

Exhibit 2949

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Def. Doc. No. 1401-X-2

From Nomura to Tōgō  
27 November 1941  
No. 1190

The development of the Japanese-American negotiations is as you are well acquainted with through successive telegrams. The American proposal of the 26th (telegram No. 1189) shows that there is an extreme divergence between the positions of the two parties, and there is unfortunately no prospect whatsoever of America's accepting our position within the period you indicated.

As the United States made this proposal after having conferred with the countries concerned, in accordance with her long-standing position and because of our request to obtain their concurrence, we must maintain close vigilance regarding their intentions. On the other hand, we have, in accordance with your instructions, pressed them only for speedy conclusion of the negotiations, and have not, therefore, expressed anything in the nature of an ultimatum. Moreover, the situation is such that the President, at the meeting of the 17th, said that there can be "no last word". In such circumstances, if we resort to freedom of action after the time set without in some way terminating the present negotiations, it is very likely that the United States, taking advantage of the fact that she is at present conferring with the countries concerned, will make propaganda that Japan prolonged the negotiations with the aim only of gaining time for preparing for a definite course of action and launched on the planned action upon completion of the preparation even while the negotiations were still being carried on, thereby shifting to us the responsibility for the rupture of the negotiations. It should be recalled in this connection that the United States blamed our advance into French Indo-China for the suspension of the negotiations in the past. Our resorting to free action without taking steps to terminate the negotiations not only would be utilized for counter-propaganda against us, but would prejudice the good faith of Japan as a world power. Such steps, however, involve matters of military secrecy. It is considered advisable that the negotiations be terminated, depending upon the decision of the Government, either by notification to the American Ambassador in Tokyo, by an open declaration, or by any other means. In any case I should like to be informed in advance so that I can give notification here simultaneously.

As I am seeing the President soon, I should like to be instructed immediately if there is anything which I should bear in mind.