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SUMMARY OF FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JAPAN'S WAR POTENTIAL AND INTENTIONS

Explanatory Notes.

The summaries which follow are based solely on information relating to Japan's war potential and intentions included in reports from U.S. Military Attaches and Military Observers during the period beginning 1 January 1937 and ending 7 December 1941. These intelligence documents, a descriptive catalogue of which follows the yearly summaries, are reproduced in Far Eastern Documents, Volumes I - XV. In most cases marginal lines have been added to the documents to indicate sections pertinent to the subject.

Marginal references in the yearly summaries indicate the documents from which the information is extracted. For instance, "FE 1" refers to the first Far Eastern document. Where several sources contain essentially the same information, they are indicated in the margins but not always referred to specifically in the text of the summaries. When the source of any statement is desired, the marginal references should be compared with the annexed table of contents of the documentary file.

The following abbreviations have been used:

MA	Military Attache or Assistant Military Attache
MO	Military Observer

Expressions such as "Tokyo reported" or "Singapore reported" refer to reports from War Department intelligence personnel stationed at those places. Reports are included from Military Attaches or Assistant Military Attaches on duty at embassies or legations in Japan, China, Thailand, Australia, Portugal, Great Britain, and Mexico, and from Military Observers in India, Malaya, and Netherlands Indies, where no diplomatic representation was maintained.

SECRET

SECRET

JAPAN'S WAR POTENTIAL AND INTENTIONS

1937

- FE 1 During the first half of 1937, the military leaders of Japan
FE 3 were building up a war psychology. One of the most formidable
 instruments used as an army propaganda agency was the Imperial
 Reservists Association, with a large and well disciplined membership
FE 4 scattered throughout Japan. The Army was engaged in a six-year
 expansion program providing for (a) increase of the Air Corps and
 antiaircraft defenses; (b) increase of the military force in
 Manchoukuo; (c) improvement of military training facilities;
 (d) replenishment of war materials; and (e) organization of
 industry in the interest of national defense.
- FE 4 In the budget debate in the Diet during the early months of
 the year, references were made to the so-called "Continental Policy"
FE 2 and "Southward Expansion". While most of the pronouncements on
 expansion came from army leaders, there was indication of concurrence
 by the Navy when Rear Admiral Sekine, addressing a private
 gathering, said: "Even with no naval treaty, we need not worry.
 Our duty is clearly to go ahead with our preparations for overseas
 development."
- FE 16 In early July the so-called China Incident began, and what at
FE 18 first appeared to be a local incident in North China developed into
FE 22 a major conflict engulfing a large portion of the Chinese Republic.
FE 24 Following the outbreak of hostilities, Japan began mobilizing the
FE 26 Army, and the movement eventually took on the proportions of a
 general mobilization. Four divisions were added to the active
FE 29 army by reconstituting similar units disbanded in 1925.
- FE 31 The Japanese War Office extended the terms of service for
 members of mobilized units and units in China until ordered transferred
 to the reserves, except such privates as might be ordered
 discharged. Special volunteer officers and reservists of all ranks
 and grades called into active service were to serve until
 relieved from active service. For members of non-mobilized units
 at home stations, including conscript reserve privates, where the
 term would normally expire in 1938, the term was extended to 1939.
- FE 30 The Japanese War Office, as of 30 September, estimated that
 there were available 4,750,000 trained and partly trained reservists
 meeting physical requirements. The MA in Tokyo estimated Japan
FE 36 had 950,000 troops under arms as of 29 October. The Imperial
FE 40 Headquarters was established in the Imperial Palace on 20 November.
 Only on two previous occasions had this headquarters been
 established: in 1894, just prior to the Sino-Japanese War; and

- 2 -

SECRET

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SECRET

1937

in 1904, following the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War.

- FE 23 Appropriations for the Army during 1937-38 totalled Yen 2,464,078,117, including supplementary appropriations of Yen 1,422,712,777, or 45 per cent of the expenditures voted for the year, which amounted to Yen 5,483,364,279.
- FE 20 Few thoroughly modern army airplanes were in use in 1937, but prospects of improvement were excellent with an ambitious building program for 1937-38. The new 97 (1937) type planes compared favorably with service models of foreign nations. Contracts were let for 500 new 97 (1937) type planes for delivery by 1 July 1938. Compared with the previous year, squadron strength increased from 53 to 59. Trained pilots numbered about 1400, with 288 trained during the year. The number of obsolete planes decreased, so that the number of available planes on 1 July (1223 of all types) represented an increase of only 34 planes. Several
- FE 13 new airplane companies were formed, and plans were made for increasing production facilities.
- FE 17 Legislation of a wartime character enacted at special sessions of the Diet included the "Military Secrets Protection
- FE 25 Law," passed on 7 August, and the "Munitions Industry
- FE 38 Mobilization Law," passed on 9 September. The Cabinet Planning Board was reorganized to plan for complete control of industry, finance and labor, in accordance with the need of the national defense program.
- FE 22 An unfriendly attitude toward foreign powers was manifested on several occasions during military operations in China. It was
- FE 26 clearly stated on 17 September by the Senior Aide to the Navy Minister that peaceful commerce with China would not be interfered with, but if a situation like that in Spain should develop, Japan might change her policy. Nevertheless, there were several
- FE 22 incidents involving British and American nationals. The attitude
- FE 34 toward Great Britain was decidedly unfriendly, although Russia was constantly referred to as the immediate and potential enemy.
- FE 32 The reaction to President Roosevelt's "Quarantine" speech of 5 October was one of shocked disappointment without any demonstration of enmity. Likewise, the sinking of the American
- FE 41 gunboat "Panay" brought an official expression of regret with offer of restitution. The public and the press expressed hope that the United States would be magnanimous in its judgment of the incident.

SECRET

SECRET

JAPAN'S WAR POTENTIAL AND INTENTIONS

1938

- FE 42 The MA in Tokyo reported on 6 January that the amicable settlement of the Panay Case should not obscure the fact that nationalistic groups in Japan harbor "considerable irritation and ill-feeling" toward the United States because of our "interference in the affairs of the Far East."
- FE 56 The Japanese often reiterated that the United States "does
FE 57 not understand Japan" or "fully recognize the justice of Japan's
FE 58 stand," and in so doing they made it evident that "understanding Japan" really meant giving her a free hand in East Asia.
- FE 57 The Japanese Foreign Minister stated in March that "Japan desires stabilization in the Far East, with herself as the central figure," and that "there will be no conflict between Japan and the United States as long as they understand each other."
- FE 58 Tokyo reported on 18 March that the Shiunso Society, a Japanese nationalist group, stated in newspaper advertisements addressed to the American people that the way for the United States to get "peace in the Orient" was to stop oppressing Japan; "respect the position of Japan, the greatest power in the Orient;...make absolutely no political activity or economic operations having political significance without the understanding of Japan;...guide other Powers to take the same attitude."
- FE 62 The enactment of the General Mobilization Law on 24 March
FE 65 laid the foundation for totalitarian control and for complete
FE 66 wartime mobilization of Japan's economy and manpower. This law,
FE 68 which was originally passed with the specific assurance that it
FE 69 would not be invoked for the "China Incident," virtually suspended
FE 78 the constitution and enabled the Government, through the issuance
FE 87 of Imperial Ordinances, to mobilize and regulate the human and material resources of the Empire exclusively for war. The
FE 62 Minister of War told the Japanese Army Division Commanders in April that there must be a mobilization of the entire Japanese strength "because the end of the China incident was remote and the changes in the international situation were difficult to predict." Tokyo reported on 12 May that the Japanese War
FE 66 Ministry planned to issue a pamphlet which emphasized that "Japan is facing a crisis in which the fortune of the nation is at stake" and that "only by strengthening this general mobilization system can the ambitions of a third power be restrained." On
FE 86 15 November the MA in Tokyo outlined the process by which the

SECRET

SECRET

1938

General Mobilization Law was gradually being put into full effect through the piecemeal application of the various provisions at times when propaganda or military successes made conditions favorable.

- FE 59 With the extension of military operations in China during 1938 the mobilized strength of the Japanese Army steadily increased. On 26 March the MA in China reported that a total of 1,200,000 Japanese troops were under arms. Various measures to
- FE 44 strengthen the military conscription system, to increase the
- FE 78 efficiency of military training, and to begin to utilize the
- FE 60 manpower of Japan's colonies for military purposes were reported during 1938. The MA in Tokyo reported on 18 January that
- FE 44 the new law to require two years of military service by all conscripts in the Japanese Infantry, regardless of preconscripton training, was necessary because of the need for "further training of soldiers in the varied weapons now in use." An Imperial
- FE 60 Ordinance, effective 3 April, provided that all Japanese subjects, including Koreans, Formosans, Ainu, and South Sea Islanders, above the age of 17, might volunteer for the Army, subject to selection and physical examination. Under this new program 400 Koreans were selected for training in 1938. Under the
- FE 45 leadership of General Araki, Minister of Education, the Japanese
- FE 78 educational system put increased emphasis on Japanese nationalism and military training.
- FE 61 In commenting on the continued strengthening of Japanese home air defenses, the MA in Tokyo reported on 11 April that the Japanese were not greatly worried over the prospects of air raids by Chinese but that they were "drawing plans to combat potential danger from any source" and were "taking advantage of the present emergency to organize and train personnel on a nation-wide basis for coordination with military preparations." On 14 May the MA
- FE 67 in Tokyo reported Japanese plans for the construction of 28 new airdromes near large cities and of double purpose parks-emergency landing fields in Japanese villages.
- FE 63 Tokyo reported on 19 April that appropriations for the Army
- FE 64 during 1938-39 totalled Yen 3,823,594,189 (compared with Yen
- FE 23 2,464,078,117 for the fiscal year 1937-38) of which Yen 2,259,000,000 represented appropriations for the "China Incident" (against supplemental appropriations of Yen 1,422,712,777 during 1937-38).
- FE 67 In the spring of 1938 the Japanese Government launched a vigorous "spiritual mobilization" program to secure on the home

- 5 -

SECRET

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SECRET

1938

FE 75 front the fullest possible support of the war in China. The MA in Tokyo reported on 14 May: "The response of the people appears to be all that could be desired....With stoic determination the people have set to fight a serious war." Tokyo reported "as significant" that General Araki, Minister of Education, stated in a speech on 2 July that Japan possessed the perfect social system and therefore had become the center of the world. General Araki emphasized Japan's "mission" to unite the cultures of the Orient and the Occident in accordance with the "Imperial Principle."

FE 74 Tokyo reported on 1 July that the Japanese Army Air Corps was undergoing a "most widespread modernization program." On 1 July the number of Army planes was estimated to be 1,455 with 305 additional planes ordered but not delivered. The increase in first-line army planes from 782 to 1,093 and the decrease in obsolescent planes from 435 to 359 during the preceding 12 months was "due largely to the tremendous Army production program which commenced during the spring of 1937 and continues at present." Japanese aircraft production facilities were unable to meet the increased demands of the Army and Navy, however, and the Army bought 80 Fiat bombers abroad. During the preceding year Japanese army squadron strength increased from 59 to 80, and on 1 July army pilots numbered 1,600, with 350 trained during the preceding 12 months.

FE 67 Increasing Japanese irritation over the foreign aid rendered
FE 71 the Chinese Government by foreign powers was reflected in
FE 72 numerous reports from the Far East during 1938. France was
FE 73 especially singled out for allowing the use of French Indo-
FE 76 China railways in transporting material to the Chinese and for
FE 77 objecting to Japan's apparent intention of occupying Hainan
FE 84 Island.
FE 85

FE 76 The MA in China on 15 July quoted Prince Konoe as saying that "foreign aid alone is prolonging the life of the Chiang Kai-shek regime" and that "Japan would take both economic and diplomatic measures to dissuade the foreign powers from aiding Chiang Kai-shek."

FE 67 While the Japanese were using discriminatory measures and other
FE 71 pressure against French, English, and American interests in
FE 84 Japanese-occupied territories in the hope of stopping foreign
FE 67 aid to China, Germany tried to strengthen its ties with Japan by such acts as the recognition of Manchoukuo on 12 May, the ban on German exports of arms to China in June, and the withdrawal of German military advisers from China in July.

- 6 -

SECRET

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SECRET

1938

FE 72 Russo-Japanese relations remained strained as a result of
FE 77 continued delay in renewal of the fishing agreement and of recurrent
FE 78 border incidents, especially the fighting at Changkufeng during
FE 81 July and August.

FE 79 During the European crisis over Czechoslovakia in September,
FE 80 the MA in China reported by radio that a Japanese-controlled
newspaper in Tientsin and a Japanese military spokesman in
Shanghai indicated that Japan was prepared to support Germany and
Italy even to the point of war.

FE 84 After the League of Nations authorized the imposition of
economic sanctions upon Japan, but left it up to the individual
nations to take action as they saw fit, the MA in China commented
on 12 October that such decisions mean nothing unless strong
nations "are willing to go to war to back them up." Japan
FE 85 answered this action of the League of Nations by severing all
relations with that organization on 2 November, but the Japanese
retained their Mandated Islands.

FE 86 Tokyo reported that the United States note of 6 October
relating to the Nine Power Treaty brought Japanese newspaper
comments, probably government-inspired, to the effect that this
treaty was "out-moded" and could not "be made a cloak for
political interference with Japan's aims."

FE 59 The Japanese Army continued its advance in China, having
FE 76 overrun over 500,000 square miles of territory in China by the
FE 85 end of 1938. Japan began to consolidate her military
FE 58 and economic gains in North and Central China. In order to
FE 71 strengthen the Japanese military machine, the semi-official
FE 75 North China Development Company and Central China Development
FE 72 Company placed their main emphasis upon the expansion of
communication and transportation facilities and the production
of iron, steel, coal, and synthetic oil.

SECRET

SECRET

JAPAN'S WAR POTENTIAL AND INTENTIONS

1939

- FE 91 The occupation of Hainan Island early in 1939, Tokyo reported on 13 February, gave Japan the following advantages: (1) it provided an air base close to Burma and French Indo-China; (2) it made possible a naval blockade of South China; (3) it brought French and British holdings in South China under Japanese guns; (4) it threatened Manila with encirclement; and (5) it added a second "Formosa" to Japan's island possessions. On 28 February
- FE 93 Tokyo interpreted the significance of recent Japanese pressure upon French Indo-China and related to this aggression the strategical implications involved: "The occupation of Hainan is so obvious a form of pressure on the French that it is universally assigned a political motive of retaliation, in spite of official denials. Occupation of the island not only gives Japan a potential naval base right in the front-yard of Indo-China, but it also provides a close-in base for immediate air operations to cut the supply routes leading into China from French territory." Concurrently, the MA evaluated the reaction of the Japanese press to "recent manifestations of U.S. foreign policy": "These developments /i.e., United States sale of war planes to France and proposed fortification of Guam/, along with the parallel diplomatic action by the United States, England and France concerning Hainan and previous issues, are widely interpreted as indications of abandonment by the U.S. administration of the isolationist tradition of U.S. foreign policy, and of an alignment of the democratic powers against the authoritarian states including Japan." Subsequently, on 7 March, the MA in China reported the Japanese occupation of Hainan as a strategic move directed toward French Indo-China, Hongkong, Singapore, and the Philippines rather than a military expedient for current operations in China.
- FE 95
- FE 96 On 8 March Tokyo forwarded further evidence of Japanese legislative measures designed to bring the nation closer to a war footing. Of particular significance was the proposal of a new "Law for the Protection of Secrets Concerning Military Resources," supplementing the provisions of the Military Secrets Protection Law of October 1937.
- FE 99 On 23 March the MA in Tokyo reported that Japan was preparing a three-year plan for expansion of production of strategic materials and products in Japan, China and Manchoukuo in order to attain self-sufficiency. The MA stated that the government intended to spend 13 billion yen on the project and that in his opinion the degree of dependence on foreign sources in wartime would as a result be considerably reduced.

SECRET

SECRET

1939

FE 102

On 1 April the MA in Tokyo commented on and forwarded to the War Department a tactical study made by an Army officer under his command. The study reviewed tactical doctrines of the Japanese Army, as modified by the new combat regulations of 1939 and by observation of current military operations in China. The report stated that the Japanese were making great efforts to modernize the Army, were spending large sums on aviation, motorization, and mechanization, and were increasing the strength of the division artillery. They were at the same time endeavoring to increase the efficiency of their military organization and tactical operation.

In the light of these improvements, the report concluded:

"The division which started the China Incident will not be the division of a future war. Increased material means will facilitate the task of Japanese tactics. Tactics are without meaning unless studied in relation to the human agent who will apply them in battle. This study has avoided excursions into the field of Japanese military psychology and national characteristics; however, it should be read with a constant eye to the nature of the Japanese Army for which these tactics are designed. It is an army easily misjudged by the foreign officer who sees first of all its straggling columns, slovenly dress and unmilitary bearing. Just as there is no glitter to its accoutrements, there is little theoretical excellence to recommend its tactics. But it is an army which excels in durability and performance. In the same way that its infantry "straggles" thirty miles a day and arrives at the destination on time and with surprisingly few casualties, its command and staff can be counted on to evolve plans and orders which, without being brilliant tactical combinations, are practical and workable schemes for getting a maximum performance from the Japanese soldier. Furthermore, the Japanese Army which fought with bows and arrows seventy years ago is thoroughly capable of learning from its mistakes and advancing with the new developments of warfare. While its swaggering self-confidence may receive some rude jolts in a major war, it is a rugged army fired with a devotion to duty and a narrow patriotism which make it a dangerous foe on a field of its own choosing."

FE 103

The rapid expansion of Japanese armaments was reflected in the 1939-40 budget passed by the Diet. On 10 April Tokyo reported that the sum for defense amounted to Yen 6,432,155,345, which was 68.35 per cent of the total budget. Both the Army and the Navy were being improved and modernized, and large sums were allocated to artillery, aviation, motorization, and new ships.

FE 104

Tokyo reported on 12 April further legislation enacted to establish the nation upon a more secure war footing. Articles 2

- 9 -

SECRET

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SECRET

1939

and 6 of the National General Mobilization Law were invoked to provide (1) governmental limitation of dividends, and (2) governmental regulation of a maximum working day of 12 hours and of wages in factories employing more than 50 workers.

- FE 105 In April, the MA in Japan, reviewing the trend of military
FE 106 aviation toward expansion, stated that since the beginning of the war in China, the personnel and aircraft strength of the Army Air Corps had increased 60 per cent, production had increased 125 per cent, and new construction of plants had enlarged production facilities by 40 per cent.
- FE 110 Tokyo on 7 June reported a revision of the Military Service Law which extended the term of service in the Conscript Reserve from 12 years 4 months to 17 years 4 months and the training period of reservists to include the Second Conscript Reserve.
- FE 111 On 9 June the MA in Tokyo reported on the series of disputes occurring toward the end of May and early in June between the Japanese and British over control of the British and French Concessions at Tientsin and the International Settlement at Shanghai. Ill feeling between the Japanese and the British was described as acute, particularly in Tientsin.
- FE 113 On 1 July, Tokyo reported that the Army Air Corps, during the
FE 74 preceding year, had increased to 106 squadrons from 80; planes to 1961 from 1093; and pilot strength to 2900 from 1600.
- FE 115 The MA in China, reporting on 13 July with reference to the anti-British campaign of the Japanese, pointed out that "the Japanese credo is to drive out all western influence from China"; that the time for an anti-American campaign would come; and that Japanese extremists and conservatives were agreed on the necessity for Japanese dominance in Asia.
- FE 116 The MA in China, in a report dated 14 July, estimated the strength of the Japanese Army in China to be 840,000 men, and 240,000 additional men in Manchoukuo.
- FE 120 The MA in Tokyo reported on 15 August that as a result of changes in conscription regulations, the estimated strength of the standing army will be 800,000 men, with an annual enrollment of 400,000 men.
- FE 122 Tokyo reported on 12 September that the Japanese were taken aback by the announcement on 26 July of the American abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. The press claimed that the

- 10 -

SECRET

Regraded Unclassified

SECRET

1939

United States Government was abandoning the isolationist tradition of foreign policy and was entering the alignment of democratic powers against the authoritarian states, including Japan. The government had adopted a "wait-and-see" course, being deterred, according to the MA, from exploiting an opportunity to push the hardpressed British only because of apprehension of Russia.

On the same date the MA in Japan estimated the future course of Japanese foreign policy, particularly with reference to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, as follows: "Under present conditions, it can safely be said that Japanese foreign policy will be directed toward a settlement of the China incident as rapidly as possible, and an avoidance, if possible, of any entanglements of any sort until a settlement of the China war shall have been realized."

FE 124 Tokyo reported on 20 September that the Japanese government was concerned over possible loss of exports as a result of the China war and was taking steps toward reducing electric consumption on non-essential lines. The MA stated that the power shortage touched many points in the national economy and was a vital matter, although Japan, in his opinion, could fill the military need of manpower through the use of female labor or other devices to maintain electric power at a necessary level.

FE 129 The MA in Shanghai dispatched on 1 October to the War Department a memorandum containing estimates of Japanese imperialistic designs in relation to the European war: "In the realm of foreign affairs Japan's immediate policy will be directed toward placating the United States and toward taking advantage of the present European embroglio to secure as many plums as possible.... Japan is reported to be watching carefully...the Dutch East Indies. It is rumored that Japan is waiting for the propitious moment to take advantage of British and French preoccupation to make a swoop in that direction....Leap frogging Hongkong, French Indo-China and Singapore, the Japanese Navy could bring an irresistible force to bear and easily lop off this rich prize."

FE 132 On 1 November the same source defined the probability of an impending Japanese-American conflict and reported: "~~The~~ Japanese realize that the United States is the greatest potential threat to the attainment of their 'Manifest Destiny'...Regardless of the final outcome, we may expect early retaliation for any decisive action we may take against Japan."

FE 133 Tokyo reported on 6 November, subsequent to the speech of Ambassador Grew of 19 October expressing unfavorable American opinion toward Japanese aspirations and activities in China, that

SECRET

SECRET

1939

attempts on the part of the United States to apply economic pressure upon Japan would result in "a refusal to accept such pressure supinely and a turning toward such more sympathetic nations as may be available." The imminence of Japanese realignment incidental to such economic pressure was thus estimated: "Should the European struggle develop into a world war through participation by the United States, the grouping of Germany, Japan, and possibly Russia and Italy is a combination which under some circumstances could be very embarrassing to the United States as a belligerent in a world war."

FE 134 An impending crisis in Japanese-American relations was reported on 20 November by the MA in Japan. Included among citations of threatening Japanese policy were the Japanese War Minister's assertions that the Army intended to press the China Incident to a successful conclusion "without over-much regard for public opinion" and that, although abrogation of the Japanese-American commercial treaty would undeniably affect Japan's material mobilization plans, "this situation can be met and our policy toward the United States should be a strong one."

FE 138 The year closed with the Japanese opening the lower Yangtze River. With reference to this move, the MA in Japan, in his report of 22 December, estimated that such conciliatory policies might temporarily ease relations but had little long-run significance in view of the ambitious continental policy of the Japanese, from which they were "not likely to be diverted except by force of arms or circumstance."

SECRET

SECRET

JAPAN'S WAR POTENTIAL AND INTENTIONS

1940

- FE 140 Reporting on 11 January that the imminent fall of the Abe Cabinet was due in part to Japanese concern over the approaching non-treaty status with the United States, the MA in China stated that Japanese political and military leaders "are anxious to appease us only until their 'immutable policy' of a Far Eastern hegemony is well on the road to accomplishment. Thereafter they feel they can disregard American opinion and pressure with impunity."
- FE 141 Following the expiration of the Japanese-American trade treaty
FE 142 on 26 January, the Japanese felt that relations with the United States were in a "state of delicate balance." Tokyo reported that Japanese abrogation of the trade treaty with the Dutch might be the first step toward an eventual attempt at economic domination of the Netherlands Indies.
- FE 144 The Japanese interpreted the new twenty-million-dollar American loan made to the Chinese Government in March as further evidence of American determination to try to thwart Japan's China program. The Japanese were pushing plans for setting up the Wang Ching-wei regime in Occupied China.
- FE 146 The American non-recognition policy toward the Wang Ching-wei regime was interpreted by the Japanese as additional proof of our determination to try to check the Japanese in China, but Tokyo reported on 10 April that the Japanese were hopeful of making a deal with England and France whereby those nations would not oppose Japan's China policy in return for assurances of Japan's neutrality in the European war.
- FE 147 Tokyo reported on 24 April that rumors of an imminent German attack on Holland were current in Japan, and that the Japanese demand for the maintenance of the status quo of the Netherlands Indies "was so presented as to invite the conclusion that it was intended to pave the way for intervention by the Japanese themselves."
- FE 149 The increase in the Japanese Army budget for 1940-41 was accounted for by plans to reorganize the Army Air Corps and to replenish and improve armaments, Tokyo reported on 16 May. A chart of continuing expenditures for the years following 1940 indicated efforts to bring the equipment of the Japanese Army up-to-date as quickly as possible, but the decrease in the "China Incident" budget showed that new large-scale campaigns were not expected in China.

SECRET

SECRET

1940

- FE 148 After the German invasion of Holland, Tokyo reported increasing Japanese concern over the status of the Netherlands Indies. Concentrations of Japanese troops on the islands of Formosa and Hainan were reported on 7 June from Tokyo, while
- FE 150 a report dated 10 June stated that the impending American embargo on the export of machine tools had created "quite a
- FE 151 furore" in Japan and that agitation for "positive action" against the Netherlands Indies was increasing.
- FE 152 The MA in China reported large Japanese military, naval, and air force concentrations on Hainan Island. The present goal is apparently French Indo-China, this report of 12 June added, but the "ultimate objective is of course complete domination of the East Asian seaboard."
- FE 153 The MA in Tokyo estimated that Japan had on 1 July a minimum of 4040 Army and Navy airplanes of all types, with 1510 additional planes contracted for and not delivered; a total of 4565 officers, 1350 cadets, and 63,045 enlisted men in the Army Air Corps and Naval Air Service, including 5950 pilots; and a total of 238 air combat squadrons, composed of 114 in the Army Air Corps and 124 in the Naval Air Service. Further improvement
- FE 156 in military aviation was expected with the establishment of the Hokota Army Air School for training in light bombing, as this would release the facilities at the Hamamatsu Army Air School for more extensive training in heavy bombardment and would be conducive to more efficient training in both light and heavy bombardment.
- FE 154 On 11 July Tokyo reported that within Japan "the situation is at present sharply drawn between those who favor a closer tie-up with Germany and prompt action against Allied possessions in the Far East, and those who, distrusting Germany or feeling that immediate action is not necessary or desirable, would continue to concentrate on accomplishment of the China venture." Pending a decision, the Japanese Army concentrated troops, ready for action, opposite both Hongkong and the French Indo-China border.
- FE 155 Tokyo reported that Army Districts in Japan were being reorganized, effective 1 August, to increase the efficiency of the Japanese Army for national defense, training, and administration.
- FE 158 In the opinion of the MA in Tokyo the shakeup in the Japanese foreign service probably indicated an effort to remove men who were pro-American or pro-Allied. He reported on 4 September that the number of Japanese advocating an alignment with the Rome-Berlin Axis was increasing and that from a military standpoint the Japanese Army would not find it difficult "to take over the northern part of Indo-China."

SECRET

SECRET

1940

- FE 159 On 19 September Tokyo reported that the Japanese Army continued to avoid further commitments in China in order to be ready for action if and when a favorable opportunity presented itself for a new venture elsewhere. If the European war seemed to point to a long-drawn-out struggle, the Japanese would eventually decide to seize the desired territories, counting on having time to organize their conquests for defense against the final European victor. The Japanese felt that the United States was certain to object to this expansion, was likely to retaliate by economic means, and might possibly oppose aggression with armed force. The Japanese believed that time would be on their side, however, as they felt it would be years before America's naval and military strength could be built up sufficiently for major operations in the Far East as long as the German menace still existed. The most radical immediate action, however, would probably be a move across French Indo-China, with or without acquiescence, to hasten the conclusion of the China War.
- FE 160 Tokyo reported on 5 October that the Tripartite Pact had been signed after Japan realized that the United States was irreconcilably opposed to Japanese expansion in Asia. Japan had decided to change her traditional policy of "at least quiet relations" with the United States and to pursue a course to satisfy her national ambitions. The statement of Prince Kono, in which he flatly declared that the question of peace or war in the Pacific "will be decided by whether Japan and the United States respect and understand the stand of each other" expressed the determination of the Japanese not to be dissuaded from their present ambitions by any half-way measures. Other reports from
- FE 161 Japan and China during October emphasized the tense state of
- FE 162 Japanese-American relations and the probability of continued
- FE 163 Japanese aggression.
- FE 164 On 31 October the MA in China reported that if a non-aggression pact could be signed with Russia, Japan would probably continue her southern expansion regardless of its effect on Japanese-American relations.
- FE 165 Details of a new "Ten-Year-Plan" to weld Japan, China, and Manchoukuo into a close-knit economic unit were transmitted by the MA in Tokyo on 18 November, with comment on the great potential strength of Japan's economic position if such plans were to succeed.
- FE 166 The MA in London forwarded on 20 November a report on the Japanese Army which stated, among other things, that the Japanese were probably ahead of most Western nations in landing and

SECRET

SECRET

1940

combined operations. Special mention was made of the emphasis which the Japanese put on outflanking and enveloping movements in attacking and on morale and endurance in training army personnel. Japan was estimated to have had 1,350,000 men under arms, of whom 1,000,000 had had active service experience, as of December, 1939. This report concluded that "the Japanese army is a formidable fighting machine but has not yet reached the standard of efficiency of Western armies. It is, however, trained for and will probably only be required to fight in Eastern Asia where it will have inherent advantages over an opponent."

FE 167 Reports from both China and Japan discussed the Japanese
FE 168 Army's evacuation of Kwangsi Province in November, and indicated
that Japan's next move might be into southern French Indo-China.
FE 168 The MA in China, in commenting on Japan's plans with regard to
the troops being assembled on the islands of Formosa and Hainan,
observed that "some even presume an attack on the Philippines
via Lingayen Gulf."

FE 169 Tokyo reported on 12 December that Ambassador Nomura's
mission to try to improve Japanese-American relations was
probably "doomed from the start" because the Japanese Government
was "completely in the hands of the more chauvinistic elements"
and was not prepared to make concessions in the Japanese program
for East Asia which would be acceptable to American opinion.

SECRET

JAPAN'S WAR POTENTIAL AND INTENTIONS

1941

- FE 170 In forwarding the English text of the Japan-Thailand Treaty of Amity, the Tokyo MA on 11 January called attention to the progress of Japanese designs on French Indo-China and on bases for operations against Malaya and Singapore.
- FE 174 In February Tokyo reported on the extreme character of the National Defense Security Act and said that its immediate effect would be closure of many sources of information. The MA in China
- FE 172 reported that Japan was promoting border trouble in order to profit as a mediator "preserving the peace" between Thailand and French Indo-China. He also commented on Japan's warnings to the
- FE 173 United States that she would tolerate no interference in developing the East Asia economic bloc, on her inclusion of the Netherlands Indies in this bloc, and on the reports that many Japanese divisions were being trained on Formosa and Hainan, all of which indicated plans to move southward. He believed that under certain conditions Japan would move directly on the Netherlands Indies.
- FE 175 On 1 March Chungking reported that foreigners generally believed Japan's move on Singapore and the Netherlands Indies depended upon the outcome of Germany's offensive against England.
- FE 177 The Military Observer at Singapore on 22 March reviewed the
- FE 178 disposition of British forces in Malaya with approval, but predicted difficulties in meeting flank attacks and in maintaining signal communications. He also reported that the Japanese were reconnoitering the northern border of Malaya.
- FE 179 On 18 April Tokyo pointed out that although the newly-concluded Japan-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact obviously freed Japan on one front and enabled her to prepare for issues elsewhere, it removed none of the basic differences of opinion between the two countries.
- FE 180 Tokyo reported the establishment of an Army Mechanization Headquarters charged with research into, and supervision of, training in the use of mechanized equipment.
- FE 181 Meanwhile on 2 May Tokyo cabled a warning that the reported increases of Japanese strength in Formosa, Hainan, and French Indo-China were greater than normal for the China Incident and that these forces "may be there in readiness for a move against Singapore or East Indies." A report on field operations from
- FE 184 Tokyo, 21 May, warned that the Japanese would probably attempt

- 17 -

SECRET

Regraded Unclassified

SECRET

1941

- an all-out drive to conclude the China Incident in order to have a free hand for southward expansion if the United States should become involved in the war in Europe. In transmitting the
- FE 182 Japanese Army Budget for the fiscal year 1941-42, the Tokyo MA contrasted it with the budget for the preceding year and pointed out that the China Incident expenditures alone could not explain its expansion.
- FE 185 On 29 May Chungking forwarded Chinese estimates that Japan had 2000 Navy planes and 2500 Army planes.
- FE 186 On 3 June Tokyo wrote: "...two new Inspectorates have been established, the Chemical Warfare Inspectorate and the Communications Inspectorate, thus considerably raising these two forms of military activity above the places which they have heretofore occupied in the Japanese services." Tokyo
- FE 187 also reported on the yellow fever inoculations given in May to
- FE 188 certain officers attached to northern units, on the training for transport of troops and supplies by air, and on parachute troop training. The Japanese Government at this time was said to be
- FE 194 facing great difficulty in preserving restraint vis-a-vis internal public pressure for strong, direct action toward the Netherlands Indies after the failure of the trade negotiations at Batavia.
- FE 189 The Singapore MO believed that the Japanese would not move without a 50-50 chance for success. He expressed the opinion on 5 June that the Japanese were forcing economic penetration of Thailand and Indo-China, to be followed by military occupation in readiness for any advantage to be had from weakened British or American positions in that area. "With regards to defense of Malaya," he continued, "it is believed that the present forces of approximately 60,000 Army and 5,000 Royal Air Force personnel can contain for six months or more the force of six divisions and 1,000 planes which it is estimated Japan can now send against them."
- FE 190 Hongkong reported that on 14 June 27 Japanese transports conveyed by 21 destroyers were off the China coast travelling southward, and were expected to be off Hongkong on 17 June.
- FE 192 On 25 June Hongkong further reported that three convoys, totalling about 50 transports, had been seen during the preceding fortnight and were believed to have gone to the Pescadores or Formosa. The MA in Mexico forwarded a report that the Japanese
- FE 191 were constructing special small submarines for attacking the American fleet in Pearl Harbor, and that a training program then under way included towing them from Japan to positions off the Hawaiian Islands, where they practiced surfacing and submerging.

SECRET

SECRET

1941

- FE 193 Chungking believed that the sudden German offensive against Russia had caused a temporary lull in the threatening attitude toward the United States, and on 27 June cabled the opinion
- FE 195 that the Japanese would be reluctant to make a major move until results of border incidents revealed the potential strength of the Russians.
- FE 197 On 12 July Tokyo cabled: "Considerable scale of mobilization and unusual secrecy attending it now beyond question."
- FE 196 Tokyo believed the Government, however, was still seeking to avoid positive commitments. Two days later Tokyo cabled that it
- FE 199 was "now evident that large scale mobilization under way covered by unusual secrecy. Some newly mobilized men being sent to Manchoukuo but unable determine number or whether any being sent south." Hongkong reported that 19 Japanese transports were moving
- FE 200 southward from Formosa on 12 July.
- FE 201 Chinese Military Intelligence was reported on 15 July to anticipate an early invasion of French Indo-China and to believe that areas newly ceded to Thailand were to be used as air bases.
- FE 203 On 21 July Singapore reported that the Japanese had delivered a virtual ultimatum, with a 20 July deadline, in which they demanded the use of naval bases in southern French Indo-China. "If the French refuse, regardless of British or United States interference, the bases will be taken forcibly."
- FE 204 London on 22 July reported belief that the Japanese had completed all preparations for taking over French Indo-China bases.
- FE 206 On 26 July Tokyo cabled: "Largest single draft since initial mobilization for China War now under way under conditions extreme secrecy involving restrictions on movements foreigners in all directions." Some Japanese in Tokyo interpreted the 26 July
- FE 207 freezing of Japanese credits by the United States as the first step toward a final break with America.
- FE 208 Singapore on 29 July estimated that Japanese strength in French Indo-China was approaching 40,000 men and believed there would be forcible seizure of additional bases.
- FE 209 Japan demanded the right to occupy Thai naval and air bases, and on 31 July Bangkok commented: "An immediate Nipponese move is anticipated due to Thai indecision."

- 19 -

SECRET

SECRET

1941

- FE 211 Estimates were forwarded from London on 3 August that more than 500,000 Japanese were mobilized during June and July, and
- FE 220 further British estimates, forwarded from Chungking, 20 August, placed Japanese strength at 49 divisions, with 54 available by the end of August when mobilization would be complete.
- FE 212 The MA in Tokyo estimated that Japan had on 1 July 3200
(FE 153) Army airplanes (1940 estimate was 2010); a total of 3600 officers, 1600 cadets and 34,800 enlisted men (1940 estimate was 2900 officers, 1350 cadets and 28,700 enlisted men) in the Army Air Corps, including 3900 pilots (1940 - 3100 pilots); and 136 air combat squadrons in the Army Air Corps (1940 - 114 combat air squadrons).
- FE 213 Tokyo estimated on 5 August that the aircraft industry, working at maximum wartime capacity, could produce annually the equivalent of 4,500 two-place, single-engine military airplanes. Actual production for the period 1 July 1940 to 30 June 1941 was estimated to be 2,730 combat aircraft. It was concluded that since the end of 1939 the aircraft industry had increased production by about one-half and capacity by about two-thirds, while completion of construction then in sight would give a capacity double that of 1939. The number of employees engaged in the manufacture of airplanes had increased 55 per cent, and employees in engine manufacturing plants had increased in number 57 per cent from 1938-39 to 1940-41.
- FE 218 Chungking reported 15 August Japanese plans to take over international concessions and to capture American marines in Shanghai by surprise.
- FE 219 Chungking on 19 August forwarded British estimates that Japanese tank strength, exclusive of baby tanks and armored machine gun cars, was ten regiments, each consisting of 150 tanks, with an equal number in reserve.
- FE 224 In addition the MA at Chungking on 27 August forwarded a Russian estimate that the actual strength of the Japanese Army was 48 divisions and 20 independent brigades (approximately 58 divisions), with 300,000 men in training, possibly ready in three months. Uncalled reserves were believed to number 210,000. Eleven divisions could be organized from reserves already trained and 16 from those then in training. These figures include corps, army, and service troops. Artillery was believed to be insufficient. The total potential strength was estimated by the Russians to be 76 divisions.

- 20 -

SECRET

Regraded Unclassified

SECRET

1941

- FE 222 On 21 August Tokyo reported that drastic shipping control measures were about to be instituted by the Japanese Cabinet.
- FE 223 Tokyo also reported five main forces, composed of ten armies (54 divisions), located overseas.
- FE 226 On 1 September the Tokyo MA reported on the organization and high quality of the Japanese military signal communications system, and commented that Japanese radio equipment was "comparable to our own in every respect."
- FE 229 On 11 September Tokyo made a full report on the National mobilization which had begun 3 June. In his opinion "in round numbers about 700,000 were called up during this mobilization." This number did not include the home defense "National Army," which was called up for five days' training only. "The number of men mobilized was far too great for mere replacement purposes in existing divisions now in Japan or on the Continent....While estimates of other foreign observers place the total number of men mobilized as high as 1,250,000, it is believed that these estimates.. are too high." About 90 per cent of the total of 18,000 horses also mobilized at this time were known to have gone south rather than direct to Manchoukuo or Korea.
- FE 230 Japan set up a National Defense General Headquarters (reported by Tokyo on 16 September) in a move to improve arrangements for the defense of Japan Proper.
- FE 231 Invocation of the last drastic measures of the 1938 National Mobilization Law (revised) and a tense political atmosphere indicated, according to Tokyo, that the day for a final decision on "immutable" policies was drawing near. Internally the nation was mobilizing for total war.
- FE 239 On 14 October Hongkong reported the presence of 22 transports on the Pearl River.
- FE 240 The China MA cabled on 17 October: "Increased Nazi activity in Japan plus the cabinet crisis and attacks on U.S. by spokesmen and press considered strong evidence of drastic action in the near future."
- FE 242 Commenting on heavy troop movements into French Indo-China, Tokyo concluded on 20 October: "If the rumored increase goes above the number originally agreed upon there cannot remain much doubt as to the intention behind it."

- 21 -

SECRET

SECRET

1941

- FE 243 Tokyo reported on 20 October that General Tojo, on becoming Premier, retained his status as an officer on the active list, an unusual procedure, and concluded that the third Konce cabinet fell because of inability to meet army criticism of its policy toward French Indo-China, the conversations in Washington, and its policy vis-a-vis a weakened Russia.
- FE 245 London cabled on 21 October: "Japanese troops in Indo-China will be strengthened as follows: 36,000 there now; an estimated 20,000 enroute, and an additional 20,000 included in Japanese plans." Chungking on 23 October reported the official
- FE 246 French Indo-Chinese view to be that the Japanese would attack Thailand about 15 November.
- FE 247 A general southward movement of Japanese shipping in the Western Pacific was reported on 27 October from Singapore, together with intelligence that two aircraft carriers and 60 flying boats, fighters and bombers were operating in the Mandated Islands.
- FE 249 Under pretext of surveying a new commercial air route the Japanese made a number of flights between Palau (Pelew) and Timor, violating at the same time certain provisions of the agreement granting them the privilege of flying over Dutch territory. Unusual passenger lists, the absence of commercial justification, the type of equipment, and the movement of guard vessels were reported on by the MO at Bandoeng on 30 October.
- FE 248 On 29 October the MA in Chungking radioed that Japanese strength in French Indo-China was then 57,000 troops, and that it was steadily increasing in numbers. He anticipated a possible drive through Yunnan toward the Burma Road. Thailand was reported
- FE 250 ready to capitulate in the hope that the country would be saved from the ravages of war.
- FE 262 The Japanese Consul General at Batavia was reported to have recommended that on the outbreak of war all Japanese should report promptly to the Netherlands Indies authorities for internment, thus avoiding violence. The Singapore British,
- FE 253 however, were reported by the MO to believe that no attack could be expected before April because of the prevailing northeast monsoon over Malaya.
- FE 254 The MA in London forwarded on 9 November a British opinion that Japan no longer felt that it must make every effort to avoid war with the United States and that Japan would find it too difficult to attack Malaya or the Burma Road and hence might be expected to attack the Netherlands Indies.

SECRET

SECRET

1941

- FE 256 On 16 November Tokyo estimated production of aircraft at 200 planes per month for the Army. All factories in the aircraft industry had gone on a 3-shift 24-hour day in mid-June. The MA estimated that the current monthly maximum for production was 420 military planes, including trainers.
- FE 258 The London MA on 21 November cabled a summary of British Intelligence as of 18 November, in which it was stated that failure of agreement in the Washington talks would require a major Japanese decision whether to risk probable war; that Japan would probably not attack Siberia at that time; that unless agreement was reached in Washington, the war in China would continue; that Japan probably did not intend to attack the Burma Road at that time; and that the occupation of Thailand, the best possibility for the moment, would pave the way for subsequent attack upon Malaya, yet minimize the risk of a general war.
- FE 264 The Singapore MO advised the War Department on 2 December that the alert in Malaya had been advanced from the third to the second degree on the previous day. Japanese reconnaissance activities over Malaya were reported.
- FE 268 The MA in Melbourne radioed that on 6 December the Netherlands Far East Command, upon learning of Japanese naval moves on Menado and/or Ambon out of Palau, had ordered the execution of Plan A-2.

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS*

CONTENTS

Volume I

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 8601 13 Jan 37	The Japanese Army during 1936	1
Tokyo M/A No. 8631 30 Jan 37	Comment on Current Events, January 21-30, 1937	2
Tokyo M/A No. 8667 25 Feb 37	<u>[Japanese]</u> Militarized Societies - Imperial Reservists Association	3
Tokyo M/A No. 8670 1 Mar 37	Political Issues and Problems; 70th Session of the <u>[Japanese]</u> Diet	4
Tokyo M/A No. 8681 11 Mar 37	Aircraft Production (Non- Governmental) <u>[Japan]</u> Aircraft Industrial Activity	5
Tokyo M/A No. 8707 31 Mar 37	Air Budgets <u>[Japan]</u> . Appropriations for Civil and Military Aviation	6
Tokyo M/A No. 8724 9 Apr 37	General Headquarters Air Force <u>[Japan]</u> . Organization of GHQ Air Force	7
Tokyo M/A No. 8738 17 Apr 37	Comment on Current Events, April 1-15, 1937	8
China M/A No. 9540 23 Apr 37	Situation Report, April 10-23, 1937	9
Tokyo M/A No. 8744 23 Apr 37	Distribution of Troops <u>[Japan]</u> . Proposed Air Regiments	10

* Bound in fifteen volumes of Far Eastern Documents File

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 8762 5 May 37	Military Aviation [Japan]. 5th Air Regiment	11
Tokyo M/A No. 8767 8 May 37	Military Aviation [Japan]. Tokorozawa Army Air Technical School	12
Tokyo M/A No. 8775 11 May 37	Aircraft Production (Non- Governmental) [Japan]. Expansion of Aviation Manufacturing Industry	13
Tokyo M/A No. 8794 25 May 37	Aircraft Production (Non- Governmental) [Japan]. Nakajima Aircraft Factory (Otamachi, Gumma Prefecture)	14
Tokyo M/A No. 8795 26 May 37	Organization of the [Japanese] Cabinet Planning Board	15
Tokyo M/A No. 8893 22 July 37	[Japanese] Foreign Relations. North China Incident	16
Tokyo M/A No. 8930 10 Aug 37	National Defense Laws [Japan]. Military Secrets Protection Law	17
Tokyo M/A No. 8941 18 Aug 37	[Japanese] Foreign Relations. North China Incident	18
Tokyo M/A No. 8945 25 Aug 37	Distribution of Troops [Japan]. Number and Classification of Air Units	19
Volume II		
Tokyo M/A No. 8948 26 Aug 37	Annual Aviation Intelligence Report [Japan]. July 1, 1937	20

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

Volume III

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
China M/A No. 9588 1 Sept 37	Situation Report, August 21 - September 1, 1937. (Shanghai Area, North China, Order of Battle)	21
Tokyo M/A No. 8960 1 Sept 37	Foreign Relations - North China Incident	22
Tokyo M/A No. 8978 15 Sept 37	Government Budget - War Department Budget [Japan] 1937 - 1938	23
Tokyo M/A No. 8973 17 Sept 37	General Mobilization [Japan]	24
Tokyo M/A No. 8981 17 Sept 37	Mobilization of Industry - Munitions Industry Mobilization Law	25
Tokyo M/A No. 8980 18 Sept 37	Foreign Relations [Japan]. North China Incident	26
Tokyo M/A No. 8989 22 Sept 37	Comments on Aviation Personnel [Japan]	27
Tokyo M/A No. 9004 30 Sept 37	Organization and Distribution of Troops [Japan]. Movement of Air Units. Expansion Program	28
Tokyo M/A No. 9001 30 Sept 37	Increase in Active Army Divisions [Japan]	29
Tokyo M/A No. 9002 30 Sept 37	Mobilization of Personnel [Japan]. Available Man Power	30

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9005 30 Sept 37	Commissioned, Warrant and Enlisted Personnel [Japanese Army]. Terms of Service Extended	31
Tokyo M/A No. 9035 14 Oct 37	Foreign Relations [Japan]. The United States	32
China M/O (Colonel Ord) 20 Oct 37	Sino-Japanese Operations	33
Tokyo M/A No. 9059 28 Oct 37	Foreign Relations [Japan]. U.S.S.R.	34
Tokyo M/A No. 9060 28 Oct 37	Foreign Relations [Japan]. Great Britain	35
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 343 29 Oct 37	Japanese Order of Battle in North China	36
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 345 1 Nov 37	Estimate of Strength of Kwantung Army	37
Tokyo M/A No. 9071 4 Nov 37	Political Issues and Problems [Japan]. Organization of the New Planning Board (Kikaku-in)	38
Tokyo M/A No. 9089 16 Nov 37	National Defense Policy - General [Japan]. Military Secrets Protection Law Enforcement Regulations	39
Tokyo M/A No. 9099 24 Nov 37	[Japanese] Imperial Headquarters (Daihoni)	40
Tokyo M/A No. 9150 22 Dec 37	Foreign Relations [Japan]. The Panay Sinking	41

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

Volume IV

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9172 6 Jan 38	Foreign Relations [Japan]. The Panay Sinking (Continued from Report No. 9150, December 22, 1937)	42
Tokyo M/A (via Manila) Radiogram No. 363 14 Jan 38	Japanese Warehouse and Factory Stocks, War Reserves	43
Tokyo M/A No. 9192 18 Jan 38	Recruitment - Enlisted Personnel [Japan]. Enrollment in the Active Army	44
Tokyo M/A No. 9193 18 Jan 38	Military Schools and Colleges [Japan]. Preconscriptional Training	45
Tokyo M/A No. 9198 19 Jan 38	Comment on Current Events, January 6-19, 1938	46
Tokyo M/A No. 9201 19 Jan 38	Foreign Relations [Japan]. Great Britain	47
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 365 22 Jan 38	Reactivation of Divisions of Japanese Army	48
Tokyo M/A No. 9206 26 Jan 38	Armament and Equipment. Organizational, Standard [Japan]. New Equipment for the Japanese Army Air Corps	49
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 368 31 Jan 38	Japanese Troop Concentrations in Formosa	50
China M/A No. 9633 1 Feb 38	Comments on Current Events, January 13 - February 1, 1938	51
Tokyo M/A No. 9219 2 Feb 38	Foreign Relations [Japan]. U.S.S.R.	52

▼
SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9232 12 Feb 38	Recruitment - Enlisted Personnel [Japan]. Age and Physical Standards for Enrollment in the Active Army	53
Tokyo M/A No. 9239 17 Feb 38	Comment on Current Events, February 3-16, 1938	54
Tokyo M/A No. 9240 18 Feb 38	Political Issues and Problems [Japan]. 73rd Diet (Continued from Report No. 9221, February 3, 1938)	55
Tokyo M/A No. 9256 2 March 38	Comment on Current Events, February 18 - March 2, 1938	56
Tokyo M/A No. 9286 17 March 38	Political Issues and Problems [Japan]. 73rd Diet	57
Tokyo M/A No. 9288 18 March 38	Comment on Current Events, March 3-17, 1938	58
Peiping M/A Radiogram No. 893 26 March 38	Strength of Japanese Troops in China	59
Tokyo M/A No. 9322 5 April 38	Recruitment - Enlisted Personnel [Japan]. Volunteer Enrollment of Japanese Subjects - Active Army	60
Tokyo M/A No. 9326 11 April 38	Air Defense System [Japan]. Strengthening of Japanese Home Air Defense	61
Tokyo M/A No. 9332 13 April 38	Comment on Current Events, April 1-13, 1938	62
Tokyo M/A Memo to A.C. of S., G-2 18 April 38	Expenditures for National Defense by Japan	63

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9336 19 April 38	War Department Budget [Japan]. 1938-1939 Army Budget	64
Tokyo M/A No. 9339 19 April 38	Mobilization of Industry [Japan]. General Mobilization Law	65
Tokyo M/A No. 9376 12 May 38	Political Issues and Problems [Japan]. The Effect of the Protracted China Operations in Japan	66
Tokyo M/A No. 9380 14 May 38	Comment on Current Events, April 27 - May 13, 1938	67
Tokyo M/A Memo for A.C. of S., G-2 16 May 38	Reply to Evaluation of Reports	68
Tokyo M/A No. 9397 26 May 38	Comment on Current Events, May 14 - May 26, 1938	69
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 385 26 May 38	Cabinet Changes Relative to China Operations; Mobilization	70
Volume V		
Tokyo M/A No. 9422 11 June 38	Comment on Current Events, May 27 - June 9, 1938	71
Tokyo M/A No. 9440 22 June 38	Comment on Current Events, June 10-20, 1938	72
China M/A No. 9668 25 June 38	Comments on Current Events, May 22 - June 25, 1938	73
Tokyo M/A No. 9381 1 July 38	Annual Aviation Intelligence Report [Japan]. Annual Aviation Intelligence Report as of July 1, 1938	74

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9462 11 July 38	Comment on Current Events, June 21 - July 7, 1938	75
China M/A No. 9676 15 July 38	Comments on Current Events, June 26 - July 15, 1938	76
Tokyo M/A No. 9486 22 July 38	Comment on Current Events, July 8-21, 1938	77
Tokyo M/A No. 9539 27 Aug 38	Comments on Current Events, August 10-27, 1938	78
Peiping M/A Radiogram (via Naval Communication Service) 5 Sept 38	Japanese Military Operations in China	79
Peiping M/A Radiogram (via Naval Communication Service) 20 Sept 38	Japanese Operations and Troop Dispositions in China	80
Tokyo M/A No. 9574 21 Sept 38	Comments on Current Events, August 28 - September 21, 1938	81
Peiping M/A Radiogram (via Naval Communication Service) 30 Sept 38	Japanese Policies toward Foreign Powers in China	82
Tokyo M/A No. 9583 4 Oct 38	Government Policy Pertaining to Air <u>/Japan/</u> . Aircraft Manufacturing Industry Law	83

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
China M/A No. 9687 12 Oct 38	Comments on Current Events, September 14 - October 12, 1938	84
Tokyo M/A No. 9607 4 Nov 38	Comments on Current Political Events, October 19 - November 4, 1938	85
Tokyo M/A No. 9619 15 Nov 38	Comments on Current Political Events, November 5-15, 1938	86
Tokyo M/A No. 9623 21 Nov 38	Mobilization of Industry [Japan]. Invocation of Article II of National Mobilization Bill	87
Tokyo M/A No. 9633 30 Nov 38	Mobilization of Industry [Japan]. Invocations of Portions of Mobilization Law	88
Volume VI		
Tokyo M/A No. 9709 6 Feb 39	Distribution of Major Japanese Army Units Overseas	89
Tokyo M/A No. 9711 9 Feb 39	National and Government Income. Taxation to Meet 1939-1940 Budget	90
Tokyo M/A No. 9713 13 Feb 39	Field Operations in China, January 28 - February 13, 1939	91
Tokyo M/A No. 9722 27 Feb 39	Estimate of National Wealth [of Japan]	92
Tokyo M/A No. 9726 28 Feb 39	Comments on Current Events, February 28, 1939 (No. 4)	93
Tokyo M/A No. 9734 7 Mar 39	Adherence of Manchoukuo and Hungary to Anti-Comintern Pact	94

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
China M/A No. 9744 7 Mar 39	Situation Report, February 5th - March 6th, 1939	95
Tokyo M/A No. 9735 8 Mar 39	National Defense Policy - General [Japan]. Military Resource Secrets Protection Law	96
China M/A No. 9745 9 Mar 39	Comment on Current Events, February 9 - March 9, 1939	97
Tokyo M/A No. 9739 14 Mar 39	Comments on Current Events, March 14, 1939 (No. 5)	98
Tokyo M/A No. 9744 23 Mar 39	Plan for Expansion of Production [Japan]	99
Tokyo M/A No. 9748 25 Mar 39	Appropriation for 1939 - 1940 Budget [Japan]	100
Tokyo M/A No. 9749 27 Mar 39	Aircraft Production [Japan]. Licensed Aircraft Manufacturers	101
	Volume VII	
Tokyo M/A No. 9755 1 Apr 39	Tactical Doctrine of the Japanese Army	102
	Volume VIII	
Tokyo M/A No. 9754 10 Apr 39	Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1939-1940 [Japan]	103
Tokyo M/A No. 9764 12 Apr 39	Comments on Current Events, April 12, 1939 (No. 7)	104

x

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9766 13 Apr 39	Aviation School System - General <u>/Japan/</u> . Tokyo Army Air School	105
Tokyo M/A No. 9778 24 Apr 39	Annual Aviation Intelligence Report <u>/Japan/</u> . Supplementary Air Force Strength Report as of February 28, 1939	106
Tokyo M/A No. 9772 26 Apr 39	Comments on Current Events, April 26, 1939 (No. 8)	107
Tokyo M/A Memo to A.C. of S., G-2 No. 9778 4 May 39	Expenditures for National Defense by Japan	108
Tokyo M/A No. 9796 24 May 39	Comments on Current Events, May 24, 1939 (No. 10)	109
Tokyo M/A No. 9803 7 June 39	Recruitment - Enlisted Personnel <u>/Japan/</u> . Changes in Conscription Regulations	110
Tokyo M/A No. 9807 9 June 39	Comments on Current Events, June 9, 1939 (No. 11)	111
Tokyo M/A No. 9858 1 July 39	Annual Aviation Intelligence Report. <u>Annual</u> Aviation Digest. <u>/Japan/</u>	112
Tokyo M/A No. 9850 1 July 39	Annual Aviation Intelligence Report <u>/Japan/</u> . Aviation Statistics - MID - ONI Joint Forms	113
Volume IX		
Tokyo M/A No. 9833 4 July 39	Comments on Current Events, July 4, 1939 (No. 13)	114
China M/A No. 9783 13 July 39	Comment on Current Events, June 15-July 13, 1939	115

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
China M/A No. 9784 14 July 39	Situation Report, June 12-July 11, 1939	116
Tokyo M/A No. 9845 19 July 39	Comments on Current Events, July 19, 1939 (No. 14)	117
Tokyo M/A No. 9859 4 Aug 39	Comments on Current Events, August 4, 1939 (No. 15)	118
Tokyo M/A No. 9868 14 Aug 39	Minor Military Operations Outer Mongolian Border Incident	119
Tokyo M/A No. 9873 15 Aug 39	Reply to Evaluation of Reports	120
Tokyo M/A No. 9877 25 Aug 39	Comments on Current Events, August 25, 1939 (No. 17)	121
Tokyo M/A No. 9893 12 Sept 39	[Japanese] Foreign Relations	122
Tokyo M/A No. 9883 12 Sept 39	Minor Military Operations Outer Mongolian Border Incident, August 13-September 10, 1939	123
Tokyo M/A No. 9899 20 Sept 39	Shortage of Electric Power [Japan]	124
Tokyo M/A No. 9902 21 Sept 39	Comments on Current Events, September 21, 1939 (No. 18)	125
Tokyo M/A No. 9900 21 Sept 39	Minor Military Operations Mongolian - Manchoukuo Border Incident	126

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9906 22 Sept 39	Foreign Relations - Press Releases on American Relations	127
Tokyo M/A No. 9907 22 Sept 39	Army Finance - Donations [Japan]	128
China M/A Memo to A.C. of S., G-2 1 Oct 39	Comments from the Field No. 3	129
Tokyo M/A No. 9915 2 Oct 39	Aviation School System - General [Japan]. Air Cadet System	130
Tokyo M/A No. 9914 5 Oct 39	Aviation School System - [Japan]. Mito Army Flying School	131
China M/A No. 9810 1 Nov 39	Comments on Current Events, October 3-November 1, 1939	132
Tokyo M/A No. 9955 6 Nov 39	Comment on Current Events, November 6, 1939 (No. 20)	133
Tokyo M/A No. 9964 20 Nov 39	Comments on Current Events, November 20, 1939 (No. 21)	134
Tokyo M/A No. 9973 15 Dec 39	Recruitment - Enlisted Personnel [Japan]. Military Service Law	135
Tokyo M/A No. 9986 16 Dec 39	Government Budget [Japan]. Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1940-1941	136
Tokyo M/A No. 9995 21 Dec 39	Major Military Operations Field Operations in China, November 18-December 18, 1939	137

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 9996 22 Dec 39	Comments on Current Events, December 21, 1939 (No. 22)	138
Volume X		
Tokyo M/A No. 9998 9 Jan 40	Major Military Operations Distribution of Major Japanese Army Units Overseas, January 1, 1940	139
China M/A No. 9844 11 Jan 40	Comments on Current Events, January 11, 1940 (No. 1)	140
Tokyo M/A No. 10,037 17 Feb 40	Comments on Current Events, February 16, 1940 (No. 24)	141
Tokyo M/A No. 10,045 27 Feb 40	Comments on Current Events, February 27, 1940 (No. 25)	142
Tokyo M/A No. 10,053 11 March 40	Recruitment - Enlisted Personnel [Japan]. Conscription Statistics	143
Tokyo M/A No. 10,060 14 March 40	Comments on Current Events, March 14, 1940 (No. 26)	144
Volume XI		
Tokyo M/A No. 10,074 4 April 40	Reciprocity in Inspections of Air Activities	145
Tokyo M/A No. 10,076 10 April 40	Comments on Current Events, April 9, 1940 (No. 27)	146
Tokyo M/A No. 10,091 24 April 40	Comments on Current Events, April 23, 1940 (No. 28)	147

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 10,112 14 May 40	Comments on Current Events, May 14, 1940 (No. 29)	148
Tokyo M/A No. 10,113 16 May 40	War Department Budget 1940-1941 Army Budget	149
Tokyo M/A No. 10,128 7 June 40	Major Military Operations Field Operations in China, May 14 - June 6, 1940	150
Tokyo M/A No. 10,129 10 June 40	Comments on Current Events, June 9, 1940 (No. 30)	151
China M/A No. 9903 12 June 40	Comments on Current Events, June 12, 1940 (No. 6)	152
Tokyo M/A No. 10,166 1 July 40	Annual Aviation Intelligence Report [Japan]. July 1, 1940	153
Tokyo M/A No. 10,146 11 July 40	Field Operations in China, June 20 - July 10, 1940	154
	Volume XII	
Tokyo M/A No. 10,154 24 July 40	Newly Created Army Districts [Japan]	155
Tokyo M/A No. 10,167 1 Aug 40	Hokota Army Air School	156
Tokyo M/A No. 10,169 5 Aug 40	Comment on Current Events (No. 53)	157
Tokyo M/A No. 10,190 4 Sept 40	Comments on Current Events, September 4, 1940 (No. 34)	158

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 10,203 19 Sept 40	Field Operations in China, September 4-18, 1940	159
Tokyo M/A No. 10,209 5 Oct 40	Alignment with Rome-Berlin Axis	160
Tokyo M/A No. 10,215 7 Oct 40	Field Operations in China, September 19 - October 5, 1940	161
Tokyo M/A Radiogram 29 Oct 40	Language Officers in Japan	162
Tokyo M/A No. 10,225 29 Oct 40	Comments on Current Events (No. 37)	163
China M/A No. 9944 31 Oct 40	Comments on Current Events	164
Tokyo M/A No. 10,234 18 Nov 40	Ten-Year-Plan for Japan, China and Manchoukuo	165
London M/A No. 41,865 20 Nov 40	The Japanese Army, General	166
Tokyo M/A No. 10,241 21 Nov 40	Field Operations in China, November 1-20, 1940	167
China M/A No. 9956 5 Dec 40	Situation Report, November 1 - December 4, 1940	168
Tokyo M/A No. 10,257 12 Dec 40	Comments on Current Events (No. 39)	169

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Volume XIII Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 10,274 11 Jan 41	Japan-Thailand Treaty of Amity	170
Peiping Assistant M/A Memo to A.C. of S., G-2 31 Jan 41	Comments on Current Events (No. 13)	171
China M/A No. 9972 4 Feb 41	Situation Report, December 31 - February 4, 1941	172
China M/A No. 9973 5 Feb 41	Comments on Current Events No. 13	173
Tokyo M/A No. 10,317 8 Feb 41	/Japanese/ National Defense Security Act	174
China M/A Dispatch to A.C. of S., G-2 1 March 41	Comments on Current Events No. 14	175
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 459 13 March 41	Paratroops Training in Japan	176
Singapore M/O Special Report dated 22 March 41	Defenses of Malaya	177
Singapore M/O Extracts of letter dated 29 March 41	Comments, U.S. Military Observer, Singapore	178
Tokyo M/A No. 10,382 18 April 41	Soviet Non-Aggression Pact	179

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 10,383 19 April 41	[Japanese] Army Mechanisation Headquarters	180
Tokyo M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) No. 467 2 May 41	Japanese Preparations for Military Action Toward Singapore and East Indies	181
Tokyo M/A No. 10,403 5 May 41	Army Budget for Fiscal Year 1941-1942	182
Tokyo M/A No. 10,414 20 May 41	National Defense Budget	183
Tokyo M/A No. 10,419 21 May 41	Field Operations in China, May 7-21, 1941	184
Chungking, China M/A Radiogram (No. 83) 29 May 41	Estimate of Japanese Air Strength	185
Tokyo M/A No. 10,423 3 June 41	New Inspectorates for Communications and Chemical Warfare [Japan]	186
Volume XIV		
Tokyo M/A No. 10,434 5 June 41	Yellow Fever Inoculations	187
Tokyo M/A No. 10,435 5 June 41	Transport of Troops and Supplies by Air - Parachute Training [Japan]	188
Singapore M/O Memo for A.C. of S., G-2, HPD 5 June 41	Summary of Situation, Malaya	189

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Hongkong M/A Cablegram No. 135 16 June 41	Japanese Convoy Movements	190
Mexico City M/A No. 9699 17 June 41	Activities of Foreigners in Country	191
Hongkong M/A Radiogram No. 145 25 June 41	Japanese Convoy Movements	192
China M/A No. 10,001 25 June 41	Comments on Current Events No. 16	193
Tokyo M/A No. 10,447 26 June 41	Comments on Current Events No. 51	194
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 27 June 41	Russo-Japanese Border Incidents	195
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 498 12 July 41	Japanese Government's Plans	196
Tokyo M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) 12 July 41	Japanese Mobilization	197
Tokyo M/A No. 10,459 12 July 41	Transport of Troops and Supplies by Air - Parachute Training	198
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 500 14 July 41	Mobilization of Japanese Army	199

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Hongkong M/A Radiogram No. 168 15 July 41	Japanese Convoy Movements	200
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 15 July 41	Probability of Japanese Invasion of Indo-China	201
Tokyo M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) 21 July 41	Japanese Mobilization	202
Singapore M/O Radiogram No. 31 21 July 41	Japanese Ultimatum to French Indo-China	203
London M/A Cablegram 22 July 41	Japanese Designs on French Indo-China	204
Tokyo M/A No. 10,472 23 July 41	Third Kono Cabinet	205
Tokyo M/A Radiogram No. 605 26 July 41	Japanese Troop Movements	206
Tokyo M/A No. 10,476 28 July 41	Comments on Current Events No. 52	207
Singapore M/O Radiogram No. 37 29 July 41	Japanese Aggression in French Indo-China	208
Bangkok M/A Cablegram 31 July 41	Japanese Demands on Thailand	209

xx

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
China M/A No. 1 1 Aug 41	Comments on Current Events, Hongkong	210
London M/A Cablegram 3 Aug 41	Japanese Mobilization	211
Tokyo M/A No. 10,492 5 Aug 41	Annual Aviation Intelligence Report	212
Tokyo M/A No. 10,493 5 Aug 41	Estimates of Production [Japan]	213
China M/A No. 2 6 Aug 41	Situation Report, June 16 - August 6, 1941	214
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 8 Aug 41	Japanese Troop Movements in Indo-China	215
London M/A Cablegram 8 Aug 41	Japanese Military Movements	216
Delhi M/O No. 2 11 Aug 41	Defenses of Singapore	217
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 15 Aug 41	Probable Japanese Administration of International Settlement, Shanghai in Event of War	218
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 19 Aug 41	Japanese Tank Strength	219
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 20 Aug 41	Divisional Strength of the Japanese Army	220

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Tokyo M/A No. 10,506 20 Aug 41	Field Operations in China, July 28-August 20, 1941	221
Tokyo M/A No. 10,505 21 Aug 41	Comments on Current Events No. 53	222
Tokyo M/A No. 10,511 25 Aug 41	Distribution of Major [Japanese] Units Overseas	223
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 27 Aug 41	Divisional Strength of the Japanese Army	224
Chungking China M/A Radiogram No. 31 27 Aug 41	Distribution of Major Japanese Army Units	225
Tokyo M/A No. 10,515 1 Sept 41	[Japanese] Signal Communication	226
Singapore M/O No. 48 1 Sept 41	Training in Defense Against Airborne Troops	227
Singapore M/O No. 52 8 Sept 41	Air Defense in the Far East	228
Tokyo M/A No. 10,530 11 Sept 41	[Japanese] Mobilization - Personnel - Actual	229
Tokyo M/A No. 10,543 16 Sept 41	[Japanese] National Defense General Headquarters	230

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
	Volume XV	
Tokyo M/A No. 10,544 18 Sept 41	Comments on Current Events No. 54	231
Singapore M/O No. 60 18 Sept 41	Estimates, Plans and Training - British Far East - for October, November, December and January	232
Singapore M/O Cablegram No. 26 23 Sept 41	Japanese Troops in French Indo- China	233
Singapore M/O Cablegram No. 30 25 Sept 41	Japanese Troop Movements	234
Tokyo M/A No. 10,553 26 Sept 41	Enlistment of Formosans	235
Lisbon M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 6 Oct 41	Probability of War Between United States and Japan	236
Tokyo M/A No. 10,567 11 Oct 41	Army Arsenal and Depots [Japan]	237
Tokyo M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) 13 Oct 41	Increase of Japanese Strength in Indo-China	238
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 14 Oct 41	Japanese Troop Concentrations, Pearl River	239
Chungking M/A Cablegram (Paraphrase) 17 Oct 41	Japanese Cabinet Crisis and Press Attacks on U.S.	240

xxiii

SECRET

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Singapore M/O No. 87 17 Oct 41	Analysis of Japanese Aviation Production	241
Tokyo M/A No. 10,581 20 Oct 41	Comments on Current Events, October 20, 1941 (No. 55)	242
Tokyo M/A No. 10,578 20 Oct 41	Resignation of Third Kono Cabinet	243
London M/A Radiogram No. 795 20 Oct 41	Estimate of Japan's Future Moves	244
London M/A Cablegram 21 Oct 41	Japanese Military Plans	245
Chungking M/A Radiogram No. 79 23 Oct 41	Japanese Plans to Attack Thailand	246
Singapore M/O Radiogram No. 54 27 Oct 41	Japanese Aircraft Carriers in Mandated Islands	247
Chungking M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) (No. C-88) 29 Oct 41	Japanese Troop Strength in Indo-China	248
Bandoeng M/O Report No. 4 30 Oct 41	Japanese in Portuguese Timor	249
Bangkok M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) (No. 38) 30 Oct 41	Probable Reaction of Thailand to Japanese Attack	250

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Singapore M/O Radiogram (Paraphrase) (No. 57) 31 Oct 41	Probable Japanese Invasion of Thailand	251
Singapore M/O Radiogram 5 Nov 41	Japanese Air Strength in Indo-China	252
Singapore M/O Radiogram 7 Nov 41	Japanese Troop Concentrations in China and Indo-China	253
London M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) 9 Nov 41	Probable Japanese Attack in Netherlands East Indies	254
Peiping M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) (No. 9) 11 Nov 41	Japanese Proposals for Settlement of Far Eastern Problems via Envoy to Washington	255
Tokyo M/A No. 10,593 16 Nov 41	Aircraft Production [Japan]	256
Tokyo M/A No. 10,608 19 Nov 41	Objective Material [Japan]	257
London M/A Radiogram (Paraphrase) 21 Nov 41	Probable Japanese Offensive and Possibility of War with AED Powers	258
London M/A No. 45481 21 Nov 41	Japanese Intentions	259
Singapore M/O Radiogram 23 Nov 41	British Air Activity over China	260

xxv

SECRET

Regraded Unclassified

SECRET

FAR EASTERN DOCUMENTS

<u>Source, Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>FE Document Number</u>
Bandoeng M/O No. 8 24 Nov 41	Comments	261
Bandoeng M/O No. 10 27 Nov 41	Japanese in the N.E.I.	262
Chungking M/A Secret Message No. 104 29 Nov 41	Probable Japanese Attack on Thailand	263
Singapore M/O No. 133 2 Dec 41	Alerting of Malayan Command	264
Singapore M/O Secret Message No. 96 6 Dec 41	Japanese Naval Operations	265
Singapore M/O Secret Message No. 97 7 Dec 41	British Defense of Singapore	266
Singapore M/O Secret Message No. 103 7 Dec 41	Japanese Air Operations and Troop Movements in Malaya	267
Melbourne M/A Secret Message No. 24 7 Dec 41	Execution of Plans Ordered by Netherlands Far East Command	268
Singapore M/O Secret Message No. 105 8 Dec 41	Japanese Landings at Patani	269