

IKEZAKI, chuko  
(2367)

(2)

(15)



REPORT ON

CHUKO IKEZAKI

He became obsessed with the idea that for the preservation of Japan, Japan must "fight it out with the United States".

His error lies largely in this:

1 - The United States has never had, nor has it ever evidenced, any aggressive intention.

2 - Japan had to have aggressive intentions, and put them into force, to the prejudice of the United States before the United States would be forced to take any kind of action. Therefore, the only reason that Japan could have that would cause hostilities ("fight it out") would be in order to preserve her aggressive efforts.

Ikezaki is naive. His argument is: that, because Japan's population was increasing to alarming bounds, she had the right to expand into other countries and seize them for that purpose.

Ikezaki's selfish interests may not have been personal, but they were nevertheless selfish from a national point of view.

He says: "As one patriotic Japanese citizen, I merely set forth my views in an occasional book". His writings were apparently inflammatory and war-inspiring. Yet, he disclaims all responsibility. Why did he write the books? Did he sell his writings for profit or did he just incite to war for the pleasure of it? In either case, he is worse than the professional soldier or sailor whose trade was war.

The Gokoku Doshikai was a so-called club, openly formed within the Diet for the ostensible purpose of enabling its members to secure recognition on the floor and therefore enabling the club itself to more effectively influence legislative action. It failed in its effort to become a political party. This is not conclusive, by any means, that it was not a secret organization. Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Columbus, the Ku Klux Klan are all openly constituted organizations, but nevertheless they are secret societies in the sense that their operations may only be known to their own members. A "Secret" society is not necessarily a "hidden" society.

Hiroga Ino's statement is somewhat contradictory. He says: ".....the association is comprised of dissatisfied members of the



former Imperial Rules Assistance Association (Black Dragon Society) .....who were war advocates, who were reservists of the Army and Navy, who were proletarians or men who were of the moderate party". In the same breath, he says: "...members of the association unanimously approved the termination of the war".

Subject's letter of 29 May 1946 may be sincere or the letter of an opportunist. He is a Jap; one of "A people which has been consistently ruled over for the past 2000 years....." yet, while denying to his countryman the ability to grasp, "by any short-cut course the principle of Government of the people, by the people and for the people", he arrogates to himself that ability.

He foolishly believes that a strict United States Military Government for "a two or three year period" can overcome the teachings and the type of mentality thereby inculcated by a course of culture for "2000 years".

At this point, I would suggest that the subject be prosecuted and, if found guilty, that a suspended sentence be imposed for the duration of our occupation, and the first time that he departs by speech or writing from his present professions that the suspension be terminated and incarceration be imposed.

Ikedaki's statements, as contained in his letter of 29 May 1946, are so radically different from his jingoistic publication in February 1941 of his book, "If Japan and the United States Should Fight", that I doubt his sincerity and I would be averse to turning him loose on the community without the above expressed safeguard.

He can be made useful, if kept under the control that a suspended sentence would permit. On the other hand, under the guise of "free speech" he could be dangerously inflammatory.

THOS. D. AITKEN



SECRET

**NAME:** IKESAKI, Chuko.

IKESAKI Chuko, Class "A" suspect  
interned in Sugamo Prison.

**PRESENT STATUS:** Confined in Sugamo Prison.

Investigation Div. 18 Jan 47  
Legal Section, SCAP

**SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:**

As a news commentator and writer, SUBJECT advocated the need for Japan to expand because of over population, and as part of expansion he saw the inevitability of war; criticized both Army and Navy for inadequacies; advocated the abolition of the Nine Power Treaty; accused the U.S. and Britain of encirclement and of the Caucasians controlling the world; . . . "some day the condition will be reverse and the other races will control the Caucasians." A super patriotic nationalist and as such was Councilor, IRAA 1943; Councilor, IRAPS; Member, Current Affairs Fellowship Society; Vice-Chief, Policy Section, IRA Diet Members League 1941;

**REMARKS:**

CIS/G-2 on 23 April 1947 recommends as follows:  
"Unless super patriotic writings arising from his distinctly individual point of view may be considered as sufficient ground for charges, and unless membership in the Imperial Rule Assistance Organizations will form basis for indictments, CIS/G-2 recommends release of IKESAKI from internment without preference of charges."

However, since SUBJECT's super patriotic writings prepared the people of Japan for aggressive war, and since his connections with IRAA were at a time when the economic, social and political life were being crystallized along totalitarian lines, it is believed that he should be held as a matter of law.

**RECOMMENDATIONS:**

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

SHIMIZU SHUNJI (No Need to Fear America) - 1928  
TAISEIYO SHUNJI (Pacific Strategy) - 1932  
KUROKAWA KAIICHI TAISEIJI HON KA (Can the US Navy Fight?) 1932  
IKESAKI CHUKO HON (Present Strength of England and America)  
1932  
Evolutionary View of Nine Power Treaty, an article appearing in the Yomiuri Shinbun, 24 March 1940.

4. Subject was a member of the Jikyoku Bushi Kai (Current Affairs Fellowship Society). It is requested that the source material upon which CIS/G-2 based the information contained in G-2 report regarding Subject, dated 23 April 1947, Tab C, be checked and retained.

SECRET



SECRET

IKEZAKI Chuko, Class "A" suspect  
interned in Sugamo Prison.

Mr. Lipscomb  
Prosecution Sec.  
Legal Section, SCAP

Investigation Div.  
Legal Section, SCAP

18 June 47

1

1. With reference to the above-named Subject, it is requested that investigation be conducted by your Division in regard to the following matters.

2. What years did the Subject serve on the following Cabinet committees:

- a. Religious Systems Investigation Committee.
- b. Education System Investigation Committee.
- c. Textbook Investigation Committee.

Check and obtain the reports and recommendations of these committees while Subject served as a member and ascertain what, if any, legislation was enacted as a result of the recommendations of these committees. Subject is also purported to have been a delegate in the Diet for the Education Ministry. He had the title of Parliamentary Vice-Consul. With the exception of the Greater Japan Educational Foundation, determine if Subject sponsored any additional measures for the Education Ministry in the Diet.

The source of the information requested above is the CIS/G-2 report dated 23 April 1947. If CIS cannot furnish the detailed information as herein requested, it is possible that the CI&E of SCAP or the Japanese Liaison Division may be able to supply it.

3. The original books and articles in their Japanese forms and the official English translations of the following publications by Subject are requested:

BEIKOKU OSORURU NI TARAZU (No Need to fear America) - 1928  
TAIHEIYO SENRYAKU RON (Pacific Strategy) - 1932  
ROKUWARI KAIGUN TATATAI URU KA (Can the 60% Navy Fight?) 1932  
EIBEI GENSEI RON (Present Strength of England and America)  
1932

Transcendental View of Nine Power Treaty, an article appearing in the Yomouri Shimbun, 24 March 1940.

4. Subject was a member of the Jikyoku Doshi Kai (Current Affairs Fellowship Society). It is requested that the source material upon which CIS/G-2 based the information contained in G-2 report regarding Subject, dated 23 April 1947, Tab C, be checked and obtained.

-----L.P.B.L.-----

SECRET



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RECOMMENDATION:

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

SECRET



Date: 16 June 1947

Report of Investigation Division, Legal Section, GHQ, SCAP.

Inv. Div. No.  
2367

CRD No.

Report by: Major B. R. Patterson

Title: Chuko IKEZAKI alias Todataka IKEZAKI  
(pen name Kohei AKAGI).

Synopsis of facts: IKEZAKI, born 1890<sup>o</sup> Okiyama Pref. Grad Tokyo Imperial University 1917. Member editorial Dept. YOROZUCHOHO Tokyo Newspaper 1918; Councilor OSAKA JIJI Newspaper 1920-22; Member Diet 1936-37; Parliamentary Councillor; Education Minister 1937-38; Vice Pres. Chief, Policy Section, (SEISAKU FUKUBUCHU) YOKUSAN GIIN DOMEI (Imperial Rule Assistance Diet Members Bureau) 1942; Re-elected Diet 1942, Councillor IRAA 1942; Councillor IRAPS 1942; Resigned Diet 1945; Interned Sugamo 13 December 1945. Presently at 361 Station Hospital under Sugamo Guard.

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DETAILS:

Tokyo:

This investigation is predicated upon the request of the Honorable Lord WRIGHT, President of the International War Crimes Commission.

A check of the indices reveal the following information concerning IKEZAKI, Chuko.

"Vice-member of Education, member of House of Representatives, Graduate of Tokyo Imperial University-German Law. Was editor of "Yorozuchoho" for about a year. Elected member of House of Representatives 1936 and thereafter three times (about 20 years in all). In 1937 nominated Parliamentary Councillor of Education Department. Published many books, among them: "Pacific Strategy", "Present Power of England and America", "New China", etc. Appointed Parliamentary Councillor of Business Affairs Bureau in May 1941. Appointed Acting Chief of the Policy Dept. of IRAPS. In 1939 or 1940, he is quoted in the Osaka Mainichi as saying that Japan could easily and should take SINGAPORE, CHINA and SOUTH PACIFIC.

On 10 December 1945, subject directed a letter to Supreme Commander

Distribution:

1 Prosecution ✓  
1 CRD  
1 Inv. Div (File 2367)  
1 Fukuoka  
1 Maj Patterson

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at which time he indicated he was residing in Hongo-Ku, Nishikata-machi 1-33 as follows:

"Imagining in advance some questions which might be put upon me, and fearing that natural obstruction due to language differences might hinder mutual just understanding, I have prepared simple reply papers. I now present them to your Excellency's Court in order to supply references to your Judges.

"The reason why I have imagined the questioning of me is because I have hitherto often heard rumours saying that I had already been arrested or on the point of being arrested by your Forces. I therefore have made this preparation against a possible occurrence, but should be happy if I feared for nothing.

"1. The meaning of war criminal or a person responsible for war is not clear, but from which I understand I firmly believe that I am not to be blamed for as a war criminal. This is because during the present war, I have been nothing but a mere member of the House of Representatives having no authority on the starting, continuance and the closing of the war, and of course, I held no position whatsoever which could give or receive orders concerning the war. Therefore, during the war, I have done nothing which would be against the wartime International Law, or which deserts rebukes from the viewpoint of wartime moral principles. Neither have I had any capacity to let others do similar conducts.

"2. From what I interpret I am neither a person responsible for war. The theory that my remarks as a military critic have had some direct or indirect influence upon the starting of the war, does not at all state the truth of the matter. If such might be the case, either the Government or the army would surely have given me an important place on duty in starting the war, and have asked my co-operation as much as possible, but there was no such occurrence. I have all the time been just a member of the House of Representatives and repeated the routine actions of standing and sitting at the Diet seat and of clapping of my hands for the speaker on the floor during the Diet Session.

"3. During the present war I have not only been given no important position either by the Govt. or the army, but such institution as the Navy Information Bureau has apparently regarded my writings as harmful and has coerced my silence to the extreme, forbidding the appearance of them in newspapers and magazines. Therefore, from the standpoint of a war critic, I have been compelled silence during war and has been unable to play a part played by Mr. Hanson Baldwin in the United States, for instance. In this point I was placed just as an on-looker of the war with folded arms.

"4. If I am responsible for the war to some extent, that might be in connection with the point that my writings before the war were more or less anti-American. The motive that made my thoughts anti-American lay in the Japanese Immigration Law of 1924. The idea that we were branded as an inferior race has left me a deep impression. Moreover, considering the American policies concerning the Far East, I have concluded that the ultimate object of America was to obliterate the national existence of Japan, and, like Carthage in Ancient Rome, to exterminate her race. Therefore, I believed that the war with America was truly that of unavoidable self-defence from the necessity of the survival of our race, and that in essence is in all respects the war of defense.



"5. To speak frankly, I had not believed the statement of the allied Forces in the Potsdam Declaration saying that they would not exterminate Japan. However, since the occupation by the General MacArthur's army of our country I have witnessed their doings and realize the trueness of the Potsdam Declaration. I am not completely relieved of my mind and know that my viewpoints in the past have been prejudiced. Defeat is of course to be lamented. But if we are able to know the true intention of America by this defeat, that would be a great blessing in misfortune.

"6. I do not think that my theory of war before the present war had any responsibility for inspiring for the first time the idea of the Pacific War. Putting aside other countries for awhile, the first person that infused the idea in America was Mr. Homer Lea's book in 1909. In 1920, Dr. Thomas F. MILLARD plainly advocated the punishment of Japan and even among responsible politicians, one time Navy Secretary Miller spoke in plain terms in his open speech at San Francisco that it was necessary to show 'coldness of steel' to Japan. The year in which my war theory appeared first was 1928 when it had already become to a certain degree a stereotyped subject in the salon.

"7. My war theory warned the utmost necessity of Japan's self-defence, and had a political meaning in the background to suggest a certain policy or to support the achievement of war secretly. In fact, my theory was scientific and theoretical and by no means emotional nor sensational. Therefore I often said that I did not like war. I never said that Japan should attack America, because my basic idea was that in order to maintain the existence of Japan it might be unavoidable to fight with America as a means to find a let-out in deathly situation, and believed we might not necessarily be defeated due to our excellent strategic position.

"8. I had originally been a literary critic and had no intention of being a politician. The object of my becoming a war critic and a Diet member lay in the existence of our rave. Therefore after becoming a member of the Diet I have joined one or two parties from necessity. (It is customary in our Diet that no party holding less than 25 members can have the floor). Excepting this I have never joined any political party, organization or society. Neither have I had anything to do with the Army and the Navy. I have always retained my single, isolated position and been outside any political power. This was entirely due to maintain the genuineness of myself as an individual.

"9. Immediately after the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration on August 15, I sent from Osaka, where I was then, the notice of resignation to the House of Representatives both by telegram and letter. Moreover, I have made up my mind to retire forever not only from political activities, but also from all public affairs and live in the country spending the rest of my life in reading. By doing so I believed that I could express my sincere regret on some mistakes I had committed in fulfilling my duty as a public personage. At that time, I also sent a personal letter to my friend Mr. Fumio Asakura, a well-known sculptor, expressing my state of mind at that time and confessed that I almost felt like becoming a priest entering into the Monastery in Koya-San.

"10. Considering the process and the result of the war, the serious mistakes which I had in the pre-war time are as follows:

First, I have never imagined that aeroplanes have such a decisive role in the termination of war; Secondly, I have never thought that the productive capacity of the United States of America was so great; Thirdly, I have overlooked the fact that both the Army and Navy leaders of military



operations have degenerated since the Russo-Japanese War and they were all out of date having no ability to adapt themselves to the principles of modern war tactics which have radically progressed since the preceding World War. These leaders have degenerated rather than progressed still sticking to the Medieval elements. There are many other reasons for our defeat in the war, but I shall not mention them here.

"11. Finally, regarding the future of Japan, whether the Allied Forces coerce her or not, there will be no other way but to maintain a modest peace and become a democratic country based upon agricultural standard like Scandinavian countries. After she has been exhausted and ruined like this, Japan, with such a small territorial space and such a huge population, will need many more centuries in order to regain the standard of the pre-war time even though she is given a most favorable chance. If Japan talks of revenge carelessly and advocates war, she will place herself at the same fate as Carthage. Therefore the urgent need for Japan at present is to effect the measure of birth-control by tactful police and guidance and provide against hunger and misery with which she is confronted acutely.

"12. I should like to be permitted to add one more word at the end. That is I sincerely entreat the sympathy of America and the American people for my nation. I shall certainly not protest to your country even though you, having the victor's natural rights, treat us cruelly, but I wish from the bottom of my heart that you would never exterminate Japan and her race or lead her into a situation near extermination. I firmly believe that the U. S. of America which has borne George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Emerson and Walt Whitman in the past will fulfill her humanitarian mission to the full before the solemn world history in regard to avoid the utter ruin of Japan and the Japanese race.

/s/ T. IKEZAKI"

The original of the above-referred to document, together with the official translation thereof, have been placed in the file in this matter marked Exhibit 54. Ref. IPS file 207-5.

IKEZAKI further states as follows, taken from IPS Files 207-8:

"On 11th December 1945, I have been interned at Sugamo Prison. As I had anticipated it I had made out a statement in English and Japanese of items for which I'll be tried. I have sent this to your excellence to be submitted on my trial. This time again I have made the same application which I wish to be sent to you.

1. If there is any war crime against me then that must be the statement that I made before the war to the effect that war with America is inevitable. This was my opinion as a critic. It could not be prevented because of the conditions that prevailed in those days and I personally think that was no crime that this statement had helped the aggressive policy of Japan is not what I had willed. It was a war of self defense. In that statement I have said "To seek hope in darkness" which means it couldn't be helped. Even if the Allies have interpreted my statement as an aid to aggression in my opinion I believe is that it was in self defense. I had no intention of helping aggression and consequently there is no crime against me.

2. What I meant was that relation between Japan and American will be something like Carthage and Rome. Directly speaking, wasn't the policy of America to destroy Japan? In those days when Japan was thinking that America was a good friend of ours there were some writers in America who wrote in press of Japanese and America war possibilities. The New York World paper be commented, "A new enemy is appearing in the Pacific", in the days of war in the Japan Sea, Admiral Mahan in his essay said, "Of American strategic



positions in Hawaiian Islands, Homer Lee and President Roosevelt have made some insinuations of the possibility of war between the two countries". These statements have reminded me of the words of a Roman "Delenda es Carthage".

3. From the point of view of the Japanese it couldn't be helped that the American policy in the East was to destroy Japan. Since the London Conference I was pessimistic and I came to think that because of excessive population in the country and from the American pressure from the outside, Japan was going to her ruin. Because of such conditions I decided that there was but one way left for Japan, to such "Hope in the darkness", in other words, was war with America. This means that it's better to fight than to be ruined without war. If my anti-american article had meant a personal profit it would morally be guilty. In other words if war had broken out and even if Japan had won I would neither be a General or a Byron or in any way gain a high position. It was for sheer patriotism that induced me to write that article. Had America been in that plight her good citizens would have probably taken the same stand as I.

4. Now if you would criticize me that I have advocated war which has brought immense misery to our country and say that I do not feel guilty, I would say it's not a guilt but a mistake. You have to consider my mistake which came from a good motive as a Japanese. I was not in the position to wage war. I have in no way influenced the start of war.

5. If you probe into the political structure of Japan you will find that the country is formulated by militarists and is in no way formulated by people. Until today not a Japanese has told me that I am a war criminal.

6. A Saipan broadcast had indicated me together with Kishihara, Tsuda, Tohutomi, Ohawa, Ishihara, Kobayachi as war criminals but if you compare the status of these men with mine you will readily find out my actual status. I was just a patriot backed by no faction. If the allied powers that esteemed the freedom of speech consider my statement guilty then there is no more freedom of speech. Anti-Japanese articles published in American newspapers by Baldwin etc., have aroused me the idea that Japan will be brought to her knees without actual fighting. Then the statement of Mr. Hull, the foundation of negotiations believes the two countries, Japan, should give back all the boundaries acquired after the Manchurian Incident. This would entail the withdrawal of troops from China as well as giving independent status to Korea as well as giving back Taiwan to China. These possibilities forced me to state "Seek like in darkness" or fight America.

7. I was noted as a Naval Critic and had never interfered with military affairs. My relation with some of the naval officers became bad when I attacked the navy policy of constructing large warships.

8. Saipan broadcasted that I am a war instigator but I cannot compromise with that. If your analysis of my statement would find that it didn't come from bad motives but as good motives from a citizen of Japan.

9. My statements were not rash and I did not intend to deceive our people. This can be found out if you consult a critic or a writer. I have studied American power and her Army and came to the conclusion that Japan could do something with her strategy. My statement was published in the New York American News. Likewise in Soviet Russia my article was admitted as being reasonable and that I'm not a "Jingo", my war essay was prompted by good conscience and nothing else.



10. In my plea sent to General MacARTHUR it is clear that I was not an instigator of an early war with America. Likewise there were two or three critics before me who wrote articles on the same motives as I but I am the only one accused because mine was logical and attracted much public attention. Is it right that the one who writes a good book is apprehended?

11. I have never been a fascist nor a militarist because I have never interfered with the affairs of the right party as well as the army. When the China incident arose I went to China and saw the actualities and I sympathized very much with the young China Leader Chiang Kai Shek. I never thought myself of being an Ultra-Nationalist or a Militarist.

11. I had been given no rewards from the army or political parties. My losses during the war were great. During the war time, I let the Neighborhood Association take over half of my garden for the poor neighbors to raise food, sent provisions to evacuees as well as soldiers, bought more than half of the bonds allotted to our neighborhood association. My eldest son became a soldier. My second son and daughter were sent to factories. At that time my father was sick and when he heard of the death of my eldest son, his condition became worse only to die. That was on 27 Feb 1945. Two of my children working in factories got sick. One of them recovered in 18 months while the other is still in grave condition. My home in Osaka was destroyed by air raids; all my property was burned and worst of all my wife died. My family seems to be in utter ruin. Cannot all this misfortune repay my mistake in the past in writing those essays.

12. I am very sorry as well as ashamed of my misinterpretation of the true motive of America, and that I urged the inevitability of war with America. Since the acceptance of Potsdam declaration I have resigned from parliament and never in the future intend to meddle in politics. This is the proof of my mistaken ideas in the past.

13. I was non resistant like Tolstoi, the inevitable war should be fought but I never said that any old war of fighting is honorable. I regret very much the way Japan started the war. From miserable experience of war I have come to the conclusion that the principle of non resistance is the only way and the best way left for Japan, and give practical education to the masses, and make Japan a Sweden of Asia. In other words Japan should produce scholars and men who can make a great contribution to the peace and progress of the world. I have the following of the proverb from the Holy Scripture, "If you take a sword you'll perish by the sword".

14. The reason that Japan started war with China is because of her misinterpretation of real China. I was even told by one of my friends that I am a pro-Chinese and to be careful. In fact when the militarist went southward from "chajo" I thought it was a blunder on the part of the militarists.

15. My nature was liberal as were those of many men of letters. When the China Incident broke out I thought that a group of anti-war elements would be apprehended, and consequently I notified my friend, Kato Kanju (member of parliament) to go to the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and see an understanding. At one time, a certain novelist was arrested on charges of Leftist ideas, but I personally went to the public prosecutor's office and asked for his release promising to take full responsibility of his actions in the future.

IKEZAKI did not think that TOJO was a /s/ Chucko IKEZAKI"



IKEZAKI was born February 1891, Okayama-ken, second son of Tatsusaburo AKAGI, md. NOBUKO, e.d. of Kosaburo IKEZAKI and adopted into the family. Graduated Tokyo Imperial University (Law) Staff of YOROZO CHOHO about 1 year. Worked for Mancho newspaper. Succeeded to father's hosiery business in 1913, Meriyasu (TN Knitted Goods) Mfg. Co. Elected member of House of Representatives from 3rd District, Osaka Prefecture, three times. Adviser to Osaka Jiji (Times). Appointed Acting Chief of Policy Dept. of IRAP's. Member of House of Representative Society. Resigned as member of Parliament at end of war. Appointed Vice-Minister of Education 1940.

A letter to Gen. MacArthur from Sadeo YAMADA, dated Tokyo 15 November 1945, stated that IKEZAKI, a member of Parliament, resigned at the end of the War, is author of several war books, including "We Don't Afraid of America", and is suspected as a War Criminal.

IKEZAKI has been made a member of the Board of newly established DAI NIPPON Talented Students Association. IKEZAKI is quoted as having predicted that Japan could easily conquer Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines, and N.E.I.; that thereafter America will be unable to stay calm until victory is won.

#### SUMMARY OF EVIDENTIARY FACTS

The above-named Subject was interrogated at Sugamo Prison 5 March 1946 and at said place made the following statements:

He was born in 1891; graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in Law; worked as a newspaper writer for a short period of time and succeeded to his father's clothing business in Osaka in 1913. In 1936 he was elected to the Diet representing Osaka.

Became interested in military and naval matters sometime in 1930 and in 1932 wrote his first book, the English title of which was "Do not Fear America", which book was a justification of Japan's policy of aggression in Manchuria. Thereafter, he wrote a book entitled "Pacific Strategy", in which he outlined the strategy which, in his opinion, if followed would have consisted of a defense for Japan against any attacker, having the United States and Great Britain in mind. Shortly before the war, he wrote a third book, the English title of which is, "In Case of War between Japan and United States, What Would be the Result?". The subject stated frankly that this book was propaganda in favor of Japan's program of expansion and urging war against the U.S. or any one else in defense of such a program. That he had favored Japanese aggression in Manchuria, but did not approve the same in China for the reason that he did not believe Japan could conquer China because of China's great size and as a result Japan would lose much and gain nothing from the China Incident. He was in favor of and openly advocated Asia for the Asiatics and Japan's Greater East Asia expansion program; that he believed in and publicly stated that Japan should follow this policy even if it resulted in war with the United States and Great Britain. He believed that Germany was going to win the war and favored the Tri-Partite Pact; that in his opinion, war between the United States and Japan was inevitable and therefore favored the entry of Japan into war against the United States at the time Japan entered into the same.

The following interrogation on the 5th of April, 1946 reveals the following information:

IKEZAKI did not think that TOJO had the confidence of the nation, and that in time of war the people would not be united under him. The measures of



TOJO were too severe. He could not tolerate criticism of the war. During the first part of the war, it ran smoothly, but later the war did not go so well and the people opposed him and so did IKEZAKI. TOJO surrounded himself with his own friends and cronies, his own clique and he did not think the nation could be governed properly in that way. IKEZAKI did not think that TOJO and his clique could govern the nation properly because he could not have the people follow him in a way necessary to win the war. The nation would have to act as one man and TOJO would not be able to achieve this. He would not listen to the wishes of the people or take their advice. Instead of using capable men, he used his own cronies and adherents. IKEZAKI states that most of the people in Sugamo today are TOJO's adherents, with the exception of a few like himself and ISHIHARA. They are both here because they supported the war, although TOJO was not friendly to them.

In answer to the question, "Who were TOJO's adherents?", IKEZAKI asked that this would not be used in evidence and he was assured that it would not. He stated that "as a Samurai" he could testify to the good things but not to the bad things. One of the closest was Lt. Gen. SUSUKI, Teiichi, now in Sugamo. Also there was the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, HOSHINO; The Finance Minister, Mr. AOYI, and the Minister of Commerce and Ins., Mr. KICHI. All of these were friends of TOJO's when he was in Manchuria and are referred to as the "Manchurian Group." KICHI caused the fall of the TOJO Cabinet by opposing TOJO's policies and refusing to resign. This "Manchuria Group" was really the center...but of the Generals, ARAKI, MINAMI, MAZAKI and HATA...they were really seniors of TOJO's and, as a matter of fact, opposed him.

IKEZAKI stated that TOJO was not opposed to him but he was opposed to TOJO. He continued that the "Manchurian Group" really carried on the war - it did not start it, but simply carried it on. War would have been unavoidable under any other Premier. He is still of the opinion that the objection of the United States and Great Britain to Japan's expansion in Manchuria was not right in view of the 80 million Japanese inhabiting these small islands. He blames the outbreak of war on the military in China proper and not the military in Manchuria. The reason for the outbreak of this was the military's crossing over the Great Wall into China. The Manchurian question had practically been settled and, therefore, the China Incident can be looked upon as the cause of the Greater East Asia War. He disagreed with TOJO's methods. He believed in freedom of speech and writing. He disagreed with TOJO's favoritism and was opposed to the dissemination of favorable news only and the suppression of bad news. Before the war he considered TOJO an able man and only changed his mind during the war. He believes the "Manchurian Group" was formed about the time TOJO was commandant of Kempeitai in Manchuria, just before 1937. They were cronies of TOJO and drawn together because of a feeling of good fellowship arising between them. This group became known as the "Manchurian Group" after the formation of the Cabinet under TOJO. The term was used in political circles and was not generally used outside. TOJO appointed them to his Cabinet because he was intimate with them. They must have worked with TOJO to a great extent in the formation of policies. He believes that the Cabinet was really the center of policy-making, however, the ex-Prime Ministers, such as HIRANUMA, HIROTA, WAKATSUKI and YONAI could have prevented the war by giving advice. He thinks the influence of the ex-Prime Minister could have overcome the power of the military, as they are really the cabinet makers and no cabinet can be formed without their approval; so they should be able to control any cabinet formed on their advice and the ex-prime Ministers could cause the fall of any cabinet of which they did not approve. They would have the power to cause the fall of the Cabinet by appealing to the Emperor, who would then request the resignation of the Cabinet.

IKEZAKI considers the ex-Prime Ministers especially responsible with the Cabinet for the outbreak of the war. The only ex-Prime Ministers now in



Sugamo Prison are those who did not evade their moral responsibility. Others are still at large. They are responsible inasmuch as all momentous questions are referred to them by the Emperor for consideration. Therefore, it is a moral responsibility and not a legal one - there is nothing in the laws stating this, it is just a matter of custom. The Cabinet, of course, is legally responsible. The Prime Minister did not have enough power to control the power of the Navy and War Ministers. Prime Minister KONOYE was unable to carry out his program. UGAKI was also against the military. He was appointed Diet Councillor to the Ministry of Education in 1937, and served one year and eight months.

IKEZAKI was representative to the Diet to explain laws relative to an education. He advised officers in the Ministry of Education. He was appointed by Prime Minister KONOYE. In regards to the China Affair, IKEZAKI was of the opinion that it should be completed on a friendly basis. He belonged to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association, and he held no offices in either association.

Document No. 1494, Analysis of Documentary Evidence, implicates IKEZAKI, Chuko. Summary of Relevant Points as follows:

This document is of importance in view of the official position of its author (Vice-Minister of Education; Councillor of the Business Affairs Bureau, Acting Chief of the Politics Dept. of IRAPS). It thus played its part in preparing Japan for war against America.

In the preface, IKEZAKI tries to put the U.S. into the position of the actual aggressor as threatening the existence of Japan and insists, for this reason that Japan must fight and that this is no time for hesitation.

Chapter I is entitled "Inevitability of war between the Axis powers and the Democracies, especially America." He states that Japan, Germany and Italy are in the same boat, as America is interfering with their natural development, so they could not but make a joint front against America, viz the Tripartite Pact.

Chapter II deals with "The Reaction of the Tripartite Pact upon America." He quotes KONOE statement, that Japan was ready to fight America, if she insist on considering the Tripartite Pact as a hostile action.

Chapter III insists that the Axis Powers would like to avoid war with the United States but that they may be forced to go to war by intolerable United States actions. After discussing the type of war anticipated (strongly stressing the importance of the Japanese Navy), the author outlines Japanese strategy in Chapter 8. He advocates immediate seizure of the oil fields in N.E.I. and of Singapore, followed by a period of defensive military actions. He states his optimistic views regarding the outcome of this war, which will be long and difficult. He calls upon Japan to fight with a firm resolution, until the victory is won.

In a check sheet from Chief of Counsel to G-2, IPS gives the following analysis regarding IKEZAKI:

Investigation conducted to the present date with respect to IKEZAKI, Chuko, formerly member of the Diet, who is now being detained at Sugamo Prison, fails to reveal at this time evidence sufficient to warrant charging him with any offense cognizable before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.



IKEZAKI is 55 years old. In 1930 he became interest in Military and Naval matters and subsequently wrote several books, the tenor of which was that (1) Japan is justified in her policy of aggression in Manchuria and (2) Japan was strategically secure from any attacker, having the U.S. and Britian in mind. In 1939 he became a member of the Diet. IKEZAKI admits writings and conduct which urged Japan's expansion preparation for war and finally war, and that such writings influenced the thought of the younger generation. However, it is believed that by virtue of his position his writings and activities were of relatively minor importance in connection with Japan's aggressive warfare.

In view of the fact that the evidence available is not sufficient to warrant his prosecution before the International Military Tribunal, this Section recommends IKEZAKI's release from Sugamo Prison at this time, subject to his reincarceration in the event additional evidence is discovered, unless the Legal Section recommends to the contrary.

It is believed that all sources of information are exhausted at this time.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

The Tokyo Office - At Tokyo - Will follow and report the disposition of Subject.

P E N D I N G



Legal Section (2367)

(IKÉZAKI chaka)

②

(27)



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**SECRET**

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS**  
~~UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC~~  
FAR EAST COMMAND  
**CHECK SHEET**

16553

**(Do not remove from attached sheets)**

**File No.:**

**Subject:** IKEZAKI Chuko, Internee in Sugamo Prison

**Note  
No.**

**From:** G-2

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

**Date:** 23 APR 1947  
GB/CIS/OD:NER/mc

Info Copy To: IPS (Attn: Invest. Div.  
Mr. D. L. Waldorf)

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b. IKEZAKI should be apprehended for his militaristic and pro-Fascist leanings and propaganda.

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b. Member, GOKOKU DOSHI KAI (National Defense Fellowship Society) in 1945.

c. Member, JIKYOKU DOSHI KAI (Current Affairs Fellowship Society).

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b. IKEZAKI's affiliation with the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations seems to have been a nominal one. He occupied the following

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6. In summary, IKEZAKI appears to have been a lone wolf in politics, and a free lance in his writings, avowedly nationalistic though the latter were. There is no mention of his name as member in the official records of any of the nationalistic organizations of the thirties, and no indication that as a non-party member of the Diet he had any influence in



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- TAB D - DAI NIPPON IKUEI KAI
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- TAB F - Excerpt from his book "If Japan and the United States Should Fight"
- TAB G - Article, "Transcendental View of the Nine Power Treaty"

*for* V.F.S.B.  
C.A.W.

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IKEZAKI Chuko, Internee in Sugamo Prison

G-2

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C.A.W.

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**C.A.W.**

**SECRET**



Curriculum Vitae of IKEZAKI Chuko



Curriculum Vitae of IKEZAKI Chuko (Tadataka) (Pen name - AKAGI Kohei)

- 1891 - Born, Okayama Prefecture
- 1917 - Graduated, Tokyo Imperial University (German Law)
- 1918 - Member, Editorial Department of "YOROZUCHOHO", Tokyo newspaper
- 1919 - Left "YOROZUCHOHO" on death of adoptive father, whose Osaka hosiery business he managed until 1937
- 1920-22 - Councillor, "OSAKA JIJI" newspaper
- 1936 - Elected to Diet
- 1937 - Re-elected to Diet
- 1937-38 - Parliamentary Councillor, Education Ministry. In this capacity made trip to China to visit hospitalized troops
- 1941 - SEISAKU FUKUBUCHO (Vice Chief, Policy Section), YOKUSAN GIIN DOMEI (Imperial Rule Assistance Diet Members Bureau)
- 1942 - Re-elected to Diet
- SANYO (Councillor) TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association)
- SANYO (Councillor) YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society)
- Mar 1943 - Went to China for anniversary celebration of Nanking Government
- 15 Aug 1945 - Resigned from Diet
- 13 Dec 1945 - Interned in Sugamo Prison

Note: During IKEZAKI's term of service in the Diet he was a member of the following Cabinet Committees:

Weights and Measures System Investigation Committee  
National Language Commission  
Physical Training Investigation Committee  
Religious Systems Investigation Committee  
Education System Investigation Committee  
Science Promotion Committee  
Textbook Investigation Committee  
Historic Sites and Natural Memorials Investigation Committee

He was also several times appointed delegate in the Diet for matters under the jurisdiction of the Education Ministry.

Writings: Among IKEZAKI's prolific writings the following are typical:

- 1928 - BEIKOKU OSORURU NI TARAZU (No Need to fear America)
- 1928 - NIPPON SENSUIKAN (Japanese Submarines)
- 1932 - TAIHEIYO SENRYAKU RON (Pacific Strategy)



IKEZAKI Chuko (Tadataka)

- 1932 - ROKUWARI KAIGUN TATATAI URU KA (Can the 60% Navy Fight?)
- 1932 - EIBEI GENSEI RON (Present Strength of England and America)
- 1938 - SHIN SHINA RON (Modern China)
- 1941 - NICHIBEI TATAKAWABA (If Japan and America Should Fight)



Evaluation of IKEZAKI Chuko at  
time of his arrest



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Evaluation of IKEZAKI Chuko at the time of his arrest, 12 December 1945.

## IKEZAKI Chuko

Vice-member of Education, member of House of Representatives, Graduate of Tokyo Imperial University - German Law. Was editor of "Yorozuchoho" for about a year. Elected member of House of Representatives 1936 and thereafter three times. (about 20 years in all). In 1937 nominated Parliamentary Councillor of Education Department. Published many books, among them: "Pacific Strategy", "Present power of England & America", "New China", etc. Appointed Parliamentary Councillor of Business Affairs Bureau in May 1941. Appointed Acting Chief of the Policy Dept. of IRAPS. In 1939 or 1940, he is quoted in the Osaka Mainichi as saying that Japan could easily and should take Singapore, China and South Pacific.

IKEZAKI should be apprehended for his militaristic and pro-Fascist leanings and propaganda. He will be a popular arrest in Japanese liberal circles.

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JIKYOKU DOSHI KAI



JIKYOKU DOSHI KAI  
(Current Affairs Fellowship Society)

Establishment: 26 November 1939

Officers: Directors: AKAMATSU Katsumaro  
DOKE Saiichiro  
KIYOSE Ichiro  
KOYAMA Ryo  
SUZUKI Shogo  
TANAKA Yotatsu  
YUYA Yoshiharu

Chief, Diet Member Group: OISHI Hiroshi  
Chief, Investigation Group: KIYOSE Ichiro

Members:

ADACHI Kenzo	MIKI Takeo
AKAMATSU Katsumaro	MITAMURA Takeo
AOKI Sakuo	NAKAMURA Kinji
ETO Genkuro	NONAKA Tetsuya
IKEZAKI Chuko	OISHI Hiroshi
IMAI Shinzo	ONO Kenichi
IRE Hajime	SATO Kei
IZU Tomindo	SHIIO Benkyo
KIMURA Takeo	SUGIURA Takeo
KITaura Keitaro	SUZUKI Shogo
KIYOSE Ichiro	TAKAOKA Daisuke
KOIKE Shiro	TANAKA Yotatsu
KURAHARA Toshitatsu	YOSHIDA Kenichi
MATSUKATA Kojiro	YUYA Yoshiharu

Comment: This was one of the minor discussion clubs in the Diet about which little is known except that a number of its members were affiliated with the TOHO KAI (Eastern Society) and NIHON KAKUSHIN TO (Japan Reform Party), both of which organizations were nationalist political groups organized for the 1937 Diet campaign.



D

DAI NIPPON IKUEI KAI



DAI NIPPON IKUEI KAI  
(Greater Japan Educational Foundation)

"With a view to giving equal opportunity for education to the rising generation, the Government has been instrumental in organizing Dai Nippon Ikuei Kai (Japan Scholarship Foundation), which is charged with the task of granting educational gratis to those students in need of pecuniary help.

"The Japan Scholarship Foundation, which has come into being is based upon the family system, unique to Japan. The Foundation has been organized to co-operate with the parents in their educational efforts.

"Details of the Japan Scholarship Foundation, which is subsidized by the Government, are as follows:

"(1) The annual number of scholarships to be granted by the Foundation reaches 10,000, comprising 6,000 for the students in the secondary schools, 1,500 for college students, 1,300 for those in the high schools and preparatory schools and 1,200 for those in the universities. The aggregate total of scholarships will have exceeded 360,000,000 yen by the 57th year of Showa Era (1982), with every possibility of its further increase with the passage of time.

"(2) Inasmuch as the Foundation has been set up for the purpose of cooperating with the parents in their efforts to educate their children, its beneficiaries are not necessarily limited to the needy students alone.

"(3) Priority will be given to those students who are going to be enrolled in schools of higher grade, though in exceptional cases consideration may be paid to those students, already enrolled in schools of secondary or higher grades. In consequence, priority will be necessarily given to those children who want to enter secondary schools, after completing their course at the national schools.

"(4) All the needed funds will be borrowed from the Deposits Department of the Finance Ministry (Postal Savings Bank). Interest on the scholarships will be subsidized by the Government, which also guarantees the payment of all borrowings from the Deposits Department, both principal and interest. Those borrowings will have reached 270,000,000 yen by 1982.

"(5) The scholarships, granted, shall be repayed in 25 years in annual or monthly instalments without any interest. It is one of the features of these scholarships that the total sum to be repaid is less than the amount actually received by the scholars.



DAI NIPPON IKUEI KAI (Greater Japan Educational Foundation)

"(6) The scholars shall not be liable to any obligations except those of reporting their graduation from schools and their whereabouts.

"The Setup of the Foundation. The Japan Scholarship Foundation being corporation, it does not differ much from other juridical persons. While granting scholarships to students, it is charged with the mission to guide and look after scholars.

"The Foundation is presided over by a chairman nominated by the Minister of Education. The chairman is assisted by directors, superintendents and councillors in managing the Foundation. The Foundation has its headquarters in the Education Ministry buildings with branches in capitals of various prefectural governments. It has already started business with the first batch of scholars who were chosen last year."

The chapter continues with a detailed description of the implementation of the scholarships.

Source: "Japan Yearbook", 1944-1945.



E

GOKOKU DOSHI KAI



GOKOKU DOSHI KAI  
(National Defense Fellowship Society)

Establishment: 11 March 1945

Officers: President: Vacant  
Chief Representative: INO Hiroya  
Vice President: MATSUNAGA Toshio  
Chief of Political Affairs: FUNADA Chu  
Asst. Chief of Political Affairs: IKEZAKI Chuko ✓

Directors: AKAGI Munenori  
NAGAYAMA Tadanori  
NAKATANI Takeyo

Members :

FUJII Izaemon	MAEGAWA Shoichi
HAMADA Naotomo	MASAHARA Kenji
HASHIMOTO Kingoro	MIURA Torao
HAYASHI Masao	MIYAKE Shoichi
HIGETA Takeshi	NAKAHARA Kinji
IKEDA Shonosuke	NAKAMURA Matashichiro
IMAI Shinzo	ONO Giichi
KARAHASHI Shigemasa	OZAWA En
KAWAMATA Seion	SAITO Kenzo
KAWAMOTO Kiyone	SUGIYAMA Motojiro
KAWASHIMA Masajiro	SUZUKI Shogo
KIMURA Takeo	TAKAOKA Daisuke
KONDO Eijiro	YAGI Sojuro
KOYAMA Ryo	YOSHIKAWA Akio
KUBOI Yoshimichi	

Background: Dissident members of the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society) in the House of Representatives, desiring to voice their complaints against the IRA organizations, particularly the latter's subservience to the military, banded together informally to form this society. They requested permission to organize a new political party, but the Army refused permission.

Activities: Not being allowed to become a political party, the society acted merely as a club within the Diet. In addition to discussions of political issues, the society carried on strenuous interpellations in the Diet, earning the reputation of gadfly to the government and the Imperial Rule Political Society.

With the entry of Russia into the war against Japan, the society disbanded, having accomplished little save hullabaloo during its five-month career.



Excerpt from his book  
"If Japan and the United States Should Fight"



"If Japan and the United States Should Fight"

By  
IKEZAKI Chuko

(Condensation of excerpts from book published Feb. 1941)

After the end of the Russo-Japanese War, the United States oppression of Japan gradually increased. Disarmament treaties and various ways and means were used by the United States in every respect. Their intention was to make Japan suffer permanently. We can just about say, since the beginning of the China Incident, that the United States was just as much an enemy as China. As long as we are timid and fearful, the United States will become more conceited and finally they will drive us into a permanent corner. Since the beginning of history, the United States has been considered as the most selfish country in the world. In spite of her slogan, the Monroe Doctrine, which is against interference of a new continent on an old continent, she purposely interfered with an old country and has never stopped to consider the fact that she is selfish.

The China Incident has become a crisis, after the Tripartite Treaty of Japan, Germany and Italy. Our primary objective, the New Order of making new history. I have made various statements in regard to war plan matters in the Pacific; however I have never advised a war with the United States. I have never mentioned that the United States is nothing to fear. In short, I am against war just as much as anyone on earth. However, if the United States does not reconsider herself and continues to disturb our position and threatens our ideals, I shall advocate war. It is known throughout the world that the United States is the richest country, and I myself do not doubt it. But victory does not always depend on wealth. I believe in heaven, and as long as heaven exists, everyone knows that the United States will not always be wealthy.

In 1919, after the Paris Peace Conference, many optimists advocated peace, however, it was not easy. They believed that there would not be another war and therefore called it a star of Bethlehem. But after the local treaty was made, did the world become heavenly and sing songs? The International Treaty, the Disarmament Treaty and the Anti-War Treaty have all advocated peace, and documents of the same nature have piled sky high. The world is still at a crisis. For example, if one throws a piece of meat at them, immediately they will become as wild animals even though they may look gentle and reasonable. Peace is just their excuse. Peace is an idea of the Pacific. England fortified Singapore like Gibraltar and the United States fortified Hawaii into an impregnable fort. Hence Japan is threatened from both sides. The world population is 1,700,000,000 and the Caucasians (1/3 of the world population) control the world. It is obvious that some day the condition will be reversed and the other races will control the Caucasians. In order to avoid collision, the Caucasians will have to



reconsider their present outrageous policy, and will have to withdraw from various places they occupy, and will have to give freedom to the world. Where did they get authority to occupy the world? The Anglo-Saxons have only 100,000,000 in population but control the Seven Seas with a strong naval force. To the United States, the Pacific is like her own pond. If each individual has the right to live, the same is true of a country. Is there anything wrong in standing up and fighting for one's right? That is what I have been trying to put across to the 70,000,000 Japanese.



G

Article  
"Transcendental View of the Nine Power Treaty"



"TRANSCENDENTAL VIEW OF THE NINE POWER TREATY"

By  
IKEZAKI Chuko

(Article published in YOMIURI SHIMBUN, 24 March 1940)

1. At the House of Representatives' budgetary general meeting, in answer to the member's questions concerning the effect of the Nine Power Treaty, War Minister HATA gave the following clear reply: "The actions that Japan has taken since the China Incident undoubtedly transcend the Nine Power Treaty. Therefore, the Army should not be restricted in the least from the standpoint of operations." Navy Minister YOSHIDA also whole-heartedly supported War Minister HATA's views by saying, "There is no reason to believe that the existence of the Nine Power Treaty hinders the execution of our operation plans." //

Therefore, it is correct to assume that the opinion of the entire Army concerning the Nine Power Treaty is in complete harmony.

2. However, problems arise concerning that point. The transcendental views of the entire Army concerning the Nine Power Treaty are in complete harmony. From the standpoint of the execution of operations against China, the Nine Power Treaty concerning the sovereign rights of China prohibits that action. In short, it is being handled as if that situation is non-existent. If that is the case, the Army has gone one step further in clarifying its attitude. By openly denouncing the invalidation of the treaty Japan might justify its actions and also liquidate the doubts held by the world powers.

3. Also in the speech of War Minister HATA, he referred to the position that the nations took on the Nine Power Treaty. They must justly recognize that there is a complete difference in the East Asia at the time of the conclusion of the Nine Power Treaty and the East Asia of today. Since they close their eyes to the obvious truth and stubbornly refuse to recognize this truth in order to make them recognize this whether they like it or not isn't it the duty of Japan to take the initiative and exclude the Nine Power Treaty which is an obstacle and correct their misunderstanding and illusion?

4. Since the Manchurian Incident Japan has often explained the existing situation in East Asia and has already declared that it is no longer bound by the Nine Power Treaty. If Japan has made such a declaration and is the country most affected by the treaty, why doesn't she disavow the effect of the Nine Power Treaty which is lacking as a standard of the existing situation in East Asia?

Instead of uttering a billion words isn't there an effective and proper means of executing the abolition of the Nine Power Treaty by in-



dicating Japan's firm recognition and faith and by declaring that hereafter it will not be shackled by the Nine Power Treaty?

5. Japan is constantly explaining the existing situation of East Asia and declaring that the existing situation does not agree with the standard of the Nine Power Treaty. But seeing that she previously wanted to maintain the Nine Power Treaty and even now, will not boldly abolish it, don't you think that Japan is just uttering words and nothing else, and that Japan to some degree recognizes the sanctity of the Nine Power Treaty? The phraseology of the transcendental view of the Nine Power Treaty by War Minister HATA is very skillful, but the greater the degree of skill, the greater the misunderstanding by the world powers. And due to the fear of making difficult the position of Japan, we cannot sympathize with his view.