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INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 3115

4 September 1947

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Title and Nature: File of Telegrams and Memorandums  
(NOMURA to TOYODA) on Japanese-American Negotiations, 1941.

Date: 28 Aug to 26 Nov 1941 Original  Copy   
Language: Japanese

Has it been translated? Yes  No   
Has it been photostated? Yes  No

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL: IPS Document Division

SOURCE OF ORIGINAL: Japanese Foreign Ministry

PERSONS IMPLICATED: NOMURA, Kichisaburo; TOYODA, Teijiro.

CRIMES OR PHASE TO WHICH DOCUMENT APPLICABLE: Relations  
with the U.S. - Japanese-American Negotiations.

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT POINTS

This file contains telegrams from NOMURA to TOYODA,  
the majority of which have been previously analyzed in  
IPS Doc. No. 3095 or in English in IPS Doc. No. 15  
(Pearl Harbor Intercepts).

Complete scanning notes are attached to this file if  
a check on additional items are desired. The remaining  
telegrams and reports which have not been previously  
analyzed are of no significant value, with the possible  
exception of one summarized below.

NOMURA informs TOYODA that Italian Ambassador visited  
NOMURA to ask about American-Japanese negotiations. NOMURA  
says that he explained to him that the "message" issued  
recently was to save the situation from becoming worse and  
that Japan would observe the Tripartite Alliance.

Analyst: E.T. GARDEN

Doc. No. 3115

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION

Doc. No. 3115-

Date 4 September 1947

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Relations With The U.S. - Japanese - American negotiations

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Analyst: E. T. Gardner <sup>Doc. No. 3115-</sup>  
~~are not~~ <sup>been previously</sup> ~~included in the~~ <sup>analyzed</sup>, are 2

WASH

no significant value, with no possible exception

of one, ~~which is~~ summarized below.

(typist see ~~attached notes~~ <sup>copy</sup> Tel. no. 761  
on p. 2 of attached notes of stem is ~~circled~~ <sup>checked with a</sup>  
blue circle)

Analyst: E. T. Gardner

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<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEL. NO.</u>	<u>TITLE (If Note or Memo)</u>	<u>FROM</u>	<u>TO</u>	<u>IFS NO.</u>
Aug. 28	753	<del>Continuation of the previous letter</del> Previous letter continued	NOMURA	TOYODA	
Aug. 28	754	Frischer of the Herald Tribune called on TERASAKI asking <sup>about</sup> the contents of the KONOE message.	NOMURA	TOYODA	
Aug. 29	757	Tribune's long article <sup>does</sup> <del>is not touching</del> <sup>mention</sup> <del>to</del> the <sup>HONOLULU</sup> Honolulu Talks	NOMURA	TOYODA	
Aug. 29	759	It is hard to keep the interview with the President 'secret' as the time of interview is previously announced on <del>the</del> papers Re the difficulty of keeping <sup>secret</sup> the interview with the President, as the time has been previously announced in the papers.	NOMURA	TOYODA	

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2

DATE TEL. NO. TITLE (If Note or Memo) FROM TO IPS NO.

Aug. 30, 1941 761

NOMURA TO TOYODA

NOMURA informs TOYODA that Italian Ambassador visited NOMURA to ask about AMERICAN-JAPANESE negotiations. NOMURA says that he explained <sup>to him</sup> that the "message" issued recently was to save the situation from becoming worse and that JAPAN would observe the TRI-PARTITE Alliance.

Sept. 2 762

NOMURA TOYODA

Regarding the Roosevelt KONOE Talks, an answer will be given tomorrow. State Secretary Hull has the fear that the KONOE will have to resign in case he takes the peace policy suddenly, for the public opinion will not admit it. I explained him already that there is

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no fear of that kind. China does not recognize peace saying that there will come out a militaristic cabinet in Japan.

The three pending questions will not be difficult to solve. (The right of self defence. non discriminative treatment and the stationing and withdrawing of troops.)

Neither the U.S. nor Japan wants to have a trouble on the Pacific.

I expressed my opinion with respect to the immediate realization of the conference (Rosaelt KONOE talks) we have not come to talk about the place to hold the conference but I think Honolulu is the best spot.

The U.S. view of the European War is as follows

419  
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DATE      TEL. NO.      TITLE (If Note or Memo)      FROM      TO      IPS NO.

At present the war situation is  
fifty to fifty, but Germany has been  
tired as the result of the conspicuous  
consumption on the Eastern front.

---

Sept. 3

765

NOMURA TOYODA

Hume of the New York Times made the  
inquiry about the article of the  
Herald Tribune concerning the  
Roosevelt KONOE conference. TERASAKI  
answered that he didn't know anything  
about it.

I have already asked the state  
secretary to keep the matter secret but  
will confirm it.

---



DATE      TEL. NO.      TITLE (If Note or Memo)      FROM      TO      IPS NO.

Sept. 3      766           NOMURA TOYODA

concerning the telegram of no. 762  
The lines which were not clear are  
as follow

" It is preferred that the Japanese  
government collaborates in establishing  
peace policy  
by directing politicians and military  
men. "

Sept. 3      768

NOMURA TOYODA

Oct. 5 p.m. will have a secret  
talk with the president Roosevelt  
accepting the request from him.

X Sept 3      771

NOMURA TOYODA

Upon presenting the Premier's message  
and the answer of the Imperial  
Government, I think it's proper  
to make some change by myself  
in considering that these are addressed

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to the ruler of a nation.  
I'm sending the English copies to  
you as no 772 and 773

X Sept. 3 772

The English copy of the KONOE message  
with some changes by NOMURA.  
Excerpt

X Sept. 3 773

The English copy of the Answer of  
the Imperial Government to the  
communication conveyed by the  
Secretary of the State and the  
President of the U.S. to the Japanese  
Ambassador on Aug. 17, 41

Sept. 3 775

at 5 p.m. had a secret interview  
with the president. Hull was with him.  
I'm sending you the message of the  
President addressed to the Premier  
and the oral statement <sup>of</sup> the United States

DATE      TEL. NO.      TITLE (If Note or Memo)      FROM      TO      IPS NO.

X Sept. 3      776      *NOMURA TOYODA*  
*The message of the President of the US  
addressed to the Premier of Japan.  
(English copy)*

X Sept. 3      777      *NOMURA TOYODA*  
*The oral statement of the  
US Government  
(English)*

X Sept. 3      778      *NOMURA TOYODA*  
*Had a confidential talk with the  
President. According to the President  
the public opinion both in the US and in  
Japan will leave us no room for  
compromise although we four (the  
President the State Secretary  
the Premier and myself) are making  
sincere efforts  
President Roosevelt says. he is very  
sincerely sympathetic to the Premier  
of Japan.*

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The State secretary inquired about the latest situation in Japan, and so I told him that Premier KONOE will work through as he believes.

Regarding the pending three questions agreement has been reached in principle as far as the two of them are concerned, and for the withdrawing of troops, Japan is convinced of the agreement as the Premier is ready to talk with the President.

In the conference with Churchill, the President did not touch to the contents of the America-Japan negotiation for the custom of English is to give all the information to the members of the cabinet and then made public in the diet, so the secret matters are hard to be kept in this way.

(President Roosevelt's explanation)

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DATE      TEL. NO.      TITLE (If Note or Memo)      FROM      TO      IPS NO.

Regarding the date of the Conference the president could arrange it in any time as he has not many previous engagements for the time being

Upon parting I told him that the maintenance of the peace of the Pacific depends on the high statesmanship of the president and was agreed by the President

Sept 4 779

to  
NOMURA TOYODA

The oral statement has an argumentative start and is very long but to make the long story short, the US wants to get the clear answer concerning the pending questions before holding a conference between the responsible leaders of the two nations. So please

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Keep it in your mind in preparing the answer of the Imperial Government.

X Sept. 4

782

NOMURA TOYODA

I have detected the intention of the US in talking with Hull in this morning. Hull took up the four principles stated in the Oral Statement and repeated the same assertions on the matter especially on the principle of equal opportunity.

I explained the intention of Japan to solve the pending questions of the non official conference first as she has no opposition in principle with respect to the four principles. But Hull is sticking to the four principles. The attitude of the US has been much strengthened.

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X Sept. 6      788           NOMURA      TOYODA

visited Hull confidentially handing over your telegram No. 529 in a documentary form and explained that the same was handed to Ambassador Grew by the foreign minister before the message of the president and the oral statement were received by the Japanese government, that the document was made with the intention to clarify the various questions for the immediate realization of the conference between the responsible leaders of the two nations. and that the same could be the answer of the Japanese government showing the utmost extent which is possible for the Japanese government. I expressed

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that the cooperation of the US is most desired at this time in bringing about the immediate realization of the said conference.

In answering to my statement, Hull said that he had not read the report of Grew but will study about it in the coming week end.

He showed his concern regarding the actual power of the present Japanese Cabinet and stated his desire that the Japanese government will guide the public opinion towards the adjustment of the America Japan relations.

I emphasized the vital necessity of maintaining the peace of the Pacific.



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Hull agreed to that but in a very careful way.

I made the inquiry about the way of announcement and Hull didn't want to be misunderstood by the third nations and said that it would be proper to announce that we are studying about the basis of the solution of the Pacific problems

X  
Sept 8      791

NOMURA TOYODA

The recent attack by a German submarine on one of the US cruiser did not stir up the public opinion while as the Gallup poll shows the anti Japanese opinion has been

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much stiffened and if a similar case should happen on the Pacific, the situation would become horrible.

The reason is that the public opinion is against to send army to Europe and in the possible war with Japan, army will not be needed.

The amount of the war industry products has been increased and is four or five times as much as that of last year.

X Sept. 10 798

NOMURA TO YODA

Visited Hull asking not to have the President touch to the America Japan relations in broadcasting tomorrow. Hull did not commit

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but has understood the offers previously made. Hull looked dissatisfied saying that the answer of the Japanese government is narrowing down the points which <sup>very much</sup> have come to agree. I explained that in the answer only difficult points have been picked up omitting the points which have been already agreed. In a word, the U.S. is soliciting the opinions of England, China and Dutch.

X  
Sept 10 804

NOMURA TOYODA

visited by Hamilton who asked the explanation of the Japanese proposal

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- (a) What are the items which have been reached to the tentative agreement in the preliminary informal conference
- (b) Is "without any justifiable reason" to be applied only on the latter half of the text?
- (d) General explanation of this item was required but I avoided the answer.
- (e) This item gives an impression as if Japan has some special zone in China and is contradictory to the text of the KONOE message.
- (f) The head line is started by "South Western Pacific area" why should it not be "whole Pacific area" instead? What's the reason?

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Among the undertakings of the U.S.

(a) The whole text gives an odd impression.

X Sept. 10 805.

NOMURA TOYODA.

At the time of Hamilton's visit, he expressed the desire to change the whole text of the item 5 into the following telegram. (No 806)

Sept. 10 806

NOMURA TOYODA

The English text of the V. under the title of "Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area"

Sept. 10 807

NOMURA TOYODA

Regarding your telegram No. 526, the said is my draft which I presented as the means to sound

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the intention of the US government  
and was withdrawn upon reception  
of the formal answer of the Imperial  
Government.

X  
Sept. 11 8/0

NOMURA TOYODA

The most difficult question in the present  
negotiation is, as has been repeatedly  
stated by my telegrams to you, the  
stationing and withdrawing of troops  
in China. It is extremely difficult  
for the U. S. Government to recognize  
the pact concluded between Japanese  
Government and the Nanking Government  
regarding the same as the public opinion  
of the nation will oppose to it.

So the US proposal of 21. June clearly  
says that the withdrawal should be

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immediately realized according to the pact to be newly concluded between Japan and China.

Moreover, the attitude of the US Government is becoming stronger

It seems that the US has no positive oppositions to the other questions but as far as the withdrawing of troops is concern she has a strong opposition and there is a danger that the negotiation comes to a final deadlock in connection with the said question.

As the policy to break the deadlock I want you serve in this connection and persuade the Government to <sup>and persuade</sup> compromise to the plan to withdraw within two years after the peace is recovered without

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touching to the stationing of troops.  
As I have postponed the explanation to  
the members of the State Department, I  
should like to leave the government  
settled in her resolution in a  
soonest possible time.

Originally the withdrawing of troops  
is a question to be decided between  
Japan and China and the US could  
say something from her duty to  
work as go-between.

If the same plan is adopted and  
the negotiation is progressed, it will  
take a considerably long time before  
the conference between two responsible leaders  
met, concluding the pact in detail and  
bringing about the peace treaty between  
Japan and China. It could take <sup>over</sup> one



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year. So if we promise to withdraw within two years, the international situation ~~will be~~ and the situation of the spot might be changed. and it will be possible to prolong the stationing of troops or it could be possible to settle the troops ~~in~~ the name of protection of life and properties of the Japanese subjects

So the adoption of the same plan does not necessarily means the negation of the national policy of Japan although I admit it being a difficult ~~question judging from the domestic~~ as a domestic problem. Please send me a due answer immediately

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Sept 17	823		NOMURA	TOYODA	15.
X		The 'wholesale' text is in the "Pearl Harbour" in English			

Sept. 17	822		NOMURA	TOYODA	
		very short and not worth mentioning			

Sept 18	829		NOMURA	TOYODA	
		According to what NISHIYAMA heard from <u>Hesbarnin</u> (spelling?), Hull told the latter that the America Japan negotiation is not so promising as it was two weeks before and the difference of opinions among the leaders of the Government might cause anything, that the barter of silk and oil can not be thought of for the time being.			
		<u>Horn Beck</u> (?) an adviser of the			

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State Department who is in vacation told to the reporters of A.P. that during his leave there will be made no progress of the America Japan negotiation. We can learn something from this concerning the attitude of the US government

Sept 28 866

NOMURA TOYODA

Balantine told me that according to the report of Grew the conditions of the peace between Japan and China are nine items while the document presented by me has the first five items only so he wanted to find out the point. I guess it came from the careless mistakes in sending telegram but will you find out that.

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<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEL. NO.</u>	<u>TITLE (If Note or Memo)</u>	<u>FROM</u>	<u>TO</u>	<u>IPS NO.</u>
Sept 29 x	870	The full text in English is in "Pearl Harbour" page 41	NOMURA	TOYODA	15
Sept 30 x	881-1	The full text in English is in "Pearl Harbour" page 45	NOMURA	TOYODA	15
Sept 30	881-2		NOMURA	TOYODA	

The admiral (STARK) holds a opinion that the war between the US and Japan will bring no profits to both nations, that the economic problem could not be solved by military power.

Oct. 1 884

nothing worth mentioning  
NOMURA TOYODA

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<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEL. NO.</u>	<u>TITLE (If Note or Memo)</u>	<u>FROM</u>	<u>TO</u>	<u>IPS NO.</u>
Oct. 2	887		NOMURA TOYODA		
Oct. 3	898		NOMURA TOYODA		

I am going to visit Hull tomorrow

At the interview with Hull today, I made the due offer based on the instructions of your telegram No. 520 and No. 623 and asked for the early solution. Hull said that the said matter is connected with the Finance Department and the Navy Committee and he himself does not know much about it but will make a due answer.

I told him that Japan might issue some statement with respect to the adjustment of the America Japan relations but prior to that, Japan

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26

will report to the US Government  
Hull granted.

X Oct. 9 915

NOMURA TOYODA 15

Whole text in English is  
in "Pearl Harbour" page 61

X Oct. 13 939

NOMURA TOYODA 15

Whole text is in Pearl Harbour page 66-67

X Oct. 14 941

NOMURA TOYODA

The gist of the WELLES WAKASUGI talk  
on 13 (two hours from 5 pm) is as  
follow-

1. The present Japanese cabinet is  
making strenuous efforts to  
adjust the America Japan relations  
rejecting the pro axis powers which  
is small in number but is influential

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In case the present negotiation comes to deadlock the America Japan relations will become desperate. That is the reason why the Japanese government is anxious to have a conference between the responsible leaders of the both nations.

Welles asked me if the said principle of the cabinet has been supported by the military. So I explained that in case the conference is held, both Army and Navy will send respective representatives of powerful positions as the assistants of the Premier, which shows that the military is supporting the cabinet.

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- 2 Welles explained that the present delay of the negotiation does not come from the policy of the U.S. WAKASUGI explained that there is no intention on the part of the Japanese government to prolong the talk.
- 3 WAKASUGI explained that the three pending important questions will not be solved while they are handled by the business authorities instead if the responsible leaders of the two nations meet taking a wide view of things, the atmosphere will make a favourable turn. Welles explained that the president is earnestly desiring to have the conference but in view of the position of the president of the U.S.



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the conference should by all means be successful and in the sense he can't come out until the said questions are brought to a certain agreement.

4. WAKASUGI expressed the desire to know the frank opinion of the US Government regarding the said three question. Also inquired him about the concrete counter plan.

Welles stated that the opinion and the counter plan have been thoroughly stated on the Proposal of June 21 and the Statement of Oct. 2.

Besides the statement of Oct. 2 was decided after a careful investigation

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TEL. NO.

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FROM

TO

IPS NO.

30

WAKASUGI asked the relations of the said proposals of the US and the Japanese plan of Sept. 6 in connection with the careless point of the latter.

Welles frankly stated that the US plan of June 21 is a modified plan taking the Japanese intention into consideration, while shortly after the advancement of Japanese troops to the French Indo China was reported and the Japanese plan of Sept. 6 is conspicuously narrowing down. There is a considerable gap between the US plan of June 6 and the Japanese plan of Sept 6 <sup>and</sup> the latter <sup>between</sup> and the US plan of Oct. 2.

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Further analysis should be made  
on the part of the Japanese Government.

5 and 6  
Full text appears on "Pearl Harbour"  
page 67-68

7 The resolution of the Cabinet to  
sacrifice the military advancement  
towards North and South is simply  
for the adjustment of the America Japan  
relations although the advancement  
is the earnest desire of the whole  
nation

Therefore it is the desire of Japan  
that the US shows a decisive  
statement in this connection  
Undersecretary said that although  
the US Government appreciates and

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encourage the proposal of the Japanese Government, the agreement which has been reached by the US proposal of June 21 was thrown into cold water by the advancement of Japanese troops into the French Indo China

WAKASUGI explained it as the action for security in connection with the China Incident, which has been agreed by the French Government. The move is similar to that of the US advancement to Iceland, which is for the defence of threat from the third nations. The move was necessary also for

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obtaining resources for the existence  
of the nation.

Undersecretary stated that the  
threat of Island from Germany  
is a reality but that of the French  
Indo China is not a reality

8 The US assertion to apply the  
principle of equal treatment of  
the international trade on whole  
Pacific area (instead of south  
western area which was insisted  
by Japan) should be extended  
to the whole world. WAKASUGI  
pointed out the fact that the US  
has a special commercial relations

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with the countries of the Central and the South America.

Undersecretary explained that the U.S. has a special relations with Cuba but not with any other countries.

9. WAKASUGI inquired about the possibility to conclude a tentative pact concerning the commercial problem in case the fundamental solution could not be brought to the important problems.

Undersecretary admitted its possibility.

10. To the suggestion of WAKASUGI to set aside the China problems and solve the southern problems.

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first Undersecretary denied  
its possibility saying that Hamlet  
in the play of "Hamlet", they can't  
do without Hamlet.

Oct. 14 943

NOMURA TOYODA 15

X

The telegram is in "Pearl Harbor"  
page 68-69.

Oct 16 950

NOMURA TOYODA 15

X

see "Pearl Harbor" page 70

X  
Nov. 26 1189

NOMURA TOGO 15

see "Pearl Harbor" page 181-182