

F. Kudo

一九三三年より一九四一年に於ける合衆國の對日關係 第二卷

よりの抜萃

七〇頁

O. K. Blakely

駐日大使 グルー氏 覚書

一九四一年十一月十日 東京にて

十月三十日 余ら會談において 外相は 合衆國と果實の

友交關係を維持することは 實行性のある提議であると確信する

する旨述べられた。ことを想起した。

外相は今日もそれを承しかつた。

外相は

言葉を以て、自らはこの問題に於いて 絶えず考へてきたこと、

友交的基礎の上に^{立脚}一兩國の關係の兩建と^並進^の太平洋

に於ける 平和維持のためには^{有る}各々の努力を盡す決心を固

めておくと^{述べ}述べ、 在野平和に對する一つの貢獻としての

大東亞の建設計畫を 引継ぐのが 現内閣の目的だ

1961

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

Excerpt from: The Regulations concerning P.O.W.s Rations

(Notice No. 44 dated Feb. 29, 1904.)

- Article 1. Rations for P.O.W.s interned by the Navy shall be issued according to the present regulations.
- Article 2. Captured officers shall receive pay according to table 1. Prisoners other than officers shall not draw pay.
- Article 3. Should captured officers be transferred to the Army, Paragraph 1, Article 169 of the Detailed Regulations relative to Navy Pay Regulations shall be applied to the classification of their pay.
- Article 4. P.O.W.s shall draw rations within the extent of kinds and quantities as proscribed on table 20 of the Detailed Regulations relative to Naval Pay Regulations.
- In case it is impossible to apply the foregoing provisions rule, suitable foods may be issued within the following amounts:
- a. Flag officers and those with corresponding ranks: Yen 1.05 per day.
 - b. Warrant officers and above and those with corresponding ranks: Yen 0.90 per day.
 - c. Petty officers, non-rated men and those with corresponding ranks: Yen 0.75 per day.

When P.O.W.s who are drawing pay are supplied with foods, they shall reimburse their actual cost.

あると言った。東郷氏自身は外相就任

以来、熱心な今までの諸会談は固する書類を研究

と述べた。新提案は作成されて野村大將に送られた

野村大將は、大統領、總理に國務長官と交渉を開始するやうに指示

された。第に、外相の言葉を慮る。米國政府

は日本政府と豫備的踏査の会談を行なうことを

用ひ、強調して述べた。東郷氏は、その事案

は充分存じてゐるが、正式な公の交渉を開始する時期は

未だ未だあるか、と答へ、併し、この点

を強調しなくはないと述べた。

東郷氏は、さらし野村大將を援けて、会談を行は

2. ために、つひ最近、栗栖氏、ワシントンに派遣する

Def. Doc. #1824

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHENTICITY

I hereby certify that the magazine hereto attached, written in Japanese consisting of 42 pages, entitled "The SU-ERA World " and issued on 15 July, 1944, is a magazine which I compiled and which I had published by the Japanese-Abroad Publishing Co.

Certified at Tokyo, on the

On this 15th day of January, 1947.

/S/ NAKAURA, Yoshihisa (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the witness.

At the same place, on the same date

Witness: /S/ SUGAWARA, Hiroshi (seal)

東極

この事に関聯して

東極 舟橋氏の渡米に便宜

3

を與へるやう 余に 依頼したとや

米國政府と余の 応答

は 非帯中の 感謝するまゝであつた

ことに 言及し、 余が

日米兩國關係

を増進すること

總命であることは 日本國中

要所を 知りかてせり、

又、 余の ^{ニホに關する} 努力も ^{日本} 全國を通じて

高く 評価されておると 語り、

外相自身も 日米兩國

が 直面する

諸問題の 解決への 道を開く

目的を以て 余

と 協力することを

惜しまぬ(と)り、と 言明した、

外相は 言葉を續けて、

今日の日の 合後 録 類

を見て 一番 つよに 感づかぬとは

極東 状態に 関する

合衆國の 知識と 理解とが

不幸にも 適切でなかつたことである

と

人ルは

日本は 東に 於ける 安定 勢力 であること 認めんに

と 拘らず

合談を 終始して

合衆國の 取った 態度は

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Witness: /S/ SUGAWARA, Hiroshi (seal)

右の事実にもよるはあゝしつとあつたし、米國政府は

日本は四年半も、中国と戦争を行つてきた事實を

これに認識するをなげれば、日本は相手の安定勢力

をといふ承認は、^{實際}何の意味もないことであり、十月十六日

若杉公使との合談は、ハル氏は、自分は日本を「安定

勢力である」と認め、公式にその承認を表明する準備を

しないと、前、斎藤大使に話したことがあつたと述べた。日本は

これに決つた。外相はついで、日本の人口は、急速に増加

しつつあり、これはやがて一億に達してゐるので、生存のためは、

原料と確保せねばならぬと述べた。米口政府は

この事實を、^{在の}現情の一つとして、^{理解す}悟るの要は、^合合談を

成功裡に終らせるのは困難であらうと、^{外相の見解}外相の見解

4. がある。已に六月以上も、^結結んできた。本会議に於いて

Y. Kudo

Def. Doc. #1824

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At the same place, on the same date

Witness: /S/ SUGAWARA, Hiroshi (seal)

日本は存は 米国の見解に 取入るやうに 意固しん 提定を

何度も 繰返して来たが 米國政府としては 日本の見解に

合小やうな 手段を採ることなく 何 ^{の讓歩} にも なかつた 一 恐らく

米國は ^{更に進んが} 層先走 ^に 態度すら 取つてゐた。 實状は ^か かく

の ^{我々日本人としては} 此きものであるから 一体 米國政府は 本会議を 継続す

るに ^と どの程度の 誠意を持てゐるのか 我々日本人は考

へざるを得ない。 國民の感情は 何らかの 結着を見ることが

さらに ^{ことには} 厭はれる ^に 到底 我慢をきないであらう、と 慮へ

近日 議會を召集すること ^に 言及して、 日本^の 態度は 目を追ふ

切迫したものに ちりつゝあることを 強調した。 外相は、 米國

政府が、 堂々と 政治家に 対して ^い 態度を取る、 ちまうる 腹

り 廣い 観点から 解決 ^に 努力 ^を 法問題を 觀察して、

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「交渉に」これら諸向題の解決を試みてもらうたいとの

希望を表明した。 これは 現在の難局を克服 ひま の見解

は少いとするのが 外相の見解である。

外相は 更に 日本は已に 最大 の 見解 を 示 し て お り ま す 。

である と 信じておられる が 新 内 閣 に

於て一歩に日本の主張を核対し現在提出された 秋 在 の 見 解 を 吟 味 し て お り ま す 。

加為し得る 加 大 の 見 解 を 吟 味 し て お り ま す 。

日本の新提案案である と い ふ 。 この 見 解 は 日 本 の 新 提 案 に 二 枚 の 書 類 (こ の こ ろ に お か け る) を 手 渡 し 、

次のやうな二つの 難 局 を 示 し て お り ま す 。 幸 運 を 成 す の 為 に な ら ば 。

一、日本の新提案は 米口の六月廿日安折に相当するものであり、

九月六日及び廿五日の日本側 の 文 書 に 規 れ た 提 案 の 要 素 を 含 ん で お り 、 十 月 二 日 の 米 口 見 解 書 中 に 明 ら か な 米 國

の 見 解 に お き ま す 限 り 合 わ や う に 修 正 を 加 へ て 加 減 し て お り ま す 。

6. の 見 解 に お き ま す 限 り 合 わ や う に 修 正 を 加 へ て 加 減 し て お り ま す 。

Kudo 6

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

Excerpt from: The Regulations Concerning P.O.W.s Rations

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In case it is impossible to apply the foregoing provisions rule, suitable foods may be issued within the following amounts;

- a. Flag officers and those with corresponding ranks; Yen 1.05 per day.
- b. Warrant officers and above and those with corresponding ranks; Yen 0.90 per day.
- c. Petty officers, non-rated men and those with corresponding ranks; Yen 0.75 per day.

When P.O.W.s who are drawing pay are supplied with foods, they shall reimburse their actual cost.

二白書の
九月廿五日
米口の立月廿一日
米口に大部分甚し

てある。

自分の見解ではこの字本は 本文、内容とも多くの

感心とぬ美があるが、会談を渉するに、自分はこの

字本を 新装足の基礎に利用するに決定した。

説明の意味で、外相は次のやうに述べた。

(イ) 欧州戦争に對する米口及び日本政府の態度に關して

は、日本の九月廿五日米口に基き、向都の見解に一致を見せ

た。米口は、
向都の見解に一致を見せ

(ロ) 経済協同問題に於ける無差別問題に關しては、日本政府は

その新提案が、米口政府の要求を適切に網羅してあると

信じてゐる。

(ハ) 中国に於ける駐兵及び南支那の軍隊撤兵に關しては、

この交渉を成功裡に終らせるに取上の障害物と

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なるものか

日本政府は、国内の重大難問に

拘らず

一段の而し、最上段を認められし

である。

合衆国との友好的解決に到らうとする

日本の要諦三ヶ層はつきりと出ている。この事柄について

米政府は

正当な認識をしつ

日本政府は信じられる

事。

(二)

トル氏は既に英政府と本会談について相談し

たこと又彼としてはそのやうな相談をフイけることを提議せ

る。日本は、
恒事に於ける英国の利害関係は甚

大きく、合衆国と日本の間ル討議中の問題が深刻な

影響を受けらると思はれる。外相と云へば合衆国と日本の

間ル、待望の協定が成立した暁には同時に日英両国

8. 間ルも同様の協定の締結に必要があると

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When P.O.W.s who are drawing pay are supplied with foods, they shall reimburse their actual cost.

Def. Doc. No. 1349 A

I, MARY ERWIN MARTIN, residing at 21, Kensington Gate,
London, W.8. England, having been first duly sworn, make
oath and say that the attached photostatic copy of the state-
ment entitled Japanese in Hongkong, January to June 1942 re-
garding following persons: Takie Oda, --- Fugita, ----
Kimura, Colonel Yamada and H. Akira, given by me for use in evidence
in the trial of major war criminals for the International
Military Tribunal for the Far East now sitting in Tokyo, and
that such statement is in all respects true to the best of
my knowledge and belief.

SWORN by the said MARY
ERWIN MARTIN at 21,
Gloucester Road, South
Kensington in the County
of London this 29th day
of April, 1947

(Signed) Mary Erwin Martin

Before me,

(Signed) Edwin V. Leach

Commissioner for Oaths.

としは、
そのの
並やうな 平行対合 従は
本合議を促進す
の進行

これのい、
ワシントンで 行はる 情報や 見解の 交換の

補定 しを 目的とすといふ
と いはる
外相は

外相の提議が終ると 余は、
外相の申入はる 諸問題は

ワシントンで 議すは、
答のいふ 余は、
これを論ずる 権限

は 持たふい、
余の 新議に 関するものとして
三つの 点を

採りあげたいと 次々いふ 述べた。

(一) 極東に 於て 實状を 理解して 余は、
外相の

歡望に 関して 余は、
米の政府か 本大使館 からと、
余の 推定する 所は

ワシントン 駐在 日本大使から
現 状と 種々の 要素は

ついで 完全に 明確な 概念を 與へらうといふ
理由 論議

Def. Doc. No. 7849 A

I, MARY ERWIN MARTIN, residing at 21, Kensington Gate,
London, W.8, England, having been first duly sworn, make
oath and say that the attached photostatic copy of the state-
ment entitled Japanese in Hongkong, January to June 1942, re-
garding following persons: "Wario Wada" --- Fugita, ----
Nimura, Colonel Yamada and Lt. Amuro given by me for use in evidence
in the trial of Major War Criminals for the International
Military Tribunal for the Far East now sitting in Tokyo, and
that such statement is in all respects true to the best of
my knowledge and belief.

SWORN by the said MARY)
ERWIN MARTIN at 83,)
Gloucester Road, South)
Kensington in the County)
of London this 29th day)
of April, 1947)

(Signed) Mary Erwin Martin

Before me,

(Signed) Edwin V. Leach

Commissioner for Oaths.

から教へて 意見の相異を
結果を導き出す ことである。

J. Kudo 11

(二) 外相が 日本に 適用する 所謂 秘卒の 安定勢力 といふ

言葉は 時常 に 広い 解釈 を 与へ がち である。

(三) 日本は 必要 な 供給 を 受ける こと が できる やう に せねば

なら ない といふ 外相 の 観念 は 問題 全体 の 核心 を 衝

く して いる の 何 と 云へば 武力 の 行使 に 対抗 する 平和 経

手 段 によら ず 日本 の 産業 の ため の 貿易 ・ 商業 ・ 市場 の 自由

な 経営 と 併し たい 必要 な 供給 を 得る

道 を 日本 に 用 け る こと が 現在 の 会議 の 基本 となる

目的 の 一つ である あり 又 ハル比 の 計画 は 日本 の 将来

の 福祉 と 繁栄 と 満足 と を 得 得 する 目的 を 持つ こと である

切實 な 努力 を その まじり 措き 出し た も の である から である

Def. Doc. No. 1849 A

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that such statement is in all respects true to the best of
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(Signed) Mary Erwin Martin

Before me,

(Signed) Edwin V. Leach

Commissioner for Oaths.

外相は本大使館が極東情報として正確な報告をするより

努力しての事と認めらる用意は充分にあるが併し ^{現在の} 米国内政

取らる

の態度を見よと 米内政の實際に 極東の實際に因て

迄なきを得ない

正確な理解を持つておるかどうか

確し ^し ^た ^か ^ら ^な ^ら ^な ^い

述べた

この

論点を説明 ^{する} ^{ため}

全を界か中国の一部 ^の ^{一部} ^が ^公 ^認 ^し ^て ^お ^る

外蒙古

~~非~~ ^の

ソウエト軍の駐屯問題を 例として引きたる

自力の知の限りは

外蒙古にソウエト軍がゐることは 未だ

誰が抗議したかは ない

と語った

所謂「東亞に於ける

安定勢力」たる語に因る 余の説明は 外相は

この言世に因ては

矛盾物な見地から

満足すべき 解釈が

存するかと云ひ

日本に対して

資料の語を保証する

問題に因る 余の觀察は 外相は この問題は

何年ともまへに

ソウエトが其の他の地

論じられたことだと

述べた

He

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When P.O.W.s who are drawing pay are supplied with foods, they shall reimburse their actual cost.

外相は同盟の基本的取項を論じようとはす

日米

西國間の商業好結締好関係の重大性について云ふと

~~その目的は...~~

言及す

合衆国にも

日本沿岸漁業は

日本側の

多数の

~~その目的は...~~

重要原料の供給を停止してしまつた

かゝる性格の

経済的圧迫は国民の生存を脅かすこと

武力を直接行使

するよりも甚かしい

したかえ

米政府が

かゝる

性格の事情も考慮に入れて

日本国民が

経済的圧迫を

受けるならば

遂には

自衛手段に

訴へる

必要儀を

いしよと考へる可能性のあることを

悟え

とらひたい

希望を

明らかにした

外相は言ふ迄もつて、日本は既に四年以上の間、広範

に亘る戦闘行為に従事すること、及びこのやうな長期戦

しあかふか

4. Seco

DEFENSE DOCUMENT SECTION

(5)

Received _____
Time _____ Date _____

Signature

DEF. DOC. #

ENG.

JAP.

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の成果を維持しようとする。日本は、
言はれよるものから、日本

崩壊 ^潰 するのには、
事情が不利に、
若し米国の

加 ^{よく} 公平実を ^{よく} 理解するならば、
会談を、急遽に、
終 ^{いせ} せよ

は容易であらうと、
語 ^{つた} った。

余は、
外相 ^か の、
戦争の成果を維持しようとする日本

の主張を、
強調 ^{した} ことと、
侵略 ^{とい} いた

武力の行使は、
差し控へると、
原則を ^{日本が} 違 ^は 諾 ^{した} こと

前 ^に 横 ^は ぼ ^る 明 ^白 な ^矛 盾 ^を 指 ^摘 した。

外相は、
三木 ^に 答 ^え、
日本は侵略戦も、
行 ^つ て ^お る ^の こと ^か の

従 ^て、
日 ^本 が ^自 衛 ^の 名 ^義 で ^行 った ^の 侵略 ^の 成果 ^を 維持 ^{する} こと ^と、
同 ^様 に ^起 り

な ^い と ^述 べ ^た。
米 ^国 政 ^府 は ^現 在、
自 ^衛 を ^口 実 ^と して

Def. Doc. No.1796

that he was disturbed lest the arrogance and aggressiveness of certain Japanese leaders in Japan lead to armed conflict. During the several days that I was in Moscow, I found during discussions of the international situation with members of the diplomatic corps and with foreign journalists that my good opinion regarding Shigemitsu was widely shared. As a result of my conversations while in Moscow, I have firmly believed that the willingness of Shigemitsu to serve as Foreign Minister in the Japanese Cabinet during the war was prompted by the hope of himself and his friends to use the first available opportunity to bring about peace.

As of possible interest I am attaching hereto copies of the Arizona Daily Star of April 2, 1945 containing an article written by me and published in the Star in which Mr. Shigemitsu is mentioned.

Further deponent saith not.

/S/ William R. Mathews

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 27th day of December, 1946, at Tucson, Pima County, state of Arizona.

My commission as notary public in and for the county of Pima, state of Arizona, will expire March 28, 1950.

/S/ Lenna H. Burges
Notary Public.

国際法の認めらるる手段を 超えたる 諸手段

に訴へるゝの如き ^{印象を} 外相の抱 ^{いておる} 印象がある。

外相は

日本は 合衆国に對し 自衛の平理 ^に ありしに

勝手な 解釈を 適用しないやうに 要請するの事。

當を得ぬことにはなるがうといふ見解を表明した。 とも

かく、合議は 政策的な線に沿ひ 追求するべきものと

觀念 好む議論は 念誤を 進めを行けないといふの

外相の見解である。

合議は ^{轉じて} ここから 別の内容に入った。 其の報道は

別の 覚書に 書いた。

Handy 5

Def. Doc. No.1796

that he was disturbed lest the arrogance and aggressiveness of certain Japanese leaders in Japan lead to armed conflict. During the several days that I was in Moscow, I found during discussions of the international situation with members of the diplomatic corps and with foreign journalists that my good opinion regarding Shigemitsu was widely shared. As a result of my conversations while in Moscow, I have firmly believed that the willingness of Shigemitsu to serve as Foreign Minister in the Japanese Cabinet during the war was prompted by the hope of himself and his friends to use the first available opportunity to bring about peace.

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Excerpt from Foreign Relations of the United States
Japan: 1931-1941 Vol. II

Page 710

Memorandum by the Ambassador in Japan (Grew)

[Tokyo,] November 10, 1941

The Foreign Minister recalled the conversation which he had had with me on October 30, when he said that he was firmly of the opinion that the maintenance of friendly relations between the United States and Japan was a practicable proposition. He went on to say that he had given constant thought to this matter and that he had determined to put forward every effort to re-establish relations between the two countries on a friendly basis and to maintain peace in the Pacific. It was the purpose of the present Cabinet to continue with the project of establishing a "Greater East Asia" as a contribution toward world peace. Mr. Tege said that ever since he has assumed office he had been intensively studying the documents relating to the conversations which have thus far taken place. Fresh proposals had been formulated and had been sent to Admiral Nomura, who had been instructed to enter into negotiations with the President and the Secretary of State. I interrupted the Foreign Minister to say that our Government had been careful to emphasize that it was engaged in "preliminary and exploratory conversations" with the Japanese Government. Mr. Tege replied that he was well aware of that fact, but that he wondered whether the time had not come to enter into formal and official negotiations. However, he said that he did not wish to press the point.

Mr. Tege went on to say that only recently Mr. Kurusu had been despatched to Washington to assist Admiral Nomura in conducting the conversations. He recalled in this connection that he had asked me to facilitate Mr. Kurusu's journey to the United States, and that the American Government and I had responded in a manner which was most gratifying. He said that it was everywhere known in Japan that I had striven to promote friendly relations between our two countries and that my efforts in this regard were highly appreciated throughout the country. He intended on his part to spare no effort to cooperate with me with a view to opening up a way for the solution of the problems confronting the two countries which would be mutually acceptable.

What he most keenly felt, the Foreign Minister continued, from reviewing the documents recording conversations which have thus far taken place was that the knowledge and appreciation of the United States with regard to the realities of the situation in the Far East are unfortunately inadequate. Although Mr. Hull had admitted that Japan is a stabilizing force in the Far East, the position taken by the United States throughout the conversations had not been in harmony with that fact. Unless the American Government should take full cognizance of the fact that Japan has been engaged in hostilities with China for four and a half years, then the admission of Japan's being a stabilizing force in the Far East would have in actuality no meaning. Mr. Tege said that Mr. Hull, in a conversation with Mr. Wakasugi on October 16, recalled that he had told former Ambassador Saite that he recognized Japan as a stabilizing force and would be prepared to express such recognition in an official manner. The Minister went on to say that the population of this country is steadily and rapidly increasing; it was now about one hundred million; and it was necessary to assure raw materials necessary for their existence. It was his opinion that unless the American Government realizes this fact as

among the realities of the situation, successful conclusion to the conversations would be difficult. During the conversations carried on for a period of more than six months, the Japanese Government had repeatedly made proposals calculated to approach the American point of view, but the American Government for its part had taken no step toward meeting the Japanese position and had yielded nothing--it had perhaps taken a more advanced position. These being the facts, "we in Japan are led to wonder what is the degree of sincerity of the American Government in continuing with the conversations." He said that national sentiment will not tolerate further protracted delay in arriving at some conclusion. Referring to the fact that the Diet is shortly to meet, he emphasized that the position is daily becoming more pressing. He expressed the hope that the American Government would take a statesmanlike position and view the problems to be resolved from the broadest possible viewpoint--that it would try to settle these problems "with one sweep". It was his opinion that otherwise the prospects of overcoming the present difficulties would be small.

The Foreign Minister went on to say that Japan had already made what were believed to have been the greatest possible concessions. However, the position had been examined by the new Cabinet and the new proposal now being made comprises the maximum possible concessions by Japan. The Minister at this point handed me two pieces of paper (attached hereto) which he described as the new Japanese proposals, and he said that he wished to make two observations as follows:

1. The new Japanese draft corresponds to the American draft of June 21. It contains the elements of the proposals put forward in the Japanese documents of September 6 and 25, with modifications to meet as far as possible the American position as set forth in the American memorandum of October 2.

2. The Japanese draft of September 25 was largely based on the American draft of June 21. In the Foreign Minister's opinion it contains many unsatisfactory features with regard to both text and substance. However, to expedite the conversations, the Minister had decided to make use of that draft as a basis for a fresh start. He reiterated that this new proposal includes the maximum concessions.

By way of commentary he said:

- (a) With regard to the attitudes of the American and Japanese Governments towards the European war, it is the understanding of the Japanese Government that there has been an agreement of views based on the Japanese draft of September 25;

- (b) With regard to the question of non-discrimination in economic matters, it is the belief of the Japanese Government that its new proposal adequately covers the desires of the American Government;

- (c) With regard to the stationing in and withdrawal of troops from China, which have been the greatest obstacle in bringing the conversations to a successful end, the Japanese Government has, notwithstanding grave domestic difficulties, made a further and what must be regarded as the maximum possible concession. The Japanese Government believes that the American Government will appreciate this further manifestation of Japan's desire to come to an amicable settlement with the United States:

(d) Mr. Hull has intimated that he has already consulted the British Government with regard to the conversations and that he proposes to continue such consultation. British interests in the Far East are admittedly large and would be deeply affected by matters now under discussions between the United States and Japan. The Foreign Minister regards it as necessary that in the event of the sought-for agreement being reached between the United States and Japan there should simultaneously be concluded a similar instrument between Japan and Great Britain. The Foreign Minister expressed the hope that the American Government will persuade the British Government to agree to such simultaneous signature.

The Minister concluded his observations by repeating that he solicited my cooperation to bring about a speedy and satisfactory end to the negotiations. He referred to the question of conversations being carried on in Tokyo paralleling those taking place in Washington, which was touched on at our last meeting. The Minister said that he had no intention of merely duplicating here what would be said in Washington. He believed that there would be no objection on the part of the American Government to holding parallel conversations in Tokyo, but in his view such parallel conversations should be designed to supplement exchanges in Washington of information and of opinion with a view to expediting the progress of the conversations.

At the end of the Minister's presentation I said that I had no authority to debate the questions approached by the Minister which would be discussed in Washington but that I wished to raise three points as pertinent to these discussions, as follows:

(1) In connection with the Minister's observation that my Government does not understand the realities of the situation in the Far East I ventured to disagree on the ground that the American Government had been given a perfectly clear conception of the situation and its various factors by this Embassy and, I assumed, by the Japanese Ambassador in Washington;

(2) The term "stabilizing force in East Asia" as applied by the Minister to Japan is open to very wide interpretation;

(3) The Minister's observation that Japan must have access to necessary supplies penetrates to the center of the whole problem since one of the fundamental purposes of the current conversations is to open a way for Japan to obtain such necessary supplies, together with a free flow of trade and commerce and markets for her industries, but by peaceful means as opposed to the use of force, and that Mr. Hull's program visualizes precisely these desiderata which are aimed to ensure Japan's future welfare, prosperity and contentment.

The Foreign Minister remarked that he was quite prepared to admit that the Embassy is endeavoring to report accurately on the situation in the Far East, but that, in view of the position which is being taken by the American Government, he wondered whether the American Government has in fact a correct appreciation of the realities. To illustrate his point, he wished to cite the question of the stationing of Soviet troops in Outer Mongolia, which was universally recognized to be a part of China. So far as he knew no one had objected to the presence of Soviet troops in Outer Mongolia. With regard to my comment on the phrase "stabilizing force in East Asia," the Foreign Minister said that there should be a satisfactory interpretation of that phrase from a common-sense point of view. With regard to my observations on the question of assuring to Japan sources of raw materials the Foreign Minister said that this was a question which had been debated over a period of years at Geneva and elsewhere. He did not wish to go into the

of the question, but he thought that he could advert to the importance of commercial and economic relations between the United States and Japan. The freezing by the United States of Japanese assets had stopped supplies of many important materials to Japan. Economic pressure of this character is capable of menacing national existence to a greater degree than the direct use of force. He hoped that the American Government would take into consideration circumstances of this character and realize the possibility that the Japanese people, if exposed to continued economic pressure, might eventually feel obliged resolutely to resort to measures of self-defense.

The Minister went on to say that Japan had been engaged in extensive hostilities for a period of more than four years, and that if Japan were called upon to sacrifice the fruits of such protracted hostilities she must inevitably collapse. If the American Government realizes this fact a speedy conclusion to the conversations will be easy.

I pointed out the apparent inconsistency between the Minister's emphasis on the insistence of Japan that she retain the fruits of hostilities and Japan's acceptance of the principle of refraining from aggression and the use of force.

The Foreign Minister replied that Japan is not conducting a war of aggression and that therefore no question arises of her retaining the fruits of aggression. It is his impression that the American Government is now resorting, under the plea of self-defense, to measures ever and beyond these that are generally recognized by international law. He expressed the opinion that it might not be out of place for Japan to ask the United States not to put too liberal a construction on the principle of self-defense. In any event, it was his opinion that theoretical discussions would not promote the conversations, which he thought should be pursued along realistic lines.

The conversation then turned to another matter which is covered by a separate memorandum.

Joseph C. B. (rew)