SOWING THE SEEDS OF WAR: THE NEW YORK TIMES’ COVERAGE OF
JAPANESE-AMERICAN TENSIONS, A PRELUDE TO CONFLICT IN THE
PACIFIC, 1920-1941

by

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ABSTRACT

SOWING THE SEEDS OF WAR: THE NEW YORK TIMES’ COVERAGE OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN TENSIONS, A PRELUDE TO CONFLICT IN THE PACIFIC, 1920-1941

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This thesis examines the New York Times’ coverage of unique generational influences between Japan and the United States from 1920 through the start of hostilities at Pearl Harbor in December 1941. The purpose of this project was to see if the Times gave Americans an accurate picture of the relationship between the two countries or to determine if there was a lapse in coverage exhibiting negligence on the part of this prominent paper.

This thesis concludes that the New York Times was not negligent in its coverage of the issues prior to World War II. However, it was the Times’ inconsistent placement of its news articles about Japan with them never being in the same place in the newspaper and the gaps of time between coverage of specific topics. That meant only those with a
keen interest in what was happening in Japan and Japan’s attitude toward America would have had the determination and ability to put all the puzzle pieces together from the truck load of material to realize Japan’s increasing irritation with America and its view of an unavoidable war. The warnings were there if you were willing to look for them.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Japan sent a clear message to the United States that it would take more than diplomacy to resolve Japan’s years of frustration with the United States after Japan used its naval might to bomb Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941. The New York Times reported the event to its readers as shocking and surprising, and Secretary of State Cordell Hull called the event, “treacherous and utterly unprovoked.” In fact, the New York Times dedicated an entire edition to document the event and reflect on the past tensions between the two countries.¹

The Times included in its coverage of the attacks an historical reflection piece looking at how with the attack Japan closed the door on eighty-eight years of peace but explained how the last ten years, starting with the “Manchurian Incident,” had shown relations between the two countries had become severely strained.² The New York Times also wrote of how history had once again repeated itself as the Japanese used the same tactics on the United States as it had used to begin the 1904 Russo-Japanese war. Japan was once before involved in an undeclared war, which they started with a sneak attack; the first time it was against Russian ships. The explanation for its actions was stated by the Japanese as protecting “the independence and territorial integrity of Korea.” They also called it a matter of “self-defense.” Japan’s declaration of war came a day after its attack on Russia.³

The New York Times wrote following the bombings at Hawaii that the attack had been long planned. The Times’ reports also included mention of a letter that an Anti-Japanese Society wrote to Secretary of War Henry Stimson warning of such an attack on
October 28, 1941. The *Times* went on and also discussed how the United States military had believed Japan would launch an attack on Thailand, not American controlled territory and that led to military men calling Indo-China just a Japanese smoke screen.  

Intelligence reported at the end of November an attack was thought to be coming but sources were not exactly sure where or when Japan would strike. The *Times* ran a short story saying the Japanese had done its homework and had studied American psychology and had purposely chosen Sunday for the attack because the United States grants the most leave then and chances for success were greatest then. A *New York Times* editorial called Pearl Harbor an incredible assault and called it a deliberate attempt to destroy American defenses. The editorial stated the United States would close ranks and would respond to what they called Japan’s military clique’s power of deception raised to a level of insanity.

The *Times* coverage included commentary from the office of Japanese Premier Hideki Tojo and his view of how Japan had reached its decision to fight. Tojo said the declaration of war gaffe couldn’t be helped but, “Japan has done her utmost to prevent this war, but in self-protection and for self-existence we could not help declaring war—considering the past attitude and acts of the United States.” Tojo also bragged that Japan had never lost a war and, “I hereby promise you that the final victory will be that of Japan.”

The *Times*’ coverage showed Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor may have been economically motivated and presented the case Japan was hurting for raw material and suffering from economic strangulation. However, it was also presented that a long war would be fatal for Japan and Great Britain saw Japan lasting no longer than a year based
on that reasoning. But the door for the length of the war to change was left open on the basis of if Japan was able to acquire new resources the war could last longer. Britain predicted Japan could only call up another million men before hurting its industry and fragile economy.\textsuperscript{10} The \textit{Times} reported that Germany, Japan’s ally, was reluctantly dragged into a war with the United States by its actions in the Pacific yet made no move to help Japan in that part of the world, a move the \textit{Times} reported was based on the precedent Japan set by not attacking Russia the previous year.\textsuperscript{11}

The cliché ‘hindsight is twenty-twenty’ was proven in the \textit{New York Times} coverage as two stories were written following the attack of those who had warned of the impending attack in an ‘I told you so’ kind of manner. Columbia’s President, Nicholas Murray Butler, said he had warned the United States about Japan as far back as 1933.\textsuperscript{12} And George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, wrote a story for the \textit{Times} showing American voters had wanted strong action taken against the Japanese over the past six years, even more so in the last two and eighty-two percent favored a strict embargo.\textsuperscript{13}

The \textit{Times} quoted Japanese residents on the West Coast under a headline which read, “Japanese on Coast Call War ‘Hara-Kiri.’” Katsuma Mukaeda, President of the Japanese Cultural Society in Los Angeles, was quoted in the \textit{Times} saying, “This is an unprecedented crisis for us but we shall acquit ourselves proudly. America is our permanent residence.” Togo Tanaka, editor of \textit{Rafu Shimpo} a Japanese language paper, said, “We think the Japanese Government is on a campaign it has absolutely no chance of winning. We have not been in sympathy with Japan’s expansion program. This may well be the end of Japan as a power.”\textsuperscript{14}
Two days after the attack word of damages and heroism began to be filter through the Times as reported by both sides of the conflict. Stories of Congress and others asking how this could have happened and how they criticized the Navy as being asleep were also written. The blame would all be put on the two commanders in Hawaii, Admiral Husband Edward Kimmel and Lieut. General Walter C. Short, by the American public. A story ran in January 1942 stating that raid signs had been ignored and not taken seriously despite frequent warnings by the War and Navy departments.\textsuperscript{15} It was announced in a \textit{New York Times} story that Pearl Harbor happened as America was not prepared because of three reasons; surprise, lack of personnel, and the lack of anti-aircraft guns.\textsuperscript{16}

The Times wrote about how the country and those allied with the United States united to face the new threat. The House of Representatives voted 388-to-1 for war; Montana’s Jeanette Rankin was the only nay vote.\textsuperscript{17} Secretary Hull said he expected more surprise attacks but expected America to win the war.\textsuperscript{18}

However, with all the talk of shock and surprise at the events in Hawaii, it wasn’t the first time the Times had published a story looking at a war in the Pacific. A retired British naval strategist named Hector Bywater showcased his predictive abilities in the fictional novel titled, \textit{The Great Pacific War: A History of the American-Japanese Campaign of 1931-33}. Bywater attempted to answer the question, what if war came to the Pacific? Bywater wrote that in order to unite a Japan in political turmoil, they would pick a fight with the United States. Nicholas Roosevelt, a \textit{New York Times} editor, reviewed the book in a \textit{Times} article, “(the U.S., a country) with which nation there have been lengthy disputes about immigration and about trade in China, and begins the war with an attack on the Philippines and by blowing up a ship in the Panama Canal.”\textsuperscript{19}
Roosevelt reviewed the book for *The New York Times* in September 1925. Roosevelt wrote in his review, “As a reason for the war, Mr. Bywater assigns the growing unrest in Japan as a result of overpopulation and the threats of social revolutions.”

While he didn’t predict the attack and subsequent war perfectly, Bywater did understand the difficult task of taking on the Japanese in the Pacific as Roosevelt quoted him saying, “In order to regain her lost islands and prestige, America must proceed with the slow and costly work of beating her way across the Pacific and fighting a war at a distance of 4,000 miles from her nearest base. This is, of course, the most difficult task.” (See Appendix I)

Bywater was bold in talking about strategies, even using the names of ships, and talked about the importance of Midway. He even predicted Japanese submarine attacks on the West Coast, which actually happened in Oregon and on Vancouver Island during World War II. He was only off by eleven years, saying that it would start in 1931 and end in 1933. Instead, the Japanese went west into Manchuria in 1931.

He did correctly predict the end of contentions by saying,

“Negotiations for peace bring this futile and costly war to an end. The United States obtains the Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific, but no indemnity is sought. Preferential trade agreements are signed between the two nations and both return to their former peaceful relations. The cost has been enormous to both contestants and the benefits derived there from are nil.”

Bywater also said in 1934 that the best way to keep peace in the Pacific was to keep the two navies as far a part from each other as possible, suggesting that the American fleet remain in the Atlantic.

Another book that looked at an imaginary war in the Pacific was reviewed in the *New York Times* in 1936 and was written by Sutherland Denlinger and Charles B. Gary.
In the book the authors said Japan would never fight the United States in Hawaiian waters and the United States would build a naval base in the Aleutians not in Hawaii.²⁶

The prospect of war and the importance of the Pacific Ocean were discussed in a 1929 *New York Times* editorial twelve years before the attack. The *Times* wrote, “It has become more and more apparent that William H. Seward was right when, nearly eighty years ago, he warned the world that ‘the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world’s great hereafter.’”²⁷ President Theodore Roosevelt also saw the impact the Pacific would have and was quoted in the same editorial. “The same sentiment was echoed by President Roosevelt, who always insisted that the twentieth century belonged to the Pacific, and that in our times that ocean would be to the Atlantic as the Atlantic had been to the Mediterranean.”²⁸

The United States and Japan had a roller-coaster relationship since the day Commodore Matthew Perry signed the treaty with Japan in 1854 and opened up Japan to the outside world.²⁹ And as seen in the *New York Times’* coverage of that relationship, the Japanese had a long memory compared to the short attention span of the United States.

The interesting thing about the Japan was that its people had a longer memory than anyone ever really considered. F. Cunliffe-Owen, who lived in the Orient made this observation in a *New York Times* story,

“The Japanese never forget. They are endowed with the most retentive memory of any Oriental race. They sometimes, though very rarely, forgive what, with their hyper-sensitive nature, they construe, sometimes wrongly, as an affront to their national pride and as a slight to their people. But on the other hand, the memory of kindness – of great kindness – are treasured in the hearts of all, from the Princes of the Imperial House down to the lowliest pariah, or ‘untouchable.’”³⁰
The New York Times coverage seemed to exemplify Confliffé-Owen’s quote. The American people or the Japanese Government would be riled up about something, which would be followed up with a lot of coverage. But soon the issue would drop out of sight and out of mind for the American public but the Japanese never forgot anything.

**Literature Review**

Few authors have looked deeply into the effects of the 1924 Exclusion Act, or the Washington Naval Reduction Treaty of 1922 as potential causes for the Second World War. It is possible that the only reason that war didn’t come earlier for Japan and the United States was the economic and political strife Japan faced in the 1920s following the Great World War combined with the effects of the devastating earthquakes of 1923 and 1927. Japan also faced a population growth in the 1920s and looked for places around the world to send its people including the United States, China, and South America.

Why Japan chose not to do something militarily about its frustrations with the United States was one of the many questions I had when I scoured the numerous historical books about Japan and the United States and the interaction of the two with each other in the two decades prior to World War II. And there were plenty of media history books as well. After going through all those books I learned a valuable history lesson from the lens of historians, government officials, and governmental documents. What these historical resources failed to do was look at how the issues were covered by the media of that era and looked at from the point of view of the everyday man.

“Atomic Bomb During World War II” in *Journalism Monographs* didn’t look at media coverage of World War II or issues leading up to the war he did examine the idea of censorship during wartime. Washburn looked at the United States’ censorship of black newspapers and the government’s attempt to censor news of the development of the atomic bomb. What made Washburn’s work groundbreaking and vital to this thesis was his organization of material from a similar time period. Washburn tackled the issue from the angle of key influences and then looked at them over several years before he moved onto the next chapter and the next topic. His topics spanned several years and overlapped linearly, as did some of the topics found in the *New York Times* between 1920 and 1941. Washburn’s work from also looked closely at the interaction of the press and the military in charge of protecting the nation’s military secrets.33

Michael Sweeney, who studied under Washburn at Ohio University, wrote two books regarding the media and war. In his first book, “Secrets of Victory: the Office of Censorship and the American press and radio in World War II,” Sweeney looked at the relationship between the press and the office of censorship during World War II, a very similar concept to Washburn’s book. Sweeney looked at the history of censorship in America and how it affected what was reported during wartime. He also organized his work by topics. Sweeney’s second book, “From the Front: The Story of War Featuring Correspondents Chronicles,” examined how the media covered and interacted during wars from Jack London involvement in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 through Vietnam. While a thick book, Sweeney’s contribution showed the breadth of media’s influence in coverage of conflict. His focus was more on photography with some interspersed personal stories about reporters in war. He broke up his book by topic and
then looked at each topic or war during the time frame it occurred. He examined briefly the problems of censorship and the trials of being on a battlefield rather than any depth into how the media covered or what it covered. He also examined the advent of radio and war coverage in World War II and its competition with print journalism. His chapter on World War II looked more at personal stories although he did mention how Americans expected Japan to attack them, just not at Pearl Harbor, and talked briefly about China and Japan’s co-prosperity sphere. Sweeney’s interests were more with the war itself and reporters’ experiences rather than irritants of the times or how newspapers were covering events before or during war.34

Two other books were written in the same vein as Washburn’s and Sweeney’s books that looked at media’s involvement in wartime issues but both failed to look at how the media covered war. However, both books were valuable in knowing how to organize and put together a research project dealing with historical themes. John Morton Blum looked at politics and American culture during World War II by theme. Philip Knightly wrote about the war correspondent in the Twentieth Century by each individual war. Knightly also looked at the lives of different reporters in the middle of wartime.35

Each of the three major wire services has a book looking at its history. The United Press International’s history, as written about by Richard Harnett and Billy Ferguson, gave the best glimpse at how newspapers covered issues in the 1920s and 1930s. However, those nuggets were hidden amongst the text of a history book that looked more at its founders and how UPI came about and adapted to the changes rather than look at coverage strategies. UPI was founded by E.W. Scripps and run by Roy Howard. What the authors showed was that cunning and ingenuity were the driving forces of this fledgling
company and had few restrictions or censorships placed upon it than did its competitors. It gave a glimpse at how reporters adapted to competitors and a look into the mindset of the reporter prior to World War II as well as the importance of the scoop and the intense competition. And the authors said the UPI had a great influence on its readers as it grew as a new service. Jonathan Fenby called the wire services, “the town criers of the world.”

The book showed that historical research was divided into groups and then within each group covered in chronological order giving insights to what happened. Also the authors hinted that the cost of sending news from Asia was twice as high as sending from Europe and that may have explained the reason why there were fewer news stories in the New York Times covering Asian issues in the 1920s until things intensified with Manchuria and conflict between China and Japan forced newspapers to give space to those issues.36

The Associated Press’ look at World War II didn’t examine the coverage in much depth or look at how events were covered but what it did contribute helped in the organization of this thesis. The book was written more like a history book but it was organized by topic and then examined by years that topic was relevant in the newspaper. Such Pacific topics examined were the Manchurian Incident, the League walkout, the Immigration Act, the invasion of Indo-China, and pre-war issues. Another contribution the book made was the detail it gave to the power of pictures in the media, for example the picture of the Chinese baby after the bombing of Shanghai.37

Reuters’ historical time line as reviewed by Donald Read did not talk about any strategies or examine how the events of the times were covered. Instead Read gave us a glimpse at the founder and managers of Reuters. It was more of a financial look and an examination of managerial styles and how the first news service dealt with newcomers.
AP and UPI. Read gave some mention to dealings in China and being challenged by the Americans and how they called Reuters a monopoly in China. Mention was also given briefly to how the Americans and British looked at news differently. Read wrote about the Japanese and Chinese developing their own news agencies which cut into Reuters’ profits. Japan’s adventures in Manchuria also cut into Reuters’ business.38

Hugh Byas was an Englishman, who wrote the book “Government by Assassination” detailing the political upheavals via violence in Japan, and was a correspondent for the New York Times and the London Times and a longtime resident of Tokyo. He even at one point edited the Japanese Newspaper the Advertiser. Like several journalists of his era, he wrote about his experiences as a journalist and of his life in Japan and a combination of the two. Byas wrote a couple books and contributed articles to edited books.39 Byas’ account was written in first person and looked at the different events that took place in the 1930s, his prime as a journalist for the New York Times. Byas also wrote an article detailing the history of the Japanese press up to 1924. That was an era of the press before it became more of an organ for the military-run government. The Japanese press was founded on western journalistic ideals but was under a burden of censorship.40 An idea he brought up again fourteen years later in his other two works. Byas also attempted to interpret the events of the times on topics such as war tension, the army in politics and Japan’s desire to expand. Another Englishman turned New York Times correspondent, Hallett Abend, wrote a book called “Japan Unmasked,” which tried to do the same things.41 Both authors tried to contribute a personal perspective on the events in Japan to the English-speaking members of the world.
The *New York Times* gave a lot of ink to naval issues from 1920 to 1941, particularly to naval construction. The 1922 Washington and the 1930 London naval limitation conferences were supposed to have taken care of the competitive naval building between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, France, and a handful of other smaller countries. In an attempt to verify the actually number of ships built from the 1922 Washington Naval Conference to the start of hostilities between Japan and America several books were consulted. This was done because it must have been very confusing to the reader as to the actual number of ships the United States built in the late 1920s and early to mid-1930s. After both naval conferences were voided at the end of 1936 the *New York Times* was more accurate reporting the actual numbers being built rather than basing their information on speculation. Books listing the official naval building history were able to fill in the gaps and clear up the confusion as to what ships and how many were built during the 1920s and 1930s.

The literature showed that a lot has been written about the time period or about the media from that era but what has not been done is a project to look at how the media covered the influences leading up to World War II. The books about the media and from the 1920s and 1930s however did help show how to organize this research material by topic and then examine it historically over a period of years. Washburn’s work looked at many newspapers coverage of one issue, a direction this research would next take. This thesis looks just at one newspaper’s coverage. The next step would be to widen the scope of coverage particularly to look at West Coast newspapers and their coverage of issues like the Exclusion Act and their views on Japan.
Methodology

This thesis looks at the coverage of issues surrounding the Japanese-United States relationship as published in the *New York Times* from January 1920 to January 1942. This thesis desires to examine the coverage and see if there were stories about the Japan and tensions with the United States that would have signaled that some kind of attack was forth coming. As quoted in a story in the *New York Times*, the paper wrote the attack had been long planned and organizations and individuals had come forth claiming they had warned the United States Government of such an attack at Pearl Harbor. Talk of tensions between the two countries in the *Times*’ coverage of the attacked hints that the puzzle pieces to the big picture of the reasons for Japan’s attack on America may have been there all along to its readers.

*The New York Times* was readily accessible in that it was available online; and while it may not have had the largest circulation during this time period, it was being read by those in politically and financially prominent positions. Another reason I picked the *New York Times* was because of its resources. The *Times* employed at least one reporter, sometimes more, who lived in and reported from Tokyo. The *Times* also had a complement of reporters stationed around the world in situations such as the 1922 Washington Treaty, the 1930 London Naval Conference and events dealing with the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland.

The literature review failed to show the many years of international interaction and reactions leading up to war or how it might have been prevented as seen from the point of view of those in the media and those who consumed the media thus leaving out some of the puzzles pieces to give a full picture.
This thesis examines the *New York Times* from January 1, 1920 through December 7, 1941 to identify biases, tensions, and events between Japan and the United States that could be called a prelude to war. I looked to the examples of Washburn and Sweeny, who both looked at World War II and issues involving the media. They organized their work by theme and time period. Michael Bugeja discussed the idea of taxonomy of influences and the idea that each generation has unique experiences. Bugeja never intended this idea to be applied to the field of historical communication but I took his idea and used it in this thesis based upon how communication historian Dr. Dale Cressman applied and adapted Bugeja’s idea of taxonomy in his dissertation on the life of broadcaster Elmer Lower. Likewise I have adapted the idea of taxonomies in looking for the unique influences of the generation prior to World War II. Some of the taxonomy of influences discovered for this twenty-two year period of *New York Times* coverage include Naval and military tensions; China, talk of war, exclusion, emigration and population, political unrest in Japan, Japan’s economy, goodwill efforts, disasters, boycotts, and the League of Nations. Each influence or taxonomy was looked at separately for events that influenced that generation uniquely.

It was after an initial wallowing period of *New York Times* articles in the 1920s that I discovered these taxonomies. The taxonomies were more evident and visual in stories from the 1930s leading up to hostilities in 1941. And it was using these taxonomies that I set out to see how effective and efficient the *Times* coverage was prior to World War II and to see what sort of, if any, warning the people had reading the *New York Times* prior to the war. It needed to be discovered whether or not the *New York Times* properly used the words shocked and surprised in its coverage of Pearl Harbor.
I also looked at the placement of the stories in the *New York Times*. In newspapers the prominence, or location of the story in relation to the front page, is a subtle hint those in charge of publishing newspapers send to its readers as to the importance of the story. If it is on the front page and above the fold it tells the reader it is what the editorial staff felt was the most important story of the day. If it is buried on page sixty-eight, the editorial staff is telling the reader it has less importance than the preceding pages.48

**Limitations**

This thesis is a look at the *New York Times*’ coverage of taxonomies and generational influences based on Cressman’s adaptation of Bugeja’s work. This thesis will not try to be another historical account of relations between Japan and the United States prior to World War II. Instead the thesis will use the context of historical events such as the Washington and London naval limitation treaties, the Manchurian Incident, and the 1924 Exclusion Act as reference points in looking at how and what the *Times* presented as the various influences to its readership. The goal of this work is to answer the question that if the headlines and the stories announcing the attack on Pearl Harbor used words like surprise and shock was it a result of poor media coverage leading up to the war and possibly poor organization and placement of the material regarding coverage of issues emanating from Japan. Unfortunately, this thesis won’t answer the question that if the coverage of the issues was there and accurate and there for all to put the puzzle pieces together then those who read the *Times* just weren’t able to put it all together.
CHAPTER TWO
EXCLUSION, NATURALIZATION, IMMIGRATION, AND EMIGRATION

**Exclusion, Naturalization, and Immigration**

Certain issues such as the Exclusion Act of 1924, the ‘Open Door’ policy in China, room enough in the Pacific for both countries, and the race for the strongest navy were all a source of irritation for Japan in its relationship with the United States starting in 1920 all the way through to December 7, 1941. The *New York Times* covered these issues over this twenty-two-year period and looked at what irritated and what did not.

In August 1920, Japanese Ambassador to the United States Masanao Hanihara issued a warning to the United States about what irritation might lead to when he said,

> “Not that I see any possible cause for clash between this country and the United States, but the sort of irritation and pin-pricking that had been indulged on both sides, if permitted to go on indefinitely will, I fear create an atmosphere which may lead to almost anything.”

A perfect example of what Japan saw as irritating was seen with the *Times’* coverage of the 1924 Exclusion Act in which Congress chose to limit the number of Japanese who entered the country and become naturalized to 100 a year. Exclusion of the Japanese grew out of the Chinese exclusion of the late 1800s and blossomed in California and on the West Coast in the early 1900s as the 1913 California Alien Land Law. Hiram Johnson, the California Governor at the time of those land laws would later become the Senator who would be a strong propellant for passage of national law. Washington State’s Albert Johnson was the author of the Immigration Bill with the Exclusion amendment, which then would thereafter be referred to historically as the Exclusion Act of 1924.
Ambassador Hanihara outlined Japan’s feelings on exclusion in a *Times* story, “All that we want is to be accorded the same fair treatment you accord to other people; in other words, no unfair discriminations on account of race or nationality.”

Hanihara was lauded for his candid explanation of Japan’s reaction in a *New York Times* editorial where he said, “The Japanese are offended by what appears to them to be discrimination on account of race or color. They dislike the implication that theirs is an ‘inferior’ race, and they feel that their pride is injured because their people are denied rights and privileges which are accorded to other foreigners.”

Irritation must have boiled over in Hanihara and reached an atmosphere of where anything could happen when he wrote in a note to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes in April of 1924, days prior to the passage of the Exclusion Act,

> “The Japanese Government declares the enactment of the immigration restrictive ban upon the Japanese . . . would inevitably bring ‘grave consequences’ upon the otherwise happy and mutually advantageous relations between the United States and Japan.”

Hanihara’s intentions of getting the United States to rethink exclusion backfired and spurred Congress into passing the Exclusion Act by an overwhelming margin. Congress called Hanihara’s remarks a “veiled threat.” Hanihara’s emotions cost him esteem in the eyes of his peers and led to his leaving political life. While Tokio (spelled with the i until mid-1930, also the *New York Times* also referred to the Japanese Government by the country’s capital city) didn’t sanction Hanihara’s actions they were still surprised at all the “sensations” it created in America. His sensational remarks created front-page news for several weeks.

*The New York Times*’ coverage of the issue of exclusion was sporadic between 1920 and 1923. The issue was heavily covered throughout 1924 but tapered off after that.
For one reason, Americans felt the issue was over and didn’t want to be bothered with it anymore. The New York Times reported that the Japanese were “jubilant” about the idea of a quota system as reported in the different Japanese newspapers in 1930. Just a few days earlier before the news broke in Japan, Hanihara said, “Japanese resentment against the American exclusion is felt now as keenly as it was when the legislation was enacted and will not die out as long as the wound inflicted remains unhealed.”

Despite the New York Times’ lack of coverage of Japan’s agitation, it was evident in various articles over the years that Japan’s distaste for the immigration law never went away. The Japanese never forgot what they felt—surprise and the feeling of being personally attacked—and continued to bring up the issue of exclusion over the next sixteen years. In 1940, in a story hidden deep inside the New York Times on page seventy-two, was a story talking about the sixteenth-year anniversary since Hanihara’s infamous “grave consequences” utterance and mentioning Americans have a poor memory.

Just like the fate of Hanihara and the issues dear to the Japanese people, irritants floated on or near the front page for a period of time before floating off to obscurity or to the back pages of the New York Times.

New York Times’ reporter Hugh Byas, who was a correspondent from Tokyo, echoed those sentiments in September 1932 article published in “Contemporary Japan.” The Times quote Byas from that story,

“The recurring friction between the two nations, difference caused primarily, as he writes, by the race and immigration questions, the China question and naval rivalries. Two of these major disputes have been brought to a head and are no longer a source of danger. Japanese immigration to California has not only ceased but has ceased to be
talked about; no longer can the most flinty-minded alarmist strike a spark from that damp tinder."\(^{17}\)

*The New York Times*’ coverage of the United States’ decision to exclude Asiatics began as early as June 8, 1920,\(^{18}\) a decision which may have had an incalculable affect later in American history. California Senator Hiram Johnson recalled in a 1940 *New York Times* article covering his latest campaign that he had, “Even warned that the Japanese Navy would bombard San Francisco to ruins if the proposed law were enacted.”\(^{19}\)

Another warning came from the Japanese newspaper *Chucai Shogyo Shimpo*, which declared, “The Anti-Japanese movement in America is a ‘serious menace, affecting eventually, the world’s peace.’”\(^{20}\)

Despite Japan’s warnings the *New York Times* reports Johnson was in a celebratory mood after the passage of the Exclusion Act as he said,

> “It is a matter of congratulation and rejoicing that California finally prevails in the long struggle for the protection and preservation of its own. With the last chapter closed now, I apprehend neither difficulties nor dangers. We have done what was clearly our right, without intention of offense, and giving no cause of offense, offense cannot justly be taken. California’s cherished policy is now the nation’s maturely determined policy.”\(^{21}\)

Representative Albert Johnson, of Washington State and Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, was credited with leading the investigation into California’s exclusionary laws and turning them into a national exclusion law. He also authored the 1924 Exclusion Act amendment to the Immigration Bill (See Appendix C).\(^{22}\) It was first called the Johnson Bill before becoming publicly known as the Exclusion Act.\(^{23}\)

The Exclusion Act upset and humiliated the Japanese.\(^{24}\) Bishop Logan H. Roots declared, “American discrimination against the Oriental races is a matter of ‘deep humiliation’ to Japan, whose attitude he described as one of ‘proud, patient, and waiting
for America to change her mind.”25 It was a bill the Japanese say still humiliated them as late as October 1939. Chinese Premier H.H. Kung spoke of Japan’s harboring ill feelings and its threat to the United States in an interview with the United Press published in the New York Times. Kung said,

“(The United States Government) know not only of Japan’s dream of world domination but of the deep resentment created in Japan by the American immigration law excluding Japanese and by statutes prohibiting Japanese ownership of land in California and elsewhere. These and other restrictive measures are considered humiliating by the Japanese.”26

The New York Times’ coverage in 1924 presented Japan’s feelings to the American public. “America is sending us to hell,” Viscount Kentaro Kaneko said bitterly after tendering his resignation as president of the America-Japan Society in October 1924 in reaction to passage of the Exclusion Act. It was an act passed by Congress, which limited the number of Japanese nationals to enter to country to become citizens to 100 (See Appendix E).27

Japan’s Foreign Minister K. Matsui said his country’s “cherished desire” was “to be treated on the same footing with other nations,” not receive special treatment.28 He also said,

“Naturally, Japanese are disturbed over the increasing restrictions upon Japanese residents by the United States and the proposals now before Congress for the exclusion of Japanese. The discriminatory and seemingly relentless opposition of some Americans to the presence of comparatively few of our people is difficult for us to understand and hard to reconcile either with our own sense of proper dignity or with the appreciation of fine principles for which Americans generally stand.”29

The Japanese paper Hochi wrote, “The point at issue is not the admission of Japanese immigrants, but whether Japan is accorded the same treatment as other nations.”30 Ambassador to the United States up until the passage of the Exclusion Act,
Hanihara, said, “All that we want is to be accorded the same fair treatment you accord to
other people; in other words, no unfair discriminations on account of race or
nationality.”

Japan also disliked the innuendos and being considered an inferior race that arose
from talk of the exclusion in the United States. The newspaper *Jiji* said, “Japan has
been stamped by the United States as an inferior nation, and the feelings of the people
cannot but be aroused.” They saw the Exclusion Act as injuring their pride, “Because
their people were denied rights and privileges which are accorded to other foreigners.”

The Japanese didn’t care about immigration limitations, but did care about being limited
on the same conditions as European nations. They worried about the Exclusion Act
resulting in possible discrimination and persecution of Japanese in the United States.

Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, wrote an article for the *New York
Times* in September 1930. In this article, Sedgwick revealed two things about Japan and
the Exclusion Act. She wrote of Japan’s impression of America just one year after the
deadly 1923 earthquake, “We told her to her face that since she wasn’t white we would
not treat her as an equal,” with its Immigration Bill.

Sedgwick also spoke of Japan’s pride,

“Every Japanese felt the insult, and the pride which is far more to him
than life itself was touched below the quick. Pride, the Church tells us,
is an un-Christian virtue. Doubtless it is, but perhaps we can
understand it. To realize the pride of the Japanese we must be aware
not only of its intensity but of the simple fact that without it life to
them is of little value. Till the wrong is righted, the Japanese will
never forget. Yet their confidence that it will be righted is unabated.”

Two years after Sedgwick’s comments, Miss Mary Winsor of the Women’s Peace
Union said as a result of the Exclusion Act and the “bad manners” of tourists that the,
“Suspicion is so prevalent in Japan that our aid to the Japanese after the earthquake in 1923 not only aroused no gratitude, but is suspected of some ulterior purpose.”38

Japanese statesmen were frustrated with their relationship with the United States because of the passage of the Exclusion Act. These politicians could not understand America’s desire to exclude the Japanese and felt America failed them.39

The Japanese felt they were being unfairly singled out, an idea that disturbed them,40 and hoped the United States, and especially California, would change their stance on Japanese exclusion and see the error of its ways.41 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Shidehara, said in an interview for the newspaper *Ashai*, “I believe there must come a time when the American people will see their wrong.”42

Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of Dropsie College in Philadelphia and President of the American Oriental Society, empathized with the Japanese frustration in an address at Columbia University and discussed the possible impact of the upcoming vote on the Immigration Bill. Adler said that the United States blundered in the Far East because we didn’t know enough about the Japanese and he said that the American mind is ruled by slogans.43

Japan hoped to parley with America and hoped its lawmakers would reach an understanding and eliminate exclusion talk before the law passed.44 However, because nothing materialized the Japanese felt, “Indignant at the cursory way in which the American Congress trampled on their feelings and ignored their offer to settle a difficult problem through diplomatic channels.”45

The Japanese had an especially difficult time understanding the United States motives behind the Exclusion Act. Generally the Japanese people had a strong desire,
“To know and understand America.” Baron Yoshiro Sakatani, a member of the House of Peers, said in an interview with the press, “He wonders why Americans are so firmly bent upon injuring the feelings of the Japanese, who have done nothing in the past to wound American susceptibilities.” The newspaper *Nichi Nichi* wrote about their disbelief in 1920,

> “Certainly the Americans, whose history glorified Washington as an incarnation of peace and Lincoln as an emblem of liberty, will no longer be entitled to talk of peace and liberty, inasmuch as they have allowed the passage of the anti-Japanese bill, so entirely incompatible with common sense, justice and humanity.”

Because of this ongoing agitation the Japanese felt it would have an impact on the friendship between the two countries. The newspaper *Kokumin*, an organ of the military, said, “Japanese friendship never will be permanently cemented until the spirit of discrimination has been eliminated.” And Professor G. H. Blakeslee of Clark University maintained that complete understanding between the two countries would never happen until there was a change in the immigration situation.

The United States was also having a difficult time understanding the Japanese point of view; struggling with why Japan was intruding on America’s business. In an editorial the *New York Times* said,

> “Americans resent what they are pleased to call the ‘interference’ of Japan in a domestic American problem. The Japanese are indignant at the cursory way in which the American Congress has trampled on their feeling and ignored their offer to settle a difficult problem through diplomatic channels.”

To counterpoint, the Japanese newspaper *Osaka Mainichi* said, “We hold that the decision of Congress is an insult to Japan and the Japanese, and that such action on the part of one nation toward another breaks international justice and disturbs peace.”
In another *New York Times*’ story, the paper emphasized that many Americans have misunderstood Japan’s bitterness. They wrote,

“Toleration and courtesy are badly needed these days. Just as many Americans have misunderstood Japan’s bitterness over the Immigration bill, so many Japanese have failed to grasp the underlying principles of America’s Far Eastern policy. It is for the same Japanese leaders to set their misinformed countrymen right on these matters. On all American friends of sound international cooperation falls the task of explaining to the American people that the feeling of anti-Americanism in Japan is but a passing phase and rests on a lack of understanding of America’s true attitude.”

**Japan’s Reaction to the Exclusion Act**

*The New York Times* often reported on what was written in Japanese papers and there was plenty to write about after the passage of the Exclusion act. Japanese newspapers wrote harshly about the passage of the Exclusion Act and the *New York Times* called the Tokio Press bitter.

The *Asahi* wrote,

“It is too bad that Japan had to be struck by a stone thrown by a wayward child. The child is probably not aware of the consequences, but that does not alter the fact that these may be of the gravest. A protest is now as useless as pouring water on a duck’s back.”

In another article, the *Asahi* said the United States was evading the real issue – racial discrimination. The *Yamato* wrote, “We Japanese have never faced a more serious ordeal. We have fought before when the national honor was less damaged than in present instance.”

The *Yorozu* wrote, “May 26 should be remembered as a day of national humiliation for Japanese. We must organize a nation-wide movement against America. In the remotest hamlets we must make known that Americans are unworthy of our friendship.”
Early tensions regarding exclusion grew into anger, disgust, and bewilderment as congress passed the Exclusion Act and then President Coolidge signed it on May 26, 1924. The passage of the bill caused Tokio newspapers to ask, “Why have faith in America and Coolidge? Has President Coolidge or the United States given Japan anything concrete to go on? None of them have given us encouragement to hope for return of the traditional friendship between the two nations.”

The Asahi boldly questioned the United States’ belief system by writing, “The land of Christianity, humanity and liberty has disappeared.” The Yoruzu Ohoho said, “America is no longer a friendly neighbor of Japan.”

Japan exhausted the gambit of emotional and legal reactions because of the Exclusion Act. The Yorozu Ohoho said, “That the action of the American Congress in passing the exclusion legislation amounts to a challenge to Japan.” Japanese reactions to the Exclusion Act included barring Californians from owning land (a law that would later be repealed), and boycotting all goods from California. Japanese tourists canceled trips to America and 30,000 Japanese farmers gave up more than 500,000 acres of prime farmland in California to move to Arkansas and Mexico because of the alien land laws. Japan also began looking to trade more with Mexico instead of the United States.

The Exclusion Act even made some in Japan want to go to war with America. Lieut. Gen. Bunjiro Horinouchi said, “We must be determined to undergo whatever hardships are necessary in avenging the insult which America has done our country.” In an address to reservists, nationalistic publicist Shinkishi Uysugi said that, “It no longer was possible to reach a satisfactory compromise with America on immigration. If history
teaches anything, an eventual collision between Japan and America on the Pacific is inevitable."67

In addition to an emotional response, the Japanese physically showed their displeasure. On July 1, the day the Exclusion Act became effective, Japanese called it an anti-America day. It was the day the Japanese held demonstrations, 68 including a dance-hall riot.69 Demonstrators also demanded a Japanese boycott of anything American,70 although that boycott would ultimately fail.71 University students organized a “No Saki Day” to “express the sober and cold anger of Japan.”72 The Japanese also organized a national humiliation day on the anniversary of the Exclusion Act going into effect.73 One man went to extremes by committing “hara-kiri,” or suicide, in the ruins of the American Embassy, which hadn’t been repaired from damages in the 1923 earthquake.74 The man was deemed a national hero for his actions and later buried in the soldier’s cemetery.75 One Japanese reaction was so extreme that Japanese police arrested him for trying to kill the United States Consul in Yokohama.76

The Exclusion Act also had political consequences in Japan as the current cabinet fell as result of being blamed for not stopping Congress from passing the act.77 Five years later the Japanese government was still being assailed for its failure to remove the American ban on Japanese immigration.78 Japan also attempted in vein to involve the League of Nations in the immigration dispute and again brought up the issue at the International Labor Conference in Geneva.79 The Exclusion Act also created a nationalism movement in Japan.80
In China, the people there felt Japan was excluding them the same way America was now excluding the Japanese despite the fact Japanese officials said they were not excluding anyone. Chinese spokesman Baron Matsui said, “China expects the same consideration from Japan as Japan hopes to obtain from the United States. The refusal of the Japanese authorities to permit Chinese immigrants to land in Japan is an insult comparable to the insult to Japan marked by American Exclusion.”

American Opposition to Exclusion

Not everyone in the American Government supported exclusion. President Calvin Coolidge wanted to veto the immigration bill. However, as evidenced in coverage in the New York Times, Coolidge conceded defeat when he realized that Congress would eagerly override his veto and he didn’t want to face those consequences. Therefore, Coolidge signed the Exclusion Act into law on May 26, 1924, an act he called “unnecessary and deplorable.” Before signing the bill, Coolidge tried to change the date the law went into effect from July 1, 1924 to March 1, 1925. Congress shot down the idea quickly after it created uproar in California. The idea also did not sit well with publisher V.S. McClatchy and Representative John Baker, strong advocates of the new law. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes was also against the Exclusion Act. He feared it would create a loss of cooperation with the Japanese government. Hughes also had the unenviable task of defending the legality of the Exclusion Act to the Japanese following its passage. The New York Times also reported that thirty college presidents signed a message condemning Congress’ “inconsiderate action” and sent it Congress in the form of a cablegram.

Members of the shipping industry and Government officials tried to warn everyone before the bill went before Congress that, “They foresee serious damage to
Japanese shipping in the Pacific if the measure is enforced.”89 Frenchman Edouard Herriot agreed when he said, “With the critics of the American exclusion attitude who are predicting the events will shake the world to the foundation of civilization if Western States refuse to admit the Japanese, who are bound to find an outlet somewhere. If barriers are raised against them, they will ultimately break them down.”90 And Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske warned Hughes that the “diplomatic battle is only beginning.”91

The *New York Times* gave the former United States Ambassador to Japan, Cyrus E. Woods, an opportunity to express the peril he saw in a Japanese ban in a story he authored himself.92 He said,

> “Without one compensating advantage Congress has thrown away one of the most important assets in solving the problems of the Pacific and has, at the same time, created utterly needless feelings of mortification, humiliation and distrust, with fresh and as yet unknowing potential factors of difficulty in maintaining the permanent peace of the Far East.”93

Woods furthered explained Congress passed the law in spite of knowing how it would deeply affront and damage the heart and soul of the Japanese people. Congress refused all offers of the Japanese government to make any desired adjustments.94 After the Immigration Law went into effect, Woods said Japan no longer viewed the United States as the country they had come to admire, to be grateful to and to trust. “Woods added,

> “The consequences of the Exclusion law, if not soon overcome, are grave beyond all ordinary comprehension. I am of the opinion, that while the question is a difficult one and beset with many thorny aspects, yet it is one which our Christian leaders must face, and for which a Christian and a practical solution must be found.”95
These actions helped the Japanese leadership realize that the Exclusion Act was not a representation of the entire American people. Baron Ishimoto, a son of the former Minister of War, said, “I am informed that the action of Congress does not represent the sentiment of the nation. I hope that it will be possible to settle the matter by some new understanding like the ‘Gentleman’s Agreement.’”

**Gentleman’s Agreement and Immigration Figures**

In several *New York Times*’ articles it was suggested that the idea of a voluntary exclusionary agreement between Japan and the United States might have already existed. It was an idea most Japanese and Americans were not aware of in 1924. At this time the Japanese people thought the idea of exclusion was a new one. An unofficial arrangement worked out between Japan and Theodore Roosevelt in 1907-8, called the “Gentleman’s Agreement,” was why the Japanese government felt there was no need for America to be discussing exclusion and why they were so perplexed that Congress was bent on passing it anyway. The agreement said the Japanese would discourage its people from emmigrating to America, yet citizens of both countries were free to live and own land anywhere in either country.

Japan declared that immigration figures between 1908 and 1923 showed that Japan was keeping up its end of the agreement, while men like Johnson and McClatchy argued the opposite (See Appendix D). McClatchy said the Japanese in California were, “Maintaining here a government within a government, most dangerous to American institutions. The citizenship of those born here is being ‘utilized largely for purposes of Japan.’”
Japan also believed the new exclusion move by America violated the 1911 trade treaty between the two countries. It was written in the treaty that “liberty of entry, travel and residence” were afforded both peoples.\(^{101}\)

Japan never gave up hope that someday America would change the Exclusion Act or gave up its utmost opposition to the act.\(^{102}\) They began asking the United States to reconsider before and soon after its passage. The Japanese first asked for a joint commission to discuss the issue in 1924 but were turned down.\(^{103}\) After stating their disappointment about Coolidge being reelected because of their fears over the status quo, the Japanese said they might revive the exclusion question because they didn’t see the issue as over.\(^{104}\) Even in 1928, Japanese Premier Baron Tanaka said the issue of American exclusion was one that was still unresolved.\(^{105}\) However, they were still optimistic as the new Japanese ambassador to the United States, Tsuneo Matsudaira, in 1924 said there were, “No issues whatsoever between the two countries endangering the existing cordial relations.”\(^{106}\) The Japanese also believed that the only way to repair the misunderstanding was through a friendly relationship, so the Japanese tried to get on America’s good side.\(^{107}\) The Japanese, in July 1924, stopped recognizing dual citizenship and requiring foreign-born Japanese to return for military service in an effort to, “Do all in its power to remove unnecessary causes of friction between Japan and the United States.”\(^{108}\)

**London and Exclusion**

Japan’s hopes took somewhat of hit in 1925 when the United States’ Supreme Court upheld the legality of California’s Alien Land Law.\(^{109}\) But their hopes were revived again at the 1930 London Naval Conference. The *New York Times*’ coverage of the issue
of exclusion was heavy during the first seven months of 1924 and then became sparse until the end of May 1930, or around the time of serious negotiations between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan at the London Naval Conference. One of the reasons coverage picked up again was the introduction in a *New York Times* article that the United States had promised Japan if they would agree to the American naval proposal it would change the numerical exclusion of 100 a year to one of a quota system like how it is with every other nation except China and Japan. Under the Exclusion Act of 1924 the United States allowed only 100 Japanese nationals to enter the country, a quota system would change immigration laws to allow the number of Japanese nationals to enter the United States to be based on a percentage of Japanese nationals already in the United States. The quota system was already in effect for every other nation except for Japan and China (See Appendix E).\textsuperscript{110}

Wilfrid Fleisher wrote in a story for the *New York Times* that the, “Question of immigration had been informally discussed between Secretary of State Stimson and Ambassador Matsudaira at a social function at London.”\textsuperscript{111} Three days later the *New York Times* reported that the Japanese newspaper *Jiji* claimed, “That Mr. Stimson promised to do what he could to bring about the amendment of the immigration act.”\textsuperscript{112} The following January, while Japan was still angrily discussing the 1930 London Naval Treaty and its effects on its navy, the issue was brought up again before the Diet. Baron Kujuro Shidehara was quoted as saying, “America promised to modify the exclusion clause if Japan accepted the American proposals on disarmament questions.”\textsuperscript{113} Oddly, the very next day Shidehara admitted to the Diet that the United States had not agreed to modify
its immigration law at the naval parley. Even stranger was the fact that the *New York Times* buried the retraction story deep in the Sunday edition.\(^{114}\)

As early as 1928 the *New York Times* reported a movement in America desiring to modify the Exclusion Act, but buried it on page thirty-eight.\(^ {115}\) Also during the month of May 1930, others were talking about changing immigration to a quota system for the Japanese including Albert Johnson the author of the Exclusion Act. His point being that a quota system would only raise the level from 100 to 190.\(^ {116}\) It was a slight change of tune as Johnson had stated a week earlier in a *New York Times* story on a Mexican Immigration Bill and said, “The majority of the people want more and more restriction.”\(^ {117}\) And Dr. Kenneth C. MacArthur, rural secretary of the Massachusetts Federation of Churches and for more restrictions, said, “There must be legalized control of human race increase before the population saturation point leads to war on the part of Italy, under saber-rattling dictator or on the part of Japan or China with their teaming millions.”\(^ {118}\)

The quota system was also a point Hawaiian Governor Wallace Farrington made in 1931. Farrington said, “Our country is well regarded in the Orient. The only fly in the ointment is the exclusion law.”\(^ {119}\) The 1930 National Foreign Trade Council was in favor of “liberalizing” the Immigration Act because it wouldn’t let that many more Japanese in but would improve trade relations with Japan.\(^ {120}\) The *New York Times* wrote about other groups who jumped on the idea of switching the Japanese to a quota system as the best way to eliminate friction between Japan and the United States.\(^ {121}\) Even some California businessmen were reported to have agreed to switch to the quota system as a good-will gesture to Japan in the hopes that it would help avoid war.\(^ {122}\) That idea floated around
just long enough for the Chairman of the California Joint Immigration Committee to write a letter to the New York Times’ editor in which he said California’s sentiment against Orientals had not changed. McClatchy, the Executive Secretary for California Joint Immigration Committee and newspaper publisher in California, wrote a letter with a similar message against changing Asian immigration to a quota system six months later.

The New York Times reported that the Japanese were “jubilant” about the idea of a quota system as reported in the different Japanese newspapers in 1930. The Nichi Nichi wrote,

“We have waited impatiently for six years for these glad tidings. We can hardly repress the joy gushing from our hearts upon hearing that the insulting clause of the immigration act is about to be removed. This means a frank admission of a sincere desire to right a wrong.”

Just a few days earlier before the news broke in Japan, Masanao Hanihara, former ambassador to the Untied States, said, “Japanese resentment against the American exclusion is felt now as keenly as it was when the legislation was enacted and will not die out as long as the wound inflicted remains unhealed.”

The only problem with the jubilation Japan felt, as the New York Times’ sparse coverage over the next three years and what history books showed was the immigration bill never was amended for a quota system for the Japanese. It was why the issue still came up from time to time prior to World War II as Japan asked what was being done about the quota system; a system they felt all along was the only thing they were asking for. They also repeated from time-to-time the issue of their resentment as being “as deep-seated today as it was when the act was passed by Congress.” Japan just wanted the “stigma of total exclusion” removed by an amendment of the immigration law. Baron
K. Shidehara, Japan’s Foreign Minister, reaffirmed in January 1926 that Japan still resented American exclusion and held the law unjust.130

**Exclusion Effects and Japan’s Long Term Memory**

In January 1931, Shidehara stood before the Japanese Diet, or Japan’s legislative branch, and repeated in three sentences Japan’s unwavering formal protest against the American immigration law.131 Despite the *New York Times*’ lack of coverage of Japan’s agitation it was evident in various articles over the years that Japan’s distaste for the immigration law never went away.132 The Japanese never forgot what they felt; surprise and the feeling of being personally attacked, and continued to bring up the issue of exclusion often over the next sixteen years.133 In 1940, in a story hidden deep inside the *New York Times* on page seventy-two, was a story talking about the sixteenth-year anniversary since Hanihara’s infamous “grave consequences” utterance and mentioning Americans have a poor memory.134

Japan’s Admiral Count Gombei Yamamoto and former premier said war was unlikely but asserted that, “It would take years for Japan to forget the ‘insult’ imposed by the United States Senate when it voted to excluded Japanese from America.”135

Viscount Shibusawa in a letter written for the opening of the Pacific Relations Conference in Kyoto, Japan in October of 1929 declared,

“The controversy arising from American immigration legislation in 1924 is not closed. The wound so needlessly inflicted on our national honor is still open and will remain open until the matter has been rightly settled.”136

Samuel Untermyer, a New York lawyer with the Transit Commission, saw the effect of the Exclusion Act first hand in a visit to Japan. He described how they felt about the act in 1927, three years after its passage, when he said,
“The Japanese are a proud people and they are still chafing under the humiliation of our Exclusion Act. They will never be reconciled to that indignity, and yet they do not seem to be resentful but to regard our action in sorrow rather than in anger.”

There were a variety of effects of the Immigration Bill as reported in the *New York Times*. Dr. R.D. McKenzie, with the University of Washington, said that hostilities towards Orientals had actually gone down in the United States and California because there were fewer of them coming into the country.\(^\text{138}\) While the Californian’s recognized that hostilities had decreased they were still in favor of maintaining the status quo of exclusion.\(^\text{139}\)

Miss Helen Parkhurst, who traveled to Japan at the request of the Japanese National Education Association, saw a different effect. She said,

“(She) believes that the immigration bill recently passed by Congress is solidly cementing the peoples of the Orient against the United States. Not only the Japanese feel that they have been slapped in the face but the Chinese as well are insulted. They feel that the new law is a reflection on yellow peoples.”\(^\text{140}\)

The bill also had the desired effect of its sponsors and supporters. The *New York Times* reported that the immigration rate dropped sixty-eight percent in the first year of the Exclusion Act (See Appendix D). They said Japan had a net emigration of 489 people.\(^\text{141}\) It decreased even more so over the years and in 1930 the Japanese only used 16 of its 100 allotted visa slots.\(^\text{142}\)

An effect Americans didn’t expect was the fact that Japanese-Americans, even those in Hawaii, remained loyal to the United States rather than to Japan in spite of the Exclusion Act and some of the persecution it brought with it.\(^\text{143}\) There was also a movement by the second-generation Japanese in the late 1920s to return to farming because they were allowed to buy the land their parents weren’t allowed to buy. The
reason for the return to farming was also because many other occupations were still barred to the Japanese because “of racial prejudices.” The trend would reverse itself in the mid-1930s, as the Japanese would be given peace if they lived in the large cities but were hassled in the small towns and countryside.

This change in status of the Japanese living in America to farming was violently exemplified in Arizona in 1934 when Japanese farms were bombed by white farmers trying to drive them off their valuable land to claim it for themselves. Prior to the bombings the violence increased to the point that a dispatch from Tokyo said, “Arizona has supplanted Manchuria as Japan’s principal trouble zone.” Interestingly enough, the initial coverage didn’t merit being placed in the New York Times before page ten. Nor did the article in which the Arizona Governor called in federal justice agents to help settle the dispute and stop the raids on Japanese farms. But the bombings continued and created anxiety in Arizona and with the United States government with all the international coverage and implications it might have on relations. With good reason, it didn’t take long for the Japanese to accuse Arizona officials of not being able to protect the Japanese and held the Americans to be barbarous. In February of 1935 crowds began gathering outside of the American embassy in Tokyo and assailed those inside about the Arizona bombings and land laws. The Japanese were angry over Arizona’s move to pass alien land laws that would exclude aliens from using or buying land in Arizona on the heels of recent bombings to scare them off the land in the first place.

Another event occurred in the mid-1930s that showcased the ill feelings that still existed between the two countries. This time the New York Times saw the intensity of the issue enough to place it on the front page with a second article inside. In August of 1935
the magazine *Vanity Fair* ran a cartoon caricature of Emperor Hirohito that caused quite a stir among the Japanese people and a headache for the American government who wasn’t sure how to handle it because of freedom of the press issues. The Japanese lodged a formal protest with Eugene Dooman, Chief of the Japan section of the State Department’s Division of Far Eastern Affairs and was not please with the response they received.\(^{155}\) The *Times* also wrote a day-two story about the ire of the Japanese newspapers and how they criticized the Japanese embassy in Washington for the appearance of the cartoon.\(^{156}\) The event prompted Foreign Minister Koki Hirota to circulate among Japanese diplomats abroad to, “Redouble efforts to prevent the publication in foreign countries of matter considered by them violative of Japanese ideas of the divinity of their sovereign.”\(^{157}\) Secretary of State Hull issued a formal apology and expressed regret to Japan and said he was sorry about the misunderstanding that arose.\(^{158}\) The Japanese also banned “Newsweek” and three editions of the *New York Times* because of stories about the cartoon as well.\(^{159}\) Ironically, the *New York Times* ran a story in which the Germans asked the Japanese four months later to stop doing caricatures of their head of state and succeeded in doing so.\(^{160}\) The issue of censorship briefly resurfaced again in 1941 where the United States refused to send mail to Japan and Japan accused the United States of seizing Tokyo newspapers over a long period of time.\(^{161}\)

**Exclusion Roots**

*The New York Times*’s coverage of the Exclusion Act showed the roots of the national law began on the West Coast in California. Hiram W. Johnson, the former Governor of California and longtime Senator, spearheaded the movement. Johnson was the author of the California Alien Land Act of 1913 and against any Japanese owning
land in his state. The Alien Land Act declared, “The Japanese constitute an imminent and pressing menace to the peace of the state and the welfare of its citizens.”

Saburo Kato, a Japanese citizen, wrote to The New York Times from Tokio and said, “Soon afterward, however, the American sentiment toward Japan commenced to change with the California Alien Land Act, which was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1922 as not violating any treaties between the United States and Japan.” A fact the New York Times corroborated in an article that said the exclusion bug in America began to grow stronger in February 1923. In March of the same year the Senate Immigration Committee said it sees the Japanese as a threat, particularly to America’s control of Hawaii.

The Japanese felt the procedure of exclusion was a humiliation as early as November 1920. A league of twelve Japanese associations said in response to the second California Alien Land Law being passed in November 1920, “(It) is an infringement on the worldwide principles of righteousness and humanity. It absolutely will wreck the spirit of friendship between Japan and America.” Part of the fear of the updated law was the feeling of exclusion would spread, particularly to Great Britain’s possessions.

Johnson was also very vocal about his anti-Japanese feelings in Congress. He said, “Once a Japanese, always a Japanese” referring to his view on their ability to assimilate into American society. Japan countered Johnson’s statement by saying it was hard for the Japanese to assimilate when they were always being singled out.

Yet Johnson wasn’t the only vocal Californian politician, nor was he the most brazen in comments made in public speeches about excluding Orientals. That distinction
went to U.S. Senator Samuel M. Shortridge.\textsuperscript{172} In a speech to the Women’s Republican Club of Massachusetts, Shortridge asserted that,

“Unrestricted introduction of Orientals to the United States would breed more discontent and strife and cause more trouble than did slavery. We on the Pacific Coast are opposed to further immigration of Japanese, Chinese or other Orientals of any kind. We do not want a mongrel race in America. They do not assimilate and add no strength to our nation.”\textsuperscript{173}

Shortridge also said before Congress prior to the vote on the Exclusion Act that Japanese and other Orientals are, “Neither racially, industrially, nor socially desirable. We of California, Washington, Oregon and other great Western States tell you that we cannot compete with the Oriental and maintain the American standard.”\textsuperscript{174}

Senator James D. Phelan\textsuperscript{175} of California was also outspoken about the immigration of non-whites. He said,

“To grant rights of citizenship, including land ownership, to the 100,000 Japanese in California and the other thousands scattered throughout the Western States would be nothing less than the destruction of the white population.”\textsuperscript{176}

The political ruse may have been entirely about campaigning for voters, a theory put forward by New York Congressman Isaac Siegel of the Committee on Immigration after a trip to the West Coast in an interview with the \textit{New York Times} as well as by Japanese author K.K. Kawakami.\textsuperscript{177} Siegel reported on what he observed on his trip. Siegel said, “The anti-Japanese agitation has been created largely by politicians . . . agitation in California has been furthered largely by Senator Phelan and other men who are seeking public offices. There are 80,000 or 83,000 Japanese in California out of a population of 3,000,000.”\textsuperscript{178}

Phelan felt that the Japanese should not own land or be allowed, “The rights of citizenship,” a criteria for registering to vote. He wrote letters to many of his fellow
politicians in the Western states to encourage them to agree with him. He also said, “Citizenship for Japanese would give them not only control of the land, but also a dangerous political power.”

Representative John Baker of California was afraid of losing land to the Japanese. He said, “That if the Secretary’s (Hughes) policy toward the Japanese were carried out, Westerners might as well abandon their own land. The Japanese then would come into possession of all our land.”

Californians seemed to fear the Japanese, but it was hard to find the root of their fear. Viscount Kaneko, in response to San Francisco Chamber of Commerce literature, “Declared that the Japanese ‘constitute an imminent and pressing menace to the peace of the State and the welfare of its citizens.’ That I can only characterize as an imaginary fear and yet it is proposed to perpetuate it in a solemn act of legislation.”

**Exclusion Ripple Affect**

California’s Alien Land Act also had a huge ripple effect in the United States and abroad. The act motivated more Californians to get involved, including *Sacramento Bee* publisher V.S. McClatchy, the California State Grange, the Native Sons of the Golden West, the California American Legion, and the California Federation of Labor, as they began pushing for a national immigration policy excluding Asiatics, calling it a “domestic issue.” California’s Alien Land Act was followed by several other states and various countries passing their own exclusionary acts. And after the passage of the Exclusion Act, the California Grange was able to get its exclusion agenda passed by the national grange at the 1924 convention. The said it was done in an effort to protect the American farm.
In 1920, Western States delegates met at a convention and said they agreed with Phelan’s platform on the Asiatic question.\textsuperscript{186} It rippled next to Texas, who said the Japanese farmers leaving the west coast weren’t welcome there.\textsuperscript{187} In 1921, Canadian Prime Minster Arthur Meighen demanded the right of Canada to bar Japanese of Great Britain when they were negotiating a new treaty with Japan.\textsuperscript{188} In 1922, the Supreme Court upheld Washington State’s refusal to bar a license to the Japanese and ruled that only whites can become citizens and that those from Japan are ineligible for naturalization, which also meant they were ineligible to purchase land. It was also a ruling handed down on the anniversary of the start of the 1922 Washington Naval Limitations Treaty.\textsuperscript{189} In 1923, Idaho and Montana passed legislation prohibiting leasing lands to Japanese, and the Supreme Court upheld Hawaii’s Alien School Law.\textsuperscript{190} In 1924 Mexico barred sixteen Japanese from entering the country.\textsuperscript{191} And in 1940 the Mexicans began banning Japanese fishing of its waters.\textsuperscript{192} In 1925, Florida and South Carolina jumped on board the exclusion bandwagon by passing a resolution banning Japanese from land ownership.\textsuperscript{193} In 1926 (and again in 1941), Panama signed an alien land law barring specifically the Japanese and Chinese and all non-native Spanish speakers.\textsuperscript{194} In 1935 the United States Navy asked the House Patents Committee to ban all Asiatics in the American Navy.\textsuperscript{195} In 1940 the Philippines began barring the Japanese. They limited immigration to just 500 Japanese a year.\textsuperscript{196} It was a move the Philippines had first looked at doing in 1930 and tried it for a short time in 1932.\textsuperscript{197} In 1931 South Africa also caught the exclusion spirit when they raised a “yellow peril” cry.\textsuperscript{198} Australia and New Zealand had been baring the Japanese for several years prior to 1920.\textsuperscript{199}
The Russians offered to open its doors to Japanese emigrants in 1925 ‘without restrictions,’ an offer never taken up or taken seriously by the Japanese.\textsuperscript{200} Japan sent a lot of immigrants to Brazil.\textsuperscript{201} But in 1929, Brazil finally told Japan after years of allowing immigrants that from now on it only wanted laborers not settlers and wrote limitations into its constitution in 1934.\textsuperscript{202} And in 1935 the Brazilian immigration minister resigned because he felt his country was becoming another China.\textsuperscript{203} Cuba opened its doors to Japan in the 1930s but Japan didn’t send many to the island country.\textsuperscript{204}

The American labor unions were another force in getting the Exclusion Act passed. They didn’t like the idea of competition. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was a strong force behind maintaining the exclusion movement. William Green, its president from 1924-52, said in a 1925 \textit{New York Times} article, “The American Federation of Labor will strenuously oppose any effort to modify the present law; any attempt to emasculate its provisions will be bitterly contested.”\textsuperscript{205} The AFL pleaded for higher bars against Oriental immigrants as early as 1923.\textsuperscript{206} The labor unions around the country felt Oriental labor, particularly the Japanese, were undercutting wages and willing to work for less than what the unions were fighting for and did not want any of them entering the country.\textsuperscript{207}

Magnus W. Alexander, Managing Director of the National Industrial Conference Board, declared,

“The United States was rapidly approaching the saturation point in immigration. The tremendous influx of unskilled and cheap labor presents another aspect. The presence of these men has retarded the invention and manufacture of labor-saving devices which in themselves would have solved all the problems of industry in production today.”\textsuperscript{208}
A few years after the Exclusion Act went into effect the State of Oregon established despite local prejudice, anti-Japanese sentiment, and union opposition that the Japanese still had a right to work.\textsuperscript{209}

Whether it was the \textit{New York Times}' incomplete coverage or Premier Makato Saito waiting until he was in power ten years after the fact, but in 1934 Saito said Japan was never convinced that the economic reasons the United States gave for enacting the Exclusion Act were valid and that they were still not convinced of the legitimacy of those reason but were more inclined to believe the reasons were in deed political.\textsuperscript{210}

The \textit{New York Times} also covered the \textit{London Times}' opinions of the exclusion issue. The \textit{London Times} said they didn’t see any animosity on the part of the Americans towards the Japanese rather they saw the United States as just being worried about a cheaper workforce.\textsuperscript{211}

One American Senator from Pennsylvania, David Reed, had an interesting take on the whole idea of exclusion and its affect on America. He was allowed to write it all down as a contributor in an article for the \textit{New York Times} titled “America of the Melting Pot Comes to End.”\textsuperscript{212} Reed compared America to events in the Roman Empire around 200 B.C. Reed said the downfall of the Roman Empire was a result of the fusing alien slaves and captives combined with the fact that the Romans began to refuse to do labor. A thing Reed said he was determined to prevent from happening in America and that was part of the reason he sponsored the Immigration Act in the Senate. Reed said he became irritated that groups of foreigners were lumping themselves together in communities speaking their native languages and not assimilating. The 1924 Exclusion Act replaced the temporary quota law of 1921 and Reed said, “It is no reflection upon the merit of the
excluded peoples. It is merely a recognition of their fundamental dissimilarity from
ourselves.”213 He also added that the United States wasn’t the first country to exclude
Asiatics and Japan herself, “Excludes the Chinese, Koreans, and Malays for the very
proper reason that their people are essential dissimilar from her own.”214

**Emigration and Population**

According to the *New York Times*’ coverage of Japan’s growing population the
readers could have easily missed this ongoing problem there. They could have also
missed the coverage of Japan’s effort to emigrate its people around the world, particularly
Asia.

For example, prior to 1926 there were only three articles in the *New York Times*,
two in 1921 and one in 1925 that even hinted at Japan’s need for expansion or a place to
put its bulging population and after that only four to five articles a year average. 1932 had
eight articles, 1935 had seven stories, and it peaked in 1933 with ten articles. And of the
roughly sixty-nine articles covering the issue, less than half of them made it onto the first
four pages of the *New York Times*.

In August 1921 several leading Japanese writers tried to help Americans
understand Japan and the points of differences between the two countries. The *New York
Times* did a condensed review of the articles. The *Times* said the main message of the
articles was the Japanese saw America as a land of wealth with few people while Japan
was,

“Overcrowded and lacking indispensable natural needs (and) is faced
with the problem of seeking expansion. Japanese fail to understand
why America should grudge Japan’s efforts to expand on the continent
of Asia in view of the fact the United States established a Monroe
Doctrine to ward off European encroachment on the New world.”215
In a similar article, the New York Times wrote in an editorial in October 1921 that they believed that the world had been parcelled out while Japan slept in the 1800s and by the time Japan entered the world stage following the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars they were 200 years to late to get in on land-divvying up process. The Times also said that Japan should, “Discard all thought of expansion by conquest and intrigue and secure by fair dealing the colonies she requires for the overflow of her population and building up of her commerce.” The editorial showed that reporters and editors at the Times were aware of the problems of Japan’s growing population, the need for places to put the extra population, and Japan’s need for more commerce but the coverage of the issue showed that the public in general probably did not.

The Times’ lone article in 1925 discussing population problems wrote about Count Michimasa Soyeshima’s lecture on the Far East at the University of Chicago and his announcement that Japan was facing its worst population crisis in 30 years. He told the audience that Japan’s population was increasing at a rate 600,000 a year. He also said, “In another thirty years there will be nothing left for us but to starve, unless countries which have unlimited areas of fertile land grow rice and export it to Japan.”

Japan was worried about its growing population and Count Soyeshima had no idea the birth rate and population growth was going to increase dramatically. In 1924, only 5,000 Japanese emigrated compared with a birth rate of 500,000. Japan’s birth rate continued to rise, thanks in part to American medicine, and reached as high as one million births in one year. The New York Times tracked the Japanese birth rate over the years from 500,000 to 750,000 and up to a million births a year. The Japanese birth rate peaked in 1935 and in 1936 it was its lowest in 20 years despite 239 babies being
born an hour. In 1939, the decreasing birth rate was credited to the prolonged war in China and the men being away from their wives for so long.\textsuperscript{223} During the birth-rate peak years the Japanese even considered using birth control, a foreign idea for the Japanese.\textsuperscript{224} While others were even so bold as to say even birth control wouldn’t help the Japanese.\textsuperscript{225}

Japan stopped ringing the overpopulation alarm in 1941 and started asking its population to actually increase the amount of babies each year. The Japanese government announced that it needed more bodies to carry out its Far Eastern policies in establishing the ‘New Order.’ Japan announced an award system based on the number of children families had.\textsuperscript{226} Curiously, the \textit{New York Times} buried a story on page sixty-two in 1931 which stated even as many were saying Japan’s only solution to her economic and overpopulation problems was birth control the Japanese government was advocating a high-birth rate as needed for the salvation of Japan against the Occidental nations.\textsuperscript{227}

Japan put forth a plan with four objectives in 1941 with the desire to increase each Japanese family to a minimum of five children each and to reach 100 million people by 1960 in its effort to construct the East Asia Sphere.\textsuperscript{228} The objectives were,

“First, maintain perpetual increase; Second, outrival other nations in increase; Third, supply the military and industrial manpower and Fourth, distribute population to maintain Japan’s leadership in Asia.”\textsuperscript{229}

Other stipulations the government handed down in an effort to obtain the objectives were that men must marry before 25 and women before 21 and announced tax breaks for large families.\textsuperscript{230} Three months later the \textit{New York Times} reported that the Japanese press was excited about the Japanese Empire passing the 100 million-person mark even with a slower birth rate.\textsuperscript{231}
Japan tried to pay some of its citizens with money and brides to leave Japan to go to places including Brazil and South America, as well as to various previously uninhibited land in Japan. Brazil put up roadblocks to Japan’s emigration to its country after worries over becoming a Japanese colony surfaced and angry Brazilians spoke out against Japanese immigration.

One reason for the 1931 “Manchurian Incident,” Japan’s military invasion of Manchuria, China, may have been Japan’s need to have a place to put its extra bodies. Japan tried to instigate an emigration policy to Manchuria, later called Manchukuo, from 1932 to 1945. Professor Warren S. Thompson, a sociologist for the Scripps Foundation, put Japan’s needs and what it is willing to do this way,

“Japan needs colonies into which her people may expand, but European nations have appropriated the available lands. It is here that Japan’s problem becomes an international one, involving other nations, because Japan may soon come to the point of attempting to seize land by force.”

The only unexplained thing in the New York Times’ coverage of Japan’s emigration struggles was the use of the word colonization, which they used in one story covering the relationship between Japan and Manchuria.

Japanese emigration began by sending military veterans and the families of soldiers serving in Manchuria. After that they opened up the door to Manchukuo and tried to entice as many Japanese to go as who were willing because they saw this as their only solution to overpopulation. The idea backfired and not many Japanese citizens were willing to emigrate to Korea or Manchukuo.

Japan’s main desire to find an outlet for its ever increasing population was the pressure it was putting on its economy and natural resources and increasing her need for more trade. The Japanese were eager to find the solution to this
problem that increasingly became elusive for a country the size of California, with half the population of the United States and twice the birth rate. Other countries saw Japanese expansion as only an aggressive act and a result of Japan’s greed. Others ignored Japan’s need for a solution regardless of the fact they saw Japan had 80 to 90 million on her islands and had no where to put them. It might have been that view of the Japanese as willing to use aggression to solve its population problem that led to the Rev. Dr. Kenneth C. MacArthur to utter, “There must be legalized control of human race increase before the population saturation point leads to war on the part of Italy, under its saber-rattling dictator or on the part of Japan or China, with their teaming millions.”

Rising chronic unemployment was another dilemma the Japanese were faced with. Dr. Shiroshi Nasu of the Tokio Imperial University at the 1927 Institute of Pacific Relations conference in Honolulu was reported to have declared in a New York Times story that his country, “Had reached a saturation point in population and that unemployment was chronic.”

The New York Times also ran a story in 1929 where they quoted economist Duncan K. Overall as saying,

“The economic welfare of a people, and with it the question of over or under population, depends very clearly upon the economic position of the bulk of the population; that is to say, the wage earners, including in Japan the majority of the farmers. If the savings of these people are increasing, clearly their economic position must be improving.”

It was Overall’s opinion that Japan has plenty for its big population.

Based on the coverage of the New York Times during this time period the coverage showed that the Japanese never forgot exclusion and America’s lack of effort to right a wrong and the people in the United States may not have been aware of Japan’s
population problem and its urgent desire to find a solution because of the sparse coverage.
CHAPTER THREE
NAVAL TENSIONS AND THE THREAT OF WAR

1922 Washington Naval Limitations Treaty

Naval tensions between Japan and the United States began soon after the conclusion of the Great War with Japan’s desire to have a world class navy without a naval race. The first naval limitations treaty between Japan and the United States, also known as the Washington Treaty of 1922, attempted to eliminate those tensions and create a feeling of world peace. It was a meeting called for by the United States’ leading naval-reduction advocate, Senator William Borah of Idaho, in the form of legislation asking President William Harding to call a disarmament conference.1 Harding didn’t agree to call the conference at first but later agreed to arrange the conference in July 1921 when he invited Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy to join the United States in a formal naval disarmament conference in Washington in November.2

The results of the conference helped ease tensions3 and eliminate Japan’s suspicions of the United States and a naval race for a short time as Japan only wanted enough navy vessels to feel safe and for self-defense.4 Japan felt the treaty raised its standing in the international community.5 Up until the ratification of the treaty by all parties in 1923,6 Japan felt they couldn’t reduce its weapons of war if the United States was busy increasing its navy. Japan’s motivation for the conference was its fear of an unaffordable arms race.7 The tension appeared to be alleviated with the signing of the treaty.8 The Japanese relaxed for a short while regarding a naval arms race because the treaty was effective through 1936.9
In 1921, Great Britain’s *Morning Post* correspondent in Tokio (the *New York Times* spelled it with an i until midway through 1930) wrote his opinion of Japanese apprehensions,

“There is profound resentment in Japan against what is supposed to be the American design of compelling Japan to waste her national substance in a ruinous outlay on defenses. Japan is a poor country and the money now spent on unproductive armamental enterprise is badly needed for development of the national resources.”

While tensions eased, the Japanese still had mixed feelings about the results of the Washington Conference. According to the *New York Times*, they were pleased with the easing of their naval budget, which had been thirty-two percent of the national budget to that point, yet they were unhappy with the ratio of 5-5-3. The naval building ratio of 5-5-3 set at the Washington Treaty meant that for every five ships Great Britain and the United States built the Japanese would build three ships. They felt the United States, who along with Great Britain were the five’s, discriminated against them and should have been allowed to have the 10-10-7 naval building ratio they wanted. Japan wanted to build seven ships for every ten its counterparts constructed or seventy percent instead of sixty percent. The Japanese press was so upset with the 5-5-3 naval building ratio they claimed coercion by the United States.

Not everyone in the United States Government was happy with the results of the treaty either. Senator David Reed of Missouri felt with the tensions mounting between Russia and Japan that the United States might be dragged into a physical conflict, and it would be on the side of the Japanese according to how the treaty had been worded. Former Under-Secretary of State Norman H. Davis asked, “Have we agreed to tie our own hands and protect Japan’s rear while she pursues an aggressive policy in China and Siberia? I am afraid that the treaty is not removing the possible causes of war.”
It could be debated that the 1922 Washington Treaty created as many naval
tensions and suspicions as it solved.\(^{17}\) It brought the world’s naval powers together to
decide to limit capital ships (battleships) and carriers but they did not set limits or ratios
for submarines, destroyers, flotilla leaders, cruisers, or aircraft. Each country was free to
build as many of those auxiliary ships as it wished.\(^{18}\)

Another issue it was supposed to have solved was naval bases in the Pacific. It
was agreed to at the Washington Conference that the United States would stop building
bases in the Pacific. Yet the continuing talk of Great Britain and the United States
building up bases in the Pacific concerned the ever-watchful Japanese media. The
Japanese press was very alarmed over the United States’ announcement of plans to
extend defenses of Hawaii. The *Osaka Mainichi* said, “Should the agitation for Hawaiian
defense preparations succeed the Washington naval treaty would become a scrap of
paper.”\(^{19}\) Yet, it was reported that the Japanese government made no formal protest.\(^{20}\) In
1923 the British started talking about a base at Singapore, which Japan took as a threat
since they saw themselves as being the only power in the Pacific that the base could be
aimed at. The British argued the location of the base was well outside the treaty zone.\(^{21}\)
Colonel Carmi Thompson, in a 1926 report to President Calvin Coolidge, published in
the *New York Times*, stated the United States should consider building a strategic base in
the Philippines because of the danger of withdrawing and the growth of the Japanese
military.\(^{22}\)

**New Limitations Conferences and an International Naval Building Mode**

It did not take long for the United States, only a year later, to call for a second
naval limitations conference to address the issues limiting auxiliary ships. And it was
again Borah leading the charge. America wanted the 5-5-3 or 60 percent ratio established in 1922 to be applied to all ships, especially since it was seeing other countries outbuilding them. The United States also heard the warnings from its Navy of falling behind on the naval building ratio with Japan increasing in strength in relation to the United States. But it took three years for Japan and Great Britain to join the United States in Geneva in May of 1926 and again in March of 1927. Part of the reason it took so long for the second conference to begin was the fear Japan had that it was just another trick on the part of the United States to limit Japan’s Navy. The New York Times wrote that Japan’s Minister of War, General Hanzo Yamanashi, “Declared that if America called a second arms limitation conference ‘It would be nothing but a trick.’ He added that the real reduction of armaments is impossible.” The Japanese were also disappointed after Coolidge failed to mention anything about naval disarmament in his 1925 inaugural address.

After the Washington Treaty but before the Geneva Conference, Japan was in a naval building and buying mode. It felt, whether true or not, it was in a naval race with Great Brittan and the United States. Japan planned to have a strong defensive navy and a great air force. Japan viewed that a large navy was a symbol of world prestige and its ultimate desire to be seen as a world power drove the government to increase its navy. Ironically, it was an accusation Japan made of America in a Times article when it claimed the isolated United States didn’t need to build any more ships but they were only building because of prestige.

The Italian newspaper Messaggero summed up the world’s impression of the United States Navy and the reason for the Japanese naval building,
“The Japanese reaction to the American Immigration bill and embitterment of political relations are driving the United States to a fever of armaments and a determination to have a navy equal or superior to that of England, adding that America, the richest and strongest country economically, is determined to become the most warlike nation and the strongest in a military way.”

The New York Times’ coverage showed Japan was anxious about the Geneva Conference because it had still not recovered from the 1923 earthquake and in 1925 was forced to reduce its naval budget by twenty percent. The Times reported the Japanese Navy even had to bow to Japan’s cabinet and put the building of several ships on hold because of finances. Japan hoped to extend a naval accord indefinitely to relieve its taxpayers of a costly burden. Japan had spent $350 million in the four years since the Washington Treaty. The Japanese also had some squabbles amongst themselves regarding submarines prior to the Geneva limitations talks. The Japanese navy men wanted the submarines as a part of its arsenal but politicians such as Ambassador Hanihara and Minister of Navy Admiral Hyo Takarabe felt the British proposal to eliminate the submarine was a sound one but didn’t feel everyone would get on board for it.

Because of the coverage of given to its naval building, Japan’s naval chief denied allegations by London Daily News reporter Hector Bywater, who accused Japan of big naval building. Japan’s Navy officially responded by saying,

“Mr. Bywater is trying ‘to create a sensation, hinting that Japan’s auxiliary ship construction plan greatly endangers the national defense of the United States but it is quite plain to those understanding anything of strategy that Japan’s naval program does not menace America.”

The Geneva preliminary conference opened on May 19, 1926 with a wide gap in views on acceptable amounts of armaments. The only thing that everyone seemed to
agree on was the need to eliminate gas weapons like those used in the Great War. Japan presented a new idea to limiting naval armaments, which was universally turned down by the other powers. Tokio felt that by limiting the naval budgets of the world to its needs it would end competition.

President Coolidge sent out a memorandum in February 1927, a month prior to the official start of the Geneva Naval Limitation Conference, of his desire to maintain the 5-5-3 ratio of the Washington Treaty with the idea of applying it to all ships, including the auxiliary ships. Congress backed Coolidge on desiring the ratio to remain. Japan was eager for a disarmament proposal from the United States and was for naval limitations but was no longer satisfied with a 5-5-3 ratio because Japan’s navy needs differed from the United States’. Although, Japan said it would accept Coolidge’s proposal for another limitation conference. Japan rested its limitation policy on vital defenses and primarily protecting its trade, which it needs to survive. As written in the Times, the 5-5-3 ratio was a sore subject with the Japanese from its first mention in 1921 up until December of 1934 when Japan announced it was voiding the Washington Treaty and said it was relieved to no longer be restrained by a ratio it had never been in favor of. After 1934, Japan began demanding naval building parity with the United States as criteria for it ever to come on board in a new naval limitations agreement.

Japan’s hope for a successful parley in 1926 and 1927 faded. The talks failed in August of 1927 as the powers could not come to a common agreement despite a desire by all parties to reach an agreement. Japan and its press blamed both Great Britain and the United States (See Appendix E). Japan was also irritated over all the talk of “expansion” rather than limitation and reduction. Two years after its conclusion,
newspaperman Drew Pearson claimed American naval officers sabotaged the talks at Geneva.\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{1930 London Naval Limitations Treaty}

Japan craved yet another naval conference to discuss cuts because even if unsuccessful at least while everyone was talking about limitations it was stifling naval building. Despite Japan’s cravings it was skeptical about the success of a future conference.\textsuperscript{54} The one thing Japan demanded going into the next conference, scheduled for 1930 in London, would be defensive parity; meaning a seventy percent naval building ratio to replace the sixty percent ratio.

Vice Admiral Baron Sakamoto explained Japan’s view on the ratio when he said,

“No, there is nothing sacred about the 5-5-3 ratio. It was not rationally arrived at nor is it a scientific formula. It is merely an expression of the relative positions, which happened to be satisfactory as regards to battleships. There is no reason why it should be applied to all classes.”\textsuperscript{55}

Japan also desired not to abolish the submarine and said it rested its limitation policy the concept its navy is vital for its defensive needs.\textsuperscript{56} Prior to the conference, Admiral Okada reported he was glad a \textit{New York Times} representative had traveled to Japan and had given him the opportunity to express his sentiments about limitation prior to the upcoming limitations conference.\textsuperscript{57}

Admiral Takarabe Takashi felt there was more at stake than just talk of ratios and there should be a real purpose to the next round of naval talks. He said,

“I do not regard the settlement of ratio and other technical details as the vital work of the conference. Its real purpose is the positive reduction of armaments and the creation of a feeling of general security. We should aim at a condition in which no nation could attack another.”\textsuperscript{58}
Rear Admiral C.N. Hussey also saw the benefits of a new naval limitations treaty. Hussey declared,

“That while the Washington conference was a success from the stand point of having scrapped a certain number of battleships, the terms of the treaty were such that, viewed seven years later, they did not seem to have had the important bearing on world peace that had been anticipated.”

Japan, America, and Great Britain met for another go around of limitation’s talk at the London Naval Conference in January of 1930. The New York Times extensively covered the London conference with several reports writing from both London and Japan. Japan’s Dr. Rikitaro Fujisawa proposed the conference slogan, modified from Abraham Lincoln, should be, “With menace toward none, with security for all.” Other than demanding a higher ratio with Great Britain and the United States, the Japanese government was eager and willing to talk about naval cuts and real reductions, including no replacements until 1936 with savings into the billions because of a growing pacifism in Japan. President Herbert Hoover was also for cuts. Japan came into the conference eager but very doubtful and suspicious of the other two nations, while Secretary of State Stimson felt his proposal would end that ill will. The New York Times said America’s Foreign Policy Association listed four obstacles at the start of the conference to its success, which were cruiser parity, seventy percent for naval auxiliaries, Italian naval parity with France, and France as a whole. The Japanese in a Times story added battleships, aircraft carrier limits and submarines would also be obstacles to success.

Before the conference began, Japan presented its case and desire for a seventy percent naval ratio. According to a Times story, the Japanese based its need for a seventy percent on Napoleon’s view of defense. Napoleon was quoted as saying, “An attacking force, to be sure of success, must have a superiority of at least 50 per cent over
its enemy.” The Japanese today said: ‘Japan believes thoroughly in the Napoleonic axiom, and for that reason she is asking 70 per cent of America’s cruiser strength.”

Japan’s media became involved with trying to persuade the Japanese people to get on board with the idea of a seventy percent naval ratio. And all throughout the London Naval Conference the Japanese used every opportunity to express its desire for a seventy percent ratio. At one point the Japanese offered to lower the ratio request down to sixty-seven percent as well as a separate offer of having some ships at sixty percent and others at the seventy-percent naval construction ratio. However, in the end, the Japanese felt it was better to accept the treaty of sixty percent because it would be worse for them to walk away with no agreement. Japan reserved the right to demand a seventy percent ratio in later naval conferences (See Appendix E), even though they weren’t happy with their initial requests being turned down even before the conference began.

*New York Times* reporter Clarence K. Streit explained why the Japanese fought hard for the seventy percent naval ratio,

“One reason is that the Japanese know that once they accept a certain fixed relative strength in any category it will be extremely difficult ever to get a higher ratio in the future. There are plenty of indications that the Japanese delegates are haunted most of all by the fear of making a grave mistake of lasting consequences if they make any concessions on ratios.”

The Japanese conference delegates knew they had to return home to face an unhappy public who expected nothing less than a seventy percent ratio. That fact alone created a lot of political turmoil between the government and the Navy as Japan debated the treaty long and hard before ratifying it. Japan saw the results of the treaty as proof of American and British total disregard for its needs.
Japan’s London Conference representative Reijiro Wakatsuki explained Japan’s rational for the ratios. He said, “Japan accepts a ratio which will prevent her from attacking others and demands that the others in return keep their tonnage down to a figure which does not menace Japan.”

A byproduct of the London Conference, as reported by the *Times*, was the elimination of naval tension and war talk between the United States and Great Britain, a process begun at the last naval limitation conference. However, the United States began talking even more about naval parity with the British for the next several years, which would mean more building, as much as $500 million or more spent on new ships by 1936. The Navy worried about the passage of a huge Navy bill but most talk in Congress was in favor of building. The idea of equality with Great Britain may have began as early as 1921, an idea put forth in Eugene Young’s 1936 book. Japan felt double crossed by that news.

Another result of the treaty was a renewed sense that if Great Britain and the United States were becoming such friends that could only mean the odd man out, Japan, had to be the enemy. It was a fear that never seemed to dissipate even though some felt the treaty had improved the United States and Japan’s relationship. Japan’s other fears were not allayed after the treaty either; the security and safety they desired never materialized. Japan still feared America building superior ships and at the same time felt it was denied the opportunity to build its desired cruisers.

Following signage of the bill, Japan conducted its largest ever manoevres in an effort to test its treaty strength and they felt it was inadequate. Japan’s fear of an air attack was also exposed in London and often over the years in *Times* stories as Japan
hinted they were moving to build more planes and carriers to counter that threat and were holding air-raid drills in Tokyo.\footnote{86} Japan’s fear was so great the Japanese outlined their defense strategy in 1937 that eerily foretold of events to come as the general scheme was outlined in a \textit{New York Times} article by Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai, Minister of the Navy. He said,

“The policy of the navy is to destroy air bases before enemy planes can reach the Japanese mainland. He declared the plan had been contrived in ‘agreement’ with the army. The empire’s principal cities thus are made safe from attack by air and the navy ‘is full prepared’ to keep enemy aircraft from the homeland.”\footnote{87}

The \textit{Times} wrote that of the five nations there, the United States came the nearest to getting what it wanted going into the treaty.\footnote{88} The text of the London Treaty was published in the \textit{Times} (See Appendix E).\footnote{89}

But truest indicator that the treaty may have been a success was by the fact no one was happy with the treaty\footnote{90} and according to a \textit{New York Times} story everyone thought the other two got the advantage,

“The folly of such a course and the fairness of the settlement are alike demonstrated by the fact that the opponents of the treaty in Japan claim that England and the United States got the advantage. The opponents of the treaty in Great Britain claim that the United States and Japan got the advantage. The opponents of the treaty in the United States claim that Great Britain and Japan got the advantage. The average man will draw the proper conclusion as did the naval conference, that instead of any one of the nations getting the advantage; the treaty represents a fair, common-sense settlement for all.”\footnote{91}

Stimson was optimistic when he said the future would bring more cuts and limitations at future conferences.\footnote{92} This treaty was also seen as a supplement to the Washington Treaty, would ease financial burdens and was meant to eliminate the thought of war for the next five years.\footnote{93} The countries planned to meet again in November 1931.\footnote{94}
It was Japan’s fear of a war with the United States that had led to these treaties. The New York Times’ Frederick Moore wrote after talking with Japan’s Admiral Takarabe, “It was the talk of possible war between the United States and Japan, to a large extent, that impelled the statesman of the two countries to concluded between them the substantial series of valuable treaties which have already been ratified—notably, the Naval Treaty of 1922 and the Four-Power Treaty regarding the Pacific. To these the Kellogg Pact adds strength.”

Admiral Bradley Fiske’s responded negatively to the news of the London Treaty and his vision of a future despite negotiations was, “When the time arrives the agreements previously made by statesmen will become actual scraps of paper, and will be hurled hither and thither in pitiful confusion.”

Representative Frederick A. Britten had similar feelings about the treaty just being a scrap of paper after Congress rejected a naval building bill that might have provided the naval protection Britten was hoping for. Britten said, “It means that the London naval limitation treaty is but a scrap of paper as far as we are concerned: a meaningless thing that was signed by our delegates to the conference as a hollow gesture.”

The United States Navy was generally against the London Treaty and felt it limited their ability to defend the country’s Pacific interests. The New York Times listed the naval strengths of the different navies as of the London Treaty (See Appendix E).

One issue not resolved at the conference, which the nations tried to address at a Geneva Arms Conference in November 1930, was a limitation on money that could be spent on ships as opposed to the size and total tonnage the three countries had agreed
upon. Japan favored a monetary limit but the United States opposed it. Thus a budget limitation was not passed.¹⁰⁰

**Naval Race or Naval Holiday**

A year after the treaty of 1930 had been ratified, Senator Borah asked the United States to conduct a five-power conference with the purpose of a five-year naval building holiday. Borah’s purpose was to provide the countries of the world with a huge savings. Borah was quoted in the *Times* saying, “The naval strength of these nations is ample at the present time, and there is no reason, from the standpoint of safety or security, to continue what is in effect a naval race building.”¹⁰¹ Japan and the American Navy immediately opposed the idea of a lengthy pause in naval construction. The countries of the world eventually agreed to a 21-nation, one-year naval building holiday agreement.¹⁰² The United States may have quickly agreed to the one-year deal because it only had five ships planned for the year according to the *Times*.¹⁰³

The Japanese were worried about a building slump as a result of the new agreement. The Japanese were always concerned about a naval race, thus it was always reported to be eager to get involved in conferences to limit navies.¹⁰⁴ Historically Japan has been nervous about America’s talk of naval construction and the potential for that navy to show up someday in Japanese waters.¹⁰⁵ This fear was described in coverage by *The New York Times* and showed why Japan had a keen interest in all of the talk and alarms by Congress and by American military men wanting a navy as large as Great Britain’s.¹⁰⁶ For example, Admiral W. A. Moffett’s spoke of his worry about a position of permanent inferiority and desire for more aircraft and aircraft carriers.¹⁰⁷ Moffett was quoted saying, “That nation will be victorious which has the greatest number of vessels
that can operate aircraft and the greatest number of aircraft that can be transported at sea.”

Retired Admiral William E. Sims was one of the first naval officers to raise the alarm about the status of the American Navy in a *Times* story. Sims said the Navy faced real danger and the only way to protect the Philippines and the Pacific was with a larger navy. He said the lack of ships and men was precariously deficient. Sims compared the situation in the Pacific to seven taking on eleven in a game of football and America had the seven. Sims, a favorite source of quotes with the *Times*, said that aircraft held the key for the nation’s future defense in a 1923 story he wrote for the *New York Times*. A year later the Americans realized the need for airplanes but weren’t building as many as the Japanese. America’s superior pilots who were flying around the world had stimulated Japan to build a larger air force. Admiral Fiske added that the airplane would have a greater future in combat than the battleship would. Readers may not have realized how prophetic that statement in the *Times* may have been. This news of Japan’s air force may have led to talk of the United States spending more money on its plane carriers and more American naval personnel complaining about being far below the treaty quota.

But unbeknownst to Japan, it was all talk. Japan had no reason to fear or be suspicious of U.S. militarism under the same rational Japan used to tell America they had nothing to fear from Japan. The Japanese newspaper *Hochi* wrote, “If Americans fear aggression by Japan they are mistaken, because America’s aerial superiority is so great, that a country with an inferior fleet like Japan’s could not venture across the Pacific.”

In a *New York Times* story on January 1933, it was reported that as American shipbuilding declined the Japanese were outbuilding the United States. The reason
behind the United States limited naval building was because Congress struggled, often with Coolidge, as to how much money should be spent on construction and how many ships should actually be built.\textsuperscript{116} On the anniversary of the signing of the London Naval Treaty, the \textit{New York Times} ran stories showing that America had not built one ship towards parity with Great Britain and were facing a fleet of over-aged ships in 1936 even as the other powers continued building.\textsuperscript{117} In fact, the United States was 135 ships away from reaching its treaty limit ceiling in early 1933 and the Navy was called third rate by naval watchdogs.\textsuperscript{118} The American Navy was actually inferior to the defensively superior Japanese Navy, particularly in speed, as revealed at the 1926 Geneva Conference and five years later in the military book, “Jane’s Fighting Ships.”\textsuperscript{119} Several military leaders also admitted America’s naval weakness in 1928 and said it was well below treaty strength.\textsuperscript{120}

Japan may not have known the United States Navy was inferior but it saw America having the superior air force which spurred Japan into building more and larger aircraft as well as developing a civilian air fleet.\textsuperscript{121} The Japanese newspaper \textit{Chugai}, the largest commercial paper in Japan, said the United States’ move to enlarge its air force was disturbing and, “Must be taken as a manifestation of positive militarism.”\textsuperscript{122} By the end of 1925 the \textit{New York Times} was predicting that Japan would soon surpass the United States’ air force and will have two more airplane carriers to help haul those planes around.\textsuperscript{123} A couple of weeks earlier in the \textit{New York Times}, Howard Mingos had written an in-depth story on America’s move to take the lead in aviation.\textsuperscript{124}

But what might have confused readers of the \textit{New York Times} was the story it ran quoting Japanese newspapers as saying they didn’t fear the American Navy and had nothing to worry about from the United States building program. This seemed to follow
the pattern of mixed messages. They just saw the naval rivalry as fixed between themselves and Great Britain and America. Secretary of Navy Curtis D. Wilbur denied the United States was in the midst of a naval race but rather the United States was well under the treaty ratio. Wilbur also said America had no intention of building up to treaty strength. In fact, the *Times* reported that the United States had only built thirty-one ships since 1922’s Washington Treaty. Other Americans voiced the same sentiment of a non-naval build race to the point of opposition to naval building altogether. And President Coolidge attacked big navy talk as having a potential to cause harm. He feared all the talk was creating the wrong impressions overseas because the United States had no hostile intentions.

The *Daily Express* of London in 1925 said it saw five powers in a sea power race, those being the five main powers at the Washington Treaty; Great Britain, Japan, the United States, France, and Italy. It was similar to the observation T.R. Ybarra made in an article written for the *New York Times*.

**1932-35 Naval Talks**

The *New York Times* didn’t have a lot of coverage of the next round of arms limitations parley that was supposed to begin late 1931 but was postponed until January 1932. Naval experts in May 1932 officially called the conference a failure, although the talks continued until a recess of six months was called in July. It may have been the reason for the lack of enthusiasm for the latest rounds of talks. The two main issues discussed at the arms talks were President Hoover’s plan to cut tonnage as opposed to building—a plan Japan saw as a hollow election move and impossible for their nation—and Japan’s desire to reopen ratio issues. Japan said it wouldn’t honor present ratios past
1936.\textsuperscript{133} Japan also announced it preferred the British plan of less tonnage not fewer ships as it felt Japan had special needs. Japan said it would put forth its own plan when the conference met again in 1933.\textsuperscript{134} It was a plan the United States publicly opposed on the grounds it would create too much equality in the two navies and said hope of success at the latest conference was dim.\textsuperscript{135} Japan was gloomy about success as well.\textsuperscript{136} At this conference the \textit{Times} ironically reported the Japanese also wanted to outlaw bombing from the air.\textsuperscript{137}

During the conference recess, Hoover said in the \textit{Times} that the pressure was on not to fail because if it did then the United States would be forced to build up its navy to treaty strength. Hoover also admitted its Navy was inferior to Great Britain and just barely bigger than Japan’s Navy (See Appendix E). Hoover’s ambassador at large, Norman Davis, also said the nations dared not fail because public opinion was pressing for an arms cut.\textsuperscript{138}

After yet another parley recess, the Japanese announced they would seek naval parity with the United States at the 1935 naval limitations conference, a meeting agreed upon over ten years earlier at the 1922 Washington Treaty. The Japanese no longer wanted ratios and the \textit{Times} wrote many stories over the next three years that discussed this change in Japan’s naval diplomacy strategy.\textsuperscript{139}

More naval building talk by both sides was credited as the reason the 1933 limitation conference failed.\textsuperscript{140} The London \textit{Daily Telegraph}’s Hector Bywater wrote, “It is felt, indeed, that the latest American and Japanese programs have administered a death blow to naval limitation by agreement.”\textsuperscript{141} The \textit{Nichi Nichi} wrote Japan’s Navy objectives were to maintain supremacy in the Western Pacific and to keep its naval
numbers as close to the United States so that if there were a clash between the two
countries the U.S. could only win by total sacrifice of its fleet. A couple of weeks later
in September 1933 the same paper wrote, “New America has dared us to follow her
example and there is nothing to do but build more ships to maintain the existing floating
ratios.”

The United States recognized the dismal failure of its policy of disarmament by
example after it talked about agreements in 1934 and 1935 with Great Britain and Japan
in hopes of avoiding the naval race. Japan also foresaw if the deadlock continued it would
bankrupt them.

Prior to the next round of talks, the New York Times wrote a piece about public
support in Japan of its Navy and how wealthy private citizens donated millions of dollars
to the Army and Navy to buy tanks, planes, and other war equipment. And they wrote
several other stories about wealthy citizens donating money to the military over the
years.

For a short time in 1934, the Japanese waffled on the idea of parity with the
United States; instead they said they wanted defensive equality and an end to ratios as
talks opened in June 1934. But Japan met serious resistance to any idea near equality,
parity, or abandonment of ratios from both the United States and Great Britain. That
resistance created the fear of two western powers ganging up on Japan as well as strong
doubt for an agreement to ever be reached. Resistance was seen in the words of the
Chairman of the House’s Naval Affairs Committee Carl Vinson after he said, “We cannot
grant naval equality to Japan at any price. If the Tokyo Government does insist upon
wrecking the treaty I will insist that the committee (Naval Affairs) and Congress make
enough money available to build five ships for each three laid down by Japan.”

Japanese Ambassador to the United States Hiroshi Saito said in response to
Vinson’s comment,

“Japan is by no means challenging competitive naval building. She
wishes for drastic reduction and we feel somewhat bewildered when
views are expressed that this country or Great Britain would build five
ships to three built by Japan. Japan has never said she would build one,
much less three.”

Secretary of the Navy State Claude Swanson offered an across the board twenty
percent naval cut but wanted to maintain ratios; a no-go the Japanese said in response in
the *New York Times*’ coverage. Japanese naval officers were perplexed that the United
States would keep asking for naval reductions to the point of annoyance. In a *Times*
article the Japanese Navy representatives said they were angry at how the only country
not building up its navy would ask all the other nations to scrap their ships and come
down to the United States’ naval strength. The United States return salvo threatened to
build up fortifications in the Pacific if Japan built in excess of the treaty ratios. The
intimidation ploy was resented in Japan.

Two weeks into the 1934 talks, Great Britain said the limitation talks were futile
as it asked for more ships and announced plans to double its air fleet. Japan responses
to the 1934 talks were a rediscovered unmovable stance on naval building parity and the
end of naval building ratios, a raised military budget, and a “why bother attitude” toward
any more conferences even though they agreed to attend the 1935 pre-talks and the 1935
conference. Japan’s views caused another pause and threatened the upcoming 1935
talks altogether. This made it hard on the *New York Times*’ coverage of naval limitation
talks and more difficult for its readers to see when the talks officially started and when they ended.\footnote{155}

\textbf{Japan Voids Washington and London Treaties}

Over the last few days of August 1934, the \textit{New York Times} first reported that Japan threatened to end the 1922 Washington Treaty, and by default the London Naval Treaty, because it wanted to be free of limitations. Notice to end the treaty had to be formally done before the December 31, 1934 deadline. Once the notification given, the treaty would remain in effect for two more years before the understood termination would take place, in this case December 31, 1936.\footnote{156}

Japan threatened to end the treaties several times before officially announcing in November that Japan had decided to end the treaties. Along with the announcement Japan said it would not become involved in any arms race before 1942 and made the formal announcement of treaty termination in December.\footnote{157} After the decision, Foreign Minister Koki Hirota said the Japanese people were in a fantastic mood after the rejection of the inferior ratio.\footnote{158} Japan asked the Italians and French to help end the Washington Treaty but received no help in ending the treaty, thus forced to end it on its own.\footnote{159} Ambassador Saito said no matter what happened in talks before December 1934 Japan had decided it was going to end the treaties. He said,

\begin{quote}
“The Japanese sense of honor and of concern for national dignity and prestige would make it impossible for his nation to consent to a continuance of the present ratio system governing the size of the British, American and Japanese navies.”
\end{quote}

Ambassador-at-large Davis said the Japanese were putting the world at risk by ending all that had been worked for with the Washington Treaty. He said,
“The Washington Conference put an end to a ruinous naval race and established a sound basis for peace in the Pacific and in the Far East. Abandonment now of the principles involved would lead to conditions of insecurity, of international suspicion and of costly competition, with no real advantage to any nation.”

Some Americans were happy the Japanese ended the treaty, as they felt free to build up fleet and naval bases like the one in Hawaii. The talk of an air base at Hawaii or the other six air bases the United States announced did not sit well with the Japanese. However, Brig. General Kilbourne explained reasoning behind the construction of these bases, “Our problem is in the Pacific. If Japan seizes Alaska she can bomb New York in twenty hours. We know they have ships designed for that purpose. We have got to have planes that can fly to Midway Islands, to Japan and back.”

While the Japanese had decided things needed to drastically changed, they had hoped a new treaty could be reached in 1935 after deciding to end the Washington and London Treaties. But they still sought naval cuts and equal rights or equality with America’s Navy. The United States was also willing to talk about big cuts because they saw parity as a danger. America talked with the British about what to do if Japan voided the treaties but the United States also felt the Japanese were dragging their feet and slowing down the naval limitations agreement process despite its talk of cuts. Negotiations broke down after three months as allegations flew about secret navies. The United States and Japan discussed wanting more ships; the subject of an unaffordable, insane naval race was brought up; and pessimism abounded about getting a deal done. Japan and its newspapers blamed the United States for the break down in negotiations and the impasse. The Nichi Nichi advised the United States to, “Discard the false pride of racial superiority and make friends with truth and justice.”
Japan felt it made some effort to salvage talks in a *Times* news story. The Foreign Minister explained Japan’s position and said, “Japan is prepared to abolish all capital ships, heavy cruisers and aircraft carriers. Japan is anxious about her security, owing to the absurd limitations imposed by the Washington and London treaties.”\(^{168}\) Former Premier Viscount Admiral Makoto Saito explained Japan’s reasoning,

> “I have said many times and say again that we must live in this world together, and a belligerent member only adds to the burden of all. I say deliberately the London Conference must succeed for the peace of the world. Absolutely nothing will be accomplished by a bankrupting naval pace.”\(^{169}\)

Japan brought to the table an idea of twenty percent all-around naval cut in a spirit of disarmament to reduce the tax burdens of the world. Yet Japan still hung on to the idea of naval equality with America, although they issued a promise to not build up to it immediately.\(^{170}\)

The *New York Times*’ coverage of the naval limitations conflict in 1935 read very much like 1934. The issues of a potential naval race, Japan wanting parity, the United States wanting to maintain ratios, talk of increased military spending for America, across the board naval reduction, and the hope of new limitations agreement before the end of 1936 at more naval conferences remained unchanged nor were they resolved.\(^{171}\) Japan’s Admiral Mineo Osumi, the Minister of the Navy, said Japan, “Must be prepared to see through any naval race that may eventuate, ‘even if we are reduced to eating rice gruel.’”\(^{172}\) A Japanese pamphlet celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of Admiral Togo’s victory in the Sea of Japan over the Russians said, “We are confronting another great sea power which is increasing its navy with Japan as the target.”\(^{173}\) Ambassador Saito wrote in a book that Japan’s aims were not to increase arms but to were to reduce the danger of attacks.\(^{174}\) Also in 1935, America’s Navy showed itself to
be bigger and stronger but was still lagging behind treaty strength and Japan itself considered building a larger navy.\textsuperscript{175}

**One Last Conference**

Another official naval conference began December 1935 and carried over into 1936. But according to stories in the *New York Times*, participants in the conference saw a doomed conference addressing the same issues of the past two years before it started, which made those involved see things as unsolvable.\textsuperscript{176} It was seen as a last chance to save the Washington and London treaties, yet again the five parties couldn’t agree upon a common reduction or limitation plan. Japan brought a new proposal, which included the idea of a “Common Upper Limit.” plan offered by the Japanese. The *Times* explained part of the reason for the dismissal of the Japanese plan was its lack of clarity and what it meant for the different navies of the world.\textsuperscript{177} Japan also held onto a fear of being blamed for the failure of the conference. It was a fear traced to the grudge it still held from the 1930 London Conference, as Japan was still suspicious of the United States in the Pacific. Japan quit the conference early in January 1936 still hoping for a new treaty.\textsuperscript{178} The *New York Times* published a December 1935 chart of the status of the navies as the conference began (See Appendix E).\textsuperscript{179}

As a result of another failed naval limitations’ conference, the three powers began talk of a naval race and built up their armies and navies as the end of the Washington Treaty neared.\textsuperscript{180} Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr., said Japan held the key to a potential naval race. Stirling said, “I’ve always felt that these naval conferences were bound to be failures in the end because they never considered the important points—the underlying basic causes of national rivalries—economic and political problems.”\textsuperscript{181}
The date for the ending of the treaty came and went with little fanfare at the end of 1936 as coverage in the *New York Times* dwindled down to three or four naval articles a month in 1937 and the first half of 1938. The stories seemed to be recycled as those that were written were geared toward the coverage of an arms race, military strength numbers, state of war preparations, fear of an arms race mixed with a warning of economic ruin from Japan, Japan’s only defensive building claim, Japanese fears of interference in the Pacific, fears of American money spent on its navy, and American arms purchased.\textsuperscript{182}

The *Times* reported in January 1937 the race was on as warship building was the highest ever since construction during the Great War.\textsuperscript{183} The *Times* also reported no new hope for limitations conferences existed as Roosevelt publicly denied parley rumors.\textsuperscript{184} With reports of a naval race, it came out in the *Times* the United States was the biggest supplier of scrap steel Japan was using for building its navy.\textsuperscript{185} After the scrap iron was cut off the Japanese announced they would salvage it from the sea.\textsuperscript{186}

The United States was determined to continue to abide by the naval treaties, that was the policy until Roosevelt asked and had the country’s self-imposed building limitations lifted citing Japan’s naval output and secrecy.\textsuperscript{187} The *Times* reported the Japanese felt no such obligations of self-imposed limitations or honoring past treaty agreements and were keeping its naval building figures secret. With the end of the Washington Treaty it was no longer required to report that data. Japan said it would report naval numbers after the upper limit was settled upon. Japan said the secrecy was a matter of naval prestige.\textsuperscript{188} To the United States and Great Britain the secrecy was proof of past treaty violations.\textsuperscript{189} Rear Admiral Kiyoshi Noda answered those who
claimed secrecy was a menace and said, “Our secrecy may cause uneasiness, but, as our policy is based on non-menace and non-aggression, we should be trusted to observe that principle.” Both sides of the principle of open naval figures were reiterated several times in 1938 by both Japan and America.  

One story that didn’t fit the mold of the previous four years and was only discussed once in the Times’ back pages was a story about how the average American tax payer was confused by the multiplicity of testimonies on the state and needs of its Navy. It was glimpse into the idea of mix messages being sent to the readers of the New York Times. 

The next major naval issue became fortifications in the Pacific as the restrictions on those ended on December 31, 1936 as well. With the ending of the restrictions on fortifications, the United States looked at fortifying Wake, Midway, the Philippines, Alaska, and possibly Guam. Japan got anxious about the possible new threats it perceived. The Japanese newspaper Asahi present its solution to America building fortifications in a Times story, 

“Americans can protect their interests in the Pacific by relying on Japan instead of strengthening their Pacific fortifications. Suspicious Americans entertain groundless fear that if Japan acquires the Dutch Indies and Australia, not only will the Philippines be conquered but America will have lost the security of her Pacific trade route. If the United States wishes to defend her rights in the Pacific and to trade advantageously she can do so by relying on Japan’s good-will.” 

There seemed no apparent reason why coverage of naval issues between Japan and the United States was limited to a single story between the end of April and the start of November in the New York Times. The single story appeared in August. The only explanation may have had to do with the repetitive nature of the coverage. Stories in the Times sporadically returned in late 1938 and continued into 1939. Coverage
moved from consistent talk of ratios and naval reductions to talk of who was building what, how much was being spent, and total naval strengths (See Appendix E), all which was considerably higher.\textsuperscript{195} Secretary of State Hull was quoted as saying he saw no hope of any more arms limitations or there ever being a chance of a limitation parley.\textsuperscript{196}

\textbf{Location and Maneuvers of the American Fleet}

In addition to the many naval conferences called throughout the two decade before the war attempting to try and limit navy sizes, the Japanese were always concerned about the location of the United States Navy as far as where it was (Atlantic or Pacific) and what it was doing as far as maneuvers.

The first two \textit{New York Times} stories were written in 1924 and covered the Japanese reactions to naval manoeuvres out of Pearl Harbor. The stories exemplified the mixed messages being sent from Japan and passed on to American newspaper readers. The Japanese Kokumin Table Society was quoted, 

\begin{quote}
“We regard grand naval manoeuvres about to be carried out by the American Navy as a menace to the peace of the Far East and destroying from its foundation the spirit of the Washington Agreement. We hope the United States will abandon this scheme, as we desire world peace.”\textsuperscript{197}
\end{quote}

On the other hand, the head of the Japanese Navy, Admiral Okada, wasn’t worried about the exercises, “The manoeuvres of the American Navy are nothing more nor less than manoeuvres of the kind undertaken by navies of every other nation.”\textsuperscript{198} Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara said the manoeuvres were none of their business and did not violate the spirit of the four-power treaty.\textsuperscript{199} The Japanese newspapers reiterated their objection to the 1925 American war games near Hawaii, calling them a menace to Japan and saying they scented a secret purpose of an eventual attack on Japan.\textsuperscript{200}
After some time in the Atlantic Ocean, the New York Times reported the shift of the United States fleet back to the Pacific in 1932, a move Roosevelt supported when he took office in 1933. The Japanese Government said they weren’t worried about our navy shifting as long as the situation wasn’t a permanent one. But a story by Hugh Byas stated the fleet move disturbed the Japanese, once again showing the sometimes-conflicting stories in coverage by the *New York Times*. Japan didn’t buy the explanation of the movement of the fleet as an economic move as reported by the American Government. Japan’s Minister of War General Sadao Araki said the presence of the American Atlantic fleet in the Pacific was among the factors forcing Japan to immediately strengthen its national defense and it was used as justification for bigger naval budget demand. The Japanese newspaper *Jiji Shimpo* wrote, “Retention of the whole fleet in the Pacific was regarded by the Japanese people as menacing evidence of America’s attitude and affected relations with the United States very badly.” The *Nichi Nichi* said, “The move is most significant and requires cautious watching.” The Japanese press saw the move of the fleet as one of intimidation prior to the 1935 naval parley. After all the reported Japanese excitement over the location of the fleet, Roosevelt announced at the end of 1933 the fleet would return to the Atlantic in three years.

In 1935 the United States Navy created a stir in Japan again with Pacific naval manoeuvres. The war games revealed a weakness to an air attack and got the ball rolling on the United States’ movement to build up defenses Pearl Harbor. However, for a group of Americans fearing any United States naval action in the Pacific, they caused a lot of commotion because they felt those American naval activities in the Pacific created
a hostile environment with Japan. The Japanese newspapers called the exercises offensive and claimed the mythical enemy was Japan. The Japanese Navy on the other hand used the exercises as an opportunity to gauge American military strategies and the Japanese held their own war games a few months later.


“We can’t protect both oceans, and it looks we will have enemies in the Atlantic and Pacific. Protection is the salvation of this country, and protection in advance is much cheaper. We’ve got to build a navy second to none.”

While there were zero stories talking about the actual transfer to the Atlantic of the fleet, the New York Times wrote about Roosevelt’s decision to return the fleet to the Pacific in April 1939. The move, seen as sudden, was not explained although it was supposedly seen as a move to curb the Japanese. Japan said they were not concerned at all with the shift. By October 1939, the Japanese had changed their minds and were angered by naval activity in the Pacific, which included America sending more airplanes to the Philippines. Japan wondered if the latest moves meant America meant to go to war with Japan over China.

The Japanese were still annoyed in late March 1940 about the location of the U.S. Navy after seeing the American fleet still in the Pacific and said any manoeuvres in the Pacific would be seen as an act of aggression toward Japan. In 1940, the Navy announced it would be leaving its fleet near Hawaii indefinitely as a result of the Far East Situation. It was also stated that there was no reason to send the fleet back to the West
Coast because the coast was held impregnable.\textsuperscript{220} The Japanese press was quick to say it was a move aimed at them as they were keeping an eye on the American fleet.\textsuperscript{221} The \textit{Times} also compared Hawaii to Gibraltar in relation to importance to the United States and labeled a vital role in America’s defense.\textsuperscript{222}

In 1941 the \textit{Times} wrote the Japanese picked up a rumor circulating among the American media about the United States moving its fleet to the Atlantic. Japan said if the rumor was true it would remove the threat of war in the Pacific.\textsuperscript{223} Part of the rumor could have come from a speech reported in the \textit{Times} by Senator Norris of Nebraska who said the United States needed to decide who its more dangerous enemy was and move the fleet accordingly; his vote was Germany and the Atlantic.\textsuperscript{224} In a \textit{New York Times} editorial on the rumor they wrote, “(The Japanese) are reported to be pleased with the belief that we have weakened our fleet in the Pacific and hopeful that will weaken it more.” The editorial also quoted the \textit{Japan Times Advertiser}, “It would go much further to insure peace and mutual trust if the United States, besides transferring its fleet, would withdraw the powerful flights of bombers encircling Japanese interest and withhold others.”\textsuperscript{225}

Instead, the rumors were declared false in a follow-up story and as of July 1941 the Hawaiian Islands were put on alert status.\textsuperscript{226}

**War Tensions**

The \textit{New York Times}’ coverage of wars and rumors of wars was very similar to its other coverage of various influences prior to World War II. It was a topic thrown around here and there in the 1920s and gradually grew exponentially in the 1930s until is seemed it was in the news on a daily basis in 1940 and 1941. It can also be stated that goodwill
from 1922 Washington Naval Treaty changed to numerous rumors and predictions over the next thirty-six years of an impending war.  

A 1931 piece published in the New York Times said Theodore Roosevelt feared war with Japan as early as 1907 after he saw friction between the two countries growing over Japan’s desire for expansion. Viscount Kikajiro Ishii said in 1932 that two things might lead to war,  

“"If, in this way, the United States ‘ever attempted to prevent Japan’s natural expansion then a grave situation indeed would created, since Japan is an overcrowded nation which could not be shut up indefinitely in her small islands.””

The second reason Ishii alluded to was if the situation of the United States ever trying to dominate Asia, otherwise Ishii said Japan was prepared to honor the Open Door policy and allow equal opportunities in China for American interests. Also, Ishii saw peace and belittled talk of war.

The Times’ coverage showed that first signs of tensions and suspicions between the two countries arose following the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. Tension surfaced at the signing of the treaty between the Russia and Japan, mediated by President Theodore Roosevelt at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. F. Cunliffe-Owen recounted some of the events of that signing. He said the Japanese felt the treaty had been forced upon them and that the experience was a “cruel disappointment.” They even went home early out of fear for their lives. Cunliffe-Owen wrote, “From that time forth the pre-eminence of the United States as the most favored nation in Japan ceased, and it cannot be denied that popular prejudice took the place of the former sympathy and good-will.”

Cunliffe-Owen, wrote something else that summed up Japan’s psyche,
“The Japanese never forget. They are endowed with the most retentive memories of any Oriental race. They sometimes, though very rarely, forgive what, with their hyper-sensitive nature, they construe, sometimes wrongly, as an affront to their national pride and as a slight to their people. But on the other hand, the memory of kindness, of great kindnesses, are treasured in the hearts of all.”

Coverage showed in the *Times* that war was more of an abstract idea in the 1920s.

In 1920 Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Masanao Hanihara said,

> “Not that I see any possible cause for clash between this country and the United States, but the sort of irritation and pin-pricking that had been indulged in on both sides, if permitted to go on indefinitely will, I fear, create an atmosphere which may lead to almost anything.”

Representative Julius Kahn of California said that it may not happen in his lifetime but said the agitators in Japan could eventually goad the United States into war. Japan on the other hand feared the United States and felt America’s drive to arm was forcing Japan to keep up and waste its precious resources. A *London Times* correspondent in Tokio was quoted saying, “Japan is a poor country and the money now spent on unproductive armamental enterprise is badly needed for development of the national resources.” It was why Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes and Ambassador Baron Kijaro Shidehara suggested both nations come together and hash everything out and develop a spirit of goodwill. Japan wanted America to know it was not a menace and was anxious to conciliate with the United States. Japan said it had a deep desire for peace.

Talk of the war also came up at the Washington Treaty. At the treaty it was said that if the United States alone threatened Japan the Japanese would choose war over peace and would then be destroyed. And former Undersecretary of State Norman H. Davis said the treaty would not remove the possible causes of war.
A story hidden deep within the pages of the *New York Times* in 1923 predicted the next war would be in the Pacific.238 A year later the *Times* ran a story on page three stating Japan would only go to war if the islands were threatened or its obligations to its allies were menaced but would not go to war over something like the 1924 Exclusion Act, a bill passed by Congress which limited the number of Japanese which could enter the United States to 100 a year.239 Some said never say never. The Minister of the Navy Takashi Takarabe said, “But we cannot rely on such a supposition and we cannot safely state that there will not be a time in the future when Japan will be forced to start a war, although reluctantly, due to the divergencies of views between nations.”240

There were several other prominent Japanese who felt the Exclusion Act would lead to war and was the cause of much war talk. Shinkishi Uyesugi, a noted nationalistic publicist, said, “If history teaches anything, an eventual collision between Japan and America on the Pacific is inevitable.” And Lieut. General Bunjiro Horinouchi said, “We must be determined to undergo whatever hardships are necessary in avenging the insult which America has done our country.”241

There was a peace movement in America hoping to counter the talk of an impending war. One of its leaders, a person who would appear from time-to-time in the *Times*, was Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Catt suggested the way to attack war was by attacking the fear. She said, “In searching for history we discover that no nation ever prepares for anything but what is termed for the benefit of the people as ‘defense.’ Fear, taking the form of a feeling of insecurity, is the great motivator of all conflicts.”242 In 1938, the peace movement received a boost with the opening of the World Youth Conference held in New York as the 500 attending delegates choose peace.243
Columbia’s President Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler announced in an article in the *Times* that he believed that the war era had ended.\(^{244}\)

The three other prominent news stories regarding the threat of war in the *New York Times* in the 1920s, in addition to many stories predicting war or peace, were about the rising suspicions in Japan of America as observed by Americans in Japan, the Navy oil scandal, and the idea that the American Navy was not prepared nor had sufficient strength for a war. It was reported that America would have to fight farther away from home should war come to the pacific (See Appendix I) and the United States was not anywhere close to building up to naval treaty limits. In report on the oil scandal, a Navy officer used the threat of a war with Japan to procure oil for the Navy.\(^{245}\)

With the *New York Times*’ coverage it had to have been confusing as to whether or not the United States would be going to war with Japan. Following the 1930 London Naval Conference, a handful of stories appeared in the paper with some pointing to an upcoming “unthinkable” and “unavoidable” war while others said war was impossible.\(^{246}\) The former Governor of Hawaii, Wallace Farrington, said the war rumors were “too utterly silly” to think about.\(^{247}\) Japan wasn’t eager for conflict either. Rear Admiral Inouye said, “Though it is not shouted abroad few fail to realize that a war with the United States would be the worst disaster Japan could suffer.”\(^{248}\) Japanese Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara said, “Although they might have initial success, war could only mean eventual ruin.”\(^{249}\) While Hirohito’s brother, Prince Takamatsu, was more optimistic when he said,

> “With especial reference to the United States and Japan it is a matter for mutual congratulation that their relationship has always been satisfactory and that there is, on the Pacific horizon, not a fleck of cloud to cast a shadow over their traditional friendship.”\(^{250}\)
Yukie Ozaki, a Japanese liberal statesman, said in an article written for the *New York Times*, “No nation can have a true and permanent friend. Every country, near and far, must be either jealous of or afraid of you more or less, even if you behave in the most friendly spirit toward them.”\(^\text{251}\) And friendship with the United States was waning for the Japanese as bitterness and mistrust were increasing in Japan toward America.\(^\text{252}\) Yosuke Matsuoka, while a diplomat to the United States, said,

“There is much bitter feeling in Japan against the United States, it is true, and it is being aggravated by alarmists who are pandering to the worst tastes of the public. I do not blame America for anything that happened in Geneva, but I must say that the policies which have been pursued by the outgoing administration have been such as unconsciously to stir up ill-feeling in Japan.”\(^\text{253}\)

General William Mitchell, who saw war with Japan as inevitable, explained part of the reason for all the war talk. He said, “We are accustomed to think of ourselves as a peaceful people, but on the contrary America is one of the most war like great nations on earth, and the same time the least prepared.”\(^\text{254}\) China’s Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, also saw a war as inevitable. Chen said, “Japan’s next war will be for the mastery of the Pacific, which means war against America.”\(^\text{255}\) Admiral Henry A. Wiley saw conflict because of American possessions in the Pacific. He said the United States would only have two options, hand over its possessions or fight for them.\(^\text{256}\)

*New York Times* correspondent Walter Duranty reported on a Soviet editorial that outlined three reasons the Russians saw for war between Japan and the United States. The Soviets wrote,

“Japan started the war for three reasons—the pressure of the world crisis; the loss of trade even before the boycott developed in China where she is being supplanted largely by the United States, and a desire to strengthen her position on the Continent as a preparation for mastery of the Pacific. The United States, thus already in the position
of a dangerous commercial rival, cannot fail to oppose Japanese plans for further expansion.”

There were also war rumors floating around and rumors of clashes between Russia and Japan. That was until the two signed several truces. However, the German-Russo Pact of 1939 made Japan fearful again of a conflict with Russia. And then the Japanese watched with held breath at the events in Russia after the Germans invaded.

Also after the 1930 naval conference and the “Manchurian Incident,” there began talk of a boycott both by the Americans, British, and Chinese. However, Idaho Senator William Borah and others warned that boycotts lead to war not peace. Borah said,

“Those who are urging an economic boycott on the part of our government seem to look on it as a peace movement. It would, in my opinion, be a movement of a wholly different kind. An economic boycott is in the nature of a threat, and might easily be the first step toward war.”

Japan saw a boycott as a step towards war as well and a “gravely unfriendly act.” Viscount Ishii said, “One of the worst forms of treaty violations and abrogation is boycott.” That first step was taken in a New York Times story in August 1935 when the United States resolved not to sell arms to belligerents. The American labor unions were in favor of boycotting the ‘Japanese fanatics’ who were financing their war through product dumping. Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota wanted to ban and boycott the sale of scrap to Japan, fearing it would return to the United States in the form of missiles. There were those of the view, especially after Japan was seen being more aggressive in China, that felt boycotts or trade curbs were the only way to prevent war with Japan. One thing that seemed to be agreed upon by all was the effect trade had on international relations.
Also after the “Manchurian Incident,” Harvard President Abbott Lawrence Lowell said Secretary of State Henry Stimson’s policy of non-recognition of Manchukuo would lead to war.271

In the early 1930s, the New York Times wrote about how both sides saw no benefit and only disaster in war or war talk. The Times showed how people were seen encouraging their leaders to sign any sort of peace agreement as they shunned the idea of war and any country having a vast empire.272 Japan’s Prince Iyesato Tokugawa said, “Japan and America have far too much in mutual interest to sacrifice in war.”273 Tokugawa also said he was unhappy about too much being written about the possibility of war between the United States and Japan.274 Foreign Minister Koki Hirota wanted an accord with the United States and said, “Japan will never seek trouble with the United States, and if the United States understands this, we can dismiss the idea of a coming emergency.”275 Major General Smedley predicted Japan wouldn’t fight in the Second World War brewing in Europe because they have their hands full with China.276 Yet with the peace talk, Secretary Hull bluntly warned the world of war in September 1936 unless the world united to push peace. He said, “The responsibility of governments as well as of peoples in preserving the peace has never been so great. The fabric of peace has been worn ‘so perilously thin.’”277

It was seen in the 1930s in the Times that Japan’s naval building as well as the potential arms race could lead to war. Talk of war led to an increased American naval budget and talk of American naval building led to talk of war. It was a vicious cycle.278 Vice Admiral Sadakichi Takahashi, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese fleet, said the United States and Great Britain had a superiority complex and were envious of Japan’s
Navy. The Japanese press held the United States and Great Britain were laying a trap of permanent inferiority for the Japanese and placing the blame of a naval race on her as well. Japan’s press again in 1940 accused the United States of preparing to attack Japan and of stock piling weapons in the Pacific. Japan’s Ambassador Hiroshi Saito countered this idea presented by the Japanese press and said,

“I am firmly convinced that the navies of Japan and the United States will never be used against one another. Believe me, please, my friends, I am not speaking only diplomatically; I am speaking frankly and sincerely. I cannot believe that two such peoples such as ours, ranking among the most generous in spirit and the most enlightened, could be so weak in character and stupid of mind as to permit themselves to drift or be misled into the folly of warfare.”

It was also seen at this time, the 1930s in the New York Times, two non-political examples of war talk among the people of Japan. In December 1933 the United States seized five thousand Japanese language magazines, which had a supplement describing the dream war between the United States and Japan. And in August 1934 a Kobe department stored displayed a paper-mache’ panorama of what a Japanese-American war might look like. The story said the reporter was shocked by the display and feared it would increase anti-American feelings.

**War Irritations**

There were several other issues in the 1930s that irritated the Japanese-United States relationship as written about in the New York Times. Number one on that list was Japan’s desire and need for raw materials, particularly its dependence upon outside sources for oil. New York Times editor Nicholas Roosevelt warned that Japan would risk war from the pressure building from its need for raw materials and its overpopulation. That pressure also led Japan to put a ban on luxury items imported from the United States.
so that it could buy more war materials from America instead. The Times wrote that Japan itself predicted in late 1939 it would attack south into the Dutch Indies to solve its economic needs. Japan desperately wanted to end the 1941 economic boycott by the United States and Great Britain that was taking its toll on its access to raw materials. A high Japanese spokesman said, “There is real danger that the Japanese Government will be forced to take “drastic Action” to get oil and other materials denied to Japan by the United States-British-Netherland embargo.”

Another irritation in the relationship was the Philippines and the pressure the United States was under to free them. However, the United States feared if it did Japan would waltz in and cut America off from key raw materials. An article about the Philippines appeared in the New York Times in May 1936. In the story, the paper reported that the Japanese news agency Domei, Japan’s version of the Associated Press, made charges against the American media of a “sinister press campaign.” Domei, however, only cited one vague reference to a Times story claiming “deliberate misrepresentation of the facts.” In 1940 the Philippines saw war coming and saw themselves as playing the role of hostage.

There was Japan’s fear of an air attack, especially by the Americans. The Times reported it’s what the Americans feared too. The Japanese also feared American naval movements, in the form of U.S. carriers. In 1940 the New York Times printed a story by Admiral Yates Stirling Jr. stating how he wanted a pact with the Japanese so the United States could move its fleet to the Atlantic and ease those specific war apprehensions of the Japanese. Stirling wrote, in a separate story printed in the Times, there would be a naval war in the Pacific unless differences were worked out because of the diplomatic
tensions existing for years and unless Japan stopped coveting the Indies. The Japanese should have practiced air defense drills should the feared air attack come. It was a reason they strongly fought any idea of any sort of air base or air hub being placed in the Pacific even as the Americans plowed ahead with its plans for Wake, Midway, and talks of Guam.

Japan also feared any United States military moves in the Pacific because they believed themselves to be the imaginary enemy the Americans were practicing against. Japan saw the United States base built at Panama in 1940 as a threat to its trade and a step toward war.

Their belief in an increasing militaristic war spirit and expansion-desiring Japanese military was an irritant to several vocal American and Chinese observers. The Japanese labor unions and the New York Times also saw a militaristic spirit growing in Japan. Kanju Kato, Chairman of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, said, “The danger of war in China is spreading. The war spirit has been inspired by imperialists and is being carefully nourished by them. Unless checked, it will lead to war and both your country and mine will be drawn into it.” A British financier from Shanghai said, “It is the army, sitting in the middle of Manchuria, which wants to fight America, while the navy, which would have to do the fighting, does not.” A couple of months later Japanese Premier Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai said, “The Japanese Navy is ready to meet any situation resulting from the expansion of the United States Navy.” And Admiral Ryozo Nakamura was quoted in the Times saying it was Japan’s duty to go to war and bring America to its knees for blocking its “sacred mission” in China.

The new configuration of the world with the Axis Alliance forming between Germany, Japan, and Italy irritated the United States. America saw this new union as a
threat to Latin America and to America itself. Japan invited the United States to join the Axis in 1940, an invitation that was ignored. Despite signing the pact the Japanese assured the United States it would remain neutral in the European war as she wanted to remain on good terms with America. Yet Japan was initially surprised by America’s negative response to the pact. Japan stated the one thing that would force Japan to declare war on the United States would be if America entered the European War. However, Japan was reported in the Times putting up posters in Tokyo telling the people to prepare for war with United States. The Japanese newspaper Asahi said after Secretary Hull issued an ultimatum to the Axis powers, “If the United States will only try to understand Japan’s peaceful intentions all trouble will be cleared away.” People in Hawaii were under no illusions of a two-ocean war not happening, if anything they saw it taking place earlier than anticipated with the United States going to war with Germany followed by Japan declaring war on America.

Scholars in a conference in New York stated it in the Times how the European war was the fault of the United States because it had never joined the League of Nations. In regards to the European War, it was reported that American sentiment changed from total isolation to the point where its people were willing to give aid to Great Britain despite risks of war with any Axis country. America’s passage of the Land-Lease bill in 1941, a move authorizing aid to England, was seen as an irritant to the Japanese people as presented in the New York Times’ coverage. Italy was the first country to announce its ire and warned Japan the new law was a provocation for war in the Pacific, something stated in several later Times articles. Japan’s public was reported worried about the Land-Lease Law.
CHAPTER FOUR
CHINA AND PACIFIC TENSIONS

The New York Times’ coverage of issues in China came in spurts depending on the events happening in China. The coverage was sporadic in the 1920’s, but was heavy in 1930 and 1931 with the “Manchuria Incident.” Next coverage slowly tapered off to almost non-existence in 1935, 1936, and the first half of 1937. But with the start of the hostilities in July 1937 between China and Japan coverage came back with a bang and steadily increased until it was almost daily coverage in the two years prior to World War II. The New York Times’ coverage was heaviest when incidents in China threatened American interests such as its citizens, businesses, and property by the Japanese.

Newspaper coverage also showed that the Japanese were concerned with the potential intervention in China from Europe and the United States with Japan’s desired goals for the Asian mainland. Japan felt that China should be left alone to deal with its own problems. Admiral Baron Kato said, “The powers assembled should not interfere with the internal affairs of China, but should leave them to be worked out by China herself—naturally in the fraternal neighborhood of her sister Asiatic nation.”

Non-interference would be a policy the Japanese would spout in the New York Times’ coverage of Japan’s adventures in China to both the United States and Great Britain. Japan’s displeasure was reported in two ways, either they said they wanted no interference in the Far East or they said they felt American pressure in the Pacific.

While The New York Times would later fight Japanese exclusion, in a 1921 editorial they said, “Japan comes into the family of expanding nations some two hundred years too late. While she slept the world was parcelled out, put under title and
occupancy.” The papers solution was that Japan must get extra territory through bargaining and spending her money on real estate instead of a large navy. Thus Japan should buy parcels in Asia rather than just take them.4

Southern California Newspaper Publisher Frederick W. Kellogg, after a trip around the world, was quoted in the Times disagreeing with that editorial’s position and as having the view that Japan should be allowed free reign in China as a counter to the rising threat of Bolshevists there. Kellogg said, “The question in the Orient now is one of liberal government versus Bolshevism. Either China will become Russianized and Bolshevized or she will be compelled to observe the rights of the other countries which she invited to come there.”5

Early Tensions

It was over extra territory in the Pacific Japan coveted which led to one of the first bumps on the very rocky road of relations between the United States and Japan following the Great War. The New York Times wrote of the back and forth negotiations for the year prior to finally coming to an agreement in Washington. The disagreement was over a small island called Yap in the Carolinas between the Philippines and Guam and formerly belonged to the Germans. Both countries wanted the island for communication purposes. Japan, which was given German possessions following the war, claimed the islands on that point but agreed to share the island with the Americans at the 1922 Washington Treaty.6

Japan also had a rivalry with Russia over Chinese possessions7 and with China over its civil war that threatened Japanese nationals and possessions in Manchuria.8 Japan’s early confrontations with Russia dealt with Japan’s occupation of Siberia over the
first three years of the 1920s. A Russian ambush which killed a large number of Japanese citizens and a viable threat to Japan’s possessions there led to the sending of Japanese troops into the area. The move caused more internal strife than external, as the move was not popular among the Japanese people. Japan promised to Russia and the United States several times it would withdraw from Siberia but finally actually did so at the end of 1922 in what the Japanese Government called a peace move.9

A Japanese dispatch responding to Secretary of State Henry Stimson’s intrusion into a 1929 Russian-Chinese dispute said,

“Officials are unquestionably uneasy at the sudden spectacle of America intervening in a sphere as important to Japan as is the Caribbean to the United States. They wonder whether Mr. Stimson is merely expressing a pious hope or is prepared with practical proposals for a settlement.”10

Japan and Russia butted heads again in November 1936 as the Japanese moved north to Mongolia and hoped to build a new satellite nation called Mongolikuo.11 Japan used the justification of squashing out communism because Japan said the Chinese weren’t willing to do it themselves.12 The New York Times also reported there had been 2,400 disputes between Japan and Russia over boundaries in Manchukuo’s five year existence. There were a few more clashes reported in the Times later as well. After one such clash the Japanese admitted to a defeat at the hands of Russia, which resulted in the loss of 18,000 Japanese soldiers. Japan rarely admitted to any defeat regarding its military campaigns.13 Japan and Russia were able to patch up their disagreements as early as 1939 and again in 1941, freeing up troops for various Chinese offensives.14
Monroe Doctrine

Japan had difficulty understanding the western political opposition to Japan’s presence in China. Japan saw America as rich with lots of resources and with few people to support and saw itself as poor and overcrowded. For Japan, China was a matter of life or death. Kotaro Mochizuki of the Japanese Parliament said,

“The Japanese interest in China is more vital than the interest of America, Great Britain, or any European power because the supply of our food and material must depend on China, whereas your interest is simply commercial and industrial. Your interest is loss or gain, but our interest is life or death.”

Japan often thought the United States had a Monroe Doctrine for the western hemisphere why couldn’t that be equated to Japan in the East? The Times reported scholars from Japan wrote in leading Japanese magazines,

“Japanese fail to understand, say the writers, why America should grudge Japan’s efforts to expand on the continent of Asia in view of the fact that the United States established the Monroe Doctrine to ward off European encroachment on the New World.”

The desire for the Japanese to have its own version of the Monroe Doctrine was well documented over the years in the New York Times starting in 1921 and continuing through December 1941 when the Doctrine. Yet the first mention was also the only mention for the first ten years. It then received steady attention from the Times, especially after the “Manchurian Incident.” Early on, American Ambassador William Castle, Jr., explained Japan’s view as, “Japan must and will be the guardian of the Pacific.” Castle’s comments pleased Japan and gave Japan hope that the two countries had common interests in China in an era of new understanding. Later the Japanese faced turmoil in Manchuria and wondered out loud if America would accept interference from a third party in a
western dispute. Hikoichi Motoyama, the dean of Japanese journalists and president of the Tokyo Nichi Nichi said,

“Would Americans gladly accept the interference of a third party, say Japan, in settling a possible dispute with any one of her neighboring countries? You have your Monroe Doctrine. Well, suppose Japan says she has her own Monroe Doctrine, what then?”21

Japan also saw its Monroe Doctrine as a way to protect the Asian race. General Sadao Araki said the Japanese Monroe Doctrine for Asia would have Japan be the leader and protector of other Asiatic races whether they like it or not. He also saw the doctrine as a way to block the white race from the Far East.22 Japan’s version of the Monroe Doctrine was also called “Back to Asia” or “Asia for the Asiatics.”23 And in 1933, the Japanese tried to draw up a pact where other countries would recognize a Monroe Doctrine for Japan since every one recognized America’s right to such a doctrine.24 Japan resented the United States after it said no to an Asian form of the Monroe Doctrine. Secretary Hull said the opposition to Japan’s Monroe Doctrine was because the policy was supposed to only be used in self-defense, not aggression.25 Along with the Monroe Doctrine, the Japanese also believed in ‘Manifest Destiny.’ Just like the American move west, the Japanese felt they could do the same thing in East Asia. The Japanese cited American history as its justification and also claimed that the world wanted Japan to be happy with just Manchukuo.26

In 1934, the New York Times quoted Japan’s ambassador to the United States, Hiroshi Saito, from an interview with NBC. Saito denied that Japan had a ‘Monroe’ policy but that her motives in the Far East were like the United States’ motives in the Americas.27 He said,

“IT is essentially this: That Japan sincerely desires the preservation of the territorial integrity of China and her unification and prosperity; that
Japan has no intention to trespass upon the rights of other powers in China; that Japan is observing scrupulously all existing treaties and agreements concerning that country; but that Japan cannot remain indifferent to any one’s taking action under any pretext which is prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order in East Asia.”

Saito said in a different interview that Japan only wanted peace in the region.

**New Order and Co-Prosperity Sphere**

In October 1938, the idea of a reconstruction project in East Asia, called the ‘New Order’ or the ‘Coprosperity Sphere’ began creeping into Japan’s vocabulary. Simply the New Order was Japan’s vision for its rule of China. Japan announced it was establishing this ‘New Order’ no matter what and thus said the Open Door Policy and Nine-Power treaty were obsolete as far as Japan was concerned. Japan explained its efforts were to help the world with its efforts of reconstruction and to restore cooperation not conquer China. Japan warned the world about its ‘New Order’ plans and how it would build up an empire in the East because it would no longer be at the mercy of other countries. Foreign Minister Kichisaburo Nomura declared, “Determination of the entire Japanese nation to bring about a ‘New Order’ in East Asia is too strong to be changed or affected by the interference of a third party.”

Japan said it would exterminate any Chinese citizen who opposed its will. Japan was building up the Far East to have economic security equal to America and Great Britain. Japan often stated its aims were peaceful in the *New York Times* and stated its desire to end the ‘China Incident’ and begin construction of the ‘Sphere.’ Finance Minister Okinori Kaya reiterated Japan’s policy aims were a successful conclusion to the ‘China Incident’ and to force Britain and the United States to retreat from East Asia. Japan defined the sphere as Japan, China, Thailand, and the South Seas but no comment
on the Philippines was made until March 1941 when Rear Admiral Gumpei Sekine said the Philippines fell under the “Coprosperity Sphere.” Japan wanted order in Asia while the United States wanted equality and opportunity. The United States wrote a strong note to start 1939, which said it opposed and rejected Japan’s ‘New Order’ and anything interfering with American rights in China. The note was published in the New York Times. The United States saw the ‘New Order’ as being an excuse to seize alien lands in China.

The United States saw the ‘New Order’ as being an excuse to seize alien lands in China. The U.S. sent several notes and warned a day of reckoning would come if Japan persisted in its Far East course. These statements led Japan to see the United States as obstructing the ‘New Order.’ Japan’s Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita spoke on matters of foreign policy before the Diet in 1940 and said the United States would be excluded from Asia under the ‘New Order.’ The United States said despite threats from Japan’s press it wouldn’t change its China policy.

The Japanese felt a sense of urgency to push forward with its policy in China after seeing an emergency ahead. Japan’s signing of the Axis Pact was a sign taken by the United States as Japan’s state of readiness to fully pursue its Coprosperity Sphere. Matsuoka voiced his opinion on the United States interference of the Coprosperity Sphere when he said,

“It is outrageous that the United States should object to Japan’s control of the Western Pacific. We must control the Western Pacific. We must have the United States reconsider her attitude, not only for Japan’s sake, but for the worlds. If this is impossible, then we cannot hope for improvement of Japanese-American relations. The fate of the world’s civilization depends solely on the United States’ attitude.”

Ultimately the Japanese came to the conclusion their ‘Coprosperity Sphere’ had failed to be reached through peaceful means. Japan resolved to drive out the United States and Great Britain from China if they could not understand Japan’s real intentions.
Premier Tojo foresaw a crisis and showdown with the United States over the issue. Japan outlined seven points of what the United States must do or they would ‘face the alternatives,’’ but it boiled down to America leaving the Far East.45

In an interesting twist in 1940, the Japanese newspaper *Sin Shun Pao* in a very small blurb in the *New York Times* claimed in an editorial that the British and the Americans had a “secret agreement” to perpetuate their “enslavement of the Asiatic peoples”.*46 Later, the *Times* ran several stories of a number of Japanese newspapers talking about a British-American pact were working against Japan’s ‘Coprosperity Sphere.’47

**Open Door and Treaty Violations**

Part of the reason the Japanese saw America and Great Britain interfering in China dealt with the issue of the ‘Open Door’ policy as established by the Washington Treaty. It simply said the United States had a right to develop trade in China.48 It was a sensitive issue for the American Government and the government’s greatest worry was losing trade and possessions once conflict broke out between China and Japan. The United States consistently reminded Japan about honoring the ‘Open Door’ agreement.49 The *Times* reported several times of Japan’s attempts to reassure the United States and Great Britain it would keep the door open in China.50 An issue arose at the end of 1934 that tested the United States’ patience in Manchukuo. Japan took control of all the oil fields in the territory, creating a monopoly and shutting out the Americans and British. Japan swore it didn’t’ violate the Washington Treaty under the guise that Manchukuo was its own nation.51 The issue arose again in 1938 as Japan was seen infringing on the ‘Open Door.’ It was at that time the *New York Times* reported a secret clause in the 1917
Lansing-Ishii Agreement which had stated Japan would not interfere with the United States’ efforts in China. In 1939, Japanese Ambassador to Washington Kensuke Horinouchi said his country pledged to keep the door open in China and,

“Japan’s only purpose is to bring a measure of stability to her own part of the world and to make it orderly, progressive and prosperous. The realization of this aim will certainly raise American trade with Japan—and with East Asia as a whole—to new levels of prosperity.”53

In addition to the Open Door policy, the *Times* often reported the chiding of Japan by the United States in reference to treaties. America was either reminding Japan to keep its treaties or accusing the Japanese of violating one or more treaties including the Kellogg Pact or the nine-power treaty.54 Secretary Hull said the United States would not consider any of the treaties regarding the Far East until Japan stopped using force in China, reiterating his message on the same subject from 1937.55 Japan often denied violating the treaties and ignored warnings from the West.56 However, Japanese Premier Fumimaro Konoe’s son was the only one to go on record in the *New York Times* as saying the Japanese broke the 9-Powers Treaty in China and also said some treaties were not meant to be kept.57 China also voiced its belief of Japanese violations of the treaty.58 The *Times* wrote that China saw the United States and Great Britain had invoked the 9-Powers pact but then never punished Japan in any way other than with words.59

Japan in December 1935 claimed the 9-Powers Treaty had never been fully effective. Japan stated the treaty was obsolete and no longer valid. In one *Times* story Japan admitted to having unofficially violated the treaty but nobody had ever pressed Japan on the issue.60 In another *Times* story Japan said it couldn’t have violated the treaty because China fired first starting the “Manchurian Incident.”61
After unofficial war broke out in 1937 between Japan and China, Senator Key Pittman of Nevada said, “Our government holds that Japan has violated and now is violating a treaty of non-aggression with the United States—namely, the Nine-Power Treaty—through her willful invasion and attempted conquest of China.”62 Japan met several times with Roosevelt and United States governmental officials to try and keep peace with America and keep them out of the war.63

In October 1937, Roosevelt suggested in a speech that a 9-Power Treaty conference should be held in Brussels, Belgium in hopes of mediating a solution to the conflict in China.64 Japan turned down the invitation and said it was up to the world to get China to come to its senses.65 Nineteen countries decided to meet any way in Brussels and voted to rebuke and censure Japan for its activity in China with Italy being the lone dissenter.66 Japan said it refused to attend any future parley in regards to China or the 9-Power Treaty.67

**Manchuria and Korea**

But before the nations of the world even needed to talk about a Brussels Conference, the Japanese had sent many of its people to Mainland China. Japan had done this in effort to send food and materials back home to Japan. Japan stated in a *Times* article that it had an early policy of non-interference. This meant Japan tolerated zero interference with its or the endeavors of its people in China by the Chinese. Japan warned those intruding Chinese factions that it would not tolerate any damage to Japanese rights and even sent troops to China to do just that in 1924.68 Some of the Japanese interests in China included an iron-ore supply. Parliamentary leader Yusuke Tsurumi called Tokio’s
policy in China an economic one.\textsuperscript{69} Japanese scholar Dr. T. Iyenaga, in a lecture to the Japanese Society in New York, said,

“Territorial ambition has no place in the mind of Japan. The overpopulation of Japan has brought an intense development of industrialism and raw materials are needed. The development of South Manchuria, with its vast natural resources, not only supplies material for the operation of Japanese industry but it has brought prosperity to the Chinese as well. The Chinese population in cities built by the Japanese railroad along its line is five-times as great as the Japanese population in those towns, and the residents live in peace and security that seems impossible in communities under the sole control of Chinese.”\textsuperscript{70}

However, the world was worried about Japan returning to its occupational ways.\textsuperscript{71} An international Japanese lawyer, Tsunejiro Miyaoka, put the Japanese position in China in terms he hoped the United States would understand when he said,

“Your country has economic interests of such magnitude in Mexico, and that circumstance, added to the contiguity of the territories of the two countries, makes it impossible for the United States aloof. When a similar situation exists in the Far East, the public opinion of the United States fails to see that the same thing is true in this part of the world.”\textsuperscript{72}

China ignored the previous warnings from Japan and in 1931 began to interfere with Japan’s interest starting with an abolishment of all unequal treaties with Japan, raised tariffs on Japanese goods, stopped buying Japanese cotton yarn, and voted to end foreign rights.\textsuperscript{73} Japan had hoped to clear things up with China and restore the status quo after those things happened.\textsuperscript{74} But then Korea became an issue in July, 1931 an area Japan occupied as a result of conflicts with Russia in 1904-5. Events happened there beyond Japan’s control, which led to increased tensions between Japan and China. These events may have made things in September in Mukden, China escalate faster. After efforts by the Chinese to drive out Koreans from rich farmland located there, stories in the \textit{New York Times} wrote of how the Koreans retaliated by massacring 89 Chinese and
injuring 107 before things eventually calmed back down. The Japanese, who were caught off-guard by the riots over water rights, promised to aid victims and their families and offered their regrets. But apologies weren’t good enough for China, which voted to boycott Japanese goods, a boycott that China continued after the Mukden incident. Three months later the Chinese in the area struck back and killed 500 Koreans. And a *Times* article in November 1931 reported that 10,000 Koreans had been massacred over a six-week period.

August 1931 was a turbulent time for the Japanese Government as its people were not happy about being boycotted and wanted stronger policies toward China. Some in Japan felt war was the only answer. And it didn’t help the situation when twenty-five Japanese were hurt in a riot in Tsingtao, Manchuria.

*The New York Times* coverage of issues in China picked up considerably in 1931 after Japan and China butted heads in Mukden in September 1931. This was a signal telling the *Times*’ readers they should be aware of events happening there with potential international ripple effects. After the initial incident at Mukden, there seemed to be daily stories describing troop movements or various skirmishes between the two sides, but things were vague as to whether or not a war was underway or just isolated conflicts were taking place. Prior to the confrontation, the Japanese were reported to have worried about troop movements in China as well as economic competition such as the Chinese attempt at building a competing railroad. The incident at Mukden was sparked by the killing of a Japanese officer, Captain Shintaro Nakamura, by Chinese troops as a spy despite having official papers from China on him. Japan hints at reprisals. Japanese military agitation grew in Mukden because of the death of one of its own.
York Times reported the Japanese Army seized Mukden on September 18, 1931 but reported the details were sketchy from both the Japanese and Chinese as to how the whole thing started. Both sides accused the other of starting hostilities. Next Japanese troops started to expand their occupancy from Mukden to all along the railroad to finally all of Manchuria. The Times alluded to the fact that the military might have defied its government as the military campaign continued even as the Japanese government issued an apology. The Japanese military justified its actions saying China had fired first and was the one guilty of violating the treaties. Foreign Minister Baron Kijaro Shidehara, on the other hand, said he was disappointed a military officer would undermine his efforts at peace. Japan’s Government announced it feared the clash would grow as troops left Japan for China. It was revealed in newspaper stories and editorials that it might be true that hostilities were a result of an upset army. China went before the League of Nations to complain and invoke the Kellogg Peace Pact but it would be years before anything was done. Chinese students beat on some of its leaders in retaliation for losing Manchuria and asked for war on Japan. China’s premier was attacked in 1935 for the same reasons. The United States reaction was one of wariness, wondering whether or not it should invoke any treaties or pact, sent requests to Japan to end hostilities, sent observers, warned against permanent occupation, and told Japan to withdraw troops. Washington also chose to take a position of neutrality but Secretary Stimson promised to keep the pressure up in direction of peace.

The New York Times also reported that the League of Nations initially backed the Japanese in the conflict as long as the Japanese kept its promise of withdrawing its troops back to the Manchurian railway but said it was not their duty to settle disputes.
made an initial peace offer to the Chinese stating occupation was not its objective in an official statement, “The Japanese Government has no territorial designs on Manchuria. It only expects that Japanese subjects shall be permitted to enjoy security to engage in their various peaceful pursuits and take part in the development of the land by their capital or labor.” However, Japan’s one condition was to be left alone to work it out with the Chinese and turned down any help from the Americans. It was reported in the *Times* for the first time that Manchuria was going to break away from China two weeks after the “Mukden Incident,” an idea the Japanese denied planting in the heads of those chosen to rule Manchuria.

Japan changed its tune in November 1931 and decided it was not going to leave Manchuria; it needed the raw materials and crops too much to depart. Japan’s desire was to revitalize the Manchurian economy. This announcement came in the *New York Times* on the heels of its five points announced October 26,

> “These points are that through direct negotiations between Japan and China there should be worked out a solution of the Manchurian controversy based upon “mutual repudiation of aggressive policy and conduct; respect for China’s territorial integrity; complete suppression of all organized movements interfering with freedom of trade and stirring up international hatred; effective protection throughout Manchuria of all peaceful pursuits undertaken by Japanese subjects, and respect for treaty rights of Japanese in Manchuria.”

Japan’s next action in China was a campaign of bombing that started with the Manchurian capital of Chinchow. The military claimed the campaign was done in self-defense and was a campaign opposed by the United States. Japan claimed the bombing was an isolated incident and orders were given by the Japanese Government for it not to happen again. But Manchurian refugees fleeing the area retold in a letter to the United States published in the *Times* the awful acts and exploitation by the Japanese going on
over the previous twenty-five years.96 Yet on the same front page on November 28, 1931 as the New York Times ran a story which said Japan promised to Stimson no more hostilities in Manchuria, it ran a story saying 10,000 troops were on the move with new bombings, and a third story which said the United States didn’t believe Japan was going to stop hostilities.97 A day later the Times followed a debacle in Japan in which the Japanese press ran a story creating a lot of ire in Japan. The original story quoted Stimson as saying the Japanese were running amuck in China and it was taken as a stab at Japan’s national pride, which centers on its Imperial forces. Japan stated it felt American’s didn’t understand the political agitation in Japan and how hard its government was working to resolve the Manchurian crisis. A day later the Japanese papers admitted they had misquoted Stimson. United States Ambassador to Japan, Forbes called it a comedy of errors.98

Politically the Japanese government said it could do nothing but get behind the Army.99 Princeton professor Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons expressed to the Times his views on Japan in China, “You can just as soon conceive of Japan retiring from Manchuria now as you can fancy the American Government leaving the Panama Canal Zone.”100 The government may not have been eager to back the Army if it had known how costly the adventure in China would have been. It would cost as high as $5 million a day in 1938.101

The United States moved away from remaining totally neutral in China and invoked the Kellogg Pact and 9-Power Treaty, which was seen as a dramatic intervention. Stimson explained it was because he saw Japan having no respect for treaty rights and the Manchurian incident as not becoming resolved and he once again warned Japan about its
actions in China. Stimson and Debuchi were reported later to have met and successfully ironed out the differences as the two sides stated they both wanted peace.\textsuperscript{102}

Because of Stimson’s comments published in the \textit{Times}, the Japanese hesitated for a moment on announcing their intention to hold Manchuria as they tried to legalize their claim to the newly conquered land.\textsuperscript{103} Major General Smedley D. Butler said Japan had planned this war ten years ago and America was wasting its time sending notes in effort to stop the Japanese.\textsuperscript{104} Japan eventually declared Manchuria officially free from China in February 1932 and started calling it Manchukuo, a name the \textit{New York Times} readily adopted, and Japan hoped other countries would recognize it as well.\textsuperscript{105} Manchukuo recognized Japan as the only nation with rights there because Japan was the only country to recognize Manchukuo immediately as a separate nation. Germany, Italy and Poland would recognize it years later.\textsuperscript{106} Also after things had settled down, the Japanese desired to establish a non-aggression policy in the Far East on a principle of non-menace.\textsuperscript{107}

Despite Japan’s effort to legalize its actions in Manchuria, President Hoover issued a self-named doctrine during his presidency and covered in the \textit{Times} that stated the United States would not recognize nations created through military action and aggression. It was a doctrine frequently referred in regards to Manchukuo as Japan desperately tried to get recognition for its puppet state.\textsuperscript{108}

The \textit{New York Times} wrote Japan was surprised by America’s concern for Manchuria and Shanghai and offended to be called an aggressor.\textsuperscript{109} Japanese writer K. K. Kawakami wrote, “Japanese expansion in Manchuria is far more defensible than American expansion in the Caribbean and in Central America.”\textsuperscript{110} Japan was also
bewildered at how it lost the world’s sympathy and approval after two decades of modernization and improvements in Manchuria. It may have been the stories and pictures in the *Times* of Japanese ultimatums, Japanese troops slaying defenseless men, women, and children, and more Japanese military movement in China. The Japanese were angry at some of the accusations in those stories, calling them faked by the Chinese. Also in reference to those stories in the *Times*, the Japanese were reported as seeing Americans as simple and easily deceived like the crow from the fox and crow fable.

**China Incident (Marco Polo Bridge)**

July 7, 1937, the *New York Times* told its readers about the five-hour battle near the Marco Polo Bridge outside of modern-day Beijing (Peiping). Just like Mukden, details were fuzzy as to who started things. The *Times* reported several thousand soldiers were involved in the initial skirmish that would start the unofficial war between China and Japan. Up to this point there were reports of scattered conflicts as Japan tried to expand Manchukuo but skirmishes turned into a full fledge war. Except the two countries never used the word war. Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, a member of the Japanese Privy Council, said, “While we have not officially declared a war against China, it is, nevertheless, a war, a very serious war.” Neither side could declare war without being labeled an aggressor and lose valuable American war-making supplies under the Kellogg Pact and the United State’s Neutrality Act. The *New York Times* ran a story a week, later giving the odds at fifty percent that war would officially break out. In August the coverage picked up after the *Times* realized something serious was brewing in China. At first Japan had hoped it could continue to expand onto the Asian mainland and obtain
its economic objectives without war but ultimately prepared for war calling it unavoidable. Japan at that time also promised to protect American lives and property, which we saw later in coverage by the *Times* as an empty promise.118

The Japanese said they were willing to talk peace if China showed submission, which never happened.119 The *Times* reported that Japan approved more money for a war as well as stated the Japanese had 45,000 troops currently stationed in China; Japan would later increase that number to 900,000.120

Japan and other experts expected a short four-month conflict but six months later in early 1938 the Japanese began telling its people to tighten belts in preparation for a long conflict in China. Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoe was quoted in an interview of his view of the events and said, “It is too early to speak of the future. The first thing needed is to punish the Chinese and make them reflect on their conduct. We want a quick ending and will not be drawn into a protracted campaign.”121 Japan’s other goals, as stated by Foreign Minister Koki Hirota, were to obtain from China a drastically improved attitude and a statesman who can maintain friendly relations with Japan.122123 Opening speeches in the Diet had officials affirming,

“Japan’s determination to wage war for so long as might be necessary to attain her objectives. As Nationalist China has rejected cooperation on Japan’s terms it is now to be brought about by the destruction of China’s armies and the Nanking Government. Japan had no choice but to administer a decisive blow to the Chinese armies.”124

Japan eventually admitted to giving up hope for peace in China in late 1940.

A quandary popped up as Japan announced it would begin blockading Chinese ports to prevent munitions from getting to China. However, Japan feared that might force the United States to invoke the neutrality act. But the if that action were taken by America it might have hurt the Chinese more since both countries were buying war
materials equally from America. China also had a conundrum as it struggled to choose whether or not to declare war to force the United States to invoke the Neutrality Act, which would mean the United States would stop war supplies to both countries. China had to decide would it help or hurt more. Roosevelt warned traffickers they shipped at their own risk to China and suggested sending weapons to neither side. Roosevelt announced he leaned toward curbing Japan, especially after Japan said to the world to keep its hands off China. His speech shattered Japan’s view of America’s aloofness, as the Japanese didn’t think the United States would ever become involved and Japan just wanted peace with America while being free to do whatever in China. Former Secretary of State Stimson said, “Failure to act will not keep this country out of war, but will endanger our own peace.” Britain had no quandary; it want to boycott and blockade Japan as England said it had the most to lose in China. Japan’s military movements in China alienated a number of countries. The Times reported only Italy and Germany remained Japan’s only friends after the “China Incident” in July 1937. The Times reported the United States didn’t buy Japan’s reasoning for its latest actions in China and reported that Japan’s greatest weakness was its inability to fully comprehend foreign psychology. Columbia’s Dr. Paul Monroe was quoted giving his opinion on the situation in the Times, “What it amounts to is simply this: In the Japanese aggression we are really seeing ourselves as others have seen us for year. And the sight is not pleasing.”

Japan resorted once again to bombing railroads and other civilian targets from the air and the ground. It was a military move that gradually increased and brought continual protests from the United States and Great Britain. The bombings didn’t sit well with the
American public either. Admiral Harry E. Yarnell described the Japanese bombing of Chinese cities as stupid because it was unifying China instead of driving them into submission. Japan’s vocal public, which demanded quicker success in China, may have led to Japan’s decision to do something they knew was not popular with the rest of the world. Japan responded to the criticism by telling America and Britain that the quickest way they could help end the war would be to recognize Manchukuo and discourage Chinese resistance to Japanese efforts.

The original announcement that Japan’s aim in China was to create another large puppet state headquartered in Nanking didn’t please the American public either. Two years later the Japanese named Wang Ching-Wei as the ruler of that puppet state even as the United States lined up opposition to Wang. The United States said the “Hoover Doctrine” remained in effect and America would not recognize any territory gained through aggression. Move Japanese movements in the Pacific had a page-two New York Times story written more like an editorial appear saying Japan was seen as an unchecked menace after the Japanese annexed the former French Islands called the Spratlys in April of 1939.

Two months later it was written in the Times that there was more conflict between Japan and the two English-speaking powers in Tientsin and Swatow. Japan tried blockading Tientsin in an effort to pick a fight with Great Britain and to drive the world from China. With a similar aim, Japan tried to tell American warships they had to leave Swatow. Instead, Admiral Yarnell doubled the fleet at Swatow citing his obligation to protect Americans in the area. The United States also warned Japan it would be held liable for any damage to American warships. This all came on the heels of the
announcement in May of the British, Americans, and French combining forces in Amoy. The United States chose to defend its rights while the British rolled over and left China according to *New York Times* reports. The United States then considered pulling out its marines and later did. At that time, the U.S. also urged all Americans to leave the Far East for their safety. It was a move that caught the Japanese by surprise but Japan said it was just America being unnecessarily nervous. Japan put a kink into the evacuation plan when evacuation stories picked up again in 1941 when it refused to let 100 Americans depart. The United States called the Americans trapped in Japan hostages. It was also seen as retaliation to the embargo America placed on Japan and Japan having its funds frozen by the U.S.

Japan sought talks with the United States to clear up any rifts that might exist between the two countries. Japan saw America as seeing whatever Japan did as wrong. Later Japan denied wanting to talk about the recent incidents in China. It was said the Army had talked the government out of talks with the United States feeling peace with America was impossible. And in March 1940, the Japanese announced they had given up talking to America and trying to get the United States to understand their aims in China. Japan’s Foreign Office Spokesman gave two reasons for its position,

> “American resentment at infringement of American rights and interests in China. (and) Disagreement on a question of principle, based on America’s belief that Japan’s aims in China are purely aggressive. The situation cannot be discussed in terms of aggression or invasion. We are sacrificing our national economy to create a new order and ‘no territory and no indemnities’ are the twin pillars of our China policy.”

From the *New York Times*’ reporting of the conflict in China it was hard to tell who was winning or how either side’s army was making out. But the *Times* coverage of all issues in China increased ten fold in 1940 and 1941 including coverage of the conflict.
Both sides reported the other side suffered losses and because there wasn’t a neutral position reporting the truth of the situation from the Times it was hard to know what casualty reports were correct. Hallett Abend, a reporter for the Times, said Japan’s war in China was fruitless because Japan ruled little beyond the range of her guns.

Japan stepped up its military campaigns in China in 1941 despite the objections and threats from the United States. Vice War Minister Lieut. General Korichika Anami explained Japan’s position, “We will not shrink because of the threats of other countries. All their actions are but the barking of a dog at a safe distance.” A New York Times editorial however said the Japanese were back to square one after four years of warfare in China, “She has overrun a vast territory at enormous expenditure of her own resources and sacrifice of world good-will, and the territory is economically unremunerative to her.” Despite that observation, the Japanese felt they couldn’t turn back in China. Part of the reasoning to keep going was Japan’s need for raw materials, its fear of a power vacuum, the fact Japan had never lost a war to that point, and the military’s determination to crush Chang Kai-shek.

United States Favoritism Toward China

Japan had a history of thinking the United States favored the Chinese over the Japanese. It didn’t help relations when Japan heard Americans in addition to selling arms to the Chinese were also training them how to fly planes. The United States informed Japan it was not a program through the U.S. Government but American men were volunteering of their own freewill. The Japanese also believed that the planes sent to China were meant as a way to incite the Chinese against the Japanese and saw any aid to China as a hostile act. Japan was particularly irate when it was announced several
times that the Americans were loaning money to the Chinese. The loans were seen as a shock and shattered some the luster America had in Japan. Japan also threatened reprisals against anyone assisting China and began by barring American businesses in China.\textsuperscript{157} The Japanese newspaper \textit{Kokumin}’s political commentator said Japan couldn’t win its sacred war in China until it eliminated the evil influences of the Anglo-American nations.\textsuperscript{158}

Japan reported it would redouble its efforts and not let aid from Great Britain and the United States restrain the backbone of its foreign policy.\textsuperscript{159} The newspaper \textit{Asahi} wrote,

\begin{quote}
"There can be no doubt that the United States intends to supply military needs of Chiang’s armies. Also it is undeniable that by giving loans to a collapsing regime the United States reveals the sentiment of retaliation against Japan’s continental expansion. The transaction is accurately interpreted as a demonstration over the Open Door and equal opportunity question."
\end{quote}

On the flip side the Chinese weren’t happy with the United States selling war supplies to the Japanese including planes, which were slaughtering thousands of Chinese.\textsuperscript{161} Yet the war united the Chinese people as the Chinese civil war seemed long since forgotten.\textsuperscript{162}

Japan was again irate in late 1941 after it was rumored American military personnel were being sent to train the Chinese and run their military campaigns.\textsuperscript{163} Japan felt a move like that would lengthen the war and said the effects of loans and weapons were felt in 1941.\textsuperscript{164}
**U.S.S. Panay**

One of the most clearly marked pieces of American equipment destroyed in China by Japan that put the issue of Japanese abuse of Americans and American property on the front pages of the *New York Times* was the December 1937 bombing of the United States gunboat Panay.

The Japanese Foreign Minister Koki Hirota immediately apologized and accepted full responsibility for the unwarranted attack as the *Times* exhaustively covered the incident. Japan also promised no repetition of the event in the future. The Japanese also said it would punish the admiral in charge and the pilot responsible.\(^{165}\) Japan’s ambassador to the United States, Hirosi Saito, called the incident a “shocking blunder.”\(^{166}\) The Americans immediately filed a protest as well. In the stern protest the United States demanded full assurances this won’t happen again and they accepted Japan’s apology after they made that promise.\(^{167}\) The United States argued that the flags on the ships were clearly visible on a cloudless day and the Japanese bombers were flying low so it appeared deliberate after getting reports from witnesses and survivors.\(^{168}\) Witness also said the Japanese machine-gunned the Panay as it was sinking by speedboats which had visited the Panay earlier in the day. Japan later admitted to that report after initially denying it.\(^{169}\) Japan’s excuse for the incident was that the pilots believed it was a Chinese gunboat aiding fleeing Chinese soldiers in the area. That argument was hollow as it was documented by the *Times* that the Japanese pilots had bragged about already having destroyed all the Chinese gunboats along the Yangtze River.\(^{170}\) Demands were made to Japan by the United States that they build a replica to replace the lost warship, including a direct request to Hirohito by Roosevelt.\(^{171}\) The *New York Times* also ran clips from
other newspapers from around the country angrily sounding off on the Panay incident.\textsuperscript{172} Ultimately it was decided the Japanese would reimburse the United States the cost of the ship, which was paid back in early 1938. The United States asked for $2.2 million, which Japan balked at before it paid the asking price.\textsuperscript{173} The *New York Times* reported that the Japanese were worried they had blown their opportunity to drive the United States and Great Britain politically apart even as another story reported the two English speaking countries as coming even closer together as a result of this escapade.\textsuperscript{174} Japan fretted about the high anxiety the sinking created as officials worried about the loss of goodwill with America.\textsuperscript{175} The incident brought up the issue of the Neutrality Act once again, which Congress again chose not to enact.\textsuperscript{176} The *Times* wrote that the Japanese papers didn’t report much on the incident as they ran small blurbs calling it an “unhappy affair.”\textsuperscript{177}

The *Times* printed a story showing a history of previous incidents by Japan involving foreign countries and showed the Japanese apologized a lot in 1937 as a result of the Japanese military activity in China. Japan apologized for bombing the U.S. cruiser Augusta, the shooting from the air of the British ambassador to China, the machine-gunning of civilians in Shanghai and encroachment by soldiers into American controlled sectors in Shanghai.\textsuperscript{178}

A week later after some of the smoke had cleared from the initial reports, the Japanese military tried to convince the United States with proof the incident was an accident as Admiral Kiyoshi Hasegawa stressed it was a matter of faulty communication and hoped the tragedy will improve relations not impair them.\textsuperscript{179} General Kumakichi Harada again denied the machine-gunning of the Panay.\textsuperscript{180}
The day before Christmas 1937, the Times said all the data was in on the Panay and it had been machine-gunned and the Colonel responsible for the attack had still not been punished and was on active duty on the Chinese battlefield.\footnote{181}

But the most stunning development of the events on the Yangtze River was the announcement in the New York Times that the incident had been filmed. There was only 30 seconds of film but it clearly showed the survivors’ and American claims were accurate and that there was no way it could have been an accident. Thus there was evidence on film of a Japanese attack on American military prior to Pearl Harbor.\footnote{182} The Times failed to write many follow up stories on American reactions to the film and the bombing of the Panay as the issue died after the Japanese paid restitution. The Times wrote a couple paragraphs in a story a month later saying the attack on the Panay had not improved American’s opinion of Japan.\footnote{183}

The Japanese would repeat the feat four years later, this time narrowly sinking the gunboat Tutuila, instead bombs just slightly damaged it.\footnote{184} Japan issued a formal apology but the United States doubted it was an accident.\footnote{185}

**U. S. Offended by Japanese Treatment of its Citizens and Property**

A source of serious conflict, particularly over the last four years leading up to the war, was the treatment of American citizens and their property in China. The first Times coverage of the abuse was a story run in January 1932 about a United States Consul who was beaten in Mukden after being dragged from his officially marked vehicle on his way to catch a train shortly after the Japanese took control of Manchuria.\footnote{186} The Japanese made light of the attack as a miscommunication but the United States lodged a formal protest, which made the Japanese uneasy about the whole situation. Japan punished a
Major General and three subordinate officers for the attack. A month later Americans were upset after reading in the *Times* of Japanese raids on American institutions in Shanghai for no apparent reason including a bombing run on a Seventh-Day Adventist Hospital. An American official was assaulted by armed Japanese civilians as were several women in March 1932. Japan issued an apology and thus the cycle of assaults and apologies began as covered by the *New York Times*. Great Britain also had a complaint in 1936 when the Japanese were accused of beating three British soldiers on leave.

But the cycle of incident and promises of ‘won’t do it agains’ from the Japanese didn’t escalate in China until after the Marco Polo Bridge incident in July 1937. Thereafter the attacks on Americans and destruction on clearly marked American owned property increased. Part of the increased animosity toward Americans was seen in the statement by the newspaper *Asahi*, “Convinced by the abrogation of the 1911 treaty and other recent manifestations of America’s attitude that Japanese efforts to preserve American friendship are not reciprocated. The foreign office now favors the adoption of a strong policy, which will involve greater injury to American Rights in China.”

Ironically, the anti-American activities increased again in 1940 after Japan complained of the mistreatment of several of its armed citizens after they had wandered into the wrong part of Shanghai. Japan also accused the United States of fanning anti-Japanese sentiment.

The United States tried to impress upon the Japanese the seriousness of which the American’s took offense to the abuses of its people and property. American Ambassador Joseph Grew said following a new set of abuses in January 1938,

“I am directed to impress upon Your Excellency the seriousness with which my government regards such acts and to convey its most
emphatic protest against them. My government finds it impossible to reconcile the flagrant disregard of American rights shown by Japanese troops as shown above described with the assurances contained in Your Excellency’s not of Dec. 24, 1937, that “rigid orders have been issued to the military, naval and Foreign Office authorities to pay greater attention than hitherto to observances of the instruction that have been repeatedly given against infringement of, or unwarranted interferences with, the rights and interests of the United States and other third powers.”

Grew responded again in a *Times* story after another envoy had been slapped. The *New York Times* reported saying the United States believed that protest was not a strong enough word for its views on another such incident and said Japan’s officials had acted in a hostile manner. Senator Key Pittman described Japan’s Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka as the, “Bluffing bulldog of the Japanese military clique which has threatened the United States with war unless we surrender our rights in the Pacific and cease to protest against the mistreatment of our citizens in China.” The United States government eventually accepted Japan’s apology although the Japanese press didn’t publish America’s latest note. Japan promised its troops would respect the American flag and American citizens and were circulating a pamphlet to its soldiers to get that message across to the military. Secretary of State Hull issued a warning that Americans’ rights must be protected.

Japan’s first action after the warning was to return a Baptist mission after the United States had asked that it be returned but things went sour again in June of 1938 with the bombing of an American school in Lingnan. America immediately protested the bombing of non-combatants. Civilian bombing was a sore spot with Americans and its Congressional leaders and led to the moral embargo, a stoppage of planes and parts to Japan.
Yet this was only the beginning of a parade of bombings of American property, most of which was clearly marked for the purpose of avoiding being bombed as the *New York Times* frequently wrote about American property loss.²⁰⁰ The paper also covered the multiple attacks upon American civilians in China by the Japanese,²¹ the many American protests and the multiple times America warned Japan,²⁰² followed by the numerous ‘it won’t happen again’ apologies by Japan.²⁰³

It got to the point that Hull protested to Japan about the repetitive bombing of American property. Hull claimed there had been some 150 bombings in 1939 alone. Hull was concerned over the increasing violence in China against Americans despite apologies from Japan. The *Times* story said Japan had made promises to no avail and the events were being blamed on language difficulties.²⁰⁴ Ambassador Grew said, “American opinion deeply resented the ‘bombings, indignities and manifold interferences with American rights’ in China at the hands of the Japanese Army.”²⁰⁵

On July 26, 1939, the *New York Times* reported America had had enough and cited displeasure over China as well as events involving its citizens as reasons for denouncing the 1911 commercial trade treaty with Japan and was giving Japan the required six-month notice to terminate. It was an action that stunned the Japanese and was supported by the American and Chinese people.²⁰⁶ Senator Walter F. George of Georgia said, “We have no sympathy with Japan’s aggressions in China.”²⁰⁷ Japan responded by saying only the United States could hurt Japan this way because the Japanese desired so much to win America’s friendship and now they felt there was no hope for a trade resolution.²⁰⁸ Again in January 1940, just after the termination of the treaty, the *Times* reported the trade treaty was ended mostly because of the hundreds of
incidents including slapped faces, river closings, the Panay bombing and the Open Door policy.\textsuperscript{209}

Japan hoped for a new trade treaty or even a temporary trade treaty. Japan jumped from threatening to close China to later offering big concessions to get a new agreement done before the treaty officially expired in January 1940. Japan saw statements by the United States saying it would maintain trade even without a treaty as a step in right direction and relieved some stress in Japan as Japan saw it meant keeping its best market open.\textsuperscript{210} Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles said trade with Japan will depend on American rights in China. Ambassador Grew bluntly told Japan the United States expected full rights in China or Japan would risk an embargo. He also said Japan must stop hostilities against Americans in China immediately. The American public, who wished for a firmer stand on rights in China, approved of both stances.\textsuperscript{211}

It turns out, as the \textit{Times} reported, that Japan’s military had been hiding the bombings and abuses from the Japanese Government and the Government was finally exposed the abuses prior to Halloween 1939.\textsuperscript{212} The Japanese offered and then paid amends to the different religious missions for prior bombing damages.\textsuperscript{213} In 1940, it was reported that the Japanese public finally became aware of the roughly 232 United States complaints against the Japanese in China, although Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita claimed most had been settled and were trifling.\textsuperscript{214} Also, one single story appeared in the \textit{Times} in 1939 referencing the Japanese settlement of the cases.\textsuperscript{215}

Another form of abuse American citizens faced in China and Japan was being arrested on trumped up charges of spying. Japan arrested several Americans, mostly members of the print media, and held them for a lengthy period of time. Japan even tried
James Young in its courts on charges of spying before letting him out of prison and barring him from ever returning to Japan in a deal worked out with the American Government.\textsuperscript{216}

\textbf{Institute of Pacific Relations}

The \textit{New York Times} covered two organizations formed in the second half of the 1920s with the intention of gathering non-political experts in different fields from the countries that bordered the Pacific in an effort to find solutions to the tensions. Those two institutions were the Institute of Pacific Relations which met for the first time in Honolulu in 1925 and met every two to three years and the second group was a body of scientists from all Pacific nations organized to study scientific problems of the region for the prosperity of all peoples.\textsuperscript{217} There was also a Pan-Pacific Conference in 1927 that the \textit{Times} briefly covered that discussed education, rehabilitation, reclamation, and recreational issues.\textsuperscript{218} The \textit{New York Times} would give significantly more coverage to the Institute of Pacific Relations over the years as the organization discussed issues ranging from exclusion to immigration to Japan and China to raw material rights to Russia and China to naval issues such as limitation and was seen as a peace aid. The first two conferences were held in Honolulu and then were moved to different places around the world including Kyoto, Japan in 1929, China in 1931 at the same time of the “Manchurian Incident,” Banff, Alberta, Canada in 1933, Yosemite National Park in 1936, and Virginia Beach, Virginia in 1939.\textsuperscript{219}
CHAPTER FIVE
JAPANESE POLITICAL TENSIONS

Political Unrest

Japan had a history of a constant change at the highest governmental position in the land, the premier. From 1920 until the start of World War II, Japan saw twenty-four cabinets come and go headed by nineteen different premiers. During the same period of time the United States had five presidents over seven terms (See Appendix B). The New York Times covered that constant change in Japan.

Political scandal and unrest kept the Japanese Government off balance and unable to provide a unified front for any length of time. Japan even went through three different premiers in 1924 and the Diet, the Japanese legislative body, and other branches of the Government were often closed, reorganized or facing a vote. The Diet, as well as its premiers, was plagued by scandal and accusations of graft and bribery, a reason for frequent change. The Government was also hampered by what New York Times reporter Hugh Byas called a “Government by Assassination.” Most of the assassinations were done in the name of one patriotic society or another. Several premiers and political figures were killed or an attempt was made on their lives including the emperor. Premier Yuko Hamaguchi was shot while standing on a Tokyo Railroad station by a man angry over the naval pact and unemployment. Ten months later he would succumb to his injuries as his political party suffered along with him. Former Finance Minister Junnosuke Inouye was shot and killed by a member of the ultra-nationalist Black Dragon Society on the way to political meetings. February 1932 saw the rise of the Young Officers Association, a group not afraid to use violence to get what it wanted. Elements in the military wanted to root out liberalism they felt were festering in the government.
They attacked and killed Premier Inukai and were later caught. The *New York Times* covered extensively the attack, the very public trial in 1933 and the fallout, which included a purging of the military.\(^9\) Also in 1933 members of the Sacred Warrior Band of Great Japan admitted to a plot to steal weapons and slaughter the cabinet.\(^10\) A 1936 *New York Times* story revealed that many military men were linked to secret patriotic societies.\(^11\) February was a popular time for coups as another military attack was made upon Premier Okada, who was at first believed dead until it is revealed assassins had killed his cousin in a case of mistaken identity. The coup backfired in another way as well as a more progressive premier was appointed than the one he replaced.\(^12\) It was devastating for Japan in that of the four government officials killed one was very instrumental in stabilizing Japan economically, that being Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi. The *Times* wrote Korekiyo was the financial genius that kept Japan’s finances sound during the very difficult years following the ‘Manchurian Incident.’ His loss hurt Japan economically.\(^13\) The attack was down played as committed by a few rogue military men and it was seen as the price paid for by Japan glorifying its assassins.\(^14\) Colonel Kenji Matsumota, the Japanese attaché at Washington said he predicted following the latest coup attempt, “No grave consequences, not even in the slightest degree, upon the national government of Japan.”\(^15\) Seventeen Japanese officers were sentenced to death and five were given life terms for their roles.\(^16\) But it may have had an impact on how Americans, particularly scholars, viewed Japan. Princeton’s Dr. R. K. Reischauer said the latest revolt via assassination in Japan by the military was evidence that Japan was, “Still in the throes of an economic upheaval resulting from the industrial revolution that began in Japan some seventy years ago.”\(^17\) A view the American Council of the Institute of
Pacific Relations agreed with. The Institute said, “Economic stress has inevitably inflamed the spirit of partisan violence responsible for outbursts like that of last Wednesday.”

The *Times* also documented over time the conflict in Japan between the Government and the military. One of the major arguments of disagreement between the two was what to do militarily and politically in China and Korea. Yusuke Tsurumi, the leader of the Japanese Liberal Party, said that Japan’s interests in China were purely economical and that troops were there just to protect its interests and access to raw materials.

The naval limitation treaties of 1922 and 1930 were a sore spot for Japan politically. The Japanese felt they were short changed on the 5-5-3 naval construction ratio established at the 1921-22 Washington Treaty or three Japanese ships for every five the Americans and British built. They had wanted a 10-10-7 ratio. So when the subject came up again at the 1930 London Naval Conference the Japanese brought up the issue once again. It created tension between the Japanese military and the politicians attending the conference and at home in Japan. When ambassadors to the conference failed to readjust the ratio, that tension doubled. Former Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Etsujirō Uyehara, accused Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara of attempting to deceitfully minimize the danger involved from failing to obtain that desired goal. Two politically powerful Japanese admirals, Takarabe and Kato, resigned in disgust over what the Japanese Government agreed to in London. With the resignations, a government victory was declared and it was announced that the slate had been wiped of treaty enemies. This conflict led to the *Tokyo Asahi* editorial advocating a change in the
Japanese constitution, which required the head of the military to be a naval or army officer to one where a civilian took charge of the military. The Asahi wrote, “The present system has outlived its usefulness, and with a civilian head of the navy there would be no room for such a controversy between the government and the naval general staff.”27 The other problem that existed then was that the military answered only to the Emperor and not to any civilian authority.28 Three years after Japan ratified the London Treaty, the Young Officers in Japan were still criticizing the cabinet, feeling they had the right as members of the military to suggest national policies and that Japan should liberate itself from the naval treaties.29

Early 1931 saw some public grumblings on the ineffectiveness of its government and the results of another ineffective Diet session by various members of Japanese society.30 But tension between the government, the public, and the military grew white hot in October 1931 after the bombings in Manchuria and the “Manchurian Incident.” It was determined that the people trusted the military more than they did their politicians and the politicians paid the price for the loss of faith. Although the political momentum swung the other direction when the people of Japan demanded a premier who could control the army after it was learned the Manchurian attacks might have been premeditated by the Army.31 American author Upton Close said, “The Japanese action in Manchuria is a ‘bold gamble for international power’ by the military clique against the civil leaders of the Minseito party.”32 It was said in a Times article that the Japanese government didn’t understand its military.33 Multiple conferences were seen held trying to form an emergency cabinet strong enough to control the army but all attempts were unsuccessful and forced to resign.34 One reason for the cabinet resignation was because
Ambassador Katsuji Debuchi had promised Secretary of State Henry Stimson that Japan wouldn’t attack Chinchow and its military did, hurting Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara’s credibility. But hope was still held out to be able control the military.\textsuperscript{35}

In a May 1932 news article, the first evidence appeared that America may have had an inkling of the Japanese military’s increasing governmental power when Geneva was told by the Japanese Government it couldn’t make any decisions in Manchuria without its army’s consent, nor would it back a formation of a new cabinet without its approval.\textsuperscript{37} One reason the military had that much political clout was the current economic depression, mostly among Japanese farmers. Seventy-five percent of the army was made up of farmers’ sons. Because of the intense loyalty shown by these farmer’s sons the military had the clout to push around the politicians.\textsuperscript{38}

With shortages continuing among the people because of Japan’s activities in China, the military’s prestige began to falter with the people in 1934.\textsuperscript{39} In the same year the Diet also cried interference when the military tried to talk to the United States about a potential 1935 naval crisis, an area the Government felt the military was encroaching in on that belonged to it.\textsuperscript{40} In 1934, the Times reported the Japanese government had announced in several stories they were planning curbs for the military to prevent them from getting too aggressive in China.\textsuperscript{41} At the end of 1935, Viscount Makato Saito was made Emperor Hirohito’s personal assistant and was a well-known opponent of the militarists and an arms race.\textsuperscript{42}

Following the military purges as a result of the “government by assassination,” the military influence in governmental affairs began a come back in 1935 as the military sought wider authority in political matters.\textsuperscript{43} But it was short lived as the next round of
military assassinations in 1936 allowed politicians to take back control of government from the militarists. Japanese ambassador to Washington Hiroshi Saito said, “It would be a disaster for militarist to obtain control,” and it would be, “A blow to the soul of the nation,” and, “That will never happen in Japan.” Fear of a war spread throughout Japan shortly after and the people and the Government no longer trusted the military as a result of the revolt. The Japanese army and secret societies took a political and public verbal beating in the Diet and elsewhere as a result of the February 1936 military actions. In a fiery speech, Tadao Saito said before the Diet, “The army is trampling on the rights of the Japanese people, whose hearts are burning with indications. Yet, silenced, they can only express their feelings by mute gestures. There is a limit to the people’s patience.” And a rift between the army and navy was also exposed as the navy wanted to increase trade not territory. The rift would boil over in August 1941 as the New York Times wrote, “(The) struggle between Army and Navy may decide the course” of Japan. The Army labeled the cabinet a Navy cabinet and said now was the time for action rather than establishing friendly relations with the United States. In the end the Army won with the appointment of General Eiki Tojo in October 1941.

But just when it looked like the politicians had won the struggle in 1936, socialism and right-wing unrest began creeping back into the mainstream. This at a time when a crisis was seen brewing with China. To stem any rumors the military might be adding to the crisis, Tokyo’s War Minister Count Juichi Terauchi denied widespread reports that the army was trying to divorce the cabinet from the Diet, instead he avowed the army’s loyalty to the parliament and desire to enlarge the rights of the people.
The Berlin-Tokyo Pact signed in 1936 looked like the final blow for Army involvement in the government. But as reported in the *Times*, an intolerable event occurred in the Diet, which forced the government leadership to resign, and a new Diet election to be called. Kunimatsu Hamada, the Seiyukai leader and former Speaker of the House, uttered a slur against the army in public, a social faux pas. That single tiny error on the part of one politician forced the pendulum to swing the other direction and the *Times* reported that Japan went looking for a military cabinet and pro-military premier. It was a task that took some time as the army and emperor struggled to come to an agreement. In the end it was the military who was seen the victors in this row, yet the Japanese military denied trying to set up a military fascist state. Next, Premier Senjuro Hayashi’s failed to win the support of the military after not picking their choice for war minister and the Diet was dissolved. His government then suffered the worst defeat in history by winning only fourteen seats in the ensuing election and his government resigned.

The *New York Times* first introduced in a couple of stories the movement in the military to eliminate political parties because the paper saw them as corrupt just prior to the Hayashi election debacle. The military called it a crisis and decided to form their own political party to rival the other two as the first step to gaining control. Foreign Minister Naotake Sato’s answer to this cry of crisis by the military was that there wasn’t a crisis but the army just using its favorite dogma.

Charismatic Prince Fumimaro Konoe was chosen to replace Hayashi and was popular with a nation tired of transient cabinets. He urged national unity during both of his premierships. And if there had been doubt the military was in charge before there
was no doubt toward the end of the 1930s as tensions in China changed from a spat to an armed conflict in July of 1937 despite Konoe’s efforts to oppose the conflict. The war did have the effect unite the entire country.63

The transient cabinet trend didn’t stop with Konoe as the military flexed its muscles again in 1940 and the army forced another change in the government. The military wanted Konoye (changed from Konoe) again but in a spirit of compromise settled for Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai. But the military would get Konoye back in July after they forced Yonai out.64 Times reporter Hugh Byas wrote of the events, “It is well understood that the army dismissed the Cabinet and that the Army’s wishes will shape the next administration’s policy. The people know that what the Army wants is a more totalitarian system at home and a definitely pro-Axis policy abroad.”65

It was also the stress of rising debts and industrial needs for raw materials that drove the Japanese military into power.66 Japan evolved into a military shogun system, ruled by three ministers (Foreign, Navy, and War ministers) despite a full cabinet.67

One constant feud between the Japanese Government and the military was whether or not to declare war. The military wanted to intensify the blockade of China and the Government did not because of the feared international repercussions.68

Another feud between the Japanese military and Japan’s Government was the Mobilization Bill, which gave entire control to the government in times of war to rule everything with an iron fist. The bill began its journey from strict opposition to eventual passage, which was also seen as introducing fascism, and seen as democracy versus militarism.69 Minister of Wartime Economy Masatsune Ogura explained the bill,

“The most important thing for Japan, which is waging a total war, is to mobilize its economic power. Some people underestimate Japan’s
economic potentiality. If the whole Japanese nation unites in mind and power I firmly believe the present difficulties will be easily overcome.”

A third feud between the Government and the military was on how to deal with China. The Diet wanted to know how long the war was going to go on because debate on the subject was dividing the country. The debate included outcries against the Army saying they were accountable to no one. But the feud was short lived as the military first formed their own political party then over a couple of years forced the two opposing parties and military-opposing Diet members to quit politics, leaving just a one party, very conservative system in Japan under direct control of the Army.

**Japan’s Relationship with America and Germany**

Japan’s relationship with the United States was also a source of internal political conflict and strife. Some Japanese felt a close relationship with the United States was needed and some did not. One of the first *Times* articles covering the strife was a speech by G. Hiraiz, President of the Central Land Company of Kyoto, asking for a closer harmony between America and Japan. He said, “It is highly important to have the goodwill of the United States.” Naval issues were usually the straining factor between the two countries and Japan saw in 1933 a crisis happening in 1935. Japan also wanted a non-aggression pact with United States to help avoid future crisis. After all the turmoil in Japan with the 1936 revolt, the Japanese Government came out and stated their stand for peace to reassure the governments of the world.

Despite announcing its desire for peace part of the reason for Japan’s continued activity in China was laid upon Japan’s fear of the West, especially the United States. *New York Times* reporter Hugh Byas wrote, “The driving force that impels them to build
up a Japanese empire in East Asia is the realization that as the world is organized at present they are at the mercy of distant countries. Japan demands economic security equal to (the United States).” Byas also said history showed that the United States and Great Britain had no problem interfering in China, this added to Japan’s fear. But it was an endless cycle. Fear lead to activity, which activity led to more tension with foreign countries, which led to more fear, especially after the Japanese people were told it, was facing a long not a short war in China. The Japanese people blamed tensions with other countries on Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita for not having a plan to deal with the protests from America and Great Britain. The Diet’s solution to the tension was for a limited boycott to force America and Great Britain to back off its presence in China. Incidents like the sinking of the Panay in 1937 and the attack on her sister ship Tutuila in 1941 were evidence the civilian government were not able to control the military in China as promised.

Even after Japan took Germany’s Pacific island possessions, the Germans and Japanese began building a relationship after the end of the Great War. Admiral Matsushita gave an indication how close it had grown in 1934 when he said, “We Japanese follow the developments in Germany with great interests and pleasure. In Japan we have movements very similar to National Socialism. We Japanese are very close to Germany in spirit. Not only the Japanese Navy but also the Japanese people would all like to visit here I am sure.”

*New York Times*’ reporters weren’t covering the Japanese people’s adoration of Hitler but had put in a small story inside on page eleven about some American tourists who had returned from a trip to Japan and reported, “Admiration for Hitler and Mussolini is to be found practically wherever one may go in Japan during a visit of a few weeks. To the American visitor, who has serious apprehensions about the policies of
these men, it comes as something of a shock to discover how widely they are praised in Japan. As a rule, however, this general opinion is not associated with politics, or with national or social policies.”

In November 1936 the *New York Times* reported that the Japanese linked itself to the German Reich when they signed the informal alliance known as the Anti-Comintern Pact, voicing their objection and willingness to fight Communism but denied it was aimed at China or Russia specifically. Less then a week later, the Japanese were having second thoughts and realized the risks might outweigh the rewards with all the misunderstandings it created with China and the United States. The agitation it created among its own people also worried Japan’s Government. The people protested by saying Germany received everything and Japan got nothing. The Government blamed the shortcomings of the Pact on the fact they sent a China expert to the Berlin talks and not a European expert. So much criticism was raised calling it a diplomatic blunder that Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita almost resigned as the responsible party, although later he tried to defend his actions as a desire to protect China and Manchukuo from Communism. He also came under fire four years later during his third stint as Foreign Minister for his actions in Germany. The army, militarists, and the cabinet also came under fire for their roles in the Berlin-Tokyo Pact. The new pact divided the people into two camps, those for following Germany and Italy or those in favor of returning to democracy. The next *New York Times* story, a year later, talked about the anniversary celebration. Followed up again with a story published almost a year later where Japan reaffirmed its ties to the Reich; and also emphasized it has the right to declare war on its own. The United States urged Japan to restrain the Reich’s aggression. Japan felt trapped in the neutral middle. Japan felt the United States and its own military were pushing them toward the Axis. Another result of the Anti-Comintern Pact was Germany
starting to give orders to the Japanese including telling them to back off the Dutch Indies and to stop their expansion, which doesn’t sit well with Japan. Japan also started to see itself as a German pawn in relation to the British and the Americans. The Germans admitted to trying to draw the Japanese into the European conflict until the German battleship Bismarck sank and forced Germany to reevaluate things.

Things went from bad to worse for the Japanese Government when Germany surprised Japan by signing an alliance with Russia in late August 1939, their second worse fear realized; the first being a Britain-Russian pact. The Japanese felt betrayed and isolated. But rather than rethink their Reich ties or their doubts about the Germans, the Japanese felt honor bound and announce in a *Times* article they would keep their ties while expecting embargos and its relationship with the United States to grow worse. Japanese newspapers in 1940 were calling for closer ties with Germany, something the Japanese government attempted. One result of this new development was the recall of the Japanese Ambassador to Berlin Lieut. General Hiroshi Oshima, who was one of the authors of the Anti-Comintern Pact.

The *New York Times* wrote the Japanese still went ahead and joined the Axis on September 27, 1940 despite its previous grumbling about the Anti-Comintern Pact. The *Times* wondered why it took Japan four years to join. The paper also saw the new pact aimed at the United States despite Japan’s announcing the pact was only a peace move. The *Times* also wondered about Japan’s stated desire that it still hoped for good relations with the United States. The Japanese journalist, K. K. Kawakami stationed in Washington since 1901 wrote a story for the *Times* stating in it how he felt the Japanese
had been duped by the Axis because the Germans couldn’t help Japan should the United States decide to do something in the Pacific.  

The three Axis powers met for the first time officially in Tokyo in May 1941 to discuss topics such as the United States, Indo-China, Russia, and German troop movements. But that was the only mention of the conference in the *New York Times*. Japanese officials held their own secret conference around the same time, which was singly mentioned in the *Times* as well, to discuss issues such as how Japan will be involved in helping the Axis if the United States enters the conflict, peace in the Pacific, Russia, avoiding war, and the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere.

But it appears there wasn’t enough talking and communication being done between the three countries at the first conference as the Germans invaded Russia in June 1941 without consulting with or informing the Japanese. The invasion sent Japan and its politicians reeling with thoughts of isolation running through their minds, and according to the *New York Times* several politicians lost their positions in the Government. A change in Foreign Policy was seen, although no one knew what it would be. The *Times* guessed it would be the Japanese Government easing away from the Axis and saw little change in the new cabinet appearing except for a shift from militarism to nationalism. And even with all the fallout, the Italians and the Germans asked a shell-shocked and war-weary Japanese people to go to war with Russia. Japan responded by saying it reaffirmed its Axis ties but will also honored its non-aggression pact with Russia.

In an editorial, the *New York Times* said it saw the Japanese in a no-win situation following the German invasion of Russia. They wrote if Hitler won Japan would become
a vassal state of Germany and if the Germans lost Japan would be powerless as the United States was committed to giving more aid to China.\textsuperscript{112} Japan felt they depended upon an Axis victory in Russia and Europe for its New Order in China to work as pro-Nazi, Fascist, and pro-Axis elements intensified their activities.\textsuperscript{113} However, the \textit{Times} published an article by Henry Wolfe in which he observed a lingering distrust of Germans and a pro-American feeling growing among the Japanese population.\textsuperscript{114}

\textbf{Russia and Saving Face}

Another issue of tension for the Japanese Government was the constant pressure of a potential conflict with Russia and a desire to create a buffer state.\textsuperscript{115} Part of that tension was finally relieved after the Russians and Japanese signed a non-aggression pact in April 1941.\textsuperscript{116} Some saw it as a move to keep the United States in check but Secretary of State Cordell Hull downplayed the non-aggression pact and said America’s foreign policy wouldn’t change and the agreement was not a surprise.\textsuperscript{117} It was also seen as a blow to the Axis by Sweden but it was a move the other Axis members approved.\textsuperscript{118}

Japan was a country worried about the concept of “face,” and how they appeared and were seen by the world.\textsuperscript{119} An improvement in how the world views Japan was one thing the Japanese hoped would happen at the Washington Treaty on naval limitations when it began in November 1921. The \textit{New York Times} wrote that high Japanese officials were of the opinion that the treaty, “Promises to raise Japan’s international standing higher than ever.”\textsuperscript{120} Japan’s interests in China eroded at how the world looked at Japan, even with Japan’s best attempts to explain its behaviors there. Japanese Ambassador to America, T. Matsudaira, “Cited the differences of language, history, customs and
manners as making it not easy at all times for the West and the East to understand each other.”

The *New York Times* wrote conflicting views of Japan in the 1920s. One picture painted them as warmongers and the other saw Japan as too lacking in the raw materials of steel and coal to be much of a threat to the world. Another story presented a side Japan didn’t want the world to see. Samuel Untermyer, the chief counsel for the Transit Commission who visited Japan in 1927, said,

“Notwithstanding the rapid strides of the past half century, the people still live comparatively primitive lives. Their homes are barren of what we would regard as the creature-comforts of civilized life. We found the most wealthy of them even in the great cities shivering with cold in flimsily built, unheated houses, without adequate clothing to protect them against the severity of their cold Winters and huddling around small open earthen jars filled with ashes and a few sticks of charcoal. My conception of the Japanese was so different from the reality that the disillusion has come to me as a shock. I saw nothing in their industries that leads me to believe that we need reckon with them as serious business competitors for a long time to come.”

**Isolation**

America’s passage of the Exclusion Act in 1924 created more anxiety among the Japanese. Part of the reason the Japanese were so sensitive to the Exclusion Act was their fear of becoming isolated from the rest of the world. They saw their world caving in on them mid-1921 after a sure thing, the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, vanished. That alliance had been their guiding principle of her foreign policy for so many years, including the reason it entered the Great War. The English were backing out of the treaty for two reasons, not wanting to annoy the United States and their feeling that there was going to be no need for the treaty following a successful conclusion to the Washington Treaty, which was to begin a few months after the treaty expired. This fear
also moved Japan to have an early change of heart and a conciliatory attitude of peace.127 Isaac Marcosson summed it up best after a visit to Japan, “Japan was abandoning her militaristic ideas . . . so far as her foreign policies are concerned, is undergoing a change of heart. She has discovered that her policy of aggression and forceful penetration is a huge mistake. Had she continued as before she would have been internationally isolated.”128

The Exclusion Act also had political consequences in Japan, as the current cabinet fell as result of being blamed for not stopping congress from doing what it did.129 It also created a nationalism movement in Japan.130 The Chinese clamored for some attention as well as they felt Japan was excluding them the way America was now excluding the Japanese despite the fact Japanese officials said they do not exclude them.131

**Other Political Tensions**

It was first announced in the *New York Times* in August 1932 that the Japanese were seeking the 1940 summer Olympics.132 In August 1936 it was announced that Japan had been awarded them.133 The announcement was the one thing seeming to reunite the people even though the army was getting more involved in the preparations.134 After the China conflict began things changed. American’s had mixed feelings about attending the Olympics.135 The military pushed to give up the Olympics, urging the resources for the conflict in China until the conflict was over. The Army’s view conflicted with the government and populace’s desire to stage the Olympics.136 In July 1938, the Japanese grudgingly and shamefully drop its bid to host the Olympics as a part of its 2,600-year celebration and hoped to try and earn the 1944 games. Finland became the 1940 Summer
Another source of contention over the twenty-two years from 1920 to 1941 in Japan was its budget and the fact the military continued asking for more money. In November 1921, the Navy’s cut of Japan’s budget was thirty-two percent, more than double of the United States twelve percent and four times Great Britain’s eight and half percent allocation to the Navy. Up two percent from the previous year, the Japanese were spending $81 million on naval expenditures with a total budget of $778 million. In 1941, the military would garnish seventy percent of the budget. When Admiral Baron Kato came into power in 1922, one of the first things he did was cut to the budget following the signing of the Washington Treaty. Kato’s priority in office was to curb the militarists. But that didn’t last long as the military budget began escalating with only one budget cut in 1937. Although at one point the militarists promised the bankers it would not build up the navy to where it would break the economy. At first there was opposition to the increasing military budget calling it a burden, as the people weren’t keen on the idea of their taxes being raised. But eventually the passing of the military budget became routine. Ironically, the Times wrote a handful of stories on cases where the government had to borrow money to meet the army and navy budget requests over the years. The war in China was also a factor in rising budgetary needs, increasing debt, a foundering industry, labor shortages, scarcity of necessities for the Japanese people, the Japanese Government often asking the people to make sacrifices, and the regulating foodstuffs despite governmental controls. The Government even hired policeman with their only duties being to regulate foodstuffs and crackdown on the black market and the rice
hoarders as the populace grew restless.\textsuperscript{147} Scarcity eventually lead to severe irritation because the Japanese people felt worn down and it led to political outbursts, which shocked the government because the usual response for the longest time from the people had been “Spartan silence.”\textsuperscript{148}

There were several salary disputes reported by the \textit{New York Times} as the Japanese Government tried to find ways to trim the budget that weren’t popular with the public or the press.\textsuperscript{149} In the 1929, a salary dispute led to the \textit{Tokio Asahi} to say it, “Declares that the proposal is both rash and absurd.” While the \textit{Jiji Shimpo} said, “Instead of extorting $4,000,000 from underpaid officials, the Minister should reduce the military budget.”\textsuperscript{150} A May 1931 planned $8 million railroad salary cut caused quite a stir and a strike was threatened until it was announced the emperor had authorized it.\textsuperscript{151}

Suffrage, labor issues, and unemployment also added to the political unrest. In 1926, an imperial edict added 10 million male voters by eliminating the requirement to own land and lowered the voting age to 25 in an attempt to end some unrest.\textsuperscript{152} The Diet talked about giving the voting franchise to women in 1931 but it never happened.\textsuperscript{153} Japanese labor made up most of those added to the suffrage vote and many were “chronically” unemployed.\textsuperscript{154} It was why many in Japan were watching England’s labor strike in 1926 very closely.\textsuperscript{155} Japan’s first labor strike took place in 1930 at a cotton mill and had Japan worrying about the strike spreading to other places. Workers were upset over management reducing wages by twenty percent after giving themselves a million dollar bonus.\textsuperscript{156} The labor unions and farmers tried several times over the years to organize into a political force but failed to make any inroads into the established political order.\textsuperscript{157} The \textit{Times} also ran a story on Japanese outcasts, the “Eta” class pleading for
rights but nothing else was written about it. In 1932, the *Times* ran a story written by correspondent Harold Callender that pointed out Japan’s growing nationalism as the “bitter fruit” of unemployment and dwindling trade. Add to that was stories written about the fact the two largest political parties in Japan refused to take responsibility for the currency depreciation, agricultural depression, and domestic scarcities. Several Japanese farmers tried to take matters in their own hands but were stopped before they could carry out the terrorist acts planned.

Another factor of political instability in Japan, as seen through the *New York Times*, was the power of Japanese media. The *Times* ran a piece by Miriam Beard in August 1924 about the press wielding big power. The *Times* covered the Japanese press’ coverage and opinions on issues and events prior to World War II. But the closer Japan came to December 1941 the less power it seem to wield and the more of an instrument of the government it became. For example, the army persuaded the Diet to pass a sedition law in 1936. And in 1941 the newspapers submitted to new curbs under a governmental wartime structure, which included licensing and working as a governmental organ.

**Kellogg-Briand Compact and the League of Nations**

It seemed destined from the time Japan joined the League of Nations and later signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact that Japan would become disenchanted with both. However, the majority of the *New York Times’* coverage came in the year when the signage of the Kellogg-Briand Pact took place, 1929, and for a couple of years after the “Manchurian Incident” when the League got involved in trying to sort things out between China and Japan. And a lot of that coverage was front-page news.
Tensions between the United States and Japan began almost immediately after Japan joined the League of Nations and the United States didn’t. The Times reported that many important Japanese suspected that the main reason American didn’t join the League was for the “purpose of retaining a free hand in dealing with Japan, since, instead of losing, America rather gained economically by the European War.” Japan said one of the greatest imperfections of the League of Nations was the fact the United States never joined. Japan also feared early on that the United States would be tempted to use its surplus war materials to expand in the Pacific and Asia.

Judge John H. Clarke, who stepped down as a Supreme Court justice, headed the cause to have the United States join the League of Nations. He gave a long speech covered in its entirety in a Times story. Clarke spoke in favor of joining the League or the United States would face the consequences, most likely a new war. He also said it set a poor example on behalf of America. The League’s purpose was for peace and the United States should be a part of that objective he said.

Coverage about the League or Kellogg Pact didn’t surface again in the Times until five years after Clarke’s speech. It was in 1928 when the idea of the Kellogg Pact began to gain momentum. It was reported how the Japanese were originally puzzled by the Secretary of State Frank Kellogg’s peace plan. They were also disappointed that the letter outlining the plan made no mention of renewing the Japanese-American Arbitration Treaty, which would expire August of 1928. Baron Tanaka did promise to research the proposal.

The Kellogg Pact was created for two purposes as written about in the Times. The first reason was to protect the smaller nations from aggressive larger nations. And the
second purpose of the Pact was to outlaw war. Representative Henry W. Temple of Pennsylvania said Kellogg’s plan was a step toward peace. The pact had an unexpected side effect; it started improving British and American relations as rumors of war between the two countries were scoffed at as unthinkable.

Two-months later a *New York Times* story wrote how Japan predicted failure for the Kellogg pact. Japan’s main objections to what America’s Kellogg was trying to do was the fact he was doing it all outside the boundaries of the League of Nations even though they believed in his sincerity to end war. Japan’s avoidance to endorse Kellogg’s idea was its hesitation to “unqualifiedly renounce war.”

On August 28, 1928 the Kellogg Treaty’s finishing touches were agreed upon and conditionally signed in Paris. Baron Gi-Ichi Tanaka praised the treaty creation. He said, “Japan hails that dawn and she rejoices in the prospect of an age of continuous peace. The Treaty will ever mark an epoch in history.” But not much else was written in the *New York Times* on Japan’s feelings and responses to the treaty until 1929 when countries around the world started to officially ratify the treaty. As the United States began debating the Pact in the Senate, the Japanese watch the senators closely as to see which way things would go and if the Pact would be altered in any way. Japan also witnessed eleven nations ratify and sign the anti-war treaty on March 2, 1929 but yet Japan still hadn’t decided what it was going to do about the treaty yet. Japan’s concerns regarding the treaty centered on the wording, particularly the phrase “in the name of the people.” Japan felt it was a slight to their belief in the divinity and ultimate leadership of its emperor. Japan’s Hirohito finally ratified the treaty on June 27, 1929 as the last country to sign; the treaty went into effect in July. Despite the signing, Japan’s
cabinet still feared the political repercussions of signing the Kellogg Pact even though they weren’t sure what they might be.\textsuperscript{181}

However, just a month after ratification of the treaty the \textit{New York Times} reported an incident between Russia and China over the Chinese Eastern Railway where the pact was needed to be invoked that really worried the Japanese. Secretary of State Henry Stimson stepped in and reminded both countries of their signatures on the Kellogg Treaty and to stop threatening war in this crisis. Stimson also said the United States was prepared to enforce the Kellogg Pact if necessary.\textsuperscript{182} Japan wasn’t thrilled by the United States throwing its weight around in a part of the world Japan thought it had the right to do the weight throwing. Hugh Byas, a \textit{Times}’ correspondent, wrote, “Officials are unquestionably uneasy at the sudden spectacle of America intervening in a sphere as important to Japan as is the Caribbean to the United States.”\textsuperscript{183} A year and a half later the Pact was credited by Stimson as laying the ground work for the 1930 London Naval Conference and countries being willing to participate in another naval limitations treaty.\textsuperscript{184}

The events between Russia and China showed the many nations who signed the peace agreement that more teeth needed to be added to make the Kellogg-Briand Pact more effective.\textsuperscript{185} To add teeth Representative Morton D. Hull from Illinois presented to lawmakers from around the world that the Kellogg Pact should be amended to say that it is wrong to trade with outlaw state because all nations have renounced war.\textsuperscript{186} But a huge problem the other countries saw on the two-year anniversary of the agreement was the fact the United States still was not a member of the League of Nations.\textsuperscript{187} That fact led some to feel the Kellogg Pact was just a scrap of paper.\textsuperscript{188}
Manchuria became the biggest test for the Pact and the League when Japan used the events surrounding a slain Japanese officer near Mukden, China to invade Manchuria in September 1931 and eventually, in early 1932, set up a puppet state known as Manchukuo. The *New York Times* also gave a lot of coverage to the events with multiple stories in September, October, and November 1931 covering the issue of the “Manchurian Incident” and its ties to the League and the Kellogg Pact. Japan’s actions had a domino effect with the League becoming involved in the issue and the eventual withdrawal of Japan from the League as a result of perceived interference on the League’s part. The Japanese Government apologized for Mukden but denied violating the Kellogg Pact because Japan had no intention of making war on China and that China had fired first. The Japanese resented any action by the League and saw it as meddlesome. Japan particularly saw the United States as meddlesome after the League gave a specific date to withdraw, November 16. Japan also didn’t like the idea of being forced to settle the situation with Japan by the League and being labeled by the League of Nations as an aggressor, or being ganged up on by other countries within the League. The League demanded that Japan return the three provinces that China was demanding to have returned.

The League originally backed Japan’s position and account of what happened in Mukden until Japan failed to withdraw within the time specified. Instead the Japanese considered withdrawing from the League and refused to accept anything handed out by the League in connection with China including the economic boycott the League had considered. It was also the “Manchuria Incident” that united Japan against the League. Japan viewed the League as an outside interference. And the *Times* wrote that Japan
“demands that negotiations shall come first to prepare the way for evacuation.” Japan also said the League’s views were wholly unacceptable. Even though the Japanese Government later apologized, China requested the League invoke the Kellogg Pact and prepared itself for war. China said it was time for the League to do something otherwise the League and Kellogg Pact were ineffective. China also said it would not negotiate until Japanese troops had withdrawn.

The United States and Secretary Stimson also stepped in and reminded both Japan and China of the Kellogg Pact and that both countries had signed it. Washington was worried about a larger conflict and evaluated invoking the 9-Power Treaty from the Washington Conference rather than angering Japan by calling them aggressors via invoking of the Kellogg Pact. Idaho Senator Borah was a little less concerned about diplomacy and said Japan had broken every known international law and there was no justification for force in China in a speech dedicating his peace foundation. Representatives from the United States were also put onto a inquiry board of the League of Nations. It was a move Japan opposed and saw as intruding, and had said earlier would be seen as aggravating the situation. Japan didn’t like the fact the League was looking for advice and direction from America.

Stimson announced the “Hoover Doctrine” in May 1932. The doctrine stated that the United States would not recognize any change in countries as a result of aggression, which was a reference to Japan’s action in Manchuria. The doctrine was also seen as way of putting some teeth into the Kellogg Pact. It would be a doctrine the United States would refer too over the years as it persistently refused to recognize Manchukuo.
Japan’s answer to the “Hoover Doctrine” was that Manchuria was free and wanted to have its own government separate from China.  

The British journalist J.O.P. Bland, in a New York Times story, pushed his opinion about the whole mess. He said to, “Beware in attempting to settle the Sino-Japanese dispute not to provoke a more dangerous enmity between Japan and the United States.” Bland also said that since the 1922 Washington Treaty that Japan has successfully ignored their treaty obligations. He said, “Therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that they should purposely create a situation which enables them to appeal to Geneva with a view of getting rid of those which irk them in Manchuria.”

And then suddenly the New York Times reported that Japan was willing to trust the league and accept its plan in China. The only reason cited was that Japan feared the League would inquire into past military incidents and thus the anti-Japanese propaganda would have more ammunition.

But by the beginning of 1932 Japan had reversed itself again and was saying it didn’t like the League’s attitude and went on the offensive rather than being on the defensive. Research Assistant on Far Eastern affairs T.A. Bisson announced before the Foreign Policy Association that he not only predicted a fascist dictatorship in Japan but that the Japanese would bolt the League at the first sign of pressure. War Minister Sadao Araki echoed the prediction when he said he was determined that Japan’s plan in Manchuria not be interfered with or it will leave the League. However, the League saw Japan as bluffing and thought Japan would not leave the League because it would lose its mandate to the German islands Japan had received at the end of the Great War. Princeton Professor Tyler Dennett found Japan had become defiant in her attitude and
had not acted in good faith, instead of preventing aggravation she had provoked it. He also said because of the actions of Japan in becoming provocative they had hurt the self-esteem of the League of Nations.215

Things seemed to get worse for Japan with the League at the end of 1932, which coincided with the publication of the Lytton report. The Lytton report said Japan was wrong and needed to withdraw from Manchuria. The Lytton report was also seen as a blow to the Kellogg Pact and America’s Far Eastern policy and even questioned the effectiveness of the League.216 Japan replied by saying it wouldn’t be deterred by the Lytton report and saw no reason to change its policies because it has done nothing wrong.217 Japan said it may leave the League but will never change its stance on Manchukuo. Japan even went as far as to tell the League it couldn’t do anything to stop her.218

And coverage in the New York Times starting 1933 showed the League’s hope fading for finding a solution to the Japanese-Sino conflict because of Japan’s refusal to allow American involvement.219 Japan also continued to fight any solution presented by the League, primarily because the League still refused to recognize Manchukuo.220 Japan would have like to remain a member of the League of Nations but said it would not let anyone else dictate its national policy, including what it was doing in Manchuria.221 A Japanese senior delegate to Geneva said, “Nobody in the League wants Japan to leave and Japan does not want to leave, but if the League creates certain circumstances, the League may compel Japan to leave.”222 And the Japanese said it wouldn’t give up Manchuria for any reason and if League forced the issue it would mean the end of the ‘Open Door’ policy in China.223
After the League voted to accept the Lytton report, ban Manchukuo, and begin talking about an arms embargo, the Times’ coverage of Japan’s serious talk of leaving the league increased dramatically in the month leading up to the day they actually walk out, March 27, 1933.²²⁴ It was a move Japan said they did to ‘insure peace’ as the differences between Japan and the League of Nations were now irreconcilable.²²⁵ Six months later Lieutenant General Sadao Araki said, “Germany’s withdrawal from the League is further evidence of the League’s unworthiness of existence.”²²⁶ Two weeks after that, Araki said that the Kellogg and 9-Power Pacts were defective and needed to be altered in regards to the Far East.²²⁷

Great Britain took the League’s action one step further, applying an arms embargo on the Japanese and Chinese. It was a move that surprised some and angered the Japanese.²²⁸ Yosuke Matsuoka, Japan’s League delegate, said, “The League committee made another mistake of still grave consequence in legalizing the boycott as a retaliatory measure against a foreign power.”²²⁹ Matsuoka also said this was a warning to the United States to think twice about doing a boycott.²³⁰

The boycott was also a step the United States was not prepared to do although President Roosevelt approved of the action.²³¹ Secretary Stimson said the United States supported the League’s actions but wouldn’t get involved in the Manchurian affair but hoped the Chinese and Japanese would work everything out.²³²

After a large amount of stories covering the tension between Japan and the League of Nations as well as its thoughts about the Kellogg Pact in 1932 and 1933, it was like the subject dropped off the New York Times’ radar. One story was written in two years about the League of Nations and Japan. In November 1934, the League asked Japan
if she had violated any fort building in a mandate, which Japan denied. Japan was still a member of the League of Nations through March 1935 as it was a two-year process to exit.

After Japan walked out of the League in 1933 the stories in the Times about Japan and the League and the Kellogg Pact dwindled. Stories about the Kellogg Pact briefly surfaced in July 1935 with the Italian-Ethiopia conflict. The commentary on the Kellogg Pact said it was because nobody did anything about Italy’s aggressions that the Kellogg Pact was now just a toothless bunch of signatures on a piece of paper buried in an East African grave. In response, Secretary of State Cordell Hull avowed that the Kellogg Pact was still a basis of United States’ foreign policy. He said the Pact was about the sanctity of the pledges not about doing anything. The United States didn’t actually believe someone would go back on its word and violate the pact and still believed it to be in effect. Italy said the Pact doesn’t apply to them because they had not declared war.

Representative George H. Tinkham of Massachusetts said in December 1935 that the time had come to end the Kellogg Pact. Tinkham said the treaty was not a, “Peace pact but a war pact, a delusion, and a fraud and repugnant to common sense and indeed to sanity.” He also said, “This pact is now being used to involve the United States in European quarrels and in a European war. It means war for the United States, not peace, and it should be abrogated at once.”

After another dry spell in the New York Times, in 1938 and 1939 several stories reflected on the Kellogg Pact but not with any frequency to keep it in the mind of the readers. Stories were written as the Pact approached its ten-year anniversary. A short article by the Associated Press stated that in the ten years since the Kellogg-Briand Anti-
War Pact was created in Paris there have been an estimated 2.5 million people killed in warfare and $10 billion spent, even though all the events were undeclared wars so they didn’t fall under the scope of the Pact. Thus the Pact was declared a failure because there had been several armed conflicts but the Pact had never been broken only because no one had ever officially declared war starting with the “Manchurian Incident.” Yet in two New York Times’ stories in November 1938, Hull and the United States remained stubborn in believing in Kellogg-Briand Pact and weren’t afraid to say it was still in effect and told Japan and China they should also adhere to it.

**Good-Will and Athletics**

Over the years the Japanese tried to do things to earn favor with the United States. However, coverage in the New York Times of the good-will events weren’t always front-page news and as efforts to create or maintain a pleasant feeling of peace between the two countries could easily have been overlooked.

One of the favorite ways the two countries tried to keep up the appearances of a smooth relationship was the sending of athletic teams for competition back and forth across the Pacific Ocean. One such good-will tour was Babe Ruth’s touring all-stars in November and December of 1934. Ruth and his all-stars got the royal treatment and the royal coverage by the Times. Ruth had originally been rumored to be going to Japan at the end of the 1931 season but didn’t accompany the major-league all-star team that did tour Japan. He was also offered 30,000 yen ($15,000) to play in Japan in 1925. Often times with different sports they would swap years, like a home-and-away arrangement. A Japanese baseball team from St Paul’s (Rikkio) University of Tokyo visited New York in 1932 and commented that they hoped to win a World’s Series flag
someday. While Ruth was in Japan, Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, the former President of the House of Peers, said at a luncheon with the visiting all-stars,

“Our two great peoples able really to understand and enjoy baseball there are no national differences which cannot be solved in a spirit of sportsmanship. It is no longer possible for you Americans to claim baseball as a national game for America alone. Many Japanese schoolboys do not know who is Premier but it is difficult to find a boy in Japan who does not know the names of Connie Mack and Babe Ruth.”

Japan also praised Ruth a couple months after his departure saying Ruth’s tour aided understanding between the two countries.

Baseball was the biggest sport of interest in Japan but other athletic teams visited Japan from the United States or were sent from Japan to America including track and field and swimming teams as well as flurry of college baseball teams. However, with increased hostilities between Japan and China starting with the July 1937 incident at the Marco Polo Bridge in China the New York Times was void of a single report of athletic invitations being sent or accepted at any level by either the Japanese or the Americans.

There were other events from 1920 up until Pearl Harbor that exhibited good will between the two peoples. The first example of good-will efforts of Americans towards the Japanese was covered in the Times following the destructive earthquake to hit Tokio and Yokohama in September 1923. The aid Americans sent to Japan was covered in a series of articles. It was never explained why it took seven years, but the New York Times wrote in 1930 about a trip of several Japanese girls who toured the United States at the behest of their government to officially thank the American people for their help in rebuilding Japan following the earthquake.

The unofficial mission was to,
“Express formally to the people of that country (the United States) the profound sense of gratitude held by the citizens of Tokio and the rest of Japan for the generous and timely assistance given to millions of sufferers from the 1923 earthquake and fire disaster, and formally to inform the American people of the completion of the memorable work of reconstruction of the stricken districts.”

The visiting girls also made a special point to visit Salvation Army Commander Evangeline Booth. Booth had made a two-month visit to Japan the year before to open a clinic, which was being opened on the heels of a hospital opening that was built in June from the leftover funds from 1923 earthquake aid. On her return Booth said,

“I was impressed with the earnestness and intelligence of the people. Their intellectual power is remarkable. In my opinion nothing can stop Japan’s rapid progress toward national efficiency, for love of education and ambition for the best are apparent everywhere. I found the Salvation Army in Japan a real fighting force.”

Booth was also the first woman ever to be granted a private interview with the Emperor of Japan. Hirohito was greatly interested in the work of the Salvation Army in Japan.

A story that received a lot of attention in 1927 was the sending of dolls by American children to Japanese children. Japan officially hailed the gifts from America in “Charming ceremonies.” There were forty-eight dolls given, representing one from each state. Japan did the giving in early 1929. They sent 500 cherry trees to Washington to replace the trees destroyed by flooding in the summer of 1928.

It was announced in the New York Times in April 1929 that twelve newspapermen would go on a good-will tour to Japan, Manchuria, China, and Korea. However, not much was written about the tour or its affect on goodwill.

And in November 1930 Prince Tokugawa noticed the improved relations between the two countries when he said, “I am delighted to observe that in recent years there has
been a steady growth of mutual appreciation and better understanding between our two peoples.” He said some of the evidence for the understanding was the Washington and London Naval Treaties and the Kellogg Pact.

Japan received some visits from notable as well as famous people traveling from the United States. Several such visitors that helped improve goodwill were Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, Charles Lindbergh, and Columbia Professor Paul Monroe. The first three were well received and Monroe was there to accept a 700-book donation from Emperor Hirohito to Columbia’s new Japanese cultural center.

Something else that generated goodwill and good competition at the same time in the 1930s was the art of flying. Both countries were interested in pushing man and machine to new heights and records, particularly getting across the Pacific in the fastest time and with the fewest stops. At one point the Japanese even offered a $50,000 prize to the first pilot to make a trans-Pacific flight without a stop. It’s why the Japanese were excited to get the news of Lindbergh’s stop in their country on his flight around the world. The Japanese broke records flying in the east and west.

Japan also flew important political, civic and industrial leaders to America to generate good faith including Prince Takamatsu, the emperor’s younger brother, in May 1931. He was overwhelmed by the reception he got from the Japanese children in Los Angeles. Japan sent another envoy in 1932 headed by Vice-Admiral Kichisabura Nomura to help ease what Japan perceived as growing tension between the two countries. Viscount Kikujiro Ishii made a long-planned visit in May of 1933 to seek reconciliation with the United States. Of his visit Ishii said,

“In spite of all the harsh words that have been spoken by some of your people and, I regret to have to admit, some of our own people in the
past score of months. I am convinced more than ever that the heart of either nation is in the right place.\textsuperscript{269}

Japan also announced in 1933 a good-will visit of its Navy to several U.S. ports and the United States responded with an announcement that it would send its Navy to some Japanese ports.\textsuperscript{270} And in 1934, Japan tried to improve relations through correspondence before sending Ambassador Saito on a goodwill tour throughout the United States in an effort to smooth things out and present the view of Japan’s Government that it hadn’t broken any treaties.\textsuperscript{271} It was the same Saito who would pass away in the United States and the cruiser U.S.S. Astoria later returned his ashes to Japan in 1939, which touched the Japanese.\textsuperscript{272}

Foreign Minister Kiko Hirota also tried to get Roosevelt in 1934 to travel to Hawaii to meet and suggested it would be a spectacular gesture on America’s part for amity.\textsuperscript{273} Japan was disappointed when Roosevelt declined and saw it as Roosevelt disregarding the olive branch Japan was holding out.\textsuperscript{274} While it may not have been Japan’s first choice, Hirohito did receive Vice President John N. Gardner and Speaker of the House Joseph W. Byrns in October 1935.\textsuperscript{275}

In 1936, the \textit{New York Times} wrote about how Japan hosted forty-two Americans from eighteen colleges to participate in the third Japanese-American Student Congress in an effort to find solutions and build good relations between the youth of each country.\textsuperscript{276} A year before this article, the \textit{Times} wrote a story about Utah Senator Elbert D. Thomas advocated the idea of a student exchange program between Japan and the United States. Thomas had spent five years as a teacher in Japan and worried unless goodwill was built up then it will bring “the bloodiest (war) ever known to the world.”\textsuperscript{277} He also voiced his opposition to the Exclusion Act and encouraged a “necessary understanding.”\textsuperscript{278}
In 1937, Japan named three prominent Japanese men, including an editor of the 
*Tokyo Nichi Nichi* named Shingoro Takaishi, to travel to the United States for two 
months and outline Japan’s Far Eastern policy to key members of the American media, 
editors and publishers, and establish a permanent cultural relationship. These emissaries 
told America that Japan was not aggressive but it just want a buffer state between her and 
Russia. These men also said Japan didn’t want to conquer China, who started the war; 
Japan just wanted China to cooperate with Japan’s New Order goals. Japan also wanted 
for all anti-Japanese feelings by Americans to dissipate.²⁷⁹

Premier Konoe’s brother, Viscount Hidemaro Konoe, traveled to America on a 
goodwill tour in October 1937. However, he cancelled his trip halfway through it and 
returned home because he found “propaganda” everywhere for China on his visit and was 
disgusted by Japan’s poor showing in the United States. He urged a public relations 
campaign to bolster his countries image. He described what he saw at a picture show 
depicting a bombing in Shanghi, as he felt uncomfortable at the hissing at the Japanese 
flag and the booing of what he called heroic Japanese soldiers fighting in China.²⁸⁰ He 
said,

“The bodies of Chinese are strewn about the streets. The captions tell 
of the ravages of war and Japanese aggression. When there is a picture 
of Japan it shows the slums of Tokyo or bums asleep in drain pipes, 
giving the impression that the Japanese are a nation’s of bums. It has 
disgusted me.”²⁸¹

The *Times* reported on a Pro-Japanese drive in American schools being made in 
1939. The Sino-Korean Peoples League, made up of prominent Japanese, was an effort to 
promote Japan in American schools but it was not well received and a complaint was sent 
to the Seventh International Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations being held at 
Virginia Beach, Virginia.²⁸²
Japan combined its love of flying and desire to create amity with the United States as the Japanese newspapers *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* hired seven fliers to go around the world spreading a goodwill message.\(^{283}\)

Japan also awarded various Americans over the years with a variety of honors. Japan erected a statue in Tokyo to honor the first envoy to Japan, Townsend Harris.\(^{284}\) They honored Miss Annie Lyon Howe with the Blue Ribbon for her thirty-seven years as a Christian educator in Japan.\(^{285}\) Hirohito and Japan honored three more teachers; one with the Fifth Class Order of the Sacred Treasure, one with the Sixth Class Order and another with a Blue Ribbon all in connection with the twenty-sixth centennial celebration of the founding of the Japanese Empire.\(^{286}\) And in 1941 the Japanese decorated Dr. Charles Shriver Reifsnider, an American Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and former president of Japan’s St. Paul’s University with the Third Class Order of the Sacred Treasure.\(^{287}\)

The *New York Times* ran a story in 1924 by English writer Clarence L. Brownell who discussed a theory he had on why there was so much difficulty in a common understanding between the two countries. His theory and story looked at the lack of laughter in Japan. He said the Japanese were, “A race whose grim courage can face anything but ridicule.”\(^{288}\) This inability to laugh and understand American’s need to laugh may have lead to someone to understand the gulf of misunderstanding between the two countries. It might also have helped in understanding why Japan was so disappointed when after all its attempts at creating goodwill failed. The first failure written about the *Times* was in October 1935 when New York City officials in Mayor La Guardia’s office
carried off some valuable prints and carvings that Japan had sent as a good-will token.

The Times reported the mayor being put into an embarrassing position.289

But Japan was really banking on how its good-will broadcast in April 1939 to the
World’s Fair in New York would draw the two countries closer. Premier Hiranuma said
that relations between the two countries have been growing closer since the Treaty of
1854. He also said,

“The New York World’s Fair is an event of profound significance; not
only does it commemorate the 150th anniversary of the establishment
of the Government of the United States in the inauguration of your
first President, but it has been organized to serve as a guidepost for
building the World of Tomorrow, to inspire hope, courage and ideals
in the minds and hearts of all peoples and to promote international
cooperation in a spirit of tolerance and good-will, with a view to
bringing later happiness and prosperity to mankind.”290

According to a story in the New York Times, ’it all seemed to be caving in on
Japan as anti-Japanese sentiment in America seemed to be rising despite all of the good-
will effort being made by them.291 The Times summed up the different Japanese
newspapers’ comments on the good-will failures by writing, “All Japan’s doll missioners
to America, Flames of Friendship girls, girl dancers and glad hand pilgrims in general
have been useless, is the conclusion that the Japanese press, entirely unassisted by an
official lead, draws from Washington’s latest gesture.”292 The Japanese newspaper
Kokumin wrote the headline, “Revise Good-Will Diplomacy; Don’t be Sycophants.”293

The Japanese people had lost all hope in their Foreign Office to establish a good
relationship with the United States. The Japanese newspapers said Japan had done
everything to make peace with the United States but said America had done nothing in
return. The Japan Times wrote,

“Japan holds forth her mantle and points out the unkindest cut of all.
The cut was made by the hand of an American whom we always
believed to be our best friend. It has deeply wounded those who trustfully believed that words of friendship were a magic wand.\textsuperscript{294}

One ultimate move at creating good will unwittingly may have been the 3,000 American-born Japanese who decided to remain in Japan even with the threat of war and American officials urged them to leave Asia. They said they wanted to remain to improve relations two weeks before Pearl Harbor. But with the advent of war their token sacrifice was not measurable or written about in the \textit{New York Times}.\textsuperscript{295}
CHAPTER SIX
JAPANESE ECONOMICAL TENSIONS

Economy

One Japanese politician, Viscount Shimpu Goto, the former mayor of Tokio realized early on the extent of the symbiotic relationship between Japan and the United States and felt something drastic would have had to happen to break that bond. Goto said, “I have always opposed the hotheads who claim that the interests of Japan and America are conflicting. The loss of our silk trade with America alone would paralyze Japan. I maintain that the two great Pacific nations must be mutually friendly.”1

However, while the New York Times’ wrote a large number of stories over the years documenting Japan’s various economic troubles and successes. The Times habitually placed the stories deep inside the paper, failed to write stories with any sort of frequency, forgot to write follow up stories, or write the stories in financial terms the public could understand. Either that or the Japanese were very good at hiding the effects of the various economic catastrophes. Another fault with the Times’ coverage was that there were only a handful of stories in the years leading up to the war, other things and world events took precedence over following Japan’s economic well being.2

Japan’s economic troubles started in the 1920s with the worldwide depression following the Great War. The first mentions of an economic upswing would not be written about until the start of 1931.3 It was a depression the Japanese looked to be climbing out of until a large earthquake struck in September 1923.4 Things wouldn’t get any better for the Japanese. An American who visited Japan in 1922, Isaac Marcosson, said Japan was near crisis and panic as a result of the serious economic situation and then an earthquake leveled Yokohama and severely damaged Tokio on September 1, 1923.5
Best estimates by the *New York Times* were that 250,000 Japanese lost their lives either in collapsing buildings, tidal waves, fires, ensuing panic as terror swept Japan, or from famine. America sent money and supplies and naval ships to help Japan recover from the disaster, which did help ease some of the ill will of the ongoing exclusion talk in the United States and on the West Coast.

An economic update story in the *Times* to start 1924 showed that Japan was well on its way to full recovery and should soon return to its place as a leading industrial and trading nation. Japan had also discussed the idea of installing a market system based on the American model but nothing was ever written again about that after the earthquake.

Once again looking at the coverage of the *New York Times*, it was evident that it wasn’t writing stories with any consistency and the paper was writing stories that were sending mixed messages to its readership.

Some news of Japan’s economic trials was only available from travelers rather than directly from *New York Times* correspondents. One such traveler, G.S. Brown, President of the Alpha Portland Cement Company, who had spent three months in Japan, reported that so far there had been no building boom in Japan as expected following the earthquake.

**Manchuria**

Japan’s economic problems were not only limited to its islands but they had issues with China as well. Japan issued a warning in October 1924 to the Chinese in Manchuria that they wouldn’t tolerate any damage to Japanese rights, lives, or interests. It went hand-in-hand with their non-interference policy. Apparently they believed that the Chinese ignored that warning because they sent a military force two weeks later into...
Manchuria to protect its interests and called the military force a cautionary maneuver.\textsuperscript{11} The Chinese Civil War, raging in 1925, once again drew Japan’s attention to its financial interests in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{12} In January 1926, Marshal Chang Tso-lin’s, “First act of retaliation against Japan for failing to give him material support during the recent civil war in Manchuria … is a proclamation making it illegal for foreigners to lease Manchurian Lands.”\textsuperscript{13} Japan said the edict was a direct violation of treaties between the two countries.\textsuperscript{14} Yusuke Tsuraumi, the Japanese Liberal Party leader, said in a \textit{Times}’ story that Japan’s policy in China was “primarily economic,” and Japan was only interested in protecting its interests there. He said Japan needed China’s raw materials as well as its markets for the finished goods.\textsuperscript{15}

Yet while Manchuria may have been seen as a solution in 1931, it became a millstone starting in 1937 and got worse after the incident outside Peiping (Beijing) on the Marco Polo Bridge that started the ‘unofficial war’ between the Japanese and Chinese.\textsuperscript{16} The \textit{New York Times} reported economic problems as early as May 1937 and several times before the end of 1941 as food and necessity scarcities, and rising prices were taking precedence over politics.\textsuperscript{17} The Japanese went so far at to create an ‘economic police’ numbering in the thousands for the purpose of controlling price levels and enforcing government policies in Japan.\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Times} correspondent Hugh Byas wrote, “Many signs indicate that the country is entering an era where economic factors will exercise an increasing influence on events.”\textsuperscript{19} The \textit{Times} covered the economic effects of the Japan-China conflict. They wrote about how the new war was straining Japanese finances and costing five million dollars a day. The Japanese Governmental propaganda to its people was that Japan must meet the new burdens with sacrifices and that new trade
markets were needed.²⁰ Some of those sacrifices included limiting imports and raising taxes.²¹ Yet what imports they did receive from the United States were viewed as vital and they could not afford to lose them.²² Japan also began issuing war deficit bonds and forced the public to buy them.²³ Japanese stocks and trade tumbled as result of the new conflict.²⁴ There was only one story in the Times about trade being up and that was in 1940 where exports were up fifty percent in 1939 over 1938s total (See Appendix E).²⁵ The conflict in China also ate into Japan’s gold reserves, which were needed to pay for war materials.²⁶ As a result, Japan had to increase its gold output as well.²⁷ Japan needed to borrow money to pay for the war in China.²⁸ Although, the Bank of Japan reported Japan’s economy as being normal, Columbia University’s Hugh Borton said in a Foreign Policy Association luncheon that Japan was far away from an economic collapse, and Japan’s Ministry of Finance stated the economy was capable but sacrifices would need to be made in three different New York Times stories, conflicting what was reported in earlier editions of the paper.²⁹

Financial Crashes

The earthquake was an event that not only had serious economic effects in 1923 but the economic aftershocks were felt in 1927 when thirty banks and other businesses either failed or were temporarily closed, including eight banks in one week.³⁰ Bankers in Japan said the crash wasn’t unexpected and it could have been worse as there was a lot financially at stake for the ruling class;³¹ a fact that didn’t sit well with the Japanese public. The Japanese public vocally criticized against, “The plan to advance public money to companies which made enormous profits during the boon and neglected to build up reserves.”³² Japan also saw a slow recovery as a consequence of the financial
crash, which was why the government stepped in and closed the remaining banks until things could be reorganized. The naming of Baron Tanaka as the new premier helped the economic recovery process and had a reassuring effect on the public. Before his appointment, several major companies failed in 1925 and 1927, which added to the economic whirlwind and a depression that “shows no sign of abating.” The original prognosis for recovery had been good and the predictions were for a quick recovery. But the *Times* reported that the recovery never materialized into the economic and reconstruction boon Japan had hoped for, although the Japanese were successful in rebuilding Tokio and Yokohama over time. Also during that time two announcements for loans by the Japanese Government were made in the *New York Times*’ coverage but it was never said what the loans were for.

**Budgets**

Part of the economic whirlwind in Japan revolved around its budget. The *New York Times* wrote about Japan’s budget every so often, and usually it was associated with something negative like budget cuts or budget deficits or owing a lot of money to others. In November 1927, the Japanese were forced to cut the budget because they were having a hard time finding sufficient revenue. This news could have confused the reader because at the first of the same year the *New York Times* reported that Japan had announced a new fiscal plan that would use its surplus to redeem outstanding national loans. The Japanese Government also said there was evidence of economic improvements in fewer notes issued, a reduction in the discount rate, improvements in the price of securities, and an advance in the price of the Yen. Japan was forced in 1929 to cut its budget again by $80 million.
The parade of record setting budgets for Japan, as recorded by the *Times*’ coverage, began in 1932 when the Diet passed a record high $469.4 million budget for the military, which created a $190 million deficit. The *Times* wrote that the Japanese people had resigned themselves to high military expenditures.\(^{42}\) The *Times* also wrote that the budget in 1932 was seventy percent over its current revenue.\(^{43}\) The Japanese were worried about the unbalanced budget combined with shrinking revenues. Japan fretted over a rising deficit that the *Times* tracked as steadily rising over the years starting at $270 million in 1932.\(^{44}\) Japan’s deficit reached 720 million Yen in August 1937.\(^{45}\)

**Trade Relationship with the United States**

While things were turbulent in the early 1920s, things started to reverse themselves slowly in 1929. Japan increased its steel output in its most significant economic development to date, doubling its 1920 output.\(^{46}\) And economist Duncan K. Overcall in the annual review of the *Japan Advertiser* said the overall economic welfare of Japan was fine and they had plenty for their big population and Japan had seen many gains in industry and commerce recently.\(^ {47}\)

The understood value of the trade relationship between the two countries was a factor for hesitancy by Japan to get angry at the United States over the years.\(^ {48}\) Politicians weren’t happy with exclusion but advocated a friendship with America knowing the United States was its best business asset.\(^ {49}\) President of the Seiyuka Genera, Baron Tanaka, saw the importance of trade with America. He said, “We will attempt to develop closer economic relations with America and China, As Japan’s national prosperity depends largely thereon.”\(^ {50}\) He was also one of the few politicians quoted talking
negatively about Japan’s economy. Tanaka said, “Our domestic problems are many and urgent.” He also said,

>“Of our financial and economic problems, one of the greatest is responsibility for the huge American investments recently made here. This capital must be employed for the country’s permanent benefit, developing our natural resources and stimulating and encouraging industries.”

K. Uchiyama, Japanese Counsel in America, said at a Rotary Club meeting,

>“Japan’s economic existence depends to a large extent upon the most friendly and cordial relations with your country.”

A *New York Times* editorial in 1927 said that most Americans didn’t understand America’s reliance upon Japan. The United States took nearly half of Japan’s exports and sent Japan one-third of their imports, including Japan’s most important import of oil. It was also Japan’s important link to the democracies of America and Great Britain. Kensuke Horinouchi, Japan’s ambassador to Washington in the late 1930s, said,

>“What is impressive is the fact that two great nations have preserved an unbroken friendship for many years. And looking toward the future, Japan sees few reasons for an end to this peace. In the past all difference between your people and mine have proved capable of friendly solution over counsel tables. The common benefits of trade alone should be enough to guarantee this.”

One reason the Japanese relied so much on trade was the fact it needed the raw materials as well as only having twenty percent of its own land available to be used for agriculture.

One American who offered his opinion on the importance of future trade was Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske. Fiske said,

>“Foreign Trade will be one of the most important world factors in the next twenty years. And this means increased probability of foreign war
because of the vast amounts of money involved, declaring that the class of material interests had been the underlying cause of most wars.”

Japan realized how vital uninterrupted trade was with America; even a slight interruption could be devastating. Trade between the two countries was even called the most important factor for the maintaining that good will.

Some Americans, ones who knew the Japanese well, could see that as fact as well. Former Ambassador to Tokyo William R. Castle was one such person and he said,

“It is perfectly clear, therefore, that any interruption of trade with America would be exceedingly difficult for Japan, that a complete cessation of that trade, which would result from a declaration of war, would be utterly disastrous. In other words, Japan has nothing to gain and everything to lose through war with the United States.”

Japan’s trade could best be described as a roller coaster in the 1920s and was also impacted by the natural disasters. The varying reports in The New Times made it difficult to determine the health of the Japanese economy and its trade as well as the fact that the trade reports were buried deep inside the paper. But most reports showed Japan’s trade struggles in detail and it was decreasing instead of improving. It was as bumpy a ride in the 1930s including hitting a 10-year economic low in 1930. Other lows in a bad year for Japan economically included fifty-percent unemployment, a layoff of 8,000 from the naval yards (also seen as a result of naval limitations), low silk prices, a near panic that closed the Tokio Stock Exchange for a short time, which had been linked to a cotton mill worker strike, and Japan having to borrow twenty-five million dollars to cover its relief to the unemployment. Some also credited the lifting of the gold embargo as causing the 1930 economic crisis. The Times reported that, “The economic crisis follows a long period of decline in trade and industry, which recently was accentuated, owing to several adverse elements in the export market.” Japan showed a brief recovery in early 1931 as
covered by the *New York Times*, as Japan increased its trade and the markets were fairing better. But two months later Japan showed a drop in its exports, a salary dispute, narrowly avoids a railroad strike, the Chinese boycott following the “Manchurian Incident” began taking its toll, and Japan took a heavy loss of $12.5 million in a dollar speculation venture.

**Japanese Farmers**

Between 1932 and 1933 the *New York Times*’ coverage sounded like a broken record with repeat mentions of the Chinese boycott, low silk prices, currency inflation, bankers warning of economic struggles if the war in China is prolonged to the army and predictions of economic doom from businessmen and politicians. One new economic crisis in 1932 came from the agrarian sector of Japan. It seemed an economic depression among the farmers was growing as a result of political wasteful methods, falling prices, and a rising debt. The *New York Times* reported that the public became stirred by the farmers’ plight. Byas covered for the *Times* how the Prefectural Governors parleyed in Tokyo to talk of the acute need of rural Japanese and how a wide rural area is virtually bankrupt and farmers are unable to meet obligations. Japan’s Diet called an emergency session to aid the farmers and discussed relief bills that would call for about $100 million. The *New York Times* wrote the Japanese Diet failed to ease farm debts. But with an article in October 1932 by Byas, Japan was still talking about the real social problem in Japan of farmers sinking into poverty under the present system as if the issue were still up for debate before the Diet. And in 1933, it was reported that farmers had a bumper rice crop but it ruined the farmers because of the low prices, as the Japanese Government was not able to help artificially set the price. In December 1934 it was
reported the cabinet stepped in to stop a revolt, as the Diet still hadn’t done anything about relief appropriations. The Government was criticized for spending money on the military while people went hungry.79 In 1935 the saga continued as the premier offered fifteen million yen in relief as compared to the 180 million yen the Seiyukai political party had been asking for and yet again a decision was not reached.80

**Economic Rebound**

Another Japanese economic rebound exhibited itself in 1933 with a minor financial boom with rising silk prices and lowering unemployment.81 Finance Minister Korekiyo Takahashi told the Japanese Diet that Japan was financial sound as the adverse trade balance fell fifty percent and Japan’s exports increased twenty-three percent.82 The New York Times reported Japanese trade also rose with the Far East during the first five months of 1934, 1935, 1937 and rose all throughout 1936, including setting new trade records and lifting Japan out of a slump.83

**Trade Treaties and Dumping Goods**

In 1934 the Japanese began asking the United States for new trade treaties for several reasons. Japan first wanted a trade treaty to protect its silk trade.84 Also, Japan wanted to have a three-cornered accord with Latin America and the United States to cut Japan’s adverse trade balance.85 Japan was worried about the United States buying fewer Japanese goods.86 According to the New York Times’ coverage, the two countries signed a new agreement on textiles in September 1935; Ambassador Saito called it a “Gentleman’s Agreement” on the Philippine Market.87 Japan and the United States signed another trade agreement in 1937 to curb the exports of cotton from Japan to America; it solved a problem that had been a sore spot between the two countries since 1935.88
Over the years Japan tried to build up trade with other countries in addition to the United States, especially after 1939 when Roosevelt announced the ending of the 1911 trade agreement, which would official be void as of January 26, 1940. Former Counselor of the Japanese Embassy in Washington, Yakichiro Suma, said two factors created the attitude in the American people to cause President Roosevelt to abrogate the 1911 trade treaty, they were the sinking of the gunboat Panay by Japanese aviators and the abuse of American Christian missionaries in China by Japanese soldiers.

Germany was one of the first to work out a trade agreement with the Japanese. They wanted to restore the dye trade lost because of the Great War, a trade that the United States benefited from and would be hurt economically if things returned to the way they were. The Germans sweetened the deal by throwing in information about explosives. The Times failed to do a follow article to see how much of the dye trade was restored, how the chemicals might have helped Japan militarily, or how much it hurt relations with the United States. Japan was desperate for trade for the natural resources they lacked. They were even willing to attend an Asian economic parley with countries it disliked and its only bond to these countries was their anti-western ideals.

Japan began increasing its trade with Latin America in early 1934, which cut into the United States’ economy because it meant Latin America was buying less from the Americans. Japan also looked to buy cotton in Brazil, and signed trade pacts with Iraq, Guatemala, and the Netherlands in 1935. And later make trade agreements with Nicaragua, Chile, Costa Rica, Argentina, Mexico (oil for silk), Uruguay, Spain, Columbia, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Japan sought its most desired raw material from Saudi Arabia in 1939 but the United States beat out Japan for the rights to develop oil there.
And with those nations they didn’t made trade treaties with they bought ore and mineral mines and arranged to purchase raw materials from, including oil from the Dutch Indies after Mexico cut them off because of American-Japanese tensions in 1940.98

But by mid-1934 Latin and South America were trying to curb trade with Japan, who they accused of dumping goods.99 Dumping refers to the practice of flooding cheap goods into other countries, and it was a practice the Japanese denied doing but were accused of by many countries including the United States, Great Britain, India, Australia, New Zealand, Dutch East Indies, most of Europe, and China.100 The British and Americans called it the menace of Japanese competition.101 Japan was uneasy about the trade war but prepared for the eventual economic conflict with Great Britain and announced it would retaliate reciprocally against any country that accused Japan of unfair trading practices as Japan’s cabinet stepped in to take over control of the countries trade.102 The United States and Great Britain each fired shots in the trade war with the United States invoking an anti-dumping law aimed at the Japanese as well as saw its Pacific ports raise tariffs, slowing down Japan’s imports,103 and the British cut textile buying with Japan by fifty-seven percent.104 After dumping stories had quieted down in the New York Times, it ran a story in September 1937 in which the Japanese were found selling goods to Latin America with labels ‘Made in U.S.A.’ on them trying to get around import quotas.105 Japan also paid the price for a short time for dumping according to a Times’ story, which said Japan’s overproduction was causing its stocks to decline.106

The effect of the anti-dumping efforts on the part of the world against Japan evidenced itself again in 1939 when the Japanese announced it would keep the door open in China in exchange for the world opening back up its doors to Japan.107 Also, Japan
listed three demands in connection with the open door policy. They were equality of the Oriental races including the abolition of colonial conditions in China and the freedom to reside and travel everywhere; freedom of world commerce including the liquidation of economic blocs and tariff barriers and import quotes; and the fair distribution of national resources. The *Times* also printed a story discussing Japan’s trade difficulties as a result of the European war and uncertainties over a trade agreement with the United States.

**Gold and the Yen**

Another thing Japan tried to do to improve its trade and economy was to return to the gold standard from the paper standard by shipping gold to America. It was something Japan had wanted to do earlier but had delayed the plan because of the financial crisis of 1927. The *New York Times* wrote about every gold shipment to America frequently and at least once a year gave updates as to how much had been shipped for the year. The gold must have arrived safely because there were never any stories in the *Times* that talked about Japanese gold heists.

More gold was shipped to the United States after 1930 when the Japanese lifted the ban on the export of gold for the first time since 1917. The *New York Times* ran a couple of stories in November 1929 talking about Japan’s return to the gold standard from paper, the last power to do so. That move was said to be done so Japan would be able to pay off loans on better terms, able to improve trade balances, and economic stabilization would be highly beneficial in the long run. The lifting of the embargo only lasted about two years as in December 1931 the Japanese restored the gold embargo. It was a highly contested move, particularly by former Finance Minister Junnosuke
Inouye, who said there was no technical reason for the crisis and the move will do “irrevocable damage to the country’s financial position.” Part of the controversy was because of the lifting of the embargo’s initial success. But even with the return of the gold embargo Japan still shipped gold to America in 1932. Or so it appeared until the New York Times ran another story five years later in 1937 announcing Japan would start shipping gold again after a five-year ban, one reason being Japan wanted to bolster its credit in the United States. Then the gold shipments received mention again from time to time in the Times. At one point the United States held fifty-eight percent of the world’s gold, five times as much as the nearest rival.

The New York Times also wrote several articles over the years about the rise and fall of the Japanese Yen as well as its discount rate as it related to the Yen. In April 1925, the Times ran a story that gave the first indication Japan was recovering from the earthquake, if ever so briefly. The story discussed Japan’s lowering of the discount rate for the first time in six years. The article said Japan, “Has begun to emerge from its troubles.” The discount rate was lowered again in March 1927 to its lowest point in ten years. Another sign of recovery was that the Yen rose to its highest point since the earthquake in February 1926. The Yen gained again at the end of the year and the Times reported the situation revealed again Japan’s recovery from the earthquake. The Yen recovered some in 1930; only to fall again in 1932, which was disturbing to the people of Japan.

Tariffs

Another aspect of trade between the countries of the world was the talk of tariffs. In March 1929 the Times reported that Tokio raised the tariff on lumber imports of
American pine, cedar, spruce and hemlock, which primarily came from the American Northwest. It was a move to increase Japan’s revenue by about 6.5 million Yen, a move opposed by Japanese consumers of lumber and American importers.\textsuperscript{127} The international community even came together at the end of 1929 to talk about tariffs and removing trade barriers. Japan, the United States, and Great Britain all signed the trade pact to ban tariffs in hopes of creating a freer trade.\textsuperscript{128} Japanese Ambassador to America Katsuji Debuchi said something similar in 1931 when he, “Made a plea for cooperation among nations with a view of removing harmful economic barriers and suicidal business competition as a means of accelerating recovery from the world-wide economic depression.”\textsuperscript{129} Despite these sentiments, the Japanese Diet chose to raise tariffs to meet expenses of the Manchurian campaign and passed inflationist bills.\textsuperscript{130}

The \textit{New York Times} used a lot of space covering a speech given by Japan’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Koki Hirota on foreign relations. In the speech Hirota denounced trade barriers but makes no mention to his own countries history of tariffs, only that his country is trying to reach fair agreements with other countries.\textsuperscript{131} Hiroshi Saito, Japan’s ambassador to the United States, also asked that trade barriers be eased but made no mention to Japan’s tariffs when he said, “(Japan) believes in the liberty of trading as an important prerequisite of world economic recovery.”\textsuperscript{132} Another barrier the Japanese put up was that all company stock in Japan must have its majority stocked owned by a Japanese citizen. It was aimed primarily at the auto industry, which was mostly American owned.\textsuperscript{133} One other obstacle to world trade as covered in the \textit{New York Times} was the arms race.\textsuperscript{134}
The United States also examined the issue of trade curbs and determined that tariffs would hurt American exports and would do more harm than good. President Roosevelt wished for liberalized trade and wanted scaled back tariffs. He said, “No permanent world recovery can be counted upon until the world trade barriers have been scaled down to reasonable dimensions.” American talk of boosting tariffs a year later worried the Japanese who felt, “They deserved sympathetic treatment since they are good customers.”

Businessmen from the Pacific nations met again in Hawaii for a three-day trade parley in 1932. A world trade parley was held in London in 1933 where countries discussed monetary and credit policy, movement of capital, restrictions on international trade, tariffs, and trade organization and production. The world tried an economic parley again in Paris in November 1935, but with no results.

**Boycotts**

Dr. Nicholas Butler, president of Columbia University, had a solution to deal with aggressive nations who attacked another country. Butler proposed imposing blockades on the aggressor as per Article XVI of the League of Nations Covenant. “He proposed that the United States recognize any such blockade as the punishment of an aggressor provided it was not directed against a nation in the Western Hemisphere.”

Coverage of boycotting Japan in the *New York Times* could best be described as luke warm on its way to hot. The idea of boycotting Japan didn’t start creeping into the *Times’* coverage until after the ‘Manchurian Incident’ in late 1931 and early 1932. Outrage over alleged Japanese aggression in China led to the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy to vote for a boycott of all things Japanese, “Unless the
Japanese Government immediately takes cognizance of its treaty obligations to the world and withdraws its forces of invasion from Chinese territory.”142 Two other groups, made up of twenty Harvard professors and the Boston Society of Women, supported a boycott of Japan.143

Idaho Senator William E. Borah was opposed to a boycott as the answer to Japanese aggression. He said,

“Those who are urging an economic boycott on the part of our government seem to look on it as a peace movement. It would, in my opinion, be a movement of a wholly different kind. An economic boycott is in the nature of a threat, and might easily be the first step toward war. Regardless of what one may think of Japan’s course and the deplorable situation in Shanghai, an economic boycott should not be urged by our people.”144

Borah and others like him, including Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton, Yale Professor Edwin Borchard, and Japan’s Viscount Kikujiro Ishii and Kensuke Horinouchi, saw boycotting Japan as a declaration of war not a peaceful measure.145 Ishii said,

“One of the worst forms of treaty violation and abrogation is boycott. If any nation in this modern world is permitted to break treaties at will and to employ the most dangerous form of boycott every time it has disagreements with its neighbor or neighbors, it is difficult to see how peace among nations can be preserved.”146

While the idea of a boycott was shelved early on and not much attention was given to it, it was apparent by the stories in the Times that the American public and officials within the United States Government were entertaining a boycott, if not now, then in the future. The strongest evidence was in a story in the Times announcing that Congress had given President Franklin D. Roosevelt power to embargo arms.147 And the general consensus in Washington was that while war was not possible between the
United States and Japan that moral sanctions should still be considered including an import quota, which would hit Japan the hardest.\textsuperscript{148}

The idea of a boycott was mentioned only a couple of times in 1935 and 1936. Stories during those two years talked about the boycott as a potential weapon, including Secretary Hull who said trade was the way to curb war. The United States also passed the Arms Embargo Act stating America wouldn’t sell arms to belligerents.\textsuperscript{149}

Coverage in the \textit{New York Times} on boycotting Japan jumped ten fold following the incident at Marco Polo Bridge in 1937 and maintained a fevered pitch through to the end of August 1941. It must have also been a topic that sold more papers as it was on the front page or the first four pages frequently.

It seemed like every organized group in America favored a stringent boycott and quarantine of Japanese goods including 10,000 people who rallied at Madison Square Garden’s urging a national boycott.\textsuperscript{150} Organizations strongly suggesting a boycott included the AFL and CIO labor unions; the National Business Conference being held at Babson Park, Massachusetts; New York Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild; Kresage & Co. (a retail chain store); the American League for Peace and Democracy; Foreign Policy Association; Patriot Guard of America; American Bankers Association; National Federation of Textiles; National Maritime Union; Rhode Island Textile Association; Volunteer Christian Committee to Boycott Nazi Germany; American Boycott Against Aggressor Nations; Jewish Labor Committee; Greater Boston Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression; Kiwanis Club of Boston (who refused to take donated Japanese toys at Christmas time); Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League for the
boycott of German Goods; and American Housewives in an 8-to-2 vote in the National Consumer News magazine.151

The international community jumped on the boycott bandwagon. Canada voted to stop sending war materials to Japan and asked Canadians to boycott Japanese goods; Nueva Prensa, one of the leading newspapers in Nicaragua spoke out against Japan; the National Cooperative Authority in Great Britain recommend a Japanese boycott by its 8.5 million members; the Filipinos wanted a boycott of Japan; and workers in Mexico urged a boycott because of Japan’s actions in China.152

American politicians also spoke out in favor of a boycott after the “China Incident.” Senator Key Pittman of Nevada and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, “Recommended an economic quarantine of Japan. He declared that President Roosevelt has been, ‘Very patient and has made every effort to persuade the military government of Japan to abandon its unlawful, immoral, and brutal conduct in China.’”153 Former U.S. Ambassador to Germany William E. Dodd says a boycott would curb Japan.154

The Times also covered those prominent Americans still against a boycott. Nebraskan Senator George W. Norris said a boycott of the silk industry would hurt America more than it would Japan.155 E.W. Pehrson, who was the assistant chief of the Metal Economics Division of the United States Bureau of Mines, said an export embargo on scrap would hurt America more.156 Columbia professor Dr. Nathaniel Peffer said a boycott would lead the United States into a war that would, “Leave China no better off.”157 Princeton Professor De Witt Clinton Poole said, “It is a proposal which, if you sit down and think about it, becomes impractical.”158 In 1938, Borah repeated his earlier
position that a boycott would lead to war and it would gain nothing as relations were already strained with Japan.\textsuperscript{159} And the Japanese military newspaper \textit{Kokumin} said Japan would retaliate against the United States and a boycott would bring disaster to America.\textsuperscript{160} While Carroll Lunt, owner and editor of the \textit{China Digest}, said an embargo would plunge China and America into a naval war and still was holding out for a diplomatic understanding before an embargo was suggested before Foreign Policy Association luncheon.\textsuperscript{161} Professor William C. Johnstone, dean of the political science division of George Washington University, said, “If such an embargo were maintained it might produce economic collapse and bring retaliation on Americans in China and Japan.”\textsuperscript{162}

America next moved from discussing a general boycott to specifically talking about banning war materials. It was mentioned twice in June 1938 in the \textit{New York Times} but picked up steam in America and in coverage in January 1939. The United States first made an effort to stop the sale of warplanes to Japan in June 1938 because Washington was embarrassed by the air attacks on Canton, China.\textsuperscript{163} Secretary of State Cordell Hull denounced the sale of airplanes to countries that bombed civilians, referring to recent bombing by Japan in China.\textsuperscript{164} Six months later, Hull revealed a munitions and parts ban on Japan called a ‘moral embargo.’\textsuperscript{165} Hull also announced everyone was on board for the ban except United Aircraft.\textsuperscript{166} Maybe pressure from the article in the \textit{Times} got to United Aircraft because five days later Hull announced the moral parts and munitions ban was one-hundred percent.\textsuperscript{167} An update a year later showed one company was still not on board, Kellett Autogiro, yet the embargo was effective in limiting planes and parts to Japan.\textsuperscript{168} Pittman brought up the idea before Congress that they ask Roosevelt to use his
power to embargo Japan. Pittman then sponsored an embargo bill based on the Japanese violations of the 9-Power Treaty. The issue would eventually be dropped by Congress but not by Pittman.169 Japan fired back in response to Pittman’s proposal that if the bill passes it would, “Unquestionably, therefore, it would serve to strengthen Japan’s bonds with Germany and Italy.”170

In addition to Hull and Roosevelt efforts, other organizations got involved in promoting the idea of banning war materials to Japan through meetings, petitions, and rallies, including the Organization of the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, who asked Congress to curb war aid to Japan.171 The annual conference for Cause and Cure for War urged Congress to embargo all war materials as well.172 China’s Foreign Minister was even so bold as to say the United States could end the war in China within a year if America shut off all war materials to Japan.173 Professor Charles G. Fenwick of Bryn Mawr College and Dr. Walter H. Judd, an expert on Far Eastern Affairs, told the Foreign Affairs committee the same thing; Congress has the power to curb conquest and should impose a trade ban on pact breakers.174 Surveys of the American public showed that a Japanese boycott was favored and growing in popularity as the course of action America should take.175

**Cancellation of the 1911 Trade Treaty**

Next, Roosevelt and Hull were involved in the most important United States move since war began in China. The United States announced it was ending the 1911 trade treaty with Japan, which effectively ended the treaty in six months.176 Senator Walter F. George of Georgia hinted at U.S. motives when he said, “We have no sympathy with Japan’s aggressions in China.”177 The United States told Japan it was up
to her if there was to be a new trade agreement, hinting at issues surrounding the conflict in China.178 America was so tired of Japan’s behavior in China that even Borah changed his passive views and advocated a Japanese embargo.179 The move to end the treaty was seen as the first step for America to place an embargo on Japan, also called a step toward economic war, which was outlawed by the 1911 trade agreement. The United States said that China was a long time friend and has suffered enough.180 China was eager for the United States to invoke an embargo on Japan in hopes it would change things there.181

The United States made it clear that unless Japan changed its attitude toward American citizens in China then Congress would readily take retaliatory measures, meaning an embargo.182 The cancellation of the treaty had a ripple effect as Great Britain and Canada cancelled their trade treaties with Japan as well.183 Japan answered this move by saying they were, “Convinced by the abrogation of the 1911 treaty and other recent manifestations of America’s attitude that Japanese efforts to preserve American friendship are not reciprocated.”184 Japan also asked how can the United States impose an embargo because if the United States bans munitions to Japan that would mean enacting the Neutrality Act and recognizing war in China.185

Former Secretary of State Henry Stimson, who was in that office during the “Manchurian Incident,” wrote a lengthy letter published in the New York Times asking for the United States to curb arms to Japan.186 Stimson concluded, “That it is a crystal-clear case of unprovoked aggression by Japan; that Japanese tactics in the field have been particularly brutal and the plain objective of the Japanese campaign has been the spoliation of China and the subjugation of its people.”187 Stimson’s letter prompted a flood of letters from Americans supporting an embargo.188 Japan said in response they
were more worried by its own governmental situations than Stimson’s letters and the Japanese military said an embargo on scrap iron wouldn’t interfere with its plans.\textsuperscript{189}

With the talk of an embargo revived, Senator Pittman was not afraid to renew his embargo proposals.\textsuperscript{190} It was a very popular idea among Americans including the American Friends of the Chinese People; the Federal Council of Churches; Defense Committee of the Harvard Group; and the Brooklyn Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.\textsuperscript{191} Others announced similar sentiments as Pittman’s. Senator Lewis B. Schwellenback, of Washington State, also proposed an embargo on Japan.\textsuperscript{192} Major Evans Carlson said Congress should grant the president powers to declare an embargo.

Rear Admiral Harry E. Yarnell saw something more important than worrying about retaliation from Japan because of a boycott. Yarnell felt that America’s future existence depended on the overthrow of the two great despotisms in the West and the East and we can stop sending war material going to Japan. He also said about the war in China, “For the sooner we realize that is our war, the better it will be for ourselves and for our children.”\textsuperscript{193}

Despite all the talk of an embargo, the Senate decided to hold off on an embargo in 1940.\textsuperscript{194} It was a move that pleased Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita. He said he was of the opinion, “That relations between the United States and Japan would not become irreparably worse.”\textsuperscript{195} The decision may have even given credibility to the Japanese who didn’t feel the United States would go through with an embargo and feel America is all talk and no deeds.\textsuperscript{196} Japan had a glimmer of hope in 1940 when they thought the idea of
boycotts might be coming to an end when Mrs. Roosevelt bought a kimono on a trip in San Francisco.197

Disasters

The New York Times covered the many natural disasters that plagued Japan and its economy over the 22-year span starting with the 1923 earthquake.198 And like its coverage of the population issue, it depended on the severity and location of the disaster to determine the placement of the story, but few made the front page. George E. Sokolsky who lived in Japan and corresponded for the New York Times had this to say about Japan and its natural disasters, “Surrounded by water, Japan has been blessed with a wealth of food from the sea, but cursed by tidal waves floods, typhoons and the direst of all calamities, earthquakes.”199

Disasters 1920-29

The Times’ was excellent in telling the estimated deaths, homes, and businesses damaged and even the cost estimates to return everything back to normal. What the newspaper failed to do was examine what sort of impact the disasters had on the people and the economy. Usually the Times’ ran one or at most two stories on the disaster and never mentioned again with the exception of the 1923 and 1927 earthquakes. The Times wrote several articles and quoted several Japanese leaders as saying the earthquake set Japan’s economy back a couple of years and quoted President Hoover as predicting a speedy recovery for Japan.200 It was reported that 1923 earthquake killed 250,000 people, left over one million people homeless, and led to food riots but also that the United States was leading efforts to get Japan back on its feet again.201
Sokolsky, in examining Japan, wrote about the 1923 earthquake in a *Times’* story in 1931. He wrote,

> At two minutes before noon it was all over. Tokyo was wrecked, Yokohama devastated. Down came the great buildings of Tokyo; disappeared the trade of proud Yokohama. In a few seconds fifty years of accumulated wealth had been wiped out; in the twinkling of a gruesome moment Japan had moved from a first-class to a second-class power.²⁰²

It was important to look at how unkind Mother Nature could be to the islands known as Japan. The *New York Times* looked again at Japan’s natural disasters in May 1926 when a long extinct volcano in the Tokachi Province erupted, which buried one town and left 2,000 farmers missing.²⁰³ Three months later the worst typhoon in years swept through Japan and killed 100.²⁰⁴ Japan received a terrible Christmas present in 1926 when their beloved Emperor Yoshihito died. The funeral alone cost $1 million and was followed by a year of mourning.²⁰⁵ Another major earthquake struck Japan on March 7, 1927. The 5,000 death tolls was considerably less than 1923 because the earthquake hit at 6:30 p.m., hit rural Japan, and didn’t break any water lines. It destroyed 10,000 homes and winter storms and floods hindered relief efforts.²⁰⁶ Influenza raged through Tokio in March of 1928. It took the lives of 2,000 Japanese at an average of 58 per day and affected 500,000 including Emperor Hirohito, his six-month daughter, Hisa, and Premier Tanaka.²⁰⁷ And the final disaster of the 1920s was a frost that damaged the fruit of Japan in 1929 with an estimated cost of $1,485,000 dollars.²⁰⁸

**Fires**

Things weren’t easier for the Japanese people in the 1930s either. The first disaster of the decade was a fire, which razed 700 homes, called “flimsy wood and plaster homes,” left 3,500 homeless and damages were estimated at $588,000.²⁰⁹ Fire took a
heavy toll over the next twelve years as well. Eight fires would wreak havoc on a number of cities and industries. A fire in April 1930 destroyed the greater part of a village named Nambu and burned down 300 homes.\textsuperscript{210} Three fires were large enough in 1931 to make it into the \textit{New York Times}. The first fire had to hurt the economy as it razed a popular health resort at the foot of Mount Fuji, killed 20, caused over $2.5 million in damages, threatened three cities in a drought stricken area of Japan, and warranted the front page of the \textit{Times}.\textsuperscript{211} The second fire was said to be the fifth big blaze in Japan in a week, which left 3,000 homeless and destroyed 1,300 homes. It happened in Matsue City and Atika and damages were estimated at over $1 million.\textsuperscript{212} The third fire burned 14 people and injured 180 in a film house in Kanekomachi. Three other fires were reported in the same story in Niigata, Akita, and Matsue city and razed a total of 1,370 homes and a fire engine slid into the river.\textsuperscript{213}

The next fire wiped out 600 homes and left 3,000 homeless in Komatsu in 1932 and it started in a picture house.\textsuperscript{214} A 1934 fire in Hakodate killed 1,556, burned down between 17,000 and 20,000 homes, and left over 200,000 homeless. Hakodate was the largest city north of Tokyo and the fire started when a chimney was blown over.\textsuperscript{215} Japan lost $1 million in a cotton fire in early 1939.\textsuperscript{216} Eight factory fires in a four-month period were reported in May 1939 reaching a total of 200 factories that have seen fires in a short span.\textsuperscript{217} Eight more factories were damaged by fires valued at 800,000 yen bringing the total up to 200 fires and 61 factories, warehouses, and other structures destroyed by fire in the first eight months of 1939. Most of the factories were believed to be connected with the munitions industry.\textsuperscript{218} The last fire covered by the \textit{Times} was an oil fire that raged in Kobe and destroyed a concrete factory in 1940.\textsuperscript{219}
Earthquakes

The 1923 and 1927 tremors were not the only quakes to make the people of Japan realize the fragile state of its islands. The greatest earthquake to hit the Osaka area was reported in May 1925 as at least 80 died and towns were burning sending 10,000 fleeing in a panic. The one to hit in November 1930 was the worst since the one in 1923 as it struck a 600-mile radius with 285 known dead. Another quake rocked Japan almost exactly a year later in the Southern islands of Japan, leaving 1,000 dead and destroying 200 homes. It even sank an entire island. Northeastern Japan took the brunt of an earthquake in 1933, which destroyed thousands of homes and killed over 1,500; 2,400 were missing; 3,000 homes washed away; 211 homes burned; 2,000 boats were missing; and 6,300 homes flooded; all at 2:30 a.m. It was reported as the worst quake since 1923. In April 1935, the New York Times ran a short story listing the worst losses from quakes in the twentieth century and Japan was listed in 1923, 1927, and 1933, but the 1930 quake didn’t make the list. Part of the reason for the list was the front-page story covering the quake that hit Formosa that killed 2,471 and destroyed 6,671 homes in 1935. A day later the death toll was up to 3,152; 10,000 plus injured; and more the $10 million in damages. The Times reported in the story about the quake in Formosa that it was taxing Japanese resources. Two more quakes struck in 1936. The first was a little quake that started 12 different fires in Osaka and the rest of the damage to surrounding areas was known to be severe but that was all that was reported. The second quake in December razed the small town of Niijima or 300 homes. Only one died in what the meteorological bureau described as the strongest ever-recorded quake in Japan. It centered in the ocean or it could have been a lot worse officials said. Three more
quakes hit before the start of World War II, two in 1938 and one in 1939. The June 1938 quake killed 100 and did more damage with the storms that resulted including flooding 150,000 homes with 12 inches of rain. Eastern Japan was hit by another early morning quake and took out communications, as it was three days before the severity of the damage could be reported to the world. Officials said there were two epicenters and two shocks. The final quake of this time period hit northern Japan in the Akita district and wiped out an entire town, destroyed a least 1,000 homes, killed 19, and injured 28. It also burst Funakawa City’s reservoir.

**Typhoons**

Japan was constantly tormented by typhoons, large storms, and flooding. The *New York Times* coverage showed that there was at least one major typhoon in every year except five storms in 1930, four storms in 1938 and none in 1933 and 1939. In 1930, the first typhoons hit in Odomari causing $2.5 million in damages with 150 to 300 missing. The second one hit the Loochoo and Kiushiu Islands in Southern Japan and buried a city of 300 people. Scores of ships were destroyed but the death toll was unknown. The third typhoon struck Japan and Korea causing $50 million in damages, between 123 and 254 were believed dead in Kyushiu while over 285 were dead in Korea and 750 vessels sunk. The third worst typhoon in Japanese history to that point hit Nagasaki, Saga, Kagoshima and Fukuoka with damages over $21 million, 10,696 buildings leveled, and at least 65 dead. The final typhoon of that year returned a month after the first one hit Kyushiu Island but damages were less and no dead.

The first of two 1931 typhoons destroyed 2,000 buildings; destpued 3,000 homes; and killed five on the island of Miyako in southern Japan. The second one
killed 31 in central Japan and flooded 6,000 homes. The 1932 typhoon was labeled as the severest in history and struck the Loochoo Islands and swept up the east coast of Japan killing four, damaging 10,000 homes, and disrupted rail service. There were two typhoons of 1934. The first one destroyed 400 homes by fire in the city of Daishoji. The second was so bad the *New York Times* ran four articles, including the original breaking story on the front page in September. The typhoon hit Western Japan including the cities of Kyoto, Fukura, and Osaka, and Ambassador Joseph Grew just escaped the storm. The storm collapsed a school building while 500 children were inside; the death toll rose over 2,000; 13,335 were injured; over 4,100 boats were destroyed; 18,391 buildings were leveled; 22,037 building were damaged; 169,873 homes were flooded; costs were put at over $90 million; and more than 100,000 people needed public assistance to make it through that winter.

Four typhoons hit Japan between 1935 and 37, including two a month apart in late 1935. The first one killed ten but flooded 23,000 homes in Kobe and Osaka. The second one killed 254 over a five-day period of rain that also destroyed the rice crop in rural Gumma and Ibaraki prefectures. A year later, the next typhoon killed 124 and flooded 8,000 homes in and around the island of Honshu as it cut a 300-mile wake. The 1937 typhoon visited southern Japan, barely touching Tokyo. The storm killed 70 and hurt 100, destroyed crops, flooded 2,000 homes, and created damage costs into the millions of dollars. Three more typhoons hit Tokyo in 1938 following the month apart-disaster theme but also included two within five days of each other. September First’s typhoon was the worst to hit Tokyo proper and also Yokohama since 1905. The seventy-mile-an-hour winds caused electricity to go out, killed at least 175, left 15,000 homeless,
flooded 94,025 homes, and destroyed $28 million’s worth of city.\textsuperscript{247} Less than five days later a typhoon struck Shikoku Island and headed for Kobe and Osaka.\textsuperscript{248} October’s typhoon hit Kyushu Island killing forty-six and then headed north to Tokyo where it killed 226 and left 35,000 more homeless after another typhoon visited just a month earlier.\textsuperscript{249} Three more typhoons would affect areas controlled by Japan. In 1940, a typhoon damaged twenty-five percent of a valuable Formosa sugar crop Japan was depending upon, forcing the Japanese Government to ration sugar.\textsuperscript{250} The other two struck in 1941, July and October. July’s typhoon made a mess of Tokyo. It left thirty-five dead, thousands homeless, flooded 26,000 homes in Shizuoka and 76,000 homes in Tokyo, and flooded important rice fields and vegetable tracts.\textsuperscript{251} October’s typhoon savagely struck Kyushu Island and southern Hondo, killing over 100 and there were still 150 missing.\textsuperscript{252}

**Floods**

Hand-in-hand with typhoons were the many floods to visit Japan. One such flood happened in 1932 as a result of torrential rains killing seven, sweeping away thirty, wiping out bridges and embankments, and flooding 9,000 homes.\textsuperscript{253} Another flood in July 1934 killed hundreds, destroyed 300 homes and flooded 15,000 more, and 25,000 were estimated to be homeless.\textsuperscript{254} The next big flood forced thousands from their homes in July 1935 and flooded over 300,000 homes in the 100,000 Japanese city of Kurume and it washed more than 1,000 bridges away with damages put at 40 million yen.\textsuperscript{255} Two floods visited Japan within a month of each other in the summer of 1938. The first one killed four, flooded 1,500 homes, washed away 12 bridges and left a bill of 420 million yen.\textsuperscript{256} The other floods that year had water creating havoc in Southwest Japan that left
thousands homeless in Kobe, Kyoto, and Osaka. It destroyed twenty-nine bridges and flooded 11,500 homes.²⁵⁷ And a storm called “epoch-making” hit Oshima Island dumping twenty-six inches of rain in ninety-six hours causing landslides and destroying crops and property, broke the last record from 1938 of 11 inches in seventy-two hours.²⁵⁸

Other Disasters

And the Japanese weren’t immune to diseases, cold weather, crop destruction, or other miscellaneous disasters. In January 1931 the worst wave of influenza swept over the Far East since 1918, inflicting over 250,000 Japanese, including the royal family.²⁵⁹ The next wave of flu struck three years later, inflicting several high officials, causing at least ninety deaths, and had many people wearing masks over their mouths.²⁶⁰ January of 1935 saw a dysentery epidemic, which infected 850 infants and 101 died because of the lack of hospital accommodations.²⁶¹ The flu returned twice in 1937, the first episode took 350 lives in Tokyo²⁶² and the second episode was called a plague at the end of September, taking 283 lives and infecting 5,200 more in the province of Fukuoka.²⁶³ A dysentery outbreak returned in 1939 and with it a record number of 4,000 were afflicted at a rate of 200 cases a day.²⁶⁴

The Japanese don’t like cold weather; it was one reason the government had problems convincing its people to settle in Manchuria. January 1931’s winter storm was particularly severe. It unroofed 1,000 homes and blew down 1,300 telephone poles and may have contributed to the flu epidemic that year.²⁶⁵ March 1934’s storm led to sixty freezing to death trying to flee the Hokadate fire.²⁶⁶ A blizzard in February 1936 paralyzed the city of Tokyo in the worst snowstorm in fifty-four years and killed forty-four.²⁶⁷
Japan dealt with a rising population and difficulty feeding its people. A crop failure at the end of 1931 meant 900,000 were at risk to starve in the Aomori Prefecture. The Times failed to follow up on the story. A famine in Manchuria in August 1932 as a result of flooding ruined $80 million in crops and killed 30,000 people. And a dust storm “rivaling those of the United States Dust Bowl struck the central part of Japan’s Hokkaido Island,” carpeting 75,000 acres of valuable farm land. Farmers estimated crop losses between sixty-five and eighty percent.

Japan had several volcanic eruptions during the 1930s. The first one occurred in August 1931 from the regularly active volcano Asama. Asama erupted again in 1935 destroying crops.

Other things that went wrong for the Japanese included fifty-seven miners losing their lives in a coal mine explosion on the island of Hokkaido; 300 died when a reservoir dam burst, and 1,000 more feared to be dead as there are at least 1,200 missing; and a Japanese military powder plant blew up, the second one in two days, in the last month of 1938. No casualties or other information was given other than a fire was raging at the Yonago aviation training station.

Things might have been different historically if the earthquakes had maintained their pattern or if a massive typhoon had hit while Japan’s fleet was still in its home harbors before sailing for Pearl Harbor.
CHAPTER SEVEN
PRELUDE TO WAR, 1940-41

Coverage in the *New York Times* changed slightly for the final two years leading up to Pearl Harbor at the end of 1941. Prior to 1940 the coverage of the different influences of the Pre-World War II generation were thoroughly covered but not covered with any regularity or frequent prominence. As tensions rose between Japan and the United States so did appearance of stories in the *New York Times* with more frequency and more prominence with more articles gracing the front pages of the paper.

**Naval Prelude**

The articles about the naval issues were still only a handful each month in 1940 and scattered here and there in 1941 but the stories written dealt more with a naval race that was seen headed toward a conflict neither side seemed to want to back down from. Stories in 1941 were also written about both sides’ naval construction output, lamenting the coming war, and having a navy powerful enough to win that war.\(^1\) The *Times* also reported on rumors of the Japanese fleet and what it had or hadn’t built as Japan closely guarded its naval inventory after the ending of the Washington and London Treaties to start 1937. The United States also at one point challenged Japan to prove American naval projections of the Japanese Navy were wrong.\(^2\) The *New York Times* listed the naval strengths of the world in 1940\(^3\) and 1941 (See Appendix E).\(^4\)

Colonel Frederick Palmer wrote a piece for the *New York Times* and stated,

> “In view of loss of power in ratio to distance, we should double our proposed naval appropriations, to make sure of mastering Japan in her own seas. This brings us to the potent fact that our navy does not know where it will have to fight, which is equally true for our army.”\(^5\)
Secretary of Navy Charles Edison lobbied for a larger navy on the belief that a strong navy was vital to a free America and a weak navy was a target. Japan’s Rear Admiral Masao Kanazawa assailed America’s expansion plans as “for offensive purposes” aimed at Japan. He also said every Japanese naval student knows, “If the United States keeps on building a larger and larger navy we must cope with the situation and expand our navy accordingly.” The *New York Times* wrote a small blurb about something the Japanese Navy was expanding accordingly to the situation it perceived, submarines. A short story was written on a developmental midget sub just like the one sunk outside Pearl Harbor said to be the official start of hostilities several hours prior to the Japanese bombing runs on December 7, 1941.

America’s talk of naval expansion and rearming frightened the Japanese so much the *Times* cited the Japanese considering a preemptive strike in an “inevitable war.” *Times* correspondent Hallett Abend wrote,

“The others gravely believe that since the vast majority of Japanese civilians have become convinced that war is ‘inevitable,’ therefore there is double danger that some minor clash may develop tragically or that those who are fatalistically convince that war must come will deliberately provoke hostilities at an early date before America’s preparations go further forward.”

On the eve of Navy Day in Japan May 1941, Navy Minister Admiral Koshiro Oikawa said, “In facing the grave crisis today, the Navy is fully aware of its grave and heavy responsibility. It is our own strength along upon which we must rely.” Otto D. Tolischus of the *Times*, wrote that Japan had ready 500 ships and 4,000 naval planes. Japanese naval officials were quoted saying that Japan was seeking naval supremacy, a condition they believed necessary for final victory. And the Japanese newspaper *Hochi*
said as long as Japan’s Navy was large enough to fend off the United States fleet the two would have friendly relations.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Japanese Political Tensions Prelude}

Between 1940 and 1941 the division in Japan grew deeper between those who wanted to go to war with the United States and those who wanted to cultivate a good relationship with America.\textsuperscript{14} Those who wanted to go to war blamed the long war in China on the aid China received from the United States.\textsuperscript{15} But for the most part the Japanese Government gave the appearance in \textit{New York Times} stories it wanted peace with America and were anxious when that didn’t appear to be happening. Japan shuddered at the thought of going to war with the United States.\textsuperscript{16} In October 1940, the Japanese invited the United States to join the Axis. Japan saw the Axis winning and would have liked to see America on the winning side. Japan denied plunder as its reasoning for being a member of the Axis. Japan also clearly stated its position when Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka said, “We are firmly determined to eliminate any nation that will obstruct our order.”\textsuperscript{17}

In April 1941 the Japanese suggested, in a \textit{New York Times} article, its government should send Matsuoka to visit America to ease Pacific tensions and avert a crisis as the two countries were seen drifting toward war.\textsuperscript{18} But confusion arose as Japan said America invited Matsuoka and saw the United States needed to make the next move. The Japanese press said it was a sign of weakness to sign a pact with America.\textsuperscript{19} In the end Matsuoka declined to go to the United States. He said Roosevelt should come to Japan; the United States shot that idea down.\textsuperscript{20} Instead, Matsuoka met with United States Ambassador to Japan Joseph Grew and Great Britain envoy Anthony Eden; the meeting went poorly.\textsuperscript{21}
And after Hull met with Ambassador Nomura in 1941 and with evidence of Japan massing troops in China, Hull said he saw little hope for peace after telling Japan the United States would not change its Far Eastern policy.22

In order to reach that objective of peace with the United States, Japan sent Admiral Kichisabura Nomura as an ambassador to Washington on a peace mission. Nomura was Japan’s final ambassador to the United States before Pearl Harbor.23 The Japanese press doubted his ability for success because of the unfriendliness it saw from the United States.24 The Japanese newspaper Miyako wrote,

“[The United States is disturbing our gigantic task of the construction of a new East Asia. Men holding high positions in the American Army and Navy have commented on war between Japan and America. Japan may have to accept the challenge to accomplish her colossal mission. Admiral Nomura’s task is to relieve this threatening atmosphere, and we expect him to show his ability.”]25

Times reporter Hugh Byas was also skeptical about Nomura’s purpose and said Japan was just playing for time, to delay a showdown on her Axis Alliance.26 But according to the New York Times coverage of politics in 1941, Japan claimed to be facing the greatest crisis in her history in October, which led to the premiership of General Eiki Tojo. The crisis was the impasse Japan’s Government had on whether or not to reach a new agreement with America. And if so, what would they have to give up. Japan feared losing face and any advantage in the Pacific. Japan saw itself immovable on the construction of its Far Eastern sphere. The Times wrote Tojo was an advocate of a total war economy, for building up Japan’s military, against the 9-Power Treaty, for an enhanced national spirit, wanted to expand Japan’s industry, hoped to get what Japan wanted in China without more war, was for an end to conflict in China, felt the United
States had a monopoly on the raw materials in the Pacific, and was silent on his views of Japan’s relationship with the Axis.\textsuperscript{27}

**Boycott Prelude**

Japan’s fears of an economic crisis via economic warfare rapidly increased as Congress latched onto the idea of an embargo once again. Premier Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai said before the Diet, “A complete United States embargo against Japan would result in an extremely grave situation and if either side makes a mistake in the connection what naturally followed would be a crisis.”\textsuperscript{28} Japan’s economy was seen as vulnerable to trade boycotts.\textsuperscript{29} Despite that knowledge, Congress chose to embargo gasoline to Japan and was firm in its decision. Congress was thinking about embargoing scrap iron as well.\textsuperscript{30} Japan’s fears became reality when at first it was just gasoline the United States embargoed but then as of July 25, 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt prohibited the sale of oil, oil products and scrap metal to any one without a license, the same items put on the virtual embargo three weeks before.\textsuperscript{31} Roosevelt’s move was praised as, “The most significant restriction yet placed upon the flow of war materials from the United States to Japan.”\textsuperscript{32} Roosevelt’s actions aroused the Japanese who sent a letter of formal protest to the United States and promised to retaliate by curbing rubber and tin to America. Japan also issued a veiled threat that actions by the United States may force them to take possession of the Dutch East Indies.\textsuperscript{33} The Japanese were also undeterred by the U.S.’ embargo because Japan felt it had plenty of scrap for steel and also threatened to help the Reich more than before.\textsuperscript{34} Because of the embargo, the Japanese moved to trade more with China and get its scrap from Mexico even though it cost more.\textsuperscript{35} Instead of backing down after the Japanese threats, Congress considered more things it could ban or
embargo.\textsuperscript{36} Even with this new embargo, the \textit{New York Times} reported that oil was still going to Japan from America.\textsuperscript{37} And yet another story in June 1941 in the \textit{Times} had the Maritime Commission denying U.S. tankers were carrying oil to Japan.\textsuperscript{38} Japan was also reported buying more oil from Mexico, Dutch East Indies, and Bahrain as well as the United States, and seemed to be stockpiling oil.\textsuperscript{39}

Other countries also latched onto the idea of an embargo. Canada embargoed copper, India barred scrap iron, the Philippines offered to ban all war materials to United States’ foes, and Mexico, for a short period, embargoed war materials.\textsuperscript{40}

Japan’s threat to be more involved in the Axis didn’t set well with the American public. As reported in the \textit{New York Times}, ninety-six percent of the American public approved an embargo on scrap metal and approved of a wider embargo and stated Japan’s involvement with the Axis as a Factor.\textsuperscript{41} The Japanese joining the Axis shook the Northwest\textsuperscript{42} and even had the state of Texas favoring a ban on Japanese trade, a state that produces a lot of oil and cotton which the Japanese buy.\textsuperscript{43} Hawaii also stopped oil shipments to Japan.\textsuperscript{44}

The United States next weighed its other options and economic weapons in an effort to exert a strong pressure on the Axis to stop aggression. America also examined the option of joining Great Britain in placing stronger curbs on Japan without provoking Japan if possible.\textsuperscript{45} Hull also studied American exports to Japan to see how many of them were reaching Germany.\textsuperscript{46} America’s first economic move in 1941 was to freeze all foreign assets of the Axis powers, although some were surprised to see Japan not on the list of countries with frozen assets.\textsuperscript{47} Next, America boycotted Japanese goods believed to have been manufactured using Chinese prisoners of war.\textsuperscript{48} America followed it up by
The House of Representatives demanded an oil embargo on Japan and the Axis in March 1941 and then Ok’d a ban to scrap rubber to Japan. Part of the reason for the call to ban oil was the shortages the United States faced on the East Coast. The United States even stopped a lubrication oil shipment to Japan from Philadelphia because the oil was needed in America. That incident of oil stoppage created some anxiety in Japan because of the increased possibilities America could do it again and some saw it as a move designed to create friction between the two countries. Japan said it resented any nation who would rise up and interfere with its essential oil supply.

Japan was anxious and angered by things Americans were doing including increased economic pressure by the United States. Japan assailed Hull’s trade view of tariffs and embargos saying the United States and Great Britain have killed free trade and freedom of the seas. The Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* asked Hull rhetorically,

“Which country was it that elevated tariff walls and executed discriminatory treatment of materials and commodities? Such is the discriminatory, selfish treatment the great haves, Britain and the United States, accorded to the have-nots. Who is going to listen to their holy preaching now?”

The next issue of contention in the Pacific became Japan’s rumored interest in Indo-China in July 1941. Upon news of the rumors, both the United States and Great Britain announced they would impose stern economic restrictions on Japan if they choose to attack Indo-China, including a full embargo with the purpose of crippling Japan.

The *New York Times* reported the arrival of Japanese warships off the coasts of Indo-China. And in an editorial, the *Times* stated this event marked the end of the moral embargo and the start of universal embargo that wouldn’t be a halfway measure. Upon the news of warships in Indo-China and subsequent invasion of Thailand (Japan would
argue that she was invited\textsuperscript{58}) Roosevelt declared a universal embargo and a freezing of
Japanese funds. America was done trying to appease Japan’s aggression as it had tried to
do the past two years by selling them oil. It was also said that Japan’s latest movements
bore directly on United States’ national security.\textsuperscript{59} Chairman of the House Foreign
Affairs Committee Sol Bloom of New York said, “We must let Japan know that we
intend to protect our interests in the Far East.”\textsuperscript{60} Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand,
South Africa, and the Netherlands joined the United States in freezing Japanese funds.\textsuperscript{61}
Japan also lost a lot of trade in Latin and South America as a result of frozen funds.\textsuperscript{62}
Freezing of its funds was a move the Japanese said they had already anticipated and said
it could handle any embargo.\textsuperscript{63} It was a move that effectively ended Japanese-American
trade and froze $130 million of Japan’s assets and put a $100 million dent into Japan’s
silk, oil, and steel exports.\textsuperscript{64} However, it was a move that surprised the Japanese in
America as long lines formed at banks and Japanese in Hawaii had property switched
over to Japanese-Americans.\textsuperscript{65}

While Japan officials may have seen the frozen asset move coming, Japan was
still bitter, but not worried, over the United States move towards a full embargo and
shocked by America’s economic warfare. Yet Japan still clung to the hope things would
smooth over.\textsuperscript{66} The Japanese newspaper \textit{Yomiuri} declared, “There is no need for any real
concern, even if the worst comes to worst because Japan’s economic strength is equal to
any further test.”\textsuperscript{67} The newspaper \textit{Nichi Nichi} offered its opinion that this was “one step
from armed warfare.”\textsuperscript{68} The \textit{New York Times} correspondent Otto D. Tolischus wrote in
his coverage of this new economic warfare that the Japanese public was obviously
unaware of the events taking place on the international stage.\textsuperscript{69}
London experts predicted the crippling of Japan economically in six months by the U.S.-British blockade and were in favor of a total blockade.\textsuperscript{70} Canada joined later.\textsuperscript{71} Japan on the other hand minimized the blockaded. Japan’s Finance Minister Masatsune Ogura said, “In the face of the super-emergency confronting Japan, I hope the entire nation will cooperate with the government in the execution of its policies.”\textsuperscript{72} The Japanese reiterated once again it would retaliate in equal measure as meted out by the United States and saw the blockade as strictly anti-Japanese. Japan also stated its need to hasten its construction its East Asiatic sphere of self-sufficiency.\textsuperscript{73} China also weighed in on the blockade. China said they were elated by the move but were just wondering what took America so long as it had been waiting for something like this to take place since hostilities broke out in 1937.\textsuperscript{74}

Economic warfare via the blockade began to take its toll as evidenced in New York Times stories from July to December 1941 as the United States increased the economic pressure on Japan.\textsuperscript{75} Tolischus and others wrote that it was hurting Japan where it hurts the most, oil imports. No one was selling oil to the Japanese any longer from the Western Hemisphere and the embargo was seen as one last body blow. It was predicted that Japan would have to move south forcefully to obtain things she needed because she had to get it from somewhere.\textsuperscript{76} However, a story in October had the Japanese acting nonchalant about the oil embargo, saying it was unconcerned about the embargo and was prepared for it.\textsuperscript{77}

The results of the embargo were so effective it appeared the Japanese had caved in several New York Times articles and asked America to end the embargo. Up to this point the embargo had cut into seventy percent of Japan’s trade and the Times reported
that Japan’s economy was on the verge of collapse. The Times also recorded in an editorial the tightening economic pressure by the United States was strangling Japan’s economic and industrial life as seen by rising inflation.

The first indication of Japan cracking under pressure came in a story where Japan sent ships to the United States hoping that America would unfreeze her assets and be willing to trade again. The Japanese formally asked for a truce in the economic war on October 29, 1941 in order to avoid a “dangerous situation,” yet the Japanese Government had given up all hope in reaching an agreement with the United States. The Times quoted a Japanese spokesman as saying, “There is a real danger that the Japanese Government will be forced to take “drastic action” to get oil and other materials denied to Japan by the United States-British-Netherlands embargo.” Japan said the present situation couldn’t be allowed to continue as Japan wanted peace but said its comments weren’t an ultimatum. In a brief article hidden on page five in the New York Times, it was reported that the Japanese were willing to offer to halt her military advances, stay out of Siberia, and withdraw from Indo-China if the United States would lift its embargo and unfreeze her assets. Great Britain voiced her objections to ending the boycott but nothing else was reported as to what the United States response was to the Japanese request before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Although four months earlier in August, Senator Walter F. George of Georgia had suggested that if Tokyo stopped its aggression then the United States should barter with them. Although he stated he believed Japan was going into Indo-China no matter what. Secretary Hull had echoed similar statements in August when he said the United States wouldn’t withdraw its freezing order or resume
normal relations until Japan withdrew from the Axis and abandoned her aggressive policy.\textsuperscript{87}

**China Prelude**

The greatest irritant prior to World War II was China and the South Seas. Japan’s fear of the United States’ interference and lack of recognition for Manchukuo led Japan to be very suspicious of the United States and led to a lot of talk about war fearing an ulterior motive by America for China.\textsuperscript{88} The United States was in turn afraid of Japan’s movements in China and Indo-China.\textsuperscript{89} And there was the issue of Japan being quoted as saying its Far Eastern ‘New Order’ was only a matter of time.\textsuperscript{90} The Japanese newspaper *Kokumin* said if America interferes in China, “The Japanese people are determined to smash the American fleet. This is not a view of the army and navy but the determination of the Japanese people.”\textsuperscript{91} Chinese Premier H. H. Kung predicted Japan would make an, “Attack on the United States itself will follow when the Japanese position in the Orient has been consolidated.”\textsuperscript{92}

The *New York Times*’ first mention of Japan’s military moves in Indo-China came in November 1939 after the Japanese landed near Pakhol and attacked Chinese forces. It was reported the Japanese were worried about the United States stand on the maneuver.\textsuperscript{93} The Japanese were more active in that area in 1940 as the *New York Times* reported the people there arming because the Japanese were seen massing near the border. The Japanese move there was seen as helping out the Axis.\textsuperscript{94} With the fall of France, the *Times* reported Japan saw that as a green light to go after Indo-China and another possession it coveted, the Dutch Indies for its oil. Japan put pressure on the Dutch Indies for its oil before negotiations broke down and Japan finally invaded in 1941.\textsuperscript{95} Ironically,
the Japanese had predicted earlier that it would be the French who would invade Thailand.96

The United States chided Japan’s move into Indo-China in September 1940 for upsetting the status quo, and Japan basically said so what if we did. Japan invaded Indo-China again with full force in July 1941 with the same “so what” attitude.97 A New York Times editorial predicted that China would not be enough for Japan and Japan would look south for more territory.98 Japan was reported to have expected reprisals from the United States and had weighed the risks before moving ahead with its Indo-China plan. The Times said several times Japan inched its way toward its goal in the Pacific and were aware of the costs and the price to be paid. The United States chose to embargo oil as a result of Japan’s military moves.99 Japan also predicted once again a short end to the Sino-Japanese conflict if the Japanese took out Singapore.100 Admiral Harry Yarnell said about Japan’s aggressions, “For the sooner we realize that is our war, the better it will be for ourselves and for our children.”101 The Times said the United States predicted the Japanese intended to seize control of French Indo-China, which was seen as springboard for the rest of the Far East.102 Japan threatened the French in March 1941 to hand over territory in Indo-China or else. The threat resulted in Japan signing an agreement with the French after dictating its terms with French Indo-China and sending in warships.103

Japan went on the offensive against American property in China and Indo-China. Also the Japanese press warned America not to perform any silly moves with regards to the Burma Road in Indo-China or it would result in war.104 Japan was reported in the Times as raiding warehouses owned by the United States in Hanoi and confiscating $10 million dollars worth of goods the Japanese claimed were earmarked for China. Japan
carted off $10 million worth of gasoline a week later from a United States owned
warehouse in Haiphong. And the Japanese commandeered themselves forty-one
American trucks stationed in Hanoi.105

America had its hands full when the Japanese invaded Indo-China in July 1941.106
A New York Times editorial said the arrival of warships in Indo-China marked the end of
United States policy in the Far East of a ‘moral embargo’ and said it was time to enforce
a full embargo, no halfway measure any more.107 Japan moved forward with its plans
despite the threat of embargos.108 Japan then moved on Thailand after warnings from
both Great Britain and the United States. The Japanese military was determined to
continue its policies in the Far East and were not afraid of the threats.109

A New York Times editorial regarding the events in Indo-China compared the
interaction between Japan and the United States as a big poker game with the game now
coming to an end. The paper said the Japanese up until now had been blackmailing the
United States, accepting payments of oil but that was going to stop.110 Senator Styles
Bridges of New Hampshire said, “I don’t think there is anything to be gained by trying to
appease the Japanese. We have to be firm with them—it’s the only language they
know.”111

And in an effort to end the “blackmailing,” the New York Times reported
Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had met and come up with an
eight point, Far Eastern plan, a plan the Chinese would love and the Japanese government
and media would criticize and pick apart.112 The Times only wrote about the first four of
the eight points as first, the United States would not tolerate Japan’s keeping of any gains
accrued by conquest; second, wouldn’t recognize any unwished territorial changes by the
Chinese people; third, respect for the right of peoples to choose own form of government; and fourth, enjoyment of all nations of access on equal terms to trade and raw materials.\textsuperscript{113} Also announced at the British-American conference at sea was Churchill’s blunt statement of support for the United States and of America taking a strong line with Japan.\textsuperscript{114}

About the same time Japan was feigning toward Indo-China, the \textit{New York Times} introduced a new word the Japanese had begun throwing around, encirclement. It was a term the \textit{Times} said Japan borrowed from Germany. Japan claimed the Americans were stockpiling weapons and organizing the rest of the world to form a circle economically and militarily around her.\textsuperscript{115} Japan took offense to the idea of encirclement because they felt they had peaceful intentions. Hull wasn’t buying that argument and compared it to Hitler’s complaints of a few years before and said Japan encircled herself by her actions.\textsuperscript{116} Japan said they would break the encirclement the German way as Lieut. Commander Tota Ishimaru wrote in the newspaper \textit{Hochi}, “It might be a bit difficult, but it should be easy if we tackle the problem after the German fashion. Japan has ways to break the encirclement.”\textsuperscript{117}

And in a similar vein of thinking the Japanese newspaper \textit{Yomiuri} declared Japan’s task was, “To sweep away the remains of the white empire” in the Far East.\textsuperscript{118} In July 1941, the Japanese announced a new policy was formed called the, “Great Japanese-East Asia Construction League.” It was a bunch of different organizations in Japan and Asia joined to eliminate the root of evil in Greater Asia, namely white Anglo-American encroachments or “shackles of white capitalism.”\textsuperscript{119} It was a sentiment Matsuoka may or may not have suggested in 1941 in with regards to Oceania, or islands northeast of
Australia. He said, “The white races cede their possessions in Oceania to the Asiatic races.” However, in a *Times* story Koh Ishii, spokesman for the cabinet board of information, denied Matsuoka ever said that and Japan didn’t have an immigration policy to Oceania yet. On the tenth anniversary of the ‘Manchurian Incident’ a Japanese military spokesman hailed the shots fired at Liutiaokow, China as the signal that began, “The racial war for the emancipation of the Orient from the clutches of the whites and a world-wide movement for the creation of a ‘new order’ culminating in a second world war.”

**Increasing Talk of War**

In July 1941, in a *New York Times* story, it was said Roosevelt told General Marshall secret information from intelligence services made it necessary to extend the duty of Army selectees, citing a need for, “A free hand in deploying United States forces in the Pacific in event of a Japanese move southward.” Colonel Frederick Palmer said the Japanese wouldn’t bother the Americans as long as she had access to more plunder in Indo-China. A Gallop poll published in the *New York Times* in February 1941 reported sixty percent of those polled said American interests would be threatened if Japan moved militarily to the south and the United States should try to prevent that but avoid risking war. In March and August, similar polls showed the United State public was ok with risking war to keep the Japanese out of the Dutch East Indies. Japan was warned of the United States’ resolve and mental readiness for war with Japan over a southern push by one of its own. The *Times* published a story citing Japan’s Minister to Washington, Kaname Wakasugi, as telling his country what the consequences would be on military activity in the Indies but told Japan that America still wanted peace. The *Times* quoted
the newspaper *Asahi* as commenting on Japan’s view of the United States, “Calling the United States a huge wealthy dragon,” and the paper saw America heading straight for war over China.\(^{127}\)

The *Times* showed how the Japanese were shocked by the United States’ position of how Japan must accept America’s principles aimed at stopping another Indo-China incident. Japan said it was impossible for it to accept America’s stipulations, stating its immutable polices. Japan saw the United States as scheming to impose principles on Japan and felt the United States was insincere in its demands.\(^ {128}\) It was reported that a possible truce was rejected by the United States because of moves by Japan in Indo-China.\(^ {129}\) It was because of issues in China that the United States finally considered invoking the Neutrality act; as the *Times* reported America could no longer stay neutral while Germany, Japan, and Italy were seen to have violated the Kellogg-Briand Treaty. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox saw the Axis powers encircling the United States.\(^ {130}\)

In 1940 and 1941 in the *New York Times* there was also plenty of talk about war, being drawn into war, and leaders doubting war could ever take place.\(^ {131}\) The distances of a war between the two countries were also brought up (See Appendix I).\(^ {132}\) Japan’s ambassador to Washington, Kensuke Horinouchi, called predictions of war “superficial and short sighted.”\(^ {133}\) He was one of several officials quoted saying war was a remote or impossible idea.\(^ {134}\) A *New York Times* article said there have been so many violent attacks on America and a call to arms that stories in the Japanese press can scarcely stimulate the Japanese people anymore.\(^ {135}\) A war with Japan was considered a campaign issue by publisher Frank Gannett and Socialist Norman Thomas, who ran for president in 1940. The political campaign was also closely watched by the Axis.\(^ {136}\) *New York Times*
correspondent Anne O’Hare McCormick predicted there would be a pacific conflict before there would be an Atlantic conflict.\textsuperscript{137}

Part of the war talk in 1941 was over the issue of those who thought America wasn’t militarily prepared for a conflict with Japan.\textsuperscript{138} Rear Admiral Henry E. Yarnell felt the United States should go to war then anyway because he said in address to the Stevens Institute of Technology that America’s future was menaced and should fight while the British and Chinese could still help.\textsuperscript{139} The Japanese, on the other hand, announced they were ready for any conflict in word and deed.\textsuperscript{140} Japan’s Captain Hirade was quoted saying,

“\textbf{The Imperial Navy expects to lick even the biggest and strongest enemy by employing special strategic operations. Since the outbreak of the China incident the Imperial Navy has been paying careful attention to the acts of countries that are hostile to this country.}”\textsuperscript{141}

The \textit{New York Times} wrote stories’ quoting both Americans and Japanese saying it was just the calm before the storm.\textsuperscript{142} Hirade was quoted saying it was, “\textbf{No time to fuss as to whether or not Japan should enter the war. We are now in a period of calm before the storm and our people must be prepared.}”\textsuperscript{143}

Also in 1941, the Japanese had a problem with the United States and Great Britain becoming closer friends, their war preparation, and blamed the two countries for the current world situation. Japan saw the two nations joining forces to stop Japan in China.\textsuperscript{144} Japan was irate after the British announced it would back the play of the United States in the Pacific.\textsuperscript{145} Foreign Minister Matsuoka said, “\textbf{It may be natural that Britain and America should consider every conceivable situation that might arise and prepare to meet it}.”\textsuperscript{146}
Japan hoped for a short period of time for peace and once again were reported by the *Times* trying to assure the world it wanted peace not more territory. Japan also said if a war started in the Pacific it would have been the United States who started it. Japan’s the *Times Advertiser* wrote, “The United States holds the power of decision and a grave responsibility rests upon President Roosevelt’s shoulders in this critical hour.” The newspaper *Asahi* said, “The entire nation will back the Navy ‘with a will of iron’ since Japanese as one man consider the United States solely responsible for increasing the crisis in the Pacific.” Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles publicly stated his doubt of Japan’s peaceful intentions and said the United States didn’t like being told to keep its war preparations to the Western Hemisphere.

The United States didn’t like being told it couldn’t send aid to Russia after it was invaded. America was supplying aid after the German invasion but the Japanese feared some of that American aid might be used against them in a Russian attack on Manchuria. Washington was firm on sending oil and supplies to Russia and eventually Japan backed down. The *New York Times* wrote many stories on this squabble.

The *New York Times* also covered the push Japan made to achieve peace with the United States in the months leading up to the war. Japan first began with an attempt at a non-aggression pact similar to the one it had just signed with Russia but the Americans weren’t interested, instead it raised suspicion in American minds as to what was Japan doing to need such a pact. Kichisaburo Nomura said in relation to finding peace with the United States, “It would be folly of the worst kind to do otherwise. I have a very strong conviction that it will be done, but I don’t know just how.” Japan gave up on a non-aggression pact and worked on just a peace pact in general with Nomura in
Washington to meet with Hull and Roosevelt as Ambassador Joseph Grew talked with Japanese Foreign Minister Teijiro Toyoda in Tokyo. All were optimistic for a short while. The United States responses in talks included urging firmness with Japan and Japan should be warned against further aggression. Grew told Toyoda, “American pressure on Japan would be intensified unless she made fundamental alterations in her foreign policy.”

But optimism turned to tension after little headway was made. Two reasons, as reported in the *New York Times*, were Roosevelt’s silence and reference to the civil war and Japan’s firm, unmoving stance on China. Japan felt it was the Americans who needed to change its policies. The Japanese press emphasized Japan’s, “Firm determination to pursue her immutable polices and on urging the United States to abandon its policy of ‘interference in the Far East.’” The newspaper *Kokumin* wrote, “There is a limit to our policy of peace, self-abnegation and patience. When that limit is reached Japan must rise like an avenging angel and smite with all her might.” Japan’s Premier Fumimaro Konoye warned the Japanese it, “Faces the gravest emergency in her history.” The United States countered and said unless Japan stopped showing no intention of abandoning her expansion policies then war was almost sure. The United States said it wouldn’t budge to appease the Japanese. Senator George Norris of Nebraska said,

“The Japs believe that they are a superior race destined to rule the world. They have no friendship for the United States and will turn on us when they think it is to their interest. We can’t appease Japan any more than we can appease Hitler.”

In a *Times* story, Roosevelt pledged continuing aid to China and Russia at the 1941 Navy Day celebration in October. Roosevelt was called a hypocrite by the Japanese
press as he also talked of shooting war with Germany but nothing about Japan. At this point the Japanese and their new premier, Tojo, began preparing for what they called an ‘inevitable’ armed class and showdown. Tojo said part of the preparations stemmed from the economic boycott. Tojo said there was a time table if the United States continued to refuse to recognize Japan’s ‘New Order’ program despite Japan’s patience and prudence. Tojo blamed tension on the United States adherence to an arbitrary, dogmatic attitude.

In what Japan claimed to be its last attempt at peace as presented in the *New York Times*, Japan asked the United States to reverse its stand or face conflict. The *Times* listed seven things the newspaper *Japan Times Advertiser*, an organ of the Japanese Foreign Office, said the United States must do or “Face the alternatives.” The seven things were,

1. All military and economic aid to Chungking must cease. 2. China must be left “free to deal with Japan,” and Chungking must be advised to make peace with Japan. 3. Military and economic encirclement of Japan must end. 4. Japan’s “co-prosperity sphere” must be acknowledged, and Manchukuo, China, Indo-China, Thailand, the Netherlands Indies and other States must be allowed to establish their own political and economic relations with Japan without interference of any kind. 5. Manchukuo must be recognized; “nobody will undo what has been done there.” 6. The Freezing of Japanese and Chinese assets must be ended unconditionally. 7. Trade treaties must be restored and all restrictions on shipping and commerce ended.

As a part of the last ditch effort the Japanese sent experienced statesman Saburo Kurusu to assist Ambassador Nomura in Washington. Yet one of the first stories that mentions Kurusu’s trip to America the *Times* quoted him saying he doubted an accord with the United States was possible because he cannot offer the United States enough concessions. *Times* writer Bertran D. Hulen commented that the arrival of Kurusu signaled that if negotiations failed this round it would mean an all out war. Negotiations
started off rocky with the United States’ opening salvo stressing a warning to Japan on its activities in Indo-China and the announcement of more economic restrictions on Japan. Kurusu stated success of his mission depended upon American sympathy and both sides finding a middle ground, which didn’t seem to happen. Another signal Kurusu sent the United States about the seriousness of his mission was the fact he left a brother on his deathbed and a daughter about to be married according to a *New York Times* piece. With this trip, the Japanese were reported to have three expectations. Premier Tojo announced the three expectations from a speech in Tokyo. He said Japan was bending all efforts for peace but said that he would protect the existence of the ‘New Order,’ and was determined to continue Japan’s present policies. The *Times* quoted Premier Tojo,

“The Japanese Government expects: 1. Third powers to refrain from obstruction successful conclusion of the China affair which Japan has in view. 2. Countries surrounding our empire will not only refrain from presenting a direct military menace, but nullify such measures of hostile character as economic blockade and restore normal economic relations with Japan. 3. That utmost efforts will be exerted to prevent extension of the European War and spread of disturbances in East Asia.”

The *Times* reported that Tojo’s comments were well received in Japan and Japan was for staying the course and were for the United States making changes. Japan also wanted America to stop interfering in the Far East. Japan said there was no turning back for them.

In a speech soon after the three expectations, Tojo seemed to signal a decision to go to war might have already been made. He called the United States the cancer of the Pacific and it was Japan’s responsibility to remove that cancer. Secretary Hull interrupted President Roosevelt’s vacation to Georgia to tell of Tojo’s comments of stopping the exploitation of Asiatics and that Great Britain and the United States exploitation of China
must be wiped out by Japan. The President saw a showdown from Hull’s report and cut his trip short.\textsuperscript{172} Tojo said,

“The patience of Japan is not inexhaustible. There is a strict limit beyond which we cannot go in using prudence. The nation’s policy has been fixed. The mind of the people is already made up. It is time the government rose to maintain the existence and prestige of the empire, having confidence in the unshakeable resolution of the people. The way to do so is through construction the proposed East Asia co-prosperity sphere, to the end that the peace of the world may be established on a firm footing. The cancer of the Pacific lies in the minds of arrogant American leaders who are seeking world hegemony for themselves and are meddling even in Europe by assisting Britain.”\textsuperscript{173}

On November 17, 1941 the \textit{New York Times} ran a story that reported the Japanese negotiators as being the first to blink. With the United States spouting pessimism and rhetoric about not allowing Japan to dominate the Pacific, the Japanese said it would refrain from any more aggression if the United States would lift economic sanctions.\textsuperscript{174} With this new twist Nomura and Hull held exploratory talks in Washington.\textsuperscript{175} But any hope was short lived as the \textit{Times} reported talks hit a snag and no one would immediately explain why.\textsuperscript{176} It turned out the snag was reported to be a United States proposal for a Five-Power conference. The other four powers that would join talks would be Great Britain, China, the Netherlands, and Australia. The Japanese absolutely hated the idea and saw gloom and doom for any potential agreement with America and the end of negotiations was seen to be not far off. With the turn of events, Japan said it was up to the United States to present a concrete proposal because Japan felt its time had been wasted. The two countries also played a blame game for problems in negotiations as covered in the \textit{New York Times}.\textsuperscript{177} However the \textit{Times} listed five points Kurusu was reported to be working on as a new proposal,
“1. Japan agrees there shall be a redistribution of spheres of influence, mostly economic, in China. 2. Japan will push no farther south in military expansion, but nothing shall be placed in the way of Japan’s economic development southward. 3. The status of Manchukuo is to be left out of the current discussions and decided later. 4. Japan is willing to let the Axis pact lag and not live up to its Axis obligations. (It is hazy about the matter of actually leaving the Axis.) 5. Japan is willing to withdraw from Chinese territory to positions occupied when the Sino-Japanese “incident” began in 1937—in other words, a “status quo ante” as of July, 1937.”

Despite Hull’s reassurance of continued talks between Japan and the United States, war seemed even more on the lips of the leaders of both countries and the Pacific countries went on alert and began talking about how to coordinate war efforts. Japan kept involved in the talks although it expressed its doubts and its sense of hopelessness in New York Times articles. Tyler Dennett, a former State Department aide, along with former New York Times correspondent Wilfrid Fleisher, told the Foreign Policy Association, “Japan’s utter inability to understand the ideals of American foreign policy has brought that country to the verge of a needless war with the United States.”

However, Orient scholar Pierre Laurin said he saw Japan bluffing and if Japan went to war with Great Britain and the United States that Japan would go down in defeat within a year. House Chairman Andrew J. May of the Military Affairs Committee suggested to reporters that Japan renounce their ambitions or the United States would blast them out of the water. Senator Norris felt Japan wouldn’t attack America. He was quoted saying, “Japan will not attack the United States unless it is convinced that Hitler will win against Russia. I think they will finally back down. Of course if they are convinced that Hitler will win, they are almost certain to attack us in the Pacific.” And the day before the attack, New York Times writer Otto D. Tolischus wrote an observational peace on how
Japan was faced with a war it once thought impossible, a war no one wanted, and a war that he thought was still trying to be averted.\textsuperscript{185}

The Japanese were serious about conflict. In November 1941 the Navy was reported in the \textit{New York Times} to have spotted a Japanese submarine prowling off the coast of Hawaii. Instead of raising any alarms, it was said the Navy chuckled over this abortive attempt at reconnaissance and that the Navy had learned the aims of Japan.\textsuperscript{186} The United States Army and Navy in Hawaii continued to look inward for spies and espionage rather than fear an external attack.\textsuperscript{187} Japan was then reported in the \textit{Times} massing troops near the Indo-China borders and President Roosevelt wanted to know why. Japan said they were just reinforcements for war against China.\textsuperscript{188} Roosevelt, on the day before the attacks, made a personal appeal to Emperor Hirohito regarding Indo-China in an attempt to ease tensions, an appeal which was published in the \textit{Times} the day after the attacks.\textsuperscript{189}
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

Conclusion

Oddly, it was Japan’s Dr. Inazo Nitobe in a *Times* article who was quoted saying at the 1933 Institute for Pacific Relations conference in Banff, Alberta, Canada, “Honest and intelligent journalism can remove or smooth over many of the causes of irritation.”

According to the *New York Times*’ coverage either Nitobe was wrong or the news coverage wasn’t honest or intelligent because of the constant irritation written about in news stories from 1920 to the end of 1941.

With the increased talk in 1941 of an ‘inevitable war’ in stories by the *New York Times* it is also hard then to imagine then why the *Times* used words like shocked and surprised after the attack at Pearl Harbor. How could have Americans missed all the stories or the *Times* in its Pearl Harbor attack headlines or forgotten all the stories they themselves had written about Japan’s talk of a coming war or Tojo’s talk of a time table.

Japan’s new premier in October 1941, Tojo began preparing Japan for what he called an ‘inevitable’ armed class and showdown. Tojo said part of the preparations stemmed from the economic boycott. Tojo said there was a time table if the United States continued to refuse to recognize Japan’s ‘New Order’ program despite Japan’s patience and prudence. Tojo blamed tension on the United States adherence to an arbitrary, dogmatic attitude. In what Japan claimed to be its last attempt at peace as presented in the *New York Times*, Japan asked the United States to reverse its stand or face conflict. These threats might have been missed because the *Times* put them on page six.
A high Japanese spokesman said, “There is real danger that the Japanese Government will be forced to take “drastic Action” to get oil and other materials denied to Japan by the United States-British-Netherland embargo.”

Also the research conducted showed there were a lot of threats by the Japanese over the years particularly surrounding problems with Japan and China that the people of the world might have gotten to the point of ignoring the stories in Times. This despite the gradually increase of talk of war and peace starting in 1930 that increased to a more fevered pitch in 1941. Japan also talked frequently about war with Russia and that never materialized; the same thinking may have been applied to the tensions between them and the United States by Times’ readership. A New York Times article said there have been so many violent attacks on America and a call to arms that stories in the Japanese press can scarcely stimulate the Japanese people anymore. What if that happened on the American side of the Pacific Ocean as well in regards to the increased talk of war and the people seeing nothing happening? Or the United States’ isolationist views may have prevented them from contemplating an attack on American soil. It was something that had never happened before.

An example of the many threats that went unheeded was delivered by Lieutenant General Motoyuki Yamashita, head of the Japanese military mission, as he told the Japanese newspaper Nichi Nichi and printed in the New York Times that, “In a short time something great will happen, you just watch and wait.” But he declined to explain more than that in May of 1941. The Times also quoted gloom and doom from Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, “We are only waiting for Japan to cross the line before we start shooting. I don’t know where that line is and I’m not sure the President knows exactly
where it is, but when they cross it we’ll start shooting.” 10 And Chinese ambassador to the United States, C. T. Wang, said regarding the conflict in 1937 between Japan and China, “The situations in its potentialities was not only important to the Far East but might disturb the peace of the world.” 11 It’s quotes like this that showed that some in U.S. Governmental positions of responsibility were aware of an impending attack by the Japanese, just not aware of where.

And then there were the threats written about that just were plain scary. Japanese Admiral Suetsugu declared in July 1941, “War is not for material gains; war is an adventure.” The New York Times responded if that were true the, “(Japan’s) new course will be determined by no rational considerations whatever.” 12 The Japanese newspaper Kokumin warned, “There is a limit to our policy of peace, self-abnegation and patience. When that limit is reached Japan must rise like an avenging angel and smite with all her might.” 13 Maybe American’s couldn’t grasp the impending threat because it was irrational.

Talk of war began long before 1941. The Japanese newspaper Asahi wrote in 1924, “It is too bad that Japan had to be struck by a stone thrown by a wayward child. The child is probably not aware of the consequences, but that does not alter the fact that these may be of the gravest. A protest is now as useless as pouring water on a duck’s back.” 14

A memorial service given in 1929 in honor of William Jennings Bryan, Woodrow Wilson’s Secretary of State, revealed how close the two countries first came to blows in 1913 and also exemplified the relationship of the two countries up until the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

William C. Redfield, Wilson’s Secretary of Commerce, said in 1913,
A situation arose that made it appear certain that war would occur between the United States and Japan. Some of the members of the cabinet on that occasion wanted to remove the fleet from Chinese rivers. Wilson, however, said ‘no, we are not going to show any fear. We will leave the fleet.’ The next morning the Japanese Ambassador called on Mr. Bryan and made some proposals that he would not agree to. The Ambassador said . . . If Mr. Bryan said ‘yes’ it would have meant war. But the Secretary of State . . . said: ‘Nothing is ever final between friends.’ This softened the Ambassador and he . . . was able to work out a solution and avert war. 15

The seeds of war were sown in the 1920s as tensions were created between the United States starting with talk of exclusion and then with the passage of the Exclusion Act in May of 1924 and grew from there as other irritants were piled onto already hurt feelings which the United States apparently never addressed as seen in the New York Times’ coverage.

The Exclusion Act even made some in Japan want to go to war with America much sooner than 1941. 16 Lieut. Gen. Bunjiro Horinouchi said, “We must be determined to undergo whatever hardships are necessary in avenging the insult which America has done our country.” 17 In an address to reservists, nationalistic publicist Shinkishi Uysugi said that, “It no longer was possible to reach a satisfactory compromise with America on immigration. If history teaches anything, an eventual collision between Japan and America on the Pacific is inevitable.” 18

Also in 1924, the Minister of the Navy Takashi Takarabe said, “But we cannot rely on such a supposition and we cannot safely state that there will not be a time in the future when Japan will be forced to start a war, although reluctantly, due to the divergencies of views between nations.” 19

Japan’s suspicions of a naval race were supposed to have been put to rest with the Washington Treaty in 1922 but their suspicions picked up again as the naval conferences
in the second half of the decade and the first half of the 1930s failed to reach any sort of accord. They also weren’t happy with the naval ratio of sixty percent; instead they felt they needed a seventy percent ratio in relation to Great Britain and the United States. Another source of irritation was the dispute over China. Japan wasn’t happy with Europe and America intruding in on what they felt was their domain like America had Latin America and the Europeans had Africa and India. These were a couple of concerns Japan felt the United States never properly addressed. Ultimately if the world had realized Japan just wanted to be seen as an equal rather than a little brother history books might read differently. Japanese Foreign Minister K. Matsui appealed to the United States in 1924, “Japan’s cherished desire is “to be treated on the same footing with other independent nations.”

In a closer examination of the issues Japan called irritants, I found justification for Japan’s ire at American’s having such short memories. For example the 1924 Exclusion Act (See Appendix C) received some front page coverage in the *New York Times* in April 1924 as to Japan’s feelings on the issue and their desire for compromise on the issue. But looking at before and after April coverage in the *Times* it was never consistently in the same place. America’s memory was and still is directly tied to the amount of coverage the media, in this case the *New York Times*, gives to the issue and where it is placed in the paper. Even when the topic of exclusion resurfaced in 1930 it was only briefly and didn’t come close to being a front-page story. A quick perusal of the endnote of chapters two, three, and four of the thesis prove this point of the *Times’* coverage of issues and irritants of the two decades leading up to Pearl Harbor were all over the place on different pages.
A perfect example of the importance the *Times* gave the exclusion issue after it was passed in May of 1924 was an article which ran in December 1924. Ex-Ambassador to Japan Cyrus E Woods issued a warning of what America and Congress had just done to the Japanese and it ran on page seventeen instead of page one. Woods said,

“Without one compensating advantage Congress has thrown away one of the most important assets in solving the problems of the Pacific and has at the same time, create utterly needless feelings of mortification, humiliation and distrust, with fresh and as yet unknowable potential factors of difficulty in maintaining the permanent peace of the Far East. The consequences of the Exclusion law, if not soon overcome, are grave beyond all ordinary comprehension. It will affect business intercourse, turning to Europe and elsewhere trade that would normally have come here. The military party in Japan and the tendency to set in sharp antithesis the Yellow races against the White have been given a mighty impulse, portending disaster to Japan, to China and to the whole world in proportion as the movement succeeds.”

The *New York Times* coverage could be called spotty at best and inconsistent (See Appendix F, G, and H). The *Times*’ coverage was exhaustive in looking at the other unique issues based on Bugeja’s taxonomy of influences. But this lingering idea of inconsistency was evident by the gaps and conflicting stories and lack of prominence in the warnings Japan issued about war. The talk of war and the talk of the impossibility of war were equally prevalent and could have easily confused the reader. The *Times* averaged a story a month in 1932 and 1934 on the issue of an impending Pacific conflict but disappeared from coverage in 1931, 1933, 1935-38 before coming with regularity late 1939 up to the start of World War II. Looking at 1941, there as many stories stating all hope for peace was gone and stories stating both sides were still hoping and working on ironing out their differences.
One thing the *New York Times* was successful in relaying to the public during this time span was the fact the two sides didn’t understand each other. In a *Times* reflection piece the paper wrote,

“Toleration and courtesy are badly needed these days. Just as many Americans have misunderstood Japan’s bitterness over the Immigration bill, so many Japanese have failed to grasp the underlying principles of America’s Far Eastern policy. It is for sane Japanese leaders to set their misinformed countrymen right on these matters. On all American friends of sound international cooperation falls the task of explaining to the American people that the feeling of anti-Americanism in Japan is but a passing phase and rests on a lack of understanding of America’s true attitude.”

Rear Admiral Yates Stirling wrote, in a separate story printed in the *Times*, there would be a naval war in the Pacific unless differences were worked out because of the diplomatic tensions existing for years and unless Japan stopped coveting the Indies. Stirling was also responsible for pointing out Hawaii’s weakness to an air attack in 1935.

General William Mitchell who saw war with Japan as inevitable explained part of the reason for war talk. He said, “We are accustomed to think of ourselves as a peaceful people, but on the contrary America is one of the most war like great nations on earth, and the same time the least prepared.”

Japan made some attempts to clear up the misunderstanding and explain things from its point of view. The Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* wrote, “If the United States will only try to understand Japan’s peaceful intentions, all trouble will be cleared away.”

It also all boiled for the Japanese in the end to stay the course in China no matter what and the Japanese saw the United States as standing in the way as was reported in the *New York Times*. Japanese Foreign Minister Kichisaburo Nomura summed it up best,
“Determination of the entire Japanese nation to bring about a new order in East Asia is too strong to be changed or affected by the interference of a third power.”27

In the end it may have been as simple as the island of Hawaii. The Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* was quoted in the *New York Times*,

> “If the Hawaiian Islands did not exist, war between Japan and the United States would be impossible. Therefore, it concludes, God Cannot have been faithful to the followers of peace when he created those islands.”28

**Recommendations**

While this thesis is an extensive look at the coverage the *New York Times* gave to the taxonomies and influences prior to World War II it is limited by its single point of view.

The next step in the progression of this research should be the examination of other newspapers. Newspapers I suggest looking at would be the Washington Post, which would have been another paper from that era that would have had a wide circulation in the nation’s capital.

With the clamor given to the issue of exclusion and with the west coast leading the charge to pass the 1924 Exclusion Act, papers from Seattle, Portland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sacramento, and San Diego need to be researched to see how these media outlets were covering these same influences.

I would also recommend researching governmental national archives to see what the political leaders of the United States were saying about the media coverage of the issues discussed in this thesis. And if possible, I would suggest doing the same search of the Japanese archives and see what was written from their governmental and military players on the coverage by Japanese and American newspapers.
CHAPTER ONE—INTRODUCTION—ENDNOTES


28 “Problems of the Pacific,” 1927.


35 John Morton Blum, V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); Philip Knightley, The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: the


CHAPTER TWO—EXCLUSION, NATURALIZATION, IMMIGRATION, AND EMIIGRATION

ENDNOTES


183 “V.S. M’Clatchy, 80, Coast Publisher,” *New York Times*, 16 May 1938, pp. 17.


CHAPTER THREE—NAVAL TENSIONS AND THE THREAT OF WAR—ENDNOTES


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CHAPTER FOUR—CHINA AND PACIFIC TENSIONS—ENDNOTES


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CHAPTER FIVE—JAPANESE POLITICAL TENSIONS—ENDNOTES


104 “Tokyo is Held Duped into Alliance that Aids Germany at its Expense,” New York Times, 1 Oct. 1940, pp. 5.


“Roosevelt Candor is Praised by Ishii,” *New York Times*, 30 May 1933, pp. 3.

“Navy Good-Will Trip to Japan is Planned,” *New York Times*, 17 May 1933, pp. 5.


CHAPTER SIX—JAPANESE ECONOMIC TENSIONS—ENDNOTES


87 “Japan, U.S. Nearing a Textile Accord,” 
86 “Adverse U.S. Trade Worries Japanese,” 
85 “Japanese Ask U.S. for Trade Treaty,” 
84 “Japan Wants Pact with US on Trade,” 
83 “Trade Increased with the Far East,” 
82 “Japan is Declared Financially Sound,” 
81 “Japan Ends Year in Midst of Minor Boom but Newspaper Warns of Grave Reaction,” 
80 “Budget Crisis in Japan Continues,” 
79 “Cabinet in Tokyo Ends Diet Revolt,” 
78 “Rice Glut in Japan is Ruining Farmers,” 
77 “Back to Asia!” Japan’s New Cry,” 
76 “Japanese Diet Fails to Ease Farm Debts,” 
75 “Japanese Diet Called to Aid the Farmers,” 
74 “Tell of Acute Need of Rural Japanese,” 
73 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
72 “Japan’s Depression Found on the Farm,” 
71 “Japanese Gloomy on 1932 Outlook,” 
70 “Japan Reports Drop in Exports,” 
69 “Some Foreign Lands Show Trade Gains,” 
68 “Near-Panic Closes Exchange in Tokio,” 
67 “Finds Gold Big Factor in Japanese Slump,” 
66 “Near-Panic Closes Exchange in Tokio,” 
65 “Japan’s Trade Declines,” 
64 “Japan Wants Pact with US on Trade,” 
63 “Advance of the Yen Shows Japan’s Gain,” 
62 “Business Improves in some Countries,” 
61 “Strain on Finances of Japanese Seen,” 
60 “Rice Glut in Japan is Ruining Farmers,” 
59 “Business Outlook Gloomy in Japan,” 
58 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
57 “Tell of Acute Need of Rural Japanese,” 
56 “Japanese Diet Called to Aid the Farmers,” 
55 “Japanese Diet Fails to Ease Farm Debts,” 
54 “Tell of Acute Need of Rural Japanese,” 
53 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
52 “Find Gold Big Factor in Japanese Slump,” 
51 “Export Boom Keeps its Pace in Japan,” 
50 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
49 “Japanese Trade Rises,” 
48 “Proud Japan Ponders her Status,” 
47 “Railway Strike Deferred in Japan,” 
46 “Pay Cut Plan Causes a Japanese Walkout,” 
45 “All Japanese Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
44 “Business Outlook Gloomy in Japan,” 
43 “Proud Japan Ponders her Status,” 
42 “Japanese Ask U.S. for Trade Treaty,” 
41 “Adverse U.S. Trade Worries Japanese,” 
40 “Japan, U.S. Nearing a Textile Accord,” 
39 “Advance of the Yen Shows Japan’s Gain,” 
38 “Business Improves in some Countries,” 
37 “Strain on Finances of Japanese Seen,” 
36 “Rice Glut in Japan is Ruining Farmers,” 
35 “Business Outlook Gloomy in Japan,” 
34 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
33 “Tell of Acute Need of Rural Japanese,” 
32 “Japanese Diet Called to Aid the Farmers,” 
31 “Japanese Diet Fails to Ease Farm Debts,” 
30 “Tell of Acute Need of Rural Japanese,” 
29 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
28 “Find Gold Big Factor in Japanese Slump,” 
27 “Export Boom Keeps its Pace in Japan,” 
26 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
25 “Japanese Trade Rises,” 
24 “Proud Japan Ponders her Status,” 
23 “Japanese Ask U.S. for Trade Treaty,” 
22 “Adverse U.S. Trade Worries Japanese,” 
21 “Japan, U.S. Nearing a Textile Accord,” 
20 “Advance of the Yen Shows Japan’s Gain,” 
19 “Japan’s Trade Declines,” 
18 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
17 “Tell of Acute Need of Rural Japanese,” 
16 “Japanese Diet Called to Aid the Farmers,” 
15 “Japanese Diet Fails to Ease Farm Debts,” 
14 “Tell of Acute Need of Rural Japanese,” 
13 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
12 “Find Gold Big Factor in Japanese Slump,” 
11 “Export Boom Keeps its Pace in Japan,” 
10 “All Japan Stirred by Farmers’ Plight,” 
9 “Japanese Trade Rises,” 
8 “Proud Japan Ponders her Status,” 
7 “Japanese Ask U.S. for Trade Treaty,” 
6 “Adverse U.S. Trade Worries Japanese,” 
5 “Japan, U.S. Nearing a Textile Accord,” 
4 “Advance of the Yen Shows Japan’s Gain,” 
3 “Business Improves in some Countries,” 
2 “Strain on Finances of Japanese Seen,” 
1 “Rice Glut in Japan is Ruining Farmers,”


216 “$1,000,000 Cotton Fire in Japan,” New York Times, 7 Feb. 1939, pp. 11.
CHAPTER SEVEN—PRELUDE TO WAR—ENDNOTES


279 “1,000 Feared Dead as Dam Bursts in Japan; Polvo Notes Flood Sweeps Upon Three Towns,” *New York Times*, 20 Nov. 1936, pp. 1.


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169 “Blockade is Assailed,” New York Times, 17 Nov. 1941, pp. 6; “‘Truce’ in Orient Rejected
186 “Blockade is Assailed,” New York Times, 17 Nov. 1941, pp. 4; “‘Truce’ in Orient Rejected
188 “Japan Rattles Sword But Echo is Pianissimo,” New York Times, 7 Dec. 1941, pp. 1; “Japan

CHAPTER EIGHT—CONCLUSION—ENDNOTES

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References


### Appendix A

#### Chronology

**Important Events in Japanese History**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>February</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 March</td>
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<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>3 January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>17 April</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>8 February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>5 September</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>22 July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>23 August</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>18 January</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 November</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>November</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>November</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 February</td>
<td>Washington Treaty for naval limitations signed (5-power and 9-power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>treaties)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Kanto Earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Japanese Exclusion Act enacted by US Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Peace Preservation Law and Universal Manhood Suffrage Law enacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Geneva Disarmament Conference begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Death of Taisho Emperor; Commencement of Showa reign period under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirohito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Hirohito is first emperor to travel outside of four seas area and first to marry for love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>8 banks fail in one week³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Japanese troops to China in the Shandong Expedition; Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanaka Giichi announces ‘Positive Policy’ toward China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 August</td>
<td>Geneva Naval Parley fails⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>First general election with universal male suffrage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>London Naval Treaty agreed upon, designed as supplement to Washington Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Prime Minister Hamaguchi assassination attempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Earthquake rocks Japan, worst since 1930⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Manchurian Incident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>League of Nations invokes Kellogg Pact against Japan for its actions in China⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Establishment of Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Assassination of government leaders in Showa Restoration attempt,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including Premier Inukai (Young Officers Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Japan seeks 1940 Olympic Summer games⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Adoption of Lytton Report by League of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Earthquake shakes northern Japan, worst in quake in 20 years, had</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>escaped 1923 quake⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Japan quits the League of Nations¹⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>November</td>
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<td></td>
<td>19 December</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>January</td>
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<td>24 March</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>January</td>
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<td>26 February</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 August</td>
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<td>25 November</td>
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<td>December</td>
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<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>7 July</td>
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<td>31 October</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 December</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1 April</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 September</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 August</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 September</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 November</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1941
8 March Negotiations begin between Ambassador Nomura and Secretary of State Hull
13 April Japan-Soviet Neutrality Pact
21 June Hitler invades the Soviet Union
24 July Japanese troops occupy Indo-China
25 July US announces freezing of Japanese funds
26 July US embargoes oil sales and shipments to Japan
30 July Japan bombs U.S.S. Tutuila in Chungking
6 September Imperial Conference adopts decision to wage war with the US while continuing to pursue negotiations
18 October General Hideki Tojo becomes Prime Minister
6 November Japan announce Saburo Kurusu headed to Washington to aid Nomura
26 November ‘Hull Note’ reiterates US demands for return to status quo ante 1931
6 December Roosevelt makes personal appeal to Hirohito
7 December Japan attacks Pearl Harbor

## Appendix B

**Japanese Prime Ministers and United States Presidents 1916-1944**

### Japanese Cabinets 1916-1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prime Minister</th>
<th>Cabinet Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masatake Terauchi</td>
<td>9 October 1916 to 29 September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takashi Hara</td>
<td>29 September 1918 to 13 November 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korekiyo Takahashi</td>
<td>13 November 1921 to 12 June 1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomosaburo Kato</td>
<td>12 June 1922 to 2 September 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonnohyoe(Gonbe) Yamamoto</td>
<td>2 September 1923 to 7 January 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keigo Kiyoura</td>
<td>7 January 1924 to 11 June 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takaaki Kato</td>
<td>11 June 1924 to 2 August 1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takaaki Kato</td>
<td>2 August 1925 to 30 January 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reijiro Wakatsuki</td>
<td>30 January 1926 to 20 April 1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giichi Tanaka</td>
<td>20 April 1927 to 2 July 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osachi Hamaguchi</td>
<td>2 July 1929 to 14 April 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reijiro Wakatsuki</td>
<td>14 April 1931 to 13 December 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsuyoshi Inukai</td>
<td>13 December 1931 to 16 May 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makato Saito</td>
<td>16 May 1932 to 8 July 1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keisuke Okada</td>
<td>8 July 1934 to 9 March 1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koki Hirota</td>
<td>9 March 1936 to 2 February 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senjuro Hayashi</td>
<td>2 February 1937 to 4 February 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fumimaro Konoe (Konoye)</td>
<td>4 June 1937 to 5 January 1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiichiro Hiranuma</td>
<td>5 January 1939 to 30 August 1939</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nobuyuki Abe</td>
<td>30 August 1939 to 16 January 1940</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mitsumasa Yonai</td>
<td>16 January 1940 to 22 July 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fumimaro Konoe (Konoye)</td>
<td>22 July 1940 to 18 July 1941</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fumimaro Konoe (Konoye)</td>
<td>18 July 1941 to 18 October 1941</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hideki Tojo</td>
<td>18 October 1941 to 22 July 1944</td>
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United States Presidents 1916-1944

<table>
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<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Term</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woodrow Wilson</td>
<td>1917 to 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren Harding</td>
<td>1921 to 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvin Coolidge</td>
<td>1923 to 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert Hoover</td>
<td>1929 to 1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin Roosevelt</td>
<td>1933 to 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin Roosevelt</td>
<td>1937 to 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin Roosevelt</td>
<td>1941 to 1945</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Appendix C

Text of 1924 Exclusion Act

Immigration Act of 1924

Exclusion from United States

Sec. 13. (a) No immigrant shall be admitted to the United States unless he (1) has an unexpired immigration visa or was born subsequent to the issuance of the immigration visa of the accompanying parent, (2) is of the nationality specified in the visa in the immigration visa, (3) is a non-quota immigrant if specified in the visa in the immigration visa as such, and (4) is otherwise admissible under the immigration laws.

In such classes of cases and under such conditions as may be by regulations prescribed immigrants who have been legally admitted to the United States and who depart therefrom temporarily may be admitted to the Untied States without being required to obtain an immigration visa.

No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien (1) is admissible as a non-quota immigrant under the provision of subdivision (b), (d) or (e) of section 4, --

“Sec. 4. . . . . (b) An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States, who is returning from a temporary visit abroad; . . . .

(d) An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of, carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university; and his wife, and his unmarried children under 18 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him; or

(e) An immigrant who is a bona fide student at least 15 years of age and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor, which shall have agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each immigrant student, and if any such institution of learning fails to make such reports promptly the approval shall be withdrawn.”

Or (2) is the wife, or the unmarried child under 18 years of age of an immigrant admissible under such subdivision (d), and is accompanying or following to join him, or (3) is not an immigrant as defined in section 3. —

“Sec 3. When used in this Act the term "immigrant" means an alien departing from any place outside the United States destined for the United States, except (1) a government official, his family, attendants, servants, and employees, (2) an alien visiting the United States temporarily as a tourist or temporarily for business or pleasure, (3) an alien in continuous transit through the United States, (4) an alien
lawfully admitted to the United States who later goes in transit from one part of
the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory, (5) a bona fide
alien seaman serving as such on a vessel arriving at a port of the United States and
seeking to enter temporarily the United States solely in the pursuit of his calling
as a seaman, and (6) an alien entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on
trade under and in pursuance of the provisions of a present existing treaty of
commerce and navigation."

DEPORTATION

Sec. 14. Any alien who at any time after entering the United States is found to
have been at the time of entry not entitled under this Act to enter the United States, or to
have remained therein for a longer time than permitted under this Act or regulations made
thereunder, shall be taken into custody and deported in the same manner as provided for
in sections 19 and 20 of the Immigration Act of 1917: PROVIDED, That the Secretary of
Labor may, under such conditions and restrictions as to support and care as he may deem
necessary, permit permanently to remain in the United States, any alien child who, when
under sixteen years of age was heretofore temporarily admitted to the United States and
who is now within the United States and either of whose parents is a citizen of the United
States.

Maintenance of Exempt Status

Sect. 15. The admission to the United States of an alien excepted from the class of
immigrants by clause (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6) of section 3.

“Sec. 3 … (2) an alien visiting the United States temporarily as a tourist or
temporarily for business or pleasure, (3) an alien in continuous transits through
the United States, (4) an alien lawfully admitted to the United States who later
goes in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign
contiguous territory, (5) a bona fide alien seaman serving as such on a vessel
arriving at a port of the United States and seeking to enter temporarily the United
States solely in the pursuit of his calling as a seaman, and (6) an alien entitled to
enter the United States solely to carry on trade under and in pursuance of the
provisions of a present existing treaty of commerce and navigation.”

Or declared to be a non-quota immigrant by subdivision (e) of section 4,—

“Sec. 4 … (e) An immigrant who is a bona fide student at least 15 years of age
and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an
accredited school, college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly
designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor, which shall have
agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each
immigrant student, and if any such institution of learning fails to make such
reports promptly the approval shall be withdrawn.”
Shall be for such time as may be by regulations prescribed, and under such conditions as may be by regulations prescribed (including, when deemed necessary for the classes mentioned in clauses (2), (3), (4), or (6) of section 3, —

“Sec. 3 …. (2) an alien visiting the United States temporarily as a tourist or temporarily for business of pleasure, (3) an alien in continuous transit through the United States, (4) an alien lawfully admitted to the United States who later goes in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory, … (6) an alien entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on trade under and in pursuance of the Provisions of a present existing treaty of commerce and navigation.”

The giving of bond with sufficient surety, in such sum and containing such conditions as may be by regulations prescribed) to insure that, at the expiration of such time or upon failure to maintain the status under which admitted, he will depart from the United States.

General Definitions

Sec. 28. As used in this Act —

(a) The term "United States," when used in a geographical sense, means the States, the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, the District of Columbia, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands; and the term "continental United States " means the States and the District of Columbia;

(b) The term "alien" includes any individual not a native-born or naturalized citizen of the United States, but this definition shall not be held to include Indians of the United States not taxed, nor citizens of the islands under the jurisdiction of the United States;

(c) The term "ineligible to citizenship," when used in reference to any individual, includes an individual who is debarred from becoming a citizen of the United States under section 2169 of the Revised Statutes, or under section 14 of the Act entitled "An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese," approved May 6, 1882, or under section 1996, 1997, or 1998 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, or under section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," approved May 18, 1917, as amended, or under law amendatory of, supplementary to, or in substitution for, any of such sections;

(d) The term "immigration visa" means an immigration visa issued by a consular officer under the provisions of this Act;

(e) The term "consular officer" means any consular or diplomatic officer of the United States designated, under regulations prescribed under this Act, for the purpose of issuing immigration visas under this Act. In case of the Canal Zone and the insular possessions of the United States the term "consular officer" (except as used in section 24) means an officer designated by the President, or by his authority, for the purpose of issuing immigration visas under this Act;
(f) The term "Immigration Act of 1917" means the Act of February 5, 1917, entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States";

(g) The term "immigration laws" includes such Act, this Act, and all laws, conventions, and treaties of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens;

(h) The term "person" includes individuals, partnerships, corporations, and associations;

(i) The term "Commissioner General" means the Commissioner General of Immigration;

(j) The term "application for admission" has reference to the application for admission to the United States and not to the application for the issuance of the immigration visa;

(k) The term "permit" means a permit issued under section 10;

(l) The term "unmarried," when used in reference to any as of any time, means an individual who at such time is not married, whether or not previously married;

(m) The terms "child," "father," and "mother," do not include child or parent by adoption unless the adoption took place before January 1, 1924;

(n) The terms "wife" and "husband" do not include a wife husband by reason of a proxy or picture marriage.

Appendix D

Tables


Table 2

Net increase or decrease of population by arrival and departure of Chinese and Japanese aliens, fiscal years ended, June 30, 1917 to 1926

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chinese admitted</th>
<th>Chinese departed</th>
<th>Increase of decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigrant aliens</td>
<td>Non-immigrant aliens</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>2,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,576</td>
<td>35,621</td>
<td>37,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1,697</td>
<td>5,729</td>
<td>7,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,148</td>
<td>11,698</td>
<td>13,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4,017</td>
<td>18,974</td>
<td>22,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>4,465</td>
<td>8,755</td>
<td>13,220</td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>4,074</td>
<td>7,811</td>
<td>11,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>4,670</td>
<td>9,843</td>
<td>14,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,721</td>
<td>7,830</td>
<td>9,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>7,247</td>
<td>8,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27,586</td>
<td>114,421</td>
<td>142,007</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Japanese admitted</th>
<th>Japanese departed</th>
<th>Increase of decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigrant aliens</td>
<td>Non-immigrant aliens</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>8,925</td>
<td>4,363</td>
<td>13,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>10,168</td>
<td>4,911</td>
<td>15,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>10,056</td>
<td>4,848</td>
<td>14,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>9,279</td>
<td>6,895</td>
<td>16,174</td>
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</table>

[3] Compiled from Table 4, P. 35 of the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1926, and similar tables for other years.
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>7,531</th>
<th>6,743</th>
<th>14,274</th>
<th>4,352</th>
<th>11,193</th>
<th>15,545</th>
<th>- 1,271</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>6,361</td>
<td>6,476</td>
<td>12,837</td>
<td>4,353</td>
<td>10,925</td>
<td>15,278</td>
<td>- 2,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>5,652</td>
<td>5,919</td>
<td>11,571</td>
<td>2,844</td>
<td>8,328</td>
<td>11,172</td>
<td>+ 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8,481</td>
<td>7,217</td>
<td>15,698</td>
<td>2,120</td>
<td>9,623</td>
<td>11,743</td>
<td>+ 3,955</td>
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<tr>
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<td>682</td>
<td>3,505</td>
<td>4,187</td>
<td>1,170</td>
<td>8,098</td>
<td>9,268</td>
<td>- 5,081</td>
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<td>598</td>
<td>5,180</td>
<td>5,778</td>
<td>1,201</td>
<td>9,190</td>
<td>10,391</td>
<td>- 4,613</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>56,057</td>
<td>123,790</td>
<td>24,685</td>
<td>95,600</td>
<td>120,285</td>
<td>+ 3,505</td>
</tr>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>China Entered</td>
<td>China Departed</td>
<td>Japan Entered</td>
<td>Japan Departed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td>1893</td>
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<td>1895</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,150</td>
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<tr>
<td>1896</td>
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<td>2,844</td>
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<td>1906</td>
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<td>13,835</td>
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<td>30,226</td>
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<td>3,411</td>
<td>3,111</td>
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<td>1910</td>
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<td>2,720</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>2,609</td>
<td>6,114</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>2,303</td>
<td>8,281</td>
<td>731</td>
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<td>8,613</td>
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<td>10,213</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1,964</td>
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<td>10,064</td>
<td>2,195</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
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<td>3,102</td>
<td>9,432</td>
<td>4,249</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4,009</td>
<td>5,451</td>
<td>7,878</td>
<td>4,375</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>4,406</td>
<td>6,362</td>
<td>6,716</td>
<td>4,368</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>4,986</td>
<td>3,715</td>
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<td>2,869</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,937</td>
<td>3,412</td>
<td>723</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,751</td>
<td>2,989</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For 1820 to 1867 the figures are alien passengers arriving; for 1868 to 1903, for immigrants arriving; for 1904 to 1906, for aliens admitted; and for 1907 to 1926, for immigrants aliens admitted. The years from 1820 to 1831, and 1844 to 1849, inclusive, are those ending September 30; from these ending June 30. The other periods cover 15 months ending December 31, 1832; 9 months ending December 31, 1843; 15 months, ending December 31, 1850; and 6 months ending June 30, 1868. Data for years prior to 1906 cover countries whence aliens came; and, for years following, countries of last permanent residence. (annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigrating, 1926 pp. 170 – 181.)
Table D

Chinese and Japanese immigrant aliens admitted and emigrant aliens departed, with excess admissions or departures, fiscal years ended June 30, 1911 to 1926

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Admitted</td>
<td>Departed</td>
<td>Loss or gain</td>
<td>Admitted</td>
<td>Departed</td>
<td>Loss or gain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1,638</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>3,395</td>
<td>....</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
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<tr>
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<td>- 2,635</td>
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<td>5,323</td>
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<td>- 613</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>4,377</td>
<td>- 1,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>2,716</td>
<td>- 1,409</td>
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<td>3,351</td>
<td>+ 1,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,549</td>
<td>- 941</td>
<td>6,172</td>
<td>1,501</td>
<td>+ 4,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,022</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>- 228</td>
<td>8,302</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>+ 7,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2,354</td>
<td>2,059</td>
<td>+ 295</td>
<td>8,941</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>+ 8,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,469</td>
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<td>+ 510</td>
<td>8,609</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>+ 7,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,239</td>
<td>2,148</td>
<td>+ 91</td>
<td>8,711</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>+ 7,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>1,799</td>
<td>+ 44</td>
<td>8,925</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>+ 8,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,576</td>
<td>2,239</td>
<td>- 663</td>
<td>10,168</td>
<td>1,558</td>
<td>+ 8,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>- 365</td>
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<td>+ 7,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,961</td>
<td>+ 813</td>
<td>9,279</td>
<td>4,238</td>
<td>+ 5,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4,017</td>
<td>5,253</td>
<td>- 1,236</td>
<td>7,531</td>
<td>4,352</td>
<td>+ 3,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>4,465</td>
<td>6,146</td>
<td>- 1,681</td>
<td>6,361</td>
<td>4,353</td>
<td>+ 2,008</td>
</tr>
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<td>4,074</td>
<td>3,788</td>
<td>+ 286</td>
<td>5,652</td>
<td>2,844</td>
<td>+ 2,808</td>
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<td>+ 6,361</td>
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<td>682</td>
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<td>- 488</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
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<td>2,873</td>
<td>- 1,498</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>1,201</td>
<td>- 603</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

---

4 Excess of admissions indicated by plus sign (+), of departures by minus sign (-). Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1926, pp. 182 – 185. Alien arrivals previous to July 1, 1898 were not recorded by race or people. Alien departures previous to July 1, 1908 were not recorded by race or people.
Table G

Net increase or decrease of population by arrival and departure of Chinese and Japanese immigrant aliens, fiscal years ended June 30, 1911 to 1926, by sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Net increase or decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,124</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>2,660</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-1,536</td>
<td>+127</td>
<td>-1,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1,367</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>2,483</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>-116</td>
<td>+175</td>
<td>-941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1,692</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>2,204</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-512</td>
<td>+284</td>
<td>-228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2,052</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>2,005</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>+47</td>
<td>+248</td>
<td>+295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>2,182</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>1,918</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>+264</td>
<td>+246</td>
<td>+510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>2,093</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>-131</td>
<td>+222</td>
<td>+91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,563</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1,735</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-172</td>
<td>+216</td>
<td>+44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>300</td>
<td>2,156</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-880</td>
<td>+217</td>
<td>-663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,425</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-554</td>
<td>+189</td>
<td>-365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
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<td>429</td>
<td>2,844</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>-1,125</td>
<td>+312</td>
<td>-813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3,304</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>5,112</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>-1,808</td>
<td>+572</td>
<td>-1,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3,622</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>5,943</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>-2,321</td>
<td>+640</td>
<td>-1,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3,239</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>3,625</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>-386</td>
<td>+672</td>
<td>-286</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,732</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>3,553</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>+179</td>
<td>+755</td>
<td>+934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,526</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>3,124</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>-1,598</td>
<td>+56</td>
<td>+1,542</td>
</tr>
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<td>1,182</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>2,746</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>-1,564</td>
<td>+66</td>
<td>-1,498</td>
</tr>
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<td>46,180</td>
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<td>-13,213</td>
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<td>-8,216</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Admitted Male</th>
<th>Admitted Female</th>
<th>Departed Male</th>
<th>Departed Female</th>
<th>Increase or decrease Male</th>
<th>Increase or decrease Female</th>
<th>Net increase or decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,409</td>
<td>3,166</td>
<td>2,721</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>- 1,312</td>
<td>+ 2,536</td>
<td>+ 1,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1,930</td>
<td>4,242</td>
<td>1,167</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>+ 763</td>
<td>+ 3,908</td>
<td>+ 4,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>3,157</td>
<td>5,145</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>+ 2,596</td>
<td>+ 4,973</td>
<td>+ 7,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>3,292</td>
<td>5,649</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>+ 2,677</td>
<td>+ 5,470</td>
<td>+ 8,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3,762</td>
<td>4,847</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>+ 3,086</td>
<td>+ 4,698</td>
<td>+ 7,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>4,033</td>
<td>4,678</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>+ 3,398</td>
<td>+ 4,533</td>
<td>+ 7,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4,162</td>
<td>4,763</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>+ 3,581</td>
<td>+ 4,622</td>
<td>+ 8,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4,821</td>
<td>5,347</td>
<td>1,215</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>+ 3,606</td>
<td>+ 5,004</td>
<td>+ 8,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>4,567</td>
<td>5,489</td>
<td>1,715</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>+ 2,852</td>
<td>+ 5,077</td>
<td>+ 7,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>3,414</td>
<td>5,865</td>
<td>3,181</td>
<td>1,057</td>
<td>+ 233</td>
<td>+ 4,808</td>
<td>+ 5,041</td>
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<td>4,384</td>
<td>3,249</td>
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<td>- 102</td>
<td>+ 3,281</td>
<td>+ 3,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,683</td>
<td>3,678</td>
<td>3,086</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>- 403</td>
<td>+ 2,411</td>
<td>+ 2,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,489</td>
<td>3,163</td>
<td>2,043</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>+ 446</td>
<td>+ 2,362</td>
<td>+ 2,808</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,784</td>
<td>4,697</td>
<td>1,537</td>
<td>583</td>
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<td>+ 4,114</td>
<td>+ 6,361</td>
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<td>333</td>
<td>- 469</td>
<td>- 19</td>
<td>- 488</td>
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<td>173</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>- 405</td>
<td>- 198</td>
<td>- 603</td>
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<td>24,649</td>
<td>8,020</td>
<td>+ 22,794</td>
<td>+ 57,580</td>
<td>+ 80,374</td>
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### Table H
Age distribution of Chinese and Japanese immigrant aliens admitted, fiscal years ended June 30, 1917 to 1926

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number admitted</td>
<td>Under 16 years</td>
<td>16 to 44 years</td>
<td>45 years and over</td>
<td>Number admitted</td>
<td>Under 16 years</td>
<td>16 to 44 years</td>
<td>45 years and over</td>
</tr>
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<td>1,843</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1,481</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>8,925</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>7,663</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,576</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>1,178</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>10,168</td>
<td>1,417</td>
<td>8,228</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,697</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1,278</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>10,056</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>8,018</td>
<td>641</td>
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<td>242</td>
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<td>194</td>
<td>9,279</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>7,462</td>
<td>475</td>
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<td>415</td>
<td>3,344</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>7,531</td>
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<td>5,778</td>
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<td>641</td>
<td>3,570</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>6,361</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>4,845</td>
<td>467</td>
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<td>434</td>
<td>6,084</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>5,651</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>4,107</td>
<td>610</td>
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<td>3,459</td>
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<td>8,481</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>991</td>
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<td>1,721</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1,246</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>1,001</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>43</td>
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</table>

### Table I
Chinese claiming American citizenship by birth, or to be the wives or children of American citizens, admitted, fiscal years ended June 30, 1917 - 1926

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Foreign-born wives of natives</th>
<th>Foreign-born children of natives</th>
<th>Native born Raw natives</th>
<th>Native born Status not determined</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>179</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>191</td>
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<tr>
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<td>290</td>
<td>2,067</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>2,292</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1,239</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>387</td>
<td>2,399</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1,610</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>396</td>
<td>2,136</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,912</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>47.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5 Compiled from the Annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, table vii, p. 20, 1917, and similar tables for other years. For the year 1917 the age groups are “under 14 years’ and ’14 to 44 years”.

6 Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, table 3, p. 157, 1924 and similar tables for other years.

7 No record of departure (known as raw natives).

8 Status as native born determined by U.S. Government previous to present application for admission.

9 Status not previously determined.
Appendix E

New York Times’ Tables

COOLIDGE PROCLAIMS IMMIGRANT QUOTAS
Special to The New York Times.
New York Times (1857-current file): Jul 1, 1924; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times
pg. 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country or Area of Birth</th>
<th>Quota, 1924-1925</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian Peninsula (1.2)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia, including Papua, Tasmania, and all islands appertaining to Australia (3,4)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian (5)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Bhutan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon (proposed British mandate)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon (French mandate)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*China</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danzig, Free City of</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark (5,6)</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia (Abyssinia)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France (1,5,6)</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1,3,5,6)</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*India (3)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irak (Mesopotamia)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Free State (3)</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy, including Rhodes, Dodekanesia and Castellorizzo (5)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leichtenstein</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxemburg</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monaco</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco (French and Spanish zones and Tangier)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Muscat (Oman)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nauru (proposed British mandate (4)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nepal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands (1,5,6)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand (including appertaining islands) (3,4)</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway (5)</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*New Guinea and other Pacific islands under proposed Australian mandate (4)</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine (with Trans-Jordania, proposed British mandate)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal (1,5)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruanda and Urundi (Belgian mandate)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia, European and Asiatic (1)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa, Western (4), proposed mandate of New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For each of the countries indicated by an asterisk (*) is established a nominal quota according to the minimum fixed by law. These nominal quotas, as in the case of all quotas hereby established, are available only for persons born within the respective countries who are eligible for citizenship in the United States and are also available under the immigration laws of the United States.)
| United States | Great Britain, The Netherlands or Portugal, who are admissible under the immigration laws of the United States as quota immigrants, will be charged to the quota of the country to which such colony or dependency belongs or by which it is administered as a protectorate.

| 1. (a) Persons born in the portions of Persia, Russia, or the Arabian Peninsula within the barred zone, and who are admissible under the immigration laws of the United States as quota immigrants, will be charged to the quotas of these countries, and (b) persons born in the colonies, dependencies, or protectorates, or portions thereof, within the barred zone, of France, Great Britain, The Netherlands or Portugal, who are admissible under the immigration laws of the United States as quota immigrants, will be charged to the quota of the country to which such colony or dependency belongs or by which it is administered as a protectorate.

| 2. The quota-area designated "Arabian Peninsula" consists of all territory except Muscat and Aden, situated in the portion of that peninsula and adjacent islands, to the southeast of Iraq, of Palestine with Transjordania, and of Egypt.

| 3. Quota immigrants born in the British self-governing dominions or in the Empire of India will be charged to the appropriate quota rather than to that of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. There are no quota restrictions for Canada and Newfoundland.

| 4. As shown in Chart 1262a, hydrographic office, United States Navy Department.

| 5. Quota immigrants eligible to citizenship in the United States, born in a colony, dependency or protectorate of any country to which a quota applies will be charged to the quota of that country.

| 6. In contrast with the law of 1921, the Immigration act of 1924 provides that persons born in the colonies or dependencies of European countries situated in Central America, South America or the islands adjacent to the American Continent (except Newfoundland and islands pertaining to Newfoundland, Labrador and Canada), will be charged to the quota of the country to which such colony or dependency belongs.

| General Note—The immigration quota assigned to the various countries and quota-areas should not be regarded as having any political significance whatever, or as involving recognition of new Governments, or of new boundaries, or transfers of territory except as the United States Government has already made such recognition in a formal and official manner.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 30th day of June, in the year Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-eighth.

By the President: CHARLES HUGHES, Secretary of State.
**Five Powers Have Laid Down 1,069,000 Tons of Naval Craft Since Washington Parley**

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 10.—What the powers have done since Feb. 6, 1922, the close of the Washington Arms Conference, and have undertaken in naval increases, is shown in a table that has been prepared for the use of Chairman Butler of the House Naval Committee.

It shows that 1,069,920 tons of naval craft have been laid down since that date by the five powers, of which 120,999 is credited to the United States, 285,795 to the British Empire, 339,201 to Japan, 221,538 to France and 102,207 to Italy.

The tonnage for the British Empire does not include the tonnage of four gunboats, one submarine tender and one repair ship. No data are available on these particular tonnages. The tonnage of 6,468 for Italy's submarines does not include the tonnage of two submarines.

The table is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>British Empire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>120,999</td>
<td>285,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Empire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>339,201</td>
<td>221,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>339,201</td>
<td>221,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>10,207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102,207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Battleships</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air carriers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light cruisers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine layers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyer leaders</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunboats</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River gunboats</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine sweepers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarine tenders</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tankers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavier-than-air tenders</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply ships</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair ships</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**United States**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Battleships</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air carriers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light cruisers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>59,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine layers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyer leaders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>138,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunboats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River gunboats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine sweepers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarine tenders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tankers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavier-than-air tenders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply ships</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair ships</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**British Empire**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Battleships</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air carriers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light cruisers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>59,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine layers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyer leaders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>138,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunboats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River gunboats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine sweepers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarine tenders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tankers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavier-than-air tenders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply ships</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair ships</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TREATY WILL PROTECT JAPAN ON CONCESSIONS

Any Nation Will Have Right to Expression of New Position at Next Conference.

LONDON, April 10.—The naval agreement to which the United States, Great Britain and Japan will subscribe soon will regulate the size of the fleets of those three powers for the next six years.

It is understood that a clause providing that it extend for that period, and that any nation’s right to expression of a new position at the next conference will not be postponed, will be placed in the treaty. This will take care of Japan’s concessions from the 10-10-7 ratio of large cruisers she had claimed.

The figures for the three nations will stand as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Battleships</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total cruiser tonnage</td>
<td>323,500</td>
<td>339,500</td>
<td>208,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-inch cruisers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-inch cruisers</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>192,200</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td>522,750</td>
<td>52,700</td>
<td>52,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Tons.
TREATY OUTLINE AS AGREED UPON

By L. C. SPEERS.
Special Cable to The New York Times.

LONDON, April 17.—It was learned late tonight that the outline of the naval conference treaty, with a preamble and five chapters, containing twenty-five articles, had been completed for transmission to the capitals of the nations interested, and read as follows:

FIRST CHAPTER.

Article 1. Battleship building holiday for five years.

Article 2. Rules for scrapping and demilitarizing British, American and Japanese battleships.

Article 3. Definition of aircraft carriers.

Article 4. Definition of aircraft carriers which are under 10,000 tons displacement.

Article 5. Vessels with characteristics, such as landing decks, similar to aircraft carriers.

SECOND CHAPTER.

Article 6.—Setting the standard of displacement for surface vessels and submarines.

Article 7.—Limiting the size of submarines.

Article 8.—Defining exempt vessels.

Article 9.—Setting age limit of auxiliary vessels.

Article 10.—Requirement for notifying other powers when laying down new ships.

Article 11.—Methods of scrapping.

Article 12.—Defining special vessels.

Article 13.—Rules for replacement of auxiliary vessels.

Article 14.—Authorizing training ships.

THIRD CHAPTER.

Article 15.—Definition of cruisers and destroyers.

Article 16.—Programs of America, Britain and Japan and their tonnages.

Article 17.—The optional agreement on cruisers between Britain and the United States.

Article 18.—Establishing the right to transfers between light cruiser and destroyer categories.

Article 19.—Preparations for replacements.

Article 20.—Replacement of Japanese vessels under the age limit, of which 25,000 tons will be six-inch gun cruisers, 15,000 destroyers and 19,000 submarines.

Article 21.—The safeguarding, or contingent, clause.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

Article 22.—Regulating submarine warfare.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

Article 23.—Setting the duration of the treaty.

Article 24.—Ratifications to be deposited in London.

Article 25.—Methods of ratification.
Table Submitted by Stimson on Fleet Strengths Of the Three Powers at Present and Under Treaty

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 13.—A table of the strengths of the American, British and Japanese fleets in terms of tonnage at present and as provided under the London naval treaty was submitted by Secretary Stimson today to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as follows:

### PRESENT FLEETS (BUILT AND BUILDING).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital ships</td>
<td>532,400</td>
<td>608,650</td>
<td>292,400</td>
<td>10:11.4: 5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft carriers</td>
<td>76,238</td>
<td>115,350</td>
<td>68,870</td>
<td>10:15.1: 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruisers over 6-inch guns</td>
<td>130,000</td>
<td>186,226</td>
<td>108,400</td>
<td>10:14.3: 8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruisers 6-in. guns &amp; under</td>
<td>70,500</td>
<td>177,685</td>
<td>98,415</td>
<td>10:25.2:13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyers</td>
<td>290,304</td>
<td>184,371</td>
<td>122,575</td>
<td>10:6.3: 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td>80,880</td>
<td>60,284</td>
<td>77,942</td>
<td>10:7.4: 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,180,470</td>
<td>1,382,556</td>
<td>768,502</td>
<td>10:11.3: 6.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PRESENT FLEETS (BUILT, UNDER AGE, BUILDING).

APPROPRIATED FOR AND AUTHORIZED AS OF DEC. 31, 1929.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital ships</td>
<td>532,400</td>
<td>608,650</td>
<td>292,400</td>
<td>10:11.4: 5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft carriers</td>
<td>99,086</td>
<td>145,350</td>
<td>68,870</td>
<td>10:12.8: 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruisers over 6-inch guns</td>
<td>230,600</td>
<td>186,226</td>
<td>108,400</td>
<td>10:8.1: 4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruisers 6-inch guns &amp; under</td>
<td>70,500</td>
<td>184,371</td>
<td>98,415</td>
<td>10:25.1:13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyers</td>
<td>290,304</td>
<td>181,281</td>
<td>122,575</td>
<td>10:6.5: 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td>85,630</td>
<td>63,324</td>
<td>77,942</td>
<td>10:7.4: 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,283,920</td>
<td>1,348,993</td>
<td>776,992</td>
<td>10:10.4: 6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TREATY FLEET.

(If the United States does not exercise the option provided by Article 18 of the treaty for building only fifteen 8-inch-gun cruisers).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital ships</td>
<td>462,400</td>
<td>474,750</td>
<td>266,070</td>
<td>10:10.3: 5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft carriers</td>
<td>135,000</td>
<td>135,000</td>
<td>81,000</td>
<td>10:10: 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruisers over 6-inch guns</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>146,800</td>
<td>108,400</td>
<td>10:8.1: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruisers 6-inch guns &amp; under</td>
<td>145,500</td>
<td>102,200</td>
<td>100,450</td>
<td>10:13.4: 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyers</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>105,600</td>
<td>10:10:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td>52,700</td>
<td>52,700</td>
<td>52,700</td>
<td>10:10:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,123,600</td>
<td>1,151,450</td>
<td>714,120</td>
<td>10:10.2: 6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12.—The United States is now seventeenth in point of military strength among the nations of the world, according to statements made by General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the Army, before the House Appropriations Committee. His estimate of man-power available within a short mobilization period is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Trained Reserve</th>
<th>Separate Air Force</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>848,600</td>
<td>16,025,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>18,873,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>607,000</td>
<td>6,338,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>7,085,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>457,189</td>
<td>6,017,500</td>
<td>23,452</td>
<td>6,697,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>206,500</td>
<td>2,115,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,321,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>225,000</td>
<td>3,962,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,187,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>332,100</td>
<td>1,845,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,177,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1,922,250</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>1,925,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>244,850</td>
<td>1,485,300</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,730,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>1,489,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,627,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>138,924</td>
<td>1,447,724</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,586,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Empire</td>
<td>403,192</td>
<td>711,453</td>
<td>48,559</td>
<td>1,163,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>33,500</td>
<td>838,400</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>876,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>532,800</td>
<td></td>
<td>665,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>629,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>629,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>89,284</td>
<td>495,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>584,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>85,875</td>
<td>495,507</td>
<td>2,068</td>
<td>583,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>206,811</td>
<td>295,333</td>
<td>45,433</td>
<td>547,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>132,069</td>
<td>307,130</td>
<td></td>
<td>439,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,207,528</td>
<td>44,809,873</td>
<td>167,517</td>
<td>51,184,928</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note—The capital ship tonnage figures include 3,000 tons modernization each on three of the American capital ships that have not yet been modernized. Should the same modernization be carried out on the remaining five, about 15,800 tons would be added to the American total, or, in other words, the capital ship tonnage allotments would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,139,100</td>
<td>1,151,450</td>
<td>714,120</td>
<td>10:10.1:6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Five Navies as the Conference Meets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Capital Ships</th>
<th>Aircraft Carriers</th>
<th>Cruisers Class A</th>
<th>Cruisers Class B</th>
<th>Destroyers</th>
<th>Submarines</th>
<th>Total All Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>United States</strong></td>
<td>Grand Total 15</td>
<td>Grand Total 7</td>
<td>Grand Total 19</td>
<td>Grand Total 19</td>
<td>Grand Total 266</td>
<td>Grand Total 100</td>
<td>Grand Total 425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>564,900 Tons</td>
<td>146,500 Tons</td>
<td>179,775 Tons</td>
<td>160,500 Tons</td>
<td>325,959 Tons</td>
<td>91,920 Tons</td>
<td>1,568,150 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New 1, Old 15</td>
<td>New 6, Old 1</td>
<td>New 15, Old 1</td>
<td>New 17</td>
<td>New 81, Old 10</td>
<td>New 63, Old 12</td>
<td>New 1, Old 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,568,150 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Empire</strong></td>
<td>Grand Total 15</td>
<td>Grand Total 7</td>
<td>Grand Total 19</td>
<td>Grand Total 48</td>
<td>Grand Total 197</td>
<td>Grand Total 66</td>
<td>Grand Total 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>474,750 Tons</td>
<td>137,750 Tons</td>
<td>152,986 Tons</td>
<td>279,800 Tons</td>
<td>235,944 Tons</td>
<td>67,164 Tons</td>
<td>1,716,054 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New 12, Old 2</td>
<td>New 7</td>
<td>New 12, Old 2</td>
<td>New 27, Old 21</td>
<td>New 86, Old 111</td>
<td>New 66, Old 101</td>
<td>New 12, Old 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,716,054 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japan</strong></td>
<td>Grand Total 9</td>
<td>Grand Total 6</td>
<td>Grand Total 14</td>
<td>Grand Total 26</td>
<td>Grand Total 122</td>
<td>Grand Total 70</td>
<td>Grand Total 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>212,070 Tons</td>
<td>88,620 Tons</td>
<td>123,970 Tons</td>
<td>140,575 Tons</td>
<td>132,210 Tons</td>
<td>66,040 Tons</td>
<td>1,560,704 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New 3, Old 6</td>
<td>New 6, Old 1</td>
<td>New 12, Old 4</td>
<td>New 21, Old 4</td>
<td>New 82, Old 12</td>
<td>New 46, Old 6</td>
<td>New 3, Old 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,560,704 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>France</strong></td>
<td>Grand Total 15</td>
<td>Grand Total 10</td>
<td>Grand Total 14</td>
<td>Grand Total 98</td>
<td>Grand Total 111</td>
<td>Grand Total 247</td>
<td>Grand Total 716,528 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>560,925 Tons</td>
<td>105,925 Tons</td>
<td>97,414 Tons</td>
<td>143,634 Tons</td>
<td>114,446 Tons</td>
<td>376,536 Tons</td>
<td>1,776,446 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New 2, Old 1</td>
<td>New 10, Old 1</td>
<td>New 1, Old 3</td>
<td>New 12, Old 2</td>
<td>New 40, Old 29</td>
<td>New 20, Old 25</td>
<td>New 2, Old 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,776,446 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italy</strong></td>
<td>Grand Total 6</td>
<td>Grand Total 11</td>
<td>Grand Total 19</td>
<td>Grand Total 100</td>
<td>Grand Total 87</td>
<td>Grand Total 223</td>
<td>Grand Total 581,410 Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>156,552 Tons</td>
<td>105,641 Tons</td>
<td>93,722 Tons</td>
<td>103,968 Tons</td>
<td>60,547 Tons</td>
<td>118,410 Tons</td>
<td>581,410 Tons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Leaders in Sea Power—Their Ships and Tonnage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Battleships/Battle Cruisers</th>
<th>Aircraft Carriers</th>
<th>Cruisers</th>
<th>Destroyers</th>
<th>Submarines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Empire</td>
<td>24 811,000</td>
<td>14 260,000</td>
<td>87 618,000</td>
<td>218 297,000</td>
<td>73 79,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>23 764,000</td>
<td>7 135,000</td>
<td>43 379,700</td>
<td>267 353,000</td>
<td>114 116,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>14 461,000</td>
<td>6 89,000</td>
<td>46 328,476</td>
<td>41 187,000</td>
<td>68 88,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>11 304,000</td>
<td>3 58,000</td>
<td>21 173,000</td>
<td>89 149,000</td>
<td>98 96,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>11 248,000</td>
<td>2 58,500</td>
<td>15 113,600</td>
<td>48 65,001</td>
<td>71 31,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>8 235,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21 151,000</td>
<td>49 164,619</td>
<td>130 114,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3 70,000</td>
<td>2 21,000</td>
<td>9 65,000</td>
<td>45 65,000</td>
<td>160-210 85,000 to 95,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures are for ships built, building, appropriated for and projected for 1939-1940. Question marks indicate figures are approximations.
Japan-U.S. Trade Figures

WASHINGTON, July 27.—The following table shows the value of the trade of the United States with Japan by months, and an analysis by commodities for the five months ending with May in 1938 and 1939.

**EXPORTS (Including re-exports)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>$20,410,000</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>15,888,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>19,468,000</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>13,607,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>22,902,000</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>19,868,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>28,833,000</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>19,502,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>15,068,000</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>18,104,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>15,495,000</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>28,529,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$239,639,000</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GENERAL IMPORTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>$17,692,000</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>16,167,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>17,484,000</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>21,394,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>28,378,000</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>21,394,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$96,290,000</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMODITY:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>$106,628,000</td>
<td>$96,287,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle hides</td>
<td>1,295,000</td>
<td>631,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco, leaf</td>
<td>289,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw cotton</td>
<td>24,642,000</td>
<td>18,006,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logs and hewn timber</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas fir</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemlock</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas fir, sawn</td>
<td>262,000</td>
<td>271,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas fir, boards, planks, etc.</td>
<td>43,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood pulp</td>
<td>2,299,000</td>
<td>62,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum and products, total</td>
<td>23,439,000</td>
<td>18,689,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude petroleum</td>
<td>16,493,000</td>
<td>8,618,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasoline</td>
<td>1,695,000</td>
<td>3,074,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>29,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas and fuel oil</td>
<td>2,638,000</td>
<td>3,144,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual fuel oil</td>
<td>712,000</td>
<td>1,350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubricating oils</td>
<td>1,122,000</td>
<td>1,559,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig iron</td>
<td>2,156,000</td>
<td>134,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron and steel scrap</td>
<td>11,632,000</td>
<td>12,838,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel ingots, blooms, billets, slabs, etc., not containing alloy</td>
<td>2,030,000</td>
<td>2,376,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Five Months Ending May:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>$50,242,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

337
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wire rods</td>
<td>333,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel sheets, black</td>
<td>333,000</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron and steel plates</td>
<td>312,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinplate, taggers' tin and terneplate</td>
<td>1,669,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper, refined</td>
<td>7,578,000</td>
<td>10,288,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper, old and scrap</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>274,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power-driven metal-working machinery</td>
<td>11,176,000</td>
<td>12,953,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobiles, parts and accessories, total</td>
<td>5,020,000</td>
<td>3,508,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger cars and chassis</td>
<td>533,000</td>
<td>160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor trucks, buses, etc.</td>
<td>1,225,000</td>
<td>830,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile parts for assembly</td>
<td>1,711,000</td>
<td>1,173,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile engines</td>
<td>315,000</td>
<td>488,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft and parts</td>
<td>3,430,000</td>
<td>1,668,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borax</td>
<td>77,000</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbon black or gas black</td>
<td>394,000</td>
<td>238,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phosphate rock</td>
<td>469,000</td>
<td>342,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potassic fertilizer materials</td>
<td>1,452,000</td>
<td>1,671,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GENERAL IMPORTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>$47,844,000</td>
<td>$50,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuna fish, canned, in oil</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>530,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crab meat, sauce and paste</td>
<td>67,000</td>
<td>1,089,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscat and rabbit fur, undressed</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minic fur, undressed</td>
<td>496,000</td>
<td>519,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristles, sorted and prepared</td>
<td>192,000</td>
<td>208,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>454,000</td>
<td>662,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber-soled footwear with fabric uppers</td>
<td>71,000</td>
<td>57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyrethrum flowers</td>
<td>734,000</td>
<td>430,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eucalyptus oil</td>
<td>634,000</td>
<td>188,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton cloth, bleached</td>
<td>326,000</td>
<td>888,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton cloth, unbleached</td>
<td>420,000</td>
<td>514,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton fiber coverings</td>
<td>447,000</td>
<td>357,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton rags</td>
<td>610,000</td>
<td>844,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hat braids</td>
<td>29,655,000</td>
<td>32,142,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw silk</td>
<td>521,000</td>
<td>151,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk fabrics, except pile</td>
<td>1,671,000</td>
<td>787,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tissue and similar paper</td>
<td>627,000</td>
<td>738,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China porcelain table and kitchenware</td>
<td>521,000</td>
<td>377,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eternam and stoneware</td>
<td>231,000</td>
<td>307,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slides fasteners (sippers)</td>
<td>96,000</td>
<td>160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric lamps</td>
<td>513,000</td>
<td>194,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menthol</td>
<td>121,000</td>
<td>39,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camphor, crude</td>
<td>192,000</td>
<td>162,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camphor, refined</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolls and parts</td>
<td>243,000</td>
<td>228,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other toys</td>
<td>194,000</td>
<td>128,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Less than $1,000.

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**COMPARATIVE MILITARY STRENGTH**

*Includes combatant ships of the five principal categories in commission. Including Home Guard.*
Appendix F

Notes for Chapter Two

Naval and Military Tensions and the Threat of War

Naval and Armament Tensions

1920-4

12/12/20 Japan can’t disarm if we are arming, worried about arms race, League of Nations talking about disarming

12/15/20 Borah suggests naval holiday of five years, addresses Japanese concerns of disarmament

01/01/21 Fear of US drives Japan into naval building, sees it as a part of honor, thinks US is out to get the Japanese and get them to waste her national resources on defenses, think we didn’t join league because it wanted a free hand in dealing with Japan

02/17/21 Chief offender (naval race) is Japan who has inaugurated the extravagant fashion

05/05/21 Yesterday Borah introduces legislation to have Harding invite GB and Jap for a limit of arms conference

11/09/21 Japan is ready to cut navy but want enough to have an adequate self-defense

11/11/21 Japan ready to cut navy but want all-around naval reduction; just want enough for defense as long as safety of Japan is secured

11/18/21 Kato dealing with Japanese reporters and putting them in their place

11/23/21 Japan feels US is discriminating against them with 5-5-3 proposal, want 10-10-7

11/25/21 Japan fear failure at Washington treaty means biggest naval race and Washington expert say America can build 3-to-1 in a naval rivalry

11/25/21 Biggest naval race if treaty fails, US could out build Japan 3-to-1

12/04/21 Banish suspicious, will relieve anxiety with Washington Treaty

12/11/21 Japan thinks treaty raises her standing in international community, considers 4-power compact a continuance of Anglo-Japanese alliance in opinion of high Japanese officers

12/13/21 Tokio Press feels US is coercing Japan with ratio, say disappointed over US’s attitude

12/17/21 Reed not happy with treaty, says US has to protect Japan if attacked, five-way alliance makes reference to England and France and WWI; Afraid of Japan and Russia coming to blows and US having an obligation to get involved

03/10/22 Several senators not happy with Washington treaty and who wrote it; Four-power treaty says US must be passive in Pacific with regards to Japanese activity

06/29/22 Washington treaty didn’t limit the number of LT cruisers, flotilla leaders, destroyers and subs; only capital ships (battleships) and carriers ratios were set; each nation free to build as many auxiliaries; “Japan is out building her associates, viewed with alarm, Japan is gaining advantage in auxiliaries over US; US want ratio to apply to all ships; Japan gaining advantage remedy would be for US to build more ships

12/19/22 Sims says it is impossible to defend Philippines or Guam, maintaining a navy only to be defeated

07/06/23 As early as 1923 countries were talking about another naval cut in addition to 1922 treaty, 1922 really an ineffective treaty with advent of the airplane in warfare

07/15/23 Admiral Sims says aircraft hold the key to nation’s defense

08/17/23 5-power treaty is effective today

08/19/23 Threat to Japan seen in Singapore GB naval base, see Japan as likely target

08/25/23 Japanese newspaper criticizes US attempt to upgrade Pacific bases

02/15/24 Hughes said legislation would largely undo the work of the Washington treaty, which so greatly improves our relations with Japan

03/30/24 Borah presents resolution calling upon Coolidge to summon another naval disarmament conference

04/27/24 Washington admits weakness and Shearer tables are correct, ratio had fallen
Coontz says ships too slow, subs ineffective, short of necessary manpower and need more officers

05/11/24 Messagero, an Italian newspaper, says American immigration bill and embitterment of political relations are driving US to a fever of armaments and determination to have a Navy equal to or superior to that of GB; US is determined to be most warlike nation and strongest militarily

05/12/24 Japan buys from Germany plans for 45,000-ton submarine cruiser

Fiske warns of Japan’s strength, ratio is reverse of truth; people only think we’re superior, if Japan were to attack the Philippines, we should find ourselves in a deplorable situation. If US people understood situation they might be less indifferent, they only think our navy is superior and we are maintaining ratio, reverse of truth, if Japan and the Americans have taken attitudes that are irreconcilable, but even if war is not to come, the American people ought to realize we are unprepared for it if it does come. That we shall have to build many expensive ships and aircraft and fight them 5,000 miles from home instead of 3,000 as in WWI and we shall have to fight the war alone

06/20/24 General Hanzo Yamanashi, Minister of War, said second arms limitation conference called by America would be nothing but a trick, real reduction is impossible

08/03/24 German General Freiserr Von Schoenich writes a book talking about the next world war with Germany and France; Russia invades Poland; and Japan and GB go to war; German death ray

08/10/24 Rogers predicts war of aggression to defend our interests and to have a place for population to go, says we should snatch territories, should go to war if any manhood left

10/16/24 Say Japan plans great air force, Commander Tinker declares recent development there is outstanding; Japan stimulated by US around-the-world fliers; US has better fliers but not building as much as Japan because of lack of funds from congress; Fiske says airplanes will have a greater future than the battleship

Tokio will welcomes new arms cut proposal; Japan is ready to consider one

Japan sees US Hawaii naval maneuvers as menace to peace in the Far East (Kokumi Tabei Society)

Japan Commander of fleet, Admiral Okada, not concerned about Hawaii Maneuvers

Shearer says Japan planning war because Japanese Navy raising elevation of guns, US National Security League disagrees with Shearer on Japanese planning a war

Discrepancy over who has how many ships and naval figures

1925-29

01/25/25 US spending more on carriers

02/06/25 Shidehara said Washington Conference eliminated suspicion and competition

02/15/25 Keenest minds of the world are watching relationship between US and Japan, says Japan has interest in Philippines, discuss causes of war, trade

02/15/25 Result of Washington treaty—“small ship” navies growing rapidly, effect of arms treaty, want to limit small craft.

02/16/25 GB Daily express (newspaper) reports 5 powers in a sea power race with 289 ships currently being built

02/26/25 Shidehara, Washington Conference put an end to competition between nations in building of Capital ships, had the building of these ships continued unchecked until now, a disagreeable situation would’ve developed. The Conference also has removed the unfounded suspicions, Pacific clouds of unrest, which had gathered at one time, gave way to atmosphere of peace.

03/05/25 Japan surprised no mention of disarmament in Coolidge inaugural address

03/08/25 Jap naval budget reduced 20 percent, reason Tokio is ready for new arms conference

04/26/25 Lord Lee (a representative at the Washington treaty) finds navies in new armament rivalry, taking advantage of gap in agreement, second conference is an idea still being bounced around, GB would ban subs

04/28/25 Japanese Navy heads deny Big Building, would only do so if US or GB got a competitive attitude, Mr. Bywater is trying to create a sensation, lists of built ships and those under construction

05/03/25 Tokio papers call war game a menace, scent a secret purpose of an attack on Japan

05/16/25 Japan press is alarmed at America wanting to fortify Hawaii, very suspicious of fleet coming to Australia, if fortifications allowed, Washington treaty becomes a scrap of paper

06/09/25 Japanese Navy seeks $320 million for 40 ships over five years
07/26/25 No naval war is conceivable (for GB) except with Japan and that is America’s concern rather
08/19/25 US Army book translated and read by the Japanese Military
08/23/25 America moves to take the lead in aviation, details of planes
09/03/25 Sees air supremacy coming to America, Japan big buyer of planes, military and commercial
09/08/25 Japanese ships do 22 knots, US 16
11/15/25 Civil and military collide, postpone 4 cruisers, budget cuts
11/18/25 Japanese Navy men don’t want to get rid of subs
11/19/25 Japan government is for limits on subs, doubt everyone will get on board
12/23/25 Coolidge to accept league invite to conference on disarmament, want more naval cuts
12/28/25 Says Japan will soon surpass US in air, to add 2 carriers by 1928
03/07/26 Germany and Japan chemists make deal, Japanese explosive arsenal and capabilities improve
04/24/26 Japanese paper Chugai fears our militarism, through enlarging US air forces
05/09/26 Series of articles looking at disarmament conference in Geneva starting May 18. America wants
security from aggression, purpose of conference is to prevent a reoccurrence or at least lesson
the danger of a reoccurrence of conflict (8.5 million lives, 29 million other casualties and
economic chaos from Great War). If conference fails it will be a serious setback to peace. 39
countries involved, distrust overshadows fear; questions, how can armaments be compared, how
much is needed for peace time armaments, is it possible to draw up a fair scale, US has sub
superiority, GB wants subs gone but no one else does, will discuss gas, weapons more advanced
now, pessimism surrounds conference, don’t think Europe wants to disarm
05/20/26 Conference begins, wide gaps in views on armament
07/02/26 Admiral Baron Sakamoto in favor of extending naval accord indefinitely, relieves tax payers of
burden and promotes peace
07/04/26 US say Washington treaty won’t be affected by Geneva Conference, is good through 1936
08/24/26 Japan eager to end navy race, navy spending is a heavy burden, have spent 350 million on navy
since Washington Conference, although they don’t see success at Geneva
08/24/26 Powers still rush building naval construction
09/04/26 Coolidge upholds big aviation plans, sees no violation of Washington arms treaty, opposes
competitive races, calls aviation plan national defense
09/25/26 Thompson to press need of a Philippines base as strategic policy, if we don’t we will lose access
to China, Base would also preserve peace in Pacific, see the Orient awakening.
10/03/26 Nation grope for a way to disarm at Geneva, fundamental difference, US- says if Cain didn’t
have club, Abel wouldn’t have been killed, Europe says if Abel had a club he wouldn’t have
been killed
10/05/26 Westminster Gazette reports Japanese buy fleet of GB Blackburn Napier torpedo planes
10/07/26 Tokio has a plan to limit naval armaments to regulate amount of money each country can spend
10/27/26 Americans make converts on arms, GB and Japan on board, want to be rid of gas/chemicals, 8
other country anti-gas
11/02/26 Finance and naval ministers agree on naval construction, spread 258 million yen over five years
instead of 294 million yen over four years
12/16/26 Plea for cruisers made to Coolidge, Butler says we shouldn’t stop building navy, chair of House
naval committee, 3 Washington treaty cruisers couldn’t be competed before 1940, sank 800,000
tons under Washington treaty, only built 50,000 since in cruisers to GB 138,000 and Japan’s
83,000 in last four years
12/20/26 Coolidge and congress having words about state of navy
12/27/26 Coolidge and congress having words about state of navy
12/27/26 Coolidge and congress having words about state of navy
12/28/26 Coolidge and congress having words about state of navy
01/01/27 Recap of years efforts for disarmament not yet achieved at Geneva, greater part of year
consumed in effort to reduce arms, prelims, actual conference likely to some in 1928, further
steps need to be taken to limit Auxiliary ships all kinds of armaments need to be addressed.
01/02/27 Moran, speaking for war prevention council, says navy not slipping back
01/04/27 Navy bill in house looks to be battle with president over ship construction, carriers delayed
01/06/27 Navy bill battle
01/08/27 Navy bill defeated
01/18/27 Japan welcomes limits on armaments
02/11/27 Congress back’s Coolidge’s 5-5-3 proposal for auxiliaries but feel it will be vetoed by other countries, congress doubts naval limitation will happen, France won’t give up subs
02/11/27 Coolidge urges more naval limitation
02/11/27 Send naval reduction memorandums with 5-5-3 ratio to GB, Japan, France, and Italy
02/11/27 States what five powers have built since 1922 tonnage and number of ships
02/11/27 Presidents naval plan, wanted to call second Washington Conference but it wasn’t practical, now wants to limit all types of ships, when Geneva talks pick up again in March, however doubt congress would ratify any of those types of treaties
02/12/27 Optimistic about new arms offer
02/12/27 Japan objects to 5-5-3 ratio, otherwise welcomes Coolidge’s naval disarmament proposal, Japan’s needs differ than US regarding navy
02/13/27 Japan will accept invitation for a second conference
02/15/27 Italy sees cut in navies as a US advantage over Japan and GB because of size of navy is currently inferior to other two, meaning the other two would have to scrap ships
03/08/27 GB and Japan ready to discuss 3-power parley, desire to back Coolidge
03/09/27 US will raise elevation of guns despite GB plea
03/12/27 Japan buys 172 French planes for $7 million, further orders are being processed, includes 60 big bombers; French friendly, Japan wants planes and French want Far Eastern business
03/15/27 Japanese press approve of 3-power conference
06/19/27 Japan rests limitation policy on vital defenses, Admiral Okada said grateful that a representative of NY Times has come to Tokio and he has opportunity to express his sentiments on eve of memorable affair, for economical and political reasons trade needed
06/19/27 3 power naval expenditures
06/21/27 US propose scrapping 140,000 tons, GB 60,000 and Japan 40,000
06/25/27 Sen. Edwards and Rep. Britten insist US stick to 5-5-3 ratio, US will not have an honest, bonafide friend if our navy and army are reduced, adequate preparation is safest obstacle to war, we are envy of the world
06/26/27 GB gets hint we plan huge navy if parley fails
06/28/27 Both sides may want it but no one making move for new peace treaty
06/29/27 Japan’s financial conditions make an agreement imperative to limit warships
06/30/27 Destroyer bubble exploded at Geneva, now everyone know US is a bad third place in size and quality of navy, life of destroyers is 13 years, US destroyers will be obsolete in three years if replacement program not begun
07/01/27 Tokio sees Geneva as hegemony fight; Japanese press sees GB and US as having a deep-seated rivalry and other countries will be drawn in eventually, America has lost a chance to gain moral leadership of world, and lead the disarmament cause, since she is seen as being the strongest country US has said
07/08/27 Japan asks for more subs, wants 70,000 tons, because Jap has 78 subs at 79,000 tons now; US has 124 subs (40 out of commission)
07/09/27 Japanese press annoyed over naval expansion talk at Geneva
07/10/27 Tokio papers blame both GB and US for problems at naval conference, GB wanting too many and US for wanting the same amount as GB, Japan 6-5-4 ratio proposed, if conference fails Japan won’t be blamed but regrettable they put us in this position
07/16/27 Japan grows anxious for low limits, still hope for agreement, Japan’s ideal is status quo with rapid rate of replacements to keep shipbuilding yards busy
07/24/27 3 power naval expenditures
07/27/27 Doubt isolated US needs a big navy like GB, armament should be measured by needs yet US worried about prestige
07/30/27 Tokio hoping parley won’t fail, even though their entire delegation sees things as hopelessly deadlocked
08/04/27 Naval Parley fails, cruiser difficulty crux of Geneva Conference break down, all agree no compact can be reached
08/06/27 Japan still hoping for naval limitation, either way will keep out of naval competition
08/11/27 3 power naval expenditures
08/13/27 Japanese papers predict naval race. Japanese authorities not worried
08/26/27 Japanese night naval maneuvers fail as four warships crash, 129 die one ships sinks under battle conditions, 6th accident in 7 years; imperial prince escapes injury
10/01/27 Nagano pleads for mutual understanding
10/06/27 Saito urges need of another naval parley, say questions between US and GB could be settled, Japan should call 5-power conference before the 1931 one that has to be held
11/03/27 GB says failure of parley has not affected any building program
11/06/27 Rep. Britten to propose 30 cruiser program on a 5-year plan, 6 cruisers and one carrier a year
11/27/27 Japan is satisfied with naval force, purely defensive and adequate strength despite accidents
12/07/27 GB not threatened by our building, it’s our business
12/13/27 Coolidge approves $1 billion navy budget, which is within 5-5-3 ratio
12/16/27 Japanese papers say they’re not worried about our naval program, declared Japan didn’t need to fear America, just see naval rivalry as fixed factor with GB and US, no longer fear US-GB naval blockade
01/08/28 Wilbur outlines Naval plans to build or not to build a bigger navy, King of Utah gives his two cents worth
01/12/28 Wilbur explains 20-year building program will avoid excessive burden
01/18/28 Declares he wants a navy second to none, Admiral Charles F. Hughes, said navy needs auxiliary ships, more subs
01/21/28 Japan regrets lack of naval cuts, premier says opening of diet that it’s Japan’s basic principle to ensure security of world peace
01/21/28 Urges legislation to build ships, want a stronger navy
01/22/28 Legislatures demand our navy equal the greatest
01/25/28 Coolidge attacks big navy war talk, sees harm abroad because US has no hostile intentions but can’t seem to muzzle officers, creates wrong impressions
01/27/28 Moffett urges purchase of 759 planes
02/10/28 Dr. Nicholas Butler, president of Columbia, proposes way to curb navies--blockade the aggressors
04/01/28 Japan public opinion friendly to peace plans and disarmament but skeptical because of repeated failures
05/09/28 Chiang Kai-Shek opens up war on Japan, troops attack Tsinan, expect to send 18,000 men to China, and will do everything to prevent Chinese overriding defenses, China trying to damage Railroad
05/27/28 Japan accepts Kellogg’s anti-war proposal
09/22/28 Japan has a problem with wording of treaty and phrase in the name of people; feel it’s a slam on the emperor
11/29/28 Wilbur denies naval race, claims cruiser program will still leave us under ratio
12/05/28 Japanese naval review shows a defensive trend as compared with old fleet that was more capable of offensive warfare; Japan does have supremacy in Far East with light cruisers, which don’t seem to menace large ships are capable of attack
12/05/28 Talk about weak status of U.S. navy.
12/12/28 Talk about weak status of U.S. navy.
12/19/28 Talk about weak status of U.S. navy.
01/17/29 Sen. Swanson, ranking democrat of the Naval Committee wants navy equal to GB say it would eliminate mutual apprehension
02/01/29 Hiram Johnson of CA calls for cruisers, assails pacifists movements
02/01/29 Woman’s patriotic societies conference on national defense urge cruiser bill be passed at once
02/02/29 Harrison opposes cruiser building
02/03/29 Mrs. Owens of Government club that she had confidential info saying actual strength of navies GB 5/ US 1.4/ Jap 2.6
02/22/29 Britten trying to revive 71 ship navy play encourage planes too
04/26/29 5-5-3-cruiser ratio for Japan opposed Vice Admiral Sakamoto it would not satisfy Tokio needs nothing sacred about 5-5-3 ratio, not rationally arrived at
05/11/29 Japan’s press bar 5-5-3 cruiser ratio, 1922 limits are too small, see US Gibson’s remarks as a signal that America is willing to meet part way
06/23/29 Navy Parley problems and prospects, GB and US beginning an era of conciliation
07/20/29 Japan willing to discuss Navy cuts
07/24/29  Hoover cuts the cost of Army, opening way to cut taxes
07/25/29  Japan says they approached China and Russia about crisis before Stimson did, reports were
distorted by press, have no comment on Stimson’s suggestion
08/01/29  Japan wants higher ratio on auxiliaries
08/01/29  Abolition of battleships likely to be suggested at 5-power navy pact, only US Japan and GB
really have them
08/06/29  Japan willing to discuss Navy cuts
08/09/29  Rear Admiral C.N. Hussey declared the terms of the Washington treaty that viewed seven
years later as not seeming to have the important bearing that had been anticipated, Limitation did not
mean reduction in strength to GB and Japan as it did to U.S.
08/01/29  People find it hard to believe US has largest military budget, outlines budget for 1929, contrasts
it with other countries
09/14/29  5-power naval parley set for December according to GB and US agrees to cut cruisers, no
replacements until 1936, billions of dollars to be saved, aims of parley are to reduce naval
tonnage, reduce naval expenditures, stop naval competition, create situation that everyone will
meet again in 1936, give strength to Kellogg pact.
09/15/29  Strengths of navies compared
09/20/29  GB and US still hammering out ideas for a naval accord
09/21/29  Japanese cabinet outlines sea policy to its delegates for preliminary negotiations, will demand a
70 percent ratio, don’t abolish subs, its essential for defense
09/22/29  Tokio would limit pre-parley talks afraid of jinxing it, 70 percent ratio, Japan afraid to give
away portion of treaty, hopes to receive formal invite to five-power conference well in advance
because it will require a 45-day journey through Suez-Canal to London
09/27/29  Newspaper man Drew Pearson claims members of US technical staff at Geneva parley,
particularly Rear Admiral J.M. Reeves, expressed hope conference would fail, seen with other
staff talking to Shearer, Pearson claims cards were stacked, Reeves refuses to comment, willing
to testify to contrary
10/10/29  Parley invite impresses, Japan favorable, prompt acceptance is assured, former premier
Wakatsuki most likely will be head delegate
10/12/29  Japan to oppose cuts in subs
10/13/29  Admiral Hyo Takarabe urges cut in cruiser sizes, real purpose of conference should be to aim at
condition in which no nation could attack another, favors limitations
10/21/29  One happy result of Washington Treaty of 1921 was the removal of Japan’s suspicions of the
rest of the world, 1923 earthquake delayed Japan’s navy plans, obvious US making no effort to
build cruisers to match Japan and GB, Japan nervous about reduction of naval budgets, would
endanger safety, despite immigration problem and Singapore, knows no one threatens her in the
Pacific.
11/03/29  Japan naval aim is defensive parity, seek 70 percent ratio, believe navies exist to defend, great
effect of Washington treaty was competition was stopped, navy must be able to cope with any
hostile fleet, Japan navy history written in last 50 years
11/15/29  Tokio hears London rejects 70 percent navy plea
11/19/29  Japan’s new consul general to NY believes in naval limitations and reduction
11/27/29  Japan to urge cuts in 2 biggest navies, still wants 70 percent and parity in subs, navy seeks
defense and security, favors a reduction in capital ships, US favors cuts don’t want parity in
subs
12/09/29  Japan setting pace in new cruiser and new construction building more than GB and US, Nachi
class 10,000 cruisers are very formidable ships, call them grimmest looking vessels, does 33
knots, triple hull, giant Carriers Kaga and Akagi are ferocious looking sea monsters, say they
will be last carriers built by Japan because experience shows small vessels are better investment,
also built tiny ship as anti-sub weapon
12/13/29  Wakatsuki says in Seattle the day will come for abolition of all implements of warfare, although
at present, not in realm of reality but talks are doing much to teach people the benefits of
 disarmament, want 70 percent ratio and won’t discuss abolition of subs like GB and US want to
do, scoffed at idea Japan wants the Philippines
12/16/29  Vital navy talks start today between US and Japan in DC, warm up to London conference, move
to end suspicion of GB and US pact already in place, four-day mini conference
12/17/29 Japanese justify stand on ship ratio, say 1922 agreement no longer valid, 60 percent is unacceptable, says cruisers are defensive weapons
12/17/29 Japan would cut cruisers to get more small craft, want more subs, 70 percent, Wakatsuki will use Kellogg Treaty as basis, Shown that Japan’s delegation runs counter to US’s.
12/17/29 Japan naval hopes, plan they hope for is 10-10-7 ratio on cruisers instead of 5-5-3; and in favor of actual reduction, the lower the better, at Geneva US and GB were talking about increasing navies, Japan derives some security from her isolation
12/18/29 Japan looks for accord after talk with Stimson, talk frankly, though not all Japan demands for parley, still unknown, broad explanation on limitation by Japan.
12/18/29 Japan is hopeful of 70 percent navy ratio; Dr. Rikitaro Fujisawa propose London naval conference adopt a slogan of “with menace toward none, with security for all,” modification of Lincoln’s words, 70 percent doesn’t menace US security so say Japan’s press, Japan and US won’t fight
12/19/29 Japan to bargain to get 70 percent, pleased by American reception, shows percentages by ship, impossible to forecast outcome of London Parley
12/20/29 Naval compromise expected by Tokio, writers speculate what Wakatsu would accept if 70 percent ratio is denied, Japan not afraid of GB navy because of how much ground it has to cover, US however could defeat Japan

1930-31
01/24/30 Fiske expects America not to show much interest in parity with GB
02/23/30 $500 million in new ships needed for parity with GB by 1936, US lags in all categories
04/09/30 will cost US $1 billion 28 million for parity with GB over next six years
04/10/30 Navy fears senate won’t pass $1 billion budget
05/06/30 Japan worried that US building superior ships and Japan not allowed to build new cruisers
05/08/30 Reed in favor of 7-year building program at $100 million a year, mostly for new construction
05/10/30 Billion dollar navy bill to house, bring up navy to treaty limits by 1940
05/23/30 Should build aircraft carriers, hypothetical attack on Japan or war in pacific and aircraft
06/06/30 Japan looking to build planes and carriers not limited by treaty; general wishes lower taxes but can’t ignore naval needs
07/05/30 Japanese military policy is to have sufficient strength to preserve peace, predicts next conference, Monroe doctrine for Asia
07/20/30 US building capital ships in 1919 put Japanese men on defensive
08/03/30 Treaty over US now to focus on aging fleet even though it has largest fleet of destroyers
08/10/30 Japan fears US naval construction aimed at them
08/14/30 debate over 70% comes up at Institute of Politics
09/22/30 Arms conference set for Nov. 1931
10/21/30 Calling for disarmament conference
11/02/30 Arms commission faces problems, US hesitancy to agree to arms budget limitation
11/08/30 At disarmament commission, US, GB, Jap agree to limit number of naval officers and sailors
11/10/30 Six-year naval plan at $186 million a year, 70% increase in aviation budget, maximum tonnage under treaty,
11/11/30 Japanese agree upon 6-year naval budget
11/12/30 US opposes budget limitation at Geneva’s preparatory disarmament commission
11/15/30 Navy sets program, 1931 building $100 million for new construction and $40 million for upgrades; all destroyers will be obsolete by 1936; schedule would still be short of treaty allotment
11/16/30 London treaty only limits quantity not money spent, GB and Japan forecast navy budget race
11/21/30 Geneva votes curb on naval budgets, bases included
12/28/30 Admiral W.A. Moffet warns of position of permanent inferiority if US doesn’t start building up carrier tonnage, aircraft increases offense, nation that has greatest number of vessels with aircraft will win next war, face cut if ships not built by then
01/26/31 Navy league says navy is far below quota; compares naval numbers
02/25/31 Rep. Britten says congress killing navy, says London treaty just a scrap of paper and meaningless, congress dominated by pacifists, protection is inadequate
04/26/31 70%, have hope for next conference, policy of US of primary importance, national security took
up to one-third to one-fourth of diet minutes; some are worried about Japan’s ability to match
US fleet should it appear in Japanese waters
05/05/31 Hoover makes surprise announcement at congress of the international chamber of commerce
saying reducing arms is most important factor in relieving tax burdens and overcoming
universal depression
05/06/31 Japanese newspapers not happy about army’s plan is to reduce numbers of men in order to pay
for new weapons not reduce budget which is 28 percent of total budget and only second to china
06/15/31 Stimson details US military strength to spur world disarmament
06/28/31 Reduction planned in Japanese army to buy modern equipment
07/20/31 One year anniversary of London treaty ratification; not one US parity ship has been built, 11
destroyers approved but under program authorized 15 years ago, other powers building
09/13/31 Borah asks for 5-power, 5-year naval building holiday would be a huge savings; navies are
ample no reason to build from standpoint of safety and security
09/14/31 All naval powers lag in treaty building; US 100,000 tons short of treaty for 30-31
09/19/31 Japan scores naval holiday plan
09/29/31 Budget cut aimed at navy, elimination of naval building for 1932-3 fiscal year; will save $130
million; secretary of state Stimson sympathetic; ironic he’ll be secretary of war later;
unemployment a negative factor; navy league attacks holiday proposal
10/01/31 Only five ships scheduled to be built over next year; first general disarmament conference set
for February 2, 1932; Conference would halt arms increases
10/01/31 Tokyo fears slump from Naval holiday because of layoffs and unemployment; navy resist
complete shutdown
10/12/31 Navy league fights one-year holiday sys gap from treaty widening
11/01/31 21 nations accepts years arms truce
11/14/31 Navy has no intent to build navy up to London treaty strength; future conferences will fix
limitation
11/15/31 Japan developing military aviation; 1,639 planes
11/29/31 Adams says there is not enough money to maintain the navy; says there are 329 ships to
maintain
11/29/31 Army and navy journal declares defense in peril, demand unity against pacifist pressure
12/15/31 “Jane’s fighting ships” says America’s new cruisers have serious defects; Pensacola class,
vibration is excessive, rolls considerably, center of gravity is too low; Arizona and Pennsylvania
both called “excellent sea boats”

1932-34
01/09/32 Treaty limit navy demanded by Pratt – says US are not militarists. But war can not be prevented
altogether. Japan is steadily building while US falling behind.
01/24/32 Admiral Moffett says air force needs building because its our best protection against aircraft
attacks, falling behind in naval treaty building.
01/31/32 Armament conference to start Wednesday – Obvious reasons are arms have become a dangerous
and costly game.
02/23/32 Japan proposes the reduction of Capital ships to 25,000 tons and 14 inch guns.
02/25/32 White House notes Japan’s naval increase, say they are liberally interpreting the treaty
05/05/32 Japan not worried about US shift from Atlantic to Pacific. But will cause some Japan public
discussion, but if shift is permanent then would have to consider situation although they realize
they can’t do anything about it.
05/06/32 Naval experts fail to agree on arms cuts and disarmament
05/10/32 Japan feels menaced by aircraft carriers.
05/27/32 It’s official arms Parley fails.
06/02/32 Japan might reopen naval rations, may retain over ages ships for defense – tonnage under treaty.
06/23/32 Hoover proposals 1/3 cut in treaty tonnage scrap rather than build.
06/23/32 Shows current tonnage and what navies would look like after Hoover proposal.
06/24/32 Japan not hot on Hoover plan, see danger and see it as just another hollow election move.
06/24/32 Hoover plan laid aside, arms conference digressing, US, GB and France holding closed door
meetings
06/25/32 US envoy explains arms plan to Japan
06/25/32 Japan attacks Hoover plan say reduction is impossible for Japan, Japan already reduced army recently from 320,000 to 230,000, churches hail Arms plan.

06/26/37 Gen. Araki critical of Hoover plan, reducing may endanger some countries.

06/30/32 Tokyo Navy officer apposes Hoover plan saying they would be making too heavy a sacrifice, Japan newspaper are all for Hoover plan.

07/01/32 Japan not happy with navy ratio, won’t honor 1930 London treaty after 1936, Japan fears aircraft

07/02/32 Japan says they have special needs so need more ships, also would make superior fleet even more superior.

07/10/32 Japan prefers British Naval idea, share island mentality, reduction in size (tonnage) not number of ships.

07/16/32 Arms Parley to recess until fall.

07/24/32 Arms Parley takes six month recess

07/30/32 Admiral Pratt says parity with Great Britain could prevent war, if not shorten duration of the conflict

07/31/32 Foreign policy association say arms would be increased under Hoovers plan.

08/31/32 Concentration of US fleet in Pacific disquieting to Japanese public

09/17/32 President Mary Wooley, delegate to Geneva, said that Hoover’s plan saved Parley, world more aware and wants disbarments, don’t know if anything is going to be worked out.

09/25/32 Japan contracts oil from Russia

09/30/32 NY Times article quotes writer Hugh Byas from article he wrote for contemporary Japan where he discusses recurring fractious – race, immigration, China and naval rivalries, 2 or which are no longer a danger – say exclusion is one of those. China – only blind optimism can hope the friction will cease. Japan must become industrialized.

10/05/32 US and Great Britain meet in London to talk about naval issues.

10/24/32 Fuel oil from coal developed by Japan for its navy

10/26/32 Japan will present new naval cut plan at Geneva. Say Hoover’s 30% too crude

10/28/32 Hoover says if Geneva aims conference fails US will be forced to build up navy to treaty strength. Hoover admits Navy is inferior to Great Britain and just barely bigger then Japan’s

10/29/32 Japan fears attack from air, want reduction in aircraft carriers.

11/02/32 Tokyo sees money for bigger air force; ask for $97.5 million would include 5 new air bases.

11/19/32 US supports curbing munitions and withdrew other minor reservations for up coming conference.

11/19/32 Japan’s army cuts its budget by a third, about $100 million, mechanization reduced.

11/20/32 Davis says nations dare not fail at disarmament conference, public opinion presses for a cut in world armaments.

12/01/32 US navy alarmed by threat of cuts, see US outranked as it is and fast falling behind, US could build 135 ships including 3 carriers, 9 cruisers, 89 destroyers, 34 subs, shocked at congress saying how much could be saved.

12/04/32 Secretary Adams says US fleet is third, cuts have been at expense of fighting fleet

12/11/32 Japan wants a better ratio but ok cutting tonnage.

12/11/32 US view Tokyo plans as impossible of acceptance, too much equality in the two navies. Hope of success at armament conference is dim

01/11/33 Navy plans dropped until Roosevelt take office, Vinson warns US navy could be 4th by 1936

01/13/33 US is put lowest in military power by Macarthur

01/18/33 US Ship building decline Japan’s spurs.

01/28/33 135 ships needed for treaty navy.

02/05/33 US lags behind treaty quota, would have 156 over age ships by 1936 if US carried on with no building

02/12/33 Roosevelt backs shift of fleet to Pacific news, meets a cool reception in Japan.

02/12/33 Japan doesn’t buy explanation that US moving fleet to pacific is based on the economy.

02/21/33 Admiral Leigh urges naval parity, says Japan equal’s US in battleships, excel in other craft

03/04/33 Japan to tell arms Parley she will increase her Army

03/08/33 Sec. Swanson presses for early building of naval treaty

03/28/33 Arms conference halts for month

04/06/33 Japan gloomy about conference time to give up
04/23/33 Story outlines US navy “what if” needs and compares it with other countries, well below treaty strength in modern ships

05/03/33 Ishii holds Japan wants higher naval ration
05/13/33 Only solution to depression is military cuts US and Germany decide
05/27/33 Japan bars ratios from arms treaty
05/28/33 Japanese start drive for larger naval ration in 1935 conference
05/31/33 Naval parity with US goal for 1935 conference
06/04/33 Japan seeks parity with US but rivalry would be ruinous for both nations – limitation & reduction is way Tokyo wants to go
06/09/33 Arms Parley move by Japan is to say air bombing should be outlawed, talk about ratios and unhappiness over 1930 naval treaty
06/17/33 290 new planes planned for navy and 32 war vessels
07/08/33 Bigger weapons are being sought by Japan
07/11/33 Japan announce plan for naval building to reach naval limits and despite US naval building plans. U.S. won’t reach treaty strength by 1936
07/16/33 Japan not happy US is resuming building even though they weren’t critical during US’s voluntary holiday, Japan and US both building creates an unwelcome atmosphere, fear its ships becoming obsolete if US fears aggression. They are mistaken Japans’ inferior fleet could not venture across the Pacific
07/19/33 Feature on Swanson, new secretary of navy, job is to get US up to parity under the treaty, as a legislator was knows as a “big navy” man, navy would not favor increased Japanese ratios
08/07/33 Each night for 10 days 9 million Japanese rehearse air defense measures
08/13/33 Japanese are suspicious that US is secretly building up a naval base in Manila
08/19/33 French paper gloomy over naval disarmament because they view a naval race between Japan and US
08/20/30 Ratios
08/20/30 Japan to make drive for larger Navy in 1935, seek more equality, not happy with ratios not opposed to US superiority in capital ships
08/20/33 US at 65% and Japan at 95% of treaty strength, US afraid its ration of ships scrapped can’t be restored, US navy second to none, Japan feels that statement is aimed at them, Japan wants to be equal in smaller ships, and their navy is matter of self defense
08/23/33 Japan and US building programs are a death blow to limitations, Roosevelt’s naval program surprises Great Britain
08/26/33 Nichi Nichi says fleet goal is to maintain supremacy in the western pacific, Japan wants to keep navy so close to US navy that if there were a clash in Pacific US could only win by sacrificing its fleet
08/31/33 Navies compare Japan’s plans to build up to naval treaty strength but US navy department said Japan will still be inferior in capital ships
09/07/33 Japan has old theory that US doesn’t require large navy for defense and should be content with present standing by building America has daring Japan and they must respond by building, each country has right to equality in arms
09/13/33 Araki urges Japan to borrow money to finance arms
09/14/33 Araki says US sympathy to China and its Atlantic fleet in the Pacific are factors making it necessary to strengthen Japan’s defenses
09/21/33 US will not halt naval work because it hasn’t received any protest and in part it is an effort to stimulate industrial revival. US has built just 31 ships since 1922 Washington Conference
10/13/33 Wakatsuki defends 1930 Naval treaty shows $60 million yen savings and avoidance of naval competition with US
10/27/33 Disarmament conference to take another holiday till Dec 4
11/04/33 Roosevelt to move fleet to Atlantic after 3-year stay in Pacific, shift will cost $1 million and will happen in the spring
11/05/33 Japanese newspapers says our retention of fleet in pacific a source of ill feeling and menacing evidence of Americas attitude and affected relations badly
11/06/33 Japan justifying its big naval budget says US moving of fleet to Atlantic just a trap to get Japan to reduce its ship building
11/29/33 Japan will ask in 1935 to avoid naval race with US
12/02/33 Japanese cabinet agrees to a budget including 15 million yen more for navy
12/04/33 Japan to push warship building cost is 431.7 million yen – 2 carriers
12/05/33 Japan says its new navy plan is within treaty
12/11/33 Japan set on Naval parity aim 1921 it was sufficient for security (5-5-3 ration), it is no longer sufficient
12/20/33 Japan’s new ships are heavily armed
12/26/33 44% of budget going toward army and navy in Japan
01/01/34 US full navy force urged, reduction dangerously low, costs of efficiency feared, pay cut effect
01/16/34 US doesn’t need largest navy, world would be happier
01/23/34 Roosevelt backs treaty navy bill, wants treaty fleet by 1939
01/26/34 Admiral Clark H. Woodward claims British and Japanese propaganda is behind US not being prepared naval wise
01/29/34 Disarmament by example is dismal failure, US is far below treaty strength, last 10 years only 34 ships to Great Britain’s 134 and Japan 130, 37 ships ordered
02/01/34 US and Japan to meet to resolve issues to prevent deadlock in 1935
02/04/34 US Navy seeks air power
02/14/34 Tokyo house passes huge arms budget
02/18/34 Saito predicts new naval ratios
03/13/34 Japan will seek to enlarge navy
03/11/34 Naval powers are adding smaller vessels to navy not covered by treaty
03/22/34 Geneva suggested for naval conference because no one wants to host it
03/29/34 US naval plan disturbs Japan because they now feel they need to begin replacing ships and want its defensive strength increased
04/04/34 Sees a naval race if deadlock lasts
04/26/34 Roosevelt to ask more funds to build up navy, Some say it’s in connection to new situation in Far East, yet ship yards can only build so fast
04/28/34 Navy League calls fleet third rate, others counting within range of treaty strength
05/13/34 Millions in private donations given to Japanese army and navy via a patriotic gift, $10.7 million dollars
05/17/34 Navy race seen as peril to Japan. Wakatsuki attacks big borrowing
05/18/34 Want to abolish ratios, will seek defense equality but not parity
05/21/34 3 carriers planned by Japan to begin next year 1,500 air pilots being trained
05/22/34 Great Britain won’t tolerate Japan having Pacific naval supremacy
05/23/34 1935 Naval Conference, there’s a danger of deadlock, US won’t yield to Japans demand for purity, most difficult negations ever for Roosevelt
05/24/34 US will consider more Pacific fortifying if Japan build in excess of naval ratios
05/25/34 US talk of bases don’t concern Japan and her efforts to abolish ratios, intimidation resented by Japan
05/25/34 US and Great Britain looking to seek accord before parley starts 1935, US wants less ships but more powerful ships, Great Britain is reverse
05/27/34 Japan doesn’t want any talk of Asia politics at naval conference, they emphasize their determination to oppose maintenance of present 5-5-3
06/19/34 US and Great Britain open up talks, Japanese nervous that the two might be ganging up on her, Japan demanding equity, they want US and Great Britain to reduce down to her level, abolish ratios, let each nation determine its own defensive needs, Great Britain and US wonder if Japan will back down, but doubt it naval race is foreseen
06/20/34 1935 Naval conference no longer certain, Japan starting to say why bother, Great Britain and US reassuring Japan that they’re not making any secret agreements, reduction not to be expected.
06/20/34 Admiral Pratt says Japan wanting to increase ratio is illogical
06/21/34 Tokyo navy men respond to Admiral Pratt by saying the world has changed. The US policy of a large Pacific fleet requires a larger Japanese Navy. Japan has to worry about Russia and China, and they do think they can handle the financial burden and Japan has to prepare for the worst. Will quit conference if US and Great Britain insist on same ratios
06/22/34 Great Britain wants more ships and overhaul the categories from 1930, need ships to protect commerce
06/23/34 Tokyo press sees the fleet move to Pacific as one of intimidation for upcoming conference the move will aggravate relations. Government they say is determined to get equality
06/24/34 Japan will ask for increase in naval ratio. Admiral Pratt asks how much sea does Japan have to defend. Do they have 2 oceans? Japan’s claim for higher ratios is unjustified
06/27/34 13 Million yen rise in naval fund to meet crisis of 1935
06/28/34 Great Britain to double air fleet, find arms talk futile and that they’ve failed
07/09/34 Japan will attend naval conference but insists it needs enough armaments to defend itself
07/15/34 Japan navy minister demands a revision of 5-5-3 ratio, navy insists on parity
07/16/34 Japan not ready for naval talks ask for delay
07/17/34 Japan’s attitude halts pre-conference talks in London, also being evasive on upcoming stand
07/17/34 Japan asks for equal treaty other than that they are vague on treaty
07/30/34 Navy league says Roosevelt saves US sea power by adding more ships, President pleased with treaty strength in 3 or 4 years
08/01/34 Japan won’t ask parity at 1935 conference because its too radical a change; hope for a cut in arms, young officers had been asking to end 1922 and 1930 treaties early; Okada would like to see success at conference
08/02/34 Swanson wants an across the board 20% cut in navies by all powers but wants to retain 5-5-3 ratio. Japan still demands ratio change
08/03/34 Swanson’s proposal is unacceptable, reduction is ok but not the ratio, they feel proposal means Japan scraps new ships while US scraps over-age ones
08/05/34 Air forces to grow, US’s is second to none, US combined military is second overall
08/05/34 Japan won’t flinch to cause trouble if ratio issue not resolved
08/09/34 Japan’s navy asks big budget increase
08/14/34 Tokyo Naval men feel that US lack of building is proof it doesn’t need more ships, they say US arguments are unacceptable, deny Japan is now safe, Army’s strength does not make up for Naval weakness, size of empire as justifications for ratio doesn’t sit well
08/26/34 Japan’s basic policy is end of naval ratio
08/29/34 Japan is seriously considering ending 1922 treaty if US and Great Britain don’t take seriously its proposals. Papers say foreign minister is giving in to navalist and nationalist pressure, want to be free from limitations
09/08/34 Japan insists ratio end will abrogate treaties, if the powers don’t accept Japan’s naval scheme. No need to delay conference now that Japan knows what it wants
09/10/34 Arms conferences settles on another recess
09/21/34 Navy plans of U.S vex Japan’s newspapers, feel 1935 pacific maneuvers aimed at Japan
10/02/34 Japan Admiral says navy hopes for reductions at next naval conference
10/09/34 Japan will urge big cuts in navies and equal rights, want amity with US. Have never considered war with US
10/16/34 London to reopen talks soon but aren’t hopeful, Japan is ready to face race with US
10/18/34 US will ask for big cuts in navies and are willing to not use word ratio instead will start talking in terms of relative security
10/23/34 National equality held Japan’s aim mind is made up, want ratios gone and guarantee of national security
10/24/34 Japan presses for naval ratio’s end.
10/25/34 Japan will ask end of ration, abolishment of all capital ships and carriers. Japan has little expectation their proposals will be acceptable
10/25/34 Britain is sympathetic to Tokyo naval plea
10/26/34 US want Parley talks to speed up feel Japan are slowing things down
10/27/34 Japan takes firm stand for naval equality now – 1935 parley is imperiled, Great Britain and US upset. Japan seen trying to assert dominance over East Asia
10/28/34 Heads of US navy demand big ships and navy up to treaty strength to protect commerce and political policies. Col. Henry Roosevelt said building program should give no alarm to our friends at home or abroad, we have ever been mindful of the rights and needs of others
10/30/34 US and Japan find no reason to agree to restrict navies, breakdown is issue of equality for Tokyo, British stand is vague, arms race is seen inevitable
10/31/34 Collapse of talks has Japanese feeling that door has been slammed in its face, feel its America’s fault
Saito says parity is Japan’s eventual aim
Japan closes door to any compromise on naval equality
British editor says Japan asks a double ratio, warns against a naval race, warns against Japan trying to divide Great Britain and US, and says US can out build any other power
Saito says Japan’s people insist on parity because ratio system brands them inferior
US accuses Japan of having merchant navy, which can quickly be thinned into cruisers, also say they have secret fleet of unregistered ships
Japan planning pocket battleships with great speed and power if treaty fails, economy is cheap motive, modeled after Germans
Japan refuses to budge an inch on parity demands
Yamamoto says British navy plan not worth looking at, US flabbergasted that Great Britain and Japan getting on so well. Although Japan felt no gratitude toward British help
Diplomats are pessimistic about naval accord getting done. Japan not satisfied with less than real quality and US won’t yield
British resumes navy talk with US; discuss what to do if Japan voids Washington treaty.
Japan wants parity and also suggests limitation by total tonnage let each country decide what it wants to do with the tonnage
Japan again rejects inferior ratio and restates tonnage ceiling and Great Britain feels it would be the loser if it recognized Japan’s predominant position in Far East
Japan wants parity, they would build defensive ships
Fate of world hinges on preliminary naval talks, Japan said to be trying to split the two English speaking countries, need more flexibility form all involved, Japan parity threatens international security
Japan asks for 5-4-4 ratio on navies with Great Britain being 5. They want equality with US, First time US is hearing this, acknowledge Great Britain need ships for its long trading routes
Former premier Makoto Saito says Conference must succeed for peace or world. Absolutely nothing gained from naval race, will set back civilization. A belligerent member only adds to burden of all
Japan won’t accept any limitation if Washington treaty is denounced (must be done before Dec 31, 1934), not sure what they will build if treaties are discontinued, Great Britain shocked at Admiral Isordku Yamamoto’s statement, 5-4-4 ratio refused
Japan only willing to talk about naval issues, will leave if any thing else comes up, reiterates ratio change
Foreign minister Koki Hirota – Japan is prepared to abolish all capital ships, heavy cruisers and aircraft carriers. Japan is anxious about her security owning to absurd limitations imposed by the Washington and London Treaties
Japan announces it will denounce Washington treaty no matter what happens in London, signals to Great Britain efforts for compromise are finished, announcement came after US and Great Britain refused to grant Japan parity and they still stand by 5-5-3 ratio. Secretary of State Hull encourages US to unite with Great Britain
Saito says Tokyo will end treaty no matter what happens at London, yet opposes building race, Japan won’t give up her claim for equality, it is a matter of national honor and dignity and prestige, Japan desires new formula, Saito says Japan is misunderstood, they don’t want naval increase or naval race, would slash tonnage if Great Britain and US would go along, cooperation seen as goal, Japan has no covetous designs
Saito expects Naval talks to fail, Japan want to free itself of 5-5-3 ratio.
Record arms budget approved over one billion yen for 1935 – 6 budget, equals 46% of budget.
While Japan wants to lift limits on its navy she wants to keep limits on US fortifications in the Pacific, Washington says no to that idea, US says the treaties remain or are ended completely.
Senator Gerald P. Nye says Japan is justified in ending Washington treaty, some thing about US munitions sales, should avoid arming the world, sees a tax burden because of arms race
No more friction seen between US and Great Britain, no one has any hope of changing Japan’s mind on keeping 5-5-3 ratio
Japan asks Italy and France to help end Washington treaty
Rep Vinson says if treaty scrapped then US needs to build 5 ships to every 3 for Japan. US can’t afford naval equality with Japan
11/29/34  Japan will offer new plan suggesting a 20% all around cut
11/30/34  Japan wants a spirit of disarmament, would like to reduce tax burdens of the world
12/01/34  Japan offers new naval ideas but still insist on full equality in naval armaments
12/02/34  France won’t denounce Washington treaty as Japan had asked
12/02/34  Swanson wants full Navy treaty so US navy is second to none, against combining army and navy air into the one unit – will lay down 24 vessels in 1935 fiscal year. Bring total to 70 being worked on. Pleads for more men, ships useless without adequate officers and crew
12/02/34  Navy asks for fast tankers and other auxiliary ships, cite Japan speed
12/02/34  Impossible to grant parity to Japanese Sen. Steiver of Oregon says, US gradually being forced into naval race with Japan
12/06/34  Ambassador Hiroshi Saito says Japan wishes for drastic reduction. Peace not war she seeks
12/07/34  Davis says Japan is upsetting the security of the Pacific and fears costly naval race, Washington conference had put an end to ruinous naval race, abandonment will lead to insecurity and international suspicions
12/07/34  Nye predicts insane naval race
12/07/34  Japan says no naval race until 1942. Japan still willing to scrap navy if world will do same. Still against 5-5-3 ratio, says Vinson 5 to 3 building statement is a challenge to Japan
12/07/34  Davis tells Japan if they persist in determination to denounce Washington Treaty they will be compelling a competitive naval race, Roosevelt is sincere in striving to limit armaments. Washington treaty would’ve gone indefinitely if one power hadn’t given 2-year notice to withdraw
12/08/34  Japan blames naval impasse on America, minimizes naval race fear, everyone’s mind already made-up
12/08/34  Japanese papers see US as ambitious to build overwhelmingly superior navy
12/12/34  Japan pushes plan to end naval pact, says US would still be slow to increase its navy, US only 80% of treaty strength
12/13/34  Great Britain call quits to talks after no success in 3 months of talks
12/13/34  9 more ships go to Japan for scrap
12/14/34  Naval talks will end in a week, US not taking blame for naval impasse
12/15/34  Japan said it’s actually asking for fleet half its present size, torturing Japanese why US and Great Britain won’t cooperate with her proposals in effort to ease tax burdens, says Japan said in 1930 it wouldn’t accept ratios as permanent, right to equality of defense. No one can deny another, Japanese feel insecure as to natural defense; Japan wants equality because of China not so as to disrupt US trade, worried about China’s move to heavily arm itself
12/16/34  Hope to resume talks next year
12/17/34  In final bid to save conference Japan wants parity but promises not to build up to it immediately
12/17/34  Council’s action to end Washington Treaty is a victory for Japanese navy who has been fighting for 4 years to terminate naval ratios
12/19/34  Tokyo high council takes final action to end pact, decision is now final.
12/21/34  Japanese press attacks the US, say US should discard its false pride and racial superiority and make friends with truth and justice. Also says US could never out build Japan in a naval race and declare Japanese naval personnel were superior to US in courage
12/22/34  US still hopeful of new navy pact in 1935
12/30/34  Hirota tells moderates that ending Washington treaty is just a step toward a better treaty and a rejection of the inferior naval ratio. Japanese people are in a fantastic mood, even if race comes can’t build more than Japan can afford
12/30/34  Japan says its denunciation will free all navies, but will still seek new agreement
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1935-37
01/01/35  Dr Butler warns Japan that obtaining equality with US is impossible urges Japan to aid in limitations
01/12/35  Japan insists on equality, says US wanting almost double ratio can only mean aggression, thus US is perpetual threat
01/18/35  Japan looking into risks of naval race, say US can’t build because of economic status. Japan will build what it needs and has better naval personnel than Americans
01/22/35  Japan wants naval cuts hopes for new treaty before old one expires at end of 1936
01/29/35  Japan must be prepared for naval race even if we are reduced to eating rice gruel said admiral Minco Osumi, can’t predict future
01/30/35  Equality of security is a fundamental sovereign right of each power, ratios were built on equality of security says Davis
02/01/35  Senator McAdoo is glad Japan ended naval pact now US is free to develop fleet
02/07/35  Japan doesn’t want a fortification in Hawaii also Admiral Osumi Sard Japan ships are superior to US and Great Britain
02/09/35  $11 million airbase planned at Hawaii, for defensive purposes only
02/09/35  Tokyo war minister says Soviet a threat thus can’t reduce expense of defense plans
02/10/35  Hawaiian air base called defensive, devoid of any aggressive intent, other nations shouldn’t read into it, been in the works for awhile
02/10/35  Ratio unfair and still want equality
02/12/35  US Army proposes 6 more air bases, yet Brig. Gen. Kilbourne say $19 million not enough, our concern is pacific, and if Japan takes Alaska she can bomb New York, planes to bomb Japan
02/27/35  Our scrap steel exports set record, 63% going to Japan, 1.8 million tons
03/01/35  Japan denies it had considered 3-year naval holiday
03/09/35  Big budget in Japan passed – 47% of it goes to military, $600 million
03/17/35  America re-evaluates security in Pacific say recent maneuvers show weak spots including air defense at Hawaii not strong enough to defend from bombs
03/18/35  Rev. Ward says our war maneuvers in Pacific a menace to Japan and any number of patriotic societies could create incident like remember the Maine
03/30/35  $401,998,179 fund passed for the US army
04/20/35  Tokyo press criticizes US Pacific Naval exercises; call them offensive, Aleutians only 700 miles from Japan, US’ hypothetical enemy is well known
04/25/35  House naval bill ask for more than $457 million
04/25/35  Japan sees US being first to build capital ships when pact ends and Japan fears US has hidden intention to interfere in Far East, also naval parity
04/29/35  Preacher John Haynes Homes says Pacific maneuvers are provoking Japanese
05/03/35  301 US religions leaders write letter to Japan saying they oppose US fleet movements as well.
05/04/35  Japan considers doubling her air force because Russia has 3,000 planes and Japan less than 1,000
05/05/35  US fleet is stronger than a year ago, flying fleet increase; U.S.S. Ranger adds more planes, ships and planes equal or superior of those from around the world
05/05/35  Only Americans complaining about navy exercises, Japan see it as way to learn technical lessons
05/07/35  Aircraft year book shows US lagging in air power and reason given is no national program.
05/13/35  Japan Navy minister Mineo Osumi fears naval race
05/16/35  US not worried about Japanese war games
05/18/35  Japan considers bigger navy
05/27/35  Still asking for parity. Say Russia no longer a threat, there is a new great sea power increasing its navy with Japan as the target, Japan wants to protect its routes as well
05/28/35  Japan again demands parity
06/02/35  Navy games proves value of big base at Pearl Harbor, air weakness at Pearl was exposed, old planes few anti-aircraft weapons, mention chance to block harbor
06/09/35  Japan still wants parity
07/14/35  Japan wants parity
07/20/35  Japan to have naval games from now to October involving 200 ships and lots of ocean.
07/23/35  British abandon ratios, but seek to limit fleets propose a parley in 1942
07/23/35  Naval ratios through end of 1937
07/24/35  Japan hails end of ratios, still hoping that US will cut fleet, demand parity, don’t expect big building
07/25/35  US studying plan for curb on navies since ratio definitely gone, ‘equality of security’, US still planning to build up navy
07/26/35  Japan to double air force and modernize army over the next five years.
08/11/35  Naval race gathers steam
08/16/35  Britain proposes naval conference in London in October
08/18/35 Japan wants size reduction of ships and fleets by all, fears rich countries will out build poor ones
08/18/35 Britain for haste on navel parley, Japan stresses parity
08/23/35 Japan sets terms for naval parley will come only if parity is conceded
09/10/35 Saito book says Japan aims not to increase aims, but to reduce danger of attacks, denounces ratios, US protected by geographical. US annoyed at Japan over Asian properties not out of fear for Homeland, Japan still remembers being bombed by combined Great Britain, France, US, Netherlands fleets
09/28/35 Roosevelt wants everyone to maintain ratios
10/02/35 Japan says no to a naval parley in 1935, why perpetuates present inequalities, want to be free to build
10/18/35 Former British editor Oscar Parkes sees Japan setting navy pace, fears a naval race; say Japan ships have greater all-around value than any other country
10/19/35 Japan still open to naval talks but still demand equality and want capital ships and aircraft carriers abolished
10/24/35 US willing to meet in December for naval conference
11/14/35 US navy needs more sailors, Roosevelt to ask for 6,400 more for crews for new ships
11/17/35 Japan will press for naval equality
11/20/35 Davis to head delegation to naval conference in London. December 6 – wants to reduce burden of costs upon the people of the world, hope to maintain ratio Japan denounced ratio and wants larger navy
11/27/35 Naval conference seen doomed to fail because of the deep seated conflict in naval policies, Great Britain had hoped for quiet 6 – 7 months of negotiations seen now as a series of clashes with Great Britain caught in middle
11/30/35 Japan passes 2nd largest budget ever over a billion yen going to the military
12/01/35 Swanson adviser building bigger navy need more men, still way under treaty limits currently has 462 vessels in service
12/01/35 Naval conference designed to pick up pieces of Washington and London treaties, Japan doesn’t want ratios, Japan in uncompromising mood
12/01/35 Shows status of navies as of June 30, 1935
12/03/35 Japanese insist on naval parity, no body expects long conference
12/05/35 US held leader in arms science including aviation
12/06/35 Boom year is seen for naval building by June. Fighting ships editor, ships also aging and need replacing
12/08/35 Japan sets naval parity as minimizing no more ratios, US won’t accept anything but current ratio; Japan wants equality, Japan offended by suggestion of 5-5-4 ratio
12/08/35 Japan – ratio humiliation, last race forgotten. Five navies as conference meet
12/09/35 Japan to try and cut US sea supremacy
12/10/35 US asks 20% naval cut at conference but Japan and Great Britain cool to idea, Japan say parity issue must be dealt with first then she’s for reductions
12/10/35 US naval proposal of a 20% cut condemned in Japan because it would give US naval superiority
12/10/35 US navy cut plan believed doomed Japan flat out rejects it because it would prolong ratio system although say they have very earnest desire to cooperate and find a just and fair agreement, want non-menace and non-aggression
12/11/35 Japan wins fight to talk about parity first issues was inevitable so get it out of way early US wants reduction
12/12/35 Japan’s dilemma fear of being blamed for conference failure surrounding issue of parity, Japan suspects US of preparing for operations in Pacific and has Far East ambitions because US has superior navy
12/13/35 Powers shoot down Japan plan of “common upper limit” Now looking at 5-5-4 ratio, Japan still wants parity, US said Japan’s plan would actually mean increase in armaments and would upset equilibrium
12/13/35 Reduction declared Japanese naval aim, if other powers will do it, brings up ratio again
12/14/35 Japan wants parity still say compromise is possible, worried about pacific. Japanese officers say if conference fails its US fault because they forgot spirit of disarmament, US hegemony
12/15/35 Present ratio is intolerable for Japan and wants parity, US fears trusting a gentleman’s agreement.
Great Britain makes a proposal to agree on security needs for each country and build ships on contract basis, common upper limit discussed.


Japan threatens to leave unless they get quantitative and qualitative reductions.

Conference quits for holidays, no progress seen, Japan still pushes for parity.

US sees a long naval parley prepared to stay for months.

Fast naval building reported in Japan; want to stay in any race.

Japan doesn’t want ship category limits, also brings up ratio again.


Tokyo says it will try to save naval conference says if US only interested in defense why do they need navy superior to Japan. Still want parity but at a low level, Japan wants reduction, others want to retain superiority.

Tokyo brings hope to conference but will walk out if parity demand rejected.

Japan wants to scrap capital ships want common upper limit.

Japan’s desire for common upper limit stalls conference, Japan predicts conference break-up.

Japan quits conference over issues of parity and common upper limit, other 4 will go on.

Japanese still fear naval race.

US navy to seek more capital ships and will keep navy on west coast.

Japan doesn’t expect naval race but are uneasy with treaties coming to end that Great Britain and US will increase fort strengths in pacific.

Great Britain changes stance on big ships. US says they needed larger ships because of a lack of bases and needed larger cruising ability, Japan sees big ships as offensive rather than defensive.

Japan Admiral Takahashi says Japan needs to build up navies because of a potential US – Japan commerce rivalry, says Japan builds for defense, US build to protect and expand US commerce, Japan may have to expand soon as well.

Saito insist parity but say London intentions were naval reduction.

Pittman of Nevada not happy with Japan and say only answer is to build dominating navy and air force.

US hasn’t halted building navies, quota reduced, ship yards all busy, discuss what’s being built.

Senator Nye said says big outlay spurs militarism in Japan.

Admiral Sterling holds Japan key to naval race, also said naval conference bound to fail because they don’t look at basic causes – economics and politics.

Britain ok with parity with US. Churchill doubts Japan will have large building program.

Hector Bywater says naval race is remote despite Japan’s freedom to build because of internal problems and shortage of cash.

America will strive to avert naval race, will not build to avoid spurring others, want to keep old 5-5-3 ratio, Great Britain and US have gentleman’s agreement.

William Standley, acting Secretary of Navy, wants 14 new warships as replacements to over-age ships.

Japan says it won’t sign latest London naval treaty it rejected in January although text is being studied, Deny naval race aim.

House authorizes 4,000 US army planes and more fliers to fly them.

Forts are the next big naval issue.

Huge arms costs a strain on Japan, Japanese Diet says they must keep up, must be equal with US.

Japan wants a new naval treaty.

US navy building is a spur to Japan, Japanese Diet says they must keep up, must be equal with US.

Big dry dock is planned at Hawaii.

Admiral Laning is for maintaining ratios, wellbeing of people tied up in trade and may be needed to protect that trade, sees peace through big navy with fleet on west coast, naval yards can build.

Japan plans more arms.

Yeoman Harry Thomas Thompson charged with giving secrets to Japanese agent.
07/04/36 Thompson convicted in 10 minutes after pleading guilty
07/07/36 Thompson gets 15 years, convicts shun him, called a Judas
07/10/36 US planning to install 16 inch guns on their battleships
07/15/36 Former Lt. Commander John Semer Farnsworth arrested as paid Japanese agent, denies being a spy
07/20/36 Japan is planning ideal fleet of destroyers and subs
07/20/36 Farnsworth admits selling monographs to Japan but denies they held any secrets, he’s a naval officer
08/11/36 Japanese navy asks for record budget sum $770 million yen, up 22 million from year before
08/12/36 Japanese army asks for record sum, oppose military cuts
08/16/36 All 3 powers prepare to build, inferior ratio brought up, Japan hush-hush on program
09/09/36 US will retain old destroyers it tells Great Britain but doesn’t give a reason
09/11/36 Japan disturbed by US plan to build subs in response to them building subs
09/21/36 US builds navy for anxiety over Germany launching South American colony, no fear of war with Japan
09/28/36 Japan blames US for invoking escalator clause
10/08/36 GB urges US and Japan to keep Pacific forts curb, US prepared to keep pace in a naval race
10/09/36 Navy wants to upgrade defense in Philippines, army wants defenses built closer to home.
10/24/36 Race for arms stepped up in ’35 - $9.3 billion spent
10/29/36 Wealthy Japanese give 150 million yen to Army
10/29/36 Emperor reviews fleet
11/15/36 US military maps out air base for Wake and Midway, look at Guam as well. Essential for transpacific flights to be on time
11/15/36 Japanese see peril in Midway, see threat from 3 directions, Midway, Aleutians and Philippines. Say it moves US spearhead 800 miles westward even though it’s not explained how Japan would be endangered
11/16/36 Tokyo army submits 6+ years budget with yearly cost as five times what it was in 1931
11/30/36 Japan plans a big increase to its army want to be equal to Russia, stress air needs
12/13/36 US debates idea of bases in Philippines, no answer settled upon
12/20/36 World is stepping back 15 years to resume fierce naval competition. Japan is determined to make every sacrifice to obtain parity with US
12/31/36 New naval curb seen imperative otherwise naval race means economic ruin, by water impressed with US fleet
01/01/37 Japan navy urges defenses, liberated from unjust restriction
01/01/37 Starting gun for naval race has sounded, treaties have expired, Great Britain laid down keels for two battleships
01/03/37 Japan admiral says Japan will not start naval race, only building defensively
01/14/37 Japanese anxious over US naval program of 54 ships over next 10 years, say its proof US aim is supremacy in the Pacific.
01/23/37 Japan baron donates 20 million yen to army
01/24/37 Warship building highest since war, race is on, battleship making a come back. US leads in sub building, more attention being put on planes.
02/17/37 Bendix Corp say world will buy 28,500 planes in 1937
02/19/37 Naval building worries Japan, they fear that Great Britain and US will seek to interfere with her control of the western Pacific, navy demands bigger budgets
02/28/37 Japanese defense of empire is to be air attacks – policy is to destroy air bases before enemy plans can reach mainland, thus homeland made safe from enemy aircraft, military cuts not made
03/13/37 Japan won’t alter its building despite fearing US’s building; Japan says it will feel better when US stops building planes in 1940, Japan would talk arm limits under its terms
03/03/37 Match the leader is US naval policy, US has 405 ships, many of which are obsolete
03/18/37 Denies naval race but Japan bars curbs on warship guns suggestion by Great Britain
03/23/37 US navy bill passed by Senate 64 to 11, $517.8 million for 1938, Nye leads opposition sees it as a race with Great Britain that is opposed by the people
03/25/37 Oil supply of Japan held enough for war if it broke out
03/30/37 Tokyo Diet approves record budget, more 30% for military
03/31/37 Saito says Japan not engaging in any naval race, but building just for defense, Saito said US doing the same
04/03/37 President Roosevelt denies arms parley
04/15/37 US ranks sixth in air warcraft, 2,200 and Japan 7th with 2,000
04/21/37 Roosevelt at this time has no intention of calling world parley on disarmament
05/09/37 Japan uses 600,000 tons of scrap iron for arms
05/21/37 Japan’s minister of Navy Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai says Japan’s navy plan is not a menace to any other country
06/13/37 Large arms budget expected for next fiscal year
06/18/37 Roosevelt wants a rush on building up merchant marines
06/18/37 Japan says no to US plea to curb naval guns to 14 inches, Tokyo sees no real disarming
06/19/37 Japan still aims for naval equality say no to 14 inches because US not willing to talk about equality for Japan, until parity give they want free hand to build and secrecy
06/25/37 6 year military budget of 11 billion yen, 5 billion goes towards munitions and weapons, output must triple will employ 100,000 workers
06/30/37 Prisoners in Japan (60,000) will make munitions
07/06/37 Temple is sold to be made into warships
07/11/37 US will put 16-inch guns on two battleships to be laid down this year after Japan rejected accord, Construction will take 4 years
07/21/37 Great Britain considers 16-inch guns
09/04/37 Japanese war budget increased a third time
10/10/37 Defunct treaty still guides size of (Vinson-Trummell Act) US navy. Great Britain has largest fleet, Japan has no treaty obligations
10/27/37 US navy hails new ships – North Carolina’s keel is laid down, event called symbolic, end of 14-year building lapse is marked and 16th annual navy day
11/12/37 Japan keeping its naval building a secret, no one has any idea what they are up to.
12/03/37 Japan biggest importer of US steel
12/21/37 Britain leads race to rebuild navies, US lags in construction, others picking up the pace in completing large fleets
12/30/37 Big navy program backed at capitol, may ask for cruisers, will only be a little opposition
1938-39
01/07/38 Tokyo paper regrets our naval plans because it embarrasses Japan to be used as America’s hypothetical enemy, Roosevelt navy plan is more because of employment needs
01/09/38 Japan and China buying US arms equally
01/14/38 US navy asks Roosevelt to ask congress to lift building limits, US needs a lot of auxiliary ships right away, Japan’s building has made this necessary
01/15/38 GB’s Bywater confirms Japan is building 3 super-battleships and planning two more 10 or 12 16-inch guns and has laid down several cruisers
01/18/38 Schurman of Cornell urge US to arm says peace will be lucky to last two or three more years support Presidents naval building
01/21/38 Tokyo denies building super-battleships, Japan reported in May 1937 those rumors were false then as well, our secrecy may cause uneasiness but policy still non-menace and non-aggression
01/29/38 Vinson offer navy bill, wants navy second to none, Roosevelt warns nation that our defenses aren’t adequate and must be ready to defend herself against any aggression, congress indicates early approval of defense program army remains small
02/01/38 Threat to peace forces bigger navy Leahy tells House of Representatines, danger in Latin America and our fleet maybe only safeguard there, German-Italian-Japanese sea-power a factor for US to consider, sees limitation policy gone as about bloc big building, navy is for defense no aggression plans
02/04/38 Leahy insist navy plans for defense not offense, blockade possibility raised
02/06/38 Stirling for doubling navy, if we had such a fleet the Panay incident would never have happened would assure US victory should war ever come to Pacific
02/10/38 Columbian Professor Dr. Charles Austin Bear says Roosevelt’s quarantine idea in pacific is wrong, who are we to pass judgment, calls them fascist goblins just a racket to build more ships
02/13/38 Japan says won’t discuss her naval plans until upper limit settled upon but if other plans until common upper limit settled upon but if other countries build big ships she will follow suit
02/13/28 King of Utah proposes resolution authorizing Roosevelt to host a world arms conference in effort to dispel fear and end burden of armaments

02/14/38 Naval race seen in reply to Japan’s note see Japan as having an economic handicap, also not said Japan would keep naval info a secret, thus building only alternative, makes Japan’s intentions clear

02/16/38 President says naval plan is a defense plan and need a fleet to defend both coasts and opposed to any naval ratio increase for Japan

02/18/38 Japan firm on navy, entirely defensive and not worried about US fleet

02/20/38 Average US tax paper is confused by the multiplicity of testimonies

02/22/38 House ok's billion for US navy, may include money for naval bases in the Pacific

02/27/38 Japan plans move to halt naval race, Japan’s naval policy unchanged since 1922, it is based on non-menace and non-aggression, Hirota says Japan must keep navy secret as a matter of prestige, say Chinese hiding near missions

02/28/38 Japanese Rear Admiral Totu Ishimaru says Japan had defeated the US in naval building, Japan now has a superior quality fleet

03/05/38 Foreign Minister Koki Hirota urges big cut in navies including abolition of capital ships in renewed bid for friendship with United States, Hirota sorry if any misunderstanding exists between US and Japan on its motives that would require US to build forts in Pacific

03/06/38 House report asks navy bill passage, cites need because of end of treaties, naval policy is to protect both coasts

03/09/38 Rep. Ludlow Proposes one year naval holiday, all talk no action for peace conference

03/18/38 Big navy program passes the house 74 to 29

03/25/38 US and GB invoke escalator clause and plan big ships in response to Japan’s not disclosing naval information; Japan’s secrecy is proof that treaty limits were being violated

04/01/38 Japan newspaper accuses US navy of training for Pacific war, list maneuvers and sightings in Singapore and US building

04/02/38 Naval escalator is invoked by US because of Tokyo’s silence, Japan bewildered by change in attitude but they must defend everything government does

04/03/38 Tokyo press asks Japan to build big warships

04/04/38 Hull opposes a navy-stay-at-home policy, navy must be free to defend rights of Americans anywhere, US favors retaining 5-5-3 ratio, must have adequate security

04/05/38 US navy asks to construct 3 mightiest battleships in world with 18-inch guns, designers already at work, lack of aircraft carriers is surprising, Japan still refused to give out info on navy, Japan says navy building seen as threat

04/07/38 Leahy urges maintaining 5-5-3 ratio as only war to may war unlikely naval policy must be flexible

04/08/38 Rear Admiral Arthur B. Cook says aircraft plants are inadequate, they could only produce 50% of needs during a war, also cheaper to build planes privately than by the Govt

04/09/38 Naval bill a bluff says General Butler, says US doesn’t need that many ships for adequate defense, says not what Americans want

04/14/38 Japan says stories of super ships are just rumors, wild stories not worth formal denial

04/20/38 Senators question need for big navy plan

08/12/38 Big steel demand based on everyone rearming

11/03/38 GB and Japan have built up to treaty limits, navy has tried since 1933, to remedy error of failing to build navy to proper size, Rear Admiral Clark H. Woodward says right now we can’t protect both oceans and it looks like we’ll have enemies on both sides in the pacific and the Atlantic and we need to build navy second to none, protection is salvation to country

11/29/38 Germany says Japan is probably building the largest warships in the world

12/11/38 Big armament program to go before congress

12/13/38 Japan buys 5 big Reich planes

01/08/39 Vast defensive plans are underway, program calls to expand naval and air force bases and add bases

01/09/39 US orders 2 of the largest, fastest, and most powerful battleships, viewed as an answer to Japan’s super ships

01/15/39 Japan expert says US lags in warplane technology; Japan has learned the value of aviation in its war with China
01/20/39  Guam and 11 other sub, air, and naval bases in current congress bill, Oahu, Midway, Wake, Guam, Sitka Alaska, Kodiak, Pearl Harbor (facilities for two carrier groups,) Johnson Island, Palmyra Island, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Pensacola, and Jacksonville, Japan not sure if as air bases are to defend carriers against Japanese aggression or aimed at arming US for aggression against Japan
01/21/39  Roosevelt backs new base at Guam although not necessarily full fortification, hasn’t thought about discussions with Japan regarding Pacific bases
01/27/39  Guam called safeguard, big base would stabilize the Far East, Rear Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn told Congress
01/28/39  Admiral Cooks says US needs air bases in Pacific
02/02/39  US aviation makers show up 73% gain in sales of planes 1939 will have new import records
02/08/39  Fortification of Guam not worrying Japan
02/12/39  US talk of island defense plans and creation of new bases and ships as found from an extensive study, Midway will have two patrol squadrons and has been a part of several war games, an expanded Pearl Harbor will be stronger and only have two weaknesses, 1, food and 2, bases to screen and give warning.
02/14/39  Hull sees no hope of arms limitations no chance of a parley now, because of arms build-up US make certain of the adequacy of its defense
02/16/39  US house vote 3,000 more planes as war pictured, authorizes pilots to be trained have to be blind not to see world condition
02/19/39  GB and US expand defenses US increases air planes, Japan has a million war-weary veterans
02/19/39  Japan planning a big increase in its army, also looked to Spain and the effectiveness of trained technicians
02/20/39  Newspaper Asahi say rather than build forts US should rely on Japanese goodwill, calls US suspicious Americans and are entertaining groundless fear, this will simply antagonize Japan, say Roosevelt has become a puppet of the Jews
02/23/39  Senate lifts limit on planes, total of 6,000 approved, where has nation’s courage gone, Japan didn’t ask US permission to bomb Panay, more fear of feelings of Japan, if Japan wants our goodwill then live up to the 9-power treaty (also put this in China war)
02/24/39  Guam plan dropped from US navy bill because of hazards of provoking Japan
02/28/39  Japan biggest buyer of steel scrap from US
03/07/39  Japan plans fleet equal to the mightiest in 6-year plan which is one of its naval governing principles, building capacity has been expanded to handle increased out put, also says she’s not a totalitarian state or opposed to the US, GB or France, redouble efforts to explain new order
03/12/39  Japan gives a push to naval race and are pushing for quality as well as quantity
03/26/39  Navy would still like Guam base
03/28/39  Record army bill passes senate, greatest peace time outlay meets no opposition; see the writing on the wall
03/29/39  Roosevelt speeds up the process for two of the largest battleships to be built, one of the reasons they need to be built is Japan and her battleship construction, Rhode Island base approved
03/31/39  Navy accepts bid to build carrier Hornet
04/07/39  Japan getting large stockpile of weapons from US via Manchukuo
04/16/39  US fleet suddenly ordered to Pacific, Roosevelt approves, reasons kept secret, all but 50 ships moving West, Tokyo takes news calmly
04/16/39  Fleet to return to Pacific, Roosevelt’s urges world leaders, particularly Axis powers to meet at world parley to cut arms loads
04/17/39  Shift of US fleet back to Pacific to curb Japan
04/18/39  Japans examine shift fleet of US as a reason not to get too allied with Germany
04/19/39  Austria delighted by US fleet shift
04/19/39  Japan not worried about shift of fleet
04/21/39  Japan says US fleet causes no alarm
04/23/39  Tokyo army seeks 6 million reservists standards for military service were lowered
05/19/39  Senate passes huge naval bill, also all food for navy must be American food stuffs deals will order recently made for Argentine beef; bid was cheaper, Japan said to be building
06/03/39  Navy starts on 24 ships
06/13/39 Finds US navy lagging, Japanese naval construction expert said Japan warships better than US but impressed with US air fleet size
06/21/39 Japan says munitions manufactures in Japan to lower prices and increase output
06/22/39 Hitler scare cause neighbors to buy a lot of US arms, $50 million worth so far
06/26/39 Air sales valued at $1 million to Japan rise of 31% in first 5 months
07/30/39 1939 arms costs at 20 billion, 2 billion over 1938 total, Germany setting new pace
07/30/39 US continues to ship scrap metal to Japan
08/03/39 Japan sees navy spirit being capable of defeating any foe at sea, response to US Admiral Leahy claiming US fleet could defeat anyone navy
08/08/39 US Company wins Arabian oil grant over Japan
09/20/39 Remember the Panay is a navy toast against Japan
10/02/39 Japanese navy unofficially angry at rapid increase of US navy in Pacific, does the US mean to go to war with Japan over China. Officials in Japan not concerned about US naval movements, feel ever since Japanese-Russian war they have been cheated by GB and oppressed by America, US should sell Guam to Japan
11/02/39 Japan to establish fourth naval base at Maizura in the Sea of Japan
11/05/39 $1.3 billion bill for navy will ask for 95 ships, 6,000 planes, 3 carriers, 8 cruisers, 52 destroyers, 32 subs
11/08/39 Japan stirred by US naval plans, could not be indifferent to Pacific expansion, 3 papers join in attacks, believing they may have been official inspired

1940-41
01/07/40 Col. Frederick Palmer feels we should double naval spending and since navy doesn’t know where it will fight next, US should make sure it can master Japan in its own sea
01/09/40 Washington sees a possible world war, navy asks for 25% expansion to stand as a deterrent for aggression
01/11/40 US navy planning to build best cruiser fleet in world to help guard trade lanes
01/12/40 Japan says naval building race will happen if US holds to 5-3 ratio, also not happy with US plans for a big navy, Japan’s navy aims are non-menace and non-aggression, not excited about Guam talk
01/19/40 Japan decries US as aggressive because of its stronger navy plans yet Japan doubts if US can build ships by 1945 deadline, Japan says it won’t be intimidated
01/31/40 Secretary of Navy Charles Edison says a strong navy is vital to a free America, we’re a target if weak, we see limitation and are honor bound but unsound from a military standpoint
02/22/40 Naval race lamented, Japan says US building makes Japan feel a grave concern
03/13/40 House passes navy bill worth $654.9 million, 21 combatant ships, 22 auxiliaries, 1,011 planes, to show Europe we can speak language of force
03/28/40 Japanese navy criticizes US activity in the Pacific
04/01/40 Japan to increase army
04/14/40 Vast secret fleet in Japan reported that of super-dreadnoughts exceeding US battleship tonnage
04/16/40 Navy spurt urged by Admiral Stark to offset Japanese naval construction, Stark is Chief of Naval Operations
04/17/40 US army and navy press for larger funds, Stark points to Japan, say their fleet becoming stronger than ours
04/19/40 Senate votes for navy bill of $963.8 million, Japanese activity noted, Stark worried about 5-5-3 ratio, is in favor of ratio
04/20/40 Japan may lift veil on navy Asahi hints
04/24/40 Senate speeds through larger navy bill
05/02/40 US Challenge Japan to prove its report on Japanese building false
05/08/40 Navy department announced fleet will stay near Hawaii indefinitely, surprise move laid to Far East situation, no reason for it to return to Pacific coast
05/09/40 US navy announcement about fleet attacked by Japanese press, but do say move was expected
05/12/40 Japan keeping an eye on US fleet
05/16/40 Japanese Admiral Masso Kanazawa says US naval expansion is intended “for offensive purposes” and aimed at Japan. Every naval student knows if US builds then Japan must build
07/01/40 8,500 ton of scrap iron off to Japan
07/01/40 US fleet ends rumors, returns to Hawaii
07/14/40 Japan says ratios may work
07/21/40 US in Pacific held impregnable such as California, Washington, Oregon, because of geographic
at same time it would be hard for US to project might in Pacific
07/28/40 Two ocean navy
08/06/40 Japan working on bomb-defying midget sub
08/08/40 Tokyo fleet expected near Philippines
08/13/40 Defense is pushed at base in Hawaii, call it the US’ greatest naval base
08/13/40 Admiral Stirling stresses Pacific as a naval policy, protection of flank if Atlantic war comes,
cites antagonistic relation with Japan
08/18/40 Bywater dies, author of the Great Pacific War
08/22/40 GB doesn’t want to build bases in Indo-China
08/25/40 Admiral Yarnell urges larger fleet
09/05/40 US to kept its fleet in the Pacific as a possible restraint to Japanese expansionalist tendencies
and there because of anxiety by Dutch, French and GB for their possessions in Pacific
09/24/40 Foreign minister Yosuke Matsuoka stresses need for naval supremacy to maintain sphere of
mutual prosperity
10/01/40 Navy takes step to safeguard its fuel in Pacific
10/10/40 Navy adding 4,200 new recruits
10/11/40 War Secretary Henry Stimson plans to send more troops to Hawaii and strengthen defenses
there, no reinforcements for Philippines
10/23/40 US rearming alarms Japan; Japanese convinced that war is inevitable, talk of first strike,
 Japanese militarists are appalled at US building
10/24/40 US will dispatch planes to Philippines
12/26/40 1,600 ships listed in world navies, 5 million tons
01/11/41 Chinese paper say US navy must be 322 times more powerful than Japanese navy because that’s
the size difference of budgets
01/18/41 British Fleet the key to US security, defeat of Britain would mean dangerous naval war with
odds not in US favor, warship building stressed
02/01/41 Rumor surfaces that GB and US considering the possibility of swapping warships, rumor
officially denied, US needs battleships
02/16/41 Pearl Harbor---our Gibraltar in the Pacific
02/22/41 US Pacific plans a secret from Axis
02/23/41 Comparative military strength
03/02/41 Soviets report gains in Japanese fleet, lay secret building to fear of war with US
03/02/41 Hawaii and its vital role in the defense of US, book, Hawaii restless rampart, Joseph Barber JR
03/04/41 Japan and Germany rushing new battleships, Japan adding 5 capital ships, Bismark is ready for
service
03/06/41 Senate battles over sending troops out of the western hemisphere
03/09/41 US building defenses in Alaska
03/14/41 Bill to house for vote on for navy is seen as a warning to Axis nations, US fears international
situation will grow worse and imperative we arm ourselves
03/15/41 US house swiftly votes for naval bill $3.4 billion approved for two-ocean navy building to
counter Japanese naval construction large fleet is aim
04/20/41 Japanese plan to salvage sunken ships for scrap iron
05/07/41 Stimson makes radio address to urge America to defend seas with navy
05/27/41 On eve of navy day in Japan navy minister Admiral Koshiro Oikawa says navy ready and is
fully aware of its grave and heavy responsibility. It is our own strength alone we must rely on
05/28/41 Japan notes its navy is ready to fight has 4,000 planes ready to go and 500 warships
06/01/41 Sen. Norris said we should determine who our more dangerous enemy is, Germany or Japan,
and move fleet accordingly
06/10/41 Two Japanese arrested by US naval intelligences for spying, one is a Japanese naval officer and
USC student, had firing records for USS Phoenix
07/06/41 Military strategist W.L. Goldsbourgh said in event of Pacific war US should fortify Aleutians
07/11/41 Japan excited about idea coming from US press for US to move its fleet to Atlantic, say it would
remove threat of war in Pacific
07/12/41 Japan pleased with the belief that US has weakened fleet in Pacific and hopeful US will weaken it even more, will go further to ensure peace and mutual trust in Pacific, would also help if US removed bombers
07/26/41 US army put on alert status at Hawaii
08/02/41 Hochi newspaper said as long as Japan’s navy large enough to fend off US the two countries will have friendly relations
08/03/41 Secretary of Navy Frank Knox says Japan has oil for 16 months of war conditions
08/10/41 Japan is seeking naval supremacy, a condition necessary for final victory
08/31/41 US public morale not good enough now for a huge arms program, say money not being spent efficiently on arms now
11/30/41 Italy outlines Tokyo’s need for oil

1930 Naval Treaty

1930-31
01/04/30 Will demand 70% at naval treaty, ready to do her share for peace
01/04/30 US and Hoover want to cut all classifications
01/06/30 Four obstacles according foreign policy association, US and GB cruiser parity and Jap 70%
01/09/30 Japan worried that aim in material reduction cannot be achieved
01/12/30 GB fight cruiser cuts, Japan’s Wakatsuki say not just budget reasons for reduction, Pacifism growing in Japan
01/14/30 Soviets state 3 reasons for navy parley failure, as GB cruiser accord and subs and rivalry will end in armed class
01/16/30 Disappointed over 70%
01/19/30 Issues more complicated than 1922
01/19/30 Japan looks to US and GB for its naval needs, goal to eliminate competition problems—formula, parity with GB and US, battleship, carriers, subs
01/19/30 Most perplexing problem Japanese demand for increase in battleship ratio and cruisers, 70% firm on ratio not set on number of ships; GB and US firm against 70%
01/20/30 Strong undercurrent of disappointment with failure to produce more understanding with GB and US, serious setback, public bought into propaganda, want 70% ratio
01/21/30 Representative French advocates battleship abolition and sub reduction
01/21/30 Wakatsuki talks about Japan accepting a ratio to prevent others from attacking or menacing, stand firm on demands, feel asking for 70% is legit
01/21/30 Groundless fears give way to trust, all nations should be able to reduce armaments, security aim of Japan
01/22/30 World expects success and US prepared to deliver; desire of Japan is for permanent peace, wants not only limitation but also reduction
01/23/30 70% is minimum need of Japan
01/23/30 70%
01/24/30 Fiske sees real purpose of conference is navy ratio with Japan; US navy is behind Japan, disagreement will make agreements scraps of paper
01/24/30 US position as said by Stimson is parity with GB
01/24/30 Japan doesn’t officially list 70% yet
01/26/30 Slogan, menace toward none and menace from none; don’t feel Japan wants to impair US security, no nation can attack America, GB different, why does US seek parity while denying 70%, Japan primary aim is naval reduction
01/26/30 US against abolition of battleships
01/27/30 Pessimism tempered patience describes Japanese attitude toward conference, suspicious of GB and US see them thwarting Japanese purposes
01/29/30 Stimson feels conference will end ill will and suspicions and will reduce costs of navies
02/02/30 Japan firm on 70%, US firm on 60%
02/04/30 Japan feels with US and GB being pals, only enemy for them must be Japan
02/08/30 Japan not happy over Stimson plan, far short of Japanese desires, Japan still at 60%
02/08/30 Frost says US naval plan fair; parity with GB
No one sees reduction happening
Japan cheering up but still insist 70%
Commander Frost says GB far ahead in lead in navy count
Japanese people not happy, says Japan entered conference for reduction; mentions attitude of Washington conference
Japanese Government would not have the support of a single newspaper if it accepted American proposals, says US and GB acting in concert
Japanese see 70% as not hurting US; sees Japanese security was treated with contempt and her needs utterly disregarded
Japan demands 70%
Japan moves away from 70%, keeps door open for negotiations, tonnage tables offered by Japan
Japanese want reduction, safety and security
Japan hoping for 70% without having to build
US feels naval talks will speed up after elections; Japan stand partly to win votes at home; Japanese know once ratio accepted it will be hard to change; still haunted by fear of making ratio mistake
Japan against new capital ship building
American policy of secrecy continues
Napoleonic theory (axiom); question of security even though won’t go to war with America
US stand firm on 60% Japan 70%; do agree on battleship holiday
Stimson unexpectedly announces he’d like to see a 200,000-ton naval reduction in trying to allay American fears
Japan wants more sub tonnage
Discuss Japan 70% to 1936 and 60% after that
Stats on how far US is behind GB if they want parity by 1936; 400,000 tons at a cost of $1 billion
Firm on ratios of 60 and 70%
Rumors fly; no truth to them
Navy equals national prestige; US chooses parity over reduction because it can’t have both and parity can’t be solved by subtraction
Japan firmer on ratio
Japan still seeks 10-to-7 ratio
Japan-US naval accord some 60% and some 70% and submarine parity
Japan accepts plan; it fall short of wishes but is acceptable
Tokio newspaper endorses London treaty
Japanese admiralty upset; say US proposal appearance only
Tokio Navy chiefs reject treaty, demand 70%; Wakatsuki fires back saying Navy not in control of Government
Japan has an issue over 70%
Japan delays action on naval plan; papers change tune, now oppose agreement; 70% mentioned
Japanese cabinet likely to accept plan but won’t abandon claim to 70%
Japan will accept naval ratio now but will not abandon right to 70% later
Admiral Kato sends emperor a protest; Japanese paper explains accord
Tokyo newspaper explained treaty to Japan
Japan stresses pact ends in 1936; still talking about 70%
Asahi says compromise is unsatisfactory but acceptance is better than rupture; Kato protest because he doesn’t want to change Japanese defensive plans
Outlines ships and tonnage for navies over next 6 years
Paper says US came closest to getting all she wanted from treaty; US will have to build a lot to get parity
Stimson predicts more cuts and limitations
Japan wins transfer of tons
Japan explains compromise; won’t give up claim to 70% cruisers; Japan’s diet expected to have criticism for pact
04/18/30 1930 treaty as agreed upon
04/19/30 Japanese minister says pact will lead to closer contact between US and Japan
04/20/30 Japan approves naval pact but doesn’t like safeguard clause
04/21/30 Long fight seen in Japan; Saito says conference a success and next conference Japan will be in
an advantageous position
04/22/30 Stimson feels problems of three powers has been dealt with
04/22/30 Safe guarding clause
04/23/30 Text of 1930 Naval Treaty as signed 4/22/1930
04/23/30 Japan seemed pleased with London pact; contribute to peace, world moving in right direction;
increasing sense of security
04/23/30 Sen. David Reed of Penn.; country troubled over $ spent on naval competition; no one won; fair
to all; Japan and US proved their friendliness;
04/26/30 Seiyukai party accuses Premier of betraying country
04/27/30 Treaty designed as supplement to Washington Treaty
04/29/30 Removes danger of financial exhaustion; Hoover says first time means parity with GB; GB and
Japan reopen wounds from Washington Treaty of the denounced alliance; public had expected
reduction; Japan suspicious of GB-US friendship
05/02/30 Tokio naval chiefs fight over London Pact
05/07/30 5-year pact, no thought of war, closer friendship
05/13/30 Stimson says treaty is fair and honorable, firm on parity with GB, parity under fire
05/14/30 Table of fleet strengths at present
05/14/30 Parity comes under attack, merchant ships turned into military vessels, Japan wanted 70 %,
problem asking Japan to stand still, US admired Japanese delegation they had a hard job
05/15/30 Johnson still attacking parity, Japan bound also, no building up of naval bases
05/15/30 Adams admits Japanese gains but treaty is advantage to US; defends concessions, Japan more
modern fleet; Walsh disappointed navies weren’t reduced and Hale says no building over last 10
years; admits Japanese naval superiority
05/16/30 US still arguing over pact
05/16/30 Pratt says must pay for parity
05/17/30 Bristol says in seeing a war in Pacific would need bigger guns
05/21/30 Treaty denies US parity Admiral Chase says
05/23/30 Admiral Schofield assails pact because it doesn’t give US the navy to protect its interests abroad
05/25/30 Says didn’t solve problem of security, parity must be obtained, Japan sees conference as neither
a success nor failure
05/27/30 Fear of naval race and poor relations between US and Japan if treaty not passed
05/27/30 Admiral Stanley and Hough say treaty hurts fleet and puts US in inferior position to Japan
05/30/30 Issue of immigration came up according to newspaper
05/30/30 Admiral Robison says if we accept treaty we would be at war, face serious difficulties in
retaking Philippines from Japan
05/31/30 Admiral Yarnell says navy is adequate for defenses but not enough to defend Philippines
06/03/30 Still fighting against treaty, seek all data
06/09/30 Still opposition to treaty
06/14/30 Everyone thinks the other two got the advantage
06/19/30 US navy in part opposes treaty
06/20/30 Wakatsuki says Japan at a disadvantage because US and GB talking to each other, regrets being
unable to carry through on original demands but collapse of conference would’ve been bad
06/21/30 Japanese Navy men meet with emperor to study problems arising from London treaty, bring up
airplanes and 70%
06/27/30 Prince says Japan desires peace, no territorial ambitions, the sea is our security, want tot defend
own corner of Pacific, consider treaty a success
06/27/30 800 students and professors protest London Naval treaty
06/29/30 London naval treaty under attack in all three countries, all saying opposed for different reasons
06/30/30 Senate complaining treaty doesn’t give US parity with GB; places US in place of weakness;
surrenders ratio won at Washington treaty
07/07/30 Japanese admirals bitterly opposed to treaty as are US big navy people
07/07/30 Rep. Temple says London Treaty put an end to competitive warship construction
07/12/30 Japanese papers want rapid action on treaty; not happy with navy dragging its feet
07/12/30 70% propaganda effort in Japan papers; Japanese fears US attack over issue in China, war with America would be ruin for Japan
07/16/30 Text of American secret naval plan
07/20/30 US senate opposition running filibusters, new reservations filed
07/20/30 Possible war between US and Japan has driven them to Washington Treaty and Kellogg pact
07/22/30 Pact ratified by senate, limits all naval ships for first time ever, escalator clause
07/22/30 Treaty passed 58-9
07/22/30 Tokyo navy split against pact
07/23/30 Tokyo navy report hostile to treaty; defective for nation’s defense
07/24/30 Newspaper says US senate shows limitation armaments must be done by group other than military
09/13/30 Takarabe says strength allotted in treaty not sufficient for requirements of national defense, can make up deficit
09/25/30 Japan uneasy about London Treaty but agrees to it because of short time of treaty and can change things in 1936
10/08/30 Japanese fleet to do manoeuvres designed to test to what extent London treaty has “crippled” navy
10/11/30 Japanese manoeuvres largest since 1928, test limitations of naval treaty
10/28/30 Future conferences will find it easier to bring about more reduction all classes limited for first time
10/29/30 Japan holds navy inadequate
12/12/30 Conference guarantees peace in pacific; cements friendship, China, US and Japan will be closely bound in Pacific era
12/21/30 Treaty navy cost up to $1.1 billion; fear replaced by mistrust, age old trouble
01/30/31 Some Japanese still unhappy over 70%, say navy will be 50% of US by 1938 if ships aren’t replaced
06/09/31 Japanese editors suing Japanese paper Nichiyo Yukan for repeatedly printing gossip paid for in bribes from US ambassador William Castle JR

War Rumors

1920-4
08/21/20 Chief theatre of world events and generous treatment of one another—irritation could lead to almost anything
12/11/20 Kahn of California on agitators in Japan, might bring on war by goading US
01/01/21 Japan wastes national resources on defenses, Fear of US drives Japan into naval building, sees it as a part of honor, thinks US is out to get the Japanese and get them to waste her national resources on defenses, think we didn’t join league because it wanted a free hand in dealing with Japan
04/08/21 Next war will be with Japan, now the time to prepare
06/16/21 Hughes and Shidehara agree both nations need to come together and hash everything out from California, yap island, immigration, Shantung, Siberia in a spirit of goodwill
07/10/21 Japan has done nothing to menace US
07/10/21 Japan anxious to conciliate US
11/21/21 Bywater is a British Naval Strategist, looks at sea power in the Pacific, Japan has a history of striking before declaration of war, i.e. China and Russo-Japanese war
12/01/21 Lenin expect US and Japan to go to war, capitalists do that
12/16/21 Best thing to stop Japanese aggression is to humiliate their military party; If US alone threatens Japan, Japan would choose war and then would be destroyed
12/17/21 Reed not happy with treaty, says US has to protect Japan if attacked, five-way alliance makes reference to England and France with WWI; Afraid of Japan and Russia coming to blows and US having an obligation to get involved
12/12/21 Militarism is thing of the past, altar of international peace, how fear of West began after Japanese-China war of 1894-5
01/12/22 Davis, former undersecretary of state, doesn’t see treaty as removing possible causes of war

365
Several senators not happy with Washington treaty and who wrote it; Four-power treaty says US must be passive in Pacific with regards to Japanese activity
Former Ambassador Roland Morris said we must either find some common ground with Japan or fight
Clarke says US should join league or there might be new war
Hindenburg predicts US will fight Japan and airplanes would be key factor
Bullard says US not prepared for war, anyone who reads a paper can see threat for war
US is not prepared for war, sees war coming
Japanese never forget, rarely forgive unless memory of kindness, things sour at ending of Russo-Japanese signing in US; prejudice replaces sympathy and goodwill
Men will always fight, pacifists deaf to cold facts, only one idea disarm even with menace of Russia, Germany, and Turkey, war will never be abolished
No possibility of war; many years to forget insult; only go to war when menaced; immigration not a national security issue
Forecast events, which will shake to the foundation of civilization, if barriers built up, Japan will break them down
If history teaches us anything, an eventual collision between Japan and American on the Pacific is inevitable; Horinouchi—we must be determined to undergo whatever hardships are necessary in avenging insult which America has done our country
If US people understood situation they might be less indifferent, they only think our navy is superior and we are maintaining ratio, reverse of truth, if Japan and the Americans have taken attitudes that are irreconcilable, but even if war is not to come, the American people ought to realize we are unprepared for it if it does come. That we shall have to build many expensive ships and aircraft and fight them 5,000 miles from home instead of 3,000 as in WWI and we shall have to fight the war alone
Germans picture a fierce war in 1930
Rogers predicts Great War of aggression by US
Japan could not rely on the supposition that war will not occur in the near future or that war is impossible; But we cannot rely such a supposition and we cannot safely state that there will not be a time in the future when Japan will be forced to start a war; although reluctantly due to the divergences of views between nations
Shearer says Japan plans war
Why have faith in America?
Need friendly relations with Japan or there will be war
Nations will go to war for raw materials
Admiral Fiske says Japan has trump in a war
Airplanes will play a role in the next war; Philippines are vulnerable, need to prepare for war
Fiske predicts war will come from the Far East because of economic conditions
Deep desire for peace willing to change with progress with world
King asked if war likely
War coming
Japan calls war games a menace, fear an attack
14 reasons for peace in Japan instead of war
Japan raises war alarm with US extending defenses out to Hawaii
Japanese count sees war within 10 years
All signs point to a war
Viscount Goto says war is a possibility
Goto recants says war not likely
Caution advised in the Pacific to avoid war
Great war predicted
Japan claiming to be taking a peaceful role
Japan rebukes jingoists’ talk of war
East warns west at a Japanese party in New York of war
Calls war inevitable between US and Japan
Japan’s lack of steel only thing keeping her from going to war
08/01/25 Japan might go to war to protect her foreign trade
03/15/26 Mrs. Catt wants compact with Japan to allay fears, which are the great motivator of all conflicts,
04/02/26 Morgenthau, he asserted outside nations were attempting to create ill will between Japan and US
but the “Japan does not want war with US.” Another big war he said was inevitable unless the
world exercised statesmanship
04/20/26 Morgenthau praised for revealing Japan
07/01/26 Japan accuses US of breeding its children for war in its schools
07/03/26 French writer says Japan arming, 80 million inhabitants have no room on island and say
obviously aim to seize Hawaii, Manila and colonize China
08/17/26 Manchuria seen as menace in Asia, see Russia and Japan as rivals
08/24/26 Admiral Pratt sees sings of war in Pacific
12/10/26 Doheny claims Robison had said Japan had mobilized for war
12/12/26 Tokio Mainichi comments on fall-Doheny trial; accuse US of double dealing in reference to
Washington Conference, say we increased strength in oil supply, “We would also like to know
whether Admiral Robison still thinks Japan is a danger to America”
12/18/26 Miss Mary Winsor, suspicion of US is prevalent in Japan that our aid to Japan after earthquake
in 1923 not only aroused no gratitude but also is suspected of some ulterior purpose
10/27/27 US seen fighting GB or Japan
12/25/27 Is US heading for another great war?
01/08/28 Butler asks US public to scrap its war mindset
01/17/28 Mrs. Catt sees war coming
01/25/28 Coolidge attacks talk of war by the navy
02/26/28 Possibility of war stressed in debate
02/27/28 Naval plans called a sign of war
11/18/28 War seen on the horizon
04/21/29 Butler wants US thinking in terms of peace, war era is over
07/21/29 Hope treaty will ease talk of war crisis
07/24/29 Hoover finds war a remote possibility
12/08/29 Blakeslee fears china-Japan war, clash over interests in Southern Manchuria may lead to war,
1905 treaty giving Japan concessions in Manchuria created a state with in a state, China saying
it will lead to war in our children’s time, stresses need for action China agree on international
issues but warlords can’t agree with Kai-shek over domestic issues, corruption wide spread

1930-31
05/29/30 Captain Overstreet says the unthinkable war will recur
06/29/30 Stalin sees US and Japan having hostilities in Pacific and that it is unavoidable
08/10/30 Idea of war with US is absurd
01/18/31 Menace of Japan is a phantom
02/14/31 Common knowledge that war with US would be worst disaster for Japan
02/15/31 War with US Japan would have initial success but would mean eventual ruin for Japan
04/23/31 Reference to Japan and US relationship always satisfactory and not a fleck of cloud to cast
shadow
04/24/31 Former governor of Hawaii, Farrington, calls rumors of war with Japan utterly silly
10/25/31 Yukio Ozakr; every country is jealous or fears US; no nation can have a true permanent friend;
Japan has no true friends; Japan has no true friends; blame US for Japan being militaristic yet
peace and security only obtain through friendship
11/05/31 Teddy Roosevelt feared war with Japan in 1907; friction between two countries growing
because Japan is looking to expand
11/16/31 Russia fears attack by Japan

1932-34
01/21/32 Gen. Mitchell says war between US and Japan is “inevitable,” Japan bending every rule getting
ready for it. US has what Japan wants. Japan has superior air force, Japan also knows we can
attack from Hawaii. They are facilitating foreign policy to make us important in the Pacific
America one of the most warlike yet least prepared
01/30/32 Eugene Chen – “Japan’s next war will be for mastery of Pacific. Which means against America”
He charges that Japan has been systematically preparing for war against the US
01/31/32 Borah says boycott is first step to war Borah says “no matter how deplorable their action may be it is clearly evident that Japan is the aggressor in forcing war upon China without justification”

02/12/32 Rep. Fish say war “unthinkable between US and Japan over China. We are not guardians of the World’s peace”

02/24/32 Governor William H. Murray of Oklahoma said “Present for China policy will lead to war with Japan within 12 months

02/28/32 Dr Hebert Adams Gibbons of Princeton sees boycott of Japan as a declaration of war

02/28/32 Chinese boycott brought on conflict say it was undeclared war; will speedily lead to open war

03/06/32 Model session of League of Nations of 28 N.E. colleges finds Japan is the aggressor

03/07/32 Prof Edwin Borchard says boycott is not a peaceful measure but an act of war

03/22/32 “No amount of indifference will alter the fault that someday we’ll insist our views be given consideration and the problem in the Far East’s as much our making as Japan and China

03/26/32 German philosopher Spenger sees clash between Japan and Russia

03/28/32 “Russian paper sees Japan starting a war with US for 3 reasons: 1, World crisis pressure; 2, loss of trade even before the boycott; 3 desire to strengthen its position in the pacific” (problem w/ prediction is credibility of Russian papers)

03/31/32 Adam Wiley says we have only two options in pacific with conflict visible – hand over interests to Japan or take a militant stand for the inevitable conflict. Road we’re taking is leading to destruction we are road to being a 2nd class power

05/13/32 Inukai scores war talk between Japan and Russia

06/22/32 Viscount Kikaijro Ishii says “Japan might go to war with US if they ever try to dominate Asia or if they ever try to prevent Japan’s natural expansion, grave situation, over-crowded nation but feels US still wants peace

06/26/32 Japans “Natural-expansion” policy

06/26/32 Ishii’s remarks written about again only 2 situations that might lead to war

07/17/32 Ishii against says war is very remote between US and Japan, sees only peace

08/18/32 Munitions plants speed up in Japan

10/08/32 Norman Thomas, socialist candidate for President says, “power is incentive to war”

11/06/32 Writer on China say America will go to war with Japan unless we reconsider our Pacific policy

11/23/32 grew tells Japan war is disasters and American people were interested in a financial stable and prosperous Japan

01/08/33 President of Harvard, Lowell says Stimson’ s non-recognition of Manchukuo will lead to war.

01/17/33 Plan to attack US denounced as absurd fabrication

01/24/33 Hitoshi Ashido tells Diet unless relations between Japan and US improve they would renew arms competition and possibly a world war, Count Uchida says there is no uneasiness between two countries

02/25/33 Tokyo army leader scoffs at embargo talk say Japan is virtually independent but does say embargo would be considered a “gravely unfriendly act”

02/25/33 No one in Washington thinks there can be a war with Japan, termed unthinkable “moral sanctions” will win

02/26/33 Matsuoka to try to restrain Japan – there is much bitter feeling in Japan against US

03/07/33 Japan says boycott’s as damaging as warfare

03/10/33 Japan says metal imports for earthquake resistant buildings

04/13/33 Matsuoka says US misunderstands Japan, time for Americans to make up minds, if they want peace, deplores talk of naval rivalry, trouble may spread across pacific, calls Manchuria police work not a war (veiled threat)

06/01/33 One of worst forms of aggression is the boycott, Ishii says most dangerous form of treaty breaking is the boycott – feels must forbid aggression in treaties but doesn’t say what will happen if some one is aggressive

07/19/33 Sokolsky says nothing would be gained by war between US and Japan; US navy is inadequate

08/20/33 Araki writes in NY Times article that mistrust persists despite two naval treaties, Araki wants friendship and never wants countries to drift into conflict

08/24/33 Great Britain Sir Andrew MacFayden says world war cannot be avoided unless problems in the pacific area resolved
09/03/33 Dr Inazo Nitobe says honest and intelligent journalism can smooth over many cause of irritation, cites NY Times as exemplary and Hugh Byas is high caliber
10/14/33 Araki says Japan not looking for war with Russia, hopes to remove misunderstanding.
10/30/33 Araki asks 8 countries for parley on peace in the Orient
12/15/33 US seizes 5,000 Japan magazines because of supplement called “Dream war between the US and Japan”
01/08/34 Dutch general sees Japan victory in any way with US
01/23/34 Hirota says Japan wants amity with US. Need to over come obvious intrinsically difficulties, calls it a temporary estrangement
01/24/34 Chinese fear Japan – Russo war
01/31/34 Italian call Japan navy policy a menace, say the ground work for future danger in East is perhaps being laid
02/06/34 Prince Yesato Takugawa says, “US and Japan have far too much mutual interests to sacrifice in war. We’re not war like, our people don’t seek war, loose talk about war is dangerous”
02/08/34 Japan sees war moves being made by US. Japan’s desire for expansion has been unalterable policy
02/18/34 Saito said war between two countries is unlikely
02/24/34 Saito is hopeful of accord, says Japan will never seek trouble with US and US should understand that both countries need to avoid thinking about war
02/25/34 Prince Yesato Tokugawa deplores the fact that so much is being written and said about possibility of war between US and Japan
02/28/34 Japan shuns war, Tokugawa says again public opinion is for peace
03/25/34 Frenchman see war in pacific as inevitable
04/22/34 Japan fears war with Russia with China as a Russian ally
05/17/34 Hector Bywater says by US moving fleet to Atlantic the Japanese and US fleets will be so far apart they would be physically unable to make contact in war
06/10/34 Japan minister says they want no war, don’t want it, it doesn’t profit anyone, prime minister
08/05/34 General Tanaka denies Japan has any war like intent, true intentions are not to disturb peace, don’t like Roosevelt praising navy
08/05/34 Japan simply misunderstood presidents address it was just a simple statement commending the spirit of the troops
08/05/34 War in Far East seen as unlikely, powers would have little to gain
08/12/34 Kobe department stores show papier-mâché panorama of what the American – Japanese war might look like, quite shocking to reporter who wonders if it might increase anti-American feeling; justification for showing it was to educate people about upcoming crisis
10/03/34 Hayashi says he’s not even seen pamphlet from army warning about a war between Russia and Japan
10/03/34 General Mitchell says Japan could bomb the US from the air
10/20/34 President Aviation commission said America’s largest cities could be wiped out and plenty of young Japanese warriors willing to sacrifice lives to do so
10/20/34 Japan still hoping for 3-power non-aggression pact
11/04/34 Philippines warns about a future attack from Japan or being turned into a Manchukuo state
11/13/34 Gen. Smutz of South Africa says GB should align with US yet be friendly with Japan, points to danger in Asia
11/18/34 Japanese merchant scoffed at war talk, said both countries should come to a mutual understanding

1935-37
01/20/35 Must build up military without threaten national life, Japanese feel isolated and other and that other powers are jealous
01/22/35 Hirota says war with US is unthinkable and that a vast ocean separates the two countries
02/03/35 The problem with any Japanese war plans are fuel and how it is dependent on oil from US
02/08/35 Senators uneasy over Philippines, fear Japan will take them over if US leaves
02/14/35 California Rep. Dock Weiler says Japan has 25,000 reservists in California that could perform military service for Japan. Says Japan fishing boat off California coast are fitted with torpedoes
02/24/35 Nicholas Roosevelt warns of risk of war with Japan, pressure building from need for raw materials and overpopulation
Talk of war with Japan leads to an increase in the US army fund
Japan is opposed to a US pacific airline. Afraid US might convert it to a fighting base
US going ahead with pacific air plan, not a treaty violation and Japan has no cause for concern in wake or midway
Hiroshi Saito says world facing perplexing problems but no nation desires war
US casts vote in world labor body and it’s against a Japanese proposal for a maritime parley in 1936
Japan fears US aggression in form of trans-pacific airline and maneuvers within 500 to 6000 miles of Japanese possessions. Obvious moves of aggression training to cross pacific
All war naval maneuvers in pacific are based on hypothesis of war between Japan and US as were Japan’s defensive war games last year
US has a superiority complex, fear if Japan build superior navy she’ll shutdown US trade in Asia
Giving up Philippines to Japan means losing metals
Russia charges Japan with designs on Northern China and Mongolia
Labor leader saying he fears war in China and US may become involved, war spirit is inspired by the imperialist, Japanese capitalist pushing for war
Edward Carter of Institute of Pacific relations doubts Japan has any aims at vast empire
50,000 Japanese test air defenses
Most of all Japan fears an air attack because of crowded cities and their many flimsy buildings
Japanese newspapers fear friction with US over government’s plan to put auto industry, which is 80% US owned, under its control
Arms embargo act passed, US won’t sell arms to belligerent nations
US war games reveal antiquated army, ill-trained guard, need for more officials stress
Oil supply becomes economic weapon; one Japan could really be hurt by if ever blockaded
Japan sees a war with Russia anew, city railroad building and troop movements, fear Chinese communists
Japan calls soviet steps war like – railroad, troops increasing in Siberia
Tokyo and Moscow hasten war plans, raids and tensions have increased
Roy Howard warns that Tokyo has an eye on more of Far East becoming more militaristic
Major General Smedley says second WW war is gathering in Europe and we must stay neutral, won’t fight Japan no reason too, Japan has hands full with China
Vienna sees Japan will eventually puncture US neutrality when she’s ready to step onto world stage
Japan is vulnerable they have everything to lose
Need for raw materials and colonies are the stuff that begets wars
Japanese Christian labor leader, Dr. Kagawa, proposes economic sanctions to halt war
Saito sees peace and that US and Japan will never use navies against each other
Soviet and Japan shrink from war
Two books about fighting Great Britain and Russia
Japan accuses US press of a sinister campaign full of intentional misrepresentation
Soviets see easing in threats of war with Japan
Denby had 80 reporters live for two weeks on battleships 12 years ago (1924), book takes a look at imaginary war, “war in the pacific, Japan destroyers more modern, look at double Japanese war. Japan would never fight US in Hawaii waters nor could Hawaii be base for US rather the Aleutians”
Sec. Hull bluntly tells delegates to 3rd world power conference of peril of ‘dangerous ambitions’, response of governments to maintain peace never so great, fabric of peace worn thin
Hull calls trade the way to curb war
Saito links peace and trade hopes, says Japan abhors war
Japan wants a new pact with US for pacific peace; purpose is to avoid naval race, minimize war danger
US is favorable to pacific parley but won’t discuss issue alone
Japan ask shift on pacific forts, say US has advantage with Hawaii
Greed held cause of next war said Dr. Will Durrant
Japan’s war office says Japan is menaced by the rest of the world
Col. Henry Roosevelt says the Philippians are a part of Japan’s plans to dominate the Far East
Wide expansion of Russian forces seen as reason for Japanese arming, little hope for friendly
relations with Russians
Path to war seen in US trade boom, trade means involvement, sees parallels from 1914
Japanese press hold naval trap being laid by Great Britain to US to put her into permanent
position of inferiority, Japan getting blame for naval race
Japan seeks pact with Great Britain because they fear soviet strength
Amur row, border between Siberia and Manchukuo is sight of many clashes, started in 1931,
tension there increasing
Sen. Thomas of Utah predicts unity over peace will prevent war
War danger seen in neutrality as soon as aggressor identified by Americans, the named country
will suffer
War fever felt in Tokyo streets, Japan evacuates nationals from China
Senator Nye attacks scrap sale to Japan fears it may return as missiles
Butler denounces fascist aggression of all three countries, breaking of treaties leads to break
down of moral conduct
Dr. Tehyi Hsieh of Boston warns US may get drawn into ‘world conflagration’
AFL wants to boycott Japan goods because of militaristic fanatics are only able to finance war
through dumping
Japan bans luxury items so as to buy more war materials from US
General Baron Sadao Araki says it is necessary for Japan to strike at Russia to eliminate
communism from Far east calls it a world-wide octopus, US and Great Britain should join this
fight, a religion of beasts.
US sees danger in 3-power accord between Japan, Italy, and Germany, fear idea will spread
Oxford cancels class by Japan professors because of animosity of students towards Japan
Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman says peace lucky to last two or three more years, words and phrases
for peace will no longer work, pacifism is not road to peace and isolationism is not the
guarantee for national strength
Fear of possible war seen guiding president
Italy sees US preparing for a war on the side of GB because US is building
America does not understand Japan, at present only 2 percent of Americans like Japan, like the
crow in fable of fox and crow, the American people are simple and easily deceived, want a
Monroe doctrine and an open door policy, know nothing about diplomacy better not to fight
with America
World at turmoil has countries ready to go to war, population a pressure point in Japan
One Japanese cherished belief about US gone after Hull says US not inherently pacifist or for
isolation, feels strategy aimed at Japan, don’t understand US need for ratios, feel 1922 treaty
gave Japan command of Pacific
Japan’s hostility to Russia growing because they are sending planes and pilots to help China
Oil to dominate next world war, oil shortage would be disastrous, oil consumption would double
current needs during war
Japan is sparring with Russia again on Manchukuo border, war in China a factor
Soviets blame Tokyo militarists, says they are full of false reports
Japan public against any gesture that might lead to war with Russia
Japan claims rout of Russians on frontiers
Tokyo newspaper threatens Russia think Japan should do “eye for eye” for Russian planes, signs
of war seen, enough to provoke a saint, limit to Japanese patience
US views war possibility if seaport of Rashin touched between Japan and Russia
Add up troops on Siberian border is over one million men, Soviets have slight edge, Japan is
said to have better equipment
Japan and Russia sign a truce
World youth conference opens with 500 delegates in New York
Mrs. Roosevelt hails world youth as best agents for peace
Youth of 14 lands tell of peace steps
American youth agree on peace
Should M-day (mobilization) comes we would be deficient 21 war supplies (Which are listed)

Bernard M. Baruch sees aggression growing and urged Roosevelt and Washington to prepare for war and get industries prepared to work together in case of a war

US sees plot to take over Latin-America by Germany, Italy, and Japan

General Tojo predicts a war with Russia and Japan, must be ready to fight on two fronts

Japan says US wants to economically involve South and Latin America

Japan believes one of US targets is Japan, fear friction between Japan and US will become more and more acute

Japanese newspaper warns US against fortifying Wake or Guam, US meaning a political foothold in China, if US seeks to interfere with Japan’s China policy then Japan will resort to smashing the US fleet because that’s what the Japanese people are determined to do

Roosevelt said he knows of no plans to fortify Guam

Cause and cure conference for a shift in neutrality, say US neutrality act has failed in its purpose to prevent war. It has instead brought the US closer to war. It has served to aid treaty breakers

Russians battle Japanese for four days

Tokyo paper warns US of war, say Roosevelt’s Far East policy is very dangerous of assisting Kai-shek

Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas says US on road to war

Castle deplores Roosevelt threatening dictatorships, danger of war, should have a good neighbor policy, no cry of war with Russia over dead Christians

Japan envisions free hand in China when it ousts GB and US from Orient while Hitler does his thing in Europe

Sen. King of Utah says the only potential danger for the US is Japan

Japan has 400,000 of its best soldiers guarding against a Soviet attack

Japan charges in pamphlet that US building up fleet to invade the pacific and interfere in Japan’s China policy, Vinson bill casts a great shadow over pacific

Anglo-Soviet talks arouse Japan, would force Japan into strong Axis tie

After trip to US Yoshitaro Kusuyama says US would enter world war on side of GB and France, GB is pulling strings in US

Australia arming via American purchases, Japan denied licenses to buy munitions

Harbin hospitals overflowing with Japanese soldiers injured in fighting Soviet and Mongolian forces, Japanese officials say Japan suffered heavy casualties, encouraged Japan to think if war came with Russia they would win

Japanese General threatens GB hints at US by saying if some powers think they can influence their policy by abrogating trade treaties we shall prove their error to them

Japanese military threatens GB, will do things to make Chamberlain’s blood boil, GB needs to show sincerity

With German-Russo pact, Japan sees great danger

Fears of war affects world trade

Japan fearful of Russian war, pours troops into Manchuria

With war brewing in Europe Japan hopes that will mean closer ties with the US

In event of European war Japan plans to stay neutral, will focus on settling China

Japan and Russia sign pact for armistice freeing up Japanese soldiers to move south, eases pressure on Japan

Washington fears Tokyo-Moscow Pact see new threat in alignment of dictatorial powers

Ambassador Horinouchi and Secretary of State Hull talk about US-Japanese relations

Japan warns US about taking over GB’s role as “Far Eastern Watch Dog” that it might provoke Japan and increase friction

Premier Dr. H.H. Kung of China thinks US is next if Japan can harness China, attack on US will happen after Japan’s position is solidified in the Orient

Japan predict war in South Seas as they see the Dutch Islands that may be vulnerable if war starts in Europe, Japan say US weak, they lack spiritual force, act like a spoiled child

Japanese people believe taking of Dutch Island will help solve its economic problems, take them while Europe is preoccupied, Japanese justifies its own attack by saying US took Panama Canal, Hawaii and Philippines by force, don’t forget their own criminal aggressions.
11/11/39 Japan says it is entitled to wealth of the South Seas and the South Seas belong to the Far East according to the Institute of the Pacific; a Japanese research organization sponsored by Govt, southward has been slogan of navy for years oil is big factor
11/11/39 Japanese army sees the US as a foe; want US to recognize war in China before relations can improve
12/05/39 Anti-Soviet feelings is growing in Japanese press hopes Russia will be come world’s most hated nation after Russia invades Finland

1940-41
02/01/40 Japanese army wants to fight US; navy, which would have to do the fighting, doesn’t want to
03/24/40 Navy says its ready for any situation resulting from the expansion of the US navy
04/23/40 Rear Admiral J.K. Taussig says US ultimately cannot prevent being drawn into war in the Far East, navy releases statement that that was Taussig’s personal opinion and not navy’s official position
04/24/40 Japanese papers abstain from comments on Taussig testimony, officially restrained, violent attacks on US so common lately they can scarcely stimulate the Japanese
04/25/40 Clark denounced statements of predicting war with Japan made by Rear Admiral Taussig things like that should be a court-martialable offense even though it isn’t now, say it was disgraceful and Hull’s rebuke not serious enough
04/27/40 Frank E. Gannett, Publisher and candidate for Republican nomination, sees war as campaign issue, says its silly that we would have to fight Japan
05/01/40 Russians see war, war will spread to the Pacific, sees US imperialism
05/03/40 Japan reiterates neutrality policy regarding European war
05/19/40 Japan staying neutral, watching to see who wins European war, will affect its political flavor
05/26/40 Japan denies she’ll enter war the same time as Italy, want to remain neutral and say all rumors about Japan’s war like intentions are false
06/10/40 Japan says with war in Europe that relations will improve with US
06/16/40 Captain Charles Cooke sees two-fold threat to US from Nazi’s and Japan, don’t know in advance what navy will be called upon to do
06/21/40 Tokyo voices that it’s ok with Stimson as secretary of war, say they have high esteem for him
06/22/40 Hearings held in US senate on Stimson’s nomination for secretary of war, Chinese pleased because Stimson won’t forget them
06/30/40 Japan’s ambassador to US calls predictions of conflict superficial and shortsighted
07/01/40 Admiral Yates Stirling urges accord with Japan so fleet can move to Atlantic, not move of appeasement but one of facing the facts
07/28/40 Col. Frederick Palmer says Japan won’t bother US in Pacific as long as she has more access to plunder Indo-China
08/03/40 Friction may develop between US and Japan over rubber in East Indies
08/04/40 Second world war charged up to US, say its because US didn’t join league of nations, if she had war would’ve been averted
08/07/40 Gov. Joseph B. Poinceter says he thinks Hawaii is impregnable from any attack by any power or it will be after $50 million expansion, will be largest US military base anywhere
08/18/40 US foreign policy set for embattled world aid for GB resistance to Japan
08/18/40 US-Ruso relations worry Japan
08/21/40 Tokyo sees US-Canadian defense accord as a threat to Japan, sees GB defeat and US absorbing Canada meaning stronger Japan
08/22/40 Japanese approve US-Canadian pact say it gives Japan justification for what it’s doing in Far East
08/25/40 Admiral Yarnells says our future existence depends on the overthrow of the two great despotisms in the West and East
08/26/40 Admiral Stirling sees US-Japanese war unless differences worked out, sees conflict being a naval affair mostly in Orient, stresses air strength, diplomatic tension existing for years, see Japan coveting Indies, small fleet at Hawaii would be called upon to perform heroic task, Japan has grown strong in naval
08/27/40 Tokyo paper sees US-Australia pact as aggressive and Japan would be forced to take strong defensive measures if Japan persists
09/07/40 Japan sees US building of naval bases near the Panama Canal as the first step toward war, say it will interfere with Japanese trade

09/08/40 Japan has cooled off, ideas of war and expansion with GB-US improving relations and Germany facing some setbacks

09/18/40 Conscription in US alarms Japan; say it is result of tensions in Europe and Pacific, think US might intervene in Pacific

09/28/40 Philippines fears war in Pacific is near, see themselves as hostages should US and Japan go to war

09/28/40 Axis compact seen as war warning to US by Tokyo

09/30/40 Japan, borrowing favorite German argument, says US disturbing peace by encircling Tokyo forcing Japan to have common defense with Axis

09/30/40 Shanghai worried about US firmness and that US is playing into hands of extremists in Japan who favor early wide spread extension of world conflict Japan feels it can go on because US is not prepared for war

10/01/40 Japan says its pact with Germany and Italy will keep US out of war will save hundreds of thousands of American lives

10/02/40 US senator Claude Pepper of Florida says Axis pact is just a squeeze play aimed at US and said we need to aid Great Britain till it hurts, wants peace on democratic principles

10/05/40 Japan issues virtual ultimatum to US it would declare war on US if it entered European conflict or if US insisted on status quo in pacific. Foreign minister Yosuke Matsuoka made these comments in a news agency interview, would rather perish, pact was done to prevent US from entering pacific war, Japan say the insult would fail to have its intended effect on American public opinion, Rep. Harold Knutson of Minnesota says US totally unprepared for war, says he’s sure we’ll get into war after election

10/05/40 Japan warns US to bow to the Axis, Konoye says war will result if we continue to challenge allied powers, Japan patching things up with Russia, Japan shocked by US – Great Britain pact say it is a manifesto elucidating the inevitability rising tide of new world order

10/06/40 Secretary Knox says Japan’s alliance is aimed at US and our mode of life is being challenged, we have never lost a war yet, US is largest object in path of Japan and totalitarian government, says fleet is most efficient Japanese don’t understand Americans, Knox said there are problems in both oceans

10/06/40 Col. Palmer says US doesn’t face an invasion peril from Japan or Germans, air raids are our chief concerns

10/07/40 Socialist candidate for President Norman Thomas say war in Pacific would just be switching Western Imperialism for Eastern Imperialism, play game of bluffs and threats will lead to most costly war in history, a war in which as has partial armed Japan with gold purchases

10/11/40 Pacific nations alarmed by Japanese movements

10/13/40 More US voters favor aid to Great Britain at risk of war

10/13/40 What Japan forgets, totalitarian atmospheres produce two mental traits—1, shortness of memory and two failure to understand psychology of an opponent

10/14/40 Foreign minister Yosuke Matsuoka invites US to join Axis pact, say Axis likely to win and denies plunder as Japan’s aim, says Japan will eliminate any nation that will obstruct her order, want pact with Russia

10/15/40 Admiral warns country its not armed to meet threat of Axis

10/18/40 Pittman calls Japan’s foreign minister a bluffing bulldog, Japan threatens war unless US surrenders its rights in Pacific and cease to protest against the mistreatment of our citizens in China

10/20/40 US should curb Japan in China says US commercial attaché to China, China if free is a great market

10/20/40 Danger seen in oil, something Japan will fight for

10/21/40 Japan doesn’t want war they just want oil supply

10/25/40 Admiral Yarnell urges defense of Pacific, willing to do by force if necessary or soon we will have no rights to defend

10/26/40 Japan trying to make amends with Russia because they see war with US Japan sees a resentful and powerful US
10/26/40  Retiring ambassador to US Kensuki Horinouchi says Japan-US relations have hit rock bottom and can’t get any worse

10/28/40  Anti-US sentiment rising in Japan but afraid to treat Americans like the British

11/01/40  Tokyo paper accuses US of preparing to attack Japan, says US stockpiling weapons in Manila and Rangoon. Military encirclement claimed, point to exodus of Americans

11/04/40  Japan watches US election, hope for an improvement in relations

11/07/40  Japan perturbed over ballot, say no matter who wins US attitude needs to be changed, say if Roosevelt wins Japan expects stronger pressure in Far East, Suma says US must reorganize its policy, present attitude is unfeasible and too far fetched

11/08/40  All three Axis countries annoyed at Roosevelt’s election

11/13/40  Hirohito displays concern for peace, nods after Grew’s good-will speech

11/19/40  Posters warn Japanese ‘to prepare’ against US, listen to the bell on eve of world war

11/22/40  B.W. Flesher, former publisher in Japan said Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka told him there shall be no American-Japanese rupture, his opinion there will be no war in Pacific, say big navy men won’t be happy with that news

11/23/40  Admiral for war against US, say US intention is to bring Japan to knees, sacred mission

12/10/40  Matsuoka doubts conflict with US, say no quarrel with US if both “mind business” keep heads cool, honor bound to fight US if US attacks Germany, triple alliance is Japan’s guiding policy

12/14/40  Tokyo takes over foreign churches in Tokyo, new religion law

01/08/41  Matsuoka believes Japan is trying to avert war yet they are honor bound to fight US in certain situations

01/17/41  Japanese angered over Hull’s ultimatum to Axis powers and will adhere to axis whether US likes it or not. Hull said Manchurian affair marked the start of the present violent chapter, US just needs to understand Japan’s peaceful intentions then trouble will be cleared up

01/18/41  Japan withdraws its reply to Hull’s statement younger officers had wanted to send scorcher of a response, don’t want to make things worse

01/21/41  New world order only a matter of time for axis powers, Matsuoka says US and Japan may end up in a new world war may spell down fall of civilization, US evidenced no understanding of Japan’s greater East Asia as it is a matter of vital concern to Japan

01/27/41  Matsuoka accuses Hull of distorting case of Manchuria saying Japans move there was to lay foundation for peace not war, Hull statement a result of interference and US should butt out, hints at pact with Russia

01/29/41  Dr. Bruce Campbell Hopper of Harvard says US not ready for war, 8 months to fix time-lag problems

02/05/41  Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka says a rupture of diplomatic relations between US and Japan must be prevented if humanly possible, Japan surprised by US reaction to Japan – Axis alliance, its not an aid to help Germany defeat Great Britain, admit American feeling has hardened as a result of the alliance, say it was aimed to prevent a war, and to keep US out of European war, Matsuoka gives 5 causes of estrangement. 1, US underestimation of Japan’s power; 2, Japan – Axis alliance; 3, Japan’s southward policy of expansion; 4, Desire of US to aid Great Britain; 5, Continuation of westward expansion by US started 150 years ago

02/09/41  Philadelphians are swift aid to Great Britain, say Axis aim including Japan is to conquer world, out come of present war will determine whether dignity and freedom are to perish throughout the world, believe it fools itself into believing in Axis wins, they won’t come attack in western hemisphere.

02/13/41  Tokyo relieved by Roosevelt say no war likely in pacific, significance seen in his answer

02/15/41  Japanese opinion on US divided, showdown feared by some, others say Roosevelt is bluffing because US can’t face two ocean war, disappointed in US press’ lack of interest in Nomura’s arrival in Washington

02/16/41  Japanese cabinet reassures people on Pacific tension, say danger is exaggerated, say Japan wants peace, have been seeing Americans going home, blame US on stirring up trouble

02/18/41  Japan blames US and Great Britain for present world situation and deplore the ‘war-like preparation’ both of them are making

02/18/41  US and Great Britain blamed for tension in Pacific, Tokyo urges peace, Japan want US movement in Pacific restricted it would avoid causing unnecessary anxiety
02/19/41 Japan is temporarily hopeful for peace, offer to mediate any where in world, practicing double barreled diplomacy, not happy about US and Great Britain war preparations, still want Greater East Asia and new order

02/19/41 US doubts Koh Ishii assertion that Japan’s intentions are peaceful when they say they’ll mediate, not happy about being told to keep ‘war like preparation’ to Western Hemisphere, summer Welles does the talking, far more interest in deeds than words

02/19/41 Nazi warns US not to underestimate Japan

02/20/41 Nomura puts onus on US in pacific say there won’t be a war unless US starts it, says Tokyo wants peace, Japan asserts it doesn’t intend to seize lands

02/20/41 Japan sees US – Great Britain joining forces to strangle Japan, to stifle Japan’s plan for Greater East Asia, bolster China and sabotage Russia – Japan’s negotiations

02/21/41 Editorial – Japan says US and Great Britain building in pacific constitute provocation, yet it was their own ending of the 1922 treaty that made this possible, gulf of understanding – Japan doesn’t think US will use force however Japan has a history of using force since 1931

02/22/41 New warning from Matsuoka, says US and GB should consider every conceivable situation that might arise and prepare to meet it, but what country do they aim at

02/22/41 Japan says there is an Anglo-Saxon plot to encircle Japan; newspapers deplore US and Great Britain steps in Pacific, trying also to split Japan from Axis

02/23/41 Japan says US involvement in Europe will call for Japanese intervention, has no aggressive intentions, say US press has alarmist attitude, stress Axis pact

02/23/41 Nazis are aroused by Matsuoka’s bid to mediate, Matsuoka denies making offer

02/23/41 Jockeying going on in Far East, Great Britain seems threatened by Japan for its possessions, if not for US Japan would definitely make a drive for Great Britain property in spring, Japan can’t understand GB with US, Japan not a self-contained country, if war starts would lose its supplies

02/23/41 60% of those polled think US interests would be threatened if Japan moved south, Japan could cut off trade of tin and rubber and end of Philippines, 56% think US should try to keep Japan from seizing Dutch East Indies but not risk war

02/26/41 Konoye says no reason to fear future regarding diplomacy with US

02/27/41 Premier Konoye is not pessimistic concerning the future of Japanese diplomacy toward US trying utmost to see there is a real understanding regarding the real intentions of Japan

03/10/41 Italy warns US of war because it’s supporting Great Britain in recent bill is passed in congress

03/11/41 Senates passage of lease-lend bill shocks Italy who then say it’s a provocation to war, warns Japan, America will participate in long war Italy says, will cause many unpleasant surprises to US in pacific and Japan will be called upon to do her part

03/11/41 US passage of lease-land stressed as vital to Chile, say it could be drawing Japan into conflict US cannot be considered neutral any more

03/14/41 US voters’ attitudes on Japan stiffen according to latest Gallup poll, slight majority favor risking war with Japan if necessary to keep Japan from taking Dutch Indies

03/16/41 Japanese public worried about land-lease

03/18/41 Japan’s press say US is a huge wealthy dragon and Roosevelt is venomous tongue and US is headed straight for war

03/28/41 US can no longer stay neutral, Germany, Japan, and Italy have violated Kellogg – Briand Treaty

03/30/41 Yugoslav’s coup seen as a curb to Japan entering war, will delay any move against Great Britain in pacific. US policy is to keep Japan guessing and it’s working

04/04/41 Japanese taunt US over its labor troubles and 40-hour work week

04/14/41 After Japanese-Russian neutrality pact the Philippines see no immediate threat

04/19/41 Roosevelt warns America that they are not sufficiently aware of the seriousness of the war and its implications for the US, Axis would out number US navy should GB fall, do something now while GB still stands

04/21/41 Japan sees Great War

04/25/41 Secretary of Navy Frank Knox said there is no turning back, Axis powers are encircling US and jaws of Nazi trap are closing, he’s also opposed to any form of censorship

04/28/41 Matsuoka urged to see Roosevelt, pact with US should be next step, trip would benefit world, talk of US and Japan drifting toward war, sees US suspicious of Japan thus war clouds

04/30/41 Axis peace turns putting curb on US, Japan calls US a belligerent power in whose hands the decision of war or peace lies, critical hour, offer suggestions – strongest powers must have
greatest opportunities, Axis should be called on to settle peace, parity for naval strength, demilitarize US bases in Pacific and Aleutians, list US sphere of influence would be Canada, Central and South America

05/04/41 Japan expects political blitz, first step is to visit US to remove menace of US-Japanese war, Greater East Asia sphere

05/08/41 Italian interpret Stimson’s Naval speech as fore runner to war, say US preparing for war and hints at attacking Japan

05/15/41 Japan’s Christians discount a US-Japanese war

05/21/41 Japan still has hard time realizing cause and effect relationship to realize US is doing things in response to Japan’s actions

01/07/41 Japanese paper predicts US and Japan will fight like wildcats in Pacific after Britain wiped out

05/26/41 Japan still believed against war but might fight if US and Great Britain cut off oil to Japan or if US is hostile with Germany, strain of war with China seen, mention fear of air vulnerability

05/28/41 Matsuoka pessimistic sees war coming, Japan sees US entering the war and US is over estimating is economic pressure, Captain Hiraide says Imperial Navy expects to lick even the biggest and strongest enemy by employing special strategic operations

05/29/41 Japan relieved by Roosevelt talk because they feel they are clearer about US intentions, say US is one step closer to war, final preparations seen

05/30/41 Japan’s Matsuoka believes Roosevelt has incorrect info and not worth commenting on

06/01/41 US army and navy heads favor enacting the neutrality act against axis

06/01/41 Japan sees US in war soon

06/06/41 Japan asking US for a war pact like one she has with Moscow, US not receptive to idea

06/07/41 Japan denies trying in vain to seek non-aggression treaty with US

06/08/41 Grew calls peace with Germany impossible, refuses to sign petition, urging US keeps out of war, Grew says US may have to enter war to protect its way of life

06/08/41 Japan’s overtures stir Washington’s suspicions, US still remembers broken promises and doubts Japan’s aims, open door, Kellogg-Briand pact new order claim

06/08/41 Yarnell asks US to enter war now; urges we act while Great Britain and China can still help, strengthen our Asiatic fleet to stop Japanese expansion

06/15/41 Matsuoka backs IL Duce’s warning to US where he say Japan would not remain indifferent in face of American aggression against Axis

06/16/41 Lieutenant General Motoyuki Yamashita, head of the Japanese military mission to axis power tells Nichi Nichi in a short time some thing great will happen you just watch and wait, decline to explain prediction, Japan says US and Great Britain are its real enemies

06/18/41 US closes all the German consulates in US which is a bombshell for the Japanese, move held short of war, takes two to fight, say it was retaliation for sinking of Robin Moor

06/20/41 Tokyo aide hold US to enter war, reaffirms bond to Axis, Koh Ishii, still playing a role as a deterrent to US entry in to war, Japan’s goals is same--new order in Asia

06/25/41 Japan warns US not to aid Russia

06/26/41 Japan to increase its arms production, must double efforts in face of world war, leaders see peril in US aid to Russia, Japan stands at crossroads have no idea what US will do

06/30/41 Japanese premier seeks our amity hope Nazi – Soviet war won’t worsen relations, world situation delicate, still hopes US won’t enter European war

07/05/41 Japan may expand territorial waters to prevent US from sending aid to Russia

07/06/41 US preparing for a long war, keeping an eye on Japan, still hoping to stay out of a shooting war

07/09/41 Japan believe US nearing war with putting of forces in Iceland to replace Great Britain troops, question is what will Germany do in face of rising hostile attitude by Americans, Ishii denies he talked of safety zone around Japan and collusion with Germany also says concentrating shipping in pacific because of lack of ships only reason

07/09/41 Will US troops in Iceland, Japan sees US moving toward war

07/09/41 Japan recalls all its ships from Atlantic in fear of US ship bill which is likely to pass soon, would make it very difficult for Japanese ships to get fuel on the East coast of US, will fuel it up in Mexican ports

07/09/41 Idea—Japan saw US inching toward US war which would mean they would be forced to fight US, because with oil gone might as well get in first shot

07/11/41 US denies Siberian plan to put bases there
Japan gearing up for war on a large scale based on national mobilization law, national mobilization council meeting at end of month

With signing of Great Britain-Russo pact Italy sees Japan as having to get involved in war now

Roosevelt and General Marshall tell congress it needs to hold army selectees longer than a year based on secret information hinting at crisis developing in Atlantic and Pacific

Suegusu suggests clash with US near

Japan crisis means American must be guardians of two oceans

View there will be a battle in the pacific long before battle in Atlantic, US and Japan headed for collision with Russia out of picture and Germany confined to land

Japan says Axis tie irrevocable, navy would like to appease US, army wants nothing to do with any sort of compromise

Roosevelt warns about messages to Japan may not go through because of Japanese censorship

Congressmen are grave amid intensified crisis, calm acceptance of president’s measures, is it lull before storm, congress had been skittish up until now, General Marshall sees country in peril, considering extending selectees (draft)

Great Britain ready to be tough – Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden said he warns if Japan moves south it means war, says he can’t believe statesmanship in Japan is dead or blind do they realize where policies are heading, did leave small door of hope open, economic war full speed ahead

Utah senator Thomas in favor of retaining selectees as peril mounts

San Francisco aroused and angry – say Japanese are asking for it lets let them have it, US should make first move before Japan does, mention bombing of Tutuila, say Japan might bomb US, west coast war should be aimed at rulers not people

Voters approve of check on Japan, 51% even say at risk of war, public ready to abandon policy of appeasement, US still remembers Panay

In rare support of unity, Northwest, even isolationists approve of cutting trade with Tokyo, embargo favored don’t fear Japan

US aid to Russia is seen as new danger for Japan, sending war materials, US won’t tolerate interference with its ships, Japan says it might not interfere, issue of pact with Russia and US Neutrality Act

Australia minister war for peace in Pacific, is up to Japan to decide we want peace

Federal security administrator Paul McNutt says Japan should be warned against any further aggression or meet united force

Japan’s minister to Washington, Kaname Wakasugi, warns his country that US is now ready (mentally and emotionally) to met Japan if they advance south no matter what the consequences, attitude suddenly changed, does say US wants Amity

Captain Hide Hiraide says Japan is calm before the storm

Former US ambassador to France William C. Bullitt say war will happen for US sooner or later, if later will have that much longer of a fight

Roosevelt and Churchill meet are united on cooperation in checking Japan in Far East

Japanese see plot to encircle Japan as a Jewish plot

Role of Guardian of democracies in the Pacific given to US, will continue to send Russia supplies and tell Japan to stay away from shipments, yet still don’t want to provoke Japan.

Russia, Great Britain and US talking about ways to curb Japan as US send more stuff to Russia, worried about Japan taking Kamchatka, Russia needs planes

Encirclement, US aid to Russia alarming as Russia and China have signed pact, startled by 9 – points program, American bases in Siberia fear seen, say shipping to Vladivostok would be embarrassment if allowed

After allies US, Great Britain, and Russia talk Japan now fears an attack from the north, Japan cannot remain indifferent, sees full encirclement, say US seeking bases in China and Siberia in return for aid, says US underestimates Japan’s strength, navy fully ready to go, Japan hints it won’t allow US to send supplies to Russia, if powers had any idea of Japanese strength they wouldn’t challenge her

Relations held at the breaking point between US and Japan

Admiral Richard E. Byrd says Roosevelt not looking for war but doing duty to preserve American democracy at all costs, Judge Owen J. Roberts of the Supreme Court asks for world
unity to defeat dictatorships and our turn will come next if Germany defeats Great Britain, plea
to US-Japanese to be loyal
08/21/41 British reject idea for appeasing Japan no retreat from Far East
08/21/41 Roosevelt quotes Lincoln from 1862 and draws parallels to both times, significance not lost on
anybody
08/22/41 Japan tells US its supplies to Russia are a provocation, fear those supplies will be used against
Japan
08/23/41 Hirohito meets with cabinet to talk of US supplies to Russia
08/23/41 Tokyo press scores US shipment of oil to Russia – say US going out of way to challenge Japan
and waving fist in face of Japan
08/24/41 Japan’s oil reserve held key to what Japan will do next, may have larger reserve than suspected, have been stock piling over the last 10 years
08/24/41 Japanese envoy seeks amity with US said it would be folly of worst kind to do otherwise
08/26/41 Tokyo wary on oil from US to Russia, China believes tankers will be allowed to pass to avoid
immediate hostilities
08/27/41 Russia says interference with US shipment of oil to her will be “unfriendly,” Japan answers
saying the ships will be allowed through they don’t want an extreme and delicate position on its
hands. Russia tells Japan it has nothing to worry about from her
08/27/41 Tokyo threat to Russia over shipment reported, oil already en route 4 tankers Japan will let oil
thru but don’t want any planes and parts going to Russia
08/28/41 Senator Burton K Wheeler, Montana, says he’s more worried about war with Japan as means to
preserve Great Britain empire rather than it is in helping US
08/28/41 Japanese charge US oil to Russia is affront and blow to national prestige, will have bad effect on
peace in the East, Japan does admit Russia’s legal right to waterways
08/28/41 Washington firm on shipments, supplies expected to go in spite of Japan, Japan says shipments
are affront to the prestige, Russia doesn’t want war with Japan, Russia says Japan just jealous of
trade and getting goods it wants
08/29/41 Nomura meets with Roosevelt and Hull, delivers letter from Konoye, discuss wide range of
topics for 45 minutes, Nomura makes appeal for study to end tension, tension at home a factor
for meeting, Hull calls meeting interesting more to come
08/28/41 Editorial on Japan’s threat to stop oil shipments to Russia, Japan has to know interference will
create incident, Govts have been trying to avoid, answer has to be Japan is acting under German
pressure, believe if Japan follows this course she is committing Hara-kiri to save Germany
08/29/41 Tokyo making strong final diplomatic effort to settle difference with US, but must be prepared
for worst if effort fails, pacific crisis, however Japan can sacrifice vital interests
08/29/41 Why has Japan picked most weak and illogical issue to protest in shipments to Russia. Why not
supplies to China, embargo, frozen assets, blow to face hard to understand when politicians have
been so successful at hiding from its own people what is gong on in world
08/31/41 Japanese are optimistic about Roosevelt and Nomura talks but Japan must continue war
preparations, Wakasugi, minister to Washington, says Americans want peace but are in a war-
like mood, he also said surest way to emerge victorious from any war is to be fully prepared
while having good knowledge of the enemy
08/31/41 Protest supplies to Russia, diplomatic warfare to keep Japan out of war, Japan seen veering from
Axis in this showdown
09/02/41 Encirclement, Colonel Hayto Mabuchi says Japan should go to war if parleys with US fail, say
US and GB have committed unpardonable crimes, say “china affair” would be done by now if
not for US aid to China, hostile about asset freeze and raw materials embargo, driving Japan
economically into a corner, still hoping for peaceful solution but doubts one will be found, doubts solution will be found, Japan will fight to last man, Japan’s national policy is fixed
09/04/41 Premier emphatic with people urges national unity and display in peril, face greatest emergency
in her history, going ahead with establishing of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere,
dislike Soviet mission to US to get planes, encirclement
09/05/41 American tanker reaches Vladivostok US says Japan doesn’t own ocean, Japan not ready to
push issue at this time
09/05/41 Optimism turning to tension as no results seen from Konoye’s message to Roosevelt, tell people
to be prepared in a moments notice for blackouts in the event of an air raid, encirclement
09/05/41 US and GB accused of uniting for world domination
09/06/41 Hull wondering what is happening after Roosevelt-Nomura talks, President is avoiding issue
09/07/41 Japan says attack on US destroyer Greer a result of US abandonment of neutrality, watching US to see if they’ll have same defiant attitude in Pacific
09/09/41 Relations with US most pressing issue for new Premier Koh Ishii
09/10/41 Japanese press less angry with US because of 12 meetings between Grew and Toyoda
09/11/41 Japan takes more hopeful tone on news of negotiations with US although both sides quiet as to what is going on, Japan expecting long European war
09/12/41 War office announces creation of general defense headquarters under direct command of Hirohito, Designed for defense of Japan proper because of growing tension in East Asia, move seen as a curb on army, ask US to withdraw from China
09/13/41 US and Japan seem to be at an understanding that will keep two from going to war, Japan wants peace in Pacific, not sure what will happen after Roosevelt’s ordered navy to shoot any German ship on sight and will that eventually draw Japan into war
09/15/41 Tokyo sees hope for peace in the Pacific with return of Wakasugi to US, talking to China about ending things
09/17/41 Japan puts off protests on oil to Russia because of parleys in Washington
09/18/41 Japanese charge GB & Germany of anti-peace plot, both oppose a US-Tokyo pact
09/21/41 Tokyo firm on special status in China, US and Japanese negotiations at a standstill, US won’t recognize a special status
09/28/41 First year anniversary of 3-power pact, the Germans warn US not to under estimate Japan
09/30/41 Grew and Toyoda meet but results not disclosed, talks seem at a standstill
10/07/41 Japan concerned and depressed over increasing number of military and economic conferences on periphery of its projected Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere and the slow progress
10/08/41 Japan emphasizes its firm determination to pursue her immutable policies and tells US to abandon its policy of interference in the Far East, limit to policy of peace and patience, when limit is reached Japan must rise like an avenging angel and smite her with all her might—Kokumin says, Nichi Nichi says US most meddlesome country in the world
10/10/41 A Japanese spokesman called US willfully arrogant and war is likely to spread around the world at any moment
10/10/41 US not shaken by reports of danger in Far East and renewed Japanese agitation, see German pressure on Japan
10/11/41 Japan cautiously watching war in Russia and German new attack
10/12/41 US-Japan talks under way again, secrecy cloaks parleys, Japanese minister brings important message to Washington, some see danger in Far East that Japan will attack Siberia if Russia falls to Germany
10/12/41 Japan sends 3 ships to US West Coast to bring home 2,000 nationals, Japan see it as a bad omen in relations with US, 650 Americans reported in Japan only 30 express desire to come home
10/16/41 Tokyo navy sees clash with US, see US and Japan nearing a final parting of the ways, fear US getting bases in Russia, say US expanding navy on a large scale, Japanese navy prepared for worst, accuse US of hostile double dealing, see US leading the encirclement
10/16/41 Tokyo navy spokesman warned his nation that the “final crossroads” maybe at hand, say US lacks bases for effective attack on Japan, says the entire nation will back navy “with a will of iron” Asahi said because the US is solely responsible for increasing the crisis in the Pacific
10/16/41 Central China daily news reports as soon as both sides finish preparations then war is inevitable
10/17/41 Editorial, must stand fast against Japanese aggression, enormous mistake if we let Japan frighten US, US doesn’t want war either, US still has a powerful fleet in Pacific
10/19/41 Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska says Japan believes it’s a superior race destined to rule the world, they have no friendship for the US and will then on US when they think it is in their interest we can’t appease Japan any more than we can appease Hitler, are for a firm stand against Japan
10/19/41 Tojo declares the policy of Japan remains unchanged, promoted to full General, want friendly relations with foreign powers while having a perfect defense state at home coprosperity sphere and settlement of China incident
10/19/41 Japan determined not to miss the boat again, won’t let anyone else tell them what they can and can’t do, with Tojo the brake is off, because they waited last time they lost out
10/20/41 Tojo said to continue aim of an accord with US, part of “fixed national policy”
10/22/41 Japan stresses peace and successful conclusion to talks with US, “immutable” national policies so up to US to change attitude, armed diplomacy, peace with justice, foreign policies are peace, justice, and righteousness
10/25/41 Sec. of Navy Frank Knox laid to Japan unless they stop showing no intention of abandoning her expansion policies then war is almost sure, relations are “extremely strained,” talks of Russian issue of US sending oil and supplies, Japan still hoping to negotiate
10/25/41 Knox’s view of collision with Japan called unfortunate in Tokyo
10/26/41 Knox’s warning taken calmly in Tokyo, see division of opinion in US, no worries about talk of danger of war, just see younger US navy elements as “itching for action,” Japan says nothing inevitable about an American-Japanese conflict
10/27/41 No turning back for Japan, Tojo says Japan to go ahead – cites immutable and irrevocable polices, seeks national unity, speaks of insensitivity of US, say “a week dog barks loudly”
10/29/41 Japan sees war in Roosevelt’s navy day speech as he speaks of shooting war with Germany and also mentions aid to Russia and China, call speech hypocritical and pitiable and following the same old rut
10/29/41 Japan sees Roosevelt lumping Japan and Germany as common enemy in the Pacific
10/30/41 Honolulu under no illusions they expect two ocean war and see it happening earlier than anticipated, say if US goes to war with Germany then Japan will jump in fray, especially over continued US aid to China, say if that stopped Japan could easily defeat China
10/30/41 Japan asks truce with US over economic war far if “a very dangerous situation is to be avoided,” “present situation cannot continue uncharged, Japan wants peace with US Japan may be forced to take drastic action, Government has abandoned all hope practically of reaching agreement with US, say they aren’t presenting ultimatums to the US
10/31/41 Tokyo foresees a US-Japanese crisis, press predicts a showdown, Tojo says Japan pressing forward unswervingly for league of Far East nations
10/31/41 US not willing to move on position to appease Japan, US say Japan needs to relax its attitudes
11/02/41 Japan preparing for armed clash that seems “inevitable” unless US eases economic pressure, Japan issues this warning to Washington, tension in Pacific gradually rising
11/02/41 Tokyo rattles its sword less as Moscow holds out against Germans
11/02/41 Japanese submarine seen prowling off shores of Hawaii, say we learn their aims, US navy chuckling over this abortive Japanese reconnaissance
11/03/41 Tojo follows up by again saying US needs to ease up economic pressure or clash is “inevitable,” Tojo would make it clear there was a time table, say US refuses to recognize Japan’s program of new order in Japan, press blames it on US adherence to an arbitrary, dogmatic attitude, mention tankers to Russia, Japan has been exercising patience and prudence
11/05/41 Japan asks US to reverse stand or face conflict, Japan Times Advertiser, an organ of the foreign office, lists seven things US must do or “face the alternatives” FIRST Aid to Chungking must end, SECOND Japan and China left alone to make own peace THIRD military and economic encirclement of Japan must end; FOURTH Japan’s coprosperty sphere must be acknowledged as well as other “puppet” States; FIFTH Manchukuo must be recognized; SIXTH must unfreeze assets; SEVENTH trade treaties must be restored and all restrictions on shipping and commerce ended; Japan’s friendship for the US has been complete, Japan has done everything in her power to seek a compromise with the US
11/06/41 Last diplomatic effort to repair relations which have gone from bad to worse, Japan need to exist, self-defense, and national prestige
11/09/41 Japanese envoy is said to doubt an accord with US, feels he can’t offer US enough concessions, Saburo Kurusu
11/09/41 US considering war with Germany but have to take into account if they do that Japan will enter the war
11/11/41 GB will back US play and will declare war on Japan if war breaks out between US and Japan, says US is seeking peace in the Pacific
11/12/41 Japan irate over British stand, say US just protecting GB interests in Asia, say GB and US under estimates Japan’s strength, say if GB can’t defend her colonies she should lose them
11/12/41 Knox tells Japan we won’t budge, said US has striven hard to maintain the peace, US can no longer avoid its rights, sees a two ocean war, we have been patient while our rights have been repeatedly violated
11/12/41 German calls GB declaration it would go to war with Japan if US did scandalous
11/13/41 Japanese papers print Churchill and Knox speeches in edited versions, final demonstration of Anglo-American solidarity, Domei says irresponsible American leaders are to blame for current relations, their fault for rising tension, say US and GB already in an undeclared war with Japan
11/15/41 Saburo Kurusu lands in San Francisco hoping for peace
11/15/41 Roosevelt pulled marines from China because he believes the Far East contains elements of danger that might lead to war between US and Japan but hopes peace will be maintained
11/16/41 With arrival of Saburo Kurusu relations have reached a turning point, if mission fails it means all out war, try to get Japan away from Axis, order meeting with resistance, US warns Japan on Indo-China, US placing more economic restrictions, distance would mean war would be a long naval and air war and one of attrition, Japan’s strength unknown for the last five years, US said to have the better navy ship for ship
11/16/41 Kurusu stresses sympathy of US as vital to peace, if they do there is a fighting chance for the success of his mission, mission is supposed to answer question of war or peace between the two countries, but unless Japan changes her attitude then US won’t budge on its position
11/16/41 Kurusu understands seriousness of mission as he left a brother on death bead and a daughter who’s wedding he’ll likely miss, he said “a single man’s effort is too small in present situation, must all pull together,” differences aren’t irreconcilable, he wants peace
11/16/41 Diet in special crisis session, US is going to repeal neutrality bill
11/17/41 Japan has three expectations—FIRST third powers refrain from obstruction of successful conclusion to China affair; SECOND Other countries refrain from military menace and end economic blockade; THIRD Will try to prevent extension of, Greater East Asia, blockade equal to armed conflict, encirclement, there is naturally a limit to our conciliatory attitude Japan says, Japan desires peace, patience and perseverance
11/17/41 Looking for general settlement, US pessimistic about agreement, US can’t permit Japanese domination of the region, friends of Hitler are enemies of US, Japan said it will refrain from any more aggression if US will lift economic sanctions
11/17/41 Mention Three expectations again, Tojo says Japan bending all effort for peace, but for protecting the existence of its new order, not happy with unjustified economic blockade, limit to conciliatory attitude, agreement still possible, determined to continue its present policies, coprosperity sphere
11/18/41 Outlines Japan’s three expectations as presented by Tojo
11/18/41 Policy speeches by Japan are evident that a showdown is evident, immovable national policies; peace not impossible but Japanese press say its up now to US, coprosperity
11/19/41 Talks with Hull and Nomura are exploratory, delicate balance seen, still hopeful, Nomura asks for instruction from Tokyo
11/19/41 US is cancer of Pacific and Japan needs to remove it, patiences of Japan is not inexhaustible, peoples minds already made up for completing coprosperity sphere, hostilities have spread, say US the leader of a ring of hostile powers meddling in China, all eyes on Washington negations
11/20/41 Nomura still waiting word from Tokyo, Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida sounds warning and says Japan needs to abandon her aggression
11/20/41 Japan tones down its attitude on its immutable policies, suggest modification of Greater East Asia policy, harbors no territorial designs, coprosperity sphere must be post war attitude
11/21/41 Hull and Nomura meet again for 45 minutes called exploratory, Tojo says present conversations will only succeed if US stops helping China, US not prepared to accept those conditions, thus no necessity of spending much time negotiating
11/21/41 Japanese ships sailing to evacuate more Japanese from Seattle and Panama
11/22/41 Japan’s parley’s with US hit snag so no meetings held, no reason given for snag, no meetings scheduled as of now
11/23/41 Negotiations are in a critical stage, if agreement reached with US, Japan would modify its stance with Axis, 5-power Pacific peace talks discussed
11/23/41 Political cartoons
11/24/41 US-Japanese talks at a critical point, Hull maintains silence, although both willing to reach a truce. Because of the delicacy the details are not being discussed, Congress talking a lot about the possibility of war with Japan.

11/24/41 Japanese criticizes idea of 5-power parley, Japan preparing for the worst, the 5-power idea casts gloom and suspicion on US-Japanese talks, says US rallying those against Japan. Japan says no choice but to charge forward, knock through the stone wall, lists 8-points of US weakness—FIRST Financial condition of bankruptcy; SECOND High American standard of living has made her a spoiled child; THIRD Low national morale; FOURTH The character of Roosevelt as an inconsistent buffoon; FIFTH Hesitancy in entering the war because it knows it will loose and it fears Japan; SIXTH American character—easily excited and easily cooled and confused, wouldn’t last in a 5 or 10 year war; SEVENTH Lack of unity; EIGHTH Domestic inflation—unable to control prices.

11/25/41 Hull again sees four Pacific envoys from GB, China, Netherlands, and Australia but not with a Japanese representative, optimism not abandoned, demand no more Japanese expansion and withdrawal from Indo-China, more meetings planned.

11/25/41 Tokyo sends Nomura an urgent Note, Hull meets again with four Pacific allies, see gloom and suspicion cast on US-Japanese talks, see US rallying hostile powers.

11/25/41 Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida said we are only waiting for Japan to cross a line before we start shooting, don’t know where line is.

11/25/41 Japan sends another envoy from Peru to Washington.

11/26/41 Kurusu parley with Hull reveals no basis for negotiations, climax in talks believed near, Hull tight lipped about talks, Americans again urged to leave Far East.

11/27/41 Japanese say it’s now up to US to present concrete proposals because Japan is not in a position to waste its time, US embassy for the fourth time orders Americans to leave Far East, Japan has no comment on that order.

11/27/41 Kurusu reported to be working on five points—FIRST Japan agrees there shall be a redistribution of spheres of economic influence in China; SECOND Japan won’t push any further South; THIRD Will talk about Manchukuo at another time; FOURTH Japan is willing to let the AXIS pact lag; FIFTH Japan willing to withdraw from China to pre-1937 boundaries, China cool to five points.

11/27/41 Move now Tokyo’s as Hull hands Kurusu a document, US adhering to peace principles Hull outlined in 1937, China outlines what she wants to see happen.

11/28/41 Talks bogged down, Washington is watching Tokyo for next step; Roosevelt met with Nomura and Kurusu himself yesterday.

11/28/41 Japan sees end of negotiations, blame is put on US saying their attitude unchanged, little room for optimism, says Japan determined to follow Tojo’s peaceful three points.

11/28/41 US and Japan still working on negotiations but basic positions are so far a part and it is clear Japan will lay blame of failed negotiation on shoulder of US.

11/29/41 Japan sees US delivering an ultimatum, say US shifting blame to Japan, seems to set back talks to point zero, say they are tactics of intimidation, say Japan must liquidate the China affair, break economic forces used against Japan.

11/29/41 War seen closer, US patience with Japan nearing exhaustion and another Japanese move against Indo-China or elsewhere would not be tolerated, two weeks of negotiations have gone nowhere, US worried about safety of Philippines.

11/30/41 Japanese policies are not about saving face but are about Japan’s wants.

11/30/41 Tojo says US and GB exploitation of Asiatic people must be purged with a vengeance, also says nothing will be allowed to interfere with sphere.

11/30/41 Japan’s utter inability to understand the ideals of American foreign policy has brought that country to the verge of a needless war with the US said Tyler Dennett, former state department aid, says it’s a phenomenon unequaled in history.

11/30/41 Rift between US and Japan widens.

11/30/41 Hull calls Roosevelt in Georgia to tell him Tojo said Japan must wipe out US and GB exploitation of the Far East.

11/30/41 Professor Pierre Laurin, an Orient scholar, sees Japan’s bluff and if US were to go to war it would be over in less than a year.

11/30/41 President warns Japan the US stands united as he waits for Japan’s next move.
Officials are awaiting news from Japan as 4-powers declare they are ‘collaborating fully’ (US, GB, China, and Dutch Indies), Japan doesn’t think US will fight for Thailand just as GB didn’t fight for Poland

President is grim as showdown is expected and cut holiday short, Philippine forces ready, feel Japan is ill prepared for war right now, now doubt showdown had come

Tojo makes first official comment on Washington, Japan threatens fresh aggression, called US principles as fantastic, unrealistic, and regrettable, Japan’s determination is to proceed with the construction of a new order in East Asia, US doesn’t understand the real situation in East Asia

ABCD countries on high alert in the Orient

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Hull sees Nomura, appears Japanese are massing troops in China, Little hope seen for peace, reply expected soon from Japan

If the Hawaiian islands didn’t exist, war between US and Japan would be impossible therefore God cannot have been faithful to the followers of peace when he created those islands, America’s attitude is to destroy Japan and control Asia---Newspaper Yomiuri

Japan decides to keep negotiating with US even though views are very wide apart and they see them as hopeless because of US changes attitude, negotiations have bottlenecked, wide gap based on Asia for Asiatists, Japan won’t be intimidated, will redouble sublime efforts, Japan believes its attitude to be fair while US policies are fanciful, unrealistic and regrettable

Sharper watch in Hawaii on all craft as precaution for espionage or sabotage

Chairman Andrew J. May says Roosevelt should tell Japanese people to renounce their ambitions or US will blast them of land and blow them out of the water, if she wants a fight we’ll give her one

Washington newspaper correspondents dean Charles A. Hamilton handed Roosevelt a walking stick with huge knob, say never since Theodore Roosevelt have we needed a big stick

Roosevelt asks Japan why its sending so many men to Indo-China and he wants a quick reply but says not an ultimatum, Japan promises a quick response, see a possibility in a negotiations breakdown, Roosevelt says Japan is a friendly power with which US was at peace with, no time limit

Seigo Nakano, who started a short-lived fascist party, assails any compromise with US, say if US doesn’t recognize Premier Hideki Tojo’s 3-point peace program

Global affirms it will follow US into war within the hour, any move against Thailand would spark a war

Japan says US must still give in, Japanese Foreign office against any yielding to the US, shift cabinet around because of the deteriorating international situation, fanciful principles, US should stop interfering in Far East, one more supreme effort to negotiate with US some in Japan urging Japan to go for it, no turning back

Singapore doubts Japanese threat especially with the arrival of the British Fleet

Army bill hung up in house because of newspaper story about the US having an AEF (American Expeditionary Force) of 5 million men

Japan shocked by US position of one that Japan must accept US principles aiming to fore stall another Indo-China incident, impossible for Japan to accept US stipulations reiterates immutable policies, say US still scheming to impose on Japan obsolete principles, Japan press sees lack of sincerity of Hull, says ABCD states preparing for war, Japanese navy lords over Pacific, Japanese victories have laid foundation for new order

Big Defense bill is seen as a warning to Japan that US means business

Truce in Orient rejected by US because of Japanese moves in Indo-China, says Japan is in a position it can’t back away from

Talks will continue, amazed at US continuing misunderstanding regarding Japan’s policies in the Far East, Japan says Indo-China consented/invited Japanese troops

Stimson says US still in talks with Japan

Big forces are massed for big show down in Pacific

Pacific crisis and the president is relatively calm, immutable policies and coprosperity sphere, Japan makes reply to Roosevelt and say troops are just reinforcements against the Chinese

Japan is on the verge of abandoning negations, moment of supreme crisis is at hand, Japan says next move is US and situation is exceedingly grave
Four powers (ABCD), talking about how to coordinate efforts if there is war, say Japan is trying to see how far it can push without provoking war, say no immediate threat of large scale invasion of bombing.

Roosevelt makes personal appeal to Hirohito about Indo-China, very similar to what he did in 1937 after Panay incident, more troops massing in Indo-China, two big Japanese convoys seen going South, Nebraska senator George W. Norris says Japan will not attack US unless they are sure Germany will defeat Russia, I think they will finally back down he says.

Say Japan is rattling sword with all kinds of threats but US see them as an echo because Japan does not wish war, Japan says American terms are impossibles, US and GB need to lift embargos, but talks go on.

Japan faces war they thought impossible, people see it coming but the people don’t want war, historically all their wars have been defensive, still hoping to avert war.

Attack long planned evidence indicates, Anti-Japanese society says it warned Stimson in a letter on Oct. 28.

Say Japan attacked on Sunday because they understood US custom to give as much leave as they can for weekends or they are at rest on their ships on Sunday.

Japan bombs Philippines.

Japan bombs Hong Kong.

US congress shocked and angered by Japanese attacks, say no politics just declaration of war.

Hull says attack was “treacherous and utterly unprovoked attack” and fraudulent, negotiations had ended with Nomuro and Kurusu even before Hull knew of attack because of insulting reply to Roosevelt’s previous inquiry on Nov. 26, Japan say US was conspiring with GB, say US failed to relax economic pressure, Hull says Japan had been lying to US.

Had been assumed Japan would attack Thailand, maybe Burma, seems Indo-China was just a smoke screen, Japan’s only chance to escape defeat was to strike first, Japan shattered last illusion of isolation.

War long brewing, struck without declaration of war, but do say long anticipated, call it the most stupid action Japan could’ve taken because few Americans wanted to die for Thailand, war of great distances, simultaneous attacks at Wake and Midway and Johnson Islands and Thailand.

Premier Tojo said could not help declaring war did it in name of self-protection and self-existence, all of East Asia depends on this fight, Japan has never lost a war, promises final victory and nothing to fear.

Say Japan fired the first shot in 1931 in Manchuria as well.

Declaration of war came after the attacks and replay to Hull note of Nov. 26 comes after attack.

War broke out with lightning suddenness, cry now lets get the Japanese; US reveals it knew for a week that an attack was coming but it broke out with such suddenness.


Text of Hull’s Nov. 26 note and Japan’s reply.

Text of last minute Roosevelt appeal to Hirohito, sees far reaching emergency in formation, US believes in the right of nations to live and let live, both countries should eliminate military threat, key of dynamite, asks Japan to withdraw from Indo-China.

Text of Hirohito declaration of war on US and GB, means officers of army and navy shall do their utmost in prosecuting the war, total nation mobilize, war is truly unavoidable, say US and GB want to dominate Orient and obstructed Japan’s peaceful commerce, patiently waited and endured in hope, say attack in self-defense for its very existence.

Editorial, incredible assault, deliberate attempt to destroy American defenses, we will reply, close ranks, Japanese military clique’s power of deception has risen to level of insanity.

US acknowledge armed forces in Hawaii suffered heavy losses and fighting continuing, repair work under way, audacious Japanese attacks had been carried out with such a success that.
shocked many in high places in capital, US will have last day of conflict after Japanese got in first one, Congress asks why approach had not been detected

12/09/41 Germany hadn’t planned on formal war against US until Spring of 1942, don’t appear to be moving to Japan’s aid, precedent set by Japan when she didn’t attack Russia

12/09/41 Canadian Premier sees world peril, war of hemispheres as well as continents, saving freedom itself now, Japan’s latest aggression in attempt of world domination, pagan barbarism vs. Christian civilization

12/09/41 House votes war 388-to-1, Montana’s Jeanette Rankin sole nay, Victim of treacherous act under cover of darkness while we were trying to establish peace, minority leader Rep. Martin says there can be no hesitation, Japan stabbed US in back Rep. Edith Norse Rogers of Mass. said

12/09/41 Japanese on US coast call war Hara-kiri say Japan sure to lose, say they saw war coming, will support America, Japanese Govt is stupid for embarking on campaign it can’t win

12/09/41 Japan seen trying for air knockout to forestall the bombing of Tokyo military authorities say, hoped to sever communications between Hawaii and the Philippines, don’t see Pearl Harbor as a prelude to invasion but as a major diversion, Sunday’s surprise blow also seen as a move to keep US from blockading Singapore, severely fear naval bombarding on Tokyo

12/09/41 US labor for ending defensive strike, pledge full production to win war, Japanese treachery and aggression, outrageous aggression

12/09/41 Large US losses claimed by Japan, Japan’s surprise blows, say US would not attack the intact Japanese fleet, say they sunk 2 battleships and shot down 50 or 60 planes in dogfight over Clark Field, other fighting by Japan reported around the world

12/09/41 Surprise attack

12/09/41 Dutch Indies says Japan discards mask of peaceful intentions and that she is after destruction, domination and loot, attacks unite the allies

12/09/41 Surprise by Japan repeats 1904 tactics, they struck Russia also without warning, sent on last not to Russia too, said then they had to take measures of self-defense, this time attacked before or as not being delivered, declared war day after versus Russia

12/09/41 Japan attack is reckless daring shows desperation of Japan’s economic situation, Japan was dependent on US and GB for 75 to 80 percent of her vital war materials before they were shut off, economic strangulation

12/10/41 GB sees Japan lasting one year, maybe a few months longer, new success could change that number with access to new resources, Japanese can only call up another million men before damaging industry, GB economists say war started July 26 when US clamped down by freezing everything, see food problem for Japan

12/10/41 Navy criticized as caught asleep, congress demand details of what happened

12/10/41 Hull expects more surprise attacks, but US will win war, no American need worry about the outcome of the war

12/10/41 Japanese asked for help from Germany in form of declaring war on US

12/10/41 US was not prepared for war, reasons for seen as three fold—surprise, lack of personnel, and lack of anti-aircraft guns, see war strategy now needs to be defensive

12/12/41 Gallup polls show voters have wanted strong action against Japan for years, 6 years of surveys reveal this, last two years favored stronger measures, 82% favored strict embargo

12/13/41 Dr. Caldwell of Nanking University recently returned from Orient and said Japan is hurting for raw materials and a long war would be fatal

12/14/41 Editor for Chinese newspaper says Japan is not a Nazi cats paw but instead had planned the move long ago, she has her own ambitions

12/16/41 Sec. Frank Knox recounts what he sees in Hawaii, Japan had planned to knock out US before war began, had been preparing for this for some time, US troops were not on alert for surprise attack, want to know if there is any error in Judgment to be attributed to surprise outlines losses; Battleship Arizona, target ship Utah, 3 destroyers Casin, Downes and Shaw, mine layer Oglala, other vessels damaged too, Oklahoma capsized but can be righted and repaired. Japan lost 3 subs and 41 planes, Army losses were severe in amount of planes lost and hangers – Dead are 91 officers and 20 wounded and enlisted men 2,638 and 636 wounded, talk and stories of heroism and bravery

12/16/41 Roosevelt calls it a treacherous attack, angry that while negations for peace gong on Japan is planning an attack, Hirohito’s response to Roosevelt’s December 6th plea for peace delivered to
Roosevelt 3 hours 45 minutes after bombing of Pearl Harbor, reply said Hirohito cherishes peace and Government would continue earnest efforts for peace, president says US has always lived up to its agreement and has continue to seek peace, Roosevelt says US didn’t know Japan had ordered and was carrying out an attack on US, Japan has history of aggression

12/16/41 Mistakes at Hawaii, called surprise attack

12/21/41 Surprise attack on Oahu, mistook Japanese for our own bombers, had planned for possible, attack on Midway as they remembered Japan’s Russian surprise attack but thought Oahu too far away and safe, Had guess a surprise air attack, no unity of command in Hawaii, US thought it could maintain political status quo just like Great Britain and France, militarily over confident, must not make same mistakes again

01/01/42 Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia, had warned US about Japan in 1933, warned of Japan’s intention to renounce all existing treaties, this was based on a conversation Butler had with member of the Diet, say state department paid no attention to him.

01/22/42 Hull had warned military frequently of danger prior to Dec. 7

01/25/42 Raid signs ignored, blame failure on Admiral Kimmel and Lt. Gen Walter C Short, failed despite repeated warning from war and navy departments. Failed to take warning seriously, talk of court martial, 7 am sign of attack ignored the temporary radar was only operated 1/3 hours 4 to 7 a.m.

01/26/42 Every possible military mistake made prior to attack, appears to have been no lack of warnings, warnings were general rather than specific. Had believed chances of attack on Hawaii were nil, everybody believed others were taking precautions (third-person effect), no plain reconnaissance maintained

01/29/42 All the blame being put upon the two commanders, although complacency that caused losses on Dec. 7 still exists among public
# Appendix G

**Notes for Chapter Three**

## Emigration, Immigration, Exclusion, and Naturalization

### Exclusionary Act of 1924 and Immigration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>06/08/20</td>
<td>US starts looking at question of barring Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>07/12/20</td>
<td>California law says Japanese constitute an imminent and pressing menace</td>
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<tr>
<td>07/12/20</td>
<td>California threatens to strain US-Japanese relations with anti-Japanese referendum</td>
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<tr>
<td>08/05/20</td>
<td>Anti-Japanese feelings created by politicians seeking office</td>
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<tr>
<td>08/05/20</td>
<td>Politicians seeking office stirring up trouble</td>
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<tr>
<td>08/21/20</td>
<td>Call California an irritation</td>
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<tr>
<td>10/04/20</td>
<td>Fear spread of “Exclusion Spirit” to GB dominions and we’re blocking Japanese progress in China</td>
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<tr>
<td>11/05/20</td>
<td>Call Anti-Japanese bill incompatible with common sense, justice, and humanity</td>
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<tr>
<td>11/14/20</td>
<td>See exclusion as humiliating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/23/20</td>
<td>Phelan suggests destruction of white population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/23/20</td>
<td>Phelan protests congress giving foreign born Japanese citizenship, calls it a Japanese invasion, worried about them voting</td>
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<tr>
<td>12/28/20</td>
<td>Call it the Japanese question, Japan happy since California decides its all aliens and Japanese are not singled out</td>
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<tr>
<td>01/07/21</td>
<td>Japanese barred from Texas, told presence was undesirable</td>
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<tr>
<td>01/17/21</td>
<td>Land Law wrecks spirit of friendship</td>
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<tr>
<td>01/17/21</td>
<td>California land law is an infringement on worldwide principles of righteousness and humanity, a variety of Japanese associations say</td>
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<tr>
<td>02/06/21</td>
<td>Gentleman’s Agreement with Roosevelt 1908 says Japanese can live anywhere and Japan will help limit emigration to US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/17/21</td>
<td>Dr. T. Iyenaga sees initiative to limitation must come from “Chief Offender” sees Japan as poor and America as rich</td>
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<tr>
<td>06/16/21</td>
<td>Canada wants the right to bar Japanese and Chinese</td>
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<tr>
<td>07/23/21</td>
<td>Want Gentleman’s Agreement of 1908 details because of flood of Japanese to Hawaii</td>
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<tr>
<td>07/23/21</td>
<td>Siegel talks of politicians in California being Anti-Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>10/02/21</td>
<td>200 years too late, Japan should spend money on real estate rather than their navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/10/21</td>
<td>US jealous of Japan is reason for racial antagonism; antagonism based on US jealousy of Japan’s industry and thrift, growing population in Japan should be allowed to expand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/10/22</td>
<td>Friendly relations with Japan are to be maintained but must also stop admission of Japanese, approximately 6,500 have entered since Immigration act, maintaining a Govt within a Govt is most dangerous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/10/22</td>
<td>McClatchy says agreement (treaty) fails to keep Japanese out of US, told this before the House Committee on Immigration; How wrong he understood Japan, he urges federal law to be passed along the California laws; McClatchy says they are maintaining a government within a government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/10/22</td>
<td>No more leases to Japanese in Washington State</td>
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<tr>
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11/14/22 Supreme Court rules Japanese can’t be citizens; are ineligible for naturalization; Washington and Hawaii say only “whites” can be naturalized according to law
11/15/22 Ruling handed down on anniversary of start of Washington treaty
02/04/23 Idaho bars Japanese
02/06/23 Exclusion starts gaining momentum; reduce quotas
02/12/23 Anti-Japanese movement is a serious menace
02/13/23 All Japan wants is a fair treatment, no unfair discrimination
03/02/23 Senate immigration committee declares that American has control of Hawaii and of the center of the Pacific Ocean, which was endangered by Japanese
03/02/23 Senate immigration committee sees Japan as a threat
03/09/23 Sen. Shortridge calls Japanese a mongrel race; this will cause more trouble than slavery
05/19/23 One question vexes Japan, question of treatment of Japanese in US, if question settled nothing for years to come that may disrupt happy relations
05/26/23 Inferior race, hurt pride over not getting same rights
07/22/23 Quota restrictions, less desirable races
09/03/23 Hawaii’s Alien school law upheld
09/09/23 Japanese never forget, rarely forgive unless memory of kindness, things sour at ending of Russo-Japanese signing in US; prejudice replaces sympathy and goodwill
09/13/23 Reason why Australia bans Japanese high living standard given, Tammanyism political system
11/13/23 Supreme Court upholds alien land laws in Washington State and California
11/23/23 Japan criticizes decision, had to be citizens to own land, and calls it racial discrimination
11/23/23 If agitator’s final object is not to drive out all Japanese from America then the anti-alien act should be modified, Japanese friendship will never be permanently cemented until the spirit of discrimination has been eliminated
12/06/23 Japan aroused by return from US of a large number of Japanese immigrants
12/14/23 Immigration coming to a saturation point; cheap labor hindering labor saving inventions that would solve industry problems
12/15/23 Labor firm on immigrant law, say they want suitable immigrants except no Asiatics
12/16/23 More than 30,000 Japanese will abandon about 500,000 acres of rich cropland because of alien land law; California must bring in white farmers to till the land, that’s the state’s immediate problem
01/05/24 Exclusion Act first known as the Johnson Bill
01/06/24 When US sentiment changed, Japan still respects US, no anti-American feelings despite Johnson, Phelan, and Hearst
01/14/24 Japan retaliates by barring Californians from owning land in Japan
01/17/24 House approves provision to Johnson bill barring all Japanese
01/27/24 Japan protests immigration bill (proposed by Johnson in house and Lodge in senate)
02/08/24 Japan’s cherished desire is to be treated on the same footing with other independent nations; relentless opposition by the few, many years not wanted, no passports
02/08/24 Japan urges parley to fix immigration
02/10/24 California state Grange and Native sons of the Golden West protest Japan interference, US has forbidden certain aliens since 1790 and only since they inaugurated a policy of colonization in US have they had a problem
02/14/24 Hughes against exclusion, would mean loss of cooperation with Japanese Govt
02/15/24 (Baker of California) if he sees policy of Secretary carried out Westerners might as well abandoned their own lands; Japanese would come into possession of all our land
02/17/24 Immigrants not assimilation Labor Secretary Davis saying
03/12/24 California American Legion, California Federation of Labor and State grange and Native Sons press Japanese exclusion in front of congress say it’s a domestic issue, have a problem with 4,00 businesses in LA
03/14/24 Phelan no exclusion of Japanese, opposes interracial marriage; Coolidge violated gentleman’s agreement
03/20/24 Govt and shipping men assert they foresee serious damage to Japanese shipping in the Pacific if measure is enforced
Immigration figures show Japan living up to its end of Gentleman’s Agreement; sounds like California smokescreen

Violates navigation and commerce treaty

Japan and other Orientals are neither racially, industrially, or socially desirable says Shortridge

Johnson says anyone with eyes can see agreements has not been maintained

Japanese ambassador Hanihara said (passage of) would inevitably bring “Grave Consequences” upon an otherwise happy and mutually advantageous relations (he was later chastised for saying this)

House Immigration bill passed with barring Japanese intact 326 to 71; break with Japan feared

Tokio at a loss to understand why Hanihara’s note would create such a sensation

Senators say veiled threat by Hanihara led to the 76 to 2 vote to scrap Gentleman’s agreement

Why are Americans so firmly bent upon injuring the feelings of the Japanese who have done nothing

Yorozu Ohoho said action of congress amounts to a challenge (newspaper)

Lists senator’s names in 71 to 4 formal vote

Editorial says senate vote surprises Japan

Japanese tourists canceling trips and businesses canceling orders

Japan has been stamped by US as an inferior nation; land of Christianity, humanity, and liberty have disappeared; people of the world who want the right of existence they must be prepared for war—America is no longer a friendly neighbor to Japan

Senate’s action has seriously affected the pride and honor of the Japanese nation

Japan printing association at general meeting votes to boycott all goods from state of California

No possibility of war; but will take many years to forget insult; immigration is not a national security issue

Japan won’t go to war but it would take years to forget insult,said by Admiral Gobei Yamamoto, former Premier, only war when menaced

Adler said we blundered in Far East because we didn’t know enough about them, say American mind ruled by slogans

GB sees no US animosity towards Japan; just see America worried about cheap labor force

Sen. Reed writes article for NY Times called America of the melting pot comes to an end; Chief aim of bill was to preserve racial type as it exists today; Reed refers to fate of Roman empire about 200 B.C. and problems of fusing captives and alien slaves and being not humble enough to do manual labor; America won’t let something like that happen here; America irritated that groups of foreigners lumped together and not speaking English only their language and not assimilating; 1924 Exclusion Act replaces temporary 1921 quota law; Reed says its no reflection on excluded people, just recognize fundamental dissimilarity from ourselves; Japan now excludes Chinese, Koreans and Malays (Japan never mentions this fact in their frustration over the Exclusion Act)

Japan wants to consider joint US-Japan commission to discuss exclusion

Idea floating around Japan that exclusion is new and act bars all Japanese; both ideas false i.e. Gentleman’s Agreement, had to do with labor issues

Chinese warn Matsui of plan to demonstrate in Tokio against their exclusion there

Ban on Japanese moved from July 1, 1924 to March 1, 1925 as Coolidge insists; Californians are angry, McClatchy not happy; Baker of CA particularly unhappy with presidents actions

House rejects Exclusion date change 191 to 171

With Exclusion certain it may result in shake up of Japanese political leadership, hint at outbursts by the people

Edouard Herrist predicts American attitude, forecasts event that will shake the world to the foundation of civilization; if barriers raised, Japan will ultimately break them down

Exclusion bill passed House 308 to 58; Senate 69 to 9; They ignore Coolidge plea; effective July 1; President would like to veto but measure would certainly be overridden

US “interference by Japan” versus Japan’s feelings trampled and offers ignored; blunders on both sides.

Osaka Mainichi (newspaper) we hold that the decision of congress is an insult to Japan and the Japanese, and that such an action on the part of one nation toward another breaks international justice and disturbs the peace
Japan prepare to start agitation, ex-Japanese military men to demonstrate against agitation, suggest boycott of US goods

Immigration bill signed (May 26th) by Coolidge means he conceded defeat

Warlike talk in Japan; former servicemen demonstrate and say they are ready in a moments notice; Christianity seen as a sham

President signs exclusion act even as he calls it unnecessary and deplorable

Hiram W. Johnson of California, said it is a matter of congratulation and rejoicing that CA finally prevails in the long struggle for protection and preservation of its own with the last chapter closed now, I apprehend neither difficulties nor dangers; Californians cherished policy is now the nation’s maturely determined policy

Japanese Govt remains unshaken in their opposition to this discriminator legislation against the Japanese

Newspaper Hochi said the point of the issue is not the admission of Japanese immigrants but whether Japan is accorded the same treatment as other nations. The American action makes the Japanese doubt the existence of international good faith and the grave consequences which Ambassador Hanihara predicted will undoubtedly follow; Newspaper Asahi said it is too bad that Japan had to be struck by a stone thrown by a wayward child. The child is probably not aware of the consequences, but that does not alter the fact that these may be of the gravest. A protest is now as useless as pouring water on a duck’s back. Yomuri urges a change of government and a new ministry; Yamato, a jingoist paper, said we Japanese have never faced a more serious ordeal. We have fought before when the national honor was less damaged than in the present instance. America will soon realize that we Japanese are really seeking a new solution of this difficulty. Yorozu, another jingoist paper, May 26 should be remembered as a day of national humiliation for the Japanese. We must organize a nation-wide movement against America. In the remotest hamlets we must make known that Americans are unworthy of our friendship. We are partly to blame for the present situation. We have trusted America to an unwarranted extent.

Japan’s protest says exclusion violates 1911 treaty too, to understand assimilability, 16 years of self-denying regulations, hard to assimilate when Americans are separating them out

Suicide in the ruins of the US embassy stirs patriotic fervor, should have a national funeral, seen as a soldier who died on the battlefield

Canada considers excluding Japanese

Political battle only beginning

Baron Ishimoto, I am informed that action of congress doesn’t’ represent the sentiment of the nation; still hoping for new understanding, suicide very misguided; hope question handled calmly; inevitable there will be much bitter feeling in Japan no matter what explanation made; most Japanese, unfortunately, will regard it as an insult to their nation; second generation Japanese born in America—Japan is alien to them

Rioters in Tokio stop a foreign dance; handbills demand all Americans be deported, started an anti-American boycott effects becoming noticeable

Miss Parkhurst believes that the immigration bill passed by congress is solidly cementing the peoples of the Orient against the US, not only do the Japanese feel that they have been slapped in the face but the Chinese as well are insulted. They feel that we have belittled them in the eyes of the world; on the whole it seems to me we have put ourselves in a frightful situation

Japanese police stop Masanosuke Yamamoto from killing American Consul in Yokohama; anti-American movement getting out of control

Japan’s boycott failing

Mexico bars 16 Japanese

Find U.S. note from Hughes friendly in spirit, exception was taken however to the reference that Japanese limit immigration to her own shores, say Chinese not excluded

Tokio press bitter; Asahi—US reply to Japan’s protest said it evades the real issue, racial discrimination; Chugai Shogyo calls the note sophistry “an empty profession of friendship, it shows fine words but a false heart.”

Slaying in LA stirs up Japan; later found to be victims of criminal activity

Tokio University students plan a “no saki day” to express the sober and cold anger of Japan at recent US law
Quotas for each country listed

Japan’s protest on first day of Exclusion Act goes into effect; anti-America day in Japan

30 US college heads sign message condemning “inconsiderate action” of congress

Japan Govt again showing its desire to do all in its power to remove unnecessary causes of friction between Japan and US; talking about Japan no longer recognizing dual citizenship or requiring foreign born Japanese to return for military service

Japan seeks to shift trade from America to Mexico

Old law still bars Hawaiian Japanese from moving to mainland

Japan’s alien ban protested by China, began in 1922; seventh protest in two years since ban began; ban because of earthquake and limited employment

Yuske Tsurumi says “grave Consequences” is absolute truth; no person in Japan dreams of going to war, Japan intensely eager to know and understand everything about America

Japan planning national drill day to counter US defense day

Japan celebrates peace day today; protest against US defense day; peace based on armament is a frail peace; real peace is realized by extended education founded on enlightened thought

Galen M. Fisher; but the Japanese believe they were excluded because of their race and are seriously hurt even though not resentful

Japan creates stir in the league over immigration

Japan holds fate of league protocol, which abolishes war; Japanese position becomes less clear

How peace protocol affects US; if it passes, Japan could be accused of aggression if they attempt any action in reply to any exclusion measures US might take

Kaneko resigns post as president of American-Japanese society (been around 6 years been active in this kind of thing for 20 years) said America is sending us to Hell; Harvard grad

Japan may revive exclusion question; not happy with Coolidge election, would’ve preferred a change in the administration; sign of status quo and product of Republicans; election getting a lot of coverage in Japanese papers

At convention for national grange, it is approved a resolution from California delegation for a Japanese ban

Adopted resolution from CA protesting any change in the ineligible alien clause of the law “on the grounds that the present provisions are a necessary safeguard to the American farm home and to the white race”

Don’t see controversy over exclusionary act as closed (Japanese)

Japanese as a people and as a government have never resented restriction as a general thing, although, naturally, regretting that the opportunities of US are not as open to the same portion of her surplus population. It is discrimination, which both the Japanese government and the Japanese people resent. This ought to be clearly understood.

Wood, former ambassador, without one compensating advantage congress has thrown away one of the most important assets in solving the problems of the Pacific and has at the same time, created utterly needless feelings of mortification, humiliation, and distrust, with fresh and as yet unknowable potential factors of difficulty in maintaining the permanent peace of the Far East. “Japan had developed a fine trust in America’s spirit of Justice, fair play, and humanity when, however it became clear in April that the bill would pass in spite of the objections of Secretary Hughes and President Coolidge, in spite of offers of the Japanese government to make any desired adjustment of the agreement, in spite of the knowledge that such a law would affront and deeply would the inmost heart and soul of the Japanese people, in spite of the honorable fulfillment by Japan of the Gentleman’s Agreement, then an America suddenly loomed before them which in their judgment was wholly different from the America they had learned to work with, to trust, to admire, and to be grateful to. “The consequences of the Exclusion law, if not soon overcome, are grave beyond all ordinary comprehension. It will affect business intercourse, turning to Europe and elsewhere trade that would normally have come here.” Japan cannot fail to turn for her international fellowship, cooperation, and inspiration toward those nations and governments which regard her honor, dignity, and self-respect, and away from us; unless we change our manner and our law. The military party in Japan and the tendency to set in sharp antithesis the Yellow races against the White have been given a mighty impulse, portending disaster to Japan, to China, and to the whole world in proportion as the movement succeeds. In proportion, as militarism is ascendant in Japan, will it be difficult for America to
reduce her load of armament, even though no actual armed conflict comes for many decades and the economic and social disaster to America of ever increasing armaments on the Pacific cannot be easily established. I am of the opinion that, while the question is a difficult one and beset with many thorny aspects, yet it is one which our Christian leaders must face, and for which a Christian and a practical solution must be found.

12/15/24 Why have faith in America, expansion, constant mention of war will or won’t be, GB wants disarmament

12/21/24 Toleration and courtesy are badly needed these days. Just as many Americans have misunderstood Japan’s bitterness over the Immigration bill, so many Japanese have failed to grasp the underlying principles of America’s Far Eastern policy. It is for sane Japanese leaders to set their misinformed countrymen right on these matters. On all American friends sound international cooperation falls the task of explaining to the American people that the feeling of anti-Americanism in Japan is but a passing phase and rests on a lack of understanding of America’s true attitude

12/21/24 Matsudaira, Japanese ambassador, says no issues between countries endangering the existing cordial relations

12/30/24 Baron Shidehara—in newspaper Asahi—I believe that there must come a time the American people will see they are wrong

1925-29
01/23/25 Shidehara urges harmony even through question of exclusion still remains unsettled will come to an understanding in time, no designs on China

01/26/25 California Japanese moving to Arkansas

02/01/25 Russia said it will welcome Japanese emigrants without reservations, willing to forget the past

02/02/25 Japan land bill excludes Americans, Allows ownership only on a reciprocal basis

02/15/25 Given Japan an emotional stimulus for war with our attitude on immigration, don’t shoot best customer

03/25/25 New Japanese ambassador to US hoping to reopen the Japanese exclusion question

04/04/25 Florida votes to exclude Japanese from land ownership

05/12/25 Supreme Court upholds exclusion act

05/09/25 Japan feels kindlier toward US, Osaka Paper say exclusion feeling has lessened, praises Bancroft, will improve relations

05/26/25 Former minister of interior Viscount Goto says Japan is under no illusion that war may result from threatening antagonism between herself and the US

05/26/25 South Carolina bars Asiatic citizenship even with navy service

05/28/25 Goto denies saying anything to German paper, the exclusion of the Japanese from the United States is not a life and death matter to Japan, is not a cause for war.

05/29/25 Immigration issue raised at Geneva, Call it a difficult and delicate matter

06/07/25 Problems of assimilation

06/09/25 Japan to hold humiliation day on anniversary (July 1) of exclusion act going into effect, not designed to start agitation, services to be held at unknown patriot (suicide) site, still hoping to get it overturned

06/09/25 Result of exclusion act is nationalism growing in the Orient

06/28/25 Humiliation day to go on as planned

07/01/25 Humiliation day falls flat; only 200 show up, do call Government spineless, only chance for appeal of act is to arouse US sympathy and awareness, will continue to voice sorrow over blow to nation’s prestige, we shall never be satisfied with exclusion

08/06/25 American federation of labor AFL favors making more stringent immigration laws, AFL will fight any change bitterly

08/31/25 Dr. Jenks favors quotas for Asiatics, our method of exclusion is what is offensive, wants quotas for all countries, says 146 Japanese and 100 Chinese number is trifling, all other countries excluded

09/08/25 Immigration drops 68 percent in past year 1924-25, Japan with 489, loss in unskilled labor

10/09/25 AFL restates opposition to any change in ban, labor big reason for Australian Japanese ban; Labor big force behind exclusion

01/22/26 Shidehara views regarding exclusion unchanged
03/30/26  Johnson inquires of Borah about Jap-Mexico land deal, if it were true it would raise serious
questions, Mexico denies story
04/01/26  Mexico denies land lease for Japanese
08/08/26  Japanese winning freedom to work, Oregon Court says prejudice may not nullify alien rights,
labor outrages growing
08/23/26  Prof. Edwin G. Conklin of Princeton finds Japanese in Hawaii quite loyal to America, No
friction of races
08/27/26  Japan to continue emigration policy, mainly looking to Mexico and South America right now,
just can’t afford to pay incentives like before; Japanese-Americans in California who won’t
denounce their Japanese citizenship are being persecuted.
10/24/26  Panama signs Alien Law barring Japanese and any non-native Spanish speakers
11/11/26  Pass bill allowing foreigners to own land, not a lot of Americans expected to be affected,
population problem put under exclusion
01/28/27  As long as Japan has space for expansion and is secure from attack then she’ll be loyal member
of league and will be securing world peace
02/20/27  Japanese are proud people who are chafing under the humiliation of exclusion acts
02/22/27  Anti-Japanese law of Hawaiian schools voided
07/21/27  Prof. McKenzie says hostilities towards Orientals have actually gone down now that fewer are
US
07/29/27  Immigration issue is Honolulu topic, Japanese want to be dignifiedly treated by US, Japan still
waiting for justice on US part, Scharrenberg said Oriental labor forces down wages, not due to
feeling they were inferior, but were actually superior in things as industry and thrift, blames
missionaries in Japan for stirring up issue
01/21/28  Tanaka pending immigration legislation still remains unsolved in US
10/25/28  House of Bishops for Episcopal Church urge a resolution for removal of present discriminations
against Orientals, deep humiliation for Japan
10/28/28  Negligee makers ask for higher “Coolie” rate, in need of cheap labor to save business
01/22/29  Tanaka brings up US exclusion before Diet, still wants a settlement that won’t interfere with
friendly relations; Japan wants to be friendly with China but will intervene if interests
threatened
03/24/29  Yusuke Tsurumi, assails government for its failure to attempt the removal of the American ban
on Japanese immigration
04/07/29  E.C. Carter says US universities are notably lacking in offering courses on China and Japan,
investigated more than 500 institutions, only 111 reported offering classes with total enrollment
of 6,000 students, so few classes and huge class sizes mean classes are very general, Europe
university setting standard, outside Harvard and Columbia, ironically, College on Pacific coast
have more offer regarding Oriental studies
04/28/29  Second-generation Japanese, first-generation Americans still facing biases in US and barriers,
moving back to farming and becoming wealthy because being American, can own land,
Conference of Japanese-American citizenship League encouraging back-to-land movement
10/29/29  Resentment at immigration bar voiced at opening of Kyoto conference, just a reminder of
resentment, controversy is not closed, would is still open and will remain open until the matter
is closed, America thinks issue is forgotten in Japan

1930-31
01/21/30  Solution must flow from friendly understanding (Japanese point of view)
03/30/30  Sen. Johnson opposes naval treaty with Japan; doesn’t want to be tied to Europe
05/18/30  Majority of people want more and more restrictions, self-preservation, first law of nature
05/24/30  Japan still resents exclusion and will always as long as wound remains unhealed
05/24/30  National foreign trade council favors revision of 1924 Immigration Act
05/24/30  Chairman Johnson of House Immigration and Naturalization Committee, and author of
exclusion act, says it is time to amend act to a quota system (will only raise number by 90)
05/25/30  Japan pleased by proposal of quota
05/26/30  Japan still feels hurt, feelings persisted
05/26/30  Japanese newspapers jubilant over news at amending exclusion act; harbor no ill will
05/27/30  Question of immigration brought up at naval conference
05/27/30  Japan only used 16 of its 100 Visa slots for last fiscal year
05/30/30 Stimson promises he’d do what he could to bring about amendment to immigration act at 1930 Naval Conference
06/08/30 Philippines look to block Japanese immigration
06/15/30 West Coast losing bias but (CJIC) is still in favor of keeping the status quo
06/29/30 Cuba opens door to Japanese
08/08/30 Sen. Phelan dies, active in Japan ownership, warned US of Japanese colonialization
08/10/30 Can’t understand exclusion, feels US failed them
08/14/30 Professor Blakeslee complete understanding with Japanese will only come after change in immigration situation
08/14/30 Quota issue stirs interest in Japan, never officially closed issue in Japan, would welcome equal footing with Europe
09/21/30 One year after earthquake US told them to their face they weren’t white thus not equal, inferiors, yet Japan still admires US
09/21/30 Pride was hurt, more important than life itself
10/20/30 Immigration question
10/20/30 Resentment is still deep seated; significant issue still separating two nations; regarded as discriminatory and national humiliation; issue suddenly brought up again
01/22/31 Japan has an unwavering formal protest against American immigration law; would leave it to American sense of right; Japan content to wait
01/24/31 Question of exclusion comes up before Diet and results in flare up; America promised to modify exclusion clause if Japan accepted American proposal
01/25/31 Shidehara denies US promised to modify immigration law but prospect of solution grows brighter; nations more friendly
02/23/31 Hanihara gravely ill, former Japanese Ambassador never got over disappointment of our Exclusion Law and the infamous words
03/29/31 South Africa raises yellow peril cry
04/24/31 Japanese economic league drawing up resolution to ask US to amend immigration law to remove stigma of total exclusion, law hinders development of US-Japanese trade
04/24/31 Gov. Farrington says Orient regards US well but exclusion is only fly in ointment; quota system would only mean 150-200 Japanese a year; not likely to overthrow English speaking race but we would reap benefits
07/21/31 Still remember exclusion
08/01/31 National business chamber committee favor move to quota system for Japan
09/29/31 Forbes urges quota for Japan
10/15/31 California businessmen ok move to quota system as good will gesture to Japan which would then avoid war
10/18/31 California wouldn’t oppose a switch to a quota
10/27/31 J.K. Fisk, chairman of the California Joint Immigration Committee, writes to Times and says feelings toward Japanese haven’t changed in California
11/01/31 Japan dislike being singled out as different; beef with exclusion involves equality and recognition of position
11/14/31 Sen. Moses says amendment to immigration may be brought up to solve Manchuria but if it is should be opposed
12/27/31 Japan left out of the world expansion; Japan confused over US expansion feeling when they did the same thing in expanding to the west coast; Expansion is unavoidable, Japan has population it can’t maintain domestically; deprive Japan of Manchuria and she would wither; exclusion (California) a black patch, exclusion was discourteous; although US-Japanese relation has overcome the wound; Immigration question would never have led to war; American missionaries are at fault for labeling China as an emerging democracy and Japan as an imperialist power; mutual distrust at the root of problems
1932-34
01/31/32 Manila curbs Japan and Chinese immigrants.
09/30/32 NY Times article quotes writer Hugh Byas from article he wrote for Contemporary Japan where he discusses recurring frictions – race, immigration, China, and naval rivalries, 2 or which are no longer a danger – say exclusion is one of those. China – only blind optimism can hope the friction will cease, Japan must become industrialized
10/09/32  Japan Olympic team hurt deep by social discrimination in Los Angeles weren’t allowed in
dance halls or restaurants
02/04/34  Japan would be very happy if US switched to a quota system
04/06/34  Jacob Gould Schurman says if US will amend its immigration law to quota system for Asia it
would wipe out only important point of friction with Japan
04/11/34  Saito asks US to lift ban against Japan
07/16/34  Brazil writes into constitution limits in immigration
08/23/34  Arizona will guard Japanese farmers, Tokyo sent dispatch “Arizona has supplanted Manchuria
as Japan’s principal trouble zone”
09/09/34  Japanese in America change status, as farmers they face fierce opposition; in the city they’re
given peace
10/31/34  Alien farms bombed in Arizona
11/04/34  Federal help asked to stop raids on Japanese farmers should it disturb most cordial relations
between US and Japan
11/04/34  Saito brings up exclusion and how US has tried to say it was economic not political, But Japan
is not convinced
11/25/34  Bombings in Arizona of Japanese farms have brought international attention
11/30/34  Two Japanese homes bombed in Arizona, alien land war blamed
12/09/34  Japanese accuse Arizona officers for failure to protect, call Americans barbaric, new protests
planned
1935-37
01/06/35  Californians don’t feel they are at fault any more for troubled relation between US and Japan,
say Shortridge was author of exclusion act; talk about Hanihara threat, exclusions still hot topic
in California and they still favor it although feelings have abated.
02/10/35  McClatchy writes to NY Times saying California’s views held unchanged since 1924
02/17/35  Stiff anti-Japanese bill in Arizona causes uproar with international complications; Japan
wouldn’t be allowed to own lands
02/18/35  Japan watches Arizona, Hull promised Saito he will take care of things
02/25/35  Japan annihilates Arizona outside US embassy in Tokyo, 2nd time in a week
03/01/35  US Navy asks to ban Asiatics
04/04/35  Brazilian immigration commissioner resigns over point he feels that Japan considers his country
another China
04/29/35  Religions leaders urges repeal of exclusion act
08/04/35  US not sure to act over cartoon since Govt doesn’t control the press
08/04/35  Japan to protest New York cartoon of emperor, Japan’s public roused
08/05/35  Tokyo press angry over caricature
08/06/35  Hull apologized to Japanese over cartoon of emperor
08/13/35  Seattle mayor sends regret to Japanese over stunt gone wrong, that of humorous impersonating
the emperor at a small community event
08/23/35  Japan bans Newsweek after it reprints offensive article
09/20/35  Japan likely to bar 3 editions of NY Times covering the story about offensive cartoon in Vanity
Fair
12/08/35  Japan still remembers exclusion and the feelings of discrimination, bring quota system was all
she was asking for.
12/27/35  Reich gets Japan to stop doing characters of other leaders in its newspapers and magazines
05/03/37  Since exclusion act, immigration from Asiatic countries has dwindled to a negligible number.
1938-39
05/16/38  US McClatchy dies at 80, owner of Sacramento Bee 1884-1923, Campaigns for Japanese
exclusion, (Valentine Stuart) called them a coo lie population feared their lower standard of
living and higher birth rate would overrun American population
06/19/38  Japan’s attitude toward US in 1924 was very antagonistic but has steadily improved
02/14/39  Our ban on Asiatic held peace menace says Dr. Hachiro Yuasa, a Japanese professor
08/06/39  Japanese reaction to trade treaty end similar to reaction in 1924
10/17/39  US Govt aware of the deep resentment created by the immigration law and statues prohibiting
Japanese ownership these and other restrictive measures are considered humiliating by the
Japanese
1940-41
05/03/40 Philippines votes on immigration curb to quotas of 500, Japanese press protest call it unfriendly act
05/04/40 Arita regrets Philippine curb
05/29/40 Philippines to curb immigration to 500
08/04/40 Exclusion issue recalled as Hiram Johnson runs for congress again, he recalls how he had been warned that the Japanese Navy would bombard San Francisco if US passed the proposed law
09/22/40 Mexico bans Japanese fisherman from off its coast, Mexico also say Japanese using fishing as guise for spying, Japan say it was plot by US
10/13/40 Bring up restriction bill as lack of memory and example US doesn’t’ respond well to threats
06/11/41 US censors accused of seizing Tokyo papers over a long period of time, Japan says they aren’t seizing US media materials
06/22/41 Japanese running US railroad pledge loyalty to US in letter to Roosevelt, immigration act only reason not citizens
11/05/41 US withhold mail to Japan from leaving on ship from San Francisco
11/09/41 Japan protests Panama exclusion and ousting of Tokyo subjects, call it racial bias say they are being influenced by other foreign powers; say a coup happened last month

Emigration and population

1920-24
08/04/21 Japan views America as rich with lots of resources and little to supports, while see Japan as overcrowded and with problems of seeking expansion, Monroe doctrine, why can’t Japan have one for China
10/02/21 200 years too late, should spend money on real estate rather than their navy

1925-29
07/08/25 Population crisis in 30 years, increasing at a rate of 600,000 a year.
01/04/26 Latest census shows growth of 750,000-year question of overpopulation is therefore, one of grave significance
01/14/26 Japan needs colonies into which her people may expand but Europe has appropriated the lands already, may have to seize land by force
07/03/26 French writer says Japan arming, 80 million inhabitants have no room on island and say obviously aim to seize Hawaii, Manila and colonize China
07/24/26 Japan looking to pay farmers to inhabit rough regions not inhabited before to ease population and increase food production
04/20/27 90 million seen as US working force in 1941, other countries will increase as well, death rate decreasing, need to place work force somewhere, is peril to peace
07/24/27 Dr. Elliot Mears says help needs to be given to Japan in helping solve overpopulation problem, also lower US tariff to help Japan increase trade, chronic unemployment in Japan
08/21/27 Japan leaves Pacific conference feeling emigration isn’t the answer, rather raising standard of living is
11/13/27 New budget increased aid to those who will emigrate, free passage to Brazil, 8,599 of 16,184 Japanese emigrants who went to Brazil in 1926-27,
11/27/27 Tsurumi, with emigration no longer a problem neither is California any longer; China is last place where countries may clash, US is greatest industrial power in Pacific; need to develop friendly spirit
09/16/28 Japan prolific millions, population rapidly growing; some sort of disaster looms, increasing near 1 million per year, food production not keeping up, highest birthrate after Russia in world, exclusion blamed for part of population problem, study shows theory that even by sending 1 million people a year to California won’t solve problem.
10/11/28 Brazil opens doors for 1,000 Japanese a year
03/13/29 Tokio bows to Brazil’s objection to emigrants, want laborers not settlers
05/12/29 Infant mortality in Tokio cut by America methods i.e. American female Dr. Mabel E. Elliott
05/12/29 Japan has plenty for big population, high birth rate offset by gains in industry and commerce, emigration not justified. See similarity in Japan as in Germany prior to Great War, same alarms too, Textile output increases, overpopulation a problem depends on economic position improving
06/13/29 Mood in Japan now that any politician who advocates naval expansion couldn’t stay in office, economy more important, more than 80 million people
11/19/29 New Consul General says unemployment in Japan caused by steadily increasing population in country smaller than Texas occupied by 80 million people, but now demand for work has been solved and no reports of agitation

1930-31
03/28/30 Thompson says Japan will occupy Dutch Borneo and New Guinea as outlet for population, has sympathy for Japan if she does
05/18/30 Legalized control of human race increased before it leads to war with Japan or China’s teeming millions
08/12/30 Increasing population compelling her to depend more on overseas trade
12/09/30 Japan gains four million over five years
01/18/31 Japan’s population outpacing land for food and emigration is not working; ironically, government is encouraging a high birth rate for the salvation of the occidental nations
07/19/31 Birth rate rapidly growing; up 7.9 percent in five years, 43,000 a month
08/16/31 Four babies a minute being born in Japan, 43,000 a month; No answer to how such a population can be maintained
11/01/31 Size of California with half the population of the United States, surrounded by water

1932-34
01/10/32 Japan subsidizing immigration to Brazil
01/15/32 1,300 Japan reach Brazil
03/24/32 Japan plans huge migration to Manchuria
03/25/32 Japan to send five million people to Manchuria over next ten years, resembles what Rome did by sending colonies of veterans to guard frontiers
04/04/32 Japan considering settling 500,000 Japan families in Manchuria
05/25/32 Japan sees immigration to Manchuria as only solution to overpopulation, Japan could learn to adapt to different living conditions
08/23/32 1,000 immigrants arrive in Brazil
10/02/32 Japan’s birth rate largest in world, and twice America’s, no more empty lands.
10/16/32 Brazil is welcoming Japan colonist but selection is rigorous, must be farm workers but inter-marriage is permitted
11/08/32 Birth control becoming mass movement in Japan
01/17/33 Two US explorers say they saw Japan’s colonization of Brazil, about 50,000 Japanese
03/14/33 Baroness says birth control only solution for Japan overpopulation
06/02/33 Japan expects another 15 to 20 million people in next 20 to 30 years and only a fraction of that can be fed from domestic sources
07/14/33 Japan’s population gains 1,007,868 in a year, record gain 1st time over a million, death rate is lowest ever, 2 million plus births, Jiji Shimpo says immigration will not solve the problem
08/02/33 Japan to immigrate families of soldiers allowed to settle in Manchuria
08/19/33 Japanese professor tells institute of pacific relations that population problem can be solved by a decrease in the birth rate
08/20/33 Migration
12/10/33 Japan’s record crop on babies adds to her grave problems, lack of jobs for college grads
12/24/33 Room for millions pressing on Japan they need to find work and to do for next decade open door is blames, birth control held no avail
12/29/33 1933 high tide in Japanese immigration to Brazil 22,310, brings total up to 150,000
01/19/34 Japanese consider migration to Chile
03/22/34 Japan not happy with Brazil’s plans to curb Japan, would hurt friendly relation
05/26/34 Brazil places curb on Japan via a constitutional amendment

1935-37
03/01/35 1,000 Japanese enter Brazil raise total to 200,000
03/13/35 Japan plans colonies in Brazil and would finance it
04/04/35 Brazilian immigration commissioner resigns over point he feels that Japan considers his country another China
06/09/35 Japan has failed to convince its people to emigrate to Korea or Manchuria
08/01/35 Japanese population pressure pushes Japan into China
08/27/35  Japan seeks immigration rights to isles in Far East because of her surplus population
10/01/35  4th census taken – expected to show between 97 and 99 million people in empire, up 9 million in 10 years
11/31/35 Japan's expanding population pressing heavily upon natural limitations
05/06/36 Paraguay to admit 100 families from Japan
06/03/36 Colony in Brazil is opposed
06/14/36 Increase in population was Japanese largest ever in 1935 (beat 1932) 1,028,623
11/11/36 Japan's population increases more than one million from October to October. Note – say it’s the chief factor behind aggressive policies on Asiatic continent
11/29/36 Japan’s 1935 birth rate was world’s higher 31/63 births per 1,000 population and record low death rate 16.78 per 1,000
01/18/37 Miss Margaret Sanger urges birth control to keep world peace, the populations are rising in Japan, Germany and Italy are a menace
06/20/37 239 babies an hour born in 1936, even so birth rate lowest in 20 years net increase of 871,525
1938-39
03/27/38 Japan launches emigration plan to send one million families to Northern Manchuria, cost is biggest problem, and previous attempts have failed
07/11/38 Japanese in Brazil create 30% of agriculture on 2% of the land, are 20% of the Sao Paulo population
11/11/38 Japan’s population up in spite of war with China
12/04/38 Japan’s farm colonization in Manchukuo lagging, men can’t be spared for project
12/06/38 Japan is increasing emigration program; will use volunteers, picture brides, and land grants aimed at youth; will train to farm and provide brides, would hope to settle in Manchukuo and will subsidize emigrants with food and hospitals
02/23/39 Japan training 30,000 picture brides for Brazil
07/13/39 Birth rate is slowed down on account men are at war away from wives, 304,319 fewer babies than year before, story calls babies cannon fodder
1940-41
09/29/40 Henry Wallace said Asia and Europe are most overpopulated areas of the world, hungry for expansion with greedy eyes
01/17/41 An accelerated birth rate is encouraged in Japan, People needed to carry out plans in the Far East, birth rate actually fell with fathers away at war, awards now handed out for multiple births and having 10 children or more
01/23/41 5-child families set as Japan’s aim want to increase population 100 million by 1960, plan approved by cabinet, in effort to construction of East Asia Sphere, four objectives---FIRST maintain perpetual increase; SECOND outrival other nations in increase; THIRD supply the military and industrial manpower and FOURTH distribute population to maintain Japan’s leadership in Asia men must marry before 25 and women before 21, tax breaks for large families, birth rate had been steadily falling
04/18/41 Population of Japan up 6.4% in five years, 105 million in empire, press excited about breaking the 100 million mark, rate of increase has slowed
Appendix H

Notes for Chapter Four

Naval and Military Tensions and the Threat of War

China

1920-24
12/19/20 Yap island (irritation) issue cables there, both US and Jap want island
01/28/21 Jap wants full rights to Yap, German possessions after WWI in Pacific went to Japan
08/04/21 Monroe Doctrine for China and Japanese view of the US, passing phenomenon
08/04/21 Japan views America as rich with lots of resources and little to supports, while see Japan as overcrowded and with problems of seeking expansion, Monroe doctrine, why can’t Japan have one for China
10/02/21 Japan is 200 years too late, need to bring forth a work of spirit, must get territory though bargaining, spend money on real estate not navy
11/20/21 Japan’s position, China should deal with own internal problems, Manchuria not a part of China
12/17/21 Japan’s interest in China more vital than anyone else’s because it supplies food and materials to Japan and is a matter of life and death
05/31/22 Russia looking to cozy up to US to keep Japanese aggression in its realm in check
06/04/22 US want Japanese troops out of Siberia; if Japan makes any attack there is a potential for another world conflict
07/18/22 Yap treaty wording released
10/28/22 Japanese occupation of China and Siberia not popular with Japanese people
12/10/22 Suburi cites withdrawal of Japanese forces from Shangtung, Hankow, and Siberia as acts in cause of peace
05/09/23 Tokio fears international intervention in China
05/26/24 China expects same consideration from Japan as Japan hopes to obtain from US
10/15/24 Japan, who has a policy of non-interference, warns Chinese factions in Manchuria that they would not tolerate any damage to Japanese rights, lives, and interests
10/25/24 Japan sends military force into North China to protect interests, cautionary maneuver

1925-29
06/22/25 Pacific conference called to help solve some problems of the region
07/04/25 Japan would join a China Conference
07/06/25 Japan favors a dictator in China
01/19/26 Chang Tso-lin retaliates against Japan for failure to give him material supports in civil war, makes it illegal for foreigners to lease land in Manchuria
10/24/26 Scientists from around the Pacific to meet in Tokio for a conference, America represented
11/12/26 Pan-Pacific science congress form permanent body
01/18/27 China and outside influence and peace
01/19/27 Japan says it won’t interfere with China, will exercise great patience with China
04/02/27 Kellogg, newspaper owner, says Orient/China is now one of liberal Govt vs. Bolshevism. US should allow Japan to take charge of China, look at Hong Kong and GB
04/12/27 Coolidge sends goodwill messaged to Pan-Pac conference
05/29/27 Problems of Pacific to be discussed July 15-29 in Honolulu, countries from pacific or with possessions in pacific
05/31/27 Japan ready to send men to China, fear Japanese in China are in danger as a result of China’s civil war
06/01/27 World worried about Japanese troops returning to Shantung, a city they left just five years ago
06/15/27 Japan says no interest in domination just want to protect interests
05/20/28 Kellogg says US never recognized any special claim of Japan to Manchuria, US says Manchuria belongs to China
09/09/28 Manchurian crisis looms for Japan, appears Japan intends to do everything in its power to implant control there, has rights to Manchuria via right of conquest, Chinese seek to regain control, Japan took Manchuria and Korea in 1903 to prevent attack from Russia, Manchuria has prospered under Japanese, want Manchuria because of great raw resources
09/30/28 Tanaka defeats opposition, is free to carry out his China policy, hints of bribery charges; policy strengthened by Chinese instability
11/16/28 Yusuke Tsurumi, leader of the Jap liberal party, said country’s policy toward China was “primarily economic” only difference of opinion in Japan is how best to obtain the protection of its interest in China, China needed economic to help support rising population in Japan, need raw materials and markets
11/19/28 Jap international lawyer Tsunejiro Miyaoka says Japan to China is same relationship as US to Mexico and our American media fails to grasp that
07/17/29 Pacific Institute seen as peace aid, will meet Oct 28-Nov. 9; says Japan needs industry
07/21/29 Stimson intervention into China surprise Tokio, they weren’t consulted, they didn’t believe press reports at first
11/09/29 James Shotwell urges world peace, have to work out the substitute for warm talks at Kyoto and institute of pacific
12/08/29 Blakeslee fears China-Japanese war, clash over interests in Southern Manchuria may lead to war, 1905 treaty giving Japan concessions in Manchuria created a state with in a state, China saying it will lead to war in our children’s time, stresses need for action China agree on international issues but warlords can’t agree with Kai-Shek over domestic issues, corruption wide spread
1930-31
02/07/30 Japan happy over Castle JR’s speech, say US and Jap have common interests in China, feel opening of new era in relations
04/13/30 China better off from Japanese occupation, Japan has no territorial ambition; overpopulation has led to intense development of industry
05/13/30 Japan announces 25 officers will serve as instructors only in China (Nanking)
05/16/30 Northern Troops advancing near Hankow upsets Japanese
05/24/30 Monroe Doctrine for East, must be guardian of Pacific
05/28/30 US is less suspicious of Japan in China, Castles says we believe in power of Japan and their power will lead to order and peace in Western Pacific, Japan will be guardian of pacific
08/08/30 Sen. Phelan dies, active in Japan ownership, warned US of Japanese colonialization
08/10/30 Japan fears war with US over open door in China
08/10/30 Debate over Monroe doctrine in Asia for Japan, Blakeslee said Japan is justified in protecting interests and lives there; Japan policy compared with US Caribbean policy
10/03/30 Japan critical of new US ambassador’s speech, wanted to hear US attitudes concerning Japan’s relation to China and our naval position in Far East; since WWI have always sided with China right or wrong; feeling American pressure in the Pacific
10/20/30 Early tension; relations with Japan 1906-1921 were disturbed by conflicting policies in China and immigration question
12/05/30 Japan refuses to give back city of Hankow
12/10/30 Japan fears Chinese railroad building in Manchuria
12/13/30 Japan acts to gain railroad rights in China
03/04/31 Philippine rebels said to have received arms from Japan
03/28/31 China wants to abolish all unequal treaties with Japan including extraterritoriality
04/05/31 Japan not happy with new Chinese tariff
05/05/31 Nanking votes to end foreign rights
05/15/31 China projects silver conference
05/17/31 China stops buying Japanese cotton yarn because of rising prices
06/13/31 Japan hoping to clear up relations with China
07/06/31 Korean attack Chinese after Chinese try to drive out Koreans
07/07/31 Koreans massacre Chinese, 3,000 attack 700
07/08/31 Korea quiet again, Japan to aid victims and families

07/10/31 Japan shows regret for Korean trouble
07/12/31 Chinese to boycott Japan over Korea dispute was over water rights
07/14/31 Wide move in China to boycott Japan
07/15/31 China not happy with Japan’s reply on riots in Korea
07/18/31 China boycott move is at serious stage; 20,000 Japanese in Shanghai face ruin
07/23/31 Chiang asks rebels for war on Japan as a means to end factional strife; high official denies Chiang made war move
07/25/31 Japan and China hold talks
08/14/31 Canton wants peace say Chen
08/15/31 Japan aroused by Manchurian crises, feel only remedy is war
08/16/31 Anger of Japan growing; favor stronger policy toward China
08/20/31 25 Japanese hurt in Tsingtao riots in Manchuria
08/27/31 China seeks Japanese apology about Korean riots
09/05/31 Japan demands explanation from Manchuria, threaten reprisal for killing Japanese officer
09/06/31 Tokyo army denies threat but do hold proof that Chinese soldiers killed Captain Nakamura
09/13/31 Mukden to meet Japan’s demands; Japan agitation forced them to rethink things, army agitation toward China growing in Japan
09/19/31 Japan seize Mukden, both sides claim other side provoked incident; theory is Mukden commander imagined an attack on the bridge at Hokutaiei; China to execute one general and 11 soldiers for killing Nakamura
09/20/31 Japan takes all towns on Manchuria railroad both blaming other side as starting hostilities
09/20/31 Japanese Govt express regret over Mukden, army opposed to evacuation, Japan denies any violation of Kellogg anti-war pact; says China fired first; Shidehara disappointed junior officer would undermined his efforts to improve Sino-Japanese relations
09/21/31 Nanking will invoke Kellogg peace pact, more fighting expected
09/21/31 Tokyo fears clash in China will grow; first theory thrown out, now believe Japanese army upset over murder and abuse of Japanese nationals rights, went out to give China severe lesson
09/22/31 Tokyo increases force in Manchuria
09/22/31 China charges Japan with unprovoked attacks before the league
09/22/31 Washington wary of conflict; holding off now but may invoke 9-power Washington treaty rather than Kellogg pact, which would anger Japan by accusing them of being aggressors
09/23/31 Japan under troop limit by 1,000, allowed to have 15,000; troops under the treaty of Portsmouth signed after the Russo Japanese war in Manchuria
09/23/31 Japan taking more towns seize railroad, China claims 24,000 men coming up from Korea, Chiang Kai-shek threatens a war
09/24/31 Stimson sends plea to China and Japan to end hostilities
09/25/31 Borah says Japan “violated every international law” no justification for force in China
09/25/31 Japan makes peace offer; say they have no territorial designs on Manchuria; US warns against permanent occupation
09/26/31 Japan insists all quiet in Manchuria and insists on no outside assistance
09/26/31 League backs view of Japan, Japan says it has withdrawn most troops back to the Manchurian railway and will withdraw the rest once security established; China won’t negotiate with Japan until troops are gone; league duty not to settle disputes; Japan say premature intervention would aggravate the situation
09/27/31 Old rivals clash in Manchuria; granary in Asia and melting pot; is Japan’s first line of defense against Russia; first clash was in 1894 in the Sino-Japanese war, boxer rebellion and then Russo Japanese war
09/28/31 1,000 Chinese students beat Chinese statesman for losing Manchuria for China
09/28/31 C.T. Wang beaten by angry students; China charges Japan with atrocities; machine gunning unarmed refugees from the air
09/29/31 Japan and China acknowledge Stimson’s appeal; Japan say thanks but we’ll work this out ourselves; China says only one solution, Japan withdraw
09/30/31 Manchurians move for independence, Nanking charges agitators are Tokyo puppets
10/01/31 Japan charges China with interfering with news
10/02/31 Tokyo denies any part of Chinese split-up
10/04/31 Koreans demand Japanese protection in Manchuria
10/06/31 Japanese army dragging its feet on withdrawing after 500 Koreans massacred
10/06/31 Japan will only negotiate with Nanking
10/08/31 US send 2 to study Manchuria
10/09/31 12 planes bomb Manchurian capital of Chinchow, cabinet to fall, also scattered leaflets; Japan claims self-defense, planes were fired upon by Chinese troops
10/09/31 US not happy about bombing, say Japan has never been patient
10/09/31 Manchurian refugees claim awful acts by Japan and exploitation over last 25 years
10/10/31 Tokyo cabinet backs army, useless crying over spilt milk, cabinets hand forced again by army
10/11/31 Japan retire from Manchuria as soon as US leaves Panama Canal Zone; Japan security has been endangered last 25 years but last five have been intolerable
10/11/31 Japan deplores US stand on China, say US being misled by propaganda
10/12/31 Stimson exhorts league to action in Chinese dispute, demands Tokyo withdraw troops news of this soft spoken approach stirs Japanese; Japan abides by the “hands off policy”
10/12/31 NY Times editorial says Japan troops attacked because of boycott but troops never suppress boycotts, if boycott were national it would put great strain on Japanese economy but boycotts are regional
10/12/31 12 killed 100 hurt in rioting in China
10/14/31 Japanese army gives strict orders for no more new incidents
10/22/31 Inouye, minister of finance, say Japanese only too anxious to withdraw troops, Manchuria is simple question of self-defense
10/23/31 Japanese planes bomb again in name of self-defense
10/27/31 Manchuria is pistol pointed at Japan’s hearts would America’s accept a third party in a dispute with one of her neighbors, why can’t Japan have its Monroe Doctrine
11/01/31 Washington taking policy of neutrality in Manchuria
11/05/31 Chinese slaughter 10,000 Koreans over 6 weeks in Kirin province, Chinese dynamite tracks
11/06/31 Stimson’s note to Japan will be seen as continuation of Geneva pressure, Japan feels its past history deserves Japan getting some slack on Manchurian problem
11/07/31 Stimson to keep up pressure on Tokyo in direction of peace in Manchuria, realizes situation is delicate, Chinese boycotts activities up
11/08/31 Japan refuses to leave Manchuria, promises to do so when China makes the conditions right
11/11/31 Tokyo tells Stimson they won’t recall troops
11/11/31 Japan stands firm on five points it announced on Oct. 26th: 1: direct negotiations with China based upon Mutual repudiation of aggressive policy and conduct. 2: Respect for China’s territorial integrity. 3: Complete suppression of all organized movements interfering with freedom of trade. 4. Effective protection throughout Manchuria of all pursuits made by Japanese subjects. 5: Respect for treaty rights of Japanese in Manchuria
11/14/31 Japan needs raw materials from China, why damage relationship, denies they are aggressors, annex property
11/14/31 Honjo says Japan will not withdraw, want Ma to retire
11/15/31 Japanese publisher defends Japan in the Times, territorial aggression not Japan’s aim; China denying rights to Japanese in China and Manchuria was developed by the Japanese
11/18/31 Japanese are routed Chinese say in Nonni River Zone, killed 800 captured 200
11/18/31 US always stood for Japanese evacuation of Manchuria; never said it would not get involved in a boycott
11/18/31 Tokyo to offer compromise on china; Japan wants a economic partnership with Manchuria
11/21/31 Borah scores use of force in China; doesn’t agree with what Japan is doing but force isn’t answer
11/23/31 US frankness about Manchuria annoys Japan
11/24/31 Japan’s evacuation remains a practical impossibility
11/28/31 Japan tells Stimson no more hostilities in China but press reports Japanese army on the move and planning more attacks
11/28/31 US doesn’t believe Japan to stop its drive on Chinchow
11/28/31 10,000 troops move South, Japanese are bombing China from the air
11/29/31 Tokyo papers quote Stimson as saying Japanese army had “run amuck,” Stimson fires back that he had been misquoted; some one else had said those things; Debuchi satisfied with Stimson’s explanation says press does make mistakes

11/29/31 Stimson’s target of Japanese anger from “run Amuck” statement, because national pride centers on the Imperial forces, wounds every Japanese, army not under complete control of the government

11/30/31 Forbes calls it the comedy of errors, Tokyo admits misquoting Stimson

11/30/31 Japan hurt because Stimson made public things they felt should’ve stayed private and they felt hurt because they feel Americans don’t understand political agitation in Japan and how hard government is working on issue

12/13/31 Trade with China at a stand still for Japan with little prospect of improvement

12/14/31 Exports of Japan to China cut by two-thirds

12/19/31 Japan hurt because Stimson made public things they felt should’ve stayed private and they felt hurt because they feel Americans don’t understand political agitation in Japan and how hard government is working on issue

12/27/31 Forbes warns of Japan again about Chinchow would be a violation of 1922 treaty

12/27/31 Japan left out of the world expansion; Japan confused over US expansion feeling when they did the same thing in expanding to the west coast; Expansion is unavoidable, Japan has population it can’t maintain domestically; deprive Japan of Manchuria and she would wither; exclusion (California) a black patch, exclusion was discourteous; although US-Japanese relation has overcome the wound; Immigration question would never have led to war; American missionaries are at fault for labeling China as an emerging democracy and Japan as an imperialist power; mutual distrust at the root of problems

12/30/31 Japanese journalist Kinnosuke Adachi says Japan needs Manchurian crops, would starve to death without them

1932-34

01/02/32 German reports says Japan is making Manchuria a colony

01/04/32 US consul beaten by Japanese patrol in Mukden.

01/05/32 Japan minimizes beating of Consul, say consul insulted Japan first, apology inadequate.

01/05/32 Washington lodges protest

01/05/32 Stimson demands amends from Japan

01/06/32 Japan uneasy over American attitude over incident

01/07/32 Chinese professor sees downfall of Japan in 2 months from Boycott

01/08/32 Washington sends note to Japan and China they will not tolerate violation of open door

01/09/32 Our move in China surprises GB with invoking Kellogg pact and 9-Powers treaty, shows dramatic intervention

01/10/32 Stimson regards Manchuria incident as not settled says Japan has no respect for treaty rights.

01/12/32 Japanese admit aim to hold Manchuria, disappointed. They don’t hold Chinchow, blame it on being hesitant because of Secretary Stimson views

01/13/32 Japan trying to legalize its position in Manchuria

01/15/32 Japan punish 4 for attack on consul

01/17/32 Despite Japan reply Stimson’s warning remains. Blames Japan for lawless acts by its military in Manchuria

01/17/32 Raymond Leslie Bull says Japan in Manchuria is similar to US in Caribbean

01/29/32 Japan surprised by US concern about Shanghai. Japan promises to not bother international settlements

01/29/32 “War between Japan and China grows increasingly alarming to peace – loving people of world

01/30/32 Senator Lewis says Japan is preparing an Asian Monroe doctrine patterned after the US one. “to pacify and supervise all of Asia”

02/01/32 Gen. Smedley Butler said “Japan had been planning Manchurian invasion over last 10 years”

02/08/32 Japanese people learn of troop movement to China in Sunday’s paper

02/09/32 Tokyo surprised by our stand on their latest action in China of demilitarize ports

02/09/32 Washington firm for a free China – rejects Japan proposal to Alter 9-Power treaty regarding Manchuria

02/15/32 Conflicting reports from China, Japan wants to settle difference without bloodshed and hopes Chinese voluntarily withdraw the farther the better

02/17/32 New state in Manchuria soon to be approved, at least by Japan. Japan says other countries shouldn’t interfere
02/17/32 “Author says Army there’s just for protection, if there for any other reason Govt would be
overthrown”
02/19/32 Japan delivers ultimatum to China to leave Shanghai
02/19/32 “Japan bewildered that they lost the world’s sympathy and approval despite their praiseworthy
record of modernization in Manchuria in the last two decades
02/19/32 Mukden formally declares its freedom, Japan to send 5 million colonists by 1942
02/21/32 US Marines seize Japanese weapons in Shanghai’s American section, in return Japan search
American institutions
02/21/32 Senate for being friends with both China and Japan
02/22/32 Americans upset over Japan raid on 7th Day Adventist Hospital and other institutions
02/22/32 Japan complains to league she was attacked by China; Japan is on defensive mission in China.
Not offensive, other powers have also violated by article and by sending troops
02/23/32 Editors sees Japanese slay defenseless Chinese
02/24/32 An AP reporter tells of seeing men, women and children being shot down
02/26/32 Japan shocked how strongly American opinion is swinging against Japan. Says even “Man on
street talking of economic blockade, Japan wouldn’t starve in a blockage. Say US people talk
too lightly of blockade. Japan feels blockade impossible because Jap not quit of the
accusations, very dangerous game, to Japan it’s a fighting matter is US ready to fight
03/06/32 Japan guards assault American officials. Arm-banded citizens in Shanghai
03/11/32 Japan’s new army moves in Manchuria. Worry Washington, see trouble ahead
03/12/32 Japan apologizes to US for assault
03/13/32 Premier Inukai writes an article in NY Times saying Japan’s aims aren’t imperialistic just want
to obtain its rights under treaty
03/14/32 Japan says US the imperialist, her actions in Manchuria more defensible then US action in
Caribbean and Central America
03/16/32 Japanese to leave Shanghai
05/01/32 Japan to sign Shanghai armistice
05/15/32 Japan depends on Manchukuo for food
05/14/32 Japan moves 25,000 troops from Shanghai to Manchuria
05/25/32 Manchuria would be called Manchukuo and would bar Japan
05/29/32 Japanese find Manchuria costs are very high
06/03/32 NY Attorney in Book says Japan attack in Manchuria is a direct challenge to US policy, only
time will tell
06/21/32 Japan accuse NY Times reporter A.T. Steele of being a spy for General Ma
06/22/32 Japan wants Steele’s papers
06/22/32 President Roosevelt denounced as fantastic, any attempt to interfere with Japan expansion with
Korea and Manchuria as dangerous
06/22/32 Ishii assails China for violating treaties, his justification for Manchuria was it was self defense
against China’s economic aggression and suffering unwarranted attacks, boycott is an act of war
06/25/32 Steele absolved of spy charges
08/10/32 Japan upset Stimson hint at Japan being an aggressor and that he indicated a desire to place
Japan in the wrong. Nichi Nichi calls Secretary Stimson’s speech malicious propaganda for
general withholding of recognition from Manchukuo
08/11/32 Debuchi and Stimson meet seem to smooth things over
08/14/32 Japanese Monroe doctrine in Asia should prorogue the race
08/14/32 Manchuria called Japan’s “lifeline,” buffer zone against Russia
08/14/32 How can US champion righteousness and humanity with their foreign policy in South America
08/16/32 Hoover doctrine of non-recognition approved in Tokyo, don’t plan to annex Manchuria thus not
breaking Hoover doctrine
08/26/32 Institute of politics urges new parl ey to pacify Japan – call it a face saving formula.
09/15/32 Japan signs treaty with Manchukuo
09/30/32 NY Times article quotes writer Hugh Byas from article he wrote for contemporary Japan where
he discusses recurring fractious – race, immigration, China and naval rivalries, 2 or which are
no longer a danger – say exclusion is one of those. China – only blind optimism can hope the
friction will cease. Japan must become industrialized
“Back to Asia” movement is Japan’s Monroe doctrine, political slogan would leave league, older Japan started and alienates guns in Manchuria have reawakened spirit of the people Araki sees problem as Japan departure from Japanese also say Asians are oppress by white people.

Japan not happy with Stimson speech and saying US won’t recognize territorial changes brought about by force

Manchukuo issue closed says Tokyo easily led public

Envoy tells Columbia school of Journalism Japan needs Manchuria, explains China’s demands and how they violated treaties, yet Japan only wants peace

Japanese politician predicts Stimson resignation because of over playing hand in Manchuria

Japan says Stimson’s remarks are same old story about non recognition of the fruits of aggression

Japan denies wider plan in Asia. Action in Manchuria is not a preliminary to a Monroe doctrine in Asia

US staying mum only how report league role not US affair

US can live without annexed territory, but disintegration of Manchuria or its annexation by foreign country would endanger independence and existence of Japan

01/03/33 US worry sees danger in Japan movements in China

Japan accuses US of selling arms to China and training their pilots

Roosevelt regrets Roosevelt’s status quo policy on Far East, but they aren’t surprised doubted there would be a policy change

Roosevelt say no change in Far East policy

US will benefit most from Japan reviving Manchuria economy. Japan wants to stabilize Far East

Japan doesn’t have to plea to no nation says Japan is not a vassal store of America, still claims self defense and lifeline

Yosuke Matsuoka writes piece for Times, feels Japan doesn’t get fair deal from US press, No resentment toward league, says China has never possessed Manchuria so why give it to her, why US troops in China, US policy inconstant in china, oppose Japan but not Germany when it held same piece of land

Japan in process of drawing up a pact to sign with US that Japan will recognize Monroe doctrine for US if US will recognize an Asiatic Monroe doctrine

Araki asks 8 countries for Parley on peace in the orient

Hegemony in East held Japan’s aim want to make Monroe doctrine of East a reality

Japanese resent US interference Japanese Monroe doctrine

Oriental Monroe doctrine

Peace in Eastern Asia

US remains committed to pledge of non-recognition of Manchukuo

Washington is firm on Far East pact

Japan regards China as her private problem, warns outside powers not to interfere

Japan sends note to Great Britain and US saying it has no intention to interfere with rights of China

Matsuoka in a column for Times challenges critics of Japan’s policy on China, say west is inciting Chinese against Japan, say US is arming China with planes

US envoy tells Japan to keep it’s treaties, Japan say it will

US want amity with Japan

Japan refuses any parley over China policy, They fear joint action against them say anti-Japanese movements in China must be stopped

Saito denies Japan has Monroe doctrine says they have no intention to trespass on China’s rights

Saito says Japan only wants peace in the region

San Salvador is first country besides Japan to recognize Manchukuo

There’s an armed revolt in Manchukuo a lot of Japanese are deserting Manchukuo because of cold and unfamiliar conditions.

Japan annoyed at US interference in Far East.

Japan sidesteps protests on Manchukuo oil protests by saying when did Japan occupy Manchukuo, Manchukuo is its own nations, if Powers feels she is apart of China then deal with China.
11/05/34 Japan won’t yield on oil monopoly say Manchukuo doesn’t violate Washington treaty and open door will only be recognized to those who recognize Manchukuo.

11/18/34 Japan wants to expand in Eastern Asia still wants recognition for Manchukuo.

11/30/34 Japan looking to establish a non-aggression policy is Far East principle of non-menace.

1935-37

01/09/35 Sen. King wants to see if Japan is fortifying in Pacific in violation of treaties

01/27/35 Japan makes military moves in China, more headaches for US

02/10/35 US-GB to meet on Japan

02/11/35 US-GB to meet on Far East

03/02/35 Far Eastern Monroe Doctrine, would welcome help from US on China if China would be open to help from Japan

04/19/35 US again protest Manchukuo oil monopoly say its contradiction to open door policy and 9-power treaty

05/17/35 Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, says Japan’s policy in China is menace to rest of world warns against disarming Schurman talking

06/09/35 Nanking Surrenders land on Japan’s terms

06/09/35 China sees US as a meddler in its affairs and as only nation which is always stern and accusing fear league meddlesome as well

06/15/35 China invokes 9-power pact to curb Japanese, say Japan has violated treaty

06/16/35 Japan sends reinforcements to China

06/18/35 Japan cuts army in China by half

06/20/36 China may refuse US airline a base for fear of offending Japan

07/30/35 Manchukuo curbs foreigner’s rights, Japan is only with treaty rights

10/18/35 Japan invests $682 million in Manchukuo, $312 million spent in maintaining troops

11/02/35 China’s premier attacked

11/24/35 Japan’s idea of a “manifest destiny” stirs Japan, Pacific is center stage of the world, Japan believes to remain world power they must get foothold in East Asia, Fear US navy because of power to interfere, Japan brings up US history ad George Washington predicting California, World wants Japan to be happy with just Manchukuo

12/01/35 Fabulous wealth seen in Manchuria

12/06/35 Japan doesn’t believe 9-power treaty dealing with China in 1922 was ever fully effective

12/06/35 Washington concerned by events in China, declare they’re keeping treaties and expect others to do so too

12/07/35 Japan holds 9-power pact obsolete no longer valid in relations to North China, world is moving on, treaties don’t move

12/08/35 US and GB invoke 9-power treaty, Japan has admitted unofficially it has violated it, But nobody in situation to press issue

12/28/35 Japan says American missionaries are stirring up anti-Japanese feelings

02/11/36 Pittman says Japan has violated 9-power and Kellogg treaties

06/26/36 US chides Japan over rough treatment of two Americans by Japanese troops in Peiping and for entering US embassy at Sankwanmjiao

08/02/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

08/16/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

08/18/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

08/19/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

08/21/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

08/25/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

08/29/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

08/30/36 August Institute of Pacific Relations

10/28/36 GB protests Japanese incident where 3 soldiers beaten on Formosa, GB demands apology

11/15/36 Japan on the March again this time in Mongolia to create a buffer state between it and Russia, might call if Mongoliuku

11/21/36 Japan wants to extend hand to China in hopes China will soon find peace and unify they have great purchasing power

02/06/37 Japan tells Nanking if it won’t squash communist activity in the North its military will

02/22/37 During Manchukuo’s five year history there have been 2,400 disputes with Russia
07/03/37 Tokyo paper Asahi objects to a NY Times editorial on the clash on the Amur
07/08/37 Japanese battle Chinese at Peiping 5 hour clash, Japan demands Chinese clear out reported that first machine gun out bursts came from a pillbox near village of Yuwanmiao and killed a Japanese officer battle involved several thousand forces, tension had been growing there over last three months
07/13/37 Hoping for peace in China, war outlook put at 50-50 odds
07/16/37 In case of war in Pacific US studying its neutrality law, US fears Chiang may have to act to preserve his position, 1,200 US troops in China
07/23/37 US not happy with Japanese troops moving around in its Peiping sector
07/25/37 Japan raises issue of US interest in China, US has vast economic stake in China with trade
07/25/37 Japanese official says Japanese expansion is irresistible force, needs are economic and would rather get objective without war. Chinese officer said to have provoked Japanese displeasure has been dismissed
07/27/37 Japan prepares for war with China call it unavoidable
07/27/37 Situation in China may disturb world peace
07/29/37 Things in hand of Japanese military but Hirota hoping to avert war, Japan confident if war comes it will be short, don’t fear outside intervention, Japan promises lives and property of Americans would be protected, Diet votes $30 million for conflict
07/30/37 No outside interference will be tolerated from a third party Japan says
07/31/37 Japan takes Marco Polo Bridge, the last serious threat of a Chinese attack on Peiping, Chinese overwhelmed by modern weapons
08/02/37 Rumored Americans being recruited to fly planes for China
08/05/37 Japanese approve budget for China have to get 100 million yen, reservists called up
08/06/37 Japan disturbed by report that 182 Americans have enlisted to fly warplanes for China, US say must have volunteered not a part of anything Oked by US
08/08/37 Japan has 45,000 troops in China, Premier holds crisis grave
08/15/37 Richland goal of Japanese army after realizing disappointment of Manchuria
08/15/37 Japan will seek peace first with China
08/15/37 Japan ready for war with China, Nanking has adopted a policy of opposing Japan, negotiations still underway
08/21/37 Konoe says Japan must settle war doesn’t want any outside help, prepared for financial sacrifices
08/22/37 US neutrality policy meets a test in China, US wants to stay neutral as long as it can and no one has declared war yet, Americans losing lives and being hurt, US wants to maintain open door
08/23/37 President can’t enact neutrality act until war officially declared, USS Augusta hit by stray shell, one killed, act means arms couldn’t be sold to either Japan or China, Policeman and fight analogy
08/26/37 Tokyo’s announcement to intercept munitions headed to China worries Washington because if that happens there must be state of war and will have to invoke neutrality act which would hurt China
08/27/37 Konoe say the present government entertains no intention of resorting to diplomatic means of settlement, Japan wants to punish Chinese and make them reflect on their conduct
08/27/37 Japan blocking China ask foreign countries not to send weapons to China, cargo is considered in war to be contraband, the war that wasn’t Japan officials call it hostilities
08/28/37 Experts predict Japan will defeat China in four months
08/29/37 Japan blocking China, US wants two countries to refrain from hostilities
08/29/37 Japanese expect short, sharp war to be over by Christmas, Chinese far out classed
08/31/37 GB sees Tokyo plan to dominate Asia which would humiliate them, suggest boycott or blockade of Japan
09/03/37 Hirota meets with press and hints hostilities are to remove Chiang, want statesman who are friendly to Japan, want Chinese attitude adjustment, can’t tolerate such deplorable affairs anymore, and warns foreign vessels
09/05/37 US still hoping for Peace in China
09/06/37 Japan wage war to obtain objectives, Nanking rejected cooperation so must destroy Chinese armies and Nanking Govt, must administer a decisive blow, also worried about other nations interfering
09/15/37 Roosevelt proposes banning weapons to both countries without invoking neutrality act. Tells US shippers they traffic in arms at own risk

09/19/37 (Sept 18, 1931) six years of Manchukuo celebrated, China recalls “Mukden Incident”, broken rails seen as cause or pretext for Japanese invasion in 17 months occupies 500,000 square miles. Also discusses Japanese officer gone missing near Marco Polo Bridge

09/22/37 Japan launches air attack on Nanking lasts hour and a half, Day bombing worst bombing of any city in Asia to this point, US ambassador Johnson watched from US gunboats, says he was not deserting post and took measures of protection

09/22/37 US and GB protest Nanking bombing on grounds of civilian populace

09/22/37 Ishii blames Chinese for war and while not officially a war it is a very serious war

09/23/37 NY Times correspondent in China, Hallett Abend, predicts Japanese victory

09/23/37 US sends strong note to Japan regarding bombing of Nanking, say attack was unwarranted, gave no warning, bombs not accurate, no place to gather for safety of American Nationals

09/26/37 Blow to US seen if Japan wins, Nanking foreign minister says also if Japanese aggression ends, then communism will die out quickly in China

09/26/37 Japanese angered by war pictures, say Chinese fake scenes of cruelty printed in New York papers. But war will go another year and Japan will ultimately win, Japan won’t permanently occupy South China

10/04/37 Japanese learn friends are few, only Germany and Italy support “holy war” in China, there’s an anti-Japanese movement in US

10/04/37 Times editor calls Japanese explanations for actions in China futile, on theory in defense of Chinese plan to attack and annihilate the Japanese, they over estimated foreign opinion, Japan refuse any mediation and won’t tolerate any interference

10/06/37 US willing to get involved curbing Japan just short of war, it is Roosevelt’s answer to Japan telling world to keep hands off China

10/07/37 Japanese call an emergency conference after US censure of Japan, calling Japan a treaty violator, excitement spread through Japanese populace call it undeclared war, doubts US will become involved after one speech, say US overlooks China’s anti-Japanese behavior, Japan just wants peace

10/07/37 Japanese warlords blamed for war, Dr. Leonard Hsu, a Chinese Govt rep. In US says China is not fight Japanese people or nation but a few militarists

10/07/37 Former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson favors action on Japan, failure to act he warned will not keep US out of war but will endanger our own peace

10/10/37 Japanese picture of US aloofness shattered with Roosevelt’s speech on China, US had been model for past 50 years, US opinion matters to Japanese people

10/14/37 Columbia’s Dr. Paul Monroe sees Japan’s morality for China is that it’s just copying US and it’s not a pretty sight

10/16/37 Vatican says it never said it backed Japan’s conduct in China, they have strict policy of neutrality

10/17/37 Roosevelt speech calls for 9-power treaty conference to be held in Brussels, want to end conquest of China by Japan, Japan likely to be absent

10/17/37 Japan drives on in China ignoring World’s condemnation, yet ironically Japan is very sensitive to criticism

10/28/37 Japan says no to Brussels conference say solution is for world to convince China to come to senses

11/01/37 Japan to be asked again to 9-power treaty conference, armistice will be attempted

11/12/37 Japan again rejects bid of 9-power treaty

11/14/37 19 powers rebuke Japan’s activity in China at 9-power treaty conference in Brussels

11/16/37 Criticism of Japan voted in Brussels with Italy the lone dissenter, 15 nations sign it, Put blame on Tokyo, Japan is censured

11/18/37 Japan warns of any aid to China, it would be viewed as a hostile act, Japan may do a full blockade of China

11/21/37 White man has lost face forever in the orient

11/25/37 Gen. Ugaki says China should quit now, say Japan can continue fighting without declaring war, not fighting all of China

11/27/37 Japan willing to discuss peace but China must make first move and show signs of submission
11/28/37 US, GB and France warn Japan about taking over China customs office
11/30/37 US note to Japan demands they consult US on customs issues
12/07/37 Hull defends US policy in China, says no grounds found yet to apply neutrality act
12/10/37 Tokyo held eager for US mediation sees ends for distrust, it is worth cost of undeclared war but doubt mediation will happen
12/13/37 US predicts war in China will end soon primarily because Japan is worried about costs
12/13/37 Japan’s Hirota apologizes for bombing of Panay
12/14/37 Sinking of the gunboat Panay by Japan, Japan takes full responsibility, planes clearly failed to establish identity of ship say Japan
12/14/37 US papers sound off on Panay attack, San Francisco says attack deliberate, Des Moines says to withdraw now would be to legitimize Japan’s Monroe Doctrine rest say go lightly keep cool and not enough for war
12/14/37 Observers say bombing of Panay deliberate, flags clearly observable
12/14/37 GB and US driven closer by Yangtze attacks, Roosevelt declares it a grave situation and demands full compensation, wants feelings to go straight to Hirohito, congress upset, Hirohito apologizes
12/14/37 Many apologies seem to be coming from Japan after damaging US and GB property in China claim mistakes
12/14/37 Japanese worried over the bombing and the result may have blown their hopes to drive US and GB apart. Also mistake hard to swallow because before attack Japanese had boasted they had already sunk all of China’s gunboats, 91 dead or missing
12/14/37 Japanese press don’t report sinking of Panay only print small brief call it an “unhappy affair”
12/15/37 US protests bombing say it couldn’t possibly have been an accident
12/15/37 Writer reports Panay was machine gunned by Japanese motor boats before she sank, 39 of 76 identified of those four are known dead
12/15/37 Survivors of Panay had to struggle via cross country trek without medication, food or water until they reached help
12/15/37 US protest is stern ask for full assurances this wont happen again, Japan concerned, hope friendly ties won’t be harmed, also full restitution required, aviators not yet punished
12/16/37 Japan urged to build US a replica of Panay
12/16/37 Admiral punished by dismissal, guilty airman said to have been sent back to Japan
12/16/37 Panay survivors say planes were flying so low there is no way identity of US ship was unmistakable, Panay fought to end, and Japan also blew up three Standard Oil ships
12/17/37 Tokyo denies Japan had any boats in area to fire on Panay
12/18/37 Writer tells of machine gunning by Japan planes and boats that attacked the wounded fleeing Panay
12/19/37 Sinking of Panay creates high anxiety in Japan, which doesn’t want to lose goodwill of US
12/19/37 Panay crisis bring issue up of neutrality question, congress is hesitant to enact it because Americans are
12/20/37 Japan has 900,000 troops in China and Manchukuo
12/20/37 Japan admits Panay was machine gunned by boat, retract initial denial, Japan had boarded the Panay earlier in the day from another ship, Japanese ambassador to US Hirosi Saito holds incident “shocking blunder”
12/20/37 Hasegawa offers evidence that Panay was not bombed intentionally, stresses regret and hopes tragedy will improve relations, blame faulty communications dealing with fleeing Chinese near same region as Panay
12/21/37 Japanese General Kumakichi Harada denies machine gunning but his speech just flatly opposed major evidence. Japan had shelled GB’s Ladybird Dec. 12, he wouldn’t comment on that issue. He accused Panay of firing shots at his ships, still not saying what will happen to Hashimoto, admits Japanese carried light machine guns
12/24/37 Hashimoto is not punished, still in the field, foreigners being asked to leave parts of China, terror reigns in Nanking, writer claims to have seen Japanese bayoneting Chinese civilians, Japanese pillaging as they go along
12/24/37 All data in on Panay, it was machine gunned from boats, Colonel not punished, US demand full compensation, Panay attack was filmed, Japanese said to have insulted American flag in Shanghai
12/24/37 Japanese army and navy officers meet with US ambassador Grew about Panay and explain what happened and apologize, it happened by a small unit becoming isolated, army feels it’s a naval matter entirely

12/25/37 Japan still insist attack on Panay was an accident, war threat seems to be gone

12/26/37 Crisis held past, US accepts Japan’s apology, Hull issued veiled threat by in so many words saying it better not happen again and adequate payment expected

12/26/37 Japan holds Panay sinking was an accident

12/29/37 Panay film speeds across America and shows there is no way it could’ve been an accident on such a clear day

12/30/37 Panay film ready, shows planes diving and flags clearly shown, shows bullet holes in Panay, only took 30 seconds of film

1938-39

01/09/38 Japan prepares for four years of war in China

01/13/38 Japan still hope China will give up, can’t declare war or US will invoke neutrality act which would cut supplies, sinking of Panay has not improved public sentiment for Japan among American people

01/28/38 US protests again over more outrages in China, embassy official slapped, US demand Japan do something about it, GB has similar complaints, US implies seriousness offense which include and the instance of flag torn down and burned say it is studied terrorism Japan is practicing on all foreigners

01/29/38 US gets envoy’s report discusses issue for 2 hours, protest is not strong enough word for US views on another incident, envoy says Japanese officials acted in hostile manner, officer make apology, Japan wont publish latest US note

02/01/38 Japan apologizes to US on slapping, Hull accepts apology of regret and promise to punish offenders

02/13/38 Jim Marshall, Panay survivor, believes bombing was deliberate, says he saw Japanese celebrate that night and were boasting

02/13/38 Japan apologizes again and says her forces in China will respect flag and US citizens and their property, after Panay most strict orders were given. No evidence found soldiers involved in flag incident, circulating a pamphlet on how to respect foreign flags.

02/26/38 Hull warns Japan the American rights in China must be guarded

03/13/38 America does not understand Japan, at present only 2 percent of Americans like Japan, like the crow in fable of fox and crow, the American people are simple and easily deceived, want a Monroe doctrine and an open door policy, Know nothing about diplomacy better not to fight with America

03/23/38 Japan sets up another new government in Nanking for Central China, Japan says it won’t yield an inch of occupied territory

03/23/38 US presents Japan with $2.2 million bill for Panay and 3 oil tankers

03/28/38 Full indemnity for Panay will be paid

04/06/38 Japan balks at US bill for Panay

04/07/38 US itemized Panay damages at $2.2 million

04/15/38 War in China has lowered military prestige of Japan in the US, Japan is suffering high casualties although Japan concealing the figures, no unified command in China, considerable jealousy and friction there, greatest Japanese weakness is inability to fully comprehend foreign psychology

04/20/38 Japan sets up fund for victims of Panay after news spreads throughout Japan, all classes donate to fund, Japan will give check for full amount of damages tomorrow

04/23/38 Japan hands US a check for Panay

05/10/38 Huge puppet state is Japan’s war aim and will make no peace with Chiang Kai-Shek. Wait for appearance of new Chinese Govt

05/23/38 Sen. Pittman contends Japan must right its wrongs before US could sign a non-aggression pact with Japan, US hold Japan has violated and is now in violation of treaties

05/31/38 Japan’s war in China is fruitless, she rules little beyond guns

06/02/38 US note to Japan insists America gets property back in area long considered finished with hostilities

06/02/38 War costs Japan $5 million a day, allies aren’t able to help

06/03/38 Japanese comply with US demands Baptist mission returned
06/09/38 Chinese official assails US policy why send oil, iron, arms to Japan to destroy his people, China considers US friends despite their apathy say Japanese planes slaughtering Chinese and thousands of Japanese youth dying not for their own cause
06/10/38 US-Japan had secret clause in Lansing-Ishii agreement in 1917 said Japan wouldn’t interfere in open door policy. It comes up now because Japan is infringing on foreign rights in China
06/10/38 US protests bombing raid on Lingnaw school at Canton, don’t want incident repeated, stop bombing non-combatant property
06/17/38 Senate condemns civilian bombing. King shocks senate by saying US should sever diplomatic relations to protest Japan’s war conduct, Hiram Johnson said that would just lead to war, King points to obvious treaty violations
06/19/38 Japan criticizes powers for sending weapons to China, and not happy with US in giving loan to China
06/19/38 Japanese attack American mission in Shantung province twice, no one hurt and mission is far enough from city as not to be confused with military targets, 6 American flags were visible
06/20/38 Chinese say war has forged them to unite
06/26/38 Tokyo minister says war may last 10 years
06/26/38 Massie slapping causes protest
06/28/38 Washington protests Mrs. Thomas H. Massie being slapped by a Japanese sentry, wife of a US naval officer
07/07/38 American mission worker accuses Japan of blocking relief funds
07/07/38 On anniversary of latest conflict Konoye said every attempt to keep it local failed because of Chinese officer’s anti-Japanese behavior as they were determined to fight
07/31/38 Japan regrets slapping, navy takes full responsibility
08/27/38 US protests Japanese attack on Chinese airline, Japan defends action seen as violation of earlier assurances because no one notified Japan’s naval forces in area and they were flying in a war zone, US consulate hit by fragments in Canton
09/01/38 Japan replies to airline and protest say plane was acting suspicious and felt it was an enemy plane sorry but not regretful
09/03/38 American in China demand their rights ask Washington to curb Japan
09/28/38 Japan ousting US trade in China, Japan harassing US and GB interests in trade
10/09/38 Japanese public upset the army hasn’t captured Hankow yet
10/13/38 GB warn Japan who are active near Hong Kong not to mess with any of its interests
10/19/38 Poland to recognize Manchukuo, Germany did in 1936, Italy 1937
10/20/38 Japan 50 miles for Hankow and Canton, 60 armed motorboats seen headed to Canton are know as the ‘Mosquito fleet’
10/23/38 China mulling over option of declaring war on Japan, It would do a couple of things, one boost morale and show China is willing to fight to the end, and two it would force the US to invoke the neutrality act which means the stoppage of arms to both countries
10/26/38 China null over option of declaring war on Japan, It would do a couple of things, one boost morale and show China is willing to fight to the end, and two it would force the US to invoke the neutrality act which means the stoppage of arms to both countries
10/26/38 Japan holds 9-power pact obsolete and discussing whether to denounce it or not, US hold treaty still valid
10/27/38 If China declares war Japan would declare war too and would have the advantage because Japan controls the sea
10/29/38 Mentions note to Japan to recognize US rights in China
10/31/38 Spirit of Jingoism running wild, papers call it Japan’s secret war which entitles Japan to make full headway for the reconstruction of East Asia
11/04/38 Hull says 9-power treaty still valid and Japan should respect US rights in China
11/06/38 Japan claims self dense in China, thus doesn’t violate any of the treaties
11/07/38 Kokumin, a newspaper with ties to army, says Japan will retaliate if US forces it to keep recognizing the 9-power treaty
11/12/38 Japan says quickest way for GB and US to help end conflict would be to recognize Manchukuo and discourage Chinese resistance
11/13/38  US files another protest with Japan in a long list of Protests, this one regards navigation rights on the Yangtze River
11/14/38  Japanese reject Yangtze protests, have their reasons
11/16/38  US protest attack on Harvard trained Dr. Logan Roots
11/19/38  Japan denies discrimination or impairing US rights in China, Japan is establishing new order in China thus the open door and 9-power treaty are obsolete, a blow to 1922 pact seen
11/20/38  Methodist churchmen condemn Japanese outrages in China, say they are shamed to know US is sending Japan a lot of the materials used to commit ruthless attacks
11/23/38  Hull not happy with Tokyo’s reply to protests
12/01/38  Imperial conference in front of Hirohito oks new order in the Far East upon the defeat of China
12/11/38  Manchukuo announces it will now discriminate against foreign countries that don’t officially recognize it
12/11/38  Japan and China both profit from opium sales but weaken the Chinese are the majority of the users
12/14/38  Japanese see parallel in US-Latin American policy and theirs in East Asia. Wine of Monroe Doctrine into new bottles, say use adapting policy to economic
12/15/38  Japan sees its efforts in China as a help to world, aim is not to conquer China but to reconstruct and restore cooperation, just ask for some patience from the world
12/16/38  US loans China $25 million to foster trade, observers say loan will aid Chiang in fight
12/17/38  US loan to China angers Japanese, they see longer war, this loan also won’t help iron out Japanese-US differences, Japan feels US does understand what this loan means, news was a complete shock to the Japanese complacency, US move shatters some illusions, Japan now sees GB as only friend, obvious US in helping dying regime, is retaliating against Japan, rich Chinese living abroad donate money for 15 planes for China
12/20/38  Foreign Minister Hachira Arita calls the loan to China a regrettable act that there is nothing more dangerous because it will prolong hostilities, does hint at reprisals
12/20/38  US renews credit to China based on gold they’ve already sent giving them access to dollars in advance of Japanese invasion is seen as a serious rebuff to Japan
12/21/38  Japan threatens reprisals on those who assist China
12/22/38  Japan really upset over loans to China from US and GB. Calls US a tool and cats paw of GB.
12/25/38  Japan moves to bar US businesses in China
12/25/38  Japan angry about loans to China and fear US and GB working together in Far East
01/01/39  US sends strong note to Japan demanding rights in China and Manchuria, rejects Japans New Order idea, US is open to negotiations in regards to China
01/01/39  US sends note to Japan upholding all rights in China, call Japan’s behavior against US interests “unjust and unwarranted”
01/04/39  Japan says they may have complied with US and GB requests from Oct. 6 note if it hadn’t been published, have had to wait so as not to lose face, issue was with Yangtze River
01/05/39  Tokyo sees idealism is US protest note shows no regard for actualities
01/07/39  Hiranuma plans to go ahead with full mobilization in China
01/16/39  US and GB against Japan’s China ‘new order’ idea
01/17/39  Japan not interested in 9-power treaty talks
01/21/39  Japan again warns world about its new world order aims in China, The Chinese who oppose will be exterminated
01/22/39  The driving force for Japan is to build up empire in East Asia so they are no longer at the mercy of other countries, Japan wants or demands economic security equal to US and GB, US and GB have no problem with not interfering with Japan’s security or Japan taking lead in developing China, They just don’t want to see a great totalitarian empire on the ruins of China’s independence
01/31/39  Tokyo army plans long stay in China, indefinite occupation is necessary
02/05/39  Japan not calling a parley on China, say people are wrong to think Japan will lose war economically, Hale last two years despite critics
02/05/39  China buying more arms than Japan from US
02/06/39  Tokyo not willing to talk about 9-power treaty violations or revisions
02/10/39  Japan takes island on Hainan worry GB and France about their colonial possessions in area, deny violating a NY treaties
02/11/39  Japan defends Hainan action saying it was a military necessity to strengthen blockade to prevent
arms getting to China, fear misunderstanding of other nations
02/11/39  Editorial on Hainan strike, says it is huge indifference to opinions of western democracies, took
despite warnings because they knew GB and France busy with Europe puts Japan closer to
islands with oil
02/23/39  Senate lifts limit on planes, total of 6,000 approved, where has nation’s courage gone, Japan
didn’t ask US permission to bomb Panay, more fear of feelings of Japan, if Japan wants our
goodwill then live up to the 9-power treaty
04/01/39  Japan annexes 7 French islands called the Spratly Islands, say they did it for protection, France
claimed them in 1933
04/01/39  Editorial, Japan does it again, no opposition to Japan taking over and Spratly’s get added
meaning then was there before because of location
04/04/39  Japan and Russia patch things up; Japan moves troops south for possible spring offensive
04/13/39  Tokyo has received Roosevelt’s note suggesting a conference to solve Far Eastern questions
05/07/39  Mona Gardner writes book about Japanese and how she’s seen the horrors they have done in
China and how Japan will have to reevaluate its position and ability to be saviors of the world
05/15/39  Japan out of Davis cup, stars are drafted
05/18/39  US, France, and GB land combine naval forces in Amoy, Tokyo demands rejected, US not
happy with events in Shanghai
05/30/39  New border clash between Japan and Mongolia
06/02/39  Japanese envoy gives open door pledge amity with US acclaimed, 85 years of peace with US,
fears groundless, only purpose is stability to that part of the world
06/12/39  20 Japanese aids poisoned in Nanking, US also protest bombing of American Mission
06/13/39  Chinese minister says Japan is spent and lost 105,077 soldiers over last 2 months, 864,500
overall, Chinese army improving in efficiency and numbers
06/16/39  US may mediate Tientsin deadlock, Japan hesitant
06/17/39  American rights stand in Tientsin despite Japan-GB hostilities and blockade
06/17/39  Japan keeps upping the ante on GB, looking to pick a fight and drive out GB and the rest of the
world from China
06/21/39  Hull protests to Japan on Kulangsli and bombing repetitively of US property times lists the
attacks from Just in 1939, some 150 bombings, US reverend being held by Japanese
06/22/39  Admiral Yarnell rebuffs Japan’s demand US leave Swatow, said navy prepared to protect
American lives and property, US will hold Japan for loss of US lives or damage to American
property, Japan now denies making that demand
06/22/39  Tokyo’s naval commander after taking Swatow ordered all foreign vessels including a US
destroyer to leave the seaport, Yarnell rejects order
06/23/39  US rejects demand to leave Swatow
06/23/39  US doubles its fleet in Swatow
06/23/39  US ships ignore Japanese demand, Hull backs Yarnell’s stand, lists ships in China, 40 of them
06/29/39  Japan warns US at Foochow and Wenchou, US rejects warning again, US warns Japan it will be
held liable to any damage done to US ships
07/01/39  Japanese bomb destroys American school that was plainly marked, US protest
07/04/39  Japan and GB to meet in Tokyo to talk about China, 2 US soldiers released in Canton on
Suspicion they had struck a Japanese sentry while on leave
07/07/39  Japan assails GB as enemy, condemns their aid to China
07/08/39  Japan demands Britain change her policy in China, also stress their hatred of Britain
07/08/39  Mme. Chiang asks for boycott of Japan
07/11/39  US protest Chungking raid, bombs fell near US embassy, protest bombing in Peiping damaging
a US hospital
07/16/39  Japanese sentry slaps two American women and a boy, US consul demands disciplinary action
07/21/39  Japanese soldiers insult US flag by tearing it down
07/23/39 Voters back US actions in China to project US interests, change in sentiment noted from two years ago before had favored “hands off” do nothing, now they want to see action, if we don’t believe in war why are we furnishing the materials of war

07/24/39 Japanese soldiers beat US sailor at Hankow

07/25/39 US Govt concerned over increasing violence in China against Americans, fear a continuance of events despite apologies from Japan, officer recently beaten (yesterday), Japan has made promises but to no avail, blame it on language difficulties

07/27/39 GB rolls over in China, Japan will take full advantage and Chinese upset, condemn the pact as violation of 9-power pact

07/27/39 As a result of our displeasure over China and events involving US citizens, US denounces 1911 commercial treaty with Japan and gives 6 month notice as required

07/27/39 Agreement is reached between Japan and GB, Chinese not happy

07/27/39 Japan stunned on 1911 treaty action by US, say its ‘unthinkable’ has no reason for US move

07/27/39 US exporters fear huge loss of trade with Japan over news

07/27/39 Text of trade treaty will be enforced until 6 months after either side said it has given notice of termination

07/28/39 Chinese happy over US trade treaty termination, say it’s a psychological deterrent to Japan, US protest Canton searches, ready to defend against search by fighting

07/28/39 Issue of new treaty up to Japan, US says will depend on developments, Congress ok move by Hull and Roosevelt, no sympathy for Japanese aggression, Borah favors embargo which is a change in tune

07/28/39 Treaty action stuns Japan, feel it is unbelievable abrupt, move is held unfriendly, seen as gesture aimed at Japanese policy, politically significant, Japan had hoped other would just accept what’s going on in China, ultimate misunderstanding of Japan on the US, worried US is its best customers and they gets lots from US, wait and see attitude

07/28/30 Most important US move since war began by canceling trade treaty, seen as first step to embargo, US can’t do an embargo according to the treaty thus it was ended thus embargo likely in six months, say China is long time friend and suffered enough also US still takes its promises seriously (9-power pact and US citizen property treatment)

07/29/39 Washington silent regarding treaty and Japan’s eagerness for a new treaty, US say too early to look at anything, say Japan scrapped 9-power treaty in 1931 when it invaded Manchuria

07/29/39 France hails US treaty move as act of great importance, US has severely annoyed Axis powers, gives them a could shoulder US no longer seen as aloof

07/30/39 US action upsets many Japanese notions, will democracies develop new kind of team work, GB wished it had been done a week earlier, Japan worried because they don’t understand treaty move moral shock because they had believed US would never interfere

07/30/39 Japan shocked by treaties, US unsure about Atlantic but united about Pacific problems

07/31/39 Japanese destroy American hospital from the air

07/31/39 Japan advised to be calm, optimistic and wait and see

08/02/39 Japan sees treaty denouncement as vote getting ploy, US protest series of assaults by Japanese on Americans

08/03/39 US protest assaults by Japanese military, demand immediate protection, Sen. Schwellenbach of Washington says US biggest reason Japan doing so well in China


08/06/39 Only US could hurt Japan this way because they care so much about US, they want to win US friendship, but also people have flaming resentment toward US, no hope for resolution within 6 months if trade were to stop the blow would be heavy

08/06/39 New US protests made to Japan of anti-foreign acts despite Japanese denials, Japan cut off communications because of a missionaries report, mission buildings destroyed

08/07/39 Since US announced it was ending 1911 trade treaty anti-American activities have gone up in Japanese controlled areas of China, Still wont recognize Manchuko

08/10/39 Report Americans arrested and US missionaries being forced to leave areas in China

08/12/39 36 are in peril, fate of Americans are not known

08/13/39 Japan reports Americans are safe still awaiting direct word, American church bombed in Foochow
08/15/39 60-year-old US woman reported slapped by Japanese sentries
08/16/39 Japanese blamed in slapping case of 59-year-old American widow by Japanese sentry Mrs. Mary Francis Richards she’s an English teacher she wants justice for humiliation
08/18/39 Japan regrets slapping, representative for Japan in Peiping said
08/19/39 US back GB in its dispute in China with Japan, see interference with trade
08/19/39 No apology for slapping, soldier not punished and won’t be, denies yesterdays statement
08/20/39 Japanese apologizes for slapping case guarantee Americans will receive courteous treatment in future and the sentry had been punished according to military law
08/21/39 Japanese paper Asahi says Americas attitude that Japan’ efforts to preserve friendship not reciprocated manifested, now favor a stronger policy in china involving greater injury to Americans.
08/30/39 Ending of trade treaty backed by Americans, 82% of Americans would cut off arms shipments
09/15/39 US protests Japans bombing of American church
09/26/39 20,000 for each side are killed in Chingsha battle, Chinese burned town to ground to avoid handing it over to Japanese, US protest closing of US school in Kaifeng
10/03/39 Japan states purpose in China as permanent peace, warn other nations to leave China alone
10/04/39 Tokyo admits defeat by Soviet in Mongolia, casualties placed at 18,000, Soviet losses about the same, Russia victory placed at better mechanized units and artillery
10/04/39 US inquires into drunk Japanese soldiers abusing priest from Kentucky after he tries to stop them from beating up a Chinese man
10/10/39 Bombs damage US evangelical mission
10/12/39 US marine arrested in wounding of two policeman, Japanese consider it a serious matter, Happened while marine standing guard over freight car containing supplies
10/19/39 Grew admonishes Japanese on China and its treatment of Americans there, US public opinion resenting these events
10/20/39 American opinion as stated by ambassador Grew say people deeply resented bombings and indignities and interference with American rights in China, at the hands of the Japanese army, speech astounds Japan, strongest address made by a diplomat in Japan, US preparing action, Japan censors speech, points to consequences
10/21/39 Japan says will of entire Japanese nation to bring about new order in East Asia is too strong to be changed or affected by the interference of a third power; Japan defies US to curb China war
10/21/39 Plain talking with Japan, hope it will result as a favor it Japanese expression goes a more sincere attitude in its dealing with the US, US new order just another name for seizure of alien lands, say Japan delusional lack of regard for weaker neighbors
10/23/39 Tokyo seeks talks with Grew on rift takes a shock to get attention control of army a factor
10/24/39 Japan realizes need for negotiations, say there are many wrinkles in as Japanese relationship, US need to be wary of actual happenings in China, says he found US has a deplorable ignorance and a tendency think that whatever Japan does is wrong
10/28/39 Asahi paper says negotiations for the settlement of several hundred cases that Americans allege will take place shortly
10/28/39 Japanese arrest New York priest in Kyoto headed for China for potential subversive actions
10/29/39 Tucker treated well as US tries to get New Yorker released
10/30/39 Japanese learning of American claims of injuries in China, formerly hidden, are now admitted newspaper Yomiuri publishes frank account of outrages and injuries America’s suffered in China, US guarantees for the future
10/31/39 Japan denies plan to talk with US put any plan to do so on hold for the moment
11/02/39 Negotiations between US and Japan aren’t seen happening until new Nanking regime in place, army’s hand seen in reversal of talks with US
11/03/39 Japan say peace asked by US in East is impossible, US is perpetuating a system which ignores what the rest of the world want, Japans doesn’t want the maintaining of the status quo
11/04/39 US warns Tokyo, insists full rights in China in blunt tone, must act quickly or risk embargo, Japan’s new order hints at reducing US rights in China, US expect Japan to stop hostilities against Americans right away. (Japan might have been allowed to establish new order in China if it hadn’t bombed US targets and humiliated US citizens in China)
11/05/39 US public approves of US’s firmer stand on rights in China; Japan says typical of Americans to not realize there’s a war going on in China
11/05/39  Warning to Japan denied by Grew, denies he did not threatened pressure, Japan seeks secret compromises from US

11/06/39  Japanese suggest payments to US as one way of improving Japan-US relations would show Japan’s sincerity

11/11/39  Americans obtain Japanese amends for bombing, lists which missions got paid

11/12/39  Grew jolted Japan when he let her know what US thought of her actions in China, Mrs. Grew is granddaughter of Admiral Perry

11/15/39  Japan attacks Indo-China, Japan worried about US stand on attack and its opposition to a new order, say if they want to maintain friendship with US the must quickly crush Chiang Kai-Shek

11/18/39  Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles stresses US rights in China

11/19/39  Japan says Tientsin blockade would have ended 3 months ago if US hadn’t stiffened GB resolve, blames voiding of trade treaty

11/21/39  Welles reasserts American rights to trade in China, protests obstruction of the transit of US goods in China

11/23/39  Welles denies any trade talks with Japan, treaty will depend on developments in China, War sales to Japan studied

11/26/39  1920’s were a period of good understanding between the US and Japan, things started going sour in 1931 with Manchuria, compromise held impossible

11/29/39  Japanese to ease Tientsin blockade, American protest thought to be chief factor

12/05/39  US envoy in Tokyo resume parley, Japan said it will pay for injuries, Asahi says over 300 cases of bombings, murder, insult and interference in China brought forth, orders issued to prevent reoccurrences, American beaten in Shanghai by police, his wife is Japanese, slapped wife carrying baby, Chinese police fire at GB soldiers on leave

12/09/39  Losses of Americans in China war listed, property attacked 150 times by Japanese planes, 25 wounded and 2 Americans killed, 36 missions or schools damaged or destroyed, US say only 6 have died but Chinese property damage estimates are close enough, US naval worker slapped

12/12/39  Yarnell said bombing of Chinese cities is stupid because its done more to unify China, say Japanese war aim is to remove all foreign interests from China, says war is a stalemate, says US pacific fleet is weak

12/14/39  US sees Japan closing off China not guaranteeing US rights there, US interests will suffer when treaty expires in January

12/17/39  US missionary Tucker’s sentence suspended had been in jail 6 months

12/20/39  Japan optimistic on pact with US, says progress has been made

12/21/39  Japan in a hurry to talk with US, would settle for temporary pact that wouldn’t need senate approval, failure to do means end of Japanese cabinet, nationalist criticize move

12/23/39  Japan welcomes US reply to bid but forced optimism is seen, US sees obstacles

12/24/39  Japan rejoices at US concession to maintain trade even without a treaty, Japan now feels its best market will remain open

12/25/39  Borah in favor of trade going on even after pact expirees in name of peace

12/28/39  Japan not happy with cool US response to new trade treaty, earlier optimism is gone, fear being subordinated to US

12/29/39  Japan justifies policy in Orient as same as US policy in South America

12/29/39  American women hit by Japanese sentry US demands immediate investigation and disciplinary action

12/30/39  Japan denies Shanghai beating; naval representative for Japan sees it as plot by Americans with ulterior motives with ill-will toward Japan, Something fishy about Miss Frances Donaldson’s allegations

12/31/39  Japan is expected to ask new treaty see big concessions being given by Japan

12/31/39  American mission bombed in Ichang, 70 were killed

1940-41

01/04/40  Rout of Japanese, claimed north of Canto, American church bombed on raid on Ichang, severe damage caused

01/05/40  Tokyo hears US sentry shot a Japanese soldier

01/05/40  China claims Japan suffered big losses, Japan hints at retiring from Asia

01/07/40  Horinouchi sees Hull to make temporarily pact to continue trade until a permanent one can be made, current pact ends Jan. 26
01/13/40 Japan bars any anti-US drive in China, Tokyo denies sentry struck American woman, US and Japan clash over attack
01/16/40 Temporary trade treaty when old one expires not likely
01/18/40 Senate looks at topic of temporary treaty
01/19/40 Japan says Donaldson slapping may have happened, will try to prevent similar events from happening again
01/20/40 If treaty continues to be unofficially viewed then Japan will keep tariffs low
01/20/40 Japanese warships shells US mission in China, building flying American flags
01/21/40 Japan stock piling American goods before treaty expires
01/21/40 Pittman demands new Tokyo policy and new Japanese attitude if things are going to change
01/21/40 Report of an attack on D. Kable by police in Tatao
01/22/40 American reporter James Young is arrested after returning from China
01/23/40 Grew studies young case
01/24/40 China claims rout of Japanese force, snow blankets battlefield
01/24/40 US tells Japan that trade will be on a day to day basis
01/24/40 US rejects last minute Japanese proposal also US got out of for 2 reasons, one to have a free hand and two, to express US disapproval of Japan’s course in China and that still hasn’t changed
01/25/40 Japan abandons last ditch effort to save trade treaty
01/25/40 China claim big victory over Japan in Hupeh
01/26/40 Trading companies don’t expect any change in trade with US
01/26/40 Japan makes final plea on US trade pact on eve of lapse, no immediate change said
01/26/40 Chinese communist blamed for two assassination attempts on Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson, some see Japan behind it
01/26/40 US silent on pact with Japan, say next move is Japan’s move
01/27/40 Japanese claim victory in China over 10,000 Chinese troops
01/28/40 Trade treaty ends mostly because of the hundreds of incidents including slapped faces, river closings, Panay bombing, open door
01/29/40 Chinese charge Japanese with mass bayonetings murders during rally for Chiang Kai-shek
01/29/40 China claims success, Japan admits 200 die in train wreck
02/01/40 Arita denies plan to end US rights in China in ‘New Order Asia’, also bring up treaty say it was a pledge of friendship
02/01/40 British financier says US playing poker with Japan and is holding 5 twos and got Japan cold and all the business people in Japan know it
02/01/40 3 Americans charge ill treatment by sentries in Tientsin
02/02/40 Japan to try US writer on slander charge
02/02/40 In 2 different areas while in another Japan reports gains
02/03/40 US envoy unable to free writer James R. Young charged with spreading slanderous rumors
02/04/40 Dr. W.W. Yen of China urges US to take firmer stand with Japan doesn’t think it will lead to war, Japan not to risk suicide war
02/04/40 US protest Japan bombing of last railroad line used to transport US exports to China
02/04/40 Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson caught in the middle of 2 sides shelling each other
02/05/40 Japan ignores US and bomb railroad line anyway and say bombing will go
02/08/40 Japan prepares for US pressure, the call the ending of the trade treaty an insult, Arita says Premier need to issue a warning to US to reassure the Japanese people
02/10/40 Hostility to Americans in Japan rises; Japan fears embargo, Asahi urges end of dependence on US and to prepare for the worst
02/13/40 Japan may use Chinese prisoners of war in coal mines in Japan to remedy labor shortage
02/15/40 People in Tokyo finally learn about 232 US complaints against Japanese in China some say as high as 600, Arita claim most of the cases have been settled, also call them trifles, say Americans aren’t able to make any common sense
02/16/40 US lining opposition to Japanese puppet Govt in China
02/16/40 Japan admits retiring from two Northern China areas
02/17/40 Arita says trade treaty will be difficult, because considerable fundamental differences exist regarding Japan’s new order in China
02/18/40 Japan claims it inflicted great losses on the Chinese
02/19/40 Chinese deny big Japanese victory
02/20/40 Japan gives up hope for new treaty, calls it futile right now, say relations with US are very important and making every effort to be friendly but its not being reciprocated
02/20/40 Japan to release Young
02/23/40 Tokyo foreign office not surprised over Hull’s lack of excitement over settlement of 21 of the 232 pending cases against Japan over incidents in China, fewer bombings cited
02/25/40 Japan seizes US school pupils, 75 of them
02/27/40 Japan to try James Young
03/09/40 US $20 million loan to China angers Japan, see it as unfriendly act, say it’s a blow to their victory hopes
03/10/40 Missionaries report flag desecrated by Japanese, threatened to cut hands off of any one who replaces it
03/12/40 Tokyo abandons idea it can change US attitude toward Japan’s aims in China, Yakichiro Suma foreign office spokesman says 2 causes of estrangement, 1: US resentment at infringement of its rights in China, 2: US believes Japan’s motives in China are aggressive, feel US opinion would change if they really understood what Japan is doing in China
03/12/40 Japan reports victory in Swatow say they inflict huge losses, 1939 stats say Japan killed 2,968 in Kwangtung air raids, no intention to occupy just want to deal crushing blow to China
03/13/40 Japan pledges aid to puppet regime in China under Wang Ching-Wei
03/16/40 Trial of Young concluded, suspended sentence for Young expected and will likely leave country
03/12/40 Tokyo abandons idea it can change US attitude toward Japan’s aims in China, Yakichiro Suma foreign office spokesman says 2 causes of estrangement, 1: US resentment at infringement of its rights in China, 2: US believes Japan’s motives in China are aggressive, feel US opinion would change if they really understood what Japan is doing in China
03/13/40 Japan pledges aid to puppet regime in China under Wang Ching-Wei
03/16/40 Trial of Young concluded, suspended sentence for Young expected and will likely leave country
03/24/40 Arita regrets US can’t understand the correct point of view, says “our greatest efforts fail to make them understand US”
03/30/40 US will ignore new Wang regime, won’t recognize any administration set up by force
03/31/40 Young freed by Japan
04/02/40 Says Hull’s non-recognition statement is just an election-year manoeuvre, old formula new situation
04/06/40 Japan backs Wang attack on Hull and warns against interference, say Hull was diplomatically discourteous, deny violation of 9-power treaty
04/07/40 Nanking puppet regime attack US aims in Far East
04/16/40 Nanking puppet regime attack US aims in Far East
04/16/40 Japan fears US intervention, Japan says it won’t let war spread in Far East
04/21/40 Japan reveals her desire to be heir to Indies despite Hull’s warning for them to stay away
04/27/40 Both armies claim success in China near Kaifeng
05/02/40 US-Japan optimistic about renewing talks to clear up US issues in China
05/03/40 Japan thinks US-Japanese relations have reached a turning point for the better
05/12/40 Indo-China arming to try and keep Japan out, they are changed because of Japanese brutality
05/12/40 Japan insists on Indies peace
05/14/40 China claims worst Tokyo defeat but Japanese ridicule report by saying they are victors
05/23/40 Japanese announce triumph in Hupeh wiped out 10 divisions
05/30/40 Japan is stressing interest in Indies, what they do depends on Europe, expect speedy end to war
06/04/40 Tokyo reaffirms unchanged policy, support for Wang and status quo, grave concern over South Seas
06/05/40 Japan warns Westerners to leave Chungking or else, Japan won’t be responsible for any injuries or destruction in upcoming raids
06/17/40 113 Japanese bombers raid Chungking, trying to bomb China into submission, bomb comes uncomfortably close to US gunboat Tutuila, 10,000 left homeless
06/21/40 Japanese massing near Indo-China
06/21/40 Japan lifts Tientsin blockade
06/22/40 Looks like Japan planning moves in Orient to help Axis
06/23/40 Japanese on the move Indo-China
06/24/40 Axis pressuring Tokyo to make an attack in Indo-China
06/25/40 Japan sends fleet to Indo-China port, seen as precursor to military move
06/26/40 Must act dramatically against the powers who obstruct Japan’s national policy, won’t allow interference, proclaim autonomy of East Asia
06/27/40 Japan’s intentions in Indo-China not hidden very well, US fleet seen as only possible deterrent to Japanese aggression
06/27/40 Fall of France seen as a green light for Japan in Indo-China
06/30/40 Japan demands vast sphere in East Asia, want a single sphere under Japan, Japan’s Monroe Doctrine
07/02/40 Hull repeats US stand on Far East in face of Japan’s declaration for Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, position is on respect for treaties
07/06/40 Hull says Monroe Doctrine rests on the policy of self-defense not what Japan has intended for its version, Hull stands firm on stand
07/07/40 Japan wants speed up hegemony in East Asia
07/09/40 Japan issues its most anti-American statement since China war started, surrounds issue of marines detaining 16 armed civilian Japanese caught in American sector of Shanghai, said they were poorly treated will protest (irony)
07/10/40 Japan demands US apology, Anti-foreign sentiment fanned in Shanghai, protest mistreatment
07/10/40 Japan welcomes Roosevelt’s more defensive view of the Monroe Doctrine
07/13/40 Tokyo believed to be on the move and will take over European possessions in Pacific
07/14/40 Japanese Monroe Doctrine mentioned
07/21/40 Asia for Asians
07/23/40 American newsmen send protest to Roosevelt regarding growing terrorism in China against Americans
07/24/40 Japan threatens America and Americans that they will take further steps if US doesn’t quit Asia, is an extraordinary proclamation firm stand of Japanese people, they will not retreat this is our warming, Wang threatens action, defiant of America
07/25/40 Japan denies there is any anti-American movement growing in Shanghai, Americans in China say otherwise, Japan promises to take steps stop any movement or attacks
07/26/40 US mission in China bombed
07/31/40 Japanese pride sensitive if Americans hassle any Japanese in China but have no problem when senty slaps a westerner or kicks a helpless Chinese
08/01/40 Bomb found in Shanghai newspaper plant which is American owned, military laws in Chinese occupied territories worry foreigners
08/01/40 Japan says prosperity in Asia is aim, want to set up chains in East Asia following Manchukuo pattern, think this will establish world peace
08/03/40 Japan seize US ship
08/03/40 Japan claims South Seas areas in its Greater East Asia sphere, no comment on Philippines
08/05/40 Japanese abuses female US missionary by sentry, Pro-Japanese mayor had just been assassinated
08/06/40 Japanese make amends to American missionary’s wife over slapping incident in China, also say there’s growing tension and uncertainty over future relations between US and Japan
08/06/40 Japan looks south, editorial predicts conquest of China not enough for Japan
08/08/40 Japan seeking to create economic bloc in Far East aiming at self-sufficiency
08/09/40 126 members of house in Japan urge Japan drive out British from Orient
08/10/40 US will stay on guard in China
08/10/40 GB pulls out of China, stuns the world, international force in Shanghai including 1,200 Brits will fall under Japanese command
08/14/40 US considering pulling marines from China
08/15/40 Accord is reached on Shanghai with GB gone
08/20/40 Incendiary bombs blast Chungking, 100 planes involved, 20,000 homeless, American church burned in worst raid of year, Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson witnesses bombing
08/20/40 US resisting Shanghai change, Tokyo wants full control, GB to leave Saturday, new crisis expected when they leave
08/21/40 Blazing Chungking bombed again, 6th attack in four days, 25,000 homes burned, American Methodist Church destroyed
08/22/40 Dutch Indies fear Japan will seize the Islands if US enforces embargo on Japan
08/22/40 Japanese approve US-Canadian pact say it gives Japan justification for what it’s doing in Far East
08/24/40 US warns Japan in blunt manner that a day of reckoning must come if Japan persisted in present course in East Asia
08/25/40 Hull silent on note of warning to Japan
Admiral Harry E. Yarnell says war in China is our war and we need to realize it is our war and own future safety, stop sending war material to Japan

Japanese seeking Indies Oil supply, Indies buy US planes

Japanese put pressure on Indies seen as reply to American hints on embargo, foreign office spokesman Yakichiro Suma criticizes Yarnell can’t believe he holds those views

US presses Japan to respect rights in China, Hull no comment on note of warning

US oil embargo policy disturbs Dutch Indies as Japan increases pressure for resources there

Japanese bombs destroy American church flag painted on roof

Japan says US and GB have secret agreement to perpetuate the enslavement of the Asiatic peoples

US mission in Yuanling bombed

Japan to reject Hull’s protest regarding leaving Indo-China alone, say US has no curse for alarm, China fears spread of war

US protests any move by Japan to disrupt the status quo in Indo-China

Japanese newspaper depressed by thought of US-GB collaboration means a menace to Japan’s plans for greater East Asia, also say US conduct indicates if Japan invades East Indies US will assist the Netherlands

Tokyo paper sees US warning as an undisguised challenge to Japan, say US “aggressive” policy has worsened relations with Japan

Japan makes move in Indo-China so to use as base against China, twist French arm to stop slipping supplies to China

US chides Japan and hull deplores Japan’s attack on Indo-China and upsetting the status quo

US Orient policy disturbs Japanese, claim its intervention, election won’t change US policy on Far East

Japan expect US to retaliate for its move in Indo-China, had weighed the risks, had no doubt of US attitude, Japan against Anglo-American pact, see US preparing aggressive formations near East Indies

Our policy in East is in conflict with a rapidly expanding Japan, say Japan is taking advantage in China and Asia of European war, If there was any way to change Japanese course, then US should have policy of appeasement say China should continue their resistance to Japan

GB resident in Tokyo urges a 3-country tie with Japan GB and US with accords on China would include recognition of Manchukuo and Vichy in Indo-China

Axis pact seen as Japan finally deciding to take all risks in pursuit of their Greater East Asia policy

Japan’s move in China are somewhat a result of US increasing embargos, US follows same policy, New Order

Japanese in Haiphong take American depot withdraw soon after; expressing regrets replace flag they had removed

US is threatened by press in Tokyo, say war would result if US pushes for Burma road opening, respect for Japan urged, US should avoid any silly moves

US telling Americans to get out of Far East, startles the Japanese press, say US is always excessively cautious, Japan still not admitting it’s policies are meeting deep and serious opposition, Americans told to quit Orient, Japanese can’t understand why

US citizens told to come home as soon as affairs put in order.

Tension seen growing in Far East, US advice to leave came as shock to Americans.

Japan down plays US alarm about learning Far East, says US being unnecessarily nervous

Knox knows of no plans to pull out marines

Japan apologizes for beating US sailor who was drunk

US won’t change Far East policy or renounce friendship with China, even after threats

Tokyo Americans heed state department flee Far East, 100 families come home, Shanghai Americans warned again

US Ship plans and process of removing US citizens from Far East shock and upset Tokyo

Pittman calls Japan’s foreign minister a bluffing bulldog, Japan threatened war unless US surrender its rights in Pacific and cease to protest against the mistreatment of our citizens in China
10/18/40 Japan to get oil from East Indies, 40 percent of Japan’s needs, under pressure as Japan hints at force
10/19/40 US Navy ship their families stationed at Philippines home to the US
10/26/40 American exodus from Far East continues
10/27/40 Hitler asks Japan to end war in China and push into Dutch Indies
10/30/40 Japan sees its moves in East as not being a part of the axis
10/31/40 Some Americans in orient slow in returning don’t think there’s an immediate war
11/01/40 Tokyo paper accuses US of preparing to attack Japan, says US stockpiling weapons in Manila and Rangoon. Military encirclement claimed, point to exodus of Americans
11/09/40 American held incommunicado in China, works as an engineer for Japanese
11/13/40 Goal for Japan is to sweep away remains of the White empire from the Far East
11/14/40 Admiral Sankichi Takahasi said the scope of new order is North Munchukuo and South in Australia and will be constructed in several stages says war will come between US and Japan, no settlement in Pacific until show down
11/14/40 US protests seizure of ship
11/18/40 Tension returns to Shanghai with increase in assassinations by Chinese gunman, Japan blames US for stirring up trouble
11/19/40 Thailand starts fight with neighbor Annam, Japan warns Thailand her future lies with greater Asia bloc, also says Thailand better not make any pacts w/Great Britain or US
11/21/40 China will spurn any Tokyo peace plan, align with Great Britain and US against Axis, mentions US opinion against Axis
11/22/40 Japan seizes American woman accused of violating peace preservation law
11/22/40 Japanese navy responsible for extorting money from American business men in China
11/23/40 Japan frees American missionary
11/23/40 Japanese arrest two American for taking pictures of army zone in Haiphong
11/24/40 US protests arrests of consul and writer who took pictures, Japan charges espionage
11/25/40 Missionary assaulted by Japanese officer
11/28/40 New Japanese envoy to US seen as Japan not being ready to move toward Singapore or Dutch Indies
12/02/40 Japan has given up peace hopes in China, main reason is results of recognizing Wang regime, “sink or swim’’ policy
12/03/40 Loans to China resented
12/03/40 Japanese man throws refuse on US embassy gate in Tokyo, Police guard increased, loans to China resented
12/04/40 U.S. loan to China resented in Tokyo, say final test declared nearer as a result, armed conflict depends solely on American action
12/08/40 Shanghai experts see a Japanese attack on Burma, say Japan has abandoned plans to take Dutch Indies because of US opposition, Japan under pressure to get victories or admit defeat in China
12/09/40 US is said to be obstructing Japan’s new order
12/12/40 Tokyo expects war in Indo-China between French and Thailand
12/19/40 Grew says Japan’s good intentions not enough as far as war in China goes, Japan say they aren’t waging war of aggression or greed but are on a moral crusade
12/30/40 Japan list war gains of 1940 in China war, say 13,131 killed in 1940; 101,899 since war began
01/01/41 China sees gains over Japan in 1941, praises US for help in resisting Japan, recaptured 89 towns
01/02/41 US Marines arrested earlier were also insulted and threatened
01/03/41 US Marines ask Japanese apology over assault of 5 Marines, insulted and threatened by drunken Japanese in Peiping, Japanese military are silent on issue
01/04/41 Japanese civilian blamed for 5 US Marines in jail as he tried to pick a fight
01/04/41 Japanese in Peiping accuse US marine of grabbing pipe from Japanese mouth, asserts Marines had been “celebrating”
01/05/41 Deadlock continues in Peiping argument both sides demanding apology
01/05/41 Chinese put foes’ loss at 1.8 million men since 1937
01/05/41 American missions repeatedly bombed despite display of flag on churches and schools
01/16/41 American property damaged
01/18/41 Japanese paper calls for Japanese action in Indo-China to rescue the natives from French rule
01/20/41 Japan sees US in decisive role in both European and Asiatic conflicts, rush to say China will crumble any time soon, China will keep up resistance for long time with aid from US and GB

01/22/41 Japan says US and GB aid to China won’t restrain their plan, a new order in East Asia is the backbone of Japan’s foreign policy, must redoubled efforts

01/23/41 US seen in plot to ruin East Asia with economic pressure, worst fears have finally come but Japan prepared to fight great long war, Japan desires peace

01/24/41 Roosevelt sending aid to Chungking on the heels of Japan’s warning of war avoidance depends on noninterference with Japan’s “Greater East Asia”, Diet feels US is determined to prevent Japan from carrying out her greater East Asia plans

01/26/41 Japan won’t allow any other nations to intervene in any disputes in Asia, Matsuoka says Japan has a right to that leadership, feels US trying to out wit her and won’t tolerate that

01/27/41 US objection to Japan’s control of Western Pacific called outrageous

01/28/41 Sec. Hull said mutual understanding and cooperation with Japan is fruitless, Hull says Japan “undoubtedly” intends to seize control of French Indo-China

01/30/41 Japan would keep US out of the war, Nomura sent to have heart-to-heart talks with Roosevelt

02/02/41 Big Japanese gains in China reported

02/03/41 Indo-China seen as springboard for Japan to rest of Far East

02/04/41 Japan continues to put pressure on Indies, say aims are economical not political, won’t let US and GB get in way

02/08/41 Japan denies war aim, did not want a real conflict in China, when war does end greatest portion of US, Japan misunderstanding will disappear

02/09/41 Japan moves warily toward her new goal, chief reliance is navy, new blow in China in Saigon

02/11/41 Japan believed to be making a thrust soon

02/14/41 Japan says Sino-Japanese war will end quickly with destruction of GB base at Singapore

02/14/41 Fears on Orient up in Washington, diplomats expect new drive toward Dutch Indies or Singapore, US nationals warned advised to leave

02/15/41 Roosevelt meets with Nomura for first time emphasize anxiety for peace in Orient

02/16/41 Japan taking things slow in China for two reasons, first situation in Europe and second what will US do if they drive south

02/16/41 Asiatic powers prepare for Japan’s thrust will be a serious nuisance to allies, say Singapore is first goal because of naval base

02/16/41 Japan pushes ahead in Orient but keeps on eye on Washington, GB and Australia getting worried

02/19/41 US doctor tells of Burma bombing say Japanese saved one bomb for American hospital although just missed, hospital had been preparing for such a situation

02/25/41 Foreign minister Yosuke Matsuoka suggest white races cede their possessions in Oceania to the Asiatic races

02/26/41 Koh Ishii spokesman of the cabinet board of information denies Matsuoka said white race should cede Oceania to the Asiatics, Japan doesn’t have immigration policy to Oceania yet

02/26/41 Japan tells Australia it wouldn’t initiate any aggressive policy in Pacific or against Australia and just want freer trade in Dutch East Indies

02/27/41 Japan warns French Indo-China that it needs to cede territory within week and warns against interference from outside countries, Japan doesn’t want to be a victim of French “Procrastination”

02/28/41 Japan sets terms in Indo-China, French must yield territory in Thailand but deny ultimatum answer must be submitted today, situation delicate because of procrastination, Japan says proposal is fair to both sides

03/02/41 Japan moves more warships to indo-China

03/06/41 US Foreign policy is order in Asia and for equal opportunity in Far East, US has deep and natural concern for problems in Far East, our traditions are centered on concepts of equality and opportunity

03/09/41 Japan in a dilemma to advance or not advance, fear break with GB or if delay then fear being viewed as weak, balancing risks

03/09/41 Methodist declare they’re leaving Japanese occupied China for fear of conflict in Asia

03/09/41 Japan takes key points along coast line
03/10/41 Japanese retire from South China say mission has been accomplished; China says they drove them out, leave Kwangtung Coast

03/10/41 Chinese troops say they have recaptured Kwangtung province cities

03/11/41 South China cities ravaged by Japan in Kwangtung, material destined for US destroyed

03/12/41 Japan signs peace with France to end hostilities in Indo-China, Japan dictated the terms

03/12/41 Japanese Rear Admiral Gumpei Sekine says Philippines fall under Tokyo sphere and while Japan has no territorial ambitions but if GB falls whose control does its Pacific territories fall to

03/14/41 Tokyo envoy asks for Australian amity, Australia for Australians and Asia for Asian

03/15/41 US protests attacks on envoys in Japan

03/17/41 Japan launches an attack against China

03/17/41 Roosevelt speech causes stir in Japan after he says America will extend aid to Britain and China until victory is achieved

03/23/41 Japanese leaders defy US threats over China, say Japan’s policies were not aggressive, say US is dog barking at a safe distance

03/27/41 US missionaries arrested in Korea accused of anti-war campaign

03/27/41 Matsuoka is hoping to come back from German visit with recognitions for Nanking Govt

04/12/41 Konoye reiterates emphasis is on peace, say expansion in South East Asia is only economic, working with Germany and Italy so it won’t have any embargos expect more sanctions from US

04/13/41 Book review of Hallett Abend, a reporter, talks of his time in East called “Japan Unmasked”

04/15/41 US protest Japan’s seizing of US oil in Shanghai

04/19/41 Japanese invasion seen in Indies Region

04/20/41 James Young writes about life as a journalist for 13 years in Far East

04/22/41 Matsuoka advised to visit US next to ease Pacific tensions to avert crisis, Tokyo press warns US to not attempt to break China blockade

04/21/41 Two Japanese papers report US is in a secret accord to defend South East Asia against Japanese drives

04/24/41 Next diplomatic moves up to US, Japan has gone as far as it can to restore original conditions

04/27/41 Soviet pact to spur efforts in China of Japan, Japan claims manifest destiny and Monroe Doctrine of East, against white dominance in Far East Copro prosperity sphere, Japan determined to be a strong power to escape fate of China, idea for Copro prosperity sphere started with Sino-Japanese war in 1894-5

04/28/41 Matsuoka urged to see Roosevelt pact with US should be next step, trip would benefit world, talk of US and Japan drifting toward ward, sees US suspicious of Japan thus war clouds

05/03/41 Japan says we invited Matsuoka, say US press initiated parley, Japanese press regard pact with US as sign of weakness, Japan can only defeat China if aid from US and GB stops

05/04/41 Japan expects political blitz, first step is to visit US to remove menace of US-Japanese war, Greater East Asia sphere

05/05/41 Matsuoka rejects idea of trip to US, says he knows America, says Roosevelt and Hull should visit Japan, to see conditions of his country

05/06/41 Hull makes no comment about Matsuoka’s offer to come to Japan

05/06/41 Matsuoka’s stand on visit deplored especially inviting Roosevelt and Hull because there is evidence of disunity and interior strife in US

05/11/41 Japan’s best bet is bargain with US, weight of US aid to China being felt, US is blocking Japan’s ability to end “China Incident”

05/12/41 Japan back to beginning even though she has overrun vast areas at her own enormous expense and sacrifice of world good-will and territory has little value or economic productivity ability

05/13/41 Chaing Kai-shek in rare speech said Japan is near exhaustion and China could beat her if world would cut off her war materials

05/14/41 Japanese predict new drive in China; future offensive will be larger Shanghai spokesman says

05/15/41 Grew and GB envoy meet with Matsuoka, coolness and formality is how they are received

05/15/41 Japan is rebuffed by GB foreign secretary Anthony Eden about discrimination against GB’s interests in China

05/24/41 Japan and Indies near break in negotiations, a showdown is seen near

05/25/41 Japan wants US to stop sending aid to China
05/26/41 Japan raid on US owned warehouses in Hanoi worth $10 million, Japan claims it was materials headed to China and they couldn't allow that
05/28/41 US questions Japan’s seizure of US goods at Haiphong
05/29/41 Roosevelt says US will increase aid to China, doesn’t make Japan happy, can’t stay silent
05/30/41 China sees Roosevelt’s chat as forcing Japan’s hand, either back Nazi’s or appease democracies, China pleased to hear about increased supplies
05/30/41 Kokumin said American cry for aid is a challenge to Japan and opposition to the ideals of Japan’s holy war and Coprosperity sphere
05/31/41 Dutch Indies and Japan having a trade dispute, Japan hinting at moving south, war council meeting
06/01/41 Japan analyzes East Asia mission, activists are hoping for a push south but Dutch are resisting
06/03/41 Japan vexed by hull letter saying it was interfering in China and not sent to Nanking
06/04/41 Japan takes US owned gasoline, 127,000 gallons in Haiphong, Call it a military robbery scheme, $10 million worth of American owned products
06/06/41 Far Eastern observers are watching for American’s flying planes for China, Tokyo regards US aviators as an “unfriendly Act”
06/06/41 Japanese seizure of goods in Hanoi protested by US, Grew talks to Matsuoka
06/07/41 700 Chinese killed in air raid shelter during Japanese night bombing of Chungking, US embassy is near blast, Japan stops day bombing for fear of US pilots
06/07/41 Shanghai ridicules Japanese reports of victories and killing 50,000 and taking 25,000 prisoners in Shansi
06/08/41 Grew act on own in letter saying already at war
06/09/41 Japanese defy protest over Haiphong seizures, Japan said Govt there gave consent and own ship of goods was in dispute
06/16/41 US warship or gunboat Tutuila slightly damaged in China by Japanese bombs, but offices in Chungking were destroyed by bombs
06/17/41 Grew again warns Japan on bombing in China, Protest on danger to US lives, delicate issue feared, protest second time in 10 days, cabinet meets but still intend to bomb Chungking daily
06/19/41 Japan demands the right to be part of the wealth of the Indies, was seeking to share with US and GB, see it now as economic warfare, press is bitter
06/22/41 Japan anxious for US pilots, want to see how they perform in China
06/23/41 With German attack of Russia, US awaits Japan’s next move, especially if its into Dutch Indies, if Germany wins will be more likely to be able to dictate to Japan
06/29/41 GB and US have been trying to stop Japanese expansion since end of WW1
06/30/41 Japan seizing Chinese-American cargo to prevent Chiang Kai-shek from getting it
07/01/41 Japan seize 41 American trucks
07/02/41 US attitude unchanged toward Nanking puppet government
07/03/41 China list losses at 42,000 in two months
07/05/41 Japan expected to push southward
07/06/41 Japan hast lost 109,250 over four years, China 2,015,000
07/07/41 Japan forms new policy league to deal with China on fourth anniversary of “China Incident”, they have formed “Great Japanese-East Asia Construction League”, All organizations have joined for the development of Asia and to do utmost to help eliminate root of evil in Greater Asia, namely white Anglo-American encroachments, cost worth it for right results
07/10/41 Editorial, asks what will Japan do next after shock of German attack on Russia, wonder if military leaders will get greedy and attack Russia or Dutch Indies or learn lesson from China and 1.5 million dead Japanese soldiers
07/11/41 Japan won’t abandon new order even to appease US, call it wishful thinking (not willing to compromise), yet are urgent to settle “China Incident”, Japanese press is icy neutral on German-Russo conflict but favor attacking US and GB for their aid to China
07/12/41 No win situation for Japan – if Hitler wins Japan becomes a vassal state, if Hitler loses they will be powerless and the US is committed to giving increasing aid to China, Japan willing to abandon attitude of conquest and accept free trade, Japanese people would gain only military stands in way.
07/13/41 Japan annoyed by GB moves in Indo-China and treaty with Chinese Govt, see it as blocking Japan’s aims in Thailand.
07/16/41 Japan wants to wait for end of European War to join winning side, also cabinet is divided over which way to expand south or to Siberia, US would object to either move.
07/16/41 Tokyo sends new demands to Indo-China and says they must continue trade
07/20/41 Japan unable to turn back in China, forced to continue her costly war, expected to move on Indo-China next, fate of Japan’s tied with Germany, says Indo-China is vital, Greater East Asia sphere
07/20/41 With new cabinet in Japan, China worried what she’ll do next
07/23/41 Japan moves on Indo-China, US to protest
07/24/41 Big convoy seen going south, 30 troop ships, 65 warships reported by China headed to Indo-China.
07/25/41 Arrival of warships in Indo-China should mark end of US policy in Far East and end of moral embargo and just start an embargo that won’t be a halfway measure anymore, some fear embargo will force Japan to be more aggressive should stop aiding a belligerent (smells of Germany in Europe)
07/26/41 Japan will begin troop landing in Saigon/Thailand this weekend.
07/28/41 Japan minimizes curbs on trade say retaliation will be gauged by our measures says finance minister Ogura, Japan just needs to hasten construction of East Asiatic sphere of self-sufficiency, see emergency ahead, call boycott anti-Japanese measure
07/28/41 Feverish preparations by Japanese in China seen, Japan recently drafted 250,000
07/29/41 Ever since war began four years ago it has been a big poker game between Japan and west, now game is up, Japan had been black mailling west and they paid with oil until now
07/31/41 Japan makes formal apology over the bombing of the stern of the U.S.S. Tutuila (Panay all over again) in Chung King Raid attack was not intended to involve American properties, Incident increases tension with every thing else gong on embassy and gunboat were clearly across the river from Chungking, US doubt it was an accident, damage is only superficial and no one died – house majority John W. McCormack of Mass. Calls it an act of hostilities, Japan a front for Hitler, Rep Luther A Johnson – those fellows have gone far enough (Japan’s actions have actually galvanized a divided congress)
07/31/41 Japan strengthens forces in Manchukuo waiting for the outcome of struggle in Europe, Japan tanks useless in China, talk about feeling strain of war
08/01/41 Editorial – Japan is quick to apologize, want to avoid further trouble with US, Japan hasn’t apologized yet for persistent bombing of Chungking, one reckless act to next, must admit failure in China, arrogance is Asia for Asiatics because Japan is hated throughout Asia for their ruthlessness
08/02/41 Japan continues to pour troops into Indo-China
08/03/41 Chinese newspaper criticizes US and GB for not stopping Japan’s advance into Thailand
08/04/41 Japan looks like it will push on despite threats of embargos
08/04/41 Japan asserts Thailand is next, Japan moves ahead with expansion program to establish new order in South Pacific, Coprosperity sphere will be difficult to obtain
08/07/41 More Japanese troops with full equipment land in Indo-China and ones that land in Manchukuo seen as threat to Vladivostok
08/07/41 Report of GB fortifying part of Thailand to protect Singapore, even though Japan doubts reports, coprosperity sphere, Japanese press charging GB and US aggression and are bitter about it, beginning to show hostilities to all foreigners
08/07/41 Japan rejects warnings from US and GB about Thailand
08/09/41 Say they will break encirclement the German way, say GB hassling Thailand, warn of the consequences of encirclement, say victory hinges on two things, first supremacy in the South China Sea which is needed to build coprosperity sphere and second the defeat of Russia.
08/09/41 Tokyo protests being encircled, say they have peaceful intentions, echo from Berlin, Hitler made similar complaints about being misunderstood, time will tell and actions speak louder than words
08/09/41 Hull says Japan encircles herself by all her actions, she can solve problem by staying out of areas which offend others, refers to Indo-China
08/10/41 China sees Nazis spurring on Japan although Hitler has praised strength of China’s army
08/10/41 Coprosperity sphere
08/10/41 US quits Swatow after demotions with slogans like denouncing US interference
08/10/41 Japan sees US and GB inducing Thailand to joining in checking Japan’s move south, see US and GB as obstacles for its Greater East Asia
08/12/41 Hull says Japan must alter her path, reiterates his 14 points from July of 1937, says none of the treaties regarding the Far East will not considered by US until Japan stops using force, considering removing all Americans left in China and Japan and bring them home
08/13/41 GB and US warn Japan to keep hands off Thailand, any action taken there would be of great concern, next step held grave, lines drawn, Japan can’t ignore US and GB pressure in Thailand
08/13/41 Push on Thailand by Japanese seen, Japan forces on border expected to reach 180,000, Japanese citizens leaving Philippines and Hong Kong, French Army liquidated
08/15/41 Japan scorn the 8 points, say its nothing new and too late, say US falling prey to GB
08/16/41 Program from Roosevelt and Churchill attacked in Japan say contrary to her aim to create a greater East Asia coprosperity sphere and to liberate the orient from the shackles of White Capitalism, see as a tricky plot, 8-point program, Japan wants status quo and recognition of Manchukuo and Nanking Govts
08/17/41 Japan refuses to allow 100 Americans to depart, US call them virtual hostages; Japan wants to force US to say why they should be allowed to go, Japanese ships avoiding US ports for fear of being seized in a conflict
08/17/41 Japan still griping about 8-points, Japan feels US won’t let her keep gains in Asia, war coming
08/19/41 Japan should see red lights to stop “Supreme Folly” to carry out dreams of expansion, If Japan continues then next step is into world war, no help from European allies
08/19/41 US prods Japan on travel delay of 200 Americans who have been waiting weeks to go home, US calls them hostages, Grew talks with Toyoda, Japan says they are not hostages but they have to get permission first from the Governor to leave as do all foreigners, Governor can change departure dates, hints at freezing of funds, US authorities didn’t keep promises, Japan working on principle of reciprocity, say American diplomacy should show more delicacy, encirclement
08/19/41 US still awaits Japanese reply on detained Americans, no satisfactory explanation has been given, Japan wants aviation gasoline
08/19/41 Japanese bomb hits US convent
08/20/41 Hull still awaits reply from Tokyo on held Americans, China supports 8-points
08/22/41 Americans hassled in China
08/22/41 Tokyo denies aim of held Americans is for them to serve as hostages, too proud for such a move, blame it on a lack of shipping as a reason for causing inconveniences, Americans leaving Japan for home via China
08/23/41 Japan allows Americans to go via China, no elaboration
08/25/41 Churchill is blunt about Far East and Europe, GB is on the side of the US in the Pacific, taking a strong line with Japan, lists Japanese aggressions
08/25/41 Encirclement by ABCDS Alliance, Tokyo press takes more hopeful line after Hull and Nomura meet, hope for alleviation of tension, Rumored US offers something for Thai neutrality, Nomura believes alleviation is possible, foolish not to make an effort
08/26/41 US not changing its orient policy Hull says after informal talks with Japan
08/27/41 Japanese army is determined to continue policies in the Far East despite GB command to stop, Japan not afraid of ‘threat’, calls it GB propaganda, say GB trying to get US to got to war
08/30/41 Japan still seeking Orient ‘sphere’, would like to end China war and get peace in Pacific on its own terms, want US to seriously reflect on crisis in Pacific and the encircling of Japan, war effort increased
08/31/41 Coprosperity sphere
09/03/41 China puts foes loss at 20,000 in 3 days
09/04/41 Premier emphatic with people urges national unity and display in peril, face greatest emergency in her history, going ahead with establishing of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere, dislike Soviet mission to US to get planes, encirclement
09/05/41 Coprosperity sphere
09/07/41 If US and GB do not understand Japan’s real intentions then they have to drive them out of East Asia, coprosperity sphere, need materials of Indo-China it’s very valuable to Japan
Coprosperity sphere has failed to be build through peaceful measures

Japan celebrates 10-year anniversary of Manchurian Incident, say China is racial war for the emancipation of the Orient from the clutches of the whites and movement to create a New Order

Japan too busy with China to attack anywhere else as seen in new activity in Hunan province

US protests to Japan about the detention of a female US teacher, on way home to US after 15 years accused of having invisible ink

Political Commentator Keichi Sakui says Japan can’t win sacred war in China until evil Anglo-American influences are eliminated

Japanese army determined to finish China Incident by crushing Chang

Japan manifest concern over rumor that US is sending military personnel to China to run their military campaigns against Japan

Determination despite hardships to establish greater coprosperity sphere

Japan wants to settle “China Incident” and establish a Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere

Tojo seeks end of China affair, insists that it is vital for formation of Coprosperity sphere, still says peace is ultimate goal of Japan

No turning back for Japan, Tojo says Japan to go ahead – cities immutable and irrevocable policie, seeks national unity, speaks of insincerity of US, say ‘a week dog barks loudly’

US protest about US embassy sentry being shot by man passing by in Rickshaw, marine hit in foot

Tokyo foresees a US-Japanese crisis, press predicts a showdown, Tojo says Japan pressing forward unswervingly for league of Far East nations

Japanese are holding 3 missionaries who were seized in China on Oct 22 and now just made attempts to get their releases are ineffective

Japan said to be massing more troops in Indo-China, not sure what the aim will be

Japan outlines 7 points of what US must do or “face the alternatives”, summed up US must get out of China

Japanese seen as threatening Borneo in Indo-China, Aim would be British oil fields

Japan threatens to hit Burma Road, Japans patience has reached ‘point of exhaustion’ to cut off US supplies to China

Japanese sees withdrawal of US troops from China as preparation against a crisis

US give order to pull marines out of China

Finance minister Okinori Kaya says Japan’s policy aims are a successful conclusion to ‘China incident’ and the establishment of a “greater East Asia coprosperity sphere, also aim to ‘force Britain and US to retreat from East Asia’ need a high defensive state, self-sufficiency empire still filled with hopes for an epochal rise and expansion but not free from danger

Japan to release and expel 3 Americans from Manchukuo

Singapore tense over Japanese increasing of troops in the area, Japanese civilians have been ordered to leave the area

US marines leaving China

Japan dreams of Hegemony in Orient

Shanghai clash doubted

Nye blames US government for not helping Japanese Govt save face in China; Bridges of N.H. say nothing gained by trying to appease Japanese

US troops stopping over in Manila on way out of China

Japan strengthens its force in Southern Indo-China

US will check any attack on the Burma Road by Japan

Hull sees Nomura, appears Japanese are massing troops in China, little hope seen for peace, reply expected soon from Japan

Monroe Doctrine turns 118, still a keystone of US foreign policy, 4 generations of loyalty, bears no resembles to axis version of Monroe doctrine which they talk so much of, Asia for Asiatics, Coprosperity, US Monroe doctrine mean equal rights for all, Japan domination of China -- then its phony peace.

Japan admits growing troops in Indo-China but are intended for other purpose than invading Thailand

Want to end china affair and create a new order.

Japan seen hesitating in Singapore switched to a defensive position
12/07/41  the Monroe Doctrine turns 118th last week
12/07/41  Dr. Koo of China says if Japan pounces on another country, ABCD front is ready for challenge
12/07/41  China says Japans response of building up troops in Indo-China a countering China to Roosevelt as an insult to intelligence
Appendix I
Notes for Chapter Five

Japanese Political Tensions

Political Unrest

1920-24
06/16/21 Anglo-Jap treaty being denounced because no one (Australia, Canada, GB) want to annoy US
07/10/21 Vanishing Alliance with GB after renewal was thought to be a done deal
08/29/21 Japan fears being isolated
11/03/21 Japan’s naval budget is 32 percent in 1921-22, one reason they want naval reductions, 2x US budget and 4X GB budget, percentage total $778 million, up 2 percent and up 144 million dollars from previous year
11/18/21 Kato dealing with Japanese reporters and putting them in their place
12/11/21 Japan thinks treaty raises her standing in international community, considers 4-power compact a continuance of Anglo-Japanese alliance in opinion of high Japanese officers
12/12/21 Militarism is thing of the past, altar of international peace, how fear of West began after Japanese-China war of 1894-5
06/12/22 New day of conciliatory policies for Japan
06/12/22 Kato elected, cuts Army budget, Kato takes office to curb militarists and save treaties
06/26/22 Japanese hearts change, aggression would’ve isolated her
12/18/22 Japan is no longer land of the rising sun but rising Hun, hands of Prussian military party
08/10/24 Japan’s lively press wields big power

1925-29
04/21/25 Deep desire for peace willing to change with progress with world
07/17/25 Maybe some internal political fighting between Govt and jingoists, jingoists are the ones talking about war while men like Count Soyeshima, council tolerance, folly to attack US or Australia
07/30/25 Japan lack steel and coal to be seen as serious war menace, although they are working on getting Chinese supply of iron ore
01/29/26 Political unrest full blown with death of Kato and dissolving of Diet, even so China was undoing of Kato before his death
01/31/26 Imperial edict on Universal Suffrage, adds 10 million voters, any male 25 or older can vote, no longer have to own land
01/31/26 Reijiro Wakatsuki, the new premier, heralded as an era of most cordial relations, although must weather storm of political opposition inspired by Kato
02/02/26 Matsudaira upholds Japanese conduct in China, asks for Western understanding, don’t always understand relationships between Japan and China, language, history, customs and manners make it hard for West and East to understand each other
02/21/26 Russia and Japan tensions particularly in China
03/07/26 Germany trying to get in good with Japan and restore dye trade they lost after the war, would hurt US trade, Germans sweeten pot with explosive info
05/07/26 Labor unrest, labor-watching GB labor strike very closely, Japanese paper admires orderly conduct of strike, predicts similar strike in Japan soon
07/20/26 G. Hirai favors closer harmony with Japan and US
08/17/26 Manchuria seen as menace in Asia, see Russia and Japan as rivals
09/03/26 Scandals revealed in Nippon politics, wide spread bribery
09/12/26 Premier commits sin, is pictured playing hallowed sport in wrong clothes, archery is more than just a sport in Japan
09/12/26 Western Sports grip Japan, a mania created, baseball, golf, crewing, and horseback riding
09/26/26 Recent scandal and recent suffrage look to give farmer-labor party Diet seats; platform is emancipating their proletarian classes, reform land, production, and distribution of wealth,
Overthrow established political parties and reform the Diet, reduce taxes, for universal suffrage for men and women 20 and up

10/19/26 New Farmers party after Farmer-Labor party dissolved
11/10/26 Political scandal of graft involving Premier Wakatsuki
12/26/26 Gloom grips Japan as emperor dies
12/29/26 New emperor, Hirohito, commits Japan to peace; evolution, only 25
01/09/27 New emperor Hirohito
01/09/27 Problems confront Japan’s Emperor, has emphasized domestic progress and international friendship; suffrage law changes political landscape, must reorganize house of peers, Fathers lingering death had hurt trade, domestic spending
01/09/27 Hirohito, 25, first to marry for love and first emperor to travel outside of four seas surrounding Japan, called truly democratic, represents change, entering an new era
02/05/27 Relations between the US and Turkey strained, Japan worked hard for Turkey’s friendship, US hasn’t, has to do with US rejection of the treaty of Lausanne
02/20/27 Living comparatively primitive lives even wealthy live in flimsy built housing, conception was different than reality, they lack intelligence and resourcefulness
03/20/27 Millions of new enfranchised citizens will swell totals at next election; nothing may change because new voters are divided into four parties
04/20/27 Japan’s internal troubles, time of depression and readjustment, deflation of war lasts two years after, then damage of 1923, social effects of industrial revolution, fighting communism, party political rivalries
01/06/28 Ambassador Tsuneo Matsudaira says Japan seeks to live in peace with the entire world for all time, with death of emperor now entering the “Sho-Wa” era or enlightened peace, regrets deeply that naval conference failed, denies imperialistic aims in China (1-year of mourning is standard) but will provide adequate protection but no acts of aggression, references the dolls as ambassadors
01/07/28 Times editorial sees new characteristic as prophetic, “enlightened peace” days of military expansion are at an end and navy not prepared for aggression (will be in 3 years), Japan is keen to see naval reduction, fear and dislike of US is giving way to understanding, relations improving
01/24/28 Japan dissolves her Diet, party in power not sure of itself, means first suffrage vote will be in February instead of May, conditions improving in Japan yet are far from normal
02/16/28 Former Italian minister says Japan wants peace, Chinese dislike everyone
09/23/28 Japan’s outcasts plead for rights, “eta” class, considered scum and hard for them to get out of class
09/30/28 Tanaka defeats opposition, is free to carry out his China policy, hints of bribery charges; policy strengthened by Chinese instability
10/13/28 Katsuji Debuchi, named new Jap Ambassador to US, sees war vanishing, sees more intellectual exchange between countries
10/25/28 Coolidge receives new envoy of Japan, Debuchi, who brings words of peace and friendship from Hirohito
11/16/28 Yusuke Tsuraumi, leader of the Japanese liberal party, said country’s policy toward China was “primarily economic” only difference of opinion in Japan is how best to obtain the protection of its interest in China, China needed economic to help support rising population in Japan, need raw materials and markets
12/21/28 New Tokio budget largest in history, increase of $20 million, doesn’t explain why or how budget has been increased
06/13/29 Mood poor in Japan now that any politician who advocates naval expansion couldn’t stay in office, economics more important, more than 80 million people
06/28/29 Hirohito ratifies Kellogg treaty; Count Uchida resigns cabinet fears political effects
07/03/29 Hamaguchi named premier July 2 after Tanaka and his cabinet resigns, list new cabinet; Tanaka linked to death of Chang Tso-Lin in 1928, Hamaguchi is popular and well respected
10/18/29 Tokio salary cuts bitterly opposed by officials whose salaries would be cut, say officials are wretchedly paid as it is, Asahi calls it rash and absurd, Jiji Shimpo says should reduce military budget before salary cuts
12/24/29  Japanese elections looms for January, fall of Hamaguchi cabinet seen as inevitable, elections extravagantly expensive so everything was done first to avoid elections but no other alternatives seem available

1930-31
01/20/30  Japan faces general election
02/23/30  Hamaguchi sweeps to victory
04/12/30  First cotton mill strike over reduced wages as CEO gets $1.8 million bonus; Japan fears it will spread (social unrest)
04/20/30  Transit strike in Tokio over wage cuts
05/02/30  Etsuji Uyehara; attacks London Treaty saying cruiser concession to America jeopardized Japan’s defense scheme; says Shidehara deceitfully minimized danger involved
05/13/30  Japanese navy reserve officers ask Admiral Takarabe to resign; signing of the London treaty was unpardonable
05/19/30  Dagger given to Takarabe to commit suicide because of “betrayal”
05/20/30  Takarabe refuses to resign, premier supports him
05/27/30  Admiral Kanji Kato resigns in protest to naval treaty
05/31/30  Takarabe switches on naval pact, now against it, shocks cabinet
06/11/30  Admiral Kato puts post says government accepted treaty without property consulting with navy
06/12/30  Japanese wipes slate of treaty enemies
07/01/30  Prince Saionji says country needs to focus on economic and industrial development rather than armaments, since Orient position is secure
07/09/30  Admiral Kato causing more trouble for treaty
07/12/30  Present Japanese systems has outlived its usefulness and head of navy should be a civilian, papers says
07/19/30  Takarabe to quit over naval strife
10/03/30  Japanese Emperor signs naval pact as admiral Takarabe offers resignations, others hint at resigning
10/29/30  Formosa savages revolt kill 28 Japanese
11/14/30  Premier Yuko Hamaguchi shot at railroad station, plots and counterplots have marked his premiership
11/15/30  Hamaguchi still fighting for life
12/11/30  Hamaguchi attack laid to naval pact and unemployment
02/06/31  Japan talks about giving women right to vote
02/07/31  Flash of dagger in Diet starts huge fist fight about naval treaty
02/23/31  Hanihara gravely ill; career never recovered from statement against US on exclusion act
02/25/31  Diet moves to legalize trade unions
03/22/31  Diet ends a futile and barren session, public wearier than usual of politicians
04/08/31  Hamaguchi’s illness from gunshot hurting party
04/11/31  Wakatsuki expected to be next premier
04/14/31  Wakatsuki called to form new cabinet
05/17/31  Plan $8 million cut in salaries
05/23/31  Japan plans to cut salaries despite opposition
05/27/31  2,000-3,000 railroad men strike against proposed salary reductions
05/28/31  Strike ends as it becomes known emperor had approved salary cut plan
06/07/31  Japanese press not happy with army plan and shining revenues; huge reduction of the heavy expenditures in armaments
08/26/31  Ex-Premier Hamaguchi Dies
10/12/31  Upton Close, Japanese action in Manchuria was a bold gamble for internal power by military leaders against civil leaders of Minseito party; Japanese attack was premeditated, he is of opinion Japan plans to colonize Manchuria
10/16/31  Memos from US not being published in Japanese papers; government trying to avoid public irritation has to do with Manchuria
11/01/31  People trust military more than they trust politicians; No great good is ever expected of politicians; military only responsible to emperor; people depend on emperor to protect them from abuses; Japan more concerned with saving face
11/22/31  Talk of Japan is of a premier who can form a government to keep the army under control
Japanese military and civilians clash; Japan is good at hiding internal struggles, show a united front for the world; Militarists want to build an empire like the other European powers; 1889 constitution separated military from civilian interference and military by not appointing a minister of war can block premier; military did lose prestige in 1929 with Tanaka scandal and resignation

Multiple conferences held to try to create unsuccessfully a national emergency cabinet strong enough to control the army

Tokyo government victor over army by accepting resolution to withdraw; military feels it is a constitutional infringement; general staff is supreme organ of army

If Japanese army attacks Chinchow, government will show it can’t control army and fall

Army distrust Debuchi because they feel he promised Stimson they wouldn’t attack Chinchow; Stimson’s action regretted for US-Japanese relations, Manchurian problem affects the very existence of Japan and too important for interference from outside party with scanty knowledge

Stimson incident hurt Shidehara

Cabinet to resign, army rule at stake

Ki Inukai new Premier

Nationalist group governs holds civilian rule and may check the military

Rise of nationalism lead to higher unemployment and less trade – dealing with foreigners called traitorous struggle for national freedom becomes a passion for national isolation then political independence then material self sufficiency

Japan seek 1940 summer games

Japan raid American bank in spy scare

Korea tries to kill Japanese emperor with hurled bombs

Diet dissolved elections called

Former finance minister Junnosuke Inouye shot and killed on way to political meetings, assassin is member of Black Dragon Society

800 Japanese students protest against Govt action with China

Prince Saionji’s visit to Tokyo is a sign that the Govt isn’t stable, Politicians don’t understand military

Former Diet member arrested in connection with political and industrial scandal centering around tax evasions and blackmailing

Criticism weakens Japanese cabinets, Japan press view Government unfavorable over railroad leadership in Manchuria

Geneva told by Japan cabinet it cannot make military promises with out armies consent

London lay plot in assignation of Premier Ki Inukai to spread of pacifism in Japan, if revolution comes it will be a military one, tribute is paid to politicians who are braving rumors

Premier Inukai killed by group calling themselves the young officers association which is opposed to weakness and corruption in government and to capitalism, was shot likely because of Shanghai truce, 18 attackers

Memorial to Wukai – former editor

Story of assignments, reign of terror is aim

Army chief insist on national cabinet in Japan crisis, they won’t back government based on political parties

Japan faces more trouble, spoils system is underlying fault of Government, say elected officials have built up machines, must find source of outburst

Seikukai part said it was willing to form a non-partisan nationalist cabinet, Araki resigns as Minister of War

Depression is root of unrest, army is mostly son of farmers (75%), army reformers not connected to terrorists, intense loyalty shown in the military

Makato Saito, Admiral Viscount made premier by emperor, Saito seeks men of ability not of party lines

Japan people stirred by Japan farmer’s plight, Diet to pass moratorium on personal debt

Before Count Yasuya Uchida will be the foreign minister, wants to be on same page as army regarding policies, Uchida is for recognizing Manchukuo as soon as possible
06/23/32  Research expert T.A. Bisson predicts a fascist military dictatorship in Japan, hold on Manchuria will strengthen, first sign of foreign pressure they will leave league
08/15/32  Debuichi not returning to Washington
09/05/32  Diet fails to ease farm debt, fail to vote on agriculture relief bill
11/02/32  Japan denies army rules new government and say people tired with the two parties
11/06/32  Tokyo raids seize three for plot on Saito
01/28/33  Military expense attacked in Diet, those calling for more money are heckled
03/23/33  Cabinet problem troubling Japan several members want to retire, but replacements want to be found first
03/26/33  Ishii denies military (army) is running Japan, no intention of annexing Manchuria, Manchurian policy is of the nation not the army done with undivided support of entire nation
07/02/33  Army and Navy men linked to 1932 Tokyo plot
07/14/33  Farm leaders arrested for plot in Japan, 49 in total arrest in plot
07/15/33  Members of the Sacred Warrior Band of Great Japan admit to plot to steal weapons and slaughter cabinet
07/24/33  Patriots planned terror attack leading and set big fires – Sacred Warrior Band of Great Japan.
07/25/33  Inukai slayers put on open court martial; killers say they were angry over 1930 naval conference
07/26/33  Terrorists sought army government with General Araki at head, blame failure of government to relieve starving farmers
08/02/33  Army and naval submit request a 45% rise in arms money than currently allotted, blame diplomatic isolation
08/27/33  Socialism spurs Japanese unrest, goal was only to eliminate some delinquent statesman
09/10/33  Army domination pushed in Japan, Manchukuo is central policy, military fears upcoming crisis with 1935 naval conference
09/15/33  End of army rule predicted wants good relations, denies crisis near with Japan
09/15/33  New foreign minister would like a non-aggression accord with Russia and a new pact with America
10/06/33  Signs of unrest in Japan, navy grow with resignation
10/18/33  Civilians in cabinet attack high arms costs
10/21/33  Army extending its way in Japan, cabinet worried about army showing defense is very important to all, naval parley preparations being made
11/09/33  Slayers of Inukai get short terms, one million asked for mercy, none will die
11/20/33  Both parties attack the Govt, Suzuki accuse it of the lacking unity
11/21/33  Wakatsuki escape assignation attempts by youthful “patriots”
12/01/33  Japan’s armed forces add to Japan’s budget, farm relief is an issue
12/03/33  General Araki saved cabinet by allowing the finance minister to transfer navy yen
12/10/33  Army wants gag order put on Diet war office, claims diet is trying to position public opinion by alleging crisis in 1935 and pushing myth that farm relief has been sacrificed for military and naval expenditures
12/16/33  Hiroshi Saito new envoy to US
12/23/33  Heir to crown is born
12/31/33  Japan leaders hopeful for 1934, exhorts country men to avoid defeatism and pessimism
01/22/34  General Araki resigns
01/23/34  Prestige of army waning in Japan
01/24/34  Tokyo militarism under fire in diet, alarmed by Jingoists and novels on theme of upcoming war
01/25/34  Japan wants to talk with US to settle naval problems before 1935 conference, Diet decries military interference
02/02/34  Army men assail critics, soldiers say they see fear and suspicions on people’s face, feel the sting of criticisms, have no war aims
02/06/34  Japanese officers told to avoid provocative statements, no improved relations with US seen
02/07/34  Japan’s navy held too big a burden, 40% of budget, how long can Japan handle the burden minister say need is just to replace ships not to go to war
02/09/34  Minister of Commerce resignation weakens cabinet, can cabinet continue being asked
02/16/34  Cabinet in middle of financial scandal, government may fall
03/19/34  Tokyo plans curb of army via the military investigation board
05/08/34  Japan is very close to Germany inspirits says Admiral Matsishita
05/20/34 Japan aroused by fiscal scandal, fall of cabinet is seen
05/21/34 Japan curbs military to stop them from any idea of invading Mongolia or North China.
05/23/34 Fall of cabinet likely, liberal likely to be premier
07/01/34 Split in chief party threatened as president of party refuses to support new premier’s cabinet
07/02/34 Japan officers criticize cabinet feel they have right to suggest national policies, It is most desirable that Japan liberate herself from treaty
07/04/34 Admiral Keisuke Okada chosen as premier to meet ’35 crisis, military background yet a liberal, pleases military and public, press demand a strong man for a strong government
07/06/34 Okada has problems with Seiyukai party in getting new cabinet approved
12/07/34 Cabinet in Tokyo ends Diet revolt over relief appropriations, government criticized over military spending while people go hungry
12/28/34 17 prominent Japanese indicted in scandal that brought down Viscount Makoto Saito’s cabinet last summer
1935-37
02/02/35 Military leaders promise bankers they won’t build navy up to where it puts economy at risk
02/04/35 Young officer’s plot revealed public in diet today, referred to as 20th-day incident – extreme nationalist temper of the past 3 years is still influencing young officers
02/05/35 Army trying to take cabinet down with new scandal in that one member took money from the Chinese in 1928
02/10/35 Budget crises continues over how much farm relief there should be
02/22/35 “Patriot” stabbed noted publisher because he sponsored Babe Ruth tour, money shouldn’t have left country in time of depression he said – war like Gods society
03/24/35 Assassination plot foiled in Japan, target was Baron Kitokura Ikki, President of Privy Council
05/10/35 Japan sets up a council to curb military, want to learn how to keep army and navy out of politics
05/15/35 Army angry that Hirota created an embassy on his own in China without army’s approval
06/19/35 Japan funds low, seeks arms curbs, info leaked that government need help controlling naval and military expenditures
06/27/35 Military warned on funds finance minister says expenses need to be cut to reduce deficit public is supportive but military wants to raise taxes, Diet hostile to the idea
07/09/35 Army wants wider authority; supersedes cabinet as advisor to emperor on matters of defense, old dispute pressed, no cabinet that didn’t take defense serious has lasted
07/17/35 Japan’s army abandons politics, moderates victorious on policy, American reds are accused of trying to revive communism, Japan, general Jinzaburo Mazaki removed in effort to purge officers who have been ‘disturbing unity’
07/18/35 Tokyo war minister is upheld in dispute over firing of popular director of training
07/23/35 General Senjuro Hayashi continues to shake things up removing those of the so-called ‘progressives’ faction
08/15/35 Assignment attempt by military personal has aided in army purge and in pushing the military away from politics
08/18/35 Political killings frequent in Japan, drama is object, Japan has many secret societies pledged to extreme nationalism, even tried to kill Charlie Chaplin in hopes it would cause a war but group was arrested before it could happen
09/05/35 Military unrest near an end, say sacrifice was necessary, although purge upset a lot of people now if the purger is purged all will be good
12/01/35 Araki throws promises of military cuts overboard, budget for military increased
12/27/35 Former Premier Saito now Emperor’s personal assistant and opposes militarists, arms race
01/29/36 General on trial for murder of Lt. Gen. Nagata, say patriotism was motive and public expects a light sentence
02/06/36 Japanese parties avoid major issues and shy away from demand for restoring popular rule, back big arms budgets
02/26/36 Japanese observers had long predicted attacks by military fascist after political gains by the left, friction between politics military has been a problem for some time
02/26/36 New premier more progressive than murdered predecessor, thus military coup failed, doesn’t favor increase naval building
02/26/36 Takahasi’s murder a blow to Japan, was the financial minister twice, genius kept Japan financially sound
02/26/36 Killing by zealots frequent in Japan; professor killed for questioning divine status of emperor, many secret societies of patriotic fanatics

02/27/36 US concerned over coup and possible take-over by army, which is expected, martial law in Japan is confirmed

02/27/36 Coup at glance – 4 officials assassinated including Premier Okada

02/27/36 Japan viewed as paying penalty for glorification of assassins

02/27/36 Revolt down played in Japan, no peril to regime seen, say it was a small minority of army officers who lead uprising, no grave consequence

02/27/36 Long struggle for supremacy between the civil power and military came to a head because of the assignation attempt, injures prestige of military

02/28/36 Rebellious young officers are being asked to surrender but have refused

02/28/36 Dr. Robert Reischauer of Princeton says assassinations are proof Japan is in throws of economic upheaval, sees military–civilian struggle, striking blow for the farmers and blow at the capitalist

02/28/36 Rebels still won’t step down, it is said Araki has set up a military dictatorship

02/28/36 Tokyo rising blamed on economic unrest – says Institute for Pacific Relations

02/29/36 US hears military to rule, army will control the government

02/29/36 Tokyo rebels to surrender after ruler orders force, strict censorship enforced, news coming via Shanghai

03/01/36 Ambassador Saito (to US) Assails military rule as “a blow to the soul of nation” and public would never allow that

03/01/36 Rebels killed wrong man, premier Okada still alive, rebel leader kills himself, Tokyo returning to normal 20 officers dismissed

03/02/36 Tokyo continues under army martial law, Emperor trying to come up with new premier, Hirohito honors slain

03/06/36 Koki Hirota, former foreign minister, new premier, seen as a moderate, trend toward peace is seen people hoping another eruption doesn’t occur

03/06/36 Militarist lose control of Tokyo, Hirota cabinet are opposed to army extremists, Araki forced to retire, said to be in ill health, Hirota asks for a return to cooperation

03/08/36 Generals held ready to aid Hirota but do want a strong government

03/09/36 New cabinet formed after last one shattered by military uprising

03/09/36 Army leaders question new premier Koki Hirota’s ability to understand crisis and national emergency

03/15/36 Big changes coming to Japan, painful wound, set back for fascists, parties protected after a period; A slow erosion, farmers still an issue, keep industry moving, can’t give into army, might lead to civil war

03/18/36 Effort for peace pledged by Japan, wide reform promised, friendly foreign relations desired, also will promote national defense

03/24/36 Navy-Army strike revealed, navy would put a curb on territorial expansion and limit goal of military, would like to expand trade

03/29/36 Mutiny by army reveals rift between army and navy, which may affect the future

04/07/36 Japanese to bar army in politics if found talking to agitators will be dismissed, looking at increasing troops in Manchukuo, many soldiers are members of secret societies

04/25/36 Japan unifying its foreign policy by having weekly conferences with foreign, war, and navy ministers

04/26/36 War fear spreads throughout Japan, public wants peace but worries about clashes with Russia, no longer trust army, revolt has shaken confidence

05/02/36 Tokyo Diet opens to vote on largest budget ever, 45.8% to military

05/08/36 Japan’s army bitterly denounced in diet for interfering in political matters, trampling on rights of the people

05/10/36 Japan condemns patriot assassin even though army court condones motive but uphold discipline

05/10/36 Attacks on military continue in Diet, doubt army considers welfare of the people

05/18/36 Cabinet will try to control army and navy

05/27/36 Japan passes a sedition law, some fear it will curb free speech even more

06/01/36 One international news agency now serves Japan country see world through only one window

06/07/36 17 officers to die for Tokyo mutiny, court martial takes drastic steps to stamp out army assassination cult, 51 others sentenced, financial scandal also announced
07/15/36 Japan seizes US magazine “Current History”
07/17/36 Newspapers criticize Army’s arms budget
07/18/36 Tokyo to remove martial law, ended in 133 days of military control
07/27/36 Japan’s army seeks huge loan to pay for purchases
07/29/36 Japan completes clean up of army 3,000 shifts to eliminate ‘political’ soldiery, citizens skeptical
08/01/36 Japanese elated at 1940 Olympic award
08/01/36 Tokyo awarded Olympics
08/02/36 Military budgets disturb Japanese business leaders don’t see where money is going to come from to meet huge demand, newspapers warn against bankruptcy, military say security first
08/30/36 State socialism gaining in Japan, it was goal of rebels, finds roots in army
09/08/36 Right-wing unrest reviving in Japan disturbing authorities
09/13/36 Big army budget is asked in Japan, record amount, 50% of budget to military, 6-year army program
09/20/36 US tourists come back and say Japanese admire Hitler and Mussolini and it is everywhere they went
09/24/36 Big tax increase faced by Japan, wealthy to bear brunt, inheritance tax doubled, it’s in effort to balance burden, reveals enormous efforts people making to achieve place in sun
09/25/36 Japan bans fortune magazine
10/10/36 Olympics in Japan found to aid peace
10/20/36 Premier of Japan victor over army
10/24/36 Japan bars US magazine on grounds it will impair the morals of its youth
11/07/36 Tokyo’s war minister says army backs parliament, denies curb on cabinet says he will try to enlarge the rights of the people
11/10/36 New head of news agency says Domei News Agency must have a nationalist aim
11/15/36 Reich and Japan sign anti-soviet pact aimed at Communism although both countries deny anything signed
11/22/36 Reich and Japan at last admit a deal but terms are secret, Russia protests
11/23/36 Japan’s budget up $730 million yen, 46% budget for military, taxes will rise, so will prices
11/27/36 Japan’s press frets over accord with Reich, They feel risks greatly outweigh rewards, say the agreement is bound to create misunderstandings, Jiji happy Japan’s no longer isolated, worried about Russia
11/28/36 Japan must borrow money to meet military expenses record budget year, ½ to military deficit of 840 million yen, huge expenditures expected for years to come, finance minister said tried for reductions but found it impossible in view of national crisis
12/04/36 Hostility to Reich pact by people has Japan worried, people say Reich gets everything and Japan nothing, say situation misjudged because they sent China expert not a European expert, idea to isolate Russia backfires, Russia makes friends with China
12/09/36 Foreign minister Hachiro Arita resigns over the newly signed Japanese–German agreement because of all the criticism
12/20/36 Tokyo-Berlin Pact hits back at Japan, called a diplomatic blunder, strengthens China’s resolve against Japan, Japan fears Russian intervention into China
12/22/36 Army gaining control in preparation for Olympics
12/25/36 Army Challenged in Tokyo Diet, opens in new building upholds parliamentarianism, cabinet under fire over Berlin-Tokyo pact
12/27/36 Fascists increase their drive to obtain dictorial control
12/29/36 Conflict in Japan, militarists received two blows, public reaction to treaty with Germany which they brokered and the UN conditional release of Kai-shek, military only has themselves to blame
01/06/37 Foreign minister Hachiro Arita defends his signing of the Tokyo-Berlin Pact, anti-comintern pact, not a fascist bloc, signed it over desire to protect China and Manchukuo from communism, fundamental policy is aimed at increasing friendship with US and GB, Japan not interested in German politics
01/10/37 Japan’s army seen losing to parties, people falling into two camps, follow Germany and Italy or return to great democracy, revolt weakened army, pact with Germany may destroy army hold altogether
01/11/37  Japanese parties will avoid clash will keep Hirota cabinet better than military rule, yet still pass budget and tax increase, Arita wont have to resign

01/22/37  Japanese cabinet to dissolve Diet over slur on army ministers, jeered by Diet as favoring military fascism, deep antagonism exists, politicians believe party government has no future in Japan if present influence of army in politics is permitted to continue, Rep. Hamada says unprecedented budgets are throwing finances into confusion, military accuses politicians of being corrupt

01/23/37  Cabinet to resign because of rift navy intervention fails, navy supports parties, showdown coming, party power at stake

01/24/37  Military cabinet expected as premier is sought, army bars party participation, generals and admirals top list for premier

01/25/37  Emperor and army at odds, can’t agree on a premier, Hirohito wants Kazushige Ugaki, military doesn’t because it would interfere with restoration of discipline

01/26/37  Army rebuked by Hirohito’s aid, say oppose Ugaki is to oppose the emperor, but military say if picked no one will take war post

01/30/37  Senjuro Hayashi named as premier, a retired general, seen as a political neutral, not associated with past army feuds, public is relieved at end of crisis

01/31/37  Tokyo army chief denies aim to rule military not looking for fascist state, says rumors are false

01/27/37  Japan’s army bars Ugaki as premier even though press backed him, army flexes muscles by showing veto card, Ugaki will be forced into private life permanently

02/01/37  Cabinet roe won by military and won 80% of its demands with general Hayashi

02/03/37  Japan military win battle in Japan; the army routed the political parties

02/07/37  Short life is seen for Tokyo cabinet, lacks support from any one, observers give it a year

02/07/37  Japan still faces domestic crisis between army and Gen. Ugaki, cabinet seen weaker

02/08/37  Japan bans English women’s book

02/09/37  Political authorities see Hayashi’s platform as bar to fascism

02/11/37  Finance minister gets military to cut their budgets to avoid social unrest via rising prices

02/13/37  Large budget cut made because of publics’ indignation over tax increases. 76.9 million yen shaved

02/14/37  Army is forming a political party, seek way to gain control state and maintain democratic form army wants to maintain, it has purified itself after last year’s revolt

02/17/37  New crisis arising over Japan’s army, army claims parties still trying to estrange military from people, navy says its loyal to emperor at all times, no problem with loyalty

02/21/37  Seen Japan’s ‘younger element’ of army is trying to eliminate parties and parliamentary government, would return to the Shoguanate with the military in control; Younger elements are ignorant of economics and foreign affairs and will bankrupt country, China is mistreated, foresee disaster

03/11/37  Military policies assailed in Tokyo, people fear military influences will lead to war; Ask where’s the enemy Japan is fighting, can Japan actually become a superior country

03/11/37  Book, Dr. Freda Utley says Japan is a country of half-starved peasants, of children and women slaves, crowded prisons, murderous gangsters, wide spread corruption, big gap between wealthy and poor

03/12/37  Crisis is favorite dogma of Japanese army, Sato asks why not discard petty tactics, says Japan not facing a crisis

03/14/37  If Hayashi can overcome extremist elements he will shape Japan’s foreign policy based on peace and friendly relations, high cost of Manchuria causing unrest, want better terms with U.S.

03/31/37  Japan’s Diet dissolved forcing election, an action the military had hoped for, no one sure why exactly Diet being dissolved

04/01/37  Army rule trend dented in Japan, cabinet waited until after budget passed to dissolve Diet, feels Govt fooled the people with this move everyone saying it was unnecessary

04/15/37  Japan’s workers ask war on fascism

04/26/37  Japanese public apathetic to upcoming elections

05/01/37  Japanese cabinet defeated in vote that elects parties opposed to cabinet, not a single government representative was elected outside Tokyo, huge amount of people refused to vote; Hayashi intends to hold on to power no matter what happened with elections, wide spread bribery

05/02/37  Govt only gets 14 seats, social mass party makes huge gain, opposition sweep increases
05/02/37  Vote victory hollow because opposition is without strength to force Hayashi out, public indifference to vote although bribery disappeared, and people dissatisfied
05/03/37  Worst defeat in history, Japan faces crises; Premier must quit or defy elections, either way new period of internal tension
05/04/37  Hayashi says he'll stay because country is in a state of emergency, some cabinet members suggest he should resign, Hayashi looking for compromise
05/22/37  Hayashi party dissolved voluntarily by leader causing further political confusion
05/28/37  Hayashi won’t change mind about staying, War Minister says people are eager to work with military to overcome countries difficulties
05/29/37  Hayashi cabinet is urged to resign
06/01/37  Cabinet and premier resign after failing to find accord with political parties, was second shortest premiership on record, lasted 118 days, no crisis as public expects next cabinet to be stronger, blames section of house with impairing national unity, China fears Japan will undergo another coup
06/04/37  Prince Fumimaro Konoe completes Japanese cabinet, foreign minister is Hirota, Japan’s Wall Street took a hit, nation tired of transient cabinets
06/05/37  Konoe connects with public and urges unity in Japanese spirit, external policy Is peace based on justice
06/23/37  Parliament system strengthened by return of vice ministers
08/15/37  Cabinet stronger as threat in China unites a nation
09/05/37  Japan piles up war debt military expenses and industrial needs driving Japan to totalitarianism, living costs rising
09/19/37  Japanese seize liberty magazine
09/19/37  Art of saving face
10/08/37  Premier Konoe’s son says Japan has violated Kellogg Pact and is at war with China even being an undeclared war, some treaties cannot be kept
10/09/37  Japan, because of war in China, will be forced to curb one percent of its US imports, will restrict certain commodities including cotton and lumber
10/18/37  Japan unions pledge non-strike plans during war
11/22/37  Japan-Germany celebrate first year of anti-comintern Pact, Japan held waging a holy war in China
12/01/37  Japan’s war cost seen as not high and peak has passed
12/02/37  Charles Batchelder says military revolt seen if Japan keeps up war, only salvation is quickly ending war now, growing unrest over crushing taxation
12/11/37  Japanese cabinet backs up the army, say the conflict in China must go on, China must capitulate
12/20/37  Leader of the Tokyo military revolt of 1936, Colonel Kingoro Hashimoto, gave the orders to fire on the Panay, has been cashing in favors to avoid punishment; Battle going on within army high command to punish or not to punish, having most disastrous effect on discipline
12/26/37  Emperor in address to Diet says we are confident of attaining our ultimate objectives by depending on unswerving loyalty and devotion of our whole nation
12/28/37  Ford Manager buys Japanese war bonds, one million yen worth

1938-39
01/03/38  Japan’s finances are shaken by war, trade still good, effects likely not felt till peace restored
01/10/38  Leader fails to resolve clash over China policy, military wants to declare war and intensify blockade but moderates want to avoid moves that will have international repercussions, Japanese cabinet approves long war program
01/10/38  6 months after Marco Polo bridge incident gave Japan an excuse to invade, now looking for scapegoat to blame as to why war not over yet, evidence shows China digging for long fight
01/28/38  Japan’s war budget put $1.8 billion to carry another year of war in China
02/16/38  Mobilization bill, which would give powers to Govt in times of war or an incident to control everything is opposed in Japan
02/18/38  Japan’s war budget now 4.8 billion yen, national debt is 100% above 1933 total
02/22/38  Great Japan movement begins as aim to stimulate patriotism and have civilian support for army, keep public opinion at a war pitch, distribute pamphlet called “how to prepare for a long term of
hostilities,” Also say intellectual magazines should be tossed as material containing dangerous thought in favor of poetry on patriotic subjects

02/26/38 Tokyo Diet has bitter feud of mobilization bills say its democracy vs. dictatorship, some call bill a war necessity

02/26/38 US track coach said he would have nothing to do with Olympics if held in Japan

02/27/38 Fight for war bill planned, brought up in diet us had just given president more war time powers

03/05/38 House of Peers not happy with the way they were treaty by military speaker, Hirota defends mobilization bill

03/06/38 Parliamentarians face off against militarists, a battle against attempts to introduce fascism, industrialist worried

03/08/38 Bunji Suzuki say Japan needs a ministry of propaganda and that second generation Japanese in America are losing touch with fatherland

03/08/38 Tokyo’s war chief urges shift of Olympics unless conflict in China ends

03/09/38 War chief’s view not that of Govt, Japan still really wants to stage Olympics

03/12/38 House of peers passes war budget

03/23/38 61% of US against boycotting games in Tokyo

04/15/38 Japan near crisis in cabinet dispute rumored Konoye will resign, government divided over mobilizing full military strength

04/16/38 Tokyo ministers confer on crisis first on since war began 10 months ago should or shouldn’t premier invoke mobilization bill

04/17/38 Premier reported opposing military in Japan’s crisis, future of cabinet is gloomy unless quick victory over China, papers carrying no war news and soldiers forced not to talk about when they return home

04/19/38 Konoye says he’s not resigning, apologized for being ill with the flu; Also his return is a blow to militarists

04/20/38 Japan curbs reading of Mills and Russell

04/23/38 Japan lacking war materials, impose more restrictions

04/24/38 Konoye returns after 3 week illness, we would like to retire but can’t when in middle of war, looking to reshuffle cabinet

05/27/38 Japan’s army gets key cabinet posts, seen as done for best interest of nation by the press news, shocks China

05/30/38 235 seized as reds face trial in Japan

05/31/38 Kensuke Horinouchi picked to replace Saito as ambassador to US, Saito going to GB

06/05/38 New appointees to cabinet suggest plan to curb army’s free hand in China

06/09/38 William J. Bingham quits Olympic post because of Japan and what Japan stands for

06/11/38 Japanese criticizes Bingham on Olympics must be some misunderstanding, say no political significance held to games

06/13/38 Japan makes plea for new sacrifices divert savings into government bonds, needs to mobilize all natural resources

06/18/38 Son of Premier flunks out of Princeton

07/09/38 Japanese press sees huge naval budget next year

07/12/38 US athletes favor attending Olympics if in Tokyo

07/15/38 Finlad favored for Olympics as Japan drops bid

07/15/38 Japan shamed by loss of games, public is bitterly disappointed, would’ve been during 2,600 year celebration, feel it was army’s doing, campaigning to get rid of games along with recent floods

07/15/38 Militarist don’t want money spent entertaining athletes, should’ve followed Nazi example

07/15/38 Japan calls off Olympics

07/17/38 Japan will seek 1944 games

08/10/38 Japanese slash budget

08/14/38 Tokyo Govt said to be put on shogun system, chief policies of Govt made by 3 men, cabinet is subordinate, in line with Japan’s political evolution

09/01/38 Japan’s Govt plans on taking over industry to increase output and suggest greater sacrifices

09/17/38 Japan reaffirms Italian-Reich ties although Japan didn’t say it would declare war if Germany did

09/29/38 US urges Japan to restrain Germany, Japan trying to stay neutral

09/30/38 Gen. Ugaki resigns over talk of China affairs board, seen as victory for army extremists

10/06/38 Kensuke Horinouchi is named new ambassador to US
10/06/38  War increases poverty in Japan, Govt allows beggars to appeal for alms in the street for first
time ever, spy hunt annoys aliens
10/26/38  Capture of Hankow fails to excite Japanese public because the war-weary masses are told they
must make more sacrifices
10/28/38  War Minister Lieut. Gen. Seishiro Itagaki says war just started, warns people conflict not ended,
warns of long hostilities
12/02/38  Japan faces new 5 billion yen war bill and highest ordinary budget in history, may look to
borrow money from the US
12/11/38  Japan will increase taxes
12/25/38  Japanese soldiers find war gloomy when talking in private, one reason why strict rules are in
place on soldiers to not talk about the war in China
12/31/38  Govt once again asking its people to “tighten belts”
01/05/39  Fascist Hiranuma is Tokyo Premier who will appoint a weak cabinet, ex-ministers believed in
danger (kichihiro)
01/08/39  Tokyo cabinet gains unity, Hiranuma is super-nationalist
01/22/39  The driving force for Japan is to build up empire in East Asia so they are no longer at the mercy
of other countries, Japan wants or demands economic security equal to US and GB, US and GB
have no problem with not interfering with Japan’s security or Japan taking lead in developing
China, they just don’t want to see a great totalitarian empire on the ruins of China’s
independence
01/22/39  Japanese warned that war in China will be long, say China has lost 2 million men still have a
million-man army; Foreign Minister Arita criticized for not having a plan to meet US criticism
of Japan’s new order
01/25/39  Diet criticizes cabinet, Diet feels Japan should ban imports from US and GB so they’ll back off
interference in China, say anti-comintern pact is Axis on which world peace is to be established
02/03/39  Japan’s military to seize industry not announced which one yet say oil is greatest need
02/09/39  Last labor party quits in Tokyo merges with party devoted to expansion and new order in Asia
02/13/39  Japanese to vote on another record budget
03/01/39  Tokyo war bill arouses new ire, Diet hostile but passage expected
03/02/39  Big addition made to Japan’s budget 5.2 billion yen most going to warfare in China
05/01/39  Seiyukai party split on leadership issue party discredited in eyes of nation
05/05/39  Fear GB-Russo alliance, US attitude is a factor, Japan official said one way to get US into next
war is to have stronger Axis alliance
06/23/39  Young army group directing things in field in defiance of Tokyo and cabinet, height of folly to
risk involvement with US, GB, or France
08/05/39  High Japanese official accuses US and GB of pressuring them into Axis alliance of a military
nature
08/08/39  Japan weighs Axis Ties, says US action on treaty pushing Japan towards Reich, but fear if they
hook up Reich then US will become more antagonistic toward Japan, also say Roosevelt
abrogated treaty all on his own
08/10/39  Military wants ties to Reich, cabinet doesn’t, big rift there reported
08/26/39  Japan protest German-Russian Pact, feel bitterness toward Hitler as he killed anti-comintern
pact, now favors isolation
08/27/39  Japan feels deserted by German-Russo pact, news was a bomb shell, can’t understand European
diplomacy, China policy unchanged
08/28/39  Japanese cabinet resigns, Premier Kiichira Hiranuma resigned, a result of shift to isolation seen
as reason
08/29/39  General Nobuyuki Abe named new Premier, regarded as non-political and impartial, believed
chosen to conciliate with GB and US
08/30/39  Abe announces cabinet, Abe also foreign minister, Abe not know to public
09/01/39  Premier says Japan will keep Reich ties, expects relations with US to grow worse, Premier
Nobuyuki Abe, expects embargos
09/19/39  Navy seeks larger funds
09/27/39  Japan Abe’s powers increase in relation to mobilization
10/02/39  Japan not happy with German deal with Russia to divide Poland
10/03/39  Finance Minister Aoki says taxes needed to increased to support war time economy
10/07/39  Japan recalls envoy to Reich who signed the Berlin-Tokyo Pact, army consulted before move
          made, as a result of foreign office squabbles
10/11/39  Disruption threatens Tokyo foreign office 120 officials set to resign over removal of trade
doncctrl from control of the foreign office
10/11/39  Japan’s national debt reaches $4.6 billion
10/12/39  113 foreign staff resigned, public understands protest
10/13/39  Foreign minister in Tokyo may quit rather than face revolt
10/14/39  Tokyo strike won by foreign office, Govt seen hurt by affair, treaty a factor in strike
10/15/39  Dual diplomacy is assailed in Japan strike, calls attention to spread of system, call the army the
chief offender, reveals lack of experience in leadership, Foreign Minister Ugaki resigns
10/19/39  Japan bars rises in food prices, wages, rent, and freight charges increased 28% for necessities
recorded since war began
11/27/39  Abe says expect long fight of 5 to 10 years in China, new regime won’t end conflict, Govt
          reorganized in China; Japan sees it as a peace sign
12/09/39  New budget highest in history, 64% is for the military, borrowing more money
12/11/39  Latest budget reveals how great a drain economical and financially China has been expenditures
          are to reach 10.3 billion yen for 1940-1, 2/3 are military expenditures, forced to borrow more
money
12/17/39  Tokyo police hunt rice hoarders, cabinet seeks ways to prevent discontent among the poor, warn
          of long hardships, everybody feeling the pinch
12/27/39  Diet majority (240) unite to ask cabinet to resign, coming Diet session will be stormy, blame
          cabinet for recent rice and fuel shortages and failure to regulate prices, dissatisfaction spreading
12/26/39  Tokyo to consult army on US policy, army has to approve any concessions Japan may offer in
new trade treaty with US
12/28/39  Japan shaken by political outburst and anti-government/cabinet feeling by the people because
          government is ignorant of conditions prevailing in country and the people had no confidence in
          the cabinet, national discontent; scarcities have lead to public’s irritation
12/29/39  Cabinet refuses to resign, Premier hopeful about US, cabinet is seeking to settle things in China,
          Washington is silent on treaty, no hope seen
1940-41
01/01/40  Japanese people warned of new sacrifices
01/08/40  Japanese cabinet to stand ground despite majority of house of reps signing a declaration of non-
confidence, cabinet is somewhat shaken by opposition work to avoid censure
01/10/40  Army now forcing Tokyo cabinet out, army talked to Abe who had been planning to fight the
          Diet, resignation predicted
01/11/40  Abe’s resignation believed certain, stronger man desired
01/12/40  Japan’s Premier to quit Sunday
01/13/40  Japan wants Konoye to come back as Premier, he doesn’t want to, no strong candidates stepping
          forward
01/14/40  Tokyo cabinet out, premier is sought among generals, Konoye still says no
01/15/40  Admiral Yonai named as new premier, a liberal, pro-American; leaders are favored to be chosen
          in effort to please west, Arita is foreign minister, hope to end friction with US
01/14/40  Army guides Japan’s crisis, sacrifice their choice in hopes for avoiding friction with US, trying
          to keep China and domestic issues separate
01/15/40  Yonai was chosen from among the moderates and is the best informed navy man
01/19/40  Struggle in China being felt economically in Japan, compelled to tighten belts more and have
          accepted hardships in Spartan silence, commodities scarcer and scarcer, strain is severe
01/21/40  Talks about difficulty of retaining premiers, why army recently stepped in
01/30/40  Coal shortage forces Japan to shut plants, drought curtails hydro-electric power
01/31/40  Japan increases factory closings, shut down to save fuel, call it a power holiday, vast areas idle
          already
02/02/40  Huge arms budget presented in Tokyo, 5-year arms program Govt tries to ease power famine
          with shipment of coal
02/03/40 Japan divided on debate of war, Diet member asks how long China incident will last
02/07/40 Nationalist element in Parliament bitterly denounce Govt attempts to appease US on trade issue
02/13/40 Japanese Diet hears attack on army, outright criticism, and controversy heats up, public becoming uneasy and critical ministers say
02/15/40 Ferment in Japan continues third time in three weeks the army has been openly criticized by the Diet, end of the struggle is as remote as ever; army hiding details of its budget say they are accountable to no one
02/27/40 Army grumbling China will go on forever, warn people of new sacrifices, tighten belt for indefinite amount of time, worried it might lead to poor morale and anti-war movement
03/02/40 Critic of Japan’s China policy resigns from Diet under pressure, was leading member of Minseito
03/05/40 Takao Saito changes mind, parliament now going to have to expel him and are set to do so
03/05/40 Japan fears espionage by Salvation Army
03/16/40 Japanese record budget adopted, 65% to military
03/20/40 Japanese nationalist deputies attack US and GB and foreign minister Hachiro Arita, say Arita was incompetent
03/24/40 A resolution of no confidence being prepared for Foreign Minister Arita
05/04/40 Arita says jingo outcry for war with Russia or US is “sheer stupid blustering,” aim of Japanese diplomacy is to avoid friction with other powers, says stupid blundering should not be allowed to circulate
05/08/40 New labor party based on democratic principles barred on grounds it will be a peril to national unity in wartime
06/08/40 Tokyo extremist combats cabinet, wants firmer stand with US, wants to terminate war with China and increase army and navy
06/11/40 Former Premier Konoye trying to create party along Nazi lines
06/27/40 Fall of Yonai’s cabinet predicted
07/04/40 Political crisis averted surrounding Arita, say disagreement never existed
07/06/40 Japan bars luxuries because Govt needs Japanese savings via bonds
07/14/40 Japan looks two ways in shaping their policy, ruling party appears anxious to avoid impasse with US, other group dazzled by Nazis, say they see signs US wanting safer relations with Japan, (naval) ratios might be answer
07/17/40 Japanese army removes its support from Premier Mitsumasa Yonai forcing cabinet to resign, Konoye likely to be asked to come back, public views politics as some thing beyond its control, like watching a fight, well understood army dismissed cabinet and army’s wishes will shape next administration
07/19/40 “Big three” named to Tokyo cabinet including the foreign, war, and navy ministers, South Sea drive seen, Tojo new war minister
07/23/40 Konoye launches cabinet in Japan, press say they are looking for deeds not words
07/24/40 Japan says it will stay independent, feel national self-sufficiency is vital, tie with Axis held unlikely
07/25/40 Business at a standstill in Japan until it is learned what the policies of the new Govt will be
07/28/40 Japanese leaders adopt new policy of act first explain later regarding increased armaments and foreign policy, designed for flexibility in seizing occasions as they arise
07/28/40 Japan is swinging back to its military heritage and ways
07/30/40 Foreign residents in Japan are allowed to read about army’s aim to purge country of spies, say hostile countries have established networks of intelligence
08/01/40 Japan ignores GB protest as round up of foreigners continues
08/03/40 Newspapers in Japan are advocating alliance with Germany
08/04/40 GB retaliates rounds up and are arresting Japanese subjects in GB
08/09/40 Tokyo-Berlin rift seen as Germany offers Dutch Indies and French Indo-China to Japan, rift because move like that would risk war with US and Japan doesn’t aspire to a monopoly and greed not in Japan’s dictionary, Germany wants resources found in Dutch Indies
08/16/40 Japanese dissolve their last political party, the Minseito, to pave way for new order
08/23/40 Tokyo purges the foreign ministry and recalls 40 diplomats, largest purge effort including Ambassador to Washington, liberal elements ousted
08/23/40 Hitler and Axis oppose Japanese expansion says Japan should keep hands off French, Dutch, and GB lands, say Japanese assistance against GB in Asia would’ve been appreciated, just waited too long

08/24/40 Political explosion because of a not-so happy country, desperation, realizing failure in China, costly adventure, country needs peace

08/27/40 Japan’s women give up on trying to get the right to vote after 16 years

08/29/40 One party system banned by Premier Konoye, he asserts it would conflict with devotion to emperor, wants totalitarian state with out the oppressive nature

09/08/40 Japan starts to wonder about German invincibility, trade with US is 70% thus staying neutral in European war

09/15/40 Single party plan being shaped in Japan it would resemble Italian Fascists party, aimed at creating a totalitarian society, Tojo says army will cooperate

09/19/40 German ships using Japanese ports to refuel

09/20/40 Imperial conference deliberates in Tokyo on “important national affairs”

09/25/40 Hitler is said to be forcing Japan into Axis in order for Japan to attack GB

09/26/40 The most significant thing may have been the timing of the long post, Donner decision to join

09/28/40 Pact signed yesterday seen aimed at US, but US says its just public recognizing something the US already assumed existing, Japan still hopes for good relations with US

09/29/40 Premi er Konoye asks people to sacrifice, world history is at a turning point, entered triple alliance for peace and development of world face a precededented emergency

09/29/40 War life bears down on Japanese life, people feel weight of restrictions and high costs

10/01/40 Japanese blame US for triple alliance say US “forced” them, say US betrayed GB, bitter attack by Japanese press, say when full story out there will be huge outcry

10/01/40 Japanese diplomat in DC says Japan was duped into an alliance that aids Germany at Japan’s expense, says Nazis couldn’t help Japan if US decided to act in Pacific, difficult to understand what politicians were thinking

10/06/40 Japan stakes her all on treaty with Axis, say there was a smooth transformation from above that has transformed Japan into a totalitarian state, Japan may find herself at war with US, trying to understand how Japan got to where it is, army decided on a triple alliance and a totalitarian regime, Yonai cabinet fell because it rejected memorandum from war minister, treaty with Germany meant to keep US navy in Pacific, Japan’s new alliance a bit of a gamble

10/08/40 After Japan joins Axis Canada moves troops to Pacific Coast

10/11/40 Japan assert pact with Axis is for peace and not directed at US, also say GB is a puppet of US

10/12/40 Japanese diplomat says Axis powers can’t force Japan into war, hold they have autonomy; Japan’s primary objective is to defeat China

10/13/40 What Japan forgets, totalitarian atmospheres produce two mental traits—1, shortness of memory and 2, failure to understand psychology of an opponent

10/14/40 Foreign minister Yosuko Matsuoka invites US to join Axis pact, say Axis likely to win and denies plunder as Japan’s aim, says Japan will eliminate any nation that will obstruct our order, want pact with Russia

10/24/40 Govt to control rice

10/26/40 Lieut. Gen. Elki Tojo, minister of war says cabinet needs to improve national moral saying need to end petty and unnecessary interference by government into trivial matters

11/08/40 All three Axis countries annoyed at Roosevelt’s election

11/12/40 Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura named new envoy to US, Japan held seeking friendly relations, a lot of speculation, former naval attaché, studied at US naval academy

11/12/40 Tokyo press hails Nazi-Russian talks predict front against US and GB

11/13/40 Reich increasing Far East pressure, which will lead to US involvement, German plans include Japanese withdrawal of China

11/21/40 Japan welcomes Hungry to 3-power anti-comintern Pact, say this opens doors for other countries and hopes more will join

11/22/40 Newspaper Kokumin notes with alarm a rising pro-American faction in Japan

11/26/40 Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura chosen as new ambassador to US, known for his desire for harmony with US

11/27/40 Nomura holds US-Japan need peace, say there’s no issue that can’t be resolved, says only a few Japanese want to go to war with US, would touch off chain of wars
11/28/40  Tokyo press sees no friendship in US, doubts new envoy will improve relations with US, see it as Japan’s final generous gesture, also see US disturbing Japan’s task of constructing new bloc
12/01/40  Japan playing for time by sending Nomura hoping to delay a showdown based on Axis alliance, say it will temporarily relieve immediate danger, Nomura will be asked what New Order means
12/05/40  Former Premier Baron Kiichiro Hiranume will be next minister without portfolio, has been called a fascist, short premiership in 1939, did not want alliance with Germany, Nomura to have better support than previous envoys to US
12/10/40  Japan’s expenses rise, larger deficits and increased borrowing seen in 1941
12/11/40  Record Japanese budget, exceeds 1936 national debt
12/14/40  Tokyo takes over foreign churches in Tokyo, new religion law
12/19/40  Nomura pleads for peace
12/21/40  Amity up to US Tokyo press say, doubt Nomura will have any success, cabinet changes are made
12/22/40  Konoye reported attacked in Tokyo, extremists angered by failure to win pact with Russia, plot for uprising seen (no info on injury or result of altercation)
12/23/40  Prince Fumimaro Konoye’s move to strengthen cabinet leaves people wondering why five-month cabinet needs strengthening, General heads justice department
12/28/40  Russian paper sees tension rising in Japan because of discontent over war in China article causes alarm in Japan, see enormous burden
01/01/41  Japanese gloomy about 1941, it will be most tragic and unfortunate for all mankind
01/05/41  Japan not anxious to fight for the Axis, Konoye shudders at thought of war with US, it would bring destruction to civilization
01/09/41  Japan will conduct emergency talks, greater sacrifices urged, more serious national and international situations seen
01/09/41  Japan shows anxiety on relations with US and US shifts position s dangerously in mind of Japanese in choosing to aid GB and embargos
01/16/41  Bond of Japan to Nazis stressed that it didn’t clear up any ambiguities, not by chance two have united
01/24/41  Greatest budget asked in Japan $6.86 billion yen sought
01/30/41  Japan would keep US out of the war, Nomura sent to have heart-to-heart talks with Roosevelt
02/02/41  Japan announces rationing of rice, Govt steps in after a year of shortages
02/04/41  Army costs soar
02/04/41  Reporting a run on a bank or of a rice riot required under new national-defense and security law
02/07/41  Tokyo budget approved
02/11/41  Budget total increased one billion yet over last year
02/13/41  Japanese army and navy pressured Diet into vote allowing funding for new unitary party
02/15/41  Foreign Minister Matsuoka assures Diet won’t be fighting Russia and US at the same time, Japan and Russia about to sign non-aggression pact
02/17/41  War preparations rushed by Japan, army and navy spur Diet to speed bills giving them vast powers
02/27/41  Japan and Nazis discuss strategy, want to reiterate the purpose of the tripartite alliance is peaceful
03/03/41  87 bills approved by Diet including a record budget, first “no-party” Diet, Diet was a quick 37-days, Domei praises Diet, new organization called Imperial Rule Assistance Association, worries Diet as they may cause trouble
03/06/41  Japan stresses peaceful policy, but do recall Berlin envoy suggesting discord with Axis, hostility with US noted but will be faithful to pact, no reason to go to war with GB
03/09/41  Berlin announces visit by Matsuoka to establish personal contact with members of the Axis
03/09/41  Matsuoka to discuss cooperation with Hitler, may stop off in Moscow
03/12/41  Yosuke Matsuoka’s visit to Berlin is to intensify Japan’s cooperation with Berlin and Rome to erect New Order in world
03/19/41  Japan’s army backs new fascist regime
03/20/41  Nazi see US being at war with them, talk of Japan’s obligations to Germany and three-power pact
03/23/41 US study shows burdens in Japan despite state trying to control everything, report shows a recession, shortages, rising national debt, high taxes, and financial strain as a result of war in China
03/24/41 Tokyo says little about Matsuoka’s visit to Moscow and program there
03/27/41 Matsuoka is hoping to come back from German visit with recognitions for Nanking Govt
03/27/41 Japan’s single party will be reorganized, 40 resign to make way for military leadership
03/28/41 Matsuoka said he has no objectives in mind in his Berlin meeting, Germans expected to ask for more Japanese involvement, Germany would like an end put to “China Incident”
03/29/41 Meatless days for Japan to be observed once a week, economic police have tightened supervision
03/29/41 Matsuoka talks with Germans about trade and political ties, Germany to sew trade guru Dr. Helmuth Wohithat
04/08/41 Konoye says Japan stands on its Axis tie
04/01/41 Matsuoka in Rome to visit denies any war motive
04/01/41 Old-line financier named to cabinet seen as further swing to conservatism, one of big four families dominating Japanese finances, mention of national crisis
04/02/41 Ogura accepts cabinet job, is put on unofficial war council, and is expected to solve economic problems
04/03/41 Japan’s new party announces reform, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, headed by Konoye party not accepted by Diet, guiding principle is movement
04/05/41 Konoye revises Japanese cabinet, conservative trend is seen, considered abrupt move, dual purpose is to speed up expansion of wartime production and to achieve greater cooperation between the fighting services, greater control expected
04/06/41 Nazis see Japan and help, Japan will help Germany if US joins European war
04/06/41 New Order in old Japan as German political and economic ideas are being imposed upon an Oriental people
04/06/41 Japan will speed up its increased defense creation of a high degree defense state, basic spirit of 3-power alliance is just fair peace, most important thing is for Japan to wage a total war and mobilize its economic power
04/09/41 Konoye presents cabinet then calls for unity and to drop ideological controversies, must return to traditional Japanese spirit
04/11/41 Japan is told of long struggle, US aid to China is one blame for length of struggle, concerned if US starts using warships with convoys
04/13/41 Japan is warned of higher taxes, part of official’s salaries will be paid in promissory notes
04/14/41 Axis powers cheer Moscow-Tokyo tie, sees Japan’s hands freed
04/14/41 Japan’s pact with Russia seen as a blow to the Axis by neutral Sweden, Japan has hands too full with China to become involved in war with any other country
04/15/41 Axis program seen in Soviet-Tokyo tie, pact said to keep US in check, seen to lesson world tensions, lasting peace with Russia is important to Japan
04/15/41 Russo-Japanese pact hailed by Axis, press as a setback to GB and US, Japan protecting rear, Japan want to face Pacific with hands free
04/15/41 Hull minimizes Soviet-Japanese pact US policy remains the same and pact is no surprise to US
04/16/41 Japanese cabinet supports new pact say now entering war of nerves with GB and US, have divided world into spheres of influences, Japan has greater East Asia coproserity sphere, can now undertake defensive or offensive-defense war, call US policy in Far East as folly and US are professional imperialists, say Dutch Indies delaying trade
04/20/41 Japan warns its industry that it needs to expand, Konoye stresses need for war materials, need a high defensive state
04/20/41 Soviets say ties to Japan balk at GB and US plans to draw Russia into war against Germany or Japan, Russia doesn’t explain rejection of invite to join Axis pact signed for a policy of peace
04/26/41 Japan nervous about open hostilities between US and Germany and if it comes to war where does that put them
04/28/41 Pressure on Japan budget goes up for 1941-2 and will have to borrow 60% of it, no room for military to grow, seems maxed out
05/04/41 Economic tension in Japan growing, food shortages serious, rationing system industrial production lagging
05/10/41  Axis conference started in Tokyo, seek to end hostilities
05/10/41  Nazism assailed in Japan as a peril, National Socialism taken over
05/11/41  Axis Pact secret clause says Japan free to enter war on own choice if US enters war, Japan is not
obliged to fight US
05/15/41  Tojo said it must build up army if it is to survive current worldwide uprising “we love our friend
Germany but love our own country more”
05/25/41  Japanese government officials in series of secret conference to discuss US-Japan relations and
peace in the Pacific, want to avoid war and are suspicious of Axis powers and aims of Russia
and Germany, greater East Asia Coprosperity sphere mentioned, also trying to decide to help
Axis if US goes to war
05/28/41  Before its sinking (Bismark) Germany had hoped to create some sort of incident with US to
draw Japan into conflict
05/31/41  Japan to join radio propaganda war with two huge transmitters
05/31/41  Japan reaffirms her bonds to Axis in response to doubts at home, immutable basis of Japan’s
foreign policy
06/03/41  War cost of Japan being in China put at $4 billion, cost of living still rising
06/15/41  Industrial slump troubling Japan; food is a serous issues, living cost is problem yet despite low
wages workers still expected to invest in huge government loans
06/15/41  Matsuoka backs Il Duce’s warning to US where he says Japan would not remain indifferent in
face of American aggression against Axis
06/17/41  Tokyo paper hints at rift in cabinet Nichi Nichi suggest premier should assert his control over
Matsuoka, need to be of one mind, differences over Dutch Indies, if US enters war so will Japan
on the side of the Axis; Hiroshi Ikeda, council delegate, said we must chase away the dark
shadow of our dependence on the US and Britain; The establishment of the new order must
eliminate the white man’s influence from the orient
06/23/41  Japan is worried by Germans attack on Russia, not surprised but it is a serious concern, Russia
will ask for assurances of Neutrality, German’s aren’t planning to ask Japan for help tripartite
alliance only applies if attacked not if they are attacker
06/25/41  Japan evacuates all its women and children from Moscow, serous problems for Japan if
Germany loses, Japanese business men see food shortages ahead as a result of the spread of war,
Japan and China aren’t instrument of other countries they have their own will and should act
accordingly
06/27/41  Japan is urged by Italy to go to war with Russia
06/28/41  Group ready to risk US action by forcing Japan into world war
06/29/41  Germany has been keeping Japan out of the loop, eyes opened, Japan knows she no longer is a
partner of Hitler but an object of his policies, they are afraid of what a “Hitler Order” might
mean to Japan
07/02/41  Konoye calls for a spirit of unity, asks people to tighten belts for Japan’s bright future, calls US
planes to China hostile action
07/09/41  Cabinet seeking more funds trying to increase revenues and control prices and expenditures also
talk of increased tax action
07/11/41  Nazis pressure Japan to attack Siberia immediately forcing Russia to fight two fronts receiving a
mixed reception in Tokyo, Matsuoka is advocating a drive on Russia, others in favor of drive
south
07/12/41  No win situation for Japan – if Hitler wins Japan becomes a vassal state, if Hitler loses they will
be powerless and the US is committed to giving increasing aid to China, Japan willing to
abandon attitude of conquest and accept free trade, Japanese people would gain only military
stands in way
07/13/41  Japanese consul in Canada denies Japan is a German vassal
07/15/41  Japan quiet on Anglo-Russia pact, press not happy with it, very anti- British and very
suspicious, will keep neutrality pact with Russia
07/16/41  Japan wants to wait for end of European War to join winning side, also cabinet is divided over
which way to expand south or to Siberia US would object to either move
07/17/41  Japan’s staple foodstuffs put under rigid control
Cabinet increases, as its resigns over irreconcilable divergences, as to what course Japan should pursue, cabinet split top to bottom; loss of face of German attack of Russia, irony of Russia and aggression may be Japan’s fate too

Recycling premiers, Emperor calls in Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai a former premier to be new premier, reports army and navy would dominate new government

Konoye regime resigns to clear way for facing ‘ever-changing world situation; were deadlocked over what to do

No surprise to resignations, saw it coming with German attack on Russia (Germans who they felt were only friends in world stab them in back); Japan expected to veer from Axis

Great Britain in dark about Tokyo events wonder if it means an increase in belligerence or Japanese war fatigue, lots of guesses to what Japan will do next

Rumored Konoye forming new cabinet even though he just resigned, China is main concern, Tojo shows up in Tokyo, former ambassador to Berlin

Emperor has revolving door of people consulting with him on Japan’s course, also wondering what the influence of the ultra-nationalistic “council” will have (Black Dragon Society)

Though a shift in foreign policy is coming for Japan nobody sure what it is; Admiral Suetsugu – war is not for material gains; war is an adventure, if his view takes hold no doubt as to Japan’s direction, US hopes move rational minds will be in control

New Tokyo cabinet expected to ease its ties with Axis – Konoye’s 3rd cabinet in 24- hours Matsuoka, author of Axis alliance dropped from cabinet Teijiro Toyoda new foreign minister, seen as move to improve relations with US; But aim of Japan doesn’t seem to have changed

So little change made in new cabinet now believed formed only to evade Axis and anything to do with invading Russia; say obligations were done by preceding cabinet, expansion aims are the same, claim new cabinet is not militaristic but nationalistic, military suspicious of Toyoda because he’s now-aggressive liberal type

Policy of caution expected in Japan, Axis tie seen weakening, expect US, Great Britain, and Russia to sign pact, wartime character of new cabinet, self-reliance anger

Japan reaffirms axis alliance ties, triple aim is peace, hold neutrality pact with Russia

Japan looking to enact national mobilization act

In the face of the super emergency he (Finance Minister Masatsuma Ogura) said confronting Japan I hope the entire nation will cooperate with the Government in its execution of its policies

Government admits to some shortages in labor, fuel oil, fertilizers, and some food but Japan will never face famine Agricultural Minister Hiroyasu Ino said; weather hurts wheat crop

Japanese Government warns its people of new peril, say international situation had grown explosive, further stepping up its war geared economy to become economically self-sufficient, single spark can cause explosion, demand for increased industrial production, less traffic in Tokyo, worried about labor shortage, mobilization of idle labor, talk of female students

Demand more industrial output

Berlin feels Japan has taken right steps and may still be compromised, no oil embargo yet; Japan hasn’t been surprised by anything yet

Labor shortages

Rice crop down 5%

Rising prices

Japan now operating under wartime economic powers thanks to the national mobilization act

Worried about spies, Chugai Shogyo, time to stop verge of war talk, government dominated by fear of what people will think or will tell others of Japan’s strength, the only ones who don’t know Japan strength are its own people

Cabinet member in Japan is shot ,Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, minister without portfolio was shot, only a slight wound, ran after his assailant, motives unknown, was seeking an autograph or so he said

Police question black dragon member who shot Hiranuma, no doubt motive political and to do with Hiranuma foreign policy and being cautions to break ties with US, he’s also opposed to Asiatic expansion and for ending war in China

Japanese are aware of cats paw role to serve ally who has neither the ability or desire to help her, Germany just wants Japan to keep US occupied
08/21/41 Japan teeters on brink as a struggle between army and navy occurs, army is opposed to current cabinet which has labeled it a navy cabinet, army says now is the time for action rather than attempting friendly relations with US and GB, see more assassinations, Hiranuma just forerunner, if army takes over it would be like declaring war in the Pacific

08/27/41 Japanese raise taxes for revenue

08/28/41 Japan puts a curb on gasoline usage, diplomats restricted too

08/29/41 Why has Japan picked most weak and illogical issue to protest in shipments to Russia, Why not supplies to China, embargo, frozen assets, blow to face hard to understand when politicians have been so successful at hiding from its own people what is going on in world

09/04/41 Premier emphatic with people urges national unity and display in peril, face greatest emergency in her history, going ahead with establishing of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere, dislike Soviet mission to US to get planes, encirclement

09/11/41 Pinch felt in Japan

09/12/41 Rumored that Hirohito has taken direct control over the army

09/14/41 Moderates gain as Japan shifts, Hirohito uses influences to curb army extremists, making an effort to end “China Incident”

09/15/41 Nazi, Fascist, and pro-Axis elements are intensifying there activities to keep Japan in Axis camp

09/22/41 Japanese writer predicts Axis victory, says Japan should cling to pact

09/23/41 Under economic pressure Japan has had to tighten belt another notch, Japan reduces steel and iron use, vendors arrested for selling dog meat as pork and beef

09/25/41 Tokyo is forced to slash budget, some urging tax increases, Coprosperity sphere is aim, Govt is trying to ease situation

09/26/41 If Japan submits to US she will be destroyed, Pro-German political leader Seigo Nakano says, Japanese people will not tolerate this; says Konoye cabinet lacks courage in dealing with US

10/02/41 Japan scores Nazi economics, see them trying to dominate world making Coproprosity Sphere pointless, all sphere is self-defeating because materials from all the world needed to make current products like cars

10/07/41 New Order depends entirely on an Axis victory

10/09/41 Japan fears isolation again after Germany attacks Russia

10/17/41 Japanese cabinet suddenly resigns in face of new crisis

10/17/41 Konoye’s third cabinet resigns because of division of opinion regarding policies to pursue in face of crisis, greatest crisis in her history, should or shouldn’t Japan reach an agreement with US at the cost of substantial concessions, Tojo reported to be next premier, national mobilization goes on, “immutable” policies, settlement of “China Incident” and construction of Sphere

10/18/41 Gen. Tojo forms cabinet in Tokyo is premier and war minister, former ambassador to Berlin and Moscow, pledges to pursue a strong foreign policy

10/18/41 Premiership turned over to army and General Tojo

10/18/41 Too early to guess what Tojo’s about, but no basis for optimism, cabinet will be militarists who believe Japan’s time has come and believe in action, Tojo doesn’t like restrictions of 9-power treaty and is admirer of German military methods

10/18/41 Tojo is advocate of total war economy, Lt. Gen. Eiki Tojo, Togo is foreign minister, entire nation should move as one cannon ball of fiery resolution, believes in rigid regulation

10/21/41 Tojo wants to replenish arms and expand industry and advance national defense and enhance national spirit

10/24/41 Shortages hit Japan, industrial activity cut sharply, trade has become nonexistent with US and GB

10/25/41 Japanese people surprised by call for special Diet session, session called to vote for more expenditures for war and military purposes, Coprosperity Sphere, ask for a reduction in living standards because Govt needs more money, shift from Axis ideas

11/01/41 Diet votes sweeping wartime programs, also vote 20 to 50 percent indirect tax increase

11/02/41 Japan’s distrust of Reich lingers, Pro-American feelings, and anti-German feelings rising in Japan among the common people

11/03/41 Japan’s debt up 500%

11/04/41 Japan holding back on US-Reich row even though Germany hollering US has attacked her
11/09/41 Japan silent on its ties to Axis, US shown poor object for intimidation and German victory over GB as promised haven’t materialized

11/10/41 Japan say it’s not bound to war for Axis, Japan is the only one who will decide if she goes to war

11/14/41 Tokyo leader announce they’ll speak to country tomorrow to clarify national policies of “China Incident” and Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere

11/15/41 More war funds sought in Japan, Govt without opposition in the Diet, Asahi says nation is determined to make every sacrifice, even to die as martyr to the cause of the empire, calling up a lot of reservists

11/16/41 Diet meets to aid Tokyo war plans, new war preparations being made, unanimous support expected

11/17/41 Offer congrats to Axis powers for successes

11/23/41 International situation becoming tense, need to prepare to meet situation and obtain victory without waging war

11/25/41 Japan pushes to speed up wartime military and economic structure in preparation for worst, Japan at a crossroads, if war breaks now depends on talks in Washington

11/26/41 Japanese newspapers submit to new curbs – now are public utilities with a national mission, under the wartime structure, will be subject to a licensing system, membership in newspaper league is compulsory

11/26/41 Tojo still working on total national mobilization, task or establishing new order in face of gravest crisis, fighting for coprosperity sphere, tells nation they face further hardships in daily life, because of a shortage of raw materials, say US has committed aggression in Pacific and are monopolizing resources

11/27/41 Hirohito meets with premier and foreign minister it is assumed to be about talks in Washington

12/02/41 Finance Minister Okinuri Kaya urges people to increase national savings (bonds), Diet votes new budget

12/02/41 War is very costly for Japan – 65 billion yen by March 1942, Japan spending 70% of budget

12/04/41 Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah declares Japan will leave the Axis and join US and GB

12/13/41 Food shortage at critical stage

**Kellogg-Briand Compact and League of Nations**

**1920-24**

01/01/21 Fear of US drives Japan into naval building, sees it as a part of honor, thinks US is out to get the Japanese and get them to waste her national resources on defenses, think we didn’t join league because it wanted a free hand in dealing with Japan

01/11/23 Clarke says US should join league or there might be new war

**1925-29**

01/07/28 Kellogg peace plan puzzles Japan, not sure how it would affect Japan, how a multilateral compact would work, or understand the motive

03/04/28 Japan predicts failure for Kellogg, it is futile to work against war a part from league

08/28/28 Baron Tanaka hails the Kellogg treaty

01/08/29 Tokio cabinet watching US senate and Kellogg anti-war treaty, if senate tacks on any reservations it could have ramifications in Japan

03/03/29 11 nations perfect anti-war Kellogg treaty, but should be ratified in next couple of weeks

02/24/29 Japan still worried of pact wording, ‘in the name of the people’

03/08/29 Purpose of Peace Pact is protect smaller nations

04/05/29 Delays in Tokio add to fears over pact being ratified, same issue, in the name of people

04/14/29 Still delaying pact ratification but seems likely to pass

06/28/29 Hirohito ratifies Kellogg treaty, Count Uchida resigns, cabinet fears political effects

07/22/29 Now that US has invoked pact, Japan sees need to enforce Kellogg treaty to preserve moral validity, Russia must be returned its railroad, Japan afraid Kellogg pact will be used against them in China

07/23/29 Japan still uneasy about what Stimson did, were not informed of what he was doing, relate move as if Japan had intervened in the Caribbean, say Stimson is doing this to save Kellogg pact from disaster

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1930-31
04/22/30 Stimson says naval conference was inspired by Kellogg-Briand Compact; he has faith in diplomacy
04/29/30 Paris Pact outlaws war
05/05/30 Kellogg Pact, greatest modern conflict between faith and fear, war between US and GB unthinkable
07/07/30 Temple said US policy of Kellogg-Briand pact is step toward peace
07/19/30 Hull of US adds memorandum to pact saying it is wrong to trade with outlaw states, all nations have renounced war
08/31/30 Two-year anniversary, doubts persist, nationalists and communists, how will history look at US not joining league, competition ended in theory
09/26/30 Pact relies on public opinion, critics see it as an empty gesture
09/13/31 Trying to put more teeth into pact; however US would never take part in identifying aggressor in Europe
09/20/31 Japanese Govt expresses regret over Mukden, army opposed to evacuation, Japan denies any violation of Kellogg anti-war pact; says China fired first; Shidehara disappointed junior officer would undermined his efforts to improve Sino-Japanese relations
09/21/31 Nanking will invoke Kellogg peace pact, more fighting expected
09/21/31 Both League of Nations and Kellogg pact are being pilloried as in effective and important; come for time for league to show it can maintain peace
09/22/31 China charges Japan with unprovoked attacks before the league
09/22/31 Washington wary of conflict; holding off now but may invoke 9-power Washington treaty rather than Kellogg pact, which would anger Japan by accusing them of being aggressors
09/24/31 League worried Kellogg pact and league itself at stake
09/24/31 Stimson sends plea to China and Japan to end hostilities
09/25/31 Borah says Japan “violated every international law” no justification for force in China
09/26/31 League backs view of Japan, Japan says it has withdrawn most troops back to the Manchurian railway and will withdraw the rest once security established; China won’t negotiate with Japan until troops are gone; league duty not to settle disputes; Japan say premature intervention would aggravate the situation
10/14/31 All Japan unites to resist league; reject outside interference
10/13/31 China prepares for war, Geneva feels life of league endangered
10/16/31 Japan denies Kellogg pact is involved as she has no intention of making war on China; question of Japan might quit league can’t be answered but that could change; not happy US representative will sit on league council on Manchurian discussion, looks like the whole world trying to put pressure on them
10/16/31 Japan’s objection to US ignored on council
10/17/31 Japan will protest, call US attitude meddlesome
10/18/31 League invokes Kellogg pact, Japan resents intervention, league wants fixed data on evacuation
10/19/31 British journal fears in attempting to settle Jap-Sino dispute; they will provoke a more dangerous enmity between US and Japan; Also says Japan since 1922 has successfully ignored their treaty obligations
10/21/31 Stimson sends note to China and Japan to reminding them they signed Kellogg Pact
10/23/31 Japan calls league resolution wholly unacceptable say negations must occur before Japan will leave
10/24/31 Japan highly probable to withdraw from league
10/26/31 Japan won’t accept league proposal
10/31/31 League sets Nov. 16 as when Japan must be out of Manchuria
11/07/31 League looking at economic boycott, will first try to coerce Japan into behaving
11/09/31 Tokyo says if diplomatic intimidation continues it will quit league
11/21/31 Japan would rather break with league than yield to it; blows off sanctions
11/29/31 Japan now willing to trust league
12/10/31 Japan accepts league plan
1932-34
01/30/32 Japan hints at quitting league
Japan complains to league she was attacked by China, Japan is on defensive mission in China, not offensive, other powers have also violated article and by sending troops

Hoover opposes joining league in economic boycott

Japan is urged to quit league because of Geneva criticism

Dr Butler of Columbia says US should take lead to put teeth into Kellogg Pact

War minister Sadao Araki is determined that Japan’s plan not be interfered with and if it is will leave league

League doubts Japan will quit primarily because Japan will lose mandate to former German islands, Japan needs to decide what it’s going to do

Tokyo not happy with league’s attitude, will quit if it keeps going

Would turn to “dead sea fruit” the spoils of aggression which violated the pact, toughest thing will be to determine aggression, feel boycott leads to war

Hoover doctrine says US will not recognize results of aggression

Japan tells league Manchuria is free, Japan press demands Manchukuo recognition

Japan tells league it won’t give way in Manchuria, Manchuria wants its own independence

Japan’s view on league, feel being forced a settlement by league, used force, because of intolerable state of affairs which had developed, fears world sees Japan as insatiable militarist, Japan has done nothing to destroy integrity of China

League looks to US in policy on China

Multiple countries rebuke Japan for its activity, set November 14 as deadline on issue

League upholds China’s claim say Japan should return 3 provinces

League won’t be deterred by reports may bolt league but her recognition of Manchukuo is irrevocable

Japan cabinet sees no reason to change policy rejects Lytton report

Tokyo admits no wrong in Manchuria and says it’s not subject to dispute say Lytton commission did inadequate job

3 big issues debated at Geneva are Manchuria world economic conference and disarmament

Japan to switch from defense to offense on Manchurian issue at Geneva

Japan tells league it can’t stop her and hints she’ll quit league, league imperfections cited including failure of US to join

League act in Lytton report is blow to US far eastern policy and could mean end to Kellogg’s pact and the effectiveness of league itself questioned

Japan bars US help on Manchuria dispute after learning of China and Russia renewing diplomatic relations

League hope fades to a solution to Japan-Sino conflict, Japan opposes US involvement

Japan unyielding on League terms won’t accept non-recognition of Manchukuo

Japan anxious to stay in league, won’t withdraw unless report on Manchuria is extremely censorious

Tokyo resistance to league grows, won’t let anyone else dictate national policy to them

Ban on Manchukuo adopted by league, Lytton plan warms and also votes non-cooperating, arms embargo proposed

Japan prepares to leave league, upset over leagues decision

Japan proclaims she won’t give up Manchukuo will ignore league

Manchukuo tells league a boycott would mean end of open door

Japan to maintain Manchukuo she tells league

Japanese market closes lower has some not wanting to quit league for financial reason

League urges non-recognition of Manchukuo and said Japan did not act in self-defense, say it’s a puppet state

Nobody in league wants Japan to leave and Japan doesn’t want to leave but league may force them, Japan won’t accept recommendations

Japan can be no more isolate than she is, nobody will fight for league, won’t accept league’s recommendations

Tokyo belittles league and says it can’t apply economic pressure, no anxiety in Japan over leaving

Tokyo belittles league and says it can’t apply economic pressure, no anxiety in Japan over leaving
02/26/33 Stimson supports league in dispute but won’t aid in Manchurian issue, hope two countries can work it out
02/27/33 Japan tells US to think twice about agreeing to any league recommendations, say League made another grave mistake in legalizing boycott
02/28/33 US Bans Far East embargo, surprised that Great Britain has imposed arms embargo to both countries
03/01/33 Japan not happy about Great Britain ban say must change their long-standing relationship and also believe Great Britain could’ve stopped league report
03/02/33 Japan's irritation grows at Great Britain embargo; blame Great Britain because they could’ve stopped obnoxious report adopted by league
03/03/33 Nanking protests Great Britain ban, say Tokyo benefits more from it, Japan fears embargo will be turned on them alone because they were labeled the aggressors
03/15/33 Roosevelt favors embargo on army but he lacks authority
03/19/33 Princeton professor Tyler Dennett finds Japan has become defiant and has not acted in good faith, has said she would prevent aggravation but instead has provoked it; self esteem of league is in trouble
03/28/33 Japan quits league to ensure peace “irreconcilable” difference
07/06/33 US quits trade convention sharing after Great Britain did too many reservations
10/15/33 Lt General Sadao Araki sees German’s withdrawal from league as further evidence of the leagues unworthiness of existence
10/30/33 Araki holds that Kellogg pact is defective
11/06/34 League asks Japan if she violated any fort building mandates, deny any violations

1935-37
03/29/35 Japan leaves league seat empty for two years, March 27, 1933
07/07/35 Kellogg pact buried in East Africa grave with Italy-Ethiopia conflict, treaty worth zero Ethiopia finds, Europe all along placed no faith in pact, just a bunch of signatures, hurt that US was never a member of the League of Nations, pact never had any teeth
07/13/35 Hull backs Kellogg Pact as basis of US policy, reminds Italy, Secretary talks of the sanctity of pledges not about doing anything
07/14/35 US didn’t actually believe someone would violate pact, believe it still is in effect, Italy said it doesn’t apply because they haven’t started any war
12/26/35 Rep. Tinkham wants US to end Kellogg peace pact, calls it a fraud and war pact, it is being used to involve the US in European Affairs
02/11/36 Pittman says Japan has violated 9-power and Kellogg treaties
09/29/37 Hull backs league in rebuking Japan for bombing, League condemns Japan

1938-39
07/24/38 Kellogg pact turns 10, world has failed to invoke treaty yet no country has denounced either and withdrawn signature just no ones declared war officially
08/22/38 Kellogg anti-war pact nears 10th year and all it’s done is lead to new type of undeclared conflict as two undeclared wars rage on two continents signed in Paris
08/27/38 First time declared in German-Czech conflict
08/28/38 Hull on 10th Anniversary tells world war has no victor, no one profits
08/29/38 2.5 million people killed in wars since pact banned them and $10 billion spent on warfare
10/04/38 Japan say league has no business in China, only Japan and China can work things out, Japan disagrees on that point, now Japan has irreconcilable differences with the league and threatened league members with retaliation if they act on league sanctions
11/05/38 Hull said US does and Japan and China should adhere to the Kellogg-Briand Pact
11/06/38 US sees Kellogg treaty still in effect
03/15/39 Japan withholds report on islands demanded by treaty with US and the league

US-Jap Goodwill

1920-24
10/19/24 Laughter seems to be the great cultural divide
1925-29
03/04/27 American children send dolls to Japanese children as gifts, not anything political, but do have a heart softening effect
03/06/27 Story of doll tells story of mankind
03/14/27 Doll editorial, historic daylong remembered
01/06/28 References the dolls as ambassadors
03/31/29 Japan sends 500 Cherry trees to replace those ruined by flood of 1928 by cherry blossom society
04/09/29 12 Newspapersmen to go on goodwill tour of Japan, Manchuria, China and Korea on Carnegie peace funds May thru August
06/02/29 American hospital opens in Tokio, funded by leftovers from 1923 earthquake relief fund
10/13/29 Commander Evangeline Booth Head of the Salvation Army in US headed to visit Japan for 2 months, will open new hospital in Japan
12/19/29 Booth back from Japan, impressed with intelligence of people and progress toward national efficiency, love of education and ambition for the best are everywhere, first woman allowed a private audience with the emperor, because she’s considered a military officer

1930-31
01/10/30 Institute of Public Relations and recent trip to Kyoto
03/08/30 Japan to send girls to tour US and give thanks for 1923 earthquake aid
03/16/30 4 Japanese girls to distribute gifts will visit President
04/23/30 Japanese girls visit Commander Booth
11/04/30 Prince says recent years have been a steady growth of mutual understanding; want peace in Pacific; proof is Washington Treaty, London Treaty and Kellogg pact
01/23/31 Japan greets Douglas Fairbanks
02/03/31 US track stars tour accept invitation to Japan
03/04/31 Japanese emperor to receive Prof. Paul Monroe of Columbia, Japan to donate 700 books to Columbia’s Japanese cultural center
03/06/31 12-man US team to meet Japanese swimmers
05/18/31 Prince visits America, is thronged by Japanese children
08/09/31 Eager Japan awaits Lindbergh (hop to Paris in summer of 1927)
08/11/31 Tokyo offers $50,000 air prize for first Japan airman making non-stop trans-pacific flight
08/14/31 Lindbergh to fly around the world
09/01/31 Japan hub of airplane activity as pilots looking to set new non-stop records

1932-34
05/17/32 US will send fleet to Japan on goodwill trip, Japan Navy will visit US ports.
08/29/32 Japan sending envoy to US to seek our goodwill sending vice-admiral Kichisabura Nokuma
04/13/33 Japan’s Ishii to spend extend time in US trying reconcile with US
05/30/33 Ishii hails friendship and recent events haven’t shaken the amicable relations, despite harsh words by both sides, hearts are in right place, Japan has peculiar plight and pleads for understanding.
05/30/33 Tokyo finds amity with US and has hope for London Parley success
03/22/34 US and Japan trying to create goodwill through correspondence.
06/14/34 Foreign minister Hirota said he’d be willing to meet Roosevelt in Hawaii.
07/30/34 Japan disappointed with Roosevelt – they had hoped while he was in Hawaii he would’ve held out an olive branch and mentioned US – Japan relations.
10/11/34 Ambassador Saito traveling to US to smooth things out, he does feel government will abrogate treaties.

1935-37
02/15/35 Sen. Thomas of Utah encourages a student exchange program with Japan, will create a necessary understanding
10/23/35 City officials ‘Loot’ art display sent by Japan as goodwill
10/29/35 Hirohito receives Vice President John N. Garner and speaker of the House Joseph W. Byrns
08/01/36 42 College Americans from 18 colleges attend third annual Japanese-American student congress in Tokyo
11/10/36 Tokyo erects monument in honor of first U.S. envoy Townsend Harris
04/10/37 Japanese cuts two days off flight record, averaged 198 mph in plane named Kamikaze
09/19/37 Japan names three including an editor of Nichi Nichi to explain Japan’s East Asian policy to the American People

10/17/37 Premier’s brother finds “propaganda” for China in America and is disgusted by poor showing of Japan in US, urges PR campaign

10/30/37 Shingoro Takaishi, Kojiro Matsukara and Hitoshi Ashida arrive in San Francisco on good-will tour Takaishi will spend two months in US talking with editors and publishers, goal is to establish a permanent cultural relationship with countries sympathetic with aims of Japan

10/31/37 Premier’s brother cancels tour because of anti-Japanese sentiment in U.S. part of blame is laid to Chinese propaganda. He felt uncomfortable in U.S. audience booed what he called heroic Japanese soldiers fighting heavy odds. Hissed the Japanese flag, need more Japanese propaganda, he says anti-Japanese feeling started in 1931 by Henry Stimson and was spread by the press

11/02/37 Takaishi says Japan is not aggressive say China started things, don’t want to conquer just want a buffer state, another too costly, and want to cooperate with Japan, want quick peace

11/14/37 Japan fighting for peace and fighting violent Anti-Japanese feelings in America

**1938-39**

05/16/38 Tokyo fliers claim two world records

03/04/39 Tokyo peers hail US honor to send Hiroshi Saito ashes home to Japan via a cruiser, seen as helping relations

04/13/39 Gifts pile up for crew of Astoria, which brought home ashes of Hiroshi Saito

04/03/39 Japan sends goodwill broadcast to New York’s World Fair, premier says our relations have been growing closer since treaty of 1854 say thanks for 1923

04/17/39 Japanese touched by gesture of returning Saito’s ashes

08/04/39 Goodwill failure hurts Tokyo press such as all Japan’s doll missioners, flames of friendship girls, girl dancers, glad hand pilgrims in general have been useless, press says Japan needs to reevaluate policy of forcing goodwill on Americans by cultural, musical and other means. Say abrogating treaty a slap in face, interesting terminology feel it was cut of a friend, fewer Japanese will be crossing ocean as champions of their country

09/01/39 Japanese fliers land in Seattle welcomed by 3,000 people; Anti-Japanese protesters also there saying boycott Japanese goods, most on hand were Japanese from Western Washington

09/17/39 Japanese fliers in US capital on goodwill tour representing newspapers in Japan

11/26/39 The Sino-Korean peoples league is in charge of pro-Japanese PR campaign in American schools and sent a letter to in American schools and sent a letter to seventh international conference of Institute of Pacific Relations at Virginia Beach

**1940-41**

02/16/40 Japan honors American Miss Annie Lyn Howe with blue ribbon in recognition of 37 years as a Christian Educator in Japan

04/07/40 Japan “tickled” by Mrs. Roosevelt’s purchase of Japanese goods and kimonos in San Francisco, see it as end of boycott talk

11/11/40 Japan honors 3 American teachers

05/24/41 Japan decorates US Bishop

11/24/41 Decided to stay in Japan 3,000 American born Japanese to try and improve relations
Appendix J

Notes for Chapter Six

Japanese Economic Tensions

Japanese Economic Problems

1920-24  (Tokyo switched from Tokio in 1930)
06/26/22 Japan near economic crisis; may develop into a panic; Germans trying to move in on US trade with Japan
07/23/23 Japan may install our market system, eliminate middleman and save $
09/04/23 Coolidge appeals to Americans to relieve distress in Japan
09/08/23 Intern 15,000 Koreans, suspected of causing trouble after disaster
09/08/23 Hoover expects speedy recovery in Japan
09/09/23 US aid for Japan eases hard feeling, talks about history of ill will
09/13/23 Coolidge appeals to Americans to relieve distress in Japan anew
09/13/23 American to help in rebuilding; Tokio tidal wave kills 100,000 Japanese (earthquake hit September 1, 1923)
01/01/24 Economic update on earthquake, things look good for a quick recovery
05/04/24 Switzer charges that Jap influencing Filipinos to desire independence, US fears loss of trade
08/07/24 No building boom materializing in Japan as expected
10/15/24 Japan, who has a policy of non-interference, warns Chinese factions in Manchuria that they would not tolerate any damage to Japanese rights, lives and interests
10/25/24 Japan sends military force into North China to protect interests, cautionary maneuver

1925-29
01/01/25 Japan trade adverse, only 5,000 emigration to 500,000 births, political unrest, 3 cabinets in 1924, unemployment increase
01/19/25 Japan and US join together in opium fight
02/05/25 Send gold to US to advance yen, initial shipment of $5 million is on its way
02/21/25 Big Tokio firm in trouble, Takata and Co.
03/22/25 Foreign trade most important world factor in next 20 years, Fiske says increase probability of war
04/15/25 Japan will lower its discount rate first time since 1919, proof it’s reemerging from its troubles since earthquake, seven-tenths of a one percent
05/15/25 Lindsay Russell in a speech gave 14 reasons why peace with US and Japan will continue, nothing gained in war, trade interests, Japan lose possessions in Asia, unequal to US in size and population, can’t finance war, need $ from US, distance, racial question
05/19/25 Tanaka favors closer relations with US, Japan’s national prosperity depends largely thereon, many domestic problems, and Japan’s future is fraught with many difficulties
08/01/25 Japan--US is its best business asset
08/04/25 Japan shows surplus trade by years end expected
12/20/25 Chinese civil war attracting Japanese money and attention, protection is seriously needed of its interests there
12/26/25 Exports of Japan show big increase, 375 million yen over last year, 40 percent gain
01/19/26 Chang Tso-lin retaliates against Japan for failure to give him material supports in civil war, makes it illegal for foreigners to lease land in Manchuria
02/18/26 Yen soars to 46.19, highest since 1923
03/07/26 Germany trying to get in good with Japan and restore dye trade they lost after the war, would hurt US trade, Germans sweeten pot with explosive information
04/10/26 Japan sends 2 million more in gold, lists ship name
04/17/26 Japan anxious for goodwill, out of trade necessity, may not be entirely out of love for US. If trade relations broken, even for a short time, the effect on the Japanese economy would be disastrous. Japan still stunned from earthquake, while navy spending a strain on the budget, they see navy as status symbol of world prestige
08/03/26 Pan-Asiatic parley is anti-western which is only common bond; otherwise they don’t get along with each other
08/07/26 Trade ties link US and Japan
08/09/26 Editorial discussing Japan and US trade and the need of the other
10/06/26 Loans for Japan announced, no word on why they are seeking loans
10/17/26 Advance of the Yen shows Japanese gain, shows economic recovery from earthquake effect, will return to gold standard, trade shows more exports than imports.
10/30/26 Japanese visitors impressed by new and mechanical civilization. Japan still trying to rebuild from earthquake
11/14/26 Japan working hard to recoup losses, finds Japanese really serious because of earthquake and the exclusion act of 1924; clean up was very tedious, feel they were blackballed, unfairly treated, Japan feels closer to west than the east; Japan suspicious over US ROTC in schools, and why is Air Force needed, why is fleet in Australia, America has nothing we want or how could we take it away Japan says, Paper editor says we have 2x the manpower and 10x the financial power and friends with GB
11/20/26 Loans for Japan announced, no word on why they are seeking loans
11/28/26 Sees Japan improving after big earthquake, Yokohama has been rebuilt, harbor working again and can handle big liners
11/29/26 Gold standard
12/07/26 Japan sending gold to US in preparation for returning to gold standard in 1927
01/21/27 Japan said it will use surplus to redeem national loans, some how linked to building ships, economic improvement evidenced by fewer note issues, reduction in discount rate, improvement price of securities, advance in price of yen
01/23/27 Japanese trade outlook poor
03/09/27 Japan lowest discount rate in 10 years
03/23/27 8 Japanese banks fail in one week, run on banks started as panic seizes Japan; Government will step in to stop more runs and failures, banks blame strain on 1923 earthquake, quite a change from stories 2 months ago, some blame Diet in fighting anything that might have been done to prevent this.
04/07/27 Suzuki firm fails for $250 million, causes fall in Yen and delays Japan’s removal of gold embargo, firm controlled 60-70 large subsidiaries
04/17/27 Annual report of bank of Japan says imports more than exports for 1926; adverse trade balance of 450 million yen or 225 million dollars; Decline in trade, part of problem is civil war in China lowers prices of silver, decline in price of 20 percent over past two years.
04/18/27 Result of earthquake losses (1923) heritage of that event, exports down, imports up, loans up, 67 million yen ($34 million) represented earthquake notes, Suzuki was in trouble before 1923 earthquake as a result of worldwide economic depression of 1920-21
04/20/27 Naming of Tanaka as premier reassures Japan, stock market stabilizes
04/21/27 Japan’s internal troubles, time of depression and readjustment, deflation of war lasts two years after, then damage of 1923, social effects of industrial revolution, fighting communism, party political rivalries
04/22/27 All banks to close 2 days to help clear up fiscal tangle
04/23/27 Govt to close banks for a couple of days, calms public, press approves of government action
06/19/27 Trade need for resources
07/06/27 Tokio bank trouble worries the ministry, Govt against giving aid, most of House of Peers bank at fifteen which is closed and they stand to lose a lot if not reopened, public not happy either, complain that public funds used to help a company who neglected to put away enormous profits made during boom to build up reserves
08/04/27 Japanese industries suffer, unprecedented depression shows no signs of abating, worry over large budget deficit
08/28/27 Minds of Japan at ease now about political and financial unrest because of drastic measures taken, bonds stimulated, money is more plentiful in Japan again
09/09/27 Uchigama says Japan’s economic existence depends to a large extent upon the most friendly and cordial relation with your country, no competition because Japan can’t produce products that Asia wants, living hand-to-mouth
Thomas W. Lamont, impressed with Japan’s recovery, indubitable tribute to energy of Japanese people, he believes in Japan and her peaceful intentions.

Most of America doesn’t understand the reliance of Japan; we take half of their exports and are responsible for one-third of their imports.

Thomas W. Lamont, impressed with Japan’s recovery, indubitable tribute to energy of Japanese people, he believes in Japan and her peaceful intentions.

Japan cuts budget owing to difficulty in finding sufficient revenue.

Bankers see slow recovery, crash could’ve been worse and wasn’t unexpected, of 30 banks who crashed, 11 reopened one being bank of Taiwan, no rapid recovery expected.

Prince steps down after failure of fifteenth bank.

Japanese trade balance improves.

Yusuke Tsurumi, leader of the Japanese liberal party, said country’s policy toward China was “primarily economic” only difference of opinion in Japan is how best to obtain the protection of its interest in China, China needed economic to help support rising population in Japan, need raw materials and markets.

Tokio raises tariff on lumber imports most of which come from U.S. Northwest, will increase revenue by 2.86 million dollars a year, Japan consumers and US exporters opposed strenuously.

Japan increasing its steel output, most significant econ development in recent history, 1.5 million tons a year, double 1920 output, owe it to stimulus to war, profit margin not great though.

Japan has plenty for big population, high birth rate offset by gains in industry and commerce, emigration not justified. See similarity in Japan as in Germany prior to Great war, same alarms too, Textile output increases, over population problem depends on economic position improving.

Japan has trade drop in May.

Pacific Institute seen as peace aid will meet Oct 28-Nov. 9; says Japan needs industry.

Exports gain in first six months.

But smallest adverse trade balance.

Japans exports decrease.

80 million budget cut.

New consul General says unemployment in Japan caused by steadily increasing population in country smaller than Texas occupied by 80 million people, but now demand for work has been solved and no reports of agitation.

Hail Japan’s return to gold standard, will resume Jan 11, 1930, after being on paper standard for past 12 years; Japan will be able to pay off loans on better terms, stabilization will be highly beneficial in the long run.

Debuchi foresees growing trade tie, trade most balanced since Great War, Japan welcomes US to Far Eastern markets, deplores civil unrest in China, hope China will speedily put house in order.

International conference for the abolition of import restrictions and prohibitions, four days in Paris, three years of work saved from near collapse, GB, Japan, and US unconditionally sign treaty to adopt pact on trade bars will help free trade.

19 nations agree to trade bar pact, agree to six month trial starting Jan 1, will eliminate several hundred foreign trade prohibitions and restrictions.

Japanese trade down 6.4% and $12 from 1928 and 1929.

Japan lifts Ban on export of gold first time since 1917, emphasizing improving trade balances.

Yen is near par on a gold basis, last power to return to gold.

Free gold marker faces test.

7.5 million in gold from Japan.

10 million in gold from Japan.

Gold Standard is boon for Japan after calamities in 1920; 23; 27.

$3.75 million more in gold from Japan.

Japan leading in power, Japan change to industry lies in scarcity of land for agriculture, only 20% can be used for farming.

5.7 million in gold from Japan.

More gold from Japan.
03/23/30  Yen highest level in months; sent over $65 million in gold since gold embargo lifted
04/12/30  Near panic closes stock exchange; linked to cotton mill strike; crisis follows long period of
decline in trade and industry
04/24/30  Silk prices low in Japan
07/23/30  Japan trade declines, lowest point in 10 years
08/10/30  Nothing gained with war, interruption in trade would be disastrous
09/23/30  $2.5 million in gold, yen exchange stronger
09/21/30  Few chances at wealth, 50 percent unemployment
10/24/30  Japanese yen up to its gold value highest in 9 years
11/06/30  Exchange of culture and growing volume of trade most important factors in the maintenance of
good-will between the two nations
11/13/30  Japan to borrow $25 million for relief of unemployment; would improve roads and river project
11/14/30  Japan lays off 8,000 from naval yards as a result of naval limitation
01/08/31  Japanese trade slump at an end; world slump started in Japan in 1920
02/15/31  Japan shows increase in trade
02/22/31  Japanese markets slightly better
03/23/31  Depression Japanese engulfed in 1930 was a result of lifting gold embargo yet positive about
future benefits from the move
03/26/31  Ambassador Debuchi urges end to world trade war
03/26/31  Diet votes for tax reduction, women’s suffrage bill fails
04/03/31  Japan reports drop in exports
05/24/31  Japanese government has had economic problems, trying to avoid reducing taxes, instead cut
salaries hoping for loyalty from workers for the sake of country
05/26/31  Japanese trade slump at an end; world slump started in Japan in 1920
11/06/31  Japan sends $22.5 million in gold
11/11/31  Japanese boycott forcing Japan to ship gold $30 million will be sent here next week
11/14/31  Japanese intensify boycott on Japan; plan to do it through third and fourth generations
12/13/31  Gold reserve in US at $250 million for Japan; will impose a gold embargo
12/13/31  Japanese bonds fail; will restore gold embargo
12/14/31  Japan restores gold embargo; nation divided on policy, cabinet has gloomy outlook
12/21/31  Japan losses heavily in dollar speculation; loss expected of $12.5 million; Inouye blames present
government
1932-34
01/02/32  Politicians and businessmen gloomy about 1932, predict labor trouble due to rising prices and
that the ban on Gold exports isn’t exactly going to help either
01/10/32  Debuchi calls US a partner of Japan, trade relations have been growing closer year by year
01/29/32  Yen falls on news of Shanghai fight
01/31/32  $44.5 million in Japan gold in month and a half, yen falls to record low mark
02/06/32  Stain on finance of Japan seen although Japan keep war costs a secret – seems all of Japan are
behind the conflict
04/11/32  44% of Japan exports go to the United States
02/27/32  Japan bankers warn army chiefs of financial difficulties if military operations are protracted.
03/22/32  Trade in Pacific is reciprocal
04/16/32  Currency inflation seen in Japans foreclosure because of gold embargo
05/01/32  Japan feels US putting economic pressure on Japan and unemployed want jobs in Manchuria
05/05/32  Nations of pacific meet in Hawaii for 3 day trade parley
06/08/32  Silk prices disastrously low from competition with Rayon
06/15/32  Tokyo diet passes inflationist bills, raises tariffs to meet expense of Manchurian campaign
06/26/32  Finance Minster says domestic situation in Japan getting worse
07/10/32  Depression found on farm, wasteful methods and falling prices, debt mounting
07/19/32  Prefectural Governors in a conference on the rural distress say wide area virtually bankrupt
farmers unable to meet obligations
08/04/32  Special 8 – day session for national relief program
08/08/32  Fall of yen disturbs Japanese people
08/17/32  Japan worried about decline of yen lowest in history

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08/20/32  Yen drops 1 1/8 cents new low mark
08/21/32  China to intensify boycott on Japan
10/21/32  Real social problem is on the farms, farmers sinking into poverty, present depression
11/12/32  Tokyo budget sets a new high record $469.4 million for military deficit of $190 million; people have resigned themselves to military expenditure
12/20/32  Japan's financial difficulty – silk prices fallen 70% over last 3 years, government buying surplus to create artificial security; devaluation of the yen high unemployment and increase military spending
12/25/32  Japan's new budget 70% above revenue
01/01/33  Japan ends year in midst of minor boom, rising silk prices, lowering unemployment
01/02/33  Japan bankers warn on 1933 outlook, predict trade losses and makers increasing prices of commodities and inflation will disturb national economy
01/21/33  Business outlook for year is gloomy
01/22/33  Finance minister tells diet Japan is financially sound – adverse trade balance fell 50% and 23% increase in exports, experiencing active trade
02/12/33  Japan trade rises
02/22/33  Bonds sag on war news, Japan not worried
04/09/33  Export boom keeps pace in Japan, second year of recovery, boom in cheap goods
04/15/33  Japan feels loss of markets in India because of slashed prices
05/04/33  Japan wants to see tariff cuts and favors return to gold standard
06/02/33  Japanese dumping fought in Great Britain, Great Britain calls it the menace of Japanese competition, influx of cheap goods
06/11/33  Largest trade parley to held in London will look at monetary and credit policy; prices; resumption of the movement of capital; restrictions on international trade; tariffs; trade organization and production hopes not very high
07/19/33  George Sokolsky says poverty of Japan and China at root of problems in his new book
09/20/33  US treasury invokes anti-dumping law aimed partial at Japanese cheap goods
10/04/33  Bumper rice crop ruining farmers with poor prices and government can’t keep up artificial means at keeping prices high
10/08/33  Japan worried about budget problem, revenue is shrinking, large deficit looming, can’t seem to balance budget
10/18/33  $270 million deficit worries Japanese
10/26/33  Japan considering curbing foreign trade in response to world obstructing her exports
11/16/33  Japan eager for trade with US, deny dumping
12/10/33  Japan is planning duty retaliation on any country that puts discriminatory tariffs on her goods
12/31/33  Japan trade makes 33% gain
01/07/34  Rep. Tinkerham finds Japan prospering
02/14/34  Japan and US industries are largely complimentary, trade is highly valuable for both countries
03/03/34  Cabinet takes over control of trade
03/27/34  Japan wants a trade pact with US to protect its silk industry
04/17/34  Japanese debt rises approaching 10 billion yen
05/02/34  Japan’s increase in trade in Latin America leads to 50% decrease in US trade to Latin America
05/05/34  Japanese prepare for a trade war with Great Britain Hirota says our country is confronted everywhere by difficulties in foreign trade
05/06/34  Japan uneasy over trade threat
05/06/34  Japan dump in china seen a world menace
05/08/34  Britain opens trade war cut textile buying from Japan by 57%
05/12/34  Uruguay and Japan sign commerce pact
05/17/34  Japan seeks more trade pacts in central and South America
07/01/34  South and Central Americans worry about Japan moving in economically and are moving to curb trade with Japan
07/10/34  Pacific ports cut Japanese imports raise tariffs
07/12/34  Trade increased with Far East during first five months
08/21/34  Japan protests US – Filipino pact that would hurt Japanese trade with the Philippines
09/19/34  Japan denies trade aggression, a lot of countries in west complaining against Japanese competition (dumping)
1935-37

01/22/35 Hirota would like to see trade barriers removed
01/24/35 Further recovery reported in Japan and optimistic about future although farming and fishing were still struggling, better trade
02/24/35 Foreign trade grows
03/13/35 Saito asks for easing of trade barriers
04/05/35 Japan seen as a menace for underselling goods, US see them as an ‘economic yellow peril’
04/09/35 Japan’s debt rising soon to pass 10 billion yen
04/11/35 Japan asks for trade agreement with US
04/13/35 Japan’s exports rose 26% in March
04/13/35 US mission to Tokyo sees new curbs against would be harmful to US sales
04/14/35 Japan threatens US cotton trade, if US urges Japanese ban it Latin America they won’t buy from US anymore
04/18/35 President Roosevelt orders study to increased imports of Japanese bleached cloth
04/19/35 Japan worried about US buying less Japanese goods
05/05/35 US judge bars the sale of light bulbs from Japan, 100 million sent
05/04/35 Japan seeks to buy cotton in Japan
05/07/35 Japan seeks trade pact with Iraq
05/25/35 Japan signs trade pact with Netherlands
06/19/35 Overproduction causing stocks to decline
06/21/35 Sagging stocks despite rising trade puzzles Japan says its digestion
06/33/35 Japan attacks dumping protests says it’s just new, efficient methods, will continue to expand
07/01/35 Japan’s trade boom believed near peak, up 17% 1st six months of 1934, 3 year boom
07/14/35 Exports lift Japan from slump
08/10/35 Japan restricts motor production of foreigners; say Japan must own majority stock in all factories in country
09/21/35 Japan and US sign agreement limiting Japan textiles to Philippines to avoid trade war
10/06/35 Guatemala grants Japan concessions, workout trade agreement
11/01/35 Peru fights Japanese dumping
11/10/35 World economic parley to be held in Paris November 15
11/20/35 Roosevelt wants liberalized trade and that no recovery can be made until all trade barriers are scaled down, Japan is biggest buyer of US cotton
12/22/35 Japan to restrict exports to US, dumping charges made, US wants protection
01/01/36 Japanese are excited about prosperity and all time record for exports set in 1935
01/12/36 Japan gets cotton from Nicaragua
01/16/36 Japanese ready to buy goods from Ecuador
02/03/36 Ecuador says no to renewing trade pact
05/23/36 US tariff boost worries Japan, they threaten retaliation but know it would be ineffective
06/20/36 Japanese curb Australian trade because of Australia’s high tariffs
07/05/36 Japan plans for a trade war, other nations blamed, economic nationalism, retaliation, Australia 1st on list
08/19/36 Institute of Pacific relations warns Japan on race for trade that others might gang up against her, World doubts Japanese motives for trade war
12/16/36 Cotton imports from Japan worry US president of the Cotton Textile Institute because they’ll be a record high and a menace to the US cotton industry
01/01/37 Japan celebrates rise in prosperity, 1936 broke all trade records, nation wide parity
02/04/37 Japan buys heavily in Nicaragua
02/07/37 Chile seeks trade with Japan
02/19/37 Japan to ship gold after five year ban, it’s a partial lift of the gold embargo
02/25/37 Japan and US made trade pact which will limit US imports of Japanese cotton
03/14/37 Arms race clouding world economic recovery, exports have helped Japan
04/24/37 Japan’s trade debt is up 40%, trade with US declined
05/10/37 Economic factors now vital in Japan, effects of growing scarcity and rising prices are taking precedence over politics, frequent labor disputes
06/10/37 Japan’s trade exports practices have spurred other nations and will soon find her position challenged
06/23/37 Japan sends more gold to bolster credit
07/05/37 Japan buys Canadian mines in British Columbia for large deposits of ore
07/07/37 Japan limits imports on things unlicensed
07/25/37 US upset with Japanese fishing off Alaska, encroaching on US fishing rights
08/03/37 Japanese trading at record deficit – 720 million yen, new taxes in view
08/08/37 New war puts strain on Japanese finances, warning swept aside, burdens must be met by sacrifices, having labor problems prefer money over patriotism, new trade markets needed
08/09/37 Chile and Japan sign new trade pact
08/10/37 Japan will reduce imports because of restrictions due to cost of campaign in China
08/24/37 Japan plans a wartime economy; Government will have tight control over empire wealth issue, deficit bonds
08/25/37 Stocks tumble as Japanese fear economic effects of war in China businessmen see forced loans and don’t relish government control
09/09/37 Japan caught putting “made in USA” labels on goods to get around Latin American import quotas on Japanese goods
10/26/37 Japan sends $6.6 million in gold
10/31/37 1st half or 1937 showed profits for Japan and remarkable prosperity
10/31/37 Paper in Panama urges boycott of Japan because of unfavorable trade balance
11/04/37 Japan increases gold shipment
11/06/37 Far East hits a trade slump
12/11/37 $7.3 million in gold coming from Japan - $233.8 million since March

1938-39

01/09/38 Japan’s economy strained, 1/3 of gold reserves gone to pay for war imports
01/16/38 ‘Normal’ economy reported in Japan, gold output increasing, farmers and laborers seen prospering
01/30/38 After trade peak Japan starting to feel pinch as resources go to war not commerce
02/03/38 US exports are vital to Japan
03/13/38 Japan ships $5.8 million in gold
04/22/38 Tokyo dumping reported in Dutch East Indies
06/02/38 Taxes up and exports have fallen
07/07/38 Japan creates an economic police to control price levels and consumption
07/31/38 Japan-US trade declines sharply, US exports drop 22.5 percent, raw materials suffer the most, scrap exports decline, US silk import drops
08/09/38 Japan has sent $352.8 million in Gold since March
08/14/38 Japan’s gold supply running out, it was how it was paying for imports
08/21/38 Japan has enough food but no other essentials
08/23/38 Imports from Japan cut by 47%, blamed on war in China
09/03/38 Japanese toy exports fall 37%, difficulty in obtaining raw materials
09/04/38 Hose exports to US way below quota
09/07/38 Ecuador curbs trade with Japan
10/12/38 Japan needs to borrow money to build air plant in Mukden
10/26/38 US trade with Japan down 50%
10/31/38 Japan knows it has to be careful in China with regards to the US, the US is an important trade partner it can’t afford to lose
11/07/38 Costa Rica not happy with its Japanese trade, buying more than selling
11/19/38 Costa Rica bars Italian and Japanese goods
01/05/39 New Zealand bars Japanese products because Japan won’t buy its cotton
01/11/39 Japan’s foreign trade drops
01/17/39 Japan buys more US products following a big decline
01/17/39 Japan will discuss an open door in China if world will open its doors to Japan, also want equality of Oriental races, world commerce, and eliminate tariffs and blocks and for a fair distribution of raw materials
02/07/39 Japan’s toy trade fell 60%
02/25/39 Japan’s trade with US fell 37%, But trade economy doing well, doing trade else where
03/05/39 Columbia’s Hugh Borten says Japan’s finances are far from collapse
04/03/39 Oil flow to Japan from US increases
04/03/39  War goods from US to Japan holding steady
04/09/39  Japan seeking Arab oil
04/21/39  Japan seeking Arab oil
04/27/39  Japan and US will have long future of good trading, open door to remain open
05/08/39  US takes 25% of Japanese exports don’t want to risk full out boycott
05/12/39  US-Japanese chemical trade down 40%
05/14/39  Japan is feeling economic strain, gold continues to slide away, studying trade balances
05/18/39  Exports from US to Far East down except scrap iron which is up
05/27/39  Japan seeks Ecuador trade
05/31/39  Pittsburgh Company is investing in Japan, 7.8 million yen
06/18/39  Japan is strained be economic war gold reserve is vanishing, economic power more important
          than military, Japan has no accumulated wealth, belts tighten a new
07/08/39  $10.8 million in gold received from Japan in one day
07/18/39  US hold 58% of world’s gold, 5 times as much as any other nation
07/28/39  US-Japan 1938, 39 trade figures
07/31/39  US denounces its trade agreement with Japan, serious setback seen to Japanese trade, 1911
          treaty
08/08/39  U.S. Company wins Arabian oil grant, Japan left out in the cold
08/13/39  US exports to Japan continue to decline
09/17/39  Trade links Japan to democracies, need GB and US for materials
09/20/39  Things like the Panay incident, missionary treatment in China by Japanese have led to
          Roosevelt’s attitude to end 1911 treaty but Japan is too good a customer and America would just
          like a new treaty
11/07/39  Rice in Japan climbs to $2.07 a Bushel, 30% higher than in 1937 before the war in China, price
          will be fixed until end of Oct. 1940
12/04/39  Trade treaty will end Jan. 26, 1940
12/04/39  Japanese worried by rice shortage, drought stricken areas not producing crops, prices rising
          despite price freeze
12/15/39  Trade difficulties increase in Japan shipping trouble due to a European war and uncertainly of
          US
1940-41
01/21/40  Chile seeks trade with Japan
01/29/40  Tokyo plans Argentine Pact
02/21/40  US sales to Japan drop slightly because of restriction Japan has placed on imports, some US
          imports from Japan do rise including silk
02/22/40  Argentines ask to trade with Japan, Mexico group coming soon, Uruguay pact approved
03/14/40  Nicaraguan cotton for Japan
03/18/40  Mexico seeking trade, oil for silk
03/28/40  Japan to sign trade pact with Spain
04/03/40  Mexico and Japan sign big oil contract
04/04/40  Japan’s economy held weakening as a result of the strain of war in China, do say agriculture has
          improved
05/07/40  Japan increased its exports to US in 1939 by 50%, 32% higher than 1938
05/25/40  Columbia Japan negotiate pact
06/29/40  Materials sought by Japan in Netherlands Indies
09/20/40  Japan gets Bolivian ore
09/20/40  Japan buys copper mine located in Canada
10/02/40  Japan getting lots of ore from Philippines, via loop hole in embargo
10/16/40  Japan firm gets oil grant in Mexico
10/18/40  Japan to get oil from East Indies, 40 percent of Japan’s needs, under pressure as Japan hints at
          force
10/22/40  Mexico is canceling oil grant to Japan and cancels scrap iron order because of Japanese-US
          tensions, don’t want to sell iron that might be used against US
11/05/40  Japan outlines self-sufficiency program
11/14/40  Japan to increase Indies oil imports, Tokyo raises oil quota, US acting as import agents
01/02/41  Japan’s economy seen as capable of standing up under strain, forecast difficulties will continue
03/27/41 Japan unable to expand output for arms and defense plans
03/31/41 Relations with Ecuador on shaky ground
05/23/41 Exports to Japan decline 47.8%
06/02/41 Japan taking advantage of Chile’s trade needs, buying lots of copper and manganese
06/17/41 Japan eager to expand trade
07/18/41 Japan fails to get rice delivery from Indo-China
07/28/41 Disaster seen for Japan, economic problems are unsolvable by aggression, the Institute for Public Relations said, Japan has inefficient agricultural system
11/22/41 Japan rice crop slumps

Boycotts

1930-34
12/13/31 NY Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy vote to boycott Japan until they do something about getting out of Manchuria
01/31/32 Borah says boycott is first step to war, Borah says “no matter how deplorable their action may be it is clearly evident that Japan is the aggressor in forcing war upon China without justification”
02/02/32 20 Harvard professors ask Hoover for Boycott of Japan
02/20/32 Boston’s Society of Women urges boycott of Japan
02/23/32 Hoover opposes joining league in economic boycott
02/28/32 Dr Hebert Adams Gibbons of Princeton sees boycott of Japan as a declaration of war
03/07/32 Professor Edwin Borchard says boycott is not a peaceful measure but an act of war
01/29/33 Some in US want to put quota curb on imports meaning Japan would be hardest hit
02/25/33 No one in Washington thinks there can be a war with Japan, termed unthinkable “moral sanctions” will win
03/07/33 Japan says boycott’s as damaging as warfare
03/29/33 President given arms embargo power by congress
06/01/33 One of worst forms of aggression is the boycott, Ishii says most dangerous form of treaty breaking is the boycott – feels must forbid aggression in treaties but doesn’t say what will happen if some one is aggressive

1935-37
08/25/35 Arms embargo act passed, US won’t sell arms to belligerent nations
11/24/35 Oil supply becomes economic weapon, one Japan could really be hurt by if ever blockaded
12/24/35 Claudia S. Murchison urges limit on Japanese goods, President of Cotton –textile institute
01/26/36 Need for raw materials and colonies are the stuff that begets wars
11/20/36 Hull calls trade the way to curb war
10/02/37 Japan denounced by 10,000 at Madison Square Garden rally, A national boycott of Japanese goods urges
10/04/37 At national business conference at Babson Park unanimous resolution approved for a US boycott of Japanese goods to protest warfare in China
10/07/37 Sen. Key Pittman recommended an economic quarantine of Japan in response to its unlawful, immoral, and brutal conduct in China, would ostracized Japan
10/08/37 AFL favors adopting stringent boycott of Japanese goods similar to what GB labor has adopted
10/08/37 Union asks ban on Japan
10/14/37 Both AFL and CIO vote for a Japanese boycott
11/12/37 Quarantine urged on goods for Japan – calls for a ‘peaceful constraint upon the aggressor’
11/23/37 Mexican workers order boycott of Japanese goods because of Japan’s invasion into China
11/26/37 NY chapter of National Lawyers Guild urges arms embargo against Japan, Germany, and Italy
11/29/37 Housewives favor Japanese boycott
12/12/37 Philly urges boycott
12/12/37 Women’s group takes up issue of Japan boycott
12/15/37 Boston won’t accept Japanese toys for its gifts to the poor
12/17/37 Canada urges boycotting Japan goods and refusing to sell Japan war materials
12/20/37 Samuel Untermyer urges Boycott of Japanese goods and boycott is far less destructive than war
12/26/37 Bankers, labor, and public asks to join in boycott on Japan

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12/26/37 Nicaraguan papers urges Japan trade boycott because of inhuman treatment of China
12/29/37 Kresge store chain bars Japan merchandise
12/30/37 Chains quit buying from Japan, new sources sought, stimulated boycott from Panay incident and Sino-Japanese conflict
12/31/37 Students demand boycott of Japan, burn silk, and urge democracy

1938-39

01/01/38 Senator Norris says a boycott of Japanese silk will hurt US more than Japan, difference between Japanese commodity and a US product that is made from Japanese materials
01/02/38 International peace campaign begins boycott of Japanese goods
02/06/38 600,000 vote for boycott of Japanese goods by the American league for peace and democracy
02/23/38 Former ambassador to Germany William E. Dodd says boycott would curb Japan and would end war in China in three months, must fight wave of fascism, If we wait it maybe too late
02/25/38 100 leaders urge Japanese boycott, a method to check Japan aggression in China, denounce Japanese hostilities as cruel and inexcusable
03/04/38 GB’s national cooperative authority recommends boycott by its 8.5 million members
03/07/38 Borah denounces boycotts of Japan, tend to create estrangements that may lead to more serious consequences, relations are already strained with Japan, a boycott often suggests war and it gains nothing
03/07/38 Columbia’s Dr Nathaniel Peffer opposes Japanese boycott because it would lead US to involvement in war
03/16/38 E.W. Pehrson of metal economics says embargo on scrap iron would hurt US more than Japan
03/23/38 Maritime union protests war materials being shipped to Japan
04/19/38 Boycott of Japan opposed as peril, Princeton professors warn of entanglements, call it an impractical policy
06/12/38 US acts to check sale to Japan of war planes, Washington embarrassed by air attacks on Canton, tired of talking to Japan about attacks
06/13/38 Sec. of State Cordell Hull discourages plane exports to countries who bomb civilians, hint was at Japan
06/19/38 Oil to dominate next world war, oil shortage would be disastrous, oil consumption would double current needs during war
11/07/38 Kokumin says boycotts would bring disaster to the US
11/27/38 Rhode Island textile men would black list Japan, should not have most favorite nation status
01/10/39 Hulls reveals air munitions and parts ban on Japan and sent to all manufacturers moral ban
01/11/39 Japan warns US and GB it will retaliate against any economic pressure
01/15/39 United aircraft only company to ignore Hull’s plea and sell parts to Japan
01/19/39 Non-participation group will promote legislation that will curb American sale of war supplies to Japan
01/20/39 Expands boycott to all aggressors not just Japan
01/20/39 Japan plane ban is now 100 percent followed in the US
01/24/39 Annual conference on the cause and cure for war urges congress to embargo war materials to Japan
02/10/39 Halifax votes to boycott Germany, Italy, and Japanese goods
03/36/39 Many asking for ban selling arms to Japan
04/02/39 People rally to stop arming Japan
04/09/39 China’s foreign minister said if US invoked neutrality act they could end war in China within a year
04/11/39 Pittman introduces resolution in congress that would give Roosevelt power to embargo Japan
04/13/39 Anti-Japanese group forms in Brooklyn, stop selling war materials to Japan
04/13/39 US has power to curb conquest, congress is told, change neutrality act to self defense act, need to embargo aggressors
04/14/39 Sen. Pittman favors embargo against Japan as a violator of the 9-power treaties
04/21/39 Trade ban asked for pact breakers
04/23/39 Ask boycott for war aid for Japan, Greater Boston Committee for non-participation in Japanese aggression
04/25/39 Committee created to coordinate boycott groups in boycotting Japanese goods
04/28/39 Pittman sponsors embargo on Japan, has to do with 9-power pact violations, Tokyo criticizes resolution as sign to abandon neutrality, will push Japan towards Axis
04/30/39 Arms embargo plan supported
05/07/39 Arms to Japan opposed
05/21/39 20 leading US lawyers urge end of war supplies to Japan, invasion exercise in force violates treaties
06/01/39 General assembly of Presbyterian Church votes not to sell arms to Japan because they’ve violated 9-power treaty
06/04/39 Non-participation group sends congress 4 million signatures of those opposing war aid to Japan
06/16/39 Japanese boycott favored in survey also back embargo on munitions, public sympathy has increased for China
06/17/39 Boycott Japanese movement gains momentum and works with GB counterparts, it’s an unofficial boycott since US Govt won’t put any economic pressure on Japan
06/18/39 69 clergy men want embargo on arms sales to Japan not necessarily a boycott on Japanese goods, don’t want to harm Japanese people who are controlled by a military party
07/13/39 Congress to discuss Japanese embargo, Pittman is for economic/diplomatic weapon
07/14/39 Roosevelt aids see along battle over neutrality, will be a key issue in 1940, an election year
07/15/39 10,000 signatures from Boston will be presented to congress, urge an arms ban for Japan
07/18/39 Survey shows 40 million Americans favors embargo of aid to Japan as long as she’s at war with China
07/22/39 Senate fails to amend neutrality act and drops issue of putting on embargo on Japan via Pittman’s proposal
07/26/39 Best way to help China is to stop sending resources to Japan Dr. Walter H. Judd said, a missionary to China
07/28/39 Issue of new treaty up to Japan, US says will depend on developments, Congress ok move by Hull and Roosevelt, no sympathy for Japanese aggression, Borah favors embargo which is a change in tune
07/28/39 Most important US move since war began by canceling trade treaty, since as first step to embargo, US can’t do an embargo according to the treaty thus it was ended thus embargo likely in six months, say China is long-time friend and suffered enough, also US still takes its promises seriously
07/29/39 Canada ready to curb Japan and terminate trade agreements, Canada will follow suit if US embargos war materials, GB also terminated its trade treaty
07/30/39 US administration moving toward economic war with Japan, Japan could still wage war with US embargo but would hurt them with lack of oil, machinery and scrap iron, were making money on gold shipments
08/03/39 Former Canadian ambassador to US asks fellow Canadians to embargo goods to Japan
08/07/39 Unless Japan changes attitude toward US citizens in China, congress will authorize retaliatory measures meaning an embargo
08/12/39 Japan gets very few US planes since moral embargo of a year ago, only one company, Kellett autogiro not involved in embargo
08/16/39 Filipinos urge Japanese boycott
08/21/39 Japan says if US bans munitions then it is an application of neutrality act and the US then recognizes existence of war
09/12/39 Miss Woolley, Dr. Mary E., says Americans should not forget Japanese aggression
11/05/39 US lifting arms embargo would not affect the moral embargo in place which includes planes and munitions because Japan bombed civilians
11/26/39 Pittman opposes appeasing Japan and said conditions between two countries is aggravation, supports giving power to Roosevelt to impose an embargo on Japan, Japan has continued to violate rights of Americans in China, still no trade talks
11/27/39 Non-participation group renews its efforts to get support to stop selling war supplies to Japan
12/21/39 “Moral embargo” extended by Hull, which includes sales of planes, parts, and equipment to nations which bomb civilians, which means Russia and Japan
12/31/39 Japan still merits ban says Pittman, no info that Japan has ceased violating American rights

**1940-41**

01/08/40 China urge embargo of Japan by US
After Stimson’s letter published in the NY Times, the Times says in an editorial that America has come to the same conclusion that war in China is a clear cut case of unprovoked aggression by Japan and Japan has been brutal, when treaty ends it will be US’s right to embargo war materials to Japan

Stimson asks for curb on arms to Japan, asks for extension of moral embargo, will send a message to Japan about how as feels about war in China, last thing Japan wants is war with US

Text of Stimson’s letter

Japan more worried about its own Govt than Stimson letters, but military says scrap iron embargo won’t interfere with military plans

More talk on Stimson’s letter, flood of letters to Times supporting embargo

Major Evans Carlson urges congress to give the president embargo power, says war with Japan is improbable, Carroll Lunt, owner of the China Digest, says lapse in treaty could easily lead to embargo which will lead to war and jeopardize our rights in China, says new treaty will end threat of war

Two senators propose embargos aimed at Japan because of violation of 9-power pact and other treaties

Talks about effect of moral embargo, trade is down with Japan

Pittman finds embargo a popular idea

Cause and Cure of War conference, professor says we should cease sending Japan economic aid and should give loans to China and (Quincy Wright) professor Johnstone said embargo will bring retaliations to Americans in China

Dr. Mary E. Woolley for trade curb on Japan

Japanese doubt US will follow through on trade threats, Japan firm on its China plan, Army not afraid to go to war with US if it applies economic pressure, US demand Japan get out of China or face embargo

Japan doubts US will do an embargo

End of war shipments favored by most US voters to Japan

Senate holds off on Tokyo embargo for now

Arita is optimistic as embargo put on hold

Federal council of churches urge moral embargo to be widened to include more stuff

Takao Saito’s expulsion for negative attitude toward Japan’s holy war leads to fist fight

American friends of the Chinese people send Roosevelt letter asking to cease helping in Japan’s aggression, Remove Japan from most favored nation as stated in tariff act of 1930

Premier Yonai tells Diet a US embargo would result in an extremely grave situation followed by a crisis

Brooklyn organization opposes selling gas to Japan

Japanese press says US boycott talks is all words not deeds

Japan “tickled” by Mrs. Roosevelt’s purchase of Japanese goods and kimonos in San Francisco see it as end of boycott talk

Japan arguing moral embargo case with US, an embargo bill on all war materials for Japan is in the senate

US studying option to embargo scrap iron to Japan under the May Defense Expediting Act, problem not simple

Bars gasoline ships for Japan

Ban affects Japan, Roosevelt on 7/25 prohibits sale of oil, oil products and scrap metal without specific license, same items put on virtual embargo 3 weeks ago, supplies can be cut off to Japan, some already being blocked to Japan, not sure what political fallout will be

Japan is aroused by US embargo, Japan to retaliate by curbing rubber and tin from South Seas, veiled warning from Japan because of strain it may cause may lead to taking over Dutch Indies

Japan sees easing of embargo peril licensing move not aimed at Tokyo, Japan is very sensitive of US economic weapons

Embargo moving from moral to real regarding gasoline

Washington gets formal complaint from Tokyo dealing with aviation gasoline say if it continues may complicate even more the disturbed relations, scrap metal not mentioned

US export policy and embargo confusing as US government orders embargo of aviation gasoline outside of Western hemisphere
US firm on gas embargo
Boycott factor in lower silk use
Dutch Indies fear Japan will seize the Islands if US enforces embargo on Japan
Admiral Harry E. Yarnell says war in China is our war and we need to realize it is our war and own future safety, stops ending war material to Japan
US says embargo holds on gas exports not to leave western Hemisphere
Gasoline for planes being sent to Japan from Texas
National advisory defense commission recommended to the President he should embargo scrap steel to Japan, would be heavy blow to Japan
US Govt weighs idea of increasing things embargoed to Japan as far as gasoline is concerned
Aircraft embargo to add more items, Japan says it is a direct blow at its interests
Roosevelt moves to bar export of all metal except to GB and Western Hemisphere
Japan undeterred by US embargo threatens to help Reich
Steel industry backs scrap ban, said an aid to US market, Japan buying more copper fearing it will be boycotted next
Quicker embargo on scrap is urged, most people don’t want to send Japan any more war supplies
Japan not worried has plenty of scrap for steel and raw materials coming in from new sources
Japan’s moves in China are somewhat a result of US increasing embargos, US follows same policy, New Order
Japan retaliates for scrap embargo, steps taken to drive US trade from North China
Harvard professors urge punishing of Japan through economic warfare
Japanese bid on Mexican scrap iron even thought it's cheaper in US
Japan's move to strengthen ties with Axis may lead US to intensify boycott
Oil in Texas ready for Japan
Letter to editor, advantages seen in cutting off vital supplies now to Japan, long overdue, mentions Japan’s aggression in Siberia, says Japan has a history of aggression
Canada embargos copper to Japan for her war machine
Japan still getting gasoline from US, Canada bans copper, lower grade of gasoline
Japan seen vulnerable in trade boycott, if US and GB joined they could inflict deep damage, Canada moves to embargo copper to Japan
Northwest US shaken by Japanese joining Axis, Embargo support grows
Scrap embargo in effect, no more scrap for Japan
India bars scrap iron to Japan
Sentiment against Japan rising, 96% approve embargo on scrap metal, wider embargo favored, Axis a factor and invasion of China in 1937
Mexico lifts short-lived war exports embargo
Texas favors ban on Japanese trade, full embargo on oil and cotton, Texas’ biggest producer of those two things
Aid to Japan criticized, US is largest source of war material for Japan
Gasoline for Japan leaves Texas
US export licensing system is curb aimed at Japan
Roosevelt’s curb on iron, steel and Ferro-alloy described as “most significant restriction” yet, by non-participation group, other materials remain unaffected
US weigh economic weapons in aid-British plan, planning to put strong pressure on Axis
US moves to freeze all foreign assets of Axis power
Japan increases buying crude and finished oil products from US, also Dutch Indies, Mexico, and Bahrain
US finds out about convict labor, now US urges ban on Japanese convict goods
British urge curb on Japanese goods, asking for US feedback, purpose is to prevent Japan from stockpiling war materials, don’t want to provoke Japan
Distinct possibility with US and GB working together they will start to deprive Japan of its vital war supplies
US House demands oil embargo on Japan, urge to stop oil to Axis powers
Philippines offer to ban war materials to all countries except US to prevent flow to US foes
04/02/41 US increases its pressure in economic war on Axis powers, economic warfare, working with GB blockade, GB success comes first, license list updated

05/06/41 Washington bans scrap rubber to Japan, no reason given

05/22/41 Japan assails Hull’s trade view say it is US and GB’s fault for present war because it killed trade with Japan, why doesn’t US use its tools for peace and the prevention of war, Yomiruri asks why US has raised tariffs and projected an economic monopoly

05/25/41 Japan studying oil curbs as congress asks Roosevelt to embargo oil to Japan which is seen as anti-Japanese sign

05/26/41 Japan says it will resent any nation who will rise up and interfere in its oil supply especially what US is contemplating, oil is essential to Japan

05/30/41 Hawaii supports halting oil shipments

06/02/41 Japan assails Manila export curb, saying they have every right to those natural resources and the Philippines needs Japan as a market

06/04/41 Hull is studying exports to Japan and how much of those are reaching Germany

06/05/41 Hull stress curb on gasoline exports

06/06/41 US increases pressure on Tokyo, report of new trade curbs by US, add to Japan’s fears

06/15/41 Some surprised Japan not on list of Axis countries which had its assets frozen

06/17/41 Maritime commission says US tankers are not carrying oil to Japan as some thought

06/15/41 Japan says it will resent any nation who will rise up and interfere in its oil supply especially what US is contemplating, oil is essential to Japan

07/23/41 US, GB, and Roosevelt ready to impose stern economic restrictions on Japan if reported they attack Indo-China

07/23/41 London hear Tokyo may invade Indo-China which would mean further restrictions by GB and US

07/24/41 Any Japanese aggression in Pacific will be met with economic retaliation; full embargo which will cripple Japan, US still has large fleet even if divided over two oceans

07/25/41 Wendell Wilkie for ban on oil Japan

07/25/41 Arrival of warships in Indo-China should mark end of US policy in Far East and end of moral embargo and just start an embargo that won’t be a halfway measure anymore, some fear embargo will force Japan to be more aggressive should stop aiding a belligerent

07/25/41 GB ready to back US to hilt in any action taken against Japan, see a grave threat in Pacific

07/25/41 Roosevelt declares embargo, will freeze Japan’s funds, Japan is threatening US national security in Pacific, had sent oil to Japan past two years trying to prevent war

07/26/41 Canadian and Netherlands join US in freezing Japanese assets and ending trade, won’t be only thing the democracies will be doing

07/26/41 Japanese bitter over US embargo stand, not giving up hope to smooth things over, Yomiuri says no need for any concern Japan’s economy up to task

07/26/41 Japan trade with US to end after freezing of Tokyo funds, $130 million tied up, Japan to lose $100 million in silk exports and oil and steel imports, Japanese in US really affected with frozen funds

07/26/41 Vast trade curbed, Roosevelt ends policy of appeasement that failed in Tokyo, sever ties as of tomorrow, means end of US gold buying, $130 million of assets frozen

07/26/41 Crippling of Japan in six months by GB-US blockade is seen, Indo-China will bolster some needs but not enough if she goes to war in Indo-China still talking about doing it or not

07/27/41 Anticipating a freeze in assets Japanese in Hawaii switch possessions to Japanese with US citizenship

07/27/41 Japan had already anticipated US move to freeze her accounts

07/28/41 Canada joins in canceling trade treaty with Japan as did GB
Tokyo is shocked by economic war, Roosevelt orders assets frozen, GB follows suit, trade expected to die, Nichi Nichi say its “one step from armed warfare,” obvious Japanese public not aware of what’s going on

Japan minimizes curbs on trade say retaliation will be gauged by our measures says finance minister Ogura, Japan just needs to hasten construction of East Asiatic sphere of self-sufficiency, see emergency ahead, call boycott anti-Japanese measure

China (Chungking) elated by US boycott and freezing of Japanese assets in reaction to Japan’s move in Indo-China, What took them so long, been waiting for this since 1937

Roosevelt’s freeze order having a ripple effect as Japan now losing trade in Central and South America

Economic war really starting to hurt Japan where it hurts, oil; Western Hemisphere and now Dutch Indies not selling any oil to Japan, last one a body blow, Japan will have to act with greatest determination should US and GB continue, Japan will have to move south forcefully

Japan freeze Dutch cash, call US hostile, Japan hints at strong moves if oil denied by Dutch Indies, call Indies in league with US and Great Britain, oil most vital single factor in the economic struggle must have oil from some where.

GB’s weekly economist is for total blockade of Japan

Oil policy changed fuel on to Axis victims and Western Hemisphere, seen as blow to Japan, marks end of US appeasement of Japan, freezing of assets policy based on Indo-China not bombing of Tutuila.

Japan insists it will get oil, rubber and tin out of south orient despite ‘de facto embargo’ sees US as monopolizing resources.

Senator Walter F. George, democrat from Georgia, says if Japan engages in no more aggression then US should barter with them, ranking member of Foreign Relations committee, Japan would have gone into Indo-China regardless of US threats, Nye says US moving closer to war.

New Zealand and South Africa freeze Japanese assets must develop Coprosperity sphere.

Oil is Japan’s weak spot, produce only 10% of what she consumes, Great Britain and US feel if they cut Japan off she’ll seize Dutch Indies.

Rome sees US oil embargo to have created a very strong tension between US and Japan

Japan feels prepared for any embargo.

Hull and Eden act after Japan invades Thailand, no oil going to Japan although Japan not asking for any either, must let Japan know that we intend to protect our interests in Far East.

Japanese insist US and Great Britain are wrong about Thailand, say they were invited and they are basing their decisions on poor information, Japan sees a military, economic and political encirclement, Japan’s clear-cut policy is peaceful prosperity.

Emargo being felt in Japan

Freezing action of Japanese assets seen as essential element of national defense.

Shipping income has curtailed, cut off trade wise from Europe (war) and US.

Hull says US won’t withdraw freezing order and resume normal relations until Japan withdraws from Axis and abandons her aggressive policy.

Japanese load US oil in LA

All-out economic war looming, US is intensifying pressure again those it calls aggressors, program is gaining strength, weapon that delivers death stroke, frozen assets, export licensing, captured Axis ships breaking trade links of Germany and Italy in Latin-America effect results so far

US will intimidate Japan with an embargo – Great Britain initiates a full trade embargo

Rep. John D. Dingell of Michigan says if Americans not allowed to leave Japan peacefully then round-up 100 Japanese in Hawaii in concentration camps for every one American

Oil shipments to Japan cease

Roosevelt raises tariff on Japanese crabmeat 7 1/2%, oil embargo complete; as of Aug 1st no oil to Japan

Roosevelt’s raising of tariff on crabmeat a big blow to Japanese fishing industry, aimed a fisherman off Alaska, say fishing boats trail US naval warships

Roosevelt says all war materials to Japan now officially embargoed

Japan reorganizing shipping because of blockade

Trade at a standstill, Japan laboring under economic pressure
Canada bars Japanese imports
Japan having difficulty obtain funds with its assets frozen and few ships have licenses for trade in US
Japan professes unconcern on oil, allege all out embargo but nation is prepared.
3 Japanese ships sail for US, Japan hoping to unfreeze assets and for more trade
Blockade of Japan proposed by Senator Claude A. Pepper in answer to Tokyo’s expansion plans
Japan asks truce with US over economic warfare, if “a very dangerous situation is to be avoided” “present situation cannot continue unchanged, Japan wants peace with US, Japan may be forced to take drastic action, Government has abandoned all hope practically of reaching agreement with US, say they aren’t presenting ultimatums to the US
500 Japanese leave Philippines because of frozen credits
Freezing of assets has brought about a grace transition period for the Japanese economy
Japan promises to halt aggressions outside main conflict in China if US will lift embargo
Japan closes its New York Army office as a result of the embargo and freezing of assets
Allied blockage cuts off 70% of Japan’s trade, Japan is on verge of economic collapse
Great Britain against any easing of boycott against Japan
US tightening of economic pressure is strangling Japan’s economic and industrial life, rising inflation, pressure is enormous, US said it was no longer willing to supply weapon of aggression
Blockade is really hurting Japan, Japan says limited to Central and South American markets

Disasters

1920-24
09/03/23 Tidal wave kills
09/04/23 250,000 dead, terror spreads, food riots, 1 million homeless
09/06/23 While disaster sets them back many years industrially and commercially; it will have little effect politically in the Orient
09/13/23 American to help in rebuilding; Tokio tidal wave kills 100,000 Japanese (earthquake hit Saturday September 1, 1923)

1925-29
05/25/26 1,000 reported missing as volcano erupts, 200 buried by Lava
09/05/26 Worst typhoon in years sweeps Japan, kills 100
03/08/27 Earthquake shakes wide area in Japan, 40-100 deaths, March 7, 6:30p.m. Osaka-Kobe region; death toll low due to time but great destruction and terrifies people; fires put out because water lines not damaged
03/09/27 Now death toll is 1,700, 50,000 homeless, 6,000 homes destroyed, very cold; town hall and school only buildings left standing, business as usual in Tokio, earthquake primarily hit rural areas, time it hit saved lives because they were still awake
03/10/27 Death toll up to 5,000, 3,441 injured, 10,000 homes destroyed, ruins yield more bodies, countryside a wreckage, winter storms and floods hindering relief efforts, correspondents think numbers will double as relief efforts continue, huge earth fissures
03/06/28 Influenza rages throughout Tokio, 2,000 dead, 58 a day dying, 500,000 stricken in nation, capital engaged in life and death battle, Hirohito is sick too and so is his 6 mo. daughter, Hisa, which everyone is concerned about, premier Tanaka is sick too
05/07/29 Fruit hit hard by frost, $1.5 million in damages

1930-31
03/29/30 Fire razes 700 homes $588,000 blaze 3,500 homes ¼ of village
04/21/30 Fire sweeps Japanese village, 300 homes destroyed
05/04/30 150-300 missing in Typhoon; $2.5 million lost
07/19/30 Typhoon in Japan takes toll, scores of ships smashed in Southern Japan, village of 300 buried
07/21/30 Typhoon damage goes to $50 million, 123 dead, and floods in Korea
07/30/30 Typhoon causes $21 million in damage in Japan, 10,696 buildings razed, 65 dead
08/13/30 Typhoon hits Kyushu Island
11/26/30 Earthquake rocks Japan, 600-mile zone, worst since 1923, felt in Tokyo and Yokohama, 187 known dead, famous tunnel collapses
11/27/30 Death list grows in Japanese quake, 285
01/13/31 Intense cold takes toll in Japan, Korea, and China, 1,000 homes unroofed, 1,300 telephone poles blown down
01/25/31 Flu sweeps Japan, worst since 1918, 250,000 infected
05/08/31 20 dead and $2.5 million loss in fires; health resort razed and 3 cities in peril
05/17/31 3,000 homeless in fire, 700 homes
05/18/31 14 burn to death, 180 inured in series of fires; over 1,370 housed in four fires
08/11/31 Typhoon kills five; 2,000 buildings and 3,000 homes are destroyed
08/21/31 Japan volcano erupts damaging crops
10/14/31 31 killed by storm over central Japan, 6,000 homes flooded
11/01/31 Japan cursed with disaster after disaster, wooden houses wiped out by 1923 earthquake
11/03/31 Quake rocks Japan, 1,000 dead in southern islands, 200 homes collapse
11/05/31 Japanese island sinks in quake, most violent shock in years
12/09/31 900,000 face hunger because of a complete crop failure

1932-34
07/13/32 7 dead, 30 missing in Japan floods, 9,000 homes flooded, 14 bridges washed away, whole city under water
08/07/32 57 miners killed in Japan in mining explosion
08/10/32 Manchurian floods take 30,000 lives, 35,000 homes flooded. Japan fears a tremendous famine, food prices mounting
08/12/32 Famine in Manchuria from flood, $80 million in crops ruined
10/22/32 Fire evicts 3,000 in Japan, 600 homes burn
11/15/32 Severest typhoon hits Japan, 4 killed but 10,000 homes flooded. Trams delayed, 165 mph winds
11/16/32 More talk about tornados
03/03/33 Earthquake shakes all NE Japan at 2:30 am, Worst in 20 years, escaped 1923 quake 1,200 homes flooded, 300 fire, 400 homes by both homes rattle in Tokyo, quake registers in California
03/03/33 372 known dead from tidal wave earthquake epicenter greater then 1923 quake, 900 homes collapse
03/04/33 New death total 1,535 – total dead and missing 2,463; almost 3,000 homes washed away, 211 burned, 1,379 collapse, 6,343 flooded and 2000 boats missing
03/05/33 Japanese relief underway, reconstruction planned, 2,545 dead and missing, outlying villages a picture of unbearable misery
01/10/34 Flu epidemic, 90 deaths ad ay, wearing flu masks
03/22/34 1,500 Japanese die in Hakodate fire, 200,000 homeless
03/24/34 60 freeze to death fleeing Hakodare, 23,000 refugees
03/26/34 A fire in Hakodate kills 1,556
07/15/34 Hundreds die in flood, 300 homes destroyed 25,000 homeless
09/21/34 Typhoon hits 400 houses destroyed by fire
09/21/34 Typhoon sweeping Japan, hundreds reported dead, school building collapses on 500 school children
09/22/34 Typhoon kills 1,500 in western Japan 5,000 injured, 200,000 homeless, loss $500 million yen aid rushed, reconstruction planned
09/23/34 Deaths up to 1,661 from storm, 4,164 boats wrecked, loss put at $90 million dollars. 18,391 building destroyed, 862 washed away and 22,037 damaged building and 169, 873 flooded
09/24/34 Deaths now at 2,064 in Japan typhoon, 13,335 injured
10/05/34 Areas hit by Typhoon still suffering 100,000 people will need public assistance through the winter

1935-37
01/11/35 Dysentery epidemic breaks out in Japan, 850 infants stricken, 101 deaths reports, lack of hospital accommodations
04/22/35 List losses for 20th century quakes; 1923 Japan 99,331; 1927 Japan 3,274; 1933 Japan 372; 1933 Japan 1,535
04/22/35 2,471 die in Formosa quake, 6,671 homes wrenched, 250,000 homeless
04/23/35 Death toll now 3,152, victims’ tax relief recourses, water needed, officials offer pay to help relief 10,000 + injured, $10 million in damages
05/11/35 Volcano erupts in Japan scattering ashes and extensively damaging crops

472
06/30/35  Floods devastate industrial Japan; damage is put at 40 million yen, 130,000 houses flooded, 140 bridges swept away, worst rains in 30 years
07/01/35  Thousands flee flood in Japan, 103 dead over 300,000 homes flooded, 1,000 bridges washed away
08/29/35  Typhoon kills ten as it lashes Japan; 23,000 homes flooded in Kobe and Osaka
09/02/35  254 die in Typhoon, 195 missing in 5-day rainstorm, rice fields flood
02/05/36  Japan paralyzed by fierce blizzard, worst snow in 54 years, 12 died
02/06/36  Heavy toll of blizzard, 44 killed
02/21/36  Japan shaken by quake in Kobe; 12 fires in Osaka
10/03/36  124 believe dead in Japanese typhoon and 64 more drown, 8,000 homes flooded
10/05/36  Typhoon drives Japan ruler to cover many ships destroyed, communications are out
11/20/36  300 dead as reservoir dam bursts a 1,000 feared dead, 1,200 missing
12/27/36  Quakes raze town on island
12/28/36  1 dead with injured in quake, 300 homes destroyed
01/17/37  350 die of the flu in Tokyo
09/12/37  60 killed, 100 hurt in Japan storm; crops are reduced from typhoon, property damage into millions of dollars
10/03/37  Japan search for cause of Fukuoka plague
1938-39
06/06/38  Crops damaged by severe dust storm, 75,000 acres of valuable farmland were carpeted with fine silt, 65 to 80% crop losses expected
06/30/38  100 killed in Japan by storm and quake, 150,000 homes in Tokyo alone flooded by rain, 12 inches of rain
07/15/38  Fresh floods in Japan, 4 dead, 1,500 homes flooded, 12 bridges washed away in Northeast, 800 homes flooded in Akita
07/16/38  Flood damage put at 420 million yen
08/03/38  New floods peril SW Japan, thousands homeless, great property damage in Kobe, Kyoto and Osaka; 4 city bridges destroyed, 500 homes flooded and 1,600 homes and 25 bridges and 9,473 homes and 1 bridge
09/01/38  Typhoon hits Tokyo worst storm since 1905, 15th anniversary of 1923 earthquake
09/02/38  $28 million in damage from typhoon, 34 killed scores injured or missing, 75 mph winds, 15,000 homeless, 94,025 homes flooded, 278 destroyed
09/05/38  New Typhoon hits Japan, second one in five days, 175 killed
10/16/38  Typhoon kills 46, 116 missing
10/22/38  Typhoon hits Tokyo area, 226 dead, 35,000 homeless
11/06/38  East Japan shaken by quake
11/09/38  Japan quake damage severe
12/20/38  Powder plant blows up, training station for planes razed by fire costing 150,000 yen
02/07/39  $1 million cotton fire in Japan
05/02/39  1,000 homes wrecked by quake, coast sinks 19 dead
05/10/39  8 factory fires in Japan puts 4 month total at 200, say these caused by worker carelessly tossing cigar, 200 fires in 61 factories, warehouses and other structures
08/13/39  8 Japanese factories damaged by fire, losses at 800,000 yen, doubt sabotage
08/21/39  Japan menaced by dysentery, 4,000 afflicted, 200 cases per day
1940-41
07/13/40  Japan’s sugar crop off, laid to damage in Formosa from Typhoon and other adverse weather
09/60/40  Oil fire rages in Japan
07/23/41  Storm called epoch making, 27 inches of rain in 96 hours, landslides, floods, extensive damage to crops
07/23/41  Japan is lashed by furious storm 35 dead thousands homeless, 150 miles SW of Tokyo 26,000 homes flooded at Shizuoka, 76,000 homes flooded in Tokyo
10/02/41  Typhoon ravages Japan, more than 100 dead
Appendix K

Maps

[Map showing Manchuria in 1931]