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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

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SUBJECT: Translation of Pamphlet Attacking Masanobu TSUJI.

The attached enclosures are translations of a pamphlet circulated in the Diet by Seikan KAWAGUCHI, former Major General in the Imperial Japanese Army, during the opening week of the Thirty-second Extraordinary Diet session. The object of Kawaguchi's attack, ex-Colonel Masanobu TSUJI, was elected to the House of Councillors elections of June 2, 1959 with the third highest number of votes in the National Constituency. Tsuji, who resigned from his Lower House seat after his expulsion from the Liberal-Democratic Party, ran his Independent campaign on an anti-KISHI platform.

The mutual feud between Kawaguchi and Tsuji dates at least as far back as the wartime era when the two antagonists fell out over a question of strategy in the Guadalcanal campaign. Kawaguchi renewed his attacks on Tsuji when the latter emerged on the political scene in 1952. In the 1955 Lower House elections Kawaguchi campaigned ineffectively against Tsuji in Ishikawa Prefecture.

Kawaguchi's most recent effort to discredit Tsuji was in the form of a demand that Tsuji resign from the Upper House in admission of his alleged responsibility for a variety of particularly horrendous wartime atrocities. In the list of particulars drawn up against Tsuji, Kawaguchi cites his direct or indirect responsibility for 1) the massacre of at least 2,000 Chinese merchants in Singapore, 2) the Bataan Death March, 3) the massacre of 200-300 medical corporals and nurses near Singapore, and 4) the murder of Jose Abad Santos, described as a leading Philippine patriot. In addition to these allegations of criminal acts, Kawaguchi charges that Tsuji 1) adopted mistaken tactics during the Nomonhan operations on the Manchurian-Siberian border, 2) libeled Kawaguchi in his book "Guadalcanal", and 3) bore general responsibility for the defeat in war.

Tsuji's propensity for gaining headlines has kept him in the public eye both during the war when journalists bestowed on him the title "god of strategy" and in the postwar era when his independent, outspoken views have

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often brought him into conflict with the government party of which he was a member. One recent article in the Shukan Bunshu mentioned recurrent rumors that Tsuji was engaged in espionage activities for the Soviet Union and Communist China which he visited in recent years. It is a well-known fact, however, that Tsuji's inability to get along with others has earned him wide-spread enmity of which Kawaguchi's represents only a small portion.

While it is not possible to determine the validity of Kawaguchi's allegations against Tsuji, it appears likely that they contain more than a kernel of truth. More important, perhaps, is the fact that these charges are currently receiving considerable publicity.

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

Harlan B. Clark
Harlan B. Clark
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosures:

1. Translation of Remonstrance (1 page)
2. Translation of Explanatory Notes (6 pages)

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Enclosure No. 1
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Remonstrance to Mr. Masamoto TSUJI,
Member of the House of Councillors
June 22, 1959

1. You, Mr. Tsuji, were the planner, instigator, or executor of the "massacre of Chinese merchants of Singapore", "the death march of Bataan", "the massacre of medical doctors and nurses of the Alexander British Military Hospital in Singapore", "the atrocious murder of the leading government official Santos of the Philippines" and many other acts of atrocity.

For these acts, many of our superiors, colleagues and men were branded war criminals after the end of the war, and were confined to prison for many years, and in extreme cases they were put to death.

Because of your acts of atrocity, our Japanese Army incurred the shameful reputation in the world that it is atrocious. The lingering evil of this shameful reputation is inflicting baleful effects even today on our nation, visibly or invisibly in such forms as effects on trade, etc.

2. You served as staff officer for many years with the Kwantung Army, the Imperial General Headquarters, and other army organizations. You planned and directed rash operations at Honanhan and in the Pacific War. They all failed except the Singapore Operation.

Because of this, hundreds of lives were lost on the field, and materials were wasted. They finally led to the defeat of our Japanese Army. You should realize your responsibility for these matters.

3. In your book, "Guadalcanal", you misrepresented and insulted me and my men under my command. This is inexcusable in a military man.

4. Your actions and statements as a politician in recent years are either playing up to the people or publicity-seeking. There can be found no constructive opinions in what you have said or done. They run counter to our nation's traditional political morality and they are to be despised. You are absolutely without qualifications to be a member of the National Diet.

For the foregoing four reasons, you are advised to resign as member of the House of Councillors forthwith and are urged to apologize for your sins to the world.

Seiken KAWAGUCHI,
Former Major General

12, 1-chome, Honcho-dori,
Tsurumi-ku, Yokohama

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Explanatory Note

Today I advised Mr. Masanobu Tsuji, member of the House of Councillors, to resign immediately. A perusal of the attached remonstrance will make clear the reasons for this advice, but I would like to add a few explanations.

I. Atrocities committed by Mr. Tsuji

(1) Massacre of Chinese Merchants of Singapore

At the time of the commencement of war, Mr. Tsuji was a senior operations staff officer of the 24th Army under the command of General YAMASHITA. Following the fall of Singapore, he drew up an order for the purge of two million Chinese merchants in the Malayan Peninsula and Singapore, claiming that it was necessary for maintaining security, and received the approval of the commanding officer. This order, however, was extremely abstract, and merely ordered the placing of the field military police corps under the command of Major General KAWAJIURA, who was the Commanding General of the Singapore Defense Headquarters and under Lt. General NISHIMURA of the Kanoe Regiment stationed near Singapore. Mr. Tsuji, taking this order with him, personally called on Major General KAWAJIURA and Lt. General NISHIMURA and gave concrete instructions on the methods of liquidation. Concretely, he divided Singapore into six districts and assigned military police, auxiliary military police (infantry men wearing temporarily the arm-band of the military police) and pro-Japanese Chinese.

All Chinese were made to walk in a single file in front of these military police and pro-Japanese Chinese pointed out those who had joined the British Volunteer Army and members or past members of anti-Japanese resistance organizations, such as the Communist Party or the Blue Robe Association. After a summary investigation, they were taken to the seashore and machine-gunned or were roped together, rowed out to sea, and with weights tied on to them, thrown overboard.

The total of Chinese thus killed is said to be estimated at about 10,000 maximum, and even at a minimum estimate, is said to be 2,000. Staff Officer Tsuji made the rounds of these six military police stations, stepped up the liquidations, and witnessed the executions. If there were some who tried to escape, he admonished and egged on the military police and made them carry out the execution.

After the end of the war, Major General KAWAJIURA (had been promoted to Lt. General) and Lt. Colonel OISHI of the Military Police (had been promoted to Colonel) were given sentences of death by hanging by a British military tribunal and Lt. General NISHIMURA was given life

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imprisonment, which, however, was changed to death by hanging by an Australian military tribunal. Besides these three, there were many other Military Police members who were sentenced to life imprisonment and who suffered many years of detention.

(2) The Bataan Death March

Some time after the fall of Singapore, Mr. Tsuji was reassigned as Staff Officer of the Imperial General Headquarters (chief of operations group). Around the time of the fall of Bataan, he arrived in the Philippines to direct the operations. On April 9, he arrived at the 16th Army General Headquarters which was stationed near Mariveles on Bataan. His arrival coincided with the surrender of Major General KING and many other officers of the U.S. Philippine Army, who came down from the mountains to surrender. Mr. Tsuji demanded of the Senior Staff Officer of the 16th Army, Colonel Saburo WATANABE, to kill all the prisoners of war of the U.S. Philippine Army surrendering at the time. Senior Staff Officer WATANABE naturally refused. When the Commanding General of the 16th Army, Lt. General MOHIOKA, heard about this, he was extremely angered, and immediately sent Mr. TSUJI packing. Staff Officer TSUJI who regarded this treatment with great dissatisfaction, sent an order to the commanding officer of supplies who was in charge of the treatment of prisoners-of-war demanding their harsh treatment in the name of the Staff of the Imperial General Headquarters.

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In/May 22, 1959 issue of the weekly magazine Thriller, there appears a conversation between Mr. TSUJI and Masao TOKUGAWA. In this conversation, Mr. TSUJI implied that he, at the request of the Takasago Tribesmen, authorized the brutal chopping off of the heads of about three hundred American soldiers with hunting knives near a mountain gorge (the Panching River which separated the bivouacs of the 16th Army and Para Corps). Mr. TSUJI confessed that this is what is called the Bataan death march.

It should be self-evident, considering the situation which preceded the incident, whether it was the Takasago Tribesmen who requested that they be permitted to brutally kill the white men, or whether Mr. TSUJI on his own initiative issued the order to the Takasago Tribesmen. After the end of the war, the U.S. military tribunal passed a sentence of death by hanging on Logistics Major General KAWANE and Colonel HIRANO. At the detention camp in Manila, Philippines (this was before the military tribunal), I was in the same building with Colonel HIRANO, with our bunks side by side, and Colonel HIRANO repeatedly reproached the methods adopted by Staff Officer TSUJI. He, however, was after all executed.

(3) Massacre at the Alexander British Military Hospital

At the time of the offensive against Singapore, a regiment of British artillery corps set up a line of defense near the Alexander British Military

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Military Hospital and caused considerable casualties for the Japanese Army. Greatly annoyed, Staff Officer TSUJI went immediately to the hospital when Singapore surrendered, and accusing the hospital that the "hospital gave protection to British artillery men with its Red Cross mark" massacred two to three hundred medical men and nurses of the hospital.

After the end of the war, Lt. General MUTAGUCHI was detained in a prison in Singapore and was subjected to investigation. According to Lt. General MUTAGUCHI, he had paid a visit to the patients of the hospital from a purely humanitarian standpoint, but that it was misunderstood by the British military authorities that he had issued the order for the massacre and had come to see the patients later because his conscience gave him no rest.

(4) Murder of Santos, a leading Philippine Official

This incident involves me personally, and as it is a complicated and mysterious affair, I will leave out the details. It happened that Staff Officer TSUJI, after completing his tour of inspection of Batan mentioned above, came to the Military Headquarters at Manila on April 10. I recommended by telegram that a high government official of the Philippines, Jose Abel Santos, whom my men had captured, be used for military administration. Staff Officer TSUJI's reaction to the cable I had dispatched was to issue a strong demand to the Military Headquarters in Manila to "kill Santos immediately", and forced them to issue the order. I tried two more times to save Santos and to take steps to get him to cooperate with our country, but I was unable to oppose the three successive orders from the Military Headquarters and was forced to carry out the execution.

This Santos was an extremely fine gentleman, and if he had been alive, he would very likely have become president. No words can express the loss the execution of such a man means. Because of this, I was sentenced to a six-year imprisonment, and spent seven years and three months in Sugamo Prison and the prison in Montalupa in the Philippines.

(5) Miscellaneous

It is a well-known fact and witnessed by many that Staff Officer TSUJI often killed prisoners-of-war, took out their liver and made his own medicine out of it, and at times encouraged the use of this medicine to others. Around July 23, 1942, I heard with my own ears Staff Officer TSUJI boastfully telling this story at the South Pacific Hotel in Palau and it is something which I shall never forget.

There is another story told about him. At one time, he waved to a Philippine officer, a prisoner-of-war, with his left hand to step up, and when the officer came up to several steps from him, he suddenly shot

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the man with the pistol he held in his right hand and killed him on the spot. He is reported to have boasted that: "This is the way a prisoner-of-war should be treated. I have shown you the correct example."

In short, Mr. TSUJI's acts of atrocity rival those of the Jewish manhunt by the Nazis and the Katyn Forest by the Soviet Union (where a large number of Polish people were killed). German and Soviet atrocities were carried out by an organization, but in the case of Mr. TSUJI, he did it on his own initiative. The Germans confined their acts of atrocity to their own territory, but Mr. TSUJI resorted to these acts in every part of Asia, and the variety of his methods has never been rivaled by man. Nero in the West, and Chieh and Chen of China are regarded as symbols of cruel rulers, but we have not heard that there were any men guilty of such atrocities in Japan at any time in history. There is no doubt that Mr. TSUJI is the man most guilty of atrocities in the whole history of Japan.

It is true that in the last war there were men other than Mr. TSUJI in our Japanese Army who committed atrocities. The major responsibility for the bringing down on the Japanese Army the infamous reputation for atrocities and for destroying the good name and honor of the Japanese Army, however, rests with Mr. Hasegawa TSUJI.

Moreover, his past evils are still exercising baleful effects on trade, etc., and the sins that he has committed, for which Japanese leaders must constantly apologize whenever they visit Southeast Asia and for which Japan must expend more than the necessary amount of the people's blood-tax as reparations to Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, etc., deserve more than a thousand deaths.

II. Responsibility for Defeat in War

Staff Officer TSUJI has been regarded as a "god of strategy", but actually, other than in operations against colonial armies as in the case of the Malayan Peninsula operation, he has always lost when confronting the crack troops of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, and he is not a god but a satan.

For example, in the Komsomol Incident, Staff Officer TSUJI drew up a rash operations plan as the Staff Officer of the Kwantung Army and forced the armed forces to carry it out. In this way, he brought about huge human and material losses. Later, furthermore, after the defeat in the battle, he flung it so that there was no way out for the commanding officer but to take his own life. It is also reported that all non-commissioned officers and the rank-and-file soldiers who had been captured as prisoners-of-war were forced by him to remain in the remote areas of Manchuria and were barred from returning to Japan.

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On Guadalcanal, Mr. TSUJI got himself appointed staff officer of the 17th Army (on-the-spot army) concurrently with staff officer of the Imperial General Headquarters. He came to Guadalcanal and sent the front-line troops out to war to their death, and in this way, the greater part of the Second Regiment and the Kawaguchi Corps died ignoble and useless deaths. Staff Officer TSUJI went out to the front-lines personally and was very active. I admit his courage, but the duty of a Staff Officer of the Imperial General Headquarters is to direct the activities of the Japanese Army from a broader and higher standpoint. On reflection, the decision should have been made to abandon Guadalcanal and withdraw the forces around the time the Kawaguchi Corps failed in its offensive on September 12 and 13. Even so, Japan would probably have been defeated in the end, but even if Japan had to lose the war, there could have been other ways of losing the war. However, until the Imperial Council meeting held in the presence of the Emperor on December 31, 1942, when it was decided that the troops should be re-deployed, Staff Officer TSUJI insisted on carrying out a tough policy. In this way, Japan lost 20,000 lives and consumed a large amount of munitions, thus losing her war potential. From then on, Japan's eventual defeat became more and more evident.

There were two direct causes for Japan's defeat. One was the fact that Japan lost the sea battle off Midway and lost almost all her aircraft carriers. The second was the fact that the Japanese Army held on unnecessarily to the valueless Guadalcanal and lost her fighting power.

For the sake of the nation, I deeply regret, as a front-line troop commander who fought in the battle, that Staff Officer TSUJI did not fulfill his mission as a staff officer of the Imperial General Headquarters by giving cool, dispassionate and wise observations of the general situation but rather ran around the front like a patrol officer.

As a general principle, the concept is right that Mr. TSUJI was only a staff officer and that the final responsibility lay with his superiors. Mr. TSUJI is extremely brilliant and eloquent, both in speech and writing, far exceeding others. In this respect he had charm. As a result, his superiors would succumb to his eloquence and would follow his views. In other words, the superiors became mere robots. Consequently, Staff Officer TSUJI became the virtual commanding officer, the troops would be moved according to his plans, and he was tyrannical over the troops under him. I should add that Staff Officer TSUJI was actually an unusual man and an exception to the norm.

Further explanations will be omitted.

Recently, personality profiles of Mr. TSUJI appeared in the Weekly Bungei Shunju and in the Weekly Asahi, and are drawing the attention of

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the general readers. These articles are on the whole true, but I regret that they do not really touch on the core of the matter. I received insufferable disgrace because of Mr. TSUJI and I have made serious investigations of his past. The more I probed into the matter, the more evidence I found that is a man not to be tolerated.

It should not be permitted that a man like him should be a member of the National Diet. My conscience and my sense of justice will not permit me to tolerate his being elected a member of the House of Councillors through his deception of 680,000 good people with his insufferable words. In particular, I strongly advise Mr. TSUJI to resign as member of the House of Councillors in the name of my past friend Lt. General KAWAHARA who lost his life because of Mr. TSUJI, in the name of the souls of those people who were executed, in the name of the ghosts of my former men who gave up their lives on the southern islands; and in the name of their bereaved families.

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