Def. Doc. No. 1400-0-6

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

Page 601

Comment by the Ambassador in Japan (Grew)

ZTokyo, September 5, 1941.7

In my meeting tomorrow with the Foreign Minister I shall confine myself to carrying out the explicit instructions contained in the Department's telegram No. 562, September 4, 8 p.m., and shall avoid discussion of the questions at issue pending a reply from the Department to my 1384, September 4, 9 p.m.

Admiral Toyoda has told me that he would like to have any further conversations which may be necessary before the proposed meeting between the Prime Minister and the President carried on in Tokyo rather than in Washington because, as he said, certain language difficulties appear to have arisen in Washington. I told him, however, that I could not make any such recommendation since I felt that it was up to my Government to decide where and by whom such conversations should be carried on.

After having carefully gone over the reports of the oral discussions which took place concerning our redraft of the original proposals advanced by the Japanese, it was apparent to me that there are four substantial points on which no agreement has been reached, i.e., (1) the question of equal opportunity and nondiscrimination in China, (2) the maintenance of Japanese garrisons in China, (3) the respective attitudes of the United States and Japan toward the war in Europe, and (4) the question of military bases. It is pertinent to examine whether or to what degree the commitments which the Japanese Government is prepared to accept as set forth in points (e), (d), (c), and (b), in that order, of the latest Japanese proposal are considered by our Government as satisfactory in regard to the four points outlined above, and whether these new provisional commitments afford an adequate basis for the proposed meeting between the President and the Prime Minister.

It is obvious in this connection that no Japanese undertakings whether oral or in written form can be accepted as giving a complete guarantee that such undertakings can or will be carried out to our entire satisfaction. It is clear that the first step toward a return to the status quo ante in the Far East or the establishment of a situation is that area which would conform to the principles which we believe should govern decent relations between states involves the cessation on the part of Japan of its progressive acts of aggression. It would appear that the commitments contained in the latest Japanese proposal, if implemented, would fulfill this requirement. Since it is presumed that a detailed formulation of a general plan of reconstruction of the Far East could not probably be worked out in advance, it would be eminently desirable that the military and economic measures of the United States which are now inexprably pressing on Japan be relaxed point by point pari passu with the actions of the Japanese Government in the direction of implementing its proposed commitments. If our Government followed this suggested course it would always retain in its hands the leverage which

0.00. Noc. No. 11,00-0-6

Def. Doc. No. 1400-0-6 would contribute to Japanese implementation of its commitments. If an adjustment of relations is to be achieved some risk must be run, but the risk taken in the pursuance on our part of a course which would not only provide inducements to the Japanese to honor their undertakings but would also leave to the United States Government a certain leverage of compulsion would appear to be relatively less serious than the risk of armed conflict entailed in the progressive application of economic sanctions which would result from a refusal to accept these proposals.

J∠oseph7 c. G∠rew7 The state of the s name or the state of the source of the transfer we take the state of the contract of - . Then the mineral own a though eathing the the state of the same of the same of the same of the property of the same of t the state of the search of the bat the bar at the translated . De la la la compania de la compania del la compania de la compania del la compania de la compania del la compania de la compania de la compania del la compania de la compania del The property of the second with the second of the second and the second of the second deris or od snoreque sem di esconenti o la ve sconevir el la versona bo re cher the second of the second of the second wind about a later discless and a second reson bin tdlamidacqqo lempe do - it un odd (1) ..e. E-bedorea directioningtion in Obins, (2) the maintenance of Japanese garestrict of the Golden acted the extributer of the College of the Strict to the bound (1) one to the Err to the board of the dedicate orlangue of the differ of the start of differ The state of the s and the state of t and the same of the first of the same of t and the standard and the test of the total policy of the policy of the standard of the standar

The administration is were a word and the decidence of To read and manufact only the read of real stee the

-honor char galace sout next meldommen wild at aution of This is the beginning of the analytical time at a fine a district that . Lyone ad lile to the analytedire to describe a series and besime the second oute deathly out and apple of the is another that the balance the off accident, and odd at adds other but to deltand and on a first ed i foso c'husw molich same ferin wi ne, seunfie melle it seciel dies te are If a Jen arreson arear blue to Synlied ow doll or an Laten and la ma cell la fina fina die mellavegos enti devidenta deits our reive date of agernation. It would appare that the commitments contained in the latest Japanese property in it. tenses mounted, would fulfill this requirengent. Blace th in program thister intuitied Communication of a gomeral blancor negration as dend Al asserted the Person of the probably be warked out in advance, it would be sminestly desirable that the this said scome williamy and bluew moneymes of the United States whichein now inexample pracelng doller ad tries beardion of negation ett enidmensofgal to melitasmi vit diemen vit asement, et t Dates un al. Dewelle : despe co me il .a dimmed .... aldw observal add abord on all mister twenter bluew it

か

5

ワ

1

72

京

遂

行

B

る

٤

を

t

旨

私

K

語

た

私

は

か

か

る

會

談

又

誰

遂

行

せ

5

るべ

ŧ

か

を

决

定

D

如

告

E

我

が

政

府

合 衆 翠 外 交 關 係 本

本 本 駐 九 九 四

卷六

日

0

日

剖大使 グ 0 解 說

九 月 五 B

九 五 會 六 月 私 談 懸 は  $\equiv$ 田 荣 调 大 淀 日 將 電 0 午 日 論 彼 は 報 後 外 提 漢 九 10 首 明 務 案 時 4: 大 VC 避 發 記 中 臣 信 け 第 た 訓 或 曾 臣 台 令 首 2 で 八 遂 韶 婋 大 は 統 電 行 図 上 報 す 0 钽 務 函 會 る 省 K 難 見 對 5 0 办言 前 九 ٤ す ワ 月 K る K 1 國 止 四 V 要 骄 80 日 よう。 省 な 午 > 後 る L K b 如 八 生 そ 何 時 0 な 發 囘 T. た る 信 5 私

5 旨 被 K 話 た

な 點 日 四 戰 程 畇 た 點 本 日 口 總 既 VC 開 頭 卿 對 及 於 本 理 か K る 論 無 大 關 VC す な 政 係 て 五 差 府 議 表 3 る I VC 别 會 點 ZO b 慮 我 示 合 0 報 提 符 から 晁 か 3 供 告 遇 近 畝 日 VE 對 圣 0 さ 及 る ni た B 問 日 通 b 本 本 ٤ I 題 た 約 適 調 9) \$ 提 原 束 且 VC 0 b 滿 泵 夫 (=) 案 奎 な 受 は 明 2 根 諾 瞬 足 K 中 0 を 5 2 後 我 す 璩 n 於 或 K 0 0 0 3 ž 松 ~ -( 4C 17 用 12 悲 與 頭 上 意 度 方 3 0 於 2 12 充 \$ け 0 た あ た は 新 列(四) る る る 0 b 何 0 於 等 卽 5 日 T か ٤ 舉 軍

順

VC

從

~

ば

a

1

đ.

避

基

地

問

題

0

四

て

本

守

備

緣

0

存

續

三)

5

中

國

VC

於

H

3

機

意

見

0

致

を

見

な

5

四

悠

E

た

案

K

關

行

は

るる 約 束 東 ZOS う VC 完 前 3 障 全 態 K T 與 繭 0 復 足 ñ す る は I 0 そ う 遂 認 Ø 方 行 き ٤ 面 3 5 文 n n VC 書 難 於 得 K T 又 1 我 5 は 6 遂 等 ٤ ٤ は 行 XX を 明 各 3 問 白 n 國 は る 間 で ず

考

慮

2

n

る

か

否

叉

E

す

る

公

約

ZÓS

上

VC

概

括

假

公

約

が

提

案

中

大

統

否

か

を

吟

味

5

る

0

は

適

拒 細 な な る 否 な れ 公 な な ば 約 明 道 る 結 8 4 政 を 方 恐 な な あ 府 求 5 う 日 な 充 萷 合 手 我 衆 於 日 0 0 ٤ 濟 調 も行 衆 中 國 力 日 製 本 て ば 制 整 EX 明 加 本 K 0 提 我 裁 政 側 案 VC 日 VC 速 ず カン 府 伴 本が つ K 的 2 VC 4 IX 5 就 VC-含 そ 主 加 0 あ な T 以 5 又 冒 或 思 主 0 反 -5 W. . 5 的 す 3 約 る 約 心 略 は n わ 0 冠 適 zoz 經 れ 行 合 種 東 た ح づ 用 3 行 極 爲 0 を 0 齊 る 公 動 强 緩 危 東 す VC. 約 を V. 示 的 力 制 爲 嗳 和 險 頁 手 は 5 再 は 中 段 ã 生 的 は 或 建 獻 2 狀 日 止 す 槓 起 れ 5 る す が 7 3 0 本 れ 杆 す 72 種 る そ VC る そ う 0 頹 方と 對 闽 0 0 般 れ 計 3 力 誘 ٤ 危 から 0 . 3 提 杆 ٤ 立 载 險 供 が 2 履 0 は 10 今

從

2

B

n

極

80

假

行

5

精

必

保

留

を

力

3

3

冒

力

を