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NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF THE RECORD August 27, 1947 DEFENSE - Division V - Pacific TANAKA - Direct

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27,006

As to the possibility of a peaceful advance into south FIC, SUGIYAMA clarified his views in July that Japan did not take FIC for an enemy and the advance was not a military occupation. He stated that it was a favorable chance for France to admit a peaceful advance on condition that they be convinced of the purpose of Japan. This would not be an easy task.

Early in July he learned that Britain might march into FIC beforehand since she knew Japan's intention. Anxiety would prevail if this caused any incident at the time of occupation. He believed that if Japan's attitude was just and fair and firm there would not be any trouble with the British armies. The invasion of north FIC by China at this time is a matter of great concern for the authorities of the Army and for the forces in south China and FIC. Early in July they learned " that three China divisions formerly stationed near the border had received an order to enter FIC. To meet this, the operations section made a secret study to reinforce one infantry regiment and to dispatch one division then in Canton. Early in 1941, the General Staff gave out information that Chinese forces amounting to four armies, or sixteen divisions, were stationed facing FIC, in Chinese territory adjacent to the northeastern border of FIC. At the end of July when the advance of troops into south FIC was put into effect. the Vice Chief of Staff and the Chief of Operations were urged by the Chief of Staff to promote the study.

27,008

The results of the investigation * were the preparations at the time were put into practice within thelimits of the fixed plan established early in the year. They were studies in various fields of operations, defensive plans to meet a critical situation and new investigations and preparations for defending FIC on the principle of the mutual defense agreement. Detailed accounts of preparations were made within the established policy including training, equipment, supplies and sanitation. There was an urgent need to make up for the loss suffered in the China operation. The decision of July 2 and the French-Japanese cooperation had its aim in protecting that area from the U.S. and Britain. The matter had never been thought of in past operational plans. It was a new thing requiring totally different study and preparation.

The armed forces in FIC after the southern occupation amounted to one brigade and one flying corps * for north FIC and one division was assigned for defending FIC from invasion by the U.S., Britain and De Gaulle or other aggressions from China. In order not to interfere with the diplomatic negotiations, no other forces except airdrome engineers were stationed there. The General Staff left further

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crisis with the U.S. and Britain, considerable increase was needed in all Army quarters for defensive purposes in this direction amounting to at least a little more than ten divisions in the early period. They, therefore, should have had prepared about ten divisions for China, a little more than twenty for the Soviet and a few in reserve for Imperial Headquarters. The Chief of Staff recognized that the shortage of forces and materials would be much more accute and such a war would compel Japan to leave the China incident completely fruitless.

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Wholesale war both politically and strategically. The witness understood that the War Minister had agreed with the Chief. In an interview with the Vice Chief of Staff, the question was how the strategy of Japan would be affected by the conclusion of the Tripartite Alliance. A discussion was held in November 1940. The Vice Chief's view was that Japan should by every means avert any resort to arms insofar as justice and prestige could be maintained, however, imminent the compulsion of the pact. The witness agreed.

26 995

This conclusion was reached from a purely strategic point of view. The decision of resorting to arms or not was left to state policy. The question of whether or not the U.S. was attacked was a matter of future judgment to be decided in relation with the dircumstances at that time from a fair and independent view. They must keep up this attitude * and make due judgment in view of the whole destiny of Japan. If Japan were attacked by the U.S., Germany would give military aid of some sort. However, since Germany was absorbed in the European war and her military power was not limitless and in view of the fact that Germany was not a big naval power and was remote from Eastern Asia, the Army could not expect strategic aid from Germany.

If Germany was attacked by the U.S. Japan would be obliged to aid by arms. She couldnot afford to engage in military operations against the U.S. solely to aid Germany. She had to devote herself to independent operations to keep a general national defense. In case of a war between the U.S. and Germany, they should find some measures to meet the circumstances, especially when the Japanese Army had no surplus force. * The Chief of Staff approved this conclusion and in an agreement with the Vice Chief made clear that the 1941 peacetime operations should be established independently, and should not be restricted or given any support from outside and should not be influenced in strategy by the Tripartite Pact. The witness recognized that the preparations for the 1941 peacetime operations plans were lacking in thoroughness

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the Imperial City Reconstruction Boardi. abolished on Feb. 23, 1924, in accordance with Imperial Ordinance No. 25 Cabinet appointed Government commissioner for matters under

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NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF THE RECORD August 27, 1947 DEFENSE - Division V - Pacific Naval Preparations. MIYO - Direct---- Page 4125

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they were sure of success or staying out of it because they were not.

They had to be ready for any eventuality for the sake of self-defense.

They were not prepared for a war of their choice.

Following this varning, they prepared military operational plans for a self-defensive war, assuming it might occur. About the beginning of September, a month after occupation of South FIC, they began to formulate plans with a view to a possibility of conflict with the four powers, which ultimately developed into the Pacific War.

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SHIMANOUCHI.

- 26919 * Asked whether he was connected with drafting operations plans of the Navy General Staff, the witness said he was principally in charge of air operations, but in modern warfare there were hardly any operations that did not include air operations, and he was there fore associated with all operations of every type.
- Section of the Navy Staff did not draft plans for soon carrying out attacks on Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines, and was not making preparations for them.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. COMYNS-CARR.

- The attention of the Tribunal was called to exhibits 527 and 5921. 528, 552; 576, 536, 537, and 809. * The witness stated that it was not until after the Imperial Conference of December 6 that plans for preparations were made against the U.S., Britain, and the MET.
- was an aerial reconnaissance and map prepared of the coast of northeast
 Malaya, including Kotabharu. His recollection was a very faint one,
 about some aerial reconnaissance having been conducted, but he did not
 recollect any map being made. In the past, the Navy had no operation
 plans for defense against Britain, and for that reason date for such
 operations were extremely incomplete. Peacetime defense plans against
 Britain were studied from about November 1940, as part of an over all
 defense plan. * Asked whether he called invasion of a distant country
 a defensive plan, he stated that if the British establish a super nevel
 base close to Japan and come into Japanese home waters and that if
 Japan's line of communications with the south were cut off, that would
 be a very serious question.

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When asked why FIC needed stabilizing, he stated that Japan was making every effort to successfully conclude the China Incident. Any disturbance in the south would have an unfavorable effect on that solution. It was Japan's idea for a long time before to maintain the stability of East Asia. Thirdly, rice and other foodstuffs imported stability of East Asia. Thirdly, rice and other foodstuffs imported from FIC, would be unavailable if conditions were unsettled there.

26946 * These were very necessary for Japan.

As War Minister, he did think that FIC would be militarily useful in connection with the China Incident, but from the military point of view, there was a practical relation so far as north FIC was concerned. The supply route from north FIC was of aid to the Chinese, and Japan wanted militarily to establish air bases in north FIC so as and Japan wanted militarily to establish air bases in north FIC so as to cut off the route from Burma. However, since French power had declined, there was required the stationing of troops not only in north FIC but also in the central and southern parts for maintaining stability.

Asked whether troops in FIC would not have been of assistance in case of war between England, U. S., or Holland, TOJO stated that economic and military pressure from those countries was increasing.

* The stationing of troops was chiefly to maintain stability, but it did assist the China operations and help make peaceful commerce did assist the China operations and help make peaceful commerce possible. He believed that the stationing of troops was an appropriate measure of national defense.

From exhibit 809, it was stated that available references documenting Japanese preparations were yet fragmentary, especially on specialized training operations in tropical warfare, which were reported to have taken place in the summer and fall of 1941. As the day of opening hostilities approached, pertinent references grow plentiful, until in November 1941 it is possible to piece together a fairly comprehensive picture of the military preparations.

It was pointed out that according to the same exhibit, no general mobilization took place until October 1941.

With respect to the land operation practice, this document stated that little, if any, military advantage resulted, and it would appear that they had been intended solely for training.

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NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF THE RECORD August 27, 1947 DEFENSE - Division V - Pacific Naval Relations SATO - Direct

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DIRECT EXAMINATION OF SATO, TAKEGORO.

The witness stated he lived in Tokyo, and was secretary to the Archives Section, Secretariat of the Foreign Ministry. He identified exhibit No. 3019 as his affidavit and verified it. The affidavit stated that on October 2, 1946, the witness issued a certificate concerning the authenticity and source of the document entitled "Outline of the Foreign Policies of the Japanese Empire" dated September 28, 1940, being exhibit No. 837-A. This document is in a file with three other documents under a cover entitled Foreign Policies of the Japanese Empire. His certificate does not cover the other three documents.

One of the three documents entitled "Tentative Draft of Japan's policies toward the southern regions", dated October 4, 1940, has no name of its compiler and bears no seal or signatures of the persons concerned or who examined the documents. It is not clear whether the original was prepared by the Foreign Ministry.

26896

The witness stated that the original exhibit which he had examined contained four separate documents. The certificate he made on October 2 covers the document entitled "Outline of Foreign Policies of the Japanese Empire". * The document mentioned in his affidavit is the one called "Tentative Draft of Japanese Policies Toward the Southern Regions", October 4, 1940. He did not think there was any difference between documents No. 1 and 2.

In the Foreign Office, official documents are documents filed in the Foreign Office, and any documents whose contents have something to do with the activities of the Foreign Office as a government organ are called official. Document No. 1 bears the seal "Very Secret" but has no signatures, although there are interlineations. Document No. 2 has no signatures or marking, and has only the seal "Secret".

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. TAVENNER.

26902 The witness stated that he had shown beforehand the three certificates introduced into evidence the day before. They were signed by his superior, HAVASHI, whom he assisted. * He thought them accurate. All four documents are documents of the Foreign Office. The other three documents also bear the seal "Very Secret". Each page of the document is on Foreign Office stationery, and each page contains the Japanese equivalent of the words "Foreign Office". There is an index which contains the topic and refers to the documents by numbers. The documents themselves do not bear numbers, but each separating sheet contains the number of the respective documents.

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NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF THE RECORD August 27. 1947 DEFENSE - Division V - Pacific Naval Preparations

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Asked whether troops in FIC would not have been of assistance in case of war between England, U. S., or Holland, TOJO stated that economic and military pressure from those countries was increasing.

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It was pointed out that according to the same exhibit, no general mobilization took place until October 1941.

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INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

9 January 1948

Dear Mr. Keenan,

Blakeney announced in court that he still had a witness in the TOGO case who was too sick to attend. Sir William asked him if he had a doctor's certificate, and Blakeney replied that he had one dated several days ago, but that he thought he could have his witness in court Monday. The witness is OKADA, and I am told by Mr. Sutton and Mr. Horwitz that you desire to cross-examine him.

After court adjourned, two of the defense attorneys asked me why I did not explain to the Tribunal the reason for the absence of OKADA. I said I would explain if he would give me the reasons, and then they decided to tell me the situation, and this is what they said: That a doctor's certificate had been received; that the witness was too ill to leave his home either yesterday or day before; that one of the attorneys went to his home and was told by his family that he was over at Atami as the guest of Mr. Keenan. There was no indication that any attempt would be made to embarrass you in any manner, but they are determined now to do everything that can be done to produce this witness. If I understood Blakeney correctly, he proposes to go out to the home of OKADA armed with proper process of the court and bring OKADA in.

I wanted you to know the angles abovementioned as well as to inform you that OKADA is likely to be produced Monday. There are several situations that could arise. If you have decided not to cross-examine him and were to call Blakeney and advise him as to that fact, there would be no reason to produce the witness and the affidavit could be read in his absence. If, on the other hand, you desire to cross-examine him, I wanted you to have the information at the earliest possible time so that you can make your arrangements accordingly. Not knowing of the importance of the point you desire to cross-examine on, I cannot make any suggestion as to whether or not it is better under all the circumstances to waive cross-examination.

Sincerely yours,

withtell Def. Doc. 2746 Exhibit No. (Togo) INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al. -vs-Crow aformers of ARAKI Sadao, et al. OKADA KEISUKE Having first duly sworn an oath as on the attached sheet, in accordance with the procedure prevailing in my country, I hereby depose as follows: 1. I came to know Mr. Togo Shigenori around 1934, when I was Premier and he was Director of the European-Asiatic Bureau of the Foreign Ministry. Since then I have talked with Mr. Togo on various occasions, and exchanged views on various probloms. Especially after he became Foreign Minister in the Tojo Cabinet in October 1941 there was frequent contact between him and me directly and indirectly not only while he was Foreign Minister but even after he resigned from the ministership. In April 1945, when Mr. Togo was entering the Suzuki Cabinet, he called on me to explain his position and requested my opinion. 2. At the time of the London Naval Disarmament Conference of 1934-1935 I was Premier and Mr. Togo was Director of the European-Asiatic Bureau of the Foreign Ministry. I learned at that time from the officers concerned that Mr. Togo was opposed to the position of the Navy and carried on heated arguments with the Navy over such problems as the common upper limit, the abrogation of the Washington Treaty, and the exchange of information on naval ship-building. 3. Toward the and of October 1941, Foreign Minister Togo urged that, as the opinion of the Navy was unyielding and it was likely that a Japanese-American war would ensue if things were left alone, I as a veteran of the Navy should contribute my efforts promptly to moderate the opinion of the Navy. Thereupon, I immediately requested Admirals Kobayashi Seizo and Toyoda Teijiro to come to my house, and conferred with them. I do not remember the result. 4. I have long recognized the importance of diplomatic affairs, and it has been my belief that the choice of Foreign Minister was the most important next to that of Premier. Especially after the conclusion of the Tripartite Alliance in September 1940, it was my sincere desire to have a Foreign Minister who was a lover of peace and would be earnest in negotiations with the United States, in order that we might go through that critical period without becoming entangled in the war. After deliberation I came to the conclusion that Mr. Togo was the best. and I talked about it to my friends and acquaintances. Especially in October 1941, immediately before the establishment of the

Def. Doc. 2746 Tōjō Cabinet, I told Lord Keeper Kido this. I recommended Mr. Togo because I had known that Mr. Togo, since the time when he -was Director of the European-Asiatic Bureau, had entertained moderate opinions and favored international cooperation over such matters as European and American questions, the China question and the disarmament problem; that after he became Ambassador he had been opposed to the strengthening of the Anti-Commintern Pact or the Tripartite Alliance, even though he was stationed In Germany; and that after he had returned from the Soviet Union he had been keenly interested in the success of the Japanese-American negotiations. When the Tojo Cabinet was organized, Mr. Togo insisted that he could not accept the post of Foreign Minister unless the new Cabinet would strive for the success of the Japanese-American negotiations. He resigned from the post on account of his opposition to the establishment of the Greater East Asia Ministry. Thereafter it was his sincere desire that the war should be terminated as soon as possible, and when the Suzuki Cabinet was formed, he contended strongly for the prompt ending of the war and entered the cabinet on that condition. These instances show how intense is Mr. Togo's aspiration for) agce. 5. After Mr. Togo resigned from the Foreign Ministership in the autumn of 1942, he often related to me that the policy of war-direction of the Tojo Cabinet was not proper and that thereore the continuation of the cabinet was not in the interest of the country nor favorable for the termination of the war. OATH In accordance with my conscience I swear to tell the whole truth, withholding nothing and adding nothing. Okada Keisuke (Seal) On this 2nd day of January, 1947 At Tokyo Okada Keisuke (seal) Deponent I, Nishi Haruhiko, hereby certify that the above statement was sworn to by the deponent, who affixed his signature and seal hereto in the presence of this witness. On the same date At Tokyo (seal) Vitness: Nishi Haruhiko Translation Certificate I, Nishi Haruhiko, of the Defense, hereby certify that I am conversant with the English and Japanese languages, and that the foregoing is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation of the original document. Nishi Haruhiko Tokyo 2 January 1947 -2-