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Washington,

November 26, 1941

AMEMBASSY,

TOKYO.

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COUNSELOR ONLY.

I called in the Japanese Ambassador and Mr. Kurusu
in the afternoon of November 26 and gave them two documents--
an oral statement and draft outline of a proposed basis
for a broad agreement covering the entire Pacific area.

A summary of these documents follows in a subsequent
telegram.

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The Japanese Ambassador and Mr. Kurusu called at my request November 26.

I handed the Japanese Ambassador an oral statement substantially as follows:

It is believed that some progress has been made in reference to the general principles which we have been discussing for the past several months in informal and exploratory conversations in an effort to reach a settlement of problems of the entire Pacific area. Included among those principles are the principles of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation to improve world conditions through peaceful ways and means and to prevent and solve controversies, inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty, no interference in internal affairs of other nations and the principle of equality. Mention is made of the proposals of the Japanese Government received on November 20 and recent statements of the Japanese Ambassador that his Government desires to continue.

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5 these conversations and that a modus vivendi would be helpful toward creating a propitious atmosphere.

This Government most earnestly desires to further the promotion and maintenance of peace in the Pacific area and to provide full opportunity to continue discussions with the Japanese Government looking to the working out of ^a broad program of peace. In the opinion of this Government the Japanese proposals of November 20 in some ways conflict with the fundamental principles to which each Government has committed itself and would not be likely to further our ultimate objectives. It is suggested that further efforts toward resolving divergences of views on the practical application of those principles be made. There is therefore offered the Japanese Government a draft plan as one practical manifestation of the sort of program this Government has in mind to be worked out during further discussions. The hope is expressed that there thus may be expedited progress toward a meeting of minds.

The draft proposal for a broad-gauge settlement was substantially as follows:

The first section contained a draft mutual declaration

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in which there was embodied an affirmation by both Governments that their national policies have as their objectives extensive and enduring peace throughout the Pacific area, that both Governments are without territorial designs, that both have no intention to threaten other nations or to use aggressively military force and that accordingly they will give active support and practical application to certain fundamental principles. (There are then listed the four principles which are mentioned above in the oral statement.)

Both Governments agree ^{to} ~~by~~ practically apply and actively support five economic principles in a program to eliminate and to prevent recurrent political instability, economic collapse and to provide a basis for peace. Those principles call for (a) the establishment of international financial institutions and arrangements designed to aid essential enterprises and continuous development of all nations and to utilize processes of trade to permit payments consonant with the welfare of all nations; (b) non-discrimination in commercial relations between nations; (c) non-discriminatory access to raw materials; (d) abolition

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of expressions of extreme nationalism such as excessive trade restrictions and promotion of international economic cooperation; (e) full protection of consuming countries' and populations' interests ^{as regards} the operation of international commodity agreements.

The second section of the draft proposal calls for ten steps to be taken:

1. Both Governments to exert their influence to ~~bring~~ bring about other governments' adherence to and practical application of the basic political and economic principles set forth ~~previously~~.
2. Both Governments to seek the conclusion of a multilateral non-aggression pact among Thailand, China, the British Empire, the Netherlands, Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States.
3. Both Governments to agree that no agreement already concluded by either with any third power or powers will be interpreted so as to conflict with this agreement's fundamental purpose--establishment and preservation of peace in the entire Pacific.
4. Both Governments to seek the conclusion of an agreement among the Netherland, Thai, American, British,

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Chinese, and Japanese Governments calling for pledges on the part of each Government to respect Indochina's territorial integrity and should a threat to that integrity develop to embark upon immediate consultation *with regard to that threat,* ~~in order that measures necessary and advisable to meet that threat may be taken.~~ such agreement to provide also that each ~~signatory~~ ^{signatory} would not repeat not accept or seek preferential economic or commercial treatment in Indochina and each signatory would exert its influence toward obtaining for all signatories equality of treatment in those matters.

77. ✓

5. Japan to withdraw from China and Indochina all police, air, naval and military forces.

6. Both Governments to give up all extraterritorial rights in China and rights and interests in and with regard to concessions, international settlements and rights under the Boxer Protocol; both Governments to seek to obtain from other governments, including the British, an agreement to give up all similar rights in China.

7. Both Governments to undertake negotiations toward conclusion of an American-Japanese trade agreement on the

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basis of mutual reductions of tariffs, including an American undertaking to bind raw silk on the free list, and of reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment.

8. Both Governments to remove their freezing restrictions on each other's funds.

9. Both Governments to agree upon a dollar yen rate stabilization plan, each allocating one-half of the funds adequate for that purpose.

10. Both Governments not repeat not to support-- economically, politically, militarily--any government or regime in China except the National Government located temporarily at Chungking.

An account of the conversation will be sent you in a later telegram.

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(724)

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Washington,
November 27, 1941

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AMEMBASSY,
TOKYO (JAPAN).

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COUNSELOR ONLY.

Reference Department's 784, November 26, 9 p.m.

After reading the documents summarized in the Department's telegram under reference Mr. Kurusu asked whether those documents represented the reply of this Government to the Japanese proposals. The Secretary said that just as Japan had to deal with a domestic political situation this Government also had its internal political problems and that the suggestion contained in the documents he had given the Ambassador represented all that we could do at this time in the light of the Japanese proposals. The Secretary went on to mention that the proposal he had just given the Japanese would make possible certain international financial arrangements which were not actually outlined in the documents.

Mr. Kurusu offered various depreciatory comments in regard to the arrangement suggested in the documents which he had just received.

He mentioned Japan's bitter experience with international

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3 organizations as the basis for his objection to the proposed multilateral non-aggression pacts. He added that China had received the wrong impression from the Washington treaties and had used them advantageously to flaunt Japan's rights. He said that if this proposal represented the ideas of the American Government he did not see the possibility of any agreement and added that he did not see how the Japanese Government could consider the proposal that Japan withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and withdraw all support from regimes or governments in China except that of Chiang Kai-shek.

The Secretary inquired whether we could not work out these questions.

Mr. Kurusu suggested that as his Government would be likely to throw up its hands at our proposal and as the document was marked tentative and without commitment, it might be the wiser course further to discuss it informally before sending it to the Japanese Government.

The Secretary suggested the Japanese might want carefully to study the documents before further discussion. The Secretary said that with the public having lost its perspective it was necessary to present a complete picture of our position. He mentioned the acute public feeling on the oil question and

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reminded the Japanese of the great injury being done to us by
Japan's immobilizing large forces of democratic countries in
territories near Indochina and indicated that should Japan pour
troops into Indochina the American people would have misgivings
as to the possible menace in countries south and west of Indochina
and to our direct interests.

Mr. Kurusu offered specious and unconvincing arguments on
Japan's difficulty in renouncing support of Wang Ching-wei and
observed that the standing of the Nanking regime was a matter of
opinion.

The Japanese clearly indicated their disappointment over our
response to their proposal and their feeling that we had reached
an end. They asked whether we were not interested in a modus
vivendi, whether any other arrangement was not possible and
whether they could see the President.

The Secretary replied that we had explored the question of a
modus vivendi and, in response to a further inquiry as to whether
our inability to consider a modus vivendi was because of the attitude
of other powers, he added that he had done his best. He said that
the President would undoubtedly be glad to see the Japanese (an ap-
pointment for such a meeting has been arranged for November 27).

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