

SHIRATORI, Toshio

The particulars with regard to SHIRATORI, Toshio, are to be found on page 339 of the chronological summary, and the additional exhibits which directly affect him are: Exhibit No. 2232, R. 16,003, Exhibit No. 2233, R. 16,012, and Exhibit No. 2234, R. 16,027.

From 31 October 1930 to 2 June 1933 he was the official spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, and was decorated for his services in the Manchurian incident, and later for services in the China affair, of the nature of which we have no other knowledge. Ex. 179Q shows him taking part in a discussion as to setting up a new regime in Manchuria.

On 4 November 1935 SHIRATORI advised ARITA, by letter, that the threat of future calamity should be removed while Russia was comparatively impotent. He advocated war if that appeared inevitable in order to shut out completely from advancing into East Asia. (Exh. 774-A, R. 7884).

When OSHIMA was striving for a tri-partite military alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy, SHIRATORI accepted the post of ambassador to Italy and journeyed to Rome in the latter part of December 1938 with the expectation that he would succeed in concluding the military alliance. (Exh. 498, R. 6083). Prior to that time both Ribbentrop and OSHIMA had failed in their efforts to bring Italy into agreement.

SHIRATORI and OSHIMA conferred in matters pertaining to the proposed alliance and advocated an all-out military alliance without reservations. They endeavored to impose their convictions upon the Japanese government and endeavored to influence and direct Japanese policy with regard thereto. On 7 January 1939 SHIRATORI advised Count Ciano that Prime Minister HIRANUMA, who had succeeded Prince KONOYE as Prime Minister on 5 January 1939, was openly in favor of the proposed alliance, but that the new Foreign Minister ARITA was "rather cold toward the idea." (Exh. 499-A, R. 6092). This was followed on 6 February 1939 by a representation to Count Ciano by SHIRATORI that a Japanese counter

proposal would be made which he secretly advised Italy not to accept. (Exhibit 501, P. 6095).

The compromise proposal was brought to Rome in February 1939 by the ITO Commission which was also charged with the duty of explaining to the Japanese ambassadors in Berlin and Rome the views of the government and instructing them that they must work within these views. (Exhibit 487, R. 6072-6079). As SHIRATORI and OSHIMA desired a military treaty without reservations on the part of Japan, they refused to follow the advice of the ITO Commission and refused to communicate the compromise proposal through official channels. They threatened to cause the fall of the cabinet by resigning from their posts unless the government reconsidered its stand. (Exh. 499, R. 6096).

In April the Japanese government reconsidered its stand and presented a new draft of the treaty in connection with which it requested an agreement that in the publication of the pact an explanation be made which would tend to soften the attitude that would likely result on the part of England, France, and America. The reason assigned by the Tokyo Cabinet for the necessity of such a limited interpretation of the pact was that both for political and economic reasons Japan "was at the moment not yet in a position to come forward openly as the opposers of the three Democracies." SHIRATORI and OSHIMA again refused to communicate officially the Japanese government's proposal to the nations to which they were accredited. (Exh. 502, R. 6100).

A German-Russian non-aggression pact was concluded on 23 August 1939 which contributed to the downfall of the HIRANUMA cabinet. On 1 September 1939 Germany invaded Poland. Notwithstanding the temporary setback to the conclusion of a Japan-Germany-Italy military alliance, SHIRATORI continued his efforts to develop closer German-Japanese relations. On 2 September 1939, in a conference with Mackensen, German ambassador to Italy, SHIRATORI expressed the opinion that "with a new Japanese cabinet there was a well-founded chance for successful continuation of the stalled further rapprochement with the Axis powers," and asserted that for the purpose "of being able personally to work more effectively than was possible from Rome he was going to Tokyo." In

another conference in Rome, SHIRATORI emphasized the severe blow that Japanese-German relations had sustained by the conclusion of the German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact and made known the fact that he was one of Germany's friends who "had been laboring to counteract this effect." As for the Japanese protest against the conclusion of the pact, SHIRATORI declared that he had got in touch with the Japanese Embassy in Berlin by telephone and had endeavored to stop it. (Exhibit 2232, R. 16,003).

After SHIRATORI returned to Japan, the German Ambassador reported on 23 February 1940 that SHIRATORI and others remain "in an unchanged, friendly attitude and ready for every support." (Exh. No. 511, Record page 6141).

SHIRATORI and OSHIMA in the summer of 1940 worked in confidential cooperation with the German Embassy in Japan in stirring up Japanese ill feeling against America by influencing the press and political leaders. (Exhibit No. 516, Record page 6152).

On the fall of the Yonai Cabinet, MATSUOKA's appointment as Foreign Minister was generally approved by the press as meaning with certainty that there would be a new orientation of Japanese policy. SHIRATORI and OSHIMA expressed themselves in a similar vein at press interviews, thus lending the weight of their influence to MATSUOKA's policies. (Exhibit No. 536, Record page 6261).

SHIRATORI declined the post of Vice Foreign Minister, but accepted appointment as permanent adviser to the Foreign Minister, in which capacity he considered that he would be able to exercise a far-reaching influence. (Exh. No. 538, Record page 6265). The new government formed a commission of twenty-four leading persons, consisting mostly of followers of the policy of cooperation with the Axis powers, with the aim of planning suitable action for the adjustment of state affairs on an authoritarian basis. SHIRATORI was appointed the representative for foreign political matters on this commission. (Exh. 548, Record page 6296).

He held the post of adviser until 22 July 1941, when he resigned owing to ill health. On July 7th (Exh. 1113, R. 10,157) and again on August 1st (Exh. 800, R. 7967) Ott stated that he was intending to resume an activist policy, and advocated war against Russia.

The Tri-Partite Military Alliance was concluded on 27 September 1940. Soon thereafter SHIRATORI endeavored to unite the nation behind the Pact by publication of various articles, one of which was entitled "The Three-Power Pact and the World of Tomorrow." In this article, SHIRATORI stated that the character of the New Order to be created under the leadership of the three powers was to be considered in the light of the fact that the three powers had discarded the ideologies of individualism and democracy and had adopted the totalitarian point of view. In Japan, he asserted, the nation had revolved against the so-called evils of liberalistic civilization and its dissatisfaction had found expression in the form of the Manchurian Incident of 1931. This Incident was a challenge externally to unjust conditions long forced upon mankind by the democratic powers, and internally to all alien ideals and thoughts grafted upon the Japanese people. The characteristics of this movement in Japan, he said, had become accentuated in the current China affair the ultimate object of which, in consonance with the classic expression Hakko Ichiu adopted as a national slogan, was the establishment of a New Order in East Asia. Unless the present was understood in the light of these statements, it was said, the real nature of the New World Order of Tomorrow which is to be established through Japanese-German-Italian cooperation could not be understood. (Exh. No. 557, Record page 6405).

In November 1940 SHIRATORI assembled in one publication a series of lectures which he had given all over Japan and which had appeared in newspapers and magazines from time to time since his return from his ambassadorship in Rome. His purpose in re-publication of these articles was to explain the world-wide significance of the Tri-Partite Pact. These articles have been read in evidence so recently that it is not

considered necessary to quote them at length in this argument in order to demonstrate the leading part that SHIRATORI played in moulding public opinion in Japan in favor of aggressive policies. However, it may be appropriate to quote several excerpts which are worthy of particular notice. (Exhibit 2234, R. 16,029).

In December 1939 SHIRATORI stated: "I feel there is no need for hesitation in determining JAPAN's future foreign policy. In fact, ever since JAPAN embarked on her continental policy with the Manchurian Incident, her foreign policy has been established, and to back out of or swerve from it now is not permissible. Still, the presence of two different opinions in JAPAN today, and the fact that the people are hesitating between them, is truly a wonder of this world. However, this is a transitory phenomenon. The inevitability of history cannot be altered by human power. In the long run, that which is bound to happen, will probably happen. However, the domestic and foreign situations at present will not allow hesitation and indecision for long. *** The New Order of East Asia is linked with the New Order of the world. The New Order cannot be realized in this part of the world alone if the rest of the world adheres to the Old Order or goes back in the opposite direction." (Exhibit 2234, R. 16,034-16,035).

In an address delivered in November 1939, SHIRATORI stated, "I firmly believe that the fact that this war has broken out can be developed in favor of Japan according to her aims and policies." (Exhibit No. 2234, Record page 16,040). He continued, "Germany today will never be defeated, even under the worst possible conditions. Therefore, we reach the conclusion that there will be no great danger, if Japan, today, does show good-will to GERMANY and fights on her side. Furthermore, if the countries that are trying to establish a new order in EUROPE should not be able to win, it would be impossible for the JAPANESE people to construct a new order in ASIA. Generally speaking,

the old order in EUROPE and ASIA is represented by Britain and France. If the countries that are endeavouring to maintain this old order cannot be defeated, a new order cannot be established either in the Occident or in the Orient. JAPAN, GERMANY and ITALY are all countries whose mission it is to build in cooperation the new world order. Even without concluding a treaty, the aim of the three powers is one." (Exhibit No. 2234, Record page 16,042).

On 31 January 1941 the German ambassador to Japan reported that SHIRATORI was one of the leaders of the group advocating a preventive attack on Singapore. Such a surprise action, it was considered, would deprive the United States of the possibility of military warfare in the Pacific. (Exhibit No. 562, Rec. 6429). In another report from the German ambassador on 25 March 1941 it was stated that SHIRATORI stressed the necessity of tying up the British fleet. (Exhibit No. 576, R. 6476). SHIRATORI, from time to time, communicated important information to the German Ambassador to Japan. (Exhibit 800, R. 7968).

On 17 May 1942 he was one of those singled out by the German embassy in Tokyo for a German decoration of the Grand Cross. I quote from the citation, "For a long time he was the principal advocate of intimate co-operation with Germany. Member of the new Diet after recovering his health, SHIRATORI will probably again play an important part in foreign and home politics." (Exhibit No. 1272, R. 11352).

While he is specially concerned with Count 5, we submit that he was in the general conspiracy from the beginning, and responsible under all the Counts in which he is charged.