

Ex 2754

Proceedings of the Talks Between Minister TOYODA
and Ambassador Grew Concerning the Entry of
Forces into French Indo-China on July 26

1. The Minister first asked the Ambassador if he reported to his government on the matters dealt with in detail lastnight, and Ambassador Grew replied to the effect that he had "telegraphed the whole text of your memorandum".

2. Then the Minister asked, "Have you made any efforts to exert some of your influence upon your government in this respect?" To this the Ambassador replied, "I am very sorry that the situation has become too seriously strained to allow any individual influence to compromise the measures taken by America; now all is out of my hands." Saying that the Minister should have been informed by the report of Ambassador Nomura, Ambassador Grew read out the full text of the copy of a telegram concerning the talks at the interview between Ambassador Nomura and Mr. Welles, the Under Secretary of State on July 23.

To the question of the Minister as to whether there was any room for consultation about the measures taken by the American Government with regard to the arrangement which the Japanese Government had adopted toward French Indo-China, the Ambassador replied as follows:

"Under the present situation, there seems to be no room for it. America has offered a period of time in which Japan might arrange according to the principle of free trade and economical equality and make some orientation of internal public opinion for that purpose. This proposal of America should have been, at the same time, useful for Japan too. As such is the situation, I should like to ask you whether there is no room to refrain from the recent occupation by the Japanese forces."

To this the Minister instantly and definitely replied, "No".

3. Then the Minister related that the recent advance of Japanese forces into Southern French Indo-China was, as explained in detail lastnight, nothing but an unavoidable measure forced upon Japan for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific in consideration of the circumstances strengthening the Anti-Japanese enveloping campaign and implied no other intention.

To this Ambassador Grew replied that he could not help regretting the difference of opinion with regard to the so-called anti-Japanese envelopment the Minister referred to. Though America had firmly held the policy of "no threat" toward Japan, she couldn't help but feel that, in view of the attitude which had hitherto been taken by the Japanese Government, Japan was preparing for a southward advance policy at the sacrifice of other countries in each case.

So the Minister repeatedly emphasized that there were misunderstandings in this regard on the side of America. Ambassador Grew, however, persistently repeated that America had no choice than to resort to "acts and facts" as the standpoint from which to judge the attitude of Japan.

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4. Then the Minister referred to the substance of the copy of the telegram which Ambassador Grew has just read and revealed his views on the matter in detail, asking the Ambassador's explanation on the following points.

(a) According to the view of Under Secretary Welles, the recent measures taken by Japan toward French Indo-China seemed as if taken under the pressure of Nazi Germany. This, however, is a false view absolutely contrary to the facts. Japan adopted the recent measures as the result of peaceful agreement between the Governments of Japan and France for the defence of French Indo-China. (Ambassador Grew declared on this point that he was very glad to hear the Minister make this explanation and that he would report on this point by wire to his home government without fail.) Frankly, French Indo-China authorities themselves are so anxious that they cannot be sure that French Indo-China in the future would not follow the same course as Syria.

(b) Under Secretary Welles regarded the recent advance of Japanese forces into Southern French Indo-China decisively as if it implied the intention of making it an advance base for another area. This is also an absolute misunderstanding. As I stated repeatedly, the aim of our recent measures is nothing but the maintenance of peace in the Pacific and implies no false intention. I feel the utmost regret that America took such measures as the recent ones in spite of the sincere desire of the Japanese Government not to provoke such ones on the part of America.

(c) The statement of Under Secretary Welles contains the term "no basis for continuing, etc." as Secretary of State Hull's words. Does it mean the closing of the talks which are now in progress concerning the readjustment of the diplomatic relations between Japan and America? (To this Ambassador Grew replied that although he had not sufficient knowledge about the contents of this talk and was not in a position to say anything on this matter, it can be construed, according to his merely private opinion, as not to have meant the closing of the talk, because it contains the term "unable to see, etc." In short, nothing can be said so far as the telegram is concerned.)

The Minister then asked the Ambassador to disclose his unreserved private opinions on this talk under tacit agreement as being off-the-record, which the Ambassador refused to do on the pretext that he knew nothing about the matter.

The part of the telegram which the Minister referred to reads as follows: "Mr. Hull was unable to see that any basis was offered for continuing the talks which Admiral Nomura and Mr. Hull had been conducting."

5. The Minister stated that he sincerely regretted to see American-Japanese diplomatic relations reaching the recent stage within a week after the formation of the new cabinet in Japan. This was utterly to be attributed to the misunderstanding by America of the true intention of the Japanese Government. Considering its firm desire to check such a result, the Imperial Japanese Government deeply regretted to see it.

To this Ambassador Grew replied that he had regretted seeing public opinion in Japan emphasizing only American misunderstanding of Japan's real intention and the newspapers reporting merely on discussions among leading circles in all quarters in Japan to blame the so-called misunderstanding on the part of

America with some degree of unwillingness to report on the real policy of America. He was very glad to know that the recent entry of Japanese forces into French Indo-China was, according to what the Minister had just expressed, nothing but a peaceful advance. He had deeply deplored that America had been forced to take the recent measures against Japan. He heartily hoped that the relations between the two countries would not become worse than ever.

6. The Minister stated that he was afraid that the American-Japanese relations would face the unhappiest stage in case more irritating measures against Japan should be taken by the American Government. He wished especially to emphasize this point. Frankly, the Japanese Government had made every effort to suppress the unpleasant feeling cherished by its nation at the enforcement of aid to the Chiang Regime by the American Government. But it would fall into a more difficult stage if the situation should become worse than ever.

To this Ambassador Grew replied that in this regard the situation had been just the same in America. In spite of the daily intensifying pressure of public opinion demanding the Government to take more rigorous measures against Japan, such as the anti-Japanese petroleum embargo, the American Government had not yet gone so far as to carry out the petroleum embargo. In this regard the public in Japan had not been given any knowledge of the real facts concerning the American policy or her true intention of aiming to keep friendly relations with Japan. The Ambassador, however, had been optimistic regarding the improvement of American-Japanese relations. At the time of the YONAI Cabinet, he held strictly confidential talks in camera with Foreign Minister Arita to improve the diplomatic relations between the two countries. This talk, however, met with failure on the very eve of its closing as the Cabinet unfortunately clashed. This time there occurred the recent entry of the Japanese forces into French Indo-China too, when the conversation on the readjustment of American-Japanese diplomatic relations was going on. He could not help denouncing it as contrary to the whole spirit of the conversation. But he did not necessarily regard it as doing away with hope for the future. He wished to be relied upon as he would do his best in this regard.

7. The Minister related that he was sorry to see the recent stage, considering especially that it was immediately after his assumption of the post of Foreign Minister. He wished to ask the Ambassador for his cooperation with the Minister's effort to do his best. To this Ambassador Grew replied that he wished as well not to give up hope for the future despite the present situation.

The interview was closed with the promise of Ambassador Grew to send a report on today's talks by wire to his home government.

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CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI Kaoru, who occupy the post of Chief of Archives Section of the Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of nine pages and entitled "The Proceedings of the Talks Between Minister Toyoda and Ambassador Grew Concerning the Entry of Forces into French Indo-China on July 26", is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government Foreign Office.

certified at Tokyo,
on this 27th day of May, 1947

HAYASHI Kaoru
(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place
on this same date

Witness: URABE Katsuma
(seal)