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Memorandum by the Ambassador in Japan (Grew)

[Tokyo.] September 6, 1941

This evening the Prime Minister invited me to dine at a private house of a friend. Only Mr. Dooman and Mr. Ushiba, the Prime Minister's private secretary, were also present. The conversation lasted for three hours and we presented with entire frankness the fundamental views of our two countries. The Prime Minister requested that his statements be transmitted personally to the President in the belief that they might amplify and clarify the approach through diplomatic channels which he had made in Washington through Admiral Nomura. The following is a brief summary of the salient points as they emerged in the course of our discussion.

1. Prince Konoye, and consequently the Government of Japan, conclusively and wholeheartedly agree with the four principles enunciated by the Secretary of State as a basis for the rehabilitation of relations between the United States and Japan.
2. Prince Konoye recognizes that the responsibility is his for the present regrettable state of relations between our two countries but, with appropriate modesty as to his personal capabilities, he likewise recognizes that only he can cause the desired rehabilitation to come about. In the event of failure on his part no succeeding Prime Minister, at least during his own lifetime, could achieve the results desired. Prince Konoye is therefore determined to spare no effort, despite all elements and factors opposing him, to crown his present endeavors with success.
3. The Prime Minister hopes that as a result of the commitments which the Japanese Government is prepared to assume as communicated to me by Admiral Toyoda, a rational basis has been established for a meeting between the President and himself. The Prime Minister, however, is cognizant of the fact that certain points may need clarification and more precise formulation, and he is confident that the divergencies in view can be reconciled to our mutual satisfaction, particularly by reason of the favorable disposition on the part of Japanese naval and military leaders who have not only subscribed to his proposals but who will also be represented at the suggested meeting. The Prime Minister stated that both the Ministers of War and of the Navy have given their full agreement to his proposals to the United States.
4. The reports which the Prime Minister has received from the Japanese Ambassador concerning the latter's conversations with the President and the Secretary have led the Prime Minister to think that the Administration in Washington entertains serious doubts as to the strength of the present Cabinet and that the Administration is not certain that in the event that the Cabinet should adopt a peaceful program it could successfully resist the attacks of opposing elements. Prince Konoye told me that from the inception of the informal talks in Washington he had received the strongest concurrence from the responsible chiefs of both the Army and the Navy. Only today he had conferred with the Minister of War who had promised to send a full General to accompany the Prime Minister to the meeting with the President; the Minister of the Navy had agreed that a full Admiral should accompany the Prime Minister. Prince Konoye added in confidence

that he expected that the representative of the Navy would probably be Admiral Yoshida, a former Minister of the Navy. In addition the Premier would be accompanied by the Vice Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Navy and other high ranking officers of the armed services who are in entire accord with his aims. He admitted that there are certain elements within the armed forces who do not approve his policies, but he voiced the conviction that since he had the full support of the responsible chiefs of the Army and Navy it would be possible for him to put down and control any opposition which might develop among these elements.

5. Prince Konoye reportedly stressed the view that time is of the essence. It might take half a year to a year to work out all the details of the complete settlement and since resentment is daily mounting in Japan over the economic pressure being exerted by other countries, he could not guarantee to put into effect any such program of settlement six months or a year from now. He does, however, guarantee that at the present time he can carry with him the Japanese people to the goal which he has selected and that should difficulties be encountered in working out the details of the commitments which he may assume, these difficulties can be overcome satisfactorily because of the determined intention of his Government to see to it that its present efforts are fully successful.

6. In the course of our discussion I outlined in general terms the bitter lessons of the past to our Government as the result of the failure of the Japanese Government to honor the promises given to me by former Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs apparently in all sincerity, as a result of which the Government of the United States had at long last concluded that it must place its reliance on actions and facts and not on Japanese promises or assurances. The Prime Minister did not attempt to refute this statement but stressed the fact that his Government now wished to bring about a thoroughgoing reconstruction of American-Japanese relations and he assured me that any commitments which he would undertake would bear no resemblance to the "irresponsible" assurances which we had received in the past and that such commitments if given would be observed. The Prime Minister concluded his presentation of this point by giving me to understand that given the will the way can be found.

7. Prince Konoye stated that should the President desire to communicate any kind of suggestion to him personally and confidentially he would be glad to arrange subsequent secret meetings with me, but he expressed the earnest hope that in view of the present internal situation in Japan the projected meeting with the President could be arranged with the least possible delay. Prince Konoye feels confident that all problems and questions at issue can be disposed of to our mutual satisfaction during the meeting with the President, and he ended our conversation with the statement that he is determined to bring to a successful conclusion the proposed reconstruction of relations with the United States regardless of cost or personal risk.

J[oseph] C. G[rew]



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辯護側文書第一四〇〇一P一六

合衆國外交關係對日本關係一九三一年—一九四一年、第二卷ヨリ

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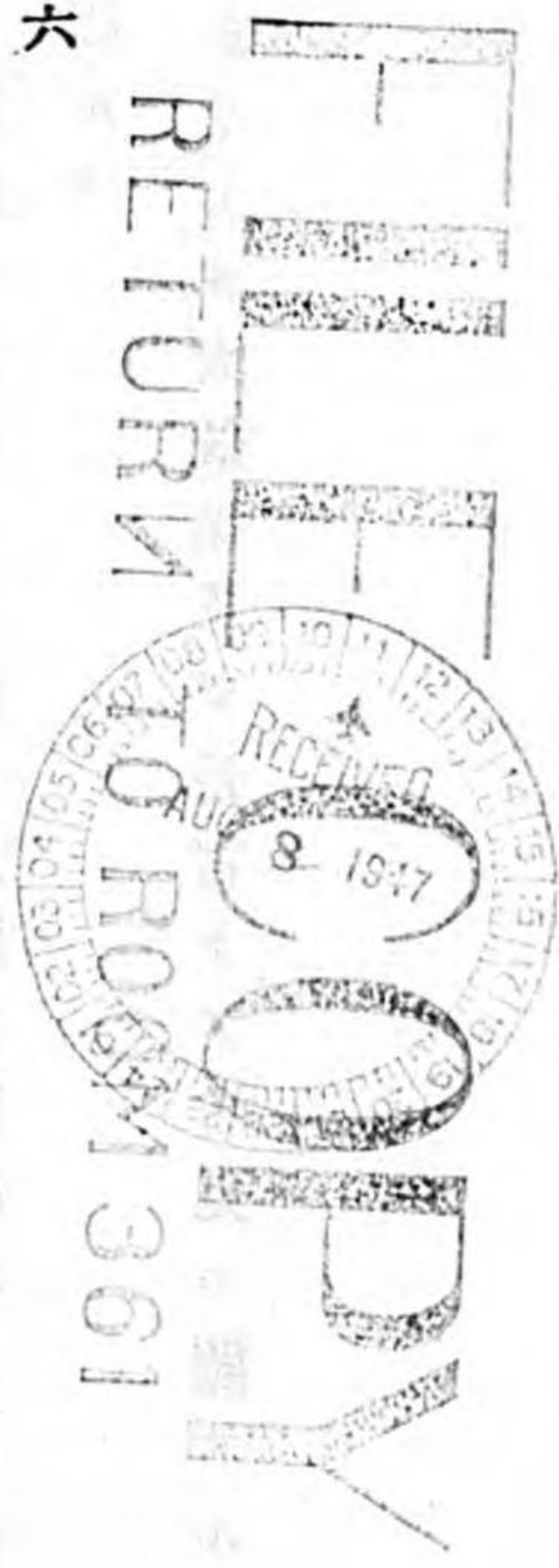
第六〇四頁

駐日大使（グルー）ノ覺書

一九四一年九月六日、東京

今夕總理大臣ハ友人ノ私宅ニ於ケル晚餐ニ私ヲ招待シタ。ドーマン氏ト首相ノ祕書ノ牛場氏ダケガ同僚ニ出席シタ。我々ノ談話ハ三時間ニ亘リ日米兩國ニ就イテノ根本的意見ヲ極メテ卒直ニ語り合ツタ。

首相ハ彼ノ述ベルコトガ野村大將ヲ通ジテ今「ワシントン」ニ於テ外交手段ニ依リ行ツテ居ル交渉ヲ擴充 闡明スルト信ズルカラ、ソレヲ親シク大統領ヘ個人的ニ傳達シテ欲シイト要請シタ。以下ハ我々ノ談論中話題ニ上ツタ顯著ナ點ノ概要デアル。
一、近衛公、從ツテ日本政府ハ日米關係回復ノ基礎トシテ國務長官ノ擧ゲタ四原則ニ絶對的且ツ全面的ニ贊意ヲ表スル。



二、近衛公ハ兩國關係ノ現在ノ遺憾ナ状態ニ對シ責任ハ自分ニアルコトヲ認メテ居ルガ同時ニ又彼ノ個人的ノ能力ニツイテ謙遜シナガラモ、待望ノ國交回復ヲ招來シ得ルモノハ彼ノミデアルトイフ事モ認メテ居ル。万一彼ガ失敗シタ場合ニハ、少クトモ彼ノ生涯中ニハ如何ナル後繼首相モ所期ノ結果ヲ達成シ得ナイデアラウ。故ニ近衛公ハ多クノ反對分子ガアルニモ拘ラズ、彼ノ努力ヲ成功ニ導クタメニアラユル手段ヲ盡サウト決心シテ居ル。

三、首相ハ、豊田大將カラ私ニ傳ヘラレタ様ニ日本政府ガ言質ヲ實行スル積リテ居ル結果トシテ大統領ト近衛公ノ會見ノ合理的ナ基礎ガ築カレタコトヲ期待シタ。併シ首相ハ或ル點ヲ闡明シ一層明確ニ規定スルコトガ必要ダト云フ事實ヲ認メテ居リ、意見ノ相違ガアツテモ、殊ニ陸海軍ノ指導者ガ彼ノ提案ニ贊意ヲ表シタノミナラズ、右會見ニ代表ヲ送ルコトニナツテ居ルカラ、相互ニ満足スル様一致點ヲ見出スコトガ出來ルデアラウト確信シテ居ル。

四、日本ノ駐米大使カラ首相ヘ送ラレタ大統領及ビ長官トノ會見ニ關スル

報告ヲ讀ンデ首相ハ、「ワシントン」政府ガ現内閣ノ力ニ相當疑念ヲ抱キ、内閣ガ平和的方針ヲ採ツタ場合ニモ反對分子ノ攻撃ニ抵抗シ得ルカドウカラ怪シンデ居ルト考ヘルニ至ツタ。近衛公ハ私ニ、「ワシントン」ノ非公式會談ノ當初カラ陸海軍ノ責任アル主腦者カラ強イ贊同ヲ得タト述ベタ。丁度今日彼ハ陸相ト會談シ、陸相ハ公ガ「ワシントン」ヘ大統領トノ會見ニ出掛ケル際ニハ陸軍大將ヲ隨行サセルコトヲ約束シタノデアツタ。海相モ海軍大將ヲ首相ニ隨伴サセルコトニ同意シタ。首相ハ海軍代表ハ多分前海相ノ吉田大將デアラウト打明ケテ附加ヘタ。更ニ首相ハ陸軍參謀長、海軍軍令部次長、其ノ他彼ノ目的ヲ全面的ニ支持スル軍部ノ高級將校ヲ帶同スルデアラウト云ツタ。公ハ軍部内ニハ、公ノ政策ニ贊成シナイ分子ガアルコトヲ認メタガ、陸海軍ノ責任アル首腦者ノ全面的支持ヲ得テ居ルノデ、之レ等ノ分子間ニ發生スベキ如何ナル反對ヲモ抑制スルコトガ出來ルト確信スル旨述ベタ。

五 近衛公ハ時ガ問題解決ノ根本要素デアルト繰返ヘシ強調シタ。總テノ細イ點マデモ完全ニ解決スルニハ半年カラ一年ハカ、ルカモ知レズ、日本デハ他國ノ理濟的壓迫ニ對スル憤激ガ日毎ニ高マツテ居ルノデ、今カラ半年或ハ一年ノウチニソノ様ナ解決策ノ實行ハ保證出來ナイ。併シナガラ今ナラバ公ノ選ンダ目標ヘ日本國民ヲ引ツバツテ行キ、公ガ言質ヲ與ヘタ行動ノ具體的實行ニ當リ困難ニ直面シテモソノ困難ハ現在ノ努力ヲ飽ク迄テ成功サセヨウトスル日本ノ固イ決心ニヨツテ立派ニ克服シ得ルコトヲ保證スルト公ハ云ツタ。

六 話ノ進行中、私ハ一般的ナ言葉テ、日本ノ過去ノ外相ガ少クトモ外面的ニハ誠意ヲ以テ私ニ約束シタ事ヲ日本政府ガ守ラナカッタ結果找ガ政府ニトツテ苦イ教訓ニナツタ事ヲ述ベ其ノ結果遂ニ合衆國政府ハ日本政府ノ約束ヤ保證ヲ當テニセズ行動ヤ事實ヲ信賴スベキダト云フ結論ニ達シタト述ベタ。

首相ハコノ私ノ言葉ニ反駁ヲ試ミナカツタガ、彼ノ政府ガ今日米關係ノ回復ヲ徹底的ニ行ハウト欲シテ居ルコトヲ強調シ、彼ノ與フル

言質ハ過去ニ於テ我々ノ受ケタ「無責任」ヲ保證ト同ジモノデハナク、言質ガ與ヘラレレバ必ズソレハ守ルト確言シタ。首相ハ此ノ點ニツイテ述べタ後實行ノ意志ガアレバ實行ノ道モ必ズ見出サレル、ト私ニ告ゲテ言葉ヲ結ンダ。

近衛公ハ若シ大統領ガ何カ個人的ニ内密ニ提案スルコトガアレバ喜んで今後モ私ト秘密ノ會見ヲ行フト述べタガ、日本ノ國內狀勢ニ鑑ミ、大統領トノ會見ハ成ルベク早ク行ヒタイトノ熱心ナ希望ヲ表明シタ。近衛公ハ凡テノ問題ヤ疑團ハ大統領トノ會見ニ於テ相互ニ満足スル様解決出來ルト確信スル言述べタ。ソシテ最後ニ如何ナル犠牲ヲ拂ツテモ亦一身上ノ危險ヲ冒シテモ、合衆國トノ關係回復ヲ成功サセル決心ダト述べテ會談ヲ終ヘタ。

ジョセフ。シー。グルー