

The Explanation of the Premier at  
the Imperial Conference on 1 December

By the Imperial permission, I will sponsor the proceedings of the Conference.

In accordance with the decision of the Imperial Conference of 5 November, the Government has taken all possible steps, concentrating all its energies, to adjust the relations with the United States, while the Imperial Army and Navy have made efforts to complete their preparations for operations. The United States, however, has not shown any sign of concession from its past position. Moreover, she served, jointly with Britain, the Netherlands and China, new demands such as the unconditional over-all withdrawal of Japanese troops, the withdrawal of recognition of the Nanking Government, and the nullification of the Tripartite Pact, proposing unilateral concessions by Japan. Should Japan submit to her demands, not only would Japan's prestige be entirely destroyed and the solution of the China Affair rendered impossible, but Japan's existence itself would be endangered. It is now clear that Japan's claims cannot be attained through diplomatic measures. Meanwhile, the United States, Britain, the Netherlands and China have increasingly strengthened their economic and military pressure upon Japan. From the viewpoints both of Japan's national power and of strategy, it is now utterly impossible for Japan to permit the present situation to continue any longer. In such circumstances, Japan now has no other way than to wage war against the United States, Britain and the Netherlands in order to achieve a solution of the present critical situation and to secure its existence and self-defense.

We are filled with trepidation to think that it causes much anxiety to His Imperial Majesty to plunge into a great war at the present moment when the China Affair has already lasted for four years. Upon careful consideration, however, it is my belief that our national power is now several times as strong as before the outbreak of the China Affair, that our national solidarity is all the more tightened, and that the morale of the Imperial Army and Navy is exceedingly high. I am convinced that the whole nation, presenting a united front and laying down their lives for the sake of the country, will surely deliver us from the present national crisis. I hope that you will give due deliberation to the subject placed before you. Concerning matters of diplomatic negotiations and military operations, explanation will be given by the Cabinet ministers concerned and the High Command.

Def. Doc. No. 1886

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Hayashi Kaoru, Chief of the Archives Section of the Japanese Ministry, hereby certify that the document hereto attached in Japanese, consisting of 2 pages and entitled "The Explanation of the Premier at the Imperial Conference on 1 December 1941" is an exact and true copy of an official document of the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

Certified at Tokyo,  
on this 7 July 1947.

Hayashi Kaoru

Witness: Urabe Katsuma

Translation Certificate

I, Nishi Haruhiko, of the Defense, hereby certify that I am conversant with the English and Japanese languages, and that the foregoing is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation of the original document.

H. Nishi

Tokyo

July 1947

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1886. referred to in 206 H  
under Parts referred to in YAMAMOTO  
Affidavit #2014