

Interv. Tojo (24 Jan '46)

DOC 4158

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE
WASHINGTON



DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS BRANCH, T.A.G.O.

CONTINUED INTERROGATION OF

General Hideki Tojo

Date and Time: 24 January 1946, 1400-1610 hours.

Place : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan.

Present : General Hideki Tojo,
Mr. John W. Fihelly, Interrogator,
Commander Yale Maxon, USNR, Interpreter,
Miss Myrtle B. Mills, Stenographer.

Questions by : Mr. Fihelly

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Q.: It is reported that Yosuke MATSUOKA made this statement in the Diet on 25 January 1941:

"Our desire is to make the spirit embodied in the principle of the Eight Corners of the Universe Under One Roof manifest throughout the whole world. The effort to construct a mutual prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia represents the first step toward the satisfaction of this national desire. The firm establishment of the supreme ideal of our race within the confines of Greater East Asia should serve as an example to humanity in the construction of a new world order."

Did you agree with this at this time?

A.: I don't know whether this was made in committee or on the main floor of the Diet, but to me, there is nothing surprising in it. Of course, I explained before the spiritual interpretation of the words "Hakko Ichiu" and under that interpretation this doesn't seem out of the way to me. I rather think that Mr. MATSUOKA had the spiritual idea in mind also. You remember, I explained before the difference between this spiritual concept and the idea of territorial aggrandizement.

Q.: Why do you believe that Mr. MATSUOKA held this spiritual view of "Hakko Ichiu"?

A.: As I explained before, the following two points were basic tenets in Japanese foreign policy: (1) to contribute to world peace by

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the stabilization of East Asia; (2) to develop the happiness of mutual existence and mutual prosperity by deepening the friendly intercourse between the Powers. Since those were basic points of Japanese foreign policy, Mr. MATSUOKA of course believed in them.

Q.: In general, did you not agree with the views of Mr. MATSUOKA, as expressed during the last ten years, with respect to the new order in East Asia?

A.: Of course since I am not Mr. MATSUOKA, I do not know all of the ideas which are in his head, therefore, I cannot answer the question as to whether, generally, I agree with all his ideas, but I do believe that Mr. MATSUOKA would agree with the ideas which I have been explaining during these interviews with respect to the new order in East Asia.

Q.: Do you recall any statement of Mr. MATSUOKA during the period from the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident to the beginning of the war between Japan and America in connection with the new order in East Asia that you disagree with?

A.: Mr. MATSUOKA did a lot of talking, but I don't recall very much of what he said or wrote so I cannot answer that question. As far as Mr. MATSUOKA's statements during the period when he was Foreign Minister are concerned, I can answer that there are no statements which he made that I do not agree with. A person in that position cannot speak just according to his own pleasure. He becomes the mouthpiece for the national will as debated and decided upon by the cabinet.

Q.: On January 24, 1941, the date of that first quotation, Yosuke MATSUOKA was Japanese Foreign Minister, was he not?

A.: Yes, he was.

Q.: For how long have you known Mr. MATSUOKA?

A.: From the time I went to Manchuria. Of course I had known his name before that, but we did not become real friends until the time when I was in Manchuria. I got to know him even more intimately during the time of the second Konoye Cabinet when he was Foreign Minister and I was War Minister.

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- Q.: At the time when you first became well acquainted with Mr. MATSUOKA in Manchuria, did he not have the idea of the creation of a new order in East Asia?
- A.: The subject came up as a topic of conversation from time to time in connection with many specific problems involving the South Manchurian Railway. At that time, he was President of the South Manchurian Railway and, since I was Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, there were many problems and this matter came up as well, but not in a very important way.
- Q.: But can you not answer yes or no to the question just put?
- A.: At that time, I do not believe that Mr. MATSUOKA had any concrete plan on the subject. However, of course, I believe he did have the idea of closer ties between China and Japan. Naturally, since he is another individual, I cannot guarantee that he did or did not have any particular plan or idea.
- Q.: Were not Mr. MATSUOKA's views at that time very similar to the views which later received concrete expression in the phrase, "building a new order in East Asia"?
- A.: I didn't hear Mr. MATSUOKA express any views about the creation of a new order in East Asia at this time. He did, however, express views about closer relations between Japan and China.
- Q.: Were not these views regarding closer ties between China and Japan substantially the views which later were expressed by the phrase, "creation of a new order in East Asia", at least insofar as that new order applied to Japan and China?
- A.: In the idea of increasing happiness on both sides by co-existence and co-prosperity, they were similar, but the idea of the creation of a new order in East Asia had not ripened at that time.
- Q.: At this same time, did not Mr. MATSUOKA believe that Japan's ties with all the other countries of East Asia should be closer also?
- A.: I don't want to say definitely whether Mr. MATSUOKA thought so or not, but I believe that all Japanese people felt that Japan's relations with the various countries of East Asia, with China, Japan, Thai, and French Indo-China ought to be on very friendly terms.

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Q.: All Japanese felt so?

A.: The majority of them.

Q.: Didn't you have the same views at that time?

A.: I also believed that.

Q.: Mr. MATSUOKA is said to have stated in a book published in 1941 that

"I firmly believe that the great mission that Heaven has given to Japan is to save humanity in conformity with the great spirit in which Emperor Jimmu founded the Empire. Japan should take over the management of the continent on a large scale, and propagate Hakko Ichiu and Kodo in Asia, and then extend it to the world."

Did you at that time agree with this sentiment?

A.: I have not read any such book. If the translation is correct, I do not agree with the phrase "should take over the management of the continent on a large scale". I would substitute the words "exert leadership". However, the question of the authenticity of this translation is an important one and I wish you would investigate it. That idea of management, which implies that Japan would control the various countries of Asia from above, is a misrepresentation of the spirit in which treaties with Manchuria, China, Thai, and French Indo-China were negotiated.

Q.: Do you mean by those treaties, the ones that were negotiated with these various countries after the outbreak of the war between Japan and the United States?

A.: The treaty with Manchuria and the treaty with China were both negotiated before the war with the United States. Also the treaty with French Indo-China. The treaty with French Indo-China was signed in July of 1941; only the treaty with Thai was signed after the outbreak of the war with America.

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Q.: By the treaty with China, you mean the treaty signed between Japan and the government of WANG Ching-Wei?

A.: Yes. There was a basic treaty signed in 1940, I believe, and a new treaty in 1943.

Q.: Mr. MATSUOKA is reported to have said the following during the course of a speech in the Diet on or about 27 January 1941:

"The Manchuria Incident and the China Affair are nothing but manifestations of Japan's attempt to forestall the destruction of civilization. The Manchuria Incident should be termed the start of construction, not destruction, of world peace. The Co-Prosperity Sphere in the Far East is based on the spirit of Hakko Ichiu, of the Eight Corners of the Universe Under One Roof. It is not that America's leaders don't understand this, but they don't try to understand it."

Did you agree with these sentiments at that time?

A.: I don't know whether this was on the floor of the Diet or in committee so I don't know whether I agreed or not.

Q.: But that was only five years ago. You remember what you thought five years ago. Does it represent your sentiments at that time?

A.: I do not know about America's leaders so I would exclude the last sentence of the quotation, but I did and do agree with the remainder. One other sentence, namely, "Manchurian Incident should be termed the start of construction, not destruction, of world peace", I believe to have been true only when viewed in retrospect.

Q.: Does the five-point declaration of the November 1943 convention represent the concrete realization of the new order in East Asia as adopted by the Japanese Government prior to the outbreak of the war with the United States?

A.: Yes. It represents the gist of the new order. I want to make one further statement relative to today's questions. I haven't talked to Mr. MATSUOKA and what I said about him are just my own views.

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Q.: You and Mr. MATSUOKA are still friends, are you not?

A.: Yes.

Q.: We will attempt to secure the Japanese text of the MATSUOKA book published in 1941, since you have intimated that there might be a translation error in the English text.

A.: Thank you. The question is important.

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Certificate of Interpreter

I, Yale Maxon, Cmdr., USNR, 11-35-72
(Name) (Serial Number)

being sworn on oath, state that I truly translated the questions and answers given from English to Japanese and from Japanese to English respectively, and that the above transcription of such questions and answers, consisting of 6 pages, is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Yale Maxon
Yale Maxon, Cmdr., USNR

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12 day of August, 1946.

John W. Fihelly
John W. Fihelly

Duly Detailed Investigating Officer,
International Prosecution Section, GHQ, SCAP

Certificate of Stenographer

I, Myrtle B. Mills, hereby certify that I acted as stenographer at the interrogation set out above, and that I transcribed the foregoing questions and answers, and that the transcription is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Myrtle B. Mills
Myrtle B. Mills

Certificate of Interrogator

I, John W. Fihelly, certify that on 24th
day of January, 1946, personally appeared before me TOJO
Hideki, and according to Commander Yale Maxon, USNR,

Interpreter, gave the foregoing answers to the several questions set forth therein.

John W. Fihelly
John W. Fihelly

TOKYO
(Place)

12 August 46
(Date)

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