

CONFIDENTIAL

DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT <small>(Use this form only in accordance with instructions on SR 104-10)</small>		COUNTRY ORIGIN		IS NUMBER	
REPORT NUMBER	FROM	PREPARED BY	COUNTRY	2007584	
R-8-56	ASIA/Japan	Capt L.A. KUPPREYS	JAPAN	6 Jun 50	
SUBJECT: Transmittal of book "Alone Across Red China and the USSR" by M. TSUJI (U)			REF ID: R-9-56: 11-56	EVALUATION	DATE OF INFO: Dec 1955
SUMMARY: Inclosure 1 is a book entitled "Alone Across Red China and the USSR" (独りてくやく) by Masanobu TSUJI. TSUJI is a former Japanese regular army officer and a vocal anti-American Diet member from Ishikawa prefecture (See R-7-56 for biographic data). The contents of this book are substantially the same as a lecture delivered by TSUJI to officers of this office, representatives of AFPE/8A, and HAFAG-J on 20 December 1955. Inclosure 2 is a translation of the Preface and Table of Contents.					
COMMENT: Mr. TSUJI's views of the attitude Japan should take in relations with the Communist Bloc are quite widely read today in Japan, and the influence of his thoughts among the Japanese should not be underestimated. A map of the trip is included inside the front and rear covers of the book.					
DISTRIBUTION BY ORIGINATOR: DAIR Div G2 AFPE/8A (Rear) (2); CINCPAC					
2 Incls: (UNCL)					
1. Book in Japanese, to DA only					
2. Trans of Preface & Contents					
APPROVED: <i>W. W. Bailey</i> W. W. BAILEY Colonel, GS Army Attache					
REGRADING DATA CANNOT BE PREDETERMINED					
NOTE: Reproduction of this document in whole or in part is prohibited, in whole or in part, except with permission of the issuing office. All requests for copies so far as possible will be directed to the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Department of the Army.		CLASSIFICATION:		NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C. 31 and 32, its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.	

DA FORM 1048

REPLACE GDS FORM 1048 FOR USE, WHICH MAY BE USED. CAUTION - REMOVE PROTECTION STRIP BEFORE TYPING.

FOR COORDINATION WITH US Army

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

Declassified and Approved for Release
by the Central Intelligence Agency
Date: 2005

CONFIDENTIAL

From the Book entitled "The Next World War - The Only Avenue Open to the Japanese People for Their Survival" - By Masanobu TSUJI.

PREFACE

We must not permit this land, Japan, to become a battlefield again. It is my belief that to dedicate the rest of my life for this cause is the road, which I can most rightly follow, to apologize for our faults in losing the last war.

Among all human beings the Japanese are the only people who had to face three rounds of atom and hydrogen bombs. From this viewpoint too it should be the supreme task of the Japanese people to save mankind from the danger of nuclear war.

In past wars there was room for the onlooker to watch hostile nations involved in the conflict, but in the age of hydrogen war all the creatures living on the surface of this globe will without exception suffer the ash of death.

If war can be prevented with the signatures of 80 million people this would be a rather easy thing to accomplish. But this approach seems to have no more effect on the leaders of the opposing two camps than "an east wind wafting across the deaf ear of a horse" or "water running off the face of a frog".

I believe that to know how a next world war would look if it ever comes and to learn how horrible its result would provide us with useful data for our efforts in preventing war. I am thus forced to work night and day utilizing my few moments of leisure in the midst of the busy Diet season.

Connected with the Democratic Party, I, as a public figure have responsibility in explaining its policy, but this book is one in which I do not reveal my own position, intending to describe how I see the world and search for the ways and means whereby we may prevent a third world war and peace for our nation without being involved in the conflict. My opinions are based on my experience in the first half of my life in which I seemed to cross the Pacific Ocean more than one occasion.

There are two opposing streams of thought advanced for the prevention of war. One of them favors the maintenance of peace by force and the other the sustaining of peace through a third group by neutralism. The former group of thinkers who are allied with the Anglo-American camp, should seek safety through collective security. The latter, opposing Japan's armament, are crying for non-militarization. Both are wrong and can only be considered as such.

Switzerland is not aligned with the orbit of collective security. Her own constitution providing for non-militarization, but since the outbreak of the second world war she has stood along with the eastern nations following a path of neutrality. Her position, remained neutral in World Wars I and II. Her independence and non-alignment is a model for all nations.

DA Form 1048-1, 1 July 1955, and is extending to a new copy on the order of the Department of Defense.

From the Book entitled "The Next World War", by Kusanobu TSUJI

CONTENTS

Chapter I - IN ORDER THAT WE MAY CONTINUE OUR EXISTENCE.

1. Our nation should strive to become the Switzerland of the Orient.
2. What are we to defend? And for whose interests?
3. Those who can assert their rights!
4. Does armament provoke war?
5. Which are we to choose, guns or butter?
6. Obsolete armament in the new age.
7. Leaving Sugamo as it is.
8. Widows are loitering on the street at a loss of light for their life.
9. Those who recommend and those who try to balk.
10. Why do they yell black what is actually white?

Chapter II - A PROTEST AGAINST JAPAN.

MacArthur's orders.

1. To adopt Japanese uniforms as U.S. Infantrymen?
 2. To turn the Japanese islands chain into an unsinkable aircraft carrier.
 3. To make Japan a second Manchuria.
 4. Japan may be forsaken ultimately?
- Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek
The Russians utilized Chiang Kai-shek.
They then switched the horse over to Mao Tse-tung.

It is just like a duel of a fox and a badger, trying to bewitch one another.

The US is pulling wires from the backstage.

1. To make Japan a second Manchuria.
2. To make Japan a second Manchuria.

NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C. 3161, the transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C. 3161, the transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C. 3161, the transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C. 3161, the transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

7. What course will the USSR choose?
8. What course will America choose?
9. Which of them will win a game?
10. How to keep us alive amid the vortex of troubles?

Chapter V - TOGETHER WITH ASIA.

1. Japan scored a victory in the war.
2. It is to be hoped from the new-born Burma.
3. Let's answer to their scepticism.
4. The deteriorated yellow rice and the buddhistic prayer "Namuamidabutsu".
5. The Annamese look forward to a unification.
6. We have to make a penitence before Kagayay.
7. Two bootleggers.
8. He who attempts to make Asia his prey.

Chapter VI - OUR KINGS CAN'T BE DESTROYED.

1. Beyond the rivalry.
2. The road toward war or the road toward peace?
3. Self-sufficiency and isolation.
4. How can she be invaded?

Japan has never experienced a civil war.

They attempted to first form a Kerensky cabinet.

Their trade mission chief was a guerrilla force commander.

It is a sacred crane.

The Red Army is trying to enroach the heart.

What is the result?

It would be only the possible for a direct aggression to find its way.

On the other hand, the possibility of a direct aggression is not.

It is a sacred crane.

Have

It is a sacred crane.

It is a sacred crane.

It is a sacred crane.

The conclusion of the Mutual Security Agreement should be a

DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT <small>(Use this form only in accordance with instructions in SR 300-305-3)</small>	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	REPORT NUMBER R-9-56	FROM Area Japan	PAGE 4 of Incl 2
--	---------------------------------------	--------------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------------------------

Tax is walking around.

Do the people fear the military clique?

Mind SDF to reflect upon itself.

To American soldiers.

Chapter VII - OUR NEW TARGET

1. The Mission of the new Japan
2. History looks forward to something from our young generation.

<small>NOTE: This document is classified as UNCLASSIFIED, CONFIDENTIAL, SECRET, or TOP SECRET, except where otherwise indicated. All requests for change of classification will be referred to the appropriate authority, U.S. Department of the Army.</small>	CLASSIFICATION	<small>NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C. 31 and 32, as amended. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.</small>
DA FORM 1048-1 <small>REPLACES FORMS 170, 1 APR 59, WHICH MAY BE USED UNTIL 30 SEP 59. HOWE REGULATOR CHECK REPORT TYING</small>		

From the Book entitled "Alone Across Red China and the USSR" by Masenobu TSUJI

PREFACE

This book is the record of my impressions of Red Asia seen during a period of about 40 days from the latter part of last August. I have taken pains to provide you with as objective a report as possible of the images which I managed to catch and focus them on a colorless mirror, but this is certainly not an easy task to accomplish and I admit that my own peculiar mannerisms find their way into everything in this book.

As an invited guest, I had to respect the schedules set by the hosts, and it would be quite natural for them to be keen on showing their guests only what they consider the best. It would be difficult to grasp the truth through such a vista. During my journey I declined invitations for receptions in dark hours as often as politely possible, and tried to walk on the streets alone. I got up early in the morning and sought to gather as much as possible of what people in every walk and rank of life thought. The people with whom I came in contact unofficially during the whole period of my travel probably numbered far more than 300. I had talks with men and women of all different occupations and ranks, including military men, ranging from generals down to enlisted men. I talked with military officers who had fought during the Russo-Japanese war, with widows, war orphans, factory workers, farmers, students, sailors, fishermen, day laborers - talked with them directly without the help of an interpreter.

The crops which I could harvest through such contacts were probably far greater than through ceremonial exchange of greetings at formal receptions. The contents of this book represent the sum total of what I had gathered from those personal contacts and scenes.

The inside stories of the Red Continents' tightly closed Iron Curtain have been variously reported in Japan by those who have designs of political and ideological nature. I was also one of those who suffered damage at their hands. On not a few occasions during this journey I was obliged to correct preconceptions resulting therefrom, and at the same time I found that I could confirm my prior fundamental study as correct.

My familiarization tour of Red China was not the principal objective of the travel of which I write. Thus I spent only ten days or so in China enroute to the USSR. What I have felt out of my quiet survey over China, with reference to my many years of study on this nation, is that her politicians and people alike take great pride in the fact that they have accomplished the remodeling of China as a new and perfectly independent nation from its previous position of perennial semi-sovereignty, though the new China actually can still be criticized because of shortcomings in her economic and political field. Although China is a victorious nation, her people are leading a far simpler and more modest life than the Japanese people who lost the war. Working hard and united far more solidly the Chinese people are making a positive effort to bring hopes for a better tomorrow. In a sense, what they are doing now largely resembles the attitude which our ancestors had during the Meiji Restoration Period.

As to my conclusive impressions of the USSR I may say that it is no longer a capitalist state, but is rather a great imperialistic state with the people's revolutionary conditions unparalleled in the history of nationalities and heretofore. The people's hatred against war are the cravings that sweep her whole country. Her government's policy is oriented toward preparation for war. Her education and propaganda are all focused thereon.

Communism is common to both countries. Red China and the USSR are now in a state of mutual cooperation and Communist influence has now been completely eliminated from the Far East. The political structure of the USSR is not such as to be able to stand up to the pressure that may be exerted upon it by the camp of the West powers. The ties between Red China and the USSR would be futile. Red China's position vis-a-vis the USSR is far more independent than that of Japan toward the United States.

JA INTELLIGENCE REPORT <small>(Use this form only in accordance with instructions in SR 380-17-5)</small>	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	REPORT NUMBER R-8-56	FROM ARMA Japan	PAGE 2 of Incl 2
---	---------------------------------------	--------------------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------------

If those two great Communist nations should some day face a low ebb of their destiny, feuds among those who are struggling for power on their domestic scenes would perhaps be the major cause responsible for it.

There can be no crisis of this sort in Red China so long as MAO Tse-tung continues in good health and stays in power, but it is rumored that some friction would emerge between CHOU En-lai and LIU Shao-ko if MAO should go out of the picture. In the USSR I felt a chill from an atmosphere which bore a semblance to the vast country of Mongolia when GENGHIS KHAN died.

The peace-diplomacy which is so emphatically advocated by the two nations is designed chiefly for the interests of the two, and it is definitely not an armistice overture put forward to the Western nations at their own sacrifice and concession. It is a strategic gesture designed to avoid a shooting war until they recover themselves from the attrition of war and until they reach the stage where they can concentrate their whole energy on the development of the unexplored resources and finish their planned buildup for this purpose. And many people are agreed that the two Communist countries are thus attempting to alienate the internal unity among the Western countries.

What is still more fundamental is the hate of war among the whole of their people and the vast move among them of seeking peace. It would be particularly difficult for the USSR under its present system of collective leadership to drive her people into the action of initiating war so long as no second STALIN should appear on the stage.

The above appraisal boils down to this: for at least 4 to 5 years to come there is no possibility for another general war unless the United States initiates the war by making a surprise attack on the pattern of Pearl Harbor.

What the two Communist nations are now seeking is not a perpetual renunciation of war, but an armistice and a buildup until they establish a definite advantage for themselves which will enable them to win a war against the Western powers. If one underestimates the strength of the USSR and Red China because the standards of living of their people are much lower than that of the defeated nation, Japan, one risks grave danger. Rather attention should be focused more on the serious effort for war preparations, for which their people are subjected to a life of continued austerity.

Finally I wish to add a few words about the standpoint of Japan as a nation neighboring those two major countries. To seek peace and security for our people by exclusively depending upon the United States is just to follow the examples of CHIANG KAI-SHEK and SYNGMAN RHEE. If our nation strives for safety under the shadow of the USSR we would probably follow the fate of the Republic of Guldja (Georgia?) or the Republic of Outer Mongolia.

It should be the major task of new Japan to consolidate her economy on a self-sufficient basis promptly, to advance a policy of independence by establishing a strong structure which violates the rights of no other nation and which is inviolable by any other nation, to restore our diplomatic relations, first of all, with Red China in order to save mankind from horrible atomic war by bringing the two major atomic powers to friendly terms through the friendship between Japan and Red China.

What this memoir emphasizes is that all through the 40 days of my busy journey I managed to place on record my impressions punctually every day before they became hazy so that I had to throw away my pen with the 500th page of my manuscript when I landed at Hanoi airport. I lay stress on lively reproduction of my impressions at the expense of elaborate elaboration. Incidentally, the title of this book was chosen by the proprietor of the publishing house KANEKO Shobo, I, who had travelled to the USSR as a tourist, feel therefore rather gay in presenting this book to the public under such a title, but I shall be happy if the readers will note that I was influenced by no one. I tried to portray faithfully my glimpses not only of the surface but also of the back of anything of interest that came into the vista of my survey during my journey.

2 December 1955.

Masanobu TSUJI

in the plane on my way home from Hong Kong.

NOTE: Reproduction of this document in whole or in part is prohibited, in any form or by any means, except with permission of the issuing office. All requests for permission will be directed to the Chief of Staff, Department of the Army.

CLASSIFICATION
 UNCLASSIFIED

NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50 U.S.C. 31 et seq., as amended. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

From the Book entitled "Alone Across Red China and the USSR" by Masanobu TSUJI

CONTENTS

Preface

1. An I.O.U. to remember our war defeat.
2. Listen to this cry.
3. From the Yasukuni Shrine to badger holes.
4. The Chinese enshrouded by black curtains.
5. Chiang Kai-shek will kill himself.
6. How does the Communist Party look at it?
7. It indeed is worthy of a Communist country.
8. My first impression of Canton.
9. Young men on the street.
10. A talk with college students on the subject of revolution.
11. Peace offensive and food control.
Scores of thousands of my friends are still held in the USSR.
What was left behind in Hanjusan through an oversight.
It is a difference between an adult and a child.
12. A glimpse to the Farm Cooperative Organizations.
13. I would appeal to Madam Li Teh-Chuan.
14. The rising sun flag and the red flag.
15. I got a kiss from a Russian girl.
16. I made a talk with my comrades-on-arms.
Peace must be sought.
A single peace medal will be enough.
17. The earthquake felt by us close at hand.
18. The end of the war.
The peace medal will be enough.
19. The peace medal will be enough.
20. The peace medal will be enough.
21. The peace medal will be enough.
22. The peace medal will be enough.
23. The peace medal will be enough.
24. The peace medal will be enough.
25. The peace medal will be enough.
26. The peace medal will be enough.
27. The peace medal will be enough.
28. The peace medal will be enough.
29. The peace medal will be enough.
30. The peace medal will be enough.
31. The peace medal will be enough.
32. The peace medal will be enough.
33. The peace medal will be enough.
34. The peace medal will be enough.
35. The peace medal will be enough.
36. The peace medal will be enough.
37. The peace medal will be enough.
38. The peace medal will be enough.
39. The peace medal will be enough.
40. The peace medal will be enough.
41. The peace medal will be enough.
42. The peace medal will be enough.
43. The peace medal will be enough.
44. The peace medal will be enough.
45. The peace medal will be enough.
46. The peace medal will be enough.
47. The peace medal will be enough.
48. The peace medal will be enough.
49. The peace medal will be enough.
50. The peace medal will be enough.
51. The peace medal will be enough.
52. The peace medal will be enough.
53. The peace medal will be enough.
54. The peace medal will be enough.
55. The peace medal will be enough.
56. The peace medal will be enough.
57. The peace medal will be enough.
58. The peace medal will be enough.
59. The peace medal will be enough.
60. The peace medal will be enough.
61. The peace medal will be enough.
62. The peace medal will be enough.
63. The peace medal will be enough.
64. The peace medal will be enough.
65. The peace medal will be enough.
66. The peace medal will be enough.
67. The peace medal will be enough.
68. The peace medal will be enough.
69. The peace medal will be enough.
70. The peace medal will be enough.
71. The peace medal will be enough.
72. The peace medal will be enough.
73. The peace medal will be enough.
74. The peace medal will be enough.
75. The peace medal will be enough.
76. The peace medal will be enough.
77. The peace medal will be enough.
78. The peace medal will be enough.
79. The peace medal will be enough.
80. The peace medal will be enough.
81. The peace medal will be enough.
82. The peace medal will be enough.
83. The peace medal will be enough.
84. The peace medal will be enough.
85. The peace medal will be enough.
86. The peace medal will be enough.
87. The peace medal will be enough.
88. The peace medal will be enough.
89. The peace medal will be enough.
90. The peace medal will be enough.
91. The peace medal will be enough.
92. The peace medal will be enough.
93. The peace medal will be enough.
94. The peace medal will be enough.
95. The peace medal will be enough.
96. The peace medal will be enough.
97. The peace medal will be enough.
98. The peace medal will be enough.
99. The peace medal will be enough.
100. The peace medal will be enough.

30. The children are Gods, and children alone.
31. Over a railway coach window.
32. Leningrad curses the war.
33. A car driver who has a career of artillery major.
34. Wailing widows are heard everywhere.
35. I had been arrested by GPU.
36. Lenin's alma mater.
37. Lovely attacks.
38. Through an exchange of views over the rising sun flag.
39. How would Peter the Great see it?
40. The chorus-drama of May Day.
41. Soviet department stores look like a government office.
42. Do they dare do it even in this situation?
43. We steamed down the River Volga.
44. The more away from Moscow.
45. The Communist Party Member's Badge.
46. Factory girls take lessons alongside the spell of their work.
47. Fishermen and Farmers.
48. Together with girls school students.
49. Goodbye, Astrakhan.
50. The Baku oilfield betrayed my expectation.
51. Radio recording on a morning street.
52. Schools are military barracks.
53. A Glimpse across the petrolum curtain.
54. Scandalous scenes of dinner parties.
55. Goodnight, troops.
56. ... say in Japan ten years ago.
57. ...
58. ...
59. ...
60. ...
61. ...
62. ...

DA INTELLIGENCE REPORT

(Use this form only in accordance with instructions in SR 587-347-3)

CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED

REPORT NUMBER

R-8-56

ON

ARMA Japan

PAGE

5 of

Incl 2

- 62. In the interests of peace.
- 63. Buy also from Japan, if you please.
- 64. Dr. Louisenko's lecture.
- 65. 200 million people united in one. 38 men move apart from one another.
- 66. Some abandoned farming villages.
- 67. How can we face it without tears.
- 68. Remember Japan had lost war.
- 69. Well, Goodbye Moscow.
- 70. Again in Irkutsk.
- 71. Pebbles in place of the remains.
- 72. I felt as if I were back home.
- 73. When compared with the two Communist countries.
- 74. Well, Goodbye Red China!

NOTE: This document is the property of the Department of the Army and is loaned to you. It is to be returned to the source of issue when it is no longer needed. Do not disseminate its contents without the approval of the source of issue.

CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED

NOTE: This document is the property of the Department of the Army and is loaned to you. It is to be returned to the source of issue when it is no longer needed. Do not disseminate its contents without the approval of the source of issue.

DA FORM 1048-1

REPLACES OOR FORM 1048-1 APR 63, WHICH MAY BE USED. CAUTION - REMOVE PROTECTOR SHEET BEFORE USING.