

Interr. To Jr (23 Jan. 46)

DOC 4157

(15)

(10)

CONTINUED INTERROGATION OF

General Hideki Tojo

Date and Time: 23 January 1946, 1400-1600 hours.

Place : Sugamo Prison, Tokyo, Japan.

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

Questions by : Mr. Fihelly.

- - - - -

Q.: Have you ever heard of the expression "Niki Sansuke"?

A.: Yes.

Q.: To whom does it refer?

A.: It refers to Hideki TOJO, Naoki HOSHINO, Yosuke MATSUOKA, Shinsuke KISHI, and Gisuke AYUKAWA.

Q.: How did the phrase originate?

A.: It was a disagreeable saying that started in Japan proper. It referred to people who were fairly important in Manchuria. I was Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army; HOSHINO was President of the Manchurian General Affairs Board [Sōmu Chōkan]; MATSUOKA was President of the South Manchurian Railway; KISHI was Vice President of the Economic Section of the Manchukuo Government [Keizaibu Jichō]; AYUKAWA was President of the Manchurian Heavy Industries Corporation.

Q.: When did the phrase come into use?

A.: I don't really know. I suppose it was when I was in Manchuria or after I came back. I learned about it by hearsay.

Q.: You say that the expression had an unpleasant implication. Why was that?

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A.: I think it was probably because the five of us knew the ropes pretty well in Manchuria and were the ones that could get things done. I myself didn't coin the phrase, you know; it was started by others.

Q.: It is reported that on or about September 18, 1941 you made a broadcast in which this passage appeared;

"As to the meaning and characteristics of the Manchurian Incident, here in Japan self-reflection by the whole citizenry quickens their traditional faith in the national structure, abroad we must plan for the mutual prosperity of all the races of Greater East Asia. Already [the Manchurian Incident] has become a tocsin proclaiming to all the people that they must march ever forward despite difficulties to build the New Order in East Asia."

Do you recall saying this?

A.: I think I probably did say that for I think that way even now. It was on the Tenth Anniversary of the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident.

Q.: Didn't you so believe from the time of the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident?

A.: At the time of that broadcast the China War had been in progress for four years and the war with America had not yet broken out. Those were the sentiments that I had when looking back ten years to the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident.

Q.: You still have not answered the question. Didn't you believe the same way from the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident on until the present time?

A.: No. The concept of the creation of the new order in East Asia gradually crystallized. At the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, there was no such well-defined or comprehensive plan at all, only the basic idea that Japan and China should have closer ties. After the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937, the idea of the new order in East Asia began to be more definite and during the four years between the outbreak of the China Incident and the time of this broadcast, the concept had become fairly well crystallized. The idea that China and

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and Japan should have close ties, that is to say the original idea which dated back to the Manchurian Incident, was still the central idea of the new order in East Asia.

Q.: How did it happen that the Manchurian Incident became the start of the creation of a new order in East Asia?

A.: To speak from the point of view of the final result, I guess you could say it was the starting point of the creation of a new order in East Asia since the basic idea was the creation of closer ties between Japan and China. However, at the time of the Manchurian Incident, there was certainly no such definite plan.

Q.: That still does not answer the question. Was Japan's desire to have firmer ties with China the basic cause of the Manchurian Incident?

A.: The direct cause of the Manchurian Incident was the illegal acts committed there against Japanese rights and interests. However, the Japanese feeling that Japan and China should make common cause existed and was an indirect cause of the Incident. It was Japan's policy to contribute to world peace by securing the stabilization of East Asia. It was also Japanese policy to increase friendly relations with the Powers by setting up [a system of] co-existence and co-prosperity. I wouldn't say that these last two principles were a cause of the Incident. The factual cause was the illegal acts I have mentioned. I believe the Chinese also desired the stabilization of East Asia and the perfection of dealings between the Powers, but it is not correct to refer to this as a cause of the outbreak of the Incident.

Q.: Then why do you call the desire for closer ties between Japan and China an indirect cause?

A.: I believe that the Chinese were not opposed to the policies I have mentioned a few moments ago, but the Chinese Government believed in the slogan "Use the barbarians to control the barbarians", and tried constantly to enlist the support of England and America against Japan. She also coined and used numerous anti-Japanese phrases. These are my observations on the period, though you must remember that at that time I was not the responsible official.

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- Q.: Was not the aid, which the Chinese Government was requesting from England and America, preventing the closer ties which Japan desired between herself and China?
- A.: Excuse me for saying this in front of you as it sounds rude, but it was America and England acting behind the scenes that were encouraging the anti-Japanese policies of the Chinese Government.
- Q.: I must ask you again if you cannot answer yes or no to the original question - were not the background actions or aid, or whatever you wish to call it, of England and America hindering the fulfillment of Japan's policy of closer ties with China?
- A.: Really it is difficult for me to answer specific questions like this on a period as long ago as 1931 when I was not the responsible official and when I have access to no books or materials at all for research. I am answering mostly on the basis of what I recollect or think reasonable, but I am afraid I cannot answer that question.
- Q.: A moment ago you requested to be excused for making a statement which you believed to be true. You need not apologize for making any statements which you believe to be true, since we are here to seek the truth.
- A.: Thank you. I appreciate that.
- Q.: You must also understand, however, that just because any statements you may make are not challenged, that does not necessarily mean that we agree as to their veracity.
- A.: Of course. I understand that.
- Q.: Did not the state of antagonism between Japan and the Chinese Government, which you have described, continue to interfere with the creation of the new order in East Asia for a long time after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident?
- A.: Yes. It continued. However, I am speaking of the relations between China and Japan, excluding Manchuria.

- Q.: So that up until the time of the outbreak of the war between Japan and the United States, Japan had not been able to put into effect the new order which it desired in East Asia?
- A.: Step by step, Japan had made progress toward this goal. Her relations with the Nanking Government of WANG Ching-Wei were successful and a basic treaty was signed between the two countries. Also, a number of older treaties with China were revised in the spirit of the new order in East Asia. Relations with Manchuria, of course, were even better. A joint declaration in the same spirit was also agreed upon and signed by Japan, China, and Manchuria.
- Q.: Do you not know that WANG Ching-Wei was not the real Chinese ruler but merely a puppet one?
- A.: No. Japan recognized the government of WANG Ching-Wei and first, Manchuria, and later, Germany and Italy also recognized it.
- Q.: Don't you believe that the Manchurian Government at this time was also a puppet government?
- A.: No. I don't think so at all. It was a fine government.
- Q.: It is true, is it not, that neither America nor Britain ever recognized the WANG Ching-Wei government?
- A.: Yes. I would like to say that all the things that I have said so far apply to the time when I was not the Premier and are simply my own personal common sense views.
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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 5 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 23<sup>rd</sup>  
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)

*Nike Sansuke (see Jan. 25)  
Don't need it?*  
*Fits in with new order*

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- Q Have you ever heard of the expression "Niki Sansuke"?
- A Yes.
- Q To whom does it refer?
- A It refers to Hideki TOJO, Naoki HOSHINO, Yosuke MATSUOKA, Shinsuke KISHI, and Gisuke AYUKAWA.
- Q How did the phrase originate?
- A It was a disagreeable saying that started in Japan proper. It referred to people who were fairly important in Manchuria. I was Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army; HOSHINO was President of the Manchurian General Affairs Board; MATSUOKA was President of the South Manchurian Railway; KISHI was Vice President of the Economic Section of the Manchukuo Government; AYUKAWA was President of the Manchurian Heavy Industries Corporation.
- Q When did the phrase come into use?
- A I don't really know. I suppose it was when I was in Manchuria or after I came back. I learned about it by hearsay.
- Q You say that the expression had an unpleasant implication. Why was that?
- A I think it was probably because the five of us knew the ropes pretty well in Manchuria and were the ones that could get things done. I myself didn't coin the phrase, you know; it was started by others.



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*Important new order & Manchu  
Incident statement - does not  
connect with Mike Sanucke*  
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their traditional faith in the national  
structure, abroad we must plan for the  
mutual prosperity of all the races of Greater  
East Asia. Already the Manchurian Incident  
has become a toegin proclaiming to all the  
people that they must march ever forward despite  
difficulties to build the New Order in East Asia".

Do you recall saying this?

A I think I probably did say that for I think that way  
even now. It was on the Tenth Anniversary of the out-  
break of the Manchurian Incident.

Q Didn't you say

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see Jan 25  
Duplicate  
Jan 23d  
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Partial Extract

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