

PSF: Japan

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION



National Archives and Records Service
Washington 25, D.C.

February 4, 1963

IN REPLY REFER TO:

63-937

Dr. Elizabeth B. Drewry
Director
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Hyde Park, New York

Dear Elizabeth:

There is enclosed a copy of a file that I recently happened to come across in the State Department records. I do not recall having seen it at Hyde Park and I thought that you would like to have it.

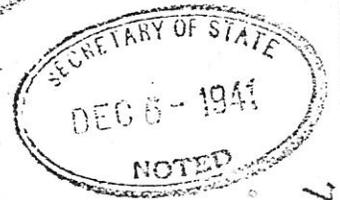
Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Herman Kahn".

Herman Kahn
Assistant Archivist
for Civil Archives

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Dear Cordell

Shoot them to Graw -
I think can go in
gray code - saves time -
I don't mind if it gets
picked up

TJR

740-0011 Paup. 006-1856

12-1-41

1104

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE

Collect (Full rate
Day letter
Night letter

Department of State

SECRETARY OF STATE
PLAIN
DEC 6 - 1941

Charge Department:
Full rate
Day letter
Night letter

Washington,
December 6, 1941

Charge to
\$

AMEMBASSY,

TOKYO (JAPAN).

818

This cable was sent in confidential code.
It should be handled accordingly before
being communicated to the press.

TRIPLE PRIORITY.

~~Confidential.~~

Please communicate at the earliest possible moment in such manner as you deem most appropriate a message to the Emperor from the President, reading as follows:

QUOTE His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan: (Telegraph Section: Insert here the text of the attached message beginning with the words SUBQUOTE Almost a century ago: END SUBQUOTE to the end of page five including the President's name) UNQUOTE.

The press here is being informed simply that the President is sending a message to the Emperor.

11 PW
7/31/42
211.0011

Hull
[Signature]

FE:MMH:REK

FE

Let. to Asst. Atty Gen.
7/31/42
L. B. Nichols
manly 5/11/42

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

740.0011 PACIFIC WAR/SSG

PS/LH

December 6, 1941.

PROPOSED MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO
THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Almost a century ago the President of the United States addressed to the Emperor of Japan a message extending an offer of friendship of the people of the United States to the people of Japan. That offer was accepted, and in the long period of unbroken peace and friendship which has followed, our respective nations, through the virtues of their peoples and the wisdom of their rulers have prospered and have substantially helped humanity.

Only in situations of extraordinary importance to our two countries need I address to Your Majesty messages on matters of state. I feel I should now so address you because of the deep and far-reaching emergency which appears to be in formation.

Developments are occurring in the Pacific area which threaten to deprive each of our nations and all humanity of the beneficial influence of the long peace between our two countries. Those developments contain tragic possibilities.

The people of the United States, believing in peace and in the right of nations to live and let live, have eagerly watched the conversations between our two Governments during these past months. We have hoped for a termination of the present conflict between Japan and China. We have hoped that a peace of the Pacific could be consummated in such a way that nationalities of many diverse peoples could exist side by side without fear of invasion; that unbearable burdens of armaments could be lifted for them all; and that all peoples would resume commerce without discrimination against or in favor of any nation.

I am certain that it will be clear to Your Majesty, as it is to me, that in seeking these great objectives both Japan and the United States ~~would~~ ^{should} agree to eliminate any form of military threat. This seemed essential to the attainment of the high objectives.

More than a year ago Your Majesty's Government concluded an agreement with the Vichy Government by which five or six thousand Japanese troops were permitted to enter into Northern French Indo-China for the protection of Japanese troops which were operating against China further north. And this Spring and Summer the Vichy Government permitted

to enter Southern French

further Japanese military forces avowedly for the same reason --
Indochina for the common defense of French Indochina.
protection against Chinese attack on Indo-China from the north.

I think I am correct in saying that no Chinese attack has
been made upon Indo-China, nor that any has been contemplated
by the Chinese Government.

During the past few weeks it has become clear to the
world that very large numbers of Japanese military, naval
and air forces have been sent to Southern Indo-China, to
places so far removed from the defense area of Northern
Indo-China as to constitute a reasonable doubt on the part
of other nations that this continuing concentration in
Southern Indo-China is neither defensive in its character,
nor directed against China at all.

in such large numbers

create

is not

Re-written

Because these continuing concentrations in Southern
Indo-China have reached such large proportions and because
they extend now to the southeast and the southwest corners
of that Peninsula, it is only reasonable that the people of
the Philippines, of the hundreds of Islands of the East
Indies, of Malaya and of Thailand itself are asking them-
selves whether these forces of Japan are preparing or
intending to make attack in one or more of these many
directions.

further Japanese military forces to enter into Southern French Indochina for the common defense of French Indochina. I think I am correct in saying that no attack has been made upon Indo-China, nor that any has been contemplated.

During the past few weeks it has become clear to the world that Japanese military, naval and air forces have been sent to Southern Indo-China in such large numbers as to create a reasonable doubt on the part of other nations that this continuing concentration in Indo-China is not defensive in its character.

Because these continuing concentrations in Indo-China have reached such large proportions and because they extend now to the southeast and the southwest corners of that Peninsula, it is only reasonable that the people of the Philippines, of the hundreds of Islands of the East Indies, of Malaya and of Thailand itself are asking themselves whether these forces of Japan are preparing or intending to make attack in one or more of these many directions.

OK
JHR

See next page

I am sure that Your Majesty will understand that the fear of all these peoples is a legitimate fear in as much as it involves their peace and their national existence.

I am sure that Your Majesty will understand why the people of the United States in such large numbers look askance at the establishment of military, naval and air bases manned and equipped so greatly as to constitute armed forces capable of measures of offense.

It is clear that a continuance of such a situation is unthinkable.

None of the peoples whom I have spoken of above can sit either indefinitely or permanently on a keg of dynamite.

There is absolutely no thought on the part of the United States of invading Indo-China if every Japanese soldier or sailor were to be withdrawn therefrom.

I think that we can obtain the same assurance from the Governments of the East Indies, the Governments of Malaya and the Government of Thailand. I would even undertake to ask for the same assurance on the part of the Government of China. Thus a withdrawal of the Japanese /

forces from Indo-China would result in the assurance of peace throughout the whole of the South Pacific area.

I address myself to Your Majesty at this moment in the fervent hope that Your Majesty may, as I am doing, give thought in this definite emergency to ways of dispelling the dark clouds. I am confident that both of us, for the sake of the peoples not only of our own great countries but for the sake of humanity in neighboring territories, have a sacred duty to restore traditional amity and prevent further death and destruction in the world.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Carbon copy destroyed
12-5-41
LKR/mj

1106.

In reply refer to
FC 740.0011 Pacific War/856

AUG 1 1942

My dear Mr. Berge:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of July 20, 1942, by reference from the White House, concerning your request for a certified copy of the message from the President to the Emperor of Japan, which was dispatched on December 6, 1941.

In accordance with your request, there is attached herewith a certified copy of the proposed message from the President to the Emperor of Japan, together with a certified copy of the telegram of transmittal.

Sincerely yours,

George A. Gordon
Acting Chief, Division of
Foreign Activity Correlation

Enclosures:

Certified copy
of telegram and
message from Presi-
dent, to Emperor of
Japan.

The Honorable
Wendell Berge,
Assistant Attorney General.

A true copy of
the signed copy
112.

740.0011 PACIFIC WAR/856

PS/A1

ADDRESSEES OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Printed in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1941,
volume 4, p. 721.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
DECLASSIFIED

December 6, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Pursuant to your request, there is sent you here-
with a draft of a message from you to the Emperor of
Japan.

I understand that, prior to sending the message
'to the Emperor, you have in mind sending a message to
Chiang Kai-shek in which you would, without quoting the
text of the message to the Emperor, outline to him the
substance of the "stand-still" arrangement which you
contemplate proposing to Japan.

From point of view of ensuring the confidential
nature of your message to Chiang Kai-shek, it is sug-
gested that you might care to call in the Chinese Am-
bassador and Dr. Soong, to impress upon both of them
the urgency and secrecy of the matter, and to ask the
Ambassador to communicate to Chiang Kai-shek, by his
most secret code, your message.

Enclosure:
Draft message to
the Emperor of Japan.

CH

Original documents in Master
Speech File # 1403.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

December 6, 1941.

DECLASSIFIED

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN

I feel I should address Your Majesty because of the deep and far-reaching emergency which appears to be in formation in relations between our two countries. Conversations have been in progress between representatives of our two Governments for many months for the purpose of preventing any extension of armed conflict in the Pacific area. It has been my sincere hope that this would be achieved and I am sure that it has equally been the sincere hope of Your Majesty.

Developments are now occurring in the Pacific area which threaten to deprive each of our nations and humanity of the beneficial influence of the long and unbroken peace which has been maintained between our two countries for almost a century. Those developments are suggestive of tragic possibilities.

In these circumstances, where continuance of present trends imperil the now tenuous threads which still hold our two countries in amicable relationship, I feel that no possibility should be overlooked which might

serve

serve to relieve the immediate situation and thus enable our two Governments to work out in a calmer atmosphere a more permanent solution. I am sure Your Majesty will share my feelings in this regard.

The history of both our countries affords brilliant examples in which your and my predecessors have, at other times of great crisis, by wise decisions and enlightened acts, arrested harmful trends and directed national policies along new and farsighted courses -- thereby bringing blessings to the peoples of both countries and to the peoples of other nations.

With the foregoing considerations in mind I propose now the conclusion of a temporary arrangement which would envisage cessation of hostilities for a period of ninety days between Japan and China and an undertaking by each of the Governments most concerned in the Pacific area to refrain from any movement or use of armed force against any of the other parties during the period of the temporary arrangement. If the Japanese Government is favorably disposed toward conclusion of such an arrangement I would be glad promptly to approach the other Governments concerned with a view to obtaining their assent and commitment.

In

In order to give those Governments an incentive to enter into this arrangement, I further propose that, toward relieving existing apprehensions, Japan reduce her armed forces in French Indochina to the number which Japan had there on July 26, 1941, and that Japan agree not to send new contingents of armed forces or materiel to that area during the ninety-day period of the temporary arrangement.

If the commitments above envisaged can be obtained, I would undertake as a further part of the general arrangement to suggest to the Government of Japan and to the Government of China that those Governments enter into direct negotiations looking to a peaceful settlement of the difficulties which exist between them. Such negotiations might take place in the Philippine Islands should the Japanese and the Chinese Governments so desire.

In as much as the Chinese Government has been cut off from its principal industrial areas, I believe it equitable that during the temporary period of the proposed arrangement the United States should continue sending material aid to China. I may add that the amount of material which China is able under present conditions to obtain is small in comparison with the

amount

amount of material that Japan would save through discontinuance of operations for a period of three months.

It is my thought that while this temporary arrangement would be in effect our two Governments could continue their conversations looking to a peaceful settlement in the entire Pacific area. The kind of solution I have had and continue to have in mind is one in which Japan, on the basis of application of the principle of equality, would be provided through constructive and peaceful methods opportunity for the freer access to raw materials and markets and general exchange of goods, for the interchange of ideas, and for the development of the talents of her people, and would thus be enabled to achieve those national aspirations which Japan's leaders have often proclaimed.

In making this proposal, I express to Your Majesty the fervent hope that our two Governments may find ways of dispelling the dark clouds which loom over the relations between our two countries and of restoring and maintaining the traditional condition of amity wherein both our peoples may contribute to lasting peace and security throughout the Pacific area.

Copy of document handed to
the Secretary by the Japanese
Ambassador on November 20.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

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

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

3. The Government of Japan and the United States shall cooperate with a view to securing the acquisition of those goods and commodities which the two countries need in Netherlands East Indies.

4. The Governments of Japan and the United States mutually undertake to restore their commercial relations to those prevailing prior to the freezing of the assets.

The Government of the United States shall supply Japan a required quantity of oil.

5. The Government of the United States undertakes to refrain from such measures and actions as will be prejudicial to the endeavors for the restoration of general peace between Japan and China.

The Secretary of State to President Roosevelt, [Washington,]
December 6, 1941.

Transmits a draft of a message from the President to
the Emperor of Japan

SEE: FDRL Master Speech File for original of this draft.
SEE: Foreign Relations of the United States, 1941, Vol. IV,
The Far East, pp. 721-723, 726.

[This message was not sent to Japan but was superseded by one
drafted in the White House]

Doc. 5. History Folder

*Doc. 5
History
Folder*

Doc. 5
[1941]

TOKYO -- JAPAN INDICATED THROUGH OFFICIAL SOURCES TODAY A DESIRE TO PROLONG PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE U. S. AND SUGGESTED THAT THE "UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE" POSITION TAKEN BY WASHINGTON WAS DUE TO "A BIG MISUNDERSTANDING."

MANY POINTS OF DIFFERENCE REMAIN BETWEEN THE U. S. AND JAPAN, THE SPOKESMAN SAID, BUT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE AT WASHINGTON IN CLARIFYING VARIOUS POINTS AND IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN CONTINUE TOWARD SEEKING A "COMMON FORMULA" FOR A SOLUTION OF THE PACIFIC CRISIS.

TOMOKAZU HORI, THE OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN, TOOK A MUCH MORE HOPEFUL ATTITUDE TOWARD CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THAN HAD BEEN SUGGESTED IN THE LAST FEW DAYS.

"ASSUMING THAT PRESS REPORTS ARE CORRECT REGARDING SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL'S STATEMENT (DENOUNCING JAPANESE RULE BY FORCE), WE ARE AMAZED TO FIND SUCH A BIG MISUNDERSTANDING BY THE UNITED STATES," HORI SAID.

"THE HULL STATEMENT SEEMS TO ALLEGE THAT WE ARE FOLLOWING A POLICY OF FORCE AND CONQUEST AND ESTABLISHING A MILITARY DESPOTISM."

JAPAN WILL FOLLOW THE POLICY LAID DOWN BY FORMER PREMIER PRINCE FUMIMARO KONOYE, WHO FOUR YEARS AGO ISSUED A DECLARATION THAT JAPAN HAD NO TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS IN CHINA, THE SPOKESMAN CONTINUED. THE KONOYE STATEMENT DISCLAIMED ANY JAPANESE INTENTION OF DEMANDING INDEMNITY FROM CHINA.

HORI SUGGESTED THAT THE CHINA SITUATION WAS THE REAL DIFFICULTY IN THE WASHINGTON NEGOTIATIONS.

(IN SHANGHAI, A JAPANESE MILITARY SPOKESMAN SAID TODAY THAT THE JAPANESE ARMY "IS NOW SO STRONG THAT IT IS ABLE TO LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN IN ANY DIRECTION WITHOUT WITHDRAWING FORCES FROM THE CHINA FRONT. I BELIEVE IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR BRITISH AND AMERICAN MECHANIZED UNITS TO OPERATE IN CHINA.")

HORI SAID THE JAPANESE TROOPS IN FRENCH INDO-CHINA DO NOT EXCEED TREATY LIMITS.

(DISPATCHES FROM VICHY REPORTED THAT JAPANESE TROOPS IN FRENCH INDO-CHINA TOTALED ABOUT 50,000 AND DID NOT EXCEED TREATY LIMITS. VICHY REPORTED THAT FRENCH AUTHORITIES IN INDO-CHINA HAD INSISTED ON KEEPING JAPANESE FORCES IN INDO-CHINA WITHIN TREATY BOUNDS.)

THE NEWSPAPER ASAHI, IN A DISPATCH FROM LONDON, ASSERTED BRITAIN WAS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE WASHINGTON NEGOTIATIONS TO RUSH WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST JAPAN. BRITAIN ALSO WAS ACCUSED OF COOP. WITH THE U. S. IN PREPARATIONS TO INVAD. THAILAND.

ASAHI SAID THAT BRITAIN HAD INFORMED THE U. S. THAT "IN CASE EMERGENCY" SHE WOULD "TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION WITHOUT AWAITING STATES ACTION."

DOMEI REPORTED FROM BANGKOK THAT BRITISH VESSELS HAD BEEN TO ENTER THE PORT OF BANGKOK.

DOMEI REPORTED ALSO THAT THAILAND WAS TRAINING SOME 2,000 VOLUNTEERS TO COPE WITH ANY EMERGENCY SITUATION.

NICHI NICHI SAID THE U. S. WAS SEEKING DOMINATION OF EAST ASIA THAT JAPAN DESIRED ONLY PEACE. ACCORDINGLY, IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT THEIR BASIC PRINCIPLES ARE OPPOSED. THE NEWSPAPER SAID.

IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THE GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED TO ALLOW THE INTRODUCTION OF QUESTIONS ON DIPLOMATIC ISSUES AT A THREE-DAY OF THE CENTRAL COOPERATIVE COUNCIL, OPENING MONDAY.

12/5--R954A

Published in
Pearl Harbor
Hearings

PART 20 PAGE 45

PSF Japan Soldier

*see
Historic
Folder*

*file
copy*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

F. O. R. 2140
7 Dec. 1941

FROM: COM. MARINES
NORTH CHINA

TO: CINCAF

INFO: C N O

Following demands by Imperial Japanese Army
North China delivered to me this morning.

1. Immediate and voluntary disarming all Marine Force, North China.
2. Turn in all arms and ammunition.
3. Assemble command await further directions Imperial Army Headquarters.

Written reply accepting their demands and complying at 1200 today.

JOR 2140
7 Nov 41

From: Com Marines
North China

To: CincAf

Info: CNO

Following demands
by Imperial Japanese
Army North China de-
livered to me this
morning.

1. Immediate and vol-
untary disarming all
marine force, North
China.

2. Turn in all arms
and ammunition.

3. Assemble command
await further direc-
tions Imperial Army

Headquarters.

Written reply ac-
cepting their demands
and complying at
1200 today.

PSF: Japan

Lock Box

MEV

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

Tokyo

Dated December 8, 1941

Rec'd 6:23 a.m., 10th

Secretary of State,

Washington.

1910, December 8, 1 p.m.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Embassy's 1906 December 8, 1 a.m.

One. The Foreign Minister at 7 o'clock this morning asked me to call on him at his official residence.

Two. He handed me a 13 page Memorandum, dated today, which he said had been transmitted to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington to present to you this morning (evening of December 7th Washington time). He said that he had already been in touch with the Emperor who desired that the aforesaid Memorandum be regarded as his reply to the President's message.

Three. The Foreign Minister thereupon made to me the following oral statement:

"His Majesty has expressed his gratefulness and appreciation for the cordial message of the President. He has graciously let known his

wishes

State Dept. copy
Published in
Pearl Harbor
Hearings

PART 20 PAGES 4239-4240

-2- #1910, DECEMBER 8, 1 p.m., from Tokyo

wishes to the Foreign Minister to convey the following to the President as a reply to the latter's message:

Some days ago, the President made inquiries regarding the circumstances of the augmentation of Japanese forces in French Indochina to which His Majesty has directed the Government to reply. Withdrawal of Japanese forces from French Indochina constitutes one of the subject matters of the Japanese-American negotiations. His Majesty has commanded the Government to state its views to the American Government also on this question. It is, therefore, desired that the President will kindly refer to this reply.

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".

GREW

HPD