

From Tōgō to Nomura
4 Nov. 1941
No. 725

Reference to my telegram No. 722.

1. Strenuous efforts are being made day and night in order to adjust Japanese-American relations, which are on the verge of rupture. The Government has held daily meetings of the Liaison Conference with the High Command to examine the fundamental principles of our national policy. After long and thorough deliberations and discussions, the Government and the High Command have reached unanimous agreement on the proposals in the Japanese-American negotiations (separate telegram Nos. 726 and 727). These proposals await, together with other basic policies, final sanction at the Imperial Conference to be held on the 5th.
2. The situation both within and outside the country is extremely pressing and we cannot afford to allow any procrastination. Out of the sincere intention to maintain peaceful relations with the United States, the Imperial Government continues the negotiations after thorough deliberations. The present negotiations are our final effort, and you must realize that these proposals are truly our last. If speedy conclusion of the negotiations is not to be attained even on the basis of these proposals, breakdown of the negotiations is unavoidable, however regrettable it may be. Relations between the two countries face further serious case. The future of our country is profoundly involved in the outcome of the present negotiations, and the security of the Empire depends on it.
3. The Japanese-American negotiations have been prolonged for over half a year. Our Government has made concessions after concession, in spite of difficulties, for the speedy consummation of the negotiations. But the United States insists on the assertions with which she started, showing no response whatsoever to our concessions. There are not a few in this country who are suspicious of the real intention of the United States. In such circumstances, it is only out of our sincere desire to maintain the peace of the Pacific that we express our sincerity and dare to make further concessions. One-sided concessions on our part are made not because of our lack of power and confidence in solving difficulties, as some Americans misunderstand them to be. There is a limit to our forbearance, and our existence and prestige must if necessary be protected, however great the price. If the United States continues further to disregard our position, we can but say that there is no room for negotiation. Now that we make the utmost concessions in the spirit of utmost friendliness for the sake of peaceful solution of the situation, we hope earnestly that the United States will, on entering the final stage of the negotiations, reconsider the matter and approach this grave situation properly with the general view of maintaining Japanese-American relations.

4. The circumstances being as they are, the mission entrusted to you has a great deal to do with the future of the country. We do well understand how difficult your task is, and we expect that you will do all that you can, bearing the above points in mind. We will let you know as soon as the Imperial Conference is over. You will, thereupon, see President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull and do your best to make them thoroughly understand our determination and to bring the negotiations to a speedy conclusion.

5. In view of the serious nature of the negotiations, I intend to carry on talks with the American Ambassador in Tokyo parallel with the negotiations in Washington. It is, therefore, desired that we be informed of any appointment with the American authorities as soon as it is made, that the course of the negotiations to come be promptly reported, and that you keep close contact with us whenever you take new steps. In order to avoid any contretemps, you are directed to abide strictly by your instructions and you are given no room for discretion.