

The Secretary of State discovered that Mr. Kurusu had come with no special instructions from Tokyo and Mr. Hull, himself, was content to take his stand—with a “take-it-or-leave-it attitude”—on the general principles that have underlain American policy in the Far East during the last ten years.

When it became apparent that the discussion of these general principles was not likely to lead to an agreed solution, the Japanese prepared and presented to Mr. Hull a series of proposals which, it was hoped, would result in agreement on a *modus vivendi* which would remain in effect while the discussion of a broader and more definitive settlement continued. The Japanese proposals, with Mr. Hull's comment to the British Ambassador in relation to each of them, together with the summary of the British reaction are set out below:

JAPANESE PROPOSALS:

- (1) *Both the Governments of Japan and the United States undertake not to make any armed advance into any of the regions in south-eastern Asia, and the Southern Pacific area, excepting part of French Indo-China where Japanese troops are stationed at present.*

Mr. Hull's comment: This would leave Japan free to do what she liked in regard to Russia. Kurusu states Japan regards Jap-Russian Non-Aggression Pact as still in existence although we know how much that is worth. We could try to get the Japanese to agree not to halt shipments by America of aid to Russia via Vladivostok. This clause would also leave Japanese free to act as they please in China itself.

British Reaction: Relates only to “armed” advance and would leave the Japanese perfectly free to carry out infiltration (which is admittedly difficult to regulate in any case), and it might be interpreted by the Japanese as precluding further strengthening of the Philippines and other outposts of the democracies.

- (2) *The Japanese Government undertakes to withdraw its troops now stationed in French Indo-China upon either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area.*

In the meantime the Government of Japan declares that it is prepared to remove its troops now stationed in the southern part of French Indo-China to the northern part of the said territory upon conclusion of the present arrangement that shall later be embodied in final agreement.

Mr. Hull's Comment: The second paragraph of this clause would not be acceptable as it stands. The Japanese would have to get out of Indo-China except perhaps for a few thousand troops.

(Hull would be inclined to give Japan some temporary economic relief if this were agreed to.) See 276.¹

¹ Voir le document 1381, section 5.

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