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Resolutions concerning the Japanese-American Negotiations adopted through the conferences in the Imperial presence.

1. Through the Imperial conference on July 2, 1941.

2. Through the Imperial conference on Sept. 6, 1941.

3. Through the Imperial conference on Nov. 5, 1941.

Proposition (A) Proposition (B)

- 4. Through the Imperial conference on Dec. 1, 1941.
 - RESOLUTION adopted through the Imperial conference on July 2, 1941.
 A summary of the Empire's POLICY according to the changes in the situation.

I PRINCIPLE.

- a. Regardless of any change in the international situation, Japan will adhere to the principle of establishing a "greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," and accordingly contribute to the establishment of world-peace.
- b. Japan will continue the disposition of the Chinese Incident, and will step-up the Southward advance in order to establish for herself a basis for self-existence and self-defence. The Northern problems will be dealt with according to the changes in the situations.
- c. Japan will remove all obstacles for the achievement of the foregoing purpose.

II. SUMMARY.

- a. In order to hasten the surrender of Chiang's Regime, further pressure will be strengthened to the changes in the situations, we shall execute our rights of war against the Chunking Regime at the proper time, and shall confiscate the enemy concessions in China.
- b. For the sake of her self-existence and self-defence Japan will continue necessary diplomatic negotiations with relevant nations in the Southern regions and will also promote other necessary measures.

For this purpose we shall make preparations for a war with Britain and the United States. First, we shall accomplish the execution of our schemes against French Indo-China and Thailand following the "Principle Policy toward French Indo-China and Thailand," and "Matters concerning the Promotion of Our Southern Policy," thereby stabilizing our structure for the Southern advance.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned purpose, Japan will be ready

for a war with Britain and the United States.

c. Though the spirit of the Tri-Partite Axis will form the keynote of our attitude toward the German-Soviet War, we shall not intervene for a while, but take voluntary measures by secretly preparing arms against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, diplomatic negotiations will be continued with detailed precautions; and should the conditions of the German-Soviet war progress favourable to Japan we shall execute arms to solve the northern problems, thereby securing stability in the Northern Regions.

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

Britain and the United States.

e. We shall do our utmost in preventing the United States participation in the War through diplomatic measures in the pre-arranged programmes, and every other possible way, but in case she should participate, Japan will act according to the Tri-Partite Pact. However, the time and method of military action will be decided independently.

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

zation of national defense.

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

2. RESOLUTION adopted through the Imperial conference on Sept. 6, 1941.

Summary: Execution of the Empire's Policy.

In view of the present acute situation, especially the aggressive movements the United States, Britain and the Netherlands have assumed; the situation of Soviet Russia; and the suppression of our national power; Japan will execute her Southern advance policy, related in the "Principle of Japan's Policy According to the Change of Situations," as follows:

a. In order to secure self-existence and self-defence, Japan, with a determination for a war with the United States (Britain and the Netherlands), will have completed her preparations by the end of October.

b. Meanwhile, in pace with the above, Japan will strive for the fulfillment of her demands through diplomatic measures with the United States and

Britain.

The minimum matters of demand to be accomplished in Japan's negotiations with the United States (Britain), and the limit Japan is able to come to an agreement in this connection will be stated on another sheet.

. .

c. If, through the above negotiations, our demands have no hope of fulfillment by the beginning of October, we shall immediately determine to wage war against the United States (Britain and the Netherlands.)

All measures, save for those concerned with the South, will be executed according to the pre-arranged national policy, and we shall particularly endeavour to check the formation of a Russo-American combined front against Japan.

ATTACHED DOCUMENT.

Japan's minimum demand to be fulfilled in her negotiations with the United States (Britain), and the limit Japan is able to come to an agreement in this connection.

- Sect. I. Japan's minimum-demand to be fulfilled in her negotiations with the United States (Britain).
 - (1) Matters concerning the CHINESE INCIDENT.

The United States and Britain will neither meddle in nor interrupt the disposition of the Chinese Incident.

- (a) They will not interrupt Japan's attempt to settle the Incident in accordance with the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty and the Japan-Manchukuo-China Tripartite Joint Declaration.
- (b) "Burma Route" will be closed; and the United States and Britain will give Chiang's Regime neither military nor economic support.

REMARK The above does not obstruct Japan's existing contentious in the disposition of the Chinese Incident in Plan N. However, particularly regarding the stationing of the Imperial forces under the new arrangements made between Japan and China, we shall adhere to its necessity.

Following the settlement of the incident, we may assert that we have the intention of withdrawing, as a rule, all other forces except those mentioned above that have been sent to China for the disposal of the Chinese Incident.

It may also be affirmed that Japan has no intention to

place any restrictions on American or British interests in China, provided that they will understand the new East Asia, and act accordingly.

(2) Matters concerning the security of Japan's national defence.

The United States and Britain will not take such action in the Far East as to threaten Japan's national defence.

- (a) Recognition of the special relations existing between Japan and France based on the Japan-French Agreements.
- (b) They will not establish any military interests in Thailand, Dutch East-India, China and far eastern Soviet territory.
- (c) They will not further strengthen their present armaments in the Far East.
- (3) Matters concerning Japan's obtaining necessary materials.

The United States and Britain will cooperate with Japan in obtaining her necessary resources.

- (a) They will restore their commercial relations with Japan and will supply Japan from their territories in the Southwestern Pacific, with resources indispensable for her self-existence.
- (b) They will gladly collaborate in Japan's economic cooperation with Thailand and French Indo-China.
- Sect. II. The Limit Japan is able to come to an agreement.

If the United States and Britain will consent to our demands in Section I:

- (1) Japan, with French Indo-China as a base, will make no military advances into any of the adjacent areas except China.
- (2) Japan will be ready to withdraw her troops from French Indo-China after an impartial peace will have been established in the Far East.
- (3) Japan will be ready to guarantee the neutrality of the Philippines.

(NOTE)

(a) In case of an interrogation as to Japan's attitude toward the

Tri-Partite Alliance, it will be affirmed that there will be no changes in Japan's execution of her obligations to the Axis Agreement. We shall not discuss, of our own accord, either our attitude toward the Tri-Partite Pact or the attitude of the United States toward the European War.

(b) In case of an interrogation as to Japan's attitude toward Soviet Russia, it will be replied that Japan will not take the initiative for military action as long as Soviet Russia will respect the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact and will not threaten both Japan and Manchuria.

SUMMARY of the NEGOTIATION with Britain concerning Thailand.

(Memorandum)

Adopted in the Liaison Conference between the Imperial Headquarters and the Ministry, on Aug. 16, 1941.

Referring to the British Ambassador's private plans, chiefly on the problems of Thailand, at the conference with our Foreign Minister on August 11th, Japan's policy will be altered as follows:

- (1) Japan's demands to Britain.
 - (a) Britain will respect the neutrality of Thailand and will not execute military measures there.
 - (b) Britain will supply Japan sufficiently with all resources necessary for her self-existence from Burma, Malay, British-Borneo, India, Australia, New Zealand, and other areas in the South-Western Pacific under British influence; and will devise the most favourable measures to normalize commercial tradings with those respective areas.
 - (c) From the Dutch East-Indies and Thailand, Britain will supply Japan sufficiently with resources necessary for her self-existence; and in normalizing Japan's commercial trades with these nations, Britain will not take any obstructive measures and abandon her present actions that are proving a menace.
 - (d) Britain will bar her aid to Chiang Kai-shek (Including the closure of the Burma Route).

- (2) Matters that may be agreed upon according to the attitude of the British.
 - (a) We shall respect the neutrality of Thailand.
 - (b) We shall not make any military proposals to, nor military advances into Thailand.
 - (c) We shall not make any military advance not only in Thailand but also in all areas adjacent to French Indo-China, (excluding China).
- (3) Our principles in the negotiations.

. .

- (a) This negotiation will be the continuation of the daily contacts between our Foreign Minister and the British Ambassador; and each matter will be discussed in turn in the form of a reply to the Ambassador's private proposals. At the beginning, the problems of discussions will be localized to the utmost, and we shall strive to minimize the sphere of British proposals. We acknowledge it to be the best policy to start the discussions on the following matters:
 - a. Respect of Thailand's neutrality.
 - b. Military advance will not be made into Thailand.
 - c. Burma Route will be closed.
 - d. Resources will be supplied to Japan smoothly.
- (b) Such problems as: Abandoning of Britain's aid to Chiang Kai-shek, Japan's not making military advances into Thailand and all other areas adjacent to French Indo-China, and problems of Dutch East-Indies, will be discussed after looking over the situation of the negotiations.
- (c) In the course of this negotiation, attention must be paid less we shall have nothing to profit, our future freedom of action will be restricted, and our present privileged standing will be obstructed.
 - (REMARK) The Imperial Government will promptly settle by mutual concessions the conference being held with Thailand in winding up the affairs of the frozen assets, and according to the situation, she will continue to negotiate on the general economic cooperation.

In this negotiation, special importance will be stressed on Japan's obtaining of her necessary resources.

3. PROPOSITIONS (A) and (B), adopted through the Imperial Conference on November 5, 1941.

PROPOSITION (A)

(1) Problem of Commercial Indiscrimination.

In case our proposition of September 25 will have no hope of compromise, it will be revised, "If the principle of indiscrimination is to be universal the Japanese Government will accept it to be enforced in all the areas in the Pacific, including China."

- (2) Problems of Interpretation and execution of the Tri-Partite Treaty.

 We shall further make it clear that we have no intentions, without good reason on our part, of expanding the meaning of our rights of self-defense; and that at the same time, we shall act, as we have often explained, according to our own decision concerning the interpretation and execution of the Tri-Partite Pact. We shall reply that, we feel this point has already had the acknowledgment of the United States.
- (3) Problems of Withdrawing Troops.

This problem will be eased as follows:

- (a) Stationing and withdrawing of troops in China.

 Among the Japanese troops despatched to China for the disposal of the Chinese Incident, those in the designated areas in North China and Mongolia and on Hainan Island will be stationed there for a certain necessary term after the establishment of peace between Japan and China. Simultaneously with the establishment of peace we shall commence to withdraw the rest according to a separate agreement between Japan and China, and with the stabilization of publicorder this will be completed within two years.
 - (Note) If the United States should make an inquiry as to the necessary term, it will be replied that our aim will be approximately 25 years.
- (b) Stationing and withdrawing of troops in French Indo-China.

 Japanese government will respect French Indo-China's

sovereignty upon her land. The Japanese troops now despatched to French Indo-China will be withdrawn immediately after the settlement of the Chinese Incident, or after an impartial peace will have been established in the Far East.

Moreover, every effort will be made to avoid including the Four Principles in the formal agreements between Japan and the United States, (both understandings and other statements.)

PROPOSITION (B)

- (1) Both the Japanese and the United States Governments will firmly agree not to make military advances into areas in Southeast Aria and Southern Pacific, excluding French Indo-China.
- (2) Both the Japanese and the United States Governments will mutually cooperate to guarantee the obtaining of necessary resources from the Dutch East-Indies.
- (3) Both the Japanese and the United States Governments will restore their mutual commercial relations to the conditions before the freezing of the assets.
 - The United States Government will promise Japan her necessary supply of petroleum.
- (4) The United States Government will not take such action as to obstruct Japan's efforts for a peace with China.

(REMARKS)

- (1) If necessary, after the conclusion of this agreement, it may be promised that the Japanese troops will be withdrawn after the establishment of peace between Japan and China, or after an impartial peace will have been established in the Pacific area.
- (2) If necessary, the regulations for commercial indiscrimination, and the prescriptions for interpretation and execution of the Tri-Partite Pact, both included in proposition A, may be additionally inserted.

4. RESOLUTION adopted through the Imperial Conference on Dec. 1, 1941.

Our negotiations with the United States regarding the execution of our national policy adopted on Nov. 5, have finally failed.

Japan will declare war on the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands.

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361 ROOM

张交涉関係三部前衛教子經 四和大年之月二日活面當 昭和六年九月六日西南衛

昭和本年十月五百 西藏

乙安水

昭和六年二月田市面電戲 昭和十六年七月一日西南南部 情勢,推移三件一 于红 風深寒鄉

高風依然文那事是處理 邁進 一帝國,这界情勢,邊鄉,如何酒 可避立又少為南方道出,多一進 万建設之以下也界平和,確立一等與心心 方街 又情势 東重共際圈 推納 可吸持 上渡シ

一衛國公右目的姓成 北京問題日解決入 八角如何

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第二要領

四可号遊行一當一各種,施采就中或力行使决定一路之 三獨八人戰一對八八三國極独精神可基調上人工整了之二 一帝國公其一自存自衛上南方要域一對心心要北外交 一轉改權屈服促進人為更南方諸城三人壓力引強化人情 三大方門題三解決之北边,安至了確保不 獨心戰爭推移帝國為有利。進展也以武力不行使少 交涉的續行之其,他各般力拖第一促進入 且支那北北北教性粗思不再收入 對處又此一间国司周密北用意以升外交交涉不行 及南方施策促進二月元件二振一佛印及杰一對礼諸方 努,推移,應心過時重慶政權,對心及歌權,行便少 第三定後以平南方维出, 既熟了强化又 之が為對英米戰準備了整人是了對佛印表施策要網 八八八二十八名か一對了过去的事備方整一自主的一 帝風、本号目的達成為對英未戰部節也入 一八對英米戰争基本態勢,保持二大十九支障十九万

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五米風人多戰人既是方針從外交手段其他有工 シム 八自主的之子之 八帝風心風條的是十行動及但之武力行使所機及方法 方法一板り在力之了防止不至五萬一米風力奏歌之女情后

大建國内戰時體制一徹底的強化一移行不持三國土防衛 ,强化一勉山

具体的措置二朝之外别二之为受人 昭和十六年九月六日中前屬議司经子决定 一小水道行要領

帝

施第三左記一位多遂行又 对日文勢少上聯,情勢及帝 沿 一情势,挂移三年了帝西 小现下急迫也情勢特二米美南等各亚、韩山、343 四十年南方三村又几 了力,彈松性等一般:

一帝如八自存自衛金四人為对北(英南)戰爭司 整ス 中心决意,下一概不十月下旬可日途上、戰爭準備引完

帝 一小石二並行い 外文 今段の書面した

三前号外交交涉像了十月上旬頃至此的故學花中母 對米(英)交涉於於不為感避我又令最少限度人要不事項 帝國一要北貫微勞公 並之三川野流風,的話得八 徽少得山山途中場合於一八直三對米英期所歌 特一米八岁日在全歌學 决竟又對南方以外,施果、飲定風寒、基寺之司行心 限度人别纸加 は成セシメサルニタカム

一米英水帝國支那事表處理 對米英文沙於一个一個人達成人人人最少限度一要不事 項立二之所將心帝國 别級 ()帝國日支基本條約及日滿支三國井同宣言產事人樣》 事養所決セントスル企園 第一對我美之步打下帝國一達成又一年最 限度一要求事項 的議必得 う好全セセサルユ 一谷城之又八之一,松星也十几 儿眼度

4

(註)左八下作が上支松事後處理二人人心帝感從来 四一一人以此以此外一般一時政權一對心軍事的並經 省的援助十十十十二十 風安成一點化二用シャハ之う国中スルモ 五歲一好了他一下人而一特百支间新取極一成心帝

題也儿在以外一軍隊八原則 但主事爱解决三件之支那事爱透行公為支那 撤退スル ノ用意にコ

トラ確言スルコト支降ナシ

又在支米英權益行八米英力新之大東里理解 シ之三即應シテ行動スル 限り制限人心意圖士 多山日發

言スルコト支障ナン

帝國風防二安全一確保又本

朱英八極東三次下帝國/風防門衛成人儿力如中

出一十ルコト

(1)日佛河人的是其 四底 草印支那及程東 設多セサルコー 田佛問特 一題 四軍事 殊用係不容認之儿口 的權益日

人程東三於下上午 備三現状 以上一個强也中

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三米英八帝國一所要物資獲得一協力又几二下 仍帝國上通高了恢復之且奔西太平洋一計九四國殿 十三十帝國人自存上歌中地物沒可帝國心供婚人上 カスルコト 帝國的學物質獲得河流事項 第

三一一一人以鬼人中立了保障人人用意了几二十 外一三不不為感要死力應聽也可止上於一八 帝國八佛印手基地上心于支那一 力進出ラナササルコト 撤年スル用意アルコト 風以公正十九極東平和確立後佛領印度支那 除了其人近接地域二武 IMT 343

(註)八三國同遇一對人心而風人能度一風沙質疑之 東北場底三國條的一人一品國一義務務逐行 輸機也サルモ 及米風歌的歌等一月 八何等変更スへきモーニアラサルシ日を言えんと 小少我可追二帝國一三風條的對人心態度 久心能度一付テ

出いルコトナキらを動入

甲宋 河通高典差别可題

打八世差别原則力生也見 我認之上修正又 八人子洋全地城即支那一次三 九月一首宋八到底安格人 見込ず 三通用セラルモノナルが 元本原則り 中際八日本風改

三風條約一編釋及履行问題 找方:於一自衛權一無釋了過り 承ョ得 ルシノナリト思考スルゴ 撤年河題 所派とう行動スル次子ニン 学父徒来屋《説明セル如子帝國政府,自ラ决多スル 下可更明瞭三人儿上书二三國然的一新釋 长人既一米则侧 "横大八儿竟圖十年 ~ 是 那人 及履行三人

本件八左記八通り緩和人 立後所要期间歷化之人 蒙疆一定地域及海南岛三天江山支間平 支那事奏人為三派道也了 (A)支那·於丁儿野年及撤兵 關係好像平和成立下 本風好像八北支及 和成

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(註) 所要期间一行米側三時间 (5)佛印三於广心野年及撤兵 少治安確立上共二二年以内二之十完了又人 同時二日支前三别三是大方 五年可月金トスルモノナルに日子 儿儿所 以一度明スルモー りりル場合い概不二十 一般都去河南省

現佛領印度支那一派港方 日本風政府、御領印度支那 スルニがテハ直モニショ根去スペシ 那事我一一解决人儿力又八公正儿极東平和一班立 し居心日本感四年際八古 領土直權了軍重人

タルト又八其他八群明タル 河西原則"付八之十日米间 コトハを力回避スルモノトス 正式安能事項了解架 ハス中三包含セシムル

乙安木

三日米 两國政府、南領印度、於一其一次要上人工物道 ノ獲得力保障セラルル様相ら一協力スルモノトス 平洋地域三武力的遊出了行八十八十八百八百个一个一个一个 日米两風政打就是佛印 以外一奔東亞細運及奔太

三日米內國政府,相互通過高限原有資產凍結前

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帝國公米英東一對公南戰入

態腹棒スツ

四米風改成八日支西風八和中 米風政府八所要人石油一對 ルカかそ行動二出丁サルへシ

(備考 一次要:應心本取極成立也八日支间 退入大百月的東ル差支十シ 平洋地域。於了八公正九半水確立又八上八日本軍 和出

三定要:應少三八甲來中包含也三几小酒高遊差别 一次九規之及三國條約,新釋及履行二 多う追加神入スルモノー 昭和大年十二月一日西南國部 十一十一日子这是一条風人家人 沙遊成立スルニ至ラス 要題墓力

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大 ス 使 左 1 谢 對 配 央 酸 方 ノ際 針 父 沙 = 俗 同 要 9. 大 鹡 使 甦 觉 更 7 百及 大本骨一 七

日 73 止 F ス 的 4 此 在 常 充 帝 7 項 化 分 諸 出テ 南 域 對 西 水 付 = ٢ 太 對 存 直 西平不 日 間 = H 供 洋 才 骰 7 心 的 地 紿 好 要 借 域 及 意 且 4 帝 印 置 現 度 7 於 成 在 4 措 ٢ 物 商 支 徽 n 此 癍 置 貿 資 障 帝 洲 等 7 易 7 品 充 與 西 地 1 1 Á

外務

省

立 如何 ラ韓 = K 黒ス 伾 找方二於テ了 路 ノ閉 鲯 ラ 含 ム) ラ 繋 解ラ與 へ差 絕 支無中事 7 n 7

H-I 提 泉ラ 爲 サス又 武 刀的進 出 7 はサ

印 + 近 接 地 - 域 支 那ラ 除クー 對 2 テ 武 力的

力局 外相 事項 依 限 英 ij 大 V 件 =1 英 順 便 IJ 御 次 日 各項ノ 提 會談スル 常 案 接 陶 範 討器二 7 選ラ 擴 得 策ト 入 大セ シ英 7 # 大 4 使 檬 2 私 提案 愚 山面

耐 器 ヲ助 64 指 璵 順ヲ z ルコ 休ラ サ ١ n. コト

到 H 供 給ラ 即址 滑ニスへキコ

超及 找方力 泰以外

的 宜 進 耐 出 7 入 # n ル件及師印問題ノ如 コト 1 饰 + 印近接地域二 ハ交渉 ノ模様ラ 對 シテ 見

本

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交涉

障 TT ノ自由ラ東源セラレ又へ現 一篇リテ スカ 如中 へ我方二何等得ル所 コト無キ糠智 意ス 在二於ケ n 無ク コ 2 1 す徒 ラニ 慢 越 的

闘ス ル筋 7 7 速二安治シ引機牛情勢二應シ会 行 二現二進歩中ノ凍治資 殿的經濟提 金ノ後始

ノ必要

帝國政府

100

トノ間

× れ物 資應 得 二重點ラ

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 1652

21 May 1946

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT.

Title and Nature: Loose Pages, Imperial Conference Notes of 2 July 1941, 6 Sept 1947, 5 Nov 1941 and 1 Dec 1941.

Date: 1941 Original (x) Copy () Language: Japanese

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

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL (also WITNESS if applicable)

Document Division

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL: Foreign Ministry

PERSONS IMPLICATED:

CRIMES TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE: Relations with U.S., G. B., F.I.C., Thailand, Netherlands, and U.S.S.R. Establishment of "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS (with page references):

In the 2 July Conference are: Principle of extended

Southward expansion:

"For this purpose we shall make preparations for a war with Britain and the U.S. First, we shall accomplish the execution of our schemes against F.I.C. and Thailand following the Principle Policy Toward F.I.C. and Thailand, and Matters Concerning the Promotion of Our Southern Policy, thereby stabilizing our structure for the Southern advance. In order to achieve the above-mentioned purpose, Japan will be ready for a war with Britain and the U.S."

In the 6 Sept. Conference: "In order to secure self-existence and self-defense, Japan, with a determination for a war with the U.S. (Britain and the Netherlands), will have completed her preparations by the end of October.....If, through the above negotiations, our demands have no hope of fulfillment by the beginning of October, we shall immediately determine to wage war against the U.S. (Britain and the Netherlands). All measures,....will be executed according to the pre-arranged national policy, and we shall

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particularly endeavor to check the formation of a Russo-American combined front against Japan."

In an "attached document" are the minimum demands to be fulfilled in negotiations with the U.S. (Britain), a Summary of Negotiation with Britain concerning Thailand.

In the 5 Nov conference 2 propositions (A & B) were adopted. Plan "A" dealt with commercial indiscrimination, the Tripartite Pact and withdrawal of troops (China and French Indo-China), Plan "B" deals with plan for agreements U.S.-Japan and remarks.

The 1 Dec Conference resulted in the following resolution: "Our negotiations with the U.S. regarding the execution of our national policy adopted on Nov 5, have finally failed. Japan will declare war on the U.S., Britain,

and the Netherlands."

Analyst: C.W.J.Phelps

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保管二任沙居各衛前會議 余、林 七月一日、同年九月六日、同年十六、年八年八下記日附 レタ 干 外務省文書課長下 ノナ ルコト、 黄 十六頁ョリ 居ルコトが接て 竝 余 二該官 附 十一月五日、同年 成 下 吏 日 = N 記明スの終察元次議,文書の 證明 記 本 資 題名、 政府 千九百 榕 * テ = 於テ、 余 F ガ玆 即チ一九四年一個和大年 公的 Ш 關係 即于日本 二派 年 = 附 昭和 在 セラ

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外務省

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DOCUMENT DIVISION Route Slip

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Page 1

Imperial conference on July 2, 1941.

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

I PRINCIPLE.

- a. Regardless of any change in the international situation, Japan will adhere to the principle of establishing a "greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," and accordingly contribute to the establishment of world peace.
- b. Japan will continue the disposition of the Chinese Incident, and will step-up the Southward advance in order to establish for herself a basis for self-existence and self-defence. The Northern problems will be dealt with according to the changes in the situations.
- c. Japan will remove all obstacles for the achievement of the foregoing purpose.

II SUMMANY.

- a. In order to hasten the surrender of Chiang's Regime, further pressure will be strengthened to the changes in the situations, we shall execute our rights of war against the Chunking Regime at the proper time, and shall confiscate the enemy concessions in China.
- b. For the sake of her self-existence and self-defence Japan will continue necessary diplomatic negotiations with relevant nations in the Southern regions and will also promote other necessary measures. For this purpose we shall make preparations for a war with Britain and the United States. First, we shall accomplish the execution of our schemes against French Indo-China and Thailand fellowing the "Principle Policy toward French Indo-China and Thailand, Found Matters concerning the Promotion of Our Southern Policy," thereby stabilizing our structure for the Southern advance. In order to achieve the above-contioned purpose, Japan will be ready for a war with Britain and the United States.
- c. Though the spirit of the Tri-Partite Axis will form the keynote of our attitude toward the German-Soviet War, we shall not intervene for a while, but take voluntary measures by secretly preparing arms against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, diplomatic negotiations will be continued with detailed precautions; and should the conditions of the German-Soviet war progress favourable to Japan we shall execute arms to solve the northern problems, thereby securing stability in the Northern Regions.
- d. In the accomplishment of the above, all measures, especially in the case of execution of arms, must be decided so that there will be no great difficulty in maintaining our basic posture for a war with Britain and the United States.
- e. We shall do our utmost in preventing the United States participation in the War through diplomatic measures in the pre-arranged programmes, and every other possible way, but in case she should participate, Japan will act according to the Tri-Nartite Pact. However, the time and method of military action will be decided independently.
- f. We shall shift promptly to the complete stabilization of internal wartime structures, particularly we shall strive for the stabilization of national defense.
- g. As to the definite measures we shall decide separately.

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