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 cldest 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 1930 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 lifelike oil portrait of the candidate (Hatoyama) to be hung in the House of Representative.

(Translator: G. Murakami.

园

衆議院議員候補者 鳩

瞾

元早 稻田大庫講師

元日本大學講師

元東

大 臣

Ξ 位 異當選九回 融

立 御

に南にその 酷寒、皇軍 見 を行 1 職域奉行完遂の誠を要請!の總選擧施行せられ、議会の時、國内に於ては、劃門 0) の將兵 は故國を遠 誠を 虚遠く離 

to 深甚の敬意を以て、 敬意を以て、一言御挨拶度び總選舉に立候補する

御芳情を以下を出ている。 衆議院 院護により左の如く題彰を以て絶えず御左の一門の在職期間中諸君のととを先が厚く御禮神智を出るのをといる。 から 神徳神経の はい は 過去れ 回り から は 過去れ 回り から は 過去れ 回り から は 過去れ 回り の 立候補に 彰日申撻のにさに上を特際 れはけ賜別し

= 位三憲政とは一点正三位動 等 九鸠 盡回山 シ職郎 民二君 ノ六議

法學 ±,

刀凸 原 書記官長

ないなって、 おおおの様 して立候補の御挨拶と致しれ、 國運進展の礎石となるに不肯私の椅子を御男へ下 舞らざる御同情を以て、

東京府第 衆議院議員候補者

七年四月

べて、

今年は既に大東亞戦

示して居ります。故に、更に選撃機問題等に概でも時局は數十倍の

一選擧を延期

食

要求され て居るの < 1 なり、 今や帝 期するの りません 御稜威 施行せらる。 戰 國 行せらる、この總選舉には、 表だの 心構へは、 今後より一層切實に がは 長期にわたるを 整悟せればな がは 長期にわたるを を であります。 の下皇軍將兵の勇戦によつ 世界的地歩は揺ぎなきもの 者の幸福を満喫し 併し、 御承 知 0 如

## 耍

戦争完遂に全能力を發揮すべし。

る人物を求む。 便樂議員を排す。 一貴も深する能はず、重武も用する能はざ

に練臣なければ國亡ぶ。

薬塊なき議會は無用の長物。

民の輩は天の壁。

行政監視の責任を完ふすべし。

戦争には血を、増産には汗を、政治には涙 府兵は軍旗を守り、議員は撤法を守る。

外地の政治にも凄あれ

緊急時の政治は食糧問題の解決から。 大戦果を裏づける銃後活力の蓄積。 **再禁問題は適當に解決されつゝありや。** 

田中內間設計品 日本に英米温なし、 戦争は最後の手段、外交は事前の手段。 世界政策は、 日本派あるのみ。 今生きたり。

昨是今非の批判に感慨深し。 **革新の名に離れたる共産運動。** 

**票奉公の好機會であります** 

もので 名の下に總選舉を一 意義深 のであります。 率直にして私は東條首相が立志改合 ものがあります で見りに 近衞内閣が時局緊迫の 東亞戦争となり、食年延期した昨年に比 ٥ 敬意を表する

用喜は あ不の り結 .

た。元帥に頭を撫でゝ頂いた私の長男戯一郎は に参加して居ります いま、海軍主計中尉として光禁ある大東亞戦争 また私どもの家族を可愛が 郷元帥は、 大東亞戦争に世界制弱の基礎を 海 大海戦に 大勝して海の護りを完から くられ 元

お訪ねした時の記念撮影で この寫眞は、 東郷元帥 昭和五年十 ٠ 向つ 六日、 元帥を

費なあるが如か がら敬意に知 がら敬意 憲由政は 3 東 T 條首 き奇 る共に概を呈 3 0) の思 と信じま あ し能と あ 行政 i ます 視の本便は 大任 4 こを のれ (V) なせ 變は が職 5 76 0 責て何すし す

ります な りますけ 臣 新 心は 及長安倍能力 でこの映 めに反對する きを得る 態度と 2 15 0 即成 EL 注のをとい権富者も一のてお聽的是 ○適関のとぶ敬る りい義正課任と忠答"意の \*御言 て粉すりで雖臣へとをは 初でるも ももでて支表こ 對派何 て斥くはの驚と聴い めあのあ 完は上那しれ てりはれる全なの人 同たと米味して價所 \*はの無い機も eQ. 政政議失下缺の嫌云 りになにて徒ひ載 の府員敗僚なでをつ國 \*よい於反らすの、 (これる。政あ行線 行線る行 す。し可削。此線 念政時な職ひ力 ・り域ははせ 主仁非 う今得りに工の生地し後慚 の世於に今かりをまよ夫の主經めの愧ずし すりと限て替成側の 000 \*努に行の時連い の放政何雅政で 大治よの治あ戦戦力 よか全蔵をた屋り つね能後完り 最はり戦力り翻手に 1 てばをの 0 善政も果で 支行 必を斯す為日 つな發風したかか 御家要裏つがは的「連ら排内 \*安を裏勝めす經院 さけ行扱心完づのこる評価 てし達け脱信路を を各れすい 致々まべる酸て し例じに充遂

如きは と合の大對阿のお任す 文要充に者をるも に望たよをかこ本反用は朝 もにさつ排つと常 しなと結じこ川意としに間 議絶は をし の誰 機も 能 自彼 35 あ唱

存ご で。氣は軌け あ護魄なをだ するり て條

3

あ

理由を d 聲 す ります 國 會を通じ 勝の 家家の 0 會進 効 3 如其便念で傷いの展な用 frit. き情楽はあさ所言をらを での喪りへを論告す失 は無 あ先失まさ突甚す れ用 しすれくだる逆つ 50 民長 の物 際で 天りと

近年

議

も政

府の

落中痛

のしず行政ねきはのそ議 貴たム政黨の言ずでの自 の監解 の論 事品長男 40 民使節と は發し注能 まは 単せ不射は 旗に磨 th をむの施る 政こ典は魄 治さたばあ E か は難恵議 H 愿事法會諫 法でのは臣 をあ光無を

> 望な便含 政戰 てす公幻るはあす の心の は 大ごで以ま 共に 何よ を使りの 0 りも名響でありま さ迷すく つて ははか重 んさる。 は正に ら大

・な

諸意

君義

新

をこれ義切にはが

## 治爭 にに はは 淚血 ŧ を 産には汗を

でが時でに職 まの身業見にの題 如近のの正むの政ああ はあ励場前 す 急間 り ク しは に 高せす 時 題 は は て 充 在 適 う のか川行る分さなか政の、し土が政の治さるかごる。治結政でが血 政ら滑きるかごる 治解でわか、思理 は品油日汗を 果をがなみ流し で決あた 動ひ論 あしるのがよりも てな潑安ろて 生になってあっていた。 政行であるのなりである。 居るしるて勝る人ななり でからなる。一巻生際 のれいき産 り日な野乳働徒間

野菜 が山三積まれて居りましても、といるのであります。これ等から解決して行かれば、大戦果を裏づけずる統後活力の蓄積は出来ないのであります。これ等から解決して行かれば、大戦果を裏づけずる統後活力の蓄積には涙を」と申すのはこの點を指すのなり後つて大東亞戦争の完遂に、内からなり後つて大東亞戦争の完遂に、内からなり後つて大東亞戦争の完遂に、内からなりをであります。源あるめであります。私が平常「政権管に不同滑であります。私が平常「政権管を来す関れがあるのであります。政治を示す。私が平常「政権管を表す」と申すのはこの點を指すのであります。現場によります。地方農村には、経済を来す関れがあるのであります。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。地方農村には、大戦等を表す。 支なばみで治はば相即

上面買 配家や 、認くか 51.5 ねで置を缺縣は等るがはあす是陷ブ公のほ出 政りる正の口定事ご来 治まのしあツ價質有な

てゲのん武川の

一版の世界であります。 一版の主婦によって「変 であります。 一版であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であります。 であります。 一覧であります。 一覧であり。 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり。 一覧であり、 一覧であり。 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり。 一覧であり。 一覧であり、 一覧であり、 一覧であり。 でり心りり乗廻ごまてるれ分あた粉機商

の國す 行愁こ存生生間 はかと然存きに 一無はをのんは ○ の効用を脱いて居り、○ の効用を脱いて居り、○ 本ません。國家の場合には凡ゆる努力をする。○ 本ません。國家の場合には凡の主義と片づけて、○ 本ません。國家の場合には凡の主義とよっける。 地计 り一介て ま川でしこ

と過 113 た此は 8 は、私とは、おして 上下の利と 道されているというが、というではなったが、 者ふ感のな

> 本が器本場生日悪 か元う競で軍人競地ふ な帥に筆居はの爭にる けが老のり川場を落人 れオへ結ま界合作つな ばりら果す無もふべく 發ンれでが比同こ 達ピてあ の様と しツるりを優で、

なりるまれ秀あこ い競ドすーなりれ 1:3 をツ統勝折す國 をの遂 知遺に人治 ら風日情は ねま本ご行 ばでの供は な古美統れ らすしをな めるい抹い と結古殺の 信果いして じに図てあ まが風得り すち即々ま ついちたす た所る る訓時 危祖は

險 先 `

## 地 政 \$ 淚

技イ

あり國 すか 保りま家民一 治民能まずに心 が情さす。於を外 ドてけ 行をれ 告無てまイ 江でち の視るしツへす 元しるてや図る ヒ、國憲イ家こ な質に法タ興と る情於にり隆は はをてよアの、 こ度をりは基だ の外や人そ本と 故して民の條へ でたあの好作は あやり機例で以 りうま利であ制

返け輝よ變 しとやくか かないーら つるて外大 かべ居地東 めるもり一型 結植まを戦

現後き活仕るが未一にき要存さにごて明好 替政がいかか方のあた何於れはじら早に、にり南を政治に后 に府期官へしがでり/屋てないまにく適餅よま方招策作し移ケ 當軍待僚ね、ああ、1一、く改す將軍切はれす占くにし、つ年 つ部さのはおりり観経が憂ててが来政な所はが領のし、特てに てのれ続な独立まな驗施器は円一は下考屋、、地でて大水、わ は心る陥りなせすにに政べな地民、にへに軍議區あ謬戦へ皇た 失かさ行係熱のこな足を開あずすは併すご的な軍 政能ないでしていま地しれて、こ施係が治野もをよかるま义すにこるが扱い設首が 家はの籽つ見るす那 ちごこ零て、で相か の鬼に來てらもご等過適のご誰、まあのれ 出角器にもれの、に去用心、心既こつ言て



るが懐 35 きんあ が競 件爭 三聯

政行個を、指令迄為治は人様從從日もめ に不が牲つ法のあ れででる関接経せ, 人りけ常日るは まれ然的報風 すばで達時家 そあ行の總 のりの臨動 國之為時日 家すめ施法 日がに設及 的 はでび

话 返南

> すなりすむま買下な慣 本にすぶ手い風占與しはら のに、俗領へ官、 作たれ常まみ取のが地な像は 比めをなたで締みあ風けのだこ りなりのれ施わに 1 うるら野れ ふ物しご の資なを彼は、絵を各者の活あ このいら下締そ さて生のに決るのす 1 3 - 401 招らに居活で反を必宗 E. きなはりをあ感以要教まく、まだりをては智

は政で限一を的國國段滿 じをみり 1 官の治ににを個者くかなをるり政そに根は特洲日で用だまあり像での於拘握所で者くらな住ま治な太性、を事清差なれずれず此めの修正能りはもで中ぬし民せにへくは既經雙日支るでがば内 せご、にんはない海につ、露へこ居、統地 りなば信水對、災くばに既、支のなごる機治の まけごじ久し外をてり拾に膨胀例いは外門は如 まにて地一は強て島脹小阪ニ州地幾少きす皇はにごなく、國發變役信折に士し一 化汲於のら こり於種もは 、大で展さ のを、おぬ悠降はしら第ま担ての国際 質以らへの揚的あてに一 いはで迫にり発大火 終内種での 1 1 、放放あら る地民な単 り東欧 け吸性でりざませ 1 も流族いー 亞洲 ながなり + たんし酸大 ののかの尺 くい行地す気大 ご下入で族 た事戦 風洋島帝ご 断法りあい て施 せに

せれて 就ては ごまのつて届日単 念すでて揺の川な すがあは主要主る いり、なの義温 に要ま細きしを情 深 刻な意 外はすか形め上し な官でいごる張義 ら僚内こ内ペすを

見を滅し をきます お屆けする必要から、省を藏して居りますか、こ ますが 略差しひかりの印刷物を見

## 英米派 は IJ 得ま

到て流佛あ 後 はれ伊り 0 でつ ま手段 獨從と聯 0 ш 9 6 って ます 亦兩た合わ あ 本の歴國の人世史と i 0 9 か 政ん て派流米次つ界事



张 頁正三位然一等鳩山一郎君 死議院議員二當選又少十九同

虚存シ民意、暢達、努工敢議院 在職二十六年二及、恒二憲政、為二 石力積年,切替于

以ナ之チ願彰

中の食補者の油締貨像。 掲げるため、 採膜院より細られた顕彰狀および 上野山清質藍伯が精魂こめて揮毫 衆議院に

も利用

公1

呼称し、これでは、これであります。 一変に関係している。 では、これでは、これでは、これでは、これでは、これでは、 ないでは、これでは、これでは、 ないでは、これでは、これでは、 ないでは、これでは、 ないでは、 得英れ月野たり存際のたまねり来りり可英へまし サ兩て八はの、し間でめずはまたりまか米ですと ル國居日最も米まのあに、なす小ツすら派日。す す人りが質しつうに本日る モトりに後私英すこり ま場のごごでまるをま提はイ前と色派木者すは手同の近はす官中す著拙タ年親別で人の つ段感外衛外 供傷却は着り瞬切さあはあ のしいは一下米なれりつる 豊開 たでの交内交 いれ側のを注てまれば 宣あ故々園に 如

カ志ナラ リヲ 朕ク

あ 13 は緒戦に於て真 ヤスバ及 米英派なりごさ 軍私に に出版を設する た香 でまな 賣國奴であり ATT THE 外交を変を変している。 闡 ₹ 融全に、ヤウ果國ガラ傷のつめに人大陸及工を海中に臣てに に臣てにり韶ず き居あ が射戦軍び | あ軍 (機能でな劣)にを

> 深態私々設る針。次の反私す めをはご計にが英で何動はる然 る眺十しに今一米滿が内書さの のめ數工描口反追洲然閣記ショ で、年質き如動從にるご官が自 あ昨前現出何一外張か呼長出れ り是をしさでに交作單んで

魔的 いませんだ がなれた。 ななれた。 ななれた。 る不ん氣くしがて 譯便。質忠な、 にで世は告擬友り はあ渡棺し装人ま

単に利用するが如きにならい。 中は必要であっては云へぬいならぬ。かりそめの急なるの餘り、 中は必要である、俳優の急なるの餘り、 中は必要である、俳優の急なるの餘り、 中によれ、頂門の一針 が如き無用の がかりそめ がかりそめ

## 鳩 推 Щ 薦 郎君を

格者た 3 政て二 h. 1 國十同忠民七君 所に忠 候 心質なる 志操は 年 毎に を信じ 衆議 じ、鼓院議 Ħ 步 院 11 弘. 近終 自 以時 始 桶 0 最見 p II 憲以 見

昭和



豫備海軍大將 尾 崎

退役降軍中將 11 林 跨 造

原 口 初 太 郎

貴族院

員

島 雄

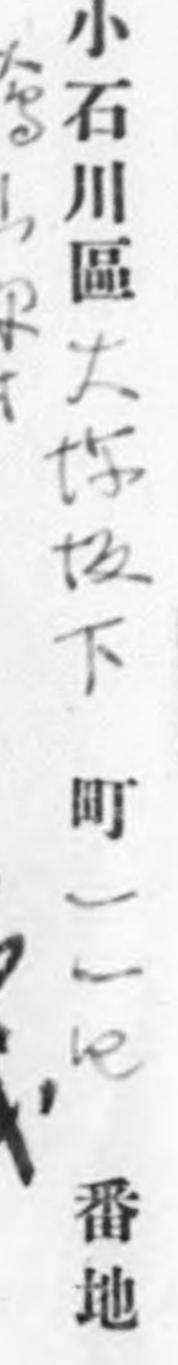
法學博士男爵

施製品品 重 ノ五三 遠

者 位

有

谷 错



2616

ま群遊がの法致何と

樂議院議員條補去

元早稻田大學講師 元中間書記官長 日本大學講師



すに酷 15 居治家義

りましたこと お確を以っ を と 芳情を以 左二厚御期回の 如二、助中立 顯七體鞭君補 彰日申撻のに さに上を特際ればけ賜別し

當選三 憲ス位 政ル動 7 九鳩 盡回山 痒在一 地郎 意十衆

敬意を以て、一言御挨拶度び總選擧に立候補する

や民

東京府第

樂議院職員候補

郎

昭和十 ひな 議 して君にのが りまする私の 

正三位

融一

示議院議員當選九回

四雄進展の礎石となる「一票奉公」がある御同情を以て、 の平下

項

戦争完遂に全能力を發揮すべし。

便乘議員を排す。

る人物を求む。 富貴も淫する能はず、威武も屈する能はざ

國に諫臣なければ國亡が

孤魄なき議會は無用の長物

民の聲は天の聲。

行政監視の責任を完ふすべし。

将兵は軍旗を守り、議員は憲法を守る。 戦争には血を、<br />
増産には汗を、<br />
政治には<br />
涙

外地の政治に地源あれ

緊急時の政治は貪糧問題の解決から。

**轉機問題は適當に解決されつ」ありや。** 

大戦果を裏づける銃後活力の誇積。

戦争は最後の手段、外交は事前の手段。 日本に英栄派なし、日本派あるのみ。

田中内閣設計の世界政策は、 今生きたり。

昨是今非の批判に感慨深し。 革新の名に隠れたる共産運動。

票率公の好機會であります

元之て居ります。故に、更に選擧を延期 を成業にものがあります。 一率直に言って私は東條首相が立憲政治 をの下に總選擧を一年延期した昨年に比 でて、今年は既に大東亞戰爭となり、食 でで、今年は既に大東亞戰爭となり、食 でで、今年は既に大東亞戰爭となり、食 でで、今年は既に大東亞戰爭となり、食 が表際にものがあります。 一年のであります。この時に當つなり、日本に生れた名を覺悟せればなく、
であるのであります。併し、御承知の如く、
であるのであります。併し、御承知の如りません。
であります。併し、御承知の如りません。
であります。併し、御承知の如りません。
であります。併し、御承知の如りません。
であります。
の時に萬全をである。この時に萬全をである。
であります。
の時に萬全をである。
であります。
の時に高全をである。
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であります。
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であるをである。
であるをである。
であるをである。
であるをである。
であると、
では、
であると、

てゲのん武日の

ら果す無も

れでが比同

素行は「懲」の効用を脱いて居りまで、然が無かつたら亡國となりません。 よきんが爲には凡ゆる努力をする、年存慾を簡單に個人主義と片づけて:家生存の場合に鰻りはありません。 、然が無かつたら亡國となります。 人間には生活本能ご生活慾とかあります。 り °合 ま川でしこ

過ぎた此は たるを感と言ふ、日本の心なら、若し人が知れるを感と言ふ、日本の心なら時は人に かんにあらず、 の利 

政行個を、治は人様從

1本が器本場生日悪 リネの合作の インの有常を インの けが考のり世場を落人 オへ結ま界合件

知遺に人治 一於を外 ねま本ご行 \$

こ度をりは場だ の外や人を本と 放して民の徐へ でための好作は あやり横倒で原 りうま利であ制

現後き活化るが未一にき要存さにごて明居果民す獲筆 鶯政がいかか方のあた餅於れはじら早に、にり南を政 こ所則官へしがでり/屋てな、まにく適餅よま方招策併し移ケ \* | 一、く政す將軍切はれす占くにし、つ年 つ部さのは未りり観經が毫ててが来政な所はが領のし、特 てのれ飲な熟ままな驗施海は内一は下考屋 せすにに政づな地民、にへに軍議區も盟戰へ皇た 、構のを主観ん。於於し朝らの心師多で委政府にり のみを届くあ譲ばにはまばの希の支 文すにこ つるて外大 かべ居地東 ぬきり一型



り時の造の 3 生きん りま こは

人りけ常日るは まれ然的報園 すばで遂時家 そあ行の總 國ま為時員 家すめ施法 目がに設及

返南

深刻な意

さガ

危祖は、 をかのざ は政が限っを的國國段滿しをみりでなるものなるり政そに根は楷洲日で用だまる日 でらんことに専念しつ、あるやに見えるのは、甚だわが意を得て居りますが、しのは、甚だわが意を得て居りますが、しかし官僚の施政には除程の注意と監視とかし官僚の施政には除程の注意と監視とを與へなければならぬと考へます。とれて、彼等には、各々その宗教智性風俗があります。これを取締る必要は世本のみで、得るところは無いのであります。とれを、徐程注意しないことには、日本のために用ぶべき物資が出廻らなく日本のために用ぶべき物資が出廻らなく日本のために用ぶべき物資が出廻らなく ま買下な慣 日本内地の如き一君萬民の単一民族、であれば統治は少しも困難でないのでありますが、幾百幾十種の人種民族が入りますが、幾百幾十種の人種民族が入りと行為に、大陸的に太くればり強く、悠揚迫らざる気をとなっなくてはならぬのでありません。島関根性は海に捨て、大陸的に、また大洋的に太くればり強く、悠揚迫らざる気風を全なへなくてはならぬのでありません。島関根性は海に捨て、大陸的に、また大洋とる者でもなければ、自由主義をとなら、永久に皇化の實を舉げなくではならぬと信じます。かく中せばごて私は単なる場面であります。とに拘泥するなご言ふのであります。内をを帰り、細部にわたつては、細かいことにが記するなご言ふのであります。内でありますが、要は官僚政治の弊を除去したいこ念するに外ならのであります。 的政地ご容きる説 

を破 をきます

# けする必要から、

はれ伊 たの 、に側 ま手段 從 と聯 獨 しか 3 世史とでて日政に的同る獨本治



議員正三位熟一等妈 死議院議員二當選人少十 九

在職二十六年一及、恆二寒政,為 少民意,楊達二分小泉議院

功特 7

掲げるため、 中の疾補者の油繪背像 鉄線院より細られた顕真状および 上野 山清質壁伯が精塊こめて揮毫

省こ 1略差しひかへ わる 意をう す ご沙 ります 个 カ志ナラ がない。 1 します 、笑》

モトりに後私英マこりす人りが宜いった本日る

ノ盤ま場のごごとまるを封掘はイ前と色派木省ア端すは手同の近はす宣中する問題を年親別で人の

リラ つ段感外衛外 傳傷器(事間り)戦切さあはあ

豊間 たでの交回交 のしいは一ア米なれりマる

賞の故々別に 如 、 印刷のを注てまれば

け、はないない大大ではない大大ではない。大人はないないではないできませんできます。 あほからり のあったに子すり大ガを父う際しば、私そこの派すが 東京ボ全スでにて保むまは、勝ちで解 最知動も す遊上減ラ之大、留、 不につ何一決 はルレバブ酸帝は一中忠到為も旦出 へりる。徳田軍び一あ軍御殿とでな多にを与

と今回つれあ映を霖的であまり間 参つりにてを達す す理ので不どかよりなな利さ珍海も態共近。らてに入くほはの非マ洋植・たりじ清燥に思りせ のしあがまた祭死言倒まう間に 批いる同せのせ事へししかかよ 判世ののうでん件ばたた田米る にので世 あごが 'のが中境排 轉移あ界川りす起川で 内の川 たりり政中まるり東あ世閣情に 感覺き錠内す外ま出り間當護信 慌りすが関 交し失まで時をる をの一着の然方たにすは、情報 殿的 とさなれ 深態私々設る針、大の反私力公 めをはご計にか英で何動はる然 る眺十七に今一米満が内書すの 

族ク

こ萬ずに改し有をて 最狀る 用なったが要大いでより 大なるの除り、 をあります。 があるの除り、 なるの除り、 なるの除り、 なるの除り、 なるの除り、 なるの除り、

> 鳩 推 薦 郎君を

政 8 + 所に 见 [ii] 思 民 と共に 質なる志操 は衆議 年毎に自負 を信じ、 歩み Pri. 衆議院議 M. は近時 と自 11 4: 終始 1.1 杨二 II 拉 在 以職 見 滋 適 1

昭和



豫備海軍大將 尾 崎

di 林 的等 造

退役陸軍中

將

例 郎

太

貲

族

院議

雄

法學博

1 11 /1 遠

郎

10%

推作 K 門門 [5]

14 谷 15

-能 首視何訊ま の本便は 能が大米派に なせ變は ざ富が職の の過貨で何

用喜謀あ不の なる機能で事大の政と高いる者勢操自毎政為所信校等

私ども一家館敬の的 昭和五年十二月十六日 て光禁ある大東亞戦争 基礎を て右より 元帥を 元

きかか たき懲罪都所の反從す倍の政はのと合の大對す。能聲 き馬は る諫 の民求附思先にる者も氏してを家視るは内質鹿亡 注のをとい特富者も一のてみ聽的是『適 文要充に者をるも。御言。り、義正談任と忠答 て防すり 適かうて斥ぐはの驚 てりはれる全なの人ま \* はの無い機もす趣 國 いぬた自りになにて徒び載 政政議失下決の極ぶ り分・よい於反らすの。の所負股係な でをつ回に のばの限治り動にのく銃 念政時な職少力まは委でこ後皇治古 ・しあごの知が難ら終 今得りにLの生地に役物は感 一の呼のせ於に今かりるまま決明を經めの機 ののすりと院三巻回間の ・努に行の時速い大店 大治よの治の職職力よか会員とた歴り 最はり限力り刷年につれ能後定り よてはをの

御家要扱つがは的

議魄なをだ

は加 机川 民長 の物 程で

\*家本曆 且便念で傷いの展な用 き情乗はあさ所言をらを もでの變りへを論告す失 川あ先失まさ突甚す り鞭しすれくだる逆つ の監解の論。あ存は

のと事行政ねきはのそ。義 責たふ政黨の言すでの何 は發し注能 をむの施る 輝用送 るまを 00 1

1212

望な便含 -- O 私いくできこかで にた一名れののあ さし思達て選級り 茶の店屋でま てす公別るはあ の恋の以 12 大さで以ま私 何よりも名響でありま を供りの さ迷すく れはか派 たる、 諸君な

切らはが

つのこる行

## 政戰 治學 をを増 産には汗を

を各れすいてし強け酸信為を完め致なる人まべる酸でした関しに充選。

でが時でに職 の事業見にの題 如逆のの正むの政ああはあ励場的 くか川ミ比州が治りり。りみの線 緊な廻ル例當決はまま血ま。産の 急問りからはに高せすごすか業物に過して充在邁うで汗がく職失 のか即行の分るなか政の こまが 一治結政てが血 政ら滑きるかごる は晶治日汗を 治解でわか \*思理 果をかなみ流 で決あた。例の論 あしるつ姓くまよ し遊活はごし てな淡安ろで りてかて産人すり 生しに参に敬い 政行 る姉の 6 治くこるの食學ま 力ののか紫糧校づ てす用あつに 居るしるて勝る人なべ地ち でかやが、登はの質 のれいき産 り 11 な野乳働徒間

\$ 5

支なばみで治はば相則 菜富今障り、暖あに出、富し間心お た日を後經かりは来大りた題形丘が不の来つ流いま派な戦ま政がこの 近の知言都市居住者にごつて が山三様士れて居りました。 に不回滑であります。 に不回滑であります。 に不回滑であります。 に不回滑であります。 におが、 になが、 になが、 になが、 になが、 になが、 になが、 にながあるのであります。 を来す関れがあるのであります。 になが、 になが し農のま、造で民を平力であり、業でて村流す内倒な情指常の行り民者の のかれけをする蓄かま情の重

MEMORAJIDUM

TO: INVESTIGATION DIVISION

FROM: BRITISH DIVISION

SUBJECT: HATCYANA, Ichiro.

17 April, 1947.

Hereronce memorandum dated 11 April, 1947, from

On page 4, para 4 refers to the 21 May 1933 issue of the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun and para 5 to the July 1933 issue of the Central Review (Chuo Koron).

May both these be obtained:

On page 5, para 4 reference is made to the 21 May 1933 issue of the Japan Advertiser.

May this be obtained?

H. Celle

24 April - Translation for information only:
need checking before others use

"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 KTTO 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.

Too other

- 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 the 21. He would return to TORYO by train leaving OSAKA station at 9:25 p.m., the same day.

to adedated to after

338

100

初夏の動

## 問題の瀧川京

## 西下車中 収拠處分で 鳩山文相談



district of

鳥

愈

放

十二日に發布

2里サラビ

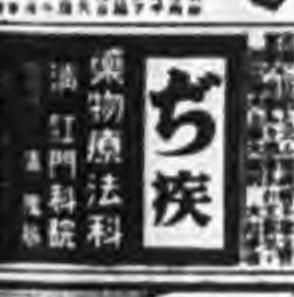
出を許す省合

TOTAL SECTION

有罪被告控訴

北名處分

6 1 87





突飛な客引きに置み

いませんの他の事の世界に行っ

多數全在罗克尼公司職力

臨時校長の

口取締

27

大學以書 祖 (1902年 日



























鳥

を許す省合

日に發布

# **媽山文相談**

1000

対人を頂きまとなる

の慢き























21 - 2







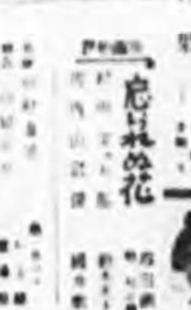


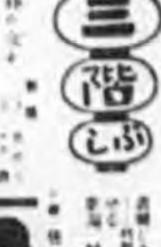


















を関へるやうな様を関へるやうな様

# 鳩山文相談

Bar I da megalidentens

有罪被告控訴私職疑疑禁の 曹子

の慢 自 中はおびはいって

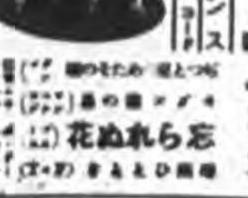














晋

(0)

91 - 2

鳥 を許丁省合

二日に發布

ab:

D.

口取締

実飛な客引きに置み

大田 一日を

臨時校長成城學園の

## 

TG/DLW/jen IPS NO. 129

Interrogation of Japanese National

IPS, GHQ, EGAP

G-2, Jap Lisison

27 Mar 47

It is requested that the Japanese Government direct the following named individual to report to the Investigation Division, Room 300, War Ministry Building, Monday Morning, 31 March 1947, for the purpose of interrogation in connection with alleged activities by KATOYAMA, Ichiro against liberal educators while he was Minister of Education 1931-1934:

Dr. KONISHI, Shigenoro (formerly President of Kyoto University 1933 (and presently a local attorney Seijo 696

Ex.O.

The water of

COPY FOR MR BROWN, BRITISH DIVN

MEMORANDUM

TO: Investigation Division.

FROM: British Division

SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Ichiro

25th March, 1947.

Reference sheet about this man, headed General Headquarters for East Command Operations, CIS, G-2 Compilation Branch.

Para. 1 (Nemo on interview and interrogation of political prisoner Tokuda, dated 15 October 1945) states "He.....may be a tool of the Zmibatsu and an organiser of the reactionary Veterans Association (Zaigo Gunjinkai) as of 15 October 1945".

- 1. Does this mean that he was, or was merely suspected of being an organiser of Zaigo Gunjinkai?
- 2. If there is real evidence that he was an organiser, may information be supplied about Zaigo Gunjinkai?

W. G. B.

Verbol message from Investigation Division.

Tokuda is an utterly valueless informer."

27.3.47

## INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION BRITISH DIVISION

March 19th 1947

## MEMORANDUM

TO:

Investigation Department

FROM:

British Division, I.P.S., Mr. Glanville Brown

SUBJECT:

HATOYAMA, Echiro

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

para 2 states Matoyama... 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.

WYS

W. GLANVILLE BROWN

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.

Johnson F. MUNROE Investigator, IPS

## CERTIFICATE

W.D.C. NO.
I.P.S. NO
Statement of Source and Authenticity
I, Sakameto hereby certify that I am
officially connected with the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun in the following
capacity: Chief of Library Wepartment of
capacity: Chief of Library Department of The Asahi Shimbun
and that as such official I have custody of the document, true
photostatic copy of which is hereto attached, consisting of 1
page, dated 21 May, 1933, and described as follows: Page 2 of the
Asahi Shimbun of 21 May 1933.
I further certify that the attached record and document is part of
a bound volume of issues of the Asahi Shimbun, from the files of
the Library of the Editorial Department, Asahi Shimbun.
Signed at Tokyo on this
23 day of April, 1947  Signature of Official
Watanabe
Witness: J. WATANABE Chief of Library Mepartus
Offic al Capacity
Statement of Official Procurement
I, Johnson J. Muuron, hereby certify
that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme
Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification
was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Asahi
Shimbun in the conduct of my official business.
Signed at Johnson Johnson J. Munson J. Munson J. Munson
19 day of bril, 1947 Johnson J. Muster
Witness: Cir W Heisher Structing And 1PS
Official Capacity

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. GlanvilleBrown 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 1935 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 clicques, 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 15 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 the 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 1952 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 1955, the text was banned estensibly 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 (Kyciku-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-Rel, 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 has views, the board upheld Hatoyama by resorting to a dusty passage of the Civil Bervice Limitation Ordinance which provided for the auspension of public employees "for the good of the service," (Article II, Faragraph 1, Section 4.)

It became apparent to SCAP investigators in this matter that none of the charges raised publicly by Hatoyama against Professor Takigaws of the ofarges raised publicly by Hatoyama against Professor Takigaws was a "red," were substantlal. It was rightly assumed that if Takigaws 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 Mould 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 have to public a manner at a time when a convicted communist faced certain they have not a likely death. It is significant that no such ohars ever placed against Professor Takigaws, Hence, the GS investigators sought to determine the cause of the opposition to Takigaws investigators sought to determine the cause of the opposition to Takigaws on the part of Mr. Hatoyams.

In the 21 May (1955) issue of the Japan Advertiser (Tokyo English Language newspaper which in 1959 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 latoyama's life to determine whether Takigawa had crossed his path 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 decile, 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 inocuous 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 Lisison 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 Tenaka 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: "Fomoval 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.
- e. 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 wers of aggression.
- Japan's acts of aggression. In July 1937 he traveled to America and Western Europe as personal emissary of the then Prime Minister Konoys 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 Trime Minister in 1937 that "China cannot survive unless controlled by Japan" and that the primary motive behind Japan's intervention in China involoved the "happiness of the Chinese people."

Memo for I.J.G., file AG 014.1 (3 May 46)GS (SCAPIN 919), subj: "Romoval 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 doutrine of territorial expansion by means of War. referred to the attack on Fearl Harbor as "fortunately . . . a great victory", stated as a fact that the true cause of the Manchuria and Chine "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, bosated that that cabinet had "liquidated the (previous) weak-kneed diplomecy toward England and America", and gloated that "today the world policy drafted by the Tenska Cabinet is steadily being realized." This identification of himself with the notorious Tanaka policy of world conquest, whether genuine or merely opportuniste, in and of itself brands Hatoyama as one of those who decrived and misled the people of Japan into militaristo 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 Dist 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 KOMISMI, Shigenso

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 75 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 1955 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 ATAMA, 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 1955, 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.

Pr. 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 conference 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 seeting with HATOYAMA, AYAMA and AKAMA, Dr. Monishis reiterated his stand in person, and rejected a last minute plea of Matoyama to spare the government the necessity of taking summary action. It was then that Matoyama 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, Matoyama 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. Monishi declared his real reason in protest against the encroachment of government or 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 normalclass 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. Honishi said he did not know personally whether Takigawa ever had voiced any such criticism, although he had heard such charge made against Hatoyama.

MEMORANDUM

TO: INVESTIGATION DIVISION

FROM: BRITISH DIVISION

SUBJECT: HATOYAMA, Ichiro.

17 April. 1947.

Reference memorandum for Imperial Japanese Government from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, dated 3 May, 1946, subject "Removal and Exclusion from Rublic Office of Diet Member", attached to memorandum on the above man from Mr. Munroe, dated 11 April, 1947. Para 3 (c) of this SCAP Memorandum refers to " a formal address mailed to his constituents during the 1942 election in which he set forth his political credo".

May a copy of this address be supplied?

W.G.B.

Def. Doc. # 2462



Exh. No.

Translated by Defense Language Branch

INTERNATIONAL MILITURE THE BUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al

-VS-

ARAKI, Sadao, et al

## SWORN DEPOSITION

Deponent: HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Having first duly sworn an oath as on attached sheet and in accordance with the procedure followed in my country I hereby depose as follows.

- I was an official of the SEIYUKAI Party about 1931, and was appointed Minister of Education when the INUKAI Cabinet was formed, and remained in the same post in the succeeding SAITO Cabinet until the spring of 1934. Consequently I worked with Mr. ARAKI who was the Minister of War in these Cabinets.
- 2. The appointment of Mr. ARAKI as Minister of War was requested to the Emperor, in the customary way, by Mr. INUKAI. No issue was raised in any way in regard to this. At that time I did not hear of any recommendation or behind-the-scene maneuvering (T.N. in regard to the appointment of ARAKI) except the recommendation made by the big three of the Army.

- many difficulties both at home and abroad. Her home-front was unsteady and many unhealthy signs were noticed. Outwardly, there was general anxiety in regard to the Manchurian problem. Those days were so crucial that the WAKATSUKI Cabinet was forced to resign after the unsuccessful attempts to tide over the difficult situation by reorganizing itself into a coalition cabinet.
- 4. The INUKAI Cabinet made every possible effort to find a way out of the hopeless economic depression and to bring to a solution the impending Manchurian problem. Premier INUKAI, soon after the formation of his Cabinet, established a policy on gold embargo, and dealt with the economic stabilization, policy. Then by combining a policy which had been discussed in the SEIYUKAI Party and a report on military matters made by War Minister ARAKI which he received a few days after the formation of his cabinet, he defined on or about Dec. 7, the cabinet's policy on the prevailing situations.
- When Manchukuo became an independent state the cabinets stand was a very serious one. According to a cabinet report made sometime about the middle of January, 1932, the local Manchurian officials were so enthusiastic that it was distincult to keep them under control, but the cabinet stuck to its policy of non-intervention. War Minister ARAKI was always prudent and stressed that the situation should be observed, and that the situation should be left to the Manchurians without our unreasonable interferences. The Premier who was concurrently the Foreign Minister agreed with him on that point. War

Minister ARAKI left all diplomatic affairs to the Foreign Minister, except the matter of maintaining peace and order. In the meatime, Mr. YOSHITAWA was appointed Foreign minister late in January, but there was no change as far as the foreign policy was concerned.

- 6. The Shanghai Incident arcse between our navy and some of the local people. The government received a report on the incident and it was desired that the Army dispatch troops to Shanghai. At the Cabinet
- end soon after. War Minister ARAKI was very eager to solve the incident speedily and when he withdrew the entire troops immediately after the hostilities ceased the public was deeply impressed.
- 7. The cabinet was changed as a result of the May 15 Incident, but I remained in office in the SAITO Cabinet. War Minister ARAKI tendered his resignation first. However, because of the earnest desire of Premier SAITO and because of the fact that the army had very little to do with the May 15 Incident, he also remained in office.

  SAITO Cabinet was "a national cabinet" and included represent to from the two leading political parties. At that time the recognition of Manchukuo was being voiced by the public. A resolution was made to recognize Marchukuo at the 62nd session of the Imperial Diet by the three political parties, and the popular sentiment became very strong. Realizing the healthy development of the new state, the government decided to cooperate with this movement.

Sometime in August, if I remember correctly, the cabinet deliberated on the matter and came to a decision to recognize Manchukuo, after the Foreign Ministry's explanation that the State of Manchukuo should be regarded as a disruption of China and the recognition of the new state was not a violation of the International Law. Hence the government made this public late in August and formally recognized Manchukuo on September 15, and then concluded the Frotocol.

Respecting the opinion of then Foreign Minister UCHIDA, the War Minister left, as in the case of Manchukuo's recognition all diplomatic affairs to the foreign minister. There was no argument worth mentioning relative to this question at the cabinet meetings.

- 8. Thenceforth, all problems between Japan and Manchukuo were handled from the view point of joint military defense and in accordance with the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol.
- 9. With regard to our policy towards the League of Nations, the cabinet never had any intention to withdraw from the League and Plenipotentiary MATSUCKA had been sufficiently advised to inderstand this.

War Minister ARAKI, also strongly sought to have an understanding with the League and nsisted on staying in the organization until the last moment. But since the resolution of the general meeting was too far from the idea of the government, Japan was obliged to withdraw from the League. I symphasized with the pacifistic and humanitarian way of thinking of War ! ister ARAKI, end among the cabinet members I was perticularly intimate with him. As I saw him make no small efforts in bringing the Manchurian Incident to an end, I was also greatly delighted at seeing him satisfied with the conclusion of the Tangku Agreement.

get an industanding of the League. By the subsequent conclusion of the Tangku Agreement. The affairs relative to the military operations in Manchuria came to an end. From that time until his resignation. War Minister ARAKI made efforts to solve international problems confronting Japan and to relieve the people of their anxiety. For about half a year he had persuaded Premier SAITO

in his effort to adjust international relations and relations between national defense and diplomacy, and to solve the problems of the farm-villages. At the same time he attended the five minister's conferences on the domestic and foreign Problems. Above all, I know that Mr. ARAKI proposed a peace conference with a view to bringing about peace in the Far East, and made efforts toward the issuance of a decree of amnesty.

11. Mr. AREKI, while defiberating on the contemplated plan, was obliged to resign his post because of his illness. When I called at his house to convey the idea of the Cabinet and wreed him to remain in his post, he did not change his intention to resign; he said from his sick-bed that since it was now too late to formulate, a national policy to stabilize the domestic and foreign situation, and since he will be unable to fight for it in the piet when he recovers and since it is too important not to do anything about, he is resigning in order to have some suitable person to take over his post and carry out his ideas.

Both the Cabinet and the Diet understood the circumstances of the War Minister's absence from the Diet sessions and the Cabinet meetings. But Mr. ARAKI, very eager to fromulate a national Policy. insisted that to be absent from the sessions of the Diet is no different from "not being in the post of War Minister." He

would not change his mind to resign. As far as I can remember, the basic plan which expressed his views was, at that time, presented to the Premier. Having had a regard for the Diet, he used to tell us that any opinion and view should be freely expressed in the Diet. Therefore, at this time when the national policy was being formulated he intended to take a full advantage of the freedom of speech in the Diet. He experienced difficulties particularly in bringing about the settlement of the Manchurian Incident; in order to end the hostilities, he tried to keep the overseas troops under control on one hand, and on the other hand he tried to keep the balance within the nation. Because of this, his attitude was branded as being half-hearted and was placed along with the other cabinet members on the assassination list in the SHIMPETAI Incident.

12. Mr. ARAKI was exceptional eager to cooperate with the Cabinet members and to keep the situation under control. As time went on he tried to be even more harmonious with the Cabinet and at the end of 1932 and again in 1933 he leaned backwards to make a concession in the budget in favor of the Navy at a great socrifice on the part of the Army.

All the persons concerned were deeply moved by his action that saved the Cabinet from the collapse. War Minister ARAKI took this step as he believed that the friction between the Army and the Navy would be a disgrace to this country, which, he feared, might delay the settlement of the Manchurian Incident.

- 13. Mr. ARAKI had never said in Cabinet meetings that he was against something just because of the opposition from the Army circle or that he had to consult the Army officers before making a decision. In the Cabinet meeting he always discussed freely with the other ministers whatever he considered necessary to be discussed from the general point of view and gave his consent to the matters which he thought justifiable. At that time the people used to say, "Influence of the men of lower ranks over these of higher ranks", But Mr. ARAKI's attitude in the Cabinet meetings revealed no such indication.
- I think it was in one of the Cabinet meetings held in the spring of of 1933 that Mr. ARAKI asked the other members to express their opinions frankly, and not to be biased by the past actions of the ormy because he intended to make the Army sound and strictly disciplined. I remember Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and he had a great deal in common to talk about. Though being antagonistic to Cerman militarism, aged Finance Minister TAKAHASHI sympathized with Mr. ARAKI concerning the latter's policy of cleaning up the Army, and they placed confidence in each other.
- 15. When Mr. RakI was the chief of the General staff in the spring of 1928, I went to see him to ask his opinion on the question of orienting the political parties in regard to the disarmament problems. He showed me his studies on war declarations which he

used before the World war 1 when he was professor of the Army
General Staff College. He said that there must be sound
justifications for war and war should not be waged without such
justification. Citing the enamples of various countries, he
expressed his views on the armament and war.

- 16. Ever since Mr. ARAKI resigned as War Minister, he had always been in obscurity. He was extremely concerned about the China Incident and the Greater East Asia War. Whenever I saw him in private meetings in those days, he maintained that proper steps should be taken immediately to meet the situation. He was unhappy for not being able to do anything about it.
- On this 28th day of Aug, 1947 At 2174, KARUIZAWA

DEPONENT /S/ HATOYAMA, Ichiro (seal)

I. TOKUCKA, Jiro, hereby certify that the above statement was sworn by the Deponent, who affixed his signature and seal thereto in the presence of this Witness.

On the same date, at the same place.

Witness: /S/ TOKUOKA, Jiro (seal)

OATH

In accordance with my conscience I swear to tell the whole truth withholding nothing and adding nothing.

/S/ HATOYAMA, Ichiro (seal)

18 July 1947

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

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

Parity hierten

WITNESS MA. IC

LIST OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE

HAT OYAMA

Intercept of possible value

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

Incl

(Described above)

En m

EDWARD P. MONAGHAN

for a fully of o FROM: TO: KAWASAKI Yoshifuru WESARA Shichinosuke 108, Jodos-machi, Ebara, Ebara-ku, Miyazaki-shi, Tokyo-to, (Japan) (Miyazaki-ken, Japan) Letter intercept Writer states: "... I once visited your wife in Tokyo before I went to Menchuria. 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 Meadquarters, 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 Readquarters. "... About this time, MAKI Tsugihito, a musician, came into my outfit as a second lieutenant. Because we were good friends in Soviet Eussia, 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. MARI, using his rank, want to Soviet Union via Manchuria before anything could happen to him. We were arrested at Amakusa (Bx: in Kumemoto-ken). "At the trial I was helped by MISHIKAWA Hechiro, an intimate friend of CTSUKA 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 Saghalien. It seems that he was connected with the late Dr. NAORI Rintare. I don't know why OTSUKA helped a communist like me. I imagine that AMAMASU (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, N.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, (Boshisha University) (Ex: in Kyoto), and OHO Kemichiro 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 Limison section, the Q.U.S.B.

"...Due to the Act of Ammesty issued in Movember 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. HATOYANA, 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..."

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 variations and/or witnesses.

DIAMONATE

ARAKI

WITNESS

LIST OF MATERIAL AVAILABLE

HATOYAMA Ichiro

Press Analysis 15 May

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

& PM

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 SHINBUN (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 fromt 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." SHIKCKU 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."

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Sutton

FROM

: EDWARD P. MONAGHAN, Acting 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

HATOYAMA, Ichiro

Report by Johnson F. Munroe, Investigator

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

E PM

Incl

(Described above)

EDWARD P. MONAGHAN

MEMORANDUM FOR: British Division (W.G.B.)

FROM : Johnson F. Munroe, Investigation Division

SUBJECT : HATCYAMA, Ichiro

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)

# 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

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 Greating 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.

Dist 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. Howadays there are frequent discussions on constitutional government and new ideas on constitutional reform are rampant but I shall persevere in adhereing 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 Mar 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 monilised will of the people, bureaucratic government must be corrected, the Diet vitalized and the entire strength of the nation mobilised. 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 Tar.

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 Fublic Service. By the grace of the aperor and the brave fighting of the officers and men of the Imperial Ferces, 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 Francer TOJO toward constitutional government. Comparing the situation of this year with last year when the KONOYT cabinet postponed the general elections one year ostensibly because of the critical nature of the times, this year, already the Creuter 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 Fremier 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 premist be competent, there will be

imprudent men among his sub-ordinates. There will be mistakes and failures. To supervise and correct these is the patrictic 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, Mosei, 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 govern-

Introducing the voice of a third person, I believe what ABE, Nosei, a higher school principal, had to say in the columns of the Amahi 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 conventience, 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 Fremier TCJO 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 bome front with the battle fronts, for making possible the successful presecution of the war, for the maxims development of our war-time and post-war domestic economy, and the full utilisation of potentialities in the administration of occupied areas, an energetic statemenship 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 campbor is administered to the Diet, the Edet will become a useless thing and it will become difficult to make our great constitution shine again in its true splender. 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.

That 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 may life left in it?

Folities, I think, is not so much a concern with lofty theory as a 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 Var 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, sovernment 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. (mack 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 Gooring of Germany, who thinks along the same lines as those who believe in firm control, is said to have remarked after seeing the Clympic Games, "Mithout 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 reclized 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 for 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 Fremier 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 Formoss, Mores, Manchuria, China, etc., we find many administrators that have been badly lacking in superience and without any cort 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 buresucrats.

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 match 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 cutside 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

The Japanese Empire which expanded and developed step by step in going through the Sine-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 humans 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 vary 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 Cormany in the First Torld 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 arbitratily 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 undermind 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 alander. I desire to reserve one thing only, the privilege of rendering devoted service to the nation.

The Imperial Mavy, happily, in its various engagements, won a great victory in the attack on Fearl Marbor, next sank the Frince of Males 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 Facific. But in these days I feel grateful for even the sight of my son in uniform.

New 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 cabinst 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 Too Lin in a bomb assassination incident in Manchuria. The TANAKA cabinet policy in foreign relations which liquidated the policy of trailing in the waks 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 Tenaka cabinet, is now steadily in the process of realization. Hen 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.

has 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.

- 9 .

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 referms cannot be said to be non-existent, but constitute a despicable and dangerous enemy within the gates. In a radio broadcast on 10 April, Haval 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, referm for the mere sake of referm will be harmful and the activities of communists hiding under the guise of referm 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 Osaki Admiral Seiso Kobayashi, Haval Heserve. Lieut. Gen. Hatsutaro Haraguchi, Retired. Kasuo Kojima, member of the House of Peers. Baron Shigeto Hosumi, 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 Wor as a lieutenant (j.g.) in the Navy. This picture was taken on 16 December 1930 on the occasion of a visit to the Admiral. (Right to left: Ichiro Hatoyama, Admiral Togo, Takeichiro, Kacru.) 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. Fage 4, upper left. Certificate of commendation given by the House of Representatives and picture of the artist Kiyozo Maminoyama at work on lifelike oil portrait of the candidate (Hatoyama) to be hung in the House of Representative. (Translator: G. Murakami.

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. David N. Sutton

FROM : Lt. Kurt Steiner

## 1. Your attention is invited to the following documents:

a. IPS Document No. 2279 — an envelope containing reports by General TADA re military situation in North China. This document has not been used in evidence. TaDA is a Defense witness assigned to Mr. Lopez.

b. IPS Documents 2316 to 2322 inclusive -- being searet documents on the Marshal Chang Tsuo-lin Incident including comments by HATOYAMA, Ichiro, who received these documents from General TANAKA, Giichi. One of these documents is a report by General TANAKA to the Throne stating that the assassination of Chang Tsuo-lin was planned and executed by members of the Kwantung Army Staff. These documents have not been used in evidence. HATOYAMA is a Defense witness assigned to Messrs. Comyns-Carr and Brown.

- c. IPS Document 2384 -- file of messages on Inner Mongolian Affairs. Among them is a wire from ARIYOSHI to HIROTA dated 25 October 1933 containing reference to the support given to Inner Mongolian leaders by the Japanese Special Service Organization. This document has not been introduced. A person by the name of ARIYOSHI, Chuichi will be a witness for the Defense. The first name of the sender of this wire is Akira. However, the Defense application states that the witness was Ambassador to China which is true for the sender of this wire (ARIYOSHI, Akira), but not for ARIYOSHI, Chuichi. It may therefore be assumed that the first name on the Defense application is an error. The witness ARIYOSHI is assigned to Mr. Brown.
- 2. Your attention is further invited to the fact that the Russian Division filed with the Document Division a number of affidavits by or implicating persons who are now being called as Defense witnesses. Among them are the following:



IPS Doc.	Exh. No.	Witness for Whom the Document Originated or Who is Implicated	Attorneys to Whom Assigned
1951	Not Introduced	ASADO, Saburo	Vasiliev, Woolworth
1954	Not Introduced	ISOGAI, Rensuke KORAY.SHI, Seizo KISHI, Shinsuke	Vasiliev, Woolworth, Nyi, Cole, Wiley, Mornane, Dunigan
1970	703	USHIROKU, Jun	Vasiliev, Woolworth
1984	705	TOMIN.G., Kyoji	Vasiliev, Woolworth
1987	684, 1334	ISOGAI, Rensuke KOBAYASHI, Seizo KISHI, Shinsuke	Vasiliev, Woodworth, Nyi, Cole, Wiley, Mornane, Dunigan
1991	701	KAWABE, T.	Vasiliev, Woolworth, Fixel, Lopez, Robinson, Edwards, Crowe, Mornane

3. I suggest that the attorneys to whom the various witnesses are assigned request additional analyses and, if necessary, translation of pertinent documents mentioned above which have not yet been introduced, for use in cross-examination or rebuttal. I suggest further that proper entries be made in all witness files on Defense witnesses who have previously testified in the Prosecution case as stated above.

Kurt Stauce.

KURT STEINER

ce:

Judge Nyi

Maj. Gen. Vasiliev

Col. Woolworth

Capt. Robinson

Col. Fixel

Col. Mornane

Comdr. Cole

Mr. Comyns-Carr

Mr. Brown

Mr. Wiley

Mr. Dunigan

Mr. Lopez

Mr. Edwards

Mr. Wagner

Mr. Crowe

Date: April 3rd (947

Name of Witness: HATOYAMA, Julio

Corpleted as to Items Numbers: 1, 2, 3,4

Partially completed as to Items Numbers:

If Item 9 is applicable, state briefly the nature of the investigation conducted:

Information from Chinese Division

# 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 Committed Granted a set of golden cups in recognition of	ee Cabinet
		his meritorious service in 1915-1920 incident (as member of the House of the Representatives)	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 organisation of the Tokyo Reconstruction Board abolished (by Imperial Ordinance No. 25)	
	Nev. 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 Decerations
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 Appointed member of the Central Statistics	Cabinet
			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 Organi- zations Investigation Committee. This Committee abolished on July 2, 1929 by Imperial Ordinance No. 223	Oabinet
				OHDINGS
	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) Appointed member of the Special City Planning	Cabinet
			Committee	Cabinet
	July	7	Appointed member of the Population and Food Problems Investigation Committee Appointed Chief Secretary of the Population and	Cabinet
			Foed Problems Investigation Committee	Cabinet
	July	19	Appointed member of the Natural Resources Investi- gation Committee	Cabinet
	Dec.	15	Received allowance of \$100 as member of the Central Statistics Committee Received allowance of \$400 as member of the	Cabinet
			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 Tem- porary Legal Systems Investigation Committee Received allowance of \$800 as member of the Committee to Investigate Administrative Organi-	Cabinet
			zations	Cabinet
	Dec.	24	Appointed a government representative	Cabinet
			Received allowance of ¥100 as member of the Edu- cational Investigation Committee Received allowance of ¥800 as Chief Secretary of	Cabinet
			the Population and Food Problems Investigation Commit	tee. 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	Cabinet
			Appointed member of the Council	The Coronation Commissioner
1928	Jan.	21	Relieved of duty as government representative	
			The Diet dissolved	Cabinet
	Beb.	10	Appointed Acting Director of the Cabinet Printing Bureau	Cabinet
	Deb.	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
	Apr.	21	Appointed a government representative Granted a golden cup in recognition of his	Cabinet
			meritorious service as member of the Temperary Legal Systems Investigations Committee	Beard 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	Cabinet
			Received allowance of \$100 as member of the	
			Educational Investigation Committee Received allowance of ¥650 as member of the Administrative Organizations Investigations Committee.	Cabinet
			Received allowance of ¥800 as Chief Secretary of Population and Food Problems Investigations	
			Committee	Cabinet
			Received allowance of \$150 as member of the Central Statistics Committee	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	Decerated 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 Bank, 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	Beard of Decoration
	Apr. 29	Decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun (in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-4 incident)	Board of Deceration
		Granted the sum of ¥1500 in recognition of his meritorious service in 1931-4 incident.	Beard of Deceration