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1 Thursday, 26 September, 1946 5 4 INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST 5 Court House of the Tribunal War Ministry Building 6 Tokyo, Japan 8 The Tribunal met, pursuant to adjournment, 9 at 0930. 10 11 12 13 Appearances: 14 For the Tribunal, same as before. 15 For the Prosecution Section, same as before. For the Defense Section, same as before. 18 19 20 (English to Japanese and Japanese to English interpretation was made by the Language Section, IMTFE.) 24 25

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session. THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Caudle.

MR. CAUDLE: If it please the Court, may I call the Court's attention to prosecution document No. 4029-F, which is in evidence as exhibit 548. This document purports to be a telegram from Ambassador Ott to the German Foreign Office. In the second paragraph of said cocument, Mr. Ott refers to a 24-ran commission of which the defendant SHIRATORI was a member as a representative for foreign political matters.

We have endeavored to try to learn the names of the members of this commission, but have been unable to do so. I wonder if I would be out of order in requesting that the prosecution afford the Court and the defense the name of the commission, its members, and president, if anyone had that position.

THE PRESIDENT: The less they say about it the 18 10 better for you. Why do you want to supplement their evidence?

MR. CAUDLE: Well, sir, I just wanted to know what we had before us and what to do to controvert it, if anything.

THE PRESIDENT: The prosecution can please 25 themselves about that. We give them no direction.

1 Mr. Cunningham. MR. CUMPINGHAM: If the Tribunal please, yestorday I made an objection to the introduction of political documents and telegrams, and in response to the inquiry addressed to the prosecution as to what (provision under the Charter the documents were introduced, the Court volunteered the information that the documents are admitted under authority of Article 13, Section b, Item (1). 10 THE PRESIDENT: Well. "c." I think I said. That 11 may be wrong, too. I did not look at it. I relied on 12 my memory. I think I said "c." 13 MR. CUNNINGHAM: Now, I respectfully call the Tribunal's attention to the specific wording of Article 13, Section b, Item (1). 16 THE PRESIDENT: Not "b;" "b" is about 17 relevance. 18 MR. CUNNINGHAM: Well, now, weit until I check 19 here. 20 THE FRESIDENT: We will have to check you first. 21 MR. CUMNINGHAM: I believe the Court said Article 13, Section c, Item (1). 23 THE PRESIDENT: That is one heading. There 24 may be others. However, we stand on that.

MR. CUNITINGHAM: May I submit one --

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any further: If the Charter said nothing about the rules of evidence or what could be admitted, it is the law, as I understand it, after taking the advice of the most highly placed counsel in the country, Ex-Lord Chancellors, Ex-Lord Masters and Attorney Generals, that the rules of evidence do not apply in these proceedings against enemy property or against enemy subjects. The rules of evidence, the strict rules of evidence, have no application in prize proceedings. My information was given to me before I became a member of this Tribunal; so that even if you were right on this point you are raising, and you are probably wrong, the matter would be purely academic.

In any event, we are not going to allow our decision to be reopened by you.

I will read Article 13c(1). It applies to a document without proof of its issuance or signature which appears to the Tribunal to have been signed or issued by any department of any government, whether it be the Japanese or any other government.

At page 6,323 of the record, I am reported to have said: "The document is clearly within Article 13c(1) of the Charter."

MR. CUNNINGHAM: With all due respect to what

your Honor has just said, may I make the point which I had in view, and that is to emphasize the one feature of this article which I think is very pertinent, which your Honor has passed over?

THE PRESIDENT: We will read Article 13 first.

Article 13 provides: "Evidence. Admissibility. The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence. It shall...admit any evidence which it deems to have probative value." Any evidence which it deems to have probative value. Then it goes on in Article c to state: "Specific evidence admissible.

In particular, and without limiting in any way the scope of the foregoing general rules, the following evidence may be admitted."

MR. CUNNINGHAM: Now, may I now read the sentence which I believe embraces my point?

THE PRESIDENT: You may.

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MR. CUNNINGHAM: I respectfully call the Tribunal's attention to the specific wording, and emphasize that the documents permitted therein are armed forces documents and not governmental or political documents.

THE PRESIDENT: The members of the Tribunal have already discussed that particular phrase, and come to the conclusion that the interpretation I put on it

is correct. But I repeat again, we have a duty to admit any evidence we think has probative value; and the documents specified in Article 13c(1) are only instances and are not an exhaustive category.

I further emphasize that if the Charter was silent, if Article 13 did not appear in it, the rules of evidence would not bind us.

Mr. Hvde.

MR. HYDE: May it please the Tribunal, prosecution documents 4042-A, 4037-A, 4037-C, and 4038-A are offered in evidence.

Document 4042-A is a telegram from the German Ambassador in Tokyo, dated 21 November 1940. The person to whom it was addressed is not indicated. It was found in the files of the German Foreign Office.

Document 4037-A is a telegram from the German Ambassador in Tokyo, dated 6 February 1941. The addressee is not indicated. It was found in the files of the German Foreign Office.

Document 4037-C is a telegram from the German Ambassador in Tokyo for the Reichs Foreign Minister personally. It is dated 17 February 1941.

Document 4038-A is a telegram from Boltze, an official in the German Embassy in Tokyo, dated 12 March 1941. The name of the addressee does not appear. This

telegram was found in the files of the German Foreign Office. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 4042-A will receive exhibit No. 563; document 4037-A, exhibit No. 564; document 4037-C, exhibit No. 565; document No. 4038-A, exhibit No. 566. (Whereupon, the documents above referred to were marked prosecution's exhibits No. 563, 564, 565 and 566, and were received 10 11 in evidence.) MR. HYDE: These documents relate to French 12 Indo-China and Thailand, and are used in this phase 13 of the case to show the execution with German aid of 14 strategic plans which finally culminated in the use of 15 French Indo-China and Thailand as a springboard for the 16 17 launching of an attack against Singapore, as will be 18 shown by documents presently to be offered. 19 I will read exhibit 563, telegram from Ott, 20 dated 21 November 1940. 21 (Reading) "Telegram (Secret Cipher Process). 22 "Tokyo, 21 November 1940. Arrival, 21 Novem-23 ber 1940." 24 It is marked "Urgent" and "Secret." 25 "I. The Vice Foreign Minister informed me

today regarding the situation in Theiland, that the Thailand Prime Minister, as well as the American Covernment have denied alleged negotiations for an However, British and American Ambesalliance. sadors in Bangkok are working energetically to win over Theiland for the Anglo-Saxon Powers. Japanese Government has to-day proposed to Theiland that she limit her territorial claims on Indo-Chins in some points, and would then be ready to mediate between Thailand and Indo-China. Should the occasion arise, Japan will request the support of the German Government in dealing with the French Covernment.

"II. The Vice Foreign Minister informed me most confidentially that the Japanese Covernment intends to send warships to Saigon. The French Government will be informed that this will be a friendly visit, but it will be, in fact, sixed as e demonstration against Theiland.

"III. In the orinion of the Vice Foreign Minister, if Thailand were to turn towards the Anglo-Saxon camp there would be no considerable military hern to Japan in consequence. This move could be countered by the occupation of Saigon, and thereby be compensated.

(Signed) "QTT"

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I will now read exhibit 564, marked "To be 1 kept in locked file," dated "Tokyo, 6 February 1941; Arrival, 6 February 1941." It is marked "Secret."

"Vice Foreign Minister informed me just now that Japanese Government intends to obligate France and Thailand by a secret agreement, during the negotiations beginning here on February 7 concerning settlement of boundary disputes of France and Thailand, to make no political or military agreement with a third power. Vice Foreign Minister added that this obligation, as far as it concerns France, would, of course, apply only to Indo-China. He supposes that the Government of the Reich welcomes the Japanese action because, in the spirit of the Tri-Partite Pact, it is directed towards eliminating the British-American influence in an important area of the Greater East Asia sphere, as much as possible. The Vice Foreign Minister requested notification of the Reichs Government, particularly for the reason that the French Government might possibly raise objections by referring to the German-French Armistice Agreements.

"The Vice Foreign Minister will give the same information to the Italian Ambassador."

> I will now read a part of exhibit 565. "Telegram (Secret Cipher Process). To be kept

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in locked file. Tokyo, 17 February 1941; Arrival, 17 February 1941.

"For the Reichs Minister personally."

Now I will turn to the end of the next to the last paragraph, the second sentence from the end.

"Negotiations proceeded not without difficulties on account of the excessive demands of Thailand.

The Japanese Government is at present working on a proposal of a compromise which through me will be placed at the disposal of the Reichsminister in the next few cays with the request to influence the Vichy regime in the direction of acceptance of the proposal through mediation of the Reich Government."

It is signed "Ott."

I will now read exhibit 566.

"Telegram (Secret Cipher Process). To be kept in locked file.

"Tokyo, 12 March 1941; Arrival, 12 March 1941.

"Foreign Vice Minister OHASHI just visited me and asked me to convey to the Reich Foreign Minister the sincere gratitude of the Japanese Government for the extraordinarily valuable and effective support of the Japanese mediation in the dispute between Thailand and French Indo-China.

"Signed Boltze."

Prosecution document 4042-0, a telegram from the German Ambassador in Tokyo for the Reichsminister, dated 19 December 1940; 4042-D, a telegram from the German Ambassador in Tokyo for the Reichsminister, dated 13 December 1940, and 4037-B, a telegram from the German Ambassador in Tokyo to the Reichsminister for Foreign Affairs, dated 10 February 1941, are presented for introduction in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 4042-C will receive exhibit No. 567; cocument No. 4042-D, exhibit No. 568; document No. 4037-B, exhibit No. 569.

(Whereupon, the documents above referred to were marked prosecution's exhibits No. 567, 568 and 569, and were received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: These documents are used for the purpose of showing that the execution of strategic plans in the area south of China was coordinated with an unprecedented trip by the Japanese Foreign Minister to Germany for conferences with leading German diplomatic, military and industrial leaders.

I will read exhibit 567.

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"Telegram

"(Secret Cipher Process)

"To be kept in locked file

"Tokyo, 19 December 1940 11.30 hours

"Arrival, 19 December 1940 22.15 hours

"Most urgent!

"For the Reichsminister

"The Foreign Minister is considering, so he told me, to accept in the near future the invitation of the Reich Foreign Minister to come to Berlin. He is thinking of arriving there in the second half of January, to make a short visit to Rome from Germany, if possible stay in Moscov and return to Tokyo at the end of February. Prime Minister approves plan and would like to obtain the Emperor's sanction for a longer shoence of the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister emphasized to me his need to make a strong gesture in favor of the Tripartite Pact and if possible, to personally overcome the deadlock in the negotiations with Russia and China. The Diet /session/ beginning in January could postpone its foreign policy debate until the return of the Foreign Minister.

"I have the impression that the Foreign Minister would like to enhance the weight of his

policy and himself through the conversation with the Reichs Foreign Minister and an eventual reception by the Fuehrer and hopes with German help to set into motion the stalled negotiations with Russia. In my opinion his plan is entirely in our interest. The journey would make a strong impression on world politics, add weight to the Tripartite Pact centered in Berlin, would strengthen the attitude of the Foreign Minister towards America through the conversation in Berlin, and strengthen the German impression and would open up the possibility of a conversation with Moscow. Against this advantage, in my opinion, the extended absence of the leader of the Japanese foreign policy would not be of consequence since the armed forces. especially the army, will meanwhile reliably heed the policy of the Tripartite Pact. The Foreign Minister would presumably be thankful for German encouragement of his plan. I, therefore, suggest to empower me to transmit a corresponding attitude of the Reichs Foreign Minister." "OTT" (Signed) I will now read exhibit 568:

"Telegram

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"To be kept in locked file.

"(Secret Cipher Process)

"Tokyo, 31 December 1940 9,10 hours

"Arrival, 31 December 1940 16.55 hours

"No. 1459 of 31 December

"Most Urgent!

"Re Telegram No. 1171 x) of the thirtieth

"x) BRAM

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"For the Reichsminister.

"I transmitted to the Foreign Minister on 24 December according to instructions No. 1154 x) the information of the Reichs Foreign Minister, x) RAM 381 which visibly delighted him himself, and asked for a speedy reply. The Foreign Minister today, after the conclusion of the cabinet changes of the last few days, made a report to the Emperor, who received the plan kindly but reserved his decision. The Foreign Minister, who again assured me what great store he sets by the accomplishment of the journey, plans to get himself given the most farreaching possible authority from the cabinet, and above all the War Minister. He held out the prospect of a final answer in the middle of January.

"The Foreign Minister holds it expedient that before his arrival in Berlin Ambassador OSHIMA should have already presented his credentials. As

OSHIMA informs me, he will probably arrive in Berlin at the end of January. The Foreign Minister would then follow after an interval of 7 to 10 days." (Signed) "OTT" I will now read exhibit 569:

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"Telegram (Secret Cipher Process) "To be kept in locked file "Tokyo, 10 February 1941 01.10 "Arrival, 10 February 1941 2400 "No. 196 of 10.2.41 Most Urgent "For the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs." I will now eliminate the four lines of references in the telegram and read the body of the telegram. "Foreign Minister MATSUOYA has just told me 9 with obvious joy that the Emperor, on the Prime l'inister's representation, granted him permission to accept the Reich Foreign Minister's invitation to visit Berlin. He intends presuming an agreement to this from the other side to depart after the 15 conclusion of the Thailand negotiations about 25 16 February and to reach Berlin between 12 and 15 March. He has set aside 12 days in all for the conversations in Berlin and a supplementary visit to Rome and Moscow. Consequently he would arrive in 20 Tokvo again about April 10. If need be, his stay in 21 Europe could be prolonged a few days. However, the 22 Foreign Minister would have to be in Tokyo again at 23 the latest by April 15. "He will probably be accompanied by the head 25 of the European Division, Ministerial Director.

SAVALOTO, Director NAVANISHI, of the South Manchurian Railway Co., whom he knows intimately, further by the Legation Secretaries KASE and HOGEN, Attache SAIONJI, grandchild of the last GENRO who died recently, one younger officer from the army and the navy each, as well as two cipher operators.

"The Foreign Minister gave me the following details re the most important questions which he would like to discuss in Berlin:

"I. Attitude of the partners of the Tri-Partite Pact towards America.

"1.) Diplomatic influence against entry into war."

That is marked "1.)" under the "I." I just read.

"The Foreign Minister is endeavoring to prevent America's entry into the war in the spirit of the pact. To this end he has instructed Ambass-ador NOMURA to dwell most emphatically on Japan's unconditional loyalty to the pact and her military and economic might/in talks/ with President RCOSEVELT, and point out the senselessness of an American entry into the war. America could not stop the defeat of England by entering the war. On the contrary, by fighting Germany and Japan, who alone are able to

create an order in Europe and East Asia necessary even for America in the long run, she would act against her own interest.

"2.) Preventative attack against SINGAPORE.

"Should, in spite of this, America's entry
into war appear unavoidable the Japanese Government
considers a preventative attack against Singapore
to remove or make difficult the possibility of America's
waging a military war in the Pacific Ocean. In view
of the far reaching political and military consequences
of such an action, the Foreign Minister explained
that Japan would undertake such a decision only in
complete agreement with the Reich. In the meantime,
the armed forces are taking the measures necessary
to be ready for war.

"II. Termination of the China conflict.

"The Fereign Minister has continued his highly confidential sounding of CHIANG-KAI-SHEK. The latter was showing signs of greater readiness for an understanding with Japan, to avoid increasing danger from the Chinese Communist Army. The Foreign Minister expects favorable progress in his secret negotiations with Chiang-Kai-Shek from the Berlin conversations, although Japan had to decide to recognize WANG-CHING-WEI."

I will omit reading the paragraphs under the heading, "III. Relations to Russia," as they will be considered in a later phase of the case.

I offer in evidence prosecution documents

4037-D and 4037-E. The former is a report of a conversation between Ambassador OSHIMA and Weizsacker, and the latter is an extract from a report of a conversation between Ambassadors OSHIMA and Ribbentrop.

They are used for the purpose of demonstrating how close the collaboration between Japan and Germany was and how far the execution of the agressive plan had advanced at this early date.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution document

4037-D will receive No. 570, and document 4037-E

will receive exhibit No. 571.

(Whereupon, prosecution's exhibit
No. 570 and No. 571 were received in evidence.)
I will read exhibit No. 570:
"Berlin, 22 February 1941"-In the upper right hand server appears the

In the upper right hand corner appears the word "today."

"Secret

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"(To be presented before OSHIMA's arrival)

"The Japanese Ambassador visited me this morning. We briefly developed his viewpoints regarding the future Japanese foreign policy. OSHIMA arranged the three tasks of Japan in East Asia according to their urgency from north to south.

"1.)

"Russia

"OSHIMA emphasized the emotional side of this question with the Japanese public. The latter would not admit an agreement (non-aggression pact) with Russia if real sacrifices were to be brought for this. But perhaps a modus vivendi with Russia could be reached without sacrifices and would also be sufficient to relieve Japan in the north.

"Speed is required.

"2.)

"China

"OSHIMA deplored that Japan had not settled matters with CHIANG-WAI-SHEK long ago. A settlement should now be found. There were two schools at present in Tokyo, one which would directly agree with CHIANG KAI-SHEK, the other which would put pressure on CHIANG KAI-SHEK by giving preference to WANG CHING-WEI. OSHIMA himself inclines toward the latter procedure.

"3.)

"British Possessions in Fost Asia.

"In this connection OSHTMA made military statements concerning which it may be sufficient to mention that OSHIMA considers it necessary to take Hongkong first, which should not be very difficult. Singapore has to be seized in grand style from the sea and from the land.

"I expressed doubts to OSHIMA whether the order of the problems, which he had mentioned, fits the demand of the historic hour which would probably never return. OSHIMA replied that he had energetically advocated the point of view in Tokyo that one should not let slip by opportunities that would determine the fate of Japan for centuries.

"I suppose that OSHIMA's trend of thought when he visits Fuschl will be within the framework depicted above.

"(Signed) WEIZSACKER."

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I will read exhibit No. 571. It is marked, "To be kept in locked file," and there is a marginal note indicating it was transmitted under No. 223 to Tokyo.

"Telegram" .

(Open)

"Special train, 28 February 1941.

"Fuschl 27 February
"Diplogerme Tokyo*)

"Secret note for department heads.

"For your purely personal information!

"The Japanese Ambassador OSHIMA visited me at Fuschl on February 23. The discussion, as always, proceeded particularly friendly and intimately. As regards details, it took the following course:

"To start with, I made a review of the general political situation. After war with England had become inevitable, the Fuehrer decided upon an agreement with Russia to avoid a war on two fronts. In the long run, the agreement also lay in the interest of Japan, which is interested in the speediest possible victory for Germany. After the conclusion of the German-Japanese alliance, the further development of this /agreement/ must follow. For Germany, there are no more military problems of any kind on the continent.

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Germany would not tolerate England obtaining a firm foothold anywhere on the continent - in the Mediterranean. Greece or elsewhere. England's hopes for blockade, hunger and unrest were in vain. England must be forced to realize that she had no prospects of victory and must ask for peace. Germany was closely watching developments in France, was not interested in occupying the whole country, also lest French Africa should fall to De Gaulle. France's might was broken for all time. Carrison the Occupied Countries was merely a police function. Peace reigned everywhere and there was no lack of food. Germany herself had sufficient food; occasional short supply of raw materials had no practical significance. In spring 240 divisions, including 186 first-class of fensive divisions were ready for use. Rumania, Hungary and Slovakia had already entered the Tri-Partite Pact. Bulgaria's entry was very close at hand. The Turkish-Bulgarian declaration demonstrated a definite Turkish withdrawal from military developments in the Balkans and from England. Neither Turkey nor Russia would take any action in the event of a German intervention in Greece. Jugoslavian statesmen had recently expressed their desire for peace by their visit to Germany. Jugoslavia must come over to our camp sooner or later.

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Consequently the Balkans were in our hands. English would have to evacuate Greece. Italy had suffered reverses. She had attacked Greece without our knowledge and with poor military preparation. However the Italian front in Greece was now stable. General "AVELL's advance in North Africa was to be explained by the fear of tanks among the Italians, who had not been sufficiently schooled for fight against tanks. We had not sent an organization /verband/ to Libya, to bring about a change there if possible. The Italian people stood firmly behind the DUCE: we were helping with the supply of raw materials. We stood on good and intimate terms with Spain. Sooner or later she would come over to us openly; she hesitated still at present because of the difficulties of her food supply. "ith Russia relations were good. Moreover, in view of our military strength, she would bewere of taking any action against us! STALIN was a cool and clever politician. Germany was viewing matters in the East with supreme ease. A Russo-German conflict - not wished by us - would mean a gigantic German victory and an end to the Soviet regime.

"In the war against England our bombs had created serious destruction, despite bed weather, which was having a strongly retarding effect on English war

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production, etc. We hoped to continue to destroy much more with our bombardment than America could replace. From the beginning of March onward the use of U-boats will be increased many times. "Te would then deliver fearful blows on England through a combination of the Luftwaffe and U-boats. English imports must be reduced to a definite minimum, below English subsistence level, through sinkings, to render the situation catastrophic. Invasion of England was prepared, but depended on various factors. ROOSEVELT was the most bitter opponent of Germany and Japan. However it was in our interests to keep America out of the war. If America did come in to the war despite this, she could not wage it militarily. The vast extent of the oceans lying between us and America made this impossible. Practically it would amount only to the building of American air bases in England. However in air warfare we were in a strategically more favorable position vis-a-vis England. "e were not only equal to a combination of the British and American air forces but superior at any time. The number of pilots was unlimited, likewise the aircraft production potential. Giant reserves of material were stored up, likewise munitions. Production would be concentrated on U-boat fleets, air fleets and flak. The war was

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won today, militarily, economically, and politically; we wished, however, to end the war quickly, and for England to ask for peace soon. In this connection co-operation with Japan was important. In her most personal interests she should attack as soon as possible. The decisive blow would be an attack on Singapore, to climinate England's key position in East Asia and to secure for Japan a position in East Asia which it could only win in war. The occupation of Singapore must take place with lightning speed, if at all possible without a declaration of war and in the middle of peace, to contribute to a speedy termination of the war and to keep America out of the war.

"Ambassador OSHIMA replied, that preparations for the occupation of Singapore would be completed by the end of May. For safety's sake preparations must be made not only for war against England but also against America. Japan's supply of raw materials, especially re: steel and iron, was difficult. Construction of 45,000 ton ships had been suspended and instead they were building submarines, torpedo boats and speed boats for the defense of the islands. The moment for the occupation of Singapore must be coordinated with operations in Europe. The attack must come from the land, as it was too difficult from the

sea. The occupation of Hongkong and the Philippines had been provided for in case of need.

"I remarked that it would be better to delay the Philippines project and to proceed with the surprise capture of Singapore alone. In case of a corresponding explanation and notivation of the occupation, America would stay out of the war. Three reasons for speedy action were of importance:

- "(1) Occupation of Singapore would mean a decisive blow against the core of the British Empire.
- "(2) America would remain out of the war, as she was not yet armed, and would not risk her fleet west of Hawaii. If American interests were respected, even ROOSEVELT's argument re: prestige for entering the war would be eliminated. If she did enter the war, America would have to look on powerlessly, how Japan would take away the Philippines from her.
- "(3) Japan must secure for herself for the coming New Order in the world that position which she hoped to have at the conclusion of the peace. England would never give up Singapore through negotiations, but rather continue fighting to the last. Ambassador OSHIMA agreed completely with this line of thought. He declared himself willing to do everything to realize this policy. He remarked that he had asked the

Japanese Foreign Minister to go to Berlin with the most concrete possible proposals. I told OSHIMA it would be good, if the Japanese Foreign Minister brought with him a final decision to attack Singapore soon, so that we could then discuss all the details here. I explained further that the closest co-operation in all spheres, particularly re: news service and the press, was necessary for the common prosecution of the war, such as had already been arranged with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia and Bulgaria in an exemplary. The imbassador intends to set up a program with out representatives for the intensification of Japanese propaganda. Concerning the U.S.A., I remarked that blunt speaking should be employed appropriately vis-a-vis them. The U.S. people did not like National Socialism, but on the other hand, were against entering the war, so as not to sacrifice their sons. The U.S. people felt instinctively that ROOSEVELT and the Jewish wire rullers wanted to rull them into war without reason. Therefore a clear and strong, but not aggressive, policy should be pursued toward the U.S.A. The U.S. people must know that if they had aggressive desires, an iron front of determined peoples, which practically embraced the whole world, would oppose them. We must meet the English propaganda of misrepresentation with

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the closest co-operation. For this a continuous exchange of ideas in speeches and utterances about principles was necessary. In this connection I referred to MATSUOKA's recent statement on Japan's readiness for mediation for peace and the declaration of the Jap. ambassador in Washington NOMURA, on Japan's attitude in the event of America entering the war. To my reference that we had already made a great contribution to the shaping of the fate of the allied Nations through the victory on the continent, also that in the future, on account of geographical factors, we would have to bear the brunt of the war, while Japan would only have to fight against the periphery of the British Empire, and that Japan must now seize the gigantic opportunity being offered her, and should not evade the final consequence - OSHIMA replied that Japan was determined to maintain her Imperial position. As he confidentially told me, KONOYE and MATSUOKA thought as he did and were for an early attack on Singapore.

"I then discussed the tasks of reconstruction in Europe and East Asia facing the powers of the TriPartite Pact after the war. Over centralization was to be avoided, and in the economic sphere, a solution on the basis of equality must be found. A free

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exchange of commerce on a grand scale must take place between the great spheres of interest, the European-African sphere of power under the leadership of Germany and Italy and the East Asia sphere of interest under the leadership of Japan. Japan could conduct direct trade and conclude trade agreements with the independent states of the western hemisphere as before, and likewise Germany and Italy with the independent countries in the Japanese sphere of power, such as China, Thailand, Indo-China, etc. In both economic spheres preference should be given over third powers. Ministerial Director SOHLTAT's task was limited to concluding a trade agreement. The general outline of the new trade policy would be determined in Berlin according to agreement by the Economic commission of the Tri-Partite Pact. Following this up, I pointed out the possible necessity on the grounds of renewed U.S. impudence for common action to open the eyes of the U.S. people to the situation and possibly bring about a change in public opinion in favor of isolation. I indicated the problem expressly as being theoretical and in no way acute at present. A common break in diplomatic relations with the U.S. by the partners of the Tri-Partite Pact was to be considered should the occasion arise in the course of

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this action.

(Signed) "RIBBENTROP."

I offer in evidence prosecution document 4037-G. This is a telegram dated 27 February 1941 from Ribbentrop to the German Ambassador in Tokyo.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 4037-G will receive exhibit No. 572.

("hereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 572 and was received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit No. 572:

"Telegram (Secret Cipher Process)

"To be kept in locked file.

"Fusch1, 27 February 1941

"Arrival, 27 February 1941

"R.A.M. 49/R to Foreign Office Berlin

"1. Diplogerma Tokyo

"2. For Cipher Bureau.

"Secret note for department heads.

"For the Ambassador personally.

"I ask you to work with all the means at your command to the end that Japan takes possession of Singapore as soon as possible by surprise. You will learn everything else from the information telegram

dispatched today, at the same time. 1 (Signed) "RIBBENTROP" There is a note: "Transmitted to Tokyo at 3 23.50." I tender in evidence prosecution document 4003. This is Directive No. 24 concerning collaboration 6 with Japan issued by direction of the Fuehrer and from 7 his headquarters on 3 March 1941. It is used to show 8 that Japanese-German collaboration had proceeded to 9 the point where military directions and decisions 10 were being made by Hitler within ten days after the 11 12 OSHIMA-Ribbontrop conference. 13 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 14 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 15 No. 4003 will receive exhibit No. 573. 16 ("hereupon, the document above referred 17 to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 573 and 13 was received in evidence.) 19 IR. HYDE: I will read 573: 20 "High Command of the Armed Forces 21 "Fuehrer Headquarters, 3 March 41 22 "Top Secret 23 "Only through Officers 24 "14 Copies -- 4th Copy 25

"Directive No. 24

"Concerning Collaboration with Japan

"The Fuehrer has issued the following directives for the cooperation with Japan:

"1. The air of the cooperation based on the Three-Power Pact, must be to bring Japan, as soon as possible, to active operations in the Far East. Large English forces will hereby be immobilized, the center of the U.S.A. interest will be diverted to the Pacific.

"In view of the still undeveloped state of war mobilization on the part of her opponents, the prospects of success for Japan will be the greater, the earlier she intervenes. The 'Barbarossa' enterprise provides especially favorable political and military prerequisites for this purpose.

"2. For the preparation of the cooperation, it is necessary to strengthen the Japanese war potential by all means.

"For this purpose, the High Commands of the branches of the Armed Forces must meet in a comprehensive and generous way, the demands of the Japanese concerning the communication of German warfare and combat experiences and assistante in matters of war economy and technics. Reciprocity is desired, but must not render the negotiations more difficult.

Those requests by the Japanese which might effect the

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conduct of the war in a short time must naturally be rut in the foreground.

"In special cases the Fuehrer reserves the decision for himself.

"3. The alignment of the mutual plans of operation is a matter for the High Command of the Navy.

"For this, the following guiding principles are to be followed:

"a. It must be emphasized that it is the common goal of the war to force England down rapidly in order to keep the U.S.A. out of the war. As for the rest, Germany has neither political nor military or economic interests in the Far East, which might give rise to reservations with regard to the intentions of the Japanese.

"b. The great successes achieved by Germany in economic warfare, makes it particularly advisable to employ strong Japanese forces for the same purpose. Moreover any possibility of assistance for German economic warfare must be utilized.

"c. The raw material situation of the Treaty
Powers requires that Japan seize those territories
which she needs, especially if the U.S. intervenes,
for the continuation of the war. The deliveries of
crude rubber must be carried on even after Japan

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enters the war, since they are of vital importance for Germany.

"d. The conquest of Singapore, England's key position in the Far East, would mean a decisive success for the active warfare of the Three Powers.

"Besides, attacks on other systems of bases of the English sea power -- of the American sea power only if the entrance of the U.S.A. into the war cannot be avoided -- will serve to shake the enemy's power system there and, just as in the case of attacks on the sea lanes, will bind essential forces of every kind. (Australia).

"A date for the beginning of discussions on operational matters cannot as yet be set.

"4. The military committees to be formed in accordance with the Three-Power Pact are to deal only with such questions which concern equally the three participating powers. In the first place the tasks of economic warfare will belong into that group.

"It is up to the 'Main Committee' assisted by the High Command of the Wehrmacht to make decisions in individual cases.

"5. No hint must be given to the Japanese concerning the operation 'Barbarossa'.

"The Chief of the High Command of the

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"Wehrmacht

"Draft signed by Keitel."

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fifteen minutes.

The distribution indicates the following:

"Commander-in-Chief of the Army (General Staff
of the Army), 1st copy; Commander-in-Chief of the Navy,
2d copy; Commander-in Chief of the Air Forces, 3d
copy; Wehrmacht Operations Staff, 4th copy; Office of
Foreign Counter Intelligence, 5th copy; Chief, Foreign
Countries, 6th and 7th copies; then there is indicated
distribution for the 8th, 9th, 10th to 14th copies.

(Whereupon, at 1047, a recess was taken until 1105, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

THE PRESIDENT: "We will recess now for

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International 1 oldb Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed. 2 THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hyde. 3 IR. HYDE: I present prosecution's document r 4 4013 for introduction into evidence. It is a report 5 & of the Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy to 6 S Hitler. prat THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 8 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 9 No. 4013 will receive exhibit No. 574. 10 11 (Whereupon, the above-ment tioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit 12 13 No. 574 and received in evidence.) 14 MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit No. 574. 15 It is marked, "Top Secret, (Naval Operations 16 Staff), Only by Officer." 17 (Reading): Report of the Commander-in-Chief 18 of the Navy to the Fuebrer on 18 March at 1600 hours. 19 "(Present: Chief OKW, General Jodl, Com-20 mander von Puttkamer). 21 "Examination No. 2. 22 "11.) Japan. 23 "Japan must take steps as soon as possible 24 to eliminate Singapore since the opportunity will 25

never again be as favorable (whole English fleet

contained; unpreparedness of the USA for war against Japan; inferiority of the U.S. fleet to the Japanese fleet). Japan is making preparations for this action, but according to all statements made by Japanese officers she will carry it out only if Germany proceeds to land in England. Germany must therefore concentrate all her efforts on inducing Japan to act immediately. If Japan has Singapore, all other East Asiatic questions regarding the U.S.A. and England are thereby solved (Guam, Philippines, Borneo, Dutch East Indies).

"Japan wishes to avoid war against the USA if possible. She can do so if she determinedly takes Singapore soon.

"According to a statement of Admiral
NOMURA, Minister MATSUOKA has great misgivings about
the Russian question and will make inquiries particularly about that.

"The C-in-C of the Navy recommends (in a personal conversation with the Fuehrer) that MATSUOKA be advised regarding the designs on Russia."

Prosecution's document 4038-C and 4038-B are offered in evidence. The former is a report to Ribbentrop outlining the course of the contemplated conference with Foreign Minister MATSUOKA, which it

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was expected would take place in a few days. The latter is a report to Ribbentrop concerning military preparations in Japan by the German Ambassador to Japan who had been recalled to Germany to be present during the MATSUOKA conference. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 4038-C will receive exhibit No. 575; and document 1 No. 4038-B will receive exhibit No. 576. 10 (Whereupon, the above-mentioned docu-11 ments were marked prosecution's exhibits Nos. 12 575 and 576, respectively.) 13 MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit No. 575. 14 (Reading): "Memorandum from WEIZSACKER to the Reich Foreign Minister dated 24 March 1941. 16 "Confidential. 17 "Regarding the memoranda concerning MATSUOKA's 18 visit I note the following: 19 "1. The most important topic is naturally 20 the time of Japan's entry into the war against Eng-21 land. "In order to expedite this decision we still 23 have valuable concessions in our hands. 24 "(a) Our renunciation of claims to the Netherland East Indies.

- (b) Our renunciation of claims to our former possessions in the South Sea, including those under British mandate.
- (c) Increased support of Japan's policy in China (either attempts at mediation, or the recognition of WANG-CHING-WEI).

"But I have the impression that Japan's entry into war against England depends basically on our further successes against England, and that the above mentioned concessions would not play any great part in it.

"2. MATSUOKA is still following the line of an understanding with Russia and claims German encouragement for this. A clear statement, which course our relations to Russia may take is unavoidable in order to protect him from surprises, and in order to control Japanese policy through him after his European journey. Private conversations with other Japanese sources should be deferred.

"To the Reich Foreign Minister.

"Signed, WEIZSACKER. 24 March 1941."

I will now read exhibit No. 576.

In the upper left-hand corner appear the words, "Ambassador Ott."

(Reading):

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"Note on situation of Japan

for Reich Foreign Minister.

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"According to inquiries with the Chief of the Newy General Staff Admiral KONDO, the Navy is vigorously preparing for an attack on Singapore. Preparations were expected to be concluded by the end of May. He expressed misgivings re:

- "a) American guerrilla warfare by means of submarines and aircarft from the Philippine Archipelago against the long route for raw materials from Netherland East Indies and the Malay States to Japan;
- "b) The threat of two-fleet warfare, should British fleet be able to transfer from the Mediterranean to the Pacific.

"According to inquirires with Chief of the General Staff, General SUGIYAMA, the <u>Army</u> was also making preparations for an attack. Conclusion presumably also end of May.

"Conditions for accomplishment of this is a free rear towards Russia.

"Ambassador SHIRATORI stressed also the necessity to tie up the English fleet.

"Summarizing: The will to attack is present in the Army and Navy, preparations for attack are in

progress, accomplishment possible if the Army's and Navy's objections could be eliminated. Military prospects favorable. Type of attack was not by a naval attack from the sea, but by creation of a base on shore, from where the air forces could smoke out Singapore. In this way a first, quick result can be achieved. Then the time needed for the actual capture of the fortress would play a minor port. The effectiveness of the air forces is to be enhanced by the allocation of a few experienced German dive bomber specialists to the Japanese navel air forces. The need for her rear to be left free by Russia, plays e decisive part in the Japanese considerations and was being striven for by a reconciliation with Russia. The possibility of creating this free rear by other means is to be suggested to MATSUOKA. By this means it could be avoided that, should the occasion arise, the decision of an action against Singapore would be put in the background, and that prominence be given to the Russian question. As the rapprochement with Russia is also sought in the interest of new creation of commercial relations with Germany, the despatch of the economic mission of WOHLTAT is quickly to be carried out, in order to show Germany's good will in economic relations.

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progress, accomplishment possible if the Army's and Navy's objections could be eliminated. Military prospects favorable. Type of attack was not by a naval attack from the sea, but by creation of a base on shore, from where the air forces could smoke out Singapore. In this way a first, quick result can be achieved. Then the time needed for the actual capture of the fortress would play a minor part. The effectiveness of the air forces is to be enhanced by the allocation of a few experienced German dive bomber specialists to the Japanese navel air forces. The need for her rear to be left free by Russia, plays e decisive part in the Japanese considerations and was being striven for by a reconciliation with Russia. The possibility of creating this free rear by other means is to be suggested to MATSUOKA. By this means it could be avoided that, should the occasion arise, the decision of an action against Singapore would be put in the background, and that prominence be given to the Russian question. As the rapprochement with Russia is also sought in the interest of new creation of commercial relations with Germany, the despatch of the economic mission of WOHLTAT is quickly to be carried out, in order to show Germany's good will in economic relations.

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"Apart from this it might be recommended to place German specialists for butting in working order enterprises connected with wer economy in conquered areas, at the disposal of Japan, in order to maintain uninterruptedly the supply of raw materials from Netherland East Indies and the Malay States, should Japan occup these areas.

"In the train, 25 Merch 1941."

MR. HYDE (Continuing): Prosecution's document 1340-B, an excerpt from the minutes of the conference between the Fuehrer and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA on 27 March 1941; 4005, an excerpt from the record of the conversation between the Reich Foreign Minister and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA in Berlin on 27 March 1941 --

THE PRESIDENT: Better complete the tendering of these! They will not be accepted until
Nr. Cunningham is heard.

MR. HYDE: Document 4022, notes on the conversation between the German Foreign Minister and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA on 28 March 1941; 527, extracts from the report on the conversation between the Reigh Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA in Berlin on 29 March 1941; 1376, extract from the report of the discussion between Reich Marshal Goering and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA at Karimhall on 29 March 1941; 532, extract from notes on the conversation between the Fuehrer and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA, at which the Reich Foreign Minister was present in Berlin on 4 April 1941; and then 528, an extract from notes on the talk between the Reich Foreign Minister and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA in Berlin

on 5 April 1941, are offered in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Cunningham.

MR. CUNNINGHAM: If the Tribunal please, it would be much more convenient for the defense if the prosecution would introduce the documents one at a time instead of four or five. That is the first objection that I have; and the second is — the second objection is that I would like to call the attention of the Court to the discrepancy in dates and to the same objection that I had on Paul Schwidt's transcription of the document that he took notes and transcribed them from literal notes some time later. The discrepancy in the dates and the documents as the prosecutor read them would be very difficult to detect unless it is called to your attention.

The third objection that I have is that the documents are German documents and not Japanese, and I call your attention to the distribution, which is only to German and not to Japanese participants in the conferences.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, your first objection is really a protest with which we have considerable sympathy, Mr. Cunningham. We do not favor a lot of documents being put in at the same time, but there may be some explanation why that should be done here.

Ordinarily, the prosecution do not follow that course; so we will assume for the time being . that they have some good reason for following it now. As to the dates, of course that is not really a ground for objection, but a matter for noting by the Court and for correction, if necessary.

Your third ground, that these German documents may never have come to the knowledge of the accused, is met by the consideration that the accused are alleged to have conspired with others, and that the acts and declarations of co-conspirators in the course of carrying out the conspiracy are admissible against all.

The documents tendered are admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No.1340-B will receive exhibit No. 577; document No. 4005 will receive exhibit No. 578; document No. 4022 will receive exhibit No. 579; document 527 will receive exhibit No. 580; document 1376 will receive exhibit No. 581; document No. 532 will receive exhibit No. 582; document No. 528 will receive exhibit No. 583.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned documents were marked prosecution's exhibts Nos. 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, and 583,

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respectively, and received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: If the Court please, these documents were grouped together and offered at one time because they relate to the same general subject matter.

THE PRESIDENT: That is not convincing, Mr. Hyde.

MR. HYDE: Each of these documents, your honor, is supported by the affidavit of the official German interpreter, Dr. Paul O. Schmidt, although many essential facts and numerous incriminating inferences will appear from these documents. There are two principal purposes for their introduction into evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: You realize now that we view with disfavor the introduction of a number of exhibits at the same time unless it is highly desirable that you should tender them all at the same time.

MR. HYDE: If your Honor please, may I state the two reasons for which these are offered?

THE FRESIDENT: Briefly.

MR. HYDE: One, to show that the contemplated military aggression was planned in the spirit of the Tri-Partite Pact, and, two, that the plan for the establishment of the so-called new order included the destruction of Great Britain and all countries which dared oppose them.

THE PRESIDENT: It is so clear from earlier documents as to be hardly worth while re-stating.

MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit No. 577.

"Minutes of the conference between the 'Fuehrer' and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA in the presence of the German Foreign Minister as well as Ambassadores Ott and OSHIMA on 27 March 1941.

"America has three alternatives: She can arm herself, help Britain or wage war some place else.

If she would help Britain she could not arm herself.

If she would neglect Britain, this country would be knocked out and America would find herself alone

opposed to the powers of the Tri-partite Pact. But in no case could America wage a war some place else.

"Therefore, a better opportunity for a joint action of the Tripartite power than the one established today will in all human possibility never again arise. On the other hand it is clear to him that with every historical act a risk has to be taken into consideration."

I will omit reading the next full sentence.

"Such a moment will never occur again, it is unique in history. He (the Fuehrer) admits that there is a certain risk involved, but it is an exceptionally small one at a time when Russia and Britain are eliminated and America is not yet prepared. If this favourable moment would pass by and the European conflict would possibly end in a compromise, France and Britain would recover in a few years. Imerica would join them as Japan's third enemy and Japan would sooner or later be faced with the task after all of defending the security of her living space in a battle against those three nations.

"Militarily, too, there has not been since the memory of man a situation relatively as favourable as now, although the military difficulties resulting from action should not be underestimated.

"Especially favorable is the fact that there exists no conflicts of interests between Japan and her Allies. Germany, which would satisfy her colonial demands in /frica, is just as little interested in East /sia as Japan is in Europe. This is the best basis for cooperation between a Japanese East Asia and a German-Italian Europe.

"On the other hand the cooperation of the Anglo-Saxons never meant a real coalition but always only a playing off of one against the other. Just as much as Britain does not put up with the hedgemony of one nation in Europe, she would in East Asia play off Japan, China and Russia against each other to promote the interests of her own empire. The United State would act just like Britain, she would inherit the empire and replace British imperialism with American imperialism.

"A better situation for joint action would hardly ever again exist for a personal reason also. He (the Fuehrer) has full confidence in himself, the Garman nation stands unitedly back of him as with nobody also in her previous history. He has the necessary power of resolution in critical situations and, finally, Germany is experiencing a tremendous series of successes which is also unique in the world but need not

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"In conclusion the Fuehrer pointed out that his attitude toward Japan did not originate in the year 1941. He has always been for cooperation with this country. Ambassador OSHIMA knows that he (the Fuehrer) has worked unflinchingly toward this goal for many years. He is determined never again to deviate from this line. As already mentioned, especially favorable for cooperation is the fact that there are no conflicts in interest between Japan and Germany. For interests in the long run are indeed stronger than personalities and the will of a Fuehrer, therefore they always endanger anew the cooperation between nations if they are turned in opposite directions. In the case of Japan and Germany, therefore, one can plan for the longest time on account of the non-existence of such conflicts. This has been his firm conviction since earliest youth. The Japanese, German, and Italian nations would be highly successful if they would araw the consequences from this present unique situation.

"MATSUOKA thanked the Fuehrer for his frank statements which made the whole situation very clear to him. /Ithough he alre-dy has occupied himself thoroughly with the arguments advanced by Hitler, he would once again consider most thoroughly the arguments

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"On the whole he agrees with the views mentioned by the Fuehrer. Especially he is also of the opinion that any resolute action involves a certain risk. MATS UOKA declared with reference to the report of Ambassador Ott and the German Foreign Minister through which the Fuehrer will probably be accurately informed about the present situation in Japan, that he wants to present the situation personally and very frankly. There are in Japan, as in other countries, certain intellectual circles which can be kept in check only by a strong man. This is the type which although he would like to have the cubs of the tigress, is, however, not prepared to go into the cave to snatch them away from their mother. These trends of thought, were presented by him using the same picture at a conference at headquarters in the presence of two princes of royal blood. It is regrettable that Japan has not yet rid herself of these circles, indeed that some of these people are even in influential positions. Confidentially, however, he can say that, after a violent discussion, he prevailed with his view at the conference at headquarters. Japan will act, and that decisively, when she has the feeling that she would otherwise lose a chance which might only return after

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a thousand years; and that Japan will advance regardless of the condition of her preparations, because there would always be some people who would consider the preparation insufficient. This point he, MATSUOKA, carried successfully also against both the princes. The timid politicians in Japan would always hesitate and would act partly because of a sympathetic pro-British or pro-American attitude.

"MATSUOKA then pointed out that he had advocated the alliance already long before the outbreak of the European war. He greatly exerted himself at that time on behalf of its conclusion, but regrettably had had no success. After the outbreak of the European war he personally held the view that Japan first should attack Singapore and rut an end to British influence in this district, and only then should conclude the Tripartite Pact, because the thought of Japan joining the alliance without simultaneously making a contribution toward knocking-out Britain was unpleasant to him. Because, while Germany has already waged a gigantic battle against Britain for a year, Japan, at the time of the conclusion of the Pact, had not yet contributed anything. Therefore, he had very strongly insisted on a plan of attacking Singapore, but did not push it through and then, by force of circumstances

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reversed his program and put joining of the pact in first place.

"Me did not have the least doubt that the South Sea problem could not be solved without the capture of Singapore by Japan. One has only to intrude into the cave of the tigress and take out the cubs by force.

"It is only a matter of time until Japan will attack. According to his opinion the attack should ensue as soon as possible. Unfortunately he does not govern Japan but has to convert the rulers to his opinion. He will surely also succeed in this some day. But at the present moment he cannot, under these circumstances, assume any obligation to act for his Japanese nation.

"Upon his return, he would give these matters his most serious attention after his conference with the Fuehrer and the German Foreign Minister and after having personally examined the situation in Europe. He could not praise anything definte but promises that he will personally advocate to the utmost the goals indicated.

"MATSUOKA then also urgently requested the statements just presented by him to be held strictly confidential because upon their becoming known in

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Japan the members of the cabinet differing in opinion would probably turn pale and try to get him out of his office.

"hile endeavoring to bring about the pact,
he had also kept strictest silence until the very
last moment and frequently and purposely created the
impression of a pro-American or a pro-British attitude
for the deception of his adversaries.

"Shortly before conclusion of the pact it was reported to him that the British Ambassador made strong propaganda among the Japanese that Japan was playing a very risky game by joining the Tripartite pact. The American Ambassador also expressed himself similarly. A few days after conclusion of the pact he asked the American Ambassador whether the reports about the propagands were based on fact. The ambassador. admitted everything and, moreover, stated that every Japanese he had met since publication of the conclusion of the pact, had expressed the opinion that Germany would win the war. This, according to the opinion of the American Ambassador, is untrue, Germany has no chance to win the war and therefore it would be in his (the 'American Ambassador's) opinion actually a very risky game for Japan if she had concluded the pact perhaps with the assumption of a German victory.

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"MATSUOKA declared further that he had thereupon replied to the American Ambassador that only God knows who would win the war in the long run. But he (MATSUOKA) did not conclude the pact on the basis of the victory of this or that power, but based on his vision of the new order. He had listened with interest to the statements of the Fuehrer about the new order and was fully and entirely

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convinced by them. If he would for once, assume purely hypothetically, that the fortunes of war would turn at a given moment against Germany, he must state to the American Ambassador that Japan would then immediately come to the assistance of her ally.

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"His visions of the new order were laid down by him in the preamble of the Tripartite Pact. That is an ideal which has been transmitted from one generation to another since time immemorial. For him, personally, the realization of this ideal is his life objective to which he has devoted all his labor up to now, in order to make a small contribution on his part toward its realization. This Tripartite Pact, Berlin-Rome-Tokyo, is also a contribution toward this realization. The execution of these trends of thought, MATSUOKA emphasized further, stands moreover with the motto: 'No conquest, no oppression, no exploitation.' This was not yet understood everywhere in Japan. However, if Japan should ever deviate from this line, he (MATSUOKA) would be the first to fight against it.

"In this connection MATSUOKA also reminded of the other principle of the preamble to the Tripartite Pact according to which every nation was to take the place due it. Although Japan, too, will

proceed by force, if necessary, in establishing the new order, and although she sometimes would have to lead with a strong hand the nations affected by this new order, she nevertheless keeps the previously quoted motto constantly before her eyes: 'No conquest, no oppression, no exploitation.'

"During the further course of the conversation MATSUOKA came to speak about his discussions with Stalin in Moscow. As an ally he owes an explanation about it to the German Foreign Minister and would have given it at the morning conference if the German Foreign Minister had not been called away prematurely. Now he intends to give this information to the leader.

"First of all he intended to pay a complimentary visit to holotov on his trip through Moscow. After some reflection, however, he decided to ask the Japanese ambassador to find out in a mild way from the Soviet government whether there exists any interest in a conference between Stalin and him. However, before the Japanese ambassador could follow his instructions with the Soviet government, the proposal was made by the Russian government itself for a meeting between Stalin, Molotov, and Matsuoka. he spoke with Molotov for about 30

minutes, Stalin for one hour, so that due to the necessary translations he spoke perhaps 10 minutes with Molotov and 25 minutes with Stalin.

"He explained to Stalin that the Japanese are morally communists. This ideal had been passed on from the fathers to the sons since time immemorial. But at the same time he stated that he does not believe in political and economic communism and rather assumed that his Japanese ancestors had already early given up every attempt in this direction and had devoted themselves to moral communism.

"For that which he called moral communism, MATSUOKA then quoted some examples from his own family. This Japanese ideal of moral communism had been overthrown by the liberalism, individualism and egoism introduced from the West. /t present the situation in Japan in this respect is extremely confused. However, there is a minority which is strong enough to fight successfully for the resurrection of the 'old ego' of the Japanese. This ideological struggle in Japan is extremely bitter. But those who fight for the restoration of the old ideal are convinced of their final victory.

"The Anglo-Saxons are basically responsible for the penetration of the above-mentioned

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prevailing ideology; and for the restoration of the old traditional Japanese ideal Japan is compelled, therefore, to fight against the Anglo-Saxons just as well as in China she is fighting not against the Chinese but only against Greet-Britain in China and capitalism in China.

"MATSUOKA stated further that he had explained to Stalin his ideas about the New Order and thereby emphasized that the Anglo-Saxons constitute the greatest obstacle to the establishment of this order and Japan, therefore, of necessity has to fight against them. He explained to Stalin that the Soviets also on their part are advocating something new and that he believes to be able to settle the difficulties between Japan and Aussia after the collapse of the British empire. He pictured the Anglo-Saxons as Japan's, Germany's and Soviet hussia's common enemy."

I will not read the next paragraph. Continuing:

"MATSUOKA, in the further course of conversation, made some remarks about the nature of the TENNO. The TENNO is the state, and the life as well as property of each Japanese belongs to the TENNO, that is the state. This is so to speak the Japanese

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version of a totalitarian state structure.
           "In conclusion MATSUOKA spoke admiringly
  about the way in which the Fuehrer is leading the
  German nation, which stands behind him in complete
  unity, with determination and power through this
  great time of revolution unequalled in history.
7 Each nation has such a leader but once in a thousand
s years. The Japanese nation has not yet found its
9 Fuehrer. But he would surely appear in the hour of
10 need and take over the leadership of the nation with
11 determination.
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           "Berlin, 1 April 1941. Signed: SCHMIDT,
13 Ambassador."
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           MR. HYDE: I will now read exhibit 578,
15 marked "Top Secret."
                         (Reading)
16
           "kecord of Reich Foreign Minister.
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           "Record of the conversation between the
  Reich Foreign Minister (RAM) and the Japanese Foreign
  Minister MATSUOKA in the presence of Ambassadors OTT
  and OSHIMA in Berlin on 27 March 1941.
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           "The Reich Foreign Minister welcomed
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  MATSUOKA with cordial words as a man who has shown
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  by word and deed that he has the same attitude to-
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  ward the problems of his country as the Fuehrer and
  his co-workers must have for Germany, and who made
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the responsible For ign Minister of his country.

The Tri-Partite Pact is a very important instrument for the future of the three countries, and represents the foundation on which the future of the three nations can be assured in a manner that has always been imagined by German and Japanese patriots.

"In this connection, the heich Foreign Minister gave a survey of the situation as it appears from Germany's point of view.

"In reference to the military situation, he pointed out that Germany today is in the final phase of her fight against England. During the past winter, the Fuehrer prepared everything further so that Germany stands today completely ready for deployment in order to meet England everywhere she can be reached. The Fuehrer has at this moment at his disposal perhaps the strongest military might which has ever existed in the world. Germany has ready to strike 240 divisions, 186 of which are first class attack divisions of young soldiers. 24 of them are armored divisions to which must be added more motorized brigades.

"The Luftwaffe has increased greatly, and has introduced new models so that in the future as

in the past it will be a match for any combination, that is, Germany is not only a match for England and /merica in this field, but is absolutely superior.

"The Jerman navy owned at the outbreak of the war only a relatively small number of battleships. In any case, the battle ships under construction have been completed so that even the last one of them could be commissioned within a short time.

"In contrast to the world war, the German navy does not stay in port this time, but has been committed against the enemy from the first day of the war. MATSUOKA probably saw in the news of the last weeks that German dreadnoughts disturbed the supply routes between England and America with extraordinary success.

"The number of submarines, committed until now, is very small. At most 8 or 9 boats have been in contact with the enemy each time. In any case, these few submarines in cooperation with the Luft-waffe during January and February sank 750,000 tons per month, exact proof of which Germany can show at any time. This figure, however, does not include the great additional losses which England suffered

from floating and magnetic mines. At the beginning of April, the number of submarines will increase 8 to 10 fold so that 60 to 80 submarines could then be in contact with the enemy constantly. The Fuehrer here followed the tactics of committing only a few submarines at first, and to use the remaining ones for training the personnel necessary for a larger fleet in order then to attack the enemy like a stroke of lightning by the commitment of a larger number of units. Therefore, the expected number of sinkings by German submarines would in the future probably be considerably above what has already been reached. Under these circumstances, the submarine arm alone can be described as absolutely deadly.

European continent, the heich Foreign Minister remarked that Germany practically had no longer any enemy worth mentioning because of the subjugation of the countries of the continent, except for the small English forces in Greece. Germany will repulse every attempt by England to land on the continent or to gain a foothold there. She would therefore not tolerate for the English to remain in Greece. Viewed militarily, the Greek problem is of secondary importance. The only factor of practical importance

is that the advance toward Greece which probably will become necessary, will obtain a dominating position in the Eastern Mediterranean which will be of considerable importance for the further development of operations in these areas. In Africa, Italy has had bad luck during the past months because the Italian troops there were not familiar with the modern methods of tank fighting and were not prepared for anti-tank defense so that it was comparatively easy for the English armored divisions to capture the rather unimportant Italian positions. A final obstacle has been placed in front of further advance by the English. The Fuehrer has sent General ROMAEL, one of the most capable derman officers, to Tripoli, with sufficient German forces. Unfortunately, the hope that General WAVELL would attack was not fulfilled. In several outpost skirmishes, the English encountered the Germans, and then gave up all further offensive intentions. Should they still undertake an attack against Tripoli then they would meet an annihilating defeat. Here as well, the tables certainly will be turned one of these days, and the English will perhaps disappear from North Africa even faster than they came."

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hyde! We will adjourn

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now until half past one.
                      (Whereupon, at 1200, a recess was
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           taken.) . .
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AFTERNOON SESSION

The Tribunal met, pursuant to recess, at 1330.

MARCHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hyde.

MR. HYDE: I will continue reading exhibit 578, starting with the last paragraph on page 2.

(Reading)

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"In the Mediterranean area, the German Luftwaffe has accomplished good work now for two months and has inflicted heavy shipping losses on the English who had dug themselves in there. The Suez Canal has been blocked for a long time and would be blocked anew after removal of the obstacles. It is no longer a pleasure for the English to be obliged to stick it out in the Mediterranean. He (the Reich Foreign Minister) believes that the Mediterranean would still be blocked off during the course of this year in such a manner that the English would no longer represent practically any danger. Their fleet would be tied down for the protection of their position in Africa.

"If one calculates the sum total of the military situation in Europe one arrives at the conclusion that the Axis is practically master of the situation in all of continental Europe in the military field. A gigantic army is at the disposal of Germany, which is practically unemployed and can be committed at any place where the Fuehrer deems it necessary.

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"The political situation is characterized by the adherence of almost all the Balkans to the Tri-Partite Pact. News about a putsch and a change of government arrived from Belgrade this morning, however all details are lacking so far. Also the political situation in Europe and in the whole world has contributed to the strengthening of the Tri-Partite powers. Germany continues to strive to win over this or that state which still stands outside of the pact, to the cause of the three powers. He (the Reich Foreign Minister) can inform MATSUCKA confidentially that Spain at least in spirit is in the Tri-Partite Pact. Of the two or three countries remaining, Sweden and Turkey are especially interesting. He can tell MATSUOKA confidentially that here too, attempts would be made to win these countries for the Tri-Partite Pact.

"Certain feelers have already been simed at Turkey. Even if this country formally has an

alliance with England, it is at least not entirely impossible that Turkey will in the future perhaps draw closer and closer to the Tri-Partite Pact.

"During the further course of the conversation, the Reich Foreign Minister spoke about the economic and the food situation. Although it is possible that individual food items are temporarily scarce, yet he could report that regardless of how long the war lasts no food difficulties would arise in Germany. Germany has enough space to produce in her own area the necessary food for the duration of the war.

"In regard to raw materials, there are certain bottlenecks, as shown by the raw rubber negotiations with Japan. Fundamentally, however, one must say here as well that serious danger to the Reich is completely out of the question. The Fuchrer has accumulated war materials to such a great extent that German economy would proceed to reconversion. The German ammunition stockpile is so full that not the slightest shortage would arise for years. Therefore, during the next months, a great reconversion process would be carried out in the economy, and the main power of the German war potential would be used for the production of

submarines and airplanes. Since the German army with the possible exception of Russia, practically has no more opponents on the continent, a high percentage of the German productive capacity can be used for these two weapons.

"In summary, the Reich Foreign Minister stated that the war has already been won for the axis without doubt. In any case, it can by no means be lost any more. It is only a question of time until England will admit having lost the war. When this will happen, he can naturally not predict. This time under certain circumstances could, however, occur very cuickly. It depends on the events of the next three or four months. However, there is the greatest probability that England will capitulate in the course of this year.

"In this connection, the Reich Foreign Minister spoke about America. No doubt exists that the English would have given up the war a long time ago if ROOSEVELT had not given CHURCHILL new hope. There is precise and clear information about this in Germany from England. It is hard to say what ROOSEVELT ultimately has in view. It is not clear whether he wants to enter the war or not. It is only certain that the armament assistance promised

to England, cannot be produced out of thin air. It will take a long time until this help will actually become effective. But even then, the question of quality will be very problematical, especially in the delivery of airplanes. The individual models become obsolete very rapidly during present developments. Improvements on German models are made from month to month on the basis of daily combat experiences, and it is doubtful, whether a country, remote from the war, can produce the highest quality in airplanes. In any case, whatever German flyers have met so far of American machines, they designated as 'old junk'. Therefore, he (the Reich Foreign Minister) believes that a very considerable time would pass before the American help for England could even take effect. Germany in any case, also in the interest of her allies and friends is striving to finish the war as quickly as possible.

"The Tri-Partite Pact has followed mainly the aim of frightening America from continuing on the course taken, and to keep her out of war. This goal is absolutely clear and appropriate. Furthermore, the Tri-Partite Pact is to serve to secure the cooperation of the signatories in the new order, in case of Germany and Italy in Europe, and in the

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case of Japan in East Asia, for the future. main enemy met in the establishment of the new order, is England. She is in the same manner the en my of Japan as she is the enemy of the axis powers. America must be prevented by all means from entering the war actively or from helping England too actively.

"Examining the possibilities which exist for further cooperation between Germany and Japan, the questions arose again and again during conversations with the Fuehrer whether in view of the new order, that is the defeat of England which is necessary for the establishment of the new order, an active participation of Japan in the war would not be useful. The Fuehrer has thought about this question in detail, and he believes that it actually would be very advantageous if Japan would arrive at the decision to participate actively in the war against England, as soon as possible. Germany believes that for instance an attack against Singapore in the near future would be a very decisive factor for a rapid overthrow of England. He (the Reich Foreign Ministor) believes it would be possible to work from there much more closely with Japan in the maritime and other fields. It is also certain that the

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seizure of Singapore would be a very serious blow to England. This is especially of importance in view of the already rather bad moral state of the British Isles. He also believes that the seizure of Singapore would perhaps be most appropriate to keep America out of the war because the United States could hardly risk sending her Navy into Japanese waters. If Japan today would succeed in a war against England with a decisive blow, such as attack on Singapore, ROOSEVELT would be in a very difficult position. Practically it is difficult for him to attempt anything against Japan. If he were to do it anyhow and declare war on Japan, then he must realize that for instance the solution of the question of the Philippines would take place in accord with Japanese intentions. This would mean a scrious loss of prestige for the President so that he would probably think about an action against Japan for a long time.

"On the other hand, Japan, by the conquest of Singapore would be put in a position to operate in an entirely different manner than until now, since she will then have the absolutely dominating position in East Asia. Thus Germany believes that, if Japan can decide on such an action, this would mean the

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solution of the Gerdian Knot in East Asia.

"In summary, the Reich Foreign Minister stated that in case of an action by Japan in this direction, the war against English tonnage can be waged with much greater force in East Asia as well, that by the courageous step of Japan, America will probably be kept out of the war, that Japan can secure her position in East Asia from which, according to German opinion, she cannot refrain in the long run in the new order of the Greater East Asia Area. In this connection, a number of other questions will certainly arise for the discussion of which he would be available at any time.

"In conclusion, the Reich Foreign Minister stated that the Tri-Partite Pact could do justice in the best manner to its true idea, that is, to prevent the spread of the war or in other words the entry of the United States into the war, in that the parties to the treaty conclude at the proper time mutual agreements for the final suppression of England in addition to the present assurances. In this manner, the spirit of the pact can be proven by deed in the most emphatic manner by all participants.

"At this moment, the Reich Foreign Minister was called to the Reich Chancellery. Contrary to

his original assumption that it would only be a question of a brief absence, the conferences were prolonged for a longer time so that the conversations with MATSUOKA were not continued any more before breakfast.

"In connection, the breakfast proveded on the program took place in the smallest circle, at first in the absence of the Reich Foreign Minister, who only appeared later.

"Berlin 31 March 1941

"Signed: SCHMIDT."

I will now read exhibit No. 579.

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"Notes on the conversation between the German Foreign Minister and the Japanese Foreign Minister, MATSUOKA, on 28 March 1941.

"The German Foreign Minister expressed his satisfaction at being able to speak with Matsuoka a second time. The Fuehrer would have like to express his attitude to the questions at hand more fully, but was much occupied for the time being with the developments in Yugoslavia. The details, however, were not so important. The essential part was the question of possibilites and prospects of closer cooperation between Japan and Germany, that is, concerning the transition from the passive to the active cooperation of Japan in the common task. The Germans had heard with great satisfaction how spiritedly Matsuoka was proceeding on this matter. It was actually the best opportunity that had ever been granted /Japan/ to achieve her objectives, and it would be better to make use of this opportunity before it slipped away. The Tripartite Pact was one of the most important agreements and it formed the basis of relations between Japan and Germany for centuries. There were no clashes of interest.

"The situation was such that a new order

could only be established if Great Britain were utterly defeated. This was true in even greater measure for Japan than for Germany, which already dominated the European continent and which would within this year draw into her dominion the Mediterranean area and Africa, insofar as she had interests. Germany would then have all she needed. She did not seek world domination as Rocsevelt had falsely asserted. The Fuehrer wanted to get the war over with as soon as possible in order to turn back to his task of construction. The goal which he had assigned himself, namely, to assure the Reich the utmost security, had really already been achieved.

"In contrast, the new order in the Greater East Asia sphere could only be achieved if Japan also controlled the south. For this, however, the capture of Singapore was essential.

"Regarding Russia, the German Foreign
Minister declared that the Germans did not know
how things would develop in this direction. It
was possible that Russia might take the wrong course,
although he really didn't expect this of Stalin.
No one could know. At any rate Germany would instantly strike if Russia undertook anything against

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Japan and would thereby cover Japan's rear with respect to Russia. In this fashion the first of the misrivings of the Japanese statesmen, and especially of the Japanese army, reported by Ambassador Ott, would be set at rest by the help of the German army. The second misgiving, which the Japanese Navy in particular had expressed with regard to the English Home Fleet and the English Mediterranean Fleet, he (the German Foreign Minister) could answer by saying that both these English fleets would be concontained by Germany within European and Mediterranean waters. Finally the Japanese anxiety regarding America had been expressed. The United States, however, would not risk her fleet against Japan, and she would not send it out farther than the Hawaiian Islands. A great Japanese success at Singapore would, on the contrary, strengthen American neutrality. Roosevelt would then hesitate to undertake anything at all imprudent.

"Although he (the Cerman Foreign Minister) thoroughly understood the situation in Japan, which Matsuoka had illustrated by his tale of the tiger and her young, yet he must allude again to the fact that two of the strongest countries in the world, who are possessed of a youthful, powerful, and fearless

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spirit, had been granted by Providence an opportunity that perhaps recurs only once in a thousand years. Germany's great opportunity lies in her Fuehrer, whose co-workers are merely implements to carry out his will. He (the German Foreign Minister) had again and again explained to the English and French Ambassadors that they must never fall into the error of comparing the Germany of Today with the Germany of 1914 and 1918.

"Even then the Reich had stood up for four years against a world of enemies, and only through its disunity and its inner weakness had it lost the war. Now, however, it was unified and had thereby double strength, which, through the highly gifted leadership of Adolf Hitler, would be redoubled so that henceforth Germany must be regarded as having four times her strength in the /First/ World War. The ambassadors had thrown this warning to the winds. However these predictions had been fulfilled and there was nothing in the world which would stop Germany and Italy from ruling absolutely the European-African hemispheres. If such an opportunity should present itself to Japan under such circumstances, she must consider these things very carefully and not let the opportunity slip from her

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grasp.

"To be sure when the present war would end, could not be prophesized with certainty, but the German Foreign Minister had the feeling that perhaps England might collapse sooner than was generally expected. If the English were to beg suddenly for peace, it would be most desirable if Germany and Japan were able together to determine that peace.

"The German Foreign Minister then spoke of his family traditions, which had always been proJapanese. Moreover he had already in 1934 had an important talk with the Fuehrer on German-Japanese collaboration. The Fuehrer's high respect for Japan had begun with the Russo-Japanese war. Now the most important thing was not to let slip the joint opportunity which offered itself in 1941.

"Matsuoka replied that he was of the same opinion. He too believed on the basis of reason and intuition that 1941 would appear in history as a decisive year. In it the greatest tragedy, the collapse of the British Empire, would take place. He felt that the German nation in Europe and the Japanese nation in the Far Fast acted almost under a divine order to break up the British Empire and to

establish a New Order.

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"Matsuoka then asked what attitude Germany

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would assume toward the United States if England were brought to her knees in summer, but America were not as yet at war.

"The German Foreign Minister answered that this depended on the attitude of the United States herself. Of course, the possibility of an occupation of the British Isles required a good-weather period, and the British might possibly try to set up a new rovernment in the United States. But in his opinion this could not be carried out.

"Matsuoka thereupon made his question more specific in the following way: If England were beaten to the ground, the Walted Shates would not, in his opinion, go on supporting the British Empire. Canada would be nevely nore or less annexed. Would Germany, under these chromastances, leave the United States alone: Two Cornar Foreign Minister replied that Germany and no interest whatscover in a war against the United States. Matsucka acknowledged this with satisfaction and the remark that one had to reason with the Anglo-Saxons as a whole; if we did not succeed in converting America to our ideas, a New Order could not be established. The German

Foreign Minister replied, that each would exercise control in his own sphere. Germany would do this, together with Italy, in the European-African sphere, the United States would have to limit herself to the American continent, and the Far Fast would be reserved for Japan. As regards Russia, she would have to be watched closely and revolutionary propaganda would not be permitted on any account. In the future only the aforementioned three spheres of interest would remain as great centers of power. The British Empire would disappear."

I will omit the entire next paragraph. (Continuing:)

"Matsuoka furthermore talked of the longterm commercial treaty, which would be concluded
with Russia. He then put before the German Foreign
Minister the question, if he should on his return
trip stop over a little longer in Moscow, to negotiate with the Russians regarding the Non-Agression
Pact or the Neutrality Pact. Here he emphasized
that immediate admission of Russia to the Tripartite
Pact would never be allowed by the Japanese people.
It would on the contrary cause one cry of indignation
to arise throughout Japan. The German Foreign Minister replied that such an accession of Russia to the

pact was out of the question and suggested to Matsuoka, if at all possible, not to touch on the aforementioned questions in Moscow, as it was not apt to fit quite into the framework of the present situation.

"Upon a further remark by Matsuoka, that the conclusion of a fishing and of a commercial agreement would improve the atmosphere between Russia and Japan, the German Foreign Minister replied that there were no objections to the conclusion of such purely commercial treaties. In this connection, Matsuoka further mentioned that America was closely watching Japanese-Russian relations and for her part was trying to conclude an agreement with Russia against Japan.

"Matsuoka then again came to speak of Singapore. The Japanese were not worried about the British Navy. However, there were Japanese circles which looked with great misgivings upon a conflict ' with America, as they presumed that in such a case it would mean a five-to-ten year war with the United States. He immediately admitted that America would not stake her fleet in a war against Japan, but for that very reason these Japanese circles were worried because under these circumstances the war would last for years. The German Foreign Minister replied that

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in his opinion Roosevelt would never let it come to a war, as he was fully aware of the impossibility of an advance against Japan. Japan for her part, could, however, occupy the Philippines and thus deal a severe blow to Roosevelt's prestige. If Japan conquered Singapore, the greater part of the world would thus be under the control of the Tripartite Pact powers anyway and America would find herself in an isolated position.

"Matsuoka was personally strongly in favor of the German Foreign Minister's line of thought. If Japan did not run the risk connected with the conquering of Singapore, it was his opinion that she would become a third-rate power. Therefore, in any case, the blow would have to be dealt one day. If he succeeded at the same time in keeping the United States quiet for six months, all difficulties would be overcome. A nation which hesitated in a matter of such fundamental national importance would only prove that it lacked the most important characteristic, the capability of decision.

"Berlin, 31 March 1941."

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I will now read exhibit 580.

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"REPORT OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE REICH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (RAM) AND THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER MATSUCKA IN BERLIN on 29 MARCH 1941.

"The RAM resumed the preceding conversation : with MATSUCKA about the latter's immending talks with (the Russians in Moscow, where they had left off. He expressed the opinion that it would probably be best, in view of the whole situation, not to carry the discussions with the Russians too far. He did not know 10 how the situation would develop. One thing, however, 11 was certain, namely that Germany would strike immedi-12 ately, should Russia ever attack Japan. He was ready to give MATSUCKA this positive assurance, so that Japan 14 could push forward to the South on SINGAPORE, without 15 fear of possible complications with Russia. The larg-16 est part of the German army was anyway on the Eastern 17 frontiers of the Reich and fully prepared to open the attrck at any time. He (the RAM) however believed, that Russia would try to avoid developments leading to war. Should Germany however enter into a conflict with Russia, the USSR would be finished off 22 within a few months. In this case, Japan would have, of course, even less reason to be afraid than ever, if she wanted to advance on Singapore. Consequently, she heed not refrain from such an undertaking because of

possible fears of Russia."

I will omit the next paragraph. (Continuing:)

"Next, the RAM turned again to the Singapore question. In view of the fears expressed by
the Japanese of possible attacks by submarines based
on the PHILIPPINES and of the intervention of the
British Mediterranean and Home fleets, he had again
discussed the situation with GENERAL-ADMIRAL RAEDER.
The latter had stated that the British Navy during
this year would have its hands so full in the English
home waters and in the Mediterranean that it would
not be able to send even a single ship to the Far
East. General-/dmiral RAEDEF had described the U.S.
submarines as so bad, that Japan need not bother
about them at all.

"MATSUOKA replied immediately that the
Japanese Navy had a very low estimate of the threat
from the British Navy; it also held the view that in
case of a clash with the American Navy it would be
able to smash the latter without trouble. It was
afraid, however, that the Americans would not take
un the battle with their fleet; thus the conflict
with the United States might perhaps be dragged out
five years. This possibility caused considerable

worry in Japan.

"The RAM replied that America could not do anything against Japan in the case of the capture of Singapore. Perhaps for this reason alone, ROOSE-VELT would think twice before deciding on active measures against Japan. For while, on one hand, he could not achieve anything against Japan, on the other hand, there was the probability of losing the Philippines to Japan; for the American President, of course, this would mean a considerable loss of prestige and, because of inadequate rearmament, he would have nothing to offset such a loss.

"In this connection, MATSUOKA pointed out, he was doing everything to reassure the English about Singapore. He acted as if Japan had no intention at all regarding this key position of England in the East. Therefore it might be possible that his attitude toward the British would appear to be friendly in words and in acts. However Germany should not be deceived by that. He assumed this attitude, not only in order to reassure the British, but also in order to fool the pro-British and Pro-American elements until one day he would suddenly open the attack on Singapore.

"The RAM declared that, in his opinion, Japan's declaration of war on England should take the form of an attack on Singapore.

"In this connection, MATSUOKA stated, his treties were based on the certain assumption that the sudden attack against Singapore would unite the entire Japanese nation with one blow. ('Nothing succeeds like success,' the RAM remarked.) He followed here the example of the words of a famous Japanese statesmen, addressed to the Japanese Navy at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese wer: 'You open fire, then the nation will be united.' The Japanese need to be shaken up to awaken. After all, as an Oriental, he believed in fate which would come, whether you wanted it or not.

"Later on, the discussion turned to the question of the transportation of rubber. The RAM asked MATSUOKA to see what the possibility was of transportation by one or two Japanese auxiliary cruisers to Lisbon or to France.

"MATSUOKA replied that, immediately after the steps taken by Ambassador Ott in connection with the rubber question, he had interceded in favor of Japan delivering certain quantities to Germany from her own rubber stocks, and later on making up the resulting deficit in rubber from Indo-China.

"The RAM pointed out in this connection

that communication via Siberian railway was insufficient and that, moreover, 18,000 tons of French
rubber from Indo-China would be delivered to Japan
through German intervention. He here asked about the
size of auxiliary cruisers possibly to be used for
the transportation of the rubber. MATSUOKA, who
stated that he was not precisely informed, estimated
the size of 10,000 tons.

"Then the RAM, referring to the discussion with Reich Minister Funk, turned the conversation to the future trade relationship between Japan and Germany. He amplified he the idea that trade between the big economic areas of the future, i.e., Europe and Africa on one hand and the Far East on the other, must develop on a comparatively free basis, whereas the American Hemisphere, at any rate as far as the United States was concerned, would remain self-sufficient, as she had everything that she needed in her own territory, and, therefore, did not come into question in connection with exchanges with other economic areas. In South Imerica, however, things were different. Here exchange possibilities with other economic areas actually presented themselves.

"MATSUOKA replied that she needed cooperation with Germany for her own reconstruction and for

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the development of China. He had already some time ago given written instructions to the Japanese missions in China to grant preferential treatment to German and Italian economic interests, similar to what was alreedy cerried out in Manchukuo and North China. Japan was not in a position to develop the extensive areas in China without the assistance of German technical science and German enterprise. Outwardly she will, of course, declare the open door policy, in actual fact, however, she will concede preferential treatment to Germany and Italy.

"He must moreover admit openly that Japanese business circles feared their German competitors, whom they considered as very competent, whereas they were only amused at British and American competitors. German business circles had much the same opinion about the Japanese, which resulted in complaints from both sides. He was, however, of the opinion that the interests of both sides could be brought into harmony and told Japanese industry not to be afraid of German competition but rather to attempt to solve the problem by equal efficiency. In any case, the Japanese Government would de everything in order to equalize the interests of both sides.

"Following this, MATSUOKA again turned the

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conversation to Japaneso-Russian relations. He pointed out that he had proposed a Non-Aggression Pact to the Russians, to which Molotov had replied with a proposal of a neutrality agreement. Therefore, during his stay in Moscow, he must adopt the attitude of having been the one to make the original non-aggression proposal. He also wanted to take this opertunity to try to induce the Russians to forego the Northern half of the Sakhalien Peninsula.

There were important oil resources there, against the exploitation of which the Russians were making conceivable difficulty. Matsucks estimated the total maximum quantity which could be obtained from these oil resources at 2 million tons. He would make an

"To a question by the RAM whether the Russians would be prepared to soll these territories, MATSUOKA replied that this was highly doubtful, Nolotov had asked the Japanese Ambassador, on a suggestion to this effect, whether 'this was supposed to be a joke.' Japan was in any case prepared to make other agreements as the equivalent of the Portsmouth and Paking Treaties and also to give up her fishing rights. In any case he would have to take

offer to the Russians to acquire North Sakhalien by

purchase.

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up these matters and, above all, the question of the Non-aggression Pact during his stay at Moscow. He asked the RAM whether he should deal with these questions very deeply or only just touch on them.

that these points would be dealt with only in a purely formal way and would not be gone into deeply. The question mentioned by MATSUOKA regarding Sakhalien could be settled even later. Should the Russians follow a stupid policy and compel Germany to strike, he would, in view of the temper of the Japanese Army in China, consider it right if this army were prevented from acting against Russia. Japan was helping the joint issue best if she did not allow herself to be diverted by anything from the action against Singapore. With a joint victory, the fulfilment of the aforementioned desires would in any case fall into the lap of Japan as a ripe fruit to a large extent.

"MATSUOKA then introduced the subject of German assistance in the blow against Singapore, a subject which had been broached to him frequently, and mentioned the proposal of a German written promise of assistance.

"The RAM replied that he had already discussed these questions with Ambassador OSHIMA. He

that the FUEHRER - who probably must be considered the greatest expert on military questions at the present time - could advise Japan on the best method of attack against Singapore. German experts on serial warfare, too, would be at her disposal; they could draw up a report, based on their European experiences, for the Japanese on the use of divebombers from airfields in the vicinity against the British fleet in Singapore. Thus the British fleet would be forced to disappear from Singapore immediate-

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"MATSUOKA remarked that Japan was less concerned with the British fleet than with the capture of the fortifications.

"The RAM replied that here, too, the FUEHRER had developed new methods for the German attacks on strongly fortified positions, such as the Maginot Line and Fort Eben Emael, which he could make available to the Japanese.

"MATSUOKA replied in this connection that some of the younger, expert Japanese Naval officers, who were close friends of his, were of the opinion that the Japanese naval forces would need three months until they could capture Singapore. As a cautious Foreign Minister, he had doubledthis estimate. He believed he could stave off any danger which
threatened from America for six months. If, however,
the capture of Singapore required still more time and
if the operations even dragged out for a year, the
situation with America would become extremely critical and he did not know as yet how to meet it.

"If at all avoidable, he would not touch the Netherlands East Indies, since he was afraid that in the event of a Japanese attack on this area the cilfields would be set on fire. They could be brought into operation again only after 1 or 2 years.

"The RAM added that Japan would gain decisive control over the Netherlands East Indies simultaneously with the capture of Singapore.

"MATSUOKA then further mentioned that the desire for airbases in French Indo-China and Thailand had been divulged by Japanese officer circles. He had, however, denied this, as he in no way wished to undertake anything which could in any way disclose Japanese intentions regarding Singapore.

"Finally the RAM once more reverted to the question of Germany's help to Japan. Perhaps something could be done also here. Japan had, however, to bear in mind that, in this war, the

heaviest burden was resting on Germany's shoulders.

The Reich was fighting against the British Isles
and was tying up the British Mediterranean Fleet.

Japan, on the other hand, was fighting only on the
surface. Apart from that, Russia's main weight lay
on the European side. These facts the gallant Japanese Nation would certainly acknowledge.

"MATSUCKA finally agreed to this point of view and gave an assurance that Japan would always be a loyal ally who would devote herself entirely, and not just in a lukewarm way, to the joint effort.

(Berlin. 31 March 1941.)"

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I will now read exhibit No. 581:

"Report of the discussion between Reichsmarschall Goering and the Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka in the presence of Ambassador Ott at Karinhall on 29th March 1941.

"Reichsmarschall Goering first of all expressed his satisfaction at being able to greet at his country residence the man who had successfully acted as a strong representative of his country in cooperation between the Japanese and German nations. As Reichsmarschall, he was able to tell him that cooperation between the Japanese and the German States was popular not only in the nation itself but above all among the German Army, the Navy and particularly the Air Force. This strong and consciously positive attitude to the alliance with Japan has its roots moveover in the recognition, which the great military traditions of Japan as well as the sense of sacrifice and the readiness for action of the Japanese people, found in Germany.

"Matsuoka expressed his sincere thanks that the Reichsmarschall, despite the heavy claims made upon him, had found time to receive the Japanese Foreign Minister at his country seat. Already the journey through the big forests had been for him

(Matsuoka) one of the finest experiences of the journey he had so far made. The feelings of respect for Japan of which the Reichsmarschall had just spoken were fully reciprocated by Germany's Japanese allies. Japan moreover was prepared to fulfil wholly and entirely the obligations of her alliance, even in the war, and was thus conscious of fighting not only for the allied countries but for the whole of humanity.

"In the further course of the discussion, the Reichsmarschall mentioned that naturally all experiences which Germany had made during the course of the war would be made available to the allied Japanese Armed Forces. This was particularly important in the domain of the Air Force, which had acquired a new technique and new tactics, without being able in this connection to refer back to earlier examples. It was important to apply these experiences rightly so as to always remain fit for fighting and to avoid unnecessary losses. These experiences were particularly important in connection with a category of the aircraft which was actually developed only in Germany, namely the dive-bomber. These could render particularly valuable service to Japan in the conquest of fortifications.

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"If Japan would march towards her destiny as a Great Power in the Far East, she would, like all politicians who desired to achieve great aims, only attain her final goal by battle. These aims had already been very clearly discussed, so that he (the Reichsmarschall) could confine himself to stating that Germany would give Japan her share of help by placing at the disposal of her Ally her previous experiences, as in the past so in the future.

"Matsuoka replied that he did not need to tell the Reichsmarschall how very much German assistance in this field had been valued in Japan so far and would be valued in the future. He was expressing the sincere thanks for this, in the name of his own Government, to the Reichsmarschall, the German Government and the German Armed Forces, that Germany made available, in such a magnanimous way, the results of her experiences which had been obtained with much secrifice of personnel and material. The great assistance which Germany had given in this way would be of inestimable value to his country if she followed the call of destiny of which the Reichsmarschall had spoken. Japan would thus fulfil the duties incumbent upon her within the framework of the alliance in their entirety.

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"In addition the Reichsmarschall spoke in his capacity as the highest responsible economic authority of Germany and as Head of the Four Year Plan, on the question of crude rubber. Each day on which Germany could receive these deliveries earlier and every increased quantity she could receive were of the utmost importance. Without failing to realize the difficulties which Japan herself had, he (the Reichsmarschall) would, however, be grateful if the increased quantities which had been agreed upon would soon actually materialize. Moreover, sea transportation had to be mutually considered in the event of difficulties in the Russian area and communications via the Siberian railway being no longer in operation.

"The quantity of crude rubber which Germany needed was comparatively small in relation to its population, as the rubber was only required as an admixture for the manufacture of the synthetic rubber Buna.

"Matsuoka replied that he wished to do everything within his power to meet German wishes in this matter. Ambassador Ott had already previously raised this question and he (Matsuoka) had immediately recognized its urgency and importance and had taken the necessary steps to hasten the solution of the question.

He had asked the competent authorities to make available immediately a part of Japan's own rubber stocks so as not to have to wait first for the quantities expected from Indo-China. He did not know how the matter stood at the moment as he was not the Minister responsible for these matters. He had only forwarded an urgent request to the competent Department. He had also already thoroughly considered the question of sea communications. From a long term point of view, Germany and Japan could naturally not remain dependent upon the railway communications through Siberia.

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"Berlin, 31 March 1941 "(signed) Schmidt."

I will now read exhibit No. 582:

"Notes on the Conversation between the Fuehrer and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA in the presence of the Reich Foreign Minister and the State Minister Meissner in Berlin on 4 April 1941.

"At first MATSUOKA thanked the Fuehrer for the presents handed to him in the latter's name which he would always consider a permanent treasure, and

24 honor as a constant souvenir of his stay in Berlin.

25 At the same time he expressed his gratitude for the

friendly reception which he had received in Germany from the Fuehrer, the Reich Foreign Ministry and of the entire German people. As long as he lives he would never forget the friendliness shown him here from all sides. Upon his return to Japan he would endeavor with all his powers to convince the Japanese people of the fact that the latter are treated by the German people with honest friendliness and respect.

"MATSUOKA then also expressed the request, that the Fuehrer instruct the proper authorities in Germany to meet as generously as possible the wishes of the Japanese Military Commission. Japan was in need of German help, particularly concerning U-boat warfare, which could be given by making available to them the latest experiences of the war as well as the latest technical improvements and inventions. Japan would do her utmost to avoid a war with the United States. In case the country should decide to attack Singapore, the Japanese navy, of course, had to be prepared for a struggle with the United States, because in that case America probably would side with Great Britain. He (MATSUOKA) personally believed, that the United States could be restrained by diplomatic efforts from entering the war on the side of Great Britain. Army and Navy had, however, to count

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on the worst situation, that is with war against America. They were of the opinion that such a war would extend for five years or longer and would take the form of guerilla warfare and would be fought out in the Pacific and the South Sea. For this reason the German experiences in her guerilla warfare are of the greatest value to Japan. It is a question of how such a war would best be conducted and how all the technical improvements of submarines, in all details such as periscopes and the like, could best be exploited by Japan.

"To sum up, MATSUOKA requested that the Fuehrer see to it that the proper German authorities place at the disposal of the Japanese those developments and inventions concerning navy and army, which were needed by the Japanese.

"The Fuehrer promised this and pointed out that Germany too considered a conflict with the United States undesirable, but that it had already made allowances for such a contingency. In Germany one was of the opinion that America's contributions depended upon the possibilities of transportation, and that this again is conditioned by the available tonnage. Germany's war against tonnage, however,

means a decisive weakening not merely of England,
but also America. Germany has made her preparations
so that no American could land in Europe. She would
conduct a most energetic fight against America with
her U-boats and her Luftwaffe, and due to her superior
experience, which would still have to be acquired by
the United States, she would be vastly superior, and
that quite apart from the fact that the German
soldiers naturally rank high above the American.

"In the further course of the discussion the Fuehrer emphasized, that Germany on her part would immediately draw the consequences, if Japan should get involved with the United States. It did not matter with whom the United States would first get involved whether with Germany or with Japan. It would always try to eliminate one country at a time, not to come to an understanding with the other country subsequently, but to liquidate this one just the same. Therefore Germany would strike, as already mentioned, without delay in case of a conflict between Japan and America, because the strength of the tripartite powers lies in their joint action. Their weakness would be if they would let themselves be beaten individually.

"MATSUOKA once again repeated his request,

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that the Fuehrer give the necessary instructions, in order that the proper German authorities place at the disposal of the Japanese the latest improvements and inventions, which are of interest to them. Because the Japanese navy had to prepare immediately for a conflict with the United States.

"As regards Japanese-American relationship, MATSUOKA explained further that he has always declared in his country, that sooner or later a war with the United States would be unavoidable, if Japan continued to drift along as at present. In his opinion this conflict would happen rather sooner than later. His argumentation went on, why should Japan, therefore, not strike decisively the right moment and take the risk upon herself of a fight against America? Just this way would she perhaps avoid a war for generations, particularly if she gained predominance in the South Seas. There are, to be sure, in Japan many who hesitate to follow those trends of thought. MATSUOKA was considered in those circles a dangerous man with dangerous thoughts. He, however, stated, that, if Japan continued to go along her present path, one day she would have to fight anyway and that this would then be under less favorable circumstances than at present.

"The Fuehrer replied that he could well understand MATSUOKA's position, because he himself was in similar situations (the clearing of the Rhineland, declaration of military sovereignity). He too was of the opinion that he had to exploit favorable conditions and accept the risk of an unavoidable fight at a time he himself was still young and full of vigor. How right he was in his attitude was proven by events. Europe was now free. He would not hesitate a moment to reply instantly to any extension of the war, be it by Russia, be it by America. Providence favored those who will not let dangers come to them, but who will bravely face them.

"MATSUOKA replied, that the United States or rather their ruling statesmen had recently still attempted a last maneuver against Japan, by declaring that America would not fight Japan on account of China or the South Seas provided that Japan gave free passage to the consignment rubber and tin to America to their place of destination. However, America would war against Japan the moment she felt that Japan entered the war with the intention of assisting in the destruction of Great Britain. Such an argumentation naturally did not miss its effect upon the Japanese, because of the education /oriented/

on English lines which many had received.

"The Fuehrer commented on this, to the effect that this attitude of America meant only that the United States had the hope, that, as long as the British World Empire existed they one day could advance against Japan together with Great Britain whereas, in case of the collapse of the World Empire, they would be totally isolated and could not do anything against Japan.

"The Reich Foreign Minister interjected that the Americans precisely under all circumstances wanted to maintain the position of power of England in East Asia, but that on the other hand it is proved by this attitude, to what extent she fears a joint action of Japan and Germany.

"MATSUOKA continued that it seemed to him of importance to give to the Fuehrer an absolutely clear picture of the real attitude inside Japan. For this reason he also had to inform him regretfully of the fact that he (MATSUOKA) in his capacity as Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs could not utter in Japan itself a single word of all that he had expounded before the Fuehrer and the Reich Foreign Minister regarding his plans. This would cause him serious demage in political and financial circles.

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Once before, he had committed the mistake, before he became Japanese Minister for Foreign affairs, telling a close friend something about his intentions. It seems that the latter had spread these things and thus brought about all sorts of rumors which he as Foreign Minister had to oppose energetically, though as a rule he always tells the truth. Under these circumstances he also could not indicate, how soon he could report on the questions discussed to the Japanese Premier or to the Emperor. He would have to study exactly and carefully in the first place the development in Japan, so as to make his decision at a favorable moment, to make a clear breast of his intrinsic plans towards Prince KONOYE and the Emperor. Then the decision would have to be made within a few days, because the plans would otherwise be spoiled by talk.

"Should he, MATSUOKA, fail to carry out his intentions, that would be proof that he is lacking in influence, in power of conviction, and in tactical capabilities. However, should he succeed, it would prove that he had great influence in Japan. He himself felt confident that he would succeed.

"On his return, being questioned, he would indeed admit to the Emperor, the Premier and the

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Ministers of the Navy and the Army, that Singapore had been discussed; he would, however, state that it was only on a hypothetical basis.

"Besides this, MATSUOKA made the express request that nothing be cabled in the matter of Singapore because he had reason to fear that by cabling something might leak out. If necessary he would send a courier.

"The Fuehrer agreed and assured for the rest, that he could depend completely on German reticence.

"MATSUOKA replied he believed indeed in German reticence, but unfortunately could not say the same of Japan.

"The discussion was terminated after the exchange of some personal parting words.

"Berlin, the 4th of April, 1941.

"Signed: SCHMIDT."

I will read exhibit No. 583:

"Notes on the talk between the Reich Foreign Minister and the Japanese Foreign Minister MATSUOKA in Berlin on 5th April 1941.

"The Reich Foreign Minister first expressed the hope that MATSUOKA's visit -- the first ever paid by a Japanese Foreign Minister to Germany -- would have a good general effect. MATSUOKA had been thoroughly informed of the German point of view. He would certainly have gained the impression that Germany was full of vitality and absolutely certain of her victory. The Reich Foreign Minister expressed the hope that their Japanese friends would deduce the inferences of this clearly recognized situation and thus participate in our victory.

"MATSUOKA replied that he had been more
than rewarded for his long journey to Europe by
getting into personal touch with the German and Italian
statesmen. What he had seen in Germany and Italy
had far exceeded his expectations. It was really
hard for him to take his departure.

"Although he had had no doubt about it before, he was now thoroughly convinced after his journey to Germany and Italy that these two countries were united and would always remain so.

"MATSUOKA then spoke of the general high

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morale in Germany, referring to the happy faces
he had seen everywhere among the workers during his
recent visit to the Borsig Works. He expressed his
regret that developments in Japan had not as yet
advanced as far as in Germany and that in his country
the intellectuals still exercised considerable
influence.

"The Reich Foreign Minister replied that at best a nation which had realized its every ambition could afford the luxury of intellectuals, most of whom are parasites anyhow. A nation, however, which has to fight for a place in the sun must part with them. The intellectuals ruined France; in Germany they had already started their pernicious activities, when National Socialism put a stop to these doings. They will surely be the cause of the downfall of Britain, which is to be expected with certainty.

"In answer to a remark by MATSUOKA that

Japan was now awakening and, according to the Japanese character, would take action quickly after the previous lengthy deliberations, the Reich Foreign Minister replied that it was necessary, of course, to accept a /certain/ risk in this connection, just as the Fuehrer had done so successfully with the occupation of the Rhineland, with the proclamation of sovereignty

of armament, and with the resignation from the League of Nations.

"In answer to a question by MATSUOKA regarding the Fuehrer's intentions concerning the smaller States, the Reich Foreign Minister replied that the smaller States would be incorporated in the European whole; they would have their independence and would undoubtedly live more happily under the New Order than formerly. Great Britain, however, would never again be allowed to meddle in the affairs of the small States, whilst the latter would never be allowed to take part in any military alliance against Germany. They would be absolutely independent, it is true, and even allowed to maintain small armies and police forces, but their protection and their general policy in the sense of the European continent would be looked after by Germany.

"In this connection MATSUOKA repeated the explanations he had already given the Reich Minister of Economics as regards the cause of the present difficulties. He attributed them to the clash between old traditions and the conditions of living brought about by modern inventions. One of the basic mistakes of Versailles was to increase the number of European states, whereas they should have been decreased in

consequence of the new conditions of life caused by the development of technique. The great problem was to coordinate conditions created by modern inventions and old traditions, but taking care to leave a certain play for old traditions.

"The Reich Foreign Minister replied that the new German Reich would actually be built upon the basis of the ancient traditions of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which in its time was the only ruling power on the European Continent.

"In conclusion the Reich Foreign Minister once again summarized the points he wanted MATSUOKA to take back to Japan with him from his trip:

- "1) Germany had already won the war. By the end of this year the world would also realize this. Also England would have to concede it, if it had not already collapsed before then, and America would also have to resign herself to this fact.
- "2) There were no conflicting interests
 between Japan and Germany. The future of both countries
 could be regulated in the long run on the basis that
 Japan should predominate in the Far East, Italy and
 Germany in Europe and Africa.
- "3) "hatever might happen, Germany would win the war. But it would hasten victory if Japan

 would enter the war. Such an entry into the war was undoubtedly more in the interest of Japan than that of Germany, for it offered a unique opportunity which would hardly ever recur for the fulfilment of the national objectives of Japan, a chance which would make it possible for her to play a really leading role in Eastern Asia.

"MATSUOKA replied that he himself could only repeat that he had long been of the opinion that every nation was offered an opportunity only once in a thousand years. Japan was confronting such an opportunity and she would have to assume the risk connected with it. She would have to act decisively at the right moment in order to take advantage of this unique opportunity.

"In addition he asked about the Fuehrer's intentions as to the conclusion of peace. Would a general peace conference take place or did Germany intend to negotiate peace terms with each of her opponents separately?

"The Reich Foreign Minister replied that he did not know enything about that. The whole metter appeared to him to depend upon the manner in which Great Britain collapsed. In any case, there could be no question of anything but a peace by capitulation,

if a new British government came into being.

"To that MATSUOKA remarked that that meant there could be no peace based on compromise.

"He then requested the Reich Foreign Minister to assist on his part the Tripertite Pact Commissions, and especially the Economic Commission in which he (MATSUOKA) was chiefly interested.

"The Reich Foreign Minister took the occasion to stress the fact that the military sub-commissions were no special institutions; they had to be subject in all matters to the Chief Commission.

"MATSUOKA then added that the Japanese officers who were at present in Germany were very pleased indeed with the assistance they had received from the German officials. He thanked the Reich Foreign Minister for this attitude of the German authorities.

"Later, MATSUOKA spoke about the conference of the Japanese heads of missions in Europe, which he had called to Berlin. Unfortunately the ambassador to London had not appeared, owing to difficulties in flying; he certainly would have brought some interesting news. MATSUOKA emphasized that he had told the Japanese diplomats they would suffer no disadvantages if they were against the conclusion of a Pact of Alliance, provided they were so before

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Japan adhered. Now that a decision had been made he would unhesitatingly recall any Japanese diplomat who did not work loyally with the new policy and co-operate to the closest extent with the German and Italian Representatives.

"Furthermore, he had told them they must be prepared for some critical moments which were close at hand. Japan was face to face with a serious situation.

"The Reich Foreign Minister replied that there had also been diplomats in Germany who had taken a different attitude to certain questions. It was in fact characteristic of great times that they were not understood by many.

"Directly after this interview MATSUOKA was handed a talkie-film apparatus as a present, and a luncheon-party was held among a small circle of people.

"Berlin, 7th April 1941.

"(signed) SCHMIDT"

The Tribunal's attention is invited to prosecution document 225, a basic document which is in evidence as exhibit No. 45. It is the neutrality pact between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan and was concluded on April 13, 1941, in the course of Foreign Minister MATSUOKA's return trip from Germany to Japan. As it is desired at this point only to show the fact of the conclusion of such a treaty, I will not read it.

I now offer in evidence prosecution document No. 4056-A. This is a telegram from Boltze of the Staff of the German Embassy in Tokyo, dated April 14, 1941. No specific person is indicated as addressee. It was found in the files of the German foreign office. It is offered for the purpose of showing that the conclusion of this neutrality pact was the completion of another step in the Japanese plan of military aggression in the South, and in particular the plan for the advance on Singapore.

THE PRESIDENT: You may read it after the recess. We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1443, a recess was taken until 1500, after which the proceedings. were resumed as follows:)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hyde.

MR. HYDE: Your Honor, I didn't hear a number assigned to the last document that I tendered in evidence, document 4056-A.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 4056-A will receive exhibit No. 584.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 584 and received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit 584.

(Reading): "Telegram, (Secret Cipher Process)
Tokyo, 14 April 1941, received 14 April 1941."

I will omit reading the first full paragraph, commencing at the second paragraph:

(Reading continued): "Japan in particular expects substantial advantages for the termination of the China conflict from the Neutrality Pact. Even if, as the Vice Foreign Minister declared, the China problem had not been the subject of the Moscow negotiations, in any case Chiang KAI Shek's hope of eventual warlike entanglements between Japan and Russia, which would have meant a substantial relief

for him, have come to maught with the conclusion of the pact. Moreover, Japan believes that by calling on the pact she can achieve a gradual separation between Moscow and Chungking. Furthermore, as all CHIANG KAI SHEK's support from the Anglo-Saxon powers has more moral then material significance, Japan hopes that the Marshal, now after the conclusion of the pact, will be ready for the dictation of a peace which preserves Japanese prestige.

"The Vice Foreign Minister further declared that the Neutrality Pact would substantially facilitate Japan's expansion policy in the South of the Great East Asia Sphere and in particular would facilitate an eventual Japanese advance on Singa ore.

"The Vice Foreign Minister said regarding the realization of the Neutrality Pact that the beginning of negotiations brought considerable difficulties as MOLOTOV had held fast to the original Fussian demand by which Japan, before the conclusion of the pact, should make certain concessions in the sense of a revision of the Treaty of Portsmouth. MATSUOKA explained that he was neither ready nor empowered for such concessions. In a personal conversation with STALIN, MATSUOKA had finally accomplished that Russia would renounce the concessions and would declare herself

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ready for unconditional conclusion of the pact. This decision took place on 12 April, that is, one day before the arranged departure of MATSUOKA from Moscow. In order to empower NATSUOKA's signing of the pact in time, the Prime Minister, without the participation of the cabinet or Privy Council, effected the Imperial sanction for the signature by immediate audience with TENNO. Agreement of the Cabinet and Privy Council, which could not be doubted after the Imperial sanction, will be obtained before the shortly expected ratification. The Vice Foreign Minister emphasized that it was unprecedented in Japanese history that an agreement of such significance should be concluded within a few days. In this connection, Japan has learned much from the 'lightning diplomacy' of Germany."

Signed "BOLTZE."

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 MR. HYDE (Continuing): Your Honor, I desire to call attention to exhibit 577. On page 5 of that exhibit it is signed, "Schmidt, Ambassador." The word "Ambassador" should read "Minister," so that it will --

THE PRESIDENT: Does "Minister" appear in the original?

MR. HYDE: The word "Minister" appears in the original.

I offer in evidence prosecution's document 526. This is an important secret instruction to the Chief of the Supreme Headquarters of the German Army based on Fr report by the German Military Attache in Tokyo. It is dated 24 May 19.1.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 526 will receive exhibit No. 585.

. (Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 585 and received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit 585. (Reading):

"SECRET INSTRUCTION, MOST IMPORTANT, ONLY

BY HAND OF OFFICER. 24 May 41. Foreign Section/ De
fence/ Department for Foreign States, To be presented

to the Chief of the Supreme Headquarters of the Army.

"The Military Attache, Tokyo, reports with

No. T47g of 23 May:

"AKITA's answer regarding the handling of
Japanese-U.S.A. relations in the press gave cause to
the wish to hear OKAMOTO on the form of the Japanese
opening of the war in case of a war between the U.S.A.
and Germany. Instead of a reception by OKAMOTO, visit
by AKITA who stated:

"1) In case the U. S. enter into the war

Japan at once acknowledges casus foedoris. But will

not yet start hostilities. Surprise attack on Singa
pore, Manila remains prepared."

To the left of the paragraph I have just read the following appears:

"To be presented to the Chief of the Foreign Section."

(Reading continued): "2) Possible war between USSR and Germany causes U. S. A. to enter into war. Therefore Japanese attitude remains as under 1) with additional preparations for a possible attack on Vladivostok and Blagovestchensk.

"3) Conclusion of China conflict before
new tasks for the Japanese Army is important. In
the first place I emphasize that the Japanese
acknowledgement of a casus foederis requires
strengthening through immediate opening of hostilities."

To the left of the paragraph marked "3" appears the entry: "Staff of air command Ic. Signed, Brueckner." The document is signed "SCHMIDT."

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MR. HYDE (Continuing): Prosecution's document *061-A, which is a secret memorandum from Woermann to the Reich Foreign Minister dated 10 June 1941, is offered in evidence to show how far the execution of Japanese plans of aggressive action in the Southern areas had progressed by June, 1941.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 4061-A will receive exhibit No. 586.

("hereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 586 and received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit 586.

(Reading): "Berlin, 10 June 1941. SECRET.

"Ambassador OSHIMA delivered me today through Embassy Secretary KASE the wish to be once again received by the Reich Foreign Minister in the near future. As the main topic of the conversation he nointed out the following:

"The Japanese Government, or as he said correcting himself, the Japanese Army had the desire to obtain bases for the fleet and the Navy in southern French Indo-China. KASE added, he personally believed that this wish could be traced back to the fact that the Japanese Armed Forces would like to create for

themselves a favorable strategic position vis-a-vis SINGAPORE. Furthermore Ambassador OSHIMA would like to talk with the Reich Foreign Minister more generally about the German-French and French-English relations.

"Herewith presented to the Reich Foreign Minister.

"Signed "oermann."

I respectfully request that the Tribunal take judicial notice of the historical event of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 based on this statement in "Events Leading Up to World War II" at page 285 which is as follows:

"June 22, 1941, Germany invaded Russia."

THE PRESIDENT: The Tribunal takes judicial notice of that fact.

MR. HYDE: Prosecution's document 4033-B, which is a telegram from Ribbentrop to Tokyo dated 28 June 1941 is now offered in evidence to show that shortly after the German invasion of the Soviet Union von Ribbentrop made a strong appeal for speedy Japanese military action against the Soviets before taking action against Singapore.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

4033-B will receive exhibit No. 587.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's xhibit No. 587 and received in evidence.) MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit No. 587. "Telegram" marked "To be kept in locked file", "(Secret Cipher Process) "Special Train, 28 June 1941." Marked "Most Urgent !" 9 It is marked "Diplogerma" and "Cipher Bureau." 10 "No. 560 of 28 June, Tokyo. 11 "Secret note for department heads." 12 To the left of the paragraph that I am about 13 to read appears the following: 14 "Marginal Note -- Forwarded to Tokyo under 15 No. 916, TELKO, 28 June 1941, 2130 hours." 16 The telegram reads: 17 "I have reached an agreement with Ambassador 18 OSHIMA that he influence his government in the 19 direction of a speedy military action against Soviet 20 Russia, and I ask you now to utilize on your part 21 all the possibilities that present themselves to in-22 fluence the government there and the other influential 23 circles in such a direction. In this connection I ask you to make use of the following points: 25

"1.) War between Germany and Soviet Russia

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 587 and received in evidence.) 3 MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit No. 587. "Tolegram" marked "To be kept in locked file", 6 "(Secret Cipher Process) "Special Train, 28 June 1941." 8 Marked "Most Urgent!" It is marked "Diplogerma" and "Cipher Bureau." 9 10 "No. 560 of 28 June, Tokyo. 11 "Secret note for department heads. 12 To the left of the paragraph that I am about 13 to read appears the following: 14 "Marginal Note -- Forwarded to Tokyo under 15 No. 916, TELKO, 28 June 1941, 2130 hours." 16 The telegram reads: 17 "I have reached an agreement with Ambassador 18 OSHIMA that he will influence his government in the 19 direction of a speedy military action against Soviet 20 Russia, and I ask you now to utilize on your part 21 all the possibilities that present themselves to in-22 fluence the government there and the other influential 23 circles in such a direction. In this connection I ask 24 you to make use of the following points: 25

"1.) War between Germany and Soviet Russia

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will not only bring with it the solution of more or less limited individual problems, but will bring as a consequence a solution by final war of the Russian question in its entirety.

"2.) The destruction of the Russian power, expected within a comparatively short time by our military move will also make Germany's victory over England an irrevocable fact. If Germany is in possession of the Russian oil wells and grain fields a sufficient supply for the whole of Europe will thereby be ensured so that the English blockade will on the whole be of absolutely no avail. The direct land connection with East Asia will likewise be brought about on this occasion.

"3.) In this way all the preconditions are given which will render possible the New Order in the European sphere as intended by the Axis Powers.

"4.) For Japan also a unique chance is presented by the present situation. As Germany does this for Europe, so can Japan now through a military action against Soviet Russia create the prerequisites for the New Order planned by her in East Asia. After the removal of the Soviet power in the Far East also, the solution of the Chinese question will be achieved in the way desired by Japan without running into any

more difficulties.

"5.) From the standpoint of Japanese interests, the idea of a drive towards the south in the direction of Singapore is and remains also of great importance. As Japan has not yet been prepared on this point and a possibility for such a drive has not yet been presented in the present phase of the war, it lies in the urgent interest of Japan not to leave unused this chance now offered to her for solving the Russian question in the Far East too. Thus she would be left free in the rear to make a drive towards the South.

"6.) In view of the speedy course of events to be expected, Japan should come to a decision regarding the idea of a military action against Soviet Russia without hesitation. A Japanese action against a Soviet Russia already beaten to the ground would be quite prejudicial to the moral and political position of Japan.

"7.) It can therefore be considered that the swift overpowering of Soviet Russia, especially if Japan participates in it from the East, is the best means to convince the United States of the absolute foolishness of entering the war on the side of England, then completely isolated and set against the mightiest

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1	combination in the world."
2	Signed "RIBBENTROP."
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MR. HYDE (Continuing): I present prosecution's document 1652, entitled, "Resolution Concerning the Japanese-American Negotiations Adopted Through the Conferences in the Imperial Presence," for introduction into evidence. This document consists of four resolutions, including the resolution adopted at the Imperial Conference of 2 July 1941. The document is presented to show that, with the Soviet Union involved in war with Germany, Japan grasped the opportunity immediately to execute her plan of military aggression in the South, which at all hazards she was determined to pursue.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1652 will receive exhibit No. 588.

(Whereupon, the above-mentioned document was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 588 and received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: I will read the title of exhibit No. 588, and then the resolution adopted on July 2, 1941, which is marked "1" and commences about one-third way down page 1, with the exception of one paragraph relating to the German-Russian War, which matter will be dealt with in a later phase of the case.

(Reading): "1. RESOLUTION adopted through the Imperial conferences on July 2, 1941.

"A summary of the Empire's POLICY according to the changes in the situation.

"I. PRINCIPLE.

"a. Regardless of any change in the international situation, Japan will adhere to the principle of establishing a 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperitty
Sphere,' and accordingly contribute to the establishment of world-peace.

"b. Japan will continue the disposition of the Chinese Incident, and will step up the Southward advance in order to establish for herself a basis for self-existence and self-defense. The Northern problems will be dealt with according to the changes in the situations.

"c. Japan will remove all obstacles for the achievement of the foregoing purpose.

"II. SUMMARY.

"a. In order to hasten the surrender of Chiang's Regime, further pressure through the Southern regions will be strengthened to the changes in the situations, we shall execute our rights of war against the Chunking Regime at the proper time, and shall confiscate the enemy concessions in China.

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"b. For the sake of her self-existence and self-defense Japan will continue necessary diplomatic negotiations with relevant nations in the Southern regions and will also promote other necessary measures. For this purpose we shall make preparations for a war with Britain and the United States. First, we shall accomplish the execution of our schemes against French Indo-China and Thailand following the 'Principle Policy toward French Indo-China and Thailand,' and 'Matters concerning the Promotion of our Southern Policy,' thereby stabilizing our structure for the Southern advance. In order to achieve the abovementioned purpose, Japan will not hesitate to have a war with Britain and the United States."

The next paragraph I will omit.

"d. In the accomplishment of the above, all measures, especially in the case of execution of arms, must be decided so that there will be no great difficulty in maintaining our basic posture for a war with Britain and the United States.

"e. We shall do our utmost in preventing
the United States participation in the War through
diplomatic measures in the pre-arranged programmes,
and every other possible way, but in case she should
participate, Japan will act according to the Tripartite

Pact. However, the time and method of military action will be decided independently.

"f. We shall shift promptly to the complete stabilization of internal war-time structures, particularly we shall strive for the stabilization of national defense.

"g. As to the definite measures we shall decide separately."

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Tavenner.

Abra m & Mors

Mh. TAVENNER: If the Tribunal please, the events between 2 July 1941 and the attack on Pearl Harbor, although based in a large measure upon Japan, German and Italian collaboration, appear more properly to belong in the phase of presentation of evidence relating to Indo-China, Thailand, the Netherlands East Indies, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the United States, so reference will be made in this phase of the case only to those matters within this period which affect the No Secret Peace Pact of 11 December 1941.

Before proceeding to this subject, however, we will present evidence relating to other types of collaboration between Japan, Germany and Italy which parallel political and military collaboration between the Axis Powers.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. McKinney.

MR. MckINNEY: Cultural and Trade Agreement
Between Japan, Germany and Italy. I call the Tribunal's attention to prosecution document 956, in
evidence as exhibit No. 37. That is the treaty
concluded on 25 of November, 1938, between Japan and
Germany, pertaining to cultural cooperation. I will
read through Article II:

"TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND GERMANY PERTAINING

TO CULTURAL COOPERATION.

"The Imperial Government of Japan and the Government of Germany, recognizing solemnly that, in view of the fact that Japan's own peculiar spirit and Germany's racial and national life constitute respectively the essence of Japan's culture and Germany's culture, the cultural relations between Japan and Germany should be based on these factors, and desiring to further strengthen the friendly and mutual trust, which fortunately binds the two countries already, by deepending the various cultural relations between the two countries and also by promoting the mutual knowledge and understanding between the peoples of the two countries, have entered into an agreement as follows:

"ARTICLE I. The High Contracting Powers shall mutually cooperate most closely in order to strive to establish their cultural relations on a firm basis.

"ARTICLE II. The High Contracting Powers, in order to achieve the object of the preceding article, shall systematically promote the cultural relations between the two countries in the fields of learning, arts, music, literature, cinema, radio broadcasting, youth movement, and sports."

Mh. McKINNEY: Prosecution document 956-B --THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Cunningham.

MR. CUNNINGHAM: If the Tribunal please, at this time I would like to object to the introduction of any evidence concerning cultural agreement between the nations, for the reason that such agreements are purely within the right and power of nations and certainly does not tend to prove any of the criminal issues involved in the Indictment or in the other charges in this proceeding; for the further reason that this agreement, the agreement proposed by the prosecution at this time, was entered into at a time of peace, and certainly has no tendency to prove any charge of aggressive warfare; for the further reason that any inquiry into these documents would be purely a political inquiry and not a judicial inquiry.

THE PRESIDENT: Acts taken by themselves, including political acts, may be perfectly legitimate, but they may also constitute preparation for war when taken in conjunction with other circumstances, and preparation for war, of course, always takes place during peace. That covers all three objections. For grounds of objection the objection is disallowed.

Yes. Mr. McKinney.

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MR. McKINNEY: Prosecution's document 956B is offered in evidence. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 956B will receive exhibit No. 589. (Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 589 and received in evidence.) MR. McKINNEY: It is the minutes of the Privy 9 Council meeting held 22 November 1938 regarding the 10 conclusion of the Cultural Treaty. It is presented 11 for the purpose of showing that the possibility of 12 treaty asserting political influence was recognized. (Reading) 14 "Minutes of Conference on the Conclusion of 15 Agreement for Cultural Cooperation between Japan and Germany. 17 "November 22, 1938 - Original. 18 "Minutes of the Privy Council on the Conclusion 19 of Agreement for Cultural Cooperation between Japan and 20 Germany." I will now read the members of the accused 22 that were present. 23 "Chairman: HIRANUMA. Ministers: No. 8 24

Minister of Education - ARAKI. No. 15, Minister of

War - ITAGAKI."

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I will begin reading with the last paragraph on page 1:

"For many years, on cultural matters concerning medicine, literature, legislation and various other fields, a mutual and close relationship existed between the two nations of Germany and Japan but with and after the conclusion of the Inti-Comintern Agreement in November two years ago, national intercourse between the two nations entered into a renewed amity. On the later part of September of this year the German Government proposed for a conclusion of a cultural agreement between Germany and Japan, a recent practice prevelant between the various countries of Europe, so as to legalize the enlightenment of cultural relationship between the two nations, thus leading to furthering the promotion of the cause and provoking to strengthen all the more our tie of friendship. Our Imperial Government approved this proposal. Thereafter the authorities of both parties concerned have conducted numcrous negotiations and the arriving at an agreement led to the realization of this definite plan of a pact. However this does not mean that our Imperial Government prefers such an agreement with Germany alone. If conditions permit, similar agreements should be

concluded with other nations also, as this cultural intercourse has a tendency to contribute valuable service to achieve the general aims of diplomacy. This was voiced by our authorized minister concerned."

I will omit the next two paragraphs and begin reading again with the last paragraph of page 2.

"No. 28 (ISHIZUKA).

"In its introductory provision, which I take forms the basis of this agreement, it is said that the essence of the culture of Japan and Germany as consisting of the characteristic spirit of Japan on one part and the racial and national life of Germany on the other. This seems somewhat out of coordination, but since it is so designated, I want to hear the reason, and what is embraced in the term, 'the racial and national life of Germany.' According to German nationalism or Nazism and a current conception of the present day, the German race is attempting to unify and assimilate even those people who inhabit other nations while banning another race even though living in her own country. Whereas the characteristic feature of our spirit holds equality on all races without prejudice. This exemplifies the differences in view between this and that nation. Although directly nothing is stated relative to politics, this agreement may bring about

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some kind of influence politically. So I deem it important that special precaution be taken so that the people may not be misled. However, I wish to hear the government's comment on this aspect.

"No. 17 (ARITA):

"In short, the racial and nationalistic life of Germany is none other than the singular spirit of Germany. The reason for the adoption of the term was because of the firm insistance on the part of Germany at the outset of negotiations, explaining that their characteristic spirit being phenominized in the racial and national life of Germany, it should be made the essence of her culture.

"On the second point this agreement proposes to aid in the lieison and systematic uplifting of the culture of the two nations. It recognizes that cultural relations of Japan and Germany form the basis of the characteristic spirits of each respective nation. Therefore it is unlikely that there will be any influence politically. However, if there are such opinions of fear in the carrying into effect of the agreement, sufficient precaution shall be taken.

"No. 28 (ISHIZUKA):

"On the whole I understand, but it is conceivable that during the long life of this agreement there

is a possibility that politics will be influenced.

In particular, a tendency to go with the German stream is not at all deniable in this country of late.

In view of this fact, I repeat and hope that there should be some means to guard against all possible mistake on the part of our nation before this agreement is concluded."

THE PRESIDENT: Apparently the Japanese

Privy Councillors, or some of them, thought that
the whole purpose was not purely cultural and it may
have been a cover for political action. You invite
us to hold that it was a cover for political action.

MR. McKINNEY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: A political action that ultimately led to a pact with Germany and to war.

MR. McKINNEY: Yes, sir. That is the contention of the prosecution.

I call the Tribunal's attention to prosecution document No. 829, in evidence as exhibit 38. This is an agreement for cultural cooperation between Japan and Italy, concluded on the 23rd of March, 1939. As the material provisions are substantially the same as the provisions of the cultural agreement between Japan and Germany, I will not read the test of this treaty.

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AR. McKINNEY: I present prosecution document 4030-B for introduction into evidence. It consists of a program for the opening session of the German-Japanese Cultural Committee on 3 April 1940, and von Weizsaecker's opening speech.

THE PRESIDENT: Captain Brooks.

MA. BROOKS: I would like to refer, in your honor please, to these exhibits like exhibit 38 that has been previously put in. As I understand, they were put in for identification at that time. Are they being automatically admitted into evidence by reference to them at this time? I just wanted to call it to the Court's attention.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you understand it?

MR. BROOKS: Yes, sir. I was in error.

They were originally introduced in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Prosecution document No. 4030-B is admitted on the usual terms.

No. 4030-B will receive exhibit No. 590.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 590 and received in evidence.)

MR. McKINNEY: I will read the first paragraph,

read to the first paragraph on the program:

"Program for the Opening Session of the German-Japanese Culture Committee and the tea reception in the Hotel Kaiserhof.

Federal Council Hall of the Foreign Office. The guests arrive at about 1600 hours. The session begins at 1615 hours. It is introduced by a speech of welcome from Freiherr von Weizsaecker. His Excellency the Imperial Japanese Ambassador replies to it."

I will now read two excerpts from the welcoming speech. The first excerpt begins at the middle
of the next to the last paragraph on page 2. (Reading):
"In relations between Germany and Japan we cannot be
satisfied that knowledge of each other's country
should be confined to a small circle of experts.
Rather must a real mutual understanding between the
nations be extended to the widest possible circle
in the nations concerned, by means of real knowledge
and comprehension. National education and national
enlightenment are the most important means for the
attainment of the high goal we have in mind. Your
presence bears witness that you will do your part in
the spheres of your respective ministries to crown

these efforts with success.

"Following the precedent in Tokyo, it seemed suitable to us that the Foreign Office should itself be presiding over the committee. Therefore the head of the Cultural Political Department, Envoy Doctor Von TWARDOWSKI has been entrusted with this task.

tween organization and societies in the Nazi Party
/NSDAP/ and Japan have developed very gratifyingly.

As examples of this I mention the fact that the
Reich Board of Health has concluded an agreement with
the Japanese-German Medical Society and that the
Reich Youth Board is permanently represented in Japan
by OBERGEBIETS-FUEHRER SCHULTZ. As the utilization
of the organizations and societies of the Nazi Party
/NSDAP/ should follow a unified point of view, the
Foreign Office has asked the Fuehrer's deputy to send
a representative to the Committee. I am glad that
this proposal has been complied with, and heartily
welcome Herr SCHULTE-STRATHAUS to this circle.

"This, like the addition of advisors and experts, is an innovation in the sphere of Culture Committees. I expect much for the activity of our committee from the effectiveness of these co-workers.

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I thank the parties here concerned for the fact that
    they are willing to fit their work abroad in their
    occasional special spheres into the great frame of
    our efforts and tasks in linking our peoples together."
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The second excerpt begins at the top of page 4.

"A fundamental prerequisite, however, for the deepening and broadening of mutual international intercourse is the readiness of the nations themselves to give spiritually as well as to take. This readiness is in existence in wide circles of the German nation. To spread it ever wider is the task of this committee and the circles represented in it.

"A second, just as important, fundamental of international cultural work has been expressed in the preamble to the German-Japanese culture agreement. Both governments have there declared that they are impressed with the realization that the German and Japanese cultures have their true basis in the German national and racial life on the one hand and the innate Japanese spirit on the other, and that the cultural relations between the two countries are to be built hereon.

"For the first time in the history of international agreements the spiritual basis on which the
goal set by the agreement is to be worked for has been
expressed and unalterably defined: the clear consciousnoss of each party of its racial and national self and

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the mutual recognition of this self. This is the true reciprocity, such as is only possible for nations that are self-conscious, national and self-contained, and just on that account capable and ready to understand other nations.

"The work of this German-Japanese Culture Committee will have to be steered along these supreme spiritual guiding lines.

joy, there has arisen in this committee a new, effective instrument which shall and will ever strengthen the traditional close spiritual bonds between Germany and Japan. I am however convinced that the political friendship which so fortunately unites our countries will also be further deepened, and that Germany and Japan will set an example in the cultivation of peaceful international intercourse.

"I declare the German-Japanese Culture Committee established."

THE PRESIDENT: We will adjourn until half past nine tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 1600, an adjournment ' mas taken until Friday, 27 September 1946, at 0930.)