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Proposed Instructions to the Japanese Ambassador (Nomura), Handed by the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs (Toyoda) to the American Ambassador in Japan (Grew) on September 13, 1941

I.

(a) The proposed draft of an understanding which has been constituting a basis for informal negotiations between the Japanese and the United States Governments will continue to be a basis for further discussions.

The points upon which we deem a tentative agreement has already been reached during the informal preliminary conversations in Washington comprise the preamble to the proposed understanding, the concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations, and the matter concerning the good offices of the United States to the relations between Japan and China.

Although it seems that there is a misunderstanding on the part of the United States that Japan does not want the good offices of the United States in the settlement of China affairs, the Japanese Government has by no means refused the good offices of the President of the United States and is still, as before, wishing for them.

- (b) The terms "without any justifiable reason" applies [sic] merely to the latter part of point (b) of the undertaking to which Japan is ready to commit itself.
 - (d) For the purpose of preventing communistic and other subversive activities threatening the safety of both Japan and China and also of maintaining the peace and order in China, Japan and China will coöperate in the form of common defense. The execution of the common defense by Japan and China will contain the stationing of Japanese troops for a certain period in accordance with the agreements between both countries. The Japanese troops which have been sent to China with the object of executing the China affairs will be withdrawn when the said affairs have been settled.
 - (e) The reason why the Japanese Government inserted point (e) as a matter to be undertaken by Japan is because the Japanese Government, in view of the apprehension on the part of the Government of the United that Japan might violate the American rights and interests in China, wishes to show her intention of not obstructing any just and equitable economic activities of the United States in China. The Government of Japan will not only admit the principle of non-discrimination with regard to commerce in China as well as in the Southwestern Pacific Area, but also it fully respects the established rights and interests of the United States in China. However, it considers that the especially close economic relations between Japan and China natural from their geographical propinquity are the same kind of relations as those which exist between any other two neighboring countries. Indeed, there will be no reason why the principle of close economic relationship

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owing to the geographic propinquity shall not be applied to Japan's economic relations with China. Accordingly, the close and especial economic cooperation between Japan and China within this limit will not establish so-called monopolistic or preferential rights and interests for Japan. Moreover, it is firmly believed that such is a natural phenomenon in our human life, and the observance of this law of nature is not only a factor of bringing about economic prosperity of the world, but the surest way for the firm establishment of the world peace.

(f) Since matters relating to China, as has been stated above, are covered under point (e), the matter concerning Japan's economic activities in the Southwestern Pacific Area was clarified under point (f) in view of the fact that among other areas of the Pacific point (f) in view of the fact that among other areas of the Pacific the United States is most concerned with the Southwestern Area of the Pacific.

II.

(a) The measures and actions referred in point (a) among the proposed undertakings by the United States are meant to indicate acts of the United States in aid in various forms for the Chiang acts of the United States in aid in various forms for the Chiang Kai-shek regime. As for the "Good Offices" of the President of the United States they were referred to above.