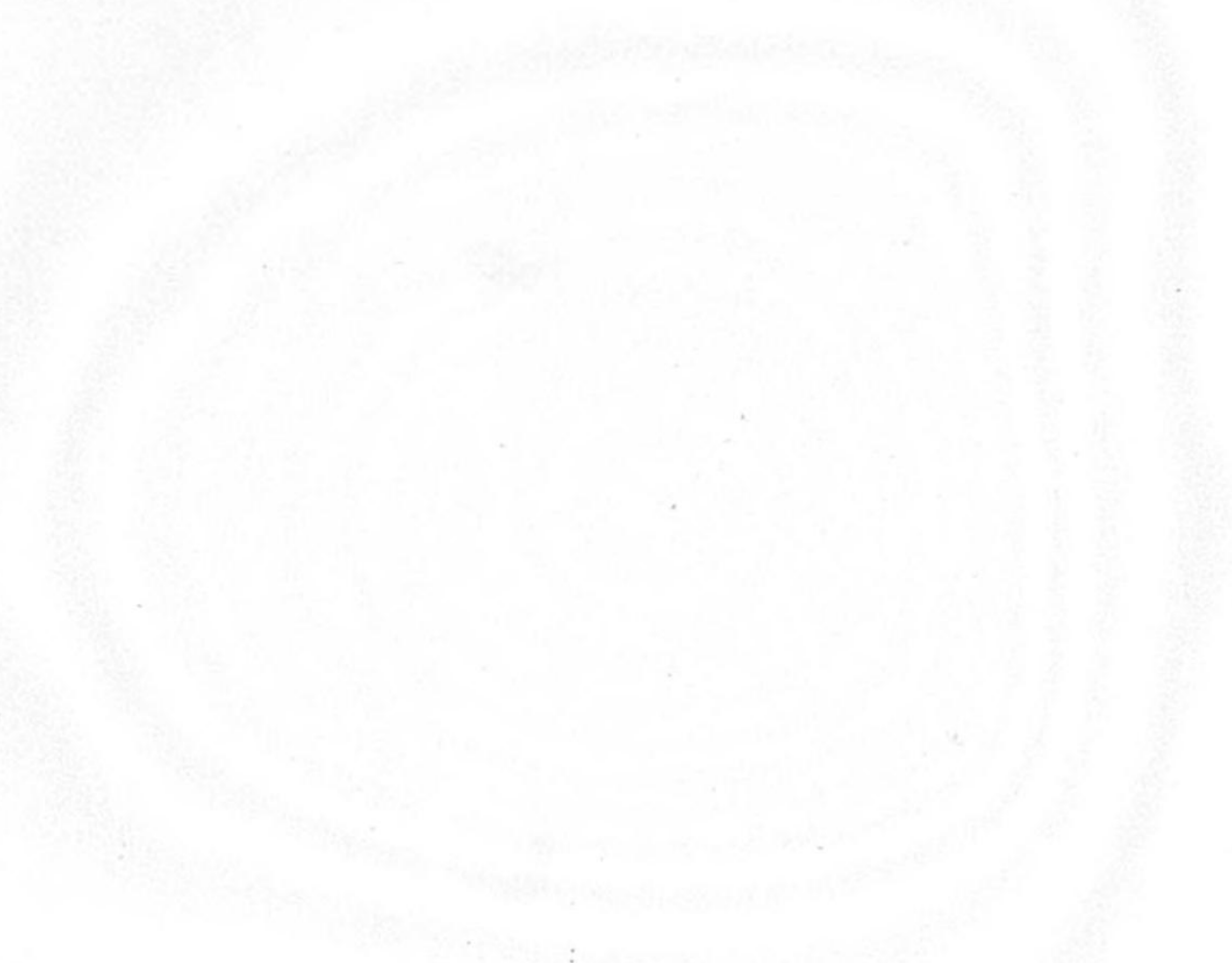


INTERR. KIDO - (6 Feb 46)

DOC 4130

(22)

(28)



INTERROGATION OF

(Marquis) KIDO, Koichi

(Continued)

DATE AND TIME: 6 February 1946, 1400 - 1600 hours

PLACE : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan

PRESENT : (Marquis) KIDO, Koichi  
Mr. Henry R. Sackett, Interrogator  
Lt. Fred F. Suzukawa, Interpreter  
(Miss) S. M. Betar, Stenographer

Questions by : Mr. Sackett

- 
- Q I meant to ask you yesterday why, in your opinion, the assassins picked on Premier INUKAI. Why did they kill him? In other words, what did he advocate that the assassins opposed?
- A I believe that INUKAI was killed because he was opposed to the Army's aggressive policy and he even opposed the Army's policy in his statements in the Privy Council and as head of the political party. The military felt he was responsible in part for the opposition given by the political parties to the program of the military. For that reason he was killed.
- Q Do you recall anything in particular that he said in the Privy Council with reference to the militarists that might have aggravated them?
- A In the Privy Council he was said to have remarked that he will not recognize the establishment of Manchuria.
- Q In other words, the fact that he was outspoken with reference to the recognition of Manchuria was resented by the military faction and was one of the reasons that they eliminated him?
- A Yes, generally so.

Q Did he ever speak openly in opposition to General ARAKI as an individual, or MASAKI?

A I don't know about that.

Q Do you know whether ARAKI and INUKAI were enemies because this situation existed or did they just have a difference of opinion?

A Because he was in the same cabinet as INUKAI, he cannot consider him to be an enemy although their opinions differ.

Q Did you know or hear of any threats made publicly against the Premier before he was assassinated to the effect that he was going to be killed?

A I never heard of any threats being made.

Q Do you recall who Lt. General BANZAI was and what faction or group he was aligned with in those days?

A He was a military advisor to the Manchurian General by the name of CHUNG CHO LIN. He was well versed in Chinese affairs.

Q He was an advocate of the aggression that took place in Manchuria, would you say?

A I did not hear anything directly concerning that.

Q This CHUNG CHO LIN was a general in the Kwantung Army?

A He is a Chinese general in Mukden.

Q He wasn't a Japanese citizen but a Chinese citizen?

A He was controlling Manchuria and cooperating with the Japanese in Manchuria in those days.

Q He was cooperating with the Japanese in those days?

A He was generally cooperative with the Japanese but later on he began to become more and more uncooperative. During the TANAKA Cabinet he was killed while enroute to Mukden from Peking.

Q That was back in 1927?

A Yes.

- Q You meant by "in those days" 1927, when General BANZAI was adviser to this Chinese General?
- A I believe he was working previously.
- Q But in 1932, in what capacity was General BANZAI serving?
- A I believe he was retired at this time. He was going to China occasionally.
- Q Do you recall what his attitude was as to what was happening in China from what you wrote in your diary as of November 5?
- A I do not remember what was said but I believe he spoke about actual conditions in China.
- Q Do you remember what he said about the conditions there?
- A I don't remember.
- Q He wasn't an active participant in the Kwantung Army during the Manchurian Incident, though?
- A He has no direct connection.
- Q I was reading over some of our notes, and if you recall, right at the start, we went over a Government chart of some governmental offices. It isn't clear to me what the Supreme War Council is. Can you tell me more about that? Who is it comprised of and what are its duties and functions, in relation, for example to the General Staff and Imperial General Headquarters?
- A It is the highest advisory organ of the military, including the Navy.
- Q Who are members of the Council. What people comprise the Council?
- A They are generally generals and admirals.
- Q Did its membership include the War and Navy Ministers?
- A No.
- Q Did it include members of the Staff Headquarters?
- A No.

- Q In other words, the Chief of Staff of the Army would not be a member of the Supreme War Council?
- A No.
- Q Its membership is comprised of generals and admirals who were not in staff headquarters?
- A Yes.
- Q And what functions did it perform that wouldn't be performed by Staff Headquarters?
- A Because it is a military matter, I do not know.
- Q What is the relationship, if any, between the Supreme War Council and the Imperial General Headquarters as to their respective duties?
- A I believe that it is an organ which reviews any decision made previously by the Army and Navy. I believe this is a part of the regulation.
- Q Well, why did it exist, in addition, let us say, to the Imperial General Headquarters. How do its functions differ from the functions of the Imperial General Headquarters?
- A I believe that it is an organ made to deliberate on issues of grave concern.
- Q That is the Supreme War Council you are referring to?
- A Yes.
- Q Isn't that likewise true of the Imperial General Headquarters? It also deliberated on matters of great importance.
- A Yes.
- Q What are the distinctions between the two functions? Why do you have both the Imperial General Headquarters comprised of Army and Navy men and the Supreme War Council comprised of Army and Navy men unless their functions are different?
- A That difference is not clear to me.

- Q It is my understanding that on or about the time of the Manchurian Incident, ARAKI and MASAKI, along with General MUTO and HAYASHI were really in control of the Supreme War Council. Would you say that was true from your recollection?
- A I do not know.
- Q There isn't any question but what ARAKI and MASAKI were prominent in the Supreme War Council, were they not?
- A I believe that MASAKI and ARAKI were not a part of the Supreme War Council.
- Q They may have controlled or influenced the Supreme War Council but were not actually members. Is that what you mean?
- A I do not know how much influence they had on the Supreme War Council.
- Q In military matters, would the Staff Headquarters and the Chief of Staff have greater power of decision, would you say than the Supreme War Council?
- A Their standpoint is different. The Staff Headquarters makes up the decision while the Supreme War Council deliberates on the decision.
- Q In other words, you think the Supreme War Council made recommendations and advised but the decision was ultimately made by Staff Headquarters?
- A Only some part of that decided upon by the Staff Headquarters is deliberated upon by the Supreme War Council. Therefore, the Supreme War Council is not a powerful organ and it only has a limited sphere of operations.
- Q Would it be fair to say that the Supreme War Council was an advisory group that advised the General Staff on military matters when called upon to do so.
- A Yes.
- Q And is the same true of Imperial General Headquarters? Is that another group of military men that advise Staff Headquarters of the Army and Navy?

A The Imperial General Headquarters is different. It is composed of the Chief of Staff of the Army and the Navy and it is created only during war time. It does the same work as the General Staff, only it is a combined Army and Navy general staff.

A I see. Does the Supreme War Council give advice both to the Army Chief of Staff and also the Navy Chief of Staff when called upon to do so?

A Yes.

Q But the Imperial General Headquarters only functions in case of actual war while the Supreme War Council might render advice to the Chiefs of Staff, even in peace time.

A Yes.

Q Another thing, I wanted to ask you about that I am not clear on is I know from time to time it was customary in Japan to have Imperial Conferences. Just what is an Imperial Conference and how is it called and who participates? For example, I know there was an Imperial Conference in September, 1941. I think there was another one just before the big war broke out in December 1941. I am interested for the moment in the mechanics of how such a conference is called, who suggests it and who attends?

A It is brought about by the General Staff and the Government and it is participated in by the General Staff and the Cabinet members and related or concerned cabinet members.

Q Is an Imperial Conference only held to discuss war questions or are Imperial Conferences held on civilian matters?

A It can do most anything but generally it only convenes during the war.

Q In other words, between 1930 and 1940, were there any imperial conferences called or held that you recall?

A I don't believe there were any. I don't remember.

Q Were there some in 1941, prior to the War.

A Yes.

- Q And so, you would say, that Imperial Conferences generally involved something of such extreme importance as perhaps the declaration of war? Is that correct?
- A Yes.
- Q And is the Imperial Conference procedure a constitutional function or is it something that is traditional in Japanese politics?
- A It is not a function under constitutional provision but it is more or less following past practices and it deals with grave matters.
- Q Well, for example, in the summer of 1941, as I understand it, I think in July and in September, there was an Imperial Conference. To help and straighten me out on how they are called, do you remember who caused the Imperial Conference to be called together in 1941?
- A I believe it was opened by the Prime Minister, Prince KONOYE and the General Staff.
- Q In other words, you would say either Prince KONOYE or the General Staff could have brought about the holding of an Imperial Conference?
- A By joint action of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet members concerned and the General Staff.
- Q Could anyone else have brought it about? Could the Foreign Minister have called an Imperial Conference by himself?
- A No.
- Q Does it take agreement on the part of both the Premier and the General Staff in order for an Imperial Conference to come about?
- A If it only dealt with civil matters, the Government alone can bring it about.
- Q In other words, if some important civil matter was involved, the logical person to call an Imperial Conference would be the Premier by himself.
- A But there hasn't been an actual example of such.



- Q The Imperial Conferences you recall always involved military matters so that it was brought about by a joint decision on the part of the Premier and the Chief of Staff?
- A Yes.
- Q May I ask this, let us suppose the Chief of Staff wanted to have an Imperial Conference and the Premier didn't want to have one. Could it be brought by the Chief of Staff without the cooperation of the Premier?
- A No.
- Q The procedure would be , in effect, to cause the Government to fall and get the Premier to cooperate with the General Staff in calling an Imperial Conference. Is that a correct statement?
- A Because the Cabinet will collapse or fall-unless there is joint agreement, it cannot be brought about.
- Q Normally, if the Chief of Staff thought it was sufficiently important to have a conference, the Premier would agree. Is that the way it works out?
- A Yes.
- Q So, we can say, that really in the final analysis, whether or not an Imperial Conference is called is really determined by the General Staff. Is that correct?
- A Yes, the Chief of Staff has the greater importance because it deals with military matters.
- Q Since Imperial Conferences have always been held with reference to military matters, there couldn't be an Imperial Conference unless the Chief of Staff wanted one. Is that right?
- A Yes.
- Q Then, what mechanics are used to bring the meeting about? Is a request made to the Emperor to call such a meeting or how is it done, mechanically?
- A A joint request is made by the Premier and the Chief of Staff to the Emperor and if the Emperor consents to the request, the Imperial Conference is opened.

Q Would this request be in writing, normally - the request to the Emperor?

A Yes.

Q And in effect, what would it say? What would the Premier and the Chief of Staff say in this writing to the Emperor if they wanted an Imperial Conference? Would they set out the scope of what was going to be discussed or would they say they just wanted a conference?

A I don't know about that. I was never involved in such a case.

Q It would likely contain some information as to the reason the Conference is being called in order that the Emperor might be able to decide whether to call it or not.

A Yes, I believe that the contents or the purpose must be given; otherwise the Emperor cannot give his decision.

Q And it would undoubtedly disclose some matter of military importance that would have to be passed on?

A Yes.

Q Do you recall any instance when a request for an Imperial Conference was made and refused by the Emperor?

A I don't believe that it ever was refused.

Q Then, to summarize what would normally happen - if the Chief of Staff thought that there was something of sufficient importance to have an Imperial Conference, he would consult with the Premier and get his consent. Then, the two of them would make a written request, citing what is to be discussed, and ask the Emperor to call one?

A There are three parties concerned because there is the Navy General Staff and the Army General Staff.

Q When I speak of the General Staff, I should say both General Staffs of the Army and the Navy and the Premier would make the request for an Imperial Conference?

A Yes.

- Q Could either one of the General Staffs - either the Army or Navy - bring about the making of a request without the consent of the other Chief of Staff, or would it require the consent on the part of both Chiefs of Staff to make such a request?
- A If there is disagreement on one side, the Prime Minister would not be able to agree to anything.
- Q In other words, unless both Chiefs of Staff made such a request, the Prime Minister would not agree to join in the request and the request would not be made. So it really takes the cooperation of three people - the two Chiefs of Staff and the Premier in order to make the request?
- A Yes.
- Q Do you know of any situations where any one or two of the three made such a request?
- A No.
- Q Then after the Emperor agreed, which he normally would do, who would be invited to attend the Imperial Conference?
- A The persons present would be members of the General Staff and the Cabinet ministers concerned and occasionally the Chief of the Privy Council.
- Q And the Cabinet members concerned in an Imperial Conference would be whom, for example.
- A The Foreign Minister, and depending upon the matter, the Finance Minister, the Minister of State on the Planning Board, and the War Minister and the Navy Minister.
- Q Is the Minister of State on the Planning Board really the Chief of the Planning Board - that is, Chief of the Cabinet Planning Board?
- A The Cabinet Planning Board is different.
- Q Then, what Planning Board are you referring to as distinguished from the Cabinet Planning Board?
- A Yes, it is the Cabinet Planning Board.

- Q In other words, one of the bureaus or divisions of the Cabinet is a Planning Board and its Chief of that Planning Board would normally be called in on that conference. Is that so?
- A Generally so. Because I haven't been involved in such a matter, I wouldn't know the details of it.
- Q I want your best opinion. When you say that "generally speaking" or "ordinarily" the Chief of the Planning Board would be called in, do you mean to imply there might be or there were Imperial Conferences when he wasn't called in for some reason or other?
- A It is my presumption and I do not have any clear idea about it.
- Q How about the Finance Minister, would he always be called in to the Imperial Conference or on some occasions he would be and others, he wouldn't.
- A I am not sure about whether the Finance Minister was always present or not.
- Q You know there were occasions when he was present?
- A It is just my presumption.
- Q Well, to be more specific - to try to refresh your recollection - do you recall, for example, who attended the Imperial Conference, let us say in December 1941, just prior to the outbreak of the war, which was an important Imperial Conference? What officials were present at that particular Imperial Conference?
- A I do not know who was present.
- Q The Chiefs of Staff of the Army and Navy were present, were they not?
- A And I believe that the Ministers generally were present.
- Q The Ministers of War and Navy were certainly present, weren't they?
- A And I believe that other ministers participated in it.
- Q Was the President of the Privy Council present?
- A Undoubtedly so.
- Q Were the other members of the Privy Council present on that occasion?

A No.

Q Just the President?

A Yes.

Q And you think all the Cabinet Ministers on that particular occasion were present?

A It is my presumption. I am not sure. I just heard stories to that effect.

Q Would such a person as the head of the Imperial Household be present at such a conference?

A No.

Q Or the Lord Chamberlain?

A No

Q Or the Lord Keeper?

A No.

Q Those officials would not be present at an Imperial Conference?

A No.

Q Would the Chief of Staff bring with him other members of Staff Headquarters besides himself or would he be the only representative of Staff Headquarters?

A I am not clear about the matter but I believe the Vice Chief of Staff is with him.

Q Who would determine just exactly who was going to be invited to the Imperial Conference. Would it be the Emperor? When he announced the conference, would he list the names of those who were to attend?

A That is determined by the Cabinet and the Chiefs of Staff and requested of the Emperor.

Q Do you think when this written request is made to call an Imperial Conference, it lists in writing those people that are desired to be invited to attend?

A I believe so.

- Q You would say, then, that the two Chiefs of Staff and the Premier would determine in advance of making the request those particular individuals they desired to have invited to attend the conference?
- A Yes.
- Q So, really, the personnel of the conferences is determined by these three, the two chiefs of staff and the Premier in setting it up. Is that right?
- A Yes.
- Q Having in mind that the only Imperial Conferences that I, at the moment, know of, were those in July, September and December 1941, and then perhaps at the end of the War in 1945, could it be said that Imperial Conferences were only called for the purpose of deciding whether or not a war was to be declared or war was to be terminated, or could they, or have they been called for other military purposes besides the declaration or termination of war?
- A I think other matters were involved. I do not really know.
- Q Do you know of any Imperial Conference other than those I have mentioned that have been called during your career in Government service?
- A I believe that during the war there were Imperial Conferences.
- Q During the progress of the war, there were other Imperial Conferences with reference to military matters?
- A Yes.
- Q Well, the ordinary Imperial Conferences would be concerned with the declaration or the fighting of a war, wouldn't they? For example, if the military in peace time thought that they should have a larger budget or thought that the Army should be more mechanized, or things of that type, that wouldn't be of sufficient importance to call an Imperial Conference, would it?
- A No.
- Q It really involves the question of whether the nation goes to war or ends the war, or how it fights the war? Is that a fair statement, do you think?
- A Yes, generally so.

- Q Were the Imperial Conferences normally held in the Imperial Grounds or in the Diet Building, or in various places?
- A It is conducted in a building within the Palace Grounds.
- Q Is there one particular place that the Imperial Conferences were normally held in recent years?
- A There is no special room or office. It is a room designated especially on the spur of the moment.
- Q I see. What is the real purpose of an Imperial Conference? What is the effect or purpose of its decisions?
- A It signifies that the matter has been decided before the Emperor in a proper and dignified manner.
- Q Well, assuming a decision of some sort is reached at an Imperial Conference, is it mandatory, then, upon various agencies of the Government, such as the Chiefs of Staff, the Premier, and Cabinet members to carry out the decision?
- A Any decision made before the Emperor has to be carried out.
- Q Who presides at an Imperial Conference? Does the Emperor preside?
- A I believe the Prime Minister presides for the Emperor.
- Q Is there open discussion of the problem that is involved by the various individuals invited to attend?
- A I believe that open discussion is conducted. I do not know actually because I haven't seen an Imperial Conference.
- Q Did you ever attend one at all?
- A No
- Q But they are of sufficient importance and so few in number that certainly you would learn as to what took place on an occasion of that kind, wouldn't you?
- A I did hear a lot of the general stories later on.

- Q Is a formal vote taken among those present as to what the decision of the conference is to be?
- A I don't believe there is a formal vote.
- Q Well, the various people present express their opinions and views? That is right, isn't it?
- A Yes.
- Q Does the Emperor by some word of mouth or sign indicate what the final decision shall be?
- A Generally, the Prime Minister makes the decision after inquiring the opinion of everyone participating.
- Q He would naturally announce his decision in the presence of everyone so that they would know what his decision was?
- A Yes.
- Q And if the Emperor disagreed with that opinion, he would then so indicate, would he not?
- A Yes, but when the others all agree, the Emperor cannot strongly disagree.
- Q In other words, it wouldn't be customary for the Emperor to disagree with the consensus of opinion that existed? If the consensus of opinion or the majority was in favor of a certain position, it would be normal for the Emperor to agree with that?
- A Yes, it has become common practice for the Emperor to agree when there is agreement among all parties concerned.
- Q Are there not occasions when the matter is of sufficiently great importance that those present would like to know the personal view of the Emperor and therefore he is called upon to express his feelings on the subject?
- A Generally so but because of the formality of the occasion, I don't believe there is much free discussion.
- Q In other words, you think before the Imperial Conference is ever called, the Chiefs of Staff and Premier, and other interested parties have discussed the matter and decided what the decision shall be and it is more of a formality to hold the conference than it is really to actually thrash out and decide a question?



- A And it is a means by which they give weight to their own decision.
- Q In your theory of Government, the fact that a decision is announced at a specially called meeting in the presence of the Emperor gives it more significance and importance to the people than otherwise?
- A Yes.
- Q You don't think the conference, itself, really is where the actual decision is made. It is made in advance of that?
- A And if there were any disagreement among the three, such an Imperial Conference would not be brought about.
- Q In other words, if these three were not in accord on what they wanted to be determined at the Imperial Conference, it would not have been held in the first place. Therefore, the result of the Imperial Conference is always what they predetermined was going to happen. Is that correct?
- A Yes.
- Q That being the case, the Imperial Conference being the formal time when an important decision on military matters is announced to the public, there must be some conferences or meetings between these three, the Prime Minister, and the two Chiefs of Staff, where they really get down to cases and thresh out the problem at hand. Is there a name for such a conference - the preliminary conference before the Imperial Conference where the three get together and officially and openly work out their differences and come to an opinion?
- A Within the Imperial General Headquarters, there is a liaison conference in which the Prime Minister and the Cabinet members concerned may enter and the matter is discussed there.
- Q In other words, then, all decisions that are finally made in the presence of the Emperor and at the Imperial Conference have been threshed out, discussed, and agreed upon at some earlier date in an Imperial Headquarters meeting. Is that a fair statement?
- A Yes.
- Q Does Imperial General Headquarters, as such, exist during peace time?
- A No.

Q During peace time, the Navy General Staff and the Army General Staff are existing separately and the Imperial General Headquarters doesn't function?

A No.

Q That is a little confusing to me because I do know that in 1941, in summer, there were some Imperial Conferences. Along our reasoning here, one would say that prior to the Imperial Conferences, there must have been some sort of liaison meetings between the Chiefs of Staff and the Prime Minister where they threshed out what they were going to say before they got to the Imperial Conference. Where were those meetings held if Imperial General Headquarters was not in existence?

A Because Imperial General Headquarters were functioning since the outbreak of the China Incident.

Q Even though Japan didn't formally recognize the China Incident as a war, for governmental purposes, at least, it was sufficiently a war that Imperial General Headquarters was in existence and functioning. Is that right?

A I believe it was existing.

Q I think there is some question as to whether Japan ever recognized the China Incident in the general sense of a war, they called it an incident instead of a war but it was sufficiently a war for Imperial General Headquarters to be in existence. Is that correct.

A I am not very clear on that.

Q You do know that in the summer of 1941, Imperial General Headquarters was in existence?

A I believe so.

Q So at these Imperial Conferences, when the views of the military and the cabinet were openly expressed in the presence of the Emperor, their views were always in agreement and in accord, and there was no dispute at that stage, since they were threshed out at an earlier date? Is that a fair statement?

A Yes.

Q In other words, in the presence of the Emperor, the Chief of Staff of the Army would get up and say, "Here is the way the Army feels about this", and the Chief of the Navy Staff would say that he agreed with the Army Chief of Staff, and the Premier would get up and say that he agreed with both the Army and Navy Chiefs of Staff. Is that what would happen in the presence of the Emperor? Is that correct?

- A Yes.
- Q If they had any differences between them of any great importance, they wouldn't be brought out in the open at the Imperial Conference? They would have threshed that out long before. Is that correct?
- A Yes.
- Q They keep a written record, do they not, of what takes place at the Imperial Conference?
- A Undoubtedly it is being kept by the Cabinet and by the Chief of Staff.
- Q I don't quite understand. When you have an Imperial Conference, what is said at the conference and the decision arrived at is reduced to writing, is it not? Who would be charged with reducing it to writing? Who, for example, would be the secretary of an Imperial Conference meeting?
- A I believe that is done by the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and by the Chief of the Bureau of Military Affairs.
- Q In other words, there might be more than one record kept? One for the military and one for the cabinet?
- A It is my presumption. I do not know the actual procedure.
- Q Assuming the record was kept in that manner, it would be filed away in the Cabinet or in the Chief of Staff. Is that right?
- A Yes.
- Q Because of the importance of the decision, is it true that in Japanese procedure, it would be impossible for the country to formally declare war without having an Imperial Conference?
- A Generally so, it would be very difficult to declare war without a Conference.
- Q And also to terminate a war. It is of such importance that it would require an Imperial Conference to decide that, would it not?
- A Generally so.

- Q So you would say definitely that imperial conferences are required to declare a war or to conclude a surrender?
- A Yes.
- Q Do you think also that during the course of a war, imperial conferences are held to decide military questions?
- A Yes, I believe there have been such occasions.
- Q Can you recall what kind of a decision during the course of a war requires imperial conference sanction; for example, for my information?
- A I am sure there was on occasions but it doesn't come into my mind at the present.
- Q I think you said there is nothing in the Constitution that requires an imperial conference at any time. Is that right?
- A Yes.
- Q The Constitution provides that the Emperor, himself, can declare war?
- A Yes.
- Q But Japanese tradition requires an imperial conference preliminary to the Emperor formally declaring a war. Is that correct?
- A Yes.
- Q Let us go back to the diary. On January 7, 1933, reference is made there to a bill presented by or concerning a council of senior statesmen. Was that a proposed bill to the Diet to pass a law creating the senior statesmen or what were you referring to in your diary?
- A A bill was presented to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that at the time the Cabinet changed, the senior statesmen be instrumental in deciding or choosing the new ministers in place of the Genro or the elder statesman which had been taking on that task.
- Q Is that a bill in the Diet.
- A No, it was not a formal bill.
- Q What do you mean by a "bill"?

- A This is just more or less a proposal.
- Q In other words, it was a proposal that a group of senior statesmen be set up to select premiers in the future? Is that correct?
- A It was just an expression of his opinion.
- Q There were some indications on his part in those days that he wanted to resign. Is that right?
- A Because he was so old, he wanted to retire.
- Q And he was proposing a method by which recommendations of premiers could be made thereafter?
- A Yes.
- Q Was he proposing that a law be enacted creating this way of selecting a new premier or a suggestion that the Emperor just adopt that procedure in obtaining advice as to the selection of his premier?
- A It was not even taken to the extent of being presented to the Emperor. It was just a discussion with the elder statesmen.
- Q But, did the elder statesmen think that it should be reduced to a law or was it to be merely a plan submitted to the Emperor for him to follow thereafter in selecting a Prime Minister?
- A It was just a plan for the Emperor to follow - not to be presented to the Diet and to be followed.
- Q It wasn't something that required being reduced to a law? The Emperor had power to select premiers and he could ask anyone he wanted to for advice?
- A It is an unwritten law.
- Q He normally asked the elder statesmen for advice and the elder statesman proposed that when he dropped out of his post, the Emperor seek advice from the senior statesmen?
- A Even though the elder statesman said to that effect, he actually was still kept in that capacity.
- Q Whom did he propose should comprise the senior statesmen? What types of individuals?

- A He was thinking of all the prime ministers.
- Q I want to go back again to our Imperial Conference discussion. I have thought of some other things I want to ask. As I understand the opinion we arrived at, no discussions were held during the Imperial Conference itself ordinarily. It was somewhat of a formality. Is that correct?
- A Yes.
- Q That the actual discussion and adjustment of differences of opinion took place in Imperial Headquarters between the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and Navy and the Premier and their associates, if they were called in. Is that a fair statement?
- A Yes.
- Q I can see how that might well have happened and no doubt did happen in 1941 because the Imperial Headquarters was in existence and functioning as a liaison organization since the China Incident. My question is this: Suppose there had been no China Incident and Japan was at peace. How would the question of going to war or not be threshed out before it got to the Imperial Conference if Imperial General Headquarters was not in existence on a war-time basis. Do you understand that question?
- A That can be done by a conference of both the Army and Navy Chiefs of Staff and the Prime Minister.
- Q In other words, in the absence of an existence of war and an Imperial General Headquarters being set up, there still were conferences between the Army, Navy and Premier whether they were under the Imperial General Headquarters or not. Is that right?
- A Yes, that is possible.
- Q Do you know how those conferences were called or where they held any regular conferences between the Navy, Army and Prime Minister during peace time or prior to an impending war?
- A I don't believe there were conferences of that nature during peace time.
- Q But if a war was impending or possibly in the offing, do you think there would be conferences between the Premier and the Army and the Navy?
- A Yes, I think that would be brought about.

- Q Would those conferences have any official name or were they characterized by any term, such as "War Discussion Meeting" or "Military Gatherin" or names of that kind?
- A They didn't have any terms or phrases attached to it.
- Q How could such a meeting be called? Could it be called by anyone of the three parties?
- A Both sides in the matter of an impending crisis or war bring forth proposals of getting together.
- Q In other words, there weren't any regularly held meetings between the Army, Navy and Premier during peacetime?
- A No.
- Q But if a war situation was developing, those meetings would come about?
- A Yes, I believe that would be.
- Q Would it be your opinion that all the people who were later invited to attend the Imperial Conference, the formal conference, would have participated in the preliminary conferences and expressed their ideas and come to an agreement as to what was to be done at the Imperial Conference so there wouldn't be any dissension when the Imperial Conference was held?
- A Yes, preliminary conferences will be held.
- Q What I was thinking of - what is to prevent some minister that was invited; for example, let us say the Agricultural Minister, if he were invited, from getting up at an Imperial Conference and honestly expressing the opinion that war shouldn't be declared. Was that a possibility or was the possibility eliminated in earlier conferences by threshing out all differences in opinion?
- A Because persons that participated in the Imperial Conference have already participated in the preliminary conferences and had all the questions threshed out before the Imperial Conference.
- Q If there was someone in the preliminary conference that didn't agree with what was decided, he would either be forced into an agreement or wouldn't be invited to the Imperial Conference? Is that about the size of it?

- A If there was any opposition among those persons that were named to participate in the Imperial Conference, there wouldn't be an Imperial Conference at all. Therefore, those persons that are selected are generally in agreement.
- Q Well, my thought is this. Isn't it perfectly possible; for example, let us say that the Finance Minister was honestly in his own mind opposed to war while the Army and Navy and the Premier thought they should go to war. He would have the right to express his views in a preliminary conference, would he not?
- A Yes, he can.
- Q And if the others persist in their thought that war should be declared, I presume it would be his position to go along with the majority or consensus of opinion? Is that the way it works out?
- A At that time, the Finance Minister is faced with the choice of agreeing or resigning his post.
- Q If the consensus of opinion at the preliminary conference is to do a certain thing, such as declaring war, the dissenters must either agree to go along or get out of the government?
- A Yes.
- Q So, it would be almost unheard of for a dissenter to get up in an Imperial Conference to say he was opposed to what was being recommended by the Army and Navy and the Premier. Is that right?
- A Yes.
- Q On January 25, in your diary, Marquis, there are some notations about Baron HIRANUMA. What was his attitude and reaction with reference to the Manchurian and Chinese situation?
- A I only heard Prince KONOYE speak about the Russo-Japanese problems and the disunity and lack of clear-cut plans among the internal measures of Japan. He also expounded his belief that China and Japan must be friendly at all times.
- Q- Was Baron HIRANUMA in government service in those days, to your recollection?



- A I believe he was Vice President of the Privy Council.
- Q What was his attitude with reference to what had taken place in Manchuria and with reference to China and the aggressive attitude you refer to.
- A I believe he was opposed to aggressiveness.
- Q What was the Japanese-Russian situation in those days? Was it strained or friendly?
- A It was because of the conclusion of the Russian Five-Year Plan which put Russia in a good position militarily, while Japan's military position was not up to par so Japan was frantically preparing for defense.
- Q What effect did the recognition of Manchuria have on Japanese-Russian relations?
- A I don't believe there was anything special.
- Q You don't believe that was resented particularly by Russia in those days?
- A No, I don't think there was anything that specially caused Russia's enmity.
- Q I notice in your diary as of that date that Baron HIRANUMA thought the Army was advocating war against Russia. Was that the case, do you think?
- A It was because the Army was always worrying that when Russia becomes prepared, one cannot know when she will be at war with Japan.
- Q Do you think it was the attitude of the Army in those days that Japan should attack Russia before Russia got too strong?
- A I don't believe that it was advocating it to that extent. One matter was that Japan's military preparedness was inadequate and it accredited the political parties and the Zaibatsu of Japan and the Government of Japan for being responsible for bringing such a condition about.
- Q Do you think that Baron HIRANUMA was mistaken when he expressed the opinion that the Army was advocating war against Russia?

- A I do not believe that HIRANUMA was mistaken because the issue is whether they will attack us or whether we will attack them.
- Q What you mean is, in those days, you believe the Army felt that sooner or later, they would have to fight Russia?
- A Japan was very much fearful of Russia because she had recovered her strength much faster than Japan.
- Q As I understand what you wrote in your diary, it was to this effect; that Baron HIRANUMA was concerned because the Army advocated war against Russia and the Navy advocated war against the United States. Was that a true situation in those days?
- A HIRANUMA did not advocate such a thing. He was saying that there were talks to the extent that the Army was advocating war with Russia and the Navy was advocating war with the United States, presenting, more or less, divided attention. He thought such a situation should not exist and therefore suggested a unified national program or course.
- Q In other words, his thought was that Japan should point towards war with either the United States or Russia rather than with both of them?
- A It wasn't whether to declare war or not but to direct the Nation's policy toward one objective.
- Q I understand. It was his thought that the Japanese Empire should start planning either to fight Russia some time in the future or to fight the United States some time in the future and not both of them?
- A He desired that a study be made as to whether war is necessary or not and not to make any arbitrary discussion to the extent of making war.
- Q Was it true in your opinion, in those days, that the Army was thinking in terms of war with Russia in the future while the Navy was thinking and planning war with the United States? Was the Baron correct in his opinion, do you think?
- A I believe that a faction had such an opinion and arguments going on.

Q And why did the Army want to plan to fight a war with Russia?

A It was due to fear of Russia - the fear that Russia may soon attack Japan.

Q Why did the Navy want to plan to fight a war with the United States?

A I do not know the reason there.

Q Do you think that the Japanese Government or even the Army or Navy were fearful in those days that the United States might some time attack Japan?

A The Government didn't even dream of such a thing.

Q What about the military and the Navy, for example, do you think that they were fearful that the United States might attack Japan?

A I believe a section of the Navy may have had such an opinion.

Q Do you know who in the Navy stood out in holding that opinion?

A I do not know. I believe it was a very small minority.

Q I also note a little later in your diary, you quote Baron HIRANUMA as stating that there were two factions in the Navy - the TOGO faction and the YAMAMOTO faction. What was their dispute and wherein did their differences lie?

A I do not know the exact reason for the two factions arising but I believe that YAMAMOTO stood for the administrative angle in the Navy and that TOGO stood for enforcement of operations angle of the Navy.

Q But wherein was the difference in policy of the two men. What did one advocate that was different than what the other advocated? Do you recall?

A I don't remember anything clearly about it.

Q Apparently, there was some dissension in Navy circles as to policy but you don't recall what it was in those days?

- A I believe that ultimately it was summed up in the matter of a Navy budget. The Togo faction advocated enlargement of the Navy while the others did not.
- Q You think that TOGO wanted to increase the size of the Navy while YAMAMOTO was not concerned with its expansion.
- A YAMAMOTO wanted to be in harmony with the Government. TOGO is respected like a god by the Japanese People - he is not a person of that type. His name is probably misused by a certain section of the Navy.
- Q In what way was it misused, would you say?
- A To the extent that TOGO advocates such a thing but he is not a person who would advocate such a thing. He is not a person who would incur disagreement.
- Q Was he inclined to be aggressive and desired expansion of the Japanese influence, let us say, in Asia?
- A No, he is not that type of man.
- Q How about YAMAMOTO? Did he desire to build up the Navy and expand the influence of Japan?
- A YAMAMOTO also is not that type of a man.
- Q Who were the advocates of expansion in the Navy if TOGO and YAMAMOTO on the one side did not advocate expansion.
- A I don't believe the Navy had any part of trying to build up Japanese power. The Navy only concerned itself about naval parity with the United States and Britain. Therefore, on that matter, two dissenting factions came up, one advocating harmony with the Government and the other trying to enlarge and build up the Navy.
- Q But you think the Navy was more concerned with defense than with aggression?
- A Yes, primarily defense.
- Q The aggressive group were all in the Army?
- A Yes.

Certificate of Interpreter

I, Lt. Fred Suzukawa, 0-2030605  
(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 26 pages, is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Fred F. Suzukawa  
2nd Lt US

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 8 day of August, 1946.

[Signature]  
(Name and Rank)

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

Certificate of Stenographer

I, S. M. Betar 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.

S. M. Betar

Certificate of Interrogator.

I, (we) Henry Sackett, \_\_\_\_\_,

and \_\_\_\_\_,

certify that on 6 day of February, 1946, personally appeared before me (us) Marquis Koichi Kido, and according to Lt. Fred Suzukawa, Interpreter, gave the foregoing answers to the several questions set forth therein.

Tokyo, Japan  
Place

8 August 1946  
Date

[Signature]