

十二月三日東郷大臣發野村大使宛電報

第八七六号

貴電ヤ一ニニ七号ニ関シ

西國首腦者會見ニ付テハ御承知ノ通前内閣時代ニ

我方ヨリ提議シ不成功ニ終ラレ経緯モアリ此際我方ヨリ

再度之ヲ申出ルルコトハ適當ナラズトノ意趣尙ナリ付右ノ御

承知アリ候シ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4169

481

十二月三日東郷大臣發野村大使宛電報

第八七八号

貴電ヤ一ニニ五号ニ関シ

一米側ハ我政府当局聲明並ニ輿論ノ動向及我方南

方兵力移動ニ煩ニ問題トシ右ヲ口實トシテ交渉ニ結ビ

討テ我方誠意疑惑ヲ表シ居ル処東條首相聲明

真相ニ往電ヤ八六六号ノ通リニテ英米同盟通信

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4170

482

社ニ作或(し由)甚シク不適当ナリト爲シ外反響ヲ
 招キタシモノト認ムラルル次第ナリカ一般輿論指導ニ因シテ
 本大臣ニ於テモ持ニ苦心ヒシニテ此莫ハ在京米國大使
 コリモ國務省ニ報告シ居ルモ苦ニテ現ニ「ハル長官モ貴電
 オ一四八号所載ノ通り改善ヲ認メ満足ノ意ヲ表シタル次
 第ナリ然レニ米側最近ノ新聞論調ニ頗ル不穩ナルモノアリノ
 ミナラス「ラガオ放送」特ニ最近數日、空港擾波放送ノ類

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4171 485

著ナリノ如キハ連日交渉ノ機微ナル内容ヲ放送シソワアリ右
 ハ明ニ交渉ノ消息ニ通シタル者ト連絡アルニ非レバ此ノ種放送
 ハ不可能ト認ムル外ナキ処米側カ自己ノ非ヲ顧スシテ我方ノミ
 ヲ責メントスルハ不当ト云フヘシ
 ニ米英等ノ諸國ハ最近ニ至リ益々対日軍備ヲ増強シ我方
 ニ対シ刺戟的態度假ニ出テ居リ特ニ先月二十日米國飛行機
 ハ台灣南部ヲ爲鑿鼻上空ヲ偵察飛行セルコトアリ(二十

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4172 484

指^スモノト糾^セラルル処我方ハ屢次申入ノ通り大統領^ノ紹介ニ依リ日支和平交渉開始ノ運^ニ至リタル上ハ後蔣^ノ行為ヲ停止スヘシト主張スルモノニシテ米側ノ所謂原則的立場ト何等矛盾セサル儀ナニ付右含^ミ置カレ度シ

S 1.1.3.1-1

4174

480

七日在京米國大使ニ抗議^シ濟^シ其他英米側^ノ類似ノ行動ニ出テタルコト一再^ニ止マラス此^ノ矣^ニ付^テモ狀勢^ノ機微^ナルニ鑑^ミ英米側^ニ於^テ抑制^方ヲ要^望セサルヲ得^{サル}次第^{ナリ}三尚十月二十日^ノ我方^對英^ハ公正ナル立場^ニ立脚^シ提案^{セル}モノニシテ此際難局^ノ打開^ノ最善^ノ方策^ト思^フル所以^{ナリ}此上^ト米側^ニ御^説示^{アリ}度^シ米側^カ我^對案^ヲ以^テ一般^的原則^ト兩^立セスト補^スルハヤ四項^ノ日支和平^ヲ妨^碍セスト^ノ規定^ヲ

S 1.1.3.1-1

4173

485

十二月三日野村大使發東郷大臣宛電報

第一二三九号

往電才一ニ三ニ号ニ関シ

二日大統領ハ記者團トノ會見ニ於テ米政府カ同日我方ニ
對シ佛印ヘノ今次兵力増強ノ意圖ニ関シ照會ヲ發セル旨ヲ
發表スルト共ニ始メテ自己ノ意見トシテ今春以來ノ日米交
渉ノ経緯並ニ我方南部佛印進駐及傳ヘラルル今次佛印増

外務省

487

4175

S 1.1.3.1-1

兵カ何レモ交渉進行中ニ行ハタルコトニ同軍ニ言及セルカ(二日

附華府特情参照)右ハ大統領ノ「ワームスプリング」ヨリ歸華

後最初ノ會見ニモアリ且相当卒直ニ交渉内容ニ觸レ居ル

点ニ於テ注目ヲ惹キ居レリ

外務省

486

4176

S 1.1.3.1-1

報道頻々トシテ傳ヒテ居リ我方ノ回答振如何ニ依リハ先方
 モ相当思ヒ切リタル措置ニ出ツルヤモ計ラレサル処政府ニ於テ眞ニ
 交渉ハ結ラ期セラルルニ於テハ勿論單ニ交渉ヲ繼續シオク御意
 向ノ場合ニ於テモ濟柔示ノ説明ヲ以テシテハ先方ヲ納得セシメ
 又ハ前記ノ如キ米側ノ措置ヲ阻止スルコト困難ト存セラルルニ付
 現ニ十月十日日本使ヨリ大統領ニ提示セル我方案ニ明示シテ
 次第モ有之今少シク我方ノ平和的意圖ヲ明ニセル回答振望

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4178 490

十二月三日野村大使發東京郷大臣宛電報
 第一二五六号
 貴電オハ七五号ニ関シ
 早速海回電ニ接見処右ハ勿論廟議ノ慎重ナル御考慮
 ヲ經タルモノト拝察スルモ米國側ニ於テハ本件回答ヲ極メテ重
 要視シ居ルコト貴電ノ通ニテ殊ニ昨日ノ大統領ノ聲明以
 来新聞方面ニ於テモ本件回答ハ日米和戰ヲ決マル鍵ナリトノ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4177 489

十二月四日東郷大臣發歸村大使宛電報
 第八九一號
 貴電オ一二五六号ニ関シ
 貴電ノ御趣旨一應尤モナルモ此際往電オハ七五号以上
 ニ説明ヲ與フルコトハ機微ナル閑話モアリ却テ面白カラキハ結
 果ヲ招来スル惧アルニ付此際ハ右往電ノ趣旨ニヨリ回答
 シ置カレ度

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4180

492

マシキヲ以テ出来得ト、右趣旨ニ御再考ノ上至急何分
 御回答相煩度シ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4179

491

十二月五日野村大使發東郷大臣宛電報

第一二六一号

貴電オ八九一号ニ関シ

五日本使來栖大使ト共ニ「ハル」長官ヲ往訪御訓令ノ趣

旨ヲ為念書物トシ手交シタル処「ハル」御説明ハ宛モ支那

側カ國境ニ兵カヲ結集シ攻勢ニ出テ来ル惧レアルトモ解セラ

ルト求ヘタルニ付本使等ヨリ何レカ攻勢ニ出ツルヤハ諸般ノ情

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4181

493

勢、兵カノ釣合等モ依ルヘク現地ノ情勢ヲ明カニセサル本使等

トシテ本訓令以外何等説明ヲ加フルヲ得サル次第ナルカ支那側

トシテハ攻撃ヲ出テ来ル場合モアルヘク支那側カ廣西方面ニ多數

ノ兵カヲ集メ居ルコトハ本使等モ豫テ聞及ヒ居ル所ナリト應酬セ

ル処「ハル」ハ免ニ角御説明ハ大統領ニ傳達スヘシト求ヘタリ

次テ本使等ヨリ抑々今回大統領質疑ノ如キ事態ヨリ来ル誤

解及其他ノ煩發ヲ慮レハコソ我方トシテハ十月二十日來ニ依リ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4182

494

急進ニ局面打開ヲ計ルヲ最善ト信シ居ル次第ナリ佛印進駐ノコトヲ繰返サレカ是レ要スルニ「パワーポリチク」ノ問題ニシテ貴國ノ如キモ最良ノ防禦ハ攻撃ニ在リトセラシ殊ニ軍人ハ然ルヲ以テ A B C D ノ兵備、艦隊ノ増加ニ対シ我陸海軍モ無關心ナルヲ得サルヘシト述ヘ貴電第ハ七八号末段ノ趣旨ヲ再繰返セル処「ハ本春本交渉開始ヨリ七月二十四日日本軍ノ南部佛印進駐ニ至ル迄米國カ石油ノ対日輸出ヲ許シ居

外務省

495

S 1.1.3.1-1 4183

タル事實ニ付自分ハ豫テ上院其他ニ於テ手酷シキ攻勢ヲ受ケ居リタル様ノ事情ナルニ付今日情勢ニ於テ対日石油供給ヲ再開スルカ如キハ到底輿論ノ承服ヲ得ルヲ得サルヘシト述ヘタルニ付本使等ハ右御懸念ノ矣ハ日米間ノ関係改善シ貴長官カ屢次御主張ノ一般的和協成立スルニ於テハ当然解消スヘキモノト信セラルル処之ニ到達スル道程トシテ此ノ際先ワ我方十一月二十日業ニ依リ局面ノ打開ヲ期スルコト最モ實際的ナリト

外務省

496

S 1.1.3.1-1 4184

思考スル旨カ説シオキタリ

更ニ長官ヨリ我國新聞論調其ノ他カ日米妥協ヲ困難ナラ

シムツアル莫ラ指摘セルヲ以テ本使等ハ米國側一部新聞、

態度亦同様ナルヲ指摘シ貴電ヲハ七八号ノ一御説示ノ諸

莫ラ適宜引用シ更ニ三日「ハ」新聞會見ニモ言及シオキタル処

「ハ」右ハ單ニ米國ノ根本的政策ニ付述ヘタルニ止マル次第ナルカ

免ニ角本件交渉ニ付最近連日新聞記者ニ攻メ立テラレ閉

外務省

497

S 1.1.3.1-1

4185

口シホレ次第ナリト述ヘタリ依テ本使等ハ右様外部ヨリ種々

邪魔ノ入り来ル具アルニ鑑ミ当方十月二十日米ニ依ル急凍

ナリ局面打開益々必要トナル次第ナリト説キオキタリ

辞去ニ際シ「ハ」今後何時ニテモ會見スヘント述ヘ居タリ

外務省

498

S 1.1.3.1-1

4186

十二月六日野村大使發東郷大臣宛電報

第一二七五号

六日夜國務省ハ大統領カ 天皇陛下ニ親電ヲ發セル旨ハ公

表ス内容不明ナルモ同時ニ國務省ヨリ其ノ入手セル情報トシテ

約十二万五千ノ日本軍既ニ佛印ニ在ル外今朝軍艦護送ノ

二個軍團カ「シヤム」灣ニ向ヒツツアル由ナルコトヲ發表セルニ鑑

ニ佛印増駐「タイ」進出ニ関聯スルモノト一般ニ見ラレ居リ(特

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4187

499

情參照)

尚大統領カ外交機關ヲ經由ス直接 陛下宛親電ヲ

發セル先年「パナイ」号事件ノ親電ニ対スル我方措置

振ヲ考慮シタル結果カト思ハル

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4188

500

十二月六日東郷大臣發野村大使宛電報
第九〇一號

一政府於十月二十六日、米側提案ニ付慎重議ヲ
盡シタル結果對米覺書(英文)ヲ決定セリ

ニ右覺書ハ長文ナル關係ニアリ全部接受セラルルハ明日トナル
ヤモ知レサルモ刻下ノ情勢ハ極メテ機微ナルモノナルニ付右

御受領相成リタルコトハ差當リ嚴秘ニ附セラルル様致サレ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4189

501

度シ

三右覺書ヲ米側ニ提示スル時期ニ付テハ追テ別ニ電報
スヘキモ右別電接到ノ上ハ訓令次第何時ニテモ米側
ニ手交シ得ル様文書ノ整理其他豫メ方端ノ手配ヲ
了シ置カレ度シ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4190

502

對米覺書

帝國政府ハ「アメリカ」合衆國政府トノ間ニ友好的諒解ヲ遂ケ兩國共同ノ努力ニ依リ太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和ヲ確保シ以テ世界平和ノ招來ニ貢獻セントスル眞摯ナル希望ニ促サレ本年四月以來合衆國政府トノ間ニ兩國國交ノ調整増進竝ニ太平洋地域ノ安定ニ關シ誠意ヲ傾倒シテ交渉ヲ繼續シ來リタル處過去八ヶ月ニ亘ル交渉ヲ通シ合衆國政府ノ固持セル主張竝ニ此間合衆國及英帝國ノ帝國ニ對シ執レル措置ニ付茲ニ率直ニ其ノ所信ヲ合衆國政府ニ開陳スルノ光榮ヲ有ス

外務省

8 1.1.3.1-1 4194

503

東亞ノ安定ヲ確保シ世界ノ平和ニ寄與シ以テ萬邦ヲシテ各其ノ所ヲ得シメントスルハ帝國不動ノ國是ナリ爰ニ中華民國ハ帝國ノ眞意ヲ解セス不幸ニシテ支那事變ノ發生ヲ見ルニ至レルモ帝國ハ平和克復ノ方途ヲ講スルト共ニ戰禍ノ擴大ヲ防止センカ爲終始最善ノ努力ヲ致シ來レリ客年九月帝國カ獨伊兩國トノ間ニ三國條約ヲ締結シタルモ亦右目的ヲ達成センカ爲ニ外ナラス然ルニ合衆國及英帝國ハ有ラユル手段ヲ竭シ重慶政權ヲ援助シテ日支全面和平ノ成立ヲ妨礙シ東亞ノ安定ニ對スル帝國ノ建設的努カヲ控制セルノミナラス或ハ關領印度ヲ牽制シ或ハ佛領印度支那ヲ脅威シ帝國ト此等諸地域トカ相携ヘテ共榮ノ理想ヲ實現セントスル企圖ヲ阻害セリ殊ニ帝國カ佛國トノ間ニ締結シタル議定書ニ

外務省

8 1.1.3.1-1 4192

504

基キ佛領印度支那共同防衛ノ措置ヲ講スルヤ合衆國政府及英國政府ハ之ヲ以テ自國領域ニ對スル脅威ナリト曲解シ和蘭國ヲモ誘ヒ資産凍結令ヲ實施シテ帝國トノ經濟斷交ヲ敢テシ明カニ敵對的態度ヲ示スト共ニ帝國ニ對スル軍備ヲ增強シ帝國包圍ノ態勢ヲ整ヘ以テ帝國ノ存立ヲ危殆ナラシムルカ如キ情勢ヲ誘致スルニ至レリ右ニ拘ラス帝國總理大臣ハ本年八月事態ノ急速收拾ノ爲合衆國大統領ト會見シ兩國間ニ存在スル太平洋全稅ニ亘ル重要問題ヲ討議檢討セントトヲ提議セリ然ルニ合衆國政府ハ右申入ニ主義上贊同ヲ與ヘ乍ラ之カ實行ハ兩國間重要問題ニ關シ意見一致ヲ見タル後トスヘント主張シテ讓ラス

仍テ帝國政府ハ九月二十五日從來ノ合衆國政府ノ主張ヲモ充分考

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4193

505

慮ノ上米國案ヲ基礎トシ之ニ帝國政府ノ主張ヲ取入レタル一案ヲ提示シ論議ヲ重ネタルカ双方ノ見解ハ容易ニ一致セザリシヲ以テ現内閣ニ於テハ從來交渉ノ主要難點タリシ諸問題ニ付帝國政府ノ主張ヲ更ニ緩和シタル修正案ヲ提示シ交渉ノ妥結ニ努メタルモ合衆國政府ハ終始當初ノ主張ヲ固執シ協調的態度ニ出テス交渉ハ依然澁滞セリ茲ニ於テ十一月二十日ニ至リ帝國政府ハ兩國國交ノ破綻ヲ回避スル爲最善ノ努力ヲ盡ス趣旨ヲ以テ樞要且緊急ノ問題ニ付公正ナル妥結ヲ圖ル爲前記提案ヲ簡單化シ(一)兩國政府ニ於テ佛印以外ノ南東亞細亞及南太平洋地域ニ武力進出ヲ行ハサル旨ヲ確約スルコト(二)兩國政府ニ於テ蘭領印度ニ於テ其ノ必要トスル物資ノ獲得カ保障セララルル様相互ニ協力スルコト(三)兩國政府ハ相互ニ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4194

506

通商關係ヲ資產凍結前ノ狀態ニ復歸スルコト、合衆國政府ハ所要ノ石油ノ對日供給ヲ約スルコト(四)合衆國政府ハ日支兩國ノ和平ニ關スル努力ニ支障ヲ與フルカ如キ行動ニ出テサルコト(五)帝國政府ハ日支間和平成立スルカ又ハ太平洋地域ニ於ケル公正ナル平和確立スル上ハ現ニ佛領印度支那ニ派遣セラレ居ル日本軍隊ヲ撤退スヘク又本了解成立セハ現ニ南部佛領印度支那ニ駐屯中ノ日本軍ハ之ヲ北部佛領印度支那ニ移駐スルノ用意アルコト等ヲ内容トスル新提案ヲ提示シ同時ニ支那問題ニ付テハ合衆國大統領カ養ニ書明シタル通日支間和平ノ紹介者ト爲ルニ異議ナキモ日支直接交渉開始ノ上ハ合衆國ニ於テ日支和平ヲ妨礙セサル旨ヲ約センコトヲ求メタルカ合衆國政府ハ右新提案ヲ受諾スルヲ得スト爲セルノミナ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4195 507

ラス授蔣行爲ヲ繼續スル意思ヲ表明シ次テ更ニ前記ノ書明ニ拘ラス大統領ノ所謂日支間和平ノ紹介ヲ行フノ時機猶熟セストテ之ヲ撤回シ遂ニ十一月二十六日ニ至リ偏ニ合衆國政府カ從來固執セル原則ヲ強要スルノ態度ヲ以テ帝國政府ノ主張ヲ無視セル提案ヲ爲スニ至リタルカ右ハ帝國政府ノ最モ遺憾トスル所ナリ
抑本件交渉開始以來帝國政府ハ終始専ラ公正且謙抑ナル態度ヲ以テ銳意妥結ニ努メ屢難キヲ忍ヒテ能フ限りノ讓歩ヲ敢テシタルカ交渉上重要事項タリシ支那問題ニ關シテモ協調的態度ヲ示シ合衆國政府ノ提唱セル國際通商上ノ無差別待遇原則遵守ニ付テハ本原則ノ世界各國ニ行ハレシコトヲ希望シ且其ノ實現ニ願願シテ之ヲ支那ヲモ含ム太平洋地域ニ適用スル様努力スヘキ旨ヲ表明シ尙支

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4196 508

那ニ於ケル第三國ノ公正ナル經濟活動ハ何等之ヲ排除スルモノニ
アラサルコトヲモ闡明セルカ更ニ佛領印度支那ヨリノ撤兵ニ付テ
モ情勢緩和ニ資スルカ爲前述ノ如ク南部佛領印度支那ヨリノ即時
撤兵ヲ進ンテ提議スル等極力妥協ノ精神ヲ發揮セルハ合衆國政府
ノ夙ニ諒解スル所ナリト信ス
然ルニ合衆國政府ハ常ニ理論ニ拘泥シ現實ヲ無視シ其ノ抱懷スル
非實際的の原則ヲ固執シテ何等讓歩セス徒ニ交渉ヲ遷延セシメタル
ハ帝國政府ノ諒解ニ苦ム所ナルカ特ニ左記諸點ニ付テハ合衆國政
府ノ注意ヲ喚起セサルヲ得ス

(一) 合衆國政府ハ世界平和ノ爲ナリト稱シテ自己ニ好都合ナル諸原
則ヲ主張シ之カ採擇ヲ帝國政府ニ迫レル處世界ノ平和ハ現實ニ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4197

509

立脚シ且相手國ノ立場ニ理解ヲ持シ相互ニ受諾シ得ヘキ方途ヲ
發見スルコトニ依リテノミ具現シ得ルモノニシテ現實ヲ無視シ
一國ノ獨善的主張ヲ相手國ニ強要スルカ如キ態度ハ交渉ノ成立
ヲ促進スル所以ノモノニアラス

今般合衆國政府カ日米協定ノ基礎トシテ提議セル諸原則ニ付テ
ハ右ノ中ニハ帝國政府トシテ趣旨ニ於テ贊同ニ吝ナラサルモノ
アルモ合衆國政府カ直ニ之カ採擇ヲ要望スルハ世界ノ現狀ニ鑑
ミ架空ノ理念ニ驅ラルルモノト云フノ外ナシ
尙日、米、英、支、蘇、蘭、泰七國間ニ多邊的不可侵條約ヲ締
結スルノ案ノ如キモ徒ニ集團的の平和機構ノ舊構想ヲ追フノ結果
東亞ノ實情ト遊離セルモノト云フノ外ナシ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1

4198

510

(二)合衆國政府今次ノ提案中ニ「兩國政府カ第三國ト締結シ居ル如何ナル協定モ本取極ノ根本目的タル太平洋全域ノ平和確保ニ才盾スルカ如ク解釋セラレサルコトニ付合意ス」トアルハ即チ合衆國カ歐洲戰爭參入ノ場合ニ於ケル帝國ノ三國條約上ノ義務履行ヲ牽制セントスル意圖ヲ以テ提案セルモノト認メラルヲ以テ右ハ帝國政府ノ受諾シ得サル所ナリ

由來合衆國政府ハ其ノ自己ノ主張ト理念トニ眩惑セラレ自ヲ戰爭擴大ヲ企圖シツツアリト謂ハサルヲ得ス合衆國政府ハ一方太平洋地域ノ安定ヲ策シ自國ノ背後ヲ安固ト爲シツツ他方英帝國ヲ接ケ歐洲新秩序建設ニ邁進スル獨伊兩國ニ對シ自衛權ノ名ノ下ニ進ンテ攻撃ヲ加ヘントスルモノナルカ右ハ太平洋地域ニ平

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4199

511

和的手段ニ依リ安定ノ基礎ヲ築カントスル幾多ノ原則的主張ト全然矛盾背馳スルモノナリ

(三)合衆國政府ハ其ノ固持スル主張ニ於テ武力ニ依ル國際關係處理ヲ排撃シツツ一方英帝國等ト共ニ經濟力ニ依ル壓迫ヲ加ヘツツアル處スル壓迫ハ場合ニ依リテハ武力壓迫以上ノ非人道的行爲ニシテ國際關係處理ノ手段トシテ排撃セラルヘキモノナリ

(四)合衆國政府ノ意圖ハ英帝國其ノ他ノ諸國ヲ誘引シ支那其ノ他東亞ノ諸地域ニ對シ其ノ從來保持セル支配的地位ヲ維持強化セントスルモノト見ルノ外ナキ處東亞諸國カ過去百有餘年ニ亘リ英米ノ帝國主義的搾取政策ノ下ニ現狀維持ヲ強ヒラレ兩國繁榮ノ犧牲タルニ甘ンセサルヲ得ザリシ歴史的事實ニ鑑ミ右ハ萬邦ヲ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4200

512

シテ各其ノ所ヲ得シメントスル帝國ノ根本國策ト全然背馳スル
モノニシテ帝國政府ノ斷シテ容認スル能ハサル所ナリ
合衆國政府今次提案中佛領印度支那ニ關スル規定ハ正ニ右態度
ノ適例ト稱スヘク佛領印度支那ニ關シ佛國ヲ除キ日、米、英、
蘭、支、泰六國間ニ同地域ノ領土主權ノ尊重竝ニ貿易及通商ノ
均等待遇ヲ約束セントスルハ同地域ヲ六國政府ノ共同保障ノ下
ニ立タシメントスルモノニシテ佛國ノ立場ヲ全然無視セル點ハ
暫ク措クモ東亞ノ事態ヲ紛糾ニ導キタル最大原因ノ一タル九國
條約類似ノ體制ヲ新ニ佛領印度支那ニ擴張セントスルモノト觀
ルヘキモノニシテ帝國政府トシテ容認シ得サル所ナリ

(五)合衆國政府カ支那問題ニ關シ帝國ニ要望セル所ハ或ハ全面撤兵

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4201

513

ノ要求ト云ヒ或ハ通商無差別原則ノ無條件適用ト云ヒ何レモ支
那ノ現實ヲ無視シ東亞ノ安定勢力タル帝國ノ地位ヲ損滅セント
スルモノナル處合衆國政府カ今次提案ニ於テ重慶政權ヲ除ク如
何ナル政權ヲモ軍事的政治的且經濟的ニ支持セサルコトヲ要求
シ南京政府ヲ否認シ去ラントスル態度ニ出テタルハ交渉ノ基礎
ヲ根柢ヨリ損スモノト云フヘク右ハ前記接蔣行爲停止ノ拒否ト
共ニ合衆國政府カ日支間ニ平常狀態ノ復歸及東亞平和ノ回復ヲ
阻害スルノ意思アルコトヲ實證スルモノナリ

五要之今次合衆國政府ノ提案中ニハ通商條約締結、資產凍結令ノ相
互解除、圓弗爲替安定等ノ通商問題乃至支那ニ於ケル治外法權撤
廢等本質的ニ不可ナラサル條項ナキニアラサルモ他方四年有餘ニ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4202

514

且ル支那事變ノ犧牲ヲ無視シ帝國ノ生存ヲ脅威シ權威ヲ冒瀆スル
セノアリ從テ全體的ニ觀テ帝國政府トシテハ交渉ノ基礎トシテ到
底之ヲ受諾スルヲ得サルヲ遺憾トス

尙帝國政府ハ交渉ノ急速成立ヲ希望スル見地ヨリ日米交渉妥結ノ
際ハ英帝國其ノ他ノ關係國トノ間ニモ同時調印方ヲ提議シ合衆國
政府モ大體之ニ同意ヲ表示セル次第アル處合衆國政府ハ英、歐、
亞、重慶等ト屢協議セル結果特ニ支那問題ニ關シテハ重慶側ノ意
見ニ迎合シ前記諸提案ヲ爲セルモノト認メラレ右諸國ハ何レモ合
衆國ト同シク帝國ノ立場ヲ無視セントスルモノト斷セサルヲ得ス
惟フニ合衆國政府ノ意圖ハ英帝國其ノ他ト苟合策動シテ東亞ニ於
ケル帝國ノ新秩序建設ニ依ル平和確立ノ努力ヲ助得セントスルノ

ミナラス日支兩國ヲ相圖ハシメ以テ英米ノ利益ヲ擁護セントスル
モノナルコトハ今次交渉ヲ通シ明瞭ト爲リタル所ナリ斯クテ日米
國交ヲ調整シ合衆國政府ト相携ヘテ太平洋ノ平和ヲ維持確立セン
トスル帝國政府ノ希望ハ遂ニ失ハレタリ
仍テ帝國政府ハ茲ニ合衆國政府ノ態度ニ鑑ミ今後交渉ヲ繼續スル
モ妥結ニ達スルヲ得スト認ムルノ外ナキ旨ヲ合衆國政府ニ通告ス
ルヲ遺憾トスルモノナリ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4204

516

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4203

515

Ever since the China Affair broke out owing to the failure on the part of China to comprehend Japan's true intentions, the Japanese Government has striven for the restoration of peace and it has consistently exerted its best efforts to prevent the extension of war-like disturbances. It was also to that end that in September last year Japan concluded the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy.

However, both the United States and Great Britain have resorted to every possible measure to assist the Chungking régime so as to obstruct the establishment of a general peace between Japan and China, interfering with Japan's constructive endeavours toward the stabilization of East Asia. Exerting pressure on the Netherlands East Indies, or manacing French Indo-China, they have attempted to frustrate Japan's aspiration to realize the ideal of common prosperity in cooperation with these regions. Furthermore, when Japan in accordance with its Protocol with France took measures of joint defence of French Indo-China, both America and British Governments, wilfully misinterpreted it as a threat to their own possessions and inducing the Netherlands Government to follow suit, they enforced the assets freezing order, thus severing

S 1.1.3.1-1 4206

516

MEMORANDUM

I. The Government of Japan, prompted by a genuine desire to come to an amicable understanding with the Government of the United States in order that the two countries by their joint efforts may secure the peace of the Pacific area and thereby contributed toward the realization of world peace, has continued negotiations with the utmost sincerity since April last with the Government of the United States regarding the adjustment and advancement of Japanese-American relations and the stabilization of the Pacific area.

The Japanese Government has the honor to state frankly its views concerning the claims the American Government has persistently maintained as well as the measures the United States and Great Britain have taken toward Japan during these eight months.

II. It is the immutable policy of the Japanese Government to insure the stability of East Asia and to promote world peace, and thereby to enable all nations to find each its proper place in the world.

S 1.1.3.1-1 4205

517

regarding the principal points of difficulty in the negotiation and endeavoured strenuously to reach a settlement. But the American Government, adhering steadfastly to its original assertions, failed to display in the slightest degree a spirit of conciliation. The negotiation made no progress. Thereupon, the Japanese Government, with a view to doing its utmost for averting a crisis in Japanese-American relations, submitted on November 20th still another proposal in order to arrive at an equitable solution of the more essential and urgent questions, which, simplifying its previous proposal, stipulated the following points:

(1) The Governments of Japan and the United States undertake not to dispatch armed forces into any of the regions, excepting French Indo-China, in the South Eastern Asia and the Southern Pacific area.

(2) Both Governments shall cooperate with a view to securing the acquisition in the Netherlands East Indies of those goods and commodities of which the two countries are in need.

S 1.1.3.1-1 4208

520

economic relations with Japan. While manifesting thus an obviously hostile attitude, these countries have strengthened their military preparations perfecting an encirclement of Japan, and have brought about a situation which endangers the very existence of the Empire.

Nevertheless, to facilitate a speedy settlement, the Premier of Japan proposed, in August last, to meet the President of the United States for a discussion of important problems between the two countries covering the entire Pacific area. However, the American Government, while accepting in principle the Japanese proposal, insisted that the meeting should take place after an agreement of view had been reached on fundamental and essential questions.

III. Subsequently, on September 25th the Japanese Government submitted a proposal based on the formula proposed by the American Government, taking fully into consideration past American claims and also incorporating Japanese views. Repeated discussions proved of no avail in producing readily an agreement of view. The present Cabinet, therefore, submitted a revised proposal, moderating still further the Japanese claims

S 1.1.3.1-1 4207

519

the United States to do nothing prejudicial to the restoration of Sino-Japanese peace when the two parties have commenced direct negotiations.

The American Government not only rejected the abovementioned new proposal, but made known its intention to continue its aid to Chiang Kai-shek; and in spite of its suggestion mentioned above, withdrew the offer of the President to act as the so-called "introducer" of peace between Japan and China, pleading that time was not yet ripe for it. Finally on November 26th, in an attitude to impose upon the Japanese Government those principles it has persistently maintained, the American Government made a proposal totally ignoring Japanese claims, which is a source of profound regret to the Japanese Government.

IV. From the beginning of the present negotiation the Japanese Government has always maintained an attitude of fairness and moderation, and did its best to reach a settlement, for which it made all possible concessions often in spite of great difficulties. As for the China question which constituted an important subject of the negotiation, the Japanese Government showed a most conciliatory attitude. As

(3) Both Governments mutually undertake to restore commercial relations to those prevailing prior to the freezing of assets.

The Government of the United States shall supply Japan the required quantity of oil.

(4) The Government of the United States undertakes not to resort to measures and actions prejudicial to the endeavours for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China.

(5) The Japanese Government undertakes to withdraw troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area; and it is prepared to remove the Japanese troops in the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part upon the conclusion of the present agreement.

As regards China, the Japanese Government, while expressing its readiness to accept the offer of the President of the United States to act as "introducer" of peace between Japan and China as was previously suggested, asked for an undertaking on the part of

difficult to understand this attitude of the American Government and the Japanese Government desires to call the attention of the American Government especially to the following points:

1. The American Government advocates in the name of world peace those principles favorable to it and urges upon the Japanese Government the acceptance thereof. The peace of the world may be brought about only by discovering a mutually acceptable formula through recognition of the reality of the situation and mutual appreciation of one another's position. An attitude such as ignores realities and imposes one's selfish views upon others will scarcely serve the purpose of facilitating the consummation of negotiations.

Of the various principles put forward by the American Government as a basis of the Japanese-American agreement, there are some which the Japanese Government is ready to accept in principle, but in view of the world's actual conditions, it seems only a utopian ideal, on the part of the American Government, to attempt to force their immediate adoption.

S 1.1.3.1-1

4212

524

for the principle of non-discrimination in international commerce, advocated by the American Government, the Japanese Government expressed its desire to see the said principle applied throughout the world, and declared that along with the actual practice of this principle in the world, the Japanese Government would endeavour to apply the same in the Pacific area, including China, and made it clear that Japan had no intention of excluding from China economic activities of third Powers pursued on an equitable basis. Furthermore, as regards the question of withdrawing troops from French Indo-China, the Japanese Government even volunteered, as mentioned above, to carry out an immediate evacuation of troops from Southern French Indo-China as a measure of easing the situation. It is presumed that the spirit of conciliation exhibited to the utmost degree by the Japanese Government in all these matters is fully appreciated by the American Government.

On the other hand, the American Government, always holding fast to theories in disregard of realities, and refusing to yield an inch on its impractical principles, caused undue delays in the negotiation. It is

S 1.1.3.1-1

4211

523

the other hand, in aiding Great Britain and preparing to attack, in the name of self-defense, Germany and Italy - two Powers that are striving to establish a new order in Europe. Such a policy is totally at variance with the many principles upon which the American Government proposes to found the stability of the Pacific area through peaceful means.

3. Whereas the American Government, under the principles it rigidly upholds, objects to settling international issues through military pressure, it is exercising in conjunction with Great Britain and other nations pressure by economic powers.

Recourse to such pressure as a means of dealing with international relations should be condemned as it is at times more inhumane than military pressure.

4. It is impossible not to reach the conclusion that the American Government desires to maintain and strengthen, in collusion with Great Britain and other Powers, its dominant position it has hitherto occupied not only in China but in other areas of East Asia. It is a fact of history that the countries of East Asia for the past hundred years or more have been compelled to observe the status

S 1.1.3.1-1

4214

526

Again, the proposal to conclude a multilateral non-aggression pact between Japan, the United States, Great Britain, China, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, and Thailand, which is patterned after the old concept of collective security, is far removed from the realities of East Asia.

2. The American proposal contains a stipulation which states: "Both Governments will agree that no agreement, which either has concluded with any third Powers, shall be interpreted by it in such a way as to conflict with the fundamental purpose of this agreement, the establishment and preservation of peace throughout the Pacific area."

It is presumed that the above provision has been proposed with a view to restrain Japan from fulfilling its obligations under the Tripartite Pact when the United States participates in the war in Europe, and, as such, it cannot be accepted by the Japanese Government.

The American Government, obsessed with its own views and opinions, may be said to be scheming for the extension of the War. While it seeks, on the one hand, to secure its rear by stabilizing the Pacific area, it is engaged, on

S 1.1.3.1-1

4213

525

predicament of East Asia.

5. All the items demanded of Japan by the American Government regarding China such as wholesale evacuation of troops or unconditional application of the principle of non-discrimination in international commerce ignore the actual conditions of China, and are calculated to destroy Japan's position as the stabilizing factor of East Asia. The attitude of the American Government in demanding Japan not to support militarily, politically or economically any régime other than the régime at Chungking, disregarding thereby the existence of the Nanking Government, shatters the very basis of the present negotiation. This demand of the American Government falling, as it does, in line with its above-mentioned refusal to cease from aiding the Chungking régime, demonstrates clearly the intention of the American Government to obstruct the resotation of normal relations between Japan and China and the return of peace to East Asia.

V. In brief, the American proposal contains certain acceptable items such as those concerning commerce, including the conclusion of a trade

S 1.1.3.1-1 4216

526

quo under the Anglo-American policy of imperialistic exploitation and to sacrifice themselves to the prosperity of the two nations. The Japanese Government cannot tolerate the perpetuation of such a situation since it directly runs counter to Japan's fundamental policy to enable all nations to enjoy each its proper place in the world.

The stipulation proposed by the American Government relative to French Indo-China is a good exemplification of the above-mentioned American policy. That the six countries - Japan, the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, China and Thailand - excepting France, should undertake among themselves to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of French Indo-China and equality of treatment in trade and commerce would be tantamount to placing that territory under the joint guarantee of the Government of those six countries. Apart from the fact that such a proposal totally ignores the position of France, it is unacceptable to the Japanese Government in that such an arrangement cannot but be considered as an extension to French Indo-China of a system similar to the Nine Power Treaty structure which is the chief factor responsible for the present

S 1.1.3.1-1 4215

527

VII. Obviously it is the intention of the American Government to conspire with Great Britain and other countries to obstruct Japan's efforts toward the establishment of peace through the creation of a new order in East Asia, and especially to preserve Anglo-American rights and interests by keeping Japan and China at war. This intention has been revealed clearly during the course of the present negotiation. Thus, the earnest hope of the Japanese Government to adjust Japanese-American relations and to preserve and promote the peace of the Pacific through cooperation with the American Government has finally been lost.

The Japanese Government regrets to have to notify hereby the American Government that, in view of the attitude of the American Government, it cannot but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement through further negotiations.

S 1.1.3.1-1 4218

530

agreement, mutual removal of the freezing restrictions, and stabilization of the yen and dollar exchange, or the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China. On the other hand, however, the proposal in question ignores Japan's sacrifices in the four years of the China Affair, menaces the Empire's existence itself and disparages its honour and prestige. Therefore, viewed in its entirety, the Japanese Government regrets that it cannot accept the proposal as a basis of negotiation.

VI. The Japanese Government, in its desire for an early conclusion of the negotiation, proposed that simultaneously with the conclusion of the Japanese-American negotiation, agreements be signed with Great Britain and other interested countries. The proposal was accepted by the American Government. However, since the American Government has made the proposal of November 26th as a result of frequent consultations with Great Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and Chungking, and presumably by catering to the wishes of the Chungking régime on the questions of China, it must be concluded that all these countries are at one with the United States in ignoring Japan's position.

S 1.1.3.1-1 4217

529

十二月六日東郷大臣發野村大使宛電報
第九〇四號

往電第九〇二號ニ因シ

申ス迄モナキコト乍ラ本件覚書ヲ準備スルニ当リテハ「タイ
ピスト」等ハ絶對ニ使用セラル様機密保持ニ此上共
慎重ニ慎重ヲ期セラレ度シ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4219

531

十二月七日東郷大臣發野村大使宛電報
第九〇五號

AP及UP通信ニ依リハ國務省ハ大統領カ 聖上陛下
宛親電ヲ發出セル旨ヲ公表セル趣、処真相折返シ御回
示アリ度シ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4220

532

十二月七日東郷大臣發野村大使宛電報
第九〇七號

本件對米覺書貴地時刻七日午前一時ヲ期シ米側
ニ成シ可ク國務長官ニ貴大使ヨリ直接御手交アリ
度シ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4221

533

十二月七日東郷大臣發野村大使宛電報
第九〇八號

貴兩大使カ心血ヲ濺カレタル御盡力ニモ不拘日米國交ノ
調整成ラス遂ニ今日ノ事態ニ立到リタル^共頓ル貴感
トスル所ナリ

此機會ニ兩大使ノ御努力ト御勞苦ニ對シ深甚ノ謝
意ヲ表スルト共ニ貴館館員一同ノ御奮闘ヲ感謝ス

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4222

534

十二月六日阿ロースベルト大統領親書

日本国 天皇陛下

約一世紀前米国大統領ハ日本国 天皇ニ親書ヲ致シ
米国民ノ日本国々民ニ對スル友好ヲ申出タル意ハ
受諾セラレル來不斷ノ平和ト友好ノ長期ヲ互リ
國民ハ其ノ徳ト指導者ノ睿智ニヨリテ繁栄シ人類
ニ對シ偉大ナル貢獻ヲ為セリ

外務省

535

S 1.1.3.1-1 4223

2

陛下ニ對シ余カ国務ニ関シ親書ヲ呈スルハ兩國ニ取リ
特ニ重大ナル防合ニ於テノミナルカ現ニ醸成セラレフ
アル深刻且廣汎ナル非常事態ニ鑑ミ茲ニ一書ヲ
呈スヘキモノト感スル次第ナリ

日米兩國民及全人類ヲシテ兩國ヲノ長年ニ亘ル
平和ノ福祉ヲ喪失セシメントスルカ如ク事態カ現ニ
太平洋地域ニ發生シワ、アリ右情勢ハ悲劇ヲ孕

外務省

536

S 1.1.3.1-1 4224

三
 ムモノナリ米国民ハ平和ト諸国家ノ共存ノ権利ト
 ヲ信シ過云數ヶ月ニ亘ル日米交渉ヲ熱心ニ注視シ
 來レリ吾人ハ支那事変ノ終熄ヲ祈念シ諸国民ニ
 於テ侵略ノ恐怖ナクシテ共存シ得ルカ如キ太平洋
 平和カ實現セラレシコトヲ希望シ且此一難事軍備
 ノ負担ヲ除クシ又各国ノ民カ如何ナル国家ヲモ排撃シ
 シ若ハ之ニ特異心ヲ示フルカ如キ差別ヲ設ケサル通

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4225

537

四
 南ノ復活センコトヲ念顧セリ右大目的ヲ達成センカ
 為ニハ陛下ニ於カレテモ余ト同シク日米兩國ハ如何
 ナル形式ノ軍事的脅威ヲモ除キスルコトニ同意スヘ
 キコト明瞭ナリト信ス
 約一年前陛下ノ改憲ハ「リ」改憲ト限定ヲ締
 結シ之ニ基キ北滿州鐵道支那三國地北方面於テ
 支那軍ニ對シ防禦ニ居リタル日本軍保護ノ為ニ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4226

538

五、六千ノ軍隊ヲ進駐セシメタリ、而シテ本年春及
 夏「ウィー」政府ハ仏領印度支那吾國防衛ノ為
 度ニ日本部隊ノ南部仏領印度支那ヲ容許セリ、
 余ハ仏領印度支那ニ對シ何等ノ攻撃行ハレタルコト
 ナク又攻撃ヲ企圖セラレタルコトナシト言明シテ是支
 ナシト回心考又

日親近數週ヨリ日本陸海軍部隊ハ夥シク南部

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4227

539

仏領印度支那ニ増強セラレタルコト唯自トナリタル
 為他國ニ對シ印度支那ニ於ケル集結ノ繼續力其
 性質ニ防衛的ニ非スト、尤モナル疑惑ヲ生セシム
 ルニ至レリ
 右印度支那ニ於ケル集結ハ極メテ大規模ニ行ハレ
 又在ハ今ヤ同軍艦ノ南東及南西端ニ西進シタルヲ以テ
 比島、東印度群島、暹羅、馬來及泰國ノ住民ハ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4228

540

日本國力之管化方ノ何レカニシテ改裝ヲ準備乃至
 企圖ニ居ルニ非ズヤト猶疑シテアルハ蓋シ吾等ナリ
 之等住民ノ總テカ抱懐スル恐怖ハ其ノ平和及國
 民的存在ニ關スルモノナルカ故ニ斯ル恐怖ハ吾等ナ
 ルコトハ陛下ニ於カレテモ御諒解アラセリテ新ナリト
 信ス余ハ改裝ヲ得テテ得ル程度ニ人自ト裝
 備トヲ為セル陛下海及空軍基地ニシテ米國民ノ多

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4229

541

クカ何故ニ猶疑ノ眼ヲ向クルカラ陛下ニ於カセラレテハ御
 諒解相成ルヘシト思惟ス
 斯ル事態ノ繼續ハ到底考へ及ハサル所ナルコトハカナリ
 余カ前述シタル諸國民ハ何レモ世限ニ若ハ恒久ニダイナ
 マイトシ樽ノ上ニ坐シ得ルモノニ非ス
 若シ日本兵力全面的ニ仏領印度支那ヨリ撤去スルニ
 於テハ合衆國ハ因比ニ侵入スルノ意圖豪ニナシ

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4230

542

9.

全ハ更印度政府、馬來諸政府及泰國政府ヨリ同
 様ノ保障ヲ求メ得ルモノト思考シ且支那政府ニ對シ
 テスラ同様保障ヲ求ムル用意アリ斯クシテ日本軍ノ
 仏印ヨリノ撤去ハ全南太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和ノ保
 障ヲ招來スヘシ

余カ 陛下ニ書ヲ致スハ此危尙ニ際シ 陛下ニ於カレテ
 モ余ト同様晴雲ヲ一掃スルノ方法ニ関シ考慮セラレシト

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4231

545

10.

亦望スルカ為ナリ、余ハ 陛下ト共ニ日米兩國民ノミナラス
 隣接諸國ノ住民ノ為兩國民ニ傳統的友誼ヲ恢
 復シ世界ニ於ケル此上ノ死滅ト破壊トヲ防止スルノ神
 聖ナル責務トヲ有スルコトヲ確信スルモノナリ

千九百四十一年十二月六日

ワシントンニ於テ

フランクリン・デイ・ローズベルト

外務省

S 1.1.3.1-1 4232

544

and let live, have eagerly watched the conversations between our two Governments during these past months. We have hoped for a termination of the present conflict between Japan and China. We have hoped that a peace of the Pacific could be consummated in such a way that nationalities of many diverse peoples could exist side by side without fear of invasion; that unbearable burdens of armaments could be lifted for them all; and that all peoples would resume commerce without discrimination against or in favor of any nation.

I am certain that it will be clear to Your Majesty, as it is to me that in seeking these great objectives both Japan and the United States should agree to eliminate any form of military threat. This seems essential to the attainment of the high objectives.

More than a year ago Your Majesty's Government concluded an agreement with the Vichy Government by which five or six thousand Japanese troops were permitted to enter into northern French Indochina for the protection of Japanese troops which were operating against China further north. And this spring and summer the Vichy Government permitted further Japanese military forces to enter into southern French Indochina for the common defense of French Indochina. I think I am correct in

S 1.1.3.1-1 4234

540

His Imperial Majesty

The Emperor of Japan.

Almost a century ago the President of the United States addressed to the Emperor of Japan a message extending an offer of friendship of the people of the United States to the people of Japan. That offer was accepted and in the long period of unbroken peace and friendship which has followed, our respective nations, through the virtues of their peoples and the wisdom of their rulers have prospered and have substantially helped humanity.

Only in situations of extraordinary importance to our two countries need I address to Your Majesty messages on matters of state. I feel I should now so address you because of the deep and far-reaching emergency which appears to be information.

Developments are occurring in the Pacific area which threaten to deprive each of our nations and all humanity of the beneficial influence of the long peace between our two countries. Those developments contain tragic possibilities. The people of the United States, believing in peace and in the right of nations to live

S 1.1.3.1-1

4233

545

greatly as to constitute armed forces capable of measures of offense.

It is clear that a continuance of such a situation is unthinkable.

None of the peoples whom I have spoken of above can sit either indefinitely or permanently on a keg of dynamite.

There is absolutely no thought on the part of the United States of invading Indo-China if every Japanese soldier or sailor were to be withdrawn therefrom.

I think that we can obtain the same assurance from the Government of the East Indies, the Governments of Malaya and the Government of Thailand. I would even undertake to ask for the same assurance on the part of the Government of China. Thus a withdrawal of the Japanese forces from Indo-China would result in the assurance of peace throughout the whole of the South Pacific area.

I address myself to Your Majesty so that Your Majesty may, as I am doing, give thought in this definite emergency to ways of dispelling the dark clouds. I am confident that both of us, for the sake of the peoples not only of our own great countries but for the sake of

saying that no attack has been made upon Indo-China nor that any has been contemplated.

During the past few weeks it has become clear to the world that Japanese military, naval and air forces have been sent to southern Indo-China in such large numbers as to create a reasonable doubt on the part of other nations that this continuing concentration in Indo-China is not defensive in its character.

Because these continuing concentrations in Indo-China have reached such large proportions and because they extend now to the southeast and the southwest corners of that peninsula it is only reasonable that the people of the Philippines, of the hundreds of islands of the East Indies, of Malaya and of the Thailand itself are asking themselves whether these forces of Japan are preparing or intending to make attack in one or more of these many directions.

I am sure that Your Majesty will understand that the fear of all these peoples is a legitimate fear inasmuch as it involves their peace and their national existence. I am sure that Your Majesty will understand why the people of the United States in such large numbers look askance at the establishment of military, naval and air bases manned and equipped so

- 5 -

humanity in neighboring territories, have a sacred
duty to restore traditional amity and prevent further
death and destruction in the world.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Washington,

December 6, 1941.

S 1.1.3.1-1

549

REEL No. A-0299

0299

アジア歴史資料センター

佛印ニ日本軍隊集結セル事情ニ付テ過般米國大統領ノ照會ニ對シ
日本政府ニ於テ回答セシメタリ
尙佛印ヨリノ撤兵ハ日米交渉ニ於ケル一項目ヲ爲セルモノニシテ
右ニ付テモ日本政府ヲシテ意思表示ヲ爲サシメタルニヨリ右ニヨ
リ御承知相成度シ
而シテ太平洋牽テ世界ノ平和康寧ヲ招來セントスルハ朕ノ素志ニ
シテ之カ爲朕ノ政府ヲシテ今日迄努力セシメ來リタルコトハ大統領
領ニ於テモ夙ニ了承セラレ居ル所タルヘキヲ信ス

外
務
省

8 1.1.3.1-1

4237

550

His Majesty has expressed his gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President. He has graciously let known his wishes to the Foreign Minister to convey the following to the President as a reply to the latter's message.

"Some days ago, the President made inquires regarding the circumstances of the augmentation of Japanese forces in French Indo-China, to which His Majesty has directed the Government to reply. Withdrawal of Japanese forces from French Indo-China constitutes one of the subject matters of the Japanese-American negotiation. His Majesty has commanded the Government to state its views to the American Government also on this question. It is, therefore, desired that the President will kindly refer to this reply.

Establishment of peace in the Pacific and consequently of the world has been the cherished desire of His Majesty, for the realization of which He has hitherto made the Government continue its earnest endeavors. His Majesty trusts that the President is fully aware of this fact."

6 1.13.1-1

4238

551

REEL No. A-0299

0299

アジア歴史資料センター

日米交渉経過（外務省公表）

一 日米間ノ交渉ハ本年春頃ヨリ華盛頓ニ於テ開始セラレ四月中旬
米國政府ヨリ非公式試案ノ提示アリタルカ右提案ノ内容ハ（一）兩
國ノ抱懷スル國際觀念及國家觀念（二）歐洲戰爭ニ對スル態度（三）支
那事變ニ對スル態度（四）日米兩國間ノ通商（五）太平洋地域ニ於ケル
經濟活動（六）太平洋地域ノ政治的安定（七）比律賓中立化等ノ項目ヲ
含ミ之ヲ太平洋全般ノ問題ニ關スル一般協定ノ基礎タラシメ
ントセルモノナリ本案ニハ日本政府ニ於テ受諾シ得サル幾多ノ
點アリ同案中米國政府ハ日獨伊三國同盟條約ニ關シテハ米國カ
自衛ニ名ヲ藉リテ歐洲戰爭ニ參入スル場合帝國カ太平洋方面ニ
於テ米國ノ安全ヲ脅威セサルコトニ付保障ヲ求メ又支那事變ニ
關シテハ米國ノ容認スル基礎條件ヲ以テ日支和平ヲ仲介セント
セリ依テ帝國政府ハ五月中旬三國條約ニ付テハ我軍事援助義務
ハ同條約規定ノ場合ニ發動スル旨ヲ明カニシ又支那事變ニ付テ

ハ米國ハ近衛三原則、日支基本條約及日滿華共同宣言ヲ了承シ
我善隣友好政策ニ信賴シテ重慶ニ對シ和平ヲ勸告スヘク重慶ニ
於テ右勸告ニ聽從セサレハ重慶援助中止ヲ申入レアリ度旨ヲ要
求スル等ノ修正ヲ加ヘタル對案ヲ提出シ交渉ヲ重ネタル處六月
下旬米國政府ヨリ前記四月案ニ比シ米國ノ主張ヲ更ニ具體的ナ
ラシメタル修正案ノ提示アリ、後交渉ハ同案ヲ續キ繼續セラレ
タリ

ニ然ルニ七月第三次近衛內閣成立後間モナク帝國カ佛國トノ間ニ
締結シタル議定書ニ基キ佛領印度支那共同防衛ノ措置ヲ講スル
ヤ米國ハ帝國ニ對シ資産凍結ヲ行ヒ經濟的壓迫ヲ加ヘ來レルカ
帝國ハ依然平和解決ノ希望ニ促サレ八月近衛首相ヨリ「ローズ
ベルト」大統領ニ對シ「メッセーヂ」ヲ以テ帝國政府ノ平和的
意圖ヲ開陳スルト共ニ危局救済ノ爲ニハ一刻モ速ニ兩國首腦者
會合ノ必要ナル所以ヲ申送リタリ、之ニ對シ米國ハ主義上贊意ヲ

ル東亞ノ平和確立スルニ於テハ直ニ之ヲ撤去スヘシトノ案ヲ得
右案ニヨリ交渉ヲ續行セリ此ノ間政府ハ日米交渉成立ノ際ハ關
係事項ニ付英國其他ノ諸國トモ同時ニ了解ノ成立万米國領ニ於
テ斡旋スヘキコトヲ要望シ尙本件交渉ニ付萬全ノ努力ヲ拂ハシ
カ爲來栖大使ヲ米國ニ急派シ野村大使ヲ援助セシムルコトトセ
リ
然ルニ米國側ハ日米協定成立セハ帝國ハ三國條約ヲ保持スルノ
要ナカルヘク右ハ消滅若ハ死文トナルコトヲ要望スル旨反覆力
説シ通商無差別原則ハ無條件ニ支那ニ適用スルコトヲ主張シ列
國共同ノ下ニ支那ノ經濟協同開發ヲ行フコト等ヲ包含スル經濟
政策ニ關スル日米共同宣言案ヲ提出セリ依テ帝國政府ハ右ニ對
シ通商無差別原則ニ付テハ帝國ハ同原則カ全世界ニ適用セラ
ルコトヲ希望シ右希望ノ實現ニ順應シテ支那ニ對シテモ同原則
ノ適用ヲ承認ストノ趣旨ヲ答フルト共ニ右共同宣言案ニ付テハ

S. 1.1.3.1-1

4243

556

支那共同開發提案ハ支那國際管理ノ端緒トナル虞アルヲ以テ受
諾シ難キコトヲ述ヘ米國側ニ撤回ヲ求メタリ
十一月十七日以來野村大使ハ來栖大使ト共ニ大統領及國務長官
ト會見ヲ重ネ交渉急速妥結ノ要アルコトヲ力説セル處大統領ハ
支那問題ニ付テハ日支間和平ノ「紹介者」タルノ用意アリト述
ヘ又國務長官ハ帝國カ獨逸ト提携シ居ル限り日米交渉ハ至難ナ
ルヲ以テ先ツ此ノ根本的困難ヲ除去スル必要アル旨ヲ強調シ兩
三回ニ亘リ論議ヲ重ネタルモ難關ハ依然トシテ、三國條約ノ國
際通商無差別待遇問題及支那問題ニ在ルコト明カトナレルヲ以
テ帝國政府ハ兩國國交ノ破綻ヲ回避スル爲最善ノ努力ヲ竭サン
トスル考慮ニ基キ樞要且緊急ノ問題ニ付公正ナル妥結ヲ圖ル爲
十一月二十日左ノ新提案ヲ提出セリ
一 日米兩國政府ハ孰レモ佛印以外ノ南東亞細亞及南太平洋地域
ニ武力的進出ヲ行ハサルコトヲ確約ス

S. 1.1.3.1-1

4244

557

一 日本兩國政府ハ南領印度ニ於テ其必要トスル物資ノ獲得カ保
 章セララルル様相互ニ協力スルモノトス
 二 日本兩國政府ハ相互ニ通商關係ヲ資產凍結前ノ狀態ニ復歸ス
 ヘン本國政府ハ所屬ノ石炭ノ對日供給ヲ約ス
 三 日本兩國政府ハ日支兩國ノ和平ニ關スル努力ニ支章ヲ與フルカ如
 キ行動ニ出テサルヘ
 四 日本國政府ハ日支間和平成立スルカ又ハ太平洋地境ニ於ケル
 公正ナル平和確立スル上ハ現ニ南領印度支那ニ派遣セラレ居
 ル日本軍隊ヲ撤退スヘキ旨ヲ約ス
 五 日本國政府ハ不了ニ成立セハ現ニ南部南領印度支那ニ駐屯中
 ノ日本軍ハ之ヲ北部南領印度支那ニ移駐スルノ用意アルニト
 ヲ明ス
 右ニ對シテ務長官ハ帶同カニ條約トノ關係ヲ明カニシテ平和
 策採用ヲ確言スルニ非サレハ右第四項ヲ受諾シ後再行爲ヲ停止

スルト不可認ナリト云ヒ又大統領ノ所稱日支間和平ノ「紹介
 者」タラントノ案モ日本ノ平和策採用ヲ助メトスルモノナ
 ル旨ヲ述ヘ第四項ニ付大ナル難色ヲ示シタルヲ以テ我方ハ兩大
 使ヲシテ務長官ニ對シテ大統領ノ紹介ニ依リ日支直接交渉結
 セラルル場合和平ノ紹介者タル本國カ依然交渉行爲ヲ繼續セン
 トスルハ平和成立ヲ妨害スルモノニシテ其態度ニ矛盾アルコト
 ヲ指摘シ本國政府ノ反省ヲ懇請セシメタリ
 然ルニ此間本國政府ハ英領事及駐慶代表ト交渉スル所アリ十一
 月二十二日「務長官ハ兩大使ニ對シテ南部南領印度支那ノ軍事ノミニ
 テハ南太平洋方面ノ急迫セル情勢ヲ緩和スルニ足ラストスル旨
 應ニ大統領ノ所稱日支間ノ紹介ハ非線未タ熟セスト恐ラズル旨
 ヲ述ヘタリ
 本國政府ハ其後モ前記代表ト交渉ヲ重ク居リタルカ二十六日
 「務長官ハ兩大使ニ對シテ二十日ノ談話案ニ付テハ眞重研究ヲ加

へ關係國トモ協議セルモ遺漏ナラ同意シ難シトテ今後ノ交渉ノ基礎築トシテ大要左ノ如キ案ヲ提出セリ即チ
一 日米相互間ニ於テ實際ニ適用スヘキ根本の原則トシテ政治關係ニ於テハ前述ノ四原則ヲ再述セルカ唯其ノ中第四點ヲ紛争ノ防止及平和的解決ニ平和的方法及手續ニ依ル國際狀勢改善ノ爲國際協力及國際調停遵據ノ原則ト改メ經濟關係ニ於テハ主トシテ前記政治的の原則ノ第三通商上ノ機會均等及平等待遇ノ原則ヲ敷衍シ
二 日米兩國政府ノ採ルヘキ措置トシテ
(1) 日米兩國政府ハ英、蘭、支、蘇、泰ト共ニ多邊的不可侵條約ノ締結ニ努ム
(2) 日米兩國政府ハ日、米、英、支、蘭、泰國政府トノ間ニ佛印ノ領土主權ヲ尊重シ佛印ノ領土主權カ脅威サルル場合必要ナル措置ニ關シ即時協議スヘキ協定ノ締結ニ努ム

右協定締結國ハ佛印ニ於ケル貿易及經濟關係ニ於テ特惠待遇ヲ排除シ平等ノ原則確保ニ努ム
(3) 日本政府ハ支那及佛印ヨリ一切ノ軍隊(陸、海、空、及警察)ヲ撤收スヘシ
(4) 兩國政府ハ重慶政府ヲ除ク如何ナル政權ヲモ軍事的、政治的、經濟的ニ支ハセス
(5) 兩國政府ハ支那ニ於ケル治外法權(租界及團匪議定書ニ基ク權利ヲ含ム)ヲ拋棄シ他國ニモ同様ノ措置ヲ恣意スヘシ
(6) 兩國政府ハ互惠的最惠國待遇及通商障壁低減ノ主義ニ基ク通商條約締結ヲ協議スヘシ(生絲ハ自田品目ニ置ク)
(7) 兩國政府ハ相互ニ資産凍結令ヲ廢止ス
(8) 圓弗爲營安定ニ付協定シ兩國夫々半額宛資金ヲ供給ス
(9) 兩國政府ハ第三國ト締結シ居ル如何ナル協定モ本協定ノ條本目的即太平洋全地域ノ平和確保ニ矛盾スルカ如ク解釋セ

ラレサルコトニ付同意ス
(*)以上ノ諸原則ヲ他國ニモ德澤スルコト
ヲ提案セリ
右ニ付兩大使ハ其ノ不當ナルヲ指摘シ強硬ナル應酬ヲナセル
カ國務長官ハ讓歩ヲ示サズ越エテ二十七日大統領ハ兩大
使ニ對シ今猶日米交渉ノ妥結ヲ希望セサルニ非ルモ暫定的方
法ニ依リ局面ヲ開ク計ルハ兩國ノ根本主義方針カ一致セサル
限り結局無効ト思考スル旨ヲ述ヘタリ、依テ帝國政府ハ米國
ニ對シ十一月二十日ノ我方提案ハ最モ公正ナル基礎ニ於テ從
來ノ彼我主張ヲ充分考慮ノ上作成セラレタルモノナルニモ拘
ラス米國カ之ニ同意スルヲ得スト爲シ東亞ノ現實ヲ無視セル
新案ヲ提出シ殊ニ支那問題ニ關シ其ノ態度ヲ豹變セルハ米國
ノ誠意ヲ疑ハシムルモノナルニ付米國側ニ於テ反省センコト
ヲ要求セルカ國務長官ハ從來ノ態度ヲ固執スルノミニテ交渉

ノ本質的問題ニ付更ニ商議ヲ進メントスル色ナク越エテ十二
月二日ニ至リ「ウエルズ」次官ハ大統領ノ命ナリトテ情報ニ
ヨレハ最近佛印方面ニ於テ日本軍隊ノ移動増強ハ居レリ
トテ右ニ關スル帝國ノ眞意ヲ照會越シタリ依テ帝國政府ハ右
ハ最近佛印ト支那トノ國境附近ニ於テ支那軍カ頻リニ蠢動シ
居ルニ鑑ミ六ニ備ヘンカ爲北部佛印ニ於テ一部兵力ノ増強ヲ
行ヒタルモノナル處之ト關聯シテ自然南部ニ於テモ部隊ノ移
動カ行ハレタルモノナル旨ヲ回答シタルカ此ノ間米國政府ハ
對日包圍陣ヲ急速ニ増強スルト共ニ輿論ヲ指導シ交渉決裂ノ
場合ノ地面メヲ爲スニ至レリ
六從テ前記米國提案ニ對シ帝國政府ハ十二月七日附ヲ以テ別添「
對米覺書」ヲ以テ其ノ態度ヲ明ニセリ

The proposal was intended to serve as a basis for a general agreement concerning the questions of the entire Pacific area. But the proposal contained a number of points unacceptable to the Japanese Government. For instance, with reference to the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy, the American Government asked the Japanese Government to give an undertaking not to menace the security of the United States when the latter should participate in the European war on the plea of self-defense. Again, as regards the China Affair, the American Government would undertake to use its good offices for the initiation of peace negotiations between the Japanese Government and the Chungking régime on such terms as were acceptable to the United States.

Accordingly, the Japanese Government sent a counter-proposal in the middle of May, modifying the American proposal. Concerning the Tripartite Pact it was explicitly stated that Japan's obligation to render military assistance would arise as stipulated under the said treaty, while with regard to the China Affair, it was provided that the American Government, accepting the premises of the three Konoye Principles, the

§ 1.1.3.1-1

4252

565

Summary of the Japanese-American Negotiations.

(December 8th, 1941.)

1. Negotiations between the Governments of Japan and the United States of America were begun at Washington in spring of this year. In the middle of April, the American Government submitted an informal draft proposal. It contained stipulations on the following items:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.
3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.
4. Commerce between both nations.
5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.
6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.
7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

§ 1.1.3.1-1

4254

564

Prince Konoye sent a personal message to President Roosevelt, setting forth fully the peaceful intentions of Japan, and proposing a meeting without delay between the responsible heads of the two Governments with a view to averting the crisis in the relations of the two countries. While accepting in principle the Konoye proposal, the American Government stoutly maintained its stand that it could not see its way to putting it into practice unless an agreement of view had been first reached on the pending issues, especially on the questions of the Tripartite Pact, the stationing of Japanese troops in China, and the non-discriminatory treatment in international commerce; and moreover, it held fast to its June proposal, refusing to make any concessions. Accordingly, the Japanese Government submitted on September 6 a proposal, followed by yet another proposal submitted on September 25 which took into account the American proposal of June and incorporated Japanese claims. Negotiations were continued until October 2, when the American Government requested clarification of Japan's intentions regarding the application of the four principles long advocated by

Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty and the Joint Declaration of Japan, Manchoukuo and China, and relying upon Japan's Policy of neighborly friendship, would urge upon the Chungking régime to enter into negotiations with the Japanese Government for the restoration of peace, and it was further stipulated that in case Chungking refused to accept the American advice, the United States was to cease from aiding the Chungking régime. Negotiations were continued further when in the latter part of June a new counter-proposal was submitted by the American Government, which, as compared with its proposal of April, set forth American claims in a more concrete manner. Discussions were continued to be held, revolving round this June proposal.

2. In July, soon after the formation of the third Konoye Cabinet the Japanese Government took measures of joint defense of French Indo-China in accordance with the Protocol concluded between Japan and France, whereupon the American Government applied economic pressure by freezing Japanese assets. But the Japanese Government still hoped for a peaceful settlement, and in August premier

that so long as the American Government persisted in that attitude, there was little chance of bringing negotiations to a successful conclusion.

3. The present Cabinet in its solicitude for the peace of the Pacific decided to continue the negotiation. With a view to effecting a settlement on an equitable basis, the Japanese Government formulated the following proposal concerning the three principal issues in the negotiations - namely (1) the right of self-defense in connection with the Tripartite Pact, (2) non-discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and (3) evacuation of troops from China and French Indo-China.

1. The American Government undertakes not to enlarge unduly the meaning of "self-defense."
2. The Japanese Government recognizes the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations to be applied to all the Pacific area, including China, on the understanding that the said principle is to be applied uniformly to the rest of the world.
3. Following the restoration of peace between Japan and China, the Japanese troops despatched to China in connection with the China Affair will

S 1.1.3.1-1 4256

569

the United States as fundamental principles of international relations namely:

1. Respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of each and all nations.
2. Support of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
3. Support of the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity.
4. Non-disturbance of the status quo in the Pacific except as the status quo may be altered by peaceful means.

At the same time, it demanded the Japanese Government to clarify further its views concerning the three questions mentioned above. As a result, the negotiations struck an impasse. In the meantime the Konoye Cabinet resigned in the middle of October.

Such divergence of view as above mentioned between the two Governments was produced largely because the American Government obstinately adhered to utopian principles based on selfish views for dealing with international relations, and insisted upon the application thereof in China and elsewhere, regardless of the real conditions of East Asia. It was evident

S 1.1.3.1-1 4255

568

non-discrimination in international commerce, the American Government, insisting on its unconditional application to China, proposed the economic development of China jointly by the Powers. To this proposal the Japanese Government replied to the effect that with regard to the commercial non-discrimination principle, Japan hoped for its application throughout the world and that it would recognize its application to China in accordance with the realization of this principle throughout the world, and also that the American proposal for the joint international development of China was unacceptable to Japan as it would open the way for the joint international control of China. On these grounds, the Japanese Government requested the American Government to withdraw the proposal in question.

4. On November 17 and thereafter Admiral Nomura, together with Ambassador Kurusu, repeatedly met the American President and Secretary of State and strongly urged upon the latter two the necessity of bringing about speedily an amicable conclusion of the negotiation. Discussions were extended over a few meetings at which the President stated that he was prepared to act as an "introducer" of peace between Japan and

S 1.1.3.1-1 4258

571

be stationed for the necessary duration in specified areas, and the rest of the troops will be withdrawn upon the conclusion of peace and in accordance with the agreement between Japan and China. The troops in French Indo-China will be withdrawn immediately either upon the settlement of the China Affair or the establishment of peace in East Asia on an equitable basis.

Negotiations were conducted on the basis of the above proposal. Meanwhile the Japanese Government requested the American Government to use its good offices, upon the conclusion of the Japanese-American negotiation, for the conclusion of a similar understanding with Great Britain and other countries concerning relevant subjects. Moreover, in order to do the utmost in the negotiation, dispatched Ambassador Kurusu posthaste to Washington to assist Admiral Nomura.

On the other hand, the American Government repeatedly urged that there would be no need for Japan to maintain the Tripartite Pact after the consummation of a Japanese-American agreement, and expressed its hope that the said treaty would cease to exist or become a dead letter. As regards the principle of

S 1.1.3.1-1 4257

570

mutually undertake to restore their commercial relations to those prevailing prior to the freezing of the assets.

The Government of the United States shall supply Japan a required quantity of oil.

4. The Government of the United States undertakes not to indulge in measures and actions prejudicial to the endeavours for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China.

5. The Japanese Government undertakes to withdraw troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area.

The Government of Japan declares that it is prepared to remove the Japanese troops now stationed in the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part of the said territory upon the conclusion of the present agreement.

Regarding the above proposal, the Secretary of State contended that it was impossible for the American Government to accept the item 4 of our proposal and

Chungking, and the Secretary of State emphasized, that, Japanese-American negotiations would prove difficult as long as Japan co-operated with Germany, and it was necessary to remove this fundamental difficulty.

Despite these discussions, it became clear that the difficulty lay as before in the questions of the Tripartite Pact, of the international commercial non-discriminatory treatment and of China. In order to avert the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the Japanese Government, presented on November 20, the following new proposal for calculated to achieve an equitable solution of the more essential and urgent questions.

1. Both the Governments of Japan and the United States undertake not to make any armed advancement into any of the regions, excepting French Indo-China, in the South Eastern Asia and the Southern Pacific area.

2. The Governments of Japan and the United States shall cooperate with a view to securing the acquisition of those goods and commodities which the two countries need in the Netherlands East Indies.

3. The Governments of Japan and the United States

Subsequently, the American Government continued consultations with the representatives of the Powers above-referred to and on November 26 the Secretary of State presented to our Ambassadors, as a basis for future negotiations, a proposal to the following effect, stating that, although the American Government had carefully studied the Japanese proposal of the 20th and consulted with the countries concerned, they could not unfortunately bring themselves to agree to our proposal.

(A) In the new proposal, American Government reiterated, with reference to political relations, the above-mentioned four principles as the fundamental principles to be practically applied to mutual relations between Japan and the United States. However, it changed the item 4 to "the principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes." As regards economic relations, the American Government elaborated the third political principle concerning the equality of opportunity and equal treatment in commerce.

cease aiding the Chiang Kai-shek régime unless Japan clarified her relations with the Tripartite Pact and gave assurances regarding her adoption of a peaceful policy, and that the President's offer to act as "introducer" of Sino-Japanese peace was predicated upon Japan's adoption of a peaceful policy. Thereupon, the Japanese-Government instructed the two Ambassadors to request reconsideration by the American Government, pointing out to the Secretary of State that, in case direct negotiations were opened between Japan and Chungking through "introduction" by the President, the continuation of aid to the Chiang Kai-shek régime by the United States, the peace introducer, would constitute an interference with the realization of peace, and that the American contention was therefore inconsistent.

5. Meanwhile, the American Government consulted with the representatives of Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and Chungking, and on November 22 the Secretary of State told our two Ambassadors that withdrawal of troops from southern French Indo-China alone would not be enough to ease the tense situation in the Southern Pacific and that he considered the time was not yet ripe for the so-called "introduction" of peace between Japan and Chungking by the President.

(iii) The Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indo-China.

(iv) The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will not support - militarily, politically, economically - any Government or régime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking.

(v) Both Governments will give up all extraterritorial rights in China, including rights and interests in and with regard to international settlements and concessions, and rights under the Boxer Protocol of 1901.

Both Governments will endeavor to obtain the agreement of the British and other Governments to give up extraterritorial rights in China, including rights in international settlements and in concessions and under the Boxer Protocol of 1901.

(vi) The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will enter into negotiations for the conclusion between the United States and Japan of a trade agreement,

(B) As measures to be adopted by the Governments of Japan and the United States it proposed as follows:

(i) The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will endeavor to conclude a multilateral non-aggression pact among the British Empire, China, Japan, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, Thailand and the United States.

(ii) Both Governments will endeavor to conclude among the American, British, Chinese, Japanese, the Netherlands and Thai Governments an agreement whereunder each of the Governments would pledge itself to respect the territorial integrity of French Indo-China and, in the event that there should develop a threat to the territorial integrity of Indo-China, to enter into immediate consultation with a view to taking such measures as may be deemed necessary and advisable to meet the threat in question.

Such agreement would provide also that each of the Government party to the agreement would not seek or accept preferential treatment in its trade or economic relations with Indo-China and would use its influence to obtain for each of the signatories equality of treatment in trade and commerce with French Indo-China.

Regarding the above proposal, our Ambassadors refuted the American claims pointing out their unreasonableness. But the Secretary of State failed to show any sign of concession, and on November 27 the President told our two Ambassadors that, although he still hoped for an amicable conclusion of the Japanese-American negotiations, he considered that it would be futile to try to surmount the crisis by a modus vivendi so long as the fundamental policies of the two countries were not in accord.

The Japanese Government, therefore, requested reconsideration of the the American Government, because, despite the fact that our proposal of November 20 was made after fully considering the claims of both sides on the most equitable basis, the American Government, maintaining that it could not agree to this proposal, made a new proposal which entirely ignored the realities in East Asia and in particular completely changed its attitude with respect to the China question - a fact which led the Japanese Government to doubt the sincerity of the American Government. On December 2, however, the American Under-Secretary of State Welles, stating

S 1.1.3.1-1

4266

579

based upon reciprocal most favored-nation treatment and reduction of trade barriers by both countries, including an undertaking by the United States to bind raw silk on the free list.

(vii) The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will, respectively, remove the freezing restrictions on Japanese funds in the United States and on American funds in Japan.

(viii) Both Governments will agree upon a plan for the stabilization of the dollar-yen rate, with the allocation of funds adequate for this purpose, half to be supplied by Japan and half by the United States.

(ix) Both Governments will agree that no agreement which either has concluded with any third powers shall be interpreted by it in such a way as to conflict with the fundamental purpose of this agreement, the establishment and preservation of peace throughout the Pacific area.

(x) Both Governments will use their influence to cause other Governments to adhere to and to give practical application to the basic political and economic principles set forth in this agreement.

S 1.1.3.1-1

4265

578

that he was acting under Presidential order, made an inquiry to our Government regarding our true intentions, saying that, according to their information, movements and reinforcement of Japanese troops were recently taking place in the region of French Indo-China. To this inquiry, the Japanese Government replied that, in view of the recent marked activities of the Chungking forces in the neighborhood of the frontier between French Indo-China and China, Japan had made partial reinforcement of its troops in northern French Indo-China as a precautionary measure and that this naturally had resulted in movement of the troops in the southern area. Meanwhile the American Government rapidly reinforced the encircling front against Japan and led public opinion to its own advantage and thus prepared the ground with a view to meeting the situation arising from the rupture of the negotiations.

6. The Japanese Government made clear their attitude regarding the above-mentioned American proposal in its Memorandum to the American Government under date of December 7, the full text of which is published separately.

S 1.1.3.1-1

4267

△580