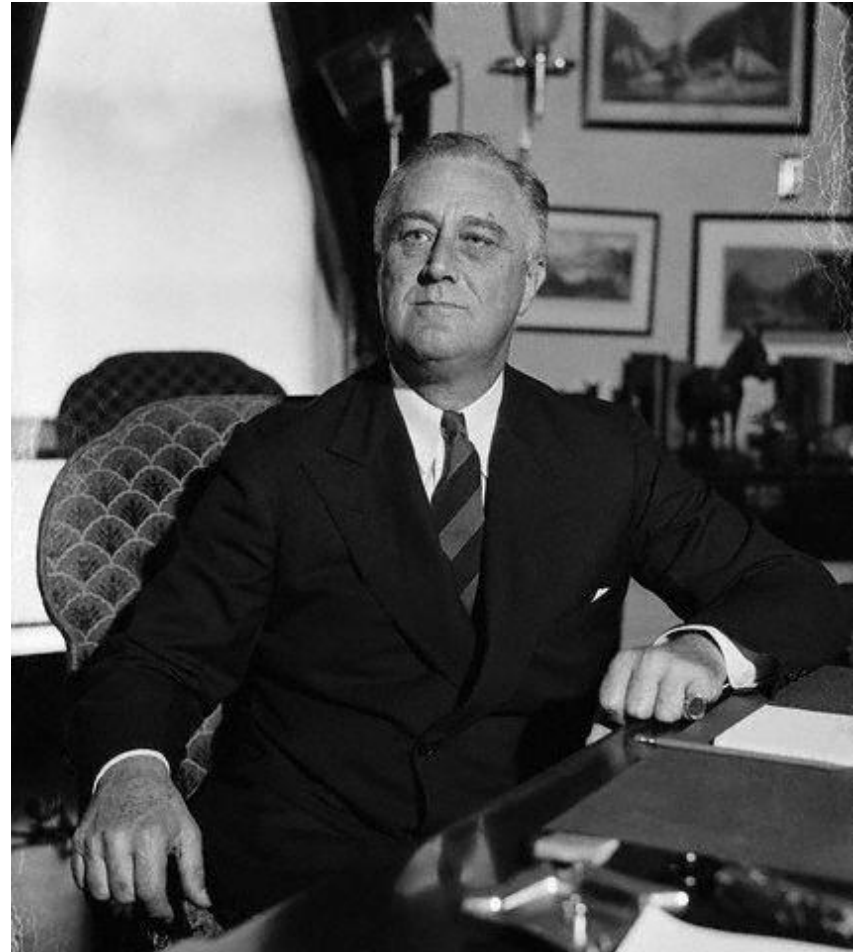


Deception, Intrigue, and the Road to War:

A Chronology of Significant Events
Detailing President Franklin D.
Roosevelt's Successful Effort to Bring
a United America Into the War
Against Germany During the Second
World War

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: the Thirty-Second President of the United States



The “Great Communicator”

1933 “Fireside Chat”



1938 Radio Address



When Roosevelt Spoke, the World Listened



National Educator and Leader



FDR spent a considerable amount of time throughout 1940 and 1941 **educating the American people about the dangers presented by the Axis powers** (particularly Germany) to international stability, human rights and freedoms, and American trade. **He gradually and successfully persuaded Americans to support “all aid short of war” to Great Britain, but was markedly unsuccessful in his attempts to build a consensus for war against Nazi Germany.**

FDR's Core Values

- Champion of the common man;
- Strong advocate of human rights and individual freedoms;
- Strongly supported free trade and self-determination for all peoples, and despised the British Empire, colonialism, and mercantilism;
- A “Wilsonian” Internationalist: he believed in the **interdependency of modern nations**, and in avoiding war through *engagement* with other leaders and governments;
- Strongly opposed Isolationism (in spite of occasional lip-service from 1935-1939);
- Strongly opposed Fascism



FDR's Personality and Management Style

- **Roosevelt's personality** was many-faceted and compartmentalized:
 - He had **considerable personal charm**, generally displayed a relaxed style, and exhibited a good sense of humor;
 - His personality demonstrated “bewildering complexity”: he could be “**bold or cautious, informal or dignified, cruel or kind, intolerant or long-suffering, urbane or almost rustic, impetuous or temporizing, and Machiavellian or moralistic**” [per historian James MacGregor Burns];
 - Was “**always performing**”; FDR once told actor Orson Welles that they were the “**two greatest actors in America**”;
 - Did not keep a diary, and intentionally left very few records documenting his private planning or strategy;
 - **Harry Truman, after FDR's death, said “He was the coldest man I ever met.”** He didn't give a damn personally for me or you or anyone else in the world as far as I could see. But he was a great President. He brought this country into the twentieth century.” [Emphasis added]
 - Columnist Walter Lippmann said: “***Roosevelt was a wonderful finagler. He loved to take a complicated thing which involved a certain amount of deception---hornswoggling of people---and somehow get it done.***”
 - Historian Jon Meacham wrote that one of Roosevelt's personal faults (his duplicity) was sometimes a political virtue: “***What could make Roosevelt a trying husband and a frustrating friend could make him a great President: sometimes politicians have to pursue different courses at the same time and deceive those closest to them about what they are doing.***”
 - Ultimately, the inner FDR was detached, impenetrable, and enigmatic---a Sphinx.
- **FDR's management style** was extremely close to the vest; he rarely, if ever, revealed his innermost thoughts to anyone:
 - Tolerated dissent and a wide range of opinions amongst his Cabinet and advisors, but kept the reigns of power very tightly in his own hands;
 - Strongly discouraged note-taking by Cabinet members at meetings;
 - A “**shrewd and capable politician**” who often accomplished goals through “patience, wariness, and roundabout means” [historian Ian Kershaw];
 - Described as **devious and duplicitous** [by his enemies];
 - Admired for his **cleverness and political maneuvering** [by his supporters];
 - Described as “**elusive and dissembling**” [historian Waldo Heinrichs];
 - FDR “**focused on ends, not means**” [historian Ian Kershaw]

The “Juggler”

In March, 1942 FDR said to Cabinet member Henry Morgenthau:

“You know, I am a juggler, and I never let my right hand know what my left hand does... *I am perfectly willing to mislead, and tell untruths, if it will help win the war.*”



FDR Had A Multi-Faceted Personality, and Was a Man of Many Faces

- It is greatly ironic that in the pursuit of *ends* consistent with his *altruistic core values*, FDR could employ *means* that were:

- *Devious and Duplicitous*

- *Elusive and Dissembling*

- *Manipulative*

- *“Roosevelt was a wonderful finagler. He loved to take a complicated thing which involved a certain amount of deception---hornswoggling of people---and somehow get it done.” ---Walter Lippmann*



[Play video segment I]

Dramatis Personae

Secretary of War
Henry L. Stimson



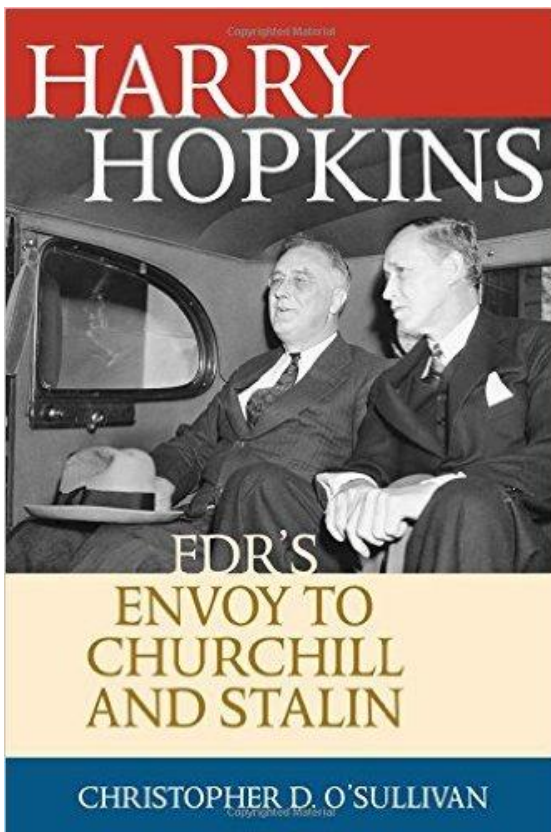
Secretary of the Navy
Frank Knox



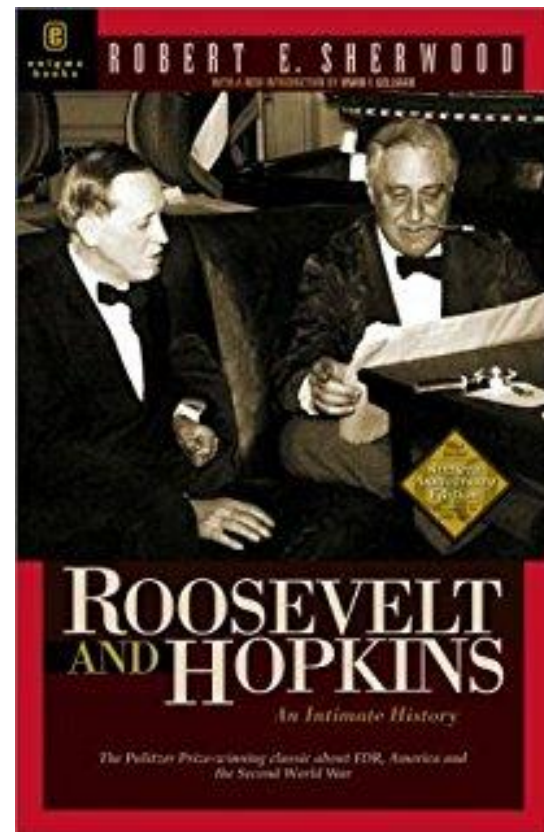
Harry Hopkins:

*Officially, the Secretary of Commerce;
Unofficially, the 'Deputy President'*

Harry Hopkins was FDR's closest advisor and confidant.



Hopkins was “utterly loyal to Roosevelt with an extrasensory perception of his moods.”



More Images of Harry Hopkins

Enroute England in 1941



With Soviet Dictator Joseph Stalin



Any Comments Harry Hopkins Made About FDR's Thinking or Intentions Can Be 'Taken to the Bank'

Hopkins was so indispensable to FDR that he lived in the White House

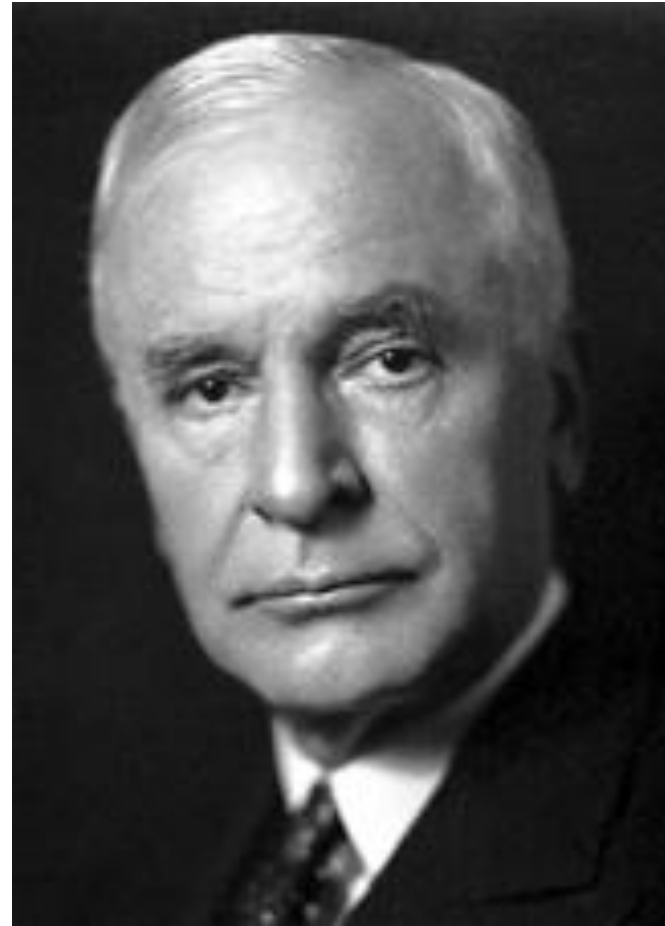


Harry Hopkins was omnipresent at all major meetings and conferences



Secretary of State Cordell Hull

- Hull was opposed to Japanese expansionism, **but did not favor the oil embargo against Japan** levied by FDR in late July 1941, since he believed it would lead to war.
- In late November of 1941, at FDR's direction, Hull was about to propose to Japan a U.S. "**modus vivendi**" which would have (1) temporarily eased tensions between the two nations; and (2) allowed the United States to continue sending military reinforcements to the Far East for about 3 months.
- When FDR ordered Hull to reverse course on November 26th, 1941---**and issue what amounted to an ultimatum instead**---the Secretary of State was angry, and thought it extremely unwise, but nevertheless complied.
- FDR acted as his own Secretary of State on all important issues.



Two Naval Officers of Note in Our Drama

Admiral Harold R. Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), was privately known by his Naval Academy nickname, "Betty". Harold Stark had a docile temperament, and was more than willing to allow FDR to both dictate Naval policy---and sometimes, to micromanage the Navy.



Admiral Ernest J. King was Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic Fleet (CINCLANT) throughout 1941, and replaced Harold Stark as CNO after the Pearl Harbor attack. Possessed of a stern, forbidding personality, his nickname was "Blowtorch King," since that was reputedly how he shaved every morning.



Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner Was Chief of War Plans for the United States Navy during 1940-41

'Terrible' Turner was abrasive, arrogant, and fought continuous turf wars with three successive Directors of Naval Intelligence, arrogating unto himself many of the duties of ONI. He hungered to become CNO, and often dominated his nominal superior, Harold Stark, in determining what policy should be.

He refused to share information about Japanese spying at Pearl Harbor (the "Bomb Plot" messages) with the Hawaiian commanders, and lied to Congress when he testified that Admiral Kimmel (CINCPAC) was a regular recipient of MAGIC diplomatic intelligence.

Photo # 80-G-607995 Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, USN



Admiral J. O. Richardson Was Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Fleet (CinCUS) in 1939 and 1940

Richardson objected when FDR relocated the Pacific Fleet from San Diego and San Pedro to Pearl Harbor in May of 1940, and strenuously objected to this during two face-to-face meetings with the President in July and October of 1940. He was fired by Roosevelt shortly after his October visit, and was relieved by Admiral Husband E. Kimmel on February 1, 1941.

In his memoir, Richardson made explosive statements about President Roosevelt; he wrote that it was his impression in July of 1940 that FDR intended to get the U.S. into the war in Europe after he got re-elected; he also wrote that in October of 1940, the President told him that "sooner or later they [the Japanese] would make a mistake" and that "we would then enter the war."



The Hawaiian Field Commanders, 1941

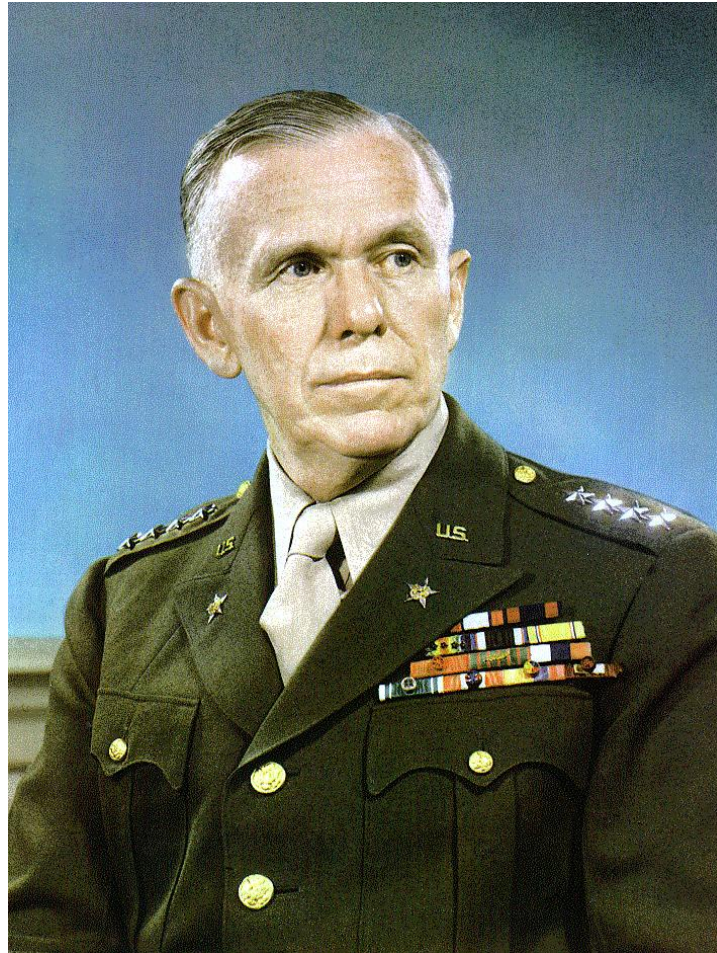
Admiral Husband E. Kimmel



Lieutenant General Walter C. Short



*U.S. Army Chief of Staff,
General George C. Marshall*



Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, *Commander-in-Chief, Combined Fleet* of the *Imperial Japanese Navy*, demanded that the Japanese Navy attack Pearl Harbor immediately at the outset of a war with the United States, *if such a war became inevitable*. (It was this attack that forcibly brought a reluctant United States into the Second World War. **He thoroughly misjudged American psychology**, in spite of serving three tours of duty in the United States---he knew Japan could not win a protracted war with the U.S., and believed a series of quick, overwhelming defeats would *break America's will to fight*, and lead to a negotiated settlement that allowed Japan to keep her conquests. His “gambler’s temperament” failed him, and his nation.)



FDR Recognized That Adolph Hitler and Nazi Germany Constituted a Major Threat to International Stability, and Even to Western Civilization

FDR and Hitler both came to power early in 1933. Adolph Hitler was installed as German Chancellor by an establishment that mistakenly thought it could control him; in contrast, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected by the people in 1932, reinstalled in an historic landslide in 1936, and became the first U.S. President elected for a third term, in 1940.

Hitler addresses the rubber-stamp German parliament, the Reichstag, in the Kroll Opera House; the Nazi love of spectacle is evident. (The original parliament building was mysteriously set ablaze on February 27th, 1933; Hitler used the ensuing climate of fear to justify emergency legislation known as the “**Enabling Act**,” which became law on March 23rd, 1933. This quickly allowed him to accumulate unchallenged authority by banning all other political parties; and **by July 14th, Adolph Hitler had become the unchallenged dictator of Germany.**)



FDR's Decision to Run for a Third Term in 1940 Created Great Consternation in the United States---Did He Want to Remain at the Helm of the Ship of State *to Keep America Out of the War in Europe*, or **Was He Running to Maneuver the United States Into the War?** (Because his motivations were unclear, he was regarded as a “Sphinx” in the summer and fall of 1940...and his motivations for running are still hotly debated today.)



Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain Stood Alone Against Hitler's Germany from June of 1940 until Hitler Invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941

Churchill was the one Western Leader who could have "lost" World War II; this, he adamantly refused to do.



Roosevelt and Churchill commenced a long, intimate correspondence late in 1939; Churchill knew that U.S. participation in the war was essential to victory, and was thus the "suitor" in the relationship.



The Argentia Conference:

FDR Consults with Churchill Onboard HMS Prince of Wales at Placentia Bay in Newfoundland, in August of 1941

(The secret promises FDR made at this conference are the key to understanding Roosevelt's true mind set and policy intentions in 1941.)



Day of Infamy: *USS West Virginia*, Ablaze, Sinks into the Mud of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941

Photo # 80-G-19930 Rescuing survivor near USS *West Virginia*, during Pearl Harbor raid



The Mortally Stricken USS *Arizona*, Following the Detonation of Its Forward Powder Magazine on December 7th, 1941



President Roosevelt Appears Before a Joint Session of Congress on December 8, 1941 and Requests The Congress Recognize That A State of War Exists Between the United States and the Japanese Empire

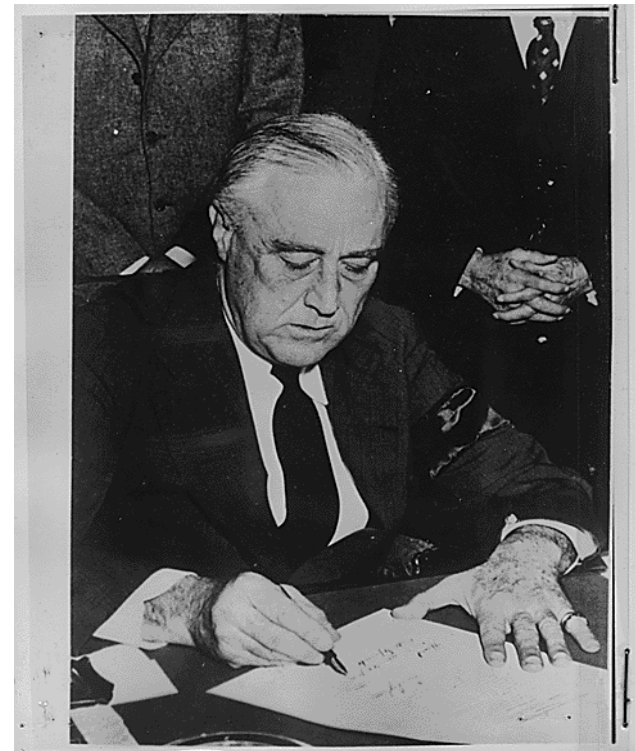


President Franklin D. Roosevelt Signs the Congressional Declaration of War Against Japan on December 8, 1941

FDR did not request Congress to declare war on Germany, the primary Axis military power and danger in the world; *he didn't need to...*



...because on August 15, 1941, Hitler secretly promised the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin that if Japan found itself at war with the U.S., he would make war on America; FDR was privy to this secret through the MAGIC diplomatic intercepts. **Hitler kept his word and declared war on the United States on December 11, 1941, solving FDR's "Germany problem" for him.**



“Back Door to War”

- From May of 1940 through December of 1941, FDR's primary policy goal was to take a prepared and united America into the war against Hitler's Germany.
- He relocated the U.S. Pacific Fleet from California to Hawaii in May of 1940 as an act of deterrence against Imperial Japan's expansionism. Gradually, beginning in October of 1940, FDR's policy of deterrence against Japan evolved into a policy of provocation. The ultimate provocation was FDR's oil embargo against Japan of late July 1941.
- In the autumn of 1941, FDR commenced an undeclared naval war against Hitler's U-boats in the north Atlantic, in the hope that a naval 'incident' would generate a casus belli against Hitler's Germany. (This strategy was required because about 80% of the American people still opposed going to war with Nazi Germany.)
- When three such naval incidents in the Atlantic failed to generate the public outrage FDR had hoped for, he resorted to his alternate plan to enter the Second World War by presenting the Japanese, in late November, with an ultimatum they could not accept. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor---stimulated by FDR's oil embargo against Japan levied in late July 1941---united America overnight and propelled her into WW II, and Hitler (as he had promised he would do) then promptly declared war on the United States, 4 days later.
- On December 11, 1941, President Roosevelt entered the great world contest against the primary Axis opponent on the world stage---Hitler's Germany---with a united country behind him, thanks to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. FDR allowed the attack to take place without providing a specific warning to the field commanders in Hawaii, *knowing that he would have a united country behind him if Japan had clearly "fired the first shot" and committed "an overt act of war."*
- Thanks to the MAGIC intercepts of Japanese diplomatic communications with Berlin, FDR had been aware of Hitler's promise since mid-August of 1941.



Chronology of Major Events To Be Discussed in This Course

- **Jan 30, 1933: Adolph Hitler is appointed Chancellor of Germany** (and after the **Enabling Act** is passed on **March 23, 1933** he quickly becomes the unchallenged dictator of Germany)
- **March 4, 1933: Franklin D. Roosevelt is sworn in as 32nd President of the United States.**
- **March 7, 1936: Hitler occupies the Rhineland** (a demilitarized zone inside Germany, on the west bank of the Rhine River, adjacent to Germany's border with France) **with German troops**, in violation of the Versailles Treaty; his bluff is not called. Neither England nor France take any concrete action. (Previous to this action **Germany had quit the League of Nations in 1933**; and **in 1935 Germany had openly admitted it was building a large air force, and had established a peacetime draft and announced plans to build a large army.** Britain and France did nothing. Britain compounded the problem by signing a **bilateral Anglo-German Naval Agreement in 1935**, which legalized Germany's right to have a Navy (which would remain only 35% the size of Britain's Royal Navy). **With this additional unchallenged action---the militarization of the Rhineland---the Versailles Treaty was effectively now dead, because it clearly had no teeth).**
- **July 7, 1937: The Sino-Japanese War begins with the "Marco Polo Bridge" incident near Peking.** During this 8-year war, over 3 million Chinese soldiers are killed; over 9 million Chinese civilians are killed from direct causes of the war; and over 8 million are killed from indirect causes of the war. The Japanese lose about 396,000 soldiers. Previous to this, the Japanese Army had seized Manchuria commencing in September of 1931, and Japan had established the puppet state of "Manchukuo" on Feb 18, 1932. Japan considered Manchurian raw materials essential to its Empire.
- **October 5, 1937:** FDR makes his famous **"Quarantine Speech,"** in which he likens aggressor nations to a disease that needs to be quarantined.
- **March 12, 1938: Germany annexes its southern neighbor, Austria, without firing a shot** (following a period of political agitation and intimidation).
- **September 30, 1938: In the infamous "Munich Pact," England and France cede the German-ethnic border areas of Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany**, in response to months of Nazi political agitation and warlike preparations near the Czech border. British P.M. Chamberlain hails this as "Peace in Our Time," and Hitler declares that he has no other territorial ambitions in Europe.
- **March 15, 1939: Germany invades and forcibly occupies the remainder of Czechoslovakia;** Hitler has broken his word and the Western policy of "appeasement" has failed.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **March 31, 1939:** British P.M. Chamberlain provides a public guarantee of Poland's territorial integrity following Hitler's absorption of the remainder of Czechoslovakia; although it was a clear signal that the West would no longer engage in appeasement of Nazi Germany, Hitler appears not to have believed it, for he nevertheless ramped up his political agitation over Danzig and the Polish Corridor.
- **April 14, 1939:** FDR sends a strong diplomatic note to Germany protesting its aggressive course of conquest in Europe, and broadcasts it to the world the next day; **Hitler responds with a sarcastic, belittling harangue to the Reichstag on April 28th.**
- **June 12, 1939:** President Roosevelt hosts the King and Queen of England in an official visit to Washington D.C. and Hyde Park; as intended, this visit develops considerable good feeling toward Great Britain in the United States as Europe is on the verge of war over the fate of Poland.
- **August 23, 1939:** The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is signed in Moscow. This *non-aggression pact* between two totalitarian states that previously considered themselves enemies *is a signal to the world that the USSR will not oppose or intervene in any German war with Poland.* In a secret protocol to the pact, Hitler promises to give Stalin the eastern half of Poland in the event of a German-Polish conflict. The pact shocks the world, because the Hitler and Stalin governments are two totalitarian regimes adamantly opposed to each other; it signals the coming of a German-Polish war.
- **August 25, 1939:** The British and Polish governments finally sign the British-Polish Common Defense Pact (formalizing the British territorial guarantee that had been publicly promised by Chamberlain on March 31, 1939).

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 1, 1939:** Nazi Germany invades Poland; **most historians mark this date as the beginning of the Second World War.** **ALSO on this date:** Vice-Admiral **Isoroku Yamamoto**, previously Vice Navy Minister of the Imperial Japanese Navy, is appointed to the post of Commander-in-Chief, Combined Fleet. (He will later strongly advocate for a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, and force the reluctant Naval General Staff to accept his plan, under threat of his resignation, if he does not get his way.)
- **September 3, 1939:** **Great Britain and France declare war on Germany**---honoring their defense pacts with Poland.
- **September 3, 1939:** **FDR gives a fireside chat about the new European War;** he promises to maintain American neutrality, but says he cannot ask all Americans to remain neutral in thought, and that not even neutrals must close their minds or consciences to facts. Roosevelt captured the national mood: most Americans sympathized with the British and French allies and with Poland, and were critical of Germany, but feared becoming involved in another European war because they did not want to send another American expeditionary force overseas, as during WW I.
- **September 3, 1939:** **Winston Churchill's long isolation from government ends, as he is appointed First Lord of the Admiralty by British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.** FDR, anticipating that Churchill may one day become Prime Minister, writes him on September 11th and commences a long correspondence with him (with Chamberlain's permission), which eventually grows to over 2,000 letters and telegrams by April of 1945.
- **September 21, 1939:** **FDR convenes a Special Session of Congress and urges repeal of the embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act; he recommends a "cash and carry" policy** which will allow any belligerent nations to buy American weapons as long as they pay in cash and carry the cargoes on their own ships. [This policy clearly favors Great Britain and France, over Germany.]
- **November 4, 1939:** **Roosevelt signs into law the "cash and carry" provisions of the revised Neutrality Act.** **A Gallup poll taken on October 22nd shows that 95 per cent of Americans want to stay out of the war,** but that **62 per cent said "yes" when asked if "the United States should do everything possible to help England and France win the war, except go to war ourselves."**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **April 9, 1940:** Without warning, **Nazi Germany occupies Denmark and invades Norway by sea.**
- **May 10, 1940:** After numerous delays caused by the weather and the unreadiness of the Wehrmacht, **Hitler launches his massive blitzkrieg of the West by invading Holland, Belgium, and France.** Coincidentally, on this same date, the Chamberlain government falls and **Winston Churchill is appointed Prime Minister of Great Britain.** (Chamberlain's fall was precipitated by the poor performance of the British armed forces in Norway.)
- **May 15, 1940:** Churchill asks FDR for 40 or 50 old, surplus World War I destroyers to supplement the Royal Navy and help guard against invasion. President Roosevelt decides to keep the U.S. Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor indefinitely following annual exercises, instead of allowing the Fleet to return to its normal homeports (San Pedro, and San Diego) on the U.S. West Coast. FDR takes this action as a **deterrent** against possible Japanese mischief (future expansion).
- **May 16, 1940:** **President Roosevelt asks Congress for massive increases in defense spending,** in response to the Nazi onslaught in Western Europe, which is threatening to become a World War. **He asks: (1) for a five-fold increase in defense spending in 1940; (2) to boost military aircraft production from 15,000 to 50,000 planes per year; and (3) requests an increase in the size of the U.S. Army from 280,000 to 1,200,000 men. In July FDR will sign the Two Ocean Navy Act, dramatically increasing the size of the U.S. Navy.** He knows most of the new naval construction will be available in 1943 or 1944, and will make the U.S. Navy far superior to any other on earth, and to any combination of likely potential opponents. **(See the next three slides.)**
- **May 26, 1940:** **FDR delivers a major fireside chat** about the need for a strong defense and the impossibility of remaining an isolationist nation in the age of modern warfare.

U.S. Naval Construction Figures (In Response to the European War)

- *Before the defeat of France* in mid-June of 1940, **52 warships** and **62 auxiliaries** were under construction.
- *By February of 1941*, **368 warships** and **338 auxiliaries** were under construction.
- *From May of 1940 until the end of the year*, the following *increases in naval construction* were authorized: **nine new battleships** (in addition to the eight previously ordered between 1937-1940); **eleven aircraft carriers**; three battle cruisers; **eight heavy cruisers**; thirty-one light cruisers; and **181 destroyers**.
- *During 1940*, the following new Navy construction was ordered or authorized: **6 Iowa-class battleships** of 45,000 tons; **5 Montana-class battleships** of 56,000 tons; **6 battle cruisers** of about 27,000 tons; **11 aircraft carriers** of 27,000 tons; **40 cruisers**; **115 destroyers**; **67 submarines**; and many auxiliaries or small craft. (While some of these ships were never built, the numbers planned for other classes in 1940 were significantly increased.)

The Grim Economic Realities of World War II: Overwhelming American Superiority in Industrial Production

- Per British historian H. P. Willmott in *The Second World War in the East*, and the website [Combined Fleet.com](http://CombinedFleet.com):
 - America had nearly **twice the population of Japan (141.94 million vs. 72.75 million)**;
 - The United States **workforce was much larger than Japan's (52.8 million vs. 34.1 million)**;
 - America's **steel production** (in 1937) was about **5 times that of Japan** (28.8 million tons vs. 5.8 million tons);
 - U.S. **coal production** (in 1938) was **about 7 times that of Japan** (354.7 million tons vs. 53.7 million tons);
 - American **automobile production** was about **eighty (80) times that of Japan**; this is illustrative of a vast superiority in industrial *mass production capability*;
 - **In 1940-41**, Japan depended upon the United States **for over 90 per cent of its oil**;
 - Per Willmott, **America's percentage share of world manufacturing output** when the war began was **32.2 percent**, vs. **3.5 percent for Japan**;
 - **Cautious voices in Japan believed Japan's economic imbalance with the United States was even worse**; in August of 1941 **Colonel Hideo Iwakuro**, who had been a Japanese negotiator in the U.S. until the end of July 1941, informed Army Minister Hideki Tojo that the U.S. to Japan ratio in **steel production** was **20 to 1**; in **coal** **10 to 1**; in **aircraft production** **5 to 1**; and in **oil**, more than **100 to 1**; although Tojo feigned interest, and requested a written report, he immediately transferred the Colonel to Cambodia the next day, after cancelling his request for the report. [Source: John Toland, *The Rising Sun*.]

Grim Economic Realities (continued): Revised Production Statistics Compiled About World War II

- From **The Rise and Fall of Great Powers**, by Paul Kennedy; and **World War II: A Statistical Survey**, by John Ellis---as posted at the Combined Fleet.com website:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Percent of Total Warmaking Potential</u>
United States	41.7%
Germany	14.4%
USSR	14.0%
UK	10.2%
France	4.2%
Japan	3.5%
Italy	2.5%
TOTAL (7 Strongest Powers)	90.5%

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **May 26-28, 1940:** Prime Minister Winston Churchill survives an internal contest with Lord Halifax (Foreign Secretary, and his chief rival) over whether or not to cut a peace deal with Hitler and allow Germany unfettered rule over Europe in exchange for a cessation of hostilities. (Some conservatives desired to let Hitler keep his new conquests, if they could keep their Empire.) Churchill refuses to go down the “slippery slope” and prevails over Halifax.
- **May 26-June 4, 1940:** The British Expeditionary Force on the continent had been routed by the Wehrmacht, and most of the British Army (and a small portion of the French Army) is rescued from Dunkirk during this period, but without any heavy equipment. After this, Britain stands alone against Nazi Germany, and is expecting Hitler to invade England.
- **June 6, 1940:** FDR approves numerous items of aid (in the form of resale of “surplus equipment”) for Great Britain that his Cabinet has been working on for the previous three weeks. However, **FDR had *disapproved* the British requests for 40 or 50 destroyers back on May 17th**, claiming that it would require Congressional approval, and was too difficult to arrange at the present time.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **June 10, 1940:** Italy declares war on France, and invades the southern provinces after Germany has already conquered the northern part of the country.
- **June 14, 1940:** The German Army occupies Paris.
- **June 17, 1940:** The French government sues for peace (armistice signed June 22nd).
- **June 20, 1940:** Roosevelt appoints Republican internationalists (who soon come to favor *intervention* in the European war) as **Secretary of War [Henry L. Stimson]** and **Secretary of the Navy [Frank Knox]**, creating at least the outward appearance of a bipartisan foreign policy. This throws the Republican party into turmoil one day before the beginning of the Republican nominating convention.
- **June 21, 1940:** The Republican Presidential nominating convention convenes and later that week, on the sixth ballot, will nominate a dark-horse candidate named **Wendell Willkie** to oppose FDR in the forthcoming Presidential election in November. Willkie, as recently as 1938, *was still a registered Democrat* (and previously supported FDR in 1932). **His foreign policy is the same that is publicly announced by Roosevelt: give all possible material aid to Great Britain, but stay out of the war.** Willkie beat out the three leading Republican candidates for the Presidential nomination (Taft, Vandenburg, and Dewey), who were all isolationists. His candidacy was strongly assisted by East Coast internationalists, and the East Coast print media; isolationism was supported by the Midwest print media.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **July 8, 1940:** At his own request, **Admiral James Richardson** (CincUS) **meets with Roosevelt in the White House** to complain about FDR's decision to homeport the Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor. He fails in his attempt to get FDR to change his mind. He wrote this about the meeting: *"I came away with the impression that, despite his spoken word, the President was fully determined to put the United States into the war [in Europe], if Great Britain could hold out until he was re-elected."*
- **July 19, 1940:** The Yonai government in Japan (which had resisted the Army's desires for closer ties with Hitler's Germany) **was replaced with the Konoye Cabinet**, which included nationalist firebrand **Yosuke Matsuoka** as Foreign Minister, and the expansionist Army Minister, General **Hideki Tojo**, and led directly to the signing of the **Tripartite Pact** with Italy and Germany in September of 1940. This new government was prepared to enact a consensus just reached between the Japanese Army and Imperial Navy to achieve self-sufficiency for Japan by acquiring the resources of Southeast Asia and the Dutch East Indies, and to strengthen relations with the Axis powers, even if (regretfully) it meant war with the United States. The attitude of the military elites in Japan, in the wake of Hitler's triumphs in Western Europe, was "don't miss the bus---we need to grab the territory and resources we need in the near future, while the European colonial powers are weakened."
- **July 19, 1940:** FDR delivers his acceptance speech to the Democratic convention, making official his unprecedented run for a third term as President.
- **July 19, 1940:** Hitler makes a final peace offer to Great Britain during a speech to the Reichstag; it is immediately rejected by the British government.
- **July 21, 1940:** **Hitler informally raises with his military commanders the possibility that Germany will invade the USSR that autumn (!).**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **July 29, 1940:** Hitler meets with General Jodl (his Operations Officer at Supreme Headquarters) and informs him that Germany will invade the Soviet Union in May of 1941. Hitler informs the remainder of his military leadership about this on July 31st; *however, it will not become an operational order until December 18, 1940.*
- **July 31, 1940:** Churchill renews his request to Roosevelt for some old American Navy destroyers that are currently mothballed; **this time he asks for “50 or 60” (instead of the 40 or 50 he originally requested in May).** Roosevelt kicks off a massive lobbying and public relations campaign---which lasted throughout the month of August---designed to soften-up the isolationists in Congress, and persuade the American people, that this is essential to England’s survival.
- **August 13, 1940:** Dubbed “Eagle Day” by Herman Goering, the main phase of what is commonly called **“The Battle of Britain”** between the German Luftwaffe and the Royal Air Force begins on this date. (Aerial combat over the English Channel had begun on July 10th, but was not decisive because it left the British aerodromes untouched.) Hitler’s goal is to knock out the Royal Air Force and achieve air superiority over the English Channel, by attacking air bases, as a prelude to a possible invasion of England, dubbed **“Operation Sea Lion.”** **The massive air battles in August were essentially a draw; a draw favored the British since the German Air Force had** *failed to achieve air superiority over the English Channel.*

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 2, 1940:** The “Destroyers-for-Bases Deal” is signed in Washington by Cordell Hull and the British Ambassador. It was publicly announced the next day to the media, by FDR. In exchange for 50 old U.S. Navy mothballed destroyers, the United States was given 99-year leases on 8 British bases (one in Canada, and the remainder in the Caribbean). Although the swap was sanctioned by the Attorney General, Cordell Hull and his staff believed it to be a violation of international law, and *worried that Germany might declare war on the United States*, since this action effectively abandoned any pretense of American neutrality in the European war. *FDR expected to be branded a “war monger and dictator,” and believed that in bypassing Congress and doing this unilaterally, he might be impeached, or might certainly lose the election in November.* And yet, he believed that helping to prevent or ward off a German invasion of England was necessary to save Western Civilization. It required considerable political courage to pursue this goal in the midst of a heated Presidential election campaign, and all of his Machiavellian skills and persuasive abilities were employed in support of this risky gambit. The *symbolism of the act* turned out to be much more important than the actual benefit eventually derived by Great Britain. FDR’s actions in accomplishing the transfer heartened Americans at a time when it appeared only the Axis nations could act decisively, elevated FDR above the status of a mere candidate, and---more than any other event yet taken during his Presidency---established him as Commander-in-Chief.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 7, 1940:** Hitler commences the indiscriminate terror bombing of British civilians on this date, in an apparent acknowledgment that Germany is losing “the battle of the fighter pilots,” and is absorbing unacceptable losses in bombers, as well, in its attacks on the heavily-defended British aerodromes. London and other cities were bombed for 76 consecutive days and nights---and then intermittently, thereafter---and about 43,000 civilians were killed during “**The Blitz.**” But rather than break British morale and cause the Churchill government to fall (as Hitler had hoped it would), these attacks unaccountably raised British morale and solidified Churchill’s position as Prime Minister. “**The Blitz**” also raised considerable sympathy for England in the United States, and was instrumental in moving American public opinion toward providing “**all aid short of war**” to the British people. The last big German air raid on London was on the night of May 10-11, 1941; then the mass attacks on English cities ceased, as the Luftwaffe moved east in preparation for the Nazi war of annihilation against the USSR.
- **September 14, 1940:** The Selective Service Training Act is passed by Congress, and President Roosevelt signs the Act on September 16th. **For the first time in its history, the United States has a peacetime draft.** The term of service was initially only for a period of 12 months, and a maximum of 900,000 draftees were allowed to be training at any one time. This begins the massive expansion of the U.S. Army in response to the European war. To make the Act acceptable to isolationists, it required that the draftees could only serve in the Western Hemisphere, or in U.S. possessions overseas (i.e., not in “foreign wars”).

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 17, 1940:** Hitler postpones “Operation Sea Lion” (his potential invasion of England) indefinitely. The causes for the postponement were many, but the primary reason was certainly the failure of the Luftwaffe to shoot the Royal Air Force out of the skies; **this failure to gain air superiority over the English Channel** meant Hitler would have risked destroying his army if he had insisted on a dangerous cross-channel invasion. Furthermore, he had admired the British Empire for his entire adult life and did not consider England a “natural enemy” of Germany. He also believed that if he destroyed the Soviet Union in 1941 (as he planned to), then the Churchill government would fall and he would be able to make a “victor’s peace” with Great Britain (without invading).
- **September 19, 1940:** In response to Japanese incursions forced upon the Vichy colony of Northern French Indochina (troop transit rights and permission to build air bases), **Roosevelt embargoes the sale of ALL iron and scrap metal to Japan.** This was an escalation of earlier embargoes (imposed on July 5 and July 26) in an attempt to deter Japan from making aggressive moves in Southeast Asia (see below). **All of these attempts at deterrence failed because Japan could still purchase its most vital import, oil, from the United States.** The challenge for FDR at this time was how to deter Japan from acts of aggression, without provoking her to go to war. Two earlier embargoes levied on Japan by President Roosevelt in 1940 are detailed below:
 - **July 5, 1940:** FDR invoked the Export Control Act, which prohibited the export of **strategic minerals and chemicals, and aircraft engines and parts** to Japan, without first obtaining a license from the U.S. government. **This was largely symbolic, since Japan still was allowed to import huge quantities of bunker oil (fuel for ships) from the United States---over 90 per cent of the oil required by the Japanese Navy, Army, and industry.**
 - **July 26, 1940:** FDR added **high-grade scrap metal and high-grade aviation gasoline** to the prohibited list, in response to news of Japanese pressure on Vichy France re: access to Northern French Indochina. **However, Japan was still permitted to purchase all the medium-grade aviation gasoline it needed.** [FDR had mis-stepped on July 25th when he signed a **total embargo** of *all* oil and scrap metal to Japan, as encouraged by Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau; he cancelled that directive the very next day by issuing the modified instructions of July 26th, at the urging of Deputy Secretary of State Sumner Welles, who worried that cutting off Japan’s ability to purchase American oil would result in Japan seizing the Dutch East Indies, and would embroil the Far East in war. Roosevelt denied to the media on July 26th that he had levied a complete oil embargo on Japan’s oil the previous day, and disingenuously said that he had been misunderstood.]

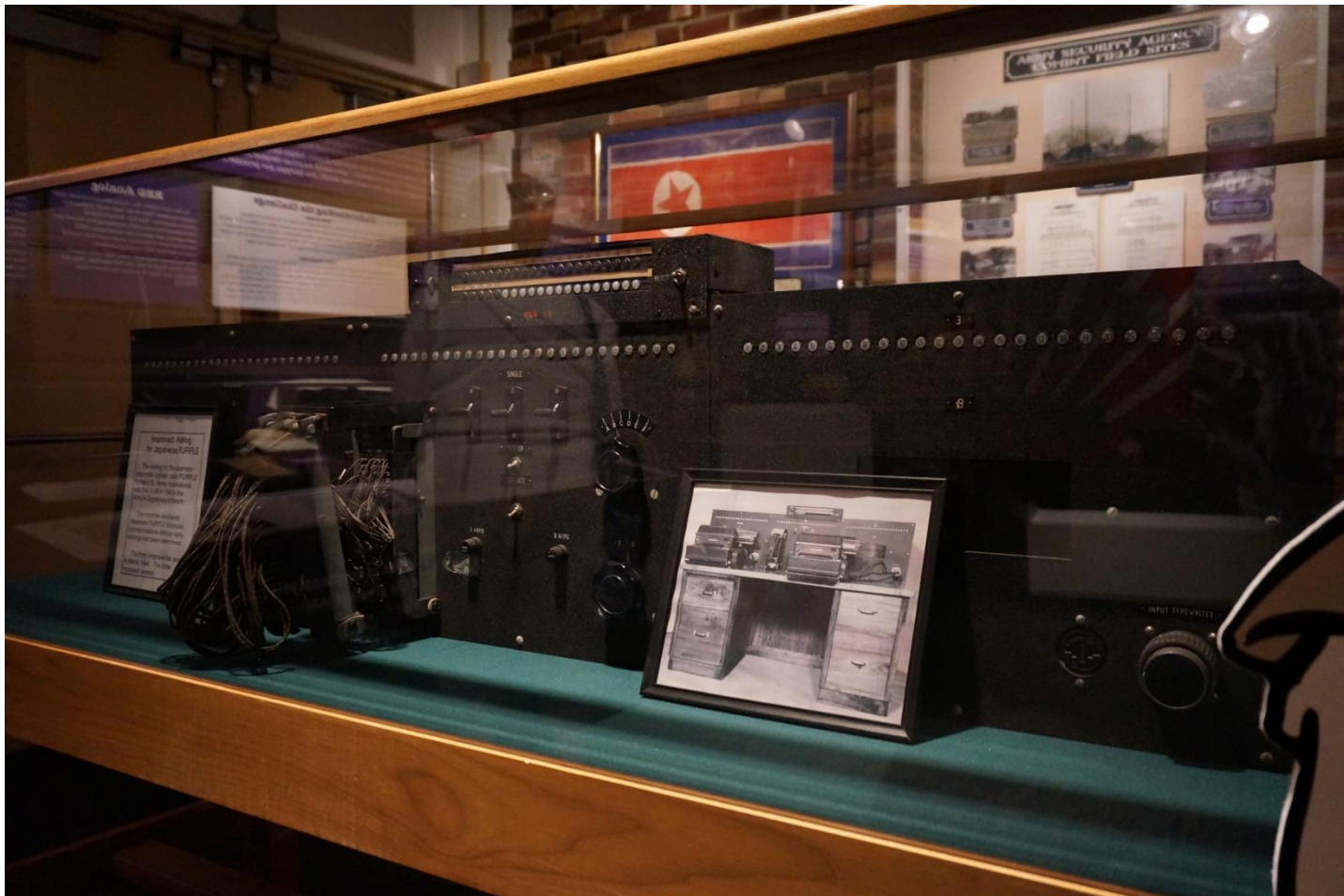
Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 25, 1940:** A team of U.S. Army civilian cryptanalysts, after 18 months of rigorous mathematical analysis, breaks the highest-level Japanese diplomatic code (named “Purple” by the codebreakers), and working with the U.S. Navy, invent an electronic switching machine (using stepping switches, of a type then common in telephone exchanges) that deciphers the encoding actions performed by the Japanese “Type B” encryption device at the sending end of the information pipeline. Henceforth, the United States is able to *decrypt* all high-level Japanese *diplomatic cables* as fast as the Japanese diplomats in Washington, D.C.---all the Americans had to do was *translate* the messages from Japanese to English, after they were *intercepted and decrypted*. The intelligence product derived from the Purple machine was called “MAGIC,” and this source provided a tremendous amount of useful intelligence throughout the Second World War. The MAGIC intelligence did *not* provide *military* intelligence about Japan’s Army and Navy, but it did accurately reveal Japan’s diplomatic strategy prior to Pearl Harbor, and even provided some useful military and political information about Nazi Germany throughout the war, which was passed back to Tokyo by Japan’s ambassador in Berlin. MAGIC revealed to Roosevelt and his senior officials---prior to Pearl Harbor---Japan’s definite intent to pursue a “southern strategy,” and take by force the territory and resources of Southeast Asia. But MAGIC never revealed that Pearl Harbor would be simultaneously attacked, concurrent with the kickoff of Japan’s southern conquests---only that war was imminent in the Southeast Asia region, and that Japan would not attack the USSR. *MAGIC did reveal, however, that Hitler had promised Japan he would wage war on America if Japan found itself engaged in hostilities with the United States (more on this later).*

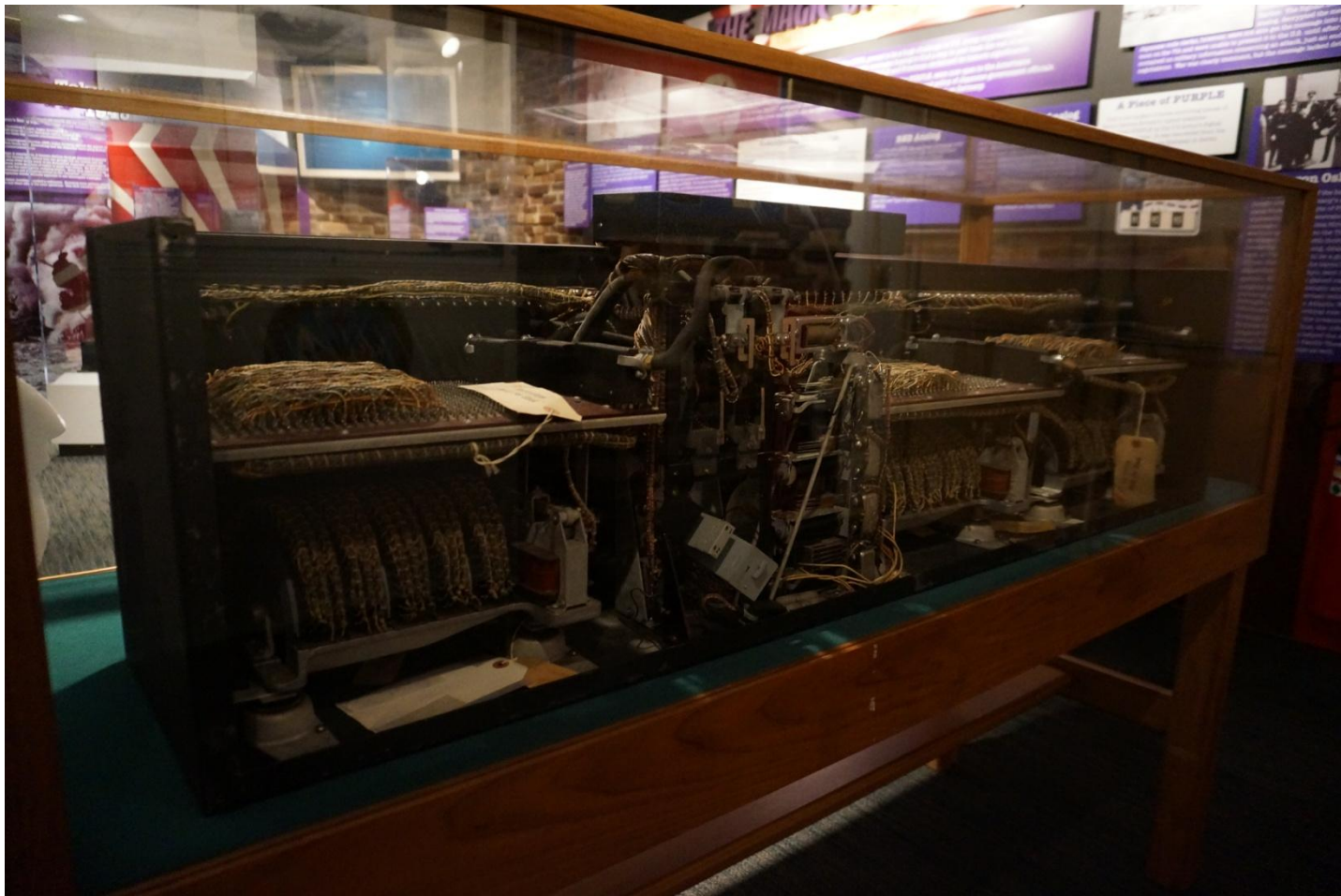
Photograph of the Purple “Analog Machine” As Set Up
During World War II, With Input and Output Typewriters Attached



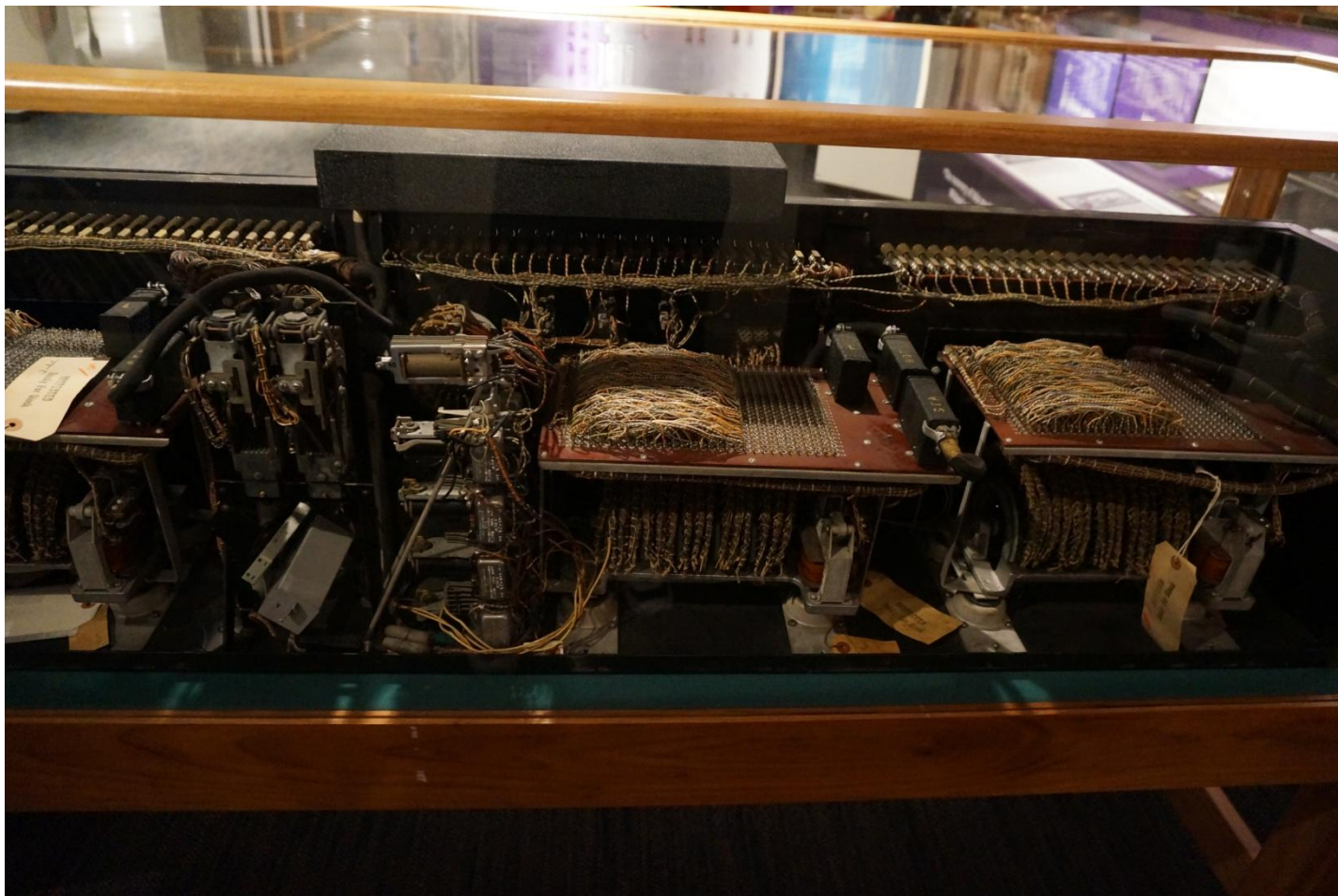
The Purple “Analog Machine” [Front View] (From the National Cryptologic Museum, Fort Meade)



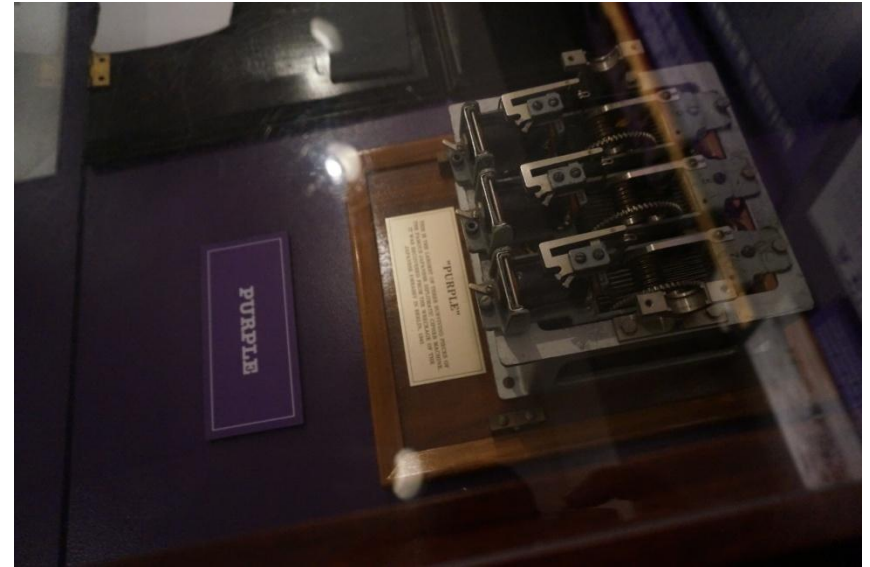
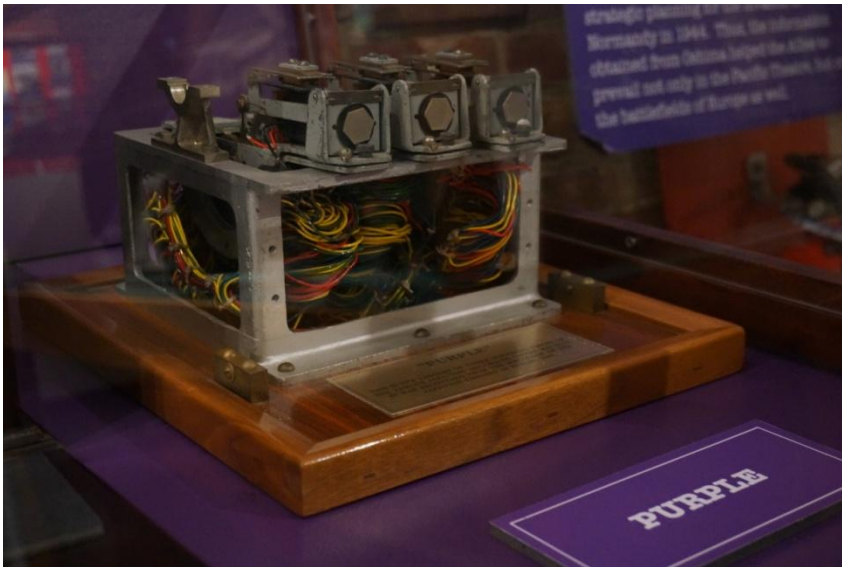
The Purple Machine [Rear View # 1 of 2]
(from the National Cryptologic Museum, Fort Meade)



The Purple Machine [Rear View # 2 of 2]
(from the National Cryptologic Museum, Fort Meade)



The Remains of the Japanese “Type B” (Purple) Code Machine,
Recovered from the Ruins of the Japanese Embassy in Berlin in 1945
(from the National Cryptologic Museum)



Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 27, 1940: Imperial Japan signs the Tripartite Pact in Berlin, along with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and formally becomes a member of the “Axis.”** It is a ten-year *defensive alliance* aimed solely at the United States; each member promised to go to the military aid of the others if they were “attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European War or the Japanese-Chinese conflict.” Under the terms of the Pact, Japan recognized the leadership of Germany and Italy in establishing a new order in Europe, and Germany and Italy recognized the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia. It was nothing less than an agreement to divide up and loot the planet, and a warning to the United States not to intervene. This Pact, and Japan’s war with China, were the two major impediments preventing peaceful relations between Japan and the United States. Until the appointment of the Konoye government in July of 1940, key figures in the Imperial Japanese Navy (including Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto) had successfully *opposed* a Japanese-German alliance. With the signing of the **Tripartite Pact**, **Japan put itself on an eventual collision course with the United States**, for the Roosevelt administration was determined to stop Hitler and Nazi Germany.
- **Late September, 1940: Cryptanalysts in the U.S. Navy’s communications HQ in Washington, D.C. (OP-20-G) “break” their first “JN-25” message.** JN-25 was the name given by American codebreakers to the Imperial Japanese Navy’s General Purpose Fleet Operational Code. The U.S. Navy was about *one year behind* the British in this effort, and the British codebreakers devoted considerably more resources to JN-25 than their American cousins. Prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, OP-20-G in Washington placed its primary emphasis on breaking the Japanese Navy’s “Flag Officer’s Code,” mistakenly believing it was more important than JN-25. (The Flag Officer’s Code was used only infrequently by the Japanese Navy, and was never broken by American cryptanalysts; in hindsight, it is safe to say that OP-20-G “bet its money on the wrong horse.”) By December 1, 1941 however---according to OP-20-G himself, CAPT Laurance Safford---JN-25 had been broken to a “readable extent;” but the few codebreakers in Washington assigned to that code were decoding cable traffic that was about *one month old*, and was *not current*. Furthermore, most of the human resources (cryptanalysts and linguists) available to OP-20-G in Washington were dedicated to the intensive daily effort to process **MAGIC diplomatic intelligence**.

A Primer on JN-25:

The Imperial Japanese Navy's Operational Code

- **Introduced on June 1, 1939**; called "Code Book D" by the Japanese Navy; sometimes called the "5-numeral" or "5-num" code. This is a book code, performed manually; no machines were used.
- A basic code book or dictionary contained **33,333 five digit (numbered) code groups**; each 5-digit number could represent a phrase, word, letter, or number.
- **After December 1, 1940** some code groups were assigned two different meanings, which meant that **the size of the dictionary increased to over 50,000 "words."**
- Each "word" in a naval cable or telegram was superenciphered, using 5-digit additive values from a 300 page book. Each "word" from the basic code book (or dictionary) was disguised, by adding to it a 5-digit number from the additive book. This was all done manually by the person enciphering the message at the sending end of the pipeline.
- This "**superencipherment**" had to be stripped (manually) from each 5-digit word at the receiving end, before the basic code book (or dictionary) could be used to decipher the message. Daily "keys" provided instructions to the Japanese radiomen on which additive tables (by page number) had been used for the "superencipherment."
- "Breaking" a JN-25 message, for both radiomen in the Japanese Navy, and especially for cryptanalysts at **Britain's Far East Combined Bureau (FECB)** in Singapore, and **Station NEGAT** in Washington (OP-20-G), was a tedious, time-consuming process that was labor-intensive. For the British and American codebreakers attempting to "break" JN-25, a large labor force was required, as well as sorting and tabulating machines; a high volume of message traffic (numerous samples) was also essential. **Station CAST** (at Corregidor in the Philippines) assisted the **Station NEGAT** effort in Washington, D.C.
- For cryptanalysts, stripping the additive superencipherment from each 5-digit word was the difficult part; after that, basic code book values could be recovered permanently and retained.
- Japanese linguists worked alongside cryptanalysts in each codebreaking organization.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **October 7, 1940:** Navy CDR Arthur H. McCollum, Head of the Far East Section at the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), writes a key policy and strategy memo for ONI which recommended taking strict and provocative actions against Japan, titled: *"Estimate of the Situation in the Pacific and Recommendations for Action by the United States."* Most of its recommended actions, and some of its exact language, was adopted by senior military officials in the Roosevelt administration, and by the President, in the run-up to Pearl Harbor. On this basis, it is safe to assume FDR himself saw the report, and adopted its recommendations. **(See next slide for a discussion of its content.)** One stimulus for the report was surely Japan signing the Tripartite Pact, and joining the "Axis." Another stimulus may have been the impending visit of CinCUS, Admiral Richardson, who was scheduled to meet with Roosevelt again the very next day.
- **October 8, 1940:** Admiral James O. Richardson, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Fleet, is recalled to Washington (not at his request) and again meets with President Roosevelt to discuss the state of the U.S. Navy, and national geo-political strategy. He clashes with FDR again about Roosevelt's desire to keep the U.S. Pacific Fleet in its new homeport of Pearl Harbor. Richardson complains that the repair and training facilities in Hawaii are inadequate, and inferior to those on the West Coast; complains about the shortage of enlisted personnel in the Navy and discusses the urgent need to ramp-up recruiting; and also complains (again) that the U.S. Pacific Fleet is in an exposed position in Hawaii and is *not* serving as a deterrent to Japanese expansion. FDR disagrees with him on this score. Richardson also informs Roosevelt that senior officers in the U.S. Navy do not have confidence in him, as Commander-in-Chief, in the event of a war in the Pacific. FDR tells Richardson that **"sooner or later they [the Japanese] will make a mistake, and we will enter the war."** FDR's language and strategy goals appear to be an endorsement of the policy goals laid out in CDR Arthur McCollum's memo of October 7th (the previous day). Richardson is fired a short time after this second visit with President Roosevelt, and is replaced on February 1, 1941 by Admiral Husband E. Kimmel; with Kimmel's appointment, the position of CinCUS was abolished and replaced by CINCPAC. **(See ensuing slides for incendiary quotes from visit.)**

The McCollum Memo of October 7, 1940:

“From Deterrence to Provocation”

- A five page, single-spaced document which discusses the entire world situation, with the emphasis on what to do about Japan. [Emphasis added below]
- Paragraph 9: “**It is not believed that in the present state of political opinion the United States Government is capable of declaring war against Japan without more ado; it is barely possible that vigorous action on our part might lead the Japanese to modify their attitude. Therefore, the following course of action is suggested:** [Emphasis added]
 - Make an arrangement with Britain for the use of British bases in the Pacific, particularly Singapore;
 - Make an arrangement with Holland for the use of base facilities and acquisition of supplies in the Dutch East Indies;
 - Give all possible aid to the Chinese Government of Chiang Kai-Shek;
 - Send a division of long range heavy cruisers to the Orient, Philippines, or Singapore;
 - Send two divisions of submarines to the Orient;
 - **Keep the main strength of the U.S. Fleet now in the Pacific in the vicinity of the Hawaiian Islands;**
 - **Insist that the Dutch refuse to grant Japanese demands for undue economic concessions, particularly oil;**
 - **Completely embargo all U.S. trade with Japan, in collaboration with a similar embargo imposed by the British Empire.”**

McCollum ONI Memo of October 7, 1940 (continued)

- Paragraph 10: ***“If by these means Japan could be led to commit an overt act of war, so much the better. At all events we must be fully prepared to accept the threat of war.”*** [Emphasis added above and below]
- Summary page, recommendation no 6 of 7: ***“It is to [sic] the interest of the United States to eliminate Japan’s threat in the Pacific at the earliest opportunity by taking prompt and aggressive action against Japan.”***
- President Roosevelt met regularly with a coterie of Naval Officers, including the Director of Naval Intelligence (McCollum’s superior); the Chief of War Plans; the Chief of Naval Operations, and his Deputy Chief. ***All of the key policy recommendations on the previous slide were fully enacted (and others in part) so it seems reasonable to conclude that FDR saw (and approved of) McCollum’s memo of October 7th.*** CDR McCollum was one of only 12 individuals on the distribution list for **MAGIC** diplomatic intelligence, indicating that he was “in the loop” on policy preparation, and was a highly trusted staff officer.
- **Language used in Army and Navy war warning messages** in 1941 emphasizes the desire in Washington that Japan ***“commit the first overt act”*** of war.
- **President Roosevelt’s policy of deterrence against Japan appears to have gradually evolved into a policy of *provocation*,** commencing with the visit of Admiral J.O. Richardson to Washington, D.C., from October 8-10, 1940. (See next three slides.)

Clash of the Titans (1 of 3): J.O. Richardson Confronts President Franklin D. Roosevelt Again on October 8, 1940

- **About using the fleet at Pearl Harbor as a deterrent to Japan:** [Emphasis added below]
 - **Richardson:** “I took up the question of returning to the Pacific coast all of the fleet except the Hawaiian detachment. The President stated that the fleet was retained in the Hawaiian area in order to exercise a restraining influence on the actions of Japan. I stated that in my opinion the presence of the fleet in Hawaii might influence a civilian political government, but that Japan had a military government which knew that the fleet was undermanned, unprepared for war, and had no train of auxiliary ships without which it could not undertake operations. Therefore, the presence of the fleet in Hawaii could not exercise a restraining influence on Japanese action...”
 - **Roosevelt:** “Despite what you believe, I know that the presence of the fleet in the Hawaiian area has had, and is now having, a restraining influence on the actions of Japan.”
 - **Richardson:** “Mr. President, I still do not believe it, and I know that our fleet is disadvantageously disposed for preparing for or initiating war.”

Clash of the Titans (2 of 3)

- About whether or not the United States would enter the war (at this time, there was only the European War, but Richardson seems to be thinking already in terms of a worldwide, global conflict with the Axis nations):
[Emphasis added below]
 - **Richardson:** “Later I asked the President if we were going to enter the war.”
 - **Roosevelt:** “He replied that if the Japanese attacked Thailand, or the Kra Peninsula, or the Dutch East Indies, we would not enter the war; that if they even attacked the Philippines, he doubted whether we would enter the war; but that they could not always avoid making mistakes, and as the war continued and the area of operations expanded, sooner or later they would make a mistake and we would enter the war.”
 - **Richardson’s closing remarks:** “Mr. President, I feel that I must tell you that the senior officers of the Navy do not have the trust and confidence in the civilian leadership of this country that is essential for the successful prosecution of a war in the Pacific.”

Clash of the Titans (3 of 3)

- **On October 10, 1940**, two days later, Admiral Richardson meets with Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, and CNO Harold R. Stark; Knox passes along to him **FDR's idea** of possibly "shutting off all trade between Japan and the Americas [in the event of Japanese aggression in Southeast Asia] and to this end was considering **establishing a patrol of light ships in two lines [one] extending from Hawaii westward to the Philippines, and [the other extending] from Samoa toward the Dutch East Indies.**"
- **Richardson expressed his view that *if such a patrol line stopped Japanese ships, that this would constitute an act of war, and he asked whether the President was considering a declaration of war.*** He further stated to Secretary Knox that he was "**amazed**" at the President's proposal and said "**the fleet was not prepared to put such a plan into effect, nor for the war which would certainly result from such a course of action, and that we would certainly lose many of the ships...**"
- Secretary Knox appeared displeased, and said: "*I am not a strategist; if you don't like the President's plan, draw up one of your own to accomplish the purpose.*"
- **Admiral Richardson responded: "The execution of such a plan would result in war."**
- **Conclusion:** FDR has been strongly influenced by the McCollum memo, and is considering (per McCollum's memo) taking "prompt and aggressive action against Japan," in an apparent effort to get the Japanese Navy to "make a mistake" and "commit an overt act of war."

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **October 23, 1940:** In a major campaign speech in Philadelphia, Roosevelt promises: “We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, Naval, or Air Forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack.”
- **October 30, 1940:** In a Boston campaign speech one week later, FDR repeats his assertion that U.S. servicemen will not participate in foreign wars, but this time drops the caveat: “except in case of attack.” The full quotation follows: “**While I’m talking to you fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again [agayne, and agayne, and agayne]: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.**” [Emphasis in original] Prior to the speech, when Roosevelt’s speechwriter Sam Rosenman challenged him and asked why he had left the caveat out of the speech, FDR responded: “**It’s not necessary. If we’re attacked, it’s no longer a foreign war.**”
- **November 5, 1940:** Franklin Roosevelt is re-elected for a third term, the first time this has happened. Nearly 50,000,000 votes were cast, the most in American history. FDR received 55% of the popular vote to Willkie’s 45%; the electoral college magnified the victory to landslide proportions: 449 to a mere 82 for Willkie. Roosevelt won 38 states, Willkie only 10. It was a decisive victory for Roosevelt, by American standards. [Play video segment II]

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **Nov 11-12, 1940:** British torpedo planes attack part of the Italian fleet at anchor in Taranto Harbor in southern Italy, and successfully launch torpedoes in shallow water, seriously damaging 3 of the 5 battleships there---putting them out of commission for a considerable period of time. In Japan, Admiral Yamamoto (Chief, Combined Fleet), who has already considered attacking the U.S. Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor in the event of war with America, is impressed with its success. It reinforces his own nascent idea.
- **November 12, 1940:** In a strategy memo for FDR, CNO Admiral Harold R. Stark (known as “Betty” by his Naval Academy classmates and by President Roosevelt) offers up four alternatives, and personally recommends the fourth, “Plan Dog,” which was a “Europe First” strategy that put Japan on the back burner and presaged the “Germany First” policy which would come out of the secret ABC (American-British Conversations) military staff talks held in Washington, D.C. between late January and late March of 1941. Stark’s “Plan Dog” advocated going on the strategic defensive with Japan in the Pacific, and avoiding war with Japan if at all possible. This policy also meant that many ships might need to be transferred from the Pacific to the Atlantic to support the “Europe First” strategy. (This is, in fact, what later happened in 1941.)
- **December 5, 1940:** Adolph Hitler directs Field Marshall von Brauchitsch and General Halder to prepare the German Army for an attack on the USSR at the end of May 1941.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **December 9, 1940:** FDR receives the “very long letter” from Winston Churchill (ten typewritten pages and over 4,000 words) in which Churchill admits that Great Britain is nearly bankrupt and will not be able to continue paying for armaments orders placed with United States industry indefinitely; Churchill asks Roosevelt to nevertheless find a way to give him everything Great Britain needs to prosecute the war---free of charge. [Read passage on pages 182-183.]
- **December 17, 1940:** Roosevelt’s “forested mind” conjures up a simple homily easily understood by everyone---the loan of a garden hose to a neighbor whose house is on fire---to introduce the “Lend-Lease” policy to the American people at a White House press conference. [Read passage on page 185.] Following his most famous fireside chat on December 29, 1940---his **Arsenal of Democracy Speech**---he would formally introduce Lend-Lease legislation to Congress on January 10, 1941 and---after considerable debate in Congress---it would pass by a hefty margin on March 11, 1941. [Play video segments III and IV]
- **December 18, 1940:** Hitler approves the military operational directive ordering the German invasion of the Soviet Union (known as “Operation Barbarossa”) in the spring of 1941. His forthcoming *racial war of annihilation*, Hitler believes, will gain the “living space in the east” (*lebensraum*) that he has always been fixated upon. The invasion was eventually delayed from May 1941 to June 22nd; and in spite of warnings from both the United States and Great Britain that this was coming, Stalin’s government and military were caught flat-footed and unprepared. Initially, the USSR suffered many terrible defeats at the hands of the advancing Nazi hordes, and almost collapsed as a nation state; Stalin was forced to trade space (and human lives) for time---and by December of 1941, with his army stopped in front of Moscow, Hitler’s gamble on a quick summer victory had clearly failed. Action taken by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in late July of 1941---his freeze on all Japanese financial assets in the United States, and the resulting oil embargo against Japan---was instrumental in helping the USSR to avoid defeat by Nazi Germany, as will be explained later in this course (see entry for July 26th, 1941).

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **December 29, 1940:** President Roosevelt delivers his famous “Arsenal of Democracy” **fireside chat**, on the very same night that the Luftwaffe launched one of its biggest nighttime air raids on London, during which St. Paul’s Cathedral was nearly destroyed (and during which much of the business district, and many famous old churches, *were* destroyed). He eloquently defends the concept of Lend-Lease, in what was perhaps the most important foreign policy address ever delivered by a U.S. President. [Read excerpts from pages 186-193.] His speech provides hope to the residents of a beleaguered London the next day, after the “Second Great Fire of London” is extinguished.
- **January 6, 1941:** Roosevelt delivers the **State of the Union Address** that came to be known as his speech about “**The Four Freedoms**”---*freedom of speech and expression; freedom of worship; freedom from want; and freedom from fear*. In this speech, he made clear that the materiel aid for Great Britain that he discussed in his “Arsenal of Democracy” speech should be given free of charge: “I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations. **Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as ourselves.** They do not need manpower, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense. **The time is near when they will not be ready to pay for them all in ready cash.** *We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.*” [Emphasis in original]

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **January 7, 1941:** Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, CinC Combined Fleet, Imperial Japanese Navy, writes a letter to Navy Minister Oikawa, **proposing an attack on the U.S. Fleet in Pearl Harbor** in the event of war with the United States. He proposes a large attack on the war's very first day, at moonlight or dawn, with a large number of carrier based Naval aircraft, and submarines. **His goal is to free up the remainder of the Japanese Navy for a six-month-long, unopposed southern advance by crippling the U.S. Pacific Fleet at the outset, and by destroying the American will to fight.** Yamamoto has served three tours of duty in the United States and knows Japan cannot win a long war with America; his goal therefore is to destroy American morale at the outset, and hope for a short, limited war, followed by negotiations which would allow Japan to keep its expanded, new southern Empire. (He asks to lead the attack himself, and does not expect to return alive.) **By first going to the Navy Minister, he is bypassing the Operations Section of the Naval General Staff, whose proper function is to propose war strategy.** (The CinC, Combined Fleet was supposed to **carry out** the General Staff's war strategy, **not propose it.**) **Yamamoto eventually carried the day with a reluctant Naval General Staff in October 1941, but only by threatening to resign,** along with his entire staff, once war preparations were well underway. Yamamoto had come to the gloomy conclusion in December of 1940 that war with the United States (which he did not favor) was probably inevitable---because of the Tripartite Pact, Japan's war in China, and because of the goal of southern expansion.
- **January 10, 1941:** **FDR introduces the Lend-Lease Bill to Congress, and two months of lively and impassioned debate ensues.** His primary isolationist opponent in Congress, **Senator Burton K. Wheeler** (a Democrat), claims the bill will amount to abdication by the Congress to a dictator, and will **"plow under every fourth American boy."** He accuses Roosevelt of being war-minded, and of engaging in duplicity in our foreign affairs. In contrast, **Wendell Willkie** (FDR's Republican opponent the previous November) supports the bill, saying: **"Providing the aid we give Britain is effective, it offers the best, the very best, chance for us to keep out of war. Hitler, in my judgment, will make war on us (or on our friends and allies in this hemisphere) when, as, and if he chooses."** Not all isolationists were Republicans, and not all internationalists and interventionists were Democrats. FDR said this about Senator Wheeler's remarks: **"I regard it as the most untruthful, as the most dastardly, unpatriotic thing that has ever been said."**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **January 24, 1941:** Secretary of the Navy Knox sends a letter to Secretary of War Stimson, warning: *"If war eventuates with Japan, it is believed easily possible that hostilities would be initiated by a surprise attack upon the Fleet or Naval Base at Pearl Harbor."* The letter asserted that the possibility of an **"air bombing attack"** and **"air torpedo plane attack"** were greater than the danger from enemy submarines or sabotage. The letter urged that the U.S. Army (whose responsibility it was to defend the Naval Base and Fleet when it was in port) give priority to "location and engagement of enemy carriers and supporting vessels before air attack can be launched." The letter was drafted in the shop of the Director of Navy War Plans, RADM Richmond K. Turner, proving that in spite of his personality defects (he was an abrasive, arrogant and power-hungry alcoholic), *he was an able and far-sighted military professional.*
- **January 27, 1941:** Secretary of State Cordell Hull receives a cable from Joseph C. Grew, the U.S. Ambassador to Japan, *warning that in the event of war with America, Japan would attack the U.S. Naval Base at Pearl Harbor with all its might.* Grew was passing on information he had received from a trusted colleague, the Peruvian Ambassador, who himself had received the information from numerous sources. Admiral Yamamoto does not know it, but he has already lost the element of surprise.
- **January 29, 1941:** **Two months of Top Secret staff talks** between the militaries of the two leading Western democracies and military powers (America and Great Britain), known as the **American-British Conversations or ABC talks, commence.** They were held at the invitation of CNO Harold R. Stark, with FDR's approval. The goal of the talks was to determine the best way for Britain and America, working together, to defeat "Germany and the powers allied with her," should the United States "be compelled to resort to war;" and to therefore plan, in broad outline, plans for the employment of the two nations' armed forces, and to reach agreements on strategy after America entered the war. (FDR had changed the wording in Stark's invitation from "should the United States **decide** to go to war" to "should the United States be compelled to go to war.")

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **February 1, 1941:** On the same day **Admiral Husband E. Kimmel** assumes the responsibilities of Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet (from the fired Admiral J. O. Richardson), the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) sends a Naval message to CINCPAC discounting Ambassador Grew's cable warning of about a future Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, saying: *"The Division of Naval Intelligence places no credence in these rumors. Furthermore, based on known data regarding the present disposition and deployment of Japanese Naval and Army forces, no move against Pearl Harbor appears imminent or planned for in the foreseeable future."* [Emphasis added] This carefully caveated assessment was drafted by **CDR Arthur McCollum, Head of the Far East desk at ONI** (*the author of the October 7, 1940 memo recommending that the U.S. "eliminate Japan's threat in the Pacific by taking prompt and aggressive action," in the hopes of getting Japan to "commit an overt act of war"*).
- **February 7, 1941:** The bilateral exchange of communications intelligence commences between Great Britain and the United States, with the British initially getting the lion's share of the deal. A four-man team of U.S. Army cryptanalysts arrives in England to commence a wartime exchange of code-breaking intelligence between the United States and Great Britain. **The American team delivers two (2) Purple machines to Great Britain---the two machines originally destined for Station HYPO at Pearl Harbor.** One Purple machine was kept by GCCS at Bletchley Park, and the other machine was sent out to FECB in Singapore. [The Head of OP-20-G, CDR Laurance Safford, bitterly complained afterwards that **General George Marshall** made the decision to give HYPO's Purple machines to the British without consulting with the Navy.] The Americans also delivered data on the limited progress made by the Navy's OP-20-G staff (NEGAT) in breaking JN-25. **The British do not reveal to the Americans that they are far ahead of the American JN-25 decryption effort;** however, two days later, the British Director of Naval Intelligence (Admiral John Godfrey) authorized a complete exchange of Japanese signals intelligence information between Britain's Far East Combined Bureau (FECB) in Singapore, and the Americans' Station CAST in the Philippines. **A third Purple machine destined for Station HYPO at Pearl Harbor** was reported by one source to have been diverted to GCCS at Bletchley Park later in 1941, also. **Station HYPO at Pearl Harbor never did receive Purple,** and thus was never a direct recipient of the **MAGIC** high-level diplomatic intelligence.
- **March 5, 1941:** Admiral Thomas Hart, USN, CinC Asiatic Fleet, reports to CNO ADM Harold Stark in a Secret message that **cryptologic information about the Japanese 5-numeral system [JN-25] is now being shared between FECB in Singapore and Station CAST in the Philippines, and that the Americans have received 500 book values and 4,000 additive table values from the British in Singapore.** The details regarding the depth and extent of information about JN-25 given throughout 1941 to the Americans at CAST, by the British at FECB, are still in dispute today. [Perhaps significantly, this formerly Secret message was not shared by the U.S. Navy with the Congressional Joint Investigation into the Pearl Harbor attack in 1945-46.] **ADM Hart unilaterally states that CAST will assume JN-25 responsibility as its only Navy assignment.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **March 5, 1941:** The Navy in Washington (OP-20-G) decides that **the responsibility for assisting NEGAT (Washington) with breaking JN-25 will go to Station HYPO in Pearl Harbor, NOT CAST**, as ADM Hart had insisted. This may have reflected a “fit of pique” by someone in Washington over Hart’s assertiveness in wishing to take the clear lead in decrypting JN-25; but one cannot blame ADM Hart for his “gung-ho” attitude, since CAST felt it had a superior capability (compared to HYPO) to intercept radio messages, and was in receipt of unique, vital collateral information from the British at FECB in Singapore (as made quite clear by Hart in his message of this same date).
- **March 6, 1941:** CNO (in a message drafted by OP-20-G) **replies negatively to ADM Hart’s implied request that CAST (in Corregidor) take the lead in breaking JN-25.** The reply stated in part that CAST lacked the **“necessary statistical machinery”** and manpower to take the lead in decrypting JN-25. [HYPO in Pearl Harbor had just received the latest IBM tabulating machinery to speed up the laborious process of additive table decipherment and book building.] ADM Hart was directed to forward the British JN-25 material to HYPO since **“present plan [is] to transfer this attack to Pearl Harbor in July.”** **In April, OP-20-G in Washington, D.C. (CDR Safford) ordered the creation of 3 identical publications listing all JN-25 “recovered values” (words from the JN-25 dictionary or code book), and that they be distributed simultaneously to NEGAT, CAST, and HYPO.** [As it turned out, HYPO never did have the responsibility for JN-25 transferred to it, and did not receive its JN-25 code book from Washington, D.C. until December 15, 1941, eight days after the Pearl Harbor attack. *More on this later.*]

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **March 11, 1941:** The Lend-Lease Bill passes in Congress, by a vote of 60-31 in the Senate, and the overwhelming margin of 317-71 in the House. On March 12th, the very next day, Roosevelt requested a 7 billion dollar appropriation to fund the initial materiel aid to Great Britain. His campaign to persuade the American people to provide “all aid short of war” to the Churchill government has been a brilliant success; **however, by an overwhelming margin (88% at the end of January), Americans oppose entering the war as a belligerent.**
- **March 15, 1941:** LCDR Joseph J. Rochefort, a talented Japanese linguist and a brilliant cryptanalyst, receives official orders to report to Station HYPO in Pearl Harbor, and assume the duties of officer-in-charge.
- **March 27, 1941:** Roosevelt signs the 7 billion dollar Lend-Lease appropriation act just approved by the Congress, by a vote of 67 to 9 in the Senate, and 336-55 in the House.
- **March 29, 1941:** The American-British Conversations (ABC) conclude, and the ABC-1 Report is issued. **Its primary recommendation is that a “Germany First” policy would be pursued, no matter what action Japan took in the Pacific.** (This is consistent with ADM Stark’s “Plan Dog” recommendation the previous November.) This Top Secret Joint Report, a contingency study about how to fight World War II together with the British, is unknown to the American people. In the political atmosphere of the time, it was potential political dynamite. **While FDR had persuaded the American people to provide “all aid short of war” to Great Britain, they manifestly still did not want to enter the war; and yet in secret, he was planning for war as if it were inevitable, while still speaking publicly about his intention to keep the United States out of the European conflict.** The ABC-1 report afterwards became the basis of the Rainbow-5 American war plan; the Joint Army-Navy Board approved both ABC-1 and Rainbow-5 in mid-May of 1941, as did Secretaries Stimson and Knox. Fearing the public reaction if the ABC planning became known, **President Roosevelt reviewed the plans carefully; did not disapprove them, but did not sign them, either---saying he would have them returned to him for approval in the event of war.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **April 6, 1941: Nazi Germany invades Yugoslavia and Greece.** [A British inspired coup d'état caused Yugoslavia to reject the Tripartite Pact, which enraged Hitler; and Mussolini's invasion of Greece had become a disaster for him, with Italian troops kicked out of Greece into southern Albania, necessitating a face-saving bailout by Hitler.] **The end result was that Hitler's invasion of the USSR was delayed from late May until June 22, 1941---a delay that may have proven fatal in his upcoming war with Stalin.**
- **April 7, 1941:** CNO Harold Stark informs CINCPAC (ADM Kimmel) that about one quarter of the Pacific Fleet will be transferred to the Atlantic, in concert with a recommendation made in the ABC-1 Report. The transfer of 3 battleships, 1 aircraft carrier, 4 light cruisers, and 18 destroyers was approved by FDR on April 3rd; however, the transfers did not take place until May of 1941. **This reflected FDR's view (and that of the ABC-1 Report) that Germany was the prime enemy, not Japan.** [This action left 9 battleships, 12 heavy cruisers, numerous light cruisers, 3 aircraft carriers, and 50 destroyers homeported in Pearl Harbor.]
- **April 9, 1941: President Roosevelt extends the protection of the United States to Greenland (to preempt its possible use by Germany),** at the request of the Danish Ambassador to the U.S. The U.S. move prevented Germany from establishing weather stations or airfields on that continent, and ensured that the United States would henceforth have an abundant supply of the rare mineral cryolite, essential to the smelting of aluminum from bauxite ore. **Aluminum was essential to meet the massive targets for American aircraft production (set at 50,000 planes per year in May of 1940).**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **April 13, 1941:** Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka signs the Japanese-Soviet Nonaggression Pact in Moscow; both nations pledged not to get involved if either became involved in hostilities with a third power, and the USSR recognized Japan's puppet-state in Manchuria, called "Manchukuo." This lessened tensions somewhat following Japan's disastrous border clashes (undeclared war) with the USSR in 1938 and 1939. **By offering a degree of security on its northern frontier, the pact provided Japan cover for a possible future advance into Southeast Asia.** The pact delayed the transfer of 3 Pacific Fleet battleships to the Atlantic Fleet, since FDR did not want to immediately embolden Japan by withdrawing major fleet units from Pearl Harbor; however, the aircraft carrier Yorktown and 18 destroyers did leave Hawaii in late April, and entered the Atlantic ocean on May 7th.
- **April 23, 1941:** FDR meets with former U.S. Ambassador to France, William Bullitt, and tells him "that the problem that was troubling him most was that of public opinion. He had just had an argument with Stimson on the subject. **Stimson thought we ought to go to war now. He, the President, felt that we must await an incident and was confident that the Germans would give us an incident.**"
- **April 24, 1941:** CDR Laurance Safford (OP-20-G), the Navy's pre-eminent codebreaker, *changes his mind again about who will take the lead in breaking JN-25*, the Japanese Navy's operational fleet code: a Naval message (drafted by Safford) from CNO to CinC Asiatic Fleet (ADM Hart) reverses the negative decision of March 6, 1941, which denied Station CAST the primacy in breaking JN-25. In response to the vehement protestations of Station CAST, Safford agrees that CAST is better situated, geographically, to capture JN-25 transmissions, and he directs: **"The project will not be transferred to COM-14 [Station HYPO] as previously planned."** **So, although HYPO apparently had the modern tabulating machines required to work with JN-25, and more personnel, the prime responsibility for breaking the Japanese Fleet's operating code was relinquished to CAST because of its geographic location, and its liaison with British personnel at FECB. About one month later, when LCDR Rochefort reports for duty as OIC of Station HYPO in Pearl Harbor, he will be told to leave JN-25 alone and to focus on the Japanese Navy's "Flag Officer's Code."** [The Flag Officer's Code was never broken by the U.S. Navy. After Pearl Harbor was attacked on Dec 7, 1941, Rochefort's Station HYPO was allowed to focus on JN-25, and broke that code, resulting in American victories at the battles of Coral Sea and Midway, in 1942.]
- **April 25, 1941:** President Roosevelt dramatically extends the U.S. **"Neutrality Zone"** eastwards, into the mid-Atlantic Ocean. (Note: this action is announced only 2 days after FDR tells William Bullitt that he is **"confident the Germans will give us an incident."**) The area patrolled by the U.S. Navy, expanded to 300 nm from land on September 5, 1939, was now dramatically extended eastward, from 60 degrees West Longitude to 25 degrees West Longitude, encompassing tens of thousands of square miles of additional ocean territory. **FDR refuses to define what this means, or what a U.S. warship will do if it encounters a German U-boat or surface raider.** Roosevelt will not yet approve "convoying" (the escorting of British merchant ships), but Admiral Ernest J. King (CINCLANT) has directed U.S. ships engaged in "neutrality patrols" to openly report, in the clear, the positions of all Axis vessels encountered to the British Navy. King issues instructions to the Atlantic Fleet that say if the German Navy attacks any ships or territory under U.S. protection, these German units are to be captured or destroyed.

FDR to CNO Harold Stark:

"Betty, Please Don't Ask Me That!"

- During the spring and summer of 1941, FDR exhibited apparent vacillation and uncertainty about the "convoying" decision, and whether or not to declare war on Germany. Admiral Harold Stark wrote to a friend about his extreme frustration regarding the lack of clear instructions from the President about what to do if U.S. ships encountered German vessels.
- Stark knew that with a war at sea raging between the Royal Navy and the Kriegsmarine, and with the U.S. Navy patrolling a greatly expanded "neutrality zone," there were bound to be confrontations and 'incidents.'
- *"To some of my various pointed questions,"* Stark wrote a friend in July, *"I get a smile or a "BETTY, PLEASE DON'T ASK ME THAT!"*



Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **May 13, 1941:** The three Pacific Fleet battleships identified on April 7th for transfer to the Atlantic Fleet (*Idaho*, *New Mexico*, and *Mississippi*) are finally allowed to leave Pearl Harbor; four light cruisers and 13 destroyers accompany them on the way to Admiral Ernest J. King's Atlantic Fleet, to assist with U.S. "neutrality patrols." The other ships ordered to move in the April order (aircraft carrier *Yorktown* and 4 destroyers) had departed Pearl Harbor on April 20th under the cover of normal exercises, had subsequently received secret orders, while at sea, on April 22nd to proceed directly to the Atlantic, and had transited the Panama Canal on May 7th. In its weakened state, the Pacific Fleet is no longer capable of conducting sustained offensive operations in the Pacific against Japan---and can therefore no longer serve as a serious *deterrent* against Japanese expansionism---even though this will not be officially acknowledged in Washington until November 5th, 1941.
- **May 27, 1941:** In a major radio address (fireside chat), President Roosevelt declares an "Unlimited National Emergency," creating the impression that he will begin convoying British merchant ships soon, and generating speculation that the speech might be a prelude to a request for a Declaration of War against Nazi Germany. *The next day FDR "walked back" any impression he had given about convoying, or imminent hostilities with Germany, thus disappointing the interventionists in his Cabinet.* [Read excerpts on pages 241-249.] **He was not willing to commence convoying British merchant ships yet, because he had foreknowledge of Hitler's imminent invasion of the USSR, and was loath to take any action that might have led to *premature* conflict with Germany which might have *delayed, or cancelled*, Hitler's planned invasion of the Soviet Union.** But his bellicose discussion of the importance of freedom of the seas, and the need for extended "neutrality patrols" over larger portions of the Atlantic ocean by the U.S. Navy, was a continuance of his ongoing education of the public about the dangers inherent to American security (and to Western Civilization and the Western Hemisphere) if the ongoing Battle of the Atlantic were to be lost. The speech was not made to announce convoying, but to prepare the public for the possible need for convoying in the near future---and to make it clear that *should* hostilities in the Atlantic between the U.S. Navy and the Kriegsmarine transpire in the near future, they would be the result of crucial defensive actions being taken by his administration. **FDR was demonstrating great patience, and edging the American people closer and closer to the idea of belligerency, without moving too fast.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **June 2, 1941:** LCDR Joseph J. Rochefort reports to COM-14 in Pearl Harbor as OIC of Station HYPO, which became publicly known as the "Combat Intelligence Unit." He and his personnel at Station HYPO were the most talented single group of cryptanalysts and linguists in the U.S. Navy. Rochefort and his team were not allowed to work on the JN-25 code until after the Pearl Harbor attack; they broke the code relatively quickly thereafter, leading to U.S. Navy victories in the Battle of the Coral Sea, and the Battle of Midway, in May and June of 1942. In what "the verdict of history" (through 20-20 hindsight) revealed to be a major blunder, Rochefort and his "cryppies" were assigned by Washington (OP-20-G) to work on the wrong Japanese Naval code (the Flag Officer's Code) from June through mid-December of 1941. [The Flag Officer's Code was never broken, and all operational messages relating to the Pearl Harbor attack were encrypted in JN-25, instead.] If Station HYPO personnel had been directed to break JN-25 and the Consular Code (J-19), instead of the Flag Officer's Code, the forthcoming attack on Pearl Harbor would likely have been revealed in time for U.S. forces to mount a proper defense, and perhaps even an ambush. This is one of the most tantalizing "what ifs" of the Pearl Harbor debacle.
- **June 7, 1941:** The government of the Dutch East Indies terminates its commercial negotiations with Japan over Japan's demands for huge amounts of oil, politely but firmly refusing to grant the concessions Japan had requested. With this action, the United States remained the sole source for over 90 per cent of Japan's oil supplies. The Dutch government in exile was acting in concert with the United States government in denying Japan the large amounts of oil it needed to run its Navy and expand its Empire; this denial of Netherlands East Indies oil to Japan was one of the major actions recommended in CDR McCollum's action memo of October 7, 1940.
- **June 14-16, 1941:** FDR freezes all German and Italian assets in the United States on June 14th, and on the 16th he closes all German consulates in the United States. The symbolism was clear: the United States had done all it could do, diplomatically, to register its displeasure with Nazi Germany, *short of declaring war.*
- **June 16, 1941:** In a MAGIC intercept of a diplomatic message from Berlin to Tokyo sent two days earlier, Baron Oshima (the Japanese Ambassador to Germany) informs Tokyo for the second time that Germany is about to attack the USSR. He reminds Tokyo that Hitler had also given advance warning to Japan of his attacks on Norway and France in 1940, and that Hitler's word can be trusted about this imminent attack on the Soviet Union. Baron Oshima first revealed Hitler's intent to invade the Soviet Union in an earlier MAGIC intercept broken on June 6th, ten days earlier. Hitler displayed unusual loyalty and candor with his Axis partners---both Mussolini and Baron Oshima---in contrast with the bottomless mendacity he displayed with the leaders of the Western powers, and potential victims. The American officials reading MAGIC knew they could trust secret information passed to Baron Oshima by Hitler, which became extremely important in mid-August of 1941.
- **June 17, 1941:** In a MAGIC intercept of a June 16th message from Tokyo to its ambassador in Vichy France, Tokyo instructs its ambassador to pressure Vichy France to grant Japan sea and air bases in southern French Indochina. This signals Japan's clear intent, to those reading MAGIC, that Japan plans to extend its Empire southwards, through conquest.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **June 21, 1941:** Hitler issues an order *forbidding* all German vessels in the Atlantic (U-boats and surface raiders) from firing on U.S. ships, *even in self-defense*.
- **June 22, 1941:** Nazi Germany invades the Soviet Union, in the largest military offensive the world has ever seen---Hitler's first big mistake of World War II. The Soviet dictator, Stalin, had been forewarned of this attack by both the British and American governments, but nevertheless was caught by surprise. This was the "big mistake" that both Churchill and Roosevelt had been waiting for Hitler to make since early in 1941, when they first learned about Hitler's plans. The German Army and the German Air Force, although massive, were both inferior in size to the Soviet Union's Red Army and Air Force. The Red Army also had many more tanks than the Germans. Nevertheless, the Wehrmacht made deep penetrations into the USSR during the summer of 1941, destroying large elements of the Red Army and Air Force; and by December, Leningrad was under siege, and the German Army had reached the suburbs of Moscow. Stalin had been forced to give up many lives, and much territory, to buy time. After this date of June 22nd, any and all actions that Franklin Roosevelt could take to help keep the USSR in the war, fighting Germans---and to prevent a separate peace such as had occurred in World War I between Germany and Russia---were considered of paramount importance by the American President. FDR knew that what had now become the Second World War would be largely decided by the outcome of the massive conflict between Germany and the USSR. Roosevelt's strategy to help keep the Soviet Union in the war, fighting and killing Germans and weakening the mighty German war machine, was: (1) to extend Lend-Lease aid to Stalin; and (2) to do all he could to prevent Japan from attacking Russia, its traditional enemy, in the Far East. Indeed, the Soviet Union's weakness before the German onslaught made Russia a tempting target to the Japanese Army; and after June 22nd, a vigorous debate ensued at the highest levels of the Japanese government during the summer of 1941 over whether to pursue the "northern option," or the "southern option." Foreign Minister Matsuoka and some members of the Japanese Army favored the "northern option" (attacking the USSR in Siberia), while the Japanese Navy favored the "southern option" (taking Southeast Asia and the Dutch East Indies). Japan had collectively decided to expand its Empire through conquest; only the direction of the expansion was in dispute.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **June 23, 1941:** Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes (FDR's Petroleum Coordinator) writes President Roosevelt (one day after Germany invades the USSR) and says:

“There might develop from the embargoing of oil to Japan such a situation as would make it not only possible but easy to get into the war in an effective way. And if we should thus be indirectly brought in, we would avoid the criticism that we had gone in as an ally of communistic Russia...it may be difficult to get into this war in the right way, but if we do not do it now, we will be, when the time comes, without an ally anywhere in the world.”
[Emphasis added] Subsequently, FDR informs Ickes he has no intention of embargoing Japan's oil at this time, and that foreign policy is none of his business; Ickes, offended, offers to resign.
- **July 1, 1941:** FDR writes Ickes, in a mollifying tone, acknowledging an internal debate within the Japanese government over “which way they are going to jump---attack Russia, attack the South Seas...or...sit on the fence and be more friendly with us.”
- **July 2, 1941:** At an Imperial Conference, Japan decides to declare its readiness to prepare for war in both the north (against the USSR) and the south (against the British, Dutch, and Americans), *while awaiting developments in Germany's war against the Soviet Union.* **Japan will prepare for war against Russia in the north, and the western powers in the south, but will only fight one of them.** MAGIC intercepts soon reveal this to the U.S.---that Japan is sitting on the fence, deciding which way to jump---*but that she will definitely pursue an aggressive war of expansion.*

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **July 22, 1941:** The Navy sends a policy paper to the State Department (drafted by RADM Turner, Navy War Plans, and endorsed by the CNO, Admiral Stark) that firmly *recommends against a Japanese oil embargo*:
 - “It is generally believed that shutting off the American supply of petroleum will lead to an invasion of the Netherlands East Indies...[it] will have [sic] an immediate severe psychological reaction in Japan against the United States...Furthermore...if Japan should take military measures against the British and the Dutch, she would also include military action against the Philippines, which would immediately involve us in a Pacific war...**RECOMMENDATION: That Japan not be embargoed at this time.**” [Emphasis added] The U.S. Army also supported this position, and Roosevelt was well aware of the Army/Navy/State Department consensus against an oil embargo.
- **July 24, 1941:** A force of 40,000 Japanese troops moves into southern French Indochina (South Vietnam and Cambodia) to establish numerous air bases for future southern expansion. This impending move and the threats against Vichy France that had accompanied it were all revealed by MAGIC intercepts.
- **July 24, 1941:** CNO Stark and Army Chief of Staff Marshall send a joint message to the Pacific Theater commanders warning that on July 26th, *the U.S. will embargo all trade with Japan, by freezing all financial assets and making export licenses mandatory for any further trade.* One sentence reads: “CNO and Chief of Staff do not anticipate immediate hostile action by Japan through the use of military means, but you are furnished this information in order that you may take appropriate precautionary measures against any possible eventuality.” [Emphasis added]
- **July 26, 1941:** FDR freezes all Japanese financial assets in the United States and thus imposes an embargo on all trade with Japan. **This is not overtly referred to as an oil embargo, but an oil embargo is the primary effect of the freeze on assets.** Historian **Waldo Heinrichs**: “The decision on an oil embargo was closely held and deviously managed. Action proceeded not in the formal realm of peacetime quotas and proclamations restricting export...but in the shadowy world of inaction, circumvention, and red tape...the United States had imposed an [oil] embargo without saying so.” Waldo Heinrichs, in his 1988 scholarly tome *Threshold of War*, argues that FDR imposed the oil embargo against Japan not just as a sign of displeasure over its actions in southern French Indochina, but primarily to force Japan to move south into the Dutch East Indies---to obtain a replacement source of oil---and thus abandon any plans to move north, and attack the Soviet Union. His primary foreign policy goal now, even more important than helping Great Britain, *was to keep the USSR in the war against Nazi Germany, weakening Hitler's armies.* Roosevelt went against the wishes of State, Army, and Navy when he cut off Japan's oil---so important did he believe it was to keep the Soviet Union in the war fighting and killing German soldiers. *The oil embargo forced Japan to choose the southern option, over the northern option.*

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **July 31, 1941:** The U.S. Navy conducts the third of three so-called “pop-up cruises” in or near Japanese territorial waters, in an apparent attempt to provoke an ‘incident’ with the Imperial Japanese Navy. On this date, two American heavy cruisers conduct an aggressive foray in the dark of night near the entrance to Japan’s inland sea, called the Bungo Strait; they lay a smoke screen and quickly depart when challenged by the Japanese Navy. In August Japan’s Navy Ministry filed a formal diplomatic protest with the U.S. Ambassador to Japan, Joseph C. Grew.

Roosevelt had first proposed the concept of “pop-up” cruises in early February of 1941 to CNO Harold Stark, stating:

“I just want them to keep popping up here and there and keep the Japs guessing. I don’t mind losing one or two cruisers, but do not take a chance on losing five or six.” [Emphasis added]

Admiral Stark warned FDR early in February that the cruises “will precipitate hostilities.”

Admiral Kimmel (CINCPAC), when informed, wrote Stark on February 18, 1941, saying: “It is ill-advised and will result in war if we make this move.”

Nevertheless, Roosevelt insisted on the “pop-up cruises.” Two took place in the central Pacific near the Japanese Mandates in both mid-March, and in late July and early August of 1941; the most dangerous was the “pop-up cruise” (described above) at the entrance to the Bungo Strait on July 31st. This incident, and the secret promises FDR made to Churchill at the Argentina Conference in mid-August, are the key to his real intentions vis-à-vis whether, and how, the United States should involve itself in the Second World War.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **August 4, 1941:** Emperor Hirohito of Japan approves the proposal of his Prime Minister, Prince Konoye, to engage in a summit with President Roosevelt in an attempt to avert war with the United States. Konoye envisaged free-form negotiations without any previously reached conclusions or agreements; Cordell Hull was adamantly opposed to such a summit, and considered the concept a trap. **The Japanese military, fearing that Konoye might make unauthorized concessions, was largely unenthusiastic about the idea, and supported it only because if it failed, it would legitimate war.**
 - FDR discussed the concept twice with the Japanese Ambassador, Admiral Nomura, in Washington---on August 17th and 28th---and countered Konoye's idea of a Honolulu summit with one in Juneau, Alaska. **While Roosevelt expressed polite interest, he never said "yes," nor did he ever propose a date for such a meeting. Roosevelt was *stalling for time* by expressing mild interest in the idea of a summit, as he had promised Churchill he would do, at the Argentia conference in mid-August. (FDR was *"babying them along"* in an attempt to delay war with Japan---more on this later.)**
 - Back in April, Secretary of State Hull had insisted that these **"four principles"** must be the basis of any accord between Japan and America in the Pacific:
 - **Respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations;**
 - **Support for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries;**
 - **Support for the principle of equality, including equality of economic opportunity;**
 - **Non-disturbance of the *status quo* in the Pacific except by peaceful means.**
 - Japan, bent upon maintaining its Empire (and indeed, its national survival) through military expansion and commercial exploitation of conquered territories, could never agree to these principles. **This basic divergence between the two national viewpoints made war inevitable.** Konoye's inability to reach some temporary accommodation with the United States, through such a summit, led to his resignation in October.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **August 9, 1941:** The Japanese government formally decides *not* to go to war with the USSR in Siberia in 1941; along with this decision comes a consensus to expand southward instead, and to eventually capture the Netherlands East Indies, and thus secure a spigot for the massive quantities of oil needed by the Imperial Navy and Japanese heavy industry. There were three principal contributing factors:
 - Germany had so far failed to achieve a knockout blow against the USSR, and its invasion was slowing down; in spite of heavy military losses by the Red Army, there had been no political collapse of the Soviet government. Furthermore, no Soviet troops had (yet) been withdrawn from Siberia, making a Japanese war against Russia in Siberia appear unwise. Japan's reckoning with its traditional enemy to the west, Russia, would have to wait.
 - On June 7th, the government of the Netherlands East Indies had rebuffed Japan's attempts to negotiate rights to purchase huge quantities of oil for the next several years. **The failure of these negotiations meant that Japan would have to seize the oil in the Dutch East Indies by conquest, if could not continue to obtain satisfactory supplies from the United States.**
 - Roosevelt's freezing of Japanese assets in the United States on July 26th, and the ensuing "silent embargo" against the sale of all oil to Japan, had engendered a state of panic within the Japanese military, particularly within the Imperial Navy. At best, the Japanese Navy had a stockpile of oil that would last two years during peacetime, and for a much smaller amount of time in the event of hostilities with Great Britain and the United States. With the large amount of Naval construction taking place within the United States since May of 1940, and with the oil clock ticking, *the Japanese Army and Navy agreed that it was in Japan's interests to strike south as soon as possible, before its dwindling oil stockpiles began to run low, and before the new U.S. naval construction could be integrated into the fighting fleet.* Japan knew that most of this new construction would not be combat ready until late 1943 or 1944.
- FDR does not yet know it, but his actions of July 26th (the assets freeze and resulting oil embargo) have already had the desired effect: **Japan will not go to war with the USSR in 1941 and therefore, the Red Army's chance of eventually holding off the Nazi hordes are now much-improved.**
- Convinced of the righteousness of its "manifest destiny" to rule East Asia, and impoverished by its four-year war with China and huge military budgets, the Japanese Empire could only survive by expanding---that is, by looting and plundering other nations. **Japan was seized by a paranoid fear of encirclement by America, Great Britain, China, and the Dutch; and was no more likely to withdraw from China and give up imperialistic expansion (as the U.S. demanded), than the U.S. was to abandon Hawaii or return the southwest United States to Mexico.** **The upshot: a war over the future of East Asia between Japan on the one hand, and the ABCD powers on the other, was inevitable.**

The Argentia Conference at Placentia Bay, Between FDR and Churchill: Aug 9-12, 1941

- Conducted at sea, in great secrecy (FDR excluded his Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, and his Secretary of State)
- Behind the smokescreen of “The Atlantic Charter”---a propaganda document about moralistic post-war aims produced to justify the conference in a non-threatening way to FDR’s isolationist opponents---**Roosevelt made two secret commitments to Churchill: namely, (1) to commence convoying British ships from Canada to Iceland on September 1st; and (2) to wage undeclared war against the German Navy in the Atlantic, in the hope that there would be an “incident” that would serve as a *casus belli* justifying America’s entry into the Second World War.** Both of these promises were recorded in the Cabinet minutes of Churchill’s subsequent oral report to his War Cabinet.
- FDR also promised to attempt to delay war with Japan by “**babying them along.**”
- FDR’s true intention---**to get into the war against Germany**---was revealed at this conference for the eyes of history, *but was withheld from the American people. This is the litmus test of FDR’s genuine intentions vis-à-vis his foreign and military policy throughout the second half of 1941, through which all of his other actions must be viewed.*



The Argentia Conference (continued)

- **Argentia Conference Summary:**

- The primary purpose of the conference was for the two heads of state to take each other's measure and to establish some form of political intimacy and personal trust.
- Likewise, the military chiefs of staff of the two nations became acquainted with each other as individuals, and with the differing perspectives and needs of their counterparts. The British chiefs of staff came well-prepared, with a united position; Roosevelt intentionally brought *unprepared American chiefs of staff (so that isolationist opponents could not claim that he was planning for war)*. The British military chiefs and Churchill emphasized a "peripheral" war strategy against Germany which primarily emphasized bombing, and only a modest invasion near the end of the war for "mop-up" purposes. General Marshall was not convinced about the efficacy of bombing as a primary way of winning the war, and believed a large, frontal assault on Germany would be required to win the war.
- Roosevelt did permit Admiral King and Admiral Stark to discuss the convoying of British merchant ships with American warships, and to promise that it would begin in the near future, and that the U.S. Navy would convoy British ships from Canada all the way to Iceland.
- Harry Hopkins sailed to the conference with Churchill onboard HMS *Prince of Wales*, immediately following his return from a fact-finding visit to the embattled USSR. Stalin sent a message to FDR in which he said Great Britain and the USSR could probably **not** defeat Hitler's Germany without America entering the war; Stalin urged Roosevelt to bring America into the war as soon as possible. Through Hopkins, Stalin requested large quantities of anti-aircraft guns, machine guns, and rifles immediately; and large quantities of high-octane aviation gasoline and aluminum, in the future.
- Although the British *hoped* to hear their American conferees promise to enter the war, they did not *expect* it. Roosevelt was loath to make any *formal* promises about entering the war, faced as he was with a divided nation at home. **(Before the conference 75% of the American people opposed entering the war; after the conference 74% still opposed entering the war.)** For this reason he did not bring with him Henry Stimson or Frank Knox, who were both ardent interventionists; he did not want either of them committing a public gaffe by making any definite promise that America would enter the war. **Secretary of State Cordell Hull was left behind partly because he was ill, and partly because of his inflexibility.** Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles came instead, and Cordell Hull was not even notified of the conference until after FDR had left Washington.
- The Atlantic Charter was part public relations for domestic consumption in the United States, and part propaganda intended to encourage the morale of those nations resisting Nazi and Fascist aggression (or temporarily under occupation). It promised a better post-war world characterized by free trade and self-determination for all peoples (both very anti-colonialist goals which the British detested); hinted at the future United Nations organization; and openly talked about Great Britain and America working together to defeat the Nazi regime.
- The well-documented **"Church Parade"** onboard HMS *Prince of Wales* on August 10th cemented the emotional and cultural bonds between the two English-speaking nations working together to defeat Nazi tyranny.

The Argentia Conference (continued)

- Behind the scenes (the *real* conference):

- Regarding Germany:

- Churchill told Roosevelt: “I would rather have an American declaration of war now and no supplies for six months, than double the supplies and no declaration.”
 - FDR told Churchill, in response, that if he asked Congress for a declaration of war against Nazi Germany, “it would debate the issue for three months.” [The further implication here was that even if the declaration was eventually passed, in the current climate he would be taking a disunited nation into war.]
 - Roosevelt told Churchill that he “would wage war, but not declare it,” that he “would become more and more provocative,” and that if the Germans didn’t like it, they “could attack American forces!”
 - Churchill told President Roosevelt that if next spring, Russia was compelled to sue for peace, and hope died in Britain that the United States were coming into the war, that he would not answer for the consequences.
 - FDR, in his reply, made it clear that he would “look for an incident which would justify him in opening hostilities” in the next few months.
 - Roosevelt promised in secret to begin convoying British merchant ships from Canada to Iceland on September 1st.

- Regarding Japan:

- Churchill wanted Great Britain, the United States, and the Dutch government-in-exile to issue a joint communique warning Japan that future expansion in Southeast Asia *would mean war with the United States.*
 - Roosevelt **disagreed**, but promised to study Churchill’s proposed language and issue an appropriate warning to Japan in the near future. FDR’s warning to Japan, issued unilaterally on August 17th in Washington, used much softer language and did not mention “war” or even “conflict,” which had been removed from earlier drafts.
 - FDR promised Churchill that instead of threatening Japan with war he would “**baby them along**” ---in an attempt to buy time (from one to three months) for Great Britain and America to send military reinforcements to the Far East.
 - At this time FDR was focused primarily upon entering World War II against Nazi Germany, and preferred to do so by provoking incidents at sea between the U.S. Navy and the Kriegsmarine. Churchill’s personal secretary heard Roosevelt say this about Germany: “**I do not intend to declare war; I intend to wage it.**” Using conflict with Japan as a “**back door to war**” did not yet seem necessary to Roosevelt. Certainly FDR knew that war with Japan was possible, for as he told Admiral Richardson in October 1940, “**sooner or later they [the Japanese] will make a mistake and we will enter the war;**” but at this time provoking a fight with Japan was not his preferred methodology for getting into the war against Germany.

[Play video segments V and VI]

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **August 12, 1941:** On the last day of the Argentia conference, the crucial **Draft Extension Act** passes the House of Representatives **by only one vote, 203-202**. The act was necessary because the Selective Service and Training Act passed in September of 1940 only required draftees to serve for one year. Without an extension, the expanding U.S. Army faced “disintegration” (in the words of George Marshall) in October. The extension passed required **18 additional months of service** for all of those drafted the previous year (for a total of 2.5 years, vice one year).

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, a leading isolationist in Congress, said the closeness of the vote demonstrated “**that the administration could not get a resolution through the Congress for a declaration of war.**”

Lord Beaverbrook (the British Minister of Supply), who was at the Argentia conference, said this after visiting Washington, D.C. following the vote:

“There is no chance of the United States entering the war until a direct attack on its own territory forces it to do so.”

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **August 14, 1941:** OPNAV warns major U.S. Navy commands that “Japanese rapidly completing withdrawal from worldwide shipping routes. Scheduled sailings cancelled and the majority of ships other than [those in] China and Japan sea areas are homeward bound.” This was viewed as a sure indicator that Japan was preparing for war.
- **August 15, 1941:** A **MAGIC** intercept reveals the following declaration of intentions made by Adolph Hitler to high-level Nazi confidante Sepp Dietrich, and then relayed to the Japanese Ambassador, Baron Oshima:
 - “In the event of a collision between Japan and the United States, Germany would at once open hostilities with America.”

Hitler had been unusually frank and revealing about his intentions with the Japanese Ambassador for years, and his word on matters military, privately given, was trusted by the Japanese Foreign Ministry. [Hitler’s infamous mendacity applied to public treaties and promises made with the Western powers and potential victims, but not to private assurances made to his principal allies, Italy and Japan.]

The documentary record is clear that both Churchill and Roosevelt saw this message following the conclusion of the Argentia conference. (Churchill was assured by the head of MI6 that the Americans had received it.)

The significance of Hitler’s promise is that Hitler was promising to make war on the United States **even if Japan initiated hostilities**, whereas the Tripartite Pact was only a *defensive alliance*.

Knowledge of Hitler’s secret promise to Japan gave Roosevelt a “**back door to war**” with Germany in the event his strategy of provoking incidents with the German Navy in the Atlantic failed to generate a *casus belli* in the United States. The key lines in **CDR McCollum’s memo of October 7, 1940** surely reverberated within FDR’s “forested mind” once he learned of Hitler’s promise:

“If by these means...Japan could be led to commit an overt act of war, so much the better.”

Roosevelt now knew that if incidents between individual U.S. Navy ships and Hitler’s U-boats did not drag America into the World War, that war with Japan would indirectly get him into the war against Germany, once Hitler fulfilled his promise. **Congress could not ignore a declaration of war by Hitler against the United States.** [And because of our economic and industrial superiority, FDR was not afraid of a war with Japan.]

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 3, 1941:** In a Liaison Conference lasting 7 hours, the Japanese government reaches a consensus to ardently prepare for war in Southeast Asia against the Dutch East Indies, Great Britain, and the United States, while simultaneously pursuing peace through diplomacy. **The deadline insisted upon by the Imperial Navy for both the completion of war preparations, and a successful outcome to diplomacy with the U.S., was October 15th.** The war preparations held primacy with almost everyone concerned except perhaps Prime Minister Konoye, who was still hoping for a summit with Roosevelt. The “**don’t miss the bus**” philosophy [strike while the European colonial powers were at their weakest] and the ticking “**oil clock**” dominated the thinking behind the deadline of October 15th. If Japan were to have a chance of winning a limited war with Great Britain and America, everyone understood that it must begin soon; indefinite delay was anathema to the Army, and especially to the Imperial Navy.
- **September 4, 1941:** A German U-boat fires 2 torpedoes at the American destroyer USS *Greer* about 165 miles south of Iceland, and misses. USS *Greer* was enroute to Iceland delivering mail for U.S. troops, when a British bomber requested her assistance in locating a U-boat in the vicinity. *Greer* then helped two different British bombers locate the U-boat (by conducting aggressive sonar searches), **so that they could attempt to sink it from the air with depth charges**. Over many hours, USS *Greer* also dropped numerous depth charges on U-652, after the sub fired two torpedoes at the American destroyer. **This is the first of three ‘incidents’ in the Atlantic that came out of FDR’s decision at Argentia to wage undeclared war against Germany at sea. Roosevelt would make much of this in a major speech on September 11th.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 5, 1941:** FDR discusses the *Greer* incident briefly at a press conference, emphasizing his outrage, *without mentioning the harassing tactics of the American destroyer*. He would have much more to say at a “fireside chat” on September 11th.
- **September 5, 1941:** President Roosevelt meets with Admiral Stark (CNO) and Admiral King (CINCLANT) and orders the U.S. Navy to commence convoying British merchant ships from Canada to Iceland on September 16th (the day convoy HX-150 was ready to sail from Halifax). The convoying did not begin on September 1st as FDR had promised Churchill at Argentia, because the large convoy was not ready to sail until September 16th.
- **September 6, 1941:** At an Imperial Conference, **Emperor Hirohito** approved the consensus for war arrived at by the Liaison Conference on September 3rd and rubber-stamped by the Cabinet on September 4th. He did so in spite of expressing reservations at the conference about going to war (by reading a poem written by his grandfather). Key excerpts from the text read as follows:
 - “The Empire of Japan should perfect the preparation for war by the latter part of October, with determination not to shrink from a war with the United States (as well as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands) in order to ensure the self-existence and self-defense of the Empire. Parallel with the above, the Empire of Japan should try to obtain the demands of the Empire through negotiations with the United States and Great Britain, exhausting all diplomatic means for the purpose. The Empire of Japan should determine to commence war at once on the United States (as well as on the United Kingdom and the Netherlands) in case by the beginning of October [the deadline was now October 10th] the negotiations should not have produced any prospect of obtaining the demands of the Empire.”
 - As stated by American historian Samuel Eliot Morison, the hegemony Japan sought over East Asia meant “complete control---military, political, economic---of all Oriental countries by a Japanese ruling class, a control imposed by force and terror if not abjectly accepted by other Orientals.”

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **September 11, 1941:** FDR delivers a major “fireside chat” via radio about the *Greer* incident. In fairly direct language, President Roosevelt uses the *Greer* incident as justification for both the convoying of British merchant ships (without using the word “convoy”), and for future undeclared warfare against Germany in the Atlantic. He announces what the press dubs as a **“Shoot on Sight”** policy in defense of: (1) our line of supply to the enemies of Hitler, and (2) the concept of freedom of the seas. [Read excerpts from pages 321-328.] At the end of his peroration, the “Star Spangled Banner” was played on the phonograph, bringing FDR’s White House audience emotionally to its feet. **Roosevelt’s radio audience does not know that the *Greer* incident has given him a convenient “fig leaf” to justify two key decisions already made, secretly, at Argentia the previous month: the convoying of British merchant ships to Iceland, and his decision to wage war against the German Navy in the Atlantic (without declaring it).**
- **September 16, 1941:** The United States Navy, at long last, begins convoying British merchant ships from Canada to Iceland, where the Royal Navy would then assume responsibility for each convoy. *No public announcement is made.* [The CNO had previously ordered this to begin back on July 19th, but in the throes of indecision FDR had then cancelled the order; most of the advisors in his War Cabinet (Stark, Morgenthau, Hopkins, Stimson, and Knox) had been urging FDR to convoy since the passage of Lend-Lease in March.] **With this action, the United States entered into a full state of belligerency in the Atlantic; and it was virtually certain that there would be future ‘incidents’ at sea between ships of the U.S. Navy and the Kriegsmarine.** It was considered possible that Hitler would choose to declare war on the United States once convoying began, but since this did not happen, Roosevelt knew it would only be a matter of time before future ‘incidents’ between American and German warships would occur--- *incidents that would hopefully be more clear-cut and incendiary than the *Greer* incident had been.*

The “Bomb Plot” Message

- **October 9, 1941:** Army codebreakers in Washington, D.C. decrypt the “kick-off” (or originating) **“Bomb Plot”** message from the Japanese Foreign Ministry in Tokyo to the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu. The telegram had been transmitted on **September 24th** in the lower-level **J-19 Consular code** (not in the high-level **Purple** diplomatic code); was intercepted by the Army in Hawaii; and was sent by routine means---by ship and train---to the Army’s Signals Intelligence Service in Washington, where it arrived on October 6th. **The “Bomb Plot” message was sent by the Foreign Ministry on behalf of Japanese Naval Intelligence, and was a request for detailed, regular reports about where specific types of U.S. Navy ships tied up inside Pearl Harbor;** Tokyo knew that the replies would be drafted by the Japanese Navy’s spy at the Consulate, Ensign Takeo Yoshikawa (operating under civilian cover as “Mr. Morimura”). **The “Bomb Plot” message divided Pearl Harbor into five subareas, and requested regular reports on exactly where specific ship types (e.g., battleships and aircraft carriers) tied up---at docks or piers; at anchor; or moored to buoys; and additionally, requested to know which ships tied up outboard of other ships.** [In no other instance did the Japanese request grid information of such specificity about foreign warships; the berthing information requested was clearly to be used in planning either sabotage, or an air attack; and the information about which ships were tied up outboard of other ships could only have been of interest to those planning an air attack with both bombers and torpedo planes.] The Japanese Consulate in Honolulu replied directly to Tokyo in the J-19 code, and usually sent informational courtesy copies to the Japanese Embassy in Washington, D.C.---making U.S. interception efforts easier. The first direct response to the September 24th request was sent out from Honolulu on September 29th, and was decrypted in Washington on October 10, 1941 (the day after the original “Bomb Plot” message). Between January 1, 1941 and December 6, 1941 the Honolulu Consulate sent a total of 69 intelligence reports to Tokyo; and between August 21, 1941 and December 6, 1941 Yoshikawa himself sent out 36 spy reports. **Navy cryptanalysts in Washington, D.C. did not normally place any priority on Consular traffic, and instead concentrated on military cryptosystems such as JN-25 and the Imperial Navy’s Flag Officer’s Code. Thus, it was never the mission of Station HYPO in Pearl Harbor to decode Consular diplomatic traffic, even though it was well within its capabilities to do so.** **FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wanted to arrest “Mr. Morimura” but was denied permission to do this by President Roosevelt because to do so would have revealed American cryptographic success to the Japanese.** The “Bomb Plot” message was given wide dissemination within the highest levels of the U.S. government, and a fierce debate high in the Navy chain-of-command over whether or not to share this information with CINCPAC in Hawaii (Admiral Kimmel) led to what later became known as the acrimonious **“Battle of the Second Deck”** at the Main Navy building in Washington, D.C. (see next slide).

The “Battle of the Second Deck”

- Dissemination of the original “Bomb Plot” message was as follows: Army linguist and MAGIC courier Colonel Rufus Bratton routed it to the Secretary of War (Henry Stimson); the Army Chief of Staff (General Marshall); and the Chief of Army War Plans (General Gerow); Navy linguist and MAGIC courier LCDR Alwyn Kramer routed it to the Director of Naval Intelligence (CAPT Alan G. Kirk), the Chief of Navy War Plans (RADM Richmond K. Turner), the Chief of Naval Operations (ADM Stark), and the White House.
- President Roosevelt took action on October 14th that proved he understood the importance of the “Bomb Plot” cable traffic; he lunched with David Sarnoff of RCA at the White House, and asked him to ensure RCA gave copies of any Japanese Consular cable traffic, transmitted by RCA in Hawaii, to the U.S. Navy; but this began only in December.
- For reasons never adequately explained, neither the “Bomb Plot” message, nor any of the subsequent intelligence reports sent to Tokyo in reply, were ever shared with the military commanders in Hawaii (General Short and Admiral Kimmel).
- The abrasive Chief of Navy War Plans, Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner, refused insistent requests by both the Director of ONI (CAPT Alan G. Kirk) and ONI’s Head of Foreign Intelligence (CAPT Howard D. Bode) that Admiral Kimmel (CINCPAC) be notified of the “Bomb Plot” message. (Both men were summarily transferred immediately after the argument.)
- CDR Laurance Safford, the Head of Navy Cryptography (OP-20-G), drafted a Naval message instructing CDR Joseph Rochefort, OIC of Station HYPO in Pearl Harbor, to commence decoding Japanese Consular radio traffic; however, the Head of Navy Communications, RADM Leigh Noyes, refused to release the message. [CDR Rochefort, OIC of Station HYPO, was permitted by Safford to share all intelligence directly with CINCPAC, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel.]
- Thus, neither of the military commanders in Hawaii---neither General Short nor Admiral Kimmel---was ever informed of the original “Bomb Plot” message, nor were they aware of any of the ensuing Japanese intelligence reports sent to Tokyo in reply to the instructions in the “Bomb Plot” message.
- It is hard not to conclude that RADM Turner and RADM Noyes were carrying out the orders of higher authority in refusing to inform Admiral Kimmel about the “Bomb Plot” message, and in refusing to direct Station HYPO to henceforth decode Consular traffic in Honolulu. Their willful acts of commission were otherwise inexplicable. (Rear Admiral Turner was no fool---it was his shop that drafted the letter sent from Frank Knox to Henry Stimson in January of 1941 warning of a possible air attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese.) The implication here is that FDR, with full knowledge that war with Japan could serve as a “back door to war” with Nazi Germany, did not want anything to interfere with CDR McCollum’s suggestion that Japan be pressured into committing an overt act of war. Army and Navy telegrams sent to all major Pacific commanders in late November of 1941 insisting that “the United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act,” and FDR’s concurrent explanation to his Cabinet that Japan had to be maneuvered into “firing the first shot,” are consistent with these decisions by the Navy in Washington, in October of 1941, not to inform Kimmel and Short that the Japanese were developing a bombing grid for the ships in Pearl Harbor.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **October 9, 1941:** President Roosevelt sends a message to Congress requesting repeal of **Section VI of the Neutrality Act**, the portion of the law that prohibited the arming of U.S.-flag merchant ships. At this point in time, American ships were still prohibited from carrying war goods to Great Britain, and all Lend-Lease materiel had to sail on British-flag vessels, or those of her dominions or neutral nations. FDR's action anticipated the possibility, in the near future, that American ships might be carrying Lend-Lease goods. Furthermore, American merchant ships were already carrying their own, *non Lend-Lease* cargoes across the Atlantic ocean through Germany's declared war zones, and had been attacked on several occasions by U-boats and surface commerce raiders. FDR wrote: "Until 1937 [arming merchant vessels for purposes of self-defense]...had never been prohibited by any statute in the United States. Throughout our whole history American merchant vessels have been armed whenever it was considered necessary for their own defense." He also wrote: "I earnestly trust that the Congress will carry out the true intent of the Lend-Lease Act by making it possible for the United States to help deliver the [war] articles to those who are in a position to effectively use them. In other words, I ask for Congressional action to help implement Congressional policy." This general message also presaged the introduction of another repeal request in the coming days---repeal of Sections II and III of the Neutrality Act (more on this later). A bitter debate ensued, and only the torpedoing of USS *Kearney* on October 16th permitted easy passage of the requested repeal of Section VI the next day.
- **October 16, 1941:** Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoye of Japan resigns as Prime Minister. He had been unsuccessful in arranging a summit conference with President Roosevelt, and had failed to reach a diplomatic agreement with the United States by October 15th that would stave off impending war. (The new deadline of October 15th had been set by the Army and Navy Chiefs at a Liaison Conference on September 25th, modifying the earlier deadline of "early October.") The crux of the intractable diplomatic disagreement between Japan and the U.S. was China, and Japan's apparent intent to expand southwards---by conquest---from southern French Indochina. The U.S. desired an end to the war in China, and withdrawal of Japanese troops from southern French Indochina; Japan refused to allow a Western power to demand that she abandon China after four years of costly war, or to abandon her Imperial expansion, which was on the verge of proceeding in a southerly direction in Southeast Asia. Such a loss of face was unacceptable to all Japanese. **Konoye's resignation marked the end of efforts by a government that was only nominally civilian to avoid war with the U.S., Great Britain, and the Dutch government-in-exile; his replacement as Prime Minister was bound to be someone who favored war.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **October 16, 1941:** President Roosevelt submits to Congress a request to repeal Sections II and III of the Neutrality Act---this repeal would allow U.S.-flag merchant vessels to carry war materiel to belligerents in the European war (i.e., it requested permission for American ships to carry Lend-Lease goods to Great Britain and others opposing the Axis in World War II). This was the almost inevitable follow-on to the passage of Lend-Lease back on March 11, 1941. **FDR had been wary of introducing this amendment to the legislation, knowing it would energize his isolationist opposition. It did;** isolationists saw this as a major step toward American entry into the war. After energetic and bitter debate, repeal of Sections II and III would be reluctantly approved by the Senate and narrowly approved by the House on November 7th and 17th, respectively.
- **October 16, 1941:** The U.S. Navy destroyer USS *Kearney* is torpedoed by a German U-boat about 400 miles south of Iceland; eleven members of her crew are killed, and twenty four injured---and she barely made it back to Iceland without sinking. USS *Kearney* and four other U.S. Navy destroyers had sailed from Reykjavik in an attempt to render aid to a British convoy of 40 slow merchantmen which had been attacked by a “wolf pack” of U-boats. By the time the five U.S. warships rendezvoused with the convoy, ten ships had been sunk; USS *Kearney* was next to be attacked. *This was the second of three incidents in autumn of 1941 between the American and German Navies, and was a direct result of FDR’s secret promises to Churchill at Argentia to convoy British ships, and to engage in an undeclared war in the Atlantic.*
- **October 16, 1941:** General Hideki Tojo is appointed the new Prime Minister of Japan by Emperor Hirohito; he is a “war hawk,” who remains Army Minister (his previous post) in addition to assuming the mantle of Prime Minister. **Emperor Hirohito directs him to “go back to blank paper”---that is, to reexamine the issue of war vs. peace without regard to the Imperial Conference decision of September 6th to go to war.** General Tojo was not the most auspicious choice to wipe the slate clean and reassess whether or not war with Great Britain, the United States, and the Netherlands was necessary, since he was an ardent expansionist and was a true believer in the war with China and its supposed benefits. Tojo was the ultimate fatalist, who was prepared to commit national hara-kiri, if necessary, in support of “The Imperial Way” (i.e., military expansion in support of the Japanese Empire), primarily because of his parochial Army obsession about *not withdrawing any troops from China* whatsoever.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **October 27, 1941:** President Roosevelt makes a stirring Navy Day speech on nationwide radio about the torpedoing of **USS Kearney** back on October 16th, in an attempt to stir up a “war fever.” [Read excerpts from pages 349-350.] *The attempt fails to incite the national war fervor that would have been necessary for him to put a proposed declaration of war before Congress.*
- **October 30, 1941:** President Roosevelt notifies the embattled USSR dictator, Joseph Stalin, that the United States was immediately extending to the USSR a Lend-Lease credit of up to one billion dollars; repayment did not have to begin until 5 years after the end of the Second World War. Public support for Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union was only lukewarm; Roosevelt waited until after the new Lend-Lease appropriation had passed Congress on October 24th, and acted contrary to disingenuous assurances given to Congress during the Lend-Lease appropriations hearings that he had no immediate intention to grant Lend-Lease aid to the USSR. *FDR understood what the American people did not: that the success or failure of the Russian people against Hitler's armies would, more than any other single factor, determine the winning side in the Second World War.* Overall, the USSR eventually received over 11 billion dollars of the total of 32 billion dollars spent on Lend-Lease aid during World War II.
- **October 31, 1941:** **USS Reuben James** is sunk by a German submarine 600 miles off the west coast of Ireland, while escorting a British convoy from Halifax; it becomes the first American warship lost in World War II. A single torpedo blew up the ammunition magazine, resulting in the ship sinking in less than 5 minutes, with great loss of life: 115 of her crew were killed, including all the officers. **Notably, Roosevelt**---after the failure of the **Greer** and **Kearney** incidents to galvanize the nation---*makes no public announcement.* *His attempt to provoke a casus belli, a justification for war against Germany, by waging undeclared war against the German Navy has failed: none of the 3 ‘incidents’ in the Atlantic between the U.S. Navy and the Kriegsmarine has stimulated the nation to go to war.*

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 1-2, 1941:** At a **Liaison Conference** lasting 17 hours, the Japanese government decides that war with the United States is virtually inevitable, barring some miraculous diplomatic agreement. The Liaison Conference had determined:
 - “...in order to resolve the present critical situation, to assure [Japan’s] self-preservation and self-defense, and to establish a New Order in Greater East Asia...to go to war against the United States, Britain, and Holland.”
 - Only if negotiations proved successful ‘by zero hour on 01 December’ would war be avoided.
 - The full Cabinet rubber-stamped the decision on November 4th.
- **November 4, 1941:** Special diplomatic envoy **Saburo Kurusu** departs Japan enroute the United States to assist Japanese Ambassador **Kichisaburo Nomura** in a last-ditch attempt to gain American consent to Japanese expansionism in East Asia, and thereby avoid war. Kurusu had an American wife and spoke English very well, but was hardly the most tactful choice, since he had signed the Tripartite Pact in Berlin on behalf of Japan in September 1940. **Before he departed, Prime Minister Tojo told him that his estimated chances for success were only about 20 per cent.** Kurusu was authorized to discuss a **Plan A** (a long-term solution that would surely prove unacceptable to the United States) and a **Plan B** (a temporary accommodation already unacceptable to the Japanese Army). Both plans were cabled to the Japanese Embassy in Washington by the Foreign Ministry, and the **MAGIC** intercepts were read by FDR and Secretary of State Hull long before Kurusu arrived. (More later.)
- **November 4, 1941:** The United States intercepts, decodes (via the **Purple** machine), and translates a key diplomatic cable from Tokyo to Washington. The key text of the **MAGIC** intercept reads as follows:
 - “...we have decided...to gamble once more on the continuance of parleys, but this is our last effort...If through it we do not reach a quick accord, I am sorry to say the talks will certainly be ruptured. Then, indeed, will relations between our two nations be on the brink of chaos. I mean that the success or failure of the pending discussions will have an immense effect on the destiny of the Empire of Japan. **In fact, we gambled the fate of our land on the throw of this die.**”
- **November 5, 1941:** An **Imperial Conference** before **Emperor Hirohito** confirms the decision reached the day before at a Cabinet meeting to go to war in early December with Great Britain, the United States, and the Netherlands, unless a diplomatic breakthrough can be achieved by the end of November 30th. To the Japanese, the alternatives were peace with austerity (accompanied by shame) in a world dominated by America, or war with probable defeat, but upholding the national honor. As U.S. ambassador Joseph Grew put it, Japan would risk “national hara-kiri,” rather than “yield to foreign pressure,” adding that “Japanese sanity cannot be measured by American standards of logic.” At this point in time *neither* the Emperor, *nor* Prime Minister Tojo, knows anything about the Imperial Japanese Navy’s plans to attack Pearl Harbor in the event of war with the United States; neither does the Foreign Minister, or the Washington diplomats, Kurusu and Nomura.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 5, 1941:** The **Purple** machine decrypts Tokyo's deadline for successfully concluding negotiations with the United States; key excerpts from the **MAGIC** despatch follow:
 - “Because of various circumstances, it is absolutely necessary that all arrangements for the signing of this agreement be completed by the 25th of this month...Please understand this thoroughly and tackle the problem of saving the Japanese-U.S. relations from falling into a chaotic condition.”
- **November 5, 1941:** The Chief of the Naval General Staff of the Imperial Japanese Navy (**ADM Nagano**) sends a key message (Naval Order No. 1) to the Commander-in-Chief, Combined Fleet (**ADM Yamamoto**) which reads in part:
 - “In view of the fact that it is feared war has become unavoidable with the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, and for the self-preservation and future existence of the Empire, the various preparations for war operations will be completed by the first part of December.”
 - “The C-in-C of the Combined Fleet will effect the required preparations for war operations.”
 - Yamamoto and Nagato had privately agreed on November 3rd that in the event of war with the United States, Pearl Harbor would definitely be attacked. This was still a very closely held operational decision.
 - This message was the first of numerous messages from both the Naval General Staff and the C-in-C, Combined Fleet sent throughout November and early December that formalized arrangements already made informally; they were essentially “window-dressing” that emphasized (ad nauseum) the Japanese vertical chains-of-command and vertical decision-making (to reemphasize who was in charge). Repeatedly, the Naval General Staff would order Yamamoto to perform strategic tasks he already knew about, and Yamamoto would then direct the fleet to take the required actions with tactical directives.
 - Based upon actions that would be taken by General Marshall (U.S. Army Chief of Staff) on November 15th, it is highly probable that this message was intercepted, decrypted, and translated by either British or U.S. Navy cryptanalysts (more on this later), and that senior American officials were aware of it.
- **November 5, 1941:** **ADM Yamamoto** publishes 700 copies of **Combined Fleet OPORDER No. 1**, and they are distributed to all units in the fleet prior to the commencement of the war. Some of the key directives were:
 - The American fleet will be destroyed “in the East;”
 - British Malaya, Hong Kong, and Singapore will be invaded and occupied;
 - The Philippines will be invaded and occupied;
 - Strategic areas (Thailand and the Netherlands East Indies) will subsequently be occupied, or invaded and conquered;
 - A defensive perimeter would be established after all these operations; and
 - Enemy fleets and air power in East Asia will be destroyed, and these operations will be exploited so as to “destroy the enemy will to fight.”
 - Details of the Pearl Harbor attack---in the original document---were excised from all copies of the OPORDER.
 - The approximate date the war would begin (Y day) and the exact start time (X day) would be established by Naval General Staff orders.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 5, 1941:** General Marshall and Admiral Stark send President Roosevelt a joint appraisal about the strength of the U.S. Pacific Fleet and about the military readiness of the U.S. for war with Japan in the Pacific. Its key recommendations are quoted below:
 - “At the present time the United States Fleet in the Pacific is inferior to the Japanese Fleet and cannot undertake an unlimited strategic offensive in the western Pacific...;”
 - “...If Japan be defeated and Germany remain[s] undefeated, decision will still not have been reached...;”
 - “War between the United States and Japan should be avoided while building up defensive forces in the Far East, until such time as Japan attacks or directly threatens territories whose security to the United States is of very great importance.”
 - It closed with the strong recommendation “That no ultimatum be delivered to Japan.”The memorandum was written from a purely military standpoint, and may have been an attempt to restrain a President known to be enamored with the advice in CDR McCollum’s memo of October 7, 1940, which recommended pressuring Japan until she committed an overt act of war.
But FDR must have been wondering how long he could afford to wait before entering World War Two to fight Nazi Germany; it would do no good to delay the inevitable war with Japan if, in the meantime, Hitler won his war with the USSR and then turned upon Great Britain and finished her off. Furthermore, the ABC-1 Report had recommended that the policy in the future would be “Germany First,” and that the U.S. would remain on the defensive in the Pacific---so there would be no need to embark upon an unlimited offensive in the Pacific anyway; the point made by Marshall and Stark was therefore moot. And surely, as Roosevelt weighed the international situation and American psychology, always present in his mind was the secret promise Hitler made to the Japanese Ambassador on August 15th that he would declare war on America if Japan found itself at war with the United States. Since FDR’s undeclared war against Germany in the Atlantic had failed to propel the United States into the war, the “back door to war” generated by Hitler’s secret promise must have looked increasingly attractive to him. Japan did not have the industrial base to win a long war with the United States, and FDR kept this in mind, while continuously pondering how much longer he could afford to delay fighting Hitler’s Germany.
- **November 5, 1941:** CNO Harold Stark sends a message to CINCPAC (ADM Kimmel) and CINCAF (ADM Hart) informing them that the Japanese had ordered the complete withdrawal of Japanese merchant ships from Western Hemisphere waters---an obvious prelude to war.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 7, 1941:** Admiral Yamamoto publishes Combined Fleet OPORDER No. 2, which states: **“First preparations for war Y Day will be 8 December.”** [For the first time all of the operating units in the Japanese Navy were aware of the date that war would likely begin against the Western Powers in the Far East.] This was not a radio transmission, for reasons of security.
- **November 7, 1941:** Admiral Yamamoto (C-in-C, Combined Fleet) sends the following Naval message (encrypted in the JN-25b code) to all 30 units in the First Air Fleet (the Pearl Harbor *Mobile Striking Force*, known as “*Kido Butai*”):
 - **“THE TASK FORCE, KEEPING ITS MOVEMENT STRICTLY SECRET, SHALL ASSEMBLE IN HITOKAPPU BAY BY 22 NOVEMBER FOR REFUELING.”**

[It is not known whether this Naval message (telegram) was transmitted by radio, or sent via secure cable lines while the ships were in port. It is not among 188 key Pearl Harbor related messages decrypted and translated by the U.S. Navy after the war, in 1945 and 1946.]
- **November 7, 1941:** The U.S. Senate passes FDR’s requested repeal of **Sections II and III of the Neutrality Act**, by a vote of 50-37. This was the smallest majority of any foreign policy issue in the Senate since the European War had begun in September of 1939. Isolationist opinion had been inflamed by Roosevelt’s bellicose Navy Day speech on October 27th about the torpedoing of USS *Kearney*, and by the sinking of USS *Reuben James* on October 31st.
- **November 7, 1941:** The Japanese Ambassador to the United States, Admiral Nomura, submits the Foreign Ministry’s Plan A to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. It is “dead on arrival,” primarily because it promises a Japanese troop withdrawal from China only after the passage of 25 years---in 1966! **Secretary Hull waits until November 15th---the day Saburo Kurusu arrives in Washington, D.C.---to formally reject the offer.**
- **November 10, 1941:** Winston Churchill makes a speech thanking the American people for Lend-Lease aid, and warning Japan that if she goes to war with the United States, that Great Britain will immediately declare war on Japan:
 - **“The Lend-Lease bill must be regarded without question as the most unsordid act in the whole of recorded history;”** and
 - **“...should the United States become involved in a war with Japan, the British declaration will fall within the hour.”**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 15, 1941:** On the same day that negotiator Saburo Kurusu arrives in Washington, D.C., a **MAGIC** decrypt reinforces Tokyo's deadline for successfully resolving negotiations with the United States:
 - "...the date [November 25th] set forth in my message # 736 is an absolutely immovable one. Please, therefore, make the United States see the light, so as to make possible the signing of the agreement by that date."
- **November 15, 1941:** In a bizarre incident almost defying belief, U.S. Army Chief of Staff George Marshall conducts an "off-the-record" press briefing of major print journalists (*AP*, *UPI*, *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *International News Service*) and imparts the following information:
 - War between Japan and the United States would break out in the first ten days of December;
 - "We know what they know and they don't know we know it." [This recklessly implies codebreaking ability, and threatened to reveal our most sensitive intelligence successes.]
 - The U.S. military buildup in the Philippines had been kept secret from Japan, and was much more powerful than the Japanese thought. [Both statements were untrue.] Of the 200 B-17 bombers originally promised for the Philippines by April of 1942, less than 50 had been delivered by December 8th, and the proposed total of 200 had been cut in half, down to only 100.
 - The buildup was for an offensive war against Japan, although the Japanese thought it was for defense of the Philippines. [This was untrue; see below.]
 - In case of war, "Flying Fortresses [B-17 bombers] will be dispatched immediately to set the paper cities of Japan on fire." [This was untrue. Although that idea had first been floated as a trial balloon by Henry Stimson in late October, it had been thoroughly shot down by an Army feasibility assessment written on November 6th, for two reasons: (1) grossly insufficient air strength in the Philippines; and (2) failure to obtain rights to use Soviet air bases in Siberia.]
 - This information was going to be leaked quietly by the White House or the State Department, to Japanese government leaders, and would not be publicly leaked.
 - "Nothing I am telling you today is publishable, even in hinted form." And again, "None of this is for publication."

The story was eventually published on November 19th by someone who did not attend the briefing: Arthur Krock of the *New York Times*, who wrote about the plan to burn Japanese cities to the ground, but not about the certain knowledge that war with Japan would break out during the first 10 days in December. *If Marshall was truly concerned about press leaks, he would not have briefed the press.*

This episode appears to be an intentional provocation of Japan, in an attempt to get her to make a pre-emptive strike on U.S. air forces in the Philippines. Otherwise, it is inexplicable. After the war, USAAF General Lewis Brereton said that he warned Marshall that the bombers being sent to the Philippines were not supported by adequate fighter protection; he recalled telling Marshall "...the presence of strong and unprotected bombardment units might easily be a decisive factor to incite an aggressive enemy to air attack." **In this instance, Marshall appears to be supporting FDR's covert desire to pressure Japan to commit an overt act of war, under cover of providing military reinforcements for purposes of deterrence.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 17, 1941:** FDR's **Neutrality Act Amendments (repeal of Sections II and III)** are finally approved by Congress, with a 212-194 vote in the House of Representatives; **this passage by only 18 votes was relatively narrow---and although President Roosevelt was granted what he wanted, this vote strongly implied that Congress was in no mood to declare war on Germany. But the upshot was that now,** with the repeal of Sections II, III, and VI of the Neutrality Act, **American merchant ships, manned by American crews and armed for self-defense, could finally carry Lend-Lease goods across the Atlantic. It had taken a patient FDR eight (8) months, following the passage of Lend-Lease, to gain this approval.** Based upon the closeness of the vote on repeal of Sections II and III, in both the House and the Senate, it is clear (in retrospect) that the emphatic urging of Stimson, Morgenthau, and Ickes throughout the spring of 1941 that Roosevelt declare war on Germany had been premature---to say the least. **FDR would only ask for a declaration of war if he was confident about taking a united country into the war against Germany, and this narrow victory in the House augured against that likelihood.**
- **November 17, 1941:** On the very same day, FDR immediately declared that “pursuant to the power conferred upon me by the Lend-Lease Act,” **he had found defense of the Soviet Union vital to the defense of the United States and was thereby authorizing and ordering the delivery of Lend-Lease supplies to the USSR.** [It would not have been possible to get significant quantities of Lend-Lease goods to the Soviet Union without the ability to call upon the American Merchant Marine.]
- **November 17, 1941:** President Roosevelt has a cordial, largely non substantive get-acquainted meeting with the new Japanese diplomatic envoy, Saburo Kurusu; Ambassador Nomura; and Secretary of State Hull. FDR tells the two diplomats that he would be happy to serve as an “introducer” (but not as a mediator) between Japan and China in an attempt to resolve the current Sino-Japanese War. Ambassador Nomura provides an overly optimistic report of the meeting to Tokyo, and on his own initiative, proposes a scheme whereby the United States would end its freeze on Japanese financial assets (i.e., restore all trade and rescind the oil embargo) in exchange for the withdrawal of all Japanese troops from China. **Although frustrated and economically strained by its inability to end the 4-year old war in China, no one in the Japanese establishment is willing to suffer the humiliation of a withdrawal from China.** Nomura is immediately rebuked by the Foreign Ministry, and ordered to submit Japan's **Plan B** (an offer designed to achieve only a temporary accommodation with the United States) to Secretary Hull.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 20, 1941:** Ambassador Nomura submits the Foreign Ministry's **Plan B** to the United States government; this begins the last episode in the diplomatic drama between Japan and the United States over the Japanese role in the future of East Asia. **Plan B** was viewed by Japan as a *modus vivendi*, a temporary diplomatic accommodation to prevent war in the short term, and was the farthest Japan was willing to go to placate the United States and avoid war; it was extremely unpopular with both the Navy and the Army, but especially with the Japanese Army. Special negotiator Kurusu predicted it would be unacceptable to the United States before he left Japan on November 4th. **It avoided any discussion of the 'China Incident' (Japan's euphemism for the Sino-Japanese War), which remained the chief obstacle to better Japanese-American relations; instead, it focused on Southeast Asia:**
 - Japan would refrain from any further expansionist moves from Indochina (i.e., would not use Southern French Indochina as a jumping off point for further expansion); but Japan's presence in Northern French Indochina (established in September of 1940) would be recognized and accepted.
 - Japan would withdraw **all** of its troops from Southern Indochina **immediately in exchange for** the U.S. lifting the freeze on all Japanese financial assets imposed on July 26th; and the U.S., further, would provide Japan with the oil she needed, and would guarantee that Japan could obtain commercially the resources she needed from the Netherlands East Indies.
 - Once peace was established with China, *all* Japanese troops would be withdrawn from French Indochina (i.e., Northern French Indochina).
 - Both the U.S. and Japan would refrain from making military advances in Southeast Asia.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 21, 1941:** The Chief of the Naval General Staff (ADM Nagano) sends two messages to the C-in-C, Combined Fleet (ADM Yamamoto), as follows: [paraphrased below]
 - Order No. 5: The C-in-C, Combined Fleet will order Naval Operating Forces to proceed to the appropriate rendezvous areas so that they are in position to commence war operations on X Day; Japanese forces are authorized to use force to defend themselves if challenged by American, British, or Dutch forces.
 - Directive No. 5: If an agreement is reached in the ongoing negotiations between Japan and the United States, the C-in-C, Combined Fleet will immediately order Japanese forces to return to Japan (i.e., the planned war operations will be cancelled). Aggressive action may only be taken against American, British, or Dutch forces if they invade Japanese territorial waters, or imperil Japanese forces with aggressive actions.The means of transmission for these two key messages is unknown. They could have been sent as cables---encrypted in the JN-25 code---and delivered either by radio transmission, or by a secure wire connection between Yamamoto's flagship and the shore; or they could have been delivered in sealed envelopes.
- **November 22, 1941:** The C-in-C, Combined Fleet (ADM Yamamoto) transmitted this key message to all units of the First Air Fleet (*Kido Butai*), **by radio, in JN-25:** [Emphasis added below; message reproduced verbatim.]

“THE TASK FORCE, KEEPING ITS MOVEMENT STRICTLY SECRET AND MAINTAINING CLOSE GUARD AGAINST SUBMARINES AND AIRCRAFT, SHALL **ADVANCE INTO HAWAIIAN WATERS**, AND UPON THE VERY OPENING OF HOSTILITIES SHALL **ATTACK THE MAIN FORCE OF THE UNITED STATES FLEET IN HAWAII** AND DEAL IT A MORTAL BLOW. THE FIRST AIR RAID IS PLANNED FOR THE DAWN OF X-DAY (EXACT DATE TO BE GIVEN BY LATER ORDER).

UPON COMPLETION OF THE AIR RAID, THE TASK FORCE, KEEPING CLOSE COORDINATION AND GUARDING AGAINST THE ENEMY'S COUNTERATTACK, SHALL SPEEDILY LEAVE THE ENEMY WATERS AND THEN RETURN TO JAPAN.

SHOULD THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES PROVE SUCCESSFUL, THE TASK FORCE SHALL HOLD ITSELF IN READINESS FORTHWITH TO RETURN AND REASSEMBLE.”

This message was a gross violation of OPSEC (operational security) because : (1) it was transmitted **by radio** (which meant it could be intercepted, and potentially decrypted, by the enemy); and (2) it was completely unnecessary to do so, since a sealed OPORDER (operations order) could have been issued to all units of the First Air Fleet prior to sailing to Hitokappu Bay in the Kuriles, and a short, innocuous message could then have instructed all unit commanders in the First Air Fleet to open their sealed OPORDERS.

This “Grand Execute” order is---in my opinion---the key Japanese message that was intercepted, decoded, and translated by British cryptanalysts and forwarded to FDR by Churchill; my thesis is that this message provided FDR with foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack on November 26, 1941---and was the stimulus that caused him to reverse U.S. foreign policy with Japan overnight. **For on November 26, 1941 President Roosevelt suddenly abandoned pursuit of an American modus vivendi supported by the Cabinet and Secretary of State---and instead ordered Cordell Hull to deliver what amounted to an unacceptable ultimatum to Japan.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 22, 1941:** A crucial **MAGIC** intercept is circulated in Washington, D.C.; the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo instructs Ambassador Nomura that the deadline for successfully reaching a *modus vivendi* with the United States **has been extended from November 25th to November 29th** in Washington (November 30th, Tokyo time), but there will be no more extensions:
 - “ There are reasons beyond your ability to guess why we wanted to settle the Japanese-American relations by the 25th, but if within the next three or four days you can finish your conversations with the Americans; **if the signing can be completed by the 29th (let me write it out for you---twenty ninth);** if the pertinent notes can be exchanged; if we can get an understanding with Great Britain and the Netherlands; **and in short if everything can be finished, we have decided to wait until that date.** This time we mean it, that the deadline absolutely cannot be changed. *After that, things are automatically going to happen.*” [Emphasis added]

The internal deadline for achieving a diplomatic settlement with the United States, and avoiding war, that had been agreed upon in Tokyo---at the Liaison Conference on November 1st-2nd; by the Cabinet on November 4th; and by the Emperor at the Imperial Conference on November 5th---was close of business on November 30th, Tokyo time (or November 29th in Washington, D.C.). That true deadline has now been provided (although without explanation) to Ambassador Nomura in Washington. **All Japanese military planning for the kick-off of their massive offensive all over the Pacific has been predicated upon this deadline.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- November 23, 1941: Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, Commander of the First Air Fleet (the Pearl Harbor striking force), onboard the aircraft carrier Akagi in Hitokappu Bay in the Kurile Islands, publishes and issues locally (by hand-delivery) two key OPORTERS to the commanders of his ships, and his aviators:
 - Task Force Order [OPORDER No. 1]: The target of the forthcoming operation is specified as the American Pacific Fleet in Hawaii at Pearl Harbor; the time of the attack is specified as 0330 hours (Tokyo time) on X Day (to be specified later by Naval message). As explained, the entire force of 30 ships would leave Hitokappu Bay by special order (to be promulgated later); no sailing date was specified in the OPORTER. The rendezvous point at sea for refueling was specified, as was cruising speeds at different points in the voyage, and the Latitude and Longitude for the takeoff points, as well as the takeoff times, for the two attack waves of Japanese aircraft. No time was given for the refueling rendezvous; it was to be provided later by separate message.
 - Task Force Ultrasecret Operation Order 3: This was an aviator's document, specifying in great detail the composition of each of the two attack waves by aircraft type, squadron, and aircraft carrier (there were six front line carriers in *Kido Butai*)---as well as what their targets were on the island of Oahu. Takeoff times were specified, but not the date of the attack (X Day), which would be specified later.

Because the outcome of negotiations with the United States was uncertain, and delays were possible, neither the time the striking force would sail; nor the time of the at-sea rendezvous for refueling; nor the day the war would begin (X Day), were specified. Because of the way these two key OPORTERS were written, it was mandatory that Admiral Yamamoto, C-in-C, Combined Fleet transmit by radio (in the JN-25 code) the following three items of information: (1) When the striking force would get underway from the Hitokappu Bay anchorage; (2) When the refueling rendezvous would occur at sea; and (3) The date the attack would take place and the war would begin (i.e., X Day).

Just as was the case with the "Grand Execute" order issued on November 22, 1941, all three of these amplifying orders (the sailing order; the date of the fueling rendezvous; and X Day) would have to be transmitted by radio, because the 30 ships of *Kido Butai* were going to be at anchor in a remote location with no telegraph lines (Hitokappu Bay), or---after they sailed---literally at sea. Just as was the case with the "Grand Execute" order transmitted on November 22nd, transmitting these orders by radio would provide an opportunity for the enemy to intercept, decrypt, and translate these key orders.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 24, 1941:** A very large fleet of Japanese warships and amphibious transports sails from Hashira Jima Bay in Japan's Inland Sea; it constitutes the main thrust of the Southern Operation which would soon be launched against the Malay Peninsula, Thailand, and the Philippines. British and American air reconnaissance (out of Hong Kong and Malaya, and the Philippines, respectively) will doggedly track the progress of this body (which splits into two main forces) during the coming two weeks. It is very clear to London and Washington that the Japanese intend to wage a war of conquest in Southeast Asia in the near future; the only uncertainties are the exact targets, and the date that war would begin. **Not among this body of ships are Japan's six large "fleet" aircraft carriers, which remain unlocated.** (Unknown to the British and Americans, the Japanese Navy's six front-line aircraft carriers are in Takan Bay on the island of Etorofu in the Kurile islands [otherwise known as Hitokappu Bay]; the final ships of the Pearl Harbor striking force arrived there on November 22nd).
- **November 25, 1941:** Admiral Yamamoto, C-in-C, Combined Fleet, transmits the **crucial sailing order for the First Air Fleet** anchored at Hitokappu Bay in the Kuriles: [Emphasis added]
 - "THE TASK FORCE, KEEPING ITS MOVEMENT STRICTLY SECRET, SHALL LEAVE HITOKAPPU BAY ON THE MORNING OF 26TH NOVEMBER AND ADVANCE TO 42 DEGREES N. 170 DEGREES E. ON THE AFTERNOON OF 3 DECEMBER AND SPEEDILY COMPLETE REFUELING."

This message, like the "Grand Execute" attack order of November 22nd, is an unbelievable violation of OPSEC since: (1) it reveals the POINT OF DEPARTURE for the Task Force; and (2) it reveals the PRECISE COORDINATES OF THE REFUELING RENDEZVOUS [more than halfway to Hawaii], and thereby also reveals that the task force was sailing on an easterly track toward its only likely target---namely, the island of Oahu. Only this message, or the earlier "Grand Execute" attack order of November 22nd, qualify as the likely "smoking guns" responsible for Roosevelt's foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 25, 1941:** Admiral Yamamoto, C-in-C, Combined Fleet, transmits instructions to “All Flagships” to henceforth maintain radio silence; the text follows: [Emphasis added]
 - “FROM 26 NOVEMBER, SHIPS OF COMBINED FLEET WILL OBSERVE RADIO COMMUNICATIONS PROCEDURES AS FOLLOWS. (1) **EXCEPT IN EXTREME EMERGENCY, THE MAIN FORCE AND ITS ATTACHED FORCES WILL CEASE COMMUNICATING.** (2) **OTHER FORCES ARE AT DISCRETION OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMANDERS.** (3) **SUPPLY SHIPS, REPAIR SHIPS, HOSPITAL SHIPS, ETC., WILL REPORT DIRECTLY TO PARTIES CONCERNED.**”

There was “wiggle room” in these instructions---Japanese warships could communicate with each other “in extreme emergency,” and “supply ships” appear to have been given special latitude. Pearl Harbor historians and authors John Toland and Robert Stinnett have both convincingly documented the fact that the *Kido Butai* flagship, HIJMS Akagi, did, in fact, communicate by radio at low power with the oil tankers in its supply train, intermittently between November 30-December 4 (U.S. time), after the 7 oil tankers accompanying the striking force were scattered by a massive north Pacific storm. A combat force of 20 surface combatants, running low on fuel, that had become separated from its oil tankers enroute to a major combat operation, certainly qualified as an “extreme emergency.” Due to extreme sunspot activity, low power transmissions that normally would not have traveled more than about 100 miles were heard very far away by U.S. Navy listening stations in the Pacific; Japanese radio transmissions from ships in the north Pacific were also heard during this period by the Matson passenger liner SS *Lurline*.

Facts consistent with this interpretation of Stinnett’s (that the communications occurred between ships separated by a massive storm) are the actual dates that Kido Butai refueled at sea: although Yamamoto’s sailing order directed the task force to refuel on December 3rd, the actual dates that the task force refueled at sea---per Mitsuo Fuchida’s post-war article---were November 29th, December 5th, and December 6th (U.S. time). These dates nicely bracket the storm that apparently separated the oil tankers from the warships.

Mainstream historians who have written about the attack on Pearl Harbor maintained for many years that the ships in Kido Butai all faithfully maintained radio silence, and that any claims that the task force was tracked going east across the north Pacific were “not worthy of belief.” The recent confirmation of Toland’s scholarship by Stinnett has persuaded me that some Americans did indeed track the Japanese striking force intermittently, using RDF (radio direction finding) techniques, and that therefore the diary entries of the Dutch Naval Attache in Washington, D.C.---indicating that the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) was tracking the progress of the Japanese task force in the north Pacific on a nautical chart in early December of 1941---are worthy of belief, after all. [More on this controversy later in this presentation.]

Pacific Time Zone Primer:

Tokyo Time vs. Washington, D.C. vs. Pearl Harbor

- Studying the events of November 1941 as a chronology---where so many events occur in close proximity to each other---requires awareness and understanding of the different time zones involved, because most authors refer to all events in *local time*.
- **Tokyo Time** in 1941 was 19.5 hours ahead of Pearl Harbor;
- **Tokyo Time** in 1941 was 14 hours ahead of Washington, D.C.;
- **London Time** in 1941 was 5 hours ahead of Washington, D.C. (and one hour behind **Berlin**);
- **Washington, D.C. Time** in 1941 was 5.5 hours ahead of Pearl Harbor.
- Pertinent examples related to real events:
 - *Kido Butai* sailed from Hitokappu Bay at 6:00 AM, Tokyo time, on November 26th; this equated to 4:00 PM on November 25th in Washington, D.C.; and to 10:30 AM on November 25th in Pearl Harbor.
 - The Japanese Foreign Ministry instructed its Ambassador in Washington to deliver its reply to a U.S. ultimatum at precisely 1:00 PM, Washington time, on December 7th; this equated to 7:30 AM on December 7th in Pearl Harbor.
 - The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was scheduled to begin at 3:30 AM, Tokyo time, on December 8th; this equated to 8:00 AM, on December 7th in Pearl Harbor; and 1:30 PM, on December 7th, in Washington, D.C.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 24, 1941 (November 25th, Tokyo time):** In Washington, the CNO (ADM Stark) transmits a Secret cable (upgraded to Top Secret after the attack on Pearl Harbor) to CINCPAC (ADM Kimmel), CINCAF (ADM Hart), CINCLANT (ADM King), and SPENAVO (RADM Ghormley). **It is a “war warning,” drafted for ADM Stark by his Chief of War Plans, RADM Richmond K. Turner.** [Emphasis added; verbatim text below]
 - **“CHANCES OF FAVORABLE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN VERY DOUBTFUL X THIS SITUATION COUPLED WITH STATEMENTS OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND MOVEMENT THEIR NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES INDICATE IN OUR OPINION THAT A SURPRISE AGGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN ANY DIRECTION INCLUDING ATTACK ON PHILIPPINES OR GUAM IS A POSSIBILITY X CHIEF OF STAFF HAS SEEN THIS DISPATCH CONCURS AND REQUESTS ACTION ADEES TO INFORM SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS THEIR AREAS X UTMOST SECRECY NECESSARY IN ORDER NOT TO COMPLICATE AN ALREADY TENSE SITUATION OR PRECIPITATE JAPANESE ACTION X GUAM WILL BE INFORMED SEPARATELY.”**

Presumably, the Japanese Foreign Ministry’s final extension of its negotiating deadline from November 25th to November 29th, and the dire warning that after November 29th, **“things are automatically going to happen,”** coupled with the departure of the massive invasion fleet from Hashira Jima on November 24th (November 23rd in Washington), provided the stimulus for this message. **This was the beginning of a refrain from Washington that would be repeated in the coming days: do not to take any actions that could be seen as hostile, or initiate hostilities with Japan---let the Japanese “commit the first overt act.”**

MEANWHILE, IN HAWAII, ADM Kimmel cancels an at-sea wargame, Exercise 191---which he planned and conducted without Washington’s knowledge---immediately upon receipt of the above message from ADM Stark, with the imperative command: **“CEASE PRESENT EXERCISES.”** The exercise, conducted north of Oahu in precisely the same area (the Prokofiev Seamount) from which the Japanese Navy would launch its attack on Pearl Harbor less than two weeks later, involved a planned, simulated attack on Pearl Harbor on Sunday morning, November 23rd (which was delayed by bad weather). The four-day exercise, scheduled from November 21st through November 25th, had divided key elements of the Pacific Fleet into a Black Force (which would attempt a carrier raid on Pearl Harbor) and a White Force (which would attempt to discover and repel it). It involved 46 warships and 126 aircraft, and seems to have been part war-game, and partly a real-world search for the “missing” Japanese heavy aircraft carriers, whose location was unknown to U.S. Navy intelligence analysts; the men involved in the exercise knew that hostile ships might be encountered, and in that event were to transmit a code-phrase: **“EASY CAST EASY.”** The ships of the White Force discovered the Black Force before the attack on Pearl Harbor could be launched, and the two forces proceeded to dance about on the surface of the ocean in the vicinity of the Classical Composer Seamounts named for Prokofiev, Handel, Ravel, Scarlatti, and Mozart. **The exercise was not scheduled to end until 6 AM on November 25th, but ADM Kimmel---now alerted to Washington’s desire not to precipitate any Japanese hostile action---cancelled it almost one full day early.** All of Kimmel’s land-based air searches by Navy PBY patrol planes were conducted in a narrow 65 degree arc north of Oahu---indicating he was no fool; all professional Naval officers knew that an enemy carrier raid upon Pearl Harbor would almost certainly come from the north.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 25, 1941:** The U.S. Navy, in a mysterious “Vacant Sea” order initiated by the Deputy CNO (ADM Royal Ingersoll), directs Naval commanders in Hawaii and San Francisco to clear the north Pacific of all commercial shipping; the text reads as follows:
 - “ROUTE ALL TRANSPACIFIC SHIPPING THROUGH TORRES STRAITS X CINCPAC AND CINCAF PROVIDE NECESSARY ESCORT.”

This action was taken on the same day that the Pearl Harbor strike force got underway from Hitokappu Bay north of Japan, to attack Hawaii; Kido Butai sailed at 6 AM on November 26th (Tokyo time), which equated to 4 PM Washington time, on November 25th. The “Vacant Sea” order was transmitted about one hour after Kido Butai began to sortie.

On December 20, 1945, ADM Richmond K. Turner (who was the Navy’s Chief of War Plans in Washington in 1941) testified about this Vacant Sea order to the Joint Congressional Committee investigating the attack on Pearl Harbor, saying:

“We diverted that [northern Pacific traffic departing San Francisco and Puget Sound and travelling a great circle route south of the Aleutians to Japan or China] and also the traffic that went via Honolulu. **WE SENT THAT DOWN VIA THE TORRES STRAITS, SO THAT THE TRACK THE JAPANESE TASK FORCE ACTUALLY TOOK** would cross the composite great circle course close to Japan and they **WOULD BE CLEAR OF ANY TRAFFIC...**the Puget Sound and San Francisco ships were sent first to Hawaii and then all ships from Hawaii, merchant ships, went...through the Solomons, then west of the Santa Cruz Islands, thence south of New Guinea and through the Torres Strait, which is between Australia and New Guinea...” [Emphasis added]

Since it was the Congress that initiated the questioning about the “Vacant Sea” order (and indeed, gave it that name), it seems inexplicable that neither the Congress, nor the media covering the hearings, picked up on the significance of Turner’s admission that the north Pacific was cleared of merchant shipping at the exact time that the Pearl Harbor striking force began sailing through those water enroute Hawaii. [Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the questioner was under the mistaken impression that the order was issued in October---when in reality it was issued on November 25th, when war was imminent, and in fact on the same day the Japanese task force sailed for Pearl Harbor.]

- **November 25, 1941:** Following a “War Council” meeting, Secretary of War Henry Stimson recorded this in his diary:
 - “The President, instead of bringing up the [European war], brought up entirely the relations with the Japanese. He brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked next Monday [December 1st], for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning, and the question was what we should do. **THE QUESTION WAS HOW WE SHOULD MANEUVER THEM INTO FIRING THE FIRST SHOT** without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition.” [Emphasis added]

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 25, 1941:** Secretary of State Cordell Hull finalizes his draft of the *American modus vivendi*, which is a response to the Japanese Plan B submitted on November 20th; it is approved by the Cabinet on this date after President Roosevelt asked them to provide comments on it. Key features of the *American modus vivendi* are summarized below:
 - It was loosely based on a handwritten *modus vivendi* penned by FDR himself on the 20th or 21st after the Japanese diplomats submitted Plan B; **FDR's modus was designed to buy peace for 6 more months**---he wanted to offer resumption of some oil for Japan now, in exchange for Japan's agreement to: (1) send no more troops to Indochina or the Manchurian border with the USSR; (2) **not** invoke the Tripartite Pact **even if the U.S. gets involved in the European War**; (3) allow the U.S. to serve as a facilitator (but not a mediator) for negotiations between China and Japan over the Sino-Japanese War.
 - Cordell Hull's *modus vivendi* overtly stated that it would be good for a period of three months, with an option for both sides to renew the agreement at that time; its major features were:
 - All Japanese troops must withdraw from Southern French Indochina;
 - Japan would send no additional military forces to that area;
 - Neither Japan nor the U.S. would make aggressive moves in Southeast Asia or Northeast Asia using forces already stationed in the vicinity;
 - The economic embargo would be lifted; but the U.S. would sell only **limited amounts of oil** to Japan **on a monthly basis**, deemed necessary for civilian use; the U.S. agreed to attempt to get the British and Dutch governments to follow suit, but made no promises.
 - No mention was made of abrogating the Tripartite Pact as FDR had suggested.
 - No mention was made of the Sino-Japanese War (a major sticking point for Japan).
 - **It reflected the desires of General Marshall and Admiral Stark for three (3) more months of time with which to continue sending military reinforcements to the Far East.**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 26, 1941 (6 AM, Tokyo time):** *Kido Butai*, the **Mobile Striking Force** ordered to attack Pearl Harbor and commence war with the United States, begins to sortie from its anchorage at Hitokappu Bay (Tankan Bay) on the island of Etorofu, in the Kuriles north of Hokkaido. **The task force consists of 30 ships** (six large aircraft carriers; two fast battleships; two heavy cruisers; one light cruiser; nine destroyers; three escort submarines; and seven oil tankers which have been training with the **First Air Fleet** in the new art of refueling-at-sea).
 - **378 combat-ready aircraft and 54 reserve aircraft were embarked on the six fleet carriers** (Akagi, Kaga, Soryu, Hiryu, Shokaku, and Zuikaku), for **a total of 432 operational planes**.
 - 350 operational aircraft actually attacked Pearl Harbor in two waves (183 aircraft in the first wave, and 167 aircraft in the second wave); the use of 360 aircraft was planned, but due to mechanical difficulties only 350 participated in the attack. **A pool of 54 fighter planes provided a continuous CAP for the task force of 18 airborne aircraft on X Day.**
 - **49 high-altitude bombers in the First Wave carried specially designed 800 kg armor piercing bombs made from 16" battleship projectiles;** these were designed to be dropped in level flight from almost 10,000 feet and to penetrate the deck armor of battleships.
 - **40 torpedo planes in the First Wave carried specially modified aerial torpedoes designed to be dropped in the shallow waters of Pearl Harbor against the outboard battleships;** there were no torpedo bombers utilized in the Second Wave because Japanese planners knew that the element of surprise would by then have been lost.
 - **Five midget submarines** (with two-man crews, carrying two torpedoes each) were launched close to Pearl Harbor at night, by "mother ship" submarines. Their mission was to penetrate Pearl Harbor and attack U.S. battleships; **revised assessments indicate that two of them probably succeeded in entering the inner harbor---three of them did not.**
 - The task force refueled three times enroute Hawaii (on November 29th, December 5th, and December 6th Hawaii time).
 - **Although radio silence was ordered, it was not maintained by all vessels; the flagship, carrier Akagi, communicated at low power with the scattered supply train between November 30th and December 4th, during a strong north Pacific storm.**
 - **Three additional ships are officially part of the "Hawaii Operation"---the two destroyers and oil tanker composing the Midway Neutralization Unit; but they did not sail with Kido Butai from Hitokappu Bay. They bring the administrative total to 33 ships.**

President Roosevelt “Blows Up” on November 26th, Abandons the *Modus Vivendi*, and Instructs Cordell Hull to Submit What Amounts to an Ultimatum to the Japanese Government

- Less than one day after the Pearl Harbor striking force sailed to attack Hawaii---in what amounts to perhaps the biggest U-turn in American diplomatic history---FDR abandons the *modus vivendi* completed by Cordell Hull (and approved by the Cabinet) the day before, and instructs the Secretary of State to submit to the Japanese envoys a hard-line position on Far East relations which he knows will be unacceptable to Japan.
 - The Hull Ten-Point Note was delivered on the afternoon of November 26th; it was based directly upon a draft document (authored by Harry Dexter White on November 17th) sent to both Hull and Roosevelt on November 18th by Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau (one of the biggest “Hawks” in the administration).
 - The Hull Note contained these crucial provisions:
 - The government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air, and police forces from China and Indochina;
 - Neither the United States nor Japan will support any government in China except that of Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-Shek;
 - Both the United States and Japan will give up all extra-territorial rights in China;
 - The governments of the United States and Japan, respectively, will remove the economic freezing restrictions taken against each other;
 - No agreement signed by either nation with a third party will be interpreted in a way that would conflict with this agreement; [This abrogated the Tripartite Pact.]
 - Japan and the United States will attempt to conclude a multilateral non-aggression pact between Japan, the U.S., China, the British Empire, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, and Thailand;
 - Both governments will endeavor to conclude an agreement among the U.S., Japan, Great Britain, China, the Netherlands, and Thailand respecting the territorial integrity of French Indochina, and will agree to take such actions as are necessary in the event French Indochina's territorial integrity is threatened.
- The Hull Note, in summary, asked Japan to abandon its Great Power status, give up its Empire, and immediately abandon all plans for expansion of its Empire by conquest in Southeast Asia. In a culture obsessed with “face,” it would have been an agreement impossible for any politician to accept, and would undoubtedly be considered an insult.
- An angry and agitated Secretary of State Cordell Hull, returning to the State Department building 15 minutes after being summoned to the White House by private telephone that morning, said to an aide:
 - “Those men over there do not believe me when I tell them the Japanese will attack us. You cannot give an ultimatum to a powerful and proud people and not expect them to react violently.” [Nevertheless, Hull delivered his note to the two Japanese envoys at about 5 P.M. that day.]

Why Did FDR Do It?

- **Unacceptable explanations offered up by mainstream historians:**
 - Chiang Kai-Shek's Ambassador objected to the *modus vivendi* on November 24th when he reviewed the draft;
 - Churchill's "thin diet" cable offered only a lukewarm endorsement of the *modus vivendi*;
 - Secretary of State Hull claimed in his memoirs that dropping the *modus vivendi* was his own idea;
 - But, FDR was controlling all important aspects of foreign policy with Japan---such as the oil embargo---not Cordell Hull; this Secretary of State---at this time---did not have the authority to make a U-turn in foreign policy overnight, especially when it could lead to war;
 - Additionally, Cordell Hull had strongly supported the *modus vivendi*, as both a way to avoid immediate war, and as a means for giving Marshall and Stark 90 days to send more military reinforcements to the Far East.
 - Roosevelt was angry over reports of a large Japanese "expedition from Shanghai down toward Indochina," consisting of "30, 40, or 50 ships" sighted "south of Formosa," per Henry Stimson's diary:
 - Stimson's diary records that he wrote a memo to FDR on November 25th and discussed it with FDR on the phone about 9 AM on November 26th, when "He fairly blew up---jumped up into the air, so to speak, said he hadn't seen it, and that changed the whole situation because it was an evidence of bad faith on the part of the Japanese that while they were negotiating for an entire truce---and entire withdrawal---they should be sending that expedition down there to Indochina."
 - But this explanation does not fly, per historian John Costello, since the southern movement of this convoy had been known for 4 days; and further, the actual memo written by Stimson mentioned only "10 to 30" troopships (not 30, 40, or 50), and actually referenced them moving down the Yangtze river, *not at sea*. The upshot here is that Stimson certainly embellished the story in his diary, in an attempt to provide political cover for the President, if needed in the future; and that FDR was almost certainly engaging in dissembling behavior---in over-the-top "histrionics" about a troop convoy---to cover his outrage about something else, and his true motivations for reversing U.S. foreign policy with Japan.
- **The most likely explanation for Roosevelt's U-turn in foreign policy---his ultimatum to Japan---is that he had become aware of Yamamoto's "Grand Execute" cable of November 22nd, ordering the First Air Fleet to attack the U.S. Fleet in Hawaii, which also ordered that if negotiations with the United States were concluded successfully, the Japanese task force would abort the attack and return to Japan.**
 - Roosevelt's outrage when learning of the order to attack the U.S. Pacific Fleet would have been considerable, and is the kind of reaction that could very well explain dropping the *modus vivendi* and instead presenting an ultimatum;
 - The ultimatum he was presenting to Japan would **absolutely ensure** that negotiations would not be successful, and that the task force would therefore proceed as ordered and attack Pearl Harbor;
 - A Japanese attack on the United States would undoubtedly **unite the American people, since Japan would be unambiguously "firing the first shot;"**
 - A Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor would activate Hitler's secret promise to make war on America, and would thus provide FDR with a **"back door to war"** and get the U.S. into the war against the **"real" enemy: Nazi Germany.**

Evidence for FDR's Receipt of Information from a Crucial JN-25 Decrypt from Great Britain on November 26th, 1941

- ADMIRAL STARK's Cover-Up: In 1944 the Army Pearl Harbor Board wrote in a then-Top Secret report: "On November 26 there was received specific evidence of Japanese intentions to wage war against Great Britain and the United States. War Department G-2 advised the Chief of Staff on November 26 that the Office of Naval Intelligence reported the concentration of units of the Japanese Fleet at an unknown port ready for offensive action," but the evidence for this was never published.
 - On July 24, 1944 the Navy Court of Inquiry allowed Admiral Kimmel to question the former CNO, Admiral Stark, and Kimmel asked, referring to the Army Pearl Harbor Board's finding: "Do you recall whether on or about 26 November you received information from the Office of Naval Intelligence that it had specific evidence of Japan's intention to wage an offensive war against both Great Britain and the United States?"
 - ADM Stark refused to answer; the Navy Court of Inquiry transcript continues: "The witness [Admiral Stark] stated that to answer the question would involve the disclosure of information detrimental to the public interest and that he claimed his privilege against revealing state secrets...The court announced that...the witness's claim of privilege to this question was honored and that he need not answer the question."
- GENERAL GEORGE MARSHALL, when pressed by the Army Pearl Harbor Board on August 7, 1944 about exactly why his deputy authorized the release of a war warning on November 27, 1941, testified:
 - "I think the message was based on something that came in on the 26th, I rather imagine, but I have no clear recollection."
Significantly, Marshall did not say that the Hull Note of November 26th (FDR's ultimatum to Japan) was the stimulus for his war warning on November 27th---rather, it was something that came in on November 26th.
- GENERAL MARSHALL revealed the probable source of that information received on November 26th when he testified 16 months later, on December 8, 1945, to the Joint Congressional Committee investigating the Pearl Harbor attack:
 - He admitted to receipt of intelligence that was NOT MAGIC [i.e., diplomatic], that was passed to the United States from Great Britain, in paraphrased form---stating that we did not receive verbatim decrypts early in the war, but rather evaluations or summaries of what he made clear were codebreaking activities, about which he said:
 - "I am quite certain that would not be in your records, sir, because we have been trying to keep that quiet as much as we could."
- LATE ON NOVEMBER 26th, Roosevelt sent his son, Colonel James D. Roosevelt, to New York City to send a secret message to Churchill via a clandestine, highly classified, encrypted TYPEX circuit between the British Security Coordination (BSC) office in Rockefeller Plaza, and MI6 in Great Britain. The message read:
 - "NEGOTIATIONS OFF: SERVICES EXPECT ACTION WITHIN TWO WEEKS."
 - This circuit was used when the two leaders wished not to leave a correspondence trail in official diplomatic files;
 - The specific source for this message is a 1962 book written by a former BSC employee, using an internal BSC office history written in 1943. Historian John Costello confirmed the accuracy of the story in 1982 with William Stephenson himself, the former head of BSC [INTREPID]. As Costello wrote in *Days of Infamy* (1994), the message has the tone of a REPLY to an earlier message sent by Churchill via the same circuit on November 25th---and apparently received by FDR in Washington early on November 26, 1941.
 - Both Costello, and co-authors Rusbridger and Nave in *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor*, were convinced that Churchill received crucial intelligence [likely JN-25 decrypts] from MI6 at Bletchley Park on November 25th, and that those files were still suppressed when they published their books. My own research with the British National Archives and GCHQ has confirmed that there are still as-yet unexplained missing intelligence documents that were apparently sent to Churchill by MI6 on 11/25/41; I believe that those intelligence reports were JN-25 decrypts of one or both of the Yamamoto messages of November 22nd or November 25th---and that Churchill then passed the crucial information to Roosevelt immediately, via the BSC office in New York City.

Was There Enough Time for the British to Intercept, Decrypt, and Translate These Two Key Yamamoto Messages in the Far East and Get the Information to Churchill in London **by November 25th**?

The “Grand Execute” Attack Order to the First Air Fleet Transmitted November 22nd

- **TEXT:** “THE TASK FORCE...SHALL ADVANCE INTO HAWAIIAN WATERS, AND UPON THE VERY OPENING OF HOSTILITIES SHALL ATTACK THE MAIN FORCE OF THE UNITED STATES FLEET IN HAWAII...SHOULD THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES PROVES SUCCESSFUL, THE TASK FORCE SHALL HOLD ITSELF IN READINESS FORTHWITH TO RETURN AND REASSEMBLE.”
- **Likely decryption and transmission timeline (to higher authority) for FECB in Singapore:**
 - Two additional days for decryption and translation (i.e., Nov 23rd and 24th);
 - One day for transmission and routing (i.e., Nov 25th Far East time, Nov 24th London time);
 - Internal routing to Churchill; assessment; and generation of the Top Secret notification to FDR via TYPEX at the BSC office or other means (Nov 25th, in London);
 - Churchill’s Top Secret warning received at BSC in New York City (late on Nov 25th);
 - Receipt of Churchill’s Top Secret message by FDR after its hand-delivery from NYC (morning of Nov 26th)
- **CONCLUSION: YES, there was plenty of time for Roosevelt to receive word of this message from the British by the morning of November 26, 1941.**

Yamamoto’s Sailing Order to the First Air Fleet Transmitted on November 25th

- **TEXT:** THE TASK FORCE...SHALL LEAVE HITOKAPPU BAY ON THE MORNING OF 26th NOVEMBER, AND ADVANCE TO 42 DEGREES N. 170 DEGREES E. ON THE AFTERNOON OF 3 DECEMBER AND SPEEDILY COMPLETE REFUELING.”
- **Likely decryption and transmission timeline (to higher authority) for FECB in Singapore:**
 - Only one day for interception, decryption, and translation (i.e., PM Nov 25th in Singapore, AM Nov 25th in London);
 - One day for transmission and subsequent receipt in London (i.e., AM Nov 26th in Singapore and PM Nov 25th in London);
 - One half day for assessment in London and subsequent transmission of information to INTREPID at the BSC office (PM Nov 25th, on same day msg received; D.C. five hours behind London)
 - Receipt of Churchill’s Top Secret message by FDR after its immediate hand-delivery from NYC (morning of Nov 26th)
- **CONCLUSION: YES, there was sufficient time for Roosevelt to receive word of this message from the British by the morning of November 26, 1941, BUT JUST BARELY. [This was likely a simpler message to decrypt than the “Grand Execute” order, however.]**

JN-25 Decryption in 1941: **The British Were Far Ahead of the Americans**

- **CAPT Laurance Safford (OP-20-G)**, the person directly in charge of America's JN-25 decryption effort, later said (in 1963 and in 1970) that **"JN-25 was solved to a readable extent** [by the United States Navy] **by December 7, 1941,"** but that Washington was reading month-old traffic. (Pacific interception sites were sending intercepts to Washington by Pan Am Clipper or ship, and then by train or air mail---they were *not* being transmitted by radio, as diplomatic intercepts were.)
- **The British at FECB in Singapore began sharing some JN-25 information with Station CAST (on Corregidor in the Philippines) in March of 1941,** with the authorization of Bletchley Park. The extent to which Station CAST could break JN-25 is unclear; most post-war accounts indicate only very limited success. Station HYPO at Pearl Harbor was not allowed to work on JN-25, and Station NEGAT in Washington D.C. devoted most of its resources to **MAGIC.** **Post-war assessments by American cryptographers and historians are that U.S. Navy codebreakers could, at best, break only about 10-15% of JN-25 messages.**
- **The British broke their first JN-25 message in September of 1939,** one year before the U.S. Navy did (in September of 1940, about the same time that the **Purple** machine went into operation), and achieved great success by December of 1939, when they transferred their principal effort from Bletchley Park to FECB in Singapore; **multiple sources---documentary and anecdotal---indicate considerable success throughout 1940 and 1941, particularly in November 1941.**
- **The overall assessment by historians is that Great Britain was well ahead of the United States in its ability to break JN-25; furthermore, they were decrypting traffic "real time" in the Far East at FECB in Singapore, unlike the American cryptanalysts in Washington D.C.**

Evidence Suggesting That Great Britain Did Divine, Through Cryptanalysis, the Pearl Harbor Attack (and Notify FDR)

- From a July 1942 British intelligence report *released inadvertently* by the PRO in 1994:
 - “[JN-25b] intelligence from a wide field was produced in November 1941 and from March 1942 until...June 1942.” [Emphasis added]
- From the same document release in 1994, another memo read in part:
 - FECB did obtain “besides routine intelligence, the following results of outstanding importance:
1. Ample warning that Japan was going to war in 1941.” [Emphasis in original]
- In the official history *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, a footnote in the second volume indicates that FECB in Singapore:
 - “was able to keep track of her [Japan’s] main Naval movements.”
- **Eric Nave**, the brilliant and accomplished Australian codebreaker who transferred from London to the Far East in 1937 and commenced breaking JN-25 in September 1939, **was confident that FECB codebreakers in Singapore could break JN-25 messages throughout 1940 and 1941**; his co-author, James Rusbridger wrote:
 - “Nave is adamant that every message intercepted by the Americans would have been intercepted by the British, and because JN-25 had been broken by him since the autumn of 1939, all these intercepted messages would have been read without difficulty or delay by FECB and GCCS.”

The only problem with this statement is that it is an assessment *not based on personal observation*, since Nave was transferred out of FECB in Singapore in February of 1940 due to ill health, and did not return; instead he set up his own code-breaking organization in Australia for the RAN, *and maintained a liaison with FECB thereafter.*
- In 1989 a BBC television documentary aired in the United Kingdom, titled: **“Sacrifice at Pearl Harbor.”** In his book *Scapegoats*, Edward L. Beach wrote:
 - **“It stated positively that Churchill had information about a Japanese task force at sea headed for Hawaii and that he shared this with Roosevelt.”** [Emphasis added]
- In his 1988 book *The Secret War Against Hitler*, published posthumously, CIA Director William J. Casey (who had been in the OSS during World War II) wrote the following:
 - “As the Japanese storm began to gather force in the Pacific, the most private communications between the Japanese government and its ambassadors...were being read in Washington. Army and Navy cryptographers, having broken the Japanese cipher, were reading messages that foretold the attack. **The British had sent word that a Japanese fleet was steaming east toward Hawaii.**” [Emphasis added]

Four Key Anecdotal Accounts Are Even More Persuasive

- **VICTOR CAVENDISH-BENTNICK**, Chair of Britain's Joint Intelligence Committee in 1941, wrote years later:
 - “We knew that they changed course. I remember presiding over a J.I.C. meeting [on December 5, 1941] and being told that a Japanese fleet was sailing in the direction of Hawaii, [and] asking: *‘Have we informed our transatlantic brethren?’* and receiving an affirmative reply.”
- **LCDR MALCOLM BURNETT, RN**, former British cryptanalyst at FECB (who was knighted in 1957 with the OBE):
 - Confided to a family friend, Dr. Andrew Gordon (an historian) before his death in 1984, that FECB continued reading JN-25 without difficulty from the time he arrived in Singapore in December, 1939 up until December 4, 1941 (when the Japanese changed the additive tables just before the Pearl Harbor attack).
 - James Rusbridger wrote in 1992: “Burnett told Gordon that FECB had intercepted and read all the messages from Yamamoto to his Task Force both before and after it sailed, and, by 26 November, Burnett had personally advised Churchill in London that the only logical target for the impending attack was Pearl Harbor.”
- **MARY BURNETT** (his wife and co-worker at FECB), expressed these recollections in 1991:
 - In December 1991 she appeared on the American television documentary “The Hunt for the Pearl Harbor Files,” confirmed what her husband had told Dr. Gordon, and said that the same information he had sent to Churchill had also been sent to U.S. Navy codebreakers at Station CAST on Corregidor, and, FECB assumed, was automatically passed to Washington and Roosevelt.
 - She recalled, “The night before Pearl Harbor, my husband had to make a prediction as to the date it would happen, but owing to bad atmospheric conditions, the intercepted Japanese signals hadn’t been very clear. I knew he was expecting an attack on Pearl Harbor and when finally the news came through on the radio he was so relieved that he just said, **‘THANK GOD I GOT IT RIGHT.’**”
- **LCDR RAYMOND MORTIMER, RN**, FECB analyst and colleague of LCDR Burnett:
 - In numerous interviews with John Costello, Mortimer always insisted that FECB *did* continue penetration of the Japanese fleet cipher up until the Pearl Harbor attack.
 - Rusbridger and Nave also interviewed Mortimer and quoted him as follows: “The next day [after Pearl Harbor] the shocked and bewildered staff gathered around Tommy Wisden [the C.O. at FECB], who asked incredulously, ‘With all the information we gave them, how could the Americans be caught unprepared?’ Everyone at FECB went back through their records to ensure that every scrap of information, including JN-25, had been sent to London for repetition to CINCPAC. None had missed.”
 - Mortimer’s final assessment to John Costello was: **“SOMETHING BLOODY WELL WENT WRONG!”**

Did the United States Intercept and Decrypt the Two Key Yamamoto Naval Messages of November 22nd and 25th?

- The answer is unclear, and is suggestive of a cover-up; I believe we did intercept them, but did not decrypt until after 12/7/1941.
- The U.S. Navy's official position in 1946 [contained in a Top Secret ULTRA Report delivered to the CNO, titled: *Pre-Pearl Harbor Japanese Naval Dispatches*] was that all of the JN-25 messages pertaining to Pearl Harbor (188 were identified in the report) were decrypted and translated only during the 1945-46 period, after the war ended. The report's key specifics were as follows:
 - Between September and December of 1941, a total of 26,581 Japanese Naval messages of all types were intercepted by U.S. Navy listening stations (in places like Guam, Hawaii, Alaska, the Philippines, California, and Washington);
 - About 90 per cent of these were set aside as unimportant;
 - But 2,413 of the intercepted messages were deemed of possible relevance (based on their addressees) to the Pearl Harbor attack---and were decrypted and translated;
 - Of those decrypted and translated, a total of 188 messages were deemed relevant to the Pearl Harbor attack.
 - ALL 188 MESSAGES WERE ENCRYPTED IN THE JN-25(b) Fleet General Purpose System.
 - The report was intentionally withheld from the Joint Congressional Committee, which met during 1945 and 1946.
 - The document was discovered at Crane, Indiana in a National Archives repository in 1990, and was declassified and released on October 21, 1991.
- None of the 188 messages, alone, would have revealed the forthcoming Pearl Harbor attack if decrypted in time, but in the aggregate, in the words of former NSA employee and private historian Frederick Parker:

“Had these messages been exploitable at the time, their stunning contents would have revealed the missing carriers and the identity of other major elements of the Strike Force. Not only did the surviving messages provide the identity of the First Air Fleet's Strike Force, but they revealed the Strike Force's objective through analysis of its exercise activities and its movements prior to 26 November 1941.”
- Neither of the two key Yamamoto messages of November 22nd and November 25th, nor the crucial November 5th message from the Chief of the Naval General Staff predicting war with the United States and Great Britain, are among the 188 “key Pearl Harbor messages” decrypted and identified in 1945 and 1946. [Messages that are included are the “radio silence” and “X Day notification.”]
- BUT this does not mean that the 2 key operational messages of November 22nd and 25th were not sent:
 - They were unanimously recalled and reconstructed by consensus opinion of 3 key Japanese Naval officers immediately after the war's end, during their interrogations by the U.S. Army in Japan; they were essential in order for the fleet to move.
 - Furthermore, they had to be transmitted BY RADIO in order for the First Air Fleet to receive them, since the First Air Fleet was at sea on those dates.
 - Since they were transmitted by radio, they should have been intercepted by American listening posts. Japanese radio messages were usually transmitted three times per day, and when U.S. intercept operators missed a serial number they took great pains to capture that transmission the second or third time it was transmitted.
- To claim that they were not intercepted is “not worthy of belief,” given the large volume of intercepts from Sep-Dec 1941: 26,581; nor is their late decryption [only in 1945 and 1946] worthy of belief, since the U.S. Navy puts great emphasis on “lessons learned” when things go wrong. A cover-up and “housecleaning” of selected smoking gun intercepts in late 1941 and early 1942 is implied here.

An Alternate Method of Delivery (from Churchill to FDR) of Key JN-25 Intelligence on November 26, 1941: *The Purported German Transcript of an Alleged Transatlantic Telephone Call*

- **INTRODUCTION:** [See paper handout] This **controversial purported transcript** surfaced in 1995 in the book *Gestapo Chief: The 1948 Interrogation of Heinrich Muller*, by Gregory Douglas. It did not come from an official archive and therefore cannot be authenticated by historians. Gregory Douglas has given varying explanations for its origin: first, that Heinrich Muller removed it from Third Reich files when he fled to Switzerland in the late 1940s, and that it then made its way to him via a private, anonymous collector; and later, that a former CIA official, Robert Crowley, passed him the document. By the time it was published both men had died and could not be questioned. A detailed analysis of the transcript was published in August 2009 in the journal *Intelligence and National Security*. The findings of that analysis are summarized below.
- **Arguments consistent with authenticity:**
 - The German “Reichpost” did run a transatlantic telephone call interception and decryption operation, and did prepare transcripts of intercepted calls;
 - The paper [A4] and the pitch of the typescript [2.5 mm European, *not* Imperial 10-12 characters per inch] are both consistent with those used by the Germans during World War II, as is the classification stamp;
 - The date and time attributed to the transcript is plausible---approximately half a day after the Japanese Task Force sailed from the Kuriles to attack Hawaii; **[7:35 AM in Washington on 11/26 was 15 and one half hours after it sailed]**
 - If authentic, it provides the best explanation yet given for the dramatic U-turn imposed that day by Roosevelt on American foreign policy with Japan. [The time of the call is **7:35 AM Washington time**; 12:35 PM in London; 1:35 PM in Berlin; this is consistent with everything we know about the events of November 26th.]
- **Arguments inconsistent with authenticity:**
 - Neither Kurt Vetterlein, the German who ran the intercept program, nor any of his colleagues, ever mentioned this particular coup in post-war interviews;
 - Vetterlein told American author David Kahn in 1967 that because AT&T changed the bandwidth on its A3 encryption/decryption device, Reichpost entered a **“blackout period” from late autumn 1941 through early winter of 1942** during which they could not descramble calls. The date of the alleged transatlantic telephone call (November 26th) appears that it may have been within this “blackout period,” but the precise dates of the blackout period are uncertain;
 - The historical record shows that the Germans at Reichpost did not begin making English language transcripts until 1943; all known 1942 transcripts are in German only;
 - The author of the document used American English therein, not British English, as was common in Europe at this time;
 - The document exhibits no underlinings or marginalia, as do many archival Reichpost transcripts.
- The 2009 research paper concluded the document is a **“skillful forgery, with strong resemblance to authentic transcripts in many ways.”** I was reluctantly forced to agree, with one caveat: if the document had been retyped later in English, after the war, that could explain: (1) why it is not typed in German, as was the practice in 1941 and 1942; (2) the lack of underlinings and marginalia; and as well as (3) the use of American English, vice “British” English.

“Preview of Coming Attractions:”

Other Evidence (Not Related to Codebreaking) That FDR Probably Had Foreknowledge About the Coming Pearl Harbor Attack

- The closing phases of this presentation will discuss these events:
- FDR purportedly warned an important official of the **American Red Cross** of the forthcoming Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, based on the anecdotal account of that official's daughter.
- President Roosevelt ordered that **“3 small vessels”** be chartered in the Philippines and that they be sent **“into harm's way”**---into the path of the Japanese fleet heading south---as **sacrificial bait**.
- The Dutch Naval Attache in Washington, D.C. recorded in his diary on December 2nd and December 6th that the **Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI)** was tracking **“2 Japanese carriers”** as they traveled **eastward across the north Pacific toward the Hawaiian Islands**. [This appears to have been the product of American Radio Direction Finding efforts, fed to Washington from the Pacific coast.]
- On December 4th, a press leak of government war plans is published in two major newspapers about FDR's contingency planning to fight a 2-front war against Germany and Japan with over 10 million men---and **FDR himself is suspected to have been the leaker (in an attempt to enrage Hitler)**.
- On December 5th, the Secretary of the Navy appeared about to blurt out the true position of the Japanese Fleet in a Cabinet meeting, and FDR quickly intervened to deflect the conversation.
- President Roosevelt and the members of his War Council **apparently held a “war vigil” all night long in the White House late on Dec 6th-early on Dec 7th**; later, key members of this conference lied, and in effect, denied it ever happened, by saying they couldn't remember where they were that night.
- **FDR appears to have unburdened himself** over midnight sandwiches and beer, about midnight on December 7th, and to have privately revealed foreknowledge of the attack to two key officials.
- The recollections of Harry Hopkins in 1942, and the sworn testimony of four key officials in 1944, 1945, and 1946---Admiral Turner, Admiral Stark, Secretary of War Stimson, and General Marshall---imply, to varying degrees, that President Roosevelt sought war with Japan as a **“back door to war,”** and that FDR (and key members of his inner circle) probably had foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack.

U.S. Navy Aircraft Carriers Ordered Out of Pearl Harbor on November 26, 1941

- On November 26, 1941, CNO (ADM Stark) sends CINCPAC (ADM Kimmel) a Naval message ordering him to transport about one half of Oahu's Army pursuit planes (P-40s) to Wake and Midway, using aircraft carriers. **The net effect of the order (if not the intention) is that both of our active Pacific Fleet carriers---USS Enterprise and USS Lexington---and 19 other modern vessels, were absent from Pearl Harbor when it was attacked on December 7th.** [USS Saratoga was in overhaul at the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, and USS Yorktown had been transferred to the Atlantic Fleet the previous spring.]
 - The concept had first been discussed in a letter from Stark to Kimmel dated October 17th; **in retrospect what seems odd is the timing.**
 - Admiral Kimmel met with General Short the next day, on November 27th, and decided that instead of placing land-based aircraft on aircraft carriers (from whence they could neither take off nor land), that instead, two Marine squadrons of carrier-capable Wildcat fighter planes would be transferred. Placing Army P-40 pursuit planes on the decks of Navy carriers would have reduced them to mere merchant ships, unable to fight and defend themselves if they ran into trouble.
 - The original concept was to provide fighter escort for the B-17 bombers being shuttled to the Philippines as military reinforcements; but this made little sense now that the total numbers of bombers being sent to the Philippines had been cut in half (from 200 to 100), and because the concept of carrying out an offensive air campaign against Japan, from the Philippines, had been discredited early in November.
 - On December 5, 1941 Secretary of War Stimson revealed at a Cabinet meeting that the Philippines were indefensible, and that the plan had always been to abandon them, if they were invaded by the Japanese. *In view of this, sending fighter planes to Wake and Midway---to facilitate sending reduced numbers of bombers to a remote U.S. outpost which was to be abandoned in the future---made no sense.*
- **Being ordered to denude Oahu of one half of its Army air defense surely reinforced in the mind of Admiral Kimmel that an air attack on Hawaii was not very likely,** and that the primary danger was probably submarine attack---particularly since a Navy "war warning" sent out on November 28th *did not mention Hawaii among the likely Japanese targets in their coming offensive.* [These two reasons, among others, argue that Kimmel was later unfairly accused of "dereliction of duty."]
- **On November 28th, USS Enterprise and 11 modern cruisers and destroyers depart Pearl Harbor for Wake Island,** 2004 miles away, with 12 Marine Wildcat fighter planes onboard. [Originally, Enterprise was due back in Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7th, but bad weather delayed her arrival until that evening, saving the ship.]
- **On December 5th, USS Lexington and an escort of 8 modern cruisers and destroyers departed Pearl Harbor enroute Midway Island,** with another Marine squadron of Wildcat fighters onboard; they were never delivered to Midway, because the December 7th launch from USS Lexington was aborted once the Pearl Harbor attack began.
- **So was this all fortuitous circumstance (luck)---or did the Navy's high command in Washington want the priceless aircraft carriers away from Pearl Harbor on December 7th when the Japanese attacked?**
 - **Before December 7th,** the U.S. Navy still considered the battleship "battle line" to be the heart of the fleet's offensive striking power;
 - That mindset did not change until *after* the Japanese demonstrated on December 7th what massed Naval air power could accomplish;
 - **Since, on November 26th, the battleship was still not considered obsolete, and aircraft carriers had not yet achieved primacy in the U.S. Navy's warfighting doctrine, it appears that a series of ill-timed, poorly thought-out decisions inadvertently prevented the destruction of Enterprise and Lexington on December 7, 1941.**

Chronology of Major Events (resumed)

- **November 27, 1941:** Secretary of War Stimson releases a “war warning” message to General Short in Hawaii and General MacArthur in the Philippines; it was drafted in part by General Marshall the day before it was released, prior to him leaving Washington to observe Army exercises in North Carolina. The text reads as follows:

- “NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN APPEAR TO BE TERMINATED TO ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES WITH ONLY THE BAREST POSSIBILITIES THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT MIGHT COME BACK AND OFFER TO CONTINUE STOP **JAPANESE FUTURE ACTION UNPREDICTABLE BUT HOSTILE ACTION POSSIBLE AT ANY MOMENT STOP IF HOSTILITIES CANNOT COMMA REPEAT CANNOT COMMA BE AVOIDED THE UNITED STATES DESIRES THAT JAPAN COMMIT THE FIRST OVERT ACT** STOP THIS POLICY SHOULD NOT COMMA REPEAT NOT COMMA BE CONSTRUED AS CONSTRICTING YOU TO A COURSE OF ACTION THAT MIGHT JEOPARDIZE YOUR DEFENSE STOP PRIOR TO HOSTILE JAPANESE ACTION YOU ARE DIRECTED TO UNDERTAKE SUCH RECONNAISSANCE AND OTHER MEASURES AS YOU DEEM NECESSARY BUT THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT SO AS NOT COMMA REPEAT NOT COMMA TO ALARM CIVIL POPULATION OR DISCLOSE INTENT STOP REPORT MEASURES TAKEN STOP SHOULD HOSTILITIES OCCUR YOU WILL CARRY OUT THE TASKS ASSIGNED IN RAINBOW FIVE SO FAR AS THEY PERTAIN TO JAPAN STOP LIMIT DISSEMINATION OF THIS HIGHLY SECRET INFORMATION TO MINIMUM ESSENTIAL OFFICERS. ---MARSHALL.” [Emphasis added]

The incendiary phrase “**the United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act**” is a very close paraphrase of the key line in CDR McCollum’s memo of October, 1940, in which he wrote: “**If by these means Japan could be led to commit an overt act of war, so much the better;**” and furthermore, it embodies FDR’s desires (as expressed on November 25th and recorded in Henry Stimson’s diary) that: “**The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves.**” [Emphasis added]

ON THIS SAME DATE: The CNO (ADM Stark) transmits his own “war warning” message to his key Naval commanders: CINCPAC (ADM Kimmel) and CINCAF (ADM Hart) in the Pacific, copy to CINCLANT (ADM King) and SPENAVO (RADM Ghormley) in the Atlantic. The text reads as follows:

“**THIS DESPATCH IS TO BE CONSIDERED A WAR WARNING** X NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN LOOKING TOWARD STABILIZATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE PACIFIC HAVE CEASED AND **AN AGGRESSIVE MOVE BY JAPAN IS EXPECTED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS** X THE NUMBER AND EQUIPMENT OF JAPANESE TROOPS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF NAVAL TASK FORCES **INDICATES AN AMPHIBIOUS EXPEDITION AGAINST EITHER THE PHILIPPINES THAI OR KRA PENINSULA OR POSSIBLY BORNEO** X EXECUTE AN APPROPRIATE DEFENSIVE DEPLOYMENT PREPARATORY TO CARRYING OUT THE TASKS IN WPL46 X INFORM DISTRICT AND ARMY AUTHORITIES X **A SIMILAR WARNING IS BEING SENT BY WAR DEPARTMENT** X SPENAVO INFORM BRITISH X CONTINENTAL DISTRICTS GUAM SAMOA DIRECTED TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES AGAINST SABOTAGE”

The message was drafted by **RADM Richmond K. Turner**, Chief of Navy War Plans---who had been extremely worried about an attack on Pearl Harbor back in January of 1941 when his shop drafted the letter from Frank Knox to **Henry Stimson**. And yet, in this message on November 27th, Turner *did not* mention Pearl Harbor as a likely target of Japanese aggression, thus leading Admiral Kimmel to worry only about submarine attacks in the vicinity of the Hawaiian Islands. (It was also Turner who refused to allow the contents of the “Bomb Plot” message or any of the ensuing replies to be shared with Admiral Kimmel.)

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 27, 1941:** Secretary of War Stimson calls Secretary of State Hull for an update on the negotiations with Japan, and records the following response in his diary:
 - “I have washed my hands of it and it is now in the hands of you and Knox---the Army and the Navy.”
- **November 28, 1941:** President Roosevelt must not have liked the Navy’s “war warning” message the day before, because on this date the CNO (ADM Stark) issues a second war warning message, one which **TWICE** emphasizes **that the United States wants Japan to commit the first overt act of war**; the text follows below:
 - “REFER TO MY 272338 [the war warning message of the day before] X ARMY HAS SENT FOLLOWING TO COMMANDER WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND QUOTE NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN APPEAR TO BE TERMINATED TO ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES WITH ONLY THE BAREST POSSIBILITY THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT MIGHT COME BACK AND OFFER TO CONTINUE X JAPANESE FUTURE ACTION UNPREDICTABLE BUT HOSTILE ACTION POSSIBLE AT ANY MOMENT X **IF HOSTILITIES CANNOT REPEAT CANNOT BE AVOIDED THE UNITED STATES DESIRES THAT JAPAN COMMIT THE FIRST OVERT ACT** X THIS POLICY SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE CONSTRUED AS RESTRICTING YOU TO A COURSE OF ACTION THAT MIGHT JEOPARDIZE YOUR DEFENSE X PRIOR TO HOSTILE JAPANESE ACTION YOU ARE DIRECTED TO TAKE SUCH RECONNAISSANCE AND OTHER MEASURES AS YOU SEEM NECESSARY BUT THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT SO AS NOT REPEAT NOT TO ALARM CIVIL POPULATION OR DISCLOSE INTENT X REPORT MEASURES TAKEN X A SEPARATE MESSAGE IS BEING SENT TO NINTH CORPS AREA RE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES X SHOULD HOSTILITIES OCCUR YOU WILL CARRY OUT THE TASKS ASSIGNED IN RAINBOW FIVE SO FAR AS THEY PERTAIN TO JAPAN X LIMIT DISSEMINATION OF THIS HIGHLY SECRET INFORMATION TO MINIMUM ESSENTIAL OFFICERS X UNQUOTE XX WPL52 IS NOT APPLICABLE TO PACIFIC AREA AND WILL NOT BE PLACED IN EFFECT IN THAT AREA EXCEPT AS NOW IN FORCE IN SOUTHEAST PACIFIC SUBAREA AND PANAMA NAVAL COASTAL FRONTIER X **UNDERTAKE NO OFFENSIVE ACTION UNTIL JAPAN HAS COMMITTED AN OVERT ACT** X BE PREPARED TO CARRY OUT TASKS ASSIGNED IN WPL46 SO FAR AS THEY APPLY TO JAPAN IN CASE HOSTILITIES OCCUR.”
- **November 28, 1941:** A **MAGIC** decrypt reveals that the Japanese Foreign Minister considers the Hull Note of November 26th a “humiliating proposal,” and states that the Imperial government could “by no means use it as a basis for negotiations.” The message continued:
 - **In a few days U.S.-Japan relations will be *de facto* ruptured. Do not give the impression that negotiations are broken off.”**

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **November 28, 1941:** The “**Winds Code**” kick-off message, originally transmitted by the Japanese Foreign Ministry in the lower-level **J-19 Consular code** on November 19th, is decrypted and translated in Washington, D.C., setting off a whirlwind of activity. Its text read:
 - “In case of emergency (cutting off of diplomatic relations), and the cutting off of international communications, the following warning will be added in the middle of the daily Japanese language shortwave news broadcast:
 - In case of Japan-U.S. relations in danger: **EAST WIND, RAIN;**
 - Japan-USSR relations: **NORTH WIND, CLOUDY;**
 - Japan-British Relations: **WEST WIND, CLEAR.**
 - The signal will be given in the middle and at the end as a weather forecast and each sentence will be repeated twice. When this is heard, please destroy all code papers, etc. This is as-yet to be a completely secret arrangement.”

The “Winds” message created turmoil in Washington; orders went out immediately from the Army and Navy to their intercept stations throughout the world to monitor Japanese shortwave news broadcasts. Three-by-five-inch cards with the three Japanese phrases spelled out phonetically on them in English lettering were prepared and distributed. On December 4th, this high-profile monitoring effort was to pay off.
- **November 29, 1941:** The British Ambassador to the U.S., Lord Halifax, is told the following by Secretary of State Hull (as later reported by Churchill):
 - “The diplomatic part in our relations with Japan is now virtually over. The matter will now go to the officials of the Army and Navy, with whom I have talked... **Japan may move suddenly and with every possible element of surprise...My theory is the Japanese recognize that their course of unlimited conquest, now renewed all across the line, probably is a desperate gamble and requires utmost boldness and risk.”** [Emphasis added]
- **November 30, 1941 (Tokyo time):** Emperor Hirohito of Japan is informed, for the first time, about the impending attack on Pearl Harbor (by Admiral Nagano, Chief of the Naval General Staff). Even Prime Minister Tojo did not learn about the Pearl Harbor attack until the night before the Emperor, during a Liaison Conference, at which time Nagano also informed Tojo that the war would begin on December 8th, Tokyo time.

There was great irony here. The two highest-ranking figures in the Japanese government did not learn about the Pearl Harbor attack until about one week before it occurred; and yet the American power structure was first informed about the attack---at the highest levels---on January 27, 1941 upon receipt of Ambassador Grew’s “bombshell” diplomatic cable.

President Roosevelt, in Late November or early December of 1941, Informs the **American Red Cross** About the Forthcoming Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor

- This anecdotal account was published in 1999 in the journal *Naval History*; the source of the account was the surviving daughter of **Don Smith, the Director of War Service for the American Red Cross**. The following excerpt is taken from *The Pearl Harbor Myth* (pg. 51), by George Victor:
 - “Shortly before the attack in 1941 President Roosevelt called him to the White House for a meeting concerning a Top Secret matter. At this meeting the President advised my father that his intelligence staff had informed him of a pending attack on Pearl Harbor, by the Japanese.
 - He [the President] anticipated many casualties and much loss, [and] he instructed my father to send workers and supplies...
 - He left no doubt in my father’s mind that none of the Naval and Military officials in Hawaii were to be informed and he was not to advise the Red Cross officers who were already stationed in the area.
 - When he [my father] protested to the President, *President Roosevelt told him that the American people would never agree to enter the war in Europe unless they were attack[ed].*” [Emphasis added]

George Victor wrote that workers and supplies were sent immediately and ten emergency medical stations were hurriedly established in Hawaii prior to the attack.

John M. Newman, a Ph.D. in history and a Cold War scholar, recently wrote: “WE WOULD BE MISTAKEN TO ASSUME THAT JUST BECAUSE THERE IS NO WRITTEN EVIDENCE FOR AN EVENT THAT IT NEVER TOOK PLACE.”

Approximately November 30th-December 4th:

Using Radio Direction Finding (RDF) From Its Pacific Intercept Stations, the U.S. Navy Partially Tracks *Kido Butai* Across the North Pacific

- Written sources: *Infamy*, by John Toland; and *Day of Deceit*, by Robert Stinnett
- Human sources (witnesses): Lt. Ellsworth Hosmer, USN and Seaman Robert Ogg, USN of the Twelfth Naval District in San Francisco; and Leslie Grogan, the First Assistant Radio Officer onboard the Matson Steamship Company passenger liner, *SS Lurline*.
- AT THE 12th NAVAL DISTRICT IN SAN FRANCISCO:
 - Robert Ogg plotted intermittent position information on a Japanese Task Force moving eastward across the north Pacific for 5 days, and then noted that it turned south before the RDF information dried up and they “lost the plot;”
 - According to Ogg, the information was sent by a secure communications circuit to the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) in Washington, D.C. by Navy CAPT Richard McCullough;
 - SUMMARY: At least 6, and possibly 8 Japanese Navy units were operating in the north Pacific, and were communicating with carrier AKAGI (which was the flagship of *Kido Butai*);
 - The “lines of bearing” for use in the RDF plot were obtained by various stations in the West Coast Communications Intelligence (WCCI) network, and reported to the Twelfth Naval District where the plot was assembled from the disparate elements of information. [The WCCI included RDF stations/listening posts located at Imperial Beach (near San Diego), Point Arguello, the Farallon Islands, and Point St. George in California; Bainbridge, Washington; and Dutch Harbor and Sitka, in Alaska. Commercial radio sources (RCA Radio, Globe Wireless, MacKay Radio and Telegraph, and AT&T) also contributed to the WCCI.
 - Lt. Hosmer prepared a hand-written summary of their findings retained by his daughter, which read: “...at least six, possibly eight Jap units were operating between Hawaii and the Aleutians and [this] clearly indicated that a force was to steal out on a secret [mission] and obtain mastery of the air.”
 - Author Robert Stinnett, who interviewed Robert Ogg off-and-on for 15 years, concluded that because of the frequencies used, HIMS AKAGI was communicating at low power with its supply train (7 oil tankers), that had become scattered during a north Pacific storm; Stinnett claims that unusually high sunspot activity during this period ionized the atmosphere such that low power transmissions that would not normally be heard more than about 100 miles away, were heard thousands of miles away.
- ONBOARD SS LURLINE, AT SEA BETWEEN SAN FRANCISCO AND HONOLULU:
 - On a voyage that left Los Angeles on November 29th and arrived in Honolulu on December 3rd, radio officer Leslie Grogan wrote in his (reconstructed) log: “The Japs are blasting away at the lower Marine frequencies. All in the Japanese code and continues for several hours. We noted that signals were being repeated back possibly for copying by craft with small antennas [sic].” Grogan noted that the broadcasts originated from shore stations in Japan and were beamed toward the northwest Pacific. His log continued: “We continue to pick up the bold Japanese general order signals [on December 1st and 2nd]---it can’t be anything else. We got good radio direction finder bearings, mostly coming from a Northwesterly direction from our position. The Jap floating units continue their bold repetition of wireless signals, presumably for the smaller craft in their vanguard of ships... We are now making a concise record to turn into the Naval Intelligence when we arrive in Honolulu on Wednesday, December 3rd.”
 - Grogan was debriefed by a Naval Intelligence officer on December 3rd in Honolulu; and when *SS Lurline* arrived in San Francisco on December 10th after war had broken out, **his radio log was confiscated by an officer from the 12th Naval District, prompting him to reconstruct his log from memory that very day.** In 1991 it was discovered that his original log had been removed from the National Archives repository in San Bruno in the 1970s, when the records were still under Navy supervision.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **December 1, 1941 (Tokyo time):** Several crucial events take place in Japan:
 - **The last Imperial Conference of 1941 is held before Emperor Hirohito of Japan---and the final assent to war with America, Great Britain, and the Netherlands is given by the Emperor.** (The Japanese have given up on negotiations with the U.S. following receipt of the Hull Note on November 27th, Tokyo time; Japan's official response to the Hull Note will be delivered on December 7th in a long, 14-part diplomatic memorandum to Secretary of State Hull in Washington---and with bombs and torpedoes in Pearl Harbor.)
 - **The Imperial Japanese Navy once again changes its radiotelegraphy call signs for all operating units---this time *five (5) months early*.** Normally, radio call signs were changed once every six months---and the previous change in call signs *was only one month previous to this*, on November 1, 1941. This action was understood immediately by American communicators and codebreakers for what it was: an attempt to enhance operational security just before the beginning of hostilities.
 - **The Chief of the Naval General Staff (ADM Nagano) issues Order No. 9 to C-in-C, Combined Fleet (ADM Yamamoto) and C-in-C China Area Fleet;** it relays the final decision to go to war made by the Japanese government this day, and to enhance OPSEC it was delivered in a sealed envelope, and was not transmitted by radio. The key text reads:

“IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO ENTER INTO A STATE OF WAR BY THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT ON ONE SIDE AND THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE NETHERLANDS ON THE OTHER DURING THE FIRST PART OF DECEMBER.”

Yamamoto is directed in this message to destroy all enemy forces and air strength “in the Orient,” and he is also directed to speedily capture and hold important American and British bases in Eastern Asia, and then Dutch bases, in cooperation with the Commander of the Southern Army. The exact time for commencing the war, he was reminded, would be provided separately. **No mention is made in this message of attacking Pearl Harbor.**
 - **The Chief of the Naval General Staff (ADM Nagano) issues a message directing C-in-C, Combined Fleet (ADM Yamamoto) to attack the U.S. Pacific Fleet in Hawaii;** it is not known whether this was delivered in the same sealed envelope as Order No. 9, or whether it was encoded in JN-25 and transmitted. The key text reads:

“JAPAN, UNDER THE NECESSITY OF SELF-PRESERVATION, HAS REACHED A DECISION TO DECLARE WAR ON THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BRITISH EMPIRE, AND THE NETHERLANDS. TIME TO START ACTION WILL BE ANNOUNCED LATER. **THE C-IN-C, COMBINED FLEET SHALL, AT THE START OF WAR DIRECT AN ATTACK ON THE ENEMY FLEET IN THE HAWAIIAN AREA AND REDUCE IT TO IMPOTENCY USING THE FIRST AIR FLEET AS THE NUCLEUS OF THE ATTACK FORCE.**” [Emphasis added]

This redundancy occurs throughout Japan's war directives; its purpose seems to be to remind Yamamoto who is in charge (the Naval General Staff, not him). In a formal sense it authorizes the OPORDERS issued already by VADM Nagumo and the “Grand Execute” attack order issued by Yamamoto on 11/22/41.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- December 1, 1941 (Washington time): American officials were inundated by crucially important MAGIC messages on this date.
 - MAGIC reveals that on November 30th, the German Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop, reiterated to the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin (Baron Oshima) Hitler's promise (made back on August 15th) to declare war on the United States should Japan and America become engaged in hostilities with each other:
"SHOULD JAPAN BECOME ENGAGED IN A WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES GERMANY, OF COURSE, WOULD JOIN THE WAR IMMEDIATELY. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO POSSIBILITY OF GERMANY'S ENTERING INTO A SEPARATE PEACE WITH THE UNITED STATES UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. THE FUHRER IS DETERMINED ON THAT POINT."
 - MAGIC reveals a key message sent by the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo to its ambassador in Berlin on November 30th:
"SAY VERY SECRETLY TO THEM [HITLER AND RIBBENTROP] THAT THERE IS EXTREME DANGER WAR MAY SUDDENLY BREAK OUT BETWEEN THE ANGLO-SAXON NATIONS AND JAPAN THROUGH SOME CLASH OF ARMS AND ADD THAT THE TIME OF THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR MAY COME QUICKER THAN ANYONE DREAMS...SAY THAT BY OUR PRESENT MOVES SOUTHWARD WE DO NOT MEAN TO RELAX OUR PRESSURE AGAINST THE SOVIET AND THAT IF RUSSIA JOINS HANDS TIGHTER WITH ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES AND RESISTS US WITH HOSTILITIES, WE ARE READY TO TURN UPON HER WITH ALL OUR MIGHT; HOWEVER, RIGHT NOW, IT IS TO OUR ADVANTAGE TO STRESS THE SOUTH."
 - MAGIC reveals the text of instructions sent from the Foreign Minister in Tokyo to Ambassador Nomura in Washington:
"TO KEEP UNITED STATES FROM BECOMING UNDULY SUSPICIOUS SAY NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING."
 - MAGIC reveals that the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo has sent two different sets of instructions to its foreign embassies regarding the disposition of their codes and code machines:
 - Four Japanese Embassies---London, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Manila---were ordered to destroy their code machines and codes.
 - The Japanese Embassy in Washington was ordered to retain its machines and machine codes in service.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **December 1, 1941:** As of this date Station NEGAT in Washington, D.C. recorded that it had “broken” or “recovered” about 3,800 words of the total of approximately 50,000 words in the JN-25(b) basic codebook, or dictionary. This total is 50% higher than the total number of recoveries reported by Station CAST in the Philippines, two months earlier. [This statistic bolsters my hypothesis that it was likely the British, and not the Americans, who decrypted the two key Yamamoto messages of November 22nd and 25th. The British effort was well ahead of the American one, and furthermore, the intercepts being decrypted at NEGAT were not current.]
- **December 2, 1941 (Tokyo time):** Chief of the Naval General Staff (ADM Nagano) issues Directive No. 12 to the C-in-C, Combined Fleet (ADM Yamamoto) in a sealed envelope, just as the Imperial Decision for War (Order No. 9) was delivered the day before. [These are the only two key operational orders *definitely known* to have been delivered by sealed envelope to ADM Yamamoto, instead of being encrypted in JN-25(b) and sent by radiotelegraphy.] The key text follows:
“THE C-IN-C COMBINED FLEET WILL ACTIVATE THE FORCE UNDER HIS COMMAND IN ACCORDANCE WITH IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS ORDER No. 9 ON AND AFTER 8 DECEMBER. OPERATIONS AGAINST THE NETHERLANDS WILL BE INITIATED WHEN OPPORTUNITY OFFERS AFTER OPERATIONS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN HAVE STARTED.”
This is what Yamamoto was really waiting for---the definition of X Day, the exact date when the war would begin, and the attack on Pearl Harbor would take place. VADM Nagumo’s two OPORDERs indicated that X Day would be provided by higher authority, and it was now ADM Yamamoto’s responsibility to send that notification to the First Air Fleet.
- **December 2, 1941 (Tokyo time):** The C-in-C, Combined Fleet (ADM Yamamoto) transmits X Day to the Imperial Japanese Navy’s Combined Fleet, by radio, encrypted in JN-25(b). The text reads as follows:
 - “THIS DISPATCH IS TOP SECRET. THIS ORDER IS EFFECTIVE AT 1730 ON 2 DECEMBER. COMBINED FLEET SERIAL #10. CLIMB NIITAKAYAMA 1208, REPEAT 1208.”The key phrase “Climb Niitakayama 1208” is translated into English to mean “Climb Mount Niitaka on December 8th,” i.e., begin hostilities on December 8th Tokyo time. Mount Niitaka was a mountain on the island of Formosa, the highest peak in the Japanese Empire at that time, and its meaning was obvious to all who read it. The message was drafted and released by ADM Yamamoto’s Chief of Staff, RADM Matome Ugaki, since ADM Yamamoto was absent, in Tokyo, meeting with Emperor Hirohito to receive the Imperial Rescript, the Emperor’s personal message of encouragement to the Fleet. **The crucial date of X Day**, promised by Yamamoto’s OPORDER No. 1 dated November 5th, and in Nagumo’s two OPORDERs to the First Air Fleet issued at Hitokappu Bay on November 23rd, **was provided by this message, thus setting in motion all of the Japanese Navy’s activities spelled out in those OPORDERs.**
This message, transmitted by radio in JN-25(b) to the entire Combined Fleet, was intercepted by U.S. Navy listening stations at Corregidor, Guam, and Hawaii. (It is safe to assume, therefore, that the British cryptanalysts at FECB intercepted it, and the two Yamamoto messages of Nov 22nd and Nov 25th, also.) The version of the intercept that was decrypted and translated by the Navy in 1945, and released by the NSA, lists the original encryption as “JN-25B.” The originator of this message---C-in-C, Combined Fleet---was the same originator of the two Yamamoto messages transmitted by radio to the First Air Fleet on November 22nd (the “Grand Execute” Hawaii attack order) and November 25th (the Sailing Order instructing Kido Butai to leave Hitokappu Bay on November 26th); and those two messages also, like ALL of the 188 extant Pre-Pearl Harbor Dispatches acknowledged in 1946 by the Top Secret ULTRA report, must have been in JN-25B.
It is therefore “not worthy of belief” when we are asked to conclude (as is inferred by the 1946 Top Secret ULTRA Navy report) that the two key Yamamoto messages of Nov 22nd and Nov 25th were NOT ALSO INTERCEPTED, as was this one. The acknowledged interception of this key message, juxtaposed with the glaring absence of the Nov 22nd and Nov 25th Yamamoto messages from the 1946 Navy Top Secret ULTRA report, **strongly implies a U.S. Navy cover-up**, most likely carried out in late 1941 and early 1942 in Washington, D.C.; if that cover-up was not carried out in 1941-42, then it was surely executed in 1945. **Any stand-alone “smoking gun” messages would have been the targets in such a cover-up, to avoid embarrassment. [Having focused inordinately on decryption of the “wrong code,” the Navy was loath to admit having intercepted any smoking guns.]**
The “Climb Mount Niitaka” message was the last operational message related to Pearl Harbor transmitted before the Japanese Navy changed the JN-25(b) additive tables on December 4th, 1941.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **December 2, 1941:** At the direct request of President Roosevelt, CNO Harold Stark transmits the **“THREE SMALL VESSELS”** order to C-in-C, AF (ADM Hart): [Emphasis added]
 - **“PRESIDENT DIRECTS THAT THE FOLLOWING BE DONE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WITHIN TWO DAYS IF POSSIBLE AFTER RECEIPT THIS DESPATCH. CHARTER THREE SMALL VESSELS TO FORM A ‘DEFENSIVE INFORMATION PATROL.’ MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS TO ESTABLISH IDENTITY AS U.S. MEN-OF-WAR ARE COMMAND BY A U.S. NAVAL OFFICER AND TO MOUNT A SMALL GUN AND ONE MACHINE GUN WOULD SUFFICE [sic]. FILIPINO CREWS MAY BE EMPLOYED WITH A MINIMUM NUMBER NAVAL RATINGS TO ACCOMPLISH PURPOSE WHICH IS TO OBSERVE AND REPORT BY RADIO JAPANESE MOVEMENTS IN WEST CHINA SEA AND GULF OF SIAM...REPORT MEASURES TAKEN TO CARRY OUT PRESIDENT’S VIEWS.”**
- **IMPORT:** this obvious attempt by FDR to place 3 small chartered ships which barely qualified as ‘U.S. Naval vessels’ directly “into harm’s way” was a not-so-subtle attempt to create a *casus belli* in the Pacific, for war with Japan. FDR anticipated a Pacific *casus belli* in his previously stated belief (expressed to ADM Richardson on Oct 8, 1940) that “sooner or later they [the Japanese] will make a mistake and we will enter the war.” FDR’s sense of urgency (that it be done by December 4th) implies most strongly that he was well aware the Pearl Harbor strike force *might be recalled*, and desired to have an “insurance policy” for stimulating war with Japan. It is reminiscent of the three co-called “pop-up” cruises he had ordered in Japanese waters earlier in the year, and of the Naval ‘incidents’ in the Atlantic, that autumn, which FDR had hoped would incite war with Germany.
- RADM Royal E. Ingersoll was Deputy CNO in 1941; he testified, under oath, to the Joint Congressional Committee on the Pearl Harbor Attack after the war. When asked if the order could have served to provoke an incident, he replied: **“It would have been an incident on which we could have declared war.”**
- Two of the three ships chartered were the *Isabel*, an obsolete Naval vessel converted for use as Admiral Hart’s oceangoing yacht; and the *Lanikai*, a two-masted schooner that could barely make 6 knots on an old auxiliary engine.
- *Isabel* was commanded by Navy LT John Payne; her executive officer, LT Marion Buass, said after the war: “The true nature of our mission was to...result in an incident in which the ship would probably be sunk.” *Isabel* was the only one of the three small vessels able to get underway before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and the Philippines; she was “buzzed” by Japanese airplanes, but was not shot at, and was mercifully recalled to Manila afterwards by ADM Hart.
- *Lanikai* was commanded by Navy LT Kemp Tolley, who was told after the war by ADM Hart, “Yes, you were bait.” ADM Hart then told Tolley that if Congressional Investigators had asked him about the order, he would have told them what he knew, and “then the fat would have been in the fire.”
- If the “3 small vessels” gambit had borne fruit and one or all of the small ships had been sunk, Japan would have “fired the first shot” and “committed an overt act of war,” and Roosevelt might have gained his “back door to war” with Germany even without an attack on Pearl Harbor or the Philippines.

Chronology of Major Events (continued)

- **December 2, 1941 (Tokyo time):** Chief of the Imperial Navy's Naval General Staff (ADM Nagano) sends his final pre-Pearl Harbor message to C-in-C, Combined Fleet (ADM Yamamoto): [Emphasis added]
 - “THE HOSTILE ACTION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, AND THE NETHERLANDS SHALL BE COMMENCED ON 8 DECEMBER. BEAR IN MIND THAT, SHOULD IT APPEAR CERTAIN THAT JAPANESE-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS WILL REACH AN AMICABLE SETTLEMENT PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILE ACTION, ALL FORCES OF THE COMBINED FLEET ARE TO BE ORDERED TO REASSEMBLE AND RETURN TO THEIR BASES.”

This message was redundant in every respect, and unnecessary, and yet surviving senior members of the Japanese Navy recalled during their interrogations in the autumn of 1945 that it was sent on this date. [Means of delivery unknown.] ADM Nagano had originally opposed the Pearl Harbor attack, but had become an enthusiastic convert; CAPT Tomioka, the Head of the Operations Section of the Naval General Staff, was adamantly opposed and feared it might end in disaster, and result in the early destruction of Japanese Naval air power. Tomioka kept a loaded hand-gun in his desk---with which to kill himself---in the event of the disaster at Pearl Harbor which he so feared.

This message was unnecessary because negotiations were effectively dead upon receipt of the Hull Note on November 27th in Japan; furthermore, the Emperor had already blessed the final decision to go to war on December 1st, the previous day.

- **December 2, 1941 (in Washington):** The Dutch Naval Attache to the United States, CAPT Johan E. M. Ranneft, makes the following entry in his diary. [It was published in the Netherlands in 1952 by the Hague Institute for Maritime History, Ministry of Defense, under the title: *Diary: 1938-1947*.]
 - “2-12-41: MEETING AT NAVY DEPARTMENT, THE LOCATION OF 2 JAPANESE CARRIERS LEAVING JAPAN WITH EASTERN COURSE ARE POINTED OUT TO ME ON THE MAP.”

CAPT Ranneft had a very close working relationship with now-CAPT Arthur McCollum at ONI; it is clear from a second diary entry on December 6th that the place where he met with U.S. Navy officials on this date was the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI). The fact that ONI could plot the position of what they (mistakenly) considered “2 carriers” on a nautical chart---and could note its movement on the chart in an easterly direction from Japan, whence it came---is corroboration for the RDF information sent to ONI from the Twelfth Naval District in San Francisco between approximately November 30th-December 4th (and vice-a-versa). ONI's ability to plot the gradual movement of the “2 carriers” eastward, from Japan, indirectly demolishes the myth that the First Air Fleet maintained strict radio silence all the way from the Kurile Islands to Pearl Harbor.

CAPT Ranneft held a special position of trust within the U.S. Navy, for he had stolen the Dutch-Swedish plans for the world's best anti-aircraft gun, the 40 mm Bofors gun, and given them to the United States. In appreciation, Ranneft was given *carte blanche* treatment by the Navy's Bureau of Ordnance and ONI. In 1946 he received the Legion of Merit (for outstanding service to the United States) from Fleet Admiral Nimitz. This indicates he was highly trusted by the United States Navy, and an officer of sterling character.

Four Key Communications Events on December 3, 1941 In Washington, D.C.

- A MAGIC decrypt of a message the Japanese Foreign Ministry sent to its Embassy in Washington December 2nd, Tokyo time, instructs the Ambassador that all secret files and documents, and all codes except those being used with the machine [what we called Purple and the Japanese called the Type B encryption device] were to be destroyed now. Further, the Ambassador was ordered to immediately stop using and destroy one of his two Type B code machines (thus keeping only one in use).
- An OPNAV message is transmitted to CINCPAC and CINCAF warning of the widespread destruction by Japanese Embassies of their codes and ciphers [the locations indicating clearly the countries that Japan was about to go to war with]: [Emphasis added]
 - “HIGHLY RELIABLE INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED THAT CATEGORIC AND URGENT INSTRUCTIONS WERE SENT YESTERDAY TO JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS AT HONG KONG X SINGAPORE X BATAVIA X MANILA X WASHINGTON AND LONDON TO DESTROY MOST OF THEIR CODES AND CIPHERS AT ONCE AND TO BURN ALL OTHER IMPORTANT CONFIDENTIAL AND SECRET DOCUMENTS.”

This message was watered down a bit by RADM Ingersoll, who deleted this phrase in the draft: “From foregoing infer that Orange [Japan] plans early action in Southeast Asia.” The message was drafted by CAPT McCollum, the Head of the Far East Section at ONI and the author of the controversial memo of October 8, 1940; While McCollum had advocated pushing Japan into a corner until it “committed an overt act of war” in October of 1940, he also felt the Fleet Commanders should be ready to receive the blow when it came, and spent the last 4 days prior to the Pearl Harbor attack attempting to send additional warnings to the Field Commanders. Admirals Turner, Ingersoll, and Stark thought this was among the most important warnings sent to Pacific Commanders, and all of them were of the opinion that this was the final warning necessary.
- A second OPNAV warning, transmitted just 5 minutes after the one mentioned above, was released by CAPT Redman of Navy Communications: [Emphasis added]
 - CIRCULAR TWENTY FOUR FORTY FOUR FROM TOKYO ONE DECEMBER ORDERED LONDON X HONG KONG X SINGAPORE AND MANILA TO DESTROY PURPLE MACHINE X BATAVIA MACHINE ALREADY SENT TO TOKYO XX DECEMBER SECOND WASHINGTON ALSO DIRECTED DESTROY PURPLE X ALL BUT ONE COPY OF OTHER SYSTEMS X AND ALL SECRET DOCUMENTS XX BRITISH ADMIRALTY TODAY REPORTS EMBASSY LONDON HAS COMPLIED.”

This message was drafted by OP-20-G himself, CAPT Safford, because he was afraid that McCollum’s draft message was not going to be released. Amazingly, this message is a violation of OPSEC since it overtly mentions “Purple” twice, and employs language indicating we were deciphering Japan’s diplomatic messages. Safford admitted in later years that he included the term “Purple” intentionally as a warning to ADM Kimmel in Hawaii; but his warning fell on deaf ears because ADM Kimmel did not know what “Purple” even meant.
- Another key J-19 Consular Code message sent from Tokyo to Honolulu, originally transmitted by the Foreign Ministry November 15th, is decrypted and translated more than 2 weeks later in Washington; it read: [Emphasis added]
 - “AS RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES ARE MOST CRITICAL, MAKE YOUR ‘SHIPS IN HARBOR REPORT’ IRREGULAR, BUT AT A RATE OF TWICE PER WEEK.”

As with the original “Bomb Plot” message decoded on October 9th, this decrypt (and another, almost identical one the next day) was not shared with the Army and Navy Field Commanders in Hawaii, Lieutenant General Short and Admiral Kimmel. Thus, the U.S. military commanders in Hawaii remained ignorant that the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu was keeping a close watch on ship movements, and the specific locations in which various ship types moored inside Pearl Harbor. Also, the responses sent weekly, and then twice weekly, by Ensign Yoshikawa in Honolulu were never shared with Kimmel or Short.

Events of December 4th, 1941

- **December 4, 1941 (Tokyo time):** The Imperial Japanese Navy changed over to a new additive values table for all of its JN-25 encryptions; **along with the premature change of all operational call signs on December 1st, this was a sure sign that war was imminent.** The U.S. Navy breathed a big sigh of relief when it was quickly realized at Station CAST and NEGAT that this was only a change of the additive book---the superencipherment used in each message that was encrypted---**and not a change in the basic code book.** It usually took cryptanalysts about 3 to 4 weeks (maximum) to break into a new additive table and begin decrypting messages again. Because the Japanese Navy continued using the same basic code book through spring of 1942, the United States was able to check its planned offensive in the Coral Sea in early May 1942 and ambush the Japanese at Midway in early June of 1942.
- **December 4, 1941 (Washington time):** The “Winds Execute” message---“**EAST WIND, RAIN**”---is received over shortwave radio (in Japanese *kana Morse Code*) at a Navy intercept station (Station M) at Cheltenham, Maryland by radioman Ralph T. Briggs, between 3:00 and 8:00 AM; Briggs sent the entire 200 word “weather forecast” over secure teletype to OP-20-G at Main Navy in Washington, and shortly before 9:00 AM his message was received by LCDR Alwyn Kramer, who was one of the two principal MAGIC couriers and also the chief linguist on the OP-20-G staff. Kramer then shared the teletype with CAPT Safford (OP-20-G himself); Safford, in turn, sent it to RADM Leigh Noyes, the Head of Navy Communications. Others who reportedly saw the message included RADM Ingersoll, and Army Colonels Dusenberry, Pettigrew, and Sadtler.
 - As translated, the entire message indicated: “**War with England; War with the U.S.; Peace with Russia,**” according to CAPT Safford, who recalled this event clearly during the various Pearl Harbor investigations, and never expressed any doubt about his recollections. LCDR Kramer also recalled it clearly before the Navy Court of Inquiry in 1944, but much less clearly (and with some doubt) before the Congressional Investigation after the war. [Kramer was pressured to recant after he testified to the Navy Court of Inquiry, had a nervous breakdown and was hospitalized as a result, and then cast enough doubt on the story before Congress that those who did not wish to believe it were able to discount the “Winds Execute” story.]
 - Others who heard the broadcast---a *voice version* of the “Winds” broadcast---were two members of the Japanese Navy stationed at the Japanese Embassy in Washington, D.C. (CAPT Sanematsu and Petty Officer Ogimoto); an Australian Navy LT, Longfield Lloyd, duty officer on December 4th at the Australian Special Intelligence Organization; and it was also heard on December 7th at the FECB (British) listening station on Stonecutter’s Island, in Hong Kong.
 - According to authors Rusbridger and Nave (in their book *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor*), the Japanese sent out their daily “General Information Broadcasts” and *Domei News* broadcasts to their consular missions around the world IN BOTH VOICE AND KANA MORSE CODE, which explains how radioman Ralph Briggs could receive it in Morse, and others heard the message as a voice broadcast.
 - A massive post-Pearl Harbor cover-up at the Main Navy building in Washington, in the Communications Section, destroyed all written evidence that the “Winds Execute” messages had been received, according to CAPT Laurance Safford (OP-20-G). The Joint Congressional Committee on the Pearl Harbor attack, in its 1946 Report, expressed great skepticism that any “Winds Execute” message or messages were ever transmitted by Japan---as does the NSA today.
 - I personally believe the “Winds Execute” messages were sent by Japan, and that CAPT Safford; LCDR Kramer; Ralph Briggs; CAPT Sanematsu IJN; Petty Officer Ogimoto, IJN; and LT Lloyd, RAN were all telling the truth.
 - However, the usefulness of this message was quite limited; it only indicated that a final decision for war had been made---and did not indicate WHERE or WHEN the Japanese would strike, only that war was imminent. IT WAS ALREADY KNOWN THAT WAR WAS IMMINENT THROUGH THE WIDESPREAD ORDERS GIVEN BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO DESTROY CODE MACHINES AND CIPHERS; AND BECAUSE MASSIVE JAPANESE ARMY AND NAVY FORCES WERE OBSERVED MOVING SOUTH TOWARD MALAYA AND THAILAND.
 - In the final analysis, the absence of any “WINDS EXECUTE” messages in the written record in 1944, 45, and 46 confirms that there was a widespread U.S. Navy Pearl Harbor cover-up after the attack and prior to 1944; this is the principal value of the tale.

Events of December 4th (continued)

- **December 4, 1941 (in Washington):** CAPT McCollum of ONI drafts a Naval message warning ADM Kimmel in Hawaii about the receipt of the “Winds Execute” message. It is taken to RADM Noyes (Head of Navy Communications), to be released, by CAPT McCollum’s boss, the Director of ONI, RADM Wilkinson---and RADM Noyes **REFUSES TO SEND THE MESSAGE**, calling it “an insult to the intelligence of the Commander-in-Chief [of the Pacific Fleet].” With this refusal, RADM Noyes becomes the third member of a select group of individuals (along with RADM Turner and ADM Stark) who refused to send specific warnings to ADM Kimmel in Hawaii.
- **December 4, 1941 (in Washington):** OPNAV (the CNO’s office) transmits four (4) Naval messages instructing outlying American Pacific commands and activities to immediately destroy codes and ciphers, or to be in readiness to destroy them immediately. **The messages were sent to:**
 - Guam and American Samoa;
 - Guam alone;
 - CINCAF (ADM Hart) in the Philippines; and
 - U.S. Naval Attaches in Tokyo, Peking, Bangkok, and Shanghai.
- **December 4, 1941 (in Washington):** FDR’s “VICTORY PROGRAM”---an internal **U.S. contingency plan** for a two-front war in Europe and Asia against Germany, Italy, and Japan that was commissioned by him in July of 1941---is leaked, in the most sensational manner, to two major U.S. newspapers: the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times Herald*. It was prepared under the auspices of General George C. Marshall by Lt.Col. Albert C. Wedemeyer. **The American public, remembering FDR’s promises during the Presidential campaign in 1940 that American boys “were not going to be sent to fight in any foreign wars,” was stunned.** The details reported on, in the most glaring headlines, included:
 - “FDR’S WAR PLANS: GOAL IS TEN MILLION ARMED MEN---HALF TO FIGHT IN AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE; Proposed Land Drive by July 1, 1943 to Smash Nazis.”Subsequent FBI investigation cleared Lt.Col. Wedemeyer of any wrongdoing; he was clearly not the leaker. The report was leaked to Senator Burton K. Wheeler (perhaps FDR’s biggest isolationist opponent) by a young Army Captain. The biographer of William Stephenson, Head of the BSC office in NYC [INTREPID], claims Stephenson planted a copy of the report (the size of a novel) with the young Army Captain, knowing he would give it to Senator Wheeler; he wrote: **“The primary aim of this deception was to use isolationist channels as a means of revealing to Hitler a ‘secret plan’ calculated to provoke him into a declaration of war. Even if the Japanese attacked British and American bases without warning, the British feared that the United States would not declare war on Germany.”**
The real question is, “How did Stephenson get his hands on a copy of the Victory Program Report?” He certainly did not get it from Winston Churchill. The report’s author, Albert C. Wedemeyer, came to believe that President Roosevelt himself was the leaker.
We do know that FDR already used Stephenson’s BSC office as a conduit for secret messages to Churchill; in fact FDR’s son, James Roosevelt, had delivered the text of a secret Roosevelt message to Churchill as recently as November 26th. So it would have been entirely feasible for FDR to have a copy of the report delivered quietly into Stephenson’s hands, and to then employ him---wittingly---as a cut-out, in passing the report to Roosevelt’s isolationist opponents. THE GOAL OF SUCH A LEAK would clearly have been to enrage Hitler and get him to declare war on the United States---in other words, an “insurance policy” to increase the likelihood that Hitler would keep his secret promise to Japan and declare war on America in the event of a Japanese attack on the U.S.
FDR remained very quiet and did not show any open anger about the leak, but a furious Henry Stimson wrote in his diary: “Nothing more unpatriotic or damaging to our plans for defense could very well be conceived of...The thing to do is meet the matter head on and use this occurrence if possible to shake our American people out of their infernal apathy and ignorance of what the war means.” [Play video segment VII]

FDR's December 5th Cabinet Meeting:

The Last One Before the Attack on Pearl Harbor

- Secretary of War Henry Stimson shocks at least one other member of the Cabinet, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, when he reveals this shocking truth:
 - “Stimson had said, ‘The plan for the Philippines is absolutely letter perfect. The Philippines are indefensible. We have always known it.’ Every Army officer in the United States above the rank of Lieutenant is familiar with the plan for the Philippines in case of war.’ As Stimson had explained, the plan was to abandon them. I had thus learned with horror from the mouth of the Secretary of War that the U.S. Army had never expected to defend the islands. It had never crossed my mind that there had been a realistic acceptance for years of the idea that the Philippines would be left to the Japanese.”

This admission by Stimson strongly suggests that the public “arming of the Philippines” announced in July (and followed by inadequate actions) had simply been a “lure” to ensure that the Japanese would conduct a “neutralizing attack” on U.S. forces in the Philippines as the Japanese Empire expanded in a southward direction toward Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies. Such an attack---an overt act of war---was what Roosevelt desired to propel the United States into World War II.

Stimson’s admission was entirely inconsistent with General Marshall’s “off the record” press briefing on November 15th in which he (falsely) claimed that U.S. bombers in the Philippines would launch an offensive firebombing campaign against Japanese cities in the event of war; the authentic policy, revealed by Stimson to the Cabinet, exposes Marshall’s press conference for what it was: *a provocation intended to force Japan to attack the Philippines.*
- Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox almost blurts out the true position of the First Air Fleet---and President Roosevelt engages in quick and effective deflection, and effectively “shuts him up:” [Source: Frances Perkins oral history, 1955]
 - The excitable Frank Knox, who had just received a classified briefing on the position of the Japanese Fleet’s aircraft carriers by RADM Wilkinson, the Director of ONI, suddenly blurted out: “Well, you know, Mr. President, we know where the Japanese Fleet is;” to which FDR replied: “Yes, I know. I think we ought to tell everybody just how ticklish the situation is. We have information, as Knox just mentioned...well, you tell them what it is, Frank.” Knox then said: “Well...we have very secret information that mustn’t go outside this room that the Japanese Fleet is out. They’re out of harbor. They’re out at sea. Our information is---” At this point the President interrupted Knox and prevented him from going much further, saying: “We haven’t got anything like perfect information as to their apparent destination. The question in the minds of the Navy and in my mind is whether the fleet is going south.” Knox then parroted: “Every indication is they are going south.” Roosevelt then proceeded to present deflection and confusing information that the Japanese Fleet may just as well have been going north, instead of south, and that there was just no certainty about its apparent destination. Knox, now clearly irritated, argued with the President in front of his colleagues about the absurdity of the notion that the Japanese Fleet may have been going north.

IT IS DOUBTFUL that Knox was about to say “south” when he was interrupted by the President and given his speaking cue about what was permissible to say in front of the other Cabinet members, because the general movement of many elements of the Japanese Fleet toward the south had been known for over a week (and did not include its front-line aircraft carriers). The informed speculation by author George Victor in his book *The Pearl Harbor Myth* is that Frank Knox had been about to reveal that Japan’s front-line aircraft carriers were heading EAST. This informed speculation is consistent with the Radio Direction Finding (RDF) data---based upon aircraft carrier Akagi’s radio transmissions to the oil tankers supporting *Kido Butai*---being sent back to ONI (from the Twelfth Naval District) between about November 30th and December 4th, and is also consistent with the fact that the Dutch Naval Attache, CAPT Johan Ranneft, visited ONI twice, on December 2nd and December 6th (see next slide)---AND ON EACH VISIT SAW THE POSITION OF TWO (2) JAPANESE CARRIERS, HEADED EAST FROM JAPAN TOWARD HAWAII, PLOTTED ON A NAUTICAL CHART.

Two Key Events on December 6th in Washington, D.C.

- **December 6, 1941 (A.M.):** Two separate, confirming messages are received from both the Americans and the British in the Far East, confirming that large Japanese amphibious task forces are headed south from Japan and China, toward either Malaya or Thailand:
 - U.S. Navy air reconnaissance operating out of Manila reported this information from the South China Sea in a message received about 8:00 AM from C-in-C, Asiatic Fleet (ADM Hart): *Two Japanese convoys consisting of 35 ships escorted by 8 cruisers and 20 destroyers had been sighted south of Indochina heading toward Malaya.*
 - At about 10:40 AM, an urgent telegram from U.S. Ambassador Winant in Great Britain conveyed a report from the Admiralty (obtained by British air reconnaissance operating out of Malaya), which reported: *"...two parties seen off Cambodia Point, sailing slowly westward toward Kra [Peninsula] 14 hours distant in time. First party 25 transports, 6 cruisers, 10 destroyers. Second party 10 transports, 2 cruisers, 10 destroyers."*
- It was uncertain whether the convoys were headed for Thailand or Malaya, but one thing was certain---the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia, anticipated for so long, was about to begin.
- **December 6, 1941:** CAPT Johan E. M. Ranneft, the Dutch Naval Attache in Washington, made the following diary entry for this date [published in 1952]: [Emphasis added]
 - **"SATURDAY 6-12-41. AT 1400 TO NAVY DEPT., THE DEPARTMENT IS CLOSED, EXCEPT THE DIVISION O.N.I. WHERE A NIGHT WATCH IS KEPT. EVERYONE PRESENT AT O.N.I. CONFER DIRECTOR ADMIRAL WILKINSON, CAPT. MAC COLLUM [SIC], LIEUTENANT COMMANDER KRAMER... AT MY REQUEST, THEY SHOW ME THE LOCATION OF THE TWO CARRIERS (SEE 2-12-41) WEST OF HONOLULU. I ASK WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THESE CARRIERS AT THIS LOCATION: WHEREUPON I RECEIVE THE ANSWER THAT IT IS PROBABLY IN CONNECTION WITH JAPANESE REPORTS OF EVENTUAL AMERICAN ACTION. NO ONE AMONG US MENTIONS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ATTACK ON HONOLULU. I MYSELF DO NOT THINK ABOUT IT BECAUSE I BELIEVE EVERYONE AT HONOLULU IS 100% ON THE ALERT, JUST LIKE EVERYONE HERE AT O.N.I."**

In an oral interview years later, Ranneft told author John Toland that the carriers were **about 400 miles north of Honolulu on the chart** [whereas the diary entry says "west of Honolulu"]. The important thing here is that the proximity to Oahu---about 400 nautical miles away---confirms that ONI was tracking the movements of *Kido Butai*, the First Air Fleet, and not some other force; and that the biggest error in ONI's estimates were about the limited size of the Japanese Task Force (namely, only "2 carriers"). At this time, the U.S. Navy usually operated aircraft carriers singly, as a screening force for battleships---and never more than two in company with each other. Apparently, due to the imperfect and limited information received from the RDF plot from the Twelfth Naval District, ONI had no reason to believe there were more than 2 Japanese carriers heading for Hawaii; **this would have led ONI (and possibly even Roosevelt) to underestimate the damage that could be done from what they clearly thought might be, at worst, a minor hit-and-run raid on America's "Gibraltar of the Pacific."**

ONE THING CAN BE KNOWN FOR CERTAIN: IF RADM WILKINSON, THE ONI DIRECTOR, KNEW OF 2 JAPANESE CARRIERS HEADED FOR HAWAII, THEN PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT CERTAINLY KNEW ALSO. The ONI Director would never have withheld crucial information of this nature from his Commander-in-Chief, who was an avowed Navalist and who favored the Navy over the Army in almost all matters.

ADDITIONALLY, THIS MEANS THAT THE CNO, ADM "BETTY" STARK, WOULD HAVE KNOWN ALSO; AND IF STARK KNEW, THEN SO WOULD FRANK KNOX, THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, LIKELY HAVE KNOWN; AS WELL AS THE CHIEF OF WAR PLANS, RADM TURNER (since Turner dominated all ONI Directors as if they were subordinate to him).

Diplomatic Endgame (December 6th and 7th, in Washington, D.C.): Japan's 14-Part Reply to the Hull Note of November 26th

- **December 6, 1941:** On Saturday, December 6th, **MAGIC** decrypts of a "Pilot Message," and the first 13 parts of a 14-part message from the Japanese Foreign Ministry are decrypted in Washington, D.C.
 - The Pilot Message informed Ambassador Nomura and Envoy Kuruu that a 14-part reply to the Hull Note of November 26th was about to be transmitted, and that separate instructions would be provided later about when it should be delivered to the Americans. By 2 PM the Pilot Message had been intercepted, decrypted, and translated---and was being routed to various Army and Navy officials in Washington.
 - The 14-part reply was being sent by the Foreign Ministry in English, to avoid any mistakes (or delays) in translation.
 - The first 13 parts of the long reply were transmitted throughout Saturday; by 9 PM all thirteen parts had been decrypted and typed.
 - There is much controversy in the record over who saw the Pilot Message and the first 13 parts of the long reply on Saturday:
 - General Marshall later denied seeing the Pilot Message or the first 13 parts on Saturday, but is not credible in this regard. [General Miles, Army G-2 in Washington, twice testified to Congress that Marshall saw the Pilot Message on Saturday; and although Marshall later denied seeing the first 13 parts Saturday night, this is not credible because the Army's MAGIC courier, Colonel Bratton, gave a copy to Marshall's secretary, Colonel Walter Bedell Smith, who promised immediate delivery to General Marshall's quarters at Fort Meyer.
 - The Navy's MAGIC courier, LCDR Kramer, was unsuccessful in delivering the first 13 parts to the CNO (ADM Harold Stark) Saturday evening, since Stark was at the theater in downtown Washington; Stark did not see the long message until Sunday morning. Kramer did deliver the 13-part message to Navy Secretary Knox and the ONI Director (RADM Wilkinson); RADMS Turner and Ingersoll insisted that they did see it on Saturday night, but Kramer insisted he did not deliver it to them. RADM Noyes saw the draft of the first 13 parts before he went home Saturday.
 - But LCDR Kramer was successful in getting the first 13 parts to the White House at about 9:30 PM Saturday evening, where they were read by President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins, in the presence of LT Lester Schultz, who took Kramer's pouch to them. Before Congress after the war, LT Schultz recalled the following conversation between Hopkins and Roosevelt:

ROOSEVELT: "THIS MEANS WAR."

HOPKINS: "SINCE WAR IS IMMINENT, AND IS UNDOUBTEDLY GOING TO COME AT THE CONVENIENCE OF THE JAPANESE, IT'S TOO BAD THAT WE CAN'T STIKE THE FIRST BLOW AND PREVENT ANY SORT OF SURPRISE."

ROOSEVELT: "NO, WE CAN'T DO THAT. WE ARE A DEMOCRACY AND A PEACEFUL PEOPLE. BUT WE HAVE A GOOD RECORD. WE CANNOT MAKE THE FIRST OVERT MOVE; WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL IT COMES." [Emphasis in original]

LT Schultz told Congress that he overheard the President and Hopkins discussing the deployment of Japanese forces near Indochina, but did not recall hearing Pearl Harbor discussed. Schultz recalled that FDR tried to call ADM Stark, but could not reach him because he was at the National Theater in Washington; the President said he would call Stark later and returned the papers to Schultz.

Diplomatic Endgame in Washington (continued)

- **Late Night December 6th-Early Morning, December 7th:** Based upon two letters written in 1973 and 1975 by a close associate of Navy Secretary Frank Knox---James Stahlman, a longtime friend of Knox's from the newspaper business and a Reserve CAPT in Naval Intelligence---a late, "all-night vigil" took place at the White House, attended by the following people: President Roosevelt; Harry Hopkins; Henry Stimson; Frank Knox (who told Stahlman of these events personally); General Marshall; Admiral Stark; and Naval Aides John McCrea (Stark's Aide) and Frank Beatty (Aide to Knox). The significance of this meeting is explained below:
 - Stahlman, quoting Knox, said the attendees spent most of the night before the Pearl Harbor attack at the White House with FDR, "all waiting for what they knew was coming after those intercepts." In another letter Stahlman quoted Knox as saying they "anticipated a Jap strike somewhere."
 - After the attack on Pearl Harbor, events showed that Marshall had drafted a message of some kind Saturday night to General Short, and that Knox had drafted a message of some kind Saturday night to Admiral Kimmel, AND THAT BOTH MARSHALL AND KNOX WERE QUITE SURPRISED THAT THEY WERE NOT EVER RECEIVED IN HAWAII BY THE RECIPIENTS.
 - **SIGNIFICANCE:** The nation's military and political leadership knew war with Japan was imminent, and yet no last minute warning or alert to the armed forces in the Pacific was sent out (even though two of the conference attendees attempted to). **This failure to send a last minute warning is consistent with FDR's policy THAT JAPAN COMMIT THE FIRST OVERT ACT and "FIRE THE FIRST SHOT," and that U.S. forces TAKE NO ACTION THAT WOULD PRECIPITATE HOSTILITIES.**
 - Before Congress, General Marshall said he could not remember what he was doing on Saturday night, December 6th, and was adamant that President Roosevelt *did not contact him*; and yet a newspaper article stated that Marshall attended a reunion dinner of WW I veterans that evening downtown, at a location only a few blocks from the White House. General Marshall may simply have checked in at the White House *after* the reunion dinner he attended, which would mean that FDR *did not need to contact him*.
 - "Betty" Stark initially lied to Congress when he first testified that he did not speak to FDR the evening of December 6th; he was allowed to correct his earlier testimony (and thus avoid perjury) after a friend of his reminded him that he had returned Roosevelt's phone call late Saturday night after coming home from the theater. [It is possible that FDR ordered him to report to the White House during that phone call.]
- **Early AM December 7, 1941:** After midnight, Part 14 of the Japanese diplomatic note, and a follow-on message directing that the entire long memorandum be delivered at precisely 1:00 PM Washington time on Sunday, were both intercepted by the Navy's Station 'S' in Bainbridge, Washington; and the encrypted messages were sent by urgent teletype to Washington, D.C. By 5:00 AM in Washington, both intercepts were pulled off the teleprinter by the Navy (OP-20-G) watch officer, LT Francis Brotherhood (an adept cryptographer familiar with both JN-25 and MAGIC). Part 14 was immediately decrypted by the Purple machine, and of course came out in English (as the first 13 parts had). The so-called "One O'clock Message" had to be translated after it was decrypted by the Purple machine. The Army S.I.S. section translated the "One O'Clock Message" for Brotherhood, and both messages were ready for immediate distribution by 7:15 AM. (A third message ordering the destruction of the Embassy's code machine was also intercepted; it was the last diplomatic message sent to the Japanese Embassy in Washington by Tokyo.)

Diplomatic Endgame in Washington (continued)

- **Sunday Morning, December 7th, 1941:** The three key MAGIC messages from Tokyo to its Ambassador in Washington, all received on Sunday morning and circulated to senior members of the government that morning, were:
 - **THE “ONE O’CLOCK MESSAGE”:** “VERY IMPORTANT. WILL THE AMBASSADOR PLEASE SUBMIT TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT (IF POSSIBLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE) OUR REPLY TO THE UNITED STATES AT PRECISELY 1:00 PM ON THE 7TH YOUR TIME.”
 - **DESTROY YOUR CIPHER MACHINE:** “AFTER DECIPHERING PART 14, DESTROY AT ONCE YOUR CIPHER MACHINE, ALL CODE AND SECRET DOCUMENTS.”
 - **PART 14 OF THE LONG REPLY TO THE “HULL NOTE”:**
 - “OBVIOUSLY IT IS THE INTENTION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO CONSPIRE WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND OTHER COUNTRIES TO OBSTRUCT JAPAN’S EFFORTS TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE THROUGH THE CREATION OF A NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA, AND ESPECIALLY TO PRESERVE ANGLO AMERICAN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS BY KEEPING JAPAN AND CHINA AT WAR...THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT REGRETS TO HAVE TO NOTIFY HEREBY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT THAT IN VIEW OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IT CANNOT BUT CONSIDER THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT THROUGH FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.”

This language does not declare war on the United States, nor does it formally end diplomatic relations; all it does is end the current negotiations. (In Tokyo at the Foreign Ministry, a different ending had been drafted which, in very flowery and stilted language, implied that the one hundred million people of Japan were about to go to war; furthermore, a draft cover letter was prepared which, above Ambassador Nomura’s signature, clearly stated that Japan was now at war with the United States, but neither draft was used.) It is my opinion that even if this message had been delivered on time, the United States still would have said that the strike on Pearl Harbor was a “sneak attack,” since Part 14 did not formally declare war, or even come close to it.

LCDR Kramer, the Navy’s MAGIC courier, was well aware that 1:00 PM in Washington was equivalent to 7:30 AM in Hawaii---the perfect time for a surprise attack---and he overtly imparted this information to numerous Navy officers and to Cabinet officials Sunday morning as he made his rounds with the above messages.

Admiral Stark, the CNO, declined suggestions on Sunday morning that he call ADM Kimmel in Hawaii and inform him of the 14-part message, and of the 1:00 PM delivery instructions, even though he had been informed that the equivalent time was 7:30 AM on Oahu. Instead, Stark called President Roosevelt.

General George C. Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff, made himself very hard to find Sunday morning, and when he was finally located at Army HQ, engaged in delay and dissembling tactics, before finally sending out this rather bland final warning to General Short in Hawaii: “JAPANESE ARE PRESENTING AT 1:00 PM EASTERN STANDARD TIME TODAY WHAT AMOUNTS TO AN ULTIMATUM. ALSO, THEY ARE UNDER ORDERS TO DESTROY THEIR CODE MACHINES IMMEDIATELY. JUST WHAT SIGNIFICANCE THE HOUR SET MAY HAVE WE DO NOT KNOW BUT BE ON THE ALERT ACCORDINGLY. INFORM NAVAL AUTHORITIES OF THIS COMMUNICATION.” Because of administrative foul-ups, this message did not arrive in General Short’s hands, fully decoded, until 2:58 PM Hawaii time, SEVEN HOURS AFTER THE JAPANESE ATTACK COMMENCED.

Meanwhile, the Japanese Diplomats at the Embassy are experiencing serious delays in deciphering Part 14 and in getting it typed in an acceptable format for delivery. Eventually, at noon, they request a one o’clock appointment with Hull; and at 1:00 PM Nomura requests a postponement until 1:45 PM. The Japanese Ambassador has missed his deadline.

Diplomatic Endgame in Washington (conclusion)

- Sunday Afternoon, December 7th, 1941: Officials in Washington were notified of the attack on Pearl Harbor prior to the delivery of the Japanese 14-part diplomatic note by the two Japanese diplomats, Nomura and Kurusu. The timeline is summarized below:
 - At 7:58 AM Hawaii time---or 1:28 PM in Washington, D.C.---Vice Admiral Patrick Bellinger, Commanding Officer of Patrol Wing Two at the Ford Island Naval Air Station in the middle of Pearl Harbor, transmitted the following Naval message: **"AIR RAID PEARL HARBOR X THIS IS NO DRILL."** Within minutes, ADM Husband E. Kimmel, CINCPAC, cabled Washington with an almost identical message: **"AIR RAID ON PEARL HARBOR X THIS IS NOT DRILL."**
 - At about 1:40 PM, Navy Secretary Frank Knox called President Roosevelt to inform him of the Japanese air attack on Pearl Harbor.
 - At about 2:05 PM---just about the same time the two Japanese envoys, Nomura and Kurusu, were entering the State Department building---President Roosevelt called Secretary of State Hull to inform him of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The President advised Hull to receive Nomura and Kurusu, but instructed his Secretary of State to mention nothing about the Pearl Harbor attack. Hull was told by FDR **"to receive their reply formally and coolly and to bow them out."**
 - At 2:20 PM, with the Japanese envoys accompanied by one of State's Far East experts, Joseph W. Ballantine, Hull "received them coldly and did not ask them to sit down." When Hull asked Nomura why he had been instructed to submit the reply at 1:00 PM, Nomura answered truthfully that he did not know. After examining the long, 14-part message (and pretending to read it), the aged Secretary of State gave the two Japanese diplomats a Tennessee tongue-lashing:
 - "I must say that in all my conversations with you 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."
 - Hull waved Nomura to silence, and pointed toward the door; Nomura did not learn of the attack on Pearl Harbor until he returned to his apartment. **Both Nomura and Kurusu surely sensed that war was imminent because of the negotiating deadlines and instructions, and because of orders to destroy ciphers and code machines, but they knew nothing in advance about the attack on Pearl Harbor.**
 - Throughout the afternoon key members of FDR's "War Council" began to arrive at the White House, and a full Cabinet meeting (followed by a meeting with key members of Congress) was scheduled to begin at 8:30 PM.

An Overview of the Attack on Pearl Harbor

- **Tactically Brilliant:** In exchange for the minimal cost of only 29 downed aircraft, one large fleet submarine sunk, and five midget subs lost, the Imperial Japanese Navy sank four Pacific Fleet battleships (*Arizona*, *Oklahoma*, *West Virginia*, and *California*); moderately damaged another battleship (*Nevada*); inflicted light damage on three others (*Maryland*, *Tennessee*, and *Pennsylvania*); and in addition, either sank or damaged three light cruisers, three destroyers, and four auxiliary vessels. A total of 188 aircraft (Army and Navy) were destroyed, and 128 additional military aircraft were damaged. The limited goal of immobilizing the U.S. Pacific Fleet “battle line” for six months, to allow the Japanese to execute their Southern Operations unhindered, was accomplished.
- **Strategically Inept:** The failure of ADM Yamamoto to even consider, or for VADM Nagumo and the First Air Fleet to execute, additional strikes on Pearl Harbor after the planned two-wave attack was completed, was shorted-sighted at best, and strategically inept at worst. The Japanese failed to return and attack the above-ground oil storage tank farm (which contained a six-month supply of bunker oil for ships); the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard and its four drydocks; and the Submarine Base and its repair facilities. *Kido Butai* and VADM Nagumo were “unlucky” in the sense that the two operational U.S. aircraft carriers in the mid-Pacific, USS *Enterprise* and USS *Lexington*, were not in port during the raid; but Nagumo’s failure to exercise the initiative to seek them out and destroy them at sea would haunt the Imperial Japanese Navy at the battles of the Coral Sea and Midway, just one half year later.
- **Yamamoto Was Politically and Psychologically Tone-Deaf:** In hindsight, it is hard to imagine how this otherwise brilliant Japanese Naval officer, who served three tours of duty in the United States and studied at Harvard, could think that he could execute a strategic surprise attack without warning, and expect that doing so would “break America’s will to fight.” Subsequent history would show that America could become demoralized and lose interest in fighting an Asian War of choice, where our national survival was not at stake; but to think that this could happen following such a massive surprise blow falling directly upon American soil, incurring great loss of life, was a grave error. The Japanese would have been much wiser to attempt to grab the British and Dutch possessions in East Asia, while bypassing the Philippines and not attacking Hawaii, Guam or Wake. In that scenario, FDR would have had an almost impossible task in guiding a declaration of war against Japan successfully through the Congress.
- **The Japanese Delivered Unto Franklin D. Roosevelt Exactly What He Needed, and What He Could Not Engineer in the Atlantic:** If President Roosevelt had asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, or if he had requested a declaration of war against a Japan that had attacked ONLY the British and Dutch possessions in the Far East, it is undoubtedly true that Congress would have debated war or peace for 2 to 3 months, and even if such war resolutions had passed, FDR would surely have been taking a divided country into war---something he desperately did not want to do. When Roosevelt learned of the impending attack on Pearl Harbor on November 26th, 1941, surely it was---to him---“Heaven-sent.” He had anticipated since October of 1940 that the Japanese would sooner or later “make a mistake” and that the United States “would then enter the war,” but the gift of a massive strategic surprise attack by Japan on U.S. forces and U.S. territory, at just the time when his strategy for provoking war with Germany by engineering ‘incidents’ in the north Atlantic had clearly and abjectly failed, was a massive stroke of geopolitical good fortune. Japan, with its attack on Pearl Harbor, had clearly “committed the first overt act,” and “fired the first shot,” in such a way that there could be absolutely no doubt in the public’s mind as to who the aggressor was. American isolationism died overnight, and the United States enthusiastically entered the Second World War so united in its collective rage, and cataclysmic fury, that there could be---and would be---no thought of a negotiated peace or a limited war.
- **The Cost:** The cost in human terms was 2,403 dead and 1,178 wounded. Initially, Roosevelt seemed quite shaken by the extent of the material damage and loss of life. He had obviously grossly underestimated (like everyone else in his day) what carrier air power could accomplish, and what the Japanese, in particular, could accomplish with their ships, aircraft, pilots, and weapons. However, his calculus that Japan and its economy were not a threat to the national existence of the United States, based upon our economic and industrial superiority, was certainly correct; in fact---and in spite of the serious damage incurred at Pearl Harbor---eventual victory by the United States over Japan was all but assured by the modest rearmament begun under his administration just prior to World War II, in combination with the massive, accelerated rearmament that began in May of 1940, which promised an avalanche of ships, planes, and munitions in 1943 and 1944. The ABC-1 Report had predicated that the U.S. was to fight “Germany First,” and remain on the defensive against Japan, until Germany was defeated; on this basis, there was no need to panic after the Pearl Harbor attack. Moral considerations included, as CDR Joseph Rochefort said after the war, Pearl Harbor “was a pretty cheap price to pay for unifying the country,” given the wanton cruelty and barbarity of the two empires the United States was determined to defeat.

[Play video segments VIII and IX]

FDR's Reactions to the Attack on December 7th (1 of 2)

- Eleanor Roosevelt provided three noteworthy quotes:
 - **Audio recording on a History Channel documentary:** “When I did go in, I saw him looking very strange and tired, but he was completely calm. He just became almost like an iceberg, and there was never the slightest emotion.” [Emphasis added]
 - **From her memoir, *This I Remember*:** “[I] thought that in spite of his anxiety Franklin was...*more serene than he had appeared in a long time*.” [Emphasis added]
 - **In 1944 she said:** “December 7th...to us...was far from the shock it proved to the country...we had expected something of the sort for a long time.” [Emphasis added]
- Postmaster Frank Walker said:
 - **[As recorded by Frances Perkins following the 8:30 PM Cabinet Meeting on Dec 7th]** “You know, I think the boss must have a great sense of relief that this has happened. This is a great load off his mind.”
- Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard wrote in his diary after the 8:30 PM Cabinet Meeting on Dec 7th:
 - “Through it all the President was calm and deliberate. I could not help but admire his clear statements of the situation.”
 - “He evidently realizes the seriousness of the situation and perhaps gets much comfort out of the fact that today’s action will unite the American people.”
 - **“He [FDR] also said there was a chance the Germans would also declare war...Secretary Stimson said that Germany had inspired and planned this whole affair and that the President should so state in his message [to Congress the next day]. *The President disagreed with this suggestion*.”** [Emphasis added]
- Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins served Roosevelt for 12 years (from 1933-1945) and perhaps knew him better than anyone else on the Cabinet. She made detailed journal entries at home the night of December 7th, 1941 after the 8:30 PM Cabinet Meeting, and withheld many of them from her 1946 memoir, *The Roosevelt I Knew*. In 1955, however, she submitted to an oral history interview at Columbia University, and that transcript contains explosive material that she withheld from her memoir---namely, that **she found something dreadfully wrong---in fact, deceitful---about FDR’s demeanor at the Cabinet Meeting the evening of December 7th**. But her first recollection was about his anger that the Navy was caught unprepared: [Emphasis added]
 - “His pride in the Navy was so terrific that he was having actual physical difficulty getting out the words that bombs [were] dropped on ships that were not in fighting shape and prepared to move, just tied up. I remember that he said twice to Knox: ‘Find out, for God’s sake, why the ships were tied up in rows’...he was playing a role as the leader of a nation that had been attacked by surprise by an enemy we had always thought of as inferior.” (Continued on next slide)

FDR's Reactions to the Attack on December 7th (2 of 2)

- Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins [from her 1955 Oral History at Columbia University]:
 - “I noticed that most of the evening his face remained tense and screwed up around the mouth. His upper lip pulled down, and his lower lip kind of pursed in---an expression that I’ve seen him have many, many times. Sometimes I’ve seen it when he was not particularly pleased or proud of a situation in which he found himself. I’ve seen it on his face when I thought he was not making everything quite clear and open personally, when he was not exposing the total situation...In other words, there have been times when I associated that expression with a kind of evasiveness. I had a deep emotional feeling that something was wrong, that this situation was not all it appeared to be. [Emphasis added]
 - “I’ve been asked if it might be possible that the President, recognizing that this thing has happened, felt a certain element of relief that the long tension of wondering what the Japanese would do and when they would do it was over...That very wave of relief might have produced in him that psychological atmosphere---reflected partially in his facial expression of calmness and tenseness. And yet it seemed to me also that there was a slight evasion there.” [Emphasis added]
 - “I had a deep emotional feeling that something was wrong, that this situation was not all it appeared to be. That struck me all that evening and all that night. So much so that when I went home to my apartment I couldn’t rid myself of it. I sat down and wrote in lead pencil on some snatches of White House paper...I described this look on the President’s face, and the curious emotional disturbance that I had, which carried with it the impression that something was wrong. I don’t know why I wrote it down, except perhaps to remind myself in the future---not for historical purposes, but for the purpose of helping me, or somebody else, to understand the situation...” [Emphasis added]
 - “At the moment they seemed important to me, as though I ought to put down, while it was clear in my mind, in case I should ever need to call upon it to help me explain something upon which I might have to act, or upon which others might have to act...I don’t know what disturbs me about the whole thing, but something was wrong.” [Emphasis Added]
 - “Obviously he had to play a role of some sort. I don’t think that I ever in my own mind cleared it to the point of saying that he played a false role that day. His surprise was not as great as the surprise of the rest of us.” [Emphasis added]

Frances Perkins left us “a gift to history,” by recording her invaluable woman’s intuition *in contemporaneous notes* on the very evening she returned to her apartment from the historic Cabinet Meeting of December 7th, 1941.

Roosevelt Unburdens Himself Over Midnight Sandwiches and Beer

With Edward R. Murrow and “Wild Bill” Donovan

Early On December 8th, 1941

- Roosevelt meets shortly after midnight (early on December 8th) with “Wild Bill” Donovan, FDR’s “Coordinator of Information” (and later head of the O.S.S.), and radio newscaster Edward R. Murrow, of CBS---and unburdens himself, after a long and momentous day, in the second floor Oval Study of the White House, over sandwiches and beer during a 25 minute conversation. [Source: Robert Stinnett, *Day of Deceit*, p. 1-5]
- Later that night, at about 1:00 AM back in his hotel room, Ed Murrow told his wife: “It’s the biggest story of my life, but I don’t know if it’s my duty to tell it, or forget it.”
- Long after the war, when Murrow was questioned about the incident by author-journalist John Gunther, he replied: “That story would send Casey Murrow through college, and if you think I’m going to give it to you, you’re out of your mind.”
- Edward R. Murrow took the story to his grave; he died on April 7, 1965 at the age of 57 without revealing the full details of what had transpired. His biographer, Ann Sperber, wrote: “But he couldn’t forget it, either, blaming himself at times thereafter for not going with the story, never determining to his satisfaction where his duties lay that night...”
- Author John Costello [in *Days of Infamy*, p. 245] reports of the meeting that when Roosevelt asked Murrow “Did this surprise you?” that Murrow had replied in the affirmative, at which point FDR rejoined: “Maybe you think it didn’t surprise us!” Was this a classic Freudian slip? [Was FDR feeling guilty; or alternatively, was he fearful that others might divine what he had been up to since October of 1940---namely, engaging in provocations against Japan in the hopes that they would “make a mistake” so the United States could “enter the war”?]
- William Donovan, who was already FDR’s coordinator of intelligence before the war, and who was soon to become the wartime Head of the Office of Strategic Services (the precursor to the CIA), was appointed Ambassador to Thailand after the war, and in 1953 discussed the midnight meeting with William J. van den Heuvel (his executive assistant), who recorded what Donovan said in his diary. Anthony Cave Brown, van den Heuvel’s biographer, quoted a passage in his diary based on what Donovan told him: “The President’s surprise was not as great as the men around him. Nor was the attack unwelcome. It had ended the past months of uncertainty caused by FDR’s decision that Japan must be seen to make the first overt move.” [Emphasis added]
- Robert Stinnett wrote: “The President asked Murrow and Donovan whether they thought the attack was a clear case of a first Japanese move that would unite Americans behind a declaration of war against the Axis powers. Both guests thought it would indeed have that effect. Donovan believed that FDR welcomed the attack and that it was less of a surprise to him than it was to others in the White House.”
- CONCLUSION: Today, the evidence of FDR’s intentional provocation of the Japanese, as well as his almost certain foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack, is so ubiquitous---and so robust---that we no longer need fret over the fact that Ed Murrow did not “go with the story” before his death. Roosevelt was not surprised the Japanese had attacked the United States, nor even that they had attacked Hawaii---nor was he displeased. [I believe his shock on December 7th was caused only by the widespread extent of the damage, and heavy loss of life, on Oahu; any remorse he temporarily felt would have been restricted to these considerations.] He now had the *casus belli* he had wanted for so long, in support of war against the Axis. So would he ask Congress to declare war on all three members of the Axis---Germany, Italy, and Japan---or ONLY ON JAPAN?

Like A Chess Grand Master, President Franklin D. Roosevelt Checkmates the Axis

- **December 8, 1941:** President Roosevelt addresses a Joint Session of Congress at mid-day and delivers a short, spare “war speech” and asks only that Congress recognize that “a state of war exists” between the United States and the Japanese Empire. *He does not request that the United States declare war on Germany and Italy;* no doubt he has very much in mind **Hitler’s secret promise to Japan** (made twice, in mid-August and reiterated in early December) that he would make war on America if Japan and the U.S. became engaged in conflict. **Isolationism dies overnight in the United States: the war vote is unanimous in the Senate, and almost unanimous in the House (with only one dissenting vote).** *FDR is taking a united country into the war.*
- **December 9, 1941:** A **MAGIC** decrypt of a Japanese diplomatic message from Baron Oshima in Berlin, to the Foreign Minister in Tokyo, reads:
 - “The day after Pearl Harbor at one o’clock I called on Foreign Minister Ribbentrop and told him my wish was to have Germany and Italy issue formal declarations of war on America at once. Ribbentrop replied that Hitler was in the midst of a conference at General Headquarters [in East Prussia], discussing how the formalities of war could be carried out so as to make a good impression on the German people, and that he would transmit your wish to him at once and do whatever he was able to have it carried out properly.”
- **December 9, 1941:** In the evening, FDR delivers a “fireside chat” on the radio in which he spends almost as much time talking about Hitler as he does about Japan, in an apparent attempt to goad Hitler into declaring war on the United States (as Hitler had promised Baron Oshima he would do). In a telling phrase, Roosevelt says: “Remember always that Germany and Italy regardless of [the lack of] any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain or Russia... We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.”
- **December 11, 1941:** Germany and Italy declare war on the United States, and Congress complies in kind within the hour. Franklin D. Roosevelt has “checkmated” the Axis---the almost infinite patience and mature geopolitical judgment of this wily American President has paid off. **The United States of America he is taking into the war against the Axis represents, all by itself, 41.7% of the industrial world’s warmaking potential; along with her principal allies Great Britain (10.2%) and the USSR (14%), America is facing Axis nations with a much weaker production base---Germany has 14.4% of the world’s industrial output; Japan only 3.5%; and Italy a miniscule 2.5%. Combined, the Allies represent about 66% of the world’s industrial output, and the Axis nations only about 20%. As of December 11, 1941, the Axis was doomed, and the defeat of Nazi Germany, the primary opponent on the world stage, was only a matter of time.**

The Astute and Revealing Observations of **Harry Hopkins** After the Pearl Harbor Attack

- **December 7, 1941:** Before he went to bed late on December 7th, the Secretary of Commerce (and the unofficial 'Deputy President') wrote down his impressions of the "War Council" meeting (Stimson, Knox, Hull, General Marshall and Admiral Stark) that afternoon at the White House, between 3:00 and 4:30 PM: [Emphasis added]
 - "The conference met in not too tense an atmosphere because I think that all of us believed that **in the last analysis the enemy was Hitler** and that he could never be defeated without force of arms; that sooner or later we were bound to be in the war *and that Japan had given us an opportunity.*"
- **January 24, 1942:** In a memorandum for the record, Hopkins wrote about FDR's frustration during his many discussions with Cordell Hull before the Pearl Harbor attack, driven by Hull's failure to envisage what the U.S. would do if Japan attacked **ONLY** British possessions in the Far East and the Dutch East Indies:
 - "All of Hull's negotiations...would never envisage the tough answer to the problem that would have to be faced **if Japan attacked, for instance, either Singapore or the Netherlands East Indies [alone, without attacking the United States or any of its possessions]**. The President felt it a weakness in our foreign policy that we could not be specific on that point..." [Emphasis added]
 - "I remember that when I was in England in February 1941, Eden, the Foreign Minister, asked me repeatedly what our country would do if Japan attacked Singapore or the Dutch, saying it was essential to their policy to know. Of course, it was perfectly clear that neither the President nor Hull could give an adequate answer to the British on that point *because the declaration of war is up to Congress and the isolationists, indeed, a great part of the American people, would not be interested in a war in the Far East merely because Japan attacked the Dutch.*" [Emphasis added]
 - "I recall talking to the President many times in the past year, and it always disturbed him because he really thought that the tactics [Hopkins meant *strategy*, not tactics] of the Japanese **would be to avoid conflict with us; that they would not attack either the Philippines or Hawaii** but would move on Thailand, French Indo-China, make further inroads on China itself, and possibly attack the Malay Straits. He also thought they would attack Russia at an opportune moment. This would have left the President with the very difficult problem of protecting our interests." [Emphasis added]
 - "He always realized that Japan would jump on us at an opportune moment and they would merely use the "one by one" technique of Germany. **Hence, his great relief at the method that Japan used. In spite of the disaster at Pearl Harbor and the blitz-warfare with the Japanese the first few weeks, it completely solidified the American people...**" [Emphasis added]

Key Testimony Given by the Former Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson

- In the autumn of 1945 the Joint Congressional Committee questioned Henry Stimson about **his key diary entry for November 25th, 1941** (in which he was directly quoting President Roosevelt):
 - “The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves.” [Emphasis added]
- Unsatisfied with Stimson’s answers during his spoken testimony, the Committee sent him several written interrogatories, once again asking him to explain exactly what the diary entry meant. In March of 1946 the aged and retired, but still mentally sharp, **former Secretary of War** provided lengthy written responses that made his position perfectly clear: [Emphasis added below]
 - “War with Germany and Japan would ultimately be inevitable.”
 - “If war did come, it was important, from both the point of view of unified support of our own people as well as for the record of history, that we should not be placed in the position of firing the first shot, if this could be done without sacrificing our safety, but that Japan should appear in her true role as the aggressor.”
 - “One problem troubled us, very much. If you know that your enemy is going to strike you, it is not usually wise to wait until he gets the jump on you by taking the initiative. **In spite of the risk involved, however, in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people** it was desirable to make sure that the Japanese be the ones to do this *so that there should remain no doubt in anyone’s mind as to who were the aggressors.*”
 - “We discussed at this meeting *the basis on which this country’s position could be most clearly explained to our own people and to the world,* in case we had to go into the fight quickly because of some sudden move on the part of the Japanese.”

Key Testimony by the Army Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall

- On December 8, 1945 General Marshall testified before the Joint Congressional Committee about the wording in his war warning of November 27, 1941, which had stated: “If hostilities cannot be avoided, the United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act.” [Emphasis added] He responded as follows:
 - “...it was the strong desire of, I will say, the War Cabinet, certainly of the Army and Navy officials and I am quite certain of the President of the United States, that the Japanese be given no opportunity whatever to claim that we had taken some overt act which forced a state of war upon them.” [Emphasis added]
 - “...the feeling was at that time that if the Japanese could have created a situation, however unjustified, however illogical, in which they could have led at least a portion of the people to believe that our overt action had forced them into an act of war and [sic] we would have had a divided country, which would have been a terrible tragedy in a war situation.” [Emphasis added]
 - “Therefore, each move we made had to be taken carefully into account to avoid the possibility that the Japanese would instantly make a claim that we had forced the issue, that we had really made the overt act and they were forced to fight.” [Emphasis added]
 - At that time there was a very---I believe this is correct---divided opinion in this country...So we labored in this state of peace, in this state of normalcy... we labored constantly under the obligation that we have no act committed by one of our officers that would permit the Japanese to claim that we had started the war, and, therefore, would to that extent for the time being at least have left us with a divided people on a tragic issue.” [Emphasis added]
- On April 9, 1946 General Marshall testified one more time before the Joint Congressional Committee, this time on the issue of Stimson’s diary entry about maneuvering the Japanese into the position of “firing the first shot.”
 - “So far as the war plan goes, the concern was whether or not the final alert should be given...it was accepted thought in all of our minds at that time, that if we were forced to take offensive action, immediate offensive action, that it would be a most serious matter as to its interpretation by the American people, whether we would have a united nation, or whether we would have a divided nation in getting into a world conflict.” [Emphasis added]

Key Testimony Given by the Former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Harold R. Stark

- On April 11, 1946 Admiral Stark appeared again before the Joint Congressional Committee, and engaged in questioning about President Roosevelt's policy that Japan "**commit the first overt act**" of war; some of the key moments in his testimony are reproduced below: [Emphasis added below]
 - STARK: "**Our instructions were very clear on not to commit an overt act.** So far as I was concerned, I could do nothing in that line without authority higher up. Unless something had occurred, such as did occur, the normal procedure was for a declaration of war by Congress, in accordance with our Constitution."
 - SENATOR FERGUSON: "...It is exactly what happened, but I want to know whether that is what you anticipated would happen."
 - STARK: "**I did. I did anticipate an attack without warning.** I said so in personal letters for over a year. I stated so unequivocally in in dispatches in the latter part of November."
 - SENATOR FERGUSON: "...Wasn't it also true that you expected the attack before Congress would declare war on Japan?"
 - STARK: "**Yes, because I thought it was in the immediate offing.**"
 - SENATOR FERGUSON: "And you expected she would attack, *and the President expected she would attack?*"
 - STARK: "**Yes; at that time there was not any question about it in our minds...**"
 - SENATOR FERGUSON: "You did not change your mind, *and as far as you know, the President did not change his...*"
 - STARK: "**No one changed their minds, as far as I know.**"
 - SENATOR FERGUSON: "...Now, did you discuss with the President and those present at that meeting how you would maneuver the Japanese into shooting the first shot?"
 - STARK: "I have no recollection of that...But as to our maneuvering them, if you take the language baldly, just what it says, that it was trying to get them to shoot at us, I do not recall any such conversation. **I do recall the meat of the thing, and which meant what Colonel Stimson meant, that we should not commit the first overt act.** And I heard Marshall's testimony yesterday when he said he thought this was to keep the record clear, **and that it was to be political...**"
 - SENATOR FERGUSON: "Did he say 'political' or 'diplomatic'?"
 - STARK: "Diplomatic, perhaps it was."
- New questioner:
 - STARK: "**I remember very distinctly a letter [to ADM Thomas Hart, CINCAF] in which I stated, 'Although the country does not realize, we are in war in the Atlantic.'**" [EXCERPT OF LETTER: "The Navy is already in the war of the Atlantic, but the country doesn't seem to realize it. Apathy, to the point of open opposition, is evident in a considerable section of the press. Meanwhile, the Senate is dragging out the debate with reference to the arming of merchantmen. Whether the country knows it or not, we are at war."]
 - MR. KEEFE: "You, as Chief of Naval Operations, knew it, but you expressed the opinion at the time, that the people of the country and the Congress itself did not seem to understand and know the facts."
 - STARK: "**That is correct.**"

Key Testimony Given by the Former Chief of Navy War Plans, Admiral Richmond K. Turner

- On September 15, 1944 Admiral Richmond K. Turner testified before the Navy Court of Inquiry (about the Pearl Harbor attack), and made several statements that constitute *either*: (1) an almost unbelievable level of pomposity and arrogance; *or* (2) foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack: [Emphasis added below]
 - Q: “With respect to the [Navy’s] war warning message of November 27 [1941]...why was it [that] in that message the Hawaiian Islands were not included as a possible objective for Japan?”
 - A: “The objectives which were put in there were the strategic objectives. We did not believe that Japan would launch an amphibious attack against the Hawaiian Islands...”
 - Q: “Did you think that Japan would launch an air attack against the Hawaiian Islands?”
 - A: “I thought it was one of the possibilities.”
 - Q: “Did you think it was a probability?”
 - A: “Yes.”
 - Q: “Were you surprised on the morning of the 7th [of December, 1941] when Japan made an air attack on the Hawaiian Islands?”
 - A: “Not [in] the least.”
 - Q: “In other words, you felt an air attack was coming about that date?”
 - A: “That an attack was coming, and I was not at all surprised at the air attack. I knew our carriers were out, and with the warnings which had been given, I felt we would give them a pretty bad beating before they got home by our own shore-based aircraft and by our carriers.”
 - Q: “Well, if you felt this so strongly, Admiral, did you discuss this probability with the Chief of Naval Operations?”
 - A: “I don’t want to give a false impression. The matter of the attack on Hawaii was part and parcel of the whole war situation. We had done what we could to take precautions against the attack carrying through. The order was issued to deploy the fleet in a defensive deployment.”
 - Q: “You said an order was given to deploy the fleet in a defensive deployment?”
 - A: “Yes sir, that is in the war message, and if we had not anticipated an attack, why, no such order would have been given---a major attack with their fleet. The order was given for the purpose of detecting at a distance. A specific warning against a particular thing at that time was against policy, and I agree with that policy.”

A Mysterious Ending to the JN-25 Debacle At Station **HYPO** in Pearl Harbor

- **December 10, 1941:** CAPT Laurance Safford in Washington, D.C. (OP-20-G) finally **relieves Station HYPO in Pearl Harbor of the responsibility for breaking the "Flag Officer's Code,"** and **directs CDR Rochefort's unit to begin a full-time effort to break JN-25(b),** the primary operational cipher for the Imperial Japanese Navy. Although the effort was now formally shared between CAST, HYPO, and NEGAT, **it was clearly HYPO---which had long requested permission to do this---that now took the lead in breaking JN-25.**
- **December 15, 1941:** The OP-20-G summary publication of RECOVERED JN-25(b) CODE BOOK VALUES, originally intended for simultaneous receipt by both CAST and HYPO **in July of 1941,** is finally delivered into CDR Joseph Rochefort's hands. After an initial delay in shipment that remains *unexplained* today, HYPO's book of JN-25(b) recoveries was *rescheduled* to arrive in Pearl Harbor on **November 1, 1941.** However, the ship that was assigned to transport the sensitive publication was unexpectedly delayed in San Diego for three weeks. CDR Rochefort's reaction upon finally receiving this crucial publication---eight days after the attack on Pearl Harbor---was not recorded for history.
- **December 19, 1941:** **Station HYPO,** only 3 days after its interception, successfully "breaks" a JN-25 message from VADM Nagumo, C-in-C First Air Fleet, detailing the damage he thought his airmen had inflicted during the attack on Pearl Harbor. This is accomplished just 9 days after receiving permission to work on JN-25, and only 4 days after receipt of the long-delayed publication from OP-20-G.
- **In May and June of 1942,** the United States Navy was able to predict Japanese strategic moves in The Coral Sea and against Midway Island, and achieve historic victories against the Imperial Japanese Navy, because of the rapid progress achieved in breaking JN-25(b) by personnel at Station **HYPO,** in Pearl Harbor.
- **In an oral history interview Joseph J. Rochefort gave to the U.S. Naval Institute in 1970, he said:**
 - on page 66: "Anyone who knew anything about Japanese or things Japanese would have said that when we sent the November 26 letter you better run up the red flag. *I believe sincerely that the November 26 message was an actual ultimatum the Japanese could not accept and their only alternative was to go to war.*"
 - on page 163 Rochefort provided his overall assessment of the Pearl Harbor attack:
 - **"IT WAS A PRETTY CHEAP PRICE TO PAY FOR UNIFYING THE COUNTRY."**

Historian H. P. Willmott's Assessment of
Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner
from pg. 198 of his 2001 book, *Pearl Harbor*:

“The lack of any single central agency, capable of ensuring timely dissemination of material to all interested parties, lay at the heart of the American intelligence failure regarding the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. There were various individual failures...and perhaps one of the most important, and least recognized, was the distraction of Naval Intelligence attention on account of the antics of Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner...In common with virtually all naval officers, Turner was of the opinion that being a naval officer made him an expert in all matters. *In reality he knew nothing about intelligence*, and his assault on the Naval Intelligence Department [ONI] and Rear Admiral Theodore S. Wilkinson in what was clearly Turner's idea of a **turf war** clearly had an effect in that it distracted both the Department [ONI] and Wilkinson in the days immediately before the outbreak of war. *Moreover, it has been suggested that it was Turner who stopped decrypts and other material [from] being passed to the commanders in Hawaii, and apparently it was Turner who ordered the destruction of material in order that the role of the code-breakers could not be investigated by any of the subsequent Pearl Harbor inquiries.*”
[Emphasis added]

Historian H. P. Willmott, in his 2001 book *Pearl Harbor* (pg. 198), was also highly critical of the U.S. Army Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall:

“...in very large measure the difficulties which have surrounded attempts to get at the truth of the American intelligence failure at Pearl Harbor **have been the product of the deliberate lies told by certain individuals to protect themselves and their careers...the one individual at the heart of so many of the lies was army chief of staff, George C. Marshall.**

The problem with Marshall is that he long ago entered the pantheon of American heroes that allows no questioning or doubt, [and is now] an individual beyond reproach. *But in terms of the inquiries that were set in train in the immediate aftermath of the attack and then at various stages until the end of the war, Marshall was at the heart of various efforts to ensure that certain witnesses perjured themselves and he personally deliberately lied to every board of enquiry.* What is clear is that while he played the national security card to justify his actions, his was the final responsibility for the defence of the Hawaiian Islands. If Short was manifestly negligent in discharging his duties...then Marshall bore final responsibility...if the view is taken that the restricted distribution of MAGIC...was perhaps ill-advised, then responsibility therein lies in part with Marshall since it was he and Admiral Stark...who together took the decision to thus restrict distribution...In addition, **it was Marshall and Stark who denied the Hawaiian code-breakers the right to work on intercepted Purple signals...In so many ways, the trail of evidence always seems to come back to Marshall's door, as does the trail of lies and evasion of responsibility.”** [Emphasis added]

A Closing Thought...

“In politics, nothing happens by accident. If it happens, you can bet it was planned that way.”

- Franklin D. Roosevelt

