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TOJO

The particulars in respect of the accused TOJO are to be found at page 342 of the Summary.

His history is one of steady and rapid advancement throughout the life of the conspiracy, from the position of colonel and section chief of the Army General Staff, through increasingly important and powerful positions, until as War Minister in the third KONCYE Cabinet, he attained such power that he brought about the fall of that cabinet, became Premier and War Minister, led Japan to attack the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands, during the earlier years of the war with these countries and until the beginning of her final defeat,

As Colonel, as Section Chief (1 Aug 1931-5 March 1934) and as Major General Commander of the 24th Infantry Brigade (1 Aug 1934-1 Aug 1935) TOJO played a sufficiently important part in the Manchurian Aggressions to be awarded a declaration for his services. (Exh. 128).

His further activity in Manchuria continued while he was chief of the Kwantung Military Police (21 Sept. 1935 and 7 March 1937), Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, and Japanese Member of the Manchukuo Joint Economic Committee (1 Mar 1937-30 May 1938).

On 9 June 1937 TOJO telegraphed the Vice War Minister and Chief of Staff in reference to operations for war against the U.S.S.R. and advised that Japan should first deliver a blow against China by attacking Manking and thereby "removing the menace in the rear." (Exh. 672, R. 7337). It is significant that this occurred within a month.

From his position in the field TOJO graduated to be Vice Minister of War, and simultaneously held numerous posts connected with other departments. (30 May 1938-10 Dec. 1938). He acted as Inspector General of Army Air Forces (10 Dec. 1938-22July 1940); then as War Minister (22 July 1940-18 October 1941); and finally as Premier and War Minister, holding from time to time other ministries.

He was decorated for his services in the China "Incident" on 29 April 1940. Doc. No. 0003

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On 22 July 1940 TOJO and MATSUOKA collaborated in drawing an authoritative foreign policy program for Japan (Exh. 573, R. 6262); on 1 August 1940 he attended a Four Minister Conference, which stressed German-Japanese friendship and cooperation (Ex. 542, R. 6278); on 4 September 1940 another Four Minister Conference concerning strengthening of the Japanese-German-Italian Axis was attended by TOJO (Exh. 541, R. 6307); on 26 September 1940 a conference of the Investigation Committee of the Privy Council was held at which TOJO, HOSHINO and MUTO were present and at which the matter of the conclusion of the Tri-Partite Pact and the condition of the army for war with the United States were discussed (Exh. 552, R. 6350); the same day the Privy Council, with TOJO and HOSHINO present, approved a draft of the Tri-Partite Pact (Exh. 553, 1030, R. 6379);

On 27 September 1940 the Tri-Partite Pact was signed. At that time TGJO was War Minister, President of the Manchuria Affairs Board and Vice President of the China Affairs Board (Exh. 43). In the Imperial Rescript issued on that day the names of TOJO and HOSHINO appear as principal officers of the Government (Exh. 554, R. 6394).

It will thus be observed that TOJO's interests and activities by this time had embraced the Kwantung Army (the school of militarism and ultra-nationalism), Manchuria, China, relations with Germany and Italy, and possible war with the United States. All these are the very core of the conspiracies pleaded and proved in this case.

Furthermore:

On 5 and 21 November 1940, TOJO attended ministers' conferences at which it was decided to help Siam in her boundary fight with French Indo-China, and to make her cooperate politically and economically in the establishment of a New Order in East Asia (Ex. 518-A, R. 5875).

At Limison Conferences, as TOJA himself tells us, the decisions and proposals were made and formulated which were later presented to and adopted by Imperial Conferences At Limison Conferences decisions were made, not by a majority, but were unanimous. (R. 10,173).

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Some idea of the activity of TOJO and of his close association with his co-defendants may be gathered from an analysis of the Liaison Conferences held between 13 January and 30 June, 1941, which was a very jmportant period in this conspiracy. Examination of Exh. 1103 (R. 10057-10063) discloses 29 such conferences. The accused present included:

	тојо	-	at	29	conferences
	MUTO		at	27	conferences
	OKA	-	at	23	conferences
	HIRANUMA	-	at	27	conferences
	MATSUOKA	-	at	26	conferences
	NAGANO	-	at	16	conferences

Further notice should be taken that as the moves were being made toward further aggression southward (French Indo-China, July 24, 1941), and for war upon the United States and Britain, a decision was reached at the meeting of July 21 that the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and other ministers should meet with the High Command and the War Minister, the Navy Minister, and the Chiefs of Staff, to exchange views on mational policies. (R. 10064). Thereafter these meetings were no longer published.

On 2 July, 1941, TOJO, SUZUKI, HIRANUMA and OKA attended an Imperial Conference at which important decisions in reference to Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, disposition of the China Incident, matters connected with the Northern Problems were made, and a decision to remove all obstacles in attaining Japan's policy to pursue her schemes against French-Inde-China and Thailand, to negotiate and "take measures" with relevant nations to the south to secretly arm against the Soviet and prepare for war against Britain and the United States, was made. (Exh. 529, TEOT. 279, B. 6566).

The Imperial Conference of 6 September, 1941, attended by TOJO, SUZUKI, MUTO and OKA, decided:

- (1) That Japan would continue her southern advance;
- (2) That Japan would complete her plans aiming at war with the United States, Britain and the Netherlands;

- (3) That Japan would try to gain her demands by diplomatic means and if not successful, by early October, would determine on war with the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands;
- (4) That she would try to check the formation of any Russo-American Combine).

(Exhs. 588, 1107, R. 8814) About October 12, 1941, TOJO made the final moves in the plan which was to lead him to the Premiership and Japan to attack the United States, Britain and the Netherlands. At a meeting between himself, KONOYE, OIKAWA (the Navy Minister), SUZUKI (President of the Planning Board), and the Foreign Minister, TOJO demanded a strong resolution for war. OIKAWA wanted to avoid war, (Exh. 1147, R. 10246, Exh. 1148, R.10251; Exh. 1136-4, R. 10272).

At a Cabinet Meeting of 14 October, there was a deadlock on this subject, (Exh. 1148, R. 10258-10263).

On October 15, SUZUKI delivered a message from TOJO to KIDO that unless KONOYE came to TOJO's views, a general resignation of the cabinet would be inevitable. (Exh. 1150, R. 10276). Later SUZUKI phoned KIDO that TOJO's idea was to establish harmony between the Army and Navy (Exh. 1150, R. 10276).

The result was that the KONOYE Cabinet resigned (Ex. 10285), TOJO became Prime Minister, OIKAWA was deposed as Navy Minister, SHIMADA took his place, and NAGANO continued as Chief of the Naval General Staff. TOJO had gained his ends - with SHIMADA as Navy Minister and NAGANO as Chief of the General Staff, harmony was restored - there would be no dissent to the attacks on Pearl Harbor, Khota Bahru, Davao and Hongkong.

On October 31, TOJO, KAYA, SHIMADA, gave final directions for the handling of military currency in dollars, pesos and guilders for the use of Japanese invading armies of the south. (Exh. 850, R. 8458).

The Imperial Conference of 5 November 1941, attended by TOJO, TOGO, SHIMADA, KAYA, SUZUKI, HOSHINO, MUTO and OKA, (Exhs. 1169, 1807,

R. 10333), and that of 1 December 1941, attended by TOJO, TOGO, SHIMARA, KAYA, SUZUKI, NAGANO, MUTO and OKA (Exhs. 588, 1107, R. 18519) made final decisions for war against the United States, Britain and the Notherlands.

Further details are unnecessary. In his interrogation of 7 February, 1945, TOJO admitted his responsibility (with other members of the cabinet and army and navy chiefe), for the attacks on Pearl Harber, and United States and British possessions. (Exh. 1243-A, R. 10706).

A consideration of all of the evidence leads to the inevitable conclusion that TOJO was one of the "young army" officers who in the early days of the conspiracy plotted for the conquest of all East Asia, that he served in that conspiracy with ever-extending importance throughout the Menchurian and Chinese wars of aggression to become the effective leader of the conspiracy on 18 October 1941, and to continue to lead it until 22 July 1944. His direct responsibility for the tragedy of the Prisoners of War and other outrages has been so amply proved, and admitted, that it is needless to labour it by quotations.

It is submitted that TOJO is criminally liable for every crime of which he is accused.