

31 December 1946
Report by: Henry Shimojima

RESUME OF FILE NO. 185

SASAKAWA, Ryotcht

Serial No. 1 SCAP press release dated 2 Dec 45; Subject was a leader of the Kokusui Taishu To and other ultra-nationalistio organizations.
Serial No. 2 NIPPON Times; Same as serial No. 1.
Serial No. 3 Translation in full of letters dated 20 Nov 45; Sender requests an investigation of subject's activities.
Serial No. 4 File No. O; Japanese Personal Names.
Serial No. 5 CIS Files, reveals the background of the Kokusui Taishu To (Nationalistio Mass Party); Subject's associates have held membership in some of Japan's most Fascistic societies.
Serial No. 6 Missing
Serial No. 7 80th CIC files; Confidential informant reveals that Subject was the actual head of the Kokusui Taishuto. Subject and the Zenkoku Kimroshe Domei might be closely allied with the Nihon Kokuminto of Yoshio Kodama. During the war, Subject had connection with the Army in some kind of civilian capacity as a business agent.

Serial No. 8 Interrogation reports obtained from Special Intelligence Unit. Subject reveals personalities, political parties and other political organizations responsible for the World War II. CIS files; Subject's brief biographical report.
Serial No. 9 Refers case to groups D and E.
Serial No. 10 Interrogation report dated 18 Jan 1946; reveals subject was member of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association; reveals the real purpose of this organization and how it controlled all the people in Japan.
Serial No. 11 Japanese Year Book, 1941-42; Cabinets.
Serial No. 12 Analysis of Doc. Evidence, Doc. No. 585; Subject implicated in the printed leaflet, published by the Kokusui Domei (Ultra-Nationalist Alliance)

Serial No. 14 Summary of evidence; reveals the background of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.
Serial No. 15 Extraction from various files; reveals subject was member of various secret societies.
Serial No. 16 Interrogation report dated 28 Feb 46; same information as in previous reports.

Serial No. 17 Transmittal of report to OCCIO.
Serial No. 18 Analysis of Doc. Evidence, Doc. No. 762; Subject implicated in the weekly reports of the secret service police.

Serial No. 19 Manuscript submitted by Subject which reveals information on various Japanese personalities and organizations, an account of subject's inspection trip to China and Manchuria, his connection with the Kokusin Taishuto, his conflicts

Serial No. 20 with the Japanese Army and police, etc.
Interrogation report dated 1 March 1946; reveals subject never held a governmental job except for being a member of the House of Representatives. Two memorandums written by Subject are attached to this report of interrogation as Exhibit "A" and "B".

Serial No. 21 Pass to Sugamo Prison.
Serial No. 22 Transmittal of Report to OCCIO.
Serial No. 23 GCD Intercept; Subject proposes free funeral parlor as front for Setwa To (The Holy Peace Party).

Serial No. 24 Examination of interrogations of Subject failed to reveal any statements of evidentiary value in the cases of principal defendants.

Serial No. 25 Complete personnel records of the Subject were microfilmed, and are on file as Exhibit No. 691.

Serial No. 26 Pass to Sugamo Prison.

Serial No. 27 Pass to Sugamo Prison.

DISTRIBUTION; 3 Copies File 185
1 Mr. Waldorf

DOSSIER

SASAKAWA (SASAGAWA), RYOICHI (Case File 185)

In Sugamo Prison

I. STATUS OF SUBJECT

- A. Apprehension was authorized by letter to Imperial Japanese Government of 1 December 1945, GHQ, SCAP, AG 383.7 (1 December 1945) 01, Subject: "Apprehension of Japanese Personnel."
- B. Committed to Sugamo Prison, 11 December 1945.

II. DIRECT AND IMPLIED CHARGES AGAINST SUBJECT

- A. It was proposed to lodge charges against this subject for perpetrating:

"Crimes against peace, namely, participation in a conspiracy for the preparation of aggressive war," in that

1. According to an undated evaluation prepared by James J. Gaine, Jr., Captain, Infantry, (Case 185, Serial E)* based on a review of CIS files as of 4 December 1945, Subject:

- a. Formed and became President of KOKUSUI TAISHU TO (Nationalist Mass Party), patriotic organization dedicated to aggression and the philosophy of HAKKAO IOHTU (Eight Corners of the World under One Roof), which proposed Japanese domination of all nations, 1931; fellow members of KOKUSUI TAISHU TO were involved in the May 15 assassinations, 1932; Subject lead the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO in great campaigns, including abolition of the Washington Agreement, the movement against anti-Imperialist factors, and the anti-British movement; Subject supervised publication of the organization's publication known as KOKUSUI TAISHU (Fascist masses), "KOKUSUI TAISHU" and "KOKUTRO" (National Defense);
- b. Had dealings with WANG, Ching-wel, head of the Chinese puppet state, in Nanking, 1939;
- c. Visited Germany and Italy by plane and investigated battle line welfare, 1940;
- 1. Lead KOKUSUI TAISHU TO, during 1941, in an "Advance to the South" movement; —
- e. Advocated a stronger China policy;

*See Tab "A" annexed hereto.

- f. Sponsored anti-American and anti-British publication in September 1941;
- g. Served as representative of KOKUBU DOMEI (national Defense Alliance), another nationalistic, patriotic organization, 1943;
- h. Was principal speaker (and still president) at a meeting of KOKUBU TAISHU MO, held in October 1945~~9~~ which meeting was attended by some 400 Japanese;
- i. Reportedly was one of the most active Fascist organizers prior to the war;
- j. Assertedly strongly advocated Great East Asia aggression;
- k. Was extremely active behind the scenes, as of the date of apprehension, organizing extreme nationalistic organizations, notably, ZENKOKU KEIKO TAISHUO.
- l. Had access to large funds, including his own substantial means, which he used largely for propaganda and organizational publications.

Captain Gaine's evaluation was concluded with the following summary and recommendation:

"SASAKAWA should be apprehended because of his leadership in movements promoting aggression, nationalism, and hatred of the U. S., and because he is currently active in organizations likely to impede democracy."

"He qualified under paragraph 7 of Joint Chiefs of Staff Basic Directive for Post Surrender Military Government in Japan Proper, of 3 November 1945."

II. FACTS REEVALUATED FROM THE FILE

A. Curriculum Vitae shows the following pertinent information:

1899	Born - OSAKA Prefecture
1913	Completed eighth grade of primary school *** no further education
1919 - 1921	Served as army conscript. Right arm injured in plane crash. President and Manager of various industrial and mining enterprises, as well as a moving picture production company
1926 - 1931	Made a fortune in rice speculations

1926	Financial backer KOKUBO (National Defense) League
1932	Made a trip to Manchuria
1931 - 1945	Organizer and President KOKUSUI TAISHU TO (National Essence Masses Party)
1933	President GIYU HIKOMAI (patriotic air group) Presented privately owned airfield in Osaka to the Army.
1935 - 1937	Arrested on charges of blackmail and extortion; in prison for two years; finally exonerated. X
1937	Retired from all private business enterprises
1939	Made a trip to Italy and Germany
1940	Made trip to China and Manchuria
1942	Changed name of his party organization from KOKUSUI TAISHU TO to KOKUSUI DOMEI (National Essence League)
	Elected to Diet (House of Representatives) as non-recommended candidate
1943	President KOMNIOHI SHIMBUN, Osaka newspaper
	Member of YOKAKAI (8th Day Group) in Diet
1945 August	Dissolved his party organization known as KOKUSUI DOMEI
1945 October	Active in the formation of ZENKOKU KINROSHA DOMEI (National Wage Earners League)
11 December 1945	Interned in Sugamo Prison as suspected war criminal.

B. Memoranda and reports from Staff Sections:

1. According to the contents of an unsigned, confidential memorandum, dated 2 January 1945, (Case 185, Serial 7) the following information regarding this Subject was extracted from the files of the 80th CIG Met Det:

- a. On 2 November 1945 a confidential informant, known as 80-11, stated that although another individual was ostensibly the head of the ZENKOKU KINROSHA DOMEI (All Japan Proletarian Party), the actual head was this Subject. According to the informant, the new party (ZENKOKU KINROSHA DOMEI) is vehemently opposed

to the expansion of any liberal or democratic tendency in Japan.

On 6 November 1945 MITSUAKI, Kakehi, associate editor of "Contemporary Japan", with offices in 556-557 Osaka Building, Ebysia Park, Tokyo, advised that Subject was the only member of the Diet who belonged to KOKUSUI TAISHU TO, and asserted that this organization was sponsored by, and was an outgrowth of, the Black Dragon Society; that the organization had received funds from, and had been primarily supported by, the Police Affairs Bureau of the Home Ministry and the Military Affairs Bureau of the War Ministry. KAKEHI expressed the belief that Subject was a potent factor behind the scenes in the ZENKOKU KINROSHA DOMEI, and stated that such organization was putting on a large publicity campaign throughout central Honan, circulating posters and leaflets, as well as having speakers appear before neighborhood associations advocating a program of TENNOISM (terrorism), anti-communism, and liberal-democracy. KAKEHI felt that so-called "liberal-democracy" was nothing more than a camouflage for the real intentions of the party.

On 8 November 1945, ROYAMA, Masamechi, editor-in-chief of OHUO KOBUN, and former professor of political science at Tokyo Imperial University, stated among other things that Subject had lived in Osaka for many years and had been a popular leader among unorganized labor in that city and that it has been as a result of this activity that Subject was enabled to organize the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO. ROYAMA considered the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO to be a highly reactionary party, allied with the Black Dragon Society. ROYAMA expressed the additional opinion that, following the dissolution of the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO at the cessation of hostilities the ZENKOKU KINROSHA DOMEI was organized as a successor party with two individuals as named leaders who were no more, in fact, than aides to Subject. ROYAMA believed that the source of revenue for the fast-expanding activities of the ZENKOKU KINROSHA DOMEI was money which Subject had acquired in China.

According to Royama, Subject worked for the Army in some kind of civilian capacity as a business agent, and was provided with Army airplane in which he made frequent trips to and from China. With the Army's sanction Subject bought coal in Formosa of particularly high grade quality and sold it in China at inflationary prices. Also with the knowledge of the Army and the KEMPEI TAI, Subject confiscated and accumulated substantial quantities of copper in China, ostensibly for armaments. However, reportedly, such copper was actually sold by Subject to the highest bidder, no matter for what purpose intended. It was rumored that as a result of these corrupt practices Subject amassed a personal fortune estimated from ¥ 200,000,000 to ¥ 500,000,000.

2. On 18 January 1946 Subject was interrogated by Joseph T. English of the IPS staff. (Case 185, Serial 11) On 9 February 1946 William T. Hornaday, Lt. Col., Infantry, submitted to Mr. Keenan a "Summary of Evidence Found in the Interrogation Report of SASAGAWA, Ryotshi." (Case 185, Serial 14) This summary was based on an analysis of evidence noted in the transcript of the interrogation, which analysis had been made jointly by Col. Hornaday and Major John F. Hummel. Among other things, it is stated in such analysis that the following information was developed during the course of the interrogation:

a. Subject acknowledged having been member of the IRPA in 1943. (but denied having been affiliated with IRPA); and, also stated that he had become a member of the "Japan Political Association" when that organization became the successor to IRPA. By way of explaining his membership in IRPA, and later the Japan Political Association, Subject stated that all Diet members of the Peer and Tower (Lower?) House(s) were practically forced to become members of this association."

b. IRPA "was formed somewhat along the lines of the Nazi organization in Germany, where control of the Government was centered in one organization. * * * The Army and Navy and Prince KONOYE had a hand in the control of the Nation through this organization."

3. Under date of 10 January 1946, B Bergeen, Special Agent, OIO, submitted a memorandum report (Case 185, Serial 15) containing information derived from the several sources indicated;

a. Subject made a flying tour to Germany and Italy to urge the conclusion of the Axis military alliance (date of mission not indicated) (Source: House of Representatives, p 100;)

b. On 21 October 1945, a meeting of the Kokusui Dai-shu-Go was held at the Mino Primary School, and was attended by about 400 Japanese; Subject, as President of Kokusui Dai-shu-Go, was principal speaker. (Source: Radio message NR:KX11367 to GHO, AFPAC, ADV, from CG, 6th Army, dtd 1 November 45;)

c. On 21 October 1945, Subject instructed listeners at lecture held in Mino, Osaka Prefecture, not to obey the present Japanese Government. (Source: 33rd OIO Det APO 35, Weekly Report #55, 31 Oct 45, p 5);

d. KODAMA, Yoshio, political associate of Subject, mentioned in his autobiography that Subject recommended him to meet WANG Ching-wei, Chinese puppet President. Subject had met WANG in March 1939. (Source: KODAMA's autobiography)

- e. According to Special Agent Bergreen's report (Case 185, Serial 15), the following are the actual facts regarding the KOKUSUI TAISHU MO:

"Established: May 1934

Program: 1. We are resolved to protect and to expand the culture characteristic to our country which has nurtured by the living spirit of the foundation of the nation by Emperor Jimmu and thereby to enrich the people and profit the nation.

2. We are resolved to abolish the evils of free competition in industry and to bring about an everlasting spirit of mutual assistance.

3. We are resolved to break down the evils and faults which exist in legal administrations and local self-government, and thereby to extend the true spirit of the divine land.

Organs: Kokusei Taishu ("Fascist Masses"), and Kokubo ("National Defense"), monthlies

Principal members:

President: Ryotchi SASAGAWA

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(SOURCE: Secret Societies in Japan - Special Report No. 2-21 Aug 45)

4. Subject was again interrogated in Sugamo Prison on 28 February 1946 by Lt. Samuel W. Healey. A verbatim transcript of the interrogation is not to be found in the file. However, a summary of subject's answers will be found in the file, identified as Serial 16 of Case 185. According to the summary, among other things, Subject stated:

a. The correct spelling of his name is SASAGAWA.

b. Subject acknowledged leadership of the KOKUSUI TAISHU MO, beginning in 1931. However, he contended that the report to the effect that this party organization was ultra nationalist was false. He explained that formerly there had been two separate parties in Japan, one of which was known as "KOKUSAI," and the other as "TAISHUO," both of which enjoyed very bad reputations. Subject claimed that it was owing to the fact that the name of his own party

organization included the names of both of these former parties which enjoyed unfavorable reputations, that the fallacious conception with respect to the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO had become widespread. Subject claimed that the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO, in fact, had been formed chiefly to counteract the Communist party and was in support of the masses of the people. (NOTE: The last sentence of the third paragraph of the summary reads as follows: "KOKUSUI" means 'ultra-national' while 'TAISHU' means 'mass'.")

c. Subject contended that he had never furnished any of his private means to TOJO for any purpose, nor had he ever received any money from TOJO.

5. Under date of 4 March 1946, Lt. Samuel Healey prepared a brief memorandum to the file (Case 180, Serial 19), commenting upon certain attachments which were to be placed in the file for Case 185, which attachments were copies of translated memoranda (#2048 and #2096) which had been obtained from the Interrogation and Translation Section of OIC through Lt. Branstead. The several OIC memoranda in question contained summaries of English translations of several manuscripts which Subject had prepared while in Sugamo Prison and forwarded to the authorities. Such manuscripts dealt with the general subjects of Japanese organizations, key official and unofficial personalities and the Subject's on views on various topics, such as the fallacies underlying the allied occupation, unfair censorship of the press, etc. While these manuscripts undoubtedly contained a fund of useful information pertinent to the various aspects of the instant Case, it is doubted that they contain anything of particular value in connection with the present consideration.

6. According to the "Brocade Banner" (pages 48-49), on 24 September 1932 HONJO, Isaburo, was arrested for plotting to assassinate Ex-Premier WAKATSUKI, Reijiro. The police records state that he was a member of the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO and was instigated to plot the assassination by SASAKAWA, Ryotchi. According to the report, HONJO died of tuberculosis prior to the trial. Again referring to the "Brocade Banner", it is stated on page 152 thereof:

"KODAMA, Yoshio, of the KOA SEINEN UNDO (Rise Asia Youth Movement) and OKUDO, Taro, of the SHIMPEITAI Incident, who made a fortune in partnership in Shanghai during the war, set up the Showa Sangyo KK (Showa Production Co., Ltd.), a transportation and fishing company in Tsukiji, Tokyo, and maintained close contact with SASAKAWA, Ryotchi, and FUJI, Yoshio, with whom they had been associated in the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO (National Essence Mass Party). FUJI established a 'refreshment stand' on the Ginza side of

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SABAKAWA's former office while SABAKAWA planned the opening of a funeral parlor as a part of his SHINAROMUKAI (Holy Peace Association), which would have great possibilities in about ten years."

C. Summaries of interrogations:

1. Interrogation conducted by Special Intelligence Unit (date not given) as reported by D. L. Waldorf in a memorandum for the file dated 27 December 1945 (Case 185, Serial 8):

- a. One section of the interrogation report is devoted to a chronology with several entries being included therein which have not been included in the regular curriculum vitae. One of such entries pertains to the arrest and incarceration of the Subject in Kitano Police Station in 1937 and charges of unlawful possession of 20,000 shares of Osaka Fetsudo KK (Osaka Railway) valued at ¥ 25 each. "It was charged that he took ¥ 500 and was sentenced to ten years in jail." After having served two years of the sentence, Subject was released when found innocent of the charge. Following his release, Subject reportedly resigned from official positions he held in various firms and "concentrated his efforts and fought bitterly against the government and militarists, for the benefit of the masses." During his period of incarceration, it is reported that the Osaka Public Prosecutor, MIKI, Iwami, urged Subject to dissolve the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO upon the understanding that if he would do so, he would be released. The report continues that it was published in the newspapers that Subject had agreed to dissolve the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO, which he claims was a falsehood and the product of a scheme to frame him.

After being released from prison in 1938, Subject travelled extensively abroad, including about ten trips to China and four or five trips to Manchuria. He claimed that these trips were made by him as a representative of KOKUSUI TAISHU TO for the purpose of investigating the wrongful doing of the militarists in those countries.

In the latter part of 1939, Subject flew to Burma, India, Iran, Italy, Germany, and Mongolia during a period of one month. The avowed purpose of these trips was to study court procedure in these various countries, make a survey of the economic situations therein, and to observe the national sentiment.

- b. The balance of the report on the interrogation is devoted to the comments and observations given by the Subject with respect to various key official and unofficial personnel and to various groups and organizations.

2. On 18 January 1946, Subject was interrogated in Sugamo Prison by Joseph F. English (Case 185, Serial 11) as previously stated in this Dossier. An analysis of the contents of the transcript of this interrogation was made by Lt. Col. William F. Hornaday and Major John F. Hummel. A summary of the evidence was prepared by Colonel Hornaday and was submitted to Mr. Keenan by memorandum dated 9 February 1946 (Case 185, Serial 14). The key observations made in this summary have been commented upon in an earlier portion of this Dossier.

3. The Subject was again interrogated on 28 February 1946, in Sugamo Prison, by Lt. Samuel E. Healey. A summary of the answers given by the Subject on the occasion of such interrogation is to be found in Case File 185, Serial 16. The contents of this summary also have been the subject of discussion in an earlier part of this Dossier.

4. On 10 April 1947, Subject was interrogated by William E. Edwards of the IPS Legal Staff and James G. Lambert of the IPS Investigative Division. (Case 463, Serial 38) This interrogation was substantially confined to a discussion of what the prisoner knew, if anything, regarding the use of Army secret funds in connection with his political organization and others. During the early part of the interrogation, Subject was asked if he harbored ill feelings toward any of the accused in the major war crimes trial currently being held in Tokyo. In response to this inquiry, Subject stated that he did harbor ill feeling toward the accused defendants SATO, MUTO, TOJO, HOSHINO, SHIMADA and SHIRATORI. In response to the question as to why he held a grudge against the accused, SATO, the Subject stated: (Case 463, Serial 38, p. 3)

"A. The TOJO Cabinet had an election for the House of Representatives. They recommended the people the Army liked, gave them money, and elected them. And people who opposed them slightly they did not recommend and had the police suppress them.

Q. Which police organization do you refer to, Mr. SASAKAWA?

A. The police throughout Japan.

Q. Under the direction of the Home Ministry?

A. Yes."

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"Q. Tell him to proceed.

A. And I was one of those suppressed.

Q. Why did they suppress you, Mr. SASAKAWA?

A. * * * In the Diet I made the following statement: 'It is bad for the Government to recommend people whom the Army likes and suppress the people the Army does not like. That is bad!'

Subject then went on to state that he let it be known that he proposed to raise the question in the Diet as to why the people whom the Army preferred should be recommended and the others suppressed. He added that at that time (elections of April 1942) the accused SATO was Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau. According to his own story, since the Government became aware of the fact that he proposed to prepare the question before the Diet the accused SATO came to see him and urged that he refrain from raising the question before the Diet. SATO assertedly advised Subject that he had been asked by the accused TOJO to make this request. (Page 4 of the transcript of the interrogation.) In fact, the accused SATO gave the subject a prepared list of questions to place before the Diet in lieu of the one question prepared by the Subject, on the ground that the Japanese press would give good publicity to the prepared questions. In response to the accused SATO's request in this regard, the Subject related that he had the following to say:

"I said, 'That's bad. I did not become a member of the House of Representatives to have my name in the papers.' I said, 'The papers are now controlled by the Government; therefore, if I ask my questions it is probable that not a word of my statement would appear in the paper, but I am quite content to have it that way.'" (Page 5 of the transcript of the interrogation.)

In answer to the reason why he bore animosity toward the accused MUTO, the Subject replied that after all it was MUTO who had brought about the SUISEN SENIKYO (recommended election). He added that the defendant MUTO together with TOJO brought about the police interference and suppression of candidates not recommended by the militaristic clique (page 7 of the transcript).

The main reason for interrogation of this Subject rested on the fact that General TANAKA, Ryukioh, had advised that at a time when the accused SATO was Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, and TANAKA was Chief, Military Service Bureau, the latter had had occasion to visit the office of the accused SATO on official business. TANAKA claimed that while seated in SATO's office this Subject came in and after being greeted by SATO was handed a package containing a substantial quantity of yen. According to TANAKA, this yen had been taken from

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7. After the interrogation held on 20 June 1947 was concluded, Subject produced a part of a letter written in Japanese which he stated he was in the throes of writing to William W. Edwards, the interrogator. After the discussion, Subject stated that he would be pleased to turn over to Mr. Edwards as much of the letter as he had completed. This, in turn, was turned over to the IPS Language Division for translation. The original together with the English translation thereof, will be found in Case File 463, Serials 42a and 42b. The contents of such letter are deemed pertinent to this discussion only to the extent that they are pertinent to the alleged incident involving the payment of money to Subject by SATO; and, as they reflect the philosophy and general attitude of the Subject.

At one place in the English translation, Subject wrote as follows:

"I respect righteousness and value honor and confidence more than my life. Therefore I am very indignant at TANAKA's words to the effect that I received a large sum of money from SATO, Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs in the presence of TANAKA, Kunitachi. Whether in TANAKA's presence or not I have definitely never received any money, not even a penny, from SATO and MUTO, both Chiefs of the Bureau. In order to determine who is right, TANAKA or myself, I beg to be confronted with him so that the decision can be made as quickly as possible."

Another portion of the English translation reads as follows:

"My late father immediately before his death gave me his last few instructions as follows. 'You must not be a coward because you feel that you may conflict with laws and regulations which are minutely formulated like the air. As long as you do not go against your conscience, it is all right even if you violate laws. (Note: Underscoring mine) Render great services for the benefit of mankind and society even to the sacrifice of your life.'"

On 17 June 1947, Mr. Edwards who had interrogated Subject received a letter addressed to him by the Subject which had been mailed from Sugamo Prison and of course had been intercepted. This letter also was referred to the IPS Language Division for translation. The original, together with the English translation thereof, will be found in Case File 463, Serials 43a and 43b. In this letter, Subject again protested at untruths involved in TANAKA's accusation regarding the SATO money payment incident and insisted that TANAKA was malicious and unwarranted in telling such untruths. Subject also qualified the statement which he had made during the interrogation to the effect that he knew of no reason why TANAKA should harbor ill feeling toward him. Subject pointed out that sometime previously he had written a letter to his younger brother wherein he had strongly criticized General TANAKA for reasons unannounced. After pointing out that

at the conclusion of the interrogation held on 20 June 1947, on which occasion Subject had been confronted by General TANAKA regarding the alleged SATO incident, Subject stated in his letter that General TANAKA had advised that he had received certain documents from one SATOMI which had been written by Subject. SATOMI had been incarcerated for a considerable period of time in Sugamo Prison as a Class A Suspect, and apparently Subject had become quite friendly with him during their period of confinement. In his letter to Mr. Edwards, Subject suggested that the letter addressed to his younger brother wherein TANAKA had been criticized might have been included in the documents TANAKA obtained from SATOMI; therefore Subject suggests that it is possible that TANAKA might have a grudge against him because of the strong criticism contained in that letter.

D. This subject has not appeared as a witness for either the Prosecution or the Defense.

E. There are no other facts reflected in the file which are deemed sufficiently important to be included in this discussion, other than those already presented in the previous sections of this Dossier.

F. No information referring to this Subject in SATOMI's Diary.

G. Subject was not referred to in any of the Exhibits thus far introduced into evidence in the Major War Crimes Trials.

IV. DISCUSSION

As stated in Section II, "DIRECT AND IMPLIED CHARGES AGAINST SUBJECT," above, at the time this Subject was apprehended and committed to Sugamo Prison, it was proposed that charges be brought against this Subject for perpetrating "crimes against peace, namely, participation in a conspiracy for the preparation of aggressive war." Considering the several specifications of charges as outlined in Captain Geline's evaluation (II.A-1-a et seq, supra; (Case 135, Serial 5)), in the light of the facts as reflected by the file and discussed in the several preceding subsections of this Dossier, the following observations and comments appear to be warranted:

A. Subject did form and become president of KOKUSUI TAISHU TO. However, the facts included in the file do not satisfactorily establish that this organization was "dedicated to aggression and the philosophy of HAKKAO ICHIU (Eight Corners of the World Under One Roof), which proposed Japanese domination of all nations * * *," as claimed in the specified charge. In this connection, attention is invited to subparagraph II.B-3-e, above, wherein what purports to be an authentic copy of the program of this organization will be found quoted. The language therein contained could hardly be considered to spell out an objective of world domination by the Japanese through aggression. In fact, the several announced objectives would appear to pertain exclusively to the internal affairs of Japan. To be sure, the

character itself might merely have been a "front" and the actual objectives might very well have been the same as those referred to in the specified charge. However, the facts to support such a surmise are not to be found in the files.

Other than passing references, there is no evidence in the file which would establish that Subject had led the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO in Great campaigns such as the Abolition of the Washington Agreement and the Anti-British Movement.

B. The import of Subject's alleged dealings with WANG, Ching-wei, head of the Chinese Puppet State, in Nanjing, during 1939, is not disclosed in the file nor is there any factual evidence to be found supporting the contention that such negotiations were held.

C. On the surface, the fact that Subject visited Germany and Italy by plane to investigate battle-line welfare in 1940 could hardly be said to constitute evidence which would support an indictment for Class A War Criminal charges. Here again, it is recognized that the plane trip to Germany and Italy might very well have been for some purpose other than the announced purpose, which if established, would serve to link the Subject with the conspirators in the dock, or, in some other way to establish that he had conspired in the preparation for aggressive warfare. However, the file is devoid of any additional facts which would justify an assertion that the trip had been made for other purposes.

D. It has been shown that Subject lead the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO in an "Advance to the South" movement during 1941. If such was the case, this activity would tend to present evidence of possible conspiracy for the preparation of aggressive war in the South Pacific. Perhaps additional facts in this connection are available or could be developed.

E. Subject's advocacy of "a strong China policy" could not per se be employed as evidence of conspiracy for aggressive war.

F. Subject's sponsorship of alleged anti-American and anti-British publications in September 1941 would, of course, be helpful in more concrete evidence of conspiring in the preparation for aggressive war. However, isolated articles containing anti-American and anti-British propaganda could not, in themselves, support conspiracy charges of the sort proposed.

G. The fact that Subject appeared as principal speaker at a meeting of some four hundred Japanese which was sponsored by the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO, in October 1945, coupled with the fact that Subject was still president of that organization as of that date, is indicative of Subject's unwillingness to be covered by the surrender.

H. Beyond the recital that the Subject was one of the most active Fascists workers before the war, the file is barren of any concrete evidence on this point. Additional evidence pertinent to this consideration would of course weigh importantly in any decision as

as to whether or not this subject should stand charge as a Class A War Criminal.

I. The assertion that subject strongly advocated greater warfare in Greater East Asia is not supported by the facts contained in the file, beyond repeated recitals to the fact that such was the case. Here again, if it could be established factually that subject had strongly advocated aggression in Greater East Asia, this consideration would certainly be highly pertinent in developing a predicate which would support the proposed charge that the subject had conspired in the preparation for aggressive warfare.

J. The fact that subject appeared as a principal speaker before some 400 Japanese Nationals as late as October 1945 tends strongly to support the contention that he "was extremely active behind the scenes" even after the cessation of hostilities and the surrender of Japan. In fact, it is quite apparent that he did not confine his activities to behind the scenes operations, as is evinced by his appearance in public, in October 1945.

K. During the course of his interrogation subject was inclined to brag that he was a man of considerable means, and so, for example, was not obliged to depend upon secret war funds to finance his personal political campaigns nor the activities of his political organ. He has been equally willing to admit the extensive use of his personal means for the dissemination of propaganda and the publication of the organs of his political party. It is submitted, however, that these activities, per se, do not amount to conduct which would warrant indictment as a Class A War Criminal. However, it could be shown factually that the propaganda disseminated advocated aggressive warfare, then, of course, such line of activity would be highly pertinent to the incident under consideration. The same should be said with respect to the publication of the organs of his political party. While the file states that both the propaganda and the publications strongly advocated aggressive warfare, regrettably the file once again is rather barren of concrete evidence on these points.

It is believed that two general observations should be made, in concluding this discussion of the evidence, for the sake of emphasis.

In the earlier portions of this dossier, considerable discussion was devoted to the incident involving the alleged payment of a substantial sum of secret war funds to this subject by the accused SATO, when he was Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau. It will be recalled that such payment was reported by General TANAKA's Hyukichi, who advised that he had had occasion to visit SATO's office on official business at a time when General TANAKA

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was Chief of the Military Service Section. Briefly TANAKA claimed that he observed the accused SATO give the accused subject a large bundle of yen. Subject vigorously denied receipt of such funds on the occasion of his interrogation on 10 April 1947. Thereafter on 6 May 1947 the subject was confronted by General TANAKA, and he again emphatically denied receiving any money from the accused SATO.

At the conclusion of the interrogation held on 6 May 1947 the subject handed Mr. Edwards of the IPS Legal Staff an unfinished portion of a letter written in Japanese which he had promised to complete and mail from Sugamo Prison. In this letter, subject again protested that he had received no funds from the accused SATO and charged General TANAKA with uttering malicious untruths in this regard.

At a later date subject addressed another lengthy letter to Mr. Edwards from Sugamo Prison in which, among other things, he denied having received any funds of any description either from the accused SATO or from the accused MUTO, both of whom had served as Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau within the War Ministry.

Some time after the second lengthy letter was received by Mr. Edwards, General TANAKA advised that he had been informed by a Japanese lawyer defending one of the accused in the major war crimes trials currently being conducted, that subject had admitted during the course of a conference held in Sugamo Prison with the Japanese lawyer in question that he had received 100,000 yen from the accused SATO. General TANAKA expressed the opinion that another inmate of Sugamo Prison known as KODAMO, Yoshio, would corroborate the statement that SASAKAWA had in fact received 100,000 yen from the accused SATO.

KODAMO, Yoshio, was interrogated in the presence of General TANAKA regarding this situation. KODAMO admitted that subject had told him, in Sugamo Prison, that he had received 100,000 yen from the War Ministry. He did not, however, expressly say that the money was received from the accused SATO but KODAMO did state that in the normal course of affairs it would be highly probable that such funds would have been obtained from the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau -- who, at the time in question, was the accused SATO.

All of the foregoing take on importance by way of impeaching the integrity of this subject. After repeated denials, and in spite of being confronted by General TANAKA, it appears that subject confided in his Japanese lawyer friend and admitted that he had received 100,000 yen.

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The second general observation pertains to an excerpt taken from the uncompleted portion of the first letter which subject addressed to Mr. Edwards of the IFS Legal Staff. In that letter, as stated in a previous section of this dossier, subject related that his father counselled him, when the father was in imminent danger of death, to do whatever he believed would be in the best interests of mankind regardless of laws or regulations. Based on his conduct in the past, subject appears to have abided by his father's advice; and it appears highly probable that he would continue to do so in the future. It is submitted that this philosophy and attitude is quite repugnant to the concepts of a democracy; and, therefore, it is suggested that this subject is a potential menace to the democratization of Japan.

Tab "A" - Copy of undated memorandum prepared by James J. Gaine, Jr., Captain, Infantry, re contents of CIS files as of 4 December 1945.

Tab "B" - Copy of a report dated 10 January 1946, prepared by B. Bergreen, Special Agent, CIO, containing information extracted from the various sources indicated.

Case # 185

RM : SASAKAWA, Ryotchi
STATUS: Pending

Memorandum for the Files:

On 4 Dec. 1945 CIS files reflect the following information on personnel indicated as War Criminals and ordered apprehended 3 Dec. 1945:

Formed and became President of Kokusui Taisan To (Nationalist Mass Party), a patriotic organization dedicated to aggression and the philosophy of Hakkio Ichibu (Eight Corners of the World Under One Roof), which proposed Japanese domination of all nations, 1931; fellow members of Kokusui Taisan To were involved in the May 15th assassinations, 1932; led the Kokusui Taisan To in great campaigns including the question of sugar tax evasion, abolition of the Washington Agreement, opposition to anti-Japanism in Arizona, the movement against anti-imperialistic factories, and the anti-British movement; supervised the party's papers, Kokusui Taisan (Fascist Masses) and Kokubo (National Defense); had dealings with WANG Ching-Wei, head of the Chinese Puppet state, in Nanking, 1939; visited Germany and Italy by plane and investigated Battelle Welfare, 1940; during 1941 he led the Kokusui Taisan To in an "Advance to the South" movement, advocated a stronger China policy, and sponsored anti-American and anti-British speeches in September 1941; representative of Kokusui Domei (National Essence Alliance), another nationalistic patriotic organization, 1943; principal speaker (and still president) at a meeting of Kokusui Taisan To, attended by 400 Japanese, October 1945.

One of the most active Fascist organizers prior to the war, SASAKAWA has fostered the ultra-nationalistic Kokusui Taisan To since its inception in 1931. Its membership has included prominent terrorists who were involved in assassinations. He strongly advocated GEA aggression and sponsored anti-American and anti-British statements in the crucial months just prior to the war. His associates have held membership in some of Japan's most Fascistic societies; Shimpai Tai (God Sent Troops), Ketsumedien (Black Brotherhood) and the Shizunjuku (Purple Mountain Society). Currently he is extremely active behind the scenes organizing extreme nationalistic organizations, notably Zenkoku Kinro Taisuto. An extremely wealthy man, he has access to large funds which he has used lavishly for propaganda and organizational purposes.

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3 File

Ser B

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SASAKAWA, Ryotchi (cont)

SASAKAWA should be apprehended because of his leadership in movements promoting aggression, nationalism, and hatred of the U. S., and because he is currently active in organizations likely to impede democracy.

He qualified under Paragraph 7-a of Joint Chiefs of Staff Basic Directive for Post Surrender Military Government in Japan Proper of 3 November 1945.

/s/ James J. Gaine Jr.
JAMES J. GAINE JR.
Capt, Inf.

COPIES:

3 File

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File No. 185

Re: Sasakawa, Ryoichi

Report by: B. Bergreen
Spec Agent, CIC
Status: Closed

10 January 1946

Extracted from CIS Files

Source: House of Representatives p 100:

Political Affiliation:

Elected 5th district, Osaka fu
Imperial Rule Assistance Political Assn

Date and Place of Birth: May 1899, Toyokawa mura, Mishima gun,
Osaka fu

Career:

1. Organized the Nationalist Masses Party (Kokusui Daishtuto) and became its president
2. Estab. the Natl Air Volunteer Corps (Hokusai Giyu Hikotai) and became its leader
3. Estab. an air field for natl defense and presented this to the Army (air field in Nakagawachi gun in Osaka fu)
4. Made a flying tour to Germany and Italy to urge the conclusion of the Axis Military Alliance
5. Commissioned to serve in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Term: Elected once (21)

Source: Radio message NR: KX 11367 to GHQ, AFPAC, ADV, from
CG, 6th Army, dtd 1 Nov 45:

10.21

A meeting of the Kokusui Daishtuto (Kokusui Daishtuto (Koku Sul Tatshtuto) was held at the Mino Primary School on 21 Oct. The meeting was attended by about 400 Japanese. The principal speaker was Sasagawa who is president of the Party.

Source: 33rd CIC Det. APO 33, Weekly Rpt #55, 31 Oct 45, p 51

At Mino, Osaka prefecture, 21 Oct 45, instructed listeners not to obey the present Jap Gov't.

Source: Kodama's Autobiography:

Yoshio Kodama, who is Sasagawa political associate, mentions that the latter recommended him to meet Wang Ching-wei, Chinese puppet pres. Sasagawa met Wang in March 1939.

Source: Mr. Norman:

Supposedly has a source of income from an Osaka millionaire

Sasakawa was confined at Sugamo Prison 11 December 1945. All readily available sources of information on subject have been checked and file is considered administratively closed.

CLOSED.

Copies:

3 File #185
1 File #250

Prison on 11 December 1945.

Investigation Division indices reflect that subject was a member of
Parliament in 1942; Occupation; Leader of Ultra Nationalistic Movement;
Married; Religion; Buddhist.

A demand has been placed on the Japanese Government to furnish the
full military and biographical history of Ryotshi SASAKAWA.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

The Tokyo Office--At Tokyo--will report the results of the demand
placed on the Japanese Government for the full military and biographical
history of Ryotshi SASAKAWA and will set out any further leads developed
by this information.

P E N D I N G