

December 9, 1941

[War vs Japan]

1401

FDR Speech File

SECOND DRAFT
12-6-41

3½

The American people, in company with other free peoples throughout the world, are now fighting to maintain their national life. The issue is clear and simple. It is whether peoples have the right to live in peace and liberty, free from the constant threat of ~~treacherous~~ attack by some brutal military dictatorship.

We are at war to maintain that right. We shall win that war.

When we have done that, we will see to it that no would-be world conqueror shall ever try to inflict this misery on the world again.

Tonight, I want to give you — the people of America and of the world — the record of our relations and negotiations with Japan down to the time when Japan, without cause or warning, while their government was actually talking peace, opened fire.

Believing, as we do, in the freedom of peoples, this nation has steadily stood for the principle of equal treatment and fair dealing with all countries. When there were indications that various nations were inclined to encroach on the integrity of Japan, the United States used its influence against any such encroachment.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

INSERT A - PAGE 1



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After Commodore Perry visited Japan in 1856, and that country which had kept itself aloof from the world began to study and adopt what we call modern civilization, various outside nations sought to encroach on her integrity. Through those years the United States used every influence to protect Japan in her transition stage.

As long as one hundred years ago, the United States stood for the same principle when other nations threatened the integrity of China.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman



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unnumbered

- 2 -

The United States has stood for the same principle when
action was threatened against the integrity of China.

At the end of the nineteenth century, sovereignty of
the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country; and this
country pledged itself to equip the Philippines to become a free and
independent nation.

What was known as the "scramble for concessions" was then
going on in China. There was even talk about a possible partitioning
of that country. It was then that the American Government took its
stand in favor of the principle of the "open door" — to "bring about
permanent peace to China... protect all rights guaranteed to friendly
powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world
the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the
Chinese Empire".

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We have made good our pledge to the Philippine Islands.

Consistently and unfailingly we have advocated the
principle of the open door.

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X

In the year 1905 the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement. By it, the two Governments jointly declared that they were determined to support the "independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that empire". It also stated that it was "the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean", and that "the policy of both Governments" was "directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo" in that region.

The United States - fulfilling its treaty - has constantly practised and supported these principles.

The next significant step came shortly after the close of the first world war when the nine powers having interests in the Western Pacific met in conference in Washington in 1921. China, Japan and the United States were ~~there~~ among them. One great objective of this conference was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific and Far Eastern areas. Several treaties and agreements were concluded at that conference.



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One of those was the Nine Power Treaty, which contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China. Another was a treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

The course of events which have led directly to the present crisis began ten years ago. For it was then -- 1931 -- that Japan undertook on a large scale its policy of conquest in China by commencing its seizure of Manchuria.

The Council and Assembly of the League of Nations endeavored to induce Japan to stop. The United States supported that effort by declaring in 1932 that the United States did not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement brought about by means contrary to the provisions of the Pact of Paris on which we have firmly stood.

The entire world was soon to experience the death-fear of aggression. In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It promptly became evident that, once re-armed, Germany would undertake a policy of conquest in Europe. Italy had also resolved on a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean. It gradually became apparent through the following years that Germany, Italy and Japan had reached an under-



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- 5 -



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standing to time their acts of aggression to their common advantage --
and to bring about the enslavement of the rest of the world.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a friendly note to the United States stating that no question existed between the two Governments that was fundamentally incapable of friendly solution, and that Japan had "no intention whatever to provoke or make trouble with any other power".

But almost immediately the acts of the Japanese Government belied these assurances -- at least so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

The structure of peace which had been set up by the treaties of 1921 was, in fact, being discarded by Japan. For in December of 1934 the Japanese Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the Naval Treaty of February 6, 1922, which had limited competition in naval armament.

Japan thereafter intensified her rearmament-programme --
To expand
obviously directed toward extending her domination over neighboring areas, and destroying the lawful rights and interests in those areas of other countries, including the United States.

In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany by entering the so-called anti-Comintern Pact.

The stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July, 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened large scale military operations against China. Presently her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of Eastern Asia, the Western Pacific, and the Southern Pacific. This would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women and children. They sank American vessels. They bombed American hospitals, churches and schools. They destroyed American property, ruined American business, crippled American trade.

Meanwhile, ~~WWII's~~ conquest was also being let loose in Europe and the Mediterranean

Hitler and Mussolini had embarked upon a parallel course of un-



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11
INSERT B - PAGE 6

The leaders of Japan accepted the German thesis that seventy or eighty million Germans were by race, training, ability and right, superior in every way to any other race in Europe. It meant incidentally a superiority over about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, through a normal imitative process, announced that the seventy or eighty million Japanese people were superior human beings to the seven or eight hundred million other inhabitants of the Far East, nearly all of whom went back in culture and philosophy infinitely older and more stable even within the origins of Japan.



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limited conquest. *Surgeon*

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia - without warning.

In 1936, Hitler occupied Austria - without warning.

In 1939, Hitler, after the Munich Pact, invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia - without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland - without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg - without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece - all without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece and occupied Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary - all without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded his ally Russia - without warning.

And now Japan has attacked us - without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly joined their efforts, *in this year*, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack

the United States -- if it were successful overseas. The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the



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- 8 -

American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. The Axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their plan.

This they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States. The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

After this fashion, and pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan worked her way into and has finally seized Manchuria. She invaded, and has sought for the past four and one half years, to subjugate China. Japanese armed forces passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, step by step invaded and took possession of Indochina. They are today extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand.

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan extended her threatening activities through the Caroline and Marshall Islands in violation of the mandate under which she received the custody of these



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- 8 -

islands.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment — not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan — but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern. As their ambitions grew, the Japanese war lords did not hesitate to threaten extension of their conquest to the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies, the British outpost of Singapore, and even Australia and Hawaii.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The threat set up by Hitler's Japanese ally forced peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge eastern front. *Reverses their means!* In the Pacific.



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- 10 -

in your
R/ It had become clear
It became abundantly clear in 1941 that unless this course of Axis

aggression in the Far East were halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which were making a shambles of Europe. Therefore in an endeavor to end this process by peaceful means, while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into new discussions with Japan.

From March (?) to December conversations have been carried on between the Secretary of State and the President on behalf of the United States, and the Foreign Minister and the Premier of Japan, for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

The Government of the United States throughout these conversations steadfastly supported certain basic principles which should govern international relations -- principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations.

Very well,
During the course of the conversations, the Japanese Government offered qualified statements of pacific intent. But it became clear as each proposal was explored that Japan did not intend to alter in any way its greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world.

he
Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce its unholy alliance with



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Hitlerian. It insisted upon its obligations under the tripartite alliance as a direct threat to the United States.

With regard to China, Japan insisted upon a victor's peace which she demanded not only our consent but our approval. Although she continually maintained she was promoting only the peace and greater prosperity of East Asia, she continued her brutal assault upon the Chinese people.

In July of this year the Japanese Government forced from the Vichy Government of France permission to place Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which again made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations were resumed. Several ^{formal} formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese Government showed no desire or intention to desist from its course of war and conquest.

In consequence, no progress was made toward achievement of an agreement. Finally, on November 20, 1941, the Japanese Government presented a new proposal. The plan they offered was very simple, to say the least:



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- 13 -

United States was to supply Japan as much oil as Japan might require; we were to suspend all the "freezing" measures which we had applied to Japan, as we had to the other Axis powers; and the United States was to stop all aid to Japan all manner of goods; while Japan, for her, to China. It contained no provision for the abandonment of any of Japan's projects & demands now or in war-like aims.

Such a proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government then presented to the Japanese Government on November 28 a clear-cut workable plan of settlement which would provide a legitimate basis for further discussion.

In the midst of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned beyond possibility of doubt that large new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. Within the past few days the disposition of Japanese forces and the dispatch of added expeditions made it clear that under cover of the negotiations Japanese forces were being mobilized for an attack on unspecified objectives. The operations were obviously designed not merely to intimidate or assault Thailand but also to set up bases for later attacks -- southward against Singapore and northward against the Burma Road.



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- 18 -

We promptly asked of the Japanese Government a frank statement as to the intent of its adding to its forces in Indochina.

We promptly were given an ~~undeniably~~ evasive reply. Simultaneously, the Japanese expeditions went forward with increased tempo.

I was determined to exhaust every conceivable effort for peace. With this in mind I ^{plan} addressed, on the evening of December sixth, a personal message to the Emperor of Japan,

You are aware of the fact that Japanese armed forces were at that very moment moving for attack upon Hawaii and upon the Philippines, and that they have now struck -- at many points.

The Congress of the United States declared the existence of a state of war yesterday afternoon.

There is the record of our relations with Japan. No American, ^{first day of} ~~any~~ ^{feeling} today or a thousand years hence, need have any ~~any~~ ^{a sense of} pride ⁱⁿ of our efforts toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation, resentment and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special emissaries in our midst.



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- 14 -

Those dictators had learned well the techniques of their master in Berlin. In fact they used it even before Hitler came to power. It became a part of the Axis stock in trade -- treachery under protestations of peace and friendship, attack without warning or shred of justification.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again". In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years -- and, most violently, in the past few days -- we have learned a terrible lesson.

Many brave men have paid with their lives for this lesson.

It is our obligation to them -- it is our sacred obligation to our children and our children's children -- that we must never forget what we have learned.



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12-8-41

- 15 -

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any nation — or any individual — in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-gird hemisphere is not immune from severe attack — that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on a map. Hawaii was nearly four thousand miles from Japan. Our Navy greatly out-numbered Japan's. Hawaii seemed to be far from the zone of danger.

And then, disguised under a mask of friendship, the enemy struck — one peaceful Sunday morning — and a great many gallant and beloved American men were slaughtered before they could have a chance to fire a shot.

We will not eliminate such dangers merely by conquering the Axis powers. We certainly failed to eliminate them when we participated in the conquest of Germany in 1918.

We are not fighting now merely for conquest. We are not fighting to visit vengeance upon the unhappy people of Japan, Germany or Italy. We are fighting for nothing less than a world so ordered



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Samuel I. Rosenman
President's Personal Secretary

SECOND DRAFT
12-8-41

- 16 -

that all men everywhere shall have the right to live and work in freedom and in dignity and in peace.

The beginnings of this better world have already been made.

We have profited by bitter experience. We shall not repeat the tragic mistakes of 1919. We are fighting again for the highest ideals of honor and justice and common decency.

We cannot pretend that ours is an easy task. We have suffered very severe blows in these first days of our participation in the second world war. We are shocked and saddened by our losses, but we are prepared for more losses, for more and more sacrifices by soldiers and civilians alike -- all classes and groups of civilians without exception. We are in this war, all of us, and we are going to fight it and win it -- all of us, together.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the dark hours of this day -- and through dark that may be yet to come -- let us never forget that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us, for we represent their own cause, their own hope for liberty under God.



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12-8-41

- 17 -

The free peoples -- the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Holland have joined in declaring war upon Japan. The American family of nations has already indicated their wholehearted support.

We, the free peoples, become today a single mighty army resolved to restore the might, the majesty and the dominion of freedom for nations and men throughout the world.



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(32)

12/9/41 - Fireside on War with Japan

Draft - Dec. 10, 1941 - carbon corrected by S.I.R. throughout
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Draft - Dec. 10, 1941 - 3 copies uncorrected - 23 pages.

Welles Draft - 12-8-41 - original uncorrected - 21 pages.

Draft 2 - Draft 12-8-41 - carbon of Welles Draft.
corrected by S.I.R.

Substitute Draft - carbon - 8 pages - corrected by S.I.R.

Second Draft - carbon - pages 2-17 corrected by S.I.R. and
on pages 3½, 4, 5, 7-13 Archie MacLeish.

Inserts A & B in longhand to page 21 attached to pages 19, 20,
21 corrections State Dept. Draft by S.I.R. and R.E.S.



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The American people, in company with free peoples throughout the world, are now fighting to maintain their national life. The issue is clear. It is whether peoples have the right to live in peace and liberty, and free from the treacherous attack of a brutal military dictatorship. We are at war to maintain that right. We shall win that war.

[Victory is the only result we will or can accept.]

In obtaining it, we will go the limit. We will put every ounce of strength, every ton of material, every second of work, every thought and act into making our country safe. When we have done that, we will see to it that no would-be world conqueror shall inflict this misery on the world again.

I want it remembered by everyone that in the Pacific, as in the Atlantic, we in the United States did our level best to solve international problems by just



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just and generous dealing. We were engaged in a final effort to do this with Japan when the Japanese forces, while their government was talking peace, obtained a temporary and cowardly advantage by launching an unprovoked attack upon us in Hawaii, and on other parts of our territory in the Pacific. We will not forget this when accounts are finally settled.

I give you, now, the record of our relations and negotiations with Japan down to the time when Japan, without cause or warning, opened fire.

Believing, as we do, in the freedom of peoples, this nation has steadily stood for the principle of equal treatment and fair dealing with all countries, including those in the Far East. During the entire period of our relations with Japan, when there were indications that various nations were inclined to encroach on her integrity, the United States used its influence against any such tendency, no matter what nation was involved.

At



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At those times, and at all later times, the United States
has done the same when action was threatened against the
integrity of China.

A new phase opened at the end of the nineteenth century. Sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country; and this country pledged itself to equip the Philippines to become a free and independent nation.

What was known as the "scramble for concessions" was going on at that time in China. There was talk about a possible partitioning of that country. It was then that the American Government took its stand in favor of the principle of the "open door"; then also it declared that its policy was to "seek a solution which may bring about permanent peace to China... protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire".

We



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P We have made good our pledge to the Philippine Islands.

P We have consistently and unfailingly ^{as far as} advocated the principle of the open door.

In the year 1900 the Government of the United States

and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement [by an exchange of notes.]

The two Governments jointly declared

[not only were] they determined to support "by all pacific means at their disposal" the independence and

integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that empire".

but also that it was "the wish of the two Governments to

encourage the free and peaceful development of their

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The United States has constantly practised and supported these principles.

Following



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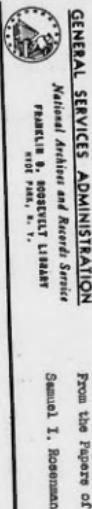
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The next significant step came shortly after when the
Following the close of the first world war nine

powers having interests in the Western Pacific met in conference in Washington in 1921. China, Japan and the United States were among them. One great objective of this conference was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific and Far Eastern areas. Treaties and agreements which interlocked and were dependent one upon another were concluded at that conference. One of these was the Nine Power Treaty, which contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China. There was likewise a treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

The course of events which have led to the present crisis may be taken as having begun ten years ago.



that
1931 Japan undertook on a large scale the policy of conquest in China by commencing its seizure of Manchuria.

The Council and Assembly of the League of Nations
to stop,
endeavored to induce Japan to revert to peaceful procedures. The United States supported that effort by

[While the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese armed forces was going forward, the Government of the United States on January 7, 1932 sent identical notes to the Japanese and Chinese Governments declaring that the United States did not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement brought about by means contrary to the provisions of the Pact of Paris on which we have firmly stood.

[Areas outside the Pacific were soon to experience the death-fear of aggression. In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It promptly became evident that, once rearmed, Germany would undertake a policy of conquest in Europe. She had, as it presently developed,



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the support and concurrence of Italy whose Government
had resolved on a policy of conquest in Africa and in
the Mediterranean. If the various steps taken by
Germany, Italy and Japan were timed together, they would
gain effectiveness. It gradually became apparent through
the following years that Germany, Italy and Japan had
reached an understanding to time their moves of aggression
to their common advantage, and to bring about the
division of the rest of the world.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs
sent a friendly note to the United States stating that
he firmly believed that no question existed between the
two Governments that was fundamentally incapable of
friendly solution and that Japan had "no intention what-
ever to provoke or make trouble with any other power".
Our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, replied that he
appreciated and reciprocated these cordial sentiments.

But almost immediately the acts of the Japanese
Government proved to be wholly inconsistent with these
assurances



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— at least —

assurances so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

[Through our Ambassador in Tokyo our Government stated that in the opinion of the American people, and of the American Government, no nation can, without the assent of the other nations concerned, rightfully override the rights, obligations and legitimate interests of other sovereign states.] The structure of peace set up by the treaties of 1921 was, in fact, being discarded by Japan. In December of 1934 the Japanese Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the Naval Treaty of February 6, 1922, which had limited competition in naval armament.

Japan thereafter intensified her rearmament program.—

[Increasingly she took measures obviously directed toward extending her domination over neighboring areas, and destroying the lawful rights and interests in those areas of other countries, including the United States.

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*We all know now if you didn't
know it then that this alliance
was formed*

-9-

In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated
itself with Germany by entering the anti-Comintern Pact.

The stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July, 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened large scale military operations against China. Presently her leaders publicly declared their intention to achieve and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of Eastern Asia, the Western Pacific, and the Southern Pacific. This [if achieved] would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would [likewise] give them complete control of sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans, and wounded or [otherwise physically] abused American men, women and children. They sank

American



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-10-

American vessels, [including a naval vessel - and imperiled others.] They bombed American hospitals, churches and schools. They destroyed American property, ruined American business, crippled American trade, [and in general showed utter disregard of our rights both in law and under treaties. This was over and above the incalculable damage done to China, the ghastly suffering inflicted upon the Chinese people; the wholesale injuries done to other nations, to civilization, and to the cause of peace and good will among men.

Inset A

Meanwhile, brute conquest was also being let loose
in Europe and the Mediterranean.

Hitler and Mussolini embarked upon [a] scheme of
unlimited conquest. [Since 1936 they have without
provocation or excuse attacked, conquered, and reduced
to economic and political slavery some sixteen other
countries. Their conquests have been carried out in
utter ruthlessness and with the most revolting brutality.
The machinery set up for unlimited conquest included and
still includes not only armed forces but also organiza-
tions for carrying on plots, intrigue, intimidation,
and propaganda. This machine has world-wide ramifications,
and with it the Japanese operations have been steadily
interlocked.]

As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly
joined their efforts, I was convinced that this combina-
tion would ultimately attack the United States -- if it
were successful overseas. The very existence of the United
States as a great free people, and the free existence of the

American



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Dissent (A) p. 11

In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia - without warning.

In 1938 Hitler occupied Austria - without warning.

In 1939 Hitler, after the Munich P.t., invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia - without warning.

Later in 1939 Hitler invaded Poland - without warning.

In 1940 Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, ~~and~~ Holland, Belgium and France - without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France - without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Egypt and Greece and occupied Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary - all without warning.

In 1941 Hitler invaded his ally Russia - without warning.

Only now Japan has attacked us - without warning.

All this is of one factum. ~~For a short~~
~~design there was~~ ~~in~~ ~~Peking~~

American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. Either openly or by stealth, they would conspire to weaken and ultimately to attack the United States. The vast machine set up by these three countries could have but one meaning: the owners of that machine intended to conquer the entire earth. They would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their plan.

This they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States. The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

After this fashion, and pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan worked her way into and has finally seized

Manchuria.



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Manchuria. She invaded, and has sought for the past four and one half years, to subjugate China. Japanese armed forces passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, step by step invaded and took possession of Indochina. They are today extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand.

[Each conquest has borne and continues to bear a constant and hideous fruit of rapine, torture, massacre and destruction.]

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan extended her threatening activities through the Caroline and Marshall Islands in violation of the mandate under which she received the custody of these islands.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation [and group] which they could bring within their power. As their ambitions

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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

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Japan's conquests - west of the Amur, and even of the Amur People of Japan - did they not follow the example of the U.S. in the Philippines? How? To they were following the

-14-

The Japanese war lords
grew, [statesmen in Japan] did not hesitate to threaten
extension of their conquest to the Philippine Islands,
the Dutch East Indies, the British outpost of Singapore,
and even Australia and Hawaii.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary
for various countries, including our own, to keep in the
Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast
amount of material which might otherwise have been used

[by all of these powers in self-defense] against Hitler. *That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do.*
The threat set up, forced peace-loving nations to establish
by Hitler's influence and maintain a huge eastern front [— unless they were
willing to surrender their lifelines of commerce, their
peaceful civilization, and their capacity of self-defense.]

An 1941
It became abundantly clear that unless the course of ~~war~~
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in



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in an endeavor to [halt and] end this process by peaceful
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Mar
For nine months [] From March(1) to December
between the Secretary of State and the President on behalf
of the United States, and the Foreign Minister and the
Premier of Japan, for the purpose of arriving [if possible]
at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

[] In entering these conversations we took into account
not only the interests fundamental to the United States
which have been set forth, but also considerations of
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The Government of the United States throughout these
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ciples which should govern international relations. [E] X
principles for which we stood in these discussions may
be summarized as follows:-- The principle of inviolability
of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all
nations; the principle of non-interference in the internal

affairs



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1955

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affairs of other countries; the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment; and the principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes. Basically these are the essential principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations.

During the course of the conversations, the Japanese Government offered in succession various formulas for its basic terms, all of which included statements of pacific intent. It became clear as each proposal was explored that Japan did not intend to budge one iota in any way to give dispensing to the Pacific world from the fundamental tenets of Japan's present position.

Japan manifested no disposition to renounce its military alliance. Nor did Japan show any inclination to associate with Hitlerism, and insisted that its obligations under the tripartite alliance were not a direct threat to this country, -- would be fulfilled by Japan. The United States Japan was willing to affirm its adherence to the principle

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principle of nondiscrimination in international commercial relations, but refused to relinquish in practice the preferential position which it had arrogated to itself in all areas under Japanese occupation.

With regard to China, Japan insisted upon obtaining [] ^{Afforded} _{in which he demanded not only our consent but our} a victor's peace _{Japan} and on having our assent thereto. []

insisted upon continuing [] to maintain its armed forces in large areas of China for an indefinite period, [] a clear indication of intention to effectuate a permanent control over that country.

Insert A

In July, the Japanese Government forced from the

Vichy Government of France [] an agreement permitting the placing of Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended [] naturally.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations

were



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Inset A p. 17

Although she ^{continually} maintained she was promoting
only for the greater prosperity of Asia, she continued
~~to let Japan perpetrate armed or the small~~
~~of Chinese to brutal assault upon the Chinese~~
~~people.~~



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[In presenting that plan, it stated that what it was offering was a practical example of a program such as this Government felt susceptible of being made the basis for further discussion.]

[During the final phases of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned beyond possibility of doubt that large new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indo-China. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. Within the past few days the disposition of Japanese forces and the dispatch of added expeditions made it clear that]

under



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under cover of the negotiations Japanese forces were being mobilized for an attack on unspecified objectives. The operations were obviously designed not merely to intimidate or assault Thailand but also to set up bases for later attacks southward against Singapore and northward against the Burma Road.

We promptly asked of the Japanese Government a frank statement as to the intent of its adding to its forces in Indochina, and [] promptly were given an utterly evasive reply. Simultaneously, the Japanese expeditions went forward with increased tempo.

I was determined to exhaust every conceivable effort for peace. With this in mind I addressed, on the evening of December 6, a personal message to the Emperor of Japan, [] of which the Congress and the public already have knowledge. []

You



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You are aware of the fact that Japanese armed forces were at that very moment moving for attack upon Hawaii and upon the Philippines, and that they have now struck -- at many points.

The Congress of the United States declared the existence of a state of war yesterday afternoon. *Insert A*

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken. *Insert B*

The free peoples -- the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Holland have joined in declaring war upon Japan. The American family of nations has already indicated their whole-hearted support.

We, the free peoples, become today a single mighty army resolved to restore the might, the majesty and the dominion of freedom for nations and man throughout the world.



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From the Papers of
H. V. Tamm
H. V. Tamm

Dissent A p. 21

In fact they would
well before Hitler came to
power!

There is the record of our relations with Japan. No American ~~had~~ ^{had} for a thousand years lived, met ~~had~~ ^{had} but a series of pride at our efforts toward ~~signing~~ ^{achieving} the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, to-day or a thousand years hence, will be able to ~~suppose~~ ^{suspect} a series of indignation, resentment and hatred at the treachery committed by the military leaders of Japan under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special emissaries in our midst.

Your letter-type had learned ~~of~~ ^{the} treachery ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~treacherous~~ ~~leaders~~ ^{leaders} ~~had~~ ^{had} been ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ their Master in Berlin ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{was} part of the Axis it took in hand — treachery under pretensions of peace and this a day, attack without ~~warning~~ ^{warning}. That ~~treachery~~ ^{treachery} is a big and ~~old~~ ^{old} ~~history~~ ^{history}



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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Horenstein

Inset (B) p 21
In my message to the Congress ~~at~~ yesterday I said
that we "will make very certain that this form of ~~treachery~~
~~shall never endanger us again". In order to ~~forget~~ ^{forget} the
~~lesson~~, we must begin the great task that is before us to
~~abandon~~ one and for all the
lesson that it can never again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.
In these past few years - and, most
violently, in the past few days - we have
learned a terrible lesson.~~

Many brave men have paid with their lives
for this lesson. It is our obligation to them -
it is our sacred obligation to our children and
our children's children - that we must ~~never~~
~~forget perfectly~~ ^{never} forget what we
have learned. all

And what we have learned is this:
There is no such thing as security for any
nation - or any individual - in a world ruled
by the principles of ~~jungsteinism~~.

There is no such thing as invulnerable defense
against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the
dark and strike without warning.

^{how long}
~~we had believed~~ That our ~~area~~ ^{area} of hemisphere
is not ⁱⁿ ~~safe~~ ^{safe} that we can not
~~be immune~~ from severe attack, ~~to~~
means ~~the~~ our safety in terms of miles on a map.
Honolulu was nearly four thousand miles from
Japan. Our navy greatly out-numbered Japan's.
~~Therefore, there is not a hope~~ ^{there is} ~~any~~ ^{any} hope left.

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- 2 -

7

Hawaii ~~was~~ ^{was} of danger
And then ~~in peaceful~~ ^{disfrained} ~~interventions~~ of friendship, ^{of} the enemy struck -
one peaceful Sunday morning - and a great
many gallant and beloved American men
were slaughtered before they ^{had} a chance
to fire a shot. ~~For~~ ^{Sunday} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~days~~ ^{were} ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~badly~~ ^{badly}
~~they~~ ^{were} ~~too~~ ^{too} seriously damaged. Many of our planes
were destroyed before they could leave the
ground. There was a grievous loss of life in
the civilian population, and considerable
destruction of property.

~~Sunday, December the 7th, 1941, will be
remembered by Americans as one of the
darkest days in our history.~~

We will not eliminate Hitler and his ~~days~~
merely by conquering the Axis powers. We certainly
failed to eliminate them when ~~they~~ ^{we} ~~were~~ ^{had} ~~invited~~ ^{participated in the conquest of} ~~and~~
~~established~~ ^{we conquered} Germany in 1918.

We are not fighting now merely for conquest.
We are not fighting ^{to put} for ~~an~~ ^{our} ~~ourselves~~ ^{ourselves} ~~upon~~ the unhappy
people of Japan, ~~or~~ Germany or Italy. We are fighting
for nothing less than a world so ordered that

- 3 -

all men everywhere ~~and~~ ^{shall have} the right to
live in freedom from want and freedom from
fear; right to live and work in freedom
and in dignity and in peace.

~~we already have this~~

The beginnings of this better world have
already been made. ~~But~~ ^{For} ~~we~~ ^{we} ~~have~~ ^{have} profited
~~from~~ ^{from} all ~~our~~ ^{experience} and we have profited
by bitter experience. We shall not repeat
the tragic mistakes of 1919. We are fighting
again for the highest ideals of honor and
justice and common decency. ~~We shall win~~ ⁱⁿ
~~victory in this war, and we shall win, just as~~
We can not pretend that ours is an easy
task. We have suffered very severe blows in
these first days of our participation in the
Second World War. We are shocked and saddened
by our losses, but we are prepared for more
losses, for more and more sacrifices by soldiers
and civilians alike. We are in this war, all ^{all powers and peoples} ~~of~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ
of us, and we are going to fight it and win
it - all of us, together.

We are going to win the war and we are
going to win the peace that follows.



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- 4 -

This day

And in the dark hours of ~~the~~ —
and through ~~the~~ dark that may be yet
to come — let us never forget that the
~~last~~ ~~two~~ majority of the members of
the human race are on our side. ~~The~~
~~—~~ Many of them are fighting with us. All
of them are praying for us, for we represent
their own cause, their own hope ^{for} liberty
under God.

From the Papers of
Samuel T. Rosenman

1401

Miller
Draft
12-8-41

The American people, in company with free peoples throughout the world, are now fighting to maintain their national life. The issue is clear. It is whether peoples have the right to live in peace and liberty, and free from the treacherous attack of a brutal military dictatorship. We are at war to maintain that right. We shall win that war.

Victory is the only result we will or can accept.

In obtaining it, we will go the limit. We will put every ounce of strength, every ton of material, every second of work, every thought and act into making our country safe. When we have done that, we will see to it that no would-be world conqueror shall inflict this misery on the world again.

I want it remembered by everyone that in the Pacific, as in the Atlantic, we in the United States did our level best to solve international problems by just



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Samuel I. Rosenman
Former Vice President of

just and generous dealing. We were engaged in a final effort to do this with Japan when the Japanese forces, while their government was talking peace, obtained a temporary and cowardly advantage by launching an unprovoked attack upon us in Hawaii, and on other parts of our territory in the Pacific. We will not forget this when accounts are finally settled.

I give you, now, the record of our relations and negotiations with Japan down to the time when Japan, without cause or warning, opened fire.

Believing, as we do, in the freedom of peoples, this nation has steadily stood for the principle of equal treatment and fair dealing with all countries, including those in the Far East. During the entire period of our relations with Japan, when there were indications that various nations were inclined to encroach on her integrity, the United States used its influence against any such tendency, no matter what nation was involved.

At



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At those times, and at all later times, the United States has done the same when action was threatened against the integrity of China.

A new phase opened at the end of the nineteenth century. Sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country; and this country pledged itself to equip the Philippines to become a free and independent nation.

What was known as the "scramble for concessions" was going on at that time in China. There was talk about a possible partitioning of that country. It was then that the American Government took its stand in favor of the principle of the "open door"; then also it declared that its policy was to "seek a solution which may bring about permanent peace to China... protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire".

We



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We have made good our pledge to the Philippine Islands.

We have consistently and unfailingly advocated the principle of the open door.

In the year 1908 the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement by an exchange of notes. The two Governments jointly declared that not only were they determined to support "by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that empire" but also that it was "the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean", and that "the policy of both Governments" was "directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo" in that region.

The United States has constantly practised and supported these principles.

Following



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Following the close of the first world war nine powers having interests in the Western Pacific met in conference in Washington in 1921. China, Japan and the United States were among them. One great objective of this conference was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific and Far Eastern areas. Treaties and agreements which interlocked and were dependant one upon another were concluded at that conference. One of these was the Nine Power Treaty which contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China. There was likewise a treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

The course of events which have led to the present crisis may be taken as having begun ten years ago. In

1931



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1931 Japan undertook on a large scale the policy of conquest in China by commencing its seizure of Manchuria.

The Council and Assembly of the League of Nations endeavored to induce Japan to revert to peaceful procedures. The United States supported that effort.

While the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese armed forces was going forward, the Government of the United States on January 7, 1932 sent identical notes to the Japanese and Chinese Governments declaring that the United States did not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement brought about by means contrary to the provisions of the Pact of Paris on which we have firmly stood.

Areas outside the Pacific were soon to experience the death-fear of aggression. In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It promptly became evident that, once re-armed, Germany would undertake a policy of conquest in Europe. She had, as it presently developed,

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assurances so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

Through our Ambassador in Tokyo our Government stated that in the opinion of the American people, and of the American Government, no nation can, without the assent of the other nations concerned, rightfully override the rights, obligations and legitimate interests of other sovereign states. The structure of peace set up by the treaties of 1921 was, in fact, being discarded by Japan. In December of 1934 the Japanese Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the Naval Treaty of February 6, 1922, which had limited competition in naval armament.

Japan thereafter intensified her rearmament program. Increasingly she took measures obviously directed toward extending her domination over neighboring areas, and destroying the lawful rights and interests in those areas of other countries including the United States.

In



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In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany by entering the anti-Comintern Pact.

The stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July, 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened large scale military operations against China. Presently her leaders publicly

declared their intention to achieve and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of Eastern Asia, the Western Pacific, and the Southern Pacific.

This, if achieved, would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth.

It would likewise give them complete control of sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans, and wounded or otherwise physically abused American men, women and children. They sank

American



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American vessels - including a naval vessel - and imperiled others. They bombed American hospitals, churches and schools. They destroyed American property, ruined American business, crippled American trade, and in general showed utter disregard of our rights both in law and under treaties. This was over and above the incalculable damage done to China, the ghastly suffering inflicted upon the Chinese people; the wholesale injuries done to other nations, to civilization, and to the cause of peace and good will among men.



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WITH ADD. "I."*

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Meanwhile, brute conquest was also being let loose in Europe and the Mediterranean.

Hitler and Mussolini embarked upon a scheme of unlimited conquest. Since 1936 they have without provocation or excuse attacked, conquered, and reduced to economic and political slavery some sixteen other countries. Their conquests have been carried out in utter ruthlessness and with the most revolting brutality. The machinery set up for unlimited conquest included and still includes not only armed forces but also organizations for carrying on plots, intrigue, intimidation, and propaganda. This machine has world-wide ramifications, and with it the Japanese operations have been steadily interlocked.

As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly joined their efforts, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack the United States -- if it were successful overseas. The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the

American



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American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. Either openly or by stealth, they would conspire to weaken and ultimately to attack the United States. The vast machine set up by these three countries could have but one meaning: the owners of that machine intended to conquer the entire earth. They would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their plan.

This they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States. The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

After this fashion, and pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan worked her way into and has finally seized

Manchuria.



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Manchuria. She invaded, and has sought for the past four and one half years, to subjugate China. Japanese armed forces passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, step by step invaded and took possession of Indochina. They are today extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand.

Each conquest has borne and continues to bear a constant and hideous fruit of rapine, torture, massacre and destruction.

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan extended her threatening activities through the Caroline and Marshall Islands in violation of the mandate under which she received the custody of these islands.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation and group which they could bring within their power. As their ambitions

Grew,



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Washington, D. C.
April 1945

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grew, statesmen in Japan did not hesitate to threaten extension of their conquest to the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies, the British outpost of Singapore, and even Australia and Hawaii.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used by all of these powers in self-defense against Hitler. The threat set up forced peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge eastern front -- unless they were willing to surrender their lifelines of commerce, their peaceful civilization, and their capacity of self-defense.

It became abundantly clear that unless the course of affairs in the Far East were halted, and unless consideration of justice, humanity and fair dealing once more became dominant, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which walk unchecked in the continental limits of Europe. These horrors have already begun. But

in



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in an endeavor to halt and end this process by peaceful means, while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into discussions with Japan.

For nine months conversations have been carried on between the Secretary of State and the President on behalf of the United States, and the Foreign Minister and the Premier of Japan, for the purpose of arriving if possible at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

In entering these conversations we took into account not only the interests fundamental to the United States which have been set forth, but also considerations of the legitimate interests of Japan.

The Government of the United States throughout the conversations steadfastly supported certain basic principles which should govern international relations. The principles for which we stood in these discussions may be summarized as follows:-- The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations; the principle of non-interference in the internal

affairs



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affairs of other countries; the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment; and the principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes.

Basically these are the essential principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations.

During the course of the conversations, the Japanese Government offered in succession various formulas for its basic terms, all of which included qualified statements of pacific intent. It became clear as each proposal was explored that Japan did not intend to budge one iota from the fundamental tenets of Japan's present position.

Japan manifested no disposition to renounce its association with Hitlerism and insisted that its obligations under the tripartite alliance -- a direct threat to this country -- would be fulfilled by Japan.

Japan was willing to affirm its adherence to the

principle



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principle of nondiscrimination in international commercial relations, but refused to relinquish in practice the preferential position which it had arrogated to itself in all areas under Japanese occupation.

With regard to China, Japan insisted upon obtaining a victor's peace and on having our assent thereto. Japan insisted upon continuing to maintain its armed forces in large areas of China for an indefinite period -- a clear indication of intention to effectuate a permanent control over that country.

In July the Japanese Government forced from the Vichy Government of France an agreement permitting the placing of Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended -- naturally.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations

were



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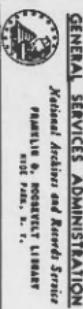
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under cover of the negotiations Japanese forces were being mobilized for an attack on unspecified objectives. The operations were obviously designed not merely to intimidate or assault Thailand but also to set up bases for later attacks southward against Singapore and northward against the Burma Road.

We promptly asked of the Japanese Government a frank statement as to the intent of its adding to its forces in Indochina, and we promptly were given an utterly evasive reply. Simultaneously, the Japanese expeditions went forward with increased tempo.

I was determined to exhaust every conceivable effort for peace. With this in mind I addressed, on the evening of December 6, a personal message to the Emperor of Japan, [of which the Congress and the public already have knowledge.]

You



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aloof from the world, began to adopt what we call modern civilization.

During those early years, the United States used every influence it could exert to protect Japan in her transition stage.

With respect to the entire Pacific area, the United States has consistently urged, as it has for all other parts of the globe, the fundamental importance to world peace of fair and equal treatment among nations. Accordingly whenever there has been a tendency on the part of any other nation to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of countries of the Far East, the United States has tried to discourage such tendency wherever possible.

There was a period when this American attitude was especially important to Japan. At all times it has been important to China and to other countries of the Far East.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country. The United States pledged itself to a policy toward the Philippines designed to equip them to become a free and independent nation. That pledge and that policy we have consistently carried out.

At that time there was going on in China what has been called the "scramble for concessions". There was even talk about a possible partitioning of China. It was then that the principle of the "open door" in China was laid down. In 1900, the American



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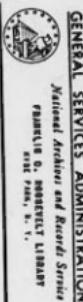
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Government declared that its policy was to "seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China ... protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire".

Ever since that day, we have consistently and unfailingly advocated the principles of the open door policy throughout the Far East.

In the year 1908 the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement by an exchange of notes. In that agreement, the two Governments jointly declared that not only were they determined to support "by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire" but also that it was "the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean", and that "the policy of both Governments" was "directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo" in that region.

The United States has constantly practiced and supported the



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principles enunciated in that agreement.

In 1921, following the close of the first World War, nine powers having interests in the western Pacific met in conference in Washington. China, Japan, and the United States were there. One great objective of this conference was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific and Far Eastern areas. Several treaties and agreements were concluded at that conference.

One of these was the Nine Power Treaty (see Annex). It contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China.

There was also a treaty (see Annex) between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

The course of events which have led directly to the present crisis began ten years ago. For it was then — in 1931 — that Japan undertook on a large scale its policy of conquest in China. It began by the invasion of Manchuria, which was part of China. The



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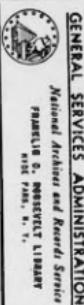
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an understanding to time their acts of aggression to their common advantage — and to bring about the ultimate enslavement of the rest of the world.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a friendly note (see Annex) to the United States stating that he firmly believed that no question existed between the two Governments that was fundamentally incapable of friendly solution. He added that Japan had "no intention whatever to provoke or make trouble with any other power". Our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, replied (see Annex) in kind.

But in spite of this exchange of amicable sentiments and almost immediately thereafter, the acts and utterances of the Japanese Government belied these assurances — at least so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

Through our Ambassador in Tokyo our Government therewith expressed the view of the American people, and of the American Government, that no nation has the right thus to override the rights and legitimate interests of other sovereign states.



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large-scale military operations against China. Presently, her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of eastern Asia, the western Pacific, and the southern Pacific.

They accepted the German thesis that seventy or eighty million Germans were by race, training, ability and might, superior in every way to any other race in Europe — superior to about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, through a normal initiative process, announced that the seventy or eighty million Japanese people were also superior to the seven or eight hundred million other inhabitants of the Orient — nearly all of whom in culture and civilization were infinitely closer and more developed than themselves. Their conceit would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women, and children. They sank



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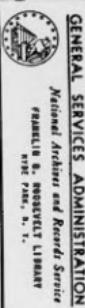
American vessels — including a naval vessel, the Panay. They bombed American hospitals, churches, schools, and missions. They destroyed American property, they obstructed, and in some cases, crippled American commerce.

In the meantime, they were inflicting incalculable damage upon China, and ghastly suffering upon the Chinese people. They were inflicting wholesale injuries upon other nations, flouting all the principles of peace and good will among men.

There are attached hereto (see annexes) lists of American nationals killed or wounded by Japanese forces in China since July 7, 1937; of American property in China reported to have been damaged, destroyed or seriously endangered by Japanese air bombing; or air machine-gunning; of American nationals reported to have been assaulted, arbitrarily detained or subjected to indignities; of interferences with American nationals, rights and interests. These lists are not complete. However, they are ample evidence of the flagrant Japanese disregard of American rights and civilised standards.

II

Meanwhile, brute conquest was on the rampage in Europe and the Mediterranean.



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Hitler and Mussolini, embarked upon a scheme of unlimited conquest, since 1936, without provocation or excuse have attacked, conquered, and reduced to economic and political slavery some sixteen independent nations. The machinery set up for their unlimited conquest included, and still includes, not only enormous armed forces, but also huge organizations for carrying on plots, intrigues, intimidation, propaganda and sabotage. This machine -- unprecedented in size -- has world-wide ramifications, and with it the Japanese plans and operations have been steadily interlocked.

As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly joined their efforts over these years, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack the United States and the Western Hemisphere -- if it were successful in all the other continents. The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. The Axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their scheme of destruction.



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This they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States.

The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, intimidation and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

Pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan first worked her way into and finally seized Manchuria. Next she invaded China, and has sought for the past four and one-half years to subjugate her. Passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, she then invaded and took possession of Indochina. Today the Japanese are extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand — and seeking the occupation of Malaya and Burma. The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java come next on the Japanese time-table; — and it is probably that further down the Japanese page we will find the names of Australia, New Zealand and all the other Islands of the Pacific, including Hawaii and the great chain of the Aleutian Islands.

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan violated the mandate under which she had received the custody of the Caroline,



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Marshall and Mariana Islands after the World War, by fortifying them and not only closing them to all commerce but her own, but forbidding any foreigner even to visit them.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment — not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan — but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Kasi pattern.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The diversion thus created by Hitler's Japanese ally forced the peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge front in the Pacific.

IV

Throughout this course and program of Japanese aggression, the Government of the United States consistently endeavored to persuade



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the Government of Japan that Japan's best interests would lie in maintaining and cultivating friendly relations with the United States and with all other countries that believe in orderly and peaceful processes. Following the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China in 1937, this Government made known to the Japanese Government and to the Chinese Government that whenever they both considered it desirable we stood ready to exercise our good offices in the cause of peace. During the following years of conflict our attitude remained unchanged.

In October 1937, thirteen countries which have interests in the Far East, met at Brussels to endeavor to bring about by peaceful means, an adjustment of the difficulties between Japan and China. Of all the powers invited, only Japan and Germany declined to attend, although Japan was itself an original signatory of the Nine-Power treaty. China, one of the signatories, and the Soviet Union, not a signatory, attended. After the Conference opened, the countries in attendance made further attempts to persuade Japan to participate in the Conference. Japan again declined.



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On November 24, 1937 the Conference adopted a declaration

in the course of which it said:

"The conference believes that a prompt suspension of hostilities in the Far East would be in the best interests not only of China and Japan but of all nations. With each day's continuance of the conflict the loss in lives and property increases and the ultimate solution of the conflict becomes more difficult.

"The Conference therefore strongly urges that hostilities be suspended and resort be had to peaceful processes."

Japan scorned the Conference and ignored the recommendation. It became clear that, unless this course of affairs in the Far East was halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which have devastated Europe.

In this year of 1941, in an endeavor to end this process by peaceful means while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into discussions with Japan.



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For nine months conversations have been carried on between the United States and Japan for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

Throughout these conversations this Government took into account not only the legitimate interests of the United States but also those of Japan and other countries. When questions relating to the legitimate rights and interests of other countries came up, this Government kept in appropriate contact with the representatives of those countries.

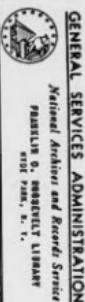
Throughout the conversations this Government steadfastly advocated certain basic principles which should govern international relations. These were:

The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations.

The principle of non-interference (?) in the internal affairs of other countries.

The principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

The principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies.



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for bringing about an adjustment of relations between the United States and Japan. I should have been happy to have traveled thousands of miles to meet the Premier of Japan for that purpose. But I felt it desirable, before so doing, to obtain some assurance that there could be some agreement on basic principles. This Government tried hard — but without success — to obtain such assurance from the Japanese Government.

The various proposals of the Japanese Government and the attitude taken by this Government are set forth in a document which the Secretary of State handed to the Japanese Ambassador on October 2, 1941 (see Annex).

Thereafter, several formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese Government continued upon its course of war and conquest.

Finally, on November 20, 1941 (see Annex) the Japanese Government presented a new and narrow proposal, which called for supplying by the United States to Japan of as much oil as Japan might require, for suspension of freezing measures, and for discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained no provision for abandonment by Japan of her warlike operations or aims.



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Such a proposal offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government, in order to clarify the issues, presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 (see Annex) — a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement.

In the midst of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned that new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. During the first week of December new movements of Japanese forces made it clear that under cover of the negotiations attacks on unspecified objectives were being prepared.

I promptly asked (see Annex) of the Japanese Government a frank statement of the reasons for increasing its forces in Indochina. I was given an evasive and spurious reply (see Annex). Simultaneously, the Japanese operations went forward with increased tempo.

We did not know then, as we know now, that they were even then carrying out their plan for a treacherous attack upon us.



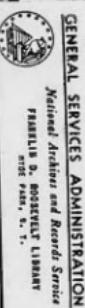
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Michael A. Aronoff, Director
Special Agents and Revenue Service
Notary Public, State of New York

Samuel I. Rosenman
Private Secretary of
President Franklin D. Roosevelt

I concur emphatically in every word of that statement.

To my message of December 6 to the Emperor of Japan invoking his cooperation with me in further effort to preserve peace, there has come to me on December 10 a reply, conveyed in a telegraphic report by the American Ambassador at Tokyo dated December 8, 1 p. m. The Ambassador, Mr. Grew, reports that at seven o'clock on the morning of the 8th the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs asked him to call at his official residence; that the Foreign Minister handed the Ambassador a memorandum dated December 8 the text of which had been transmitted to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington to be presented to the American Government (this was the memorandum which was delivered by the Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State at 2:20 p. m. on Sunday, December 7); that the Foreign Minister had been in touch with the Emperor; and that the Emperor desired that the memorandum under reference be regarded as the Emperor's reply to my message. Further, the Ambassador reports, the Foreign Minister made an oral statement. Textually, the oral statement began, "His Majesty has expressed his gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President". The message further continued to the effect that, in regard to our inquiries on the subject of augmentation of Japanese forces in French Indochina, His Majesty had commanded his Government to state



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General Services Administration

its views to the American Government. The message concluded, textually,
with the statements:

"Establishment of peace in the Pacific, and
consequently of the world, has been the cherished
desire of His Majesty for the realization of which
he has hitherto made his Government to continue
its earnest endeavors. His Majesty trusts that
the President is fully aware of this fact."

Japan's real reply, made by Japan's militant leaders and
evidently formulated many days before, took the form of the attack
without warning upon our territories at various points in the Pacific.

There is the record, for all history to read in amazement
and in horror and in disgust!

We are now at war. We are fighting in self-defense.
We are fighting in defense of our national existence, of our right
to be secure, of our right to enjoy the blessings of peace. We are
fighting in defense of principles of law and order and justice against
an effort of unprecedented ferocity to overthrow those principles and
to impose upon humanity a regime of ruthless domination by unrestricted
and arbitrary force.



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Other countries, too, a host of them, have declared war on Japan. Some of them were first attacked by Japan, as we have been. China has already been valiantly resisting Japan in an undeclared war forced upon her, through the wholesale invasion of her territory, by Japan. After four and one-half years of stubborn resistance, the Chinese now and henceforth will fight with renewed confidence and confirmed assurance of victory.

All members of the Great British Commonwealth, themselves fighting heroically on many fronts against Germany and her Allies, have joined with us in the Battle of the Pacific as we have joined with them in the Battle of the Atlantic.

At this point name all the other countries that have declared war. These and other peace-loving countries will be fighting as are we, first to put an end to Japan's program of aggression and, second, to make good the right of nations and of mankind to live in peace under conditions of security and justice.

The people of this country are totally united in their determination to consecrate our national strength and man power to



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bring conclusively to an end the pestilence of aggression and force
which has long menaced the world and which now has struck deliberately
and directly at the safety of the United States.



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Government declared that its policy was to "seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China ... protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire".

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The course of events which have led directly to the present crisis began ten years ago. For it was then -- in 1931 -- that Japan undertook on a large scale its policy of conquest in China. It began by the invasion of Manchuria, which was part of China. The



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Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations at once and during many months of continuous effort thereafter tried to persuade Japan to stop. The United States supported that effort. While the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese armed forces was going forward, the Government of the United States on January 7, 1932, declared in notes sent to the Japanese and the Chinese Governments (see Annex) that it would not recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement brought about by violation of treaties.

This barbaric aggression of Japan in Manchuria set the example and the pattern for the courses soon to be pursued by Italy and Germany in Africa and in Europe. Indeed the entire world was doomed to experience the poisoning fear of aggression.

In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It was evident that, once re-armed, Germany would embark upon a policy of conquest in Europe.

Italy -- then still under the domination of Mussolini -- also had resolved upon a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean.

Through the following years Germany, Italy and Japan reached



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an understanding to time their acts of aggression to their common advantage -- and to bring about the ultimate enslavement of the rest of the world.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a friendly note (see Annex) to the United States stating that he firmly believed that no question existed between the two Governments that was fundamentally incapable of friendly solution. He added that Japan had "no intention whatever to provoke or make trouble with any other power". Our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, replied (see Annex) in kind.

But in spite of this exchange of amicable sentiments and almost immediately thereafter, the acts and utterances of the Japanese Government belied these assurances -- at least so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

Through our Ambassador in Tokyo our Government thereupon expressed the view of the American people, and of the American Government, that no nation has the right thus to override the rights and legitimate interests of other sovereign states.



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large-scale military operations against China. Presently, her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of eastern Asia, the western Pacific, and the southern Pacific.

They accepted the German thesis that seventy or eighty million Germans were by race, training, ability and might, superior in every way to any other race in Europe — superior to about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, through a normal imitative process, announced that the seventy or eighty million Japanese people were also superior to the seven or eight hundred million other inhabitants of the Orient — nearly all of whom in culture and civilization were infinitely older and more developed than themselves. Their conceit would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

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American vessels — including a naval vessel, the Panay. They bombed American hospitals, churches, schools, and missions. They destroyed American property, they obstructed, and in some cases, crippled American commerce.

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II

Meanwhile, brute conquest was on the rampage in Europe and the Mediterranean.



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Marshall and Mariana Islands after the World War, by fortifying them and not only closing them to all commerce but her own, but forbidding any foreigner even to visit them.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment — not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan — but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The diversion thus created by Hitler's Japanese ally forced the peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge front in the Pacific.

IV

Throughout this course and program of Japanese aggression, the Government of the United States consistently endeavored to persuade



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On November 24, 1937 the Conference adopted a declaration
in the course of which it said;

"The conference believes that a prompt suspen-
sion of hostilities in the Far East would be in the
best interests not only of China and Japan but of
all nations. With each day's continuance of the
conflict the loss in lives and property increases
and the ultimate solution of the conflict becomes
more difficult.

"The Conference therefore strongly urges that
hostilities be suspended and resort be had to
peaceful processes."

Japan scorned the Conference and ignored the recommendation.
It became clear that, unless this course of affairs in the
Far East was halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the
same horrors which have devastated Europe.

In this year of 1941, in an endeavor to end this process by
peaceful means while there seemed still to be a chance, the United
States entered into discussions with Japan.



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For nine months conversations have been carried on between the United States and Japan for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

Throughout these conversations this Government took into account not only the legitimate interests of the United States but also those of Japan and other countries. When questions relating to the legitimate rights and interests of other countries came up, this Government kept in appropriate contact with the representatives of those countries.

Throughout the conversations this Government steadfastly advocated certain basic principles which should govern international relations. These were:

The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations.

The principle of non-interference (?) in the internal affairs of other countries.

The principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

The principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies.



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The Japanese Government repeatedly offered qualified statements of peaceful intention. But it became clear, as each proposal was explored, that Japan did not intend to modify in any way her greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world.

Although she continually maintained she was promoting only the peace and greater prosperity of East Asia, she continued her brutal assault upon the Chinese people.

Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce her unholy alliance with Hitlerism.

In July of this year the Japanese Government connived with Hitler to force from the vassal (?) Government of France permission to place Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending her troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which again made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations were resumed.

At that time the Japanese Government made a suggestion that there be held a meeting of the responsible heads of the Japanese Government and of the Government of the United States to discuss means



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for bringing about an adjustment of relations between the United States and Japan. I should have been happy to have traveled thousands of miles to meet the Premier of Japan for that purpose. But I felt it desirable, before so doing, to obtain some assurance that there could be some agreement on basic principles. This Government tried hard — but without success — to obtain such assurance from the Japanese Government.

The various proposals of the Japanese Government and the attitude taken by this Government are set forth in a document which the Secretary of State handed to the Japanese Ambassador on October 2, 1941 (see Annex).

Thereafter, several formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese Government continued upon its course of war and conquest.

Finally, on November 20, 1941 (see Annex) the Japanese Government presented a new and narrow proposal, which called for supplying by the United States to Japan of as much oil as Japan might require, for suspension of freezing measures, and for discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained no provision for abandonment by Japan of her warlike operations or aims.



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Such a proposal offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government, in order to clarify the issues, presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 (see Annex) — a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement.

In the midst of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned that new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. During the first week of December new movements of Japanese forces made it clear that under cover of the negotiations attacks on unspecified objectives were being prepared.

I promptly asked (see Annex) of the Japanese Government a frank statement of the reasons for increasing its forces in Indochina. I was given an evasive and specious reply (see Annex). Simultaneously, the Japanese operations went forward with increased tempo.

We did not know then, as we know now, that they were even then carrying out their plan for a treacherous attack upon us.



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I concur emphatically in every word of that statement.

To my message of December 6 to the Emperor of Japan invoking his cooperation with me in further effort to preserve peace, there has come to me on December 10 a reply, conveyed in a telegraphic report by the American Ambassador at Tokyo dated December 8, 1 p. m. The Ambassador, Mr. Graw, reports that at seven o'clock on the morning of the 8th the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs asked him to call at his official residence; that the Foreign Minister handed the Ambassador a memorandum dated December 8 the text of which had been transmitted to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington to be presented to the American Government (this was the memorandum which was delivered by the Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State at 2:20 p. m. on Sunday, December 7); that the Foreign Minister had been in touch with the Emperor; and that the Emperor desired that the memorandum under reference be regarded as the Emperor's reply to my message. Further, the Ambassador reports, the Foreign Minister made an oral statement. Textually, the oral statement began, "His Majesty has expressed his gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President". The message further continued to the effect that, in regard to our inquiries on the subject of augmentation of Japanese forces in French Indochina, His Majesty had commanded his Government to state



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its views to the American Government. The message concluded, textually,
with the statement:

"Establishment of peace in the Pacific, and
consequently of the world, has been the cherished
desire of His Majesty for the realization of which
he has hitherto made his Government to continue
its earnest endeavors. His Majesty trusts that
the President is fully aware of this fact."

Japan's real reply, made by Japan's militant leaders and
evidently formulated many days before, took the form of the attack
without warning upon our territories at various points in the Pacific.

There is the record, for all history to read in amazement
and in horror and in disgust!

We are now at war. We are fighting in self-defense.
We are fighting in defense of our national existence, of our right
to be secure, of our right to enjoy the blessings of peace. We are
fighting in defense of principles of law and order and justice against
an effort of unprecedented ferocity to overthrow those principles and
to impose upon humanity a regime of ruthless domination by unrestricted
and arbitrary force.



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Samuel I. Rosenman
Special Assistant to the President
for Economic Affairs

Other countries, too, a host of them, have declared war on Japan. Some of them were first attacked by Japan, as we have been. China has already been valiantly resisting Japan in an undclared war forced upon her, through the wholesale invasion of her territory, by Japan. After four and one-half years of stubborn resistance, the Chinese now and henceforth will fight with renewed confidence and confirmed assurance of victory.

All members of the Great British Commonwealth, themselves fighting heroically on many fronts against Germany and her Allies, have joined with us in the Battle of the Pacific as we have joined with them in the Battle of the Atlantic.

At this point name all the other countries that have declared war.⁷ These and other peace-loving countries will be fighting as are we, first to put an end to Japan's program of aggression and, second, to make good the right of nations and of mankind to live in peace under conditions of security and justice.

The people of this country are totally united in their determination to consecrate our national strength and man power to



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bring conclusively to an end the pestilence of aggression and force
which has long menaced the world and which now has struck deliberately
and directly at the safety of the United States.



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The sudden acts of assassination committed by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the culmination of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. We have been treacherously attacked. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk, American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted the challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our neighbors in peace and freedom and common decency.

I have prepared the full record of our relations with Japan and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan eighty-five years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the White House last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had launched their sudden, murderous attack against Pearl Harbor.



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I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our efforts toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation, resentment and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special emissaries in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchukuo — without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia — without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria — without warning.

In 1939, Hitler, after the Munich Pact, invaded the rest of Czecho-Slovakia — without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland — without warning.



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In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg -- without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece -- all without warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece and occupied Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary -- all without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia -- without warning.

And now Japan has attacked us -- without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it -- all the way. We are partners in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. And, as partners, all of us are entitled to the fullest possible information of what is happening on distant battlefronts and on the home front as well. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories -- the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has all been bad. We have suffered a [unclear] serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines have taken some punishment, but are now striking back. The reports



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SUBSTITUTE DRAFT

- 4 -

from Guam and Wake and Midway Islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these outposts have been seized.

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all families of men in our armed forces, waiting news. They will get news just as quickly as it comes to our government. Right now we are engaged in the major task of mobilization of our strength all the way from San Francisco to Manila. Until we are fully ready to strike back, powerfully, we must accept reports of ~~explosions~~ with fortitude and calmness.

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of disaster fly thick and fast in war-time. Many of them originate with enemy sources.

For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is a trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purpose of such fantastic claims is, of course, to goad us into revealing military information which they want to obtain.



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WIDE PATH, S. T., WIDE PATH

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SUBSTITUTE DRAFT

- 5 -

Our government is not going to be caught in this obvious trap -- and neither will our people.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our powers of free communication are greatly restricted in war-time.

It is not possible to receive full, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned since in these days of the marvels of radio it is impossible for the Commanders of the various units to take advantage for hours, days and sometimes even weeks to report their activities or even, at times, their positions by radio since this information is equally available to the enemy.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying hundreds of rumors of reports of victories and defeats.

Even the Government itself does not have available specific information without these delays.

Restricted only by the necessity of withholding certain types of information from the enemy, this Government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people and as soon as it is definitely and officially confirmed, will give all the facts to the public.



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SUBSTITUTE DRAFT

- 6 -

- 1 -

I give you my pledge on this.

A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France,

when the whole world realized the mechanised might which the Axis nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. With foresight that the attack would reach us in all too short a time, we began immediately to mobilise the industrial strength and capacity of this country to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the few nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has helped to keep aggression away from our continent for these long months — giving us time, invaluable time, to start our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, of shells and equipment — today and yesterday and tomorrow — that is what these eighteen months have given us.



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- 2 -

But it is all only a beginning of what has to be done.

We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits.

The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points
in both oceans and along both our coast lines. It will not only be

a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we

lay all our plans. That is the yardstick of what we shall need

and demand: money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production,

ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own army

and navy and air forces. It must help the other armies and navies

and air forces fighting Hitler and Mussolini and Japan throughout

the world.

Over the hard road of those months, we have met obstacles
and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callous-
ness. That is now all past — and I am sure, forgotten.

On the road ahead there lies hard work — gruelling work —
day and night, every hour and every minute. There lies sacrifice —
sacrifice for all of us — industry and labor, farmer and shop keeper,
soldier and sailor. We shall all have to do without many things. For
everything must be subordinated to the war effort — everything.



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December 10, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY

Herewith a revision of page 21 to cover an important point in regard to the Japanese Government's proposal of November 20.

There is attached also a list of the annexes.

Enclosures:

1. Revision of page 21.
2. List of annexes (page 27).

Thereafter, although several formulas were offered and discussed, the Japanese Government gave no indication of desire or intention to desist from courses of conquest and pursue courses of peace. In consequence, no progress was made toward achievement of an agreement. Finally, on November 20 (see Annex¹¹) the Japanese Government presented a narrow proposal containing suggested provisions of a modus vivendi. The plan thus offered called for supplying by the United States to Japan of as much oil as Japan might require, suspension of freezing measures, and discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained a provision that Japan would shift her armed forces from southern French Indochina to northern French Indochina, but placing no limit on the number of the armed forces which Japan might send to Indochina and no provision for withdrawal of the said forces until after either the restoration of peace between Japan and China or the establishment of an equitable peace in the Pacific area. The plan contained no provision for reversion by Japan to peaceful courses. Such a proposal offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. At that point the American Government in order to clarify the issues felt called upon to offer -- and it presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 (see Annex¹²) -- a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement. In presenting that plan, it stated that what it was offering was a practical example or a program such as this Government felt susceptible of being made the basis



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You are aware of the fact that Japanese armed forces were at that very moment moving for attack upon Hawaii and upon the Philippines, and that they have now struck -- at many points.

The Congress of the United States declared the existence of a state of war yesterday afternoon.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

The free peoples -- the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Holland have joined in declaring war upon Japan. The American family of nations has already indicated their whole-hearted support.

We, the free peoples, become today a single mighty army resolved to restore the might, the majesty and the dominion of freedom for nations and men throughout the world.



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Annexes:

1. Senate Document No. 124,
67th Congress, 2nd Session,
which contains texts of
Washington Conference
Treaties and Resolutions.
2. Identical notes to the Japanese
and the Chinese Governments,
January 7, 1932.
3. Note from the Japanese Minister
for Foreign Affairs, handed to
the Secretary of State by the
Japanese Ambassador, February 21,
1934.
4. Reply thereto, handed to the
Japanese Ambassador by the
Secretary of State on March 5,
1934.
5. Statement by the American Ambassador
to Japan to the Japanese Minister
for Foreign Affairs, April 29, 1934.
6. List of American nationals killed or
wounded by Japanese forces in China
since July 7, 1937.
7. List of American property in China
reported to have been damaged, de-
stroyed, or seriously endangered by
Japanese air bombing or air machine-
gunning since July 7, 1937.
8. List of American nationals reported
to have been assaulted, arbitrarily
detained, subjected to indignities,
et cetera, since July 7, 1937, by
Japanese authorities or agents.
9. List of Japanese interferences with
American trade and enterprise in China.
10. Copy of a document handed by the Secre-
tary of State to the Japanese Ambassador
on October 2, 1941.
11. Copy of a document handed to the Secre-
tary of State by the Japanese Ambassador
on November 20, 1941.
12. Copy of a document handed by the Secre-
tary of State to the Japanese Ambassador
on November 26, 1941.
13. Copy of a memorandum addressed by the
President to the Secretary and the Under
Secretary of State, copy of which, under
authorization of the President, was read
and handed by the Under Secretary of
State to the Japanese Ambassador on
December 2, 1941.
14. Reply thereto, handed to the Secretary
of State by the Japanese Ambassador on
December 6, 1941.
15. Personal message from the President to
the Emperor of Japan, December 6, 1941.
16. Copy of a document handed by the Japanese
Ambassador to the Secretary of State,
December 7, 1941.



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A DECADE OF JAPANESE AGGRESSION

December 9, 1941.

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
FOR EAST ASIAN SECTION

A DECADE OF JAPANESE AGGRESSION

MANCHURIA: 1931-32



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September 18, 1931. Japanese troops guarding the South Manchuria Railway fired on a Chinese patrol alleged to have torn up rails on the railway north of Mukden. The Japanese Army proceeded to attack the city of Mukden and to advance into Manchuria.

September 25, 1931. The United States Government expressed its hope that the Chinese and Japanese governments would cause their military forces to refrain from any further hostilities, and from activities which might prejudice the attainment by amicable methods of an adjustment of their differences. The Japanese advance into Manchuria continued.

October 20, 1931. The United States together with Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain sent notes to China and Japan reminding them of their obligations under the Pact of Paris. The Japanese advance into Manchuria continued.

November 5, 1931. The United States pointed out to the Japanese Government that the Japanese advance into Manchuria had destroyed the administrative integrity of China in this region.

January 7, 1932. Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State of the United States, asserted that the American Government would not recognize any territorial acquisition made by force.

September 15, 1932. Japan recognized "Manchukuo" as an "independent" state.

January 16, 1933. Secretary Stimson reaffirmed the doctrine of non-recognition.

SHANGHAI: 1932

January 27, 1932. The Japanese consul-general delivered a 22-hour ultimatum to the Mayor of Shanghai demanding what was practically the surrender of the city.



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January 28, 1932. Japanese marines attacked Chapei, a part of Shanghai.

February 1, 1932. The United States Ambassador joined the British Ambassador in a protest against the use of the International Settlement at Shanghai as a base of military operations against the Chinese.

JEHOL: 1933

January 10, 1933. The Japanese army began its march into the province of Jehol. This province was forcibly secured from China and made a part of "Manchukuo."

NORTH CHINA: 1935

May 21, 1935. Japanese troops from "Manchukuo" invaded a demilitarized zone in North China.

June 7, 1935. Japanese troops marched into Tientsin.

June 9, 1935. The Japanese army succeeded in getting an agreement for the withdrawal of Chinese troops from a part of the Chinese province of Kepai.

November 24, 1935. An "autonomous" regime was set up under Japanese control in the eastern part of Kepai province. Japanese goods were brought into China through this area without the payment of customs duties. The acts of this year removed a part of North China from the effective control of the Chinese Government and formed the first steps in a movement to secure "autonomy" for five northern provinces of China.

WAR WITH CHINA TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR: 1937-39

July 7, 1937. Japanese troops carrying out night maneuvers fired on the Chinese military unit at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking, beginning the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

July 12, 1937. Secretary Hull consulted with both Chinese and Japanese ambassadors in Washington and expressed the hope of the United States government for a peaceful solution of the dispute.

July 16, 1937. Secretary Hull made a general statement on United States' foreign policy, setting forth principles which have formed a basis of our negotiations with Japan from that time.

August 13, 1937. Hostilities began at Shanghai.

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August 17, 1937. British, American, French and Italian troops took up defense positions in the International Settlement.

September 5, 1937. Japan extended her blockade to the entire coast of China. The blockade did not apply to foreign shipping, although Japan reserved the right to stop merchant vessels in Chinese waters to ascertain their identity.

September 21, 1937. The United States and Great Britain, acting independently, made representations to Tokyo against the threatened bombing of Nanking.

In spite of the protests, the Japanese bombed Nanking both on September 21st and September 25th, killing and wounding hundreds of non-combatants.

October 5, 1937. President Roosevelt delivered his Chicago speech, attacking aggressor nations and treaty breakers. The quarantine of any aggressor was advanced as a necessary policy.

November 15, 1937. The Brussels conference, with the United States represented, approved a declaration condemning Japan's aggression in China.

December 12, 1937. Japanese airplanes bombed and sank the United States gunboat Panay and three Standard Oil vessels in the Yangtze River above Nanking, outside the war zone.

December 13, 1937. The United States protested the bombing of the Panay.

June 3, 1938. Mr. Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, denounced the Japanese bombing of civilians.

June 11, 1938. Secretary of State Hull announced the "Moral Embargo" on the sale of American airplanes and war material to countries bombing civilians and open cities.

June 16, 1938. The United States Senate adopted the Pittman resolution condemning the "inhuman bombing of civilian populations."

June 24, 1938. After incidents involving the slapping of American citizens by Japanese sentries, Japanese authorities at Shanghai issued a memorandum to the foreign press declaring that in the regions under their control Japanese and not Chinese law prevails and that consequently foreigners in these regions are not entitled to extraterritorial privileges. The United States protested against this stand.



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October 6, 1938. In a strongly worded note, the United States requested that Japan cease to interfere with American rights in Manchuria and China, insisted that the "Open Door" policy be maintained.

October 12, 1938. Japan began the invasion of South China. Canton fell October 21st.

November 3, 1938. Japanese Prime Minister Arita announced Japan's intention to introduce a new order in East Asia, politically, economically and culturally designed to insure permanent stability and to coordinate China and "Manchukuo" and advised other nations to adapt themselves to the new order.

November 4, 1938. Following intimation by a Japanese spokesman that the Nine-Power treaty was obsolete, Secretary Hull announced that the policy of the United States in the Far East would remain unchanged and that the United States would insist on the maintenance of her treaty rights.

November 7, 1938. Great Britain, France and the United States protested to Japan against the closing of the Yangtze River to all but Japanese traffic.

November 18, 1938. Replying finally to the United States note of October 6th, Japan insisted that the "principles of the past no longer apply to affairs in China and denied all violations of American business and property rights.

December 31, 1938. A comprehensive note flatly contradicting Japan's assurances of peaceful intention, and restating the July 16, 1937 principles of foreign policy was sent to Japan by Secretary Hull.

February 10, 1939. Japanese naval and military forces occupied the island of Hainan.

February 17, 1939. Ambassador Grew in Tokyo was informed by the Japanese Foreign Minister that the occupation of Hainan, which had been protested by the United States, British and French governments, would not extend beyond the period of military requirements.

March 31, 1939. Japan announced the annexation of the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea.

May 3, 1939. The Japanese government, in a note to British and United States ambassadors, demanded a larger voice in the administrative, judicial and voting systems of the International Settlement at Shanghai. The United States on May 17th and Great Britain on May 19th returned unfavorable replies.

June 12, 1939. Secretary of State Hull reiterated that the United States would maintain her rights in the Shanghai International Settlement.

June 21, 1939. Japanese forces occupied Swatow.

June 22, 1939. Japan requested all foreign warships to leave. Admiral Yarnell rejected the request and stated that American vessels will go wherever necessary to protect American citizens.

July 26, 1939. The United States Department of State gave formal notice to Japan of the abrogation of the Japanese-American commercial agreement of 1911.

DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR: 1939-41



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October 19, 1939. Ambassador Grew expressed, in a speech at Tokyo, the growing dissatisfaction of the United States with Japanese policy in China.

December 15, 20, 1939. The United States announced an extension of the moral embargo on exports of certain metals, of planes, and of means for producing high-test gasoline. The latter was to express disapproval of the bombing of civilians from the air.

March 29, 1940. A "Central Government" for China, satisfactory to the Japanese, was established at Nanking. The U. S. Secretary of State asserted that the government of the United States fully reserved its rights under existing treaties, and expressed disapproval of the imposition of the will of one country upon another by force.

June 28, 1940. The Japanese pressed upon the Netherlands East Indies their desire for larger supplies of essential raw materials, greater freedom of entry for Japanese nationals, and increased opportunities for Japanese enterprises.

September 4, 1940. The U. S. Secretary of State pointed out that any aggression against the Netherlands East Indies would have an unfortunate effect on American public opinion.

September 23, 1940. Japan received the right to establish air bases in Indo-China and to land a "limited number" of troops. This agreement was reached as the result of a Japanese ultimatum, just before the expiration of the time limit, and Japanese troops in China entered Indo-China in spite of the agreement of the French officials.

September 27, 1940. Japan, Germany and Italy entered into the Tri-Partite Agreement.

July 26, 1941. Japanese troops move into Saigon.

July 26, 1941. The United States freezes all Japanese funds in the United States and possessions.

August 1, 1941. The government of Japan asked Thailand for naval, military and air bases, and trade concessions.



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THE WHITE HOUSE

SJ Rosenman

Fireside 12/9/41 on War with
Japan SDR or R 25.

U.S. White Paper 12/15/41 SDR or
memo by State Dept.
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DRAFT

December 10, 1941.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:



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Samuel L. Rosenthal

On December 8, 1941, I presented in person to the Congress a message asking for a declaration of war in response to the treacherous attack made on the previous day by Japan upon the United States. For the information of the Congress and as a public record of the facts, I am transmitting this historical summary of the past policy of this country in relation to the Pacific area and of the more immediate events leading up to the Japanese onslaught upon our forces and territory.

I

A little over a hundred years ago, in 1835, the United States entered into its first Far Eastern treaty, a treaty with Siam. It was a treaty providing for peace and for dependable relationships.

Ten years later Caleb Cushing began the negotiation of our first treaty with China. In 1844 that treaty, containing provision for most-favored-nation treatment, was concluded.

In 1853, Commodore Perry knocked on Japan's doors. In the next few years those doors began to open; and Japan which had kept itself

aloof from the world, began to adopt what we call modern civilization.

During those early years, the United States used every influence it could exert to protect Japan in her transition stage.

With respect to the entire Pacific area, the United States has consistently urged, as it has for all other parts of the globe, the fundamental importance to world peace of fair and equal treatment among nations. Accordingly whenever there has been a tendency on the part of any other nation to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of countries of the Far East, the United States has tried to discourage such tendency wherever possible.

There was a period when this American attitude was especially important to Japan. At all times it has been important to China and to other countries of the Far East.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country. The United States pledged itself to a policy toward the Philippines designed to equip them to become a free and independent nation. That pledge and that policy we have consistently carried out.

At that time there was going on in China what has been called the "scramble for concessions". There was even talk about a possible partitioning of China. It was then that the principle of the "open door" in China was laid down. In 1900, the Americans



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Government declared that its policy was to "seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China ... protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire".

Ever since that day, we have consistently and unfailingly advocated the principles of the open door policy throughout the Far East.

In the year 1908 the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement by an exchange of notes. In that agreement, the two Governments jointly declared that not only were they determined to support "by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire" but also that it was "the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean", and that "the policy of both Governments" was "directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo" in that region.

The United States has constantly practiced and supported the



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principles enunciated in that agreement.

In 1921, following the close of the first World War, nine powers having interests in the western Pacific met in conference in Washington. China, Japan, and the United States were there. One great objective of this conference was the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of armament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific and Far Eastern areas. Several treaties and agreements were concluded at that conference.

One of these was the Nine Power Treaty (see Annex). It contained pledges to respect the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China.

There was also a treaty (see Annex) between the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

The course of events which have led directly to the present crisis began ten years ago. For it was then -- in 1931 -- that Japan undertook on a large scale its policy of conquest in China. It began by the invasion of Manchuria, which was part of China. The



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Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations at once and during many months of continuous effort thereafter tried to persuade Japan to stop. The United States supported that effort. While the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese armed forces was going forward, the Government of the United States on January 7, 1933, declared in notes sent to the Japanese and the Chinese Governments (see Annex) that it would not recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement brought about by violation of treaties.

This barbaric aggression of Japan in Manchuria set the example and the pattern for the courses soon to be pursued by Italy and Germany in Africa and in Europe. Indeed the entire world was doomed to experience the poisoning fear of aggression.

In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It was evident that, once re-armed, Germany would embark upon a policy of conquest in Europe.

Italy — then still under the domination of Mussolini — also had resolved upon a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean.

Through the following years Germany, Italy and Japan reached



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an understanding to time their acts of aggression to their commes advantage -- and to bring about the ultimate enslavement of the rest of the world.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a friendly note (see Annex) to the United States stating that he firmly believed that no question existed between the two Governments that was fundamentally incapable of friendly solution. He added that Japan had "no intention whatever to provoke or make trouble with any other power". Our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, replied (see Annex) in kind.

But in spite of this exchange of amicable sentiments and almost immediately thereafter, the acts and utterances of the Japanese Government belied these assurances -- at least so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

Through our Ambassador in Tokyo our Government therupon expressed the view of the American people, and of the American Government, that no nation has the right thus to override the rights and legitimate interests of other sovereign states.



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The structure of peace which had been founded upon the Washington Conference treaties was being rapidly discarded by Japan. Indeed, in December of 1934 the Japanese Government gave notice of its intention to terminate the Naval Treaty of February 8, 1922, which had limited competition in naval armament.

Japan thereafter intensified and multiplied her rearmament program. She took measure after measure obviously directed toward domination over neighboring areas and destruction of the lawful rights and interests in those areas of all other countries -- including the United States.

In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated itself with Germany by entering the anti-Comintern Pact.

This Pact, as we all know, was nominally directed against the Soviet Union; but its real purpose was to form a league of fascism against the free world, particularly against Great Britain, France and the United States.

Following this association of Germany, Italy and Japan, the stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of conquest. In July 1937, feeling themselves ready, the armed forces of Japan opened new



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large-scale military operations against China. Presently, her leaders, dropping the mask of hypocrisy, publicly declared their intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of eastern Asia, the western Pacific, and the southern Pacific.

They accepted the German thesis that seventy or eighty million Germans were by race, training, ability and might, superior in every way to any other race in Europe — superior to about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, through a normal imitative process, announced that the seventy or eighty million Japanese people were also superior to the seven or eight hundred million other inhabitants of the Orient — nearly all of whom in culture and civilization were infinitely closer and more developed than themselves. Their conceit would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women, and children. They sank



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American vessels — including a naval vessel, the Panay. They bombed American hospitals, churches, schools, and missions. They destroyed American property, they obstructed, and in some cases, crippled American commerce.

In the meantime, they were inflicting incalculable damage upon China, and ghastly suffering upon the Chinese people. They were inflicting wholesale injuries upon other nations, flouting all the principles of peace and good will among men.

There are attached hereto (see annexes) lists of American nationals killed or wounded by Japanese forces in China since July 7, 1937; of American property in China reported to have been damaged, destroyed or seriously endangered by Japanese air bombing or air machine-gunning; of American nationals reported to have been assaulted, arbitrarily detained or subjected to indignities; of interferences with American nationals, rights and interests. These lists are not complete. However, they are ample evidence of the flagrant Japanese disregard of American rights and civilised standards.

II

Meanwhile, brute conquest was on the rampage in Europe and the Mediterranean.



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Hitler and Mussolini, embarked upon a scheme of unlimited conquest, since 1936, without provocation or excuse have attacked, conquered, and reduced to economic and political slavery some sixteen independent nations. The machinery set up for their unlimited conquest included, and still includes, not only enormous armed forces, but also huge organizations for carrying on plots, intrigue, intimidation, propaganda and sabotage. This machine -- unprecedented in size -- has world-wide ramifications, and with it the Japanese plans and operations have been steadily interlocked.

As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly joined their efforts over these years, I was convinced that this combination would ultimately attack the United States and the Western Hemisphere -- if it were successful in all the other continents. The very existence of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. The Axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their scheme of destruction.



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this they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States.

The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, intimidation and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

Pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan first worked her way into and finally seized Manchuria. Next she invaded China, and has sought for the past four and one-half years to subjugate her. Passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, she then invaded and took possession of Indochina. Today the Japanese are extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand -- and seeking the occupation of Malaya and Burma. The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java come next on the Japanese time-table; -- and it is probable that further down the Japanese page we will find the names of Australia, New Zealand and all the other Islands of the Pacific, including Hawaii and the great chain of the Aleutian Islands.

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan violated the mandate under which she had received the custody of the Caroline,



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Marshall and Mariana Islands after the World War, by fortifying them and not only closing them to all commerce but her own, but forbidding any foreigner even to visit them.

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment — not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan — but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The diversion thus created by Hitler's Japanese ally forced the peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge front in the Pacific.

IV

Throughout this course and program of Japanese aggression, the Government of the United States consistently endeavored to persuade



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the Government of Japan that Japan's best interests would lie in maintaining and cultivating friendly relations with the United States and with all other countries that believe in orderly and peaceful processes. Following the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China in 1937, this Government made known to the Japanese Government and to the Chinese Government that whenever they both considered it desirable we stood ready to exercise our good offices in the cause of peace. During the following years of conflict our attitude remained unchanged.

In October 1937, thirteen countries which have interests in the Far East, met at Brussels to endeavor to bring about by peaceful means, an adjustment of the difficulties between Japan and China. Of all the powers invited, only Japan and Germany declined to attend, although Japan was itself an original signatory of the Nine-Power treaty. China, one of the signatories, and the Soviet Union, not a signatory, attended. After the Conference opened, the countries in attendance made further attempts to persuade Japan to participate in the Conference. Japan again declined.



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On November 24, 1937 the Conference adopted a declaration
in the course of which it said:

"The conference believes that a prompt suspen-
sion of hostilities in the Far East would be in the
best interests not only of China and Japan but of
all nations. With each day's continuance of the
conflict the loss in lives and property increases
and the ultimate solution of the conflict becomes
more difficult.

"The Conference therefore strongly urges that
hostilities be suspended and resort be had to
peaceful processes."

Japan scorned the Conference and ignored the recommendation.
It became clear that, unless this course of affairs in the
Far East was halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the
same horrors which have devastated Europe.

In this year of 1941, in an endeavor to end this process by
peaceful means while there seemed still to be a chance, the United
States entered into discussions with Japan.



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For nine months conversations have been carried on between the United States and Japan for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

Throughout these conversations this Government took into account not only the legitimate interests of the United States but also those of Japan and other countries. When questions relating to the legitimate rights and interests of other countries came up, this Government kept in appropriate contact with the representatives of those countries.

Throughout the conversations this Government steadfastly advocated certain basic principles which should govern international relations. These were:

The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations.

The principle of non-interference (?) in the internal affairs of other countries.

The principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment.

The principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies.



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The Japanese Government repeatedly offered qualified statements of peaceful intention. But it became clear, as each proposal was explored, that Japan did not intend to modify in any way her greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world.

Although she continually maintained she was promoting only the peace and greater prosperity of East Asia, she continued her brutal assault upon the Chinese people.

Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce her unholy alliance with Hitlerism.

In July of this year the Japanese Government connived with Hitler to force from the vassal (?) Government of France permission to place Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending her troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which again made emphatic professions of peaceful intent, the conversations were resumed.

At that time the Japanese Government made a suggestion that there be held a meeting of the responsible heads of the Japanese Government and of the Government of the United States to discuss means



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for bringing about an adjustment of relations between the United States and Japan. I should have been happy to have traveled thousands of miles to meet the Premier of Japan for that purpose. But I felt it desirable, before so doing, to obtain some assurance that there could be some agreement on basic principles. This Government tried hard — but without success — to obtain such assurance from the Japanese Government.

The various proposals of the Japanese Government and the attitude taken by this Government are set forth in a document which the Secretary of State handed to the Japanese Ambassador on October 2, 1941 (see Annex).

Thereafter, several formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese Government continued upon its course of war and conquest.

Finally, on November 20, 1941 (see Annex) the Japanese Government presented a new and narrow proposal, which called for supplying by the United States to Japan of as much oil as Japan might require, for suspension of freezing measures, and for discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained no provision for abandonment by Japan of her warlike operations or aims.



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Such a proposal offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government, in order to clarify the issues, presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 (see Annex) — a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement.

In the midst of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned that new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. During the first week of December new movements of Japanese forces made it clear that under cover of the negotiations attacks on unspecified objectives were being prepared.

I promptly asked (see Annex) of the Japanese Government a frank statement of the reasons for increasing its forces in Indochina. I was given an evasive and specious reply (see Annex). Simultaneously, the Japanese operations went forward with increased tempo.

We did not know then, as we know now, that they were even then carrying out their plan for a treacherous attack upon us.



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It was determined to exhaust every conceivable effort for peace. With this in mind, on the evening of December 6 last, I addressed a personal message to the Emperor of Japan (see Annex).

To this Government's proposal of November 26 the Japanese Government made no reply until December 7. On that day the Japanese Ambassador here and the special representative whom the Japanese Government had sent here to assist in peaceful negotiations, delivered a lengthy document to our Secretary of State, one hour after the Japanese had launched a vicious attack upon American territory and citizens in the Pacific.

That document (see Annex) was a few minutes later aptly characterized by the Secretary of State as follows:

"I must say that in all my conversations with you (the Japanese Ambassador) during the last nine months I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record. In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions — infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any Government on this planet was capable of uttering them."



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I concur emphatically in every word of that statement.

To my message of December 5 to the Emperor of Japan invoking his cooperation with me in further effort to preserve peace, there has come to me on December 10 a reply, conveyed in a telegraphic report by the American Ambassador at Tokyo dated December 8, 1 p. m. The Ambassador, Mr. Grew, reports that at seven o'clock on the morning of the 8th the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs asked him to call at his official residence; that the Foreign Minister handed the Ambassador a memorandum dated December 8 the text of which had been transmitted to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington to be presented to the American Government (this was the memorandum which was delivered by the Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State at 2:20 p. m. on Sunday, December 7); that the Foreign Minister had been in touch with the Emperor and that the Emperor desired that the memorandum under reference be regarded as the Emperor's reply to my message. Further, the Ambassador reports, the Foreign Minister made an oral statement. Textually, the oral statement began, "His Majesty has expressed his gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President". The message further continued to the effect that, in regard to our inquiries on the subject of augmentation of Japanese forces in French Indochina, His Majesty had commanded his Government to state



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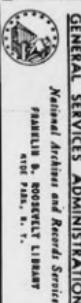
its views to the American Government. The message concluded, textually,
with the statements:

"Establishment of peace in the Pacific, and
consequently of the world, has been the cherished
desire of His Majesty for the realization of which
he has hitherto made his Government to continue
its earnest endeavors. His Majesty trusts that
the President is fully aware of this fact."

Japan's real reply, made by Japan's militant leaders and
evidently formulated many days before, took the form of the attack
without warning upon our territories at various points in the Pacific.

There is the record, for all history to read in amazement
and in horror and in disgust!

We are now at war. We are fighting in self-defense.
We are fighting in defense of our national existence, of our right
to be secure, of our right to enjoy the blessings of peace. We are
fighting in defense of principles of law and order and justice against
an effort of unprecedented ferocity to overthrow those principles and
to impose upon humanity a regime of ruthless domination by unrestricted
and arbitrary forces.



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Other countries, too, a host of them, have declared war on Japan. Some of them were first attacked by Japan, as we have been. China has already been valiantly resisting Japan in an undeclared war forced upon her, through the wholesale invasion of her territory, by Japan. After four and one-half years of stubborn resistance, the Chinese now and henceforth will fight with renewed confidence and confirmed assurance of victory.

All members of the Great British Commonwealth, themselves fighting heroically on many fronts against Germany and her Allies, have joined with us in the Battle of the Pacific as we have joined with them in the Battle of the Atlantic.

[At this point name all the other countries that have declared war.] These and other peace-loving countries will be fighting as are we, first to put an end to Japan's program of aggression and, second, to make good the right of nations and of mankind to live in peace under conditions of security and justice.

The people of this country are totally united in their determination to consecrate our national strength and man power to



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bring conclusively to an end the pestilence of aggression and force
which has long menaced the world and which now has struck deliberately
and directly at the safety of the United States.



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December 10, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

There is attached in duplicate a draft of a proposed message to the Congress in reference to the attitude and policy of the United States in relation to the Pacific area and to the events leading up to the attack by Japan upon the United States.

Enclosure:
Draft



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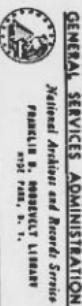
December 10, 1941.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

On December 8, 1941
Supplementing the message which I presented to the
Congress on December 8, in regard to the treacherous attack
made by Japan upon the United States, I wish to make for
the information of the Congress a statement in further
relation to the Pacific area and to the events leading up
to the attack by Japan upon the United States. I hope we may
soon end our foes and territory.

[Present developments in the Pacific can best be understood against the historical background of our relations in that area.]

In the closing decades of the eighteenth century,
American traders began the development of our direct contacts
with eastern Asia. A little over a hundred years ago, in
1833, the United States entered into its first Far Eastern
treaty, a treaty with Siam, [in which] treaty there was made
provision for perpetual [passes] and for dependable relation-
ships. [By that time American missionaries were beginning



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2.

to work in eastern Asia.] P
began the negotiation of our first treaty with China,
and in 1844 that treaty, containing provision for most-
favored-nation treatment, was concluded. P In 1853,

Commodore Perry knocked on Japan's doors, and in the
next year those doors began to open, and Japan which had
been closed for two hundred years except to the Dutch, submitted.
From the earliest days of our relations with countries

of the Pacific area the United States has consistently urged
in regard to that area, as it has done in its relations with
all other parts of the world, the fundamental importance of
fair and equal treatment among nations. Our people and our
officials have felt that policies shaped along those lines
express the traditional liberal concepts of the people of
this country and thus best serve the legitimate interests
of the United States. Our Government has consistently
espoused the principle of equal treatment of commerce. Accordingly

whenever there have been indications that one or more of
various nations were inclined to encroach on the inde-
pendence and sovereignty of countries of the Far East,
the United States has used its influence against such



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Part A

During those early years the United States used every influence it could exert to protect Japan in her transition stage.



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-3-

tendencies, no matter what were the nations that manifested them. There was a period when this was especially important to Japan. It has at all times been important to China, ^{and other} In these fundamental respects, our sentiments and our action in regard to all countries of the Far East,

[have been consistently the same.]
^{Relations with the Far East}
A new chapter in our history began with [occurrences] at the end of the nineteenth century. The

Sovereignty of the Philippine Islands passed from Spain to this country; [and this country] pledged itself to pursue a policy toward the Philippines calculated to

equip them to become a free and independent nation. That ^{the} change and development we have so rapidly carried out. At that time there was going on in China what has been called the "scramble for concessions". There was ~~now~~ talk about a possible partitioning of China. It was then ^{in China was held during} that the principle of the "open door" ^{came} into prominence and that, in 1900, the American Government declared that its policy was to "seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China ... protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and

international

international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire".

Since 1898, the American Government has been conducting in the Philippines the unprecedented experiment of acquainting an Asiatic people with the methods of personal freedom and national self-government that are practiced by our own Republic. Our constant aim has been to develop the Filipino people into a self-governing and independent commonwealth. At the same time, this farsighted experiment has been and is of far-reaching importance to us and to other peoples. It is important to the material welfare of the United States that there should exist in the western Pacific a nation friendly to us by virtue of close association and profitable relations with us. Our presence in the Philippines has helped make known to the peoples of the Orient the name, the culture, the commerce, and the good repute of the United States. It has helped to establish and to stabilize our relations in general with those regions of the Pacific from which there come materials which are indispensable to our economy not only in time of peace

but



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but even more in time of war and to which we sell in increasing amounts our manufactured products and some of our raw materials.

We have made good our pledge to the Philippine Islands. Ever since that day, we have consistently and unfailingly advocated the principles of the open door policy throughout the Far East.

In the year 1908 the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan concluded an agreement by an exchange of notes. In this agreement, the two Governments jointly declared that not only were they determined to support "by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire" but also that it was "the wish of the two Governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean", and that "the policy of both Governments" was "directed to the maintenance of the existing status quo" in that region.

The United States has constantly practiced and supported the principles enunciated in that agreement.

In 1921, following the close of the First World War, nine powers having interests in the western Pacific met in



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-6-

conference in Washington imposed. China, Japan, and the
United States were ~~exception~~. One great objective of
this conference was the maintenance of peace in the
Pacific. This was to be achieved by reduction of arm-
ament and by regulation of competition in the Pacific
and Far Eastern areas. ^{second} Treaties and agreements which
interlocked and were dependent one upon another were
concluded at that conference. One of these was the
^(see Annex) Nine Power Treaty, ^{which} contained pledges to respect
the sovereignty of China and the principle of equal
opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations
throughout China. ^(see Annex) There was ~~also~~ ^{also} a treaty between
the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy,
and Japan providing for limitation of naval armament.

The course of events which have led directly to the
present crisis ^{may be taken as having begun} ten years ago. ^{Japan} ~~for~~
^{- but} It even then - in 1931 Japan undertook on a large scale the policy
^{to} ~~of conquering~~ ^{It began by the invasion} the ~~territory~~ of Manchuria,
which now part of China.
The Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations com-
menced at once and during many months of continuous ef-
fort ^{to} ~~to~~ induce Japan to revert to peaceful procedures.

The

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-7-

The United States supported that effort. While the occupation of Manchuria by Japanese armed forces was going forward, the Government of the United States on January 7, 1932, ~~sent identical notes (one American)~~ to the Japanese and the Chinese Governments ^(one American -) declining that we it should not ~~United States does not intend to recognize any situation,~~ treaty, or agreement brought about by means contrary to the provisions of the Pact of Paris -- on which we have firmly stood. Violation of treaties.

P This barbaric aggression of Japan in Manchuria ^{The Manchurian Incident}, set the example and ~~small measure~~ ^{the} the pattern for courses soon to be pursued by Italy and Germany in Africa and in Europe. In fact the entire world was destined to experience the blossoming years of aggression. P In 1933 Hitler assumed power in Germany. It ^{was} ~~soon~~ become evident that, once re-armed, Germany would embark upon a policy of conquest in Europe. She had, as it presently developed, the support and concurrence of Italy whose Government had resolved on a policy of conquest in Africa and in the Mediterranean. If the various steps taken by Germany, Italy, and Japan were timed together,

Insert B



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Reiset B. p. 7.

P. Stally - ^{then still} under the domination ~~the~~ of Mussolini -
also had, revolved upon a policy of conquest in
Africa and in the Mediterranean. Through the
following year Germany, Italy and Japan pushed
an understanding to stifle their acts of
aggression to their common advantage - and to
bring about the ultimate subjection of the
rest of the world.

together, they would gain effectiveness. It gradually became apparent through the following years that Germany, Italy, and Japan had reached an understanding for the synchronizing of their moves of aggression to their common advantage.

In 1934, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a friendly note (see Annex) to the United States stating that he firmly believed that no question existed between the two Governments that was fundamentally incapable of friendly solution, and that Japan had "no intention whatever to provoke or make trouble with any other power". Our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, replied (see Annex) that he appreciated and reciprocated these cordial sentiments.

in spite of this exchange of amicable sentiments and But, almost immediately, the acts and utterances of there after, the Japanese Government gave indications of intentions utterly inconsistent with these assurances, so far as the rights and interests of other nations in China were concerned.

Through our Ambassador in Tokyo our Government stated (see Annex) that in the opinion of the American people,

thereupon expressed

the view of

and



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and of the American Government, no nation ~~can~~ without ^{fit}

the assent of the other nations concerned ^{rightfully}

^{thus to} override the rights, obligations, and legitimate inter-
ests of other sovereign states.

which had been founded upon
the structure of peace ^{set up by} the Washington

Conference treaties was ^{really} in fact being discarded by Japan. ^{but}

In December of 1934 the Japanese Government gave notice of
its intention to terminate the Naval Treaty of February 6,
1922, which had limited competition in naval armament.

Japan thereafter intensified her rearmament program.

Interestingly, ^{measures} ~~she~~ took measures obviously directed toward
extending her domination over neighboring areas and de-
stroying ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ¹⁹³⁶ ~~1936~~ ^{anti-Japan} ~~the~~ ^{new}
~~of other countries including the United States.~~

In 1936 the Government of Japan openly associated
itself with Germany by entering the anti-Comintern Pact.

The stage was now set for an unlimited campaign of
conquest. In July 1937, feeling themselves ready, the

armed forces of Japan opened large-scale military operations
^{new} ^{Presently, here} ~~the~~ ^A ~~the~~ ^{new}
against China. ^{new} ~~the~~ ^{new} ~~the~~ ^{new}
Japan's leaders were publicly declaring

^{themselves} ~~they~~
dropping the mask of hypocrisy; publicly declared.



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C

This pact, as we all know, was nominally directed against the Soviet Union; but ~~but~~ its real purpose was to form a league of ~~fascism~~ fascism against the free world, particularly against Britain, France and the United States.

Following this association of Germany, ~~and~~ Italy and Japan,

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C

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their intention to [achieve] and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of eastern Asia, the western Pacific, and the southern Pacific. [This, if achieved, would make them masters of a region containing almost one half the population of the earth. It would likewise give them complete control of sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.]

Insert I

in China

The military operations which followed flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans, and wounded or [otherwise physically abused] Americans men, women, and children. They sank American vessels -- the Panama, including a naval vessel, and they torpedored others. They bombed American hospitals, churches, and schools, and business. They destroyed American property, burned American business, crippled American trade, and in general showed utter disregard of our rights both in law and under [treaties.] In the meantime they were inflicting damage upon China, and the ghastly suffering inflicted upon the Chinese people, and wholesale injuries done to other nations, flouting all the principles of civilization, and to the cause of peace and good will among men.

There



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-11a
list
There are attached lists (see Annexes)

1 lists

of American nationals killed or wounded by Japanese forces
in China since July 7, 1937; of American property in China
reported to have been damaged, destroyed or seriously en-
dangered by Japanese air bombing or air machine-gunning;
of American nationals reported to have been assaulted,
arbitrarily detained or subjected to indignities; of
interferences with American nationals, rights and
interests. These lists are not [absolutely] complete. They are
~~based, however, on indisputable and ample evidence of the~~
~~flagrant disregard of American rights and of civilized~~
~~standards, which Japan and its agents have shown during~~
~~recent years.]~~

II

Meanwhile, brute conquest was on the rampage in
Europe and the Mediterranean.

Hitler and Mussolini, embarked upon a scheme of un-
limited conquest, ~~from~~, since 1936, without provocation
~~or excuse~~, attacked, conquered, and reduced to economic
and political slavery some sixteen other countries. Their
conquests

conquests have been carried out in utter ruthlessness and with the most revolting brutality.] The machinery set up for unlimited conquest included, and still includes, not only enormous armed forces, but also huge organizations for carrying on plots, intrigue, intimidation, [and] propaganda. This machine -- unprecedented in size -- has world-wide ramifications, and with it the Japanese plans and operations have been steadily interlocked. *Quint E*

~~In 1940, Germany, Italy, and Japan concluded a treaty of alliance ^{and military alliance} ~~aimed at the United States.~~~~

We are confronted today in the Pacific with a repetition of the strategy pursued by Hitler in Europe. Methods used by one or another of the allied aggressors with temporary success are speedily and faithfully imitated by the others. They consist of progressively seizing power and control over neighboring peoples by infiltration, encirclement, and finally armed attack -- all carefully planned and treacherously executed.

III

After this fashion, and pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan worked her way into and finally seized

Manchuria.



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Dutch East Indies, the British outpost of Singapore, and even Australia.

By these moves of aggression, Japan compelled various countries, including our own, to place and maintain in the Pacific, for self-defense, large armed forces and a vast amount of materiel -- as the alternative to abandoning their lifelines of commerce, their peaceful civilization, and their capacity of self-defense in that area. But for the threat created by Japan, the powers engaged in resistance to Hitler's and Mussolini's efforts at conquest might long since have been using most of this huge aggregate of defensive weapons in the European and Atlantic theaters of operations and toward destruction of Hitler.

IV

Throughout [the period in which Japan was proceeding step by step with] ^{its} ^{Chinese} course and program of aggression, the Government of the United States consistently endeavored to persuade the Government of Japan that Japan's best interests would lie in maintaining and cultivating friendly

relations



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relations with the United States and with all other countries that believe in orderly and peaceful processes.

Following the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and China in 1937, this Government made known to the Japanese Government and to the Chinese Government that whenever both [those Governments] considered it desirable we stood ready to exercise our good offices in the cause of peace during the following years of conflict [our attitude [on our part] remained unchanged.

In October 1937, [upon invitation by which the Belgian Government made itself the host,] thirteen countries which have interests in the Far East, [twelve of which were signatories or adherents to the Nine Power Treaty,] met at Brussels to [consider the situation in the Far

Last and to [endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties between Japan and China by peaceful means.]

only Japan and Germany [among] of all the powers invited declined to attend. Japan was itself an original signatory of the [Anglo-Japanese] treaty. China, one of the signatories, and the Soviet Union, not a signatory, attended. After the Conference

opened,



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opened, the countries in attendance made further attempts
in the Conference,
to persuade Japan to participate, but Japan again declined.

On November 24, the Conference adopted a declaration

in the course of which it said:

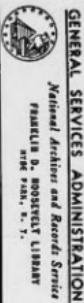
"The conference believes that a prompt suspension of hostilities in the Far East would be in the best interests not only of China and Japan but of all nations. With each day's continuance of the conflict the loss in lives and property increases and the ultimate solution of the conflict becomes more difficult.

"The Conference therefore strongly urges that hostilities be suspended and resort be had to peaceful processes."

Japan scorned the Conference and [paid no attention
to the recommendation.

It became [evidently] clear that, unless the course of
events in the Far East was halted, [and unless con-
siderations of justice, humanity, and fair dealing ones
now become dominant, the Pacific area was doomed to ex-
perience the same horrors which [had descended Europe,
continental lights of Europe. These horrors are now in
full swing in the Pacific, but in an endeavor to halt
and end this process by peaceful means while there seemed

still



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still to be a chance, the United States entered into discussions with Japan.

For nine months conversations have been carried on between [and among] the highest officials of this country [the United States and] and of Japan for the purpose of arriving [if possible at] some understanding acceptable to both countries.

In entering into and throughout these conversations this Government took into account not only the legitimate interests of the United States but also [the legitimate interests of] Japan [—] and [those of] other countries. When [the conversations touched upon] questions relating to the rights and interests of other countries, this Government kept in appropriate contact with the representatives of those countries.

Throughout the conversations this Government steadfastly supported certain basic principles which should govern international relations. ^{This was} The principles for which we especially stood in these discussions may be summarized as follows: — The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations; the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment; and the principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation.



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conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies, [and] for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes. [Basically these are the essential principles of peace, law, order, and fair dealing among nations.]

[During the course of the conversations, the Japanese Government offered in succession various formulas for its basic terms, in all of which every statement of pacific intent was qualified and restricted. It became clear, as each proposal was explored that Japan did not intend to modify budge one iota from the fundamental tenets of its military leaders] in any way. Its greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world. Insert F Japan manifested no disposition to renounce its association with Hitlerism. It insisted that its obligations under the Tripartite Alliance -- a direct threat to this country -- would be fulfilled by Japan.

Japan was willing to affirm its adherence to the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations, but refused to relinquish in practice the preferential position which it had arrogated to itself in all areas under Japanese occupation.

Japan



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conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies, [and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes.] Basically these are the essential principles of peace, law, order, and fair dealing among nations.

[During the course of the conversations, the Japanese Government offered in succession various formulae for its basic terms, in all of which every statement of pacific [Japan's] intent was qualified, except in the first proposal. But intent was qualified and restricted. It became clear, as each proposal was explored that Japan did not intend to modify budges one iota from the fundamental tenets of its military leaders, in any way, to give up the leadership of the whole Pacific world. Insert F Japan manifested no disposition to renounce its association with Hitlerism. It insisted that its obligations under the Tripartite Alliance -- a direct threat to this country -- would be fulfilled by Japan.

Japan was willing to affirm its adherence to the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations, but refused to relinquish in practice the preferential position which it had arrogated to itself in all areas under Japanese occupation.

Japan



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Japan insisted upon obtaining in its hostilities with China a victor's peace and on having our assent thereto.

Japan refused to make practical application of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It insisted upon continuing to maintain its armed forces in large areas of China for an indefinite period -- a clear indication of intention to effectuate a permanent control over that country.

Japan, while declaring it her intention to pursue peaceful course, took action directly belying that profession.

In July the Japanese Government forced from the Vichy Government of France an agreement permitting the placing of Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended -- naturally.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations

were



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P
[REDACTED] At that time the Japanese Government made a suggestion that there be held a meeting of the responsible heads of the Japanese Government and of the Government of the United States to discuss means for bringing about an adjustment of relations between the United States and Japan.

I should have been happy to have traveled thousands of miles to meet the Premier of Japan for the purpose, ^{that} but

[described, but] I felt it desirable, in order to assure that that meeting would accomplish the objectives in view, [in Amakiriwa Kaiten to attempt before so doing to make more of a meeting of] minds regarding the interpretation of certain principles could be some agreement on basic principles and the practical application thereof to generate policies

[in the Pacific area. This Government tried hard — but assurance without success — to obtain such classification from the Japanese Government.

The various proposals of the Japanese Government and the attitude taken by this Government are set forth in a document which the Secretary of State handed to the Japanese Ambassador on October 2, 1941 (see Annex).

Thereafter,



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Thereafter, although several formulae were offered and discussed, the Japanese Government gave no indication of desire or intention to desist from courses of conquest and pursue courses of peace. In consequence, no progress was made toward achievement of an agreement.

Finally, on November 20 (see Annex) the Japanese Government presented a [new and revised] narrow proposal containing suggested provisions of a modus vivendi. The plan was offered

called for supplying by the United States to Japan of as much oil as Japan might require, suspension of freezing measures, and discontinuance by the United States of aid to China. It contained no provision for permission by Japan to peaceful seizure. Such a proposal offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. At that point the American Government, in order to clarify the issues felt called upon to offer -- and it presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 (see Annex) -- a clear-cut plan for a broad but simple settlement. In presenting that plan, it stated that what it was offering was a practical example of a program such as this Government felt susceptible of being made the basis



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for further discussion.]

P. J. the midat.

During the final phase of these conversations, the Government of the United States learned [beyond possibility of doubt] that new contingents of Japanese armed forces and [more additional equipment were moving into Indochina. Toward the end of November these movements were intensified. During the first week of December new movements of Japanese forces made it clear that under cover of the negotiations such forces were being disposed for some attack on [more being helped, unspecified objectives]. These dispositions included moving into strategic positions in the Gulf of Thailand. That disposal was apparently designed not merely to intimidate or assault Thailand but also to set up bases for attacks southward against Singapore and northward against the Burma road.]

I promptly asked (see Annex) of the Japanese Government a frank statement [as to its intent in augmenting] its forces in Indochina, and I promptly was given an ultimately evasive and specious reply (see Annex). Simultaneously, the Japanese [operations] diplomats went forward with increased tempo.



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We did not know then, as we know now, that disposals
were being made for a treacherous attack upon us.

*They were even
then carrying out
the plan*

I was determined to exhaust every conceivable effort
for peace. With this in mind I addressed, on the evening
not, of December 6, a personal message (see Annex) to the
Emperor of Japan, of which you already have full knowl-
edge. You are aware of the fact that Japanese armed
forces were at that very moment moving for attack upon
Hawaii and upon the Philippines, and that on the morning
of Sunday, December 7, they struck -- at both points.

To this Government's proposal of November 26 the
Japanese Government made no reply until December 7, *when*
the Japanese Ambassador here and the Special Representa-
tive whom the Japanese Government had sent here to assist
in peaceful negotiations delivered to the Secretary of
State one hour after the Japanese attack upon us in the
Pacific a lengthy document. *That document (see Annex)*
was a few minutes later aptly characterized by the
Secretary of State as follows:



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-24-

"I must say that in all my conversations with you (the Japanese Ambassador) during the last nine months I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record. In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions -- infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any Government on this planet was capable of uttering them."

It is our sympathies, in every act of hostilities.
~~To my message of December 6 to the Emperor of Japan regarding invoking his cooperation with me in further effort to preserve peace, the Emperor probably was afforded by his entourage no opportunity to give consideration.~~

Japan's reply, made by Japan's militant leaders and evidently formulated many days before, took the form of an attack without warning upon our territories at various points in the Pacific.

The Congress, in reply to Japan's action and utterance, has declared that a state of war, thrust upon the United States by Japan, prevails, and has authorized and directed me to employ all the forces and all the resources of the Government to carry on this conflict and bring it to a successful termination.

*Received 6
24*

[Substitute for second and third paragraphs on page 26
(just above the middle of the page):]

To my message of December 6 to the Emperor of Japan invoking his cooperation with me in further effort to preserve peace, there has come to me on December 10 a reply, conveyed in a telegraphic report by the American Ambassador at Tokyo dated December 8, 1 p.m. The Ambassador, Mr. Grew, reports that at seven o'clock on the morning of the 8th the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs asked him to call at his official residence; that the Foreign Minister handed the Ambassador a memorandum dated December 8 the text of which had been transmitted to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington to be presented to the American Government (this was the memorandum which was delivered by the Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State at 2:20 p.m. on Sunday, December 7); that the Foreign Minister had been in touch with the Emperor; and that the Emperor desired that the memorandum under reference be regarded as the Emperor's reply to my message. Further, the Ambassador reports, the Foreign Minister made an oral statement. Textually, the oral statement began, "His Majesty has expressed his gratefulness



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P There is the record, for all history to read
in anguish and
-28- in dolor and indignation!

P We are now at war. We are fighting in self-defense.

We are fighting in defense of our national existence, of our right to be secure, of our right to enjoy the blessings of peace. We are fighting in defense of

principles of law and order and justice against an effort unprecedent

as regards the ferocity [of those who make it] to overthrow those principles and impose upon humanity a regime of ruthless domination by unrestricted and arbitrary force.

Other countries, too, a host of them, have declared war on Japan. Some of them were first attacked by Japan, as we have been. China has already been valiantly resisting Japan in an undeclared war forced upon her,

through the wholesale invasion of her territory, by Japan. After four and one-half years of stubborn resistance, the Chinese now and henceforth will fight with uncompromising confidence and confirmed assurance of victory.

(Mark H)
At this point name all the other countries that have declared war. These and other peace-loving countries will be fighting as are we, first to put an end to

Japan's



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(X)

All members of the great British Commonwealth, themselves fighting heroically on many fronts against Germany and her Allies, have joined with us in the Battle of the Pacific as we have joined with them in the Battle of the Atlantic.



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Japan's program of aggression and, second, to make good
the right of nations and of mankind to live in peace
under conditions of security and justice.

The people of this country are [today and "for the
duration" united--totally united] in determination to ^{This} ~~conquer~~
devote the whole of ^{strength and manhood} our national capacity to whatever
effort may be required] to bring conclusively to an end
^{both in} the movement of aggression and conquest--by force which
has long menaced us and which now has struck deliberately
and directly at ^{the safety of the United States.}
The world



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gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President". The message further continued to the effect that, in regard to our inquiries on the subject of augmentation of Japanese forces in French Indochina, His Majesty had commanded his Government to state its views to the American Government. The message concluded, textually, with the statement:

"Establishment of peace in the Pacific, and consequently of the world, has been the cherished desire of His Majesty for the realization of which he has hitherto made his Government to continue its earnest endeavor. His Majesty trusts that the President is fully aware of this fact."

Japan's real reply, made by Japan's militant leaders and evidently formulated many days before, took the form of an attack without warning upon our territories at various points in the Pacific.



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-5-

intention to seize and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire region of Eastern Asia, the Western Pacific, and the Southern

Pacific. They accepted the German thesis that seventy or eighty million Germans were by race, training, ability and might, superior in every way to any other race in Europe -- superior to about four hundred million other human beings in that area. And Japan, through a normal imitative process, announced that the seventy or eighty million Japanese people were also superior to the seven or eight hundred million other ^D ^{Chinese} inhabitants of the ~~PEOPLES~~ -- nearly all of whom in culture and civilization were infinitely older and more developed than themselves. Their conceit would make them masters of a region containing almost one-half the population of the earth. It would give them complete control of vast sea lanes and trade routes of importance to the entire world.

The military operations which followed in China flagrantly disregarded American rights. Japanese armed forces killed Americans. They wounded or abused American men, women and children. They sank American vessels. They bombed American hospitals, churches and schools/ and missions. They destroyed American property, ruined American commerce.

Meanwhile, Hitler and Mussolini had embarked upon a parallel course of un limited conquest in Europe and the Mediterranean.



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Isent E

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia - without warning.

In 1936, Hitler occupied Austria - without warning.

In 1939, Hitler, after the Munich Pact, invaded the rest of
Czecho-Slovakia - without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland - without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and
Luxembourg - without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece - all without
warning.

In 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Jugoslavia and Greece and
occupied Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary - all without warning.

In 1941, Hitler invaded Russia - without warning.

And now Japan has attacked us - without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

E
*As the forces of Germany, Italy and Japan increasingly joined
their efforts over these years, I was convinced that this combination
would ultimately attack the United States and the Western Hemisphere --
if it were successful in all the other continents. The very existence
of the United States as a great free people, and the free existence of the*



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Third draft
12-9-41

-7-

American family of nations in the New World would be a standing challenge to the Axis. The Axis dictators would choose their own time to make it clear that the United States and the New World were included in their scheme of destruction.

This they did last year, when Hitler and Mussolini concluded a treaty of alliance with Japan avowedly aimed at the United States.

The strategy of Japan in the Pacific area was a faithful counterpart of that used by Hitler in Europe. Through infiltration, encirclement, intimidation and finally armed attack, control was extended over neighboring peoples. Each such acquisition was a new starting point for new aggression.

Pursuing this policy of conquest, Japan first worked her way into and finally seized Manchuria. Next she invaded China, and has sought for the past four and one-half years to subjugate her. Passing through the China Sea close to the Philippine Islands, she then invaded and took possession of Indochina. Today the Japanese are extending this conquest into the territory of Thailand -- and seeking the occupation of Malaya and Burma. The Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java come next on the Japanese time-table; -- and it is probable that further down the Japanese page we will find the names of Australia, New Zealand and all the other Islands of the Pacific, including Hawaii and the great chain of the Aleutian Islands.

Third draft
12-9-41

7-4

To the eastward of the Philippines, Japan violated the mandate under which she had received the custody of the Caroline, Marshall and Mariana Islands after the World war, by fortifying them and not only closing them to all commerce but her own, but forbidding any foreigner even to visit them.



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THIRD DRAFT
12-9-41

- 8 -

Japanese spokesmen, after their custom, cloaked these conquests with innocent-sounding names. They talked of the "New Order in Eastern Asia"; and then of the "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia". What they meant was the enslavement of every nation which they could bring within their power, and the enrichment — not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan — but of the war lords who had seized control of the Japanese State. Here too they were following the Nazi pattern.

By this course of aggression Japan made it necessary for various countries, including our own, to keep in the Pacific in self-defense large armed forces and a vast amount of material which might otherwise have been used against Hitler. That, of course, is exactly what Hitler wanted them to do. The diversion thus created by Hitler's Japanese ally forced the peace-loving nations to establish and maintain a huge front in the Pacific.

By this year of 1941 it had become clear that unless this course of Axis aggression in the Far East were halted, the Pacific area was doomed to experience the same horrors which were devastating Europe. Therefore, in an endeavor to end this process by peaceful means while there seemed still to be a chance, the United States entered into new discussions with Japan.



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THIRD DRAFT
12-9-41

- 9 -

Inset F

From March (?) to December conversations were carried on between the United States, and Japan, for the purpose of arriving at some understanding acceptable to both countries.

The Government of the United States throughout these conversations steadfastly advocated certain basic principles which should govern international relations — principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations.

The Japanese Government repeatedly offered qualified statements of peaceful intentions. But it became clear, as each proposal was explored, that Japan did not intend to alter in any way her greedy designs upon the whole Pacific world.

Although she continually maintained she was promoting only the peace and greater prosperity of East Asia, she continued her brutal assault upon the Chinese people.

Nor did Japan show any inclination to renounce her unholy alliance with Hitlerism.

In July of this year the Japanese Government connived with Hitler to force from the vassal Government of France permission to place Japanese armed forces in southern Indochina, and began sending her troops and equipment into that area.

The conversations between this Government and the Japanese Government were thereupon suspended.

But during the following month, at the urgent and insistent request of the Japanese Government, which again made emphatic profession of peaceful intent, the conversations were resumed. Several formulas were offered and discussed. But the Japanese Government continued upon its course of war and conquest.

Finally, on November 20, 1941, the Japanese Government presented a new proposal. The plan they offered was very simple, to say the least: The United States was to supply Japan as much oil as she might require; the United States was to stop all aid to China and to forego all measures displeasing to Japan. Japan, for her part, proposed to abandon none of her warlike aims.

Such a proposal obviously offered no basis for a peaceful settlement or even for a temporary adjustment. The American Government then presented to the Japanese Government on November 26 — two weeks ago — a clear-cut workable plan of settlement which would provide a legitimate basis for further discussion.

In the midst of these conversations, we learned that large new contingents of Japanese armed forces and masses of equipment were moving into Indochina. A week ago these movements were intensified.



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