Doc. 2593 Evid

Folder 3

(174)

## INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 2593

15 August 1946

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

## DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: Collection of photostats of Japanese Government messages intercepted, decrypted, and translated by Mar and Navy Dept personnel. Certified as accurate and authenticated by Carter W. CLARKE, Col. G.S.C.

Date: 2 Jul 41- Original ( ) Copy (x) Language: English 8 Dsc 41

Has it been translated? Yes ( ) No (x) Has it been photostated? Yes ( ) No (x)

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL

Document Division

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL: United States War Dept, General Staff, Intelligence Division

PERSONS LIFLICATED: NOMURA, Kichisaburo; TOYODA, Teijiro; OSHIMA, Hiroshi; TOGO, Shigenori

CRIHES TO WHICH DOCULENT APPLICABLE: Jap-American negotiation Relations with Germany and Italy

## SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

Item 1. 2 July; Circular 1390 re "Principal Points in Imperial Policy for Coping with Changing Situation" decided at conference held in Imperial presence. (In 2 parts)

Item 2. 14 July; No. 255 re information from military officials to attaches in CANTON pertaining to plans for invading French Indo-China and crushing Anglo-American assistance in southern areas.

Item 3. 31 July; No. 433; 4 parts; re Imperial Govt policy and views especially concerning Germany and Russia.

Doc. No. 2593 Page 1 Doc. No. 2593 - Page 2 - SULMARY Cont'd

Them 4. 27 Sep; No. 865; 10 parts; Washington to Tokyo reporting progress of Jap-American negotiations and U.S. maintenance of her proposals of 21 June.

Item 5. 8 Oct; No. 907; parts 1 and 4 of four;
Washington (NOMURA) to Tokyo re NOMURA's views of progress of
Jap-American negotiations.

Item 6. 16 Oct; No. 671; TOKYO (TOYODA) to washington re German demand that Jap Govt give U.S. notification of existence of belligerent situation if U.S. continues to attack axis powers increasingly.

Item 7. 18 Oct; listed as "CA"; NOMURA to TOKYO re NOMURA's desire to return to Japan to report progress of Jap-American negotiations.

Item 8. 4 Nov; No. 725; 3 parts; TOKYO to Washington re counter-proposal for resumption of Jap-American negotiation

Item 9. 4 Nov; No. 726; 4 parts; TOKYO to Washington re Proposal "A", the revised ultimatum to U.S. to meet as far as possible, American wishes based upon proposals of 25 Sep.

Item 10. 5 Nov; No. 735; TOKYO to Washington re submission of Proposal "A" and announcement that if this is declined, Proposal "B" will be submitted as final proposal.

Item 11. 5 Nov; No. 736; TOKYO to Washington setting \$\ 25 Nov as deadline for completing Jap-American negotiations.

Item 12. 11 Nov; No. 764; 3 parts; TOKYO to Washington re Jap-American negotiations and their relationship to Great Britain.

Item 13. 14 Nov; Circular 2319; TOKYO to HONGKONG re

Japan's foreign policy as pertaining to CHINA if Jap-American
negotiations fail.

Item 14. 14 Nov; No. 1090; NOMURA to TOKYO reporting that American policy in Pacific is to stop any further Japanese moves northward or southward.

Item 15. 16 Nov; army 24878; TOKYO to Washington urging that NOMURA do his best to bring about immediate solution to Jap-american negotiations.

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1			
		Doc. No. 2593 - Page 3 - SULLARY Cont'd	
	P-15	Item 16. 19 Nov; No. 1136; Washington to TOKYO, re three ways Empire might take re policy with U.S.	158
	10-16	Item 17. No. 812; 22 Nov; TORYO to Washington stating that deadline for completion of negotiations will be extended to 29 Nov.	145
	0-17	Item 13. 22 Nov; No. 815; TOKYO to mashington stating that Anti-Comintern agreement will be extended 5 years.	166
	1-0	Item 19. 25 Nov; No. 118; HANOI to TOKYO re Japanese advance into THAILAND if Jap-American negotiations fail.	174
	0-19	Item 20. 26 Nov; No. 1180; NOMURA and KURUSU to TOKYO re proposal for exchange of wires between U.S. and Japan hoping for cooperation in Pacific.	180
	10-20	Item 21. 26 Nov; No. 1190; NOLURA to TOKYO re discouraging aspect of Jap-American negotiations.	182
	2573	A Item 22. 29 Nov; No. 1393; BERLIN to TOKYO re meeting between Jap Ambassador and VON RIBBENTROP.	200
	0-21	Item 23. 30 Nov; No. 985; TOKYO to BERLIN requesting that HITLER and VON RIBBENTROP be given a summary of Jap-American negotiations.	204
		Item 24. 30 Nov; No. 986; TOKYO to BERLIN re Jap-America negotiations and stating that U.S. has decided to regard Japan along with Germany and Italy, as an enemy.	705
	10-23	TOKYO (YAMAMOTO) re plans to see HULL and notification of ROOSEVELT's return to Washington.	206
	p-24	Item 26.) 30 Nov; No. 1222; NOLURA to TOKYO re publication in America of TOJO's speech of 30 Nov.	20.7
		Item 27. 30 Nov; No. 866; TOKYO to washington relating that TOJO made no speech on 30 Nov and that it actually was composed by Business Office of Asia Development League (KOA DOMEI) against whom measures will be taken.	
	0-26	Item 28. 1 Dec; No. 865; Tokyo to Washington stating "to prevent U.S. from becoming unduly suspicious we have been	08

Doc. No. 2593 - Page 4 - SULLARY Cont'd

advising the press and others that though there are some wide differences, the negotiations are continuing".

Q-21 of many in America that Japanese Govt will resort to strong measures.

Item 30. 1 Dec; No. 1227; Mashington to TOKTO stating

Courses why American sentiment has been aroused against Japan and listing ToJo's speech as one of the causes

Item 52. 2 Dec. Cir. 8445, TOGO to HAVANA re immediate 30 measures to be taken (burning of telegraph codes.)

Item 33. 2 Dec; No. 1232; NOMURA to TORYO re events of interview with WELLES and expressing opinion U.S. is desirous of reaching a solution through negotiation.

Q -3 V Item 34. 2 Dec; No. 512; CANTON to TOKYO stating that preparations are ready if hostilities begin.

3593 B Item 35 3 Dec; No. 985; ROLE to TOMYO re meeting with MUSSOLINI and GLANO re development of Jap-U.S. negotiations.

Item 36. 3 Dec; No. 873; TOKYO to Washington re to 3 ominous tone of U.S. newspaper and radio comments.

Item 37. 3 Dec; No. 1.256; NO: MRA to TOKYO re FORYO to send a reply giving cleaner impression of Japan's peaceful intentions.

10 35 Item 38. 4 Dec; No. 909: TOKYO to MSIAKING re steps

Jus. has "occupied" NETHERLANDS GUILNA and will no longer hesitate to use arms.

Item 40. 6 Dec; No. 1003; TOKYO to BERLIN stating Fapan would like to avoid bringing about any situation likely to result in an armed clash with Soviet Russia "until strategic circumstances permit it".

Doc. No. 2593 Page 4 Doc. No. 2593 - Page 5 - SULTLIRY Cont'd

Them 41. 7 Dec; Cir. 2499; Parts 1 and 3 of three; re steps to be taken in China if international crisis develops.

Item 42. 7 Dec; No. 907; TOKYO to Washington re
Japanese reply to U.S. be submitted at 1:00 F.J., 7 Dec;
Washington time.

Ttem 43. 8 Dec 41; No. 1437; BERLIN to TOKYO stating that Jap Ambassador had called on RIBBENTROP at 1:00 P.M., 8 Dec. requesting Germany and Italy to issue formal declaration of war on America at once.

(A.N. Originals of most of the above may also be found in IPS Doc. No. 906.)

2125 Stem 44- July. from Bong Fork to D-+1 2015yo, dated 25 how 41 #849 ( In 2 parts, complete)

Analyst: 2d Lt Blu magen

Doc. No. 2593 Page 5 Doc. No. 2593-D-21

(Item No. 23)

SECRET

From: Tokyo
To: Berlin
November 30, 1941.
Purple. (CA)

#985. (Part 1 of 3)a

EXHIBIT NO.

Re my Circular #2387.b

1. The conversation begun between Tokyo and Washington last April during the administration of the former cabinet, in spite of the sincere efforts of the Imporial Government, now stand ruptured -- broken. (I am sending you an outline of developments in separate message #986c.) In the face of this, our Empire faces a grave situation and must act with determination. Will Your Honor, therefore, immediately interview Chancellor HITLER and Foreign Winister RIBBENTROF and confidentially communicate to them a summary of the developments. Say to them that lately England and the United States have taken a provocative attitude, both of them. Say that they are planning to move military forces into various places in East Asia and that we will inevitably have to counter by also moving troops. Say very secretly to them that there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms and add that the time of the breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone draums.

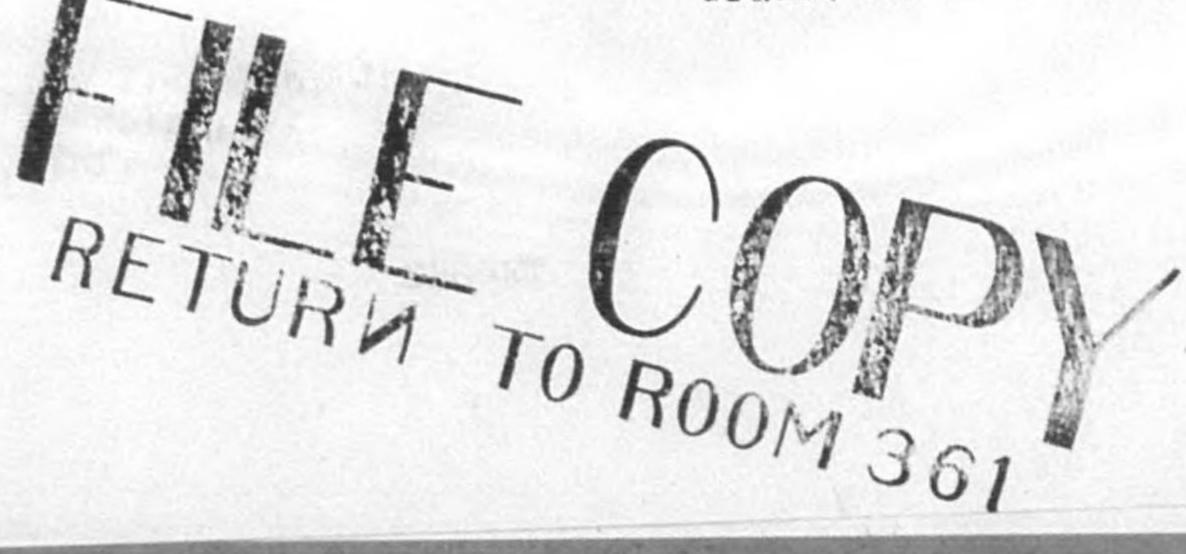
- a Part 2 not available. For Part 3 see S.I.S. #25553.
- b Not evailable.
- c See S.I.S. #25554 and 25555

SECRET

25552

JD 6943

Trans. 12-1-41 (NR)



Doc. No. 2593-D-21

(Item No. 23)

SECRET

From: Tokyo To: Berlin November 30, 1941. Purple. (CA)

# #985. (Part 3 of 3)

- 4. If, when you tell them this, the Germans and Italians question you about our attitude toward the Soviet, say that we have already clarified our attitude toward the Russians in our statement of last July. Say that by our present moves southward we do not mean to relax our pressure against the Soviet and that if Russia joins hands tighter with England and the United States and resists us with hostilities, we are ready to turn upon her with all our might: however, right now, it is to our advantage to stress the south and for the time being we would prefer to refrain from any direct moves in the north.
- oint of view and must under all circumstances be held in the most absolute secrecy. This goes without saying. Therefore, will you please impress upon the Germans and Italians how important secrecy is.
- 6. As for Italy, after our Ambassador in Berlin has communicated this to the Germans, he will transmit a suitable translation to Premier BUSSOLINI and Foreign Binister CIANO. As soon as a date is set for a conference with the Germans and Italians, please lot me know.

will you please send this message also to Rome, together with the separate message.

25553

Trons. 12-1-41 (NR)

A TRUE COTY:

/s/ William J. Welsh, Jr. William J. Welsh, Jr. Captain, Inf.

SECRET

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached anctostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTER W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

Doc. No. 2593D (22)

Ex//99 Page/

Item 24

From: Tokyo
To: Berlin
November 30, 1941
Purple

#986 (Strictly Secret) (To be handled in Government Code) (Part 1 of 2) (Secret outside the Department)

l. Japan-American negotiations were commenced the middle of April of this year. Over a period of half a year they have been continued. Within that period the Imperial Government adamantly stuck to the Tri-Partite Alliance as the cornerstone of its national policy regardless of the vicissitudes of the international situation. In the adjustment of diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States, she has based her hopes for a solution definitely within the scope of that alliance. With the intent of restraining the United States from participating in the war, she boldly assumed the attitude of carrying through these negotiations.

2. Therefore, the present cabinet, in line with your message, with the view of defending the Empire's existence and integrity on a just and equitable basis, has continued the negotiations carried on in the past. However, their views and ours on the question of the evacuation of troops, upon which the negotiations rested, (they demanded the evacuation of Imperial troops from China and French Indo-China), were completely in opposition to each other.

Judging from the course of the negotiations that have been going on, we first came to loggerheads when the United States, in keeping with its traditional idealogical tendency of managing international relations, re-emphasized her fundamental reliance upon this traditional policy in the conversations carried on between the United States and England in the Atlantic Ocean. The motive of the United States in all this was brought out by her desire to prevent the establishment of a new order by Japan, Germany, and Italy in Europe and in the Far East, that is to say, the aims of the Tri-Partite Alliance. As long as the Empire of Japan was in alliance with Germany and Italy, there could be no maintenance of friendly relations between Japan and the United States was the stand they took. From this point of view, they began to demonstrate a tendency to demand the divorce of the Imperial Government from the Tri-Pertite Alliance. This was brought out at the last meeting. That is to say that it has only been in the negotiations of the last few days that it has become gradually more and more clear that the Imperial Government could no longer continue negotiations with the United States. It become clear, too, that a continuation of negotiations would inevitably be detrimental to our cause.

ARMY

6944

25554

SECRET

Trans. 12/1/41 (NR)

TOP SECRET

-10

Item 24

From: Tokyo
To: Berlin
November 30, 1941.
Purple.

#986. (Fart 2 of 2)

3. The proposal presented by the United States on the 26th made this attitude of theirs clearer than ever. In it there is one insulting clause which says that no matter what treaty either party enters into with a third power it will not be interpreted as having any bearing upon the basic object of this treaty, namely the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This means specifically the Three-Power Pact. It means that in case the United States enters the European war at any time the Japanese Empire will not be allowed to give as sistance to Germany and Italy. It is clearly a trick. This clause alone, let alone others, makes it impossible to find any basis in the American proposal for negotiations. What is more, before the United States brought forth this plan, they conferred with England, Australia, the Netherlands, and China -- they do so repeatedly. Therefore, it is clear that the United States is now in collusion with those nations and has decided to regard Japan, along with Germany and Italy, as an enemy.

Doc. No. 2593B

# EXHIBIT NO.606

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached photostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke CARTER W. CLARKE Colonel, G.S.C.

SECRET

Page 1 Ey. 8.05 Doc. No. 2593-D-37 (Item No. 40) SECRET BELLURN TO ROOM 361 From: Tokyo To: Berlin December 6, 1941 Purple (CA) (Urgent) #1003 Re 2 of your #1418a. 1. From the standpoint given in 4 of my #985b we would like to avoid bringing about any situation likely to result in an armed clash with Soviet Russia until strategic circumstances permit it: and so get the German Government to understand this position of ours and negotiate with them so that at least for the present they would not insist upon exchanging diplomatic notes on this question. In doing this, explain to them at considerable length that insofar as American materials being shipped to Soviet Russia through any point lying within the scope of our intelligence are concerned, they are neither of high quality nor of large quantity, and that in case we start our war with the United States we will capture all American ships destined for Soviet Russia. Flease endeavor to come to an understanding on this line. 2. However, should Foreign Linister RIEBENTROP insist upon our giving a guarantee in this matter, since in that case we shall have no other recourse, make a ---statement to the effect that we would, as a matter of principle, prevent war materials from being shipped from the United States to Soviet Russia via the Japanese waters and get them to agree to a procedure permitting the addition of a statement to the effect that so long as strategic reasons continue to make it necessary for us to keep Soviet Russia from fighting Japan (what I mean is that we cannot capture Soviet ships), we cannot carry this out thoroughly. 3. In case the German Government refuses to agree with 1 and 2 and makes their approval of this question absolutely conditional upon our participation in the war and upon our concluding a treaty against making a separate peace, we have no way but to postpone the conclusion of such a treaty. This point is intended for you to bear in mind. 25925 SECRET ARLY

Doc. No. 2593-D-37

(Item No. 40)

## SECRET

- 4. Concerning our participation in the war and the question of our promising not to conclude a separate peace, I shall wire you later.
- a Not available.
- b Parts 1 and 3, S.I.S. Nos. 25752, 3. Part 2 not available. Tokyo informs Berlin that there is extreme danger of war suddenly breaking out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan and that if Russia joins hands with England and the United States against her, Japan will turn upon her with all her might.

25925

ARLY

Trans. 12/9/41 (NR)

SECRET

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

C34000

I hereby certify that the attached photostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTER W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

宛亚 東瓦

京京

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公式 開

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公 的資 ウイリア・ARBUITラウト 院心察部門 空官

(署名)

FREN E

Doc. No. 25930

Dog to Many Trees

### SECRET

From: Canton
To: Tokyo
July 14, 1941.
Purple.

#255 here been paid and the expedition will seem proceed

To be kept secret within the Department.

Re my #253a.
Subsequent Information from military officials to the Attaches is as fellows:

- the irrevocable resolution of Japan to put an end to Anglo-American assistance in thwarting her natural expansion and her indomitable intention to carry this out, if possible, with the backing of the Axis but, if necessary, alone. Formalities, such as dining the expeditionary forces and saying farewell to them, have been dispensed with; That is because we did not wish to arouse greatly the feelings of the Japanese populace and because we wished to face this new war with a calm and cool attitude.
- 2. The immediate object of our occupation of French Indo-China will be achieve our purposes there. Secondly, its purpose is, when the international situation is suitable, to launch therefrom a rapid attack. This venture we will carry out in spite of any difficulties which may arise. We will endeavor to the last to occupy French Indo-China peacefully but, if resistance is offered, we will crush it by force, occupy the country and set up martial law. After the occupation of French Indo-China, next on our schedule is the sending of an ultimatum to the Netherlands Indies. In the seizing of Singapore the Navy will play the principal part. As for the Army, in seising Singapore it will need only one division and in seizing the Netherlands Indies, only two. In the main, through the activities of our air arm (in you city, the Sprately Islands, Parao, Thaiese SingaparePortuguese Timor and French Indo-China) and our submarine fleet (in the South) Seas mandate islands, Hainan Island, and French Indo-China) we will once and for all crush Anglo-American military power and their ability to assist in any schemes against us.
- 3. The troops soon to occupy French Indo-China will be reorganized as the 25th Army Corps (one Army Corps consists of four divisions) and also the 30th Army Corps, consisting of the South China forces, which will be assigned

descriptions General IIDA (the IIDA Army mentioned in preceding) telegrams has been changed to the Mishimura detachment) will be placed in command and general military headquarters will be set up in Saigon. All preparations have been made. The ship fees have been paid and the expedition will soon proceed from here.

Tyus Prench-Indo-China, Army HEI

a-Not available.

MUSSOLINI

MUS

容二強 漫電 見地里一極東自然 旅湯湯河シ 没有一日以二千米 何我是追己少年强国 一はフコト 一世野ヨリスル 四日米衛談 中元 一,號米 CIAND 一教告子受力 本"千 引得~心心愈 ノ意見到が見本 朴相之 =

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02

2593B

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海军鄉渡一 九四年

Doc. 2593B.

陸軍

陸軍省参謀本部

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Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

Dec. de 250 (12 1:00 010)

INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached anctostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained messages of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTER W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

Doc. No. 2593B

"From: Rome

"To: Tokyo

"3 December 1941 (Purple-CA)

11#985

"Re your message #985\* to Berlin.

"On this day, at 11 o'clock in the morning, I accompanied by Ando, called on Premier Mussolini, (Foreign Minister Ciano was also present). I described the developments in the Japanese-U. S. negotiations in accordance with the contents of your message #986\*\* to Berlin.

"Mussolini: 'I have been carefully watching the progress of the Japanese-U. S. talks from the very beginning and therefore am not at all surprised to receive your report. As a matter of fact, in view of the utter bull-headedness of the United States and the meddlesome nature of President Roosevelt, I should say that the outcome was nothing but what should have been expected. One of the aims of the United States is to make the Far East her own, from an economic standpoint. I have felt from the beginning that if it was the intention of the United States to separate Japan from the Axis first and then intervene in Europe, the United States was doomed to fail because of Japan's loyal and sincere nature.

know, I wholeheartedly endorse Japan's policy of creating a New Order in East Asia. This has been true in the past, is true now and will be so in the future. I am one who is firmly convinced that Japan has every right to be the leader of the Great East Asia area.

"I continued by relating to him the contents of your message referred to in the heading, (with regard to paragraph 3 of that message, I said that I had been advised that some arrangements were being made between our Ambassador in Berlin and Ribbentrop.)

"With regard to paragraph 2, Mussolini said that should war break out, Italy would give every military aid she had at her disposal, i.e., that she would make every effort to keep the British navy checked in the Mediterranean.

"Mussolini: 'Recently, the formation of an Italian-German air force bloc was discussed so as to afford closer cooperation between the two to apply further pressure on the British in the Mediterranean. The negotiations on this proposal have progressed to a point where it may be signed any day now.'

"Regarding paragraph 2 again, should Japan declare war on the United States and Great Britain, I asked, would Italy do likewise immediately? Mussolini replied: 'Of course. She is obligated to do so under the terms of the Tripartite Pact. Since Germany would also be obligated to follow suit, we would like to confer with Germany on this point.'

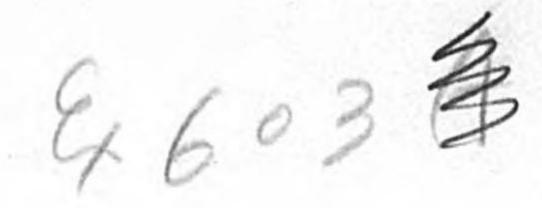
"With reference to paragraph 3, I submitted the French text of your message #987\*\*\*, as one proposal, and asked him whether he preferred it to be separately or jointly. He replied that as long as it was done simultaneously with Germany it did not make much difference to him, but if it were done jointly he thought it would give the impression of more strength. He said he would confer with Ambassador MAKKENZEN.

"Mussolini failed to bring up the subject of Soviet Russia, so the matter was not brought up at all.

(Translator's note: Up to this point, message was in Purple-CA. The following paragraph was not encoded in the CA. Cannot find phrase referred to, in the text)

"In the first part of this message, please correct 'N-NKEN WA' to 'KINKENSHA WA.'

25833 JD-1: (D) Navy Trans. 12-6-41 (W-T \*JD-1: 6943 (S. I. S. #25552-53). \*\*JD-1: 6944 (S.I.S. #25554-55). \*\*\*Not available. Doc. No. 2593 (Item 17)



Page L

TOP SECRET

From: Tokyo To: Washington November 22, 1941 Purple CA (Urgent)

#812

To both you Ambassadors.

It is awfully hard for us to consider changing the date we set in my #736, as you know. However, I know you are working hard. The Imperial Government is maintaining its fixed policy and doing its very best, sparing no efforts to try to bring about the solution we desire. "e desire by all means to prevent a breakdown b in Japanese-American relations, but if within the next three or four days you can finish your conversations with the Americans; if the signing can be completed by the 29th; c if we can get an understanding with Great Britain and the Netherlands through the exchange of notes and so forth; and in short if everything can be finished, desnite difficulties unbelievably great, we (Zwill?) make arrangements to wait until that date. This time we mean it, that the deadline absolutely cannot be changed. After that things are automatically going to happen. Please take this into your careful consideration and work as hard as you have in the past. This is for the information of you two Ambassadors alone.

- See S.I.S. #24373. Tokyo wires Washington that because of the various circumstances it is absolutely necessary that arrangements for the signing of the agreement be completed by the 25th of this month.
- b HAKYOKU. c Date repeated in code text for emphasis.

ARMY 25138

JD 6710

Trans. 11/22/41 (S)

TOP SECRET

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached photostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke
CARTER W. CLARKE
Colonel, G.S.C.

Expos

Doc. No. 2593D-2

Page 1

(Item No. 3)

SECRET

From: Tokyo (Foreign Minister)
To: Washington
July 31, 1941
Purple (CA)

#433

(Part 1 of 4) (lessage to Berlin #708)

From time to time you have been sending us your various opinions about what we ought to do to help Germany who desires our assistance now that she is at war with Russia. After a conference with the military, at the risk of a certain amount of repetition which may cause you some ennui, I amwiring you the Imperial Government's policy and views. Fereafter, will you please act accordingly.

- l. In a cabinet meeting during the forenoon of July 2, the broad outlines of our decision concerning our future policy were drawn. You were informed of it by Circular #1300. Ever since then the Government has been and is devoting every effort to bring about the materialization of that policy.
- 2. The China incident has already extended over a period of four years, and the Imperial Government's general trend, particularly its military trend, has hitherto been to expend the greater part of its energies in an endeavor to bring a conclusion to the incident, and now a new situation faces us from the north and from the south. In order to meet it, there is more reason than ever before for us to arm ourselves to the teeth for all-out war.

a - Not available.

NOTE: The system used in this message is considered to be of the highest type of secret classification used by the Japanese Foreign Office. It used the CA code transposed according to J-19 keys and the resulting transposed code was then enciphered in the purple machine. This is the first solution of such a system that has been effected.

ARMY

SECRET

Trans. 8/4/41 (NR)

# FILE COPY

Doc. No. 2593D-2

Page 2

(Item No. 3)

SECRET

From: Tokyo (Foreign Minister)
To: Washington
July 31, 1941
Purple (CA)

#433 (Par

(Part 2 of 4)

(Message to Berlin #708)

It seems that Germany also understands this position of ours fairly well. The derman limbassy people here in Tokyo are already quite aware of it, and yet I fear that their homeland is not yet as well informed as they are on our position.

Japan and third countries, led by England and the United States are gradually becoming so borribly strained that we cannot endure it much longer. Consequently, our Empire, to save its very life, must take measures to secure the raw materials of the South Seas. Our Empire must immediately take steps to break asunder this ever-strengthening chain of encirclement which is being woven under the guidance and with the participation of England and the United States, acting like a cunning dragon seemingly asleep. That is why we decided to obtain military bases in French Indo-China and to have our troops occupy that territory.

That step in itself, I dare say, gave England and the United States, not to mention Russia, quite a sct-back in the Pacific that ought to help Germany, and now Japanese-American relations are more rapidly than ever treading the evil road. This shows what a blow it has been to the United States.

Needless to say, the Russo-German war has given us an excellent opportunity to settle the northern question, and it is a fact that we are proceeding with our preparations to take advantage of this occasion. Not only will we have to prepare, however, but we must choose well our chance. In view of the real situation facing our Empire, this should be easily understood. If the Russo-German war proceeds too swiftly, our Empire would inevitably not have time to take any effective symmetrical action.

5. I know that the Germans are somewhat dissatisfied over our negotiations with the United States, but we wished at any cost to prevent the United States from getting into

ARMY

SECRET

Trans. 8/4/41 (NR)

Doc. No. 2593D-2

(Item No. 3)

From: Tokyo (Foreign Minister)

To: Washington
July 31, 1941

Purple (CA

#433 (Part 3 of 4) (Message to Berlin #708)

the wer, and we wished to settle the Chinese incident. We were working toward those objectives. Let him who will gainsay the fact that as a result we have indelibly impressed

the war, and we wished to settle the Chinese incident. We were working toward those objectives. Let him who will gainsay the fact that as a result we have indelibly impressed upon the United States the profoundness of the determination of the Empire of Japan and restrained her from plunging into the conflict against Germany.

It should be understood that we started these talks at a time which seemed opportune to us, and on the assumption that there was complete trust between Japan and Germany. For that matter, did not Germany start a war with Russia because of her own military expediency when it was least desirable on our part? Now we have not only to settle the Chinese incident but have to meet a new challenge in the north as well as in the south, and this is quite inconvenient.

We are expending our best efforts to cooperate with Germany. She knows it and ought to understand our actions.

6. Well, the formula for cooperation between Tokyo and Berlin, in order to realize the fundamental spirit of the Tripartite Pact, should be for each country to have a certain flexibility in its conduct. What I mean to say is that each should understand that real cooperation does not necessarily mean complete symmetry of action. In other words, we should trust each other and while striving toward one general objective, each use our own discretion within the bounds of good judgment.

Thus, all measures which our Empire shall take will be based upon a determination to bring about the success of the objectives of the Tripartite Pact. That this is a fact is proven by the promulgation of an Imperial rescript. We are ever working toward the realization of those objectives, and now during this dire emergency is certainly no time to engage in any light unpremeditated or over-speedy action.

Please send to Rome. Have sent to Washington.

SECRET

Trans. 8/4/41 (NR)

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEP'RTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached photostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the bast of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTER W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

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2593-D-2 (Item. No. 3)

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2593 - D-2 -4 (Item No. 3) 對急却米歐ノラ シ度ツ亮テ領ズ テヲ甲土 乙テ、武方 打 々 二 太 此 没平ノラ ナ道立準題這 ヤ迦べ於自セ度 ア、行露ル質 のか余八此意 此日信云レ治 レポナフガヲ 米信セ及ナ福 国ハシバリシ 二 加 メ ボ 其

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(Item No.3)

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2593-D-2-5

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25-93. - D-2 --6 (Item No.3) لما لما لما バナカラシ清二晋二 ソノテセ兒等反 ラズケロハルニニシ ナッヤ学、コックで イ同吾的當トルゼン 为万气部分万个信息。 \* 亚八合二型源セス コビダガハがアリル レニ部ラ報セリ 八北雪路モラト思へ 金万足日望ルノハ 班マベジン 不気がたトシャ定クシ 時 會

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2593-D-2-7 (Item No. 3)

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2593-D-2-8 (Item No.3) 從八

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報

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Ex/144

Doc. No. 2593-D (4)

Page 1

(Item 5 ).

SECRET

From:

Washington (Momura)

To:

Tokyo

October 8, 1941

Purple

#907

(Part 1 of 4)

(To be handled in government code. Departmental Secret)
Re your #637 b.

I will tell you more about this after I interview the Secretary of State a little later on. However, my views at present are as follows:

(1) According to the American memorandum of the lst, the Americans realize that there is unanimity on the various principles and fundamentals which they have stuck to. However, they are dissatisfied because you did not express a desire to go into a detailed discussion. The Americans believe in the four principles as the basis on which relations between the two countries must be adjusted. The Americans consider that it is necessary to achieve unanimit on the various questions which have been fundamentally explored by both nations in the unofficial talks held so far in order to settle the Pacific question. They have always felt that if conversations between the leaders of the two countries are to be realized immediately, it must be definitely understood that these principles are to be applied to the concrete problems in the Pacific, and they desire a further clarification of our views.

a - For Part 3 of 4, see S. I. S. #23293.

b - S. I. S. #23118 in which the Foreign Minister, TOYODA, asks
Ambassador NOMURA to immediately clarify with the U. S. Government two points.

ARMY 23319 SECRET Trans. 10/10/41 (1)

(Itom 5 ).

SECRET

From: Washington (Nomura)

To: Tokyo October 8, 1941

Purple

#907

(Part 3 of 4)

(To be handled in government code.)

Judging by the impression I got from the above mentioned facts and my contacts with them so far, they figure on first bringing about unanimity on the fundamental questions on which our two countries have so far failed to see eye to eye, and then gradually to turn to the other matters. They evidently feel that so long as there is disagreement on the eforementioned points it would be vain and futile to discuss the various other problems, therefore, up to now the United States has done no more than express her opinions on the other matters in the proposal of June 11. (As I have wired you, some changes were made in the last clause.)

In their proposal of June 21, they made it evident that they were going to stick to this as the basis for negotiations. The latest reply of theirs shows, I am sure, that they are entirely disregarding our own proposal of the 25th. This shows that they are going to stick to their ideas as they stand: however, it will still be necessary for us to talk through certain matters concerning , A. The matter mentioned in the annex of the clause concerning the China incident. B. Discontinuing activities designed to help CHIANG. C. The stipulation concerning Manking Treaty in the clause concerning the China incident (an agreement between Japan and China); joint mediation and the right of self-protection mentioned in the clause concerning our attitude toward the European war; the question ARMY 23293 Page One

SECRET

Doc. No. 2593-D (4)

Page 3

(Item 5).

## SECRET

of eliminating the annex to the clause concerning commerce between the two nations.)

a - Parts 1 and 2 not available.

ARMY 23293

SECRET

Trans. 10/10/41 (7)

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEPARTMENT GET RAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached photosists of Japanese messages have been intercented by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and nutbentic to the best of my knowledge and helief insofar as it is humanly nossible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke
Correr W. CLARKE
Colonel, G.S.C.

Dec 2593D (4) Item, 5

原ワ

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Doc 259.3 D (4) Item 5 一受意 第 九 信 信 元四 陸ル大S四

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照

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Doc 2593D (4) Item 5 (C)(B)(A) 即 々 ル 策 米 蓮 質記(支癬文チハ頭ヲ固能六 尙 念 全 政 元 ラ 々 府 シ 記し固無策テナ 鼠乳饭近右一 要ル居同録附 記り・ 37.

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Doc. No. 2593-D (7)

Page 1

Item No. 8

SECRET

From: Tokyo To: Washington November 4. 1941 Purple (CA) (Urgent)

# 725

(Part 1 of 3)

Concerning my #722 .

have reached the edge, and our people are losing confidence in the possibility of ever adjusting them. In order to lucubrate on a fundamental national policy, the Cabinet has been meeting with the Imperial Headquarters for some days in succession. Conference has followed conference, and now we are at length able to bring forth a counter-proposal for the resumption of Japanese-American negotiations based upon the unanimous opinion of the Government and the military high command (ensuing Nos. 726 b and 727 b). This and other basic policies of our Empire await the sanction of the conference to be held on the morning of the 5th.

- 2. Conditions both within and without our Empire are so tense that no longer is procrastination possible, yet in our sincerity to maintain pacific relationships between the Empire of Japan and the United States of America, we have decided, as a result of these deliberations, to gamble once more on the continuance of the parleys, but this is our last effort. Both in name and spirit this counter-proposal of ours is, indeed, the last. I want you to know that. If through it we do not reach a quick accord, I am sorry to say the talks will certainly be ruptured. Then, indeed, will relations between our two nations be on the brink of chaos. I mean that the success or failure of the pending discussions will have an immense effect on the destiny of the Empire of Japan. In fact, we gambled the fate of our land on the throw of this die.
- a S.I.S. #24292 which states that meetings are being held with the Imperial Headquarters to consider a fundamental policy for improving relations between Japan and America and that a final decision is to be made on the morning of the 5th.
- b Not available.

SECRET

24330

Trans. 11/4/41 (S)

Doc. No. 2893-D (7)

From: Tokyo
To: Washington
November 4, 1941
Purple (CA) (Urgent)

#725 (Part 2 of 3)

When the Japanese-American meetings began, who would have ever dreamt that they would drag out so long? Hoping that we could fast come to some understanding, we have already gone far out of our way and yielded and yielded. The United States does not appreciate this, but through thick and thin sticks to the self-same propositions she made to start with. Those of our people and of our officials who suspect the sincerity of the Americans are far from few. Bearing all kinds of humiliating things, our Government has repeatedly stated its sincerity and gone far, yes, too far, in giving in to them. There is just one reason why we do this -- to maintain peace in the Pacific. There seem to be some Americans who think we would make a one-sided deal, but our temperance, I can tell you, has not come from weakness, and naturally there is an end to our long-suffering. Nay, when it comes to a question of our existence and our honor, when the time comes we will defend them without recking the cost. If the United States takes an attitude that overlooks or shuns this position of ours, there is not a whit of use in ever broaching the talks. This time we are showing the limit of our friendship; this time we are making our last possible bargain, and I hope that we can thus settle all our troubles with the United States peaceably.

Trans. 11/4/41 (S)

24331

2/133

From: Tokyo
To: Washington
November 4, 1941
Purple (CA) (Urgent)

#725 (Part 3 of 3)

3. It is to be hoped earnestly that looking forward to what may come at the end--at the last day of Japanese-American negotiations--the Government of the United States will think ever so soberly how much better it would be to make peace with us; how much better this would be for the whole world situation.

4. Your Honor will see from the considerations above how important is your mission. You are at a key post, and we place great hopes in your being able to do something good for our nation's destiny. Will you please think deeply on that and compose yourself and make up your mind to continue to do your best. I hope you will. Now just as soon as the conference is over. I will let you know immediately, and I want you to go and talk to President ROOSEVELT and Secretary HULL. I want you to tell them how determined we are and try to get them to foster a speedy understanding.

5. In view of the gravity of these talks, as you make contacts there, so I will make them here. I will talk to the American Ambassador here in Tokyo, and as soon as you have got the concensus of the American officials through talking with them, please wire me. Naturally, as these things develop, in case you take any new steps. I want you to let me know and get in contact with me. In this way we will avoid letting anything go astray. Furthermore, lest anything so away, I want you to follow my instructions to the letter. In my instructions, I want you to know there will be no room for personal interpretation.

Trans. 11/4/41 (S)

24332

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEPARTURY WAR DEPARTMENT GET RAL STAFF INTE LIGENCE DIVISION WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached photostats of Jananese messages have been intercented by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained norsonnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly nossible for an occidental accurately to translate da anese scrint.

> /s/ Carter W. Clarke CARTER W. CLARKE Colonel, G.S.C.

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Doc 2593D (7)

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Doc 2593D (7)
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Doc 2593D(7)
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九四六年七月二十四日

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取本部付大佐 W· CLARKE

ZX / (6) Doc. No. 2593-D (8) Ttem No. 9 SECRET From: Tokyo. Tot Washington November 4, 1941 Purple (CA) (Urgent) (Part 1 of 4.) #726 Proposal "A". 1. This proposal is our revised ultimatum made as a result of our attempts to meet, in so far as possible, the wishes of the Americans, clarified as a result of negotiations based on our proposals of September 25. We have toned down our insistance as follows: (1) The question of non-discrimination in trade. Should they appear not to accede to our proposal of September 25 in this respect, insert the following statement. "The Japanese Government is prepared to carry out this principle in the entire Pacific area; that is to say, China as well, providing the principles of non-discrimination are applied to the entire world. (2) The question of our understanding and application of the Tripartite Alliance. At the same time that you clarify to them that we intend no expansion of our sphere of self-defense, make clear, as has been repeatedly explained in the past, that we desire to avoid the expansion of Europe's war into the Pacific. Trans. 11/4/41 (S) 24334 SECRET

SECRET

From: Tokyo
To: Washington
November 4, 1941
Purple (CA) (Urgent)

# 726

(Part 2 of 4.)

(3) The question concerning the evacuation of troops. We are toning down our stipulations in this connection

as follows:

(A) The stationing and evacuation of troops in China since the outbreak of the China Incident.

Dapanese troops which have been sent to China will be stationed in North China, on the Mongolian border regions, and on the Island of Hainan after the establishment of peace between Japan and China, and will not be evacuated until the elapse of a suitable interval. The evacuation of other troops will be carried out by Japan and China at the same time that peace is established. In order to maintain peace and order, this will be carried out within a period of two years. (Note: Should the American authorities question you in regard to "the suitable period", answer vaguely that such a period should encompass 25 years.)

(B) The stationing and evacuation of troops in French

Indo-China.

The Japanese Government respects the territorial integrity of the French possession, Indo-China. In the event that a just peace is established, or that the China Incident is brought to a successful conclusion, Japanese troops which have been dispatched to French Indo-China and are there now shall be evacuated.

(4) As a matter of principle, we are anxious to avoid having this inserted in the draft of the formal proposal reached between Japan and the United States (whether it is called an understanding proposal or some other sort of a statement.)

Trans. 11/4/41 (5)

24335

SECRET

SECRET

From: Tokyo To: Washington November 4, 1941 Purple (CA) (Urgent)

#726

(Part 3 of 4)

## 2. Explanation.

(1) Of course, there is the question of geographical proximity when we come to consider non-discrimination in commerce.

However, we have revised our demands along this line hitherto and put the question of non-discrimination on a world-wide basis. In a memorandum of the American Government, they state in effect, however, that it might be feasible for either country within a certain specified area to adopt a given policy and for the other party within another specified area to adopt a complementary policy.

Judging from this statement, I do not believe they will oppose this term. I think that we can easily reach an understanding on this matter.

(2) As for the question of the Three-Power Pact, your various messages lead me to believe that the United States is, in general, satisfied with our proposals, so if we make our position even more clear by saying that we will not randomly enlarge upon our interpretation of the right of self-defense, I feel sure that we will soon be mutually agreed on this point.

24336

Trans. 11/4/41 (S)

SECRET

SECRET

From: Tokyo
To: Washington
November 4, 1941.
Purple (CA) (Urgent)

#726 (Part 4 of 4)

(3) I think that in all probability the question of evacuation will be the hardest. However, in view of the fact that the United States is so much opposed to our stationing soldiers in undefined areas, our purpose is to shift the regions of occupation and our officials, thus attempting to dispel their suspicions. We will call it evacuation; but although it would please the United States for us to make occupation the exception rather than the rule, in the last analysis this would be out of the question. Furthermore, on the matter of duration of occupation, whenever pressed to give a clear statement we have hitherto couched our answers in vague terms. I want you in as indecisive yet as pleasant language as possible to euphemize and try to impart to them the effect that unlimited occupation does not mean perpetual occupation. Summing this up. Proposal A accepts completely America's demands on two of the three proposals mentioned in the other proposal, but when it comes to the last point concerning the stationing and evacuation of forces, we have already made our last possible concession. How hard, indeed, have we fought in China for four years! What tremendous sacrifices have we made: They must know this, so their demands in this connection must have been only "wishful thinking." In any case, our internal situation also makes it impossible for us to make any further compromise in this connection. As best you may, please endeavor to have the United States understand this, and I earnestly hope and pray that you can quickly bring about an understanding.

Trans. 11/4/41 (S)

24337

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEP'RTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached photostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTER W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

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Doc 2573D (8)

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一九四六年七月二十四日

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多源 本 的附大佐

カーゲー。ダヴリュー・クラーク

Ex 1170

Doc. No. 2593-D (9) Item No. 16

page 1

From: Tokyo.
To: Washington.
5 November 1941
(Perple-Ch.)

#735

U.S. negotiations referred to in my message #725 was taken up at the Imperial Conference on this, the 5th, and was given approval. Therefore, will you please begin the talks along the lines given in my instructions.

2. We assume that it would meet with the U.S. approval, in view of past developments, if, for the time being, the 21 June proposal - 25 September's from our point of view - was used as a basis of these new talks. Subsequently, we feel that from the standpoint of the likelihood of reaching an early agreement, our Proposal A (contained in my message #726\*\*) should be submitted for discussion. (As a matter of fact, there are a number of points in the form and in the expressions used in the U.S. proposal which do not meet with our complete approval. However, we feel that for convenience and speed's sake, Proposal A should be submitted first.) Please, therefore, explain these points to the United States and at the same time have them clearly understand the circumstances contained in my message #725\*. Thereupon, do your utmost to have them accept that proposal in the shortest possible time.

3. If the United States expresses too many points of disapproval to Proposal A and if it becomes apparent that an agreement cannot be reached, we intend to submit our absolutely final proposal, Proposal B (contained in my message #727\*\*\*). Please, therefore, ascertain the U.S. attitude to Proposal A as soon as possible, and advise this office. Be sure to advise this office before Proposal B is submitted to the United States.

4. As stated in my previous message, this is the Imperial Government's final step. Time is becoming exceedingly short and the situation very critical. Absolutely no delays can be permitted. Please bear this in mind and do your best. I wish to stress this point over and over.

5. We wish to avoid giving them the impression that there is a time limit or that this proposal is to be taken as an ultimatum. In a friendly manner, show them that we are very anxious to have them accept our proposal.

24387 6276 JD-1:

(continued) (D) Navy Trans. 11-5-41(S-TT)

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JD-1: 6276

SECRET

(d) Navy Trans. 11-5-41 (S-TT)

ANA CANTES TO COUNTRY

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEP'RTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached photostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the Mar and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTER W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

EXHIBIT NO. 1170 Dec 2593D (1)

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Doc 2593D (9)

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多線本 部附大佐

カーゲー・ダヴリュー・クラーク

Ex 1171

Doc. No. 2593D (10)

Ex // / page 1

Item 11

SECRET

From: Tokyo
To : Washington.
5 November 1941
(Purple-GA)

#736

(Of utmost secrecy).

Because of various circumstances, it is absolutely necessary that all arrangements for the signing of this agreement be completed by the 25th of this month. I realize that this is a difficult order, but under the circumstances it is an unavoidable one. Please understand this thoroughly and tackle the problem of saving the Japanese U.S. relations from falling into a chaotic condition. Do so with great determination and with unstinted effort, I beg of you.

to yourself only.

This information is to be kept strictly



24373 JD-1: 6254

(D) Navy Trans. 11-5-41 (S-TT)

SECRET

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEP'REMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

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/s/ Carter W. Clarke
CARTER W. CLARKE
Colonel, G.S.C.

拉 (年)

Doc 2545D (10)

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Ex 1171

Doc 2573 (cent)

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テ静ニテ熟添予 正スシ傍緑附ハ 確ルテ受セ級茲 且為予サル道ニ ツメノレ職ノ左 典应知)員日 據 洋 リ 解 二 本 追 . . 人 且 意 依 文 リ アニ信セリ電監 ルトズラ電報時 ノ人限而的後。 ナカリシ或寫即

EX 1174 Inx . 1174 Doc. No. 2593-D (11) Page 1 Item 12 From: Tokyo. To: Washington. 11 November 1941 (Purple) #764 (In 3 parts, complete). 1. On the 11th, the British Ambassador, while calling on me on some other business, brought up the subject of the conversations. He advised me that he reported my talks of the other day (see contents of 2 of my message #723\*) to his home government, to which his government replied along the following lines, he said:

"The British Government is not aware of the details of the conversations being conducted in Washington. Since its success would be of interest to Britain and Japan, it is fervently roping for the success thereof. Powever, unless the basis of discussion is first settled upon, it would be useless to go sheed and enter into negotiations of the details. The British Government feels that discussions as to the basic principles could safely be left up to the U. S. Government. However, as soon as the real negotiations begin, the United States is to confer with Great Britain according to arrangement. Trerefore, when that time arrives, negotiations will be carried

2. I replied that in the matters being discussed between Japan and the United States there were some phases which greatly affected Great Britain. In the event of an agreement between Japan and the United States, Japan will simultaneously seek Britain's agreement. I wish to arrange matters so that the two agreements may be signed at exectly the same time. In view of the fact that to do the above is necessary, we have already requested the United States to give their approval to the terms, I said to the British Ambassador.

on jointly with the United States and Japan."

The British Ambassador seid that he was not aware as to how much progress had been made between the United States and Japan, but he assumed that they were still in the preliminary stages.

I, therefore, replied that his assumption may have fitted in the past, but that at present they had already entered into the realm of the actual negotiations. Moreover, the Imperial Government has already submitted its final proposal, thus bringing the negotiations to the final phase. We have made this fact absolutely clear to the United States, I added. Doc. No. 2593-D (11) Item 12

I went on to say that I hear that the British Prime Minister made a speech at a luncheon given by the Mayor of London in which he stated that clough he did not know the developments in the U.S.-Japanese negotiations, he would issue a warning to Japan. Would it not be more to the point, I challenged, if, instead of making threats without knowing of what he spoke, he were to try to more clearly understand the issues and to cooperate in an effort to clear them up? Fowever, I said, with the U.S.-Japanese talks in the phase they are today, and in view of the fact that I realized that there were contain relationships between the United States and Great Britain, I have no intention of urging or opposing British participation in these talks at this time.

The Imperial Government has made the maximum concessions she can in drawing up its final proposal, I explained. We are of the opinion that the United States will find no objectionable points in it. I believe that it will be possible to sign the agreement within a week to ten days, I said. If, unfortunately, the United States refuses to accept those terms, it would be useless to continue the negotiations. Our domestic political situation will permit no further delays in reaching a decision.

"I am making superhuman efforts at this time, I pointed out, in the attempt to ride out the crisis in the U.S.-Japanese and the British-Japanese relations. "There are factions in the country which insist that there is no need for negetiating and point out the uselessness of doing so. The negotiations are being continued only after these rections were checked.

For these reasons, it is absolutely impossible that there be any further dolays,

A speedy settlement can be made depending entirely upon the attitude of Britain and the United States. I said, and suggested that his country give serious consideration to this, and cooperate in bringing about an early agreement.

In the above manner, I pointed out the criticalness of the situation. The Ambassader listened to what I said very attentively, giving indications that he was realizing for the first time how critical the situation was. He advised me that he would send his government a report of the above conversation and that he himself would do his best to bring about a speedy settlement.

3. Thus, there are indications that the United States Government is still under the impression that the negotiations are in the preliminary stages and that we are still merely

exchanging opinions. This is further supported by the words of President Roosevelt reported by you in your message #1070\*\* (that part in which he says that he hopes that these preliminary discussions will lead to the basis of the real negotiations, etc.)

That the United States takes this lazy and easy going attitude in spite of the fact that as far as we are concerned, this is the final phase, is exceedingly unfortunate. Therefore, it is my fervent hope that Your Excellency will do everything in your power to make them realize this fact and bring about an agreement at the earliest possible moment.

\*JD-1: 6228. (SIS #24293-94)

\*\*Not available.

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEP'RTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1946

I hereby certify that the attached nhotostats of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the bast of my knowledge and belief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTMR W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

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OARTER RKE

Ex. 1177

Doc. No. 2593-D (13)
Item No. 14

From: Washington Nomura)
To: Tokyo
November 14, 1941
Purple

#1090 (Part 1 of 3)<sup>8</sup> P Departmental Secret)
(To be handled in Government Code)

I am telling Your Excellency this for your own information only.

I believe that I will win out in the long run in these negotiations, and I will fight to the end. I will do my very best with infinite patience and then leave the outcome up to God Almighty. However, I must tell you the following:

- 1. As I told you in a number of messages, the policy of the American Government in the Pacific is to stop any further moves on our part either southward or northward. With every economic weapon at their command, they have attempted to achieve this objective, and now they are contriving by every possible means to prepare for actual warfare.
- 2. In short, they are making every military and every other kind of preparation to prevent us from a thrust northward or a thrust southward; they are conspiring most actively with the nations concerned and rather than yield on this fundamental political policy of theirs in which they believe so firmly, they would not hesitate, I am sure, to fight us. It is not their intention, I know, to repeat such a thing as the Marich conference which took place several years ago and which turned out to be such a failure. Already I think the apex of German victories has been passed. Soviet resistance persists, and the possibility of a separate peace has receded, and hereafter this trend will be more and more in evidence.
- 3. The United States is sealing over-friendler relations with China, and insofar as possible she is assisting CHI.NG. For the sake of peace in the Pacific, the United States would not favor us at the sacrifice of China. Therefore, the China problem might become the stumbling block to the pacification of the Pacific and as a result the possibility of the United States and Japan ever making up might vanish.

a - For Part 2, see S.I.S. #24857; Part 3 of 3 not available.

24877

Trans. 11/17/41 (2)

SECRET

From: Washington (Nomura)
To: Tokyo
November 14, 1941
Purple (Urgent)

#1090 (Part 2 of 3)a (Departmental Secret:) (To be handled in Government Code)

- 4. There is also the question of whether the officials of the Japanese Government are typing up very intimately with the Axis or not. We are regarded as having a very flexible policy, ready, nevertheless, in any case, to stab the United States right in the back. Lately the newspapers are writing in a manner to show how gradually we are typing up closer and closer with the Axis.
- 5. If we carry out a venture southward for the sake of our existence and our lives, it naturally follows that we will have to fight England and the United States, and chances are also great that the Soviet will participate. Furthermore, among the neutral nations, those of Central America are already the puppets of the United States, and as for those of South America, whether they like it or not, they are dependent for their economic existence on the United States and must maintain a neutrality partial thereto.
- 6. It is inevitable that this war will be long, and this little victory or that little victory, or this little defeat or that little defeat do not amount to much, and it is not hard to see that whoever can hold out till the end will be the victor.
- 7. It is true that the United States is gradually getting in deeper and deeper in the Atlantic, but this is merely a sort of convoy warfare, and as things now stand she might at any moment transfer her main strength to the Pacific.
- a Part 3 not availab.e

SECRET

24857

JD 6553

Trans. 11/17/41 (7)

Doc. No. 2593 (Certificate)

WAR DEPARTMENT OF RAL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WAR DEPARTMENT
OF RALL STAFF
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, 25, D.C.

24 July 1046

I hereby certify that the attached shotosists of Japanese messages have been intercepted by electric or physical means, decrypted, and translated by trained personnel of the War and Navy Departments, and are accurate and authentic to the best of my knowledge and helief insofar as it is humanly possible for an occidental accurately to translate Japanese script.

/s/ Carter W. Clarke

CARTER W. CLARKE

Colonel, G.S.C.

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