

SECRET

Yes
 H. S. RC
 Sir R. Campbell
 Mr. Hoyer Miller

When one compares what Mr. Hull says here with what Sir R. Craigie reports from Tokyo, it does not seem to make sense, and I cannot help wondering whether the Americans have in fact any very real conception of what is passing in Japanese minds. This gives cause for ~~serious~~ real concern. For if the negotiations are to prove abortive and there is to be war, we cannot be certain of immediate U. S. participation, and it is we (with the Chinese and the Dutch) who will have to bear the heat and burden of the day. If, on the other hand, the Americans decide at a given moment that ~~negotiations~~ an agreement is possible, then, whether they deny it or not, the fact remains that they will have committed us to participation. If we refuse, then the blame will be laid at our door, not only by the Japanese, but by the Americans themselves.

By

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

By keeping us in the dark, the Americans are in fact assuming without our permission, the conduct of our diplomacy, since it is impossible to believe that the talks do not cover matters which are of vital importance to us. If they are merely playing for time, then I think they are doing it in a very dangerous way, for it would appear from Sir R. Craigie's reports that they are allowing the Japanese to believe something which is unlikely to happen. If on the other hand some agreement is really contemplated by them, then we have equally cause for misgivings.

A meeting between President Roosevelt and Prince Konoye "free from the chains and shackles of diplomatic channels" - a in other words without the presence of their advisers to warn them of the dangers and the pitfalls, may well lead to results by no means happy from our point of view.

J. F. Kennedy 7/10