

On the Indictment and Punishment Of War Criminals

**An Address at the 5th Congress of the International
Union of Democratic Jurists**

By

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This is the translation of the full text of an address made by Shen Chun-ju at the 5th Congress of the International Union of Democratic Jurists which opened in Berlin on September 5, 1951 to discuss "Law in the Service of Peace." Shen Chun-ju is President of the People's Supreme Court and heads the 4-member Chinese Jurists' Delegation to the Congress.

On the Indictment and Punishment of War Criminals

Mr. Chairman and Dear Friends:

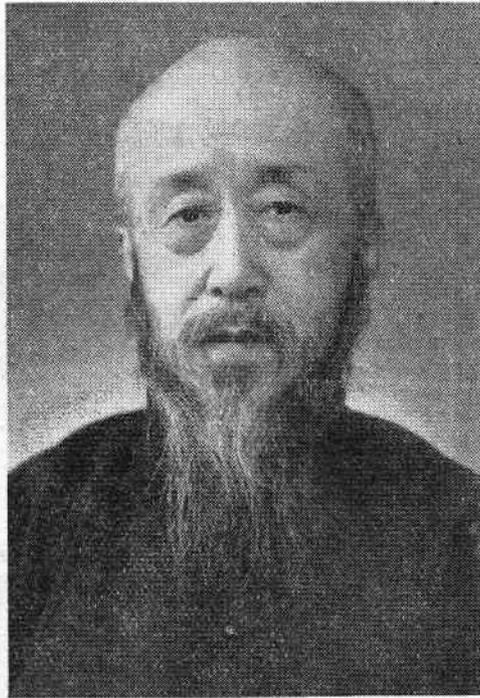
I feel greatly honoured and happy today to be able to attend this annual convention of the International Union of Democratic Jurists and to discuss the important subject "How Should Law Serve Peace and Democracy" together with the outstanding representatives of democratic jurists all over the world. Our conference and our discussion take on a special significance at the present time when world peace is in grave danger and when democratic rights are being trampled underfoot in the capitalist countries.

The subject on which I have been asked to make a report is the indictment and punishment of war criminals. As a delegate from China, I particularly realise the importance of this question, because China was a country which suffered the most and longest from aggression. It is impossible to estimate the sufferings and destruction which the imperialist war criminals inflicted on the Chinese people.

I will not mention events of the distant past. Just take the Japanese war of aggression against China for example. The war started in 1937 and lasted eight years, imposing upon the Chinese troops and people a loss of more than ten million lives, and over 50 billion American dollars' worth of property. Over 230,000 of the inhabitants of Nanking, most of whom were old men, women and children, were massacred by Japanese war criminals in the first one and half months of Japanese occupation in the early winter of 1937. Thousands of women in Nanking, including the aged, the pregnant and the young, were raped and slaughtered.

This is but one example. All these atrocities were established by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

As a result of the experience and lessons gained at the cost of supreme sacrifices, the Chinese people deeply detest the crimes of the war criminals.



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Consequently, the Chinese people are extremely vigilant against the war criminals, be they old or new, Japanese or American.

In view of what has been said above, it is not difficult for people to understand why the movements to oppose rearmament of Japan, to safeguard world peace, to resist American aggression and aid Korea have developed by leaps and bounds in China and have enlisted the enthusiastic support of all the people.

The Chinese people, who have already stood up, certainly will not allow any war criminals to invade their territory again or to molest their fellow countrymen.

At such a conference of jurists, I do not propose to speak about or discuss in detail the development of the definition of "war criminal" or the concept of "war crime" in the history of international law. That is unnecessary.

As is well known, although the terms "war criminal" and "war crime" have not been frequently used in traditional international law, many acts such as maltreatment of prisoners, killing or injuring civilians, pillaging personal property, execution of wounded or sick war prisoners, using poison gases or other prohibited weapons, and so on, have always been prohibited by the military law or the criminal law of all civilised countries. All these prohibitions have been recognised in the "Hague Convention" and the "Geneva Convention"; at least they are regarded as internationally accepted precedents.

At the hearings of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal and the International Military Tribunal for the Far East these war criminals were called "Class B war criminals," namely, war criminals violating regulations and precedents governing the conduct of war.

But regulations and precedents governing the conduct of war cannot include all atrocities resulting from war. Such regulations and precedents

cover only the law-breaking acts of the belligerent parties against the enemy during the war. In addition, such acts have been limited only to those that occurred in the zones of military operations. As to other kinds of atrocities—atrocities on a larger scale, more inhuman and more brutal (for instance, the great massacre of millions of Jews in Germany and Poland by the Nazi regime), there are no specific provisions in the “Hague Convention” or the “Geneva Convention” about them, nor have they ever been dealt with by any international precedent or by the military or criminal law of any country.

Since World War II, “crimes against humanity” have been added in the trials of war criminals.

This is a remarkable development of the concept of war crime.

But after World War II the concept of “war crime” witnessed a noteworthy development by the adding of crimes against peace. In other words, aggressive war is recognised as a crime in international law. According to Article 6 of the Nuremberg Tribunal regulations, crimes against peace include the “planning, preparing, initiating or carrying out of aggressive war or a kind of war violating international treaties, agreements or assurances, or taking part in the planning of the above forms of war.” The regulations of the Tokyo Tribunal are in the main similar (see Article 6, Section 1, Item 2). These crimes against peace are classified by the two tribunals as “Class A war crimes” and it is our prevailing view that crimes against peace are the most serious of war crimes. As is stated in the Nuremberg Tribunal verdict, aggressive war is the greatest crime because it includes and produces many other crimes; it is the embodiment of all kinds of crime. The Tokyo Tribunal was in complete agreement with this decision.

This decision has already become an influential principle of international law.

Therefore, I hold that the decision to define “aggressive war as an international crime” is the greatest contribution made by the two great international tribunals after World War II and represents a great development in the concept of war criminals in international law. This development undoubtedly is advantageous to the defence of world peace.

In fact, after the conclusion of World War I, some people tried to bring the initiators of aggressive war to justice. The Treaty of Versailles (Articles 227, 228) provided for the trial of the German Kaiser Wilhelm and other important war criminals. Yet, owing to the imperialist elements’ fear of a thorough revelation of hidden imperialist war designs, these articles became mere dead letters, while the farce of the infamous “Leipzig Trial” was an insult and mockery to the dignity of treaties and justice.

I have no intention of discussing here the strong and weak points of the Nuremberg Tribunal or the Tokyo Tribunal. What I want to point out is that after these two prolonged and historic trials of international war criminals, our concept of war crimi-

nals has already undergone a great change and therefore our scope for indicting and punishing war criminals has greatly broadened. The addition of crimes against humanity undoubtedly removes many defects and loopholes in our regulations which punished only ordinary war criminals. To recognise aggressive war as the greatest crime in international law is of epoch-making significance. As I understand it, most of the war criminals who were sentenced to death or imprisonment at the Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals took part in aggressive war.

I DO not want to discuss in detail the trial of war criminals after the conclusion of World War II.

What I want to point out with emphasis is that the U.S. imperialists are now making use of war criminals to prepare for a new war.

We all know that after the end of World War II, the Axis powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—collapsed and Britain and France and other imperialist countries were weakened. The United States regarded the Soviet Union, China and the whole democratic peace front as the only stumbling block in the way of her ambitious plan to dominate the whole world. Therefore, during recent years, the Wall Street monopolists and their hired politicians and militarists have bent all their efforts upon attacking and encircling the People’s Democracies in Europe and Asia headed by the Soviet Union. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, Acheson’s total diplomacy, MacArthur’s Pacific Line of Defence, Eisenhower’s European Army, Dulles’ unilateral peace treaty with Japan, etc.—all constitute America’s “global strategy” which is being advertised with pride by Wall Street.

The two most important parts of America’s so-called “global strategy” are the rearming of Western Germany in the West and of Japan in the East. In the eyes of American imperialism these are the two indispensable pillars of their arrogant plan for world conquest.

In order to rearm Western Germany and Japan, to drive the German and Japanese people again to the battlefields as American cannon fodder, the United States, shortly after the end of the war and especially after 1949, indulged and harboured German and Japanese war criminals. They not only set free war criminals waiting for trial, on the grounds of “lack of evidence,” or acquitted war criminals already on trial or reduced their sentences, but also released one batch after another of war criminals who were serving their terms in prison. Latest reports indicate that many of these war criminals are being treated as distinguished guests and are going to take up important positions in the mercenary German and Japanese armies of the United States.

I AM not well acquainted with the case that the United States and its satellites indulge and harbour Nazi war criminals in Europe. But for the past two years, I have read each month more than one report in the newspapers about the release of war criminals. Recently more such reports have been printed and more such criminals have been released.

What draws my particular attention is the release of the notorious German munitions-magnate Krupp on January 30 of this year. He was released by the U.S. military authority together with General Speidel, Commander-in-Chief of Hitler's occupation army in Greece, and 21 other top Nazi war criminals. It is learned that his property worth 500 million U.S. dollars has been given back to him. The Bonn "Assembly" has decided to extend a loan to him. He will be reinstated in his former post as the proprietor of that concern which was built upon the dead bodies of people.

The second thing that I have noticed is the five Nazi war criminals: Franz Siebert, Hans Niemann, Oswald Ulbricht, Hubert Muller and Felix Altenburg who had formerly collaborated with the Japanese in China. They were appointed as German diplomatic officials and spies in Peking and Canton during the period of the Japanese aggression against China. Although they were not high in rank, they were widely known to the Chinese people. They were released on June 21 at Frankfurt by the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Army in Europe.

Finally, I would mention another war criminal who has been released. His name is familiar to the Chinese people. He is General Von Falkenhausen. He had served for a long time in the Chiang Kai-shek government as the chief of a military mission sent by Nazi Germany. He was Chiang Kai-shek's right-hand man in carrying out a criminal war against the Chinese people's revolutionary movement. When Hitler occupied Belgium, he was appointed Nazi governor in that country. After the surrender of Germany, he was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment by a Belgian court. But at the instigation of the United States, the Belgian Government released him unconditionally on March 28 this year. According to Belgian newspapers, this Nazi general has recently received two invitations from Chiang Kai-shek to come to Taiwan to help him and his U.S. masters in opposing the Chinese people.

Those I have mentioned above are but a very few to whom I have paid special attention. I know very well that thousands of Nazi war criminals have been either directly or indirectly set free by the United States. If these criminal acts of America are not stopped, it is not difficult to imagine that in the near future not only will all the war criminals be released by the United States but they will be given various kinds of jobs in the "European Army" and the "NATO" Army, both of which are under American manipulation.

Undoubtedly this is a great insult to the European people. It will inevitably arouse their widespread indignation. It is not surprising that on February 6, seven days after the release of Krupp and other war criminals, 15,000 people in Copenhagen held a demonstration of protest.

I KNOW much better how Japanese war criminals have been indulged and harboured in the Far East by the U.S. imperialists. But time does not allow me to make a detailed report here. I will just mention briefly a few of the cases which are of greater significance.

(1) As early as the autumn of 1947, the U.S. occupation authorities set free a batch of the Japanese plutocrats and ammunition-manufacturers (the Japanese Krupps), 23 in all, including Yoshisuke Aikawa, Chikuhei Nakashima and Fusanoske Kuwahara. These men, in collusion with the Japanese warlords, played a vital role in the Japanese war of aggression. They were originally to be indicted as Class A war criminals. But in order to utilise them, the United States has released all of them without giving any reason.

(2) At the end of 1948, the United States released the remaining 19 Class A war criminals who were in custody, including Toshizo Nishio (formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Army in China), Kisaburo Ando (formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Army in South China), Kazuo Aoki (formerly Minister for Greater Asia), Eiji Amau (formerly Minister of Information). All of them are notorious top war criminals. Originally they were to have been indicted by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East at the same time as the first batch of war criminals, including Tojo and 27 others, was indicted. It was only because the Tribunal was inadequately equipped that they were listed as the second batch of the accused. But a few days after the Tribunal had rendered its verdict on the first batch, MacArthur arbitrarily set the second batch free without putting them on trial. At that time MacArthur dictatorially declared the trials of all Class A war criminals concluded and the International Military Tribunal for the Far East was thus unofficially dissolved. Such preposterous acts on the part of MacArthur constitute an insult by the American government to its Allies and to the dignity of law.

(3) The American imperialists refused to put on trial Hirohito, the Japanese emperor, and the other bacteriological war criminals who were also harboured under the wing of the United States. Hirohito not only took part in all the Japanese wars of aggression but must bear supreme responsibility for all these wars. He should have been indicted as a Class A war criminal from the very beginning. Yet, owing to the obstruction of the United States, the Far Eastern Commission has not yet been able to come to a decision to put him on trial.

In February 1950, in the course of the trial of the bacteriological war criminals at Khabarovsk, the Soviet Union discovered that Hirohito, Ishii Shiro and some others committed grave offences in the preparation and waging of bacteriological warfare. Hence the Soviet Union notified the countries concerned and proposed the establishment of a special military tribunal to put Hirohito, Ishii Shiro and other accomplices on trial. It was a completely lawful and reasonable proposal, but it was unreasonably rejected by the United States. Today Hirohito is not only exempted from trial but is lording it over the Japanese people. It is also learned that Ishii Shiro and the other accomplices, still at large, are now being employed by America to manufacture new bacteriological weapons.

We Chinese people have expressed particular indignation against America's harbouring of bacteriological war criminals, because we have incontrovertible evidence against them.

In a bacteria factory set up by the Japanese near Harbin, a large number of Chinese were seized and subjected to experiments, thus causing the death of more than 3,000 people. Between 1940 and 1941, Japan spread time and again the bacteria of bubonic plague and of other sorts at Ningpo and Changteh in Central China, taking a heavy toll of lives. In one case, all the 12 members of a family died of plague. On the eve of the liberation of Northeast China, when the Japanese troops were destroying the bacteria factory in order to wipe out all traces of their crime, the bacteria spread far and wide. Plague followed, killing a total of 23,171 civilians. How could our Chinese people ever forget the criminal acts of Hirohito, Ishii Shiro and their accomplices?

(4) The United States has not only released, on the pretext of "insufficient evidence," the whole gang of Class A war criminals, it also released all the other war criminals, big and small, awaiting trial. (These criminals were set free in the summer of 1949.) The United States also released war criminals who had been convicted and were serving their sentence. Among these war criminals some were sentenced and turned over for custody to the Allied Headquarters and some were tried and convicted by the International Military Tribunal. But in order to preserve the reactionary forces in Japan and to give a new lease on life to Japanese militarism, the United States has turned batch after batch of them loose. On the pretext of "good behaviour" MacArthur set free in the winter of 1949 over a hundred war criminals. He went a step further on March 7, 1950 when he issued his notorious Directive No. 5, the purpose of which is without doubt to facilitate the release of all convicted Japanese war criminals (including Class A war criminals who had been solemnly sentenced by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, set up by 11 countries). The particulars and conditions provided in the Directive are merely a smoke screen. It is estimated that up to July last, 309 Japanese war criminals have been released under this Directive, including former Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, who was convicted by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. The Soviet Government had since lodged two protests with the United States Government against this Directive issued by MacArthur, one on May 11 and the other on August 25 last year. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China also issued a statement on May 15, 1950, denouncing this preposterous act of the United States. However, the United States went its own way and ignored these protests and statement. By the so-called Japanese peace treaty which is prepared by the United States and is now to be signed at San Francisco, the right of releasing Japanese war criminals will be exercised from now on by the Japanese Government. Thus even the major war criminals convicted by the International Military Tribunal may be set free at will if approval of a majority of the member states of the Military Tribunal is obtained. Such preposter-

ous provisions with regard to the war criminals are unprecedented in history.

Since the United States has taken these war criminals under its wing, it is not difficult to see that all Japanese war criminals may be freed in the near future. Not only will they be set free, it is probable that they will take part in the prospective "U.S.-Japanese Joint Military Committee" and in the U.S.-controlled mercenary Japanese National Defence Army, just as the released Nazi war criminals are today taking part in the U.S.-controlled mercenary "European Army" and "NATO" Army.

Such blustering and selfish acts of bad faith on the part of the United States are a serious insult to the Allies; they are at the same time a grave threat to world peace.

NOW I want to point out to you and bring to your special attention another serious phenomenon; i.e., the American imperialists are not only harbouring and making use of Nazi war criminals in Europe and Japanese war criminals in Asia, but they are producing new war criminals of their own. Ever since the outbreak of the Korean war on June 25, 1950, war criminals "made in U.S.A." have not only made their appearance, but have also shown their ferocity, ruthlessness, cunning and treachery unequaled even by the Nazi or Japanese war criminals.

My statement is no exaggeration and is based on actual facts.

You all remember, when the Syngman Rhee troops on June 25, 1950 started to attack the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the United States in a matter of a few hours gave orders to Douglas MacArthur to send a big air force and to airlift a large infantry force from Japan to Korea to take part in the fighting. It was an entirely pre-arranged blitzkrieg, Hitler style. It was because a few days before, when Dulles made an inspection at the 38th Parallel, decisions had already been reached on Syngman Rhee's attack and on the strategy of American-Syngman Rhee military co-operation. The American war criminals were as unscrupulous as Hitler at the time when he invaded neighbouring countries. The only difference is that the American war criminals are even more cunning than the Hitlerites.

The Korean war, according to international law, is a civil war. No matter under what cloak and under what excuses, the unscrupulous intervention on the part of the United States undoubtedly constitutes an act of aggression. This is a question which has already been thoroughly dealt with in a lengthy article by the highly learned Professor Muszkat carried by a magazine in 1950, and I need not go any further into it here.

Aggression against China is another most unpardonable crime of the American war criminals. It is common knowledge that at the very beginning of the Korean war, not only China and the United States did not declare war on each other, but there was also no armed conflict between them. At that time, the People's Republic of China even took no action on the Korean war, and there was not a single

Chinese volunteer going to Korea. However, without any justification whatsoever, the U.S. immediately gave orders for the occupation of China's sacred territory—Taiwan. This is out and out aggression, Hitler fashion. Even the United States itself knows that this is an unlawful act entirely without reason. That is why even up to the present it has not dared to refer the matter to the United Nations for ratification.

In addition to the occupation of Chinese territory, the United States in the year 1950 repeatedly invaded China's air on numerous occasions. Prior to October 25, 1950, when Chinese volunteers had not yet joined the Korean war, the American air force had already invaded China's air on 200 occasions, employing over one thousand planes. By the end of 1950, the American air force had invaded China's air 328 times, employing a total of 1,406 planes. From January to August 3, this year, the American air force again invaded China's air on 59 occasions, employing a total of 358 planes. As a result of the wanton strafing and bombing by these American planes, many Chinese people have been wounded or killed.

No pretexts whatever can cover up the fact that such actions on the part of these war criminals in forcibly occupying China's territory and violating China's territorial air are acts of naked aggression.

"Aggression," as we have repeatedly pointed out above, is now in international law one of the most serious crimes committed by war criminals. Aggression is the "biggest crime." All those who take part in this crime should be indicted and punished as "Class A war criminals." Therefore, it should not be difficult for us to imagine, that the fate of American politicians and generals who are now taking pleasure in planning and in carrying out a war of aggression will not differ from that of Goering, Ribbentrop, Tojo and Itagaki.

Here I must point out that the United States is not only producing aggressive war criminals, it is also committing the grave crime of breaking peace. It is also producing war criminals who on the Korean battlefield are committing on a large scale crimes against humanity and against the rules and conventions of war.

In the Korean war, with the exception of the atomic bomb, the American imperialists have employed almost all kinds of weapons, including gas and bacteria. Their air-raid targets include civilians, civilian living quarters, hospitals, schools, temples and churches. The objectives of their slaughter are the most defenceless civilians, including women and children.

I am not going to enumerate in detail the atrocities committed by the American and Syngman Rhee troops in Korea, because it would take up a very long time. I think all those who have read the messages sent to the U.N. by the Foreign Minister of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the statements issued by the Investigation Committee of the Korean United Democratic Fatherland Front will understand what the American troops are doing in Korea.

But, friends, I should like to introduce to you a most comprehensive, most impartial and the latest report, that is, the report of July 4, 1951 by the Women's International Commission for the investigation of atrocities committed by the American and Syngman Rhee troops in Korea.

This report is entirely based on facts and figures collected in the investigation on the spot. The chairman of the Commission was Nora K. Rodd, an outstanding Canadian woman.

Time does not allow me to communicate to you the contents of this report, although, as far as we are concerned, they are highly valuable material. Therefore, what I can do here is to quote briefly its concise and forceful conclusions as follows:

(1) **Systematic destruction of food, food stores and food factories.** Forests, ripe harvests and fruit trees are being systematically burned by incendiary bombs, and peasants working in the fields with their draught animals are being killed by machine-gun fire from low-flying planes. By these means the entire people of Korea are doomed to starvation.

(2) **Planned destruction of towns and villages,** many of which can hardly be considered as military objectives or even industrial centres.

(3) **Systematic employment of weapons banned by international law against peaceful civilians,** such as incendiary bombs, napalm bombs, time bombs and the continued strafing of peaceful civilians by low-flying planes.

(4) **Inhuman extermination of the Korean population.** In areas temporarily occupied by the American and Syngman Rhee troops, hundreds of thousands of peaceful civilians, entire families from old men to little children, have been tortured, beaten to death, burned or buried alive. Besides, thousands upon thousands of others have perished from hunger and cold in over-crowded prisons into which they were thrown without charges, investigation, trial or conviction.

Such large-scale slaughter and torture surpassed the atrocities committed by the Hitlerite Nazi bandits during their occupation of Europe.

Friends, please pay special attention to the sentence which I have read just now:

Such large-scale slaughter and torture surpassed the atrocities committed by the Hitlerite Nazi bandits during their occupation of Europe.

On the problem of the responsibility for the atrocities, the conclusion of the report, which is not only to the point and thorough but also complies with the principles of law, deserves our special attention. It says:

"Evidence given by all civilians questioned points to the fact that nearly all these crimes were either perpetrated by U.S. soldiers and officers or else on the order of U.S. officers. Therefore the full responsibility for these atrocities falls on the U.S. Supreme Command in Korea, i.e., on General MacArthur, General Ridgway and other commanders of the invading forces who call themselves the Forces of the U.N. Although these atrocities have been

committed under the command of generals in the field, the full responsibility for them must also rest with the governments who sent their troops to Korea and whose representatives to the U.N. gave their votes in favour of the war in Korea."

IN this short report, I have pointed out that after the conclusion of World War II, marked development has been made in international law concerning the concept of "war crime" and as a result, the scope of prosecution and punishment we may mete out to the "war criminals" has also been greatly expanded.

I have also pointed out that after the conclusion of World War II our trial of war criminals, whether on an international or national basis, has, in fact, made enormous progress as compared with that carried out after the close of World War I and that we have made some praiseworthy achievements in this respect.

But in the past two or three years, the so-called "global strategy" of the American imperialists, which aims at speeding up the rearmament of West Germany and Japan and collaborating with the German and Japanese reactionaries, has not only prevented us from making further achievements but is now destroying the achievements we have already scored.

In Europe, the American imperialists are unscrupulously releasing Nazi war criminals on a large scale and utilising them in the service of their plan for establishing a European mercenary army; in Asia, they have not only set free batch after batch of Japanese war criminals but are now actively employing the latter as their accomplices in their aggression against the Asian people.

At the same time, I have also pointed out that American imperialists have not only released and utilised the old German and Japanese war criminals but are also producing new American war criminals. The American imperialists' aggression against Korea and China and the shocking atrocities they have committed in the Korean war indicate that the American imperialists are following the examples of Nazi Germany and fascist Japan in every way and are going the way of Hitler and Tojo.

Such flagrant and absurd acts of the United States constitute an utter disregard for international law and justice; they are a great insult to the Allies who fought shoulder to shoulder in the last war and especially to the armed forces and the people who laid down their lives in defeating the German and Japanese bandits. In addition to that, it presents a serious menace to the democratic order and world peace.

Therefore, I consider that as democratic jurists we must:

(1) Severely condemn the action of the U.S. Government in arbitrarily releasing German and

Japanese war criminals and utilising them; call upon all the justice-upholding and peace-loving people of the world, including the American people, to rise up in a common struggle against such mean and base actions on the part of the U.S. Government.

(2) Give solemn warnings to the civil and military officers of the U.S. Government and the American soldiers and make it clear to them that they will be condemned as war criminals and liable to severe punishment according to law for instigating, planning or participating in an aggressive war or for committing any atrocities on the battlefields.

Of course, our condemnation and warnings can hardly be expected to have an immediate effect on the U.S. capitalists, politicians and militarists who are aggressive by nature. However, in doing so, we may mobilise all the peace-and-democracy-loving people of the world (including the American people) to rise up courageously and to deal blows, with concerted efforts, to the frantic plot of the American imperialists who are attempting to plunge the world into an abyss of destruction and ruin.

The agenda of the present session includes many items of important and urgent questions, which require our thorough study and discussion. Some of these items are directly related to the questions of dealing with war criminals. They are:

(1) To define the term "aggression." Since aggression is the most heinous crime of war, the definition of aggression must be clearly laid down in law; otherwise the big imperialists may instigate their satellites and use their "voting machine" to brand others as aggressors at will.

(2) To ban war propaganda. War propaganda is undoubtedly a part of the preparation for war. We should openly condemn as war criminals all the propagandists and clamourers for an aggressive war and treat them in the same way as we do those criminals who launch and conduct aggressive war.

(3) To prohibit the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons. The Stockholm Appeal has called for the prohibition of the atomic bomb and the condemnation as war criminals those who should first use the atomic bomb. But it is not enough to ban the atomic bomb alone. We must regard the use of bacteriological and chemical weapons as unlawful and condemn as war criminals those who use any of these weapons and indict and punish them accordingly.

I think there must be a thorough and careful discussion at this conference regarding the questions mentioned above. I solemnly propose that special consideration be given to them.

In conclusion, let me wish this conference complete success!