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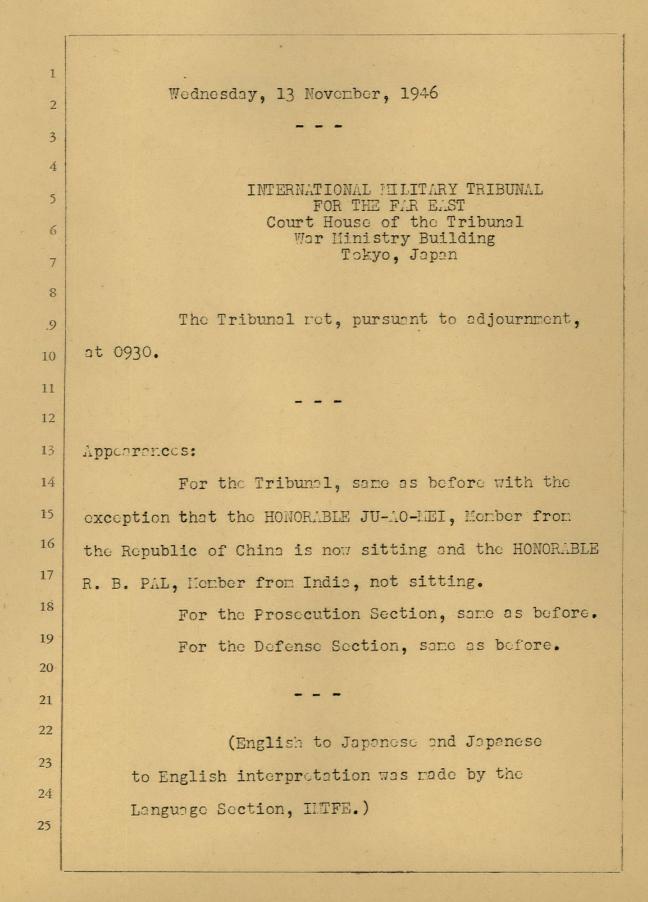
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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session.

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THE PRESIDENT: All the accused are present except OKAWA and HIRANUMA, who are represented by their respective counsel. We have a certificate from the prison surgeon at Sugamo certifying that the accused HIRANUMA is too ill to attend today. The certificate will be recorded and filed.

10 MR. FIHELLY: We had reached in the chrono-11 logical order of events yesterday, the date October 16, 12 1941.

We next offer in evidence a further extract from the KIDO Diary of October 16, 1941, International Prosecution document 1632-W-80, which relates to the resignation of the third KONOYE Cabinet.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
No. 1632-W-80 will receive exhibit No. 1151.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1151, and was received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution exhibit No. 1151:

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1	"Extract from Entry from Marquis KIDO's
2	Diary, 16 Oct 41.
3	"At 8:30 a.m. President SUZUKI visited me,
4	and we discussed the Prince's Cabinet. The reasons I
5	gave him for opposing the Prince's Cobinet are as
6	fellews:
7	"1. The formation of a Prince's Cabinet
8	should be carried out only when unoveidable, for ex-
9	ample, when, even if the army and Navy agree, force
10	of circunstance makes it necessary to have a Prince
11	of the blood solve their difficulties.
12	"2. The difficulties which were discussed
13	last night have not been solved, and the Prince should
14	not be expected to overcome them.
15	"3. In a way the formation of this Prince's
16	Crbinet would indicate that we lacked a suitable per-
17	son among our subjects, and a great problem would be
18	created if war with the U.S.L. were to break out when
19	such a Cabinet existed. There were important reasons
20	why even Prince KONOYE was prevented from carrying out
21	the policies decided at Councils in the Imperial pres-
22	
23	ence, and if we ask a member of the Inverial House to
24	assume a responsibility he cannot fulfil, it would
25	cruse the Imperial Hause to become an object of public
	hatrod."

1	"At 3:00 p.m. War Minister TOJO called on
2	me to report on the pressing political situation. I
3	opposed his idea of the Prince's Cabinet for the same
4	reasons which I had made clear to SUZUKI. I urged the
5	revision of the resolution of the Council in the In-
6	perial presence, and a unified policy for the Army and
7	the Navy, two fundamental factors without which no
8	national progress could be expected.
9	"At 4:00 p.m. Prince KONOYE telephoned to
. 10	say that the Cabinet was going to resign 'en bloc'. I
11	was astanished by the suddenness of this announcement.
12	I visited the Emperor at 4 p.m. to report upon the
13	general resignation of the KONOYE Cabinet. At 5 p.n.
14	Prince KONOYE tendered the Cabinet Ministers' resigna-
15	tions to the Throne. I was received in audience by
16	the Emperer from 5:30 p.m. to 5:45 p.m. to answer his
17	questions regarding the succeeding Cabinet."
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And as a part ---1 THE PRESIDENT: It seems in the penultimate 2 paragraph you should have inserted: "I pointed out 3 that the decisions made at the Imperial Conference on 4 September 6 were rather careless, and I urged. . ." 5 MR. FIHELLY: There is inserted at the bottom 6 in ink, there is a line which should have gone in the 7 fifth paragraph, as your Honor was just reading: 8 9 "I pointed out that the decisions made at 10 the Imperial Conference on September 6 were rather 11 careless, and I urged the revision of the resolution. . .' 12 as I read it. 13 We now offer in evidence International Prose-14 cution document 1468-A, which is KONOYE's letter of 15 resignation. 16 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 17 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 18 No. 1468-A will receive exhibit No. 1152. 19 (Whereupon, the document above 20 referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 21 No. 1152, and was received in evidence.) 22 MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution exhibit 23 No. 1152. 24 "LETTER OF RESIGNATION AS PRIME MINISTER 25 BY PRINCE FUMIMARO KONOYE TO H. M. THE EMPEROR

"By His Majesty's Humble Servant, Fumimaro

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"When I, Your Majesty's humble servent un-2 expectedly received an Imperial Command to organize 3 4 a Cabinet for a third time, it was my firm conviction 5 that, in order that we can manage the present politi-6 cal situation so as to enable future national expan-7 sion, we must find a speedy solution for the China 8 Incident by adjusting relations with the United States 9 on friendly terms. Therefore, I have expressed my 10 wishes to the United States Government soliciting an 11 opportunity for friendly parleys.

"Recently, however, Army Minister TOJO, who 13 judged that such negotiations could not possibly be 14 materialized before the desired time (about the middle 15 or latter part of October), and who believed the sit-16 uation had come to a point 'When no other means can 17 be found to carry through our demands ..! found in 18 the 3rd article of 'An Outline of How to Execute the 19 National Policies of Our Empire, ' which met Imperial 20 senction following the conference in the presence of 21 His Majesty held on the 6th of September, this year, 22 has come to the conclusion that the time has arrived 23 to open war against the United States. 24

"When I consider the matter carefully, however, I still believe that provided we have ample

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1 time, not only is it erroneous to think that all nego-2 tiations with the United States are hopeless but that 3 even the most difficult question involved, the ques-4 tion of withdrawing our troops, can be settled if we 5 take the attitude of yielding to her in appearance 6 by keeping for us the substance and casting away the 7 It is utterly impossible for Your Majesty's name. 8 humble servent Fumimero, who is feeling much respon-9 sibility ever since the outbreak of the China Inci-10 dent, to endure plunging the nation again into a 11 titanic war the outcome of which cannot be forecast 12 when even the Chine Incident has not yet been settled. 13 "For these reasons Fumimaro believes that 14 now is the time for the Government and the military

15 to cooperate in unity towards materializing our ne-16 gotiations with the United States by exerting our 17 very utmost, thus to bring about settlement with 18 China, which is now urgent necessity from the stand-19 20 point of recovering national strength as well as stabilizing popular morale. And if we have any desire for advancing our national fortunes now is the very time for us to step back a bit to prepare for a forward leap, and to make the people struggle forward more bravely for the sovereign and the state enduring hardship and privation. "

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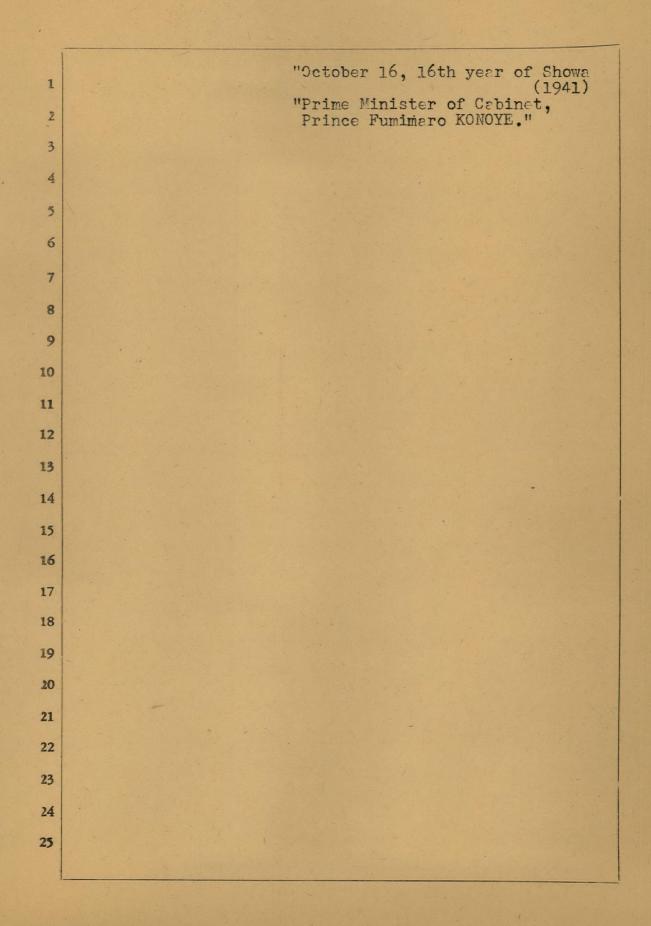
"I. Your Majesty's humble servent, have hund done my best to prevail upon Army Minister TOJO by 2 laying open to him my inmost feelings. However, the 3 Army Minister persistently claimed that though he 4 perfectly understood the toil and feelings of the 5 Prime Minister, it was impossible to consent to the 6 withdrawal of troops from the standpoint of main-7 taining their morale, and moreover, that once the 8 United States was yielded to, she would apply still 9 more overbearing measures and might even forget 10 where to stop; and that even if the China Affair was 11 settled, it was possible that a repture might occur 12 again in two or three years; and that as internal 13 weaknesses were existant both in the United States 14 and Japan we should not lose this opportunity for a 15 16 wer with her.

"I, Fumimero, conferred with him on four
separate occasions but have failed to make him agree
with me, and am now unable to carry on the grave
responsibilities of assisting the Throne according
to my own convictions, due solely to my want of
abilities, for which I humbly beg Your Majesty's
pardon.

"I, Your Majesty's humble servant, beseech Your Majesty to release me from this important post."

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We next offer in evidence International Prosecution document 2501-A, which is an extract from the TOJO interrogation of February 11, 1946, pages 2 to 5, and ask that the parent document be marked for identification.

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CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2501 will receive exhibit No. 1153 for identification only.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1153 for identification.)

THE PRESIDENT: The excerpt is admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2501-A, an excerpt from the foregoing, will be given exhibit No. 1153-A.

(Whereupon, the document above
referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 1153-A, and was received in evidence.)
MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution
exhibit 1153-A, from pages 4 and 5 of the interrogation
found on pages 1 and 2 of the exhibit referring to
the general date October 17, 1941.

24 "Q Did you feel, at the time the KONOYE25 Cabinet fell on or about 17 October 1941, that war

should be declared against the United States and the other three nations? 2

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11 A At that time I felt, as War Minister. that the opportune time for fighting was in danger of being lost and the Imperial Conference had set the middle ten days of October as the limit for waiting for a favorable diplomatic break."

Page 5 of the interrogation extract:

110 Was it not because of the fact that you, as War Minister, favored war with the United States that the KONOYE Cabinet fell on or about 17 October 1941?

"A Theoretically, yes. KONOYE thought that a diplomatic solution was still possible if Japan would withdraw troops from China, but the Army felt that there would be no guarantee that the unlawful acts of the Chinese, which had caused the Incident, would not be resumed if the troops were withdrawn before their purpose had been achieved, and the Army could not bear to so withdraw the troops."

Following the resignation of the third KONOYE Cabinet, a Senior Statesmen's Conference was convened by KIDO and at this conference the defendant KIDO proposed the name of the defendent TOJO as the new Premier. KIDO's account of this is set forth in

1 his diary entry of October 17, 1941, which we now 2 offer in evidence, International Prosecution document No. 1632-W-81. 3 4 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 5 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 6 No. 1632-W-81 will receive exhibit No. 1154. 7 (Whereupon, the document above 8 referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 9 No. 1154, and was received in evidence.) 10 MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution 11 exhibit 1154, the KIDO Diary extract of October 17, 12 1941. 13 "At 11 a.m. Chief Secretary MATSUDAIRA 14 visited me to make arrangements for a senior state-15 men's conference. It was held from 1:10 p.m. to 16 3:45 p.m. in the west ante-chamber of the Palace. 17 Those present were Viscount KIYOURA (92 years old). 18 Mr. WAKATSUKI. Admiral OKADA, General HAYASHI, Mr. 19 HIROTA, General ABE, Admiral YONAL, all ex-Premiers 20 and President of the Privy Council EARA. I explained 21 the situation of the general resignation. Mr. 22 WAKATSUKI recommended General UGAKI as the succeed-23 ing Premier, and General HAYASHI discussed the 24 HIGASHIKUNI Cabinet. 25

"I asserted that the most important things

1 were the revision of the decision of the last Council 2 in the Imperial presence and the unity of opinion 3 between the Army and Navy. I suggested a TOJO 4 Cabinet as a solution of these problems, with 5 TOJO as Premier and War Minister, even though he 6 is on military service. I met no objection to my 7 proposal, Mr. HIROTA, General ABE, and Mr. HARA, S giving me positive approval. The meeting broke 9 up at 4 p.m. I reported to the Emperor the details 10 of the progress of the ex-Premiers Conference and 11 talked with him until 4:15 p.m. The War Minister 12 proceeded to the Palace at the request of the 13 Emperor to receive the Imperial Order for the formation 14 of a new Cabinet. This was followed by the visit of 15 Navy Minister OIKAWA to whom the Emperor gave advice 16 to the effect that the unity of opinions between 17 the Army and the Navy were very desirable. I passed 13 on to them in an ante-room the following message 19 as ordered by the Emperor. In deciding the fundamental 20 policy of our country we need not necessarily follow 21 the decisions of the Council in the Imperial presence 22 on the 6th of September, but should study carefully 23 conditions both at home and abroad." 24

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1	We next offer in evidence an entry from the
2	KIDO Diary of October 18, 1941, International Prosecu-
3	tion document 1632-W-110, which relates to the defen-
4	dant TOJO remaining in active military service when
5	he was Premier and also being a full general.
6	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
7	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
8	No. 1632-W-110 will receive exhibit No. 1155.
•9	(Whereupon, the document above
10	referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
11	No. 1155, and was received in evidence.)
12	MR. FIHELLY: I now read the entry of
13	October 18, prosecution exhibit 1155:
14	"I proceeded to the Palace at 9 a.m. and was
15	received in audience by the Emperor at 9:15 to pre-
16	sent a memorial to the throne from Prince KANIN, to
17 13	which the Emperor gave his sanction. The memorial
	was concerned with War Minister TOJO's remaining on
19 20	active service and with his promotion to full general.
	"Went to"
21	I agree there is nothing important in the
22	rest of it, unless someone else wants me to read it.
23	There is one statement: "War Minister TOJO
24	was received in audience at 3 and presented the list
25	of his cabinet members."

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2	We now come to an extract from the KIDO
3	Diary of October 20, 1941, relating to the appointment
4	of TOJO as Premier and the part that the defendant
5	KIDO played in it. This is International Prosecution
6	document No. 1632-W-82, which we now offer in evidence.
7	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
8	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
9	No. 1632-W-82 will receive exhibit No. 1156.
, 10	(Whereupon, the document above
11	referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
12	No. 1156, and was received in evidence.)
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MR. FIHELLY: We put this entry in evidence in fairness to the defendant KIDO, but it will be for the Tribunal to form its own opinion as to KIDO's real motives in sponsoring TOJO for the premiership. I now read from prosecution exhibit No. 1156, KIDO's entry of October 20, 1941:

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"I received gracious words from His Majesty on account of my efforts in connection with the cabinet change. I was truly moved.

"I told His Majesty that one mistaken step 10 taken in the present cabinet change might have inad-11 vertently plunged us into war. After careful consider-12 ation I believe this to be the only way of giving a new 13 turn to the situation and had thus recommended it. His 14 Majesty understood me well replying 'As it is said you 15 know, -- 'He who will not go into the tiger's den will 16 not get the tiger cub.' 17

"I was impressed."

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please. THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Logan.

21 MR. LOGAN: We seriously object to prosecu-22 tion making statements that he intends to show Marquis 23 KIDO's real motive. In the first place, it is assuming 24 that there are two different motives and I am quite 25 certain that these documents as submitted of entries from Marquis KIDO's diary, when correctly translated and correctly interpreted, will show there is only one real reason, not two different reasons as the prosecution is trying to present to this Tripunal.

THE PRESIDENT: It is too early to have discussions about the meaning of documents. We are confined, for the time being, to their actual wording.

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8 MR. FIHELIN: If I may say, Mr. President, I 9 think counsel is mistaken in saying that I mode such 10 a statement. I said we were offering this entry in 11 fairness to KIDO and it was for the Tritunal to ascer-12 tain what his real motives were. That is all I said.

THE PRESIDENT: You may have given the impression that you questioned his motives.

15 MR. FIHELLY: Having reached the point where 16 the Cabinet was formed which held office at the out-17 break of the Pacific War and for some time thereafter, 18 we desire to call the Court's attention to the positions, if any, held during the regime of the TCJO 19 20 Cabinet until the Pearl Herbor and associated attacks 21 by each of the Accused, as shown by Prosecution exhibits 22 Nos. 102 to 129, inclusive.

TOJO was Prime Minister, War Minister and for
 a short time Home Minister, President of the China
 Affairs Board and a Supreme War Councillor. TOGO was

Foreign Minister, Overseas Minister, Vice President 1 of the China Affairs Board and a Supreme War Councillor. 2 SHIMADA was Navy Minister and Vice President of the 3 China Affairs Board. KAYA was Finance Minister and 4 Vice President of the China Affairs Board. SUZUKI was 5 Minister of State and President of the Planning Board 6 and a member of the Committee on Thought Control and 7 the Total War Institute and Chief Director of the China 8 Affairs Bureau. HOSHINO was a Minister of State and 9 was Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. KIDO was Lord 10 Keeper of the Privy Seal. KIMURA was Vice Minister of 11 War. OSHIMA was imbassedor in Berlin and Japanese 12 member of the German-Italian-Japanese Special Council 13 in Berlin. 14

The following accused were holding naval and 15 military appointments. NAGANO was Chief of the Naval 16 General Staff and a Supreme War Councillor. MUTO was 17 Chief of the Military Affairs Board in the Foreign 18 Ministry, and SATO was his Chief /ssistant and Secre-19 20 tary of a number of government committees, OKA held the corresponding position in the Navy Ministry as 21 Chief of the Bureau of Naval and Military Affairs and 22 23 Assistant to the Navy Minister in Imperial Headquarters. 24 He was also a Japanese member of the German-Italian-25 Japanese Mixed Experts Committee in Tokyo and a

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Councillor of the Bureau of Manchurian Affairs. . DOHIHARA was Chief of the Air Inspectorate and a 2 Supreme War Councillor. HATA was Commander-in-Chief 3 of the Expeditionary Force in Central China. ITAGAKI 4 5 was Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army and Ambassador to Manchukuo. MINAMI was Governor-General 6 of Korea. Of the remainder, SHIGEMITZU was an adviser 7 8 to the Foreign Ministry. KOISO was a general on the 9 reserve list. MATSUI, a general retired. HIRANUMA 10 and HIROTA were ex-Premiers and as such attended the 11 meetings of Schior Statesmen. The former was also a 12 member of the Thought Control Committee. OKAWA was 13 Director General of the East Asia Research Institute 14 attached to the South Manchuria Railway, while ARAKI, 15 HASHIMOTO and SHIRATORI, as well as the deceased 16 MATSUOKA, had ceased to hold any official positions. 17 THE PRESIDENT: Major Furness.

18 MR. FURNESS: If the Court please, I think
19 at least two, errors were made in that statement: one,
20 that MUTO had my connection with the Foreign Office;
21 two, that during this period SHIGEMITSU held any office
22 in the government.

THE PRESIDENT: Captain Brooks. MR. BROOKS: In the case of General KOISO, I would like for the record to show that in 1940, July

1	the 22nd, the exhibit referring to General KOISO shows
2	that he retired at that time as a private citizen, did
3	not have any official or military post for a period of
4	years after 1940. Exhibit 114, to which learned
5	counsel has referred, shows that he was placed on the
6	reserve list, at his own request, on July 29, 1938,
7	and retired from military service since that period.
8	THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Howard.
9	MR. HOWARD: Mr. President, we think that the
10	prosecutor was in error when he stated Mr, HOSHINO was a
11	Minister of State at that time.
12	THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Levin.
13	MR. LEVIN: Mr. President, I would like to
14	suggest the impropriety of again referring to a matter
15	which is already in evidence. The personnel record
16	of each of the accused was put in evidence in the
17	early stages of this case. It seems to us it is a
18	matter of summation and argument to direct attention
19	to particular evidence that is already in the case,
20	and under the circumstances we object to the reference
21	to evidence that is already in.
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Goldberg & Spratt

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THE PRESIDENT: Well, it is a great convenience to the Court to have the names of the accused who are alleged to have been taking part in the more important events as we receive the evidence of those events, but only, of course, if we get correct information.

MR. FIHELLY: We will check the record again. MR. LEVIN: My associates call my attention to the fact that the statement with reference to General Suzuki was also inaccurate. We will correct it at the proper time.

MR. FIHELLY: This data, Mr. President, was taken from the exhibits I have mentioned -- 102 to 129. I will be glad to go over it again and also take into consideration the statements counsel made in that connection and make any proper statement to the Court if the corrections are warranted.

THE PRESIDENT: You might revise the exhibit. Perhaps it is not quite correct.

MR. FIHELLY: We will be glad to check on that too, your Honor.

We now offer in evidence International Prosecution document No. 4160-A, extracts from the TOJO interrogation of January 28, 1946, pages 1 and 2. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

1	MR. FIHELLY: I ask that the basic one be
2	marked for identification.
3	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
4	No. 4160 will receive exhibit No. 1157 for identifi-
5	cation only.
6	(Whereupon, the document above-
7	mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit
ß	· No. 1157 for identification only.)
9	CLERK OF THE COURT: And the excerpt there-
10	from, to-wit, document No. 4160-A, will receive
11	exhibit No. 1157-A.
12	(Whereupon, the document above
13	referred to was marked prosecution's ex-
14	hibit No. 1157-A and received in evidence.)
15	MR. FIHELLY: I now read the extracts from
16.	prosecution's exhibit No. 1157-A from the interroga-
17	tion of January 28, 1946:
13	"Q. On 20 January 1941, Mr. Yosuke MATSUOKA,
19	who was then Foreign Minister in the Japanese Govern-
20	ment, is reported to have said to the Diet in part:
21	"'Needless to say, the aim of Japanese foreign
22	policy is that of enabling all nations of the world
23	each to take its own proper place in accordance with
24	the spirit of Hakko Ichiu, the ideal which inspired
25	the foundation of our Empire. The object of the

Three-Power Pact, concluded between Japan, Germany, and Italy, on September 27 last, is none other than the realization of the same great ideal.... The pact states that Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of the Japanese in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia.'

"Q Did you agree with this at that time? "A. I do not remember whether this was spoken on the main floor of the House or not, but I think it is reasonable. I did agree with it at that time.

"Q. Did not Japan, by the terms of the Three-Power Pact, also recognize the leadership of Germany and Italy in the European sphere?

"A. Yes. I have explained before that by the word 'leadership', it was intended that the one Power would have the initiative. The language of the Three-Power Pact differs slightly from this quotation in that the words 'position of leadership' are specifically mentioned. One thing I would like to remind you of - at that time I was not Premier, I was only "Var Minister so I didn't have the responsibility for administration.

24 "Q. You became Premier in October of 1941, did 25 you not?

"A. Yes.

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2	net,	from	that	time	on,	wor	k ai	nd ac	et in a	ccor	dance	9
3	with	those	same	pri	ncip	les	sta	ted,	first,	by	MATSI	JOKA
4	and,	secon	dly t	by the	e Tr	ipar	tit	e Pad	et?			4
5		"А.	Yes,	Of	cou	rse	we	did.'	r			
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We next offer in evidence International Prosecution document No. 4160-B, which contains extracts from the TOJO interrogation of January 28, 1946. page 3, and ask that the parent document be marked for identification.

6 CLERK OF THE COURT: It is the same one.
7 MR. FIHELLY: I see, it has already been
8 marked. I see. Pardon me. So we only want the
9 extract.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
 No. 4160-B will receive exhibit No. 1157-B.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1157-B and received in evidence.)

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¹⁶ IR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution's
¹⁷ exhibit No. 1157-B, the extract from interrogation
¹⁸ of January 28, 1946:

"Q Did not the sphere of influence to be
allotted to Germany and Italy in Europe also include
countries they were then at war with, such as England?

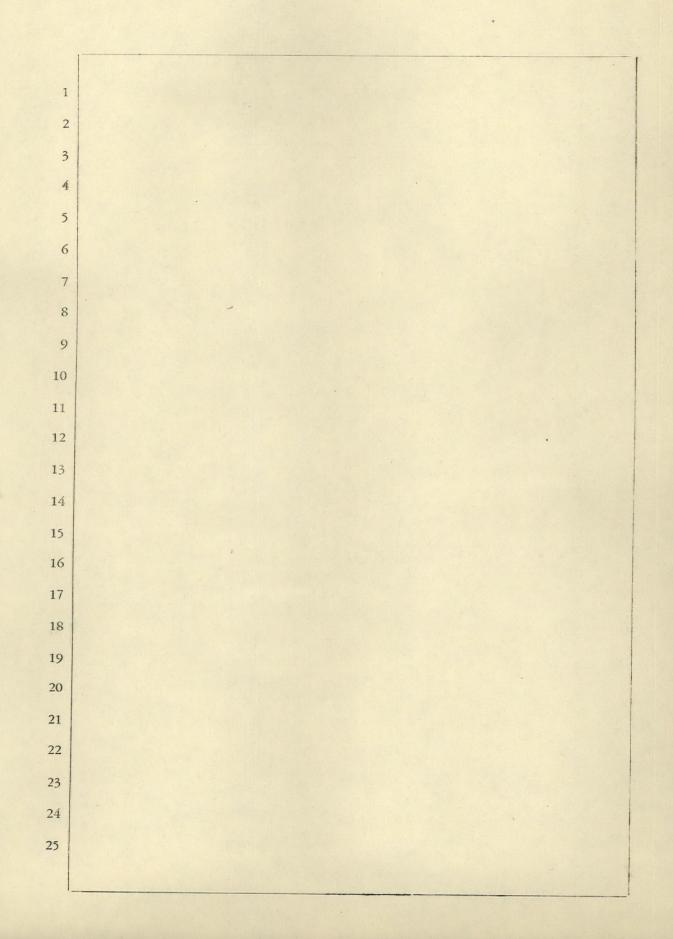
"A No. England was not, I believe, included, nor were Spain or Portugal included in this sphere. I believe that the general matter of what countries were to be included in the new order in Europe and

1	the new order in Asia was probably discussed between
2	Japan and Germany based upon the distribution of
3	forces at that time.
4	"Q Then as soon as countries were conquered,
5	they were to be added to this sphere?
6	"A Yes."
7	We next offer in evidence International
8	Prosecution document No. 4160-C, which contains
9	extracts from the TOJO interrogation of January 28,
10	1946, pages 4 and 5. I understand the parent docu-
11	ment has been marked for identification.
12	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
13	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
14	No. 4160-C will receive exhibit No. 1157-C.
15	(Whereupon, the document above
16	referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
17	No. 1157-C and received in evidence.)
18	MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution's
19	exhibit No. 1157-C, questions and answers from the
20	extract of interrogation of the defendant TOJO,
21	January 28, 1946, pages 4 and 5:
22	"Extract from Interrogation of Hideki TOJO
23	"28 January 1946 p.4-5
24	"Q Then both in Europe and in Asia the sphere
25	to be included in the new order decreased or increased

1	with the military situation?
2	"A That was about the long and short of it.
3	"Q Was all of this then in accordance with the
4	spirit of Hakko Ichiu?
5	"A Yes. As I explained before, it is a con-
6	cept of virtue, not a territorial concept.
7	"Q Was the same concept of virtue to be a part
8	of the sphere to be controlled by Germany and Italy
9	in Europe?
10	"A Japan's interpretation was that it was to be
11	similar, with no exploitation or special interests.
12	In fact, in the Three-Power Treaty, it is expressly
13	stated that each country is to have its own place
14	and that there is to be co-existence and co-prosperity
15	in both the East Asiatic and European spheres.
16	"Q What reason was there to believe that Ger-
17	many and Italy would have this virtuous understanding
18	of the new order in Europe?
19	"A (Laughter by the witness.) I believe that
20	Germany and Italy, both of whom had been exploited as
21	a result of defeat in World War I, had found it nec-
22	essary in order to exist to set up a sphere within
23	which the various countries could minister to each
24	other's needs. This was a concept within the meaning
25	of the word 'virtue'."

"Q But this ministration was to be done under the supervision of Germany and Italy? II A It was not supervision but leadership. Ger-many and Italy were to have the initiative in bringing about a new order of co-existence and co-prosperity of all the countries concerned. "Q What would happen if one or more of the con-quered countries did not wish to join such an order? "A I have been speaking of the treaty as it was understood in Japan. When you get down to specific problems like that, I cannot answer. I might say that I believe that any country is not uninterested in its own prosperity."

1	We next offer in evidence International
2	Prosecution document No. 2510-A, containing extracts
3	of the interrogation of TOJO, March 12, 1946, pages
4	1, 4, 6, 8, 9, and 10. We offer that in evidence,
5	and if the parent has not been marked for identifica-
6	tion that it be marked.
7	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
8	No. 2510 will be given exhibit No. 1158 for identi-
9	fication only.
10	(Whereupon, the document above
11	mentioned was marked prosecution's exhibit
12	No. 1158 for identification only.)
13	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
14	CLERK OF THE COURT: The excerpt therefrom,
15	to wit, document 2510-A, will receive exhibit No.
16	1158-A.
17	(Whereupon, the document above
18	
19	referred to was marked prosecution's ex-
20	hibit No. 1158-A and received in evidence.)
21	MR. FIHELLY: I now read the two questions
22	and answers contained in prosecution's exhibit No.
23	1158-A, found on page 4 of the interrogation extract,
24	page 1 of the exhibit:
25	"Q Yesterday, you explained that the policy,
	after the 6 September 1941 Imperial Conference, was,



"The Imperial Japanese Government has repeatedly affirmed to the American Government that the aim of the Tripartite Pact is to contribute toward the prevention of a further extension of the European War. Should, however, the recent tension in the German-American relations suffer aggravation, there would arise a distinct danger of a war between the two powers, a state of affairs over which Japan, as a signatory to the Tripartite Pact, naturally cannot help entertain a deep concern. Accordingly, in its sincere desire that not only the German-American relations will cease further deterioration but the prevailing tension will also be alleviated as quickly as possible. the Japanese Government is now requesting the earnest consideration of the American Government."

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We next offer in evidence International Prosecution document No. 2745, which is a group certificate of the Japanese Foreign Office for items found at the Japanese Foreign Office listed therein. These items all relate to the Japanese-American negotiations of 1941.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2745 will receive exhibit No. 1160.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution exhibit No. 1160 and received in evidence.) MR. FIHELLY: Having described the certifi-cate, I see no necessity for reading it unless the Tribuncl requests it. THE PRESIDENT: Do not read it.

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1 MR. FIHELLY: We next offer in evidence 2 International Prosecution Document 1532-D(1), a tele-3 gram dated October 22, 1941, from NOMURA to the new 4 Foreign Minister TOGO, as tending to show that NOMURA 5 realized that a successful termination of the negoti-6 ations was hopeless. 7 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 8 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 9 No. 1532-D(1) will receive exhibit No. 1161. 10 (Whereupon, the document above referred 11 to was marked prosecution's exhibit 1161 and 12 received in evidence.) 13 MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's exhibit 14 No. 1161: 15 "Dispatched from WASHINGTON, Oct. 22, p.m., 16 1941. Received by the Foreign Ministry Oct. 23, a.m. 17 "To: Foreign Minister TOGO 18 "From: Ambassador NOMURA 19 "(Strictly confidential. Ambassador's Code.) 20 "I have already wired you about my present 21 position. I am sure that I, too, should go out with 22 the former cabinet. I know that for some time the 23 Secretary of State has known how sincere I was, yet 24 knew how little influence I have in TOKYO. I hear that 25 the President also holds the same opinion. There are

some Americans who trust me and say that I am the hope for preventing disaster, but, alas, their encouragement is not enough. Among my countrymen here in the United States there are also some who feel the same way, but it is a superstitious misunderstanding.

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"As for Your Excellency's instructions, WAKASUGI can carry them out fully. Nor do I imagine that you all have any objections at the /Foreign/ Ministry when I am already done with. I don't want to continue this hypocritical existence, deceiving other people. Please do not think I am trying to flee from the field of battle, but as a man of honor this is the only way that is open for me to tread. Please send me your permission /to return to JAPAN/. Most humbly do I beseech your forgiveness if I have injured your dignity and I prostrate myself before you in the depth of my rudeness."

We next offer in evidence an entry from the KIDO Diary of October 29,1941, International Prosecution Document No. 1632-W(112) to show that a liaison conference was held on this date and for rather pertinent matter contained therein.

> THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

1 No. 1632-W(112) will receive exhibit No. 1162. 2 (Whereupon, the document above referred 3 to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1162 4 and received in evidence.) 5 MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution's 6 exhibit No. 1162, the entry of October 29, 1941, 7 KIDO's Diary: 8 "At 9 a.m. General SUZUKI, President of the 9 Planning Board called on me, reported on the progress 10 of the liaison conference /Renraku Kaigi/ and we had 11 a talk. Mr. HARA, President of the Privy Council, 12 visited me at 10.30 a.m. to consult about the recom-13 mendation to the Throne of Mr. Seihin IKEDA as a member 14 of the Privy Council. At 11.30 a.m. I heard from 15 Premier TOJO of the progress of the liaison conference, 16 the extension of the Anti-Comintern Pact and our 17 maneuvers vis a vis Yen Hsi-Shan. The Chief Aide-18 de-Camp visited me at 12.45 p.m. and we talked 19 about the latest political situation. Had an audience 20 with His Majesty from 1.15 to 1.55. The Juichi-Kai 21 /T.N. Literally: The Farty of Eleven/ was held to 22 exchange views regarding the recent political situation. 23 Those present were Prince KONOYE, HIROHATA, URAMATSU, 24 OKABE, KUROKI, SAKAI, ODA and YANAGISAWA." 25

We last mentioned the Pearl Harbor plan

showing that the fleet were practising at the Naval War College at the early part of September, 1941. I now read from page 1, paragraph 3, the last eightlines of that paragraph, in connection with events that were happening at this particular period.

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"By November 1, 1941, the final test of Combined Fleet Secret Operational Order No. 1 had been agreed upon and printing was begun. The Order, together with its Annexes, detailed the plans and schedules for attacks on Pearl Harbor and various other British and American Dutch possessions."

We next offer in evidence International Prosecution Document 1532-D(2), a telegram from TOGO to NOMURA on November 2nd to show that between the time the TOJO Cabinet came into power and November 2nd that a number of liaison conferences were held.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1532-D(2) will receive exhibit No. 1163.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1163 and received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I will now read prosecution's exhibit No. 1163:

1	"To: Ambassador NOMURA
2	"From: Foreign Minister TOGO
3	"Despatched: 2 November 1941, 6:15 p.m.
4	"Telegram 722 (Ambassador Telegram)
5	"Since the formation of the new Cabinet, the
6	Government has been holding conferences for a number
7	of days with the Imperial Headquarters. We have
8	carefully considered and discussed a fundamental
9	policy for the improvement of relations between Japan
10	and America, but we expect to reach a final decision
11	at the meeting in the presence of the Emperor, on
12	the morning of the 5th, and will let you know the
13	result immediately. This will be our government's
14	last effort to improve diplomatic relations. The
15	situation is very grave. When we resume negotiations,
16	every aspect of the situation makes it urgent that we
17	reach a decision at once. This is to be strictly
18	kept only for your information. Now we trust your
19	most prudent attitude towards handling everything
20	before we take up the negotiations once more in the
21	very near future."
22	We have now reached the first days of

We have now reached the first days of November, 1941, and I read from prosecution's exhibit No. 809, page 66, to show that NAGANO, the Accused here, admits himself that he gave the order on November 3rd

1	to attack Pearl Harbor.
2	I read Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 on page 66 of
ю.	that exhibit.
4.	"(Note: The following paragraphs 5, 6 and
5	7 are based on the recollections of Admiral NAGANO,
6	Osami, then Chief of the Naval General Staff.)
7	"5. When was it decided to attack PEARL
31	HARB OR :
g	"3 Nov. 41. This date was set by the Chief
10	of the Navy General Staff, NAGANO, when CinC, Combined
11	Fleet, YAMAMOTO came to TOKYO
12	"6. Who made the foregoing decision?
13	"Chief of the Naval General Staff NAGANO.
14	"7. If the decision was made in conference,
15	give time of said conference and names of all persons
16	present.
17	"It was not made in conference."
15	We next offer in evidence a telegram of
19	November 4th from Tokyo to Washington, International
20	Prosecution Document No. 2593-D(7), which is offered
21	to show the tenseness in the United States-Japanese
22	relations and as also indicating that another Imperial
- 23	Conference was to be held on November 5th.
24	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
25	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

1	No. 2593-D(7) will receive exhibit No. 1164.
2	(Whereupon, the document above referred
3	to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1164
4	and received in evidence.)
5	MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution's
6	document No. 1164:
7	"From: Tokyo
8	"To: Washington
9	"November 4, 1941
10	"Purple (CA) (Urgent)
11	"#725 (Part 1 of 3)
12	"Concerning my #722a.
13	"1. Well, relations between Japan and the
14	United States have reached the edge, and our people
15	are losing confidence in the possibility of over
16	adjusting them. In order to lucubrate on a funda-
17	mental national policy, the Cabinet has been meeting
18	with the Imperial Headquarters for some days in suc-
19	cession. Conference has followed conference, and now
20	we are at length able to bring forth a counter-proposal
21	for the resumption of Japanese-American negotiations
22	based upon the unanimous opinion of the Government
23	and the military high command (ensuing Nos. 726 b
24	and 727 b). This and other basic policies of our
25	Empire await the sanction of the conference to be held

on the morning of the 5th.

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"2. Conditions both within and without our Empire are so tense that no longer is procrastination possible, yet in our sincerity to maintain pacific relationships between the Empire of Japan and the 6 United States of America, we have decided, as a result of these deliberations, to gamble once more on the continuance of the parleys, but this is our last effort. Both in name and spirit this counter-proposal of ours is, indeed, the last. I want you to know that. If through it we do not reach a quick accord, I am sorry to say the talks will certainly be ruptured. Then, indeed, will relations between our two nations be on the brink of chaos. I mean that the success or failure of the pending discussions will have an immense effect on the destiny of the Empire of Japan. In fact, we gambled the fate of our land on the throw of this die."

I only had intended to read part 1. If the 20 Court desires it, I will read the other two parts of 21 the telegram. 22

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I think you should. 23 MR. FIHELLY: All right, sir. I now read 24 part 2 of the same exhibit: 25

"From: Tokyo

"To: Washington	From:	Toky
"November 4, 1941		
"Purple (CA) (Urgent)	
"#725 (Part 2 of 3)	

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"When the Japanese-American meetings began, who would have ever dreamt that they would drag out so long? Hoping that we could fast come to some understanding, we have already gone far out of our way and yielded and yielded. The United States does not appreciate this, but through thick and thin sticks to the self-same propositions she made to start with. Those of our people and of our officials who suspect the sincerity of the Americans are far from few. Bearing all kinds of humiliating things, our Government has repeatedly stated its 16 sincerity and gone far, yes, too far, in giving in to them. There is just one reason why we do this -to maintain peace in the Pacific. There seems to be 19 some Americans who think we would make a one-sided deal, but our temperance, I can tell you, has not 21 come from weakness, and naturally there is an end 22 to our long-suffering. Nay, when it comes to a question 23 of our existence and our honor, when the time comes we 24 will defend them without recking the cost. If the 25 United States takes an attitude that overlooks or shuns

this position of ours, there is not a whit of use in ever broaching the talks. This time we are showing the limit of our friendship; this time we are making our last possible bargain, and I hope that we can thus settle all our troubles with the United States peaceably."

7 I now read part 3 of the same telegram, the
8 heading being the same:

9 "3. It is to be hoped earnestly that
10 looking forward to what may come at the end---at the
11 last day of Japanese-American negotiations--the Govern12 ment of the United States will think ever so soberly
13 how much better it would be to make peace with us;
14 how much better this would be for the whole world
15 situation.

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"4. Your Honor will see from the considerations above how important is your mission. You are at a key post, and we place great hopes in your being able to do something good for our nation's destiny. Will you please think deeply on that and compose yourself and make up your mind to continue to do your best. I hope you will. Now just as soon as the conference is over, I will let you know immediately, and I want you to go and talk to President ROOSEVELT and Secretary HULL. I want you to tell them how determined we are and

CALLAN +

1	try to get them to foster a speedy understanding.
2	"5. In view of the gravity of these talks,
3	as you make contacts there, so I will make them here.
4	I will talk to the American Ambassador here in Tokyo,
5	and as soon as you have got the concensus of the
6	American officials through talking with them, please
7	wire me. Naturally, as these things develop, in case
8	you take any new steps, I want you to let me know
9	and get in contact with me. In this way we will
10	avoid letting anything go astray. Furthermore, lest
11	anything go awry, I want you to follow my instructions
12	to the letter. In my instructions, I want you to 0,22
13	know there will be no room for personal interpreta-
14	tion."
15	try to gwe next offer in evidence decompany.
16	THE PRESIDENT: Those three messages from
17	Tokyo to Washington were intercepted?
18	I will MR. FIHELLY: That is right.
19	THE PRESIDENT: We will recess for fifteen
20	minutes, officials through t lking with thus, planse
21	wire no. Mat (Whereupon, at 1045, a recess was a cose
22	taken until 1100, after which the proceedings
23	were resumed as follows:)
24	avoid letting spything to actray. Furthermore, let
25	arything go serve i want you to relieve by instructions

to the latter.

1 MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International 2 Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed. 3 THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Fihelly. 4 MR. FIHELLY: Mr. President, I don't know 5 whether the record shows that I answered your last 6 question just before recess. The document offered was 7 intercepted message. 8 THE PRESIDENT: The certificate I can only 9 note from the documents before me. 10 MR. FIHELLY: We next offer in evidence 11 International Prosecution document 2593-D (8), another 12 wire of that date from TOGO to NOMURA bearing parti-13 cularly on the attitude of the Japanese Government at 14 this stage of the negotiations, and I may say that the 15 wire itself says "Tokyo" rather than TOGO's particular 16 name being mentioned. 17 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 18 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 19 No. 2593-D (8) will receive exhibit No. 1165. 20 (Whereupon, the document above referred 21 to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1165 and re-22 ceived in evidence.) 23 MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution 24 exhibit 1165: "Fron: Tokyo. To: Washi gton. Novem-25

ber 4, 1941. Purple (CA) (Urgent). #726."

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"Proposal "A".

3 "7. This proposal is our revised ultimatum 4 made as a result of our attempts to meet, in so far 5 as possible, the wishes of the Americans, clarified 6 as a result of negotiations based on our proposals of 7 September 25. We have toned down our insistence as 8 follows:

"(1) The question of non-discrimination in trade.

"Should they appear not to accede to our proposal of September 25 in this respect, insert the following statement: 'The Japanese Government is prepared to carry out this principle in the entire Pacific area; that is to say, China as well, providing the principles of non-discrimination are ap-16 plied to the entire world.'

"(2.) The question of our understanding and 18 application of the Tripartite Alliance. 19

"At the same time that you clarify to them that 20 we intend no expansion of our sphere of self-defense, 21 make clear, as has been repeatedly explained in the 22 past, that we desire to avoid the expansion of 23 Europe's war into the Pacific." 24

I now read part 2:

"(3) The question concerning the evacuation of

1 troops.

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2 "We are toning down our stipulations in this 3 connection as follows:

4 "(A) The stationing and evacuation of troops in China since the outbreak of the China Incident.

6 "Japanese troops which have been sent to China 7 will be stationed in North China, on the Mongolian 8 border regions, and on the Island of Hainan after the 9 establishment of peace between Japan and China, and 10 will not be evacuated until the elapse of a suitable 11 interval. The evacuation of other troops will be 12 carried out by Japan and China at the same time 13 that peace is established. In order to maintain 14 peace and order, this will be carried out within a 15 period of two years. (Note: Should the American 16 authorities question you in regard to 'the suitable 17 period, ' answer vaguely that such a period should en-18 compass 25 years.) 19

"(B) The stationing and evacuation of troops 20 in French Indo-China. 21

"The Japanese Government respects the territorial 22 integrity of the French possession, Indo-China. In 23 the event that a just peace is established, or that 24 the China Incident is brought to a successful con-25 clusion, Japanese troops which have been dispatched

to French Indo-China and are there now shall be
 evacuated.

3 "(4) As a matter of principle, we are anxious to 4 avoid having this inserted in the draft of the formal 5 proposal reached between Japan and the United States 6 (whether it is called an understanding proposal or 7 some other sort of a statement.)

"Part 3.

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"2. Explanation.

10 "(1) Of course, there is the question of geo-11 graphical proximity when we come to consider non-12 discrimination in commerce. However, we have revised 13 our demands along this line hitherto and put the 14 question of non-discrimination on a world-wide basis. 15 In a memorandum of the American Government, they state 16 in effect, however, that it might be feasible for 17 either country within a certain specified area to 18 adopt a given policy and for the other party within 19 another specified area to adopt a complementary policy. 20 Judging from this statement, I do not believe they 21 will oppose this term. I think that we can easily 22 reach an understanding on this matter. 23

24 "(2) As for the question of the Three-Power 25 Pact, your various messages lead me to believe that 26 the United States is, in general, satisfied with our

proposals, so if we make our position even more clear by saying that we will not random'y enlarge upon our interpretation of the right of self-defense, I feel sure that we will soon be mutually agreed on this point."

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6 I now read part 4 of the exhibit: 7 "(3) I think that in all probability the gues-8 tion of evacuation will be the hardest. However, in 9 view of the fact that the United States is so 10 much opposed to our stationing soldiers in undefined 11 areas, our purpose is to shift the regions of oc-12 cupation and our officials, thus attempting to dis-13 pel their suspicions. We will call it evacuation; 14 but although it would please the United States for 15 us to make occupation the exception rather than the 16 rule, in the last analysis this would be out of the 17 question. Furthermore, on the matter of duration of 18 occupation, whenever pressed to give a clear state-19 ment we have hitherto couched our answers in vague 20 terms. I want you in as indecisive yet as pleasant 21 language as possible to euphemize and try to impart 22 to them the effect that unlimited occupation does 23 not mean perpetual occupation. Summing this up, 24 Proposal A accepts completely America's demands on 25 two of the three proposals mentioned in the other

proposal, but when it comes to the last point con-1 cerning the stationing and evacuation of forces, we 2 have already made our last possible concession. How 3 hard, indeed, have we fought in China for four years! 4 What tremendous sacrifices have we made! 5 They must 6 know this, so their demands in this connection must 7 have been only 'wishful thinking.' In any case, 8 our internal situation also makes it impossible for 9 us to make any further compromise in this connection. 10 As best you may, please endeavor to have the United 11 States understand this, and I earnestly hope and pray 12 that you can quickly bring about an understanding."

All the 2593's, as the certificate shows, are intercepted messages.

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We next offer in evidence International Prosecution document 1532 D (3), a wire of November 4 from Foreign Minister TOGO to NOMURA, stating that KURUSU was being sent to the United States.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLEAK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1532 D (3) will receive exhibit No. 1166.

> (Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1166 and received in evidence.) MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution exhibit

No. 1166:

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"From: The Foreign Minister TOGO. "To : The Ambassador NOMURA, in U.S.A. "Despatched: 8:50 p.m. November 4, 1941 (Showa 16).

"#730 (Ambassador Code)

"Re my : 725

8 "In view of the gravity of the present negotia9 tions and in view of your request, we are sending
10 Ambassador KURUSU to you by clipper leaving Hongkong
11 on the 7th (through the kind offices of the U.S.A.
12 Government). Secretary YUKI shall accompany Am13 bassador KURUSU, if we can manage to get a seat for
14 him.

"We are despatching Ambassador KURUSU to assist
you in the parleys. He is carrying with him no additional instructions besides what I have wired you
already. I want you to facilitate future talks, to
make arrangements so that he will be able to see the
President immediately upon his arrival.

"By the way, we are keeping Ambassador KURUSU's activities strictly secret for the time being."

We next offer in evidence International Prosecution document 1449-D. On the same date, November 4th, the Cabinet met and issued instructions

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-	to the Information Board in connection with releasing
	news on preparations for war and strategic moves, as
3	set forth in this IPS document we offer in evidence.
	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
5	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
e	No. 1449-D will receive exhibit No. 1167.
. 7	(Whereupon, the document above re-
8	ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
9	No. 1167 and received in evidence.)
10	MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution ex-
11	hibit No. 1167:
12	"MOST SECRET
13	"Policy for Guiding Public Opinion on British
14	and American Problems.
15	"Information Plan A No. 10. Agreed by the
16	Cabinet meeting on Nov. 4, 1940. Board of Information.
17	("Precautions for handling). Same as Information
18	Plan A No. 8.
19	"1. The suppression of reports on objective
20	facts concerning the tenseness of diplomatic re-
21	lations with Great Britain and the United States
22	shall be eased as compared with that of the past.
23	"2. We shall endeavor to guide public opinion
24	so as to raise the spirit of the people naturally and
25	to make them hold hope for the future. We shall be

careful not to let public opinion become a single 1 uniform pattern. 2 "3. The following types of news and speeches 3 shall be excluded: 4 "(A) Such news and speeches as will enable the 5 enemy to perceive our war preparations and strategic 6 activities. 7 "(B) Such sensational speeches and activities 8 as will cause the public to lose the pride of a great 9 10 people and take direct actions against residents of third powers." 11 12 On November 5 there was held a most im-13 portant Imperial Conference, in regard to which we 14 refer to the following document: We next offer in 15 evidence the KIDO Diary entry of November 5, 1941, 16 IPS document 1632W (83). 17 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 18 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 19 No. 1632W (83) will receive exhibit No. 1168. 20 (Whereupon, the document above re-21 ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 22 No. 1168 and received in evidence.) 23 MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution 24 exhibit No. 1168, a copy extract from the Diary 25 entry of November 5, 1941:

"The Council in the presence of the Emperor was held at 10:30 a.m. and continued until 3:10 p.m. and a policy towards the U.S.A., England, and the Netherlands was decided. At 3:40 p.m. Premier TOJO visited me to inform me of such matters as the formation of the Southern Army and the dispatch of Mr. KURUSU to the U.S.A. Mr. HIROSE visited me at 7 p.m."

8 I now read from prosecution exhibit 1107,
9 page 4, the list of those present at the Imperial
10 Conference on 5 November 1941:

"TOJO, Prime Minister and War Minister concurrently; 11 12 TOGO, Foreign Minister; SHIMADA, Navy Minister; KAYA, 13 Finance Minister; SUZUKI, President of Planning Board; 14 SUGIYAMA, Chief of army General Staff; NAGANO, Chief 15 of Naval General Staff; HOSHINO, Chief Secretary of 16 the Cabinet; MUTO, Director of Military Affairs 17 Bureau, War Ministry; OKA, Director of Military 18 Affairs Bureau, Navy Ministry; TSUKADA, Vice-Chief 19 of Army General Staff; ITO, Vice-Chief of Naval 20 General Staff; HARA, President of the Privy Council."

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MR. FIHELLY: We next offer in evidence an 1 undated document found at the Foreign Ministry showing 2 certain of the matters acted on and policies decided 3 4 on at this November 5th Imperial Conference. This 5 is International Prosecution Section document No. 6 790-A, which we now offer in evidence. 7 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 8 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution document 9 No. 790-A will receive exhibit No. 1169. 10 (Whereupon, the document above referred 11 to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1169 and 12 received in evidence.) 13 MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's ex-14 hibit No. 1169, headed: 15 "MEASURES TOWARDS FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN RE-16 LATION TO THE 'PRINCIPLE OF EXECUTION OF NATIONAL 17 POLICY OF THE EMPIRE' WHICH WAS DECIDED AT THE MEETING 18 IN PRESENCE OF EMPEROR ON NOVEMBER 5. 19 "I. Towards Germany and Italy. 20 "When it is recognized that the Japanese-21 American negotiation comes to an end and warfare is 22 inevitable (imagined to be after November 25, probably), 23 we inform Germany (Italy), without delay, Japan has an 24 intention to open hostilities against the U.S.A. and 25 Britian before long as soon as the preparation will

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1	be completed and being a part of the preparation,
2	we negotiate on the following items:
3	"A. Germany's (Italy's) participation in
4	the war against the U.S.A.
5.	"B. Non-separate peace making.
6	"Note: In case when Germany demands Japan's
7	participation in the war against Soviet, we answer
8	Japan cannot do it for the present. Even if the
9	Germany's participation in the war, because of it,
10	would be postponed, it cannot be helped.
11	"II. Towards Britian.
12	"We take measures previously so as to get
13	Britian to accept and to cooperate positively the sub-
14	jects concerned to Britian in the understanding which
15	is the fruit of the negotiation with America. We will
16	not adopt any other diplomatic schemes purposely to
17	keep the intention in secret.
18	"III. Towards Dutch Indies.
19	"In order to hide and camouflage our inten-
20	tion, we shall open the diplomatic negotiation at the
21	earliest opportunity with her one by one, after the
22	manner of continuing the former negotiation, princi-
23	pally aiming at the supply of necessary materials for
24	the Empire.
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"IV. Towards the Soviet Union."

1 "We continue the negotiation founded on the clause No. 1 of the 'Principle of negotiation with 3 the Soviet Union' decided at the Liaison Conference 4 between the Government and the Imperial Headquarters 5 on August 4, 1941.

> "V. Towards Thailand.

"A. We request and get it to admit quickly the following just before dispatching troops.

9 "Even if Thailand does not consent it, the 10 troops shall be dispatched as prearranged. However, we avoid with all our might the outbreak of hostile activities between Japan and Thailand.

"1. Passage of the Japanese military forces and affording facilities for it.

"2. Instant execution of measures to avoid 16 conflicts between soldiers of both countries on the occasion of the passage of the Japanese forces.

"3. Conclusion of a joint defense pact, if 19 she hopes. 20

"Note: Before the said negotiation is begun, 21 there must not be any peculiar change (in our attitude 22 towards Thailand) than usual, and we should pay at-23 tention to hide the intention of opening a war. 24

"B. Soon after the dispatch of the Japanese military forces, we make arrangements of a concrete

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1	nature in that place in regards to the following
2	items:
3	"1. Concerning the passage and occupation
4	of the Japanese forces.
5	"2. Offering for the use of the Japanese
6	forces new construction and strengthening of the
7	military establishments.
8	"3. To furnish the necessary communication
9	and transportation measure and factory establishments.
10	"4. Billets and supplies for the military
11	forces passing and stationing.
12	"5. To give a loan for the necessary mili-
13	tary expenses.
14	"Note: In order to make those negotiations
15	favorable, at the negotiation of Item Nos. 1 and 2,
16	we will promise to respect her sovereignty and terri-
17	tory and, further, we will suggest in the effect that
18	'according to her attitude, we will consider to give
19	a portion of Burma or Malay to her in the future).
20	"VI. Towards China.
21	"Paying attention to the securing of the
22	Japanese synthetic war power with which we must prepare
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24	the long world war, avoiding consumption of national
25	energy and taking precautions against diminution of
-	military forces in the future, we take the following

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1 measures:

"A. To clear away the armed forces of the 2 3 U.S. and Britian out of China.

4 "В. To secure the hostile concessions in 5 China (including the Peking Legation area) and the 6 important rights and interests (customs, mines, etc.) 7 of the hostile countries under our power, materially. 8 But we must be careful to diminish as far as possible 9 our personal and material burdens.

10 "Note: Though we clear up the hostile forces out of the Common Concessions and Peking Legation 12 area and take them under our real power, they con-13 tain interests which belong to the friendly countries, 14 and so we will not take such a measure as to occupy 15 them. 16

"С. The commencement of the above measures shall be postponed until after we open the war against the U. S. and Britian, for the purpose of not exposing our intention.

"D. The motion of belligerent rights against 21 Chungking shall not be taken in such a special manner 22 as to declare it, but we shall gain its real effect 23 materially by beginning war against the U.S. and Britian. 24

"E. Even hostile countries' rights and interests which are concerned with the National Govern-

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1	ment shall be secured under our power, for the present,
2	according to our necessity, and measures to arrange
3	their interests shall be taken on another occasion.
4	"F. Through measures to induce and acceler-
5	ate as strong as possible the activities of influence
6	of the Chinese in the occupied area, and endeavoring
7	to gain the people's feeling in cooperating with Japan
8	and China. We will realise gradually partial peace,
9	district by district, beginning from the possible area.
10	"G. As for the economical relations to China
11	we attach importance in gaining goods from the unoccu-
12	pied area and we adjust reasonably the existing various
13	controls."
14	Heading: "PRINCIPLE OF ACCELERATION OF TER-
15	MINATION OF THE WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, BRITIAN,
16	HOLLAND AND CHIANG."
17	Sub-heading: "Foreign Office.
18	"1. To conclude arrangement with Germany and
19	Italy not to cease war individually.
20	"2. We shall manage to assist to make peace
21	between Germany and the Soviet, according to results
22	of talks between Germany and Japan, to restore the
23	continental connection between Germany and Japan and
24	
25	readjusting, on the other hand, the relation between
	Japan and the Soviet (if possible, we shall conclude

a treaty of territorial inviolability), we will take
measures so as to help the Soviet to advance to the
direction of India and Persia.

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"3. To contribute to the settlement of the Incident, we shall cut the 'Burmese and Hongkong Chiang-supporting Route', and restore the concessions for China, and leading and utilizing the Chinese merchants in the South Seas re ions, we shall intensify the pressure on the Chiang Regime.

"4. We shall admit the Philip ines' independence after our occupation and declare to the world as fast as possible.

"5. We shall make a portion of Dutch Indies independent and secure the necessary portions for the Empire.

"6. We shall make Burma independent and stimulate and assist the independence movement of India.

"7. We shall support the restoration of Thailand's lost territories from Britain. (As for French Indo-China, we shall maintain the present conditions.)

"8. We shall not restrain the people's life in the occupied area and keep strictly the policy not to interfere in its internal administration."

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	"9. When a suitable time arrives, we shall
1 2	make it clearly known that we shall be ready to secure
2	impartial supply of tin and rubber in the South Seas
4	regions.
5	"10. Though it is possible to take into con-
6	sideration for once to utilize Americans of German
7	descent to make public opinions of America disunited,
S	it is impractical and ineffective, as was shown in
9	the example of the former World War.
10	"11. We cannot expect much in manouever towards
11	Central and South America."
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	1	MR. FIHELLY: On the same date TOGO sent a
	2	telegram to NOMURA
	3	THE PRESIDENT: Dr. KIYOSE:
	4	DR. KIYOSE: I have just seen the original of
	5	the document just read to the Tribunal. On the certifi-
	6	cate attached thereto the date is November 5, whereas
	7	the date on the cover of said document is November 13.
	8	Although the texts of these documents are identical
	9	just about identical there being two documents, we
1	10	would like to know which is to be admitted by the Court.
1	1	One of them is undated. I should like to have the
1	12	matter referred to the Language Arbiter or some other
1	13	appropriate step taken.
1	4	THE PRESIDENT: Have you tendered both docu-
. 1	15	ments?
1	16	MR. FIHELLY: Tendered both. Some of these
1	17	documents vary in some respects but they are all found
1	18	in the Japanese Government files of November 1, 1941.
1	19	THE PRESIDENT: Does the cover bear that date,
	20	13th of November?
. 2	21	MR. FIHELLY: I will take Dr. KIYOSE's word
2	22	for the fact that it does. It isn't on our processed
2	23	copy. But I will state to the Court that between
i	24	November 5 and, roughly, November 13, there were about
2	25	six documents found in the various files of the Japanese

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Government, some almost identical but showing the evolution and genesis of plans of what happened in the way of policy at the November 5 conference, that we think are all admissible.

5 THE PRESIDENT: There is nothing to refer to 6 the Language Section.

DR. KIYOSE: I should like to say, your Honor, 7 that even if those documents are generally the same, 8 inasmuch as these documents have been revised from 9 time to time there are differences in the subtance or 10 contents of these documents an' I should think that 11 the Court should determin on one document and as to 12 which document the Court will determine upon I would 13 like to know. 14

THE MONITOR: And which one should be translated.

THE PRESIDENT: If there is any substantial difference between the two upon which the defense would care to rely, they may do so in the course of putting their case. They have the assistance of the Language Section without apperling to us.

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MR. FIHELLY: On the same date, TOGO sent a telegram to NOMURA, this comes rather from Tokyo to NOMURA, with regard to the proposals decided at that conference. This is International Prosecution document

1	No. 2593D (9) which we now offer in evidence to show
2	that the Imperial Conference was held on November 5
3	and as tending to show that the Japanese Government
4	was making its last offer to the United States before
5	going to war.
6	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
7	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
8	No. 2593D (9) will receive exhibit No. 1170.
9	(Whereupon, the document above referred
10	to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1170 and
11	received in evidence.)
12	MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's
13	exhibit 1170:
14	"From: Tokyo.
15	"To: Washington.
16	"5 November 1941
17	"(Purple-CA)
18	"#735
19	"1. Our counter proposal in the Japanese-
20	U.S. negotiations referred to in my message #725 was
21	taken up at the Imperial Conference on this, the 5th,
22	and was given approval. Therefore, will you please
2 3 24	begin the talks along the lines given in my instruc-
24	tions.
2)	"2. We assume that it would meet with the
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U.S. approval, in view of the past developments, if, for the time being, the 21 June proposal -- 25 Sep-2 tember's from our point of view -- was used as a basis of these new talks. Subsequently, we feel that from the standpoint of the likelihood of reaching an early agreement, our Proposal A (contained in my message #726) should be submitted for discussion. (As a matter of fact, there are a number of points in the form and in the expressions used in the U.S. proposal which do not meet with our complete approval. However, we feel that for convenience and speed's sake, Proposal A should be submitted first.) Please, therefore, explain these points to the United States and at the same time have them clearly understand the circumstances contained in my message #725. Thereupon, do your utmost to have them accept that proposal in the shortest possible time.

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113. If the United States expresses too many 18 points of disapproval to Proposal A and if it becomes 19 apparent that an agreement cannot be reached, we intend 20 to submit our absolutely final proposal, Proposal B 21 (Contained in my message #727). Please, therefore, 22 ascertain the U.S. attitude to Proposal A as soon as 23 possible, and advise this office. Be sure to advise 24 this office before Proposal B is submitted to the United 25

States.

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"4. As stated in my previous message, this is the Imperial Government's final step. Time is becoming exceedingly short and the situation very critical. Absolutely no delays can be permitted. Please bear this in mind and do your best. I wish to stress this point over and over.

"5. We wish to avoid giving them the im-8 pression that there is a time limit or that this pro-9 posal is to be taken as an ultimatum. In a friendly 10 manner, show them that we are very anxious to have them 11 accept our proposal." 12

On the same date, November 5, 1941, TOGO sent 13 another telegram to NOMURA, International Prosecution's 14 document 2593D (10), which was marked "Of utmost 15 secrecy," which we now offer in evidence as tending 16 to show that war was to begin very shortly with the 17 U.S. 18

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 19 CLERK OF THE COURT : Prosecution's document 20 No. 2593D (10) will receive exhibit No. 1171

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1171 and received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's exhibit

No. 1171:

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"From: Tokyo

"To: Washington.

"5 November 1941

"(Purple-CA)

"#736 (Of utmost secrecy).

"Because of various circumstances, it is 7 absolutely necessary that all arrangements for the 8 signing of this agreement be completed by the 25th of 9 this month. I realize that this is a difficult order, 10 but under the circumstances it is an unavoidable one. 11 Please understand this thoroughly and tackle the problem 12 of saving the Japanese U.S. relations from falling 13 into a chaotic condition. Do so with great determination 14 and with unstinted effort, I beg of you. 15

16 "This information is to be kept strictly to 17 yourself only."

On November 5, the same date on which the deadline was set as November 25, and on the same date that the Imperial Conference was held, the defendant NAGANO issued the first order which caused the Pearl Harbor attack plan to be put into execution.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Logan.

24 MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, with
 25 respect to the last document offered in evidence, counsel

stated it was offered as tending to show war was to 1 begin very shortly with the U.S. In the first place, 2 I don't think that the reading of the telegram bears 3 out that statement. In the second place, he has failed 4 to read the notation at the bottom: "(D) Navy 5 Translation, November 5, 1941." 6

THE PRESIDENT: We note what you say, Mr. Logan. 7 MR. FIHELLY: I now refer, in connection with 8 November 5, as I have just stated, the date of the 9 Imperial Conference and the date of this last telegram 10 with respect to November 25 being the deed-line. I 11 now quote from exhibit 809, page 75, the order appear-12 ing about half way down the page, November 5, 1941: 13

"From: Chief of Naval General Staff, NAGANO, 14 Osami. 15

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"TO: CinC Combined Fleet, YAMAMOTO.

17 "A. Because it is feared that war with the 18 United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands is 19 inevitable, it has been decided that for the sake of 20 the Empire's defense general operational preparations 21 will be completed by the first part of December.

"B. The Commander-in-Chief Combined Fleet 23 will carry out the necessary operational preparations. 24 "C. The details will be set forth by the Chief of the Naval General Staff."

"Imperial Headquarters Navy Staff Section 1 Directive 1 (essentials)." 2 It will be shown in Admiral Richardson's 3 testimony later that on that same date, November 5, 4 pursuant to that particular order of NAGANO, YAMAMOTO 5 issued the second order which was the first Combined 6 Fleet Operational Order No. 1 in connection with the 7 Pearl Harbor attack. 8 On November 7 we have another order being 9 issued in connection with the Pearl Harbor attack, and 10 I now read from exhibit 809, page 77, the order of 11 November 7 in the middle of the page: 12 "Flagship NAGATO, HIROSHIMA-WAN 13 "7 November 1941 14 "YAMAMOT Q Isoroku 15 "CinC Combined Fleet. 16 "Combined Fleet Order 17 "The Task Force will gather in HITOKAPPU-WAN 18 and remain there to take on supplies until 22 November. 19 Every precaution will be taken to insure a secrecy in 20 movements. 21 "Note: About the time the above order was 22 23 issued, a Combined Fleet order (giving directions for carrying out the Operation Policy) based on Imperial 24 25 Headquarters Navy Staff Section Directive 1 was also

1	issued. Detailed information as to its contents is
2	not available. (It is thought that it was about the
3	same as Paragraph 1 of Task Force Operation Order 1,
4	which was issued later)."
5	This same prosecution exhibit 809, on page 11,
6	has some other information. I read from page 11, the
7	heading of the second column:
8	"5 November
9	"Combined Fleet Secret Operation Order No. 2
10	"Y-Day will be 23 November.
11	"10 November.
12	"Combined Fleet Secret Operation Order No. 3.
13	"X-Day will be 8 December."
14	On November 10, 1941, there was issued
15	Striking Force Operation Order No. 1 for all ships to
16	complete battle preparations by November 20. I again
17	refer to prosecution's exhibit 809 and read the per-
18	tinent passage on page 10 referring to this order.
19	That passage appears in the middle of the first column
20	on the page:
21	"Flageship AKAGI, SAEKI WAN
22	"10 November 1941
23	"Striking Force Operation Order No. 1.
24	"1. All ships will complete battle prepara-
25	tions by 20 November."

1	"2. The fleet will rendezvous at TANKAN WAN
2	(HITOKAPPU BAY, ETOROFU ISLAND, KURILES).
3	"3. Inasmuch as the plans for the coming
4	operation must be kept absolutely secret, strick
5	security will be maintained in regard to them, up to
6	the time they are explained to the crew after port of
7	departure in Japan has been cleared.
8	"4. Break-down of Attack Plane Units.
9	"The AKAGI First Attack plane Unit.
10	"Unit Commander: Lieutenant Commander XX.
11	"First Carrier Attack Unit.
12	"Etc. (details not recalled by prisoner of
13	war).
14	"5. Fleet cruising formation (Including
15	retiring formations).
16	"6. All transmission of messages is strictly
17	forbidden.
18	"Transmission and reception will both use the
19	Tokyo No. 1 broadcast communications system.
20	"NAGUMO, Chuichi
21	"Commanding, Striking Force.
22	MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, I wish to
23	call your Honor's attention to the fact that these
24	excerpts that were just read from exhibit 809 are
25	reports which are based on the recollection of a Japanese
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1 chief yeoman who was captured at Saipan. 2 THE PRESIDENT: We are aware of that fact. 3 MR. FIHELLY: We next offer in evidence Inter-4 national Prosecution Section document No. 4058A, dated 5 November 8, 1941, from the German Foreign Office to 6 Washington and Rome as bearing on the gravity of the 7 negotiations and to show that Germany was kept well-8 informed of their status. 9 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 10 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 11 No. 4058A will receive exhibit No. 1172. 12 (Whereupon, the document above referred 13 to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1172 and 14 received in evidence.) 15 MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's exhibit 16 1172: 17 "Telegram IZ (Secret Cipher Process) 18 "Berlin, 8 November 1941. 19 "German Embassy: a) Rome. b) Washington. 20 "Reviewer: 1.V.L.S./TN?/ Dr. Braun. 21 "Re: Conversation OTT-TOGO on KURUSU Mission." 22 There are some symbols appearing on the other 23 side that I will not read. 24 "Embassy Tokyo wires the following on the 25 KURUSU Mission:"

1	"Ins. /TN.?/ from Telegram No. 2354 of 6 November	
2	from Tokyo from (to)"	
3	"TOGO stated that a firm attitude on the part	
4	of Japan had been expressed in the instructions for	
5	KURUSU. In his negotiations with the United States	
6	he was given a definite limit which he could not cross.	
7	The dispatch of KURUSU was only recently decided upon,	
8	as is borne out by his hurried departure itself.	
9	"'Ins. /TN.?/ from telegram No. 2354 of 6	
10	November from Tokyo from ((to))'	
11	"End of the report."	
12	Erdmannsdorff is apparently the name signed	
13	et the end.	
14	That the British attitude was fully under-	
15	stood by Japan at this time is proven by International	
16	Prosecution Section dcoument 2537A, an item dated	
17	November 12, which we now offer in evidence, quoting	
18	from a well-known speech of Prime Minister Churchill	
19	on November 10.	
20	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.	
21	CLERK OF THE COURT : Prosecution's document	
22	No. 2537A will receive exhibit No. 1173.	
23	(Whereupon, the document above referred	
24	to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1173 and	
25	received in evidence.)	

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Cunningham.

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MR. CUNNINGHAM: If the Tribunal please, I want to object to the last and this statement as argumentative and interpretation of documents not embraced within the language of the document. I call attention to the former statement and also to the one 6 pertaining to this document. The former one stated that the document indicated that Germany was kept wellinformed. I merely submit that this is stretching the facts.

THE PRESIDENT: I see nothing excessive in 11 either statement, but Mr. Cunningham's representations 12 are noted. 13

MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution's 14 exhibit 1173: 15

> "Extract from 'The Tokyo Nichi Nichi' "November 12, 1941.

"Churchill Claims Britain is Ready for Action 18 in India, Pacific Oceans. Will Fight Nippon if America 19 Does. 20

"London Frime Minister Declares no Negoti-21 ations will be Conducted with Hitler or Nazi Regime; 22 Lease-Lend bill and Chungking Given Lavish Praise. 23 "Special to Mainich-Nichi Nichi. 24 "London. November 10. Prime Minister Winston 25

1	Churchill, in a speech at the Lord Mayor's luncheon at
2	Mansion House, warned that the war might soon spread
3	throughout the world.
4	"'Should the United States be involved in a
5	war with Japan,' the Prime Minister declared, 'a
6	British declaration will follow within an hour.
7	"'We do not know whether the efforts of the
8	United States to preserve peace in the Pacific will
9	be successful.
10	"'But if they fail, I take this occasion to
11	say and it is my duty to say that should the
12	United States be involved in a war with Japan, a
13	British declaration will follow within an hour."
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15	We next offer in evidence a telegram dated
16	November 11, from Tokyo to Washington to NOMURA,
17	International Prosecution Section document 2593D (11),
18	which shows that the British Government show the
19	relationship of the British Government to the negoti-
20	ations then pending between Japan and the United States.
21	THE PRESIDENT; Admitted on the usual terms.
	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
22	No. 2593 will receive exhibit No. 1174.
23	(Whereupon, the document above referred
24	to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1174 and
25	received in evidence.)

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1	THE PRESIDENT: You may read it after the
2	recess. We will recess now until half past one.
3	(Whereupon, at 1200, a recess was taken.)
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1	AFTERNOON SESSION
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3	The Tribunal met, pursuant to recess, at
4	1330.
5	MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International
6	Military Tribunal for the Far Fast is now resumed.
7	THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Fihelly.
8	MR. FIHELLY: I will now read from prosecu-
9	tion exhibit 1174:
10	"From: Tokyo.
11	"To : Washington.
12	"11 November 1941
13	(Purple)
14	"#764 (In 3 parts, complete).
15	"1. On the 11th, the British Ambassador,
- 16	while calling on me on some other business, brought
17	up the subject of the conversations. He advised me
18	that he reported my talks of the other day (see con-
19	tents of 2 of my message #723*) to his home govern-
20	ment, to which his government replied along the fol-
21	lowing lines, he said:
22	"'The British Government is not aware of the
23	details of the conversations being conducted in Wash-
24	ington. Since its success would be of interest to
25	Britain and Japan, it is fervently hoping for the

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success thereof. However, unless the basis of dis-1 cussion is first settled upon, it would be useless 2 to go ahead and enter into negotiations of the details. 3 The British Government feels that discussions as to 4 the basic principles could safely be left up to the 5 U. S. Government. However, as soon as the real ne-6 gotiations begin. the United States is to confer with 7 Great Britain according to arrangement. Therefore, 8 when that time arrives, negotiations will be carried 9 on jointly with the United States and Japan." 10

"2. I replied that in the matters being 11 discussed between Japan and the United States there 12 were some phases which greatly affected Great Britain. 13 14 In the event of an agreement between Japan and the United States, Japan will simultaneously seek Britain's 15 16 agreement. I wish to arrange matters so that the 17 two agreements may be signed at exactly the same time. 18 In view of the fact that to do the above is necessary, 19 we have already requested the United States to give 20 their approval to the terms, I said to the British 21 Ambassador.

"The British Ambassador said that he was not aware as to how much progress had been made between the United States and Japan, but he assumed that they were still in the preliminary stages."

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"I, therefore, replied that his assumption may have fitted in the past, but that at present they had already entered into the realm of the actual negotiations. Moreover, the Imperial Government has already submitted its final proposal, thus bringing the negotiations to the final phase. We have made this fact absolutely clear to the United States, I added.

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"I went on to say that I hear that the 9 British Prime Minister made a speech at a luncheon 10 given by the Mayor of London in which he stated that 11 though he did not know the developments in the U.S.-12 13 Japanese negotiations, he would issue a warning to 14 Japan, Would it not be more to the point, I chal-15 lenged, if, instead of making threats without knowing 16 of what he spoke, he were to try to more clearly 17 understand the issues and to cooperate in an effort 18 to clear them up? However, I said, with the U. S .-19 Japanese talks in the phase they are today, and in 20 view of the fact that I realized that there were 21 certain relationships between the United States and 22 Great Britain, I have no intention of urging or op-23 posing British participation in these talks at this 24 time.

"The Imperial Government has made the maxi-

mum concessions she can in drawing up its final proposal, I explained. We are of the opinion that the United States will find no objectionable points in it. I believe that it will be possible to sign the agreement within a week to ten days, I said. If, unfortunately, the United States refuses to accept those terms, it would be useless to continue the negotiations. Our domestic political situation will permit no further delays in reaching a decision.

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"I am making superhuman efforts at this time, 10 I pointed out, in the attempt to ride out the crisis in the U.S.-Japanese and the British-Japanese relations. There are factions in the country which insist that there is no need for negotiating and point out the uselessness of doing so. The negotiations are being continued only after these factions were checked.

"For these reasons, it is absolutely impossible that there be any further delays.

20 "A speedy settlement can be made depending 21 entirely upon the attitude of Britain and the United 22 States, I said, and suggested that his country give 23 serious consideration to this, and cooperate in bring-24 ing about an early agreement.

"In the above manner, I pointed out the

criticalness of the situation. The Ambassador listened to what I said very attentively, giving indications 2 that he was realizing for the first time how critical the situation was. He advised me that he would send 4 his government a report of the above conversation and that he himself would do his best to bring about 6 a speedy settlement.

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"3. Thus, there are indications that the United States Government is still under the impression that the negotiations are in the preliminary stages and that we are still merely exchanging opinions. This is further supported by the words of President Roosevelt reported by you in your message #1070** (that part in which he says that he hopes that these preliminary discussions will lead to the basis of the real negotiations, etc.)

"That the United States takes this lazy and easy going attitude in spite of the fact that as far as we are concerned, this is the final phase, is exceedingly unfortunate. Therefore, it is my fervent hope that Your Excellency will do everything in your power to make them realize this fact and bring about an agreement at the earliest possible moments"

Some symbols below that do not seem to be of importance.

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We now come to an important group of documents which were found at the Japanese Foreign Ministry which show action taken by Japan following upon the decisions of the Imperial Conference of November 5, 1941. The first of these documents which we now offer in evidence is International Prosecution No. 990 which is a draft of reasons for war with the United States and Great Britain, dated November 11, 1941, adopted at the Liaison Conference of that date.

MR. FILEMAN: If the Tribunal please, document 990 has an affidavit by General TANAKA. I would like to call attention of the Tribunal to the second paragraph where he certifies that to the best of his knowledge and belief the attached document was prepared by or under the direction of SATO, Kenryo, then Chief of the Military Affairs Section of the Military Affairs Bureau. He does not give any basis for the grounds of his belief or any reason for his statement; and I, therefore, respectfully submit that the certificate is tantamount to no certification at all. It is, thus, reducing the document to such a doubtful kind of evidence as to be stricken by the Court or to have no probative value.

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THE PRESIDENT: We must pay regard to the 3 first paragraph in the affidavit. If he does not 4 know, who would? A Major General, Chief of the 5 Military Service Bureau; he attended meetings at 6 which the document was read; and, according to him, 7 the accused, SATO, Kenryo, was then Chief of the 8 Military Affairs Section of the Military Affairs 9 Bureau. Major General TANAKA should have a fair 10 11 idea who was responsible for the document.

MR. FREEMAN: The wording of the certificate there is such that he apparently was not sure.

THE PRESIDENT: That is a mere form. Affidavits are always based on knowledge and belief.

The document is admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 990 will receive exhibit No. 1175.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1175 and received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution exhibit 1175: "4 or 5 parts (State Seeret)" -Heading: "Principal reasons alleged for the commencement of hostilities against the U.S.A. and Britain. "(Draft)

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"11 November SHOWA 16 (1941) "Draft adopted at the Liaison Conference "1. That it is the unshakable national policy of our Empire to establish permanent peace by creating a new order in Greater East Asia, and to voluntarily contribute to world peace.

"2. That the China Affair aims, in accordance
with this national policy, to do away with all causes
which disturb the stability of Greater Eest Asia, and
to realize the results of co-prosperity of all peoples,
building upon peace on the basis of the New Order, and
that Japan must do all in her power to bring it to a
successful issue.

"3. That the United States and Britain have been trying for a long time in the Fer East to obstruct the measures and actions of the Japanese Empire. Above all, with the outbreak of the China Affair, they have openly increased their measures of assistance of the Chungking Regime and stealthily gave rein to their inordinate ambition to dominate the Fer East at the expense of China. In addition, they have persuaded other powers to strengthen the encirclement of Japan, and also adopted such measures as the direct disruption of economic relations with our Empire, and reinforced military prepartions. Thus they have threatened the security of our Empire by daring to conduct virtual war operations against us.

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"4. That our Empire, exhausting every possi-6 ble means and putting up with the unbearable, has pro-7 posed to the United States the peaceful settlement of 8 the situation and has already conducted negotiations 9 with the United States for the past 8 months. However, 10 there is a fundamental opposition between the assertions 11 of Japan and the United States in regard to the estab-12 lishment of a lasting peace in the Far East. We can 13 hardly realize our national policy and can by no means 14 bring about the stability of Greater East Asia if we 15 once accede to the assertions of the United States. 16

"Under such circumstances, all theefforts
exerted by us during the past four years in order to
successfully prosecute the China Affair would come to
naught. This cur Empire cannot tolerate from the standpoint of her existence and prestige.

"5. That in the attitudes of the United States and Britain we can read nothing but a hasty move to satisfy their own inordinate ambitions, and see no trace of a sincere desire on their part for world peace, and to rescue mankind unfortunate disasters."

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	"Greater East Asia is now on the brink of a
2	crisis, and the existence of our Empire is in jeopardy.
3	"Such being the situation, we are compelled to
4	rise up to take up arms on the side of our allies to
5	smash all the obstacles in our way."
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1	We now refer to prosecution exhibit 878, a
2	Liaison Decision dated November 13 which was intro-
3	duced by Mr. English, and certain parts were read
4	by him. We ask permission of the Court to read the
5	exhibit because of its pertinency at this stage in
6	this same connection.
7	I now read from prosecution exhibit No. 878:
8	Heading:
	"Measures to be taken towards Foreign Countries
10	relative to the Outline for the execution of National
11 12	Policies, which was decided at the Council in the
12	presence of the Emperor held on November 5.
14	"Liaison Conference Division
15	November 13, 1941.
16	"Policy Towards Germany and Italy.
17	"When the present negotiations with the United
13	States of America break down and a war with her becomes
19	unavoidable (presumed to be after November 25th), the
20	Japanese Government shall notify Germany (and Italy),
21	without delay, of our intention to start war against
	the United States of America and Britain as soon as our
22	war preparations are ready, and shall open necessary
23	negotiations with them in connection with the follow-
24	ing matters, telling them that these are a part of our
2)	war preparations: "

"1. Participation of Germany (and Italy) in the war against the United States of America.

"2. No separate peace.

"Remarks:

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"If we are requested by Germany to join in the war against the Soviet Union, we shall reply that we will not enter it for the time being. It cannot be helped if, as a result of it, Germany's participation in the war against the United States of America is delayed thereby.

"Policy towards Britain.

"Prompt measures shall be taken directly or through the medium of the United States of America to make Britain accept, and positively cooperate with us in the matters included in the understandings reached in the negotiations between Japan and the United States of America.

"In order to conceal our intentions, no other special diplomatic measures shall be taken.

"Policy towards the Duth East Indies

"In order to help conceal and disguise our intentions, we shall open as soon as possible a series of diplomatic negotiations /with the Dutch East Indies/, in the form of continuation of previous negotiations, with the chief object of obtaining commodities needed

by our country.

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"Policy towards the Soviet Union

"Diplomatic negotiations /with the Soviet Union/ shall be continued in conformity with Item I of the Outline of Diplomatic Negotiations with the Soviet Union, which was decided at the Liaison Conforence of Imporial Headquarters and the Government held on August 4th, 1941.

"Policy towards Thailand.

"1. Just before commencing the advance into /Thailand/, the following demands shall be made and their immediate compliance obtained:

"Our troops shall advance /into Thailand/, as prearranged, even if our demands are rejected by Thailand. However, efforts shall be made to localize as much as possible military collision between Japan and Thailand.

"(a) Right of passage of Japanese troops through her territory and the grant of various facilities incidental thereto.

"(b) Immediate enforcement of measures to avoid possible collisions between the troops of Japan and Thailand, owing to the passage of Japanese troops.

"(c) Conclusion of a joint defence agreement, if Thailand desires it. " "<u>Note</u>: No special change in our attitude towards Thailand shall be made before the commencement of the negotiations. In particular, great care shall be taken to conceal our plan of opening war.

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"2. After the penetration of our troops, we shall immediately open negotiations with the Government of Thailand for concrete arrangements on the following matters:

10 "(a) Matters concerning the passage and stationing of Japanese troops.

12 "(b) Provision, construction and enlargement of military establishments.

14 "(c) Provision of necessary traffic and communication facilities as well as factory facilities.

"(d) Matters concerning billeting and sustenance for the Japanese troops passing through or
stationed in Thailand.

19 "(e) Loans to defray necessary military ex-20 penditure.

"Remarks: In the negotiations on Items 1 and 2, we shall definitely promise to respect her sovereignty and territorial integrity in conformity with the Outline of Policies towards French Indo-China and Thailand, which was decided at the Liaison Conference of Imperial Herdquarters and the Government held on February 1st, 1941.

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"Moreover, depending on the attitude of Thailand, we shall 'ry to turn the negotiations to our advantage by suggesting that we will in future consider the cession of a part of Burma or Malay to Thailand.

"Policy towards China.

"The following measures shall be taken, bearing in mind the necessity of preserving our all-round fighting power to cope with a protracted world war by avoiding military attrition in China as far as possible, and also bearing in mind the probable decrease of our military strength in the future:

"1. To drive out the military forces of the United States of America and Britain in China.

"2. To place under our actual control enemy concessions in China (including the Legation Quarter in Peking) and important enemy interests (such as the maritime customs and mines), but care shall be taken to lighten as far as possible our burden in respect to man-power and materials.

"<u>Note</u>: Though the International Settlements and the Legation Quarter in Peking shall be brought under our actual control after driving out the enemy's military forces, these creas shall not be completely taken over since they also include interests of countries friendly to us.

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"3. The abovementioned plans shall be carried out only after the declaration of war against the United States of America and Britain, lest our intentions be revealed.

"4. Our right of belligerency against the Chungking Regime shall not be obtained by a declaration or other formalities, but the actual effect of belligerency will be obtained by a declaration of war against the United States of America and Britain.

"5. Among the enemy interests in China, even those interests connected with the National Government shall, if necessary, be brought under our control for the time being, and adjustment made separately.

"6. The activities of influential Chinese in the occupied area shall be encouraged and fostered as far as possible, so as to win the people's mind to Sino-Japanese cooperation and thereby gradually establish localized peace in the areas where this is possible.

"7. In our economic relations with China, we shall lay special stress upon the acquisition of goods. For this purpose reasonable adjustments shall be made in the various existing restrictions." THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Fihelly, I suppose you have compared exhibit No. 1169 with the exhibit you just read, 878. Is there something more than a difference in wording? I think there is, but there may not be.

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MR. FIHELLY: Mr. President and Members of the Tribunal, as I stated to you this morning, there are five or six of these documents that I have tried to compare; and I found in each instance there were some differences although there is the same general background in many of them, and in some instances the same paragraphs of the same words; but the whole document has slight changes. But all of them come from various departments of the Japanese Government, particularly the Foreign Office, covering Liaison Conferences and drafts made for same or decisions arrived at at Liaison Conferences on or about November 11 and November 13. Some are decisions; some are drafts.

THE PRESIDENT: Leave it at that.

MR. FIHELLY: There is only one more of such documents, and it is a one-page document dated November 12, 1941. Might I take that up, your Honor, at this time?

THE PRESIDENT: Proceed to read it.

1	MR. FIHELLY: I now offer in evidence Inter-
2	national Prosecution document 1443, dated November
3	12, 1941, which contains certain basic principles
4	for rapid conclusion of war against the United States,
5	Great Britain and the Netherlands.
6	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
7	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
8	No. 1443 will receive exhibit No. 1176.
9	(Whereupon, the document above re-
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11	ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
12	No. 1176 and received in evidence.)
13	MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution
14	exhibit No. 1176:
15	Heading:
16 17	"GENERAL OUTLINE FOR HASTENING THE CONCLUSION OF WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, NETHER- LANDS, AND THE CHUNKING REGIME.
13	"(FOREIGN MINISTRY
19	Dated: Nov 12 1941 (Showa 16))
20	"1. A 'No-Separate-Peace Agreement' shall be
21	concluded with both Germany and Italy.
22	"2. Through mutual consent with Germany, we
23	shall mediate for peace between Germany and the Soviet
24	Union'and restore our trans-continental communication
25	with Germany. On the other hand, while adjusting our
	relation with the Soviet Union, we shall take measures

to promote her advancement into the direction of India and Persia.

"3. We shall completely cut off the supply route to the Chungking Regime, and bring all the concessions in China under Japan's power. On the other hand, we shall induce and utilize the Chinese merchants residing in the South Seas to strengthen our oppression upon the Chungking Regime, thereby contributing to the settlement of the Incident.

"4. The independence of the Philippine Islands shall be recognized and proclaimed to the world at the earliest possible occasion after the occupation of the Islands.

"5. Independence shall be allowed to part of the Futch East Indies while other necessary areas shall be maintained by Japan.

"6. We shall give independence to Burma and thus incite and promote India's independent movement.

"7. We shall support Thailand's movement against England for the recovery of lost territories. (French Indo-China shall maintain her status quo).

"8. Regarding our administrative policy in the occupied areas, we shall not oppress the lives of the people; and shall adopt, as far as possible

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1	a non-interference policy towards the internal af-
2	fairs, thereby shall earn the hearts of the people.
3	"9. When the time becomes suitable, we
4	shall declare our intentions to guarantee an equal
5	supply of tin and rubber in the South Seas to the
6	United States and Great Britain.
7	"(Remarks)
8	"(1) Judging from the fact proved in World
9	Wer I, the policy to utilize Americans of German
10	descent for the purpose to break up the public opin-
11	ion in the United States may at least be considered,
12	but it will prove impracticable and fruitless. (2)
13	We cannot expect much from activities in Central
14	and South America."
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1	I may say, Mr. President, that this is
2	typical of the situation I have explained to the
3	Tribunal. Part of this, in substance, has been
4	read before, and other paragraphs are different.
5	I wish to offer in evidence International
6	Prosecution document 2593 D (13), a wire of November
7	14 from NOMURA to Tokyo stating that the course
8	adopted by the Japanese Government would well result
9	in war with the United States.
10	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
11	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
12	No. 2593 D (13) will be given exhibit No. 1177.
13	(Whereupon, the document above re-
14	ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
15	No. 1177 and received in evidence.)
16	MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution ex-
17	hibit No, 1177:
18	"From: Washington (Nomura)
19	"To; Tokyo
20	"November 14, 1941
21	"Purple
22	"#1090 (Part 1 of 3) ^a (Departmental Secret)
23	(To be handled in Government Code)
24	"I am telling Your Excellency this for your
25	own information only."

"I believe that I will win out in the long run in these negotiations, and I will fight to the end. I will do my very best with infinite patience and then leave the outcome up to God Almighty. However, I must tell you the following:

"1. As I told you in a number of messages, the policy of the American Government in the Pacific is to stop any further moves on our part either southward or northward. With every economic weapon at their command, they have attempted to achieve this objective, and now they are contriving by every possible means to prepare for actual warfare.

"2. In short, they are making every militarp and every other kind of preparation to prevent us from a thrust northward or a thrust southward; they are conspiring most actively with the nations concerned and rather than yield on this fundamental political policy of theirs in which they believe so firmly, they would not hesitate, I am sure, to fight us. It is not their intention, I know, to repeat such a thing as the Munich conference which took place several years ago and which turned out to be such a failure. Already I think the apex of German victories has been passed. Soviet resistance persists, and the possibility of a separate peace has receded,

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and hereafter this trend will be more and more in evidence.

"3. The United States is sealing over-friendlier melations with China, and in so far as possible she is assisting CHIANG. For the sake of peace in the Pacific, the United States would not favor us at the sacrifice of China. Therefore, the China problem might become the stumbling block to the pacification of the Pacific and as a result the possibility of the United States and Japan ever making up might vanish."

Part 2 - same heading.

"4. There is also the question of whether the officials of the Japanese Government are tying up very intimately with the Axis or not. We are regarded as having a very flexible policy, ready, nevertheless, in any case, to stab the United States right in the back. Lately the newspapers are writing in a manner to show how gradually we are tying up closer and closer with the Axis.

"5. If we carry out a venture southward for the sake of our existence and our lives, it naturally follows that we will have to fight England and the United States, and chances are also great that the Soviet will participate. Furthermore, among

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the neutral nations, those of Central America are already the puppets of the United States, and as for those of South America, whether they like it ornot, they are dependent for their economic existence on the United States and must maintain a neutrality partial thereto.

"6. It is inevitable that this war will be long, and this little victory or that little victory, or this little defeat or that little defeat do not amount to much, and it is not hard to see that whoever can hold out till the end will be the victor.

"7. It is true that the United States is gradually getting in deeper and deeper in the Atlantic, but this is merely a sort of convoy warfare, and as things now stand she might at any moment transfer her main strength to the Pacific."

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Coldberg & Spra+	1	THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Logan.
	1	MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, with
	3	respect to those some few symbols at the bottom, may
	4	we have a direction for the prosecution wherever it
	5	appears on any of these documents which were inter-
	6	cepted and decoded that the prosecution be required
	7	to read the dates they were translated, which are
	8	the symbols the prosecution just referred to.
せせ	9	MR. FIHELLY: I will be glad to do that,
	10	Mr. President. I am sure no directive will be
	11	necessary. I will be glad to do it.
	12	This particular document, 1177, shows that
	13	it was translated, according to the number at the
	14	bottom, "trans. 11/17/41 (2)."
	15	. We now offer in evidence International
	16	Prosecution document 2593-D(14), a wire of November
	17	16th from TOGO to Washington.
	18	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
	19 20	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
	20	No. 2593-D(14) will receive exhibit No. 1178.
	21	(Whereupon, the document above
	23	referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
	24	No. 1178 and received in evidence.)
	25	MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's
		exhibit No. 1178:
	10.00	

"TOP SECRET. From: Tokyo. To: Washington. November 16, 1941. Purple" -- c-a- or c-o- in parentheses; I can't make out just what it is. "(URGENT).

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"For your Honor's own information.

"1. I have read your #1090^a, and you may be sure that you have all my gratitude for the efforts you have put forth, but the fate of our Empire hangs by the slender thread of a few days, so please fight harder than you ever did before.

"2. What you say in the last paragraph of your message is, of course, so and I have given it already the fullest consideration, but I have only to refer you to the fundamental policy laid down in my #725^b. Will you please try to realize what that means. In your opinion we ought to wait and see what turn the war takes and remain patient. However, I am awfully sorry to say that the situation renders this out of the question. I set the deadline for the solution of these negotiations in my #736^c"--and this refers, and the evidence will show it, to November 25th --- "and there will be no change. Please try to understand that. You see how short the time is; therefore, do not allow the United States to sidetrack us and delay the negotiations any further. Press them for a solution on the basis of your proposals, and do your best to bring about an immediate solution."

At the bottom appears:

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"a - See JD-;6553 in which NOMURA gives his views on the general situation. Part 3 not available.

"b - S. I. S. # 24330 in which TOGO says that conditions both within and without the Japanese Empire will not permit any further delay in reaching a settlement with the U_{nited} States.

"c - S. I. S. #24373 in which TOGO says that it is absolutely necessary that all arrangements for the signing of this agreement be completed by the 25th of this month."

"SECRET" appears at the bottom, and under that, "TOP SECRET." To the right, "Trans. 11/17/41 (S)."

On November 18th KURUSU sent a strong statement as to the United States negotiations with Japan and included some advice in it. This is International Prosecution document 1532-D(5), which we now offer in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLEHK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1532-D(5) will receive exhibit No. 1179.

(Whereupon, the document above 1 2 referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1179 and received in evidence.) 3 4 MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's 5 exhibit No. 1179: 6 "Despatched: 18 November 1941. P.M. 7 WASHINGTON 8 "Received: 19 November 1941. P.M. 9 Foreign Ministry 10 "Strictly Confidential -- Ambassador's Code "From: Ambassador NOMURA "To: Foreign Minister TOGO "#1133 "KURUSU states: "(1) ---- According to the views held by Ambassador NOMURA and myself, although the President maintains calm attitude outwardly, we feel that the President possesses keen desire to conclude the U.S. -Japanese negotiation. Now, that just because the other party does not take in whole-heartedly our proposal there is no reason for an immediate conjecture that it is a willingly-delayed policy. Moreover it is most important at this time not to resort to actions that could not be amended afterwards.

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"(2) ----- Through the establishment of the

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Revised Neutrality Law, etc., the U.S. interests 2 were all the more focused to the Atlantic, and there-3 fore, although they are affirming preparations and 4 determination to fight Japan if compelled to, it 5 seems that they are seeking if possible to maintain 6 security in their back front by negotiating with our 7 country. In both of our interviews, with the Pres-8 ident on the 17th and with HULL on the 18th, much em-9 phasis was placed on the question of the Tri-Partite 10 treaty. The reason for their giving more force to 11 their assertion than is usual could be attributed 12 chiefly to the consideration given therein. That is, 13 as an assumption to U.S.-Japanese compromise, the 14 U.S. Government shall give the American public in 15 general, the impression of Japanese-German estrange-16 ment. To do this, it is desired that utilization be 17 made regarding U.S.-Japanese joint declaration con-18 cerning non-discrimination in trade, or to let Ja-19 pan participate in the agreement regarding the same 20 question now being negotiated between the U.S. and 21 Britain, or to utilize messages manifesting peaceful 22 aims on the part of JAPAN as suggested by the Secre-23 tary of State HULL in our interview of the 18th. 24 25

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"(3)----An acute change in the present state of Japanese-German relations is, of course, an impossibility, and in view of the aforementioned conditions, I believe it is most important for our country to give the United States sufficient security possible so that they could all the more concentrate deeply to the Atlantic, thereby enabling us to occupy favourable positions in the international situation that is to arrive after the war, not mentioning our full scale execution of the present Sino-Japanese hostilities.

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(Part 2) In regard to the question of whether the U.S. and Britain will, or will not turn the point of their swords to us after the present war and start suppressing us, I stated this at the Conference on the 17th pointing out the bitter experience our country underwent during after the last World War (I) and bluntly explained the suspicion embraced by a group of our people toward the Anglo-Americans. To this, the President unhesitantly replied that the new agreement also covers such points. (Cover it all).

"(4)-----In view of the present state of affairs in our country's internal situation, I believe there are various difficulties to be met before being able to attain some measures along the lines desired by the United States. For the time being, as a link to fill the lapse in time, it is most desirous

that a time limit be set in regard to American-1 Japanese negotiation and to pave a way through this 2 confronting situation, I think that it is necessary 3 4 to ask for an assurance to import a set quantity of 5 petroleum and also the rescinding of freezing orders. 6 In my interview of the 18th, I, together with Ambassa-7 dor NOMURA, suggested a return to the condition prior 8 to 24 July. As an equivalent to this, I think that 9 the U.S. might not consent with only our B proposal 10 stipulating the non-advancement of our armed forces 11 outside French Indo-China, and our testimony given 12 vague in condition regarding evacuation of troops 13 from French Indo-China, as evidenced by our past ne-14 I suggest that at this time, you will show gotiation. 15 in advance, some degree of sincerity such as to com-16 mence evacuation of troops from Southern French Indo-17 China.

"Now, as there is the question of your instructed time limit, I would like, if possible, to effect immediate disposal of the matter while the President is still in Washington, which I am urgently advising."

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1	We next offer in evidence a cable of
2	November 19th from TOGO, Foreign Minister, to
3	NOMURA, which is International Prosecution document
4	No. 1532-D(6), which is self-explanatory.
5	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
6	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
7	No. 1532-D(6, will receive exhibit No. 1180.
8	(Whereupon, the document above
9	referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
10	No. 1180 and received in evidence.)
11	MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's
12	exhibit No. 1180:
13	"To: Ambassador NOMURA in America.
14	"From: Foreig: Minister TOGO.
15	"Despatch No. 43905.
16	"Despatched: 20 November 1941 - 0030.
17	"Drafted: 19 November 1941.
18	"Telegram No. 800 (Ambassador Code) Very
19	Urgent.
20	"Re my Telegram No. 799.
21 22	"Re paragraph 1 of my telegram No. 780,
23	Southeast Asia and South Pacific includes Dutch
24	Indies and Thailand, but not China.
25	"Re item 2 of paragraph 3, it is desirable
	that the required quantity be decided upon by

1	agreement of both governments before the signatures
2	are affixed to this present agreement.
3	"Re paragraph 4, please bear in mind that
4	it means the cessation of aid to Chiang by the United
5	States.
6	"Re paragraph 5. Article 2 (my #801) is an
7	important concession we venture to make for the sake
8	of speeding the conclusion of the agreement.
9	"Re paragraph 6. We could not agree to
10	the principle of non-discrimination in trade being
11	applied only to China, as I have stated in my #784.
12	"Re paragraph 7, latter part of item 2.
13	As an explanation of our attitude as expressed in
14	'Japan would decide entirely independently' in case
15	the U.S. should enter the European War, you may
16	point out that the Empire can decide independently
17	as to whether or not there had been an attack,
13	without being bound to the interpretations of the
19	other countries involved in the Tripartite Treaty.
20	You may make it clear that there are no secret
21	agreements in the Tripartite Treaty. (However, you
22	will please withhold your explanation of this item
23	until you see prospects of this agreement material-
24	izing)."
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We now offer in evidence an entry from the

1	KIDO Diary of November 19, 1941, International Prose-	
2	cution document 1632-W(84), showing the imminence of	
3	war with the United States on that date.	
4	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.	
5	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document	
6	No. 1632-W(84) will receive exhibit No. 1181.	
7	(Whereupon, the document above	
8	referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit	
9	No. 1181 and received in evidence.)	
10	MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's	
11	exhibit No. 1181, Extract, KIDO Diary, November 19,	
12	1941:	
13	"I talked with the Emperor from 10:25 a.m.	
14	to 10:50 a.m. I made a statement to the following	
15	effect:	
16	"The prospects of our negotiations with	
17	Washington were incalculable, but if the Emperor was	
18 19	resolved on war with America by the end of November,	
20	the following situations might arise.	
21	"1. The remainder of the parley would not	
22	advance beyond its preliminary stage.	
23	"2. The acceptance of our demands.	
24	"a. Partial acceptance of our demands.	
25	"b. Acceptance of half of them.	
	"c. Acceptance of the majority of them."	
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The successful conclusion of our nego-"2. tiations with the U.S.A., but consent would be re-quired on the part of England and the Netherlands. "It would not be a good policy to plunge into a war merely by reason of the fact that the month of November had expired, and if we did so, the unification of public opinion would be very difficult. Therefore, when the Premier had to decide his final attitude, he should be ordered to convene a con-ference of senior statesmen in the Imperial presence." **

MR. FIHELLY: On November 20th, 1941, NOMURA and KURUSU, by instructions of the Foreign Ministry, presented to the Secretary of State what turned out to be Japan's last proposal for a settlement which was a revised form of the proposal "B" agreed to in the Imperial Conference of November 5th. This particular presentation will be dealt with by Mr. Ballantine in bis evidence.

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Meanwhile the original Anti-Comintern
Pact of 1936 was about to expire and International
Prosecution Document 1072-B, dated November 21, 1941,
is now offered in evidence; and consists of excerpts
from the records of the Investigation Committee meeting
of the Privy Council showing the negotiations for its
renewal.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1072-B will receive exhibit No. 1182.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1182 and received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's exhibit
 No. 1182:

"The Excerpts from 'Records of the Investigation Committee Meeting of Privy Council in re:"

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1 Prolongation of Anti-Comintern Pact.

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"PP 1-7 inclusive; PP 11, 14, 15

"1. Investigation Committee Meeting, about
the conclusion of protocol on the prolongation of
Anti-Comintern Pact among Japan, Germany, Italy,
Hungary, Manchukuo, and Spain, and about the interchange of secret documents between Japan and Germany
concerning the abrogation of the secret attached
protocol of above pact.

"Held on November 21st (Friday), 1941, in
the Privy Council Office.

12	"Attendants:	"President HARA
13		"Vice President SUZUKI
14		"Chairman of the Committee
15		ISHII, Councillor
16		"Members of the Committee:
17		"ARIMA, Councillor
18		"ISHIZUKA, Councillor
19		"MINAMI, Councillor
20		"NARA, Councillor
21		"FUTAKAMI, Councillor
22		"OBATA, Councillor
23		
24		"TAKEKOSHI, Councillor
25		"IZAWA, Councillor

1	"Ministers of State Affairs:
2	"TOJO, Prime Minister, Minister
3	. of Home Affairs and War Min-
4	ister
5	"IWAMURA, Minister of Justice
6	"TOGO, Minister of Foreign
7	Affairs and concurrently of
8	Overseas Affairs
9	"Explainers:
10	"MORIYAMA, Directory-General
11	of the Legislative Bureau
12	"SATO, Councillor of the
13	Legislative Bureau
14	"MIYAUCHI, Councillor of the
15	Legislative Bureau
16	"MATSUMOTO, Director of the
17	Bureau of Treaties in the
18	Department of Foreign Affairs
19	"SAKAMOTO, Director of the
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21	Bureau of European and
22	Asiatic Affairs in the De-
23	partment of Foreign Affairs
24	"NISHIMURA, Chief of the Second
25	Section of the Bureau of
	Treaties in the Department
and the second second	

	of Foreign Affairs
1	"NEMICHI, Chief of the Third
2	Section of the Bureau of
3	East Asiatic Affairs in the
4	Department of Foreign Affairs
5	"NARITA, Chief of the First
6	Section of the Bureau of
7	European and Asiatic Affairs
8	in the Department of Foreign
9	Affairs
10	"YCZANO, Chief of the Second
11	Section of the Bureau of
12	European and Asiatic Affairs
13	in the Department of Foreign
14	Affairs
15 ⁻ 16	"IMAMATSU, Director of National
	Police Bureau in the Depart-
17	ment of Home Affairs
18	"NAGANO, Chief of the Public
19 20	Order Section of National
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21	Police Bureau in the Department
23	of Home Affairs
23	"IKEDA, Director of the Criminal
24	Bureau in the Ministry of
2)	Justice; IDE, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs

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"HORIE, Chief Secretary "MOROHASHI, Secretary "TAKATSUJI, Secretary

"(Meeting opens at 1.35 P.M.)

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"Chairman of the Committee ISHII declares the opening of the meeting.

* ALLENGER MELTING

"Foreign Minister TOGO explains the circumstances leading to the settlement of this proposal and the outline of the contents.

"Committee Member ISHIZUKA asks a question 10 about the relations between Japan and Germany re-11 garding the South Sea regions. Foreign Minister 12 TOGO replies that Germany has already recognized 13 Japan's construction of a New Order in East Asia, 14 ans as for such a problem as how to deal with Dutch 15 East Indies, consultation shall be effected by degrees. 16 MATSUMOTO, the Director of the Bureau of Treaties in 17 18 the Department of Foreign Affairs answers that concerning the South Seas Mandated area, former Foreign 19 20 Minister MATSUOKA" -- a word blotted out -- "(and 21 German) Ambassador OTT had exchanged letters to make 22 the islands Japanese territory for a nominal compensa-23 tion by Japan to Germany.

"Committee Member MINAMI asks many questions, namely,"

"(1) He thinks that Germany's conclusion of the 1 Treaty of Territorial Inviolability with Soviet is an 2 infringement on the spirit of the preamble of the 3 .nti-Comintern Pact and, therefore, the Pact had 4 already lost its validity as far as Gormany is con-5 corned. He asks the opinion of the authorities con-6 cerned. Foreign Minister TOGO roplies that though 7 there is clearly a close connection between the Third 8 9 International and the Soviet Government, still there exists a slight difference between them, so, it is 10 not impossible to think of them separately, from 11 12 which viewpoint, Japan has concluded the neutrality 13 treaty with Soviet. 14

"(2) MINAMI asks about the change of circumstances
which made the Secret Protocol between Japan and
Germany unnecessary. Thinking of the possibility
of reconciliation between Germany and Soviet, he
doubts if it would be better to continue the Secret
Pact.

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"8. Foreign Minister TOGO responds that the changes
in circumstances are (A) the outbreak of war between
Germany and Soviet and the conclusion of the Neutrality
Pact between Japan and Soviet, (B) Formation of alliance
between Japan and Germany. He adds in the case if
Germany would make peace with Soviet, Japan would

resort to different means, beforehand or at the same time, to protect her interests.

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"/P. 11 Line 4-10/ Committee Member FUTAKAMI 3 asks about Japan's present foreign relations. Foreign 4 Minister TOGO, after the explanation about the whole 5 circumstances of the Japanese-American negotiations, 6 states that America, after all, sticks to her tra-7 ditional theory on international policy and assumes 8 an unrealistic attitude which makes it difficult to 9 come to terms; for all this, however, a compromise 10 is being attempted: As for the relation between 11 12 Japan and Soviet, it is going, at present, on the 13 foundation of the Neutrality Treaty.

"/P. 13, line 10/ Committee Member IZAWA asks
what are the concrete results of the Anti-Comintern
Pact during these five years since it was concluded.

17 "/P.14/ INAMATSU, the Director of the 18 National Police Bureau in the Department of Home 19 Affairs, answers that by mutual information and con-20 nection, changes of the methods of communist' movements 21 or such were learned, and thus, not a few facilities 22 are given by it. Prime Minister TOJO states he will 23 utilize more and more the Anti-Comintern Pact to 24 control communism. 25

"President HARA says it is very doubtful that

the Anti-Comintern Pact has been used fully to realize its object, and he hopes now that the Government is going to prolong it, they ought to utilize it completely so as to destroy the Communists at the root.

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"/15/ After this, Chairman ISHII asks the Ministers and the Explainers to retire.

"(Ministers and Explainers go out)

"Then after the discussion among the com-8 mittee members, it is decided unanimously to pass 9 it as it is with request that the Government will 10 make effort to make the Pact effective. positively 11 12 making the most of its provisions. The drawing of 13 the record of the investigation is committed all to 14 the chairman.

"Then Chairman of the Committee ISHII declares 16 the closing of the meeting.

"(Closed at 4.20 P.M.)"

THE PRESIDENT: Captain Brooks.

MR. BROOKS: I would like to call the attention of the Tribunal that the MINAMI mentioned here as Councillor is Hiroshi MINAMI and not the accused Jiro MINAMI, as can be confirmed by reference to prosecution exhibit No. 102 which gives the Privy Council.

THE PRESIDENT: That has been pointed out already.

Mr. Levin.

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MR. LEVIN: Mr. President, the accused 2 SUZUKI was at no time Vice-President of the Privy Council, and the one named is not the accused.

THE PRESIDENT: We were aware of that also, 5 Mr. Levin. 6

MR. LEVIN: If attention to that reference 7 has been made, I shall not bother to call the attention 8 of the Tribunal to that fact. 9

MR. FIHELLY: On November 22nd TOGO informed 10 11 NOMURA and KURUSU by telegram of an extension of 12 the negotiation deadline from November 25 to 29. 13 This is International Prosecution Document No. 2593-14 D-16 which we now offer in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2593-D-16 will receive exhibit No. 1183.

> (Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1183 and received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's exhibit No. 1183:

Headed "TOP SECRET"

"From: Tokyo

"To: Washington

"November 22, 1941 "Purple CA (Urgent)

"#812

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"To both you Ambassadors.

"It is awfully hard for us to consider 5 12 changing the date we set in my #736a, as you know. 6 However, I know you are working hard. The Imperial 7 Government is maintaining its fixed policy and doing S its very best sparing no efforts to try to bring 9 about the solution we desire. We desire by all 10 means to prevent a breakdown b in Japanese-American 11 12 relations, but if within the next three or four days 13 you can finish your conversations with the Americans; 14 if the signing can be completed by the 29th; c if 15 we can get an understanding with Great Britain and 16 the Netherlands through the exchange of notes and so forth; and in short if everything can be finished, 17 13 despite difficulties unbelievably great, we (will?) 19 make arrangements to wait until that date. This time 20 we mean it, that the deadline absolutely cannot be changed. After that things are automatically going to 21 happen. Please take this into your careful consider-22 ation and work as hard as you have in the past. This 23 is for the information of you two Ambassadors alone. 24 25 "a - See S.I.S. #24373. Tokyo wires Washington that because of the various circumstances it is absolutely necessary that arrangements for the signing of the agreement be completed by the 25th of this month."

> The trans. date: "Trans. 11/22/41 (S) "TOP SECRET" at the bottom.

7 On November 23rd, NOMURA cabled TOGO an 8 account of an interview which he and KURUSU had with 9 the Secretary of State and Mr. Ballantine on that day 10 in which the recent acts of Japan were again commented 11 on. This is International Prosecution Document 12 No. 1532-D-7, which we now offer in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1532-D-7 will receive exhibit No. 1184.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1184 and received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution's exhibit No. 1184:

"From: Ambassador NOMURA

"To: Foreign Minister TOGO

"Despatched: AM 23 November 1941, WASHINGTON "Received: PM 23 November 1941, Foreign

Ministry."

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"Machine cipher #1159 (Most Secret: Ambassador 1 Code) 2 "On the 22nd, I, together with Ambassador 3 KURUSU, had a meeting with Secretary of State, HULL 4 (BALLANTINE attended). The resume was as follows: 5 6 "The Secretary conferred with the Ambassador 7 and Ministers of Britain, Australia and the Nether-8 lands on the 22nd, (according to the press reports, 9 about two and a half hours) and he asked for their 10 opinions on the Japanese proposals. They all said 11 that if Japan has firm intention for carrying out a 12 peaceful policy, they would naturally welcome it and 13 they would be glad to cooperate in resuming normal 14 trade relations. However, they said, Japan is express-15 ing her peaceful intention even to the extent of-16 dispatching a special envoy while on the other side. 17 the speech of the politician and the commentary of 18 the press of Japan seem to be running in a completely 19 opposite direction, and so, there are some greatly 20 incomprehensible points in Japan's real intentions. 21 Furthermore, they pointed out that the amount of 22 Japanese petroleum imports up to the execution of the 23 freezing order took a very sudden upward swing and 24 that it wasn't to be used solely for peaceful under-25 takings but was being stored away by the Mavy."

Moreover, there was an opinion that it would be 1 best to lift the embargo in slow degrees. However, 2 he said, as it is expected that all the concerned 3 ambassadors and ministers will seek their home 4 government's instruction and will receive replies by 5 Monday, he will make a reply again one way or the 6 other at that time. (PART II) Then he expressed 7 much concern over the recent trend of public opinion 8 in Japan. He emphasized that the clarification of 9 peaceful intention by the Japanese Government would 10 be very important for making the American public 11 opinion accept compromise with Japan. (BALLANTINE 12 said that the conveyance abroad of sincerity of the 13 Japanese Government heads toward the Japanese them-14 selves would be more effective than the propaganda for 15 foreign consumption sent through foreign press cor-16 respondents and others.) He even went on to say that, 17 to speak the truth, was it not the duty of every 18 politician to strive for peace up to the very day 19 before war is unavoidable? He said that the president 20 and he made the policy of peace clear five times 21 22 and so it is desired that a response be made at 23 least once. Then we asked, leaving British, 24 Australian, and Dutch opinion aside for the time 25 being, what the intention of America herself was regarding our proposal."

"To this, recognizing that an item by item reply was 1 seemingly our demand, he showed a perplexed look 2 and avoided to answer. In short, he said, the desire 3 of AMERICA, BRITAIN, AUSTRALIA, etc., is to dis-4 solve the pressing situation in the South Pacific 5 area and they are eagerly desiring that the forces 6 7 kept in check in the same area may be transferred 8 for action in other parts. (PART III) And he 9 said, from the viewpoint they, unfortunately, can-10 not recognize that our proposal is sufficient. I 11 pointed out that our troop concentrations in the 12 northern part of FRENCH INDO-CHINA were aimed at 13 CHUNGKING's lifeline, therefore, they were for the 14 most part directed toward YUNNAN and were not in-15 tended to menace the South Pacific area. Then 16 KURUSU said that the acceptance of our proposal would 17 haturally lead to the conditions desired not only by AMERICA but by the other nations as well. To this, he /HULL/ replied, what these countries desired lay in the quick turn-about in the situation and with regard to resumption of normal trade relations, a 22 gradual advance is desirable for the time being, but 23 when JAPAN's peaceful intention becomes clear, a 24 rapid change will be seen in a few days. He further 25 replied that with regard to stopping aid to CHIANG,

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they cannot be a fair mediator if they make such a promise to JAPAN, considering the case when 2 AMERICA acts as an intermediary. (PART IV) Furthermore, if they stop the aid with the opening of the 4 negotiations, even though they made such a promise, 5 its value will not be so high. In view of the 6 fact that in any event, the so-called aid to CHIANG 7 KAI-SHEK is not as great as it is propagandized, he 8 9 replied he cannot accept the insertion of the above 10 items considering the substance of Japanese proposals which intends to improve the pressing situa-11 12 tion by the solution of immediate problems and to 13 reach fundamental solution by going further on.

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14 "Furthermore, he replied that the time was 15 not yet ripe for the president's mediation at present. 16 I believe that on Monday, AMERICA will submit some 17 sort of a counter proposal, but as I discerned that 18 she would seek out participation in some kind of a 19 proposal which aims to maintain peace on the Pacific 20 and promote trade, I hastened to suggest that it is 21 necessary to make the present problem on hand the 22 agreement between AMERICA and JAPAN, and take the 23 formality of making theother nations participate in 24 this, and KURUSU stated that if it was intended that 25 the above be a sort of a group organization and if it

	was an arrangement such as to vote us down by	
1	majority of voters, we would not accept such a	
2	proposal. (End)"	
3	THE PRESIDENT: We will recess for fifteen	
4	minutes.	
5	(Whereupon, at 1445, a recess was	
6	taken until 1500, after which the proceedings	
7	were resumed as follows:)	
8	were resumed as rearrange,	
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1	MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International
2	Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.
3	THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Fihelly.
4	MR. FIHELLY: On November 24 the Foreign Offi-
5	ce, Tokyo, sent to NOMUR! an account of the discussion
6	which was had with Ambassador Grew relating to the
7	withdrawal of troops from French Indo-China and other
8	pertinent matters which is now offered in evidence.
9	This is International Prosecution document No. 1532 D (8)
10	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
11	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
12	No. 1532 D (8) vill receive exhibit No. 1185.
13	(Whereupon, the document above re-
14	ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
5.	No. 1185 and received in evidence.)
6	MR. FIHELLY: I shall now read prosecution
.7	exhibit 1185:
8	"Supervised by: Chief of the America Bureau YAMAMOTO
9	"Person in Change: Chief of the First Sect. of the
0	America Bureau.
1	"Drafted on November 24, 1941
2	"Cable No. 44502
3	"Despriched: 8:10 P.M. November 24, 1941
.4	"Sent to Ambassador NOMURA in the U.S.A.
5	"Sent by Foreign Minister TOGO
	"Subject: Negotiations between Japan and the U.S.A."

Greenberg

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Barton

10,407

"(Conference with Ambassador GREW). "By Code: No. 822 (Ambassador's Code) "Re: My former telegram 821 A

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"I asked the American Ambassador in Tokyo 4 to call on me on the 23rd and explained to him ac-5 cording to the purport of my former telegram mention-6 ed above. I stated at that time that the removal 7 of the Japanese troops from the southern part of 8 French Indo-China to the northern part is of great 9 military significance, that our advance into the 10 northern part of French Indo-China was originally 11 undertaken in connection with the settlement of the 12 China Incident, and the details of how America and 13 Britain have frozen our capital upon our advance 14 into southern French Indo-China. Further I related 15 that it is now absolutely impossible to withdraw 16 17 the troops entirely; that it is not only the natural, 18 but also the only and best way for the settlement of 19 the Chinese problem that we demand that U. S. A. 20 not interfere with our efforts for peace, on the oc-21 casion that the American President as a mediator in 22 connection with the Chinese problem has CHANG-Kai-23 Shek propose peace to Jepan and Japan enters upon 24 negotistion in acceptance of the proposal; that it 25 is also absolutely impossible, from the point of

Jepenese netional feeling to settle the negotiation between Jepen and U.S.A. before this point is clarified, and that we cannot understand why the U.S.A. does not agree to this point. I added that in our new proposal I have made the utmost effort to simplify the situation and to reduce the desired terms of the Jepenese side in order to cooperate with the U.S.A. in her peace policy and we intend to advance the Jepenese policy more and more percefully according to the above purport after conclusion of those negotiations. The Ambrassedor took his leave saying that he would immediately cable the above to his home government."

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1	We next offer in evidence International	
2	Prosecution document 1532 D (9), a telegram from TOGO	
3	to NOMURA, dated November 24, which again fixes the	
4	negotiation deadline as November 29 Tokyo time by the	
5	statement made therein.	
6	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.	
7	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document	
8	No. 1532 D (9) will receive exhibit No. 1186.	
9	(Whereupon, the document above re-	
10	ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit	
11	No. 1186 and received in evidence.)	
12	MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution	
13	exhibit 1186:	
14	"Supervised by: Chief of the American	
15	Bureau, YAMAMOTO.	
16	"Person in charge: Chief of the First Secre-	
17	tary of the America Bureau.	
18	"Drafted on November 24, 1941.	
19	"Cable No. 44503.	
20	"Despatched 8:15 p.m. November 24, 1941.	
21 22	"Sent to Ambassador NOMURA	
23	"Sent from Foreign Minister TOGO	
24	"By Code: No. 823 (Ambassador's code)	
25	"To both Ambassadors	
	"The date of my former telegram No. 812 is	
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in Tokyo time. 1 "By Way of Precaution." 2 We next offer in evidence International 3 Prosecution document 15-J, a telegram from the Japan-4 ese Ambassador at Hanoi, dated November 25, as tend-5 ing to show that Japan was about to go to war with 6 the United States and Great Britain and to show the 7 8 extent and completeness of preparation. 9 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 10 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 11 No. 15-J will receive exhibit No. 1187. 12 (Whereupon, the document above re-13 ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 14 No. 1187 and received in evidence.) 15 MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution 16 exhibit No. 1187: 17 "From: Hanoi. 18 Tokyo. "To : 19 "25 November 1941 20 "#118 21 "(Strictly secret) 22 "We are advised by the military that we 23 are to have a reply from the United States on the 24 25th. If this is true, no doubt the Cabinet will 25 make a decision between peace and war within the

next day or two. It goes without	t saying here, of
course, that if the U.SJapanese	e negotiations are
brought to a successful terminat	ion, the various
enterprises shall be lounched in	accordance with
the plans which have been laid d	own in advance.

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"Should, however, the negotiations not end in a success, since practically all preparations for the campaign have been completed, our forces shall be able to move within the day.

"Under these circumstances, however, there 10 shall have to be some alterations in the program we 11 have laid out for the various enterprises. We shall, 12 undoubtedly, have to establish organs and conduct 13 negotiations which will not conflict with the 14 15 campaign. The thing that we are most concerned 16 about is whether or not, in the event of war, the 17 status quo will be maintained as far as the French 18 Indo-China's government setup is concerned. I feel 19 that it is essential that we not only be advised 20 of this, but it must be done immediately as we 21 wish to make all prearrangements as far in advance 22 as possible.

"If you have any opinions as to the outcome of the Japanese-U.S. negotiations, will you please inform this office of them together with whatever other pertinent information you may deem wise to impart to us.

"Of course, I realize that secrecy is of the utmost importance. According to press reports. however, the United States conferred with the repre-sentatives of Britain, Australia, the Netherlands, and even of China, in Washington, and hence the governments of these countries are now aware of the matters being discussed in the Japanese-U.S. negotiations. Moreover, by means of (courier?) service, the military here are aware of not only our stand in the negotiations but also of the general atmosphere of the said negotiations."

"We feel as if we, a Foreign Office organ, alone have been left out of the picture. As you pointed out in your circular message #2353! -- it says at the bottom "Available, dated 19 November" -- "the situation is becoming exceedingly critical. Please, therefore, make arrangements to advise us on these

6 points by means of either cable or by special messenger services." 8

Below: "(D) Navy Trans.

11-26-41 (S-TT)"

On the same day the Japanese Ambassador at 11 Bangkok reported on the Foreign Office in Inter-12 national Prosecution document 2593 D (41) which we 13 now offer in evidence for the same purpose as the 14 last telegram was offered. 15

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 16 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 17 No. 2593 D (41) will receive exhibit No. 1188. 18

19 (Whereupon, the document above re-20 ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1188 and received in evidence.) 22 MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution exhibit

23 No. 1188:

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24 "From: Bangkok. 25 Tokyo: "To:

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"25 November 1941

"(Purple)

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"#849 (In 2 parts, complete)

"In the event of the Empire's taking decisive action in a southward advance, it will of course be necessary in the exercise of a belligerents rights to make clear the relations of sovereign and subjects. On the one hand it will be absolutely necessary to bring Thai into our camp. My conversation with Pibul as reported in my #834 was undertaken with this as the underlying motive. If and when Japan at last does make her proposals of joint defense, the following three points should be made especially definite, and Thai should be led to voluntarily take an attitude of cooperation with us.

"(1) In the event of an attack upon Burma and Malay, there would, of course, be a temporary infringement upon the territorial sovereignty of Thailand, but after our objectives have been attained, restoration would immediately be made, and the independence of Thai would be respected even more than at present while Thai is maintaining neutrality.

"(2) In case she cooperates in a positive way with Japan, full assurances will be given that Thailand's swamp lands will be reclaimed in the areas concerned.

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"(3) In the event of Thai's assets in England being frozen great fluctuation would result in the value of Thai's money, but Japan would make available sufficient funds to create a foundation for a yen 'block' money system, and also give every consideration to providing petroleum and other essential commodities.

"To summarize: By cooperating with Japan 9 the racial longings of Thailand will be realized, 10 and with indivisible relations with Japan her exis-11 tence as an independent nation will be strengthened --12 (three lines missed) --- stop with as simple a ---13 " as possible to the effect that 'will cooperate in 14 every way for the realization of the objectives of 15 East Asia coprosperity and stability, ' while the par-16 ticulars as necessity may require will be put into a 17 secret treaty ---18

¹⁹ "Furthermore, in the light of Japan's basic ²⁰ national policy which has for its purpose the es-²¹ tablishment of an East Asia coprosperity sphere, and ²² the emancipation of the Asiatic peoples, it goes with-²³ out saying that Thailand's sovereignty must not be ²⁴ impaired beyond the minimum limits of necessity, and ²⁵ that her standing as an independent nation must be

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1 2 3 4 5 6	maintained to the very last; while strictest military discipline must be used to reassure the Thai populace and strict control should by all means be exercised over any attempts at profiteering. "Have sent by the hand of Consul-General ASADA, who has returned to Japan, but to make doubly
7	sure I am also cabling it to you.
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9	"Available, Purple dated 21 November."
10	"Secret" at the bottom of the page, "(F)
11	Navy Trans. 11-27-41 (S-TT)."
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1	On November 26 NOMURA and KURUSU sent to
2	Tokyo by cable their last suggestion with an admis-
3	sion of failure as to the negotiations but suggested
4	or stated that Japan might gain a little time. This
5	is International Prosecution document 2593 D (19)
6	which we now offer in evidence.
7	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
8	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
9	No. 2593 D (19) will receive exhibit No. 1189.
10	(Whereupon, the document above re-
11	ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
12	No. 1189 and received in evidence.)
13	MR. FIHELLY: I now read prosecution exhibit
14	No. 1189:
15	"TOP SECRET .
16	"From: Washington
17	"To: Tokyo
18	"November 26, 1941
19	"Purple, (Extremely urgent)
20	"#1180. (Part 1 of 2)
21	"From NOMURA and KURUSU.
22	"As we have wired you several times, there is
23	hardly any possibility of having them consider our 'B'
24	proposal in toto. On the other hand, if we let the
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	situation remain tense as it is now, sorry as we are to

say so, the negotiations will inevitably be ruptured, if indeed they may not already be called so. Our failure and humiliation are complete. We might suggest one thing for saving the situation. Although we have grave 4 misgivings, we might propose, first, that President 5 ROOSEVELT wire you that for the sake of posterity he 6 hopes that Japan and the United States will cooperate for the maintainance of peace in the Pacific (just as 8 soon as you wire us what you think of this, we will negotiate for this sort of an arrangement with all we 10 have in us), and that you in return reply with a cordial message, thereby not only clearing the atmosphere, but also gaining a little time. Considering the possi-13 bility that England and the United States are scheming 14 to bring the Netherlands Indies under their protection through military occupation, in order to forestall this, 16 I think we should propose the establishment of neutral 17 nations, including French Indo-China, Netherlands India 18 and Thai. (As you know, last September President 19 ROOSEVELT proposed the neutrality of French Indo-China 20 and Thai.) 21

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"ARMY 6891 25435 Secret Trans. 11-28-41 (1) "TOP SECRET"

I now read part 2 of that same exhibit: "We suppose that the rupture of the present

negotiations does not necessarily mean war between Japan and the United States, but after we break off, 2 as we said, the military occupation of Netherlands 3 India is to be expected of England and the United States. 4 Then we would attack them and a clash with them would 5 be inevitable. Now, the question is whether or not 6 Germany would feel duty bound by the third article of 7 the treaty to help us. We doubt if she would. Again, 8 you must remember that the Sino-Japanese incident would 9 have to wait until the end of this world war before it 10 could possibly be settled. 11

"In this telegram we are expressing the last 12 personal opinions we will have to express, so will 13 Your Excellency please be good enough at least to show 14 it to the Minister of the Nevy, if only to him; then we hope that you will wire us back instantly, 16

> "Trans. 11-28-41 (1) "TOP SECRET"

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1 On the same day, the Secretary of State 2 handed to NOMURA the last counter-proposal of the 3 United States, and this matter will be dealt with by 4 Mr. Ballantine in his testimony.

As showing that the Pearl Harbor attacking task force left for the actual attack on Pearl Harbor on November 26, I now read from prosecution exhibit 809, page 72, the brief but pertinent data in that connection, questions 30 to 32, inclusive:

"30. When did the Task Force begin to form?

¹¹ "The various forces were to leave the
¹² several areas where they might be on or about 15
¹³ November, to proceed as single vessels or in small
¹⁴ formations and to rendezvous in TANKAPPU-WAN by
¹⁵ 22 November.

"31. Where was the rendezvous?

" TANKAPPU-WAN.

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¹⁸ "32. When did the Task Force get underway on ¹⁹ its mission?

"It sailed from TANKAPPU-WAN at 0600 hours 20 November."

In this same connection I refer to prosecution exhibit 1128A which is an abstract from the SHIMADA interrogation of January 23, page 33, and read another part of the exhibit referring to the task force which rendezvoused at Tankan Bay.

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THE PRESIDENT: Dr. KIYOSE.

DR. KIYOSE: I should like to refer your Honor's attention to exhibit 1189 -- at the end of 1189. In the English text at the end of page 2 there are the words "Minister of the Navy." I should like 6 to call your attention to the fact that the Minister 7 8 of the Navy at that time was Admiral YONAI. As a matter of fact, the telegram refers at the end to, 9 in the Japanese word, "NAIDAIJIN," meaning: 10 The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. And, perhaps because 11 12 of an ommission of some syllable, it was considered 13 as "YONAI," and, therefore, the words "Minister of 14 the Navy" entered into the text. I should like to 15 point out that the reference was made to the Lord 16 Keeper of the Privy Seal.

THE PRESIDENT: What you say is noted. Dr. KIYOSE.

MR. FIHELLY: Referring to exhibit 1128A. 20 I now read from page 78 from that exhibit. I am wrong on my page number. I read the part of that ex-22 hibit which appears on page 1 and takes in the rest 23 of the page, starting with the question, "Now, on 24 November 10, 1941 " (Reading) 25

1	"Q. Now, on November 10, 1941, didn't Vice-
2	Admiral NAGUMO issue aboard his flagship, aircraft
3	'Akagi' striking force operation order No. 1, which
4	ordered all forces to complete battle operations by
5	November 20, 1941?
6	"A. I think that is so.
7	"Q. Tankan (Hitokappu) Bay of Etorofu Island in
8	the Kuriles was designated in the striking force
9	order No. 1 as the rendezvous for the task force,
10	wasn't it?
11	"A. Yes.
12	"Q. Between November 21 and November 27, 1941,
13	the task force rendezvoused at Tankan Bay, didn't it?
14	"A. Yes.
15	"Q. The task force left Tankan Bay on November
16	27, 1941, and sailed East until December 4th or 5th,
17	didn't it?
18	"A. Yes.
19	"Q. Then it altered its course to the Southeast
20 21	toward Hawaii?
21	"A. Yes."
23	THE PRESIDENT: Are you going to read from
23	page 2?
25	MR. FIHELLY: I might as well read the rest
2)	of it although it fits in at a later date.
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1	THE PRESIDENT: Whatever course you set out,
1	do not change because of any suggestion from me. Do
3	as you intended.
4	MR. FIHELLY: I had made no definite decision
5	on it, your Honor. I will read the two or three
6	questions and answers although it does get a little
7	bit out of the present time period that we are in,
8	as of a particular date.
9	Page 2 of the exhibit:
10	"Q. Upon reaching a point approximately 250
11	miles from Hawaii the first wave of planes was
12	launched, wasn't it?
13	"A. Yes.
14	"Q. A fleet of from 20 to 30 Japanese sub-
15	marines from the Sixth Fleet was patrolling outside
16	Pearl Harbor before the strike, wasn't it?
17	"A. Yes.
18	"Q. And a fleet of some 5 or 6 midget submar-
19	ines attempted to gain entrance to the Harbor, didn't
20	it?
21	"A. Yes"
22	That the task force sailed for Pearl Harbor
23	on this date, we now refer to page 78 in exhibit 809
24	and read the very order itself providing therefor.
25	It appears at the top of the page.

"Combined Fleet Order 1 "The Task Force will move out of HITOKAPPU-2 WAN on 26 November and proceed without being detected 3 to the evening rendezvous point (Lat 40° N. Long 4 170° W), set for 3 December, where refueling and 5 6 supply will be carried out as quickly as possible. 7 NOTE: In accordance with this order the Task Force 8 moved out of HITOKAPPU-WAN at 0600 hours on 26 9 November. 10 "Combined Fleet Dispatch Operation 11 Order (essentials). 12 "Time of origin: Approximately 1730 hours, 13 2 Dec. 41. 14 "Text: X-Day will be 8 December. 15 "Task Force Ultrasecret Operation Order 1 16 (essentials). 17 "Flagship AKAGI, HITOKAPPU-WAN 18 23 Nov. 41. 19 "NAGUMO, Chuichi 20 "Task Force Commander." 21 22 23 24 25

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Brannon

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MR. BRANNON: We wish to remind the Tribunal that this is not the order that was issued but the recollection of several Japanese Naval Officers.

THE PRESIDENT: This must be the order. It would require photographic memories to recollect that, but it may be as Mr. Brannon says. You can clear that up, Mr. Fihelly. Perhaps Admiral Richardson will clear it up when he comes, Mr. Fihelly, so proceed.

MR. FIHELLY: This Appendix B, your Honor, is a reply to what is known as the Colonel Munson Questionnaire, some thirty or more questions that was sent to the Japanese Naval Department to answer the specific question.

MR. BRANNON: I refer to paragraph 29, on page 75, the last sentence. "The information is based on recollection and inquiries of the following three men."

THE PRESIDENT: You could go further, Mr. Brannon. "All copies of the above items were burned at the time of surrender and as a result no documents are available. The essential points in the order relative to carrying out the operations are hereby submitted." You appear to be right, Mr. Brannon.

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2	MR. BRANNON: I wanted to state that I may
. 3	be altogether in error. The prosecution appears
4	to be ready to introduce another operational order
5	that was recovered from a sunken Japanese ship, which
6	may render much of this report obsolete; therefore,
7	I have been questioning why the prosecution was
8	placing so much reliance on this memory report, when
9	they appear to have a document that actually was a
10	copy of an official Japanese order of the same
11	nature.
12	THE PRESIDENT: If by "the same nature" you
13	mean to the same effect, it will be in the interest
14	of the prosecution to use it and will be against you.
15	MR. BRANNON: I mean pertaining to the same
16	

subject matter.

17 MR. FIHELLY: IPS document 17, to which the 18 counsel refers only refers to General Secret Op-19 erational Order No. 1 and 2. That document will 20 be introduced during the testimony of Admiral 21 Richardson. I did in general state to the Court 22 this morning that it would show, not in contra-23 distinction or in opposition to what is here stated, 24 but in direct coincidental date with date on 25 November 5th that the Operational Order No. 1 was

issued. Before going on to another document I did 1 just want to make this additional observation. Mr. 2 President. It was stated this morning that in a 3 certain part of a quote from this exhibit it was 4 the recollection of a Japanese yeoman of the 5 Japanese Navy. These Munson Questionnaire questions 6 are the recollection of the best men in the 7 Japanese Navy, who could answer these questions. 8 I only mean to state, not that Mr. Logan's state-9 ment was incorrect, but that this particular answer. 10 11 or order is in a different category because it is 12 recollection of high officers of the Japanese fleet, 13 just as to another question Mr. NAGANO gave his 14 recollection, saying that on November 3rd he de-15 cided to attack Pearl Harbor.

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THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Brannon.

¹⁷ MR. BRANNON: Mr. President, we do not
¹⁸ choose to make an argument of this at this time.
¹⁹ We only wish to call the Court's attention to the
²⁰ fact that what he read was based upon the memory
²¹ of three Japanese Naval Officers, whether it be a
²² Munson Report, or what it is, and they are all
²³ alive and in Tokyo today.

MR. FIHELLY: So if there is any error in this answer I an sure the defense will clear it up.

1	MR. FIHELLY: I now read from International
2	Prosecution document No. 1632W (85), the KIDO Diary
3	entry of November 26, to show events which were taking
4	place in Japan at that particular time.
5	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
6	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
7	No. 1632W (85) will receive exhibit No. 1190.
8	(Whereupon, the document above referred
9	to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1190 and
10	received in evidence.)
11	MR. FIHELLY: I now read from prosecution's
12	exhibit 1190; Extract from KIDO Diary, 26 November
13	1941:
14	"I met HARA, President of the Privy Council,
15	to consult with him about a Senior Statesmen's confer-
16	
17	ence. I saw the Emperor firom 11:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.
18	He said that as for the future outlook of the Japanese-
19	American talks it was feared to our regret that the
20	worst might come to the worst. Under these circum-
21	stances, our final decisions as to the war should be
22	carried into practice after another Senior Statesmen's
23	conference which should be convened to have broader
23	and more complete discussions on the matter. The
	Emperor also said that he wanted to tell his idea to
25	Premier TOJO."
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1 "I answered as follows: 'As we are going to 2 decide on the final course of a grave action which can never be undone, Your Majesty had better freely put any 4 questions and express your opinions, so that we may not rue the day when we were tempted to do such a thing.""

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For the same general purpose, that is, to show the manner in which the negotiations were carried on at this time, we now offer in evidence a telephone conversation between -- of November 27, 1941, between KURUSU and YAMAMOTO of the Foreign Office, this being International Prosecution document 15-G.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 15-G will receive exhibit No. 1191.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1191 and received in evidence.)

MR. FIHELLY: I now read Exhibit No. 1191 which is one of the intercepted diplomatic messages: "Pages 188 to 191, inclusive. "From: Washington "To: (Secret) Tokyo. "27 November 1941 (2327-2334 EST) (Telephone Code) -- (See JD-1: 6841) (S.I.S. #25344) "

. . .

"Trans-Pacific Telephone.

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2 "(Conversation between Ambassador KURUSU and 3 Japanese Foreign Office American Division Chief, 4 YAMAMOTO)

5 "Literal translation" given on the one side 6 and "Decode of Voice Code" given on the other.

"(After connection was completed:)

"KURUSU: 'Hello, hello. This is KURUSU.'

"YAMAMOTO: 'This is YAMAMOTO.'

"KURUSU: 'Yes, Hello, hello.'

"(Unable to get YAMAMOTO for about six or cight seconds, he said aside to himself, or to someone near him:)

14 "KURUSU: 'Oh, I see, they're make a record 15 of this, huh?'

"(It is believed he meant that the six second interruption was made so that a record could be started in Tokyo. Interceptor's machine had been started several minutes earlier.)

20 "KURUSU: 'Hello. Sorry to trouble you so 21 often.'

22 "YAMAMOTO: 'How did the matrimonial question 23 get along today?'"

24 Decode of Voice Code: "'How did the negotia-25 tions go today?'

"KURUSU: 'Oh, haven't you got our telegram yet? It was sent -- let me see -- at about six -- no, seven o'clock. Seven o'clock. About three hours ago.'

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"'There wasn't much that was different from what Miss UMEKO said yesterday.'"

Decode: "'There wasn't much that was different from Hull's talks of yesterday.'

YAMAMOTO: 'Oh, there wasn't much difference?' "KURUSU: 'No, there wasn't. As before, that southward matter -- that south, SOUTH -- southward matter, is having considerable effect. You know, southward matter.'

"YAMAMOTO: (Obviously trying to indicate the serious effect that Japanese concentrations, etc. in French Indo-China were having on the conversations in Washington. He tries to do this without getting away from the 'Miss UMEKO childbirth, marriage' character of the voice code.)

"YAMAMOTO: 'Oh, the south matter? It's
effective?'

"KURUSU: 'Yes, and at one time, the matrimonial question seemed as if it would be settled.'"

Decode: "'Yes, and at one time it looked as though we could reach an agreement.'

"KURUSU: 'But -- well, of course, there are

1	other matters involved too, but that was it that	
2	was the monkey wrench. Details are included in the	
3	telegram which should arrive very shortly. It is not	
4	very long and you'll be able to read it quickly.'	
5	"YAMAMOTO: 'Oh, you've dispatched it?'	
6	"KURUSU: 'Oh, yes, quite a while ago. At	
7	about 7 o'clock.'	
8	"(Pause.)	
9	"KURUSU: 'How do things look there? Does	
10	it seem as if a child might be born?"	
[1	Decode: "'Does it seem as if a crisis is at	
12	hand?'	and and and and
13	"YAMAMOTO: (In a very definite tone): 'Yes,	
14	the birth of the child seems imminent.' "	
15	Decode: "'Yes, a crisis does appear imminent.'	
16	"KURUSU: (In a somewhat surprised tone, re-	
17	peating YAMAMOTO's statement): 'It does seem as if the	
tS	birth is going to take place?'"	
19	Decode: "'A crisis <u>does</u> appear imminent?'	and a series
20	"(Pause)	
21	" KURUSU: 'In which direction! (broken off)	
22	(stopped himself very abruptly at this slip which went	
23	outside the character of the voice code. After a	
24	slight pause he quickly recovered, then to cover up	
25	the slip, continued:)"	
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"KURUSU: 'Is it to be a boy or a girl?' 1 "YAMAMOTO: (Hesitated, then laughing at his 2 3 hesitation took up KURUSU's cue to re-establish the 4 voice code character of the talk. The 'Boy, girl, 5 healthy' byplay has no other significance): 6 " YAMAMOTO: 'It seems as if it will be a 7 strong healthy boy.' 8 "KURUSU: 'Oh, it's to be a strong healthy 9 boy?! 10 "(Rather long pause.) .11 "YAMAMOTO: 'Yes. Did you make any statement 12 (to the newspapers) regarding your talk with Miss 13 KIMIKO today? " 14 Decode: "'Did you make any statement regarding 15 your talks with the President today?! 16 "KURUSU: 'No, nothing. Nothing except the 17 mere fact that we met. 1 13 "YAMAMOTO: 'Regarding the matter contained 19 in the telegram of the other day, although no definite 20 decision has been made yet, please be advised that 21 effecting it will be difficult.' 22 " KURUSU: 'Oh, it is difficult, huh?' 23 "YAMAMOTO: 'Yes, it is.' 24 "KURUSU: 'Well, I guess there's nothing more 25 that can be done then.'"

1 "YAMAMOTO: 'Well, yes.' 2 "(Pause.) 3 "YAMAMOTO: 'Then, today ' 4 "KURUSU: 'Today?' 5 "YAMAMOTO: 'The matrimonial question, that is, 6 the matter pertaining to arranging a marriage -- don't 7 break them off. "" 8 Decode: "'Regarding negotiations don't break 9 them off.' 10 "KURUSU: 'Not break them? You mean talks?' 11 "(Helplessly:) 12 "KURUSU: 'Oh, my.' 13 "(Pause, and then with a resigned laugh:) 14 "KURUSU: 'Well, I'll do what I can.' 15 "(Continuing after a pause:) 16 "KURUSU: 'Please read carefully what miss 17 KIMIKO had to say as contained in today's telegram. " 13 Decode: "'Please read carefully what the 19 President had to say as contained in today's telegram.' 20 "YAMAMOTO: 'From what time to what time were 21 your talks today?' 22 "KURUSU: 'Oh, today's was from 2:30.' 23 "(Much repeating of the numeral 2) 24 "KURUSU: 'Oh, you mean the duration? Oh, 25 that was for about an hour.'n

"YAMAMOTO: 'Regarding the matrimonial question.'" 1 Decode: "'Regarding the negotiations.' 2 "'I shall send you another message. However, 3 please bear in mind that the matter of the other day 4 is a very difficult one.' 5 "KURUSU: 'But without anything, -- they want 6 to keep carrying on the matrimonial question. They do. 7 In the meantime we're faced with the excitement of 8 having a child born. On top of that TOKUGAWA is 9 really champing at the bit, isn't he? TOKUGAWA is, 10 isn't he?"" 11 Decode: "'But without anything, they want to 12 keep on negotiating. In the meantime, we have a crisis 13 on hand and the army is champing at the bit. You know 14 the army.' 15 "(Laughter and pause) 16 "KURUSU: 'That's why I doubt if anything 17 can be done.' 13 "YAMAMOTO: 'I don't think it's as bad as 19 that.' 20 "YAMAMOTO: 'Well, -- we can't sell a mountain.'" 21 Decode: "'Well, -- we can't yield.' 22 "KURUSU: 'Oh, sure, I know that. That isn't 23 even a debatable question any more." 24 "YAMAMOTO: ""ell, then, although we can't 25 yield, we'll give you some kind of a reply to that

telegram.' 1 "KURUSU: 'In any event, Miss KIMIKO is 2 leaving town tomorrow, and will remain in the country 3 until Wednesday. "" 4 Decode: "'In any event, the President is 5 leaving town tomorrow, and will remain in the country 6 until Wednesday.' 7 "YAMAMOTO: 'Will you please continue to do 8 your best.' 0 "KURUSU: 'Oh, yes. I'll do my best. And 10 NOMURA's doing everything too.' 11 "YAMAMOTO: 'Oh, all right. In today's talks, 12 there wasn't anything of special interest then?' 13 "KURUSU: 'No, nothing of particular interest, 14 except that it is guite clear now that that southward --15 ah -- the south, the south matter is having considerable 16 effect.' 17 "YAMAMOTO: 'I see. Well, then, good bye." 13 "KURUSU: 'Good bye.'" 19 "(M) Navy Trans. 11-28-41." 20 At the bottom are certain symbols and "Outline 21 of interview on 27 November with Roosevelt-Hull-KURUSU-22 NOMURA. 23 "Probably #1189 (S.I.S. #25441-42). (JD-1: 24 6896). Washington reports the two proposals presented 25 by the U.S. on 26 November."

MR. FIHELLY: To show further war-like pre-1 parations at this time, we mext offer in evidence 2 International Prosecution document 2539-A, indica-3 ting that the Cabinet in a meeting of November 28 4 recognized and approved a new press system that put 5 the Japanese press on a war-time basis. 6 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 7 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 3 No. 2539-A will receive exhibit No. 1192. 9 (Whereupon, the document above re-10 ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 11 No. 1192 and received in evidence.) 12 MR. FIHELLY: I now read exhibit 1192: Heading: 13 "EXTRACT FROM 'THE TOKYO NICHI NICHI' 14 November 29, 1941. CABINET RECOGNIZES PRESS NEW 15 SYSTEM. 16 "JOURNALISTIC PLAN PROPOSED BY NEWSPAPER 17 LEADERS GIVEN APPROVAL. 13 "A plan for the establishment of a new system 19 in press circles, formulated by the board of 20 directors of the Press Federation, was recognized 21 in the regular Cabinet meeting on November 28. . 22 "For the early execution of the scheme, an 23 Imperial ordinance concerning the creation of the 24 new system will be issued by virtue of Articles 25

1	16 and 18 of the National Mobilization Law.
2	"The new system is aimed at placing newspapers
3	on the wartime basis for the fulfilment of their
4	national mission as an organ of the state and the
5	people in the face of the present strained
6	situation."
7	THE PRESIDENT: We will adjourn now until
8	half past nine tomorrow morning.
9	(Whereupon, at 1600, an adjournment
10	was taken until Thursday, 14 November 1946, at
11	0930.)
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