions and answers, consisting of 13 pages, is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

FB Huggins

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 7th day of March, 1946.

Hugh B. Helm, Atty.
(Name and Rank)

Duly Detailed Investigating Officer,
International Prosecution Section, GHQ, SCAP.

Certificate of Stenographer

I, Edna Hickam hereby certify that I acted as stenographer at the interrogation set out above, and that I transcribed the foregoing questions and answers, and that the transcription is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Edna Hickam

Certificate of Interrogator.

I, (~~we~~) HUGH B. HELM, _____,
and _____,

certify that on 5th day of March, 1946, personally appeared before me (~~we~~) Dr. OKAWA, Shumei, and according to Frank B. Huggins, Interpreter, gave the foregoing answers to the several questions set forth therein.

Tokyo, Japan
Place
7 March 1946
Date

Hugh B. Helm

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE -- CASE NO. 182

INTERVIEW OF LT COL T. P. DAVIS OF CIS
IN RE: DR Shumei OKAWA

Date and Time: 20 March 1946, 1430-1500 hours
Place: Room 735, Meiji Building, Tokyo, Japan
Present: Lt Col T. P. Davis
Mr. Hugh B. Helm, Interrogator
Miss Edna Hickam, Stenographer

Questions by Mr. Hugh B. Helm:

Q. How long have you been engaged in your present work?

A. I have been in Tokyo 20 years, except for the war.

Q. You have had occasion to investigate Dr OKAWA?

A. We are the people who have the documents, the actual trial records of all those incidents, and we are studying them now and writing up the case history.

Q. Where did you get these records?

A. From the Japanese Government.

Q. They are the official records of these instances?

A. Yes.

Q. From your recollection of these official records, how many revolutionary instances would you say Dr OKAWA had participated in?

A. I wouldn't want to say definitely, but would say that he was very definitely behind the 1931 incident. It may have been both, but I know it was one because he was to be the Home Minister.

Q. That was October.

A. That October one was the one in which they proposed to kidnap the Emperor and put him on a warship in the bay while they forced through an Imperial Edict. If that is reverence for the Emperor I will eat my hat. He was behind the KETSUMEIDAN Incident in 1932. He was in that with a Buddhist Priest, INOUE. Then he was in the 5.15 Incident. I don't want to go on record as to just which incident, but his name goes all the way through.

Q. From your investigation since the war and from your 20 years experience here in Japan before, what would be your evaluation of this man's influence over the people of Japan?

A. I think it was very large, in that he had entree into the backdoor of the government. He knew UGAKI and MITSUI, and he was giving lectures in the Sakura Kai (the Cherry Blossom Society).

Memo Re: Dr Shumei OKAWA, 20 Mar 46

- Q. Was he one of the most influential leaders of the Rightist group?
- A. I would say that. He started off Roso Kai and Yuzon Sha. We have very good evidence of that in a magazine article written in 1934 by MITSUKAWA, Kametaro, which gives -- which shows how that society was formed, in which he tells the story of his relationship with OKAWA. The name of the magazine is Kokumin Shiso (National Thought).
- Q. The Roso Kai and Jimmu Kai in 1932, he admitted those. These were large and influential ultra-nationalistic organizations.
- A. Very influential. I wouldn't say how large, but it ties him in with a great many of the other people.
- Q. The purpose of all the terroristic activities was to force the Government into a militaristic program that would result in expansion and aggression.
- A. They never called it that, they called it reform, but it was an agrarian reform that went militaristic. If you go through the history of those societies you can see them gradually becoming more militaristic.
- Q. The ultimate purpose was to free Asia of the white man and to ultimately bring the world under the Emperor's control.
- A. That was the program of OKAWA in '24 in one paragraph, and you have his ideas. He says there will be a war in 1, 10, or 30 years, and they must be ready.
- Q. The difficulty I have had with the Committee has been not in proving that this man is dangerous or bad, but in showing the extent of his influence on the government and the people of Japan.
- A. Well, I think the very fact that he was set up to be the Home Minister in that military cabinet puts him in a pretty high place. You don't get to that position unless you have pretty good influence.
- Q. That certainly shows that Gen UGAKI thought rather highly of him, because UGAKI, as I recall it, was to be Prime Minister in that Cabinet. He told me he had been intimate with TOJO for at least 10 years prior to 1940.
- A. I didn't know that.
- Q. Gen TANAKA told me that OKAWA was one of his life-long friends and was still a friend of his, but that when his friend was wrong and bad for Japan he was going to say so, so that something could be done; and he told me that OKAWA had run a school for spies in 1938 to 1945.
- A. OKAWA won't admit it.
- Q. For TOJO and that TOJO had the War Minister pay out of their secret fund 50,000 yen a year to OKAWA.
- A. That is very interesting. OKAWA won't admit it, but from the very set-up of that school it is evident.

Memo Re: Dr Shumei OKAWA, 20 Mar 46

A. I am interested primarily in seeing something done about him, because so many Japanese people point the finger and say "You must not let him go free."

Q. These people, in your opinion, are responsible people who know what they are talking about?

A. Yes.

Q. In your opinion TOJO or no one else is more important to try than Dr OKAWA?

A. I think it is more important to try OKAWA because he was in it so long; he was really the heart of it. There were many people who worked hard, but this man has about as long a history and as complete a history as anybody you could find in the country.

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei - 9 March 46

SUMMARY

Dr. OKAWA admits pages 57 to 63 in Gen TANAKA's book, "The Realities of Military Despotism" are true.

Dr. OKAWA admits being intimate with Gen TOJO for more than ten years prior to 1940.

Dr. OKAWA admits having known Gen Ryukichi TANAKA very well for a long time, and that Gen TANAKA was of the same belief with him and Col HASHIMOTO.

Dr. OKAWA admits he and Col HASHIMOTO, Maj CHO, and Col SHIGETO planned with ITAGAKI and ISHIWARA to blow up a section of the South Manchurian Railroad in order to precipitate hostilities with China. He says he knew it would happen three months before.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #689, a book entitled "Various Problems of Reviving Asia," published 20 July 1923. His thesis: Pan Asianism with all the world finally under the Emperor.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #693, a book entitled, "The Way of Japan and the Japanese," published 20 March 1926. His thesis: Praise of militarism and Japan as the harbinger of the new world.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #605, a book entitled, "Words and Actions in the Japanese Way," published 25 January 1930. His thesis: Praise of the Military as the only ones fit to carry out the renovation and bring about Pan Asianism and Japan's Heavenly Mission.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #690, a book entitled, "Japanese History Reader," published 17 November 1935.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #691, entitled "Outline of Japan's Cultural History".

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #692, a book entitled "Twenty-six Hundred Years of Japanese History," published 5 July 1939.

SUMMARY - OKAWA, Shumei, 9 Mar 46

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #694, a book entitled "Founders of Asia," published 25 January 1941.

Dr. OKAWA admits that he and Col HASHIMOTO were using the top generals in the military from 1930 on to accomplish their aims for Japan and that these men generally didn't know what was going on.

Summary by: Hugh B. Helm
12 Mar 1946,

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei, Dr.

DATE AND TIME: 9 March 1946. 1045-1130 hours.

PLACE : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan.

PRESENT : OKAWA, Shumei, Dr.

Mr. Hugh B. Helm	Interrogator
Mr. Denis Kildoyle	Interpreter
Miss Dinah Braun	Stenographer

Oath of Interpreter administered by Mr. Helm:

Do you solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that you will truly and accurately interpret and translate from English into Japanese, and from Japanese into English, as may be required of you, in this proceeding?

MR. KILDOYLE : I do.

NOTE : Before the interrogation proceeded, DR. OKAWA made the following statement:

DR. OKAWA : Some time ago when I mentioned my efforts to preserve peace between United States and Japan, you seemed to take a contrary attitude. If you will look into this book written by Gen. TANAKA -

MR. HELM : Yes, I know that book. Is it all true and correct?

DR. OKAWA : I don't know if it is all true or not. But there is one chapter in this book prior to the outbreak of war which shows I was trying to promote peace.

MR. HELM : Let the record show that immediately upon entering the room, DR. OKAWA produced a copy of Gen. TANAKA's book "The Realities of Military Despotism" and turned to pages 57 to 63 which he desired be considered a true account in his behalf.

The Interrogation then proceeded.

QUESTIONS BY : MR. HELM.

(DR. OKAWA 3-9-46)

- Q. You had been intimate with TOJO, and you broke with him?
- A. Yes.
- Q. When did you break with him?
- A. I broke with TOJO in 1940.
- Q. But prior to that time for how many years had you been intimate with him?
- A. More than ten years.
- Q. General TOJO also handled the scheme mentioned in his article. Would it be correct to say that TOJO was over a long period of time working towards a military dictatorship in Japan?
- A. I don't think so.
- Q. What do you think his aims were in the ten years you knew him?
- A. He was a scrupulous and conscientious worker. His character suddenly changed after he became War Minister.
- Q. But he was ultra-nationalistic all the time you knew him, was he not?
- A. No, I do not think so. He (Gen. Tanaka) compared Gen. TOJO to the traditional Japanese footwear or "geta" - something that should be kept underfoot and not placed on the head.
- Q. And you agreed with that?
- A. I said so.
- Q. You must have known Gen. TANAKA well, for a long time?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Very well?
- A. Yes. I knew him since he was a captain.
- Q. As a matter of fact, Gen. TANAKA used to believe the way you did, did he not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. But he saw the light when the war started?

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

A. I don't think so.

Q. You don't think he changed?

A. No.

Q. Why did he resign from TOJO's Cabinet?

A. Because TOJO disliked him.

Q. I hand you a magazine entitled "CHUO KORON", February, 1946, marked for convenience Document No.765. Are you familiar with that?

A. Yes.

Q. Who published that magazine?

A. ROYAMA.

Q. Do you know him?

A. Yes, he was a professor.

Q. Now, there is a very interesting account of the March 31 Incident beginning on page 1. It is an article entitled "The Failure of the March Incident and its Implications", by IWABUCHI, Tatsuo. Do you know IWABUCHI?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know him well?

A. Not very well.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I saw him only once or twice.

Q. Now, he said, I believe on page 42.

(Note: MR. HELM READS FROM TRANSLATION)

Is that correct?

A. No.

Q. What is wrong with that. You told me the reason the March Incident did not come through was because TOKUGAWA asked you to quit, is that correct?

A. Yes.

(DR. OKAWA - 3-9-46)

- Q. Later on this man says that you told him later you had to do what the Marquis said and that the Marquis (TOKUGAWA) paid you 200,000 yen...
- A. (Interrupting) Utterly false. The Marquis never gave me any money.
- Q. Where did you get all the money for all this plotting and scheming?
- A. It wasn't so much money.
- Q. You gave a man 3000 yen at one time. Where did you get that?
- A. That is not true.
- Q. You told me so yourself.
- A. The March affair is a different one. It is different from the May 15th affair.
- Q. Now, where did you get the 3000 yen you gave that naval officer?
- A. I had the money.
- Q. Where did you get the money?
- A. I had 3000 yen.
- Q. What was the source of your income. Was the South Manchurian Railway paying you so much money?
- A. All, yes.
- Q. Paying you large sums of money?
- A. 500 yen a month, and in addition I had a bonus of 800 yen a month, so it made about 10,000 yen a year. I saved money - I didn't spend all the money I received.
- Q. You said in 1921 you associated with KITA and you were great friends but parted afterwards. Would this be a true account of why you parted:
- "KITA said about the army's national reconstruction movement 'It is simply a fascistic movement, not a revolution.' But OKAWA said, 'Fascistic movement or not, our only concern is to utilize the army'".
- A. No, I didn't like the way he got money.
- Q. You told me the other day the reason you parted was because of the methods but not the aims.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

A. Yes, I didn't like his ways of getting money.

Q. Now, you believe that the occupation of Manchuria was necessary to enable Japan to prosecute a protracted war, did you not?

A. Without Manchurian commodities it would be impossible to prosecute a protracted war.

Q. We have a statement here that you made to this effect:

"It had come to be generally believed that the occupation of Manchuria was necessary to enable Japan to prosecute a protracted war, which might come after 1936, the expiration year of the naval cut treaty".

Did you ever express yourself that way?

A. I do not remember having made that statement.

Q. You felt that way at the time, didn't you?

A. I might have said it at that time.

Q. And did you further say:

"So, SHIGETO and HASHIMOTO in the Army Headquarters in Tokyo, ITAGAKI and HANATANI (or HANAYA) of the Kwantung Army, and from among civilians I and KAWAMOTO participated in the plan. Thus the Sept. 18 Incident took place. It appeared that China invited that disaster by her own blunder. Commander HONJO delightedly said that the Sept. 18 Incident was skillfully met on the spur of the moment. But the Incident had been carefully prepared, planned and arranged."

A. At that time I was in prison.

Q. You were not in prison in 1931.

A. I was in prison in 1936 and went out after the China Affair broke out.

Q. But I am talking about this statement made in 1931.

A. But I never met with all of these people at one time. General Honjo, Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, was never much satisfied with this Incident - with the measures taken in disposing of the Sept. 18 Incident.

- Q. How did you know - did he tell you so?
- A. Yes, he did, and further, General HONJO had no knowledge of any such plans.
- Q. But now, Doctor, is it not so that this Incident was planned by certain members of the so-called Control Group, Col. HASHIMOTO, SHIGETO, the General Staff here in Tokyo, in conjunction with CHO?
- A. He was here at the time.
- Q. Well, HASHIMOTO, SHIGETO and CHO planned with ITAGAKI and who else in Manchuria?
- A. I think ISHIHARA.
- Q. DOIHARA too?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. But they planned to blow this railway track up and make it appear as if the Chinese had done it, isn't that right?
- A. Yes, I think so.
- Q. Don't you know so?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You were in on it too, were you not? You knew about it before it happened, did you not?
- A. I knew of plans in Manchuria, but did not know the details.
- Q. What you mean by that is that you did not know it was going to be on the 18th?
- A. No.
- Q. But you knew that these certain people were going to do something?
- A. Yes.
- Q. In order to start the war with China?
- A. Yes.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

Q. How long did you know it before it actually happened?

A. More than three months.

Q. And you knew that because you were seeing HASHIMOTO and SHIGETO and they were talking about it and planning it, and you gave them the benefit of your advice on some things, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Then who left to go over there to do it - who actually did it on the spot in Manchuria?

A. That I don't know.

Q. ISHIHARA?

A. No, I don't know. I don't think so/ - I don't even know now.

Q. HASHIMOTO?

A. No, he was here - therefore it must have been the KWANTUNG ARMY.

Q. During the times that HASHIMOTO, SHIGETO and CHO were talking to you about this plot, they never indicated who was helping them on the other end from the Kwantung Army?

A. I think ISHIHARA and ITAGAKI.

Q. If you think back, don't you remember that HASHIMOTO and CHO mentioned these names and said they would take care of it over there?

A. Yes, Yes, Yes. I do remember it now. HASHIMOTO and CHO were here in Tokyo. They did not go to Manchukuo. ISHIHARA and ITAGAKI handled it there.

Q. And Gen. DOIHARA was a colonel at that time and he was going to help too?

A. I do not think Col. DOIHARA entered these discussions. The people who knew the details and the people who carried out the plan were different.

Q. Well, ITAGAKI and ISHIHARA were handling things in Manchuria?

A. They were the center in Manchuria, I think.

Q. Now, Doctor, we have an account of a statement HASHIMOTO made here in Tokyo before this happened. He said "An Incident will occur in Manchuria in regard to the railroad. The hostilities will occur and the General Staff knows about it and has agreed. Do you know about this statement?"

A. I do not remember this statement.

(DR. OKAWA -3-9-46)

Q. Dr. OKAWA, I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.689. I ask you to look at it. This book is entitled "Various Problems of Reviving Asia". This book was published July 20, 1923. Did you write
8 this book?

A. I did.

Q. You state in the preface of that book:

"I realized that not only India, but every place on the vast continent of Asia had been trampled underfoot by the white man, and every race had been enslaved by him. Ten years ago I was a student devoted to knowledge and not unwilling to become a priest. Now I am a champion of reviving Asia, giving lectures on the history of colonization and colonial policy at the Colonial University, and working with the youths who cultivate knowledge at Momijigaoka Hill, holding the ideal of the revival of Asia as dear as my life."

A. Yes.

Q. You made that statement?

A. Yes.

Q.8 Then you say later on in the preface:

"If the articles in this book can inspire the people, be it ever so little, with the enthusiasm for the cause of reviving Asia, my efforts will be amply rewarded."

A. Yes.

Q. You then advocate Japan's leadership of Asia, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You say:

"Our way may lead us through disorder for a time, but we must remember that the establishment of Japan which realizes the noble ideals of Buddhism means exactly the birth of the genuine Asia."

A. Yes.

Q. Then in Chapter 1, page 24, speaking of the disillusionment by the League of Nations, do you not say:

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

"Thus, throughout Asia, the tide of resistance against white domination is rising, and the struggle between the white people and the non-white people is assuming the form of inter-racial struggle".

A. Yes.

Q. You emphasize in this book, do you not, that the MEIJI RESTORATION was not really a Restoration, but a Revolution, on page 295?

A. Yes.

Q. You are therefore trying to justify revolutions as a part of human progress, are you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you gave various reasons for the necessity of performing the second Restoration (revolution), and was that not by completing the second Restoration Japan would be able to enhance the beauty of the national constitution and can become the true savior of the world, realizing the grand spirit of the foundation of the Empire?

A. Yes.

Q. And don't you say on Page 337:

"Japan is a reservoir of all the culture and civilization of Asia. Besides, she is the only independent country in Asia that has absorbed the scientific knowledge of the Occident. It is the sacred task assigned her that she should create something new and better. For the sake of this sacred task, the Japanese people should employ all their physical and mental energies."

A. Yes.

Q. The sacred task you were speaking of was bringing all of the world under the Emperor, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Rather a coincidence is it not that this book came out in the month of the 2.26 Incident?

A. So?

Q. Yes.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

A. It is a reprint of a former book.

Q. But you felt this was a very timely book?

A. (Laughing) No, I think not.

Q. DR. OKAWA, I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.693, entitled "The Way of Japan and the Japanese." It was published on the 20 of March 1926, and in that book you express dissatisfaction with the statesmen of the period after the Meiji Restoration, on page 100.

A. Yes.

Q. And you praise the Japanese soldier as having kept the spirit and honor of the Samurai and as being not depraved?

A. Yes.

Q. Then on page 104, don't you advocate State Socialism, absolute control by the state of everything?

A. Not absolute.

Q. Well, overall state control?

A. Planned Economy.

Q. Then on page 125, you describe the mission of Japan as the unification of the civilization of the east with that of the west, beginning a new page in world history?

A. Yes.

Q. Then your last chapter entitled "Japan As the Harbinger of the New World".

A. Yes.

Q. In that you speak of the following: (Page 140-143)

"It is the desire of the world that a new eastern light which is thus to be born, shines on the history of mankind. I think the war between the East and the West which is to be fought at the risk of their whole existence is now inevitable for the coming of a new world. It is not feasible that the East and the West as a whole fight,...but, in practice, one country representing Europe and one representing Asia are chosen as the champions respectively and should fight to realize a new world. The Heaven seems to

choose Japan as one champion."

Q. By these two countries, you meant United States and Japan?

A. Yes.

Q. Dr. OKOWA, I hand you a book for convenience marked Document No.605. It is entitled "Words and Actions in the Japanese Way", published January 25, 1930. I ask you if you wrote this book?

A. Yes.

Q. I believe this book is a collection of lectures given by you?

A. Yes.

Q. Most of them appeared previously in a monthly magazine entitled "NIPPON" published by No. 4 Minami-Konyacho Kyobashi-ku, and this was the official organ of GYOHISHA' - an ultra nationalistic society formed by Dr. OKOWA?

A. Yes.

Q. You say there do you not: (on page 9)

"The spiritual attitude of the Japanese could best manifest itself in war; the wars of the ancient Japanese were fought to subdue those who rebel against the Gods and make them honor the same Gods".

In other words to make the enemy honor the same Gods or cherish the same ideal?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, you have a section in there, on page 113, I believe, devoted to Kemal Pasha of Turkey and you say that it is significant that the Revolution of Turkey in 1908 was attempted and won by soldiers, don't You?

A. Yes.

Q. And then you say:

"In the countries of the orient, the principal bodies of political movement were always soldiers. They alone command the unity and courage to achieve the object. The rest of the nation are like sheep, submitting themselves to being sheared and killed without breathing a word of resentment".

A. Yes.

Q. And then a little later on you say:

"Movement to Arise in Japan: Three figures of current history are given. Mussolini of Italy, Reza of Persia and Amanular of Afgamstan, whose actions are unique and original befitting to the nation concerned".

A. Yes.

Q. And you say:

"Attempt at Europinization or modernization has been the common blunder committed by Asiatic nations. The young party in Turkey and the revolutionary party in India came under this category. They achieved success up to a point but were fated to failure".

A. Yes.

Q. And you say that:

"Ghandi, whose boldness in speaking against British Administration of India as the source of all evils, presents Japan a good lesson".

A. Yes.

Q. Then finally:

"I think the time of Japan's reconstruction is nearer by degree. The reformation will be achieved along the line of originality. It may be an individual or a body. But I firmly believe there is such one quietly awaiting the heavenly command to go. He may be an insignificant one at present - as a 'thief of the night'. When the time matures, he will appear as a lightning to achieve the end".

A. Yes. You omitted here not imitating either Ghandi or Kamal Pasha.

Q. Then you have a chapter 8, page 154, in which you state the great contribution of the SAMURAI's to Japan's spiritual training and praise the militarists of Japan for having retained that spirit in spite of the modern knowledge they acquired. You find that they are far sounder than any other group of society. In particular, you find that the politicians have fallen to the "depth of shame and rottenness" and think that the juxtaposition of the two types is highly instructive for everybody. In other words, that then is the reason you tied up with the extremists from the military like HASHIMOTO?

A. Yes.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

Q. To achieve your plans for Japan?

A. Yes.

Q. And your plans for Japan included Pan-Asianism?

A. Yes.

Q. And the extension of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere?

A. Yes.

Q. And the expulsion of the white man from Asia?

A. Yes.

Q. Dr. Okawa, I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.690, entitled "Japanese History Reader", published November 17, 1935 and ask you whether or not you wrote that book?

A. Yes, I wrote it.

Q. I believe this book was translated into Chinese, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. You discussed there the significance of the Emperor-System for Japan and its religious basis, did you not, on page 29?

A. Yes.

Q. And you state:

"according to it the area where these ideals are taken into daily life will increase as more and more people will act in accordance with the Emperor's direction".

A. Yes.

Q. The last chapter is entitled "Japan, Facing the Second Restoration" ?

A. Yes.

Q. And you state there:

"Since the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, the people have come to realize very acutely that Japan is in an emergency.. The necessity for a thorough and general renovation of the state was keenly felt, and the loud cry for the Showa restoration has

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

"been repeatedly heard. The people now want to follow the principle of the direct rule by the Emperor himself. They want to get rid of the abuses arising from the party politics that make more of the party's interests than of the national policy. They demand the realization of truly Japanese politics in which the people's idea of whole the nation being united into one will be realized. They also demand the realization of really Japan-like economy which will stabilize the national life by putting an end to the exploitation of capitalistic economy. Again they demand the realization of really Japan-like education that will cultivate a true Japanese by teaching him the spirit of the foundation of Japan, the essence of the Japanese nation and the ideals of the Japanese people. These demands are righteous demands; accordingly, they will be satisfied even if those who wish to maintain the status quo will try to oppose or subdue them. Japan is now facing the second restoration".

A. Yes.

Q. I ask you if this book was not dated three months before the Incident of 2.26.36?

A. Yes.

Q. You seem to indicate that coming events cast their shadows - did you not have an idea ..

A. (laughing) No.

Q. I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.691 entitled "Outline of Japan's Cultural History, dated and ask you whether you wrote that book?

A. Yes.

Q. I hand you herewith book marked for convenience Document No.692 entitled "TWENTY-SIX HUNDRED YEARS OF JAPANESE HISTORY" published July 5, 1939 and ask you if you wrote that book?

A. Yes.

Q. We will go into these later.

A. That is a cheaper edition of a former book of Japanese History.

Q. It was so popular that you issued it again in another edition?

A. Yes, only the title is different.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

Q. I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.694 entitled "Founders of Asia" published January 25, 1941, and ask if you wrote that book?

A. Yes.

NOTE: Here Mr.Helm requested DR. OKAWA to write in Japanese characters and English translation, the name of the institute. Dr. Okawa did so and the same is attached to the original of this transcription. The English translation reads "TO-A KEIZAI CHOSA KYOKU".

Q. Did that have anything to do with the East Asia Research Institute?

A. That is it.

Q. And that is your outfit? We were wondering what it was and I did not know it was the same as yours.

A. That is our organization.

Q. You compiled great lists of all books and writings on all Asiatic countries and so forth?

A. Yes. We had a very good library.

Q. You really did. We have most of it. You directed all that?

A. Yes, I collected it.

Q. Here is something I cannot make out. Whether you and HASHIMOTO and that group were really running things here in Japan; every time things quieted down you all would plan something else and you were forcing generals like TOJO and all of those at the top -were you really carrying them along and forcing them to do what you wanted them to or were you and HASHIMOTO just the tools for these big generals. Which is true?

A. The people higher up really had no connection with it - they were the ones utilized as tools.

Q. By you and HASHIMOTO?

A. Yes.

INTERROGATION ADJOURNED.

Japans

海峽東亞經濟調查局

Yō-a Keizai Chōsa Kyōkai

Certificate of Interpreter

I, DENIS KILDOYLE, CIVILIAN
(name) (Serial Number)

being sworn on oath, state that I truly translated the questions and answers given from English to Japanese and from Japanese to English respectively, and that the above transcription of such questions and answers, consisting of 15 pages, is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Denis Kildoyle

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of March, 1946.

Hugh B. Helm, Capt.
(Name and Rank)

Duly Detailed Investigating Officer,
International Prosecution Section, GHQ, SCAP.

Certificate of Stenographer

I, DINAH BRAUN hereby certify that I acted as stenographer at the interrogation set out above, and that I transcribed the foregoing questions and answers, and that the transcription is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dinah Braun

Certificate of Interrogator.

I, (79) HUGH B. HELM, Civilian,

USA

certify that on 9th day of March, 1946, personally appeared before me (✓) OKAWA, Dr. Shumei, and according to MR. DENIS KILDOYLE, Interpreter, gave the foregoing answers to the several questions set forth therein.

TOKYO
Place

MARCH 12, 1946.
Date

Hugh B. Helm

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei - 7 March 46

SUMMARY

Dr OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #687, a book entitled "SAFO SHINEN's Ideal State," published 20 Feb 1924 by OBI, Harutoshi, who ran an institute called "Social Education Research Institute."

Dr. OKAWA admits "The Social Education Research Institute" yearly selected 20 bright young boys from rural districts and educated them in the way of revolution for new Japan and the heavenly vision to rule the world.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #684, a book entitled "Asia, Europe, Japan," published 15 October 1925. This book was a cultural background for Pan Asianism.

Dr. OKAWA admits making public speeches against the League of Nations and advocating the rise of Asia by force.

Dr. OKAWA admits that in 1924 he said in public speeches that Japan must fight the United States.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #688, a book entitled "History of Modern European Colonization," Vol. I, published 13 October 1941. Dr. OKAWA calls this the history of the white man's control of the world. He stresses the cunning and craftiness of England and compares Japan's insular position to that of England.

Dr. OKAWA admits the South Manchurian Railroad was controlled by the Japanese Government, and that his East Asia Research Institute was controlled by the Railroad.... The Institute was in effect an organ of the government.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #685, a book entitled "Establishing Order in Greater East Asia," published 20 August 1943.

Summary by: Hugh B. Helm.
13 March 1946.

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei, Dr.

DATE AND TIME: 7 March 1946. 0945-1130 hours

PLACE : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan

PRESENT : OKAWA, Shumei, Dr.

Mr. Hugh B. Helm Interrogator
Lt. Comdr. Frank B. Huggins Interpreter
Miss Dinah Braun Stenographer

Oath of Interpreter administered by Mr. Helm:

Do you solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that you will truly and accurately interpret and translate from English into Japanese, and from Japanese into English, as may be required of you, in this proceeding?

LT.COMDR.HUGGINS: I do.

QUESTIONS BY : MR. HELM.

Q. I show you a booklet marked for convenience Document No.687. This book is entitled "SATO SHINEN'S Ideal State", and it bears your name as author. I hand you this book and ask you if you wrote that book.

A. Yes.

Q. Was this book not published the 20 of February, 1924?

A. Yes.

Q. Was this book not the second in a series called "Studies of the Japanese Spirit" published by the "Social Education Research Institute" (SHAKAI KYOIKU KENKYU SHO)?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell me what connection you had with this institute?

(DR. OKAWA 3-7-46 cont'd)

A. This institute was run by a man named OBI, Harutoshi and I was a lecturer at this institute.

Q. What was the purpose of this institute?

A. Every year twenty young men were selected from rural districts and trained in social matters.

Q. Such as what?

A. These young men were those that would take an important part in agricultural leadership and rural government. Among other things they particularly taught Japanese Spirit, History etc. I lectured upon the Japanese Spirit.

Q. This was an ultra-nationalistic institution, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. These young men were instilled with a burning zeal for reformation in the government, were they not?

A. No. This organization was not one that took an interest in such matters.

Q. But you did instruct these young men in the Japanese Spirit and the heavenly mission of the Japanese nation, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you instructed them about Pan-Asianism, did you not.

A. No, only Japanese.

Q. You never mentioned Pan-Asianism?

A. No. These young men returned to the country and became leaders of the rural population so there was no need to talk to them about matters like Pan-Asianism.

Q. Was not the heavenly mission of Japan, to rule the world?

A. It was a moral organization of humanity. As a whole, in substance, the answer to your question is yes.

Q. Now, Dr. directing your attention to page 47 of your book published in 1924 about SATO SHINEN, do you not find:

(Reading)

(DR. OKAWA 4-8-46)

"According to his belief, the country that was created first of all was Japan. Therefore, Japan is the base of all the countries in the world, and from the beginning it has been the mission for the one who rules the Empire that he should give peace and satisfaction to all the peoples in the world. Accordingly, he established a most concrete system of world policies, expounding it in the means for fulfilling Japan's heavenly mission of reigning over the world".

A. Yes.

Q. Now, this man SATO SHINEN was a Japanese patriot who lived from 1769 to 1850, did he not?

A. Yes, somewhere around that time.

Q. On page 50, is it not found: (Reading)

"Being clear-headed, he could perceive that the international situation in which Japan stood were endangering the national existence and that Japan stood on the verge of downfall. Therefore, he warned the people that if Japan should not prepare against the southward advance of Russia by securing the eastern coast of Siberia, and also against the northward advance of England by occupying the South Seas Islands, the basis of her national defense would not be secure enough."

A. Yes.

Q. And do you not find in the third chapter an outline of SHINEN's system of politics, which you call "an excellent system of political science". Further saying it prohibits private management of commerce, emphasizes state control of trade and advocates a type of national socialism. Is not that in the third chapter?

A. Yes.

Q. In the fourth chapter entitled "SHINEN's Ideal of the State", you set forth the sacredness of the Emperor, as a spiritual instructor of the people who makes them follow the way of Heaven.

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 72 do you not include as a special feature of SHINEN's Ideal State the extreme importance of the police office in cultural institutions. In other words, you approve their "Thought Police", do you not?

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Q. Where.

Q. On page 72.

A. That is not set forth here (indicating page in book).

Q. You do not mention the police at all?

A. No, where?

Q. On page 72 and following. The police were to enforce these cultural institutions, is that right?

A. In order to lift up the morals of the people I advocated that the jurisdictional organizations and the police should work together.

~~MR. HALL: Strike it all out.~~

Q. You included in that book plans for the industrial and administrative re-organization of Japan, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. Well then, you did teach these young men about government reformation, did you not?

A. I taught them what this scholar had thought about Japan.

Q. But you included in this book much of the talk which was actually delivered as a lecture?

A. Yes.

Q. You included in your lecture discussions of industrialism, reformation and administrative reorganization of Japan, did you not?

A. I don't see how you can reach that conclusion because at the end it was what SHINEN thought - his ideals for the reformation of the country. It is unfortunate that when Japan had a man such as this he is not better known and that instead of him the teachings of Marx should be so widely circulated.

Q. And you expressed your conviction that some day a wise emperor would appear and lead the nation into the fulfillment of Japan's heavenly mission? You stated that SHINEN was convinced that some day a wise emperor would appear and lead the nation into the fulfillment of Japan's heavenly mission?

A. Yes, that is right.

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- Q. And your part about SHINEN and MARX, the comparison between them, is that SHINEN was a better socialist than Marx was and he should be better known than Marx?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then you were teaching these young men about government reformation, were you not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Dr. OKAWA, I hand you a booklet marked for convenience Document No. 684. This book is entitled "Asia, Europe, Japan" and bears your name as the author. I ask you if that is not your book?
- A. Yes, it is.
- Q. Published 15 October 1925?
- A. Yes.
- Q. This book was published by "DAI TO BUNKA KYOKAI" (Society for Great Eastern Culture), was it not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Will you tell us what your connections were with this organization.
- A. I had no connection.
- Q. Why did they publish your book?
- A. They asked me to give it to them.
- Q. Who asked you?
- A. I think TSUCHIYA - I don't remember exactly but I think it was he.
- Q. What was the purpose of this society?
- A. The study of oriental civilization, particularly China.
- Q. The people in this society were interested, as you were, in Pan-Asianism, were they not?
- A. No, I don't think so. Their studies were mainly concerned with China.
- Q. You don't think they were interested in a Greater East Asia Sphere?
- A. No, I don't think so.

(DB. OKAWA 4-7-46)

Q. At this time you were connected with the South Manchurian Railway Institute of East Asian Economic INVESTIGATION.

A. Yes.

Q. And you were interested at this time in Pan-Asianism, were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you wrote this book to more or less show the cultural background for Pan-Asianism, did you not?

A. My own personal aim was that.

Q. I will ask you if you don't state in the preface that your purposes are five as follows: (1) In order to show the significance of the war in the world history to the so-called pacifists. (2) In order to show that the world history in its true sense is the history of opposition, fighting and unification of the East and the West. (3) To clarify the cultural characteristics of the East and the West. (4) To give a logical foundation to "ZEN ASIA SHUGI" (The principle of United Asia or Pan-Asiaism). (5) To explain the inevitability of a war between the East and the West and the sublime mission of Japan in the world history.

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 7, Dr. do you not say:

"The most remarkable and important significance of wars lies in their contribution to the moral unification of mankind. In other words, they contributed much in realizing peace in a wider sphere than before."

A. Yes.

Q. In other words, you say war has more good in it than bad in its final effects?

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 9:

"In ancient time, there were incessant fightings between family groups....they were unified or annexed and became the kernels of the state....In a state, fighting became the profession of the soldiers, and other people could settle down to their own work. This systemization of war accompanying the establishment of state was the basis of establishing peace and accordingly of developing civilization."

A. Yes.

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Q. And on page 10:

"All the wars in the world history have contributed systematically and consistently to keeping the order and tranquility in the world...The two units of civilization, Asia and Europe, were more firmly unified after each one of their internal wars, and the strife between the two has always given rise to a new world civilization".

(Question continued). In other words, you are pointing out that war is a good thing?

A. No a necessary evil. This is the philosophy of the great Russian philosopher Vlademir SOLOVIEFF, author of the book "Justification of the Good". In that book he explained the meaning of war. He has the same opinion but unlike me he believes in the victory of Christianity.

Q. Let us look at Chapter 9, "The Revival of Asia". Do you not say at page 66 :

"The meaning of the Asia problem before and after the First World War was quite different. Before the war, the so-called Asia problem was the question of how Asia should be cooked and divided among the European powers. However, the Asia problem after the war has become entirely different in its essence: It meant the Asiatics' efforts to revive Asia against the European domination."

A. Yes.

Q. Than, on page 67, don't we find:

"Various movements in Asia appear to be of political or economic nature, but if you look deep into them, you will find out that they are of spiritual nature...They demand then double independence - that is, they want to be independent politically and spiritually. It is very clear that this effort of the Asians is contradictory to the aim of the League of Nations that wish to maintain status quo".

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 70:

"However, the plan and efforts of the League of Nations in trying to keep status quo regardless of the vicissitude of the world is useless and in vain".

(Question continued). Now, Dr. that represents your belief at this

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(Question continued)

time, does it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you expressed that belief in public speeches in Japan at that time?

A. Whether I have made speeches or not, it is written there.

Q. Answer the question.

A. I do not recall whether I made any specific speeches advocating the dissolution of the League of Nations, but it is a fact that in my speeches at this time I spoke of these matters.

Q. Going on a little further in this same book, do you not find on page 76 :

"We can vaguely conjecture the future of Asia versus Europe. The stronger the awakening of Asia becomes, the more inevitable will be the collision between Asia and Europe. Unless Europe returns Asia to its legitimate owner, the two are doomed to fight each other."

A. Yes.

Q. By that you meant that ^{if} the white man did not get out of Asia, there would be trouble from Japan?

A. Yes, with the strongest nation in Asia, namely Japan.

Q. This was in 1924, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, directing your attention to Chapter 10: entitled "Europe, Asia, Japan." Do you not find:

"The history of the world indicates that the West and the East must be combined. However, this combination will not probably be completed in peace...Before a new world appears, there must be a deadly fight between the powers of the West and of the East ... This theory is realized in the American challenge to Japan. The strongest country in Asia is Japan and the strongest country that represents Europe is America...These two countries are destined to fight. Only God knows when it will be. At any time, Japan might be summoned to fight. We must prepare all the time."

(question continued) You were urging then for increased armaments,

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(question continued)

were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. In your public speeches and wherever you could make your influence felt, you were trying to gird the Japanese war machine in readiness for this impending crash?

A. Whether I said so or not, those were my ideas.

Q. Answer my question.

A. I am not a propagandist -

Q. (Interrupting) I did not say so -

A. (continued) so I do not make propaganda - but be that as it may, those were still my thoughts.

Q. And you did everything in your power to use your influence speaking and writing to gird Japan's war machine against this impending crash, is that so?

A. No, I am not a propagandist.

Q. I did not say you were. I said you were a leader of the people.

A. Yes.

Q. Then the answer to my previous question is "yes"?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you not find on page 82:

"During the three thousand years since the foundation of the country, this excellent race has only taken and absorbed culture and civilization of foreign countries. Japan has not contributed anything to the history of the world. Was this long period of preparation not for the sake of today? Through the victory of Japan in the coming war between Japan and America, the dark world will disappear and the brilliant world will begin".

A. Yes.

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Q. Dr. OKAWA, I hand you a book entitled "HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPEAN COLONIZATION" Vol 1. published 13 October 1941 and I ask you, is that not your book?

A. Yes.

Q. This book for convenience is marked Document 688. I ask you if in the introduction you do not stress the fact of the "Europeanization of the World".

A. Yes.

Q. Do you not call the history of colonization in modern times, racially speaking, the record of the white man's control over the whole world?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you not say:

"These lessons are all the more important and significant to the Japanese, the one and only powerful and important non-white nation, which has not only declined to bend the knee before Europe, but also at this moment is waging a sacred war to realize its mission of transcending the antagonism between Asia and Europe and establishing an empire on loftier foundations".

A. Yes.

Q. You wrote this book while you were in prison, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. It is a very scholarly work and a complete history of all colonization movements in the world, is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. This set of books should have been very useful in the development of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, was it not?

A. That may be so.

Q. Chapter 16 of this book, beginning on page 490 is headed "England's Preparation", is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And don't you develop in this chapter the importance of England's insular position for her achievement of world supremacy? Don't you say that to maintain this supremacy, it was England's policy to

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(Question continued)

administer blows or threats to any nation that appeared to be a rival and not to release the pressure until her rival gave up this project? Then you quote from Milton "You great and warlike nation!" And don't you say: Let the British uplift peace and be proud of being a pacific nation, but the fact remains that her power consists in warlikeness and industry and the bold and cunning policy, which characterizes that nation in addition to the unique geographical feature of the island? And don't you point a lesson to Japan in this analysis of England's greatness, Japan also being in a similar position and the lesson is that Japan should be like England?

- A. Many people wanted Japan to be like England.
- Q. At this time, on the 13 of October, 1941, when this book was published, how was your time occupied in Japan? This is October before Pearl Harbor.
- A. I was an informal member of the South Manchurian Railway, in other words, I was still receiving a salary for my long years of service with them but not doing anything.
- Q. But you were adviser to them?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Now, the South Manchurian Railway, under Imperial Ordinance #142 of 6 June, 1906, was organized by the Japanese Government, was it not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. So the South Manchurian Railway was in effect an organ of the Japanese Government, was it not?
- A. It could be put that way.
- Q. And your institute in which you were so active for so long was in effect an organ of the government, was it not?
- A. Yes. But there was no direct connection.
- Q. No, I agree, the connection was through the South Manchurian Railway.
- A. Yes.

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- Q. Doctor, I hand you a book for convenience marked Document 685, entitled "Establishing Order in Greater East Asia" published 20 August, 1943, and I ask you, is that not your book?
- A. Yes.
- Q. This book is divided into three parts, as follows: (1) The Order of Greater East Asia seen from the Historical Standpoint. (2) Contents and Sphere of Greater East Asia. (3). Asia, Europe, Japan. Now, this third part, "Asia, Europe, Japan" that was simply a restatement of your book written October 1925?
- A. Yes.
- Q. In which you urged the necessity of a war between Japan and America?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Beginning on page 9, first chapter, you trace the history of the Greater East Asia idea back before the Meiji Restoration and particularly mention SATO, Shinen who warned about the coming invasion of Asia by the west. Then you go into a little dissertation on the slogan "JOI" (Expel the Alien)?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And then you explain the teachings of TOYAMA, Moturu and then you state your belief that Asia should be one country as Europe should be one. And on page 26 you say that the significance of the Russo-Japanese War was to create an Asia of Asiatics and then on page 30, you quote a French newspaperman as saying the "victory of Japan means the victory of one world over another. Then you disparage the armament reductions of the Washington and London Conferences and assert that the old order of the world began to dissolve from the time of the Manchurian Incident?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And then on page 42 you criticize Japan rather severely for acting just like British and America in exploiting Asia and you say they should not have done that, that they ought to protect the peoples of Asia?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then you develop the World Significance of the Manchurian Incident and you say the Manchurian Incident stimulated the Japanese spirit which had long been asleep and that before this Incident Japan had

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tried to insure her tranquility with the aid of America and Britain, but now these two powers turned to be the enemies of East Asia; Leaving the League of Nations, Japan has begun her fixed policy. The Chief of the Staff of the Kwantung Army said in the proclamation of September 1936 "The Concordia Association (KYOWOKAI) intends to perfect the Kingdom of Manchuria and to make it a paradise for the people of Asia who have long been oppressed by the West and whom we are to emancipate"

A. Yes.

Q. Then you explain that because of Britain and America opposing the China Incident that Japan concluded the triple alliance with Germany and Italy and then you urge that China and Japan should united with India, thereby making the Great East Asia War a sure success?

A. Yes.

Q. Then in the second part of the book you divide up the world politically into four parts, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. According to the JOI political principles. As a matter of fact, Doctor, there had been a movement in Japan by certain extremists since the victory over Russia and the Russo-Japanese War, for a SHOWA restoration and the realization of Japanese true leadership in Asia and the world, is not that so?

A. Yes.

Q. And you have been a part of this movement from the beginning?

A. Yes.

INTERROGATION ADJOURNED.

Certificate of Interpreter

I, FRANK B. HUGGINS, LT. COMMANDER USNR
(name) (Serial Number)

being sworn on oath, state that I truly translated the questions and answers given from English to Japanese and from Japanese to English respectively, and that the above transcription of such questions and answers, consisting of 13 pages, is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Huggins

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11 day of March, 1946.

Hugh B. Helm, atty.
(Name and rank)

Duly Detailed Investigating Officer,
International Prosecution Section, GHQ, SCAP.

Certificate of Stenographer

I, DINAH BRAUN hereby certify that I acted as stenographer at the interrogation set out above, and that I transcribed the foregoing questions and answers, and that the transcription is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dinah Braun

Certificate of Interrogator.

I, (~~xx~~) HUGH B. HELM, CIVILIAN,
and _____,

certify that on 7 day of March, 1946, personally appeared before me (~~xx~~) OKAWA, Shumei, Dr., Interpreter, and according to _____, Interpreter, gave the foregoing answers to the several questions set forth therein.

TOKYO
Place

MARCH 11, 1946.
Date

Hugh B. Helm

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INTERROGATION OF DR. OKAWA, Shunsei

SUMMARY

Dr. OKAWA admits he was actively connected with the East Asia Economic Investigation Institute from 1919 to 1945:

- Member, 1919-1926
- Director, 1926-1932
- In Prison, 1932-1935
- Advisor, 1935-1945

Dr. OKAWA admits this Institute was controlled by the South Manchurian Railroad and did economic and colonial research on Asia in particular, and every country in the world generally.

Dr. OKAWA admits he began the development of his ideas on Pan Asianism in 1919 when he joined this Institute and published his book on this subject in 1924 entitled "Various Problems of Reviving Asia".

Dr. OKAWA admits that the principal aim of his Pan Asianism was for Asia to rise and expel the white man from Asia with Japan the leader over all -- eventually Japan to rule the world.

Dr. OKAWA admits he still believes in this, but regrets TOJO did not take his advice about holding off the war for five or ten more years.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of a letter found in TOJO's possession the day TOJO tried to kill himself. The letter was written 21 July 1940 in which Dr. OKAWA urges a successful termination of the China Incident and further aggression and expansion to the South.

Dr. OKAWA admits he has read Gen Ryukichi SANAKA's book, "The Realities of Militarism," and that it is true on the whole.

Dr. OKAWA admits that he was never reprimanded by his superiors in the South Manchurian Railroad for his participation in three revolutions, or his activity in ultra-nationalistic organizations, but rather was advanced in the company's Research Institute.

Dr. OKAWA admits he saw Japanese soldiers and officers treat Chinese civilians brutally while he was in Shanghai during the war (after 1941).

Dr. OKAWA admits his whole life has been devoted to bringing about Pan Asianism.

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SUMMARY BY: Hugh B. Helm, 12 Mar 1946

MAR 13 1946

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei

Date and time: 11 March 1946 0930-1130

Place : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan

Present : Dr. Okawa, Shumei
Mr. Hugh B. Helm, Interrogator
Lt. Comdr. F. B. Huggins, Interpreter
Miss Leona P. Coberley, Stenographer

Questions by : Mr. Helm

Oath of Interpreter: Administered by Mr. Helm

Mr. Helm : Do you solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that you will truly and accurately interpret and translate from English into Japanese and from Japanese into English as may be required of you in this proceeding?

Lt. Comdr. Huggins: I do.

Q. Doctor, when did you first become connected with the East Asia Economic Investigation Institute?

A. 1919.

Q. Had it just been formed or how long had it been in existence at that time?

A. It was established in 1907.

Q. That would be within the year following the establishment of the South Manchurian Railway?

A. It was established by Baron Goto, the first president of the South Manchurian Railway.

Q. But this institute, as a matter of fact, was owned and controlled by the South Manchurian Railway?

A. Yes.

Q. What was its purpose?

Case File No: _____

A. The study of far eastern economics from the standpoint of world economics.

Q. It was to advise the South Manchurian Railway and the government on economic features of East Asia with a view to colonization in particular, was it not?

A. No, for that purpose there was an Investigation Bureau within the organizational set-up of the South Manchurian Railway itself at Diren.

Q. When you joined this institute in 1919 tell me exactly what your duties consisted of.

A. The study of colonial policy and the history of colonization.

Q. So that you could advise the South Manchurian Railway on these subjects, is that correct?

A. I suppose so but I had no direct connection with the South Manchurian Railway.

Q. Who was the Director at this time?

A. Professor Matsuka, Kimpei.

Q. You would prepare studies and reports on colonization and economic phases of Manchuria and East Asia that would be useful to Japan in its contemplated expansion and turn these into Dr. Matsuka?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Doctor, when did you first develop your ideas of Pan Asianism?

A. I wrote my ideas in the preface of my book, "Various Problems of Reviving Asia."

Q. When was that published?

A. In 1924 I believe.

Q. You began to develop your program of Pan Asianism about the time you joined this institute and you were working on it and finally published a book on it in 1924, is that so?

A. Yes.

- Q. Will you state the exact aim of your program of Pan Asiaticism?
- A. To help the natives of India, Annam, Burma, Java, etc., a nationalist movement.
- Q. In other words, to help all oriental people to rise and throw out the white man?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Or, as it is more quaintly put, Asia for Asiatics?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How about Oceania, the Philippines, Australia, Hawaii, etc., did you include those at the time?
- A. No.
- Q. But later on?
- A. Australia is white man's land.
- Q. Your aim was to establish Asia for asiatics under leadership of Japan?
- A. If it is possible.
- Q. And you believed it was possible?
- A. Yes, in the long run.
- Q. You still feel that should be accomplished, don't you? That it ought to be?
- A. It has become impossible for Japan to take the leadership any longer.
- Q. You think Japan made her bid too soon?
- A. Yes, therefore, I did my best to prevent this war.
- Q. When did you think they should have made their bid?
- A. Unless Japan and China clasped hands I thought this war would be impossible. I thought we would lose from the beginning.
- Q. You tried to tell General Tojo this and he wouldn't listen?
- A. No, he would not listen.
- Q. You wanted him to finish the China Incident and wait a few years before he tried to accomplish this Greater East Asia idea?

A. Yes.

Q. You told him so many times?

A. I only spoke to Tojo about bringing to a close the China Incident. I do not believe Tojo was capable of grasping the idea of Greater East Asia.

Q. He had set up a Greater East Asia Ministry hadn't he?

A. That is proof of his ignorance.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. That Ministry is something like the British Bureau of Indian Affairs and will only antagonize the people of Asia. Foreign Minister Togo resigned because he opposed this and I am a friend of Togo's so naturally I opposed it also.

Q. You broke with General Tojo in 1940?

A. I think so. That is right.

Q. And you never had anything to do with him after that?

A. He persecuted me.

Q. You never wrote to him after that?

A. No.

Q. Did you go to Manchuria sometime after 1940? About the 21st of July--what year was that?

A. The last time I went to Manchuria was in December 1937--no, I went once during the summer after this once for the purpose of giving lectures. I believe that was in 1940.

Q. Was this after you had broken with Tojo?

A. I think so.

Q. And you never wrote to him after that? You will state positively that you never wrote to General Tojo after, say, June, 1940.

A. Yes.

Q. Did you write to him at all in 1940?

A. Once when he became War Minister. I wrote him telling him to discharge his duties well. Beyond this never.

Q. You never wrote but that one letter? Is your memory good about this? You are sure that you never wrote any other letters?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you where you lived, what was your address the 21st of July, 1940.

A. Same place as now, Tokyo Shigai Kamiosaki 231.

Q. Dr. Okawa, I will read to you a letter that was found in Tojo's possession the day that he tried to kill himself. This letter is addressed to Hidekâ Tojo:

"To Hideki Tojo, 25-2 Chome Kitasawa, Setagaya-ku
From Shunai Okawa, 231 - 4 Chome Kami-Osaka, Shinagawa-ku dated 21 July ---

Your Excellency,

During these turbulent times your duties must keep you very busy, but because you are the one hope of Japan, I pray that your most important mission with regard for the welfare of the people is thoroughly accomplished.

But for the insincerity of the Minister of Finance the United States Loan Agreement question is almost settled as you know. Will you please exert your whole-hearted efforts in alleviating this condition.

General Chiang Kai Shek's only salvation is to obtain aid from the United States; therefore if the above mentioned agreement is completed it will be a lightning stroke obliterating China's only hope, bringing about an immediate termination of the CHINA INCIDENT and making it possible for Japan to proceed in its Southward advancement plan. This I believe is the only solution to the present critical situation.

It was my wish to confer personally with you on this matter but because I am leaving for Manchuria tonight, please accept this epistle instead."

Did you write that letter?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. You remember this letter very well now that I read it to you? You wrote it on July 21, 1940?

A. Yes.

Q. This was at the time you were dealing with Mr. Harry Chandler of the United States and that is what you are referring to in this letter on the U.S. loan agreement, is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. You said that you were trying to bring about peace at this time but you meant peace with the U.S. so that you could get this money. You did not want Tojo to attack the United States until you could get this money. Is it not so?

A. Yes.

Q. But you did want Japan to go on with its program of expansion because you spoke of proceeding with the southward advance, is that not so?

A. Yes. I had not broken relations at this time. We were on the very best terms.

Q. Did you believe he was the only hope for Japan or were you just kidding him?

A. That is flattery.

Q. All you wanted was to get this money?

A. Yes.

Q. And if you got this loan from the United States, then Japan would be getting the financial aid from the United States instead of China. You hoped to divert all financial aid from China. Is that correct?

A. The full agreement of this proposed Pan Pacific Trade and Navigation Company is also drawn up and a copy should be available.

Q. How much capital was to be involved?

A. Ten million dollars American capital and ten million dollars Japanese capital.

Q. Who was going to furnish the ten million dollars in the United States?

A. Harry Chandler was to handle that.

Q. What particular trade/traffic were you going to engage in?

A. The first was to be exchanged between U.S. gasoline and Chinese tungsten.

- Q. I thought you were against the capitalists.
- A. I tried to help all means to prevent a war.
- Q. Have you finished reading General Tanaka's book?
- A. Yes, almost.
- Q. Is it true what he says in his book?
- A. In general I think so.
- Q. General Tanaka was on the inside with the militarist and others? You had known him for many years?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Colonel Hashimoto had known him a long time?
- A. Probably.
- Q. Now, Doctor, you joined the staff of this research institute of the South Manchurian Railway in 1919?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How long after that was it before you became director of this institute?
- A. Seven years.
- Q. When did you become director?
- A. 1926.
- Q. You remained as director of this institute, as the head of this institute, until you went to prison in 1932?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How much salary did they pay you?
- A. I was getting 500 yen a month at the end.
- Q. Plus bonuses?
- A. Yes. When Jimukai was started Ishiwara gave me 20,000 yen.
- Q. That came from the Army didn't it?

A. Ishiwara is a millionaire.

Q. You got out of prison in 1936?

A. October, 1935 I was let out on probation.

Q. And you returned to this East Asia Economic Investigation Institute controlled by the South Manchurian Railway as Director?

A. I was with them as advisor.

Q. You no longer were director but advisor?

A. Yes.

Q. And you continued in this capacity until your internment in Sagami Prison?

A. Yes.

Q. All the time that this institute was in being it amassed a great library. You consider it a very excellent library dealing with everything economically, culturally, socially, governmentally connected with Asia and Oceania?

A. Yes. Not only Asia but including the world in general.

Q. This institute made thorough studies of the resources of all nations, of their military capacity?

A. Not military, just economic.

Q. But you did study their economic ability to wage war?

A. No.

Q. You made thorough economic and colonial studies?

A. Yes.

Q. A study of the methods of Britain and Holland in dealing with colonies and establishing colonies, did it not?

A. Yes.

Q. All of the efforts of this institute were placed at the disposal of the government were they not?

A. No.

Q. The South Manchurian Railway controlled your institute, didn't it? And the government controlled it, therefore, the government could control your institute couldn't it?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Doctor, while you were connected with this institute you belonged, you founded and organized and were leader of several ultra-nationalistic societies such as Yusen-Sha, Gyochoi Sha, and Jimmu Kai?

A. Yes.

Q. Were these secret societies?

A. They were well known.

Q. You were never reprimanded by your superiors in the South Manchurian Railway for this activity?

A. No.

Q. And they knew about it, didn't they?

A. Yes.

Q. As a matter of fact they approved of it?

A. I don't know.

Q. During the war, I believe you told me, that you did a lot of traveling in China?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever go to the South Seas?

A. No.

Q. What were you doing in China during the war?

A. I was there to help my Chinese friends.

Q. Did you visit Nanking?

A. Yes.

Q. Didn't you find behavior of Japanese troops in Nanking disgraceful?

A. I was not there at that time.

Q. Didn't you tell me the other day that one of the reasons that you went to China was to try to get the Japanese troops to treat the Chinese people better?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you just go over there on your own or did you go for the government?

A. Friends in China asked me to come.

Q. You just went there on your own?

A. Yes.

Q. How did you find conditions?

A. They were very bad. I don't think their aims were wrong but in reality it was the worst economic policy. I went over personally to change economic policy.

Q. While you were there you helped the Chinese bankers and merchants by adjusting the Japanese Army economic policies?

A. Yes.

Q. While you were there you also noticed the bad behavior of Japanese troops toward Chinese civilians, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. In this regard what did you see? Will you give us some examples.

A. For example, I will tell you about a case that happened to me. I had taken my car and gone to the Cathay Hotel and was up seeing a Chinese friend of mine. When I returned I found two Japanese officers beating up my Chinese chauffeur. I asked them what they were doing and because I am tall and was wearing a Chinese costume they took me for a Chinese also and tried to turn on me. I made my identity known and they seemed to know my name. I demanded their cards so that I might know who they were and told them I would turn them in to the Commander in Chief. In any case they were mistreating my chauffeur because they had evidently tried to take my car and ride off in it and when the chauffeur attempted to stop them they began the mistreatment.

Q. That went on all the time?

A. You can tell by this more or less the manner in which the Japanese military men were treating the Chinese civilians.

- Q. Did you ever see them mistreat any women?
- A. You would hardly see things like that in public.
- Q. Do you remember the names of these two officers?
- A. They did not show me their cards but they apologized profusely and would not show their cards.
- Q. Did you ever see any executions or beatings?
- A. No executions but I saw many beatings.
- Q. That is Japanese officers and soldiers beating Chinese civilians?
- A. Soldiers--officers in this case I repeated.
- Q. In your book, "An Outline of Japanese Cultural History" which was translated into the Chinese in 1939 there appears a biography of you, does it not?
- A. Possibly.
- Q. You do know that it is in that book don't you?
- A. I imagine so. I have forgotten.
- Q. And it relates your development from a thinker to a fighter in the realm of social problems, and it gives your teachings of colonial history and policy at the Colonial University and your ideas of restoring Japan so that she can carry out her obligations to restore East Asia. That in general is there, is it not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. As a matter of fact the efforts of your life have been devoted to bringing about Pan Asianism?
- A. Yes, and due to the war they became impossible.
- Q. But you also knew that it would be necessary to fight Britain and America some day to carry out your aims.
- A. Yes, because I did not believe they would stand aside and let us advance. If they voluntarily emancipated the people there would be no necessity for the war.
- Q. But you knew they would not and you wanted Japan to prepare for war?
- A. Yes.

Q. From 1916 on you bent all of your efforts in the way of organizing ultra-nationalistic societies, writing scholarly research and speaking publicly to the people towards getting Japan ready to fulfill her heavenly mission to rule the world?

A. You can say so.

Q. Isn't it true?

A. Yes, but it is a very remote and distant idea.

Q. In 1940 you saw that Tojo was fixing to lead Japan into this Greater East Asia war prematurely and you tried to stop him didn't you?

A. This war, as far as I was concerned, was a very very important war and I did not want to fight a losing war and that is the reason I opposed Tojo in 1940.

Q. You wanted Japan to wait awhile didn't you?

A. Yes, my principles have not changed. I thought it was very hard. We were not prepared at all.

Q. Is there anything else you would like to tell us? Anything you would like to say?

A. I believed in these principles of cooperation under cultural understanding of the people of Asia and of the world and as a Japanese I wished to grasp the leadership for Japan but because I did not feel that Japan was ready yet or had been culturally trained to take the leadership I opposed this war as coming too soon.

Q. It would have been better to get the money from Mr. Harry Chandler and developed trade and built the army up stronger and struck in five or ten years would it not?

A. Had cooperation been reached it is possible that a war would not have had to be fought. I never believed in Japan starting a war against the United States. I thought that if it came about the attack would come from the United States.

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INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shunsei - 9 March 46

SUMMARY

Dr. OKAWA admits pages 57 to 63 in Gen TANAKA's book, "The Realities of Military Despotism" are true.

Dr. OKAWA admits being intimate with Gen TOJO for more than ten years prior to 1940.

Dr. OKAWA admits having known Gen Ryukichi TANAKA very well for a long time, and that Gen TANAKA was of the same belief with him and Col HASHIMOTO.

Dr. OKAWA admits he and Col HASHIMOTO, Maj CHO, and Col SHIGETO planned with ITAGAKI and ISHIWARA to blow up a section of the South Manchurian Railroad in order to precipitate hostilities with China. He says he knew it would happen three months before.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #689, a book entitled "Various Problems of Reviving Asia," published 20 July 1923. His thesis: Pan Asianism with all the world finally under the Emperor.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #693, a book entitled, "The Way of Japan and the Japanese," published 20 March 1926. His thesis: Praise of militarism and Japan as the harbinger of the new world.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #605, a book entitled, "Words and Actions in the Japanese Way," published 25 January 1930. His thesis: Praise of the Military as the only ones fit to carry out the renovation and bring about Pan Asianism and Japan's Heavenly Mission.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #690, a book entitled, "Japanese History Reader," published 17 November 1935.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #691, entitled "Outline of Japan's Cultural History".

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #692, a book entitled "Twenty-six Hundred Years of Japanese History," published 5 July 1939.

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SUMMARY - OKAWA, Shunzei, 9 Mar 46

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #694, a book entitled "Founders of Asia," published 25 January 1941.

Dr. OKAWA admits that he and Col HASHIMOTO were using the top generals in the military from 1930 on to accomplish their aims for Japan and that these men generally didn't know what was going on.

**Summary by: Hugh B. Helm
12 Mar 1946**

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei, Dr.

DATE AND TIME: 9 March 1946. 1045-1130 hours.

PLACE : Sugano Prison, Tokyo, Japan.

PRESENT : OKAWA, Shumei, Dr.

Mr. Hugh B. Helm Interrogator
Mr. Denis Kildoyle Interpreter
Miss Dinah Braun Stenographer

Oath of Interpreter administered by Mr. Helm:

Do you solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that you will truly and accurately interpret and translate from English into Japanese, and from Japanese into English, as may be required of you, in this proceeding?

MR. KILDOYLE : I do.

NOTE : Before the interrogation proceeded, DR. OKAWA made the following statement:

DR. OKAWA : Some time ago when I mentioned my efforts to preserve peace between United States and Japan, you seemed to take a contrary attitude. If you will look into this book written by Gen. TANAKA -

MR. HELM : Yes, I know that book. Is it all true and correct?

DR. OKAWA : I don't know if it is all true or not. But there is one chapter in this book prior to the outbreak of war which shows I was trying to promote peace.

MR. HELM : Let the record show that immediately upon entering the room, DR. OKAWA produced a copy of Gen. TANAKA's book "The Realities of Military Despotism" and turned to pages 57 to 63 which he desired be considered a true account in his behalf.

The Interrogation then proceeded.

QUESTIONS BY : MR. HELM.

(DR. OKAWA 3-9-46)

Q. You had been intimate with TOJO, and you broke with him?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you break with him?

A. I broke with TOJO in 1940.

Q. But prior to that time for how many years had you been intimate with him?

A. More than ten years.

Q. General TOJO also handled the scheme mentioned in his article. Would it be correct to say that TOJO was over a long period of time working towards a military dictatorship in Japan?

A. I don't think so.

Q. What do you think his aims were in the ten years you knew him?

A. He was a scrupulous and conscientious worker. His character suddenly changed after he became War Minister.

Q. But he was ultra-nationalistic all the time you knew him, was he not?

A. No, I do not think so. He (Gen. Tanaka) compared Gen. TOJO to the traditional Japanese footwear or "geta" - something that should be kept underfoot and not placed on the head.

Q. And you agreed with that?

A. I said so.

Q. You must have known Gen. TANAKA well, for a long time?

A. Yes.

Q. Very well?

A. Yes. I knew him since he was a captain.

Q. As a matter of fact, Gen. TANAKA used to believe the way you did, did he not?

A. Yes.

Q. But he saw the light when the war started?

A. I don't think so.

Q. You don't think he changed?

A. No.

Q. Why did he resign from TOJO's Cabinet?

A. Because TOJO disliked him.

Q. I hand you a magazine entitled "CHUGO KORON", February, 1946, marked for convenience Document No. 765. Are you familiar with that?

A. Yes.

Q. Who published that magazine?

A. HOYAMA.

Q. Do you know him?

A. Yes, he was a professor.

Q. Now, there is a very interesting account of the March 31 Incident beginning on page 1. It is an article entitled "The Failure of the March Incident and its Implications", by IWABUCHI, Tatsuo. Do you know IWABUCHI?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know him well?

A. Not very well.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I saw him only once or twice.

Q. Now, he said, I believe on page 42.

(Note: MR. HELM READS FROM TRANSLATION)

Is that correct?

A. No.

Q. What is wrong with that. You told me the reason the March Incident did not come through was because TOKUGAWA asked you to quit, is that correct?

A. Yes.

(DR. OKAWA - 3-9-46)

Q. Later on this man says that you told him later you had to do what the Marquis said and that the Marquis (TOKUGAWA) paid you 200,000 yen...

A. (Interrupting) Utterly false. The Marquis never gave me any money.

Q. Where did you get all the money for all this plotting and scheming?

A. It wasn't so much money.

Q. You gave a man 3000 yen at one time. Where did you get that?

A. That is not true.

Q. You told me so yourself.

A. The March affair is a different one. It is different from the May 15th affair.

Q. Now, where did you get the 3000 yen you gave that naval officer?

A. I had the money.

Q. Where did you get the money?

A. I had 3000 yen.

Q. What was the source of your income. Was the South Manchurian Railway paying you so much money?

A. All, yes.

Q. Paying you large sums of money?

A. 500 yen a month, and in addition I had a bonus of 800 yen a month, so it made about 10,000 yen a year. I saved money - I didn't spend all the money I received.

Q. You said in 1921 you associated with KITA and you were great friends but parted afterwards. Would this be a true account of why you parted?

"KITA said about the army's national reconstruction movement 'It is simply a fascistic movement, not a revolution.' But OKAWA said, 'Fascistic movement or not, our only concern is to utilize the army'".

A. No, I didn't like the way he got money.

Q. You told me the other day the reason you parted was because of the methods but not the aims.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

- A. Yes, I didn't like his ways of getting money.
- Q. Now, you believe that the occupation of Manchuria was necessary to enable Japan to prosecute a protracted war, did you not?
- A. Without Manchurian commodities it would be impossible to prosecute a protracted war.

- Q. We have a statement here that you made to this effect:

"It had come to be generally believed that the occupation of Manchuria was necessary to enable Japan to prosecute a protracted war, which might come after 1936, the expiration year of the naval cut treaty".

Did you ever express yourself that way?

- A. I do not remember having made that statement.
- Q. You felt that way at the time, didn't you?
- A. I might have said it at that time.
- Q. And did you further say:

"So, SHIGETO and HASHIMOTO in the Army Headquarters in Tokyo, ITAGAKI and HANATANI (or HANAYA) of the Kwantung Army, and from among civilians I and KARAMOTO participated in the plan. Thus the Sept. 18 Incident took place. It appeared that China invited that disaster by her own blunder. Commander HONJO delightedly said that the Sept. 18 Incident was skillfully met on the spur of the moment. But the Incident had been carefully prepared, planned and arranged."

- A. At that time I was in prison.
- Q. You were not in prison in 1931.
- A. I was in prison in 1936 and went out after the China Affair broke out.
- Q. But I am talking about this statement made in 1931.
- A. But I never met with all of these people at one time. General Honjo, Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, was never much satisfied with this Incident - with the measures taken in disposing of the Sept. 18 Incident.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

- Q. How did you know - did he tell you so?
- A. Yes, he did, and further, General HONJO had no knowledge of any such plans.
- Q. But now, Doctor, is it not so that this Incident was planned by certain members of the so-called Control Group, Col. HASHIMOTO, SHIGETO, the General Staff here in Tokyo, in conjunction with CHO?
- A. He was here at the time.
- Q. Well, HASHIMOTO, SHIGETO and CHO planned with ITAGAKI and who else in Manchuria?
- A. I think ISHIHARA.
- Q. DOIHARA too?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. But they planned to blow this railway track up and make it appear as if the Chinese had done it, isn't that right?
- A. Yes, I think so.
- Q. Don't you know so?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You were in on it too, were you not? You knew about it before it happened, did you not?
- A. I knew of plans in Manchuria, but did not know the details.
- Q. What you mean by that is that you did not know it was going to be on the 18th?
- A. No.
- Q. But you knew that these certain people were going to do something?
- A. Yes.
- Q. In order to start the war with China?
- A. Yes.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

- Q. How long did you know it before it actually happened?
- A. More than three months.
- Q. And you knew that because you were seeing HASHIMOTO and SHIGETO and they were talking about it and planning it, and you gave them the benefit of your advice on some things, is that correct?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then who left to go over there to do it - who actually did it on the spot in Manchuria?
- A. That I don't know.
- Q. ISHIHARA?
- A. No, I don't know. I don't think so/ - I don't even know now.
- Q. HASHIMOTO?
- A. No, he was here - therefore it must have been the KWANTUNG ARMY.
- Q. During the times that HASHIMOTO, SHIGETO and CHO were talking to you about this plot, they never indicated who was helping them on the other end from the Kwantung Army?
- A. I think ISHIHARA and ITAGAKI.
- Q. If you think back, don't you remember that HASHIMOTO and CHO mentioned these names and said they would take care of it over there?
- A. Yes, Yes, Yes. I do remember it now. HASHIMOTO and CHO were here in Tokyo. They did not go to Manchukuo. ISHIHARA and ITAGAKI handled it there.
- Q. And Gen. DOIHARA was a colonel at that time and he was going to help too?
- A. I do not think Col. DOIHARA entered these discussions. The people who knew the details and the people who carried out the plan were different.
- Q. Well, ITAGAKI and ISHIHARA were handling things in Manchuria?
- A. They were the center in Manchuria, I think.
- Q. Now, Doctor, we have an account of a statement HASHIMOTO made here in Tokyo before this happened. He said "An incident will occur in Manchuria in regard to the railroad. The hostilities will occur and the General Staff knows about it and has agreed. Do you know about this statement?"
- A. I do not remember this statement.

(DR. OKAWA -3-9-46)

Q. Dr. OKAWA, I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.689. I ask you to look at it. This book is entitled "Various Problems of Reviving Asia". This book was published July 20, 1923. Did you write this book?

A. I did.

Q. You state in the preface of that book:

"I realized that not only India, but every place on the vast continent of Asia had been trampled underfoot by the white man, and every race had been enslaved by him. Ten years ago I was a student devoted to knowledge and not unwilling to become a priest. Now I am a champion of reviving Asia, giving lectures on the history of colonization and colonial policy at the Colonial University, and working with the youths who cultivate knowledge at Nomijigaoka Hill, holding the ideal of the revival of Asia as dear as my life."

A. Yes.

Q. You made that statement?

A. Yes.

Q. Then you say later on in the preface:

"If the articles in this book can inspire the people, be it ever so little, with the enthusiasm for the cause of reviving Asia, my efforts will be amply rewarded."

A. Yes.

Q. You then advocate Japan's leadership of Asia, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You say:

"Our way may lead us through disorder for a time, but we must remember that the establishment of Japan which realizes the noble ideals of Buddhism means exactly the birth of the genuine Asia."

A. Yes.

Q. Then in Chapter 1, page 24, speaking of the disillusionment by the League of Nations, do you not say:

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

"Thus, throughout Asia, the tide of resistance against white domination is rising, and the struggle between the white people and the non-white people is assuming the form of inter-racial struggle".

A. Yes.

Q. You emphasize in this book, do you not, that the MEIJI RESTORATION was not really a Restoration, but a Revolution, on page 295?

A. Yes.

Q. You are therefore trying to justify revolutions as a part of human progress, are you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you gave various reasons for the necessity of performing the second Restoration (revolution), and was that not by completing the second Restoration Japan would be able to enhance the beauty of the national constitution and can become the true savior of the world, realizing the grand spirit of the foundation of the Empire?

A. Yes.

Q. And don't you say on Page 337:

"Japan is a reservoir of all the culture and civilization of Asia. Besides, she is the only independent country in Asia that has absorbed the scientific knowledge of the Occident. It is the sacred task assigned her that she should create something new and better. For the sake of this sacred task, the Japanese people should employ all their physical and mental energies."

A. Yes.

Q. The sacred task you were speaking of was bringing all of the world under the Emperor, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Rather a coincidence is it not that this book came out in the month of the 2.26 Incident?

A. So?

Q. Yes.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

- A. It is a reprint of a former book.
- Q. But you felt this was a very timely book?
- A. (Laughing) No, I think not.
- Q. DR. OKAWA, I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No. 693, entitled "The Way of Japan and the Japanese." It was published on the 20 of March 1926, and in that book you express dissatisfaction with the statesmen of the period after the Meiji Restoration, on page 100.
- A. Yes.
- Q. And you praise the Japanese soldier as having kept the spirit and honor of the Samurai and as being not depraved?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then on page 104, don't you advocate State Socialism, absolute control by the state of everything?
- A. Not absolute.
- Q. Well, overall state control?
- A. Planned Economy.
- Q. Then on page 125, you describe the mission of Japan as the unification of the civilization of the east with that of the west, beginning a new page in world history?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then your last chapter entitled "Japan As the Harbinger of the New World".
- A. Yes.
- Q. In that you speak of the following: (Page 140-143)

"It is the desire of the world that a new eastern light which is thus to be born, shines on the history of mankind. I think the war between the East and the West which is to be fought at the risk of their whole existence is now inevitable for the coming of a new world. It is not feasible that the East and the West as a whole fight, ...but, in practice, one country representing Europe and one representing Asia are chosen as the champions respectively and should fight to realize a new world. The Heaven seems to

(OKOWA 3-9-46)

choose Japan as one champion."

Q. By these two countries, you meant United States and Japan?

A. Yes.

Q. Dr. OKOWA, I hand you a book for convenience marked Document No. 605. It is entitled "Words and Actions in the Japanese Way", published January 25, 1930. I ask you if you wrote this book?

A. Yes.

Q. I believe this book is a collection of lectures given by you?

A. Yes.

Q. Most of them appeared previously in a monthly magazine entitled "NIPPON" published by No. 4 Minami-Konyacho Kyobashi-ku, and this was the official organ of GYOKUSHIHA' - an ultra nationalistic society formed by Dr. OKOWA?

A. Yes.

Q. You say there do you not: (on page 9)

"The spiritual attitude of the Japanese could best manifest itself in war; the wars of the ancient Japanese were fought to subdue those who rebel against the Gods and make them honor the same Gods?"

In other words to make the enemy honor the same Gods or cherish the same ideal?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, you have a section in there, on page 113, I believe, devoted to Kemal Pasha of Turkey and you say that it is significant that the Revolution of Turkey in 1908 was attempted and won by soldiers, don't you?

A. Yes.

Q. And then you say:

"In the countries of the orient, the principal bodies of political movement were always soldiers. They alone command the unity and courage to achieve the object. The rest of the nation are like sheep, submitting themselves to being sheared and killed without breathing a word of resentment".

A. Yes.

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Q. And then a little later on you say:

"Movement to Arise in Japan: Three figures of current history are given. Mussolini of Italy, Reza of Persia and Amanular of Afganstan, whose actions are unique and original befitting to the nation concerned".

A. Yes.

Q. And you say:

"Attempt at Europinization or modernization has been the common blunder committed by Asiatic nations. The young party in Turkey and the revolutionary party in India came under this category. They achieved success up to a point but were fated to failure".

A. Yes.

Q. And you say that:

"Ghandi, whose boldness in speaking against British Administration of India as the source of all evils, presents Japan a good lesson".

A. Yes.

Q. Then finally:

"I think the time of Japan's reconstruction is nearer by degree. The reformation will be achieved along the line of originality. It may be an individual or a body. But I firmly believe there is such one quietly swaiting the heavenly command to go. He may be an insignificant one at present - as a 'thief of the night'. When the time matures, he will appear as a lightning to achieve the end".

A. Yes. You omitted here not imitating either Ghandi or Kamal Pasha.

Q. Then you have a chapter 8, page 154, in which you state the great contribution of the SAMURAI's to Japan's spiritual training and praise the militarists of Japan for having retained that spirit in spite of the modern knowledge they acquired. You find that they are far sounder than any other group of society. In particular, you find that the politicians have fallen to the "depth of shame and rottenness" and think that the juxtaposition of the two types is highly instructive for everybody. In other words, that then is the reason you tied up with the extremists from the military like HASHIMOTO?

A. Yes.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

Q. To achieve your plan for Japan?

A. Yes.

Q. And your plans for Japan included Pan-Asianism?

A. Yes.

Q. And the extension of the Greater East Asia-Co-Prosperity Sphere?

A. Yes.

Q. And the expulsion of the white man from Asia?

A. Yes.

Q. Dr. Okawa, I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.690, entitled "Japanese History Reader", published November 17, 1935 and ask you whether or not you wrote that book?

A. Yes, I wrote it.

Q. I believe this book was translated into Chinese, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. You discussed there the significance of the Emperor-System for Japan and its religious basis, did you not, on page 29?

A. Yes.

Q. And you state:

"according to it the area where these ideals are taken into daily life will increase as more and more people will act in accordance with the Emperor's direction".

A. Yes.

Q. The last chapter is entitled "Japan, Facing the Second Restoration" ?

A. Yes.

Q. And you state there:

"Since the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, the people have come to realize very acutely that Japan is in an emergency.. The necessity for a thorough and general renovation of the state was keenly felt, and the loud cry for the Showa restoration has

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

"been repeatedly heard. The people now want to follow the principle of the direct rule by the Emperor himself. They want to get rid of the abuses arising from the party politics that make more of the party's interests than of the national policy. They demand the realization of truly Japanese politics in which the people's idea of whole the nation being united into one will be realized. They also demand the realization of really Japan-like economy which will stabilize the national life by putting an end to the exploitation of capitalistic economy. Again they demand the realization of really Japan-like education that will cultivate a true Japanese by teaching him the spirit of the foundation of Japan, the essence of the Japanese nation and the ideals of the Japanese people. These demands are righteous demands; accordingly, they will be satisfied even if those who wish to maintain the status quo will try to oppose or subdue them. Japan is now facing the second restoration".

- A. Yes.
- Q. I ask you if this book was not dated three months before the Incident of 2.26.36?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You seem to indicate that coming events cast their shadows - did you not have an idea ..
- A. (laughing) No.
- Q. I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.691 entitled "Outline of Japan's Cultural History, dated and ask you whether you wrote that book?
- A. Yes.
- Q. I hand you herewith book marked for convenience Document No.692 entitled "THIRTY-SIX HUNDRED YEARS OF JAPANESE HISTORY" published July 5, 1939 and ask you if you wrote that book?
- A. Yes.
- Q. We will go into these later.
- A. That is a cheaper edition of a former book of Japanese History.
- Q. It was so popular that you issued it again in another edition?
- A. Yes, only the title is different.

(OKAWA 3-9-46)

Q. I hand you a book marked for convenience Document No.694 entitled "Founders of Asia" published January 25, 1941, and ask if you wrote that book?

A. Yes.

NOTE: Here Mr.Helm requested DR. OKAWA to write in Japanese characters and English translation, the name of the institute. Dr. Okawa did so and the same is attached to the original of this transcription. The English translation reads "TO-A KEIZAI CHOSA KYOKU".

Q. Did that have anything to do with the East Asia Research Institute?

A. That is it.

Q. And that is your outfit? We were wondering what it was and I did not know it was the same as yours.

A. That is our organization.

Q. You compiled great lists of all books and writings on all Asiatic countries and so forth?

A. Yes. We had a very good library.

Q. You really did. We have most of it. You directed all that?

A. Yes, I collected it.

Q. Here is something I cannot make out. Whether you and HASHIMOTO and that group were really running things here in Japan; every time things quieted down you all would plan something else and you were forcing generals like TOJO and all of those at the top -were you really carrying them along and forcing them to do what you wanted them to or were you and HASHIMOTO just the tools for these big generals. Which is true?

A. The people higher up really had no connection with it - they were the ones utilized as tools.

Q. By you and HASHIMOTO?

A. Yes.

INTERROGATION ADJOURNED.

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INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shunpei - 7 March 46

SUMMARY

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #687, a book entitled "SATO SHINREN's Ideal State," published 20 Feb 1924 by OBI, Harutoshi, who ran an institute called "Social Education Research Institute."

Dr. OKAWA admits "The Social Education Research Institute" yearly selected 20 bright young boys from rural districts and educated them in the way of revolution for new Japan and the heavenly vision to rule the world.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #684, a book entitled "Asia, Europe, Japan," published 15 October 1925. This book was a cultural background for Pan Asianism.

Dr. OKAWA admits making public speeches against the League of Nations and advocating the rise of Asia by force.

Dr. OKAWA admits that in 1924 he said in public speeches that Japan must fight the United States.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #688, a book entitled "History of Modern European Colonization," Vol. I, published 13 October 1941. Dr. OKAWA calls this the history of the white man's control of the world. He stresses the cunning and craftiness of England and compares Japan's insular position to that of England.

Dr. OKAWA admits the South Manchurian Railroad was controlled by the Japanese Government, and that his East Asia Research Institute was controlled by the Railroad.... The Institute was in effect an organ of the government.

Dr. OKAWA admits authorship of Evidentiary Document #685, a book entitled "Establishing Order in Greater East Asia," published 20 August 1943.

Summary by: Hugh B. Helm.
15 March 1946.

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MAR 15 1946

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shunsei, Dr.

DATE AND TIME: 7 March 1946. 0945-1130 hours

PLACE : Sugano Prison, Tokyo, Japan

PRESENT : OKAWA, Shunsei, Dr.

Mr. Hugh B. Helm Interrogator
Lt. Comdr. Frank B. Huggins Interpreter
Miss Dinah Braun Stenographer

Oath of Interpreter administered by Mr. Helm:

Do you solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that you will truly and accurately interpret and translate from English into Japanese, and from Japanese into English, as may be required of you, in this proceeding?

LT.COMDR.HUGGINS: I do.

QUESTIONS BY : MR. HELM.

- Q. I show you a booklet marked for convenience Document No.687. This book is entitled "SATO SHINEN'S Ideal State", and it bears your name as author. I hand you this book and ask you if you wrote that book.
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was this book not published the 20 of February, 1924?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was this book not the second in a series called "Studies of the Japanese Spirit" published by the "Social Education Research Institute" (SHAKAI KYOIKU KENKYU SHO)?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Will you tell me what connection you had with this institute?

(DR. OKAWA 3-7-46 cont'd)

- A. This institute was run by a man named OBI, Harutoshi and I was a lecturer at this institute.
- Q. What was the purpose of this institute?
- A. Every year twenty young men were selected from rural districts and trained in social matters.
- Q. Such as what?
- A. These young men were those that would take an important part in agricultural leadership and rural government. Among other things they particularly taught Japanese Spirit, History etc. I lectured upon the Japanese Spirit.
- Q. This was an ultra-nationalistic institution, was it not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. These young men were instilled with a burning zeal for reformation in the government, were they not?
- A. No. This organization was not one that took an interest in such matters.
- Q. But you did instruct these young men in the Japanese Spirit and the heavenly mission of the Japanese nation, did you not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And you instructed them about Pan-Asianism, did you not.
- A. No, only Japanese.
- Q. You never mentioned Pan-Asianism?
- A. No. These young men returned to the country and became leaders of the rural population so there was no need to talk to them about matters like Pan-Asianism.
- Q. Was not the heavenly mission of Japan, to rule the world?
- A. It was a moral organization of humanity. As a whole, in substance, the answer to your question is yes.
- Q. Now, Dr. directing your attention to page 47 of your book published in 1924 about SATO SHINEN, do you not find:

(Reading)

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46)

"According to his belief, the country that was created first of all was Japan. Therefore, Japan is the base of all the countries in the world, and from the beginning it has been the mission for the one who rules the Empire that he should give peace and satisfaction to all the peoples in the world. Accordingly, he established a most concrete system of world policies, expounding it in the means for fulfilling Japan's heavenly mission of reigning over the world".

A. Yes.

Q. Now, this man SATO SHINEN was a Japanese patriot who lived from 1769 to 1850, did he not?

A. Yes, somewhere around that time.

Q. On page 50, is it not found: (Reading)

"Being clear-headed, he could perceive that the international situation in which Japan stood were endangering the national existence and that Japan stood on the verge of downfall. Therefore, he warned the people that if Japan should not prepare against the southward advance of Russia by securing the eastern coast of Siberia, and also against the northward advance of England by occupying the South Seas Islands, the basis of her national defense would not be secure enough."

A. Yes.

Q. And do you not find in the third chapter an outline of SHINEN's system of politics, which you call "an excellent system of political science". Further saying it prohibits private management of commerce, emphasizes state control of trade and advocates a type of national socialism. Is not that in the third chapter?

A. Yes.

Q. In the fourth chapter entitled "SHINEN's Ideal of the State", you set forth the sacredness of the Emperor, as a spiritual instructor of the people who makes them follow the way of Heaven.

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 72 do you not include as a special feature of SHINEN's Ideal State the extreme importance of the police office in cultural institutions. In other words, you approve their "Thought Police", do you not?

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46)

- Q. Where.
- Q. On page 72.
- A. That is not set forth here (indicating page in book).
- Q. You do not mention the police at all?
- A. No, where?
- Q. On page 72 and following. The police were to enforce these cultural institutions, is that right?
- A. In order to lift up the morals of the people I advocated that the jurisdictional organizations and the police should work together.
- ~~MR. HELM: Strike it all out.~~
- Q. You included in that book plans for the industrial and administrative re-organization of Japan, did you not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Well then, you did teach these young men about government reformation, did you not?
- A. I taught them what this scholar had thought about Japan.
- Q. But you included in this book much of the talk which was actually delivered as a lecture?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You included in your lecture discussions of industrialism, reformation and administrative reorganization of Japan, did you not?
- A. I don't see how you can reach that conclusion because at the end it was what SHINEN thought - his ideals for the reformation of the country. It is unfortunate that when Japan had a man such as this he is not better known and that instead of him the teachings of Marx should be so widely circulated.
- Q. And you expressed your conviction that some day a wise emperor would appear and lead the nation into the fulfillment of Japan's heavenly mission? You stated that SHINEN was convinced that some day a wise emperor would appear and lead the nation into the fulfillment of Japan's heavenly mission?
- A. Yes, that is right.

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46)

- Q. And your part about SHINEN and MARX, the comparison between them, is that SHINEN was a better socialist than Marx was and he should be better known than Marx?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then you were teaching these young men about government reformation, were you not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Dr. OKAWA, I hand you a booklet marked for convenience Document No. 684. This book is entitled "Asia, Europe, Japan" and bears your name as the author. I ask you if that is not your book?
- A. Yes, it is.
- Q. Published 15 October 1925?
- A. Yes.
- Q. This book was published by "DAI TO BUNKA KYOKAI" (Society for Great Eastern Culture), was it not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Will you tell us what your connections were with this organization.
- A. I had no connection.
- Q. Why did they publish your book?
- A. They asked me to give it to them.
- Q. Who asked you?
- A. I think TSUCHIYA - I don't remember exactly but I think it was he.
- Q. What was the purpose of this society?
- A. The study of oriental civilization, particularly China.
- Q. The people in this society were interested, as you were, in Pan-Asianism, were they not?
- A. No, I don't think so. Their studies were mainly concerned with China.
- Q. You don't think they were interested in a Greater East Asia Sphere?
- A. No, I don't think so.

(DB. OKAWA 4-7-46)

Q. At this time you were connected with the South Manchurian Railway Institute of East Asian Economic

A. Yes.

Q. And you were interested at this time in Pan-Asianism, were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you wrote this book to more or less show the cultural background for Pan-Asianism, did you not?

A. My own personal aim was that.

Q. I will ask you if you don't state in the preface that your purposes are five as follows: (1) In order to show the significance of the war in the world history to the so-called pacifists. (2) In order to show that the world history in its true sense is the history of opposition, fighting and unification of the East and the West. (3) To clarify the cultural characteristics of the East and the West. (4) To give a logical foundation to "ZEN ASIA SHUGI" (The principle of United Asia or Pan-Asianism). (5) To explain the inevitability of a war between the East and the West and the sublime mission of Japan in the world history.

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 7, Dr. do you not say:

"The most remarkable and important significance of war lies in their contribution to the moral unification of mankind. In other words, they contributed much in realizing peace in a wider sphere than before."

A. Yes.

Q. In other words, you say war has more good in it than bad in its final effects?

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 9:

"In ancient time, there were incessant fightings between family groups....they were unified or annexed and became the kernels of the state....In a state, fighting became the profession of the soldiers, and other people could settle down to their own work. This systemization of war accompanying the establishment of state was the basis of establishing peace and accordingly of developing civilization."

A. Yes.

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46)

Q. And on page 101:

"All the wars in the world history have contributed systematically and consistently to keeping the order and tranquility in the world...The two units of civilization, Asia and Europe, were more firmly unified after each one of their internal wars, and the strife between the two has always given rise to a new world civilization".

(Question continued). In other words, you are pointing out that war is a good thing?

A. No a necessary evil. This is the philosophy of the great Russian philosopher Vladimir SOLOVIEFF, author of the book "Justification of the Good". In that book he explained the meaning of war. He has the same opinion but unlike me he believes in the victory of Christianity.

Q. Let us look at Chapter 9, "The Revival of Asia". Do you not say at page 66 :

"The meaning of the Asia problem before and after the First World War was quite different. Before the war, the so-called Asia problem was the question of how Asia should be cooked and divided among the European powers. However, the Asia problem after the war has become entirely different in its essence: It meant the Asiatics' efforts to revive Asia against the European domination."

A. Yes.

Q. Then, on page 67, don't we find:

"Various movements in Asia appear to be of political or economic nature, but if you look deep into them, you will find out that they are of spiritual nature...They demand then double independence - that is, they want to be independent politically and spiritually. It is very clear that this effort of the Asians is contradictory to the aim of the League of Nations that wish to maintain status quo".

A. Yes.

Q. And on page 70:

"However, the plan and efforts of the League of Nations in trying to keep status quo regardless of the vicissitude of the world is useless and in vain".

(Question continued). Now, Dr. that represents your belief at this

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46 cont'd)

(Question continued)

time, does it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you expressed that belief in public speeches in Japan at that time?

A. Whether I have made speeches or not, it is written there.

Q. Answer the question.

A. I do not recall whether I made any specific speeches advocating the dissolution of the League of Nations, but it is a fact that in my speeches at this time I spoke of these matters.

Q. Going on a little further in this same book, do you not find on page 76 :

"We can vaguely conjecture the future of Asia versus Europe. The stronger the awakening of Asia becomes, the more inevitable will be the collision between Asia and Europe. Unless Europe returns Asia to its legitimate owner, the two are doomed to fight each other."

A. Yes.

Q. By that you meant that ^{if} the white man did not get out of Asia, there would be trouble from Japan?

A. Yes, with the strongest nation in Asia, namely Japan.

Q. This was in 1924, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, directing your attention to Chapter 10: entitled "Europe, Asia, Japan.". Do you not find:

"The history of the world indicates that the West and the East must be combined. However, this combination will not probably be completed in peace...Before a new world appears, there must be a deadly fight between the powers of the West and of the East ... This theory is realized in the American challenge to Japan. The strongest country in Asia is Japan and the strongest country that represents Europe is America...These two countries are destined to fight. Only God knows when it will be. At any time, Japan might be summoned to fight. We must prepare all the time."

(question continued) You were urging then for increased armaments,

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46)

(question continued)

were you not?

- A. Yes.
- Q. In your public speeches and wherever you could make your influence felt, you were trying to gird the Japanese war machine in readiness for this impending crash?
- A. Whether I said so or not, those were my ideas.
- Q. Answer my question.
- A. I am not a propagandist -
- Q. (Interrupting) I did not say so -
- A. (continued) so I do not make propaganda - but be that as it may, those were still my thoughts.
- Q. And you did everything in your power to use your influence speaking and writing to gird Japan's war machine against this impending crash, is that so?
- A. No, I am not a propagandist.
- Q. I did not say you were. I said you were a leader of the people.
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then the answer to my previous question is "yes"?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you not find on page 82:
- "During the three thousand years since the foundation of the country, this excellent race has only taken and absorbed culture and civilization of foreign countries. Japan has not contributed anything to the history of the world. Was this long period of preparation not for the sake of today? Through the victory of Japan in the coming war between Japan and America, the dark world will disappear and the brilliant world will begin".
- A. Yes.

(DR. OKAWA 3-7-46)

Q. Dr. OKAWA, I hand you a book entitled "HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPEAN COLONIZATION" Vol 1. published 13 October 1941 and I ask you, is that not your book?

A. Yes.

Q. This book for convenience is marked Document 688. I ask you if in the introduction you do not stress the fact of the "Europeanization of the World".

A. Yes.

Q. Do you not call the history of colonization in modern times, racially speaking, the record of the white man's control over the whole world?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you not say:

"These lessons are all the more important and significant to the Japanese, the one and only powerful and important non-white nation, which has not only declined to bend the knee before Europe, but also at this moment is waging a sacred war to realize its mission of transcending the antagonism between Asia and Europe and establishing an empire on loftier foundations".

A. Yes.

Q. You wrote this book while you were in prison, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. It is a very scholarly work and a complete history of all colonization movements in the world, is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. This set of books should have been very useful in the development of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, was it not?

A. That may be so.

Q. Chapter 16 of this book, beginning on page 490 is headed "England's Preparation", is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And don't you develop in this chapter the importance of England's insular position for her achievement of world supremacy? Don't you say that to maintain this supremacy, it was England's policy to

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46)

(Question continued)

administer blows or threats to any nation that appeared to be a rival and not to release the pressure until her rival gave up this project? Then you quote from Milton "You great and warlike nation!" And don't you say: Let the British uplift peace and be proud of being a pacific nation, but the fact remains that her power consists in warlikeness and industry and the bold and cunning policy, which characterizes that nation in addition to the unique geographical feature of the island? And don't you point a lesson to Japan in this analysis of England's greatness, Japan also being in a similar position and the lesson is that Japan should be like England?

A. Many people wanted Japan to be like England.

Q. At this time, on the 13 of October, 1941, when this book was published, how was your time occupied in Japan? This is October before Pearl Harbor.

A. I was an informal member of the South Manchurian Railway, in other words, I was still receiving a salary for my long years of service with them but not doing anything.

Q. But you were adviser to them?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, the South Manchurian Railway, under Imperial Ordinance #142 of 6 June, 1906, was organized by the Japanese Government, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. So the South Manchurian Railway was in effect an organ of the Japanese Government, was it not?

A. It could be put that way.

Q. And your institute in which you were so active for so long was in effect an organ of the government, was it not?

A. Yes. But there was no direct connection.

Q. No, I agree, the connection was through the South Manchurian Railway.

A. Yes.

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-56)

- Q. Doctor, I hand you a book for convenience marked Document 685, entitled "Establishing Order in Greater East Asia" published 20 August, 1943, and I ask you, is that not your book?
- A. Yes.
- Q. This book is divided into three parts, as follows: (1) The Order of Greater East Asia seen from the Historical Standpoint. (2) Contents and Sphere of Greater East Asia. (3). Asia, Europe, Japan. Now, this third part, "Asia, Europe, Japan" that was simply a restatement of your book written October 1925?
- A. Yes.
- Q. In which you urged the necessity of a war between Japan and America?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Beginning on page 9, first chapter, you trace the history of the Greater East Asia idea back before the Meiji Restoration and particularly mention SATO, Shinsen who warned about the coming invasion of Asia by the west. Then you go into a little dissertation on the slogan "JOI" (Expel the Alien)?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And then you explain the teachings of TOKAMA, Matsura and then you state your belief that Asia should be one country as Europe should be one. And on page 26 you say that the significance of the Russo-Japanese War was to create an Asia of Asiatics and then on page 30, you quote a French newspaperman as saying the "victory of Japan means the victory of one world over another. Then you disparage the armament reductions of the Washington and London Conferences and assert that the old order of the world began to dissolve from the time of the Manchurian Incident?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And then on page 42 you criticize Japan rather severely for acting just like British and America in exploiting Asia and you say they should not have done that, that they ought to protect the peoples of Asia?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Then you develop the World Significance of the Manchurian Incident and you say the Manchurian Incident stimulated the Japanese spirit which had long been asleep and that before this Incident Japan had

(DR. OKAWA 4-7-46)

tried to insure her tranquility with the aid of America and Britain, but now these two powers turned to be the enemies of East Asia; Leaving the League of Nations, Japan has begun her fixed policy. The Chief of the Staff of the Kwantung Army said in the proclamation of September 1936 "The Concordia Association (KYOW KAI) intends to perfect the Kingdom of Manchuria and to make it a paradise for the people of Asia who have long been oppressed by the West and whom we are to emancipate"

A. Yes.

Q. Then you explain that because of Britain and America opposing the China Incident that Japan concluded the triple alliance with Germany and Italy and then you urge that China and Japan should united with India, thereby making the Great East Asia War a sure success?

A. Yes.

Q. Then in the second part of the book you divide up the world politically into four parts, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. According to the JOI political principles. As a matter of fact, Doctor, there had been a movement in Japan by certain extremists since the victory over Russia and the Russo-Japanese War, for a SHOWA restoration and the realization of Japanese true leadership in Asia and the world, is not that so?

A. Yes.

Q. And you have been a part of this movement from the beginning?

A. Yes.

INTERROGATION ADJOURNED.

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INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shunel

DATE: 5 March 1946

INTERROGATOR:

Mr. Hugh B. Helm

CASE NO. 182

INFL PROS SECTION
CENTRAL FILES

FILE No. 182

SERIAL No. 25

MAR 8 1946

INTERROGATION OF DR. OKAWA, Shunsei

5 March 1946

SUMMARY

Dr. OKAWA admits knowledge of Manchurian Incident.
Plotted by Japanese Militarists in Tokyo and Kwantung
Army.

Ringleaders: Major CHO and Col HASHIMOTO, Kingoro.

Dr. OKAWA admits membership in the following ultra-nationalistic societies whose purpose was reformation of the government for realization of Japanese heavenly mission:

1916 - Hoso Kai
1919 - Yuzen-Sha
1923 - Gyochoi-Sha
1932 - Jimmu Kai

All but Hoso Kai were organized by Dr. OKAWA as founder.

Dr. OKAWA admits he plotted and participated in the following military coups in attempts to overthrow the government:

March 1931 Incident
October 1931 Incident
May 15 1932 Affair

Dr. OKAWA admits he wrote the following inflammatory books advocating war with the United States and Britain, Asia for the Asiatics:

1924 - "Asia, Europe and Japan"
1941 - "History of Anglo-American Aggression in East Asia."

INTERROGATION OF

OKAWA, Shumei

Date and Time: 5 March 1946, 0930-1130 hours.

Place : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan

Present : Dr. OKAWA, Shumei
Mr. Hugh B. Helm, Interrogator
Lt Commander Frank B. Huggins, Interpreter
Miss Edna Hickam, Stenographer

Questions by: Mr. Hugh B. Helm

Oath of Interpreter: Administered by Mr. Helm:

Mr. Helm: Do you solemnly swear, by Almighty God, that you will truly and accurately interpret and translate from English into Japanese and from Japanese into English, as may be required of you in this proceeding?

Lt Commander Huggins: I do.

Q. Did you ever know a man named MITSUKAWA, Kametaro?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever make a trip to Oshima with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Doctor, I have here a book marked "Document No. 686." It contains some bound issues of the monthly magazine, "Ishin" (Restoration) published by Heibonsha. There are some articles in here by MATSUOKA, and Prince KONOYE, and then there are several articles in here about you. I would like to ask you about these articles. I believe that the Heibonsha Company is an ultra nationalistic publishing company -- is it not?

A. Yes.

CASE NO. 182

OKAWA, Shumei, 5 Mar 46

- Q. The head of this company was SHINONAKA. Do you know him very well?
- A. I know him.
- Q. Are you familiar with this publication?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Directing your attention to an article on page 99 entitled, "The Thoughts and Character of OKAWA, Shumei," I ask you if you don't find the following written there:
"A Trip to Oshima with Mr. OKAWA — By MITSUKAWA, Kametaro:
When the writer was introduced to OKAWA for the first time, OKAWA was a young man of 30 years of age and was an ardent sympathizer of the Indian Independence. Once Admiral YATSUSHIRO asked the writer what kind of man OKAWA was. He replied, 'OKAWA is too hot-blooded for a scholar, and has too much knowledge for an enthusiastic patriot.' The writer went on a trip to Oshima Island with OKAWA. In one of the speeches OKAWA made he stood like a prophet and said 'Within a month or two, a shocking incident will occur in Manchuria.' It came true on the 18th of September, six weeks after he prophesied it."
- Do you not find that written in this book?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Is that true?
- A. It may be, but I don't remember what I said.
- Q. Do you remember making a speech at Oshima on this occasion?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And this man was with you?
- A. Yes. So this may be true, but I don't remember.
- Q. He quoted you as saying that within a month or two the Manchurian incident would occur. Did you prophesy that?
- A. I don't remember.
- Q. You could have said that?
- A. I think so.
- Q. You had knowledge, then, of the Manchurian incident in advance?
- A. Not only I, but others also.
- Q. What others, Doctor? Will you take your time and see if you can recall all the names of those that knew this incident which took place on the 18th of September was going to occur in September?
- A. There were many meetings, you know.

OKAWA, Shunsei, 5 Mar 46

Q. What kind of meetings?

A. It was the anticipation of many people at the time that something would occur in Manchuria. Of course, I do not mean concretely that the September 18 incident was to be the one.

Q. Well, Doctor, isn't it a fact that a group of people within Japan planned to force an incident in Manchuria before this September 18 affair happened?

A. Yes, I believe certain military men planned it.

Q. For your information, Doctor, General TANAKA, Ryukichi has told us that this incident was plotted in Tokyo and that certain military extremists brought it about. Do you think that is true?

A. I think it is true. Yes.

Q. General TANAKA says that Col Kingoro HASHIMOTO was in on this? Is that true?

A. I am not certain, but it may be.

Q. Will you tell me what you know about this? You were in affairs here in Japan -- you were in on these movements, and you know about these things. Let's get the record straight for history.

A. At this time Chang Tso Lin was opposing the Japanese in Manchuria, and it looked as though Japan would lose all that she had gained in the Russo-Japanese war, so that many meetings were held in Japan to learn the true facts of what was going on in Manchuria. As far as any actual plot went, this knowledge was not passed on to the people in general.

Q. Well, did you know about the plot?

A. No -- no.

Q. Did you know about it afterwards?

A. Yes.

Q. Who told you about it?

A. Either CHO or TANAKA.

Q. What did Maj CHO tell you about it?

A. CHO was on the General Staff.

Q. We know all about Maj CHO. He was killed down on Okinawa as Lt General; he was Chief of Staff on Okinawa. Please continue and tell us just exactly what Maj CHO told you at the time about this plot.

A. I do not recall the details.

CHANG HSEUH LIANG

OKAWA, Shumei, 5 Mar 46

Q. Did he tell you that he was in it?

A. I believe so.

Q. As a matter of fact, don't you know so, Doctor?

A. I think so.

Q. Did Col HASHIMOTO ever tell you anything about this plot?

A. CHO and HASHIMOTO were always together, so that I might have heard it from HASHIMOTO also.

Q. Did they tell you that there had been a plot arranged by leaders in Japan to blow up this railroad and precipitate hostilities?

A. I do not recall what they said at the time, but I did hear about it afterwards.

Q. Let's get definite, Doctor. You may not recall the exact words or even the details, but don't you recall that they said that certain people in Japan were responsible for the Manchurian incident?

A. I do not know what connection the men in the Japanese military had with military men who were in Manchuria, but it is an actual fact that there was a group in Japan also.

Q. And this group in Japan, together with the group in the Kwantung Army, arranged for this incident?

A. I think so.

Q. Don't you know so?

A. I think so.

Q. Isn't that in substance what Maj CHO and Col HASHIMOTO told you?

A. Yes.

Q. Now in this same Document No. 686, there is an article entitled "A Sketch of Mr. OKAWA," by AKAMATSU, Katsuzaro. Do you know this writer?

A. Yes.

Q. He says there, "The writer has heard about OKAWA from his childhood. Like most of his friends, OKAWA was interested in socialism, but when he read Plato's 'Republic' his zeal for socialism died and he became interested in nationalism. His contributions to the proletarian movements were great though hidden. We must not forget his ideological influences on the military. To be more concrete, his contributions to the whole military through his influence over the younger officers should not be neglected."

Is that a correct appraisal of you?

OKAWA, Shumei, 5 Mar 46

A. On the whole.

Q. He goes on to say, Doctor, "OKAWA's influences have much to do with this fact. His contributions in the background of the foundation of Manchukuo are not well known, but when the people come to know about them, they will be grateful to Mr. OKAWA."

Is that true? I mean about your having to do with the setting up of Manchukuo.

A. Had I had so much to do with the furthering of Manchukuo I should have received a decoration from them, which I have not received.

Q. Well, as a matter of fact, your years of research for the South Manchurian Railway and along colonization lines were placed at the disposal of those who set up the state of Manchukuo, were they not?

A. Yes.

Q. How was this state set up? To whom did you furnish the results of your years of study?

A. They were not given to any special person. If it had been so necessary to use me they should have called me to Manchuria and used me as an official in some capacity, which they did not do.

Q. Now, Doctor, I want you to go back and tell me all you know about Roso Kai?

A. This was a group that MITSUKAWA set up to get both right wing and left wing people together to tell of their points of view.

Q. Didn't you help him found it?

A. No. I got to know MITSUKAWA at the Club. I did not know him well before that.

Q. Doctor, we have a secret document that was written in 1938 for the "Section for the Maintenance of Public Peace" of the Bureau of Police Affairs of the Home Ministry, that sets out a history of all of these renovation, reform movements. In Section 2 on "Reform Movements of the Earlier Period" is listed "ROSO-KAI," founded in 1916 by OKAWA, Shumei and MITSUKAWA, Kametaro.

A. That is a mistake.

Q. You did belong to this organization, though, and you say it was founded by MITSUKAWA alone?

A. Yes.

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Q. And the motto was "Studies on social reformation on Japanese principles."

A. No. There was no such aim.

Q. What was the aim of this group?

A. Simply to get people of many different ideologies together.

Q. And interested in reforming the government?

A. There was no such aim. It was simply a gathering place of people from all walks of life with different ideologies -- socialists, militarists, right wing and left wing.

Q. In 1919 this document says that you and MITSUKAWA and KITA, Ikki formed the YUZON-SHA.

And on page nine of this secret document from the Home Ministry we find this paragraph: "This organization was no longer satisfied with studies and discussions, but wanted to start actions whenever there was a chance. Is that true?"

A. Yes.

Q. And you were largely guided by KITA, Ikki's hand-book on revolutionary methods, entitled "HISON KAIZO HOAN YAIKO"?

A. Yes.

Q. Further, in this same record we find: "They tried to prevent the Prince Regent's (HIROHITO) visit to Europe. Is that correct?"

A. Yes.

Q. "And attempted to kill SAIGONJI"?

A. No. That was another association that tried to do that.

Q. What association was that?

A. Massatsusha (erase or effacement society).

Q. How do you know this?

A. The man who tried it was caught.

Q. You had no connection with this outfit?

A. No.

Q. You knew some of the members though?

A. No. They were anarchists.

Q. Was ASAKI, Heigo a member of YUZON-SHA?

A. No.

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Q. In July 1920 did this outfit publish a paper named "Otakebi" (War Cry)?

A. Yes, three issues.

Q. Did you write for that publication? Did you write most of it?

A. Mr. NITSUKAWA was the editor. Mr. KASOKOGI also wrote for it. I also wrote for it.

Q. From this official document I read you a quotation from Otakebi. "We, the Japanese race, must be the whirling center of the war for the liberation of mankind. Accordingly, the Japanese nation is the absolute entity that makes us fulfill our ideals of world revolution. The idealistic fulfillment and fighting organization of the Japanese nation is the work of God himself, created for this absolute aim. ... We must not be satisfied only with the reformation or revolution of Japan herself. As we believe in the destiny of the Japanese race as the great missionary of the war for the liberation of mankind, we want to set about liberating Japan herself first." Do you remember that?

A. I do not recall it, but I imagine it was in the publication.

Q. Would that be an accurate statement of the way you felt at this time -- in 1920?

A. Yes in general.

Q. Did you make speeches, public speeches to that effect at this time?

A. Yes.

Q. Reading to you further from this official document of the Home Ministry, the seven principles of the YUZON-SHA were as follows:

Q. 1. Establishment of revolutionary Japan?

A. Dr. OKAWA nodded his assent.

Q. 2. Idealistic fulfillment of the Japanese people?

A. That would be better stated as realization of Japanese ideals.

Q. 3. Rational organization of the Japanese nation?

A. That means rational organization of the Japanese people.

Q. 4. Movement for liberating the races?

A. Dr. OKAWA nodded his assent.

Q. 5. Prosecution of a moral foreign policy?

A. Yes.

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Q. 6. Communication between reform movements?

A. Yes.

Q. 7. Spiritual cultivation of fighting comradeship.

Would that be the same as the Samurai Spirit Code of Bushido?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you familiar, Doctor, with a book entitled "Leaders of the Renovation Movement," published in December 1941 by NAGAMATSU, Azao and YAMAZAKI, Kazuyoshi?

A. No I don't know of this book.

Q. This book states as one of the principles and policies of YUZON-SHA, "Building a great empire by revolutionary measures." Would that be correct?

A. That would be correct, I think.

Q. Quoting further, "organization of a large military force for the liberation of Asia." Would that be correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now we find stated here the YUZON-SHA was disbanded in 1923 and the GYOCHI-SHA was organized by OKAWA the following year.

A. Yes.

Q. Now the statement is made that the GYOCHI-SHA had the same objectives as the YUZON-SHA. Is that correct?

A. All the same. It was started because I could not agree with Mr. KITA and MITSUKAWA.

Q. Your disagreement was not of aims, but over means of accomplishing these aims, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And this organization published a paper entitled "Hippon," did it not?

A. It was a monthly journal.

Q. Would you state that the character of this publication was highly inflammatory?

A. No. It was for the purpose of instruction and enlightenment.

Q. You were still trying to bring about a revolution though, were you not?

A. Yes.

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- Q. And you were still urging at this time publicly the liberation of all Asiatic peoples, were you not? From white domination?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And you urged the accomplishment of this by force if necessary, did you not?
- A. I could not make such statements because I would have been suppressed, but I did think so.
- Q. And you advised many people so privately?
- A. I might have talked about it privately. I wasn't out to propagandize -- I don't like things of that sort.
- Q. In 1936, after you got out of jail, did you form the Shinbu Kai?
- A. No.
- Q. When did you organize the Shinbu Kai (Secret Militaristic Society)?
- A. No. I do not know of the Shinbu Kai. I know of the Jimmu Kai.
- Q. All right, when was Jimmu Kai formed?
- A. In 1932.
- Q. And what were the aims and policies of Jimmu Kai?
- A. The same as Gyochoi-Sha. Gyochoi-Sha was only for the purposes of instruction and enlightenment and Jimmu Kai was formed for the purpose of carrying out these ideas.
- Q. You say that the principles and policies of Jimmu Kai were the same as those of Gyochoi-Sha, and you said a while back that the principles and policies of Gyochoi-Sha were the same as Yuzon-Sha -- so through the years, Doctor, your aims remained the same, did they not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And the principles of Yuzon-Sha were accurately stated as the seven principles in the secret document from the Home Ministry, were they not? (Showed Dr. OKAWA typewritten synopsis of this document.) You have already admitted, Doctor, that was true, and you told me that was the same thing as the Samurai Spirit Code of Bushido.
- A. Written down are the principles of Gyochoi-Sha which differ from those of Yuzon-Sha.
- Q. But your record has been consistently one advocating revolution all along, hasn't it, Doctor?
- A. Reformation.

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- Q. Reformation of the government along nationalistic lines?
A. Yes.
- Q. With emphasis on increased armaments so that Japan could defend Greater East Asia?
A. Yes.
- Q. Now, Doctor, I will ask you if you didn't write a book after the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War entitled "Bei Ei Ten Shinryaku-Shi" (History of Anglo American Aggression in East Asia)?
A. Yes.
- Q. And in that book you referred to a book you wrote in 1924 entitled "Asia, Europe, and Japan," did you not?
A. Yes.
- Q. Quoting -- "I published a book in 1924 under the title 'Asia, Europe, and Japan.' I concluded the book as follows: These two countries, America and Japan, are destined to fight each other as Greece had to fight against Persia, and Rome against Carthage. Oh, Japan, will that be in a year, ten years, or thirty years? No one can tell. It is entirely in the hands of heaven to call you to that holy mission. Prepare yourselves every moment for that heavenly call! My prediction proved correct after the passage of 16 years. Today my opinion on the Japanese-American war is not a bit different from that of sixteen years ago."
Is that correct?
A. Yes.
- Q. Doctor, you told me the other day that you admitted planning and active participation in three revolutionary affairs, the March 1931 affair, the October 1931 affair, and the May 15 or Shimei Tai affair. Is that not true?
A. Yes, that is true.
- Q. I want you to collect your thoughts and let's set down an accurate account of each one of these three incidents, giving names of all those that you remember were connected with them. We will start with the March 1931 incident. Tell me what was the purpose of this incident?
A. Dissolution of the Diet.

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- Q. You wanted to overthrow the government and put in an Army dictatorship, didn't you?
- A. We wanted to set up a nationalistic government that would go more in accord with the peoples' wishes.
- Q. You also wanted a government that would bring about the realization of the liberation of Asia from the white man, too, didn't you?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You were willing to resort to the physical elimination of the members of the government that stood in your way in these aims, were you not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Now, Doctor, who planned this incident?
- A. HASHIMOTO and CHO.
- Q. And who else?
- A. They were the ring-leaders.
- Q. With you?
- A. The civilian was myself.
- Q. You wanted to put General UGAKI in as Premier, did you not?
- A. No. I didn't have any connection with what they were going to do later. It might possibly have been that they were going to put UGAKI in.
- Q. Col HASHIMOTO told me that you personally talked to UGAKI and UGAKI asked you to call the thing off.
- A. When I saw UGAKI, I asked him in case a revolution took place what would be the Army's stand in the matter, and UGAKI said -- "We won't talk about that, but let me cite to you the rice riots in 1919, at which time I, UGAKI, was Division Commander around Kobe and didn't do anything about quelling it."
- Q. Then General UGAKI indicated to you that he was with you on this matter.
- A. Yes, but putting in UGAKI as Premier is another matter.
- Q. General TATEKAWA, HINOMIYA, SUGIYAMA, KOISO -- they were in this plot with you? They favored this plot, didn't they?
- A. Yes.
- Q. General KOISO told you the others were for it, didn't he?
- A. Yes.

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- Q. Why did this plot fail?
A. Because General KOISO told me to pull off the followers, which I did.
- Q. You and General KOISO felt then that the time was not quite right, didn't you? At the last moment you thought the time was not quite right?
A. I think it was because there were people within the War Ministry who opposed it.
- Q. You continued your planning and plotting, though, and it ran into the October 1931 affair, did it not?
A. Yes.
- Q. Now your aim was still the same in the October affair as it had been in the March affair, was it not?
A. Yes.
- Q. Were the people the same who planned and plotted this October affair as those that plotted in the March affair?
A. Yes.
- Q. Tell me about the May 15 incident. What were the purposes of the May 15 incident. Were they the same as the purposes you stated for these other two incidents?
A. They were different.
- Q. What were the aims?
A. I do not know anything about the details. Two Naval Officers came to me and simply asked for my help. I do not know in detail what their plans were.
- Q. I am not worried about the details. They told you they were going to bring about a revolution, didn't they? And you said you were for it, didn't you?
A. Yes.
- Q. And you gave them three thousand yen and pistols and ammunition?
A. Yes.
- Q. And you knew they were going to kill somebody, didn't you?
A. Yes. But I didn't know who they were going to kill.
- Q. You knew they were going to kill some members of the government and put in a new government, didn't you?
A. Yes.

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Q. And you were subsequently convicted of participation in this plot?
And served how many years in prison?

A. Five years.

Q. And served five years in prison for participation in this plot?

A. Yes.

Q. What connection did you have with the 2-26 incident?

A. My only connection with the 2-26 incident is that Marquis TOKUGAWA came to me while it was going on and suggested that we go together to where the insurgents were, get some of them into the Marquis' car and take them into the palace grounds where they could talk over the matter with the Prime Minister. This was in order to get them to lay down their arms and was in opposition to KITA who was trying to get them to continue with the incident.

Q. The Marquis knew that a lot of them were your followers, didn't he?

A. No, they were my enemies.

Q. Why did he think that you would have influence in persuading them to abandon their design?

A. My name is well known among military men, so that he must have thought I would have influence. I think that I was among those that were included in the 2-26 incident as intended victims.

CLOSED AT 1130 hours

Okawa

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