

No. 3029

INTERROGATION OF TOJO, Hideki
11 March 1946

- Q. What war preparations were pushed?
- A. We were surrounded by Britain, America, and the Dutch. Preparations for an attack at any time by them were pushed.
- Q. What preparations were made of an offensive nature during that period?
- A. The nature of the preparations was defensive.
- Q. When were the first steps taken to prepare for any of the four offensive operations which later were executed, as you have stated?
- A. Preparations of a defensive nature were begun from the time of the 6 September conference.
- Q. Regardless of the question of whether they were offensive or defensive, is it not true that preparations for the four attacks, that you have previously referred to, were begun immediately after the Imperial Conference of 6 September 1941?
- A. No, not at all. From the time of the Imperial Conference of 6 September 1941, we did not know when we would be attacked by England, America, and Holland, therefore preparations to resist attack were planned. It was not until after the Imperial Conference of 1 December 1941 that the various surprise attacks were planned. Strategically, Japan was on the defense; tactically, she was on the offense. Japan was surrounded by much greater forces than she herself possessed. The big picture was that of defense. In actual fighting, she attacked./Read back to the witness who agreed as to its correctness./

- Q. In connection with the four operations, which you have mentioned, who gave the Army and Navy Chiefs of Staff orders in connection therewith?
- A. The orders were issued by the Emperor as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy on the advice of the Army Chief of Staff and the Navy Chief of Staff. These have the responsibility of assisting the Throne and, by virtue of this responsibility, go to the Emperor with orders prepared and ask for his assent. When this is given, the orders are given to the Army commanders or, in the case of the Navy, to the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet. The responsibility is that of the Army Chief of Staff and the Navy Chief of Staff from first to last.

- Q. On whose advice do the Army and Navy Chiefs of Staff write and present such orders to the Emperor?
- A. The Chiefs of Staff have section chiefs under them. The section chiefs draw up the plans and, if approved by the Chief of Staff, they are presented to the Emperor. This is an important matter. The Imperial Conferences come in here. For example, when the Imperial Conference of 1 December decided upon war, the Chiefs of Staff then prepared the orders and took them to the Emperor for approval and the cabinet also made various preparations.
- Q. Do you mean to say that no action had been taken nor orders issued relative to the four operations, which you have mentioned, until after the Imperial Conference of 1 December 1941? Do you understand the question fully?
- A. I understand the question all right. The national will for war was decided for the first time on 1 December 1941. I do not believe, as Premier, that any orders were issued for war previous to that time.
- Q. The question does not refer to orders in connection with war, but to orders or action taken in connection with the four attacks. Were such orders given or actions taken before the Imperial Conference of 1 December 1941?
- A. I believe, as Premier and as War Minister, that it is unlikely that any orders were issued in connection with those four attacks previous to the decision for war that I have mentioned. I believe that it is improbable that orders were issued to carry out these attacks prior to the national decision for war./Kokka no senso ishi no kettei zen ni kogaki jisshi no meirei wo desu hazu nashi to shinzu./
- Q. Do you mean to say that everything in connection with those four attacks, including planning, deployment, and execution, took place within the one week following the Imperial Conference of 1 December 1941?
- A. With regard to their execution /jisshi/, I do. As for plans, that is something else. Every national state has a plan of defense. This plan is revised from time to time in accordance with the situation. There was a great deal of tenseness just before the Imperial Conference of 1 December 1941. The situation was changing all the time and the plans were changed accordingly, but the orders for

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execution of those plans, I believe, were not issued until after the decision for war.

Q. What about deployment?

A. You must remember that there were other objectives too. The China Incident was in progress and there were troop movements in connection with the joint defense of French Indo-China. For those purposes, a variety of dispositions were required. However, the carrying out of attacks against England or America would not, I believe, have preceded the decision for war. Defense against possible British-American-Dutch attacks also had to be thought of in connection with the national plan of defense. I think that the attacks against England, America and Holland would probably have to have followed the decision of 1 December 1941, which expressed the national will.
