

Hatoyama Ichiro

FROM:

KAWASAKI Yoshifuru
108, Jodoe-nachi,
Miyazaki-shi,
(Miyazaki-ken, Japan)

TO:

UENAGA Shichinosuke
Ebara, Ebara-ku,
Tokyo-to, (Japan)

Letter intercept

Writer states:

"...I once visited your wife in Tokyo before I went to Manchuria. Later, I saw you in the train between Peking and Tientsin, but I did not speak to you as I was a Soviet spy dressed like a Chinese coolie.

"...In July 1942, I was suddenly drafted by the Fukuoka Headquarters of the Army...In June 1944, I was prosecuted, with thirteen (13) others, by the Western Army Martial Court on charges of desertion, violation of entry regulations, mutiny, cabal, bribery, illegal use of official documents, and usurpation, and was sentenced to five (5) years and ten (10) months penal servitude...

"At the Headquarters, although I was only a superior private, I was able to do both good and evil in cahoots with MIZUKUBO Jinsaku, member of the Diet from Miyakonojo (Ex: in Miyazaki-ken), and SUMI Yoshiharu, Lieutenant Colonel of the Miyakonojo Army Headquarters, Lieutenant Colonel of the Miyakonojo Army Headquarters.

"...About this time, MAKI Tsugihito, a musician, came into my outfit as a second lieutenant. Because we were good friends in Soviet Russia, we quickly became intimate again and spent away life under circumstances about which I cannot tell you now. When the above courts-martial case arose, MAKI, using his rank, went to Soviet Union via Manchuria before anything could happen to him. We were arrested at Amakusa (Ex: in Kumamoto-ken).

"At the trial I was helped by NISHIKAWA Hachiro, an intimate friend of OTSUKA Isei (Ex: Metropolitan Police Board Chief around 1923), but I was convicted as the principal criminal...Nishikawa is now an employee of the Soviet Army in Seghaliem. It seems that he was connected with the late Dr. NAOKI Rintaro. I don't know why OTSUKA helped a communist like me. I imagine that AMAKASU (Ex: possibly former Kempei Tai captain, famous for killing OSUGI Sakao, communist leader at the time of the 1923 big earthquake) had asked him to do so through MAKI. (Because of this, I have resolved to rescue OTSUKA, and I have the means to do so). At any rate, I was put in Fukuoka Prison.

"But with the surrender, the M.P. and the Legal Section of the Occupation Forces came to Fukuoka and I was immediately employed as an interpreter till March 1946...

"In October 1945, Colonel Captain Stankevich, M.K.V.D., (now commander of Mukden, Manchuria) came to Fukuoka. MAKI had told him a great deal about me. Stankevich gave me a good chance to get out of difficulties but I had no confidence as I was still in prison and was also connected with the American Army. I was connected, too, with YUASA Hachiro, professor of DOSHISHA, (Doshisha University) (Ex: in Kyoto), and OSHO Kachiro of the Fukuoka parish... Stankevich said that MAKI had suggested I sign over on paper, the machinery and movable property of the OBAYASHI GUMI, (Obayashi Contractors) in Manchuria. He also said that depending on my wishes, he would pay me in Soviet cash, the price of my property left in Manchuria... MAKI has written to me several times through the Liaison section, the Q.U.S.B.

"...Due to the Act of Amnesty issued in November 1946, mitigation became possible. As I have been in prison for three (3) years I hope to be released this time. If not, I shall ask to have HANADA Hachiro, lieutenant colonel, examined. He was the central figure of the case. Today I asked Dr. HATOYAMA, my respected teacher, to act as my defense. Furthermore, the time appointed by Captain Stankevich in 1946 is drawing near. My mind is made up and I shall do my utmost. I fear nothing.

"I shall surely communicate with Vasiliev, prosecutor now in Tokyo. But before anything else, I shall rescue OTSUKA.

"I shall write no more as the letter may not be passed by censorship. You may be surprised to receive a letter from prison... My address is as disclosed on the envelope, instead of NIYAZAKI PRISON..."

Post-Hatoyama Politics

The SCAP disqualification of Ichiro Hatoyama brought down the wrath of scores of prefectural writers upon the heads of Shidehara, his Cabinet, and the Liberal Party. Many writers pointed out that the Government had been instructed to reexamine the Liberal politician's qualifications to hold office, and that it had "neglected" to do so, thus bringing disgrace upon the Japanese people and at the same time indicating their own "incompetency". SHIN IWATE (Morioka, 6 May) exclaimed that "after a fortnight's confusion, the political situation is right back where it started. The people are beginning to doubt the wisdom of their choice in the elections". OITA GODO (Oita, 5 May) said: "The Shidehara cabinet should be severely dealt with.

* * * Its recommendation of Hatoyama constituted a violation of the Potsdam Declaration." Conservative MINAMI NIPPON (Kagoshima, 5 May) suggested that "both Shidehara and Hatoyama should have their heads examined." EHIME SHIMBUN (Matsuyama, 5 May) declared that "the government is responsible for having the people elect a candidate who was ineligible". HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN (Sapporo, 5 May), apparently considering that the purge of Hatoyama represented a change in Allied policy, remarked: "We may draw two conclusions - the conservatives, including the right-wing Socialists, did not understand our position under the Potsdam Declaration. Secondly, the international situation seems more favorable toward democratic revolution. . . although the democratic front is still far from established."

There was much editorial speculations on the future of the individual political parties. The Socialist Party was presented by most commentators as having the greatest likelihood for success in the establishment of a workable cabinet, but the writers occasionally revealed that their opinions might be colored by personal inclinations favoring Socialist power. HIMANE SHIMBUN (Matsue, 6 May) claimed "The Socialist premise of 'quality over quantity' is opposed to democratic parliamentary procedure. But in this time of transition, especially since the disqualification of Hatoyama, the circumstances are changed. The people want, first of all, a cabinet which can meet the crisis." SHIKOKU SHIMBUN (Takamatsu, 5 May) disclosed: "The reason behind the hope for the establishment of a Socialist Cabinet is the strong feeling that it might mean a short cut to political stability." NISHI NIPPON (Fukuoka, 5 May) stated: "We can do nothing unless people who are unaware of the direction of the new age withdraw from the government. * * * We are not sure that there will not be second and third Hatoyama affairs unless warresponsible persons of all spheres are revealed."

"It was only a formal issue whether Hatoyama came under the purge directive or not; it was already clear that he was antidemocratic. The right-wing Socialists are now greatly confused, . . . and the left-wing Socialists will gain in power." With this premise, KOCHI SHIMBUN (Kochi, 6 May) urged immediate action to establish "the promised organization of the democratic front." GIFU TIMES (Gifu, 5 May), another anti-conservative journal, explained that "without Hatoyama the Liberals are even more incompetent than the Progressives. . . there is no other person who can lead

the party. * * * Political stability cannot have any other basis than the democratic front. For this reason the Liberal Party made frantic efforts to win over the Socialists, and Shidehara attempted to deceive us by professing to be "right of the Socialists and left of the Liberals."

GODO SHIMBUN (Okayama, 5 May), ordinarily less politically astute than some of the other pro-democratic front newspapers, explained that "Hatoyama was one of the few strong politicians not barred from office . . . all the conservative political powers were rallied around him. This is why the Government did not purge him. The conservative camp will now appoint Foreign Minister Yoshida president of the Liberal Party, and will cling to the idea of forming a Liberal cabinet. We should be very watchful."

Hatoyama's Book

The recent controversy regarding Liberal Party President Hatoyama's eligibility to hold office received comment from only one prefectural newspaper. Conservative MINAMI NIPPON (Kagoshima, 20 Apr.) stated that it didn't wish to support either the Liberal Party or its president, but termed the attempt to disqualify Hatoyama as "a plot on the part of the government against the first major party." The writer declared that it is "strange" that the book Faces of the World is being criticized in connection with the matter of qualification. Faces of the World raised a question during Hatoyama's election campaign but little was made of it. * * * Hatoyama is not the only victim: behind him is the Liberal Party and the people. Hatoyama and his party may be rather weak, but if the wounded lion of the people began to act violently, something trouble-some might happen."

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section
Media Analysis Division

PREFECTURAL PRESS ANALYSIS, 15 May

No. 29

The opening of the war crimes trials and Premier Shidehara's decision to recommend Hatoyama as his successor were the featured news on 4 May, with the bulk of editorial comment given to national politics. On 5 May, all papers except SANGYO KEIZAI (Osaka), which gave greater coverage to economic matters, emphasized the disqualification of Hatoyama. Editorial discussions reemphasized intra-Diet affairs, while considerable news space was devoted to the preliminaries of the war crimes trials.

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Food Problems

Family suicides, disorders between Koreans, Chinese and Japanese, mass meetings, and hospitals filled with sufferers from malnutrition were mentioned in the prefectural press as editors made gloomy predictions about the effect of food shortages upon the future of Japan. As in the past (Pref. Press No. 25), unfair distribution was blamed and the solution most frequently mentioned was greater control by the people of the distribution system. JOMO SHIMBUN (Maebashi, 4 May) said there had been family suicides under the "new yen livelihood" and that all the hospitals in the prefecture were filled with malnutrition cases. To the writer, supervision of production and distribution by the people and an investigation of hoarding were the answers. KANAGAWA SHIMBUN (Yokohama, 4 May), favoring the same solution, pointed out that the "privileged class" which had bought and kept rice and farmers who had kept much of theirs had nothing to fear, but "those who must die are laborers and salaried men. If they. . . who are the central power of production die away, the Japanese race will come to ruin."

The head of the Food Control Bureau, was quoted by SHINANO MAINICHI (Nagano, 4 May) as saying: "The cities are starving while the farming villages eat. Let us live or die together." The paper commented on other official statements: "Contrary to what the officials are saying, there are some dying on account of the unfair apportionment of rice." Because "city dwellers are fighting a hard battle against famine and starvation. OSAKA SHIMBUN (Osaka, 4 May) demanded that the Government "freeze" geisha houses and "high class restaurants" until the food situation becomes stable. Similar criticism of luxurious living came from KUMAMOTO NICHINICHI (Kumamoto, 6 May), which was aware of restaurants "overcrowded with customers who take too freely of food and liquors." KYOTO SHIMBUN (Kyoto, 4 May) observed: "The people have thus far managed to exist, it is true, but the new yen system has not resulted in lower prices of food and other daily necessities. On the contrary, these

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PREFECTURAL PRESS ANALYSIS, 2 May 1946

No. 23

Journals from 21 to 24 April continued to highlight national political confusion. The resignation en bloc of the Shi-dehara Cabinet was greeted with much enthusiasm by the prefectural press; speculation regarding the future cabinet was similar to comments prior to the Government's resignation. Editors, on the whole, supported a major party coalition cabinet, but some advocated that the Socialists "stand aloof" from a tri-party agreement. All writers discussing the political muddle called for the early "settlement of the government", with several pointing out that the manipulations and actions of the various parties must be carefully watched by the voters.

CHUBU NIPPON (Nagoya, 24 Apr.) presented editorially a theory favoring Socialist non-participation in the cabinet: "We believe that the real significance of democratic politics lies in the existence of a healthy opposition party which will exercise strict surveillance over the conduct of the government." NIPPONKAI (Tottori, 24 Apr.) cautioned politicians that the stabilization of the political situation must occur before the problems of living can be solved. Ultra-conservative JIJI SHIMPO (Osaka, 25 Apr.) advocated the Socialist Party "give way to the Liberal Party" in order to fulfill the "peoples' will as reflected by the elections."

Constitution

Four prefectural papers, in words that might have been written by the same editor, acclaimed the writing of the new draft into an idiom familiar to the people, and considered that a precedent had therein been established for all subsequent official documents. YAMANASHI NICHINICHI (Kofu, 20 Apr.) felt "the necessity for the colloquialization of all legal . . . and civil documents . . . in which the style of official documents has been used". HOKKOKU MAINICHI (Kanazawa, 21 Apr.) devoted an entire editorial to comment on the replacing of the old-constitution word "subjects" (shinmin) with the word "people" (kokumin). The writer considered it significant that "henceforth, 'the people' is the only name of all classes".

HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN (Sapporo, 21 Apr.) observed: "There is no definite provision for 'sovereignty vested in the people'. * * * The majority of the people might be puzzled as to just where the sovereignty lies. * * * Similarly, is it not possible . . . considering (Japan's) historical, traditional, and spiritual tendencies . . . for 'symbol' to come to mean the same thing as 'divinity'? (Pref. Press No. 22). Furthermore, in consideration of future developments, is it not possible to think of 'the general will of the people' as a wedge?" The writer's suggestion was that defining the Emperor as symbolizing the will of the people can be interpreted to mean that the will of the people is to be a reflection of the will of the Emperor, rather than the converse. Other remarks were that the draft cannot be considered "democratic", since it was not drawn up by

a government elected by the people.

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Labor Tactics

An ISE SHIMBUN (Tsu, 21 Apr.) article referred to "workers' control of production . . . as one of the most effective strategies in present-day Japan." Approaching the discussion from an uncommon angle, the writer warned labor that the Italian labor movement following World War I "ended in the complete defeat of the labor class . . . through the immature methods of (labor) management control, together with the attacks of the capitalists". Stating that "the Fascist movement of Mussolini" emerged from this situation, the article urged labor "to adopt comrades who have the experience to do the job efficiently", and eventually "to make the knowledge and techniques necessary for management labor's own. * * * We say this not merely for the good of labor, but for the sound development of Japanese economy."

An editorial writer for CHUGOKU SHIMBUN (Hiroshima, 20 Apr.), discussing the strike of the Employees' Union of the Kure Municipal Office, "readily acknowledged" that the strike is justifiable as "an expression of their appeal to live on", but appended the hypothesis: "The more urgent the demand, the more prudence should be demanded of the parties concerned. It should not be a bubble-like campaign, a poor product of fleeting passion. The important thing is to come to a comparatively satisfactory agreement. Violence, however small its scale may be, should be rejected. We wish to remind the municipal officials of this, as such problems often give rise to various troubles."

Food

The production and delivery of more rice to alleviate the suffering of the urban populace, was the underlying theme of comment concerning the nation's food problem. Papers urged farmers to meet rice delivery quotas by their own initiative; yet, the use of these compulsory measures to assure delivery of vital foodstuffs was also advocated. Some papers went all out in requesting the Government to uncover stocks of hidden rice in the cities while other journals clamored for "the impartial issue of food to consumers, to rid them of the troubles of buying in blackmarkets and in the country-side."

A NAGASAKI SHIMBUN (Nagasaki, 25 Apr.) editorial summed up the complexities of the food question: "The farmers show no

attitudes of positive co-operation to Government measures and in spite of the compulsory measures, the delivery of rice has fallen short of the expected amount. This may be construed to be tacit remonstrance of the farmers to bureaucratic oppression. * * * The new Government should take steps to convince the people that its conduct is based upon democratic principles. It is necessary to encourage voluntary delivery in place of forced delivery. Effort should be made to uncover stocks of hoarded foodstuffs and democratic consumers' distribution organizations should also be mobilized. Furthermore, effective measures to increase the production of fertilizers; large scale reclamation of waste land by mechanical means; mechanization of agrarian methods by electrification and the co-operative management of farms to increase the farmers' standard of living, should be among the policies of the new Government to lift the country out of its present predicament."

Motion Pictures

The women's section of the Socialist Party, according to EHIME SHIMBUN (Matsuyama, 23 Apr.), was opposed when they learned "that the Dai Ei Moving Picture Corporation is planning to film the tragedy of Mme. Mishiko Yamasaki". She is the Socialist Party Diet member, "who recently divorced her husband when he returned to Japan from the South Sea Islands with a foreign second wife and two children." The reason for the ladies' opposition, "It would have an evil influence on Japanese women", was supported by the writer, who demanded: "Are there no better subjects?"

Letters to the Editor

KAHOKU SHIMPO (Sendai, 20 Apr.) reported that during the months of February and March, it had received a total of 701 letters. The paper stated that the contents of these letters "are becoming more important" as writers most frequently discussed such subjects as: the reconstruction of Japan; the stabilization of daily living, and the problems of food and housing. Public opinion on other topics of national importance, as represented by these letters, was as follows:

Tenno System--The majority "insisted on the maintenance of the Tenno system."

General Elections--"Political parties are poor in their policies. The parties will not keep their promises to the public."

Rice Delivery--"We will starve unless new policies are instituted by the Government." Letters coming from farm areas demanded "fair allotments; repeal of the compulsory measures; minimum necessities of life in order to produce food."

New Yen--"The people expect that inflation will be prevented by the enforcement of the new yen system."

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REPORT BY: John A. Curtis

12 Feb 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Address: Resident of Tokyo, Japan.

Was a former Railway Minister.

File 175, serial 45: Whose power in the Inukai Cabinet was increased by the appointment of Araki in this Cabinet.

File 251, serial 9: Letter from Fukuda, Jiro to Hatoyama, Ichiro; another Hatoyama supporters' Association formed.

File 107, serial 19: Head of the Japanese Liberal Party. Knew nothing concrete about Kuhara's financial and political activities.

ATIS Press Translation 2565: Abetted all Japanese military actions since the invasion of Manchuria. No partisan of Tojo but was not opposed to dictatorship. Sympathised with the policies of Hitler and Mussolini, praised them as saviours of their countries and great leaders of nations. After China Incident, tried by various means to allay the wrath of the world against Japan, saying that China was too weak to live as a unified nation and had therefore to choose between Russia or Japanese protection.

File 287, serial 4: Prominent politician; member of Free Thinkers' Society.

File 99, serial 100: Letter from Mogi requests action against Hatoyama, Ichiro, former Minister of Education, as a War Criminal.

File 6, serial 84: Information re Japanese plan to attack given in interview.

File 403, serial 5

File 376, serial 15: Contains same information

File 447, serial 62: Request for interrogation.

File 00, serial 268: Does not consider himself responsible for Japan's military conquests, along with Prince Konoye tried to stop the war after Japan's capture of Singapore.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMLAND
Operations, CIS, G-2
Compilation Branch

SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Ichiro HATOYAMA is the leader of the New Liberal Party. Was Chief General Secretary of the Cabinet in 1927 and Minister of Education in 1931. His association with Tanaka at the present time proves him to be more reactionary than Liberal. He associated with and supported by the Mitsui Interest and may be a tool of the Zaibatsu and an organizer of the Reactionary Veterans Association (Zaigo Gunjinkai) as of 15 October 1945.

SOURCE: Memo on interview and interrogation of political prisoner TOKUDA, dated 15 October 1945.

Ichiro HATOYAMA, President of the Liberal party and possible person to be disqualified after the elections. (SHIN YUKAN recalled that HATOYAMA had been Chief Secretary to the TANAKA Cabinet when the subjugation of Manchuria and China was being plotted and asked, if HATOYAMA was "the pacifist that he professes to be, why did he not stop the plans at that time").

SOURCE: CI&E, Media Analysis Division, Press Analysis, 7,8 April 1946.

Leader of the New Japan Liberal Party (Shin Nippon Jiyu-to). Party consists of militaristic bureaucrats and backed by the Mitsui financial clique. Is nationalistic and operates under a mask of "Liberalism."

SOURCE: Memo for officer in charge, interview of TOKUDA Kyuichi, political prisoner, from Hq, CIC Met Unit No. 80, APO 500, dtd 10 Oct 1945.

Barred from public office by 4 January purge directive. Position from which removed: Member of House of Representatives. Reason for removal: fell under category G of 4 January purge directive.

SOURCE: Central Liaison Office.

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HATAYAMA, ICHIRO

Subject of IPS case file # 456

HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Born: Jan. 1, 1883

Domicile: Tokyo, Japan

Social Status: Samurai

1916	Apr. 1	Decorated with the 4th class order of the Sacred Treasure (in recognition of his meritorious service in 1914-15 incident)	Board of Decoration
1920	July 1	Appointed member of the Central City Planning Committee Granted a set of golden cups in recognition of his meritorious service in 1915-1920 incident (as member of the House of the Representatives)	Cabinet Board of Decorations
1923	July 2	Appointed member of the Temporary Metropolitan System Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	July 6	Appointed temporary member of the Temporary Legal System Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Oct. 18	Appointed Council member of Tokyo Reconstruction Board	Cabinet
	Dec. 26	Relieved of duty as member of the Temporary Legal System Investigation Committee	Cabinet
1924	Feb. 2	Appointed member of the Special City Planning Committee	Cabinet
	Feb. 25	The organization of the Tokyo Reconstruction Board abolished (by Imperial Ordinance No. 25)	
	Nov. 25	Owing to the abolition of the temporary Metropolitan System Investigation Committee by Imperial Ordinance No. 284, automatically relieved of duty as a member of the Committee	
	May 10	Elected Member of the House of the Representatives	
	Dec. 25	Decorated with the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 3rd class.	Board of Decorations
1927	Apr. 20	Appointed Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. Promoted to the 1st Rank of the higher Civil Service	Cabinet
	May 2	Promoted to 5th Court Rank, Senior Grade	Ministry of Imperial Household
	May 3	Appointed government representative	Cabinet

1927	May 9	Relieved of duty as government representative	Cabinet
	May 21	Appointed member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Appointed member of the Central Statistics Committee	Cabinet
	May 23	Appointed member of the Central Preparations Committee for Construction of Government Offices	Cabinet
	June 3	Appointed member of the Railway Council	Cabinet
	June 15	Appointed member of the Administrative Organizations Investigation Committee. This Committee abolished on July 2, 1929 by Imperial Ordinance No. 223	Cabinet
	June 20	Appointed Vice Chairman of the Preparations Committee for the Coronation ceremony	Ministry of Imperial Household
	June 23	Appointed member of the Investigation Committee for the Cultural Projects directed to China	Cabinet
	July 1	Relieved of duty as member of the Special City Planning Committee (Because of rank)	Cabinet
		Appointed member of the Special City Planning Committee	Cabinet
	July 7	Appointed member of the Population and Food Problems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Appointed Chief Secretary of the Population and Food Problems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	July 19	Appointed member of the Natural Resources Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Dec. 15	Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Central Statistics Committee	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥400 as member of the Natural Resources Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Dec. 19	Appointed member of the Educational Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Dec. 23	Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥800 as member of the Committee to Investigate Administrative Organizations	Cabinet
	Dec. 24	Appointed a government representative	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Educational Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥800 as Chief Secretary of the Population and Food Problems Investigation Committee.	Cabinet

Dec. 30	Owing to the abolition of the Preparations Committee for the Coronation ceremony, automatically relieved of duty as Vice Chairman Appointed Vice Commissioner of the Coronation Appointed member of the Council	Cabinet The Coronation Commissioner
1928 Jan. 21	Relieved of duty as government representative The Diet dissolved	Cabinet
Feb. 10	Appointed Acting Director of the Cabinet Printing Bureau	Cabinet
Feb. 20	Elected as Member of the House of the Representatives	
Feb. 28	Relieved of duty as Acting Director of the Cabinet Printing Bureau	Cabinet
Mar. 20	Ordered to make an official trip to Kyoto	Coronation Commissioner
Apr. 21	Appointed a government representative Granted a golden cup in recognition of his meritorious service as member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigations Committee	Cabinet Board of Decoration
May 7	Relieved of duty as a government representative	Cabinet
Oct. 29	Ordered to attend on the Emperor in His travel to the Coronation	Cabinet
Nov. 10	Granted a golden cup. Granted the Commemoration Medal of the Coronation	Board of Decoration
Dec. 20	Received allowance of ¥400 as member of the Natural Resources Investigation Committee Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Educational Investigation Committee Received allowance of ¥650 as member of the Administrative Organizations Investigations Committee. Received allowance of ¥800 as Chief Secretary of Population and Food Problems Investigations Committee Received allowance of ¥150 as member of the Central Statistics Committee	Cabinet Cabinet Cabinet Cabinet Cabinet
Dec. 24	Appointed a government representative	
Dec. 26	Received allowance of ¥250 as a member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee Granted the sum of ¥4500 in recognition of his especially meritorious service in the Coronation affairs.	Cabinet

1928	Dec. 28	Decorated with the 2nd Order of Merit with the Double Rays of the Rising Sun (the conferment with honors for services in the coronation)	Board of Decoration
1929	Jan. 15	The organization of the Coronation Commission abolished Ordered to deal with the remaining business	Cabinet
	Mar. 26	Relieved of duty as government representative	Cabinet
	May 13	Relieved of duty as member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee Owing to its abolition Appointed member of the Legal Systems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	May 22	Appointed member of the Rice Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	June 1	Appointed member of the Coronation Records Editing Committee	Cabinet
	July 2	Relieved of the main duty at his own request	Cabinet
	July 4	Relieved of the duty to deal with the remaining business (The Coronation Commission)	Cabinet
1930	Jan. 21	The Diet dissolved	
	Feb. 20	Elected Member of the House of Representatives	
1931	Dec. 13	Appointed Minister of Education	Cabinet
	Dec. 15	Promoted to the 3rd Court Rank, Junior Grade	Ministry of Imperial Household
1932	Jan. 21	The Diet dissolved.	
	Feb.	Elected a Member of the House of Representatives	
1933	Dec. 15	Promoted to the 3rd Rank, Senior Grade	Ministry of Imperial Household
1934	Mar. 3	Relieved of the main duty at his own request	Cabinet
	Apr. 5	Decorated with the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 1st Class	Board of Decoration
	Apr. 29	Decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun (in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-4 incident) Granted the sum of ¥1500 in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-4 incident.	Board of Decoration Board of Decoration

①

translated by OTSUKA
Hayami

Checked by HIRAYAMA

OK

HATAYAMA, Ichiro

Born : Jan. 1, 1883
Domicile : Tokyo, Japan
Social Status : Samurai

1916. April 1 Decorated with the 4th ^{class} ~~Order of Merit~~
~~Order of the~~ ^{order of the} Sacred Treasure (in recognition
^{meritorious} of his service in 1914-15 incident.) Board of
Decoration

1920 July 1 Appointed member of the Central
City Planning Committee. Cabinet
Granted a set of golden cups
^{meritorious} in recognition of his service in 1915-9 1920 -
Incident. (a member of the House of Representatives) Board of
Decoration

1923 July 2 Appointed member of ^{the} Temporary
Metropolitan System Investigation Committee. Cabinet

July 6 Appointed ^{temporary} member of ^{the} Temporary ^{Legal System} Law
Investigation Committee. Cabinet

Oct. 18 Appointed ^{Council} member of ~~Council~~ of the
Tokyo Reconstruction Board. Cabinet

Dec. 26 Relieved as ^{member} member of the Temporary
^{Legal System} Law Investigation Committee. Cabinet

1924 Feb. 2 Appointed member of the Special

(2)

Feb. 25 City Planning Committee. Cabinet.
organization of the
The, Tokyo ^{Rehabilitation} Reconstruction Board

abolished (by Imperial ^{Ordinance} Decree No. 25.)

Nov. 25 Owing to the abolition ^{organization of the} of the Temporary

Metropolitan System Investigation Committee
in Imperial ^{Ordinance} Decree No. 284,
automatically relieved ^{of duty} as a member of the
~~the~~ Committee.

May 10 Elected Member of the House of the
Representatives.

Dec. 25 Decorated with the 3rd Order ~~of~~

~~with~~ of the Sacred Treasure, 3rd class Board of
Decoration

1927 April 20 Appointed Chief Secretary of
the Cabinet.

Promoted to the 1st Rank of the
Higher Civil Service. Cabinet.

May 2 Promoted to the 5th Court Rank,
Senior Grade. Ministry of
Imperial Household.

May 3 Appointed ~~member of the~~ government
representative
committee ~~delegate~~. Cabinet

May 9 Relieved ^{of duty} as member of the ~~government~~
representative
committee ~~delegate~~. Cabinet

May 21 Appointed member of the Temporary
(Legal Systems)
Law Investigation Committee. Cabinet.

Appointed ^{the} member of Central

	Statistics Committee.	Cabinet
May 23	Appointed member of the Central Preparatory ^{ious} Committee for office construction of Government Offices.	Cabinet.
June 3	Appointed ^a member of the Railway Council.	Cabinet.
June 15	Appointed ^a member of The Administrative Organizations Investigation Committee. This ^{committee} government organization was abolished on July 2, 1929, by the Ordinance Imperial Decree No. 223.	Cabinet

June 20

Appointed Vice Chairman of the

^{Preparations}
~~Coronation Preparations~~ Committee for ^{Ministry of} Imperial Household
~~the Preparations of the~~
~~Grand Ceremony of~~ Coronation Ceremony.

June 23

Appointed member of the
Investigation Committee for the

Cultural Projects directed to China. Cabinet

July 1

^{of duty}
Relieved as member of the

Special City-Planning Committee.
(^{Because} on account of rank!)

Cabinet

Appointed member of the

Special City-Planning Committee, Cabinet

July 7

Appointed member of the

Population and Food Problems

(6)

	Investigation Committee.	Cabinet
	Appointed Chief Secretary of the Population and Food Problems	
	Investigation Committee.	Cabinet.
July 19	Appointed ² member of the Natural Resources Investigation	
	Committee.	Cabinet
Dec. 15	Received the allowance of ¥100 as ² member of the Central	
	Statistical Committee.	Cabinet.
	Received the allowance	

of ¥400 as member of the Natural

Resources Investigation Committee. Cabinet

Dec. 19

Appointed member of the

~~Educational~~
~~Investigation Committee~~ Cabinet
~~for Educational Administration~~

Dec. 23

Received the allowance of ¥100

as member of the Temporary ~~Part~~
~~Legal System~~ ^{Legislation}
Investigation Committee. Cabinet

Received the allowance of ¥800

Committee to Investigate
as member of the Administrative

Organizations Investigation Committee. Cabinet

Dec. 24

Appointed member of the

(8)

^{representative}
~~the~~
a government committee. Cabinet.

Received the allowance of ₹100

as member of the ^{Educational}
~~Structural~~

Investigation Committee ~~for~~ ^{Education} Cabinet
~~Administration~~

Received the allowance of ₹800

as Chief Secretary of the Population

and Food Problems Investigation

Committee. Cabinet.

Dec. 30 Owing to the abolition of the

~~Coronation Preparations~~ Committee for
~~the~~ ^{the} Coronation Ceremony,

automatically ^{of duty} relieved as Vice Chairman.

(9)

Appointed ^{Vice-Commissioner} Under-Secretary of

of the Coronation Mission.

Cabinet

Appointed ~~member~~ member of the Council.

Coronation
Commission

1928. Jan. 21

Relieved ^{of duty} as member of the

~~Government~~ ^{representative} committee.

Cabinet

~~the Diet dissolved~~

~~The dissolution of the Diet.~~

Feb. 10.

Appointed Acting Director of

the Cabinet Printing Bureau.

Cabinet

Feb. 20

Elected as member of the

House of the Representatives.

Feb. 28

Relieved ^{of duty} as Acting Director

of the Cabinet Printing Bureau. Cabinet.

March 20 Ordered to make an official
trip to Kyoto. Coronation
Commission

Apr. 21 Appointed member of the government
representative
committee delegate. Cabinet

Granted ^a golden cup in recogni-
tion of ^{meritorious} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~member~~
time of his ~~service~~ ^{service} of the Temporary
(Legal Systems)
Legislation Investigation Committee. Board of
Decorations

May 17 Relieved ^{of duty} as ~~member~~ ^{member} of the government
representative
committee delegate. Cabinet

Oct. 29 Ordered to ^{to attend on the Emperor} ~~serve in the retinue~~

in His travel ^{to the} ~~As~~ Coronation.
~~of the Emperor or the coronation visit.~~

Cabinet

Nov. 10

Granted ^a golden cup.

Granted the Commemoration Medal

of the Coronation.

Board
of Decoration

Dec. 20

Received ~~the~~ allowance of ¥450

as member of the Natural Resources

Investigation Committee.

Cabinet

Received ~~the~~ allowance of ¥100

as member of the ^{Educational} ~~Educational~~

Investigation Committee for ~~Educational~~
~~Administration.~~

Cabinet

Received ~~the~~ allowance of

(12)

⇒ member of)
¥ 600 as ~~Chief Secretary of the Administrative~~

Organizations Investigation Committee, Cabinet
Received ~~the~~ allowance of ¥800 as
Chief Secretary of Population and Food
Problems Investigation Committee.
Received ~~the~~ allowance of ¥150

as ² member of the Central Statistical

Committee.

Cabinet

Dec. 24.

Appointed ~~member of the~~
~~representative~~
~~delegate.~~
a government ~~committee.~~

Dec. 26

Received ~~the~~ allowance of
¥ 250 as member of the Temporary
~~Legislation, Legal Systems~~
Law Investigation Committee.

Granted the sum of ¥4500

in recognition of his ^{especially meritorious} service in the
Coronation affairs Cabinet

Dec. 28 Decorated with the 2nd Order of Merit
with
of the Double Range of the Rising
Sun (The conferment ^{with} of honours for
services in the Coronation) Board of Decoration

1929 Jan 15 The organization of the Coronation
Commission abolished
Ordered to deal with ^{the} remaining
business. Cabinet

March 26 Relieved ^{of duty} as member of the

~~representative~~
~~committee~~
government committee Cabinet

May 13. Relieved ^{of duty} as a member of the
~~Legal System / Legislation~~
Temporary ~~Law~~ Investigation Committee

owing to its abolition.

Appointed ^{Legal System} member of the ~~Law~~

Investigation Committee Cabinet

May 22 Appointed ^{member} of the Rice Investigation
Committee Cabinet

June 1 Appointed ^{member} of the Editing
Committee of Coronation Records Cabinet

July 2 Relieved of the main duty at ^{his own} request Cabinet

July 4

(Relieved of the duty to deal with

the remaining business (The Coronation

Commission)

Cabinet

1930

Jan. 21

~~The Diet dissolved~~
~~The dissolution of the Diet~~

Feb. 20

Elected Member of the House of

the Representatives

1931

Dec. 13

Appointed Minister of

Education

Cabinet

Dec. 15

Promoted to the 3rd Court Rank,

Junior Grade

Ministry of
Imperial
Household

1932

Jan. 21

~~The Diet dissolved~~
~~The dissolution of the Diet~~

Feb.

Elected a member of the House of
the Representatives.

1933. ~~Feb.~~ Dec. 15

Promoted to the 3rd Court Rank,
Senior Grade.

Ministry of
Imperial
Household.

1934 March 3

Relieved of the main duty ^{his own} at request. Cabinet.

April 5

Decorated with the ~~1st~~ Order of ~~the~~
~~the~~ Sacred Treasure, 1st class

Board of
Decorations

April 29

Decorated with the Grand Cordon
of the Rising Sun, (in recognition of his
meritorious
service in 1931 - 4 incident.)

Board of
Decorations

Granted the sum of ¥ 1500

in recognition of his ^{meritorious} service in 1931-4

incident.

Board of
Decorations

24 April - Translation for information only;
need checking before others use
A.A.

Ichiro Hatoyama

"I ORDERED THE SUPPRESSION OF BOOK OF CRIMINAL LAW"
SAYS EDUCATIONAL MINISTER HATOYAMA IN TRAIN FOR
KANSAI DISTRICT ON DISMISSAL OF PROF. TAKIGAWA OF
KYOTO IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY.

OSAKA--We had an interview in the train for KANSAI District with the Educational Minister HATOYAMA, the man of the hour, who had declared in the Diet "to purge all Red Professors," and now intended to dismiss Professor of the KYOTO Imperial University TAKIGAWA as the first sacrifice. He was already up when the train passed MAIBARA and seemed to be as bright as if he had not been about to resort to such a drastic measure. He was met by the secretary of the university KISHI and others at KYOTO station. The secretary talked in whispers with the Minister about the situation in the university, the time of the president KONISHI's going up to TOKYO and so forth. After that we asked the Minister various questions.

- Q. What is the reason why Professor TAKIGAWA was suspended?
- A. We cannot admit him to be a professor because of such a theory of his. It is, so to speak, to discharge a dull person. I have ordered to state the above definitely in the document concerned. I will submit to the blame that the freedom of study may be threatened or the self-government of the university violated. Secretary KISHI said President KONISHI's going up to TOKYO will be delayed a day or two. Accordingly, the final procedure will be taken on about 24.
- Q. The university authorities seem to understand that it is against the government organization of the KYOTO Imperial University (an Imperial Ordinance) that you put the matter to the Committee of the Civil Service Limitation despite of the will of the President who opposes both the resignation and suspension of Professor TAKIGAWA.
- A. It is because the university authorities do not know exactly what the government organization is. Any professor who is of such an opinion has to be dismissed, I think. I believe a Minister is given far more wide powers than professors of universities.

- Q. If Professor TAKIGAWA is dismissed, the President and all professors of the law department may resign on account of their positions. Do you not mind that?
- A. I hold such a matter is of little moment. It is necessary at present to enforce somewhat strict control on persons whose theories are to lead left movements. It will be determined by the social situations. To tell the truth, I gave advice to the Home Minister at the Cabinet meeting to suppress Professor TAKIGAWA's Book of Criminal Law. Being contrary to the rumor, the present problem arose already before the Book was suppressed by the decision in the Cabinet meeting. Not only the Book of Criminal Law but his lecture at the CHUO University had already become a subject of discussion when Professor SHINJO was President.
- Q. Some professors of the TOKYO Imperial University also had their books suppressed. Are you intending to lay your hands furthermore on other universities?
- A. I asked President ONOZUKA for investigation of the matter. But it's result is not yet known.

-*-----*-

EDUCATIONAL MINISTER IN OSAKA

Makes Address At Lecture
Meeting, Leaves for
TOKYO On Same
Night.

The Educational Minister arrived at OSAKA station at 8:15 a.m., where he was met by Mayor SEKI, members of the OHU-KAI (T.N. the Cherry and Maple-tree Club) and many others. After he took a rest at KOSHIEN Hotel, he attended at noon a welcome meeting held for him by the OHUKAI at the Central Public Hall. At the meeting, he made a speech for about an hour from 2:00 p.m. on Emergency and Women's Determination. He played golf at IBARAGI Golf Links on 21. He would return to TOKYO by train leaving OSAKA station at 9:25 p.m., the same day.

25 April 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRITISH DIVISION (W. Glanville Brown)
FROM : Investigation Division
SUBJECT : HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Transmitted herewith are the following documents pertaining to the subject individual as requested in your memorandum to this Division, dated 17 April 1947:

- (1) Photostatic copy and negative (in case additional copies of document are needed) of Page 2 of ASAHI SHIMBUN (Tokyo) dated 21 May 1933. Statement of Source and Authenticity attached to document.
- (2) Bound volume containing July 1933 issue of CHUO KORON (Central Review) obtained on loan from Ueno Museum Library, and must be returned when the British Division has concluded with it.
- (3) Bound volume containing 21 May 1933 issue of Japan Advertiser, obtained from IPS Document Section.

Acknowledgement of receipt of above listed documents is requested by appropriate signature on attached copy of this memorandum, to be returned to Investigation Division.

J. F. M.
JOHNSON F. MUNROE
Investigator, IPS

HATOYAMA, Ichiro
Request by: ARAKI, Sotas

Address: Tokyo, Japan

He is an ex-Minister of Education.

(7.0)

HATOHAMA, Ichiro

Request by: Akai, Sadas.

address: Tokyo, Japan.

He is an ex-minister of Education.

25 April 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRITISH DIVISION (W. Glanville Brown)
FROM : Investigation Division
SUBJECT : HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Transmitted herewith are the following documents pertaining to the subject individual as requested in your memorandum to this Division, dated 17 April 1947:

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Acknowledgement of receipt of above listed documents is requested by appropriate signature on attached copy of this memorandum, to be returned to Investigation Division.

J. F. Munroe
JOHNSON F. MUNROE
Investigator, IPS

H.B.
25/4/47

~~Photostat~~

Negative of Hatoyama address on file
in British Division - (W. Glenville Brown)

sent on 30 April '47 -

J. J. Munson

30 April 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: British Division (W.G.B.)
FROM : Johnson F. Munroe, Investigation Division
SUBJECT : HATGYAMA, Ichiro

Copy of the 4-page formal address mailed to his constituents by the subject individual in 1942, which was requested by memorandum dated 17 April 1947, has been procured by this investigator and photostatic reproduction of same is attached hereto.

There is also transmitted herewith an English translation of the attached address, both of which were obtained from the files of G-2, SCAP, (CIS). The original, from which the photostatic reproduction was made, has been returned to that agency.

J.F.M.
Johnson F. Munroe
Investigator, IPS

INCL. 1 Copy Address (Positive)
1 Copy Photostat (Negative)

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Language Branch, CIS

3075

25 September 1946

TRANSLATION IN FULL

SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Ichiro

SOURCE: Copy of printed campaign brochure of April 1942 elections when HATOYAMA stood for election from the 2nd Tokyo district, mailed by HATOYAMA, to KATO Masamitsu, Tokyo.

My Record in Brief

Bachelor of Law
Former attorney
Former lecturer at Waseda University
Former lecturer at Nippon University
Former chairman of Tokyo City Council
Former chief cabinet secretary
Vice-commissioner of the present Emperor's enthronement ceremony
Former Minister of Education
Elected 9 times to the House of Representatives.

Message of Greeting to Constituents on Candidacy

This is April, the height of spring, and from the frigid cold of the north to the burning heat of the south, the officers and men of the Imperial Forces, far from their homeland, are faithfully carrying out their duties wherever they are stationed. At this time in this country an epoch-making general election is in progress and it is being demanded of the men of politics in the Diet that they, in their stations, fully and faithfully do their duty.

With sincere respect, I am sending a message of greeting on becoming a candidate in the general elections for the tenth time.

I would like to express my appreciation for the support and assistance extended by you to me during my 9 terms and my 27 years of service in the Diet. Thanks to your support, I was honored on 27 February of last year with the following resolution by the House of Representatives.

Diet member Ichiro HATOYAMA, 9 times elected to the House of Representatives, who has served in the House for 26 years, has devoted himself to the cause of constitutional government and to the expression of the will of the people. For his long and faithful service, the House of Representatives through this resolution gives this commendation.

I who desire to devote my life to the defense of constitutional government and to being the representative of the will of the people, consider this commendation to be an honor higher than that of the holding of any exalted office. Nowadays there are frequent discussions on constitutional government and new ideas on constitutional reform are rampant but I shall persevere in adhering to government based on the constitution. I believe that in the voice of the people there is something of the voice of Heaven. I am ceaselessly concerned over possible obstacles in the mobilization of the home front which backs the glorious war achievements of our Imperial Forces.

In the Greater East Asiatic War which includes the China Incident, due to the brave fighting of the Imperial Forces, one phase has been completed but we must prepare, in view of the war situation, for a long war. At this time we must strengthen the home front, renew our firmness and perseverance and for the purpose of final victory, I believe conscientious men must be put in to activate the mobilized will of the people, bureaucratic government must be corrected, the Diet vitalized and the entire strength of the nation mobilized. By doing these things it will be possible to hasten the settlement of the China Incident for the first time and to gain the fruits of victory in the Greater East Asiatic War.

As there are persons who are deliberately propagandizing that my way of thinking which exalts the will of the people is out of date, the fact that I face a hard fight in this election is recognized by you and I will not dwell needlessly on this matter.

My earnest request is that with your continued support you will confer on me for the tenth time a seat in the House of Representatives. Thus, asking for your vote, and to vote is to render a public service and the ballot is the voice of Heaven expressed in the voice of the people, I extend my greetings on the occasion of my candidacy.

April 1942
2nd Tokyo district
Candidate for House of
Representatives
Ichiro HATOYAMA

Main Points

An all-out effort in achieving final victory
Elimination of "drones" in the Diet
To demand men insusceptible to corruption by wealth or rank and undaunted
by authority and prestige.
A nation without conscientious subjects is a nation that is lost.

A Diet without character is useless.
To fix complete responsibility in administrative supervision.
Officers and men of the Imperial Forces defend the colors; members of the
Diet defend the Constitution.
Blood for war, sweat for increased production, tears (humanity) for government.
Humanity also in the government of areas outside Japan.
The first government emergency measure is the solution of the food problem.
Is the conversion problem being properly handled?

The amassing of power on the home front to assure the great victory.
No pro-American or pro-English factions in Japan but only pro-Japanese.
War is a last resort, diplomacy a forehanded measure.
The world policy drawn up by the TANAKA cabinet has come into realization.
To be sensitive to changing public criticism.
The Communist movement hides itself under the name of reform.

A Vote is an Opportunity for Public Service.

By the grace of the Emperor and the brave fighting of the officers and men of the Imperial Forces, the world position of the Japanese Empire has become unshakeable. Those born in Japan are enjoying their good fortune to the fullest extent. However, as you know, we must prepare to face a long war. Accordingly, preparations for a complete defense of the home front will be required. The general elections at this time acquire a very deep significance.

Frankly speaking, I respect the attitude of loyalty of Premier TOJO toward constitutional government. Comparing the situation of this year with last year when the KONOYE cabinet postponed the general elections one year ostensibly because of the critical nature of the times, this year, already the Greater East Asiatic War has broken out and the situation regarding such problems as food is several tens of times more critical. Therefore there was all the more reason for again postponing the elections but this would be irregular, constitutionally speaking. I believe one should pay respect to the beliefs of Premier TOJO who consistently respected the spirit of the constitution in avoiding this irregularity.

In recent years the function of the members of the Diet has presented strange spectacle that could be termed "riding the gravey train." At a time when legislators are forgetting their primary responsibilities of participating in legislation and the important tasks of supervising administration, the Premier said, "Have the spirit insusceptible to corruption by wealth or rank and undaunted by authority and prestige."

Those who demand good men show their respect and loyalty to constitutional government. Even the Chinese say a nation without conscientious public servants is a nation that is lost. Those who say black is white merely to gain the favor of those above them are not truly loyal public servants. No cabinet is entirely free from defects. Though the premier be competent, there will be

imprudent men among his sub-ordinates. There will be mistakes and failures. To supervise and correct these is the patriotic duty of the Diet members. The government will gladly listen to such remonstrances and we can begin to have a good working government.

Introducing the voice of a third person, I believe what ABE, Nosei, a higher school principal, had to say in the columns of the Asahi is worth hearing. "Those who blindly follow the government as members of the government party and those who as the opposition party, oppose simply for the sake of opposition are not capable of performing the great duty of assisting the Imperial Rule. Those who blindly follow the lead of the government in everything, disassociate themselves from persons for reasons of personal convenience, seize every shady opportunity and unprincipled advantage, those, in short, who try to satisfy their desire for personal power and profit are not only unfit to meet the demands of the people but the requirements of government."

These are wise words. These words follow the same line of thought as that of Premier TOJO and I believe no one will disagree on this.

A Diet without vitality is useless. The voice of the people which finds expression through the Diet is the voice of Heaven.

A diet which loses the usefulness gained by experience in mutual give and take not only loses its reason for existence but conversely, by existing, hinders the progress of the nation. In recent years debate in the Diet has been conspicuous by its absence and the fact that those who carry on debate which in any way hits at the sore spots of the government are criticised and slandered is at the least an indication of the debasement of the Diet. The facts of the last 5 years are the loss of the sense of responsible government with the dissolution of the political parties, the paralyzing of the sense of responsibility for surveillance of administration, and the fighting for places on the "gravy train." As one of the members of the Diet, I truly and keenly felt the importance of this responsibility but I was unable to use what little power I had and was unable to prevent the decline of this great institution. I am filled with shame.

I believe that for the complete correlation of the home front with the battle fronts, for making possible the successful prosecution of the war, for the maximum development of our war-time and post-war domestic economy, and the full utilisation of potentialities in the administration of occupied areas, an energetic statesmanship is necessary. With the unbroken series of victories gained by the brave fighting of the Imperial Forces and the toil and sweat of the home front which backs them up, the objectives of the war can be fully attained. The fighting can be safely entrusted to the men on the battle fronts but can the conduct of the war be handled by today's statesmanship? A statesmanship which backs up the victories of the armed forces is today's most pressing need. War for the armed forces, statecraft for the statesmen, each in his post must render the utmost in service to the Emperor.

At this time, this election, as all will say, is a splendid opportunity to re-establish the authority of statesmanship. Unless the opportunists are ousted from the Diet and conscientious public servants with "the spirit insusceptible to corruption by wealth or rank" and "undaunted by authority and prestige" are elected, unless an injection of camphor is administered to the Diet, the Diet will become a useless thing and it will become difficult to make our great constitution shine again in its true splendor. The officers and men of the Imperial Forces will defend the colors; the men of politics will defend the constitution. Now is the time of crisis when we must brace ourselves.

As I have said before, there is great significance in this election. Do not be misled by the deceptions and propaganda of opportunists. It is my earnest desire that you discharge fully your great responsibility and by casting a vote serve the nation.

What I desire, above all else, is honor in all things.

Blood for war, sweat for increased production, tears (humanity) for government

Our soldiers are shedding their blood on the battle fronts to win victories and the soldiers of the production front are sweating for greater production, both to the end there may be safety and tranquility in Japan but when statesmanship ceases to be active it is to be feared that the sacrifice of blood and sweat will have been in vain. Does politics really have any life left in it?

Politics, I think, is not so much a concern with lofty theory as is firstly the solution of practical problems. Whether the lunches of school children are adequate, whether the food rations of those who work are in fair proportion to the heaviness of the work, the nourishment of pregnant women, whether children are getting enough milk, whether the rationing of fish and vegetables is going smoothly, the solution of such everyday problems is, in this emergency, the politics and statesmanship of today.

A matter of great concern to all of us living in the cities is the problem of change in employment and of conversion, under government control, of small and medium scale commercial and industrial enterprises. Here again government which takes into account conditions prevailing among the people is necessary. Unless this problem is solved on the basis of the people's condition, the power of action on the home front which backs up the great military victories cannot be massed. What I have always said "humanity in government" points up this fact now. If statesmen with humanity do not create and strive in a spirit of sympathy and understanding of the condition of the people, it is to be feared that our economic power will not increase, our production will not meet increased production schedules and obstacles to the all-out prosecution of the Greater East Asiatic War will be created from within.

Of late the distribution of commodities in our national economy has not been, comparatively speaking, going smoothly. Although there are

mountains of vegetables in our farming communities, we are unable to buy fresh produce in Tokyo. Such situations as the existence of surpluses of meat and fish in certain areas and their absence from the average dinner table are a common example. This, however, is due to the improper fixing of ceiling prices, the existence of strong vested groups in the prefectures, and errors in the methods of figuring transportation costs. Measures to remedy this situation and to make this understandable and acceptable to everyone are the work and duty of the statesman. If scarce items are not fairly distributed, government is not worthy of its name.

Under the pressure of the times and the intensification of government control commerce has declined. As merchants have become office workers and transport workers and stores have become offices for distribution of rationed goods, housewives are being forced to spend the greater part of their time and effort in shopping. Historically the basic function of merchandising is the distribution of goods. If business is brisk, the distribution of goods is also brisk. But if distribution does not go smoothly, it is like a human body in which elimination is faulty and the blood circulation poor and the way becomes for every kind of disease. The necessity is urgent to check the disease at its source but this can be handled by statesmanship, by the hand of a sagacious statesman who understands the hearts of the people. Quack doctors are dangerous.

In the human being there is the instinct of survival and an appetite for living. Every effort is exerted in order to survive and exist. It is the same in the case of a nation. This desire to exist cannot be disposed of simply as a desire to retain one's individual identity. Even in the case of a nation, if there is not this desire the nation is lost. The behaviour of the stag testifies as to the effectiveness of this desire.

Existence is in accordance with competition. This is the same for both nations and individuals. The ever victorious armies of Japan possess incomparably the world's finest weapons but this is one result of competition stemming from the necessity of winning. Field Marshal Goring of Germany, who thinks along the same lines as those who believe in firm control, is said to have remarked after seeing the Olympic Games, "Without competition there is no progress." It is needless to argue that in order to win in competition a desire to exist must go along with it.

Our managed economy is an emergency war-time establishment based on the General National Mobilization Law and the Emergency Measures Law. Consequently, individual interest must be sacrificed in the attainment of the nation's objectives. However, if due regard to keep individuals in a healthy frame of mind is not given, attainment of the nation's objectives will be impossible.

Humanity in government. A government which overlooks human feelings cannot function. In callous times when human sentiments and customs are being obliterated, I believe the danger must be realized that this may result in injury to the ancient and beautiful customs of Japan, that is injury even to the observance of the instructions left by our ancestors.

Humanity also in the government of Japanese held territory

To respect the sentiments of the people, even in the case of a despotic nation, is the fundamental condition in promoting the prosperity of a nation. Germany and Italy are good examples of this. This is even more so in countries where the rights of the people are guaranteed by the constitution. A government which overlooks the sentiments of the people and disregards existing realities becomes the source of countless difficulties.

The 5 years of the China Incident have moved on into the Greater East Asia War and the brave soldiers of the Imperial Forces have gained much foreign territory and the future is bright with hope. However, should errors occur in our colonial policy, which backs up our victories, this would invite results with irretrievable consequences.

Although military governments have been set up in the Southern occupied areas, these military governments, according to the statement of Premier TOJO in the Diet, are temporary establishments and the work will be turned over to qualified administrators. This idea is wholly proper and commendable. Under the military governments use of large numbers of qualified men are already planned. I know others will be recruited in the future. However the principle of respect for the sentiments of the people must be boldly applied, not only in Japan, but in Japanese held areas outside Japan. If we look back at our past record in administration by "qualified men" in Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, China, etc., we find many administrators that have been badly lacking in experience and without any sort of maturity in the spirit of administration. It will be expected that in the future we will make the most of our past experience and that administrators will appear who will widen the field of vision of those bureaucrats whose immaturity of spirit in administration must be replaced by a more mature spirit or administrators who will, at any rate, make up for the defects of narrow-visioned bureaucrats.

Looking at the attitude of the military men in the government, in the matter of control of the Southern areas it appears they are doing their utmost to avoid past mistakes and this is very much as we desire. However, I believe careful watch and supervision must be made of the administrative work of the bureaucrats.

The peoples of the occupied areas each have their religions, habits, and customs. Not only is there no need of controlling these but if the job is bungled with the mistaken application of Japanese police methods, we will have only earned enmity and gained nothing. These peoples, in carrying on the business of their livelihoods, have their own suitable traditions and interests. If considerable care is not exercised in these matters, the materials which should be used for Japan's purposes will not be forthcoming and we will be incurring the disadvantage of having earned the enmity of the native populations.

In a homogeneous nation like Japan with one people under one ruler, government is not the least difficult. But if Japanese methods are applied in areas outside Japan with their hundreds of intermingled races and peoples, I believe that it would not be hard to see this would result in a waste of effort.

The Japanese Empire which expanded and developed step by step in going through the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, the First World War, the Manchurian and China Incidents and now the Greater East Asiatic War is no longer an island nation. Our narrow insular character must be cast into the sea; our views must be wide, tenacious, strong, and continental and oceanic in character; and we must be possessed of a spacious and serene outlook.

I believe the application of the idea of "humanity of government" should not be limited to Japan but in areas outside Japan government of peoples not hostile to us should be humane and considerate to the end that the eternal fruits of Japanese Imperial administration may be brought forth.

If I, who speak in this way, am not one who advocates paternalism, neither am I an advocate of liberalism. I shall not dwell on details further in criticising bureaucratic government in Japan but I have no other intention but the elimination of the evils of bureaucratic government.

I have other very strong opinions critical of bureaucratic government but due to the time necessity in delivering this printed matter to you I shall omit them.

There can be no pro-Anglo-American factions

War is the last resort while government diplomacy is a forehanded measure. The fact our Japan allied itself with England, America, France and Italy to fight Germany in the First World War due to the trend of circumstances of the times. In the present great war, our alliance with Germany and Italy to fight against America and England is also because of historical necessity. It is ridiculous to classify Japanese arbitrarily and label them as pro-American and pro-English or as pro-German and pro-Italian. Except for Marxists, Japanese are all pro-Japanese. Such a humble person as myself was once cautioned in a friendly way that I should be careful because I was classed as pro-Anglo-American. Last year I made a tour of Europe and America. I was very much impressed with the vitality of the new Germany and Italy and I related this in my book "Face of the Earth." According to what I wrote, I cannot be considered as also pro-German and pro-Italian. This is completely ridiculous. Propaganda like this which tries to slander a person and undermine his political standing can be dismissed with a smile.

I know that I desire international problems to be solved, so far as possible, by diplomatic means. I believe that the diplomatic negotiations with England and the United States continued earnestly during the KONOYE and TOJO cabinets indicate their beliefs were the same as mine. In other words, war is a means only of last resort. This is also indicated in the Imperial Rescript of 8 December on the declaration of war:

"At this time, unfortunately, it has come about that hostilities have begun with both the United States and England. This has been truly unavoidable. This war was never my desire or intention."

However, matters could not be settled through diplomatic negotiation and war came. Once the Imperial Rescript was issued there was no such thing as being pro-Anglo-American. We must now do everything to fight and win. At this stage anyone who is still pro-Anglo-American is a disloyal subject and a traitor. I am not one who fears slander. I desire to reserve one thing only, the privilege of rendering devoted service to the nation.

The Imperial Navy, happily, in its various engagements, won a great victory in the attack on Pearl Harbor, next sank the Prince of Wales and the Repulse off the Malay coast, and then annihilated the Allied fleet in the naval battles of Surabaya and the Java Sea. The Army, acting in concert, won great victories at Hongkong, Manila and Singapore. Now, Greater East Asia has become completely the outlying territory of Japan. These are deeply stirring circumstances.

My only son has the privilege of serving in the Navy as a lieutenant (j.g.) and is now stationed in the South Pacific. But in these days I feel grateful for even the sight of my son in uniform.

Now it is publicly known fact that one cause of the Manchurian and China Incidents was the anti-Japanism stirred up at the instigation of the United States and England. Who can believe in the sincerity of the United States and England? During the TANAKA cabinet I was chief cabinet secretary. The public labeled and derided it as a reactionary cabinet. The reasons for this, stated simply, were the dispatching of troops to Shantung and next the death of Chang Tso Lin in a bomb assassination incident in Manchuria. The TANAKA cabinet policy in foreign relations which liquidated the policy of trailing in the wake of the United States and England appeared to be re-actionary. But how does it look today? Japan's world policy, which follows the plan drafted by the Tanaka cabinet, is now steadily in the process of realization. When I look back some ten odd years and look at the state of movement and change in the world, I am impressed more and more by the fact what was good yesterday may be bad today.

As I early became used to adverse criticism, I am not especially pained by it but my friends are constantly concerned and are advising me to moderate my opinions and to be more discreet and tactful. However, not only was I not born with such traits but there is no reason for changing my habits. This may be disadvantageous in getting along in the world and it may be hampering politically but this does not mean I should cease to be a faithful public servant.

Watch Communist activities concealed under the name of reform

The underground activities of communists, taking advantage of the war and hiding under the name of new reforms cannot be said to be non-existent, but constitute a despicable and dangerous enemy within the gates. In a radio broadcast on 10 April, Naval Captain HIRADA dwelt on this unusual political problem and issued a severe warning thus:

"Reforms to the end that the Greater East Asiatic War may be conducted advantageously are necessary. However we must positively avoid needless reforms that would serve to diminish our fighting power. On no account must there be reforms for the mere sake of reform. Still less can there be permitted one chance in ten thousand of using the war as an opportunity for reform and over-hastly changes in the international system."

Although I believe what Captain HIRADA pointed does not necessarily refer to communist activity, reform for the mere sake of reform will be harmful and the activities of communists hiding under the guise of reform are dangerous. On this point I believe further study and thorough scrutiny are especially necessary.

Re endorse Ichiro Hatoyama

As a member of the House of Representatives, in all of his 27 years of service, he has kept in step with the people with pride and confidence and has shown a constant loyalty and devotion, rare in these days, to constitutional government. We believe he is most eminently qualified to be a member of the House of Representatives and we here solicit your endorsement of his candidacy.

17 April 1942

Mitsuru Toyama
Yukio Ozaki
Admiral Seizo Kobayashi, Naval Reserve.
Lieut. Gen. Hattutaro Haraguchi, Retired.
Kasuo Kojima, member of the House of Peers.
Baron Shigeto Hozumi, Doctor of Jurisprudence.

T.N. The brochure contains four pictures with accompanying captions plus a portrait picture of Hatoyama. Following are translations of the captions.

Page 2, upper right.

Admiral of the Fleet TOGO, who established Japan's naval power in winning the great victory in the Naval battle of the Japan Sea and

thus laid the foundation for Japan's world leadership in the Greater East Asiatic War, was the object of veneration by our family and the Admiral, in turn, treated our family with affection. My oldest son, Takeichiro, who often had his head patted by the Admiral, is participating in the Greater East Asiatic War as a lieutenant (j.g.) in the Navy. This picture was taken on 16 December 1936 on the occasion of a visit to the Admiral. (Right to left: Ichiro Hatoyama, Admiral Togo, Takeichiro, Kaoru.)

Page 2, lower left.

This snapshot was taken while traveling to Europe and America, a tour taken as a People's Envoy from the summer of 1937 to the spring of 1938 during the time of the China Incident. This is at Singapore now under the military government of the Imperial Forces.

Page 3, center.

Picture taken when visiting Nazi Party headquarters in Berlin.

Page 4, upper left.

Certificate of commendation given by the House of Representatives and picture of the artist Kiyozo Kaminoyama at work on life-like oil portrait of the candidate (Hatoyama) to be hung in the House of Representative.

(Translator: G. Murakami.)

HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Case File No. 456

Status: Samurai

Member of Parliament since (at least) time of first world war.

April 20th 1927)

- July 2nd 1929) Chief Secretary of the Cabinet.

Dec. 1931: -)

March 1934) Minister of Education.

Jan. 1932:

Present at Privy Council Meeting (Minutes are Pros. Document 953 - Supp) which dealt with issuance of public bonds for the expenditure of the Manchurian Incident and the Navy Minister's report on the China Incident. At this meeting ARAKI, as War Minister, stated that, since Japan was opposed to Chang Hsueh-Liang, Japan's armies were justified in pursuing his armies into any territory controlled by Chang.

May 1933

As Education Minister was responsible for dismissal of Professor Takigawa from Kyoto Imperial University, owing to his liberal views. This roused great controversy at the time and was the main cause of Hatoyama being purged by SCAP. In this connection attention is drawn to a memorandum by Mr. Munroe, of the Investigative Division, dated 11 April 1947 and SCAP's letter of 3 May 1946 ordering Hatoyama's exclusion from Public office. Both are attached. Further documents are available on this subject.

April 1934

Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun (in recognition of his meritorious services in 1931-1934 Incident).

" "

Granted the sum of ¥ 1,500 in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-1934 Incident.

May 1934

Manchurian Decoration of Chingyun-Chang 1st Class.

1935-1936

Head of Seiyokai Political Party.

July 1937

Left Japan for extended tour of Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States. Met leading statesmen in these countries.

1938:

Returned to Japan.

Dec. 1938:

Member, House of Peers. (Source: Who's who in Nippon 1943-44).

1943

Director, Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Source: CIS Files - 21 Nov. 1945).

July 29th 1943:

Tokyo (Radio?) announced that he is among the directors and advisers, consisting mostly of bureaucrats, big businessmen and scholars recently appointed in order to strengthen the IRAA (Source: CIS CSS Card file - FCC 3 August 1943).

Chief Public Peace Section, Police Bureau - date not given. (Source: Who's who in Nippon 1943-1944).

Personal friend of Prince Konoye and reported to be Konoye's closest confidante whilst Konoye Premier. (Source: Japanese Government Officials 1937-45 CIS Library).

The following Exhibits refer to Hatoyama:-

Exh. 241: Proceedings of the Privy Council. Signing of the Protocol between Japan and Manchukuo Sept. 13th, 1932. Hatoyama present as Education Minister.

Exh.2222: Excerpt from interrogation of ARAKI, 12th March, 1946. In this ARAKI gives the Ministers present at the Special Cabinet Meeting of March 17, 1933, at which it was finally agreed that Japan should withdraw from the League of Nations. Amongst them is "Education Minister (Koyama)". As Hatoyama was at this date Education Minister and Koyama was Justice Minister it is not clear which is meant.

On 3 May 1946, Hatoyama was ordered by SCAP to be barred from public office.

Hatoyama has been interrogated. The interrogation is short and does not give much information. It does, however, include the statement that at the time of the declaration of war, TOGO, SHIGENORI and KAYA, Okinori, both made speeches in which distortion of the true facts was apparent. He gives details. He also stated that the ultimate object of the IRAA was the suppression of such parliamentary methods as Japan still retained. He refers to TOJO and MUTO as militarists.

HATOYAMA, Ichiro.

See Doc. 2540 re preparation for war.

On July 29th (1943?) Tokyo announced that he is among the directors and advisers, consisting mostly of bureaucrats, big businessmen and scholars recently appointed in order to strengthen the IRAA (CIS OSS card file-- FCC, 3 August 1943)

Chief Public peace Section, Police Bureau Date not given

Member Peers' House 1938, Dec.

(Who's Who in Nippon 1943/1944.)

Personal friend of Prince Konoye and reported to be Konoye's closest confidante whilst Konoye Premier.

(Japanese Government Officials 1937-45- CIS Library)

1943 Director Imperial Rule Assistance Association

(CIS Files - 21 Nov. 1945)

HATOYAMA, Ichiro.

Status: Samurai

Member of Parliament since (at least) time of first world war.

1927	Chief Secretary of the Cabinet
Dec. 1931	Minister of Education
Mar. 1934	Resigned
Apr. 1934	Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun (in recognition of his meritorious services in 1931-34 Incident)
" "	Granted the sum of ¥1,500 in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-34 Incident.
May 1934	Manchurian Decoration of Chingyun-Chang 1st Class.
" 1946	Barred from Public Office by SCAP.

~~See Documents 2222 and 241~~

~~See~~

~~See Exhibits 241 & 2222~~

Exhibit 241 : Proceedings of the
Privy Council. Signing of the
Protocol between Japan & Manchukuo
Sept 13th 1932. Hatoyama present
as Education Minister

Exhibit 2222: Excer

12 June 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Comyns-Carr
FROM : EDWARD P. MONAGHAN, Chief,
Investigative Division, IPS
SUBJECT : Defense Witness

1. Please find attached hereto list of material available on the following witness and/or witnesses.

DEFENDANT

ARAKI

WITNESS

HATOYAMA, Ichiro

LIST OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE

News clipping
11 June Stars & Stripes

2. Please acknowledge receipt of this memorandum by initialling and returning attached carbon copy to this office, Room 300.

Incl
(Described above)

E P M
EDWARD P. MONAGHAN

Hatoyama Seeks Purge Loophole For Gov't Post

Inquiries Follow On
Heels Of Rumored
'Amnesty Grant'

By HOWARD HANDLEMAN

It was reported in Tokyo political circles Tuesday that Ichiro Hatoyama, who was purged a year ago just as he seemed about to ascend to the premiership, is making inquiries about possible legal means by which he can reenter politics.

His inquiries, it was reported, followed the lines of political rumors that there would be a "purge amnesty."

Col. Charles Kades, deputy chief of Government Section, answered questions by saying "I have heard rumors that Hatoyama is interested in regaining political position, but have no positive information."

In regards to the rumored amnesty, however, Kades said definitely:

"It is absurd, fantastic and wholly without foundation in fact."

He said the purge is not "punitive, but preventitive."

The object of the purge, he said, is to remove oldline leaders so that new leaders, with fresh, democratic ideas, can take key positions in Japanese political and business life.

An amnesty, he said, could not possibly be fitted into such a program or objective.

Hatoyama, as president of the Liberal Party a year ago, was becoming the strongest political figure in Japan. After the Shidehara cabinet fell Hatoyama seemed slated to succeed to the premiership.

On the very eve of his rise to the head of the state, however, his purge was ordered because of a book he wrote in which Hitler and Mussolini received high praise.



HARN, Sports Editor

Not Johnny Mize, current top circuit major, hits more homers this year than the Sultan of Swat for years. The New York Yankees, did in 1927 when only be known if, as, or when he

knocked out his fifteenth round tripper. It was during the 42nd game of the season when the mighty Ruth clouted his fifteenth homer in the 42nd game of the season.

Today, which incidentally, was May 16th, he hit his 17th and 18th. It was on May 16th that he hit his 17th and 18th. Have it, folks, compare the records and draw your own conclusions.

...
to start looking for some distance. The records of the other clubs have come up. But figures prove that the Dodgers have the hitting punch . . . punch for the

Reiser led all other Dodgers with 10 runs in a spell during the 1946 campaign. He hit 10 runs into the stands.

Why the Dodgers are looking for some runs hit by Reiser last year in the minors listed on the Dodgers

number of pre-season prognosticators is much different than most people. The Dodgers are in last place in the National American.

to be a repeater. Let's look at the 1903 and 1904, but were dethroned by the Red Sox won with 105 victories winning but 79 games and finished sixth. Ed Barrow's Boston club won the sixth.

Will history repeat itself?

Men Favored Swim Meet

125 swimmers from 14 Japanese clubs will take part in the meet which will start this afternoon at Yokohama's swimming pool. The championships get started.

As has been tabbed the "team to beat" is the Japanese. The outstanding mermen in the

FROM:

KAWASAKI Yoshifuru
108, Jodoe-machi,
Miyasaki-shi,
(Miyasaki-ken, Japan)

TO:

UENARA Shichinosuke
Ebara, Ebara-ku,
Tokyo-to, (Japan)

Letter intercept

Writer states:

"...I once visited your wife in Tokyo before I went to Manchuria. Later, I saw you in the train between Peking and Tientsin, but I did not speak to you as I was a Soviet spy dressed like a Chinese coolie.

"...In July 1942, I was suddenly drafted by the Fukuoka Headquarters of the Army...In June 1944, I was prosecuted, with thirteen (13) others, by the Western Army Martial Court on charges of desertion, violation of sentry regulations, mutiny, cabal, bribery, illegal use of official documents, and usurpation, and was sentenced to five (5) years and ten (10) months penal servitude...

"At the Headquarters, although I was only a superior private, I was able to do both good and evil in cahoots with MIZUKUDO Jinsaku, member of the Diet from Miyakonojo (Ex: in Miyasaki-ken), and SUMI Yoshiharu, Lieutenant Colonel of the Miyakonojo Army Headquarters, Lieutenant Colonel of the Miyakonojo Army Headquarters.

"...About this time, MAKI Tsugihito, a musician, came into my outfit as a second lieutenant. Because we were good friends in Soviet Russia, we quickly became intimate again and spent army life under circumstances about which I cannot tell you now. When the above courts-martial case arose, MAKI, using his rank, went to Soviet Union via Manchuria before anything could happen to him. We were arrested at Amakusa (Ex: in Kumamoto-ken).

"At the trial I was helped by NISHIKAWA Hachiro, an intimate friend of OTSUKA Isei (Ex: Metropolitan Police Board Chief around 1923), but I was convicted as the principal criminal...Nishikawa is now an employee of the Soviet Army in Seghalién. It seems that he was connected with the late Dr. NAOKI Rintaro. I don't know why OTSUKA helped a communist like me. I imagine that ANAKASU (Ex: possibly former Kempei Tai captain, famous for killing OSUGI Sakae, communist leader at the time of the 1923 big earthquake) had asked him to do so through MAKI. (Because of this, I have resolved to rescue OTSUKA, and I have the means to do so). At any rate, I was put in Fukuoka Prison.

"But with the surrender, the M.P. and the Legal Section of the Occupation Forces came to Fukuoka and I was immediately employed as an interpreter till March 1946...

"In October 1945, Colonel Cobtain Stankevich, M.K.V.D., (now commander of Mukden, Manchuria) came to Fukuoka. MAKI had told him a great deal about me. Stankevich gave me a good chance to get out of difficulties but I had no confidence as I was still in prison and was also connected with the American Army. I was connected, too, with YUASA Hachiro, professor of DOSHISHA, (Doshisha University) (Ex: in Kyoto), and OHNO Kenichiro of the Fukuoka parish... Stankevich said that MAKI had suggested I sign over on paper, the machinery and movable property of the OBAYASHI GUMI, (Obayashi Contractors) in Manchuria. He also said that depending on my wishes, he would pay me in Soviet cash, the price of my property left in Manchuria... MAKI has written to me several times through the Liaison section, the Q.U.S.B.

"...Due to the Act of Amnesty issued in November 1946, mitigation became possible. As I have been in prison for three (3) years I hope to be released this time. If not, I shall ask to have HANADA Hachiro, lieutenant colonel, examined. He was the central figure of the case. Today I asked Dr. HATOYAMA, my respected teacher, to act as my defense. Furthermore, the time appointed by Cobtain Stankevich in 1946 is drawing near. My mind is made up and I shall do my utmost. I fear nothing.

"I shall surely communicate with Vasiliev, prosecutor now in Tokyo. But before anything else, I shall rescue OTSUKA.

"I shall write no more as the letter may not be passed by censorship. You may be surprised to receive a letter from prison... My address is as disclosed on the envelope, instead of MIYAZAKI PRISON..."

HATOYAMA, Ichiro.

Status: Samurai

Member of Parliament since (at least) time of first world war.

1927	Chief Secretary of the Cabinet
Dec. 1931	Minister of Education
Mar. 1934	Resigned
Apr. 1934	Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun (in recognition of his meritorious services in 1931-34 Incident)
" "	Granted the sum of Y1,500 in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-34 Incident.
May 1934	Manchurian Decoration of Chingyun-Chang 1st Class.
" 1946	Barred from Public Office by SCAP.

27 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Sutton; Mr. Comyns-Carr; Mr. Brown

FROM : EDWARD P. MONAGHAN, Chief, Investigative Division, IPS
SUBJECT : Defense Witness

1. Please find attached hereto list of material available on the following witness and/or witnesses.

DEFENDANT

ARAKI

WITNESS

LIST OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE

HATAYAMA Ichiro

Press Analysis
15 May

2. Please acknowledge receipt of this memorandum by initialling and returning attached carbon copy to this office, Room 300.

Incl
(Described above)

EDWARD P. MONAGHAN

Post-Hatoyama Politics

The SCAP disqualification of Ichiro Hatoyama brought down the wrath of scores of prefectural writers upon the heads of Shidehara, his Cabinet, and the Liberal Party. Many writers pointed out that the Government had been instructed to reexamine the Liberal politician's qualifications to hold office, and that it had "neglected" to do so, thus bringing disgrace upon the Japanese people and at the same time indicating their own "incompetency". SHIN IWATE (Morioka, 6 May) exclaimed that "after a fortnight's confusion, the political situation is right back where it started. The people are beginning to doubt the wisdom of their choice in the elections". OITA GODO (Oita, 5 May) said: "The Shidehara cabinet should be severely dealt with.

* * * Its recommendation of Hatoyama constituted a violation of the Potsdam Declaration." Conservative MINAMI NIPPON (Kagoshima, 5 May) suggested that "both Shidehara and Hatoyama should have their heads examined." EHIME SHIMBUN (Matsuyama, 5 May) declared that "the government is responsible for having the people elect a candidate who was ineligible". HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN (Sapporo, 5 May), apparently considering that the purge of Hatoyama represented a change in Allied policy, remarked: "We may draw two conclusions - the conservatives, including the right-wing Socialists, did not understand our position under the Potsdam Declaration. Secondly, the international situation seems more favorable toward democratic revolution. . . although the democratic front is still far from established."

There was much editorial speculations on the future of the individual political parties. The Socialist Party was presented by most commentators as having the greatest likelihood for success in the establishment of a workable cabinet, but the writers occasionally revealed that their opinions might be colored by personal inclinations favoring Socialist power. HIMANE SHIMBUN (Matsue, 6 May) claimed "The Socialist premise of 'quality over quantity' is opposed to democratic parliamentary procedure. But in this time of transition, especially since the disqualification of Hatoyama, the circumstances are changed. The people want, first of all, a cabinet which can meet the crisis." SHIKOKU SHIMBUN (Takamatsu, 5 May) disclosed: "The reason behind the hope for the establishment of a Socialist Cabinet is the strong feeling that it might mean a short cut to political stability." NISHI NIPPON (Fukuoka, 5 May) stated: "We can do nothing unless people who are unaware of the direction of the new age withdraw from the government. * * * We are not sure that there will not be second and third Hatoyama affairs unless warresponsible persons of all spheres are revealed."

"It was only a formal issue whether Hatoyama came under the purge directive or not; it was already clear that he was antidemocratic. The right-wing Socialists are now greatly confused, . . . and the left-wing Socialists will gain in power." With this premise, KOCHI SHIMBUN (Kochi, 6 May) urged immediate action to establish "the promised organization of the democratic front." GIFU TIMES (Gifu, 5 May), another anti-conservative journal, explained that "without Hatoyama the Liberals are even more incompetent than the Progressives. . . there is no other person who can lead

the party. * * * Political stability cannot have any other basis than the democratic front. For this reason the Liberal Party made frantic efforts to win over the Socialists, and Shidehara attempted to deceive us by professing to be "right of the Socialists and left of the Liberals."

GODO SHIMBUN (Okayama, 5 May), ordinarily less politically astute than some of the other pro-democratic front newspapers, explained that "Hatoyama was one of the few strong politicians not barred from office . . . all the conservative political powers were rallied around him. This is why the Government did not purge him. The conservative camp will now appoint Foreign Minister Yoshida president of the Liberal Party, and will cling to the idea of forming a Liberal cabinet. We should be very watchful."

Hatoyama's Book

The recent controversy regarding Liberal Party President Hatoyama's eligibility to hold office received comment from only one prefectural newspaper. Conservative MINAMI NIPPON (Kagoshima, 20 Apr.) stated that it didn't wish to support either the Liberal Party or its president, but termed the attempt to disqualify Hatoyama as "a plot on the part of the government against the first major party." The writer declared that it is "strange" that the book Faces of the World is being criticized in connection with the matter of qualification. Faces of the World raised a question during Hatoyama's election campaign but little was made of it. * * * Hatoyama is not the only victim: behind him is the Liberal Party and the people. Hatoyama and his party may be rather weak, but if the wounded lion of the people began to act violently, something trouble-some might happen."

See File 456 (includes interrogation)

HATOYAMA, Ichiro
Request by: ARAKI, Sodas

Address: Tokyo, Japan

He is an ex-Minister of Education. (Dec 13th 1931 - March 3rd 1934)

See file

Saved from Public Office by
January 4th Purge Directive (Category G)

See as a Nationalist

HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Born: Jan. 1, 1883

Domicile: Tokyo, Japan

Social Status: Samurai

1916	Apr. 1	Decorated with the 4th class order of the Sacred Treasure (in recognition of his meritorious service in 1914-15 incident)	Board of Decoration
1920	July 1	Appointed member of the Central City Planning Committee Granted a set of golden cups in recognition of his meritorious service in 1915-1920 incident (as member of the House of the Representatives)	Cabinet Board of Decorations
1923	July 2	Appointed member of the Temporary Metropolitan System Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	July 6	Appointed temporary member of the Temporary Legal System Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Oct. 18	Appointed Council member of Tokyo Reconstruction Board	Cabinet
	Dec. 26	Relieved of duty as member of the Temporary Legal System Investigation Committee	Cabinet
1924	Feb. 2	Appointed member of the Special City Planning Committee	Cabinet
	Feb. 25	The organization of the Tokyo Reconstruction Board abolished (by Imperial Ordinance No. 25)	
	Nov. 25	Owing to the abolition of the temporary Metropolitan System Investigation Committee by Imperial Ordinance No. 284, automatically relieved of duty as a member of the Committee	
	May 10	Elected Member of the House of the Representatives	
	Dec. 25	Decorated with the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 3rd class.	Board of Decorations
1927	Apr. 20	Appointed <u>Chief Secretary of the Cabinet</u> . Promoted to the 1st Rank of the higher Civil Service	Cabinet
	May 2	Promoted to 5th Court Rank, Senior Grade	Ministry of Imperial Household
	May 3	Appointed government representative	Cabinet

1927	May 9	Relieved of duty as government representative	Cabinet
	May 21	Appointed member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Appointed member of the Central Statistics Committee	Cabinet
	May 23	Appointed member of the Central Preparations Committee for Construction of Government Offices	Cabinet
	June 3	Appointed member of the Railway Council.	Cabinet
	June 15	Appointed member of the Administrative Organizations Investigation Committee. This Committee abolished on July 2, 1929 by Imperial Ordinance No. 223	Cabinet
	June 20	Appointed Vice Chairman of the Preparations Committee for the Coronation ceremony	Ministry of Imperial Household
	June 23	Appointed member of the Investigation Committee for the Cultural Projects directed to China	Cabinet
	July 1	Relieved of duty as member of the Special City Planning Committee (Because of rank)	Cabinet
		Appointed member of the Special City Planning Committee	Cabinet
	July 7	Appointed member of the Population and Food Problems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Appointed Chief Secretary of the Population and Food Problems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	July 19	Appointed member of the Natural Resources Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Dec. 15	Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Central Statistics Committee	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥400 as member of the Natural Resources Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Dec. 19	Appointed member of the Educational Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	Dec. 23	Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥800 as member of the Committee to Investigate Administrative Organizations	Cabinet
	Dec. 24	Appointed a government representative	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Educational Investigation Committee	Cabinet
		Received allowance of ¥800 as Chief Secretary of the Population and Food Problems Investigation Committee.	Cabinet

Dec. 30	Owing to the abolition of the Preparations Committee for the Coronation ceremony, automatically relieved of duty as Vice Chairman Appointed Vice Commissioner of the Coronation Appointed member of the Council	Cabinet The Coronation Commissioner.
1928 Jan. 21	Relieved of duty as government representative The Diet dissolved	Cabinet
Feb. 10	Appointed Acting Director of the Cabinet Printing Bureau	Cabinet
Feb. 20	Elected as Member of the House of the Representatives	
Feb. 28	Relieved of duty as Acting Director of the Cabinet Printing Bureau	Cabinet
Mar. 20	Ordered to make an official trip to Kyoto	Coronation Commissioner
Apr. 21	Appointed a government representative Granted a golden cup in recognition of his meritorious service as member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigations Committee	Cabinet Board of Decoration
May 7	Relieved of duty as a government representative	Cabinet
Oct. 29	Ordered to attend on the Emperor in His travel to the Coronation	Cabinet
Nov. 10	Granted a golden cup. Granted the Commemoration Medal of the Coronation	Board of Decoration
Dec. 20	Received allowance of ¥400 as member of the Natural Resources Investigation Committee Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Educational Investigation Committee Received allowance of ¥650 as member of the Administrative Organizations Investigations Committee. Received allowance of ¥800 as Chief Secretary of Population and Food Problems Investigations Committee Received allowance of ¥150 as member of the Central Statistics Committee	Cabinet Cabinet Cabinet Cabinet Cabinet
Dec. 24	Appointed a government representative	
Dec. 26	Received allowance of ¥250 as a member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee Granted the sum of ¥4500 in recognition of his especially meritorious service in the Coronation affairs.	Cabinet

1928	Dec. 28	Decorated with the 2nd Order of Merit with the Double Rays of the Rising Sun (the conferment with honors for services in the coronation)	Board of Decoration
1929	Jan. 15	The organization of the Coronation Commission abolished Ordered to deal with the remaining business	Cabinet
	Mar. 26	Relieved of duty as government representative	Cabinet
	May 13	Relieved of duty as member of the Temporary Legal Systems Investigation Committee Owing to its abolition Appointed member of the Legal Systems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	May 22	Appointed member of the Rice Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	June 1	Appointed member of the Coronation Records Editing Committee	Cabinet
	July 2	Relieved of the main duty at his own request	Cabinet
	July 4	Relieved of the duty to deal with the remaining business (The Coronation Commission)	Cabinet
1930	Jan. 21	The Diet dissolved	
	Feb. 20	Elected Member of the House of Representatives	
<u>1931</u>	Dec. 13	<u>Appointed Minister of Education</u>	Cabinet
	Dec. 15	Promoted to the 3rd Court Rank, Junior Grade	Ministry of Imperial Household
1932	Jan. 21	The Diet dissolved.	
	Feb.	Elected a Member of the House of Representatives	
1933	Dec. 15	Promoted to the 3rd Rank, Senior Grade	Ministry of Imperial Household
1934	Mar. 3	<u>Relieved of the main duty at his own request</u>	Cabinet
	Apr. 5	Decorated with the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 1st Class	Board of Decoration
	Apr. 29	<u>Decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun (in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-4 incident)</u> <u>Granted the sum of ¥1500 in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-4 incident.</u>	Board of Decoration Board of Decoration

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
Operations, CIG, G-2
Compilation Branch

SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Ichiro HATOYAMA is the leader of the New Liberal Party. Was Chief General Secretary of the Cabinet in 1927 and Minister of Education in 1931. His association with Tanaka at the present time proves him to be more reactionary than Liberal. He associated with and supported by the Mitsui Interest and may be a tool of the Zaibatsu and an organizer of the Reactionary Veterans Association (Zaigo Gunjinkai) as of 15 October 1945.

SOURCE: Memo on interview and interrogation of political prisoner TOKUDA, dated 15 October 1945.

Ichiro HATOYAMA, President of the Liberal Party and possible person to be disqualified after the elections. (SHIN YUKAWA recalled that HATOYAMA had been Chief Secretary to the TANAKA Cabinet when the subjugation of Manchuria and China was being plotted and asked, if HATOYAMA was "the pacifist that he professes to be, why did he not stop the plans at that time").

SOURCE: CIAS, Media Analysis Division, Press Analysis, 7,8 April 1946.

Leader of the New Japan Liberal Party (Shin Nippon Jiyu-to). Party consists of militaristic bureaucrats and backed by the Mitsui financial clique. Is nationalistic and operates under a mask of "liberalism."

SOURCE: Memo for officer in charge, interview of TOKUDA Kyuichi, political prisoner, from Hq, CIG Det Unit No. 80, APO 500, dtd 10 Oct 1945.

Barred from public office by 4 January purge directive. Position from which removed: Member of House of Representatives. Reason for removal: fell under category C of 4 January purge directive.

SOURCE: Central Liaison Office.

HATOYAMA, ICHIRO 鳩山 一郎

Tokyo possession

1927 Secretary to Premier General Tanaka, believed to be in ~~keeping~~ of certain important memorandum when Tanaka died.

1937 He was not active after 1934 when he broke ~~away~~ away from Seiyukai Party. He took a trip to Europe. He wrote and spoke highly of Hitler and Mussolini.

obtainable

Additional information ~~should be found~~ in all the leading newspapers in Tokyo after the General Election, April 1946.

HATOYAMA, Ichiro

29 Apr 1934	Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun	Manchurian Incident	Education Ministry
9 May 1934	Manchurian Decora- tion of CHINGYUN- CFANG, 1st Class	JAPANESE- MANCHURIAN Fidelity	Foreign Ministry

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION
BRITISH DIVISION

March 19th 1947

MEMORANDUM

TO: Investigation Department
FROM: British Division, I.P.S., Mr. Glanville Brown
SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Gohiro

Reference, File 456, Report by Mr. James Williamson, Special Agent CIC, dated 6th August 1946.

para 2 states Hatoyama.... was expected to be named premier. However, this failed to materialise by reason of a purge directive by SCAP removing him from public office, due to Hatoyama's alleged activities directed against liberal educators during the time subject was Minister of Education 1931-1934*.

May details be supplied of these "alleged activities against liberal educators" please.

W. Glanville Brown
W. GLANVILLE BROWN

see 110

Dept filed with Monaghan 4/11/47.

95-Munroe J.

Mr. Brown

Room 308

11 April 1947

Memorandum To: Mr. Douglas Waldorf, Chief, Inv. Div., IPS
From : Mr. Johnson F. Munroe, Investigator
Subject : HATOYAMA, Ichiro
Reference : (Activities Against Liberal Educators, 1931-1934)
IPS Investigation file 456.

Reference is made to British Division memorandum to Investigation Division, dated 19 March 1947, subject as above, in which Mr. W. Glanville-Brown requested details of "alleged activities" of the subject individual "against liberal educators" while he served as Minister of Education from 1931 to 1934, and which were cited in a CIC report dated 6 August 1946 as cause for the issuance of a purge directive by SCAP against Hatoyama. Investigator has reviewed the classified Hatoyama file of Government Section, SCAP, and has held numerous conferences with personnel of that section and also Civil Intelligence Section, SCAP, to obtain the requested information. Results of an investigation which began in January 1946 were made available by those agencies, insofar as their inquiries had pertained to that period of Hatoyama's life while he served as Minister of Education.

Generous use of the Government Section material as well as that included in "The Brocade Banner," pp. 57-60, compiled by the Civil Intelligence Section, has been made by this investigator in the instant report.

It was ascertained that the principal charge which has been laid against Hatoyama because of his activities during this period rested on the "TAKIGAWA INCIDENT" of March-May, 1933, and the bulk of work in this investigation centered around this incident. This was a case in which Professor TAKIGAWA, Yukitoki, a well-known law teacher at the Kyoto Imperial University, was ousted by personal order of Hatoyama over protests from the university president, other members of the law college faculty at Kyoto (all of whom resigned en bloc) and aroused students at the university.

Whereas the Takigawa case attracted wide publicity and heated opposition in the Japanese press at the time because of the personalities involved, there is indication that this case was only one of thousands like it, which occurred during the period Hatoyama served as Education Minister. It was during his tenure of office that "thought control" came into existence, and thousands of school teachers and college professors were ousted or arrested and jailed on the alleged grounds that they were disseminating communistic propaganda. There appears to have been legitimate grounds for the drastic anti-Communist program undertaken at the time (1931-1934) by the government, but SCAP Sections

have taken the position, as a result of their investigations, that the anti-Communist program was also used by the government party (SEIYUKAI) as a secret weapon against critics of the government who bore no semblance to Communists. The anti-Communist activities of the Inukai and Saito cabinets, of which Hatoyama was a part, were popular with the people, and were shrewdly made subservient to the desires of the ruling clique who would dispose of such opponents as Professor Takigawa. The anti-Communist program, however, centered in the Home and Justice ministries and very little proof can be obtained to reflect derogatory information upon Hatoyama in this respect. Personal responsibility aside, however, his own statements revealed in the Takigawa Incident a full accord with the regimentation of students and professors, and complete hostility to the principle of academic freedom.

This point is well set forth in the SCAP Memorandum to the Imperial Japanese Government in which the purge of Hatoyama was directed, (SCAPIN 919, dated 3 May 1946, subject "Removal and Exclusion from Public Office of Diet Member.") The full text of this memorandum is attached hereto as Exhibit A, but paragraph 3b is quoted herewith since it bears particularly upon the subject matter of this investigation: (It was only one of four grounds cited by SCAP for the purge of Hatoyama, who, at the time, was about to be named Premier, May 1946.)

"b. As Minister of Education from December 1931 to March 1934, he was responsible for stifling freedom of speech in the schools by means of mass dismissals and arrests of teachers suspected of "leftist" leanings or "dangerous thoughts." The dismissal in May 1933 of Professor Takigawa from the faculty of Kyoto University on Hatoyama's personal order is a flagrant illustration of his contempt for the liberal tradition of academic freedom and gave momentum to the spiritual mobilization of Japan which, under the aegis of the military and economic cliques, led the nation eventually into war."

The point was developed with more elaboration by Government Section, SCAP, a few days prior to the promulgation of SCAPIN 919, in a check sheet to C-in-C dated 1 May 1946, in which GS set out its reasons for requesting that the SCAPIN be dispatched to the Japanese Imperial Government as follows:

"3b. Dismissal of Professor Takigawa in May 1933 over the protests of the president, faculty and student body of Kyoto University, upon personal order of the Minister of Education, ostensibly because one of his books had been banned but in reality because he dared to criticize the Tanaka Cabinet's amendments to the Peace Preservation Law (1928, when Hatoyama was Chief Secretary to the Tanaka Cabinet) attracted wide attention only because of the personalities and issues involved. All teachers

who opposed militarism were denounced as 'reds' and many were purged from the teaching profession. In 1932, the Minister of Education, addressing a conference of directors of normal schools, was moved to 'regret' that 'dangerous thoughts' and 'extreme left movements' had brought about the arrests of 292 primary school teachers and 13 normal teachers since 1929. Between 1932 and 1934 wholesale dismissals and arrests of teachers were carried out in Nagano, Okayama, and Tokyo. During those years, academic freedom for which enlightened men in all times and countries have fought and suffered, was effectively stifled in Japan. The Minister of Education from December 1931 to March 1934 was this same Hatoyama." (Emphasis added.)

The facts of the Takigawa case--that part of it which reached the public, as well as the backstage "maneuvering" of the Minister of Education in connection therewith--are set forth in the attached Exhibit B, a "Summary Report on Interrogation of KONISHI, Shigenao," dated 31 March 1947. Konishi was the president of Kyoto Imperial University who resigned along with the entire law faculty, in protest over Hatoyama's high-handed dismissal of Takigawa. Attention is invited to that portion of the summary report which reveals the unusual request Hatoyama made to Dr. Konishi to "maneuver" Takigawa's removal in violation of the university constitution, not to mention all previous concepts held by the teaching profession of its right of research free from interference by the government.

The Government Section inquiry into the Takigawa case revealed considerable confusion in selecting the matter upon which Takigawa was to be removed--in fact it was clear only that the Minister of Education strongly desired his removal. The various causes given out to the press as the matter progressed and opposition mounted, were mostly vague and so much gibberish altered periodically to "set" the Minister's chosen position with the popular anti-communist trend of the time.

The government first cited as cause for desiring the dismissal, Takigawa's lecture at Chuo University in October 1932, in which he expounded a Tolstoian theory of crime--based upon opinions expressed in Tolstoi's "Resurrection"--and the Education Minister therefore concluded that ~~Takigawa~~ was a "red." This theory was merely that society is as much to blame for the phenomenon of crimes and criminals as the criminals themselves. The Education Minister held this was a condemnation of criminal acts "contrary to good morals and public order."

Two months after this lecture was given, Dr. SHINJO, Shiuzo-- who was then president of Kyoto University, preceding Dr. Konishi--

received word indirectly from Hatoyama, that the minister desired an investigation to be made of the lecture's substance, and a full report furnished forthwith in anticipation of interpellations expected at the next session of the Diet. The plot thus got underway against Takigawa--somewhat belatedly, since he had given the same lecture elsewhere, and had discussed the same theory repeatedly for some time prior to this, in a series of radio talks over the JOBK network from Osaka. In response to the indirect order from Hatoyama, Dr. Shinjo had Professor MIYAMOTO, Hideo, the dean of the Law School at Kyoto University, prepare the report, in which Miyamoto rose in Takigawa's defense. With this turn of affairs, the interpellations which came in the January, 1933 Diet sessions, were peculiarly devoid of all mention of Takigawa, although the Diet was intrigued by questions from Seiyukai members concerning "dangerous thought," in connection with other similar cases. The Takigawa case was dormant then as far as the public knew until April, 1933. But Hatoyama was active in the matter behind the scenes, as was later revealed.

Takigawa in 1932 had published a law text, "The Criminal Law Reader," which was so wellreceived that a high official of the national courts was said to have distributed more than 20 copies to his subordinates with flowery recommendations. In April 1933, the text was banned ostensibly by the Minister of Justice. The allegation was that his treatment of crimes of adultery (he advocated the same approach to questions of adultery for male as well as female, rather than the double-standard slant of Japanese law as it existed then, which gave the male privileged exemptions--and this view later was adopted by Japanese law,) internal rebellion, murder of one's ascendants, and educational crimes (Kyoiku-kei) was inimical to the Japanese family system and to the Japanese national structure.

Following the banning of the book, the Minister of Education then took the position that Takigawa, whose book had been banned as contrary to good public morals and order, should be permitted no longer to remain a professor.

Actually this development of events was forced by Hatoyama in order to engineer the discharge of Takigawa, as witness the gloating comment made by Hatoyama during the course of a train interview, and quoted in the 21 May 1933 issue of the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun: "As a matter of fact, I was the one who in a cabinet meeting urged the Justice Minister to ban Professor Takigawa's 'Criminal Law Reader.'"

"From this it appears clear that Hatoyama resorted to the strategy of first having circulation of Takigawa's book proscribed before taking action against him as a communistic professor. This was a most shrewd type of tactics, if highly unfair, because when the book was banned, neither the author nor his defenders could enjoy the liberty of quoting from the book to refute the allegation of being "red," wrote Professor KURIU, Takeo, of the Tokoku Imperial University in the July 1933 issue of the "Central Review" (CHUO KORON), page 464.

In the same issue of Chui Koron, it was pointed out in a large number of articles prepared by legal scholars and others that Professor Takigawa's writings were neither communistic nor contrary to good morals and public order. Thus actually the allegations of the Justice Ministry and Hatoyama do not appear to have had any substance. Hatoyama's methods in this matter reflect definitely that he was an exponent of tyrannical methods, with no respect to fundamental fair play and a defendant's opportunity to present his case.

Public resentment, however, became so aroused, that the Minister of Education finally was compelled, in order to carry his point, to convene the Bunkan-Bungen-Rei, a control board for government employes, headed by the Prime Minister and consequently in the hands of Hatoyama's party. After a two-hour secret session, during which Hatoyama expounded his views, the board upheld Hatoyama by resorting to a dusty passage of the Civil Service Limitation Ordinance which provided for the suspension of public employes "for the good of the service," (Article 11, Paragraph 1, Section 4.)

It became apparent to SCAP investigators in this matter that none of the charges raised publicly by Hatoyama against Professor Takigawa were substantial. It was rightly assumed that if Takigawa was a "red," the president and law faculty at Kyoto University would not have dared to take the precipitate action they did by resigning en bloc in the face of the popular anti-communistic sentiment of the times. One would have to assume they all were communists and cared nothing to reveal it in so public a manner at a time when a convicted communist faced certain imprisonment and more likely death. It is significant that no such charge was ever placed against Professor Takigawa. Hence, the GS investigators sought to determine the cause of the opposition to Takigawa on the part of Mr. Hatoyama.

In the 21 May (1933) issue of the Japan Advertiser (Tokyo English Language newspaper which in 1939 was confiscated by the Japanese government) there appeared on page 1, column 1, an item pertaining to the same train interview with Hatoyama which was referenced earlier herein as a quote from the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun. Under the heading "Education Minister Determined to Oust Kwansai Professor," these appeared:

"In the course of the interview, Mr. Hatoyama revealed the rather interesting fact that he had been gunning for Professor Takigawa for a long time, even before action was taken on the professor's book."

It thus appeared that the "burr under Hatoyama's saddle" had been of long standing. Thus an inquiry was begun into the earlier periods of Hatoyama's life to determine whether Takigawa had crossed his path before. In a pamphlet entitled, "Professor Takigawa's Affairs,"

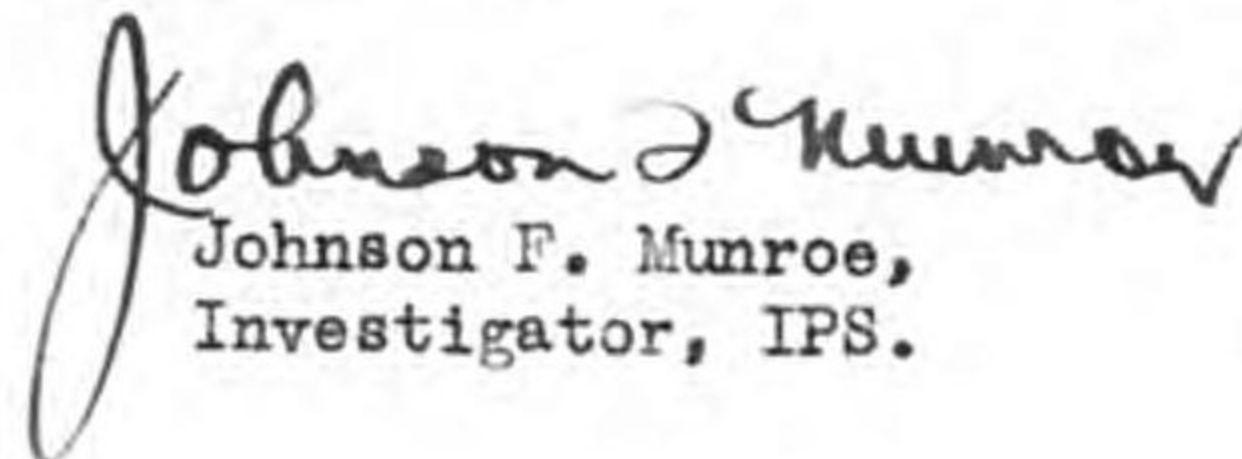
published by the Kyoto Hinode Shimbun on 26 June 1933, there appeared on page 5 thereof the following clue:

"When the Peace Preservation Law was amended by Emergency Imperial Ordinance during the period of the Tanaka Cabinet, Professor Eiichi Makino of Tokyo Imperial University (a law professor) was extremely docile, but Professor Takigawa criticized this from the viewpoint of a (legal) scholar."

Hatoyama was the Chief Secretary of the Tanaka Cabinet from 1927 to 1929 and was generally credited with the actual preparation of the innocuous amendment. The Tanaka Cabinet failed in the Diet to obtain sufficient support of this amendment which would have made it possible to imprison, or even execute, opponents who advocated government reforms. (See Paragraph 3a, Exhibit A, attached.) One of the most active opponents of this measure was Professor Takigawa, and when the Tanaka Cabinet imposed their amendment on the Japanese people through an Emergency Imperial Ordinance, Takigawa criticized the Cabinet's methods and policies from rostrum after rostrum.

It would thus appear that there is basis for the GS position that Hatoyama's antagonism for Takigawa arose several years before Hatoyama and his nationalistic cohorts could reap their revenge. The Education Minister's callous attitude toward the Takigawa case, and probably any other case which blocked the militaristic aims of his party and co-conspirators in the Inukai and Saito cabinets in the "thought control" movement, may best be summed up in his own words, found in the train interview, referenced supra:

"I don't mind if some people do censure me on the grounds of threatening freedom of research or violating the independence of the university in this case....the resignation of the law college faculty would be a small matter." (Emphasis added.)


Johnson F. Munroe,
Investigator, IPS.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

APO 500
3 May 1946

AG 014.1 (3 May 46)GS
(SCAPIN 919)

MEMORANDUM FOR: IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.
THROUGH : Central Liaison Office, Tokyo.
SUBJECT : Removal and Exclusion from Public Office of
Diet Member.

1. Under the memorandum of 4 January 1946, "Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office", (SCAPIN 550) the Japanese Government was directed to disqualify any candidate for the Diet who had deceived and misled the people of Japan within the spirit and letter of that directive.

2. After the election on 10 April 1946, the Central Liaison Office was informed that the eligibility of one Ichiro Hatoyama, (member-elect of the House of Representatives from the First Electoral District, Tokyo) to hold any public office being open to doubt in the light of evidence published subsequent to his screening by the Japanese Government, it was expected that his eligibility would be re-examined by the Government forthwith.

3. The Japanese Government having failed to act on its own responsibility, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers has determined the facts relative to Hatoyama's eligibility and finds that he is an undesirable person within the meaning of paragraphs 1 and 3 of Category "G", Appendix "A", SCAPIN 550 in that:

a. As Chief Secretary of the Tanaka Cabinet from 1927 to 1929, he necessarily shares responsibility for the formulation and promulgation without Diet approval of amendments to the so-called Peace Preservation Law which made that law the government's chief legal instrument for the suppression of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, and made possible the denunciation, terrorization, seizure, and imprisonment of tens of thousands of adherents to minority doctrines advocating political, economic, and social reform, thereby preventing the development of effective opposition to the Japanese militaristic regime.

Exhibit A

Memo for I.J.G., file AG 014.1 (3 May 46)GS (SCAPIN 919), subj:
"Removal and Exclusion from Public Office of Diet Member."

b. As minister of Education from December 1931 to March 1934, he was responsible for stifling freedom of speech in the schools by means of mass dismissals and arrests of teachers suspected of "leftist" leanings or "dangerous thoughts". The dismissal in May 1933 of Professor Takigawa from the faculty of Kyoto University on Hatoyama's personal order is a flagrant illustration of his contempt for the liberal tradition of academic freedom and gave momentum to the spiritual mobilization of Japan which, under the aegis of the military and economic cliques, led the nation eventually into war.

c. Not only did Hatoyama participate in thus weaving the pattern of ruthless suppression of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of thought, but he also participated in the forced dissolution of farmer-labor bodies. In addition, his indorsement of totalitarianism, specifically in its application to the regimentation and control of labor, is a matter of record. His recommendation that "it would be well" to transplant Hitlerite anti-labor devices to Japan reveals his innate antipathy to the democratic principle of the right of labor freely to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choice. It is a familiar technique of the totalitarian dictatorship, wherever situated, whatever be its formal name, and however be it disguised, first to weaken and then to suppress the freedom of individuals to organize for mutual benefit. Whatever lip service Hatoyama may have rendered to the cause of parliamentarianism, his sponsorship of the doctrine of regimentation of labor identifies him as a tool of the ultra-nationalistic interests which engineered the reorganization of Japan on a totalitarian economic basis as a prerequisite to its wars of aggression.

d. By words and deeds he has consistently supported Japan's acts of aggression. In July 1937 he traveled to America and Western Europe as personal emissary of the then Prime Minister Konoye to justify Japan's expansionist program. While abroad he negotiated economic arrangements for supporting the war against China and the subsequent exploitation of that country after subjugation. With duplicity, Hatoyama told the British Prime Minister in 1937 that "China cannot survive unless controlled by Japan" and that the primary motive behind Japan's intervention in China involved the "happiness of the Chinese people."

Memo for I.J.G., file AG 014.1 (3 May 46)GS (SCAPIN 919), subj:
"Removal and Exclusion from Public Office of Diet Member."

e. Hatoyama has posed as an anti-militarist. But in a formal address mailed to his constituents during the 1942 election in which he set forth his political credo, Hatoyama upheld the doctrine of territorial expansion by means of War, referred to the attack on Pearl Harbor as "fortunately . . . a great victory", stated as a fact that the true cause of the Manchuria and China "incidents" was the anti-Japanese sentiment (in China) instigated by England and America, ridiculed those who in 1926 and 1929 had criticized the Tanaka Cabinet, boasted that that cabinet had "liquidated the (previous) weak-kneed diplomacy toward England and America", and gloated that "today the world policy drafted by the Tanaka Cabinet is steadily being realized." This identification of himself with the notorious Tanaka policy of world conquest, whether genuine or merely opportunistic, in and of itself brands Hatoyama as one of those who deceived and misled the people of Japan into militaristic misadventure.

4. Accordingly, in view of these and other considerations not herein recited, the Imperial Japanese Government is directed to bar Ichiro Hatoyama from membership in the Diet and to exclude him from government service pursuant to SCAPIN 550.

FOR THE SUPREME COMMANDER:

B.M. FITCH
Brigadier General, AGD
Adjutant General.

Summary Report on Interrogation of KONISHI, Shigenao

DATE AND TIME: 31 March 1947, 0900 to 1030

PLACE : Room 381, War Ministry Bldg., Tokyo

PRESENT : 2nd Lieut. Eric W. Fleisher, Interpreter,
Sgt. Tadashi Ode, Interpreter,
Johnson T. Munroe, Investigator.

Subject stated he is 73 years old, and lives now in Setagaya-ku, Seijo 696, Tokyo; that he is the president of the Chiba Technical School, although he has made application to retire; that he has been in the teaching profession since 1910, when he became a professor at the Hiroshima Teacher's College; after 5 years there he accepted an appointment as Inspector of Education for the Japanese Minister of Education, which position he held for two years; there followed a one-year position at the Kagoshima Seventh High School before he received an appointment as professor at the Kyoto Imperial University; in March of 1933 he was elected president of this university, but remained in this position only three months, resigning in June after the famed "Takigawa Incident;" he has been teaching in private schools since that time.

KONISHI explained his participation in the Takigawa Incident as follows: A few days after his election to the presidency of Kyoto Imperial University, a government owned and operated institution, he conferred on school administrative problems with AYAMA, Ken, vice-Minister of Education, who warned him that the lectures of TAKIGAWA, Yukitoki, (a law professor), had attracted the attention of government officials in Tokyo, and that he should give close attention to the problem created thereby. It was explained that the government's concern was aroused by Takigawa's expounding to his classes and in public lectures, a theory of "pure objectivism," (in which he, and others, were trying to reconcile Japanese imperialism with twentieth century government,) and this theory or its discussion was not looked upon favorably by the existing authorities.

Dr. Konishi stated he was summoned to Tokyo on 22 April 1933, about one month after he assumed the presidency, for a conference on Takigawa with Vice-Minister AYAMA, Section Chief AKAMA, Nobuyoshi, and Chief of the Board of Students ITO, all of whom are now dead. He was advised that a law text, "The Criminal Law Reader," written by Takigawa in 1932, had been suppressed by the Home Ministry, and his "pure objectivism" lectures had been banned by the same agency, on the grounds that such teaching "would result in negation of the

Exhibit "B"

state and society within the state." AYAMA told Dr. Konishi that the Minister of Education, HATOYAMA, Ichiro, had determined that Takigawa's "influence on students will have to be eliminated, and Takigawa will have to be dismissed from the university faculty." The fact that the university constitution provided for the dismissal of faculty members by originating the request for dismissal in the department in which the member held a chair, was discussed with Dr. Konishi, and it was stated to him that it was the wish of Mr. HATOYAMA that Dr. Konishi "maneuver" the affair so that the law department would request Takigawa's dismissal, and thus make the dismissal conform with established custom in such cases.

Dr. Konishi, at this conference, stated his opposition to such proceeding, asserting that "this matter concerns an academic difference in theory" and that the government should not be concerned; further, that "it is a right and duty of a university to investigate matters of theory such as this, with complete freedom," and without interference from government. He recommended that a board of specialists in Takigawa's field be appointed to study the matter and to hear Takigawa's arguments and to give them the right of deciding whether Takigawa's theory was an unhealthy influence upon the students.

AYAMA replied that there was no need for this, that the decision already had been made by the Education Minister. Dr. Konishi said he took the position that the students were wise enough to consider Takigawa's lectures in an academic light, and to weigh his theory against opposition thought, and so come to a rightful decision for themselves; also that he would not take the step requested of him, and further advised the conferees that "if this matter is pressed further, some grave incident might occur." He concluded the conference with a request that the Education Ministry give the matter more thought.

On 8 May 1933, Dr. Konishi said, he was again summoned to Tokyo and there met with Mr. HATOYAMA, AYAMA, and AKAMA. He was on this occasion advised by one of those present that "this has become a cabinet problem" and it was the cabinet's decision that Dr. Konishi personally order Tokigawa's dismissal. Dr. Konishi told them he would not do so, but agreed to take up the matter with the authorities in the law college of the University, which he did on 10 May 1933. At the meeting with the law professors opposition to Hatoyama's desires crystallized and a resolution was drawn for presentation to Hatoyama by Dr. Konishi, outlining the grounds for the opposition. The resolution stated that "this is not justice. The veracity of a theory can not be determined by the judgment of a temporary government ... progress of science would be obstructed," and that if such government interference were to be permitted, the university "would lose its right of free research."

This resolution was forwarded by mail to the Education Ministry on 19 May 1933, with a further protestation from Dr. Konishi to the effect that the ministry's opposition to Takigawa was belated in that

Takigawa's book had been in circulation for a year already; that a previous book along the same lines, "Lectures on Criminal Law" had been published in 1930, two years prior to the second book; that his lectures had been given in class and in public over a period of some years without noticeable bad effects; that students who heard them possessed the ability to listen with a critical approach; that the government's intentions in the matter, if allowed to proceed to the desired conclusion, would impede the progress of science, and further would violate the university's constitutional right of self-government; and since the professors of the law department already had taken the position that the temporary attitude of the government should not dictate the removal of Takigawa; Dr. Konishi determined to stand with the professors and refused to abide by Hatoyama's order.

On 24 May, at a meeting with HATOYAMA, AYAMA and AKAMA, Dr. Konishi reiterated his stand in person, and rejected a last minute plea of Hatoyama to spare the government the necessity of taking summary action. It was then that Hatoyama announced the cabinet had convened the Civil Service Control Committee and this group had decided to "suspend" Takigawa under a section of the Civil Service Limitation Ordinance which provided for the suspension of public employees "for the good of the service." (Article 11, Section 1, paragraph 4). As a result of the committee's action, Hatoyama said he personally was ordering Takigawa's suspension.

On his return to Kyoto, Dr. Konishi said the entire faculty of the law school at the university handed him their resignations, and when he presented them to Hatoyama, he also tendered his own. Hatoyama, however, refused Dr. Konishi's resignation and ordered him to remain in the Kyoto presidency to "try to straighten out the affair." By this time, the matter had drawn wide publicity and sharp criticism of the government's stand; students at Kyoto rebelled and refused to attend classes, and the revolt in some measure had spread to other Imperial universities at Tokyo and Sendai. In the face of this public opposition, the Education Ministry refused to alter the course already taken, and rejected Dr. Konishi's efforts to obtain the re-employment of Takigawa. Dr. Konishi ended his participation in the affair in June 1933 when he again asked that his resignation be accepted. This time the Education Minister acquiesced, and although the official record was made to reflect "ill health" as the cause of the resignation, Dr. Konishi declared his real reason in protest against the encroachment of government on academic freedom -- was well understood.

Dr. Konishi stated that to his knowledge the Takigawa Incident was the first case in which the government sought to control the educational institutions and the matters discussed in normal class work therein. He said he had no personal knowledge or connection with any other like instances, and refused comment on the assertion that the Takigawa Incident was the beginning of "thought control" in Japan. "It was the first and only case like it with which I had any personal contact."

He stated that he has been advised that Professor Takigawa is now associated with the Kyoto Imperial University, but could give no date as to when he returned to the faculty there.

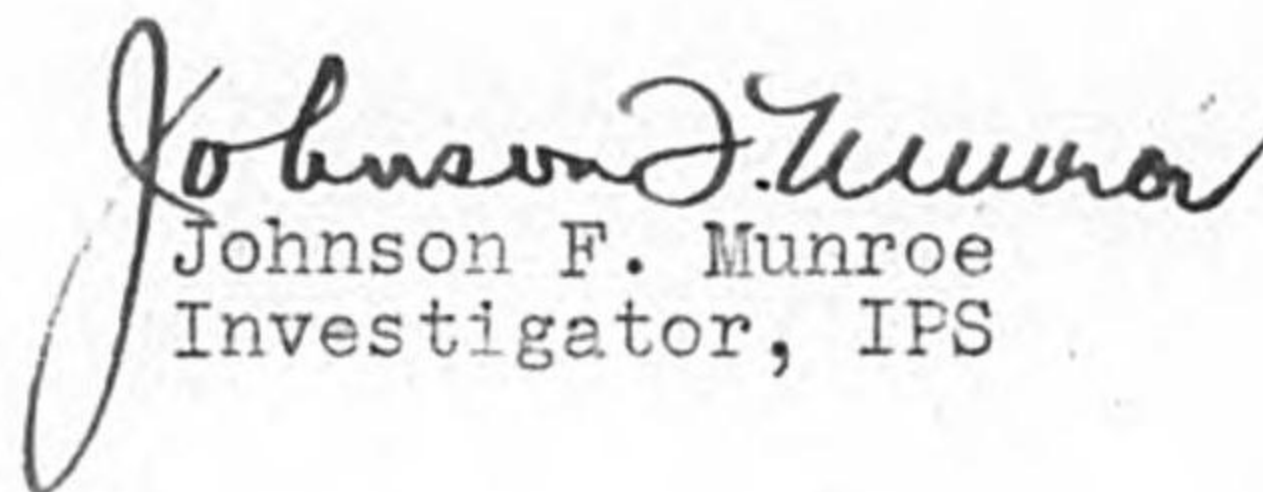
Asked whether any criticism Takigawa may have made of the government's Peace Preservation Law, which was enacted while HATOYAMA was chief Secretary of the Tanaka Cabinet (1927-1929), could have inspired Hatoyama's opposition to Takigawa, Dr. Konishi said he did not know personally whether Takigawa ever had voiced any such criticism, although he had heard such charge made against Hatoyama.

30 April 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: British Division (W.G.B.)
FROM : Johnson F. Munroe, Investigation Division
SUBJECT : HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Copy of the 4-page formal address mailed to his constituents by the subject individual in 1942, which was requested by memorandum dated 17 April 1947, has been procured by this investigator and photostatic reproduction of same is attached hereto.

There is also transmitted herewith an English translation of the attached address, both of which were obtained from the files of G-2, SCAP, (CIS). The original, from which the photostatic reproduction was made, has been returned to that agency.


Johnson F. Munroe
Investigator, IPS

INCL. 1 Copy Address (Positive)
1 Copy Photostat (Negative)

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Language Branch, CIS

3075

25 September 1946

TRANSLATION IN FULL

SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Ichiro

SOURCE: Copy of printed campaign brochure of April 1942 elections when HATOYAMA stood for election from the 2nd Tokyo district, mailed by HATOYAMA, to KATO Masamitsu, Tokyo.

My Record in Brief

Bachelor of Law
Former attorney
Former lecturer at Waseda University
Former lecturer at Nippon University
Former chairman of Tokyo City Council
Former chief cabinet secretary
Vice-commissioner of the present Emperor's enthronement ceremony
Former Minister of Education
Elected 9 times to the House of Representatives.

Message of Greeting to Constituents on Candidacy

This is April, the height of spring, and from the frigid cold of the north to the burning heat of the south, the officers and men of the Imperial Forces, far from their homeland, are faithfully carrying out their duties wherever they are stationed. At this time in this country an epoch-making general election is in progress and it is being demanded of the men of politics in the Diet that they, in their stations, fully and faithfully do their duty.

With sincere respect, I am sending a message of greeting on becoming a candidate in the general elections for the tenth time.

I would like to express my appreciation for the support and assistance extended by you to me during my 9 terms and my 27 years of service in the Diet. Thanks to your support, I was honored on 27 February of last year with the following resolution by the House of Representatives.

Diet member Ichiro HATOYAMA, 9 times elected to the House of Representatives, who has served in the House for 26 years, has devoted himself to the cause of constitutional government and to the expression of the will of the people. For his long and faithful service, the House of Representatives through this resolution gives this commendation.

I who desire to devote my life to the defense of constitutional government and to being the representative of the will of the people, consider this commendation to be an honor higher than that of the holding of any exalted office. Nowadays there are frequent discussions on constitutional government and new ideas on constitutional reform are rampant but I shall persevere in adhering to government based on the constitution. I believe that in the voice of the people there is something of the voice of Heaven. I am ceaselessly concerned over possible obstacles in the mobilization of the home front which backs the glorious war achievements of our Imperial Forces.

In the Greater East Asiatic War which includes the China Incident, due to the brave fighting of the Imperial Forces, one phase has been completed but we must prepare, in view of the war situation, for a long war. At this time we must strengthen the home front, renew our firmness and perseverance and for the purpose of final victory, I believe conscientious men must be put in to activate the mobilized will of the people, bureaucratic government must be corrected, the Diet vitalized and the entire strength of the nation mobilized. By doing these things it will be possible to hasten the settlement of the China Incident for the first time and to gain the fruits of victory in the Greater East Asiatic War.

As there are persons who are deliberately propagandizing that my way of thinking which exalts the will of the people is out of date, the fact that I face a hard fight in this election is recognized by you and I will not dwell needlessly on this matter.

My earnest request is that with your continued support you will confer on me for the tenth time a seat in the House of Representatives. Thus, asking for your vote, and to vote is to render a public service and the ballot is the voice of Heaven expressed in the voice of the people, I extend my greetings on the occasion of my candidacy.

April 1942
2nd Tokyo district
Candidate for House of
Representatives
Ichiro HATOYAMA

Main Points

An all-out effort in achieving final victory
Elimination of "drones" in the Diet
To demand men insusceptible to corruption by wealth or rank and undaunted
by authority and prestige.
A nation without conscientious subjects is a nation that is lost.

A Diet without character is useless.

To fix complete responsibility in administrative supervision.

Officers and men of the Imperial Forces defend the colors; members of the Diet defend the Constitution.

Blood for war, sweat for increased production, tears (humanity) for government. Humanity also in the government of areas outside Japan.

The first government emergency measure is the solution of the food problem.

Is the conversion problem being properly handled?

The amassing of power on the home front to assure the great victory.

No pro-American or pro-English factions in Japan but only pro-Japanese.

War is a last resort, diplomacy a forehanded measure.

The world policy drawn up by the TANAKA cabinet has come into realization.

To be sensitive to changing public criticism.

The Communist movement hides itself under the name of reform.

A Vote is an Opportunity for Public Service.

By the grace of the Emperor and the brave fighting of the officers and men of the Imperial Forces, the world position of the Japanese Empire has become unshakeable. Those born in Japan are enjoying their good fortune to the fullest extent. However, as you know, we must prepare to face a long war. Accordingly, preparations for a complete defense of the home front will be required. The general elections at this time acquire a very deep significance.

Frankly speaking, I respect the attitude of loyalty of Premier TOJO toward constitutional government. Comparing the situation of this year with last year when the KONOYE cabinet postponed the general elections one year ostensibly because of the critical nature of the times, this year, already the Greater East Asiatic War has broken out and the situation regarding such problems as food is several tens of times more critical. Therefore there was all the more reason for again postponing the elections but this would be irregular, constitutionally speaking. I believe one should pay respect to the beliefs of Premier TOJO who consistently respected the spirit of the constitution in avoiding this irregularity.

In recent years the function of the members of the Diet has presented strange spectacle that could be termed "riding the gravey train." At a time when legislators are forgetting their primary responsibilities of participating in legislation and the important tasks of supervising administration, the Premier said, "Have the spirit insusceptible to corruption by wealth or rank and undaunted by authority and prestige."

Those who demand good men show their respect and loyalty to constitutional government. Even the Chinese say a nation without conscientious public servants is a nation that is lost. Those who say black is white merely to gain the favor of those above them are not truly loyal public servants. No cabinet is entirely free from defects. Though the premier be competent, there will be

imprudent men among his sub-ordinates. There will be mistakes and failures. To supervise and correct these is the patriotic duty of the Diet members. The government will gladly listen to such remonstrances and we can begin to have a good working government.

Introducing the voice of a third person, I believe what ABE, Nosei, a higher school principal, had to say in the columns of the Asahi is worth hearing. "Those who blindly follow the government as members of the government party and those who as the opposition party, oppose simply for the sake of opposition are not capable of performing the great duty of assisting the Imperial Rule. Those who blindly follow the lead of the government in everything, disassociate themselves from persons for reasons of personal convenience, seize every shady opportunity and unprincipled advantage, those, in short, who try to satisfy their desire for personal power and profit are not only unfit to meet the demands of the people but the requirements of government."

These are wise words. These words follow the same line of thought as that of Premier TOJO and I believe no one will disagree on this.

A Diet without vitality is useless. The voice of the people which finds expression through the Diet is the voice of Heaven.

A diet which loses the usefulness gained by experience in mutual give and take not only loses its reason for existence but conversely, by existing, hinders the progress of the nation. In recent years debate in the Diet has been conspicuous by its absence and the fact that those who carry on debate which in any way hits at the sore spots of the government are criticized and slandered is at the least an indication of the debasement of the Diet. The facts of the last 5 years are the loss of the sense of responsible government with the dissolution of the political parties, the paralyzing of the sense of responsibility for surveillance of administration, and the fighting for places on the "gravy train." As one of the members of the Diet, I truly and keenly felt the importance of this responsibility but I was unable to use what little power I had and was unable to prevent the decline of this great institution. I am filled with shame.

I believe that for the complete correlation of the home front with the battle fronts, for making possible the successful prosecution of the war, for the maximum development of our war-time and post-war domestic economy, and the full utilization of potentialities in the administration of occupied areas, an energetic statesmanship is necessary. With the unbroken series of victories gained by the brave fighting of the Imperial Forces and the toil and sweat of the home front which backs them up, the objectives of the war can be fully attained. The fighting can be safely entrusted to the men on the battle fronts but can the conduct of the war be handled by today's statesmanship? A statesmanship which backs up the victories of the armed forces is today's most pressing need. War for the armed forces, statecraft for the statesmen, each in his post must render the utmost in service to the Emperor.

At this time, this election, as all will say, is a splendid opportunity to re-establish the authority of statesmanship. Unless the opportunists are ousted from the Diet and conscientious public servants with "the spirit insusceptible to corruption by wealth or rank" and "undaunted by authority and prestige" are elected, unless an injection of camphor is administered to the Diet, the Diet will become a useless thing and it will become difficult to make our great constitution shine again in its true splendor. The officers and men of the Imperial Forces will defend the colors; the men of politics will defend the constitution. Now is the time of crisis when we must brace ourselves.

As I have said before, there is great significance in this election. Do not be misled by the deceptions and propaganda of opportunists. It is my earnest desire that you discharge fully your great responsibility and by casting a vote serve the nation.

What I desire, above all else, is honor in all things.

Blood for war, sweat for increased production, tears (humanity) for government

Our soldiers are shedding their blood on the battle fronts to win victories and the soldiers of the production front are sweating for greater production, both to the end there may be safety and tranquility in Japan but when statesmanship ceases to be active it is to be feared that the sacrifice of blood and sweat will have been in vain. Does politics really have any life left in it?

Politics, I think, is not so much a concern with lofty theory as is firstly the solution of practical problems. Whether the lunches of school children are adequate, whether the food rations of those who work are in fair proportion to the heaviness of the work, the nourishment of pregnant women, whether children are getting enough milk, whether the rationing of fish and vegetables is going smoothly, the solution of such everyday problems is, in this emergency, the politics and statesmanship of today.

A matter of great concern to all of us living in the cities is the problem of change in employment and of conversion, under government control, of small and medium scale commercial and industrial enterprises. Here again government which takes into account conditions prevailing among the people is necessary. Unless this problem is solved on the basis of the people's condition, the power of action on the home front which backs up the great military victories cannot be massed. What I have always said "humanity in government" points up this fact now. If statesmen with humanity do not create and strive in a spirit of sympathy and understanding of the condition of the people, it is to be feared that our economic power will not increase, our production will not meet increased production schedules and obstacles to the all-out prosecution of the Greater East Asiatic War will be created from within.

Of late the distribution of commodities in our national economy has not been, comparatively speaking, going smoothly. Although there are

mountains of vegetables in our farming communities, we are unable to buy fresh produce in Tokyo. Such situations as the existence of surpluses of meat and fish in certain areas and their absence from the average dinner table are a common example. This, however, is due to the improper fixing of ceiling prices, the existence of strong vested groups in the prefectures, and errors in the methods of figuring transportation costs. Measures to remedy this situation and to make this understandable and acceptable to everyone are the work and duty of the statesman. If scarce items are not fairly distributed, government is not worthy of its name.

Under the pressure of the times and the intensification of government control commerce has declined. As merchants have become office workers and transport workers and stores have become offices for distribution of rationed goods, housewives are being forced to spend the greater part of their time and effort in shopping. Historically the basic function of merchandising is the distribution of goods. If business is brisk, the distribution of goods is also brisk. But if distribution does not go smoothly, it is like a human body in which elimination is faulty and the blood circulation poor and the way becomes for every kind of disease. The necessity is urgent to check the disease at its source but this can be handled by statesmanship, by the hand of a sagacious statesman who understands the hearts of the people. Quack doctors are dangerous.

In the human being there is the instinct of survival and an appetite for living. Every effort is exerted in order to survive and exist. It is the same in the case of a nation. This desire to exist cannot be disposed of simply as a desire to retain one's individual identity. Even in the case of a nation, if there is not this desire the nation is lost. The behaviour of the stag testifies as to the effectiveness of this desire.

Existence is in accordance with competition. This is the same for both nations and individuals. The ever victorious armies of Japan possess incomparably the world's finest weapons but this is one result of competition stemming from the necessity of winning. Field Marshal Goring of Germany, who thinks along the same lines as those who believe in firm control, is said to have remarked after seeing the Olympic Games, "Without competition there is no progress." It is needless to argue that in order to win in competition a desire to exist must go along with it.

Our managed economy is an emergency war-time establishment based on the General National Mobilization Law and the Emergency Measures Law. Consequently, individual interest must be sacrificed in the attainment of the nation's objectives. However, if due regard to keep individuals in a healthy frame of mind is not given, attainment of the nation's objectives will be impossible.

Humanity in government. A government which overlooks human feelings cannot function. In callous times when human sentiments and customs are being obliterated, I believe the danger must be realized that this may result in injury to the ancient and beautiful customs of Japan, that is injury even to the observance of the instructions left by our ancestors.

Humanity also in the government of Japanese held territory

To respect the sentiments of the people, even in the case of a despotic nation, is the fundamental condition in promoting the prosperity of a nation. Germany and Italy are good examples of this. This is even more so in countries where the rights of the people are guaranteed by the constitution. A government which overlooks the sentiments of the people and disregards existing realities becomes the source of countless difficulties.

The 5 years of the China Incident have moved on into the Greater East Asia War and the brave soldiers of the Imperial Forces have gained much foreign territory and the future is bright with hope. However, should errors occur in our colonial policy, which backs up our victories, this would invite results with irretrievable consequences.

Although military governments have been set up in the Southern occupied areas, these military governments, according to the statement of Premier TOJO in the Diet, are temporary establishments and the work will be turned over to qualified administrators. This idea is wholly proper and commendable. Under the military governments use of large numbers of qualified men are already planned. I know others will be recruited in the future. However the principle of respect for the sentiments of the people must be boldly applied, not only in Japan, but in Japanese held areas outside Japan. If we look back at our past record in administration by "qualified men" in Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, China, etc., we find many administrators that have been badly lacking in experience and without any sort of maturity in the spirit of administration. It will be expected that in the future we will make the most of our past experience and that administrators will appear who will widen the field of vision of those bureaucrats whose immaturity of spirit in administration must be replaced by a more mature spirit or administrators who will, at any rate, make up for the defects of narrow-visioned bureaucrats.

Looking at the attitude of the military men in the government, in the matter of control of the Southern areas it appears they are doing their utmost to avoid past mistakes and this is very much as we desire. However, I believe careful watch and supervision must be made of the administrative work of the bureaucrats.

The peoples of the occupied areas each have their religions, habits, and customs. Not only is there no need of controlling these but if the job is bungled with the mistaken application of Japanese police methods, we will have only earned enmity and gained nothing. These peoples, in carrying on the business of their livelihoods, have their own suitable traditions and interests. If considerable care is not exercised in these matters, the materials which should be used for Japan's purposes will not be forthcoming and we will be incurring the disadvantage of having earned the enmity of the native populations.

In a homogeneous nation like Japan with one people under one ruler, government is not the least difficult. But if Japanese methods are applied in areas outside Japan with their hundreds of intermingled races and peoples, I believe that it would not be hard to see this would result in a waste of effort.

The Japanese Empire which expanded and developed step by step in going through the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, the First World War, the Manchurian and China Incidents and now the Greater East Asiatic War is no longer an island nation. Our narrow insular character must be cast into the sea; our views must be wide, tenacious, strong, and continental and oceanic in character; and we must be possessed of a spacious and serene outlook.

I believe the application of the idea of "humanity of government" should not be limited to Japan but in areas outside Japan government of peoples not hostile to us should be humane and considerate to the end that the eternal fruits of Japanese Imperial administration may be brought forth.

If I, who speak in this way, am not one who advocates paternalism, neither am I an advocate of liberalism. I shall not dwell on details further in criticizing bureaucratic government in Japan but I have no other intention but the elimination of the evils of bureaucratic government.

I have other very strong opinions critical of bureaucratic government but due to the time necessity in delivering this printed matter to you I shall omit them.

There can be no pro-Anglo-American factions

War is the last resort while government diplomacy is a forehanded measure. The fact our Japan allied itself with England, America, France and Italy to fight Germany in the First World War due to the trend of circumstances of the times. In the present great war, our alliance with Germany and Italy to fight against America and England is also because of historical necessity. It is ridiculous to classify Japanese arbitrarily and label them as pro-American and pro-English or as pro-German and pro-Italian. Except for Marxists, Japanese are all pro-Japanese. Such a humble person as myself was once cautioned in a friendly way that I should be careful because I was classed as pro-Anglo-American. Last year I made a tour of Europe and America. I was very much impressed with the vitality of the new Germany and Italy and I related this in my book "Face of the Earth." According to what I wrote, I cannot be considered as also pro-German and pro-Italian. This is completely ridiculous. Propaganda like this which tries to slander a person and undermine his political standing can be dismissed with a smile.

I know that I desire international problems to be solved, so far as possible, by diplomatic means. I believe that the diplomatic negotiations with England and the United States continued earnestly during the KONOYE and TOJO cabinets indicate their beliefs were the same as mine. In other words, war is a means only of last resort. This is also indicated in the Imperial Rescript of 8 December on the declaration of war:

"At this time, unfortunately, it has come about that hostilities have begun with both the United States and England. This has been truly unavoidable. This war was never my desire or intention."

However, matters could not be settled through diplomatic negotiation and war came. Once the Imperial Rescript was issued there was no such thing as being pro-Anglo-American. We must now do everything to fight and win. At this stage anyone who is still pro-Anglo-American is a disloyal subject and a traitor. I am not one who fears slander. I desire to reserve one thing only, the privilege of rendering devoted service to the nation.

The Imperial Navy, happily, in its various engagements, won a great victory in the attack on Pearl Harbor, next sank the Prince of Wales and the Repulsi off the Malay coast, and then annihilated the Allied fleet in the naval battles of Surabaya and the Java Sea. The Army, acting in concert, won great victories at Hongkong, Manila and Singapore. Now, Greater East Asia has become completely the outlying territory of Japan. These are deeply stirring circumstances.

My only son has the privilege of serving in the Navy as a lieutenant (j.g.) and is now stationed in the South Pacific. But in these days I feel grateful for even the sight of my son in uniform.

Now it is publicly known fact that one cause of the Manchurian and China Incidents was the anti-Japanism stirred up at the instigation of the United States and England. Who can believe in the sincerity of the United States and England? During the TANAKA cabinet I was chief cabinet secretary. The public labeled and derided it as a reactionary cabinet. The reasons for this, stated simply, were the dispatching of troops to Shantung and next the death of Chang Tso Lin in a bomb assassination incident in Manchuria. The TANAKA cabinet policy in foreign relations which liquidated the policy of trailing in the wake of the United States and England appeared to be re-actionary. But how does it look today? Japan's world policy, which follows the plan drafted by the Tanaka cabinet, is now steadily in the process of realization. When I look back some ten odd years and look at the state of movement and change in the world, I am impressed more and more by the fact what was good yesterday may be bad today.

As I early became used to adverse criticism, I am not especially pained by it but my friends are constantly concerned and are advising me to moderate my opinions and to be more discreet and tactful. However, not only was I not born with such traits but there is no reason for changing my habits. This may be disadvantageous in getting along in the world and it may be hampering politically but this does not mean I should cease to be a faithful public servant.

Watch Communist activities concealed under the name of reform

The underground activities of communists, taking advantage of the war and hiding under the name of new reforms cannot be said to be non-existent, but constitute a despicable and dangerous enemy within the gates. In a radio broadcast on 10 April, Naval Captain HIRADA dwelt on this unusual political problem and issued a severe warning thus:

"Reforms to the end that the Greater East Asiatic War may be conducted advantageously are necessary. However we must positively avoid needless reforms that would serve to diminish our fighting power. On no account must there be reforms for the mere sake of reform. Still less can there be permitted one chance in ten thousand of using the war as an opportunity for reform and over-hastly changes in the international system."

Although I believe what Captain HIRADA pointed does not necessarily refer to communist activity, reform for the mere sake of reform will be harmful and the activities of communists hiding under the guise of reform are dangerous. On this point I believe further study and thorough scrutiny are especially necessary.

We endorse Ichiro Hatoyama

As a member of the House of Representatives, in all of his 27 years of service, he has kept in step with the people with pride and confidence and has shown a constant loyalty and devotion, rare in these days, to constitutional government. We believe he is most eminently qualified to be a member of the House of Representatives and we here solicit your endorsement of his candidacy.

17 April 1942

Mitsuru Toyama
Yukio Ozaki
Admiral Seizo Kobayashi, Naval Reserve.
Lieut. Gen. Hatsutaro Haraguchi, Retired.
Kazuo Kojima, member of the House of Peers.
Baron Shigeto Hozumi, Doctor of Jurisprudence.

T.N. The brochure contains four pictures with accompanying captions plus a portrait picture of Hatoyama. Following are translations of the captions.

Page 2, upper right.

Admiral of the Fleet TOGO, who established Japan's naval power in winning the great victory in the Naval battle of the Japan Sea and