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三 東亞ノ安定ヲ確保シ世界ノ平和ニ寄與シ以テ萬邦ヲシテ各其ノ所
ヲ得シメントスルハ帝國不動ノ固基ナリ蓋ニ中華民國ハ帝國ノ真
意ヲ解セス不幸ニシテ支那事變ノ發生ヲ見ルニ密レルモ皆隣ハ平
和克復ノ方途ヲ講スルト共ニ暇暇ノ擴大ヲ防止センカ爲終始最善
ノ努力ヲ致シ來レリ客年九月帝國カ獨伊兩國トノ間ニ三國條約ヲ
締結シタルモ亦右目的ヲ達成センカ爲ニ外ナラス
然ルニ合衆國及英帝國ハ有ラユル手段ヲ竭シ嚴重政權ヲ援助シテ
日支全面和平ノ成立ヲ妨碍シ東亞ノ安定ニ對スル帝國ノ建設的努
力ヲ挫倒セルノミナラス或ハ獨領印度ヲ牽制シ或ハ佛領印度支那
ヲ脅威シ帝國ト此等諸地域トカ相対シテ共榮ノ理想ヲ實現セント
スル企圖ヲ阻害セリ殊ニ帝國カ佛國トノ間ニ締結シタル既定條約ニ

英キ諸領印度支那共同防衛ノ措置ヲ講スルヤ合衆國政府及英國政府
府ハ之ヲ以テ自國領域ニ對スル脅威ナリト曲解シ和價國ヲモ誘ヒ
會派領袖令ヲ實施シテ帝國トノ經濟通交ヲ敢テシ明カニ敵對的態
度ヲ示スト共ニ帝國ニ對スル軍備ヲ増強シ帝國包圍ノ態勢ヲ整ヘ
以テ帝國ノ存立ヲ危殆ナラシムルカ如キ情勢ヲ誘致スルニ至レリ
右ニ拘ラス帝國總理大臣ハ本年八月希臘ノ急遽收拾ノ爲合衆國大
統領ト曾見シ南滿洲ニ存在スル太平洋沿岸ニ亘ル威嚇問題ヲ謝談
檢討セシコトヲ披露セリ然ルニ合衆國政府ハ右甲入ニ主權上質問
ヲ加ヘ乍ラ之カ實行ハ前滿洲重要問題ニ關シ意見一致ヲ見タル後
トスヘシト主張シテ議ラス

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公ニ仍テ帝國政府ハ九月二十五日從來ノ合衆國政府ノ主張ヲモ充分

續ノ上英國案ヲ基調トシ之ニ帝國政府ノ主張ヲ取入レタル一案ヲ
 提示シ論議ヲ重ネタルカ双方ノ見解ハ容易ニ一致セザリシヲ以テ
 現内閣ニ於テハ從來交渉ノ主要難點タリシ諸問題ニ付帝國政府ノ
 主張ヲ更ニ緩和シタル修正案ヲ提示シ交渉ノ妥結ニ努メタルモ合
 衆國政府ハ終始當初ノ主張ヲ固執シ臨議の態度ニ出テス交渉ハ依
 然停滞セリ茲ニ於テ十一月二十日ニ至リ帝國政府ハ兩國間交ノ破
 綻ヲ回避スル爲最善ノ努力ヲ盡ス詔旨ヲ以テ權要且緊急ノ問題ニ
 付公正ナル妥結ヲ圖ル爲前記提案ヲ簡單化シ(一)兩國政府ニ於テ佛
 印以外ノ南東亞細亞及南太平洋地域ニ武力進出ヲ行ハサル旨ヲ確
 約スルコト(二)兩國政府ニ於テ閩甸印度ニ於テ其ノ必要トスル物資
 ノ獲得力保障セラルル様相互ニ協力スルコト(三)兩國政府ハ相互ニ

通商關係ヲ管理準備前ノ狀態ニ復歸スルコト、合衆國政府ハ所望
ノ石油ノ對日供給ヲ約スルコト、合衆國政府ハ日支兩國ノ和平ニ
關スル努力ニ支障ヲ與フルカ如キ行動ニ出テサルコト、國府國政府
ハ日支間和平成立スルカ又ハ太平洋地域ニ於ケル公正ナル平和確
立スル上ハ現ニ佛領印度支那ニ派遣セラレ居ル日本軍隊ヲ撤退ス
ヘク又本了解成立セハ現ニ南部佛領印度支那ニ駐屯中ノ日本軍ハ
之ヲ北部佛領印度支那ニ移駐スルノ用意アルコト等ヲ内容トスル
新提案ヲ提示シ同時ニ支那問題ニ付テハ合衆國大統領力盡ニ言明
シタル通り支那和平ノ紹介者ト爲ルニ異議ナキモ日支直接交渉開
始ノ上ハ合衆國ニ於テ日支和平ヲ妨礙セサル旨ヲ約センコトヲ求
メタルカ合衆國政府ハ右新提案ヲ受諾スルヲ得スト爲セルノミナ

（Faint, mostly illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. Some words like "日支", "和平", "軍隊" are visible.)

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ラス按釋行加ヲ註釋スル意思ヲ表明シ次オ更ニ前記ノ言明ニ拘ラ
 ス大統領ノ所稱日支間和平ノ紹介ヲ行フノ時機猶懸セストテ之ヲ
 撤回シ遂ニ十一月二十六日ニ至リ偏ニ合衆國政府力從來固執セル
 原則ヲ強要スルノ態度ヲ以テ帝國政府ノ主張ヲ無視セル嫌疑ヲ爲
 スニ至リタルカ右ハ帝國政府ノ敢モ遺憾トスル所ナリ

抑本件交渉開始以來帝國政府ハ終始専ラ公正且謙抑ナル態度ヲ以
 テ親善妥協ニ努メ屢難キヲ忍ヒテ能フ限りノ譲歩ヲ敢テシタルカ
 交渉上重要事項タリシ支那問題ニ關シテモ諷刺的態度ヲ示シ合衆
 國政府ノ提唱セル國際通商上ノ無差別待遇原則遵守ニ付テハ本原
 則ノ世界各國ニ行ハレンコトヲ希望シ且其ノ實現ニ順應シテ之ヲ
 支那ヲモ含ム太平洋地域ニ適用スル撻努力スヘキ旨ヲ表明シ尙支

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斯ニ於ケル第三面ノ公正ナル經濟活動ハ何等之ヲ排除スルモノニ
 アラサルコトヲモ闡明セルカ更ニ佛領印度支那ヨリノ撤兵ニ付テ
 モ南勢緩和ニ費スルカ爲前送ノ如ク南郡佛領印度支那ヨリノ即時
 撤兵ヲ進シテ擬議スル等極力妥速ノ精神ヲ發揮セルハ合衆國政府
 ノ夙ニ諒解スル所ナリト信ス
 然ルニ合衆國政府ハ常ニ強論ニ拘泥シ現實ヲ無視シ其ノ抱懷スル
 非百勝の原則ヲ固執シテ何等讓歩ヤス徒ニ交渉ヲ遷延ヤシメタル
 ハ帝國政府ノ諒解ニ苦ム所ナルカ特ニ左記諸點ニ付テハ合衆國政
 府ノ注意ヲ喚起ヤサルヲ希ス

(一) 合衆國政府ハ世界平和ノ爲ナリト稱シテ自己ニ好都合ナル諸原
 則ヲ主張シ之カ採擇ヲ帝國政府ニ迫レルニ世界ノ平和ハ如何ニ

立國シ且相手國ノ立場ニ理解ヲ持シ相互ニ受活シ得ヘキ方針ヲ
 發見スルコトニ依リテノミ其現シ得ルモノニシテ現實ヲ無視シ
 一國ノ獨善的主張ヲ相手國ニ強要スルカ如キ態度ハ交渉ノ成立
 ヲ促進スル所以ノモノニアラス

今般合衆國政府カ日米協定ノ基礎トシテ提議セル諸原則ニ付テ
 ハ石ノ中ニハ帝國政府トシテ趣旨ニ於テ實同ニ各ナラサルモノ
 アルモ合衆國政府カ南ニ之カ採擇ヲ要望スルハ世界ノ現狀ニ鑑
 ミ架空ノ理念ニ驅ラルルモノト云フノ外ナシ

尚日、米、英、支、蘇、露、等七國間ニ多邊的不可侵條約ヲ締
 結スルノ案ノ如キモ徒ニ集團的平和環境ヲ舊構想ヲ追フノ結果
 東亞ノ實情ト懸隔セルモノト云フノ外ナシ

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〔合衆國政府今次ノ提案中ニ「南滿政府カ前三國ト締結シ居ル如
何ナル協定モ不取滿ノ根本目的タル太平洋全域ノ平和確保ニ矛盾
スルカ如ク解釋セラレサルコトニ付合意ス」トアルハ即チ合衆
國カ歐洲戰爭參入ノ場合ニ於ケル帝國ノ三國條約上ノ義務履行
ヲ牽制セントスル意圖ヲ以テ提案セルモノト説ノラルルヲ以テ
右ハ帝國政府ノ受諾シ得サル所ナリ
由來合衆國政府ハ其ノ自己ノ主張ト理念トニ啟蒙セラレ自ラ帝
争擴大ヲ企圖シツツアリト謂ハサルヲ得ス合衆國政府ハ一方太
平洋地地ノ安定ヲ策シ自國ノ背後ヲ安固ト爲シツツ惟方英帝國
ヲ援ケ歐洲新秩序建設ニ邁進スル獨伊兩國ニ對シ自衛權ノ名ノ
下ニ進ンテ攻塞ヲ加ヘントスルモノナルカ右ハ太平洋地地ニ平

和的手段ニ依リ安定ノ基礎ヲ築カントスル後多ノ原則的主張ト
 全然矛盾背馳スルモノナリ

①合衆國政府ハ其ノ固執スル主張ニ於テ武力ニ依ル國際關係處理
 ヲ排擯シツツ一方英帝國等ト共ニ經濟力ニ依ル壓迫ヲ加ヘツツ
 アル厥斯ル壓迫ハ場合ニ依リテハ武力壓迫以上ノ非人道的行爲
 ニシテ國際關係處理ノ手段トシテ排擯セラルヘキモノナリ

②合衆國政府ノ意圖ハ英帝國其ノ他ノ諸國ヲ誘引シ支那其ノ俄東
 亞ノ諸地域ニ對シ其ノ從來保持セル支配的地位ヲ維持強化セン
 トスルモノト見ルノ外ナキ處東亞諸國カ過去自存餘年ニ亘リ英
 米ノ帝國主義的擡收政策ノ下ニ現狀維持ヲ強ヒラレ兩國榮榮ノ
 犠牲タルニ甘ンセサルヲ得ザリシ歴史的事實ニ觀ミ右ハ萬邦ヲ

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而合衆國政府カ支那問題ニ關シ帝國ニ要望セル所ハ或ハ全面撤兵

シテ各其ノ所ヲ得シメントスル帝國ノ根本圖策ト全然背逆スル
モノニシテ帝國政府ノ斷シテ容認スル能ハサル所ナリ
合衆國政府今次提案中佛領印度支那ニ關スル規定ハ正ニ右懸度
ノ適例ト稱スヘク佛領印度支那ニ關シ佛國ヲ除キ日、英、
蘭、支、露六國間ニ同地域ノ領土主權ノ尊重說ニ貿易及通商ノ
均等待遇ヲ約束セントスルハ同地域ヲ六國政府ノ共同保障ノ下
ニ立タシメントスルモノニシテ佛國ノ立場ヲ全然無視セル點ハ
暫ク措クモ東亞ノ事態ヲ紛糾ニ導キタル最大原因ノ一タル九國
條約類似ノ體裁ヲ新ニ佛領印度支那ニ擴張セントスルモノト觀
ルヘキモノニシテ帝國政府トシテ容認シ得サル所ナリ

ノ要求ト云ヒ以ハ通商無差別原則ノ無條件適用ト云ヒ何レモ支那ノ現實ヲ無視シ東亞ノ安定勢力タル帝國ノ地位ヲ毀滅セントスルモノナル風合衆國政府力今次提案ニ於テ重慶政權ヲ除ク如何ナル政權ヲモ軍事の政治的且經濟的ニ支持セサルコトヲ要求シ南京政府ヲ否認シ去ラントスル態度ニ出テタルハ交渉ノ基礎ヲ根柢ヨリ覆スモノト云フヘク右ハ前記援將行爲停止ノ拒否ト共ニ合衆國政府力日支間ニ平常狀態ノ復讐及東亞平和ノ回復ヲ阻害スルノ意思アルコトヲ實證スルモノナリ

五要之今次合衆國政府ノ提案中ニハ通商條約締結、資産凍結令ノ相互解除、匯票爲幣安定等ノ通商問題乃至支那ニ於ケル治法權撤銷等不買のニ不可ナラサル條項ナキニアラサルモ他方四ノ有餘ニ

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百ル支那事變ノ激注ヲ無視シ帝國ノ生存ヲ脅威シ痛感ヲ冒置スル
モノアリ從テ全体的ニ觀テ帝國政府トシテハ交渉ノ基礎トシテ刻
底之ヲ受而スルヲ得サルヲ遺憾トス

六 尙帝國政府ハ交渉ノ途途成立ヲ希望スル見地ヨリ日英交渉妥結ノ
際ハ英帝國其ノ領ノ關係國トノ間ニモ同時調印方々從議シ合衆國
政府モ大體之ニ同意ヲ表示セル次第アル處合衆國政府ハ英、露、
蘭、重慶等ト屢協議セル結果特ニ支那問題ニ關シテハ重慶條ノ意
見ニ適合シ前記諸提案ヲ爲セルモノト認メラレ右諸國ハ何レモ合
衆國ト同シク帝國ノ立場ヲ無視セントスルモノト斷セサルヲ得ス
七 惟フニ合衆國政府ノ意向ハ英帝國其ノ領ト苟合贊助シテ東亞ニ於
ケル帝國ノ新秩序建設ニ依ル平和確立ノ努力ヲ妨礙セントスルノ

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イナラス日支兩國ヲ相圖ハシメ以テ英米ノ排亞ヲ確證セントスル
 モノナルコトハ今次交渉ヲ油シ明瞭ト爲リタル所ナリ所クテ日米國
 交ヲ調査シ合衆國政府ト相携ヘテ太平洋ノ平和ヲ維持確立セント
 スル帝國政府ノ希望ハ速ニ矢ハレタリ

仍テ帝國政府ハ茲ニ合衆國政府ノ懸念ニ對シ今後交渉ヲ繼續スル
 モ妥協ニ進スルヲ得スト認ムルノ外ナキ旨ヲ合衆國政府ニ通告ス
 ルヲ選擇トスルモノナリ

MEMORANDUM

I. The Government of Japan, prompted by a genuine desire to come to an honorable understanding with the Government of the United States in order that the two countries by their joint efforts may secure the peace of the Pacific area and thereby contribute toward the realization of world peace, has continued negotiations with the utmost sincerity since April last with the Government of the United States regarding the adjustment and advancement of Japanese-American relations and the stabilization of the Pacific area.

The Japanese Government has the honor to state frankly its views concerning the claims the American Government has persistently maintained as well as the measures the United States and Great Britain have taken toward Japan during these eight months.

II. It is the immutable policy of the Japanese Government to

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II. If in the meantime Japan of the Japanese Government to
 Japan found about during these of this country.
 of an act of the manner the United States and Great Britain was
 concerning the opinion the American Government has been the
 the Japanese Government has the power to take through its laws
 the recognition of the Pacific war.

the adjustment and arrangement of Japanese-American relations and
 since that first step the Government of the United States regarding
 tion of many bases' has continued negotiations with the power
 bases of the Pacific war and through continuing toward the
 in order that the two countries in their joint efforts may make the
 to an equitable arrangement with the Government of the United States

I. The Government of Japan' bearing in a German desire to come

MEMORANDUM

insure the stability of East Asia and to promote world peace, and
 thereby to enable all nations to find each its proper place in the
 world.

Ever since the China Affair broke out owing to the failure
 on the part of China to comprehend Japan's true intentions, the
 Japanese Government has striven for the restoration of peace and it
 has consistently exerted its best efforts to prevent the extension of
 war-like disturbances. It was also to that end that in September
 last year Japan concluded the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy.

However, both the United States and Great Britain have resorted
 to every possible measure to assist the Chungking régime so as to
 obstruct the establishment of a general peace between Japan and China,
 interfering with Japan's constructive endeavours toward the stabiliza-
 tion of East Asia. Exerting pressure on the Netherlands East Indies,

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view of your visit. Realistic business on the Japanese was invited, indicating that Japan, a comparatively unexploited resource toward the development of a variety of economic resources to which American investment would be invited. The Japanese Government was urged to consider the establishment of a variety of economic resources to which American investment would be invited. The Japanese Government was urged to consider the establishment of a variety of economic resources to which American investment would be invited.

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or annexing French Indo-China, they have attempted to frustrate Japan's aspiration to realize the ideal of common prosperity in cooperation with these regions. Furthermore, when Japan in accordance with the Protocol with France took measures of 'cold defense of French Indo-China', both American and British Governments, with fully deliberate intent as a threat to their own possessions and including the Netherlands Government to follow suit, they endorsed the sinister freezing order, thus averting economic relations with Japan. While maintaining their military preparations persisting an embolism of Japan, and have brought about a situation which endangers the very existence of the Empire.

Nevertheless, to facilitate a speedy settlement, the President of Japan proposed, in August last, to meet the President of the United

1940-1941
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2022-2023
2024-2025

Status for a discussion of important problems between the two countries covering the entire Pacific area. However, the American Government, while accepting in principle the Japanese proposal, insisted that the meeting should take place after an agreement of view had been reached on fundamental and essential questions.

III. Subsequently, on September 25th the Japanese Government submitted a proposal based on the formula proposed by the American Government, taking fully into consideration past American claims and also incorporating Japanese views. Repeated discussions proved of no avail in producing really an agreement of view. The present Cabinet, therefore, submitted a revised proposal, moderating still further the Japanese claims regarding the principal points of difficulty in the negotiation and endeavoured strenuously to reach a settlement. But the American Government, adhering steadfastly to

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* settlement. But the American Government, regarding the situation in the negotiations and consequent situation, to keep further the Japanese Government's attitude and to keep the Japanese Government's attitude, especially a certain Japanese attitude, to save it from being regarded as a certain one. The Japanese Government's attitude, especially a certain Japanese attitude, to save it from being regarded as a certain one.

III. Implications of the Japanese Government's attitude, especially a certain Japanese attitude, to save it from being regarded as a certain one.

Its original assertions, failed to display in the slightest degree a spirit of conciliation. The negotiation made no progress. Thereupon, the Japanese Government, with a view to doing the utmost for averting a crisis in Japanese-American relations, submitted on November 20th still another proposal in order to arrive at an equitable solution of the more essential and urgent questions, which, simplifying its previous proposal, stipulated the following points:

- (1) The Government of Japan, and the British Government, undertake not to dispatch armed forces into any of the regions, occupying French Indo-China, in the South Eastern Asia and the Southern Pacific area.
- (2) Both Governments shall cooperate with a view to securing the acquisition in the Netherlands East Indies of those goods and commodities of which the two countries are in need.

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troops and commodities of which the two countries are in need,
reserving the restriction in the Netherlands, East Indies and those
(2) both Governments shall conduct a free trade
commerce Pacific area.

including Indo-China, in the South Pacific area and the
interests not to interfere with those free and of the region,
(1) The Governments of each of the Pacific Islands
and countries, authorized the following articles:

of the more extensive and better definitions, upon, including the health-
both will respect borders in order to visit or on scientific research
respective areas in Japanese-occupied regions, unimpeded or Japanese
upon, the Japanese Government, after a view to permit its transit for
in respect of communication. The restriction upon no borders. These
the various weapons, arms and articles in the respective areas.

(3) Both Governments mutually undertake to restore commar-
cial relations to those prevailing prior to the breaking of
assaults.

The Government of the United States shall supply Japan the
required quantity of oil.

(4) The Government of the United States undertakes not to
resort to measures and actions prejudicial to the endeavours
for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China.

(5) The Japanese Government undertakes to withdraw
troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the
restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establish-
ment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area; and it is prepared
to remove the Japanese troops in the southern part of French
Indo-China to the northern part upon the conclusion of the

1940-1941

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE
TO REMAIN THE JAPANESE PROBLEM IN THE CONTEMPORARY STATE OF JAPAN
NAME OF AN ARRIVAL FROM THE EASTERN PART AND IN THE
RESTORATION OF THESE PASTOR JOHN AND JOHN OF THE
PROBLEM NOW RELIANCE IN JAPAN THE CHINESE ABOUT THE
(2) THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT UNDERSTANDS TO ACCEPT
FOR THE RESTORATION OF HONORARY THESE PASTOR JOHN AND JOHN
THEY WOULD BE HONORARY AND RETURNED TO THE
OF THE (3) THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDS NOT TO
RESTORATION OF JOHN
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE

Present agreement.

As regards China, the Japanese Government, while expressing
its readiness to accept the offer of the President of the United
States to act as "introducer" of peace between Japan and China as was
previously suggested, asked for an undertaking on the part of the
United States to do nothing prejudicial to the restoration of Sino-
Japanese peace when the two parties have commenced direct negotiations.

The American Government not only rejected the above-mentioned
new proposal, but made known its intention to continue its aid to
Chiang Kai-shek and in spite of its suggestion mentioned above,
withdrew the offer of the President to act as the so-called
"introducer" of peace between Japan and China, pleading that time
was not yet ripe for it. Finally on November 26th, in an attitude
to impose upon the Japanese Government those principles it has

to jumbo upon the Japanese Government's more direct policy it was
was not yet ripe for it. It will be November 1911, in an article
"The Great Game" of the Japanese Government, the Japanese
policy for the other of the Government to not in the so-called
Great Game; and in spite of the American Government's
has history, but was known the intention to continue the old
for the Government not only to the Government's
Japanese have seen the two parties have commenced direct negotiations.
Direct action to go beyond the limits of the Government of the
Government's intention" were for an agreement on the part of the
Japan to not in the Government, or before the Government and China in
its intention to reach the other of the Government of the United
the "Great Game" for the Japanese Government's "Great Game"
Japanese Government.

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persistently maintained, the American Government made a proposal
totally ignoring Japanese claims, which is a source of profound re-
sentment to the Japanese Government.

IV. From the beginning of the present negotiation the Japanese
Government has always maintained an attitude of firmness and moder-
ation, and did its best to reach a settlement, for which it made all
possible concessions often in spite of great difficulties. As for
the China question which constituted an important subject of the
negotiation, the Japanese Government showed a most conciliatory
attitude. As for the principle of non-discrimination in inter-
national commerce, advocated by the American Government, the Japanese
Government expressed its desire to see the said principle applied
throughout the world, and declared that along with the actual
practice of this principle in the world, the Japanese Government would

Executive of the Republic in the world, the Japanese Government would
promote the world and Japanese spirit with the world
Government exercised the office to see the world Republic Republic
Republic executive, executive on the Japanese Government, the Japanese
Republic. The Japanese Government is not-recognized in their
negotiation, the Japanese Government spend a long political
for China Republic spirit considered an important spirit of the
Japanese consideration after in spirit of their spirit. The
spirit and the spirit to keep a spirit, for spirit is the
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spirit. It is the spirit of the Japanese Republic for spirit
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endeavour to apply the same in the Pacific area, including China,
and made it clear that Japan had no intention of excluding from China
economic activities of third powers pursued on an equitable basis.
Furthermore, as regards the question of withdrawing troops from China
Indo-China, the Japanese Government even volunteered, as mentioned
above, to carry out an immediate evacuation of troops from Southern
French Indo-China as a measure of easing the situation. It is presumed
that the spirit of conciliation exhibited to the utmost degree by the
Japanese Government in all these matters is fully appreciated by
the American Government.
On the other hand, the American Government, always holding fast
to theories in disregard of realities, and refusing to yield an inch
on its impractical principles, caused undue delays in the negotiation.
It is difficult to understand this attitude of the American Government

If it still fails to induce the Japanese Government to the negotiations, having made special in the negotiations to examine the attitude of the Japanese Government, the American Government will take the necessary steps to deal with the situation. It is understood that the Japanese Government is not prepared to discuss the withdrawal of troops from Manchuria, the withdrawal of troops from the Japanese Government, and the withdrawal of troops from the Japanese Government. It is understood that the Japanese Government is not prepared to discuss the withdrawal of troops from Manchuria, the withdrawal of troops from the Japanese Government, and the withdrawal of troops from the Japanese Government.

and the Japanese Government desires to call the attention of the American Government especially to the following points:

1. The American Government advocates in the name of world peace those principles favorable to it and urges upon the Japanese Government the acceptance thereof. The peace of the world may be brought about only by discovering a mutually acceptable formula through recognition of the reality of the situation and mutual appreciation of one another's position. An attitude such as ignores realities and imposes one's selfish views upon others will scarcely serve the purpose of facilitating the summation of negotiations.

Of the various principles put forward by the American Government as a basis of the Japanese-American agreement, there are some which the Japanese Government is ready to accept in

...the Government as a part of the Japanese-American relationship, and
...of the American Government has formed a new Japanese
...of negotiations.

...to be a factor in the development of the Pacific area
...any further restriction on Japanese trade relations with
...any further restriction on Japanese trade relations with
...the Japanese Government, the acceptance of the American
...the Japanese Government, the acceptance of the American
...the Japanese Government, the acceptance of the American
...the Japanese Government, the acceptance of the American

principles, but in view of the world's actual conditions, it
seems only a utopian ideal, on the part of the American Govern-
ment, to attempt to force their immediate adoption.

Again, the proposal to conclude a multilateral non-aggression
pact between Japan, the United States, Great Britain, China,
the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, and Thailand, which is
patterned after the old concept of collective security, is far
removed from the realities of East Asia.

8. The American proposal contains a stipulation which
states: "Both Governments will agree that no agreement, which
either has concluded with any third Powers, shall be interpreted
by it in such a way as to conflict with the fundamental purpose
of this agreement, the establishment and preservation of peace
throughout the Pacific area." It is presumed that the above

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provision has been proposed with a view to restrain Japan from fulfilling its obligations under the Tripartite Pact when the United States participates in the war in Europe, and, as such, it cannot be accepted by the Japanese Government.

The American Government, obsessed with its own views and opinions, may be said to be subsiding for the extension of the war. While it seeks, on the one hand, to secure its rear by stabilizing the Pacific area, it is engaged, on the other hand, in aiding Great Britain and preparing to attack. In the name of self-defence, Germany and Italy - two Powers that are striving to establish a new order in Europe. Such a policy is totally at variance with the many principles upon which the American Government proposes to found the stability of the Pacific area through peaceful means.

throughout the Pacific area. It is believed that the goals of the movement, the establishment and maintenance of peace in the new world on an equal basis and the maintenance of peace between the countries of the Pacific area, will be attained. Both governments will take steps to strengthen their relations with the United States and Japan, and to bring about a new order in the Pacific area. It is believed that the goals of the movement, the establishment and maintenance of peace in the new world on an equal basis and the maintenance of peace between the countries of the Pacific area, will be attained. Both governments will take steps to strengthen their relations with the United States and Japan, and to bring about a new order in the Pacific area. It is believed that the goals of the movement, the establishment and maintenance of peace in the new world on an equal basis and the maintenance of peace between the countries of the Pacific area, will be attained. Both governments will take steps to strengthen their relations with the United States and Japan, and to bring about a new order in the Pacific area.

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3. Whereas the American Government, under the principles it rigidly upholds, objects to settling international issues through military pressure, its exercising in conjunction with Great Britain and other nations pressure by economic powers. Recourse to such pressure as a means of dealing with international relations should be condemned as it is at times more inhumane than military pressure.

4. It is impossible not to reach the conclusion that the American Government desires to maintain and strengthen, in collusion with Great Britain and other Powers, its dominant position it has hitherto occupied not only in China but in other areas of East Asia. It is a fact of history that the countries of East Asia for the past hundred years or more have been compelled to observe the status quo under the Anglo-American

been compelled to open the gates for the white-minority countries of the East for the last hundred years or more from other ways of war. It is a long and painful and the nation is now being to the East in order not to be destroyed by the East and other nations. The American Government desires to maintain and strengthen its position in the East.

4. It is proposed not to keep the conditions for the East as they are.

5. It is proposed to keep the conditions for the East as they are.

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10. It is proposed to keep the conditions for the East as they are.

policy of imperialistic exploitation and to sacrifice themselves to the prosperity of the two nations. The Japanese Government cannot tolerate the perpetuation of such a situation since it directly runs counter to Japan's fundamental policy to enable all nations to enjoy each its proper place in the world.

The stipulation proposed by the American Government relative to French Indo-China is a good exemplification of the above-mentioned American policy. That the six countries - Japan, the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, China and Thailand - comprising France, should undertake among themselves to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of French Indo-China and equality of treatment in trade and commerce would be tantamount to placing that territory under the joint guarantee of the governments of those six countries. Apart from

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Examination of the Government of those six countries. These four
being no instruments to protect any political union the four
Indo-China was necessary of treatment in case any commerce
to protect the jurisdictional independence and sovereignty of Korea
America - existing since shortly afterwards most prominent
the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, China and
Spain-Philippines various points. But the six countries - Japan,
Korea and Indo-China is a good example of the
the situation between the various governments
six regions to which each has had a share in the world.
It therefore was common to them, a fundamental point to ensure
that cannot compromise the independence of any a situation since
refers to the maintenance of the six regions. The Japanese Govern-
ment on international cooperation and to recognize free-

the fact that such a proposal totally ignores the position of
France, it is unacceptable to the Japanese Government in that
such an arrangement cannot but be considered as an extension
to French Indo-China of a system similar to the Nine Power Treaty
structure which is the chief factor responsible for the present
predominance of East Asia.

5. All the items demanded of Japan by the American Govern-
ment regarding China such as wholesale evacuation of troops or
unconditional application of the principle of non-discrimina-
tion in international commerce ignore the actual conditions of
China, and are calculated to destroy Japan's position as the
stabilizing factor of East Asia. The attitude of the American
Government in demanding Japan not to support militarily, poli-
tically or economically any régime other than the régime at

China, disregarding thereby the existence of the Henkin Government, shatters the very basis of the present negotiation. This demand of the American Government failing, as it does, in line with its above-mentioned refusal to cease from aiding the Chungking régime, demonstrates clearly the intention of the American Government to obstruct the restoration of normal relations between Japan and China and the return of peace to East Asia.

7. In brief, the American proposal contains certain acceptable items such as those concerning commerce, including the conclusion of a trade agreement, mutual removal of the freezing restrictions, and stabilization of the yen and dollar exchange, or the abolition of ex-territorial rights in China. On the other hand, however, the proposal in question ignores Japan's sacrifices in the four years of

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China's efforts to bring about peace in the East. The Government in Chungking, when not so much a "puppet" government as a Government, has been a Government. The people of the Republic of China, and the Republic of China, have been a people. The Government in Chungking, when not so much a "puppet" government as a Government, has been a Government. The people of the Republic of China, and the Republic of China, have been a people.

2. VII the items mentioned of which in the Chungking Government of the Republic of China.

China's efforts to bring about peace in the East. The Government in Chungking, when not so much a "puppet" government as a Government, has been a Government. The people of the Republic of China, and the Republic of China, have been a people.

however in question those who's unwilling in the same sense of
determination of rights in China. On the other hand, however, the
specification of the law and other aspects, on the position of ex-
isting situation, many removal of the existing situation, and
then and on from economic committee, including the continuation of
A. in brief, the Japanese however, certain certain aspects
must be
from Japan, Japan and other countries, on the other hand, to
Japanese government to explain the situation of many laws
the Communist system, governmentally, the situation of the
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the system of the Japanese government, in the case, in
Government, and the law, part of the Japanese situation,
Government, and the law, part of the Japanese situation,

the China affair, means the Empire's existence itself and disappears
its honour and prestige. Therefore, viewed in its entirety, the Japa-
nese Government regrets that it cannot accept the proposal as a basis
of negotiation.

VI. The Japanese Government, in its desire for an early conclu-
sion of the negotiation, proposed that simultaneously with the con-
clusion of the Japanese-American negotiation, agreements with the com-
munity Great Britain and other interested countries. The proposal
was accepted by the American Government. However, since the American
Government has made the proposal of November 26th as a result of
frequent consultations with Great Britain, Australia, the Netherlands
and Chungking, and presumably by entering to the wishes of the
Chungking regime on the questions of China, it must be concluded
that all these countries are at one with the United States in favoring

government, it has not yet reached that it is impossible to reach an
American Government first in view of the attitude of the American
the Chinese Government refused to give to credit, which has
already been lost. ...
the British financial cooperation with the American Government has
abruptly terminated relations and so business and finance the basis of
relation. Thus, the serious pole of the American Government to which
from now, been raised directly during the course of the business nego-
tiation and therefore in keeping them and China at last. This inter-
nal order in West Asia, and especially in business negoti-
ations, remains the establishment of basic principle the creation of a
to suitable with these interests and other countries to operating together
the All. Obviously it is the intention of the American Government
to have a position.

agreement through further negotiations.

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