

## Chapter 3

# JAPANESE NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM

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“No battle plan ever survives contact with the enemy.”  
Helmuth von Moltke the Elder, German military strategist

“Everyone has a plan till they get punched in the mouth.”  
Mike Tyson, American boxing champion

“Men occasionally stumble over the truth, but most of them pick themselves up and hurry off as if nothing  
ever happened.”  
Winston Churchill

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Japan, Germany and Italy, as Axis Powers, entered World War II under the umbrella of a competitive colonialist and expansionist policy aimed at controlling the natural resources, territories, and the commercial markets in China, Manchuria, Korea, the Philippines, Malaysia and other parts of South East Asia as well as Africa. This placed Japan in conflict with the commercial and political interests of its competitors; the other Western Allies colonial powers of the Netherlands, France, the UK and the USA.

Japan had been isolationist for centuries until it was forced into open USA trade by gunboat diplomacy by commodore Perry. It underwent a radical and rapid transformation to a modern industrialized society to prevent this shame from recurring again.

Japan set out to imitate the UK in creating an island-based empire but it was too weak economically and did not have a large enough population and resources to achieve its goal of a Pan-Asian Empire. Japan's entry to China, Taiwan, Mongolia, Korea, and the Philippines, was a counter-reaction to the imperialist Europe's goal of colonizing Asia. It tried unsuccessfully to take over China by invasion in 1937. The inhabitants of Nanking suffered the horrific rape and murder of 300,000 Chinese from December 13, 1937 to January 1938.

Japan tried to invade Russia and was defeated in the 1939 Battles of Khalkyn Gol by the Mongolians in 1939 more than two years before Pearl Harbor. Many military historians consider this to be one of the more important major battles of World War II which totally changed Japan's war strategy. This was followed by the attack on Pearl Harbor to buy time and seize South East Asia including Burma. The Japanese Army was led by irrational generals who took unhedged military risks.

The competition eventually escalated into an oil and steel embargo after Japan invaded Vietnam, imposed on it by the USA aimed at choking its industrial and military capabilities. The USA essentially initiated the path to war by freezing Japan's assets in the USA in July 1941 and embargoing Japan's oil supply, about 75 percent of which originated from the USA.

With the failure of peace negotiations, Japan responded by executing a plan on

attacking the USA's Pacific Fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Pearl Harbor was Japan's second naval surprise attack. It began the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 by sailing into the Port Arthur harbor and blasting the Russian Pacific Fleet into smithereens, even though the two countries were not formally at war.



Figure 1. Attack by Japan on the USA Pacific fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, December 6, 1941. The Arizona and four obsolete World War I ships were affected. Conspiracy theorists debate, based on intercepted intelligence, whether the best ships, including the aircraft carriers, in the seventh fleet were conveniently sent out of harm's way when Pearl Harbor was attacked, leaving only the older less seaworthy ships to be sunk, and giving President Roosevelt the "casus belli" he needed to involve the USA into World War II.



Figure 2. A serious military strike occurred at Clark Field at Manilla, Philippines, 9 hours later on December 8, 1941, where a fleet of B-17 bombers was next targeted and referred to as "McArthur Pearl Harbor."



Figure 3. B-18 Bolo bomber. Combat radius: 999 nm (nautical miles), 1,150 miles, 1,850 kms).



Figure 4. Admiral Yamamoto planned the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, waking up in his words, “a sleeping giant.”

### **3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

By the summer of 1941 Japan had been militarily expanding into China and across the Pacific Theater for a decade. Its war of conquest against China was already four years old and had claimed millions of lives. At this time the USA code breakers learned of

Japan's plans also to occupy the French colonial territories of Indochina; today the nations of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. In response, and at the advice of his assistant secretary of state for economic affairs Dean Acheson, USA President Franklin D. Roosevelt imposed an embargo on the USA export of raw materials that Japan could use for war, including steel and petroleum. The ruling classes of Japan and its military leaders were left with the choice of either ending their policies of imperial expansion or of accelerating them and seizing the resource-rich colonial territories of the UK, France and the Netherlands in Southeast Asia to sustain their war economy. They chose the path of continued and intensified expansion.

Japan's war planners adopted Combined Fleet Commander Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto's daring plan to launch a surprise preemptive attack to destroy the USA Navy's Pacific Fleet at its base in Pearl Harbor. President Franklin D. Roosevelt understood; and said so at the time; that the new economic embargo could lead directly to war with Japan. The talks to resolve the crisis between Washington and Tokyo went nowhere and deadlocked over the following six months, The USA's Navy and Army chiefs in Washington, with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's knowledge and approval, warned their forces in the Pacific to be prepared for war.

The daring and effectiveness of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor took USA policymakers by surprise. The Japanese sank all eight antiquated World War I battleships of the Pacific Fleet. Six of them, were salvaged of which five participated later with devastating effect in the 1944 Battle of Leyte Gulf. The Japanese attack failed in sinking any aircraft carriers, which were judiciously sent out to sea out of harm's way,

President Franklin D. Roosevelt ironically had been seeking to provoke a naval war with Nazi Germany in the Atlantic. He regarded Germany as a greater strategic threat to the USA than Japan. But both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill catastrophically underestimated the capabilities of the Japanese army, navy and naval air force. Had they not made that mistake, they would not have been so ready to carelessly provoke Japan into a full scale war.

The Tripartite Pact signed in September 1940 joined the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy and Japan against the USA. The USA fleet in the Pacific was moved from San Diego to Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, as a deterrent against Japan seizing the French (Indochina, Vietnam), Netherland (West Indies), and UK (Malaya) colonial possessions in the Pacific.

Robert B. Stinnett, a libertarian anti-New-Deal ideologue reports in a book he wrote about a paper written by Capt. Arthur H. McCollum, a top USA Navy officer, suggesting 8 items to contain and provoke an attack from Japan including:

1. Make an arrangement with the UK for the use of British bases in the Pacific, such as Singapore,
2. Make an arrangement with The Netherlands for the use of base facilities and acquisition of supplies in the Dutch West Indies,
3. Give all possible aid to the Chinese government of Chiang-Kai-Shek,
4. Send a division of long range heavy cruisers to the Orient, Philippines or Singapore,
5. Send two divisions of submarines to the Orient,
6. Keep the main strength of the USA fleet now in the Pacific in the vicinity of the Hawaiian Islands,
7. Insist that the Dutch refuse to grant Japanese demands for undue economic concessions,

particularly petroleum,

8. Completely embargo all USA trade with Japan, in collaboration with a similar embargo imposed by the British Empire,

If by these means Japan could be led to commit an overt act of war, so much the better. At all events, the USA must be fully prepared to accept the threat of war.

Capt. A. H. McCollum prepared an explicit war warning on December 4, 1941 upon the interception of a Japanese radio message about “East wind rain.” Vice Admiral Richmond K. Turner blocked sending the explicit warning on December 4, 1941, as he believed that Japan would attack Russia and not the USA.

In the “Forgotten Holocaust” or “Other Holocaust,” from the invasion of China in 1937 to the end of World War II, the Japanese military is accused of contributing to the death of 3-10 million people; mostly 6 million Chinese, Indonesians, Koreans and Indochinese as well as Western prisoners of war. At the “Rape of Nanking,” China in mid-December 1937, ½ million people lost their lives in what is considered as the largest atrocity of World War II.

Winston Churchill bungled an attempted invasion of Turkey at Gallipoli in World War I, an absolute military blunder. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he pegged the British Pound to gold 20 percent too high and helped causing the financial crash of 1929, and he initiated the cold war between the USA and the USSR to weaken both of them relative to the UK. To his drunken son Randolph Churchill after the fall of France to the German army he said: “I shall drag the United States in” on May 18, 1940. After Pearl Harbor he asserted: “That’s the way we talked to America while we were wooing her. Now that she is in the harem (war), we talk to her differently.” According to Churchill: “US should enter war against Germany and Japan with maximum losses to weaken both Japan and US role in postwar world.”

Authors Rusbridger and Nave in their book: “Betrayal at Pearl Harbor,” suggest:

“ we show that Churchill was aware that a task force had sailed from northern Japan in late November 1841, and that one of its likely targets was Pearl Harbor. Churchill deliberately kept this vital information from Roosevelt [as] a means of fulfilling his ... desire to get America into the war at any cost.”



Figure 5. USA President Franklin D. Roosevelt was lured into World War II by Winston Churchill of the UK in a mafia-like pose with a machine gun.

As described by Robert Higgs at the Independent Institute [14], the historical prelude to the USA and Japan conflict in World War II, can be summarized as:

“Ask a typical American how the United States got into World War II, and he will almost certainly tell you that the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and the Americans fought back. Ask him why the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and he will probably need some time to gather his thoughts. He might say that the Japanese were aggressive militarists who wanted to take over the world, or at least the Asia-Pacific part of it. Ask him what the United States did to provoke the Japanese, and he will probably say that the Americans did nothing: we were just minding our own business when the crazy Japanese, completely without justification, mounted a sneak attack on us, catching us totally by surprise in Hawaii on December 7, 1941.

You can’t blame him much. For more than 60 years such beliefs have constituted the generally accepted view among Americans, the one taught in schools and depicted in movies—what “every schoolboy knows.” Unfortunately, this orthodox view is a tissue of misconceptions. Don’t bother to ask the typical American what U.S. economic warfare had to do with provoking the Japanese to mount their attack, because he won’t know. Indeed, he will have no idea what you are talking about.

In the late nineteenth century, Japan’s economy began to grow and to industrialize rapidly. Because Japan has few natural resources, many of the burgeoning industries had to rely on imported raw materials, such as coal, iron ore or steel scrap, tin, copper, bauxite, rubber, and petroleum. Without access to such imports, many of which came from the United States or from European colonies in Southeast Asia, Japan’s industrial economy would have ground to a halt. By engaging in international trade, however, the Japanese had built a moderately advanced industrial economy by 1941.

At the same time, they also built a military-industrial complex to support an increasingly powerful army and navy. These armed forces allowed Japan to project its power into various places in the Pacific and East Asia, including Korea and Northern China, much as the United States used its growing industrial might to equip armed forces that projected U.S. power into the Caribbean and Latin America, and even as far away as the Philippine Islands.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in 1933, the U.S. government fell under the control of a man who disliked the Japanese and harbored a romantic affection for the Chinese because, some writers have speculated, Roosevelt’s ancestors had made money in the China trade. Roosevelt also disliked the Germans (and of course Adolf Hitler), and he tended to favor the British in his personal relations and in world affairs. He did not pay much attention to foreign policy, however, until his New Deal began to peter out in 1937. Afterward, he relied heavily on foreign policy to fulfill his political ambitions, including his desire for reelection to an unprecedented third term.

When Germany began to rearm and to seek Lebensraum

aggressively in the late 1930s, the Roosevelt administration cooperated closely with the British and the French in measures to oppose German expansion. After World War II commenced in 1939, this U.S. assistance grew ever greater and included such measures as the so-called destroyer deal and the deceptively named Lend-Lease program. In anticipation of U.S. entry into the war, British and U.S. military staffs secretly formulated plans for joint operations. U.S. forces sought to create a war-justifying incident by cooperating with the British navy in attacks on German U-boats in the north Atlantic, but Hitler refused to take the bait, thus denying Roosevelt the pretext he craved for making the United States a full-fledged, declared belligerent—an end that the great majority of Americans opposed.

In June 1940, Henry L. Stimson, who had been secretary of war under Taft and secretary of state under Hoover, became secretary of war again. Stimson was a lion of the Anglophile, northeastern upper crust and no friend of the Japanese. In support of the so-called Open Door Policy for China, Stimson favored the use of economic sanctions to obstruct Japan's advance in Asia. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau and Interior Secretary Harold Ickes vigorously endorsed this policy. Roosevelt hoped that such sanctions would goad the Japanese into making a rash mistake by launching a war against the United States, which would bring in Germany because Japan and Germany were allied.

Accordingly, the Roosevelt administration, while curtly dismissing Japanese diplomatic overtures to harmonize relations, imposed a series of increasingly stringent economic sanctions on Japan. In 1939 the United States terminated the 1911 commercial treaty with Japan. "On July 2, 1940, Roosevelt signed the Export Control Act, authorizing the President to license or prohibit the export of essential defense materials." Under this authority, "[o]n July 31, exports of aviation motor fuels and lubricants and No. 1 heavy melting iron and steel scrap were restricted." Next, in a move aimed at Japan, Roosevelt slapped an embargo, effective October 16, "on all exports of scrap iron and steel to destinations other than Britain and the nations of the Western Hemisphere." Finally, on July 26, 1941, Roosevelt "froze Japanese assets in the United States, thus bringing commercial relations between the nations to an effective end. One week later Roosevelt embargoed the export of such grades of oil as still were in commercial flow to Japan." The British and the Dutch followed suit, embargoing exports to Japan from their colonies in Southeast Asia.

Roosevelt and his subordinates knew they were putting Japan in an untenable position and that the Japanese government might well try to escape the stranglehold by going to war. Having broken the Japanese diplomatic code, the Americans knew, among many other things, what Foreign Minister Teijiro Toyoda had communicated to Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura on July 31: "Commercial and economic relations between Japan and third countries, led by England and the United States, are gradually becoming so horribly strained that we cannot endure it much longer. Consequently, our Empire, to save its very life, must take measures

to secure the raw materials of the South Seas.”

Because American cryptographers had also broken the Japanese naval code, the leaders in Washington knew as well that Japan’s “measures” would include an attack on Pearl Harbor. Yet they withheld this critical information from the commanders in Hawaii, who might have headed off the attack or prepared themselves to defend against it. That Roosevelt and his chieftains did not ring the tocsin (bell) makes perfect sense: after all, the impending attack constituted precisely what they had been seeking for a long time. As Stimson confided to his diary after a meeting of the war cabinet on November 25, “The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves.” After the attack, Stimson confessed that “my first feeling was of relief ... that a crisis had come in a way which would unite all our people.”

The oil embargo would have left Japan, and more importantly the Imperial Japanese Navy, without oil within six months. President Roosevelt simply followed L. C. Arthur H. McCollum's Eight-Point Memorandum to the Chief of Naval Intelligence (who reported to FDR). It was dated October 7, 1940. As the chief of the Far East Desk of the Office of Naval Intelligence and the USA's in-country Japanese foremost expert, the Memorandum was a guide to "cause the Japanese to commit the first overt act against the Allies in the Pacific.”

All American aircraft carriers were put out to sea since they knew the attack was coming. The Red Cross was asked to prepare relief supplies for Pearl Harbor several days before the attack. The about 1,800 USA servicemen killed in the Japanese attack were sacrificial lambs to get the war started.

In "Day of Deceit" Robert L. Stinnett provides compelling evidence that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt deliberately provoked Japan to attack the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor so that America could enter the war on the allied side. Stinnett, a distinguished World War II navy veteran who researched his subject for over sixteen years, provides the following evidence:

1. A naval intelligence officer named Captain Arthur McCollum, Chief of the Far Eastern Section of Naval Intelligence developed an eight-point plan to provoke Japanese hostilities. This plan reached Roosevelt who implemented all eight points.
2. Contrary to popular belief, the Japanese navy broke radio silence on multiple occasions prior to December 7, 1941.
3. More than 94 percent of all secret Japanese naval messages (including some with direct reference to the impending attack on Pearl Harbor) were successfully decoded by American intelligence units prior to December 7, 1941.
4. Roosevelt implemented a change of naval command that placed proponents of the eight-point-provocation plan in key positions of power. However, the newly promoted commander of Pearl Harbor, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel was consistently denied access to vital decoded translations of Japanese naval communications. The commanders in Pearl Harbor, Kimmel and Short were warned by the war department that an attack could come at any time, they were told there were reason to believe an attack could come, and that the



Japanese would use sabotage to attack, not an aerial attack.

5. Naval Intelligence and the FBI successfully monitored the communication of Japanese intelligence agents in Hawaii for months. These communications, which included a bombing grid map of Pearl Harbor, revealed Japan's intent.

8. Most of the critical USA Pacific Fleet components such as heavy cruisers and aircraft carriers were not in Pearl Harbor during the bombing. In fact the only ships that were sunk were WW I relics.

President Roosevelt moved the fleet from San Diego to Pearl Harbor in 1940 so Japan would attack it and allow the USA to enter the war. On May 13, 1940, the Commander of the USA fleet Admiral Richardson wrote his superior, Admiral Stark, asking why President Roosevelt ordered him to keep his fleet so far west after spring maneuvers. Why couldn't his ships return as usual to their bases along the California coast, in San Diego, San Pedro and Long Beach? He wrote, "I feel that any move west [to Pearl Harbor] means hostilities." "I feel at this time it would be a grave mistake to become involved in the west, where our interests, although important, are not vital." He sent a memo to the Secretary of the Navy on September 15 and told Roosevelt on October 8, 1940 that Pearl Harbor was the wrong place for his ships. He flat out asked President Roosevelt if the USA was going to war. Roosevelt said when Japan makes a mistake, we will go to war. Richardson was relieved of his command by Roosevelt in December of 1940.

Suspecting an ambush attempt, the commander of the Japanese fleet, naval commander, Admiral Chuichui Nagumo, upon noticing the absence of the aircraft carriers at Pearl Harbor, cancelled a planned third wave of attacks and escaped the purported ambush.

### 3.3 THE PEARL HARBOR ATTACK

Although Americans remain uninformed about the cause of the attack on Pearl Harbor, it is pretty much common knowledge in Europe. It has been said that Winston Churchill knew that Pearl Harbor was the target but said nothing because he needed the USA in the war. This is believable because Winston Churchill sacrificed Coventry to German carpet bombing rather than give away the fact that British Intelligence had broken the Luftwaffe Enigma codes.

RECEIVED DISPATCH

FIRST NAVAL DISTRICT N. A. S. Squidson

FROM: CONFIDENTIAL CALLS RELAYED TO:

TO:

INFO:

PRIORITY	CLASSIFIED	RELEASED BY	DATE	TIME
ROUTINE	CONFIDENTIAL		7 DEC 11	
DEFERRED	SECRET	SENT BY		REF. NR.

HEADING: NZH V NCO NR1 / NSS F NR077 Z 0F2 1030 0F3 0F4 1F0 0 BY

AIR RAID ON PEARL HARBOR X THIS IS NOT DRELL

TOR 2801/AD/NCO NR 1/3195 KC/7 DEC 11

ACTION OFFICER: R. H. Key O. O. D.

Figure 6. Pearl Harbor announcement Telegram.

The biggest tell that the USA administration knew what was coming was the fact the USA navy flat tops (aircraft carriers) were missing on the day of the attack, the battleships left behind in the harbor were made obsolete by the new technique of naval air warfare, so they were expendable. But the sacrifice of USA military personnel remains hard to comprehend.

According to disclosed contemporary documents that shed light on the historic course of events, the USA had broken the Japanese military and political communications codes and was aware of its intentions. Just 36 people were privy to this fact in the USA. Some sources allege that the USA leadership wanted to allow Japan to inflict the first blow in starting the war to overcome the reluctance of the USA population in starting a war with Japan (Appendix I). As appears in Japanese Navy Order No. 1 issued on November 5, 1941 to "Yamamoto, C in C (Commander in Chief), Combined Fleet" [9]:

"In view of the great possibility of being compelled to go to war against the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands in the cause of self-existence and self-defense, Japan has decided to complete various operational preparations within the first ten days of December."

A Morse code radio operator develops his own style known as a "hand" that is recognized by other experienced operators. The Japanese fleet left many of their experienced operators at home producing fake normal traffic. Thus their "hands" were recognized in the USA intercepts and their location traced back to Japan thus fooling the USA into believing the fleet was still in home waters. The Japanese were very big on discipline, going so far as to routinely beat it into you even at their naval academy, and very professional; so the claim that the fleet broke radio silence many times and was tracked across the Pacific lacks credibility. Reports say that the higher ups knew an attack was coming but they expected the Philippines to be the target. One would think that after the Pearl Harbor attack all units would have been on high alert but when the Philippines were attacked the next day practically all of the USA planes were destroyed on the ground.

Admiral Yamamoto was a very smart man and spent time in the USA so he knew there was no way Japan could win a war against the USA. He was not a politician or policy maker and obeyed his orders and went to war. For all his smarts and personal insights of the American people he went totally stupid by attacking Pearl Harbor thus giving Roosevelt the unity he needed for war. If he had stayed in his part of the Pacific and conquered everything in sight, except for Australia and New Zealand, the American populace would not have cared.

Later, on December 2, 1941, the following message was intercepted by the USA about the day of the start of hostilities [9]:

"2 Dec

From: CINC Combined

To: Combined Flt

"This dispatch is Top Secret. This order is effective at 1730 on 2 December.

Climb NIITAKAYAMA 1208, repeat 1208." (Climb Mount Niitaka December 8) SRN-115376 (In late 1945, possibly with knowledge in hand

that this message was stipulated in Flt OP ORDER#1, its meaning is understood by OP-20-G to be, "Attack on 8 December." In the congressional investigation this message was incorrectly reported as sent on 6 December 1941. (Hearings Part 1, 185))”

The breaking of the Japanese military and diplomatic codes was essential in the Pacific theater. It informed the USA forces about the intentions and movements of the Japanese Navy, contributing to the loss of three Japanese aircraft carriers at the battle of Midway. Later on, information on a trip by Admiral Yamamoto to the Japanese forces in the Pacific Islands was intercepted, which allowed the ambushing and the downing of his plane by USA aircraft.

Conspiracy theories abound about the subsequent course of events after the beginning of hostilities at Pearl Harbor (Appendix II). It can be noticed that all the USA aircraft carrier fleet and its cruisers and destroyers escorts escaped the Japanese fleet attack on Pearl Harbor, and were later involved in a pursuit of the attacking Japanese fleet; which suggests a possibility of an unsuccessful attempt at ambushing it. According to USA Vice Admiral Ruthven E. Libby: “I will go to my grave convinced that FDR ordered Pearl Harbor to let happen. He must have known.”

The USA Pacific Fleet consisted of aircraft carriers in two task forces. Task Force TF-8 consisted of the USS Enterprise (CV-6) with three cruisers and nine destroyers. Task Force TF-12 consisted of the USS Lexington (CV-2) with 3 heavy cruisers and 5 destroyers. The USS Saratoga (CV-3) was coming out of overhaul at Seattle, and returning to Pearl Harbor via San Diego.

The Enterprise and Lexington at the port of Pearl Harbor, Hawaii were sent out of port before the attack on different tasks of delivering aircraft and maneuvers and escaped the attack at Pearl Harbor. For instance [8]:

“On 5 December 1941, TF-12, formed around Lexington, under the command of Rear Admiral John H. Newton, sailed from Pearl to ferry 18 Vought SB2U-3 Vindicators of Marine Scout Bombing Squadron 231 to Midway Island. Dawn on 7 December 1941 found Lexington, heavy cruisers Chicago (CA-29), Portland (CA-33), and Astoria (CA-34), and five destroyers about 500 miles southeast of Midway. The outbreak of hostilities resulted in cancellation of the mission and VMSB-231 was retained on board [they would ultimately fly to Midway from Hickam Field on 21 December].”



Figure 7. Curtiss SOC “Seagull” scout-observation planes launched from cruisers. Range: 675 miles or 1,086 kms. Pearl Harbor attack was launched from 250 miles out of Pearl Harbor.

The USS Yorktown (CV-5), Ranger (CV-4) and Wasp (CV-7), along with the aircraft escort vessel Long Island (AVG1), were then in the Atlantic Fleet. The USS Hornet (CV-8), commissioned in late October 1941, was not yet operational. The USS Yorktown (CV-5) would be the first Atlantic Fleet carrier to be transferred to the Pacific theater, sailing on December 16, 1941.

There were 8 battle ships moored at Pearl Harbor: the USS Pennsylvania (BB-38), Arizona (BB-39), Nevada (BB-36), Oklahoma (BB-37), Tennessee (BB-43), California (BB-44), Maryland (BB-46), and West Virginia (BB-48), as well as two cruisers: New Orleans (CA-32) and San Francisco (CA-38), in addition to a multitude of light cruisers, destroyers, submarines, torpedo boats and other ships. They were attacked on December 7, 1941 at Pearl Harbor by a Japanese Naval Task Force. The battle-ships Arizona, Oklahoma, California and West Virginia were sunk or destroyed during the attack. All of these were later raised and rebuilt except for the Arizona, Oklahoma and Utah. The Oklahoma was raised but not rebuilt [8].



Figure 8. PBY Catalina, 1936-1945. Range; 2,520 miles, 4,030 kms.

The USS Enterprise and the Lexington USA carriers had been sent to Midway with heavy cruiser escorts. Six of Japan's first-line aircraft carriers, Akagi, Kaga, Soryu, Hiryu, Shokaku and Zuikaku, were assigned to the mission with over 420 embarked aircraft. Apparently, the Japanese naval commander, Admiral Chuichui Nagumo, keenly noticed the absence of the USA aircraft carriers and their battle ships and heavy cruisers escorts at Pearl Harbor and cautiously cancelled the third wave of aircraft attacks on the basis of the “loss of the element of surprise,” and possibly on a suspicion of a planned ambush. According to the Japanese attack goals [9]:

“The targets for the first group will be limited to about four battleships and four aircraft carriers; the order of targets will be battleships and then aircraft carriers.”

In fact, at the onset of the hostilities, the Enterprise and Lexington carriers Task Forces were directed to “seek out and engage” and to “intercept and destroy” the attacking Japanese task Force. The attacking six Japanese aircraft carriers fleet escaped detection and interception by the pursuing USA fleet and survived to take part in the ensuing Pacific War. The reason for the escape is that the Japanese Task force approached and withdrew from the Hawaiian Islands from the Northern Pacific [9]:

“After the launching of the second attack units is completed, the task force will withdraw northward at a speed of about 24 knots,”

whereas the USA fleet, possibly based on an intercepted Japanese Navy order message [9]:

“If a powerful enemy force intercepts our return route, the Task Force will break through the Hawaiian Islands area southward and proceed to the Marshall Islands,”

was directed to go looking for them in the opposite direction to the south of the Hawaiian Islands instead of north, and hence were unable to intercept them.

Irrespective of the Pearl Harbor attack blunder, Japan failed to develop an atomic weapon or “genshi bakudan” or “greatest fighter” during World War II, even though some unsubstantiated accounts claimed that it succeeded in building one that was tested and detonated on August 12, 1945 near Hungnam in North Korea, shortly after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki [10].

Some authors disputed the necessity of using nuclear weapons against Japan since carpet incendiary bombing had already destroyed Japan’s industrial and military capabilities and forced Japan into sending messages about a conditional surrender to the USA preserving its political system and Emperor’s rule (Appendix III). Japan’s also feared the entry of Russia into the war and the consequent loss of its northern islands to Russia. The unconditional surrender of Japan three days later on August 15, 1945 would have halted any supposedly existing effort.

Japan’s effort had an important impact on the post-war period where both Germany and Japan opted to develop civilian nuclear technology to the extent that they both became latent or threshold nuclear weapons states. While forsaking the actual manufacturing of nuclear devices and the exorbitant cost of maintaining nuclear weapons stockpiles, Germany and Japan possess the technical and resource capability to develop nuclear weaponry on a short time scale, should either culture feel threatened at some future date.

### 3.4 JAPANESE NUCLEAR EFFORT

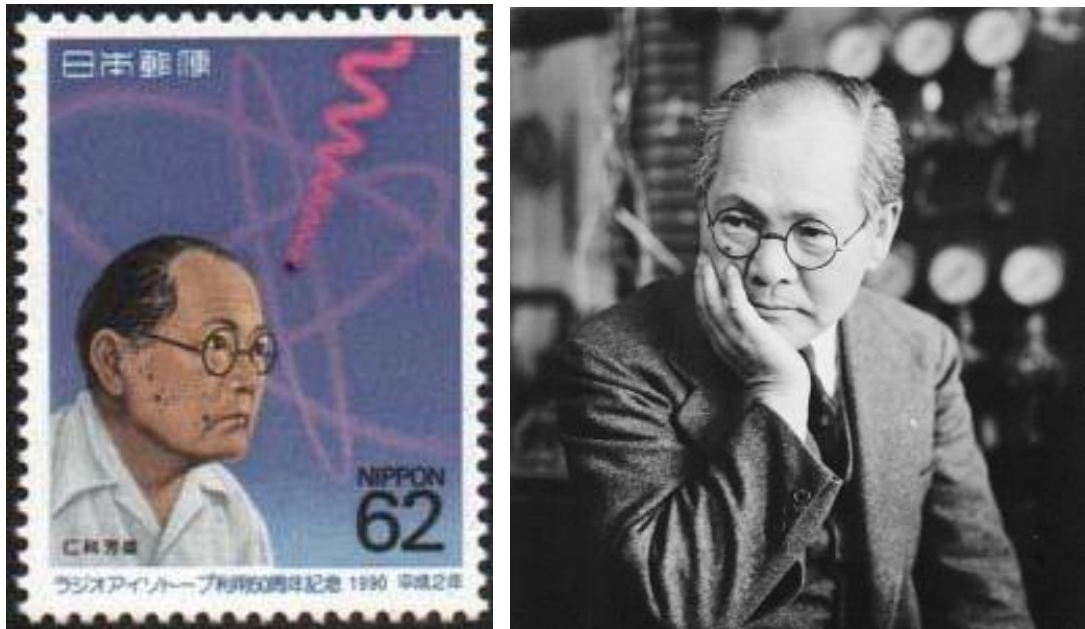


Figure 9. Japanese stamp commemorating Yoshio Nishina.

The head of the Japanese project is considered to have been renowned scientist Yoshio Nishina, a contemporary of Ernest O. Lawrence, Enrico Fermi, Robert

Oppenheimer, Albert Einstein and others in the USA. He had spent several years at Niels Bohr's laboratory in Denmark. He is known for the Klein-Nishina formula describing the interactions of gamma rays with matter. A crater on the moon is named after him. He established a high energy physics laboratory at the Riken's Institute for Physical and Chemical Research in 1931. He built a 26 inches cyclotron in 1936 and another 60 inches cyclotron with a 220 ton magnet in 1937. In 1938 Japan also purchased a cyclotron from the University of California.

Another personality was Ryokichi Sagane who had studied at the University of California at Berkeley in the USA under Ernest Lawrence. Other Japanese scientists traveled and studied in Europe and the USA and were knowledgeable about the latest developments in nuclear science.

Japanese science was strong in areas such as theoretical physics, but lacked the massively coordinated organizational military and industrial effort of the Manhattan Project in the USA. Japan lacked the manpower of engineers and scientists that the USA enjoyed. It lacked the knowledge in certain aspects of science and technology required for a successful weapons program. It is reported that at one meeting some physicist suggested that uranium being a dense material, would naturally concentrate itself in the "wrinkles" of the Earth's crust. This ignorance of geological facts and uranium mining was taken seriously by scientists on the project and led them astray. In addition, Japan, during World War II, lacked access to the natural resources of uranium ores needed for a successful program even though the Army and Navy carried out searches for uranium ore in Japan in the Fukushima Prefecture, and overseas in Burma, Korea, and China.

### **3.5 THERMAL DIFFUSION ENRICHMENT EFFORT**

Practical engineering knowledge was lacking in the Japanese effort. This is exemplified by the efforts of a scientist: Masa Takeuchi, even though he was on the right track, in setting up in a timely fashion a successful thermal gaseous diffusion uranium enrichment apparatus. As reported by Shapley [3], it took him 18 months to set up an experiment which took a few weeks to be built in the USA.

Conventional and incendiary napalm bombing raids destroyed some thermal diffusion laboratory apparatuses, further discouraging the scientists overseeing the project, much like the destruction of the heavy water plants in Norway and supplies convoys through bombings and sabotage discouraged the German scientists.

Japan's scientific manpower was inefficiently organized, and its government failed to recognize its importance, and did not even fully accept, until near the end of the war, that nuclear devices are feasible. Japan's military government leaders were suspicious of the loyalty of its free-thinking objective intellectuals, particularly since they had contact prior to the war with their European and USA counterparts.

The Japanese military, like the Germans, thought during the early stages of the war that had moved initially in their favor; that it would end early before the development of new advanced technology would be helpful to the war effort. Once the tide started to turn against Japan in the Pacific Theater, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science was formed. It set up several national laboratories and assigned wartime research goals for the Japanese scientists. The Japanese cabinet passed the "General Plan for the Establishment of a New Scientific and Technological Structure." According to Low [2], a "Science

Mobilization Council” was also formed, which divided Japanese research activities into 32 different areas.

Numerous reorganizations of the Japanese manpower were undertaken during the war through both the Army and the Navy. The two military factions constantly competed against each other for power and the control of resources, squandering its intellectual capacity for the short-term war effort needs.

### **3.6 ARMY NI (NISHINA) CALUTRON ELECTROMAGNETIC ENRICHMENT PROJECT**

The Japanese Army was first to become interested in developing an atomic device by contacting Yoshio Nishina in 1940 for advice about how to proceed in setting out a program. Yoshio Nishina was aware of the USA research into nuclear devices and convinced, as of October 1940, Lt. General Takeo Yasuda of the Japanese Army to pursue an effort in this direction. In July 1941 the program was started under the leadership of Yoshio Nishina. The army’s effort was set around Yoshio Nishina’s laboratory and became known as the “Ni Project.”

The Army project emphasized the use of electromagnetic isotope separation using the Calutron (California cyclotron) concept. Before the war, Ernest Lawrence from the USA had provided Yoshio Nishina with a 220-ton magnet, the largest in the world at the time, delivered to Japan for basic scientific research in the construction of a cyclotron for high energy particle physics studies.

This magnet was used to separate just small grams research quantities of  $U^{235}$ , not the kilograms quantities needed for a weapon. Thus, even with expertise in the use and construction of cyclotrons and large magnets, the Japanese scientists were not able to adapt their expertise to the construction of the industrial Calutrons needed for the separation of kilogram quantities of  $U^{235}$ . Even if the Calutron approach, which was considered as a “white elephant” in the USA by General Leslie Groves, were a viable path for producing significant quantities of  $U^{235}$ , these Calutrons were not completed nor assembled until shortly before the end of the war.

### **3.7 NAVY F (FLUORIDE) CENTRIFUGE ENRICHMENT PROJECT**

Meanwhile, the Japanese Navy was also setting out a totally separate inquiry about nuclear energy. The program of the Japanese Navy was initially aimed at the use of nuclear energy as a power source to reduce the dependence on oil and to relieve Japan’s shortage in oil; since the USA had embargoed Japan’s supply of oil choking its economy and its military effort. Countering of the oil embargo was reportedly the main justification for the Japanese attack on the Pacific USA naval fleet at Pearl Harbor.

The Japanese Navy reacquired the interest in nuclear devices in 1943, probably on intelligence reports about the USA program. It started the “F-Go Project” at Kyoto University, possibly named after the need for using uranium hexafluoride ( $UF_6$ ). The F project involved theoretical work on the fission process and attempted the isotopic separation of  $U^{235}$  through the use of the centrifugation method.



It was headed by Professor Bunsako Arakatsu, a lecturer at Kyoto University, who studied under Albert Einstein. Bunsako Arakatsu also built his own cyclotron. His team included Hideki Yukawa, the first Japanese to receive a Nobel Prize in 1949.

Despite some modest successes in both the Army and Navy projects, neither came close to producing a working nuclear device. The two different projects had no communication or exchange of information, reflecting the traditional rivalry between the Army and the Navy in Japan.

Although Japan was endowed with talented particle physicists, just a few of them were fully employed in the nuclear device program during the war. Those that contributed to the project did not do it as their primary research effort, in contrast to the USA engineers, scientists and technicians who had the benefit of entire cities such as Los Alamos, New Mexico, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Hanford, Washington, being constructed to house them and their families.

Japan's military's commitment was at times strong, but mostly sporadic and incomplete. Some parts of the Calutrons and a research centrifuge were not even delivered until late into the war. The scientists working on the project were not committed either. In a pragmatic, some would say a self-defeatist attitude; they estimated that a successful weapons program would require 10 percent of Japan's electrical power production and about half of its copper supplies.

Securing a supply of uranium ore proved problematic for Japan. Even though Japan's occupation of Manchuria and other Asian regions placed under its control areas rich in uranium resources, a lack of organization and mining expertise prevented Japan from stockpiling the amounts of uranium necessary for the isotopic separation technology.

American fire-bombing raids disrupted the development process and destroyed both raw material and equipment at the Institute for Physical and Chemical Research. The effort was relocated to Konan or Hungnam, in North Korea in early 1945. This industrial region was close to the source of uranium ore and was in less danger of attack than mainland Japan. This move delayed the development by three months. In a last ditch effort in 1944, lacking adult manpower, young Japanese children were recruited to mine the uranium ore.

### **3.8 USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST JAPAN**

Once the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima with a  $U^{235}$  gun barrel device occurred, the Japanese military again became suddenly interested in the development of an atomic weapon. In a continuation of the leadership's spirit of lack of knowledge about the scientific considerations, the materials and the necessary commitment, they asked whether an atomic device could be available for use within six months through a crash effort. It was obviously too late, lending credence to the Sun Tsu's adage that wars are effectively won during the preparation and training stages, before they are even started.

In fact, the Japanese scientists who were working on the nuclear device turned their attention to the study of the radiation effects from the Hiroshima  $U^{235}$  bombing as well as the Nagasaki  $Pu^{239}$  device that followed it. After the USA's occupation of Japan, a scientific study was undertaken to assess the extent of the Japanese wartime effort. According to Shapley [3], the following assessment came from one of the dispatched

evaluators about one of the Japanese scientists at his laboratory:

“He cooked and ate and worked in the same room in the laboratory, and was growing some potatoes in the yard. He was doing work that we had done in America with a whole panoply of people. So, as we looked around we concluded this could not have been the site of the Japanese Manhattan Project.”

Nevertheless, much like in the Alsos team in Germany, the USA military gathered and destroyed for show and public relations several pieces of equipment that were erroneously deemed essential for the production of an atomic device, including the largest cyclotron in the world at the time.



Figure 10. On September 2, 1945, Japanese envoys signed the instrument of surrender aboard the USS battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay, ending the World War II conflict.

### **3.9 SIMILARITIES TO THE GERMAN PROJECT**

Several striking similarities existed between the German and Japanese nuclear weapons efforts during World War II. The leadership as well as the scientists were unsure about the feasibility of a nuclear weapon, which translated into a lack of commitment to an effort, whose success was doubtful. The scientists considered their work as fundamental research to be later published in conferences and journals assuring them prestige, power, wealth and promotion. In the same way as the German scientists, they may have used their work as a pretext for avoiding being sent to the killing fields at the battle fronts.

Both groups of scientists in Japan and Germany were not serious about the projects. In the UK's Farm Hall transcripts, where the German scientist were smartly dined and wined with their conversations duly recorded, instead of torturing and water-boarding

them, it was revealed that Werner Heisenberg, their leader, implied that the German scientists never intended to pursue an atomic weapon and only tried to keep their fellow scientists out of harm's way from being sent to the Russian war front.

Excessive organizational control exerted by both governments seems to have hurt rather than helped the projects, particularly with the lack of scientific knowledge among the government and army bureaucrats, their competition for power, control and resources, and their lack of trust in their scientific cadres.

Material shortages in the natural uranium supplies, heavy water, and even copper for the construction of magnets coils doomed the two projects, particularly in the face of the Allies' continuous bombing and sabotage.

Both the German and Japanese scientists claimed after the war that they purposely prevented the successful construction of an atomic device, a claim that does not hold water. This claim has been challenged by most historians who studied the course of events. In fact, Robert Oppenheimer in the USA suggested that nuclear fission was a "sweet problem" to which scientists naturally gravitated. Another argument is that if the USA scientists could be persuaded to work on the atomic bomb, out of pure scientific curiosity, patriotism, or commitment to the cause; then the same could be expected from the scientists of Germany and Japan.

### **3.10 JAPAN AND GERMANY AXIS COOPERATION**

The axis cooperation between Italy and Germany during World War II was due to their geographical proximity in Europe. However, Germany and Japan are separated by a large geographical extent, restricting their cooperation to the level of hot-air posturing rather than real action. The cooperation between Germany and Japan was primarily ideological and political, rather than economic and military. German and Japanese troops never joined effort on the same battle field. No significant amounts of war material were exchanged. Even the potential for technological and scientific exchange never fully materialized.

Only one significant cooperation event is reported to have occurred near the end of the war. The German submarine aptly named U-234 for "Unterseeboot-234" was captured by the Allied forces on its way to Japan. It was revealed that it was carrying to Japan a cargo of an insignificant amount of 560 kgs of natural uranium oxide, possibly  $U_3O_8$ . It also was reported to have carried a disassembled Messerschmitt Me-262 fighter jet and parts of a V2 rocket. This uranium oxide was captured only three months before the bombing of Hiroshima. The news of the capture of the submarine and the nature of its cargo was held as classified material and was not revealed for a long time after the war.

Two Japanese military officers and a number of German Experts were on board the U-234 submarine. The nuclear cargo was labeled U-235 and some German submariners thought it was a mislabeling of the submarine's name U-234. At the surrender of Germany on May 8, 1945, the submarine was ordered to surrender on May 10, 1945 by German Admiral Dönitz. To avoid being captured, the two Japanese officers on board the submarine, Lieutenant Commander Hideo Tomonaga and Lieutenant Commander Genzo Shoji, committed suicide with sleeping pills and were buried at sea the next day.

The submarine was boarded by USA forces on May 14, 1945. The 560 kgs of natural uranium oxide was insignificant to build a nuclear weapon. Some historians

contend that Germany and Japan exchanged information about their respective atomic weapons programs. It is doubtful that an exchange of information would have occurred between two undefined and uncommitted programs, where the blind would have been leading the other blind.

### **3.11 IMPACT ON POSTWAR PERIOD**

During the war, the German nuclear device project, even though unsubstantial, was a major impetus for the initiation and the continued support of the Allies' own nuclear weapons program in the Manhattan Project. Germany surrendered before the completion of the first nuclear devices. What was initially destined to be used against Germany was instead used against Japan.

The USA suffered 76,000 casualties at the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, and the President Harry Truman administration anticipated that a prolonged invasion of mainland Japan would lead to even more devastating numbers. The USA Joint Chiefs of Staff pegged the expected casualties at 1.2 million. Staff for Admiral Chester Nimitz and General Douglas MacArthur both expected over 1,000 casualties per day. The personnel at the Department of the Navy thought the totals would run as high as 4 million, with the Japanese incurring up to 10 million of their own. The Los Angeles Times projected 1 million casualties.

The USA opted to use the Little Boy device on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 and then Fat Man on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. Japan formally surrendered 24 days later. When President Harry Truman signed off on the deployment of the newly-developed atomic bombs, he was convinced that the Japanese were planning to prosecute the war to the bitter end. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, chief among the naysayers, said later in 1963:

“I was against (use of the atomic bomb) on two counts. First, the Japanese were ready to surrender and it was not necessary to hit them with that awful thing. Second, I hated to see our country be the first to use such a weapon.”

He made the same argument to then Secretary of War Henry Stimson earlier in 1945, as recounted in his memoirs:

“I voiced to him my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of ‘face.’”

Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy ranked as the senior-most USA military officer on active duty during World War II and was among Truman's chief military advisors. In his 1950 book “I Was There,” he wrote,

“It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons.”

The Soviet Union entered the Pacific Theatre by invading Japanese-occupied Manchuria on three fronts on August 9, 1945. Prior to August 8, 1945 the Japanese had hoped that Russia would play the role of intermediary in negotiating an end to the war, but when the Russians turned against Japan, they became an even bigger threat than the USA. Russia's move compelled the Japanese to consider unconditional surrender; until then, they were only open to a conditional surrender that left their Emperor Hirohito dignity and protections from war-crimes trials. The Japanese military staged a coup when they found out that the Emperor had agreed to surrender, a coup that just barely failed.

President Harry Truman ordered an independent study on the state of the war effort leading up to August of 1945, and the strategic value of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. In 1946, the USA Bombing Survey published its findings, which concluded:

“Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945 and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.”

The deliberate killing of innocent men, women, and children by the hundreds of thousands cannot be justified under any circumstances. If the USA is to remain true to her own ideals, it must strive for noble and moral ends in all conflicts, domestic and foreign. Although both bombs did not need to be used, the second one on Nagasaki can be considered as unnecessary as it was meant as a warning to Russia concerning the invasion of the Japanese northern islands. The reason President Harry Truman was not condemned is that the USA won the war. The victors write the history.

Most generals at the time said atomic weaponry had no tactical or strategic benefit. The USA had already bombed the major industrial cities into ashes, with only Kyoto spared for cultural reasons. No major cities were standing. The Japanese surrendered when the USSR entered the war, because they knew that they could not get a conditional surrender any more, and were worried for the possible loss of Hokkaido to Russia. The Soviet Red Army took 2 weeks to destroy the Japanese Kwantung Army that was short on supplies in Manchuria in August 1945. The Kwantung Army was 750,000 strong. In order to accomplish that, the Soviets moved 1 million men with tanks and airplanes to the Far East.

After the war, what some called “poaching expeditions” occurred where the German top scientists, equipment and laboratories were seized and shipped to the USA, UK and the USSR.

The greatest prize was the German rocket scientists who, under Werner von Braun, helped the USA initiate a successful rocket program culminating in the Apollo missions to

the moon, and the USA's control of the high ground around the globe: space.

The Japanese cyclotrons, even though primarily meant for basic scientific research, were dismantled, cut into scrap, and dumped into the Tokyo harbor. The visiting USA press in Japan covered the event, and this led to outrage among many civilian scientific circles in the USA. In congressional testimony, this destruction was construed as an example of the unfitness of the military to control the scientific and industrial resources. As a result, the control of the USA scientific atomic resources was turned over to civilian control in the postwar period, leading to the encouragement of the development of civilian nuclear power generation in the USA as well as the western hemisphere.

The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki made the Japanese reticent about mentioning their own atomic weapons program, and adopting a pacifist attitude opposing nuclear weaponry of which they were the only human culture to suffer from. The various atomic Japanese and German laboratories were dismantled, and the scientists were pressured to direct their research away from atomic physics. The only nuclear research immediately after the war permitted in Japan was in medicine and biology studying the radiation effects on the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

### **3.12 DISCUSSION**

The answer to the question about whether or not Japan had the capability of developing a nuclear weapon during World War II is the same as for Germany: a definite negative. The significance of the effort came to resonate in the post-war period and will continue in the future. The fact that Germany was first intended for the use of nuclear weapons and that they were used first and ever on Japan, convinced both the Japanese and German cultures, to develop their countries as latent or threshold nuclear power states even though as there are 23 USA bases in Japan, with 11 in Okinawa alone.

There was a plan, declassified in the 1990's, to use chemical weapons on the Japanese prior to the invasion of Japan, and the USA stockpiled a lot of Lewsite and Mustard gas in California, Alaska, Australia, and other places. The USA generals objected to using the chemical warfare weapons, citing that it would put them in the same war crimes category as the Germans. The Geneva conventions outlawed the use of chemical weapons then. They were expecting 6.5 million Japanese casualties from the use of the poison gases.

Japan developed the third largest nuclear electrical energy production capability after the USA and France, and planned to produce over 40 percent of its electricity using nuclear power. After the earthquake-induced Fukushima station blackout and tsunami-induced flooding accident, that goal was restricted to the existing 20 percent. Significant amounts of reactor grade plutonium, unsuitable for weapons use, were created as a by-product of energy production, and Japan had 4.7 metric tonnes of reactor grade plutonium as of December 1955. Its intended use is as a Mixed Oxide (MOX) of uranium and plutonium to be used as fission reactors fuel.

Even though both Germany and Japan have forsaken the acquisition of nuclear weapons and cleverly avoided the unnecessary cost of maintaining a nuclear arsenal, they consciously developed nuclear technology by acquiring the knowledge, the scientific and technical personnel, the materials, the facilities, and the equipment, that would allow them to develop nuclear weaponry on a short notice should their cultures ever be threatened at some future time.

Their decision is supported by the recent era the world is witnessing in the inexorable retreat of the international passive “non-proliferation” regime in favor of the more active “counter-proliferation” USA-introduced regime. Critics of the new regime suggest that national cultures in possession of nuclear knowledge and capabilities become immune to invasion, nuclear as well as conventional attack, occupation and the seizure of their resources, assuring the future survival of their cultures, societies and ways of life; whereas those that missed the boat are doomed to fading away and eventual absorption, annihilation and oblivion by their aggressive competitors and opponents.

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## **APPENDIX I**

### **PEARL HARBOR: ROOSEVELT KNEW, A DAY THAT WILL LIVE IN INFAMY**

Justin Raimondo, December 7, 2012

Today is the seventy-first anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, an act that brought us into World War II, pushed a reluctant America onto the world stage, and ushered in the age of empire. The official history of that event is that it was a "sneak attack" precipitated by war-crazed Japanese militarists, and that the totally unprepared Americans – kept from arming themselves by evil "isolationists" in Congress and the Republican party – were caught completely by surprise.

There is, however, one big problem with this official history: it's a lie.

The truth is that, by the winter of 1941, the Americans had decrypted the various Japanese military and diplomatic codes: President Roosevelt, key members of his cabinet, and top military leaders, including Gen. George C. Marshall, US Army chief of staff, had access to this intelligence, which was intercepted, decoded, and transmitted directly to them. We know this because Robert Stinnett, in researching his seminal book, *Day of Deceit: The Truth About FDR and Pearl Harbor*, obtained heretofore unknown documents under the Freedom of Information Act, which trace the intelligence stream from interception stations throughout the Pacific to the 36 Americans cleared to look through what was, in effect, a window into Japanese plans and preparations for the Pearl Harbor attack. The President and 35 other Americans in top political and military circles knew where the attack was to take place, they knew when it was to take place, and they watched it unfold, step by step, with full knowledge of its import.

It is widely remarked that even on the eve of Pearl Harbor, the vast majority of the American people stubbornly resisted efforts to drag us into the European war. The Court Historians responsible for constructing the FDR cult would have had great difficulty denying the pattern of presidential prevarication that had us effectively fighting the Axis powers long before war was officially declared. So instead of taking on this impossible task, which would have been laughed out of court, they openly valorized him for his expertise at the art of deception. Thomas Bailey, who taught history at Stanford University for 40 years and authored *The American Pageant*, long a standard US history textbook, extolled the liar and his lie in his 1948 book, *The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy*:

"Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor. He was like the physician who must tell the patient lies for the patient's own good.... Because the masses are notoriously shortsighted and generally cannot see danger until it is at their throats, our statesmen are forced to deceive them into an awareness of their own long-run interests."

In a rave review of the Bailey volume on the front page of the *New York Times Book Review*, a young Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., hailed Bailey's "candor and good sense" in dealing with "the Roosevelt problem." "If he was going to get the people to move at all," wrote the future Official Historian of American liberalism, "he had to trick them."

Trick them he did. He also tricked the Japanese, who had no idea their codes had been broken, thus allowing the Americans access to their internal diplomatic deliberations as well as their military preparations after the peace proposals of then Prime Minister Prince Fumimaro Konoye had been decisively rejected by Washington. Konoye had proposed traveling to the United States on a secret mission to reach an accommodation



with Washington over China and Southeast Asia: Washington responded with a disdainful silence – and by leaking the Japanese proposal to the pro-war Herald-Tribune.

A few weeks later, due in no small part to this revelation, the Konoye government fell. Japan's War Party was in charge, and war preparations had begun on the Japanese side – followed step by step by our extensive intelligence-gathering operation, which intercepted and translated coded Japanese messages almost as soon as they were transmitted, drawing a comprehensive picture of Japan's war plans weeks before the Pearl Harbor assault.

As Stinnett shows, a Japanese spy at Pearl Harbor, attached to the Japanese consulate, was closely watched, his messages to his superiors decoded and dispatched to Washington, where they were eagerly read. The Japanese had mapped Pearl Harbor down to the last warship, and Ensign Takeo Yoshikawa's last message to his commander read:

"There are no barrage balloons at these places – and considerable opportunity is left for a surprise attack."

Could it get any clearer than that? Yet when US Admiral James O. Richardson objected to FDR's insistence on keeping the US fleet bottled up at Pearl Harbor, he was summarily fired.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson's diary for November 25, 1941 notes a meeting of FDR's top advisors:

"The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. 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."

Stinnett's book provides a wealth of detail, and cites hundreds of supporting documents, including those unearthed thanks to the Freedom of Information Act, which prove conclusively that the movements of the Japanese military as they made their way across the Pacific to Pearl Harbor were well-known to the Americans. The communications of Japan's chief of the naval general staff, Admiral Osami Nagano, from November 5 to December 2, "violated every security rule," writes Stinnett:

"[Admiral] Yamamoto would direct Vice Admiral Nagumo and the First Air Fleet to set sail from Hitokappu Bay on November 26, 1941 (Tokyo Time), proceed through the North Pacific, and refuel north of Hawaii (transmitted November 25, 1941); and finally, Nagano set the date for commencement of hostile action against the United States, the British Empire, and the Netherlands as December 8, 1941 (Tokyo Time; transmitted December 2, 1941). Based on these transmissions, President Roosevelt and General George Marshall predicted war with Japan would begin the first week of December. We would know even more about what

FDR and his chief advisors thought, but the Japanese radio messages remain incomplete, still cloaked in American censorship. Though the author has filed Freedom of Information requests for all communication data concerning Nagano's messages, the information has not been released."

Of course it hasn't, and for a very good reason: the myth of the "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor is a pillar of the "Greatest Generation" narrative that is the foundation of our interventionist foreign policy. That storyline goes something like this: we "saved" the world from the Axis powers, overcoming our "isolationist" inclinations, and went on to create a "world order" in which we established, forevermore, our duty and destiny to police the four corners of the earth and stand up for Goodness, Justice, and Fair Play. Now that we know how FDR lied us into that war, however, the picture becomes a bit more complicated – and certainly less favorable to an American president described by Gen. Douglas MacArthur as a man who "never told the truth where a lie would suffice."

It is a testament to the persistence of mythology in place of actual history that Michael Beschloss, an alleged historian, could tweet the following as the Pearl Harbor anniversary approached: "Friday is Pearl Harbor Day, and no, FDR didn't knowingly allow the attack to take place."

The Court Historians never rest, for their job is never done: since the truth is eventually going to come out, no matter how strenuously the cover-up is engineered and maintained, they are constantly seeking to marginalize truth-tellers like Stinnett and others, who labor to disinter the facts from the collection of self-serving fables we call "history."

That FDR's deception holds some lessons for our own day seems too obvious to even comment on, and I'll let my readers draw their own conclusions as to its meaning and applicability in the present context. I'll just note that after 70-plus years of government lies, the "news" that the President of the United States could lie us into a war – while sacrificing the American fleet at Pearl Harbor – isn't half as shocking as it was back when writers like John T. Flynn first made the accusation.

## **APPENDIX II**

### **THE TRUTH OF PEARL HARBOR, AN EDITORIAL**

Basil Brewer, Publisher, "The New Bedford (Massachusetts) Standard-Times", From the "Times-Herald, Washington, D. C.," Thursday, September 28, 1944, Reprinted in "Proceedings of Clarke Investigation," p.141, (Clarke) [1])

"Should the Pacific battle fleet have been at Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7? And, if it should not, why was it there, and by whose orders?"

Proof of a conspiracy by person or persons in the United States is frequently provided by the comment, "Well, it's a fact that the carriers were hustled out of Pearl just hours before the attack, and the old battleships were jammed in to become targets." To examine the facts surrounding the mystery of the missing carriers and the presence of so many battleships, we need to review the original documents and have the principle players tell the story themselves.

On Nov. 26th, 1941, Adm. Kimmel received a message from the Navy Dept. It advised that an agreement had been reached with the War Dept. concerning reinforcement of Wake and Midway.

The message started off, "In order to keep the planes of the Second Marine Aircraft Wing available for expeditionary use OPNAV has requested and Army has agreed to station twenty five Army pursuit planes at Midway and a similar number at Wake provided you consider this feasible and desirable. It will be necessary for you to transport these planes and ground crews from Oahu to these stations on an aircraft carrier." (Navy Court of Inquiry, p. 1177 (Navy)) Adm. Kimmel, upon learning that the Army planes were allowed to fly no more than 15 miles from land, decided to reinforce the two islands with naval aircraft.

Notice the phrase "provided you consider this feasible and desirable" is included. The trips would be made only if Kimmel thought them possible. When Adm. Kimmel was asked if he considered this message "a directive or a suggestion", he replied, "I considered it as a suggestion, ..." (Navy, p. 238) He reiterated that thought in Admiral Kimmel's Story, stating "...I would have rejected the Navy Department's suggestion to send carrier to Wake and Midway..."[2]

When asked about this Adm. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, testified, "The dispatch was not a directive of execution. It distinctly puts up a proposition and states, 'Provided you consider it feasible and desirable.'" (Navy, p. 32)

Adm. Kimmel responded to the Nov. 26th message on Nov. 28th. "...in this letter I also stated the arrangements I had made for handling material for planes and ground crews at Wake and Midway and of the fact that I was sending the Enterprise and the Lexington to Midway." (Navy, p. 239-240)

The Navy Court asked Adm. Kimmel if he felt the Nov. 26th dispatch was an order:

"120. Q. Do you consider the matter of stationing these twenty-five pursuit planes at Midway and a considerable number at Wake to be a directive or a suggestion? How do you consider that?"

A. I considered it as a suggestion, and in my letter of December 2, 1941, to the Chief of Naval Operations, which I request be read to the court and placed in evidence, you will see the steps that we took and that we recommended.

"129. Q. About how many days would you estimate for the trip to Wake?"

"A. My recollection is that Wake is some 2,000 miles from Pearl Harbor. Midway is about 1,100 miles. Halsey, in the Enterprise, left on the 28th of November and would have arrived back in Pearl Harbor on 7 December.

(Navy, 239)

The timing of the trips depended on several factors, first being logistics.

"...We had very limited facilities on these islands to maintain the planes at

that time. And that was the reason we had delayed sending the planes out there until the last minute. ..." (Navy, 239)

Also of importance was the need to not telegraph the absence of the carriers. Enterprise was not doing anything surprising by sailing on the 28th, this was her scheduled departure date as given in the quarterly employment schedules. Those schedules had been promulgated in August and their accessibility by unauthorized persons was a question raised during the Investigations. Copies of the schedules are printed in the Investigations and show that Enterprise was indeed due to be out Nov. 28th through Dec. 5th, then due for 10 days of Upkeep in Pearl. (Exhibits of the Joint Committee, p. 2517 (Exhibits))

36. Q. Admiral, do you feel that the dispatching of Marine planes to Wake was a consequence of this dispatch that you have had before you or had that been decided before the dispatch arrived?

A. I believe it was precipitated by this dispatch and the fact that the air fields were just ready at that time. In other words, it was a hurry-up move. One more reason for that was the fact that my task force was due to proceed to sea on the 28th of November and in order not to violate security, they wanted to make it appear a perfectly natural move.

36. Q. In other words, under the published employment schedules, you were due to go out on the 28th?

A. Exactly.

(Proceedings of the Hart Inquiry, page 323 (Hart))

Lexington was due to sail on the 5th, but still be in the immediate area. Kimmel understood the principle of concentration of forces, but this was offset by the need to reinforce the outlying bases. Kimmel discussed the requirements of War Plan Rainbow 5 on his command:

72. Q. You mean that you were not to undertake offensive operations after a declaration of war or start of war?

A. To amplify: Our plan called for reconnaissance, including attacks in force, on Marshall positions. We felt that we should not move within easy striking distance where we might be sighted and possibly disturb any remote chance that still remained of averting war. As a consequence, our forces were held in close proximity to Hawaii where they could be kept fully fueled and ready to move toward the Marshalls. Two groups, each of which included a carrier that had been carrying aircraft reinforcements to Wake and to Midway, were exceptions. They were to return to Pearl Harbor as soon as possible after completing their assigned task. (Hart, 257)

Captain Vincent R. Murphy, Assistant to the War Plans Officer on Admiral Kimmel's staff told the Hart Inquiry:

“That idea, as well as I recall, was to get Admiral Halsey's forces, which had been at Wake and which were or would be, out of fuel, back into Pearl Harbor and get them fueled ready to conduct the first operation of the War Plans. Admiral Brown's force was then at Johnston Island, as I recall, getting ready to conduct a practice landing operation. Another force under Admiral Newton, I think it was a task group under Admiral Brown, was delivering planes, or on the way to deliver planes at Midway. The general plan was to get all those ships back and fueled and proceed with our War Plans. (Hart, p. 322)”

With Saratoga coming out of overhaul at Seattle, and returning to Pearl via San Diego, was important was to cover the fact that the carriers on-hand were going somewhere with a load of fighters. Unless they was going to Guam or the Philippines there were really only two places they would take those planes, Wake or Midway. This bit of information was not something to hand to the (potential) enemy, if it could be avoided.

The need for secrecy in the movement of major units was known by the Task Force Commanders. Adm. Halsey was questioned about the "mysterious" nature of his trip to Wake. He stated that security was a consideration, as was the hazardous nature of his trip:

"The Marine planes were finally selected and for security reasons it was necessary to get those planes on board the Enterprise at sea the next day without anyone knowing where they [298] were going. This required a tremendous amount of planning and subterfuge before we hit on a scheme for flying these people aboard. We told them they were going out for two or three days' maneuvers. At the same time, to show the Army that it was possible to fly Army fighter planes off carriers, it was arranged to take two Army fighter planes aboard from the dock and fly them of at sea to land in Honolulu. This again required much planning so as not to excite people and break the security."

“Admiral Standley: You were asked a question in the beginning of your statement as to why radio silence. Would you please answer that, the reason for radio silence?”

“Admiral Halsey: Because we were on a very secret mission, to land these Marine fighting planes on Wake with the then possible enemy learning of it. I might say, the results—I saw a report the other day of what those 12 fighting planes accomplished on Wake, and despite the fact there was no Radar on Wake—it hadn't been landed—it was little short of remarkable.”

“Admiral Standley: Then, then the reason for radio silence was that you suspected or you thought it possible that there might be a Japanese attack?”

“Admiral Halsey: Exactly.” (Proceedings of the Roberts Commission, pp. 619-620 (Roberts))

Halsey also testified that he had given the orders that resulted in three of the eight battleships being in port that morning. “Immediately after clearing the channel, I diverted the battleships (Nevada, Oklahoma, and Arizona)” (Hart, 323-324) and those ships returned to Pearl Harbor at the time Enterprise was originally due to return, Dec. 6th. No Washington plan to have all the old and “expendable” battleships in port to be sacrificed would have been possible without Halsey’s cooperation.

The carriers were thus “safely” out of port, but were they safe? According to Adm. Kimmel, no:

“236 Q. Would not the sending of a carrier over 2,000 miles to the westward, within 600 miles of a Japanese base as proposed by these dispatches from both CNO and the War Department, have been a rather dangerous operation if war was expected immediately?”

“A. Yes, and when we sent Enterprise to the westward—this affected my estimate—that is, to Wake, we covered our advance by a couple of squadrons of patrol planes operating between Pearl, Johnston, Midway and Wake.” (Hart, 266-267)

Adm. Newton led the force to Midway, departing on Dec. 5th. His orders were similar to Halsey's. In his book on this topic Edwin P. Layton, Adm. Kimmel's Intelligence office, states:

“...Rear Admiral John H. Newton who sailed in the morning in Chicago to provide the heavy cruiser escort for carrier Lexington in Task Force 12. The mission of this task force was to ferry the marine fighter reinforcements to Midway and carry out extensive reconnaissance sweeps of the northwestern approaches to the Hawaiian Islands....”

As the Kido Butai was approaching the Hawaiian Islands from the north and, it seems strange that anyone would send a carrier into that area to be safely out of the way of that fleet. Testimony of Adm. Brown:

“30. Q. Do you recall having any particular concern over the fact that the mission was advancing your force over a thousand miles toward Japan?”

“A. I considered that I was going into waters that had not been frequented by our ships for some time and, as there might be more danger from submarines than we had considered in the past, I set a speed of 17 knots in day light and zig-zagged. Also, I had scouting flights made by planes to cover our advance.” (Roberts, p. 343)

The need for the undetected absence of the carriers is even clearer when we

consider that Toshikawa Hideo was making regular reports to Japan regarding the ships in port, and dates of sailings and returns. He made a "ships in port" report on the 6th, indicating no carriers in the harbor. This message was in the PA-K2 code and translated on Dec. 8th by the Army. We could speculate that, given the knowledge that Pearl Harbor was being watched, we could have "baited the trap" with the carriers, and actually hustled them out late on the 6th, rather than risking the enemy's calling the whole thing off because the carriers were gone. This presupposes that someone would have known about the attack in the first place.

"The Chairman: In the event of a hostile air attack, the effort would be to sortie the battleships?"

"Admiral Halsey: A great deal depends, sir. We might have had a very much worse catastrophe here if these vessels had been in the process of sortieing when this happened. For instance, my ship, my task force had planned to be off Pearl Harbor about seven o'clock in the morning, and by the grace of God we had bad weather out there that held us up and I could not have gotten in until about four o'clock in the afternoon.

"It might have happened that I would be in the middle of the channel when this thing happened, and that would have been very serious, because we would have been sunk, and then we would have had something.

"Admiral Reeves. What is your flagship, Admiral?"

"Admiral Halsey. The USS Enterprise.

"The Chairman. The USS Enterprise, a carrier.

"Admiral Halsey. Yes." (Roberts, p. )

The objection may still be made that it doesn't matter why the carriers were out of port, they were still out of harm's way. For this to be true we would have to assume that the carriers were in no way going to be exposed to possible damage from enemy action. Did the admirals think so? :

"44. Q. As regards your own task force, upon putting to sea, did you institute any security measures advanced over those which had been in effect while at sea for some time previously?"

A. Immediately on clearing the channel, I diverted the battleships, three in number, cruisers and destroyers, under Admirals Draemel and Kidd, and told them to carry out exercises in a certain area. I then headed West with the remainder of my task force. As soon as we were out of sight of the remainder of the task force, I sent a signal (324) to put warheads in all

torpedoes; to regard any submarine seen as hostile and sink it; armed the planes with bombs; gave orders to shoot down any plane seen in the air that was not known to be one of our own. We went into Condition 3, as I remember it, and kept that the entire way out until we got close to Wake and then I went into Condition 2. In other words, I tried to make full preparations for combat. I also ordered ready ammunition for all guns. I might add one other thing. I carried out morning and afternoon searches to three hundred miles, as I remember it, for any sign of hostile shipping. I kept a combat patrol over the ships at certain times. (HART, 323)”

This would further require us to believe that Adm. William Halsey would have heard about the attacks on so many U.S., British and Netherlands’ territories and not wish to take any action. It is far more likely that Halsey would have raised Caine about such orders during the several inquiries that followed.

What actually happened was that the carriers were ordered to seek out and engage the enemy, at odds of 1-to-6. Adm. Brown testified:

“About 1000 or 1100 that morning, I received a message from Admiral Halsey to the effect that I was to assume enemy carriers about 200 miles South of Oahu at that time and retiring on the Marshalls. My orders were to intercept and destroy. I, thereupon, changed course to take me to the east- (pg. 345) ward of Johnston Island and attempt, that afternoon, to contact enemy by planes and to make an attack by planes that afternoon in order to slow him down so that I could make physical contact during the night or the following day. (Navy, 344-345)”

Adm. Halsey was closer to the Islands and thus in a better position to engage. Unfortunately (or perhaps not unfortunately) Hawaiian naval staff analysts made an assumption based on radio direction finding data that the enemy forces were south of the Island, not north. Therefore, Enterprise was directed to sail south by Adm. Kimmel. Halsey thought they were actually to the north, but followed orders.

Every pertinent log, message, or other document shows that Enterprise and Lexington were ordered to seek out and engage the enemy forces. These carriers were separated by a considerable distance and unable to support each other. They would have faced considerable opposition and in all likelihood would not have survived the encounters, but they were ordered to find the enemy and they made determined efforts to do so.

The accompanying map shows the course of the Kido Butai, Enterprise Group and Lexington Group. It a big ocean and the relative locations of each US group would render it difficult, if not impossible to support the other if an emergency arose. The carriers were escorted by a few cruisers and some destroyers. If one or both of these carriers had encountered the six carriers of the Japanese Striking Force the results would have been perfectly predictable. The thought of losing William Halsey in the first week of the fighting should send a chill through any serious student of the Pacific War. No man is irreplaceable, but some men are priceless.

To recap the facts: Enterprise and Lexington were out of port on Dec. 7th under orders of Adm. Kimmel, not anyone in Washington D.C. Enterprise would have made it



back into port on Dec. 5th if the weather hadn't delayed her. No human being prevented her from being there on the 7th. It was widely known that she was scheduled to be there on that date. After the start of hostilities both carriers were directed to locate and engage the enemy, despite facing unknown odds. It cannot be said, then that the carriers were "safely out of port" if they are just going to be sent to look for trouble when the shooting starts.

Given the above information it is clear that there was no "grand strategy" to save the carriers by someone who "knew" that the next war would be dominated by flat-tops. It is also clear that there were eight "old and useless" battleships in Pearl that day because one of our most respected and talented admiral ordered three of them to proceed under normal schedule and return to harbor on the 6th. And finally, it is also clear that the carriers, instead of being wrapped in cotton and stashed away in a box like fragile Christmas ornaments, were being used as warships with orders to seek, locate and destroy. If there was any conspiracy surrounding Pearl Harbor it did not include carrier conservation in its plans.

[1] Sources will be cited by name and page number. After the first use they will be mentioned by the one word name in parentheses.

[2] "Admiral Kimmel's Story, Pearl Harbor: Roosevelt and the Coming of the War," Third Edition, Edited by George M. Waller, D. C. Heath and Co., Lexington, Massachusetts, 1976, p. 226.

### **APPENDIX III**

#### **WAS HIROSHIMA NECESSARY? WHY THE ATOMIC BOMBINGS COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED**

Mark Weber, "The Journal of Historical Review," Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 4-11, May-June 1997.

On August 6, 1945, the world dramatically entered the atomic age: without either warning or precedent, an American plane dropped a single nuclear bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The explosion utterly destroyed more than four square miles of the city center. About 90,000 people were killed immediately; another 40,000 were injured, many of whom died in protracted agony from radiation sickness. Three days later, a second atomic strike on the city of Nagasaki killed some 37,000 people and injured another 43,000. Together the two bombs eventually killed an estimated 200,000 Japanese civilians.

Between the two bombings, Soviet Russia joined the United States in war against Japan. Under strong US prodding, Stalin broke his regime's 1941 non-aggression treaty with Tokyo. On the same day that Nagasaki was destroyed, Soviet troops began pouring into Manchuria, overwhelming Japanese forces there. Although Soviet participation did little or nothing to change the military outcome of the war, Moscow benefitted enormously from joining the conflict.

In a broadcast from Tokyo the next day, August 10, the Japanese government announced its readiness to accept the joint American-British "unconditional surrender" declaration of Potsdam, "with the understanding that the said declaration does not

compromise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty as a Sovereign Ruler."

A day later came the American reply, which included these words: "From the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers." Finally, on August 14, the Japanese formally accepted the provisions of the Potsdam declaration, and a "cease fire" was announced. On September 2, Japanese envoys signed the instrument of surrender aboard the US battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay.

## **A Beaten Country**

Apart from the moral questions involved, were the atomic bombings militarily necessary? By any rational yardstick, they were not. Japan already had been defeated militarily by June 1945. Almost nothing was left of the once mighty Imperial Navy, and Japan's air force had been all but totally destroyed. Against only token opposition, American war planes ranged at will over the country, and US bombers rained down devastation on her cities, steadily reducing them to rubble.

What was left of Japan's factories and workshops struggled fitfully to turn out weapons and other goods from inadequate raw materials. (Oil supplies had not been available since April.) By July about a quarter of all the houses in Japan had been destroyed, and her transportation system was near collapse. Food had become so scarce that most Japanese were subsisting on a sub-starvation diet.

On the night of March 9-10, 1945, a wave of 300 American bombers struck Tokyo, killing 100,000 people. Dropping nearly 1,700 tons of bombs, the war planes ravaged much of the capital city, completely burning out 16 square miles and destroying a quarter of a million structures. A million residents were left homeless.

On May 23, eleven weeks later, came the greatest air raid of the Pacific War, when 520 giant B-29 "Super-fortress" bombers unleashed 4,500 tons of incendiary bombs on the heart of the already battered Japanese capital. Generating gale-force winds, the exploding incendiaries obliterated Tokyo's commercial center and railway yards, and consumed the Ginza entertainment district. Two days later, on May 25, a second strike of 502 "Super-fortress" planes roared low over Tokyo, raining down some 4,000 tons of explosives. Together these two B-29 raids destroyed 56 square miles of the Japanese capital.

Even before the Hiroshima attack, American air force General Curtis Le May boasted that American bombers were "driving them [Japanese] back to the stone age." Henry H. ("Hap") Arnold, commanding General of the Army air forces, declared in his 1949 memoirs: "It always appeared to us, atomic bomb or no atomic bomb, the Japanese were already on the verge of collapse." This was confirmed by former Japanese prime-minister Fumimaro Konoye, who said: "Fundamentally, the thing that brought about the determination to make peace was the prolonged bombing by the B-29s."

## **Japan Seeks Peace**

Months before the end of the war, Japan's leaders recognized that defeat was inevitable. In April 1945 a new government headed by Kantaro Suzuki took office with the mission of ending the war. When Germany capitulated in early May, the Japanese

understood that the British and Americans would now direct the full fury of their awesome military power exclusively against them.

American officials, having long since broken Japan's secret codes, knew from intercepted messages that the country's leaders were seeking to end the war on terms as favorable as possible. Details of these efforts were known from decoded secret communications between the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo and Japanese diplomats abroad.

In his 1965 study, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (pp. 107, 108), historian Gar Alperovitz writes:

“Although Japanese peace feelers had been sent out as early as September 1944 (and [China's] Chiang Kai-shek had been approached regarding surrender possibilities in December 1944), the real effort to end the war began in the spring of 1945. This effort stressed the role of the Soviet Union ...”

In mid-April [1945] the [US] Joint Intelligence Committee reported that Japanese leaders were looking for a way to modify the surrender terms to end the war. The State Department was convinced the Emperor was actively seeking a way to stop the fighting.

### **A Secret Memorandum**

It was only after the war that the American public learned about Japan's efforts to bring the conflict to an end. Chicago Tribune reporter Walter Trohan, for example, was obliged by wartime censorship to withhold for seven months one of the most important stories of the war.

In an article that finally appeared August 19, 1945, on the front pages of the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Times-Herald, Trohan revealed that on January 20, 1945, two days prior to his departure for the Yalta meeting with Stalin and Churchill, President Roosevelt received a 40-page memorandum from General Douglas MacArthur outlining five separate surrender overtures from high-level Japanese officials. (The complete text of Trohan's article is in the Winter 1985-86 Journal, pp. 508-512.)

This memo showed that the Japanese were offering surrender terms virtually identical to the ones ultimately accepted by the Americans at the formal surrender ceremony on September 2 -- that is, complete surrender of everything but the person of the Emperor. Specifically, the terms of these peace overtures included:

- Complete surrender of all Japanese forces and arms, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.
- Occupation of Japan and its possessions by Allied troops under American direction.
- Japanese relinquishment of all territory seized during the war, as well as Manchuria, Korea and Taiwan.
- Regulation of Japanese industry to halt production of any weapons and other tools of war.
- Release of all prisoners of war and internees.
- Surrender of designated war criminals.

Is this memorandum authentic? It was supposedly leaked to Trohan by Admiral

William D. Leahy, presidential Chief of Staff. (See: M. Rothbard in A. Goddard, ed., Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader [1968], pp. 327f.) Historian Harry Elmer Barnes has related (in "Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe," National Review, May 10, 1958):

“The authenticity of the Trohan article was never challenged by the White House or the State Department, and for very good reason. After General MacArthur returned from Korea in 1951, his neighbor in the Waldorf Towers, former President Herbert Hoover, took the Trohan article to General MacArthur and the latter confirmed its accuracy in every detail and without qualification.”

## **Peace Overtures**

In April and May 1945, Japan made three attempts through neutral Sweden and Portugal to bring the war to a peaceful end. On April 7, acting Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu met with Swedish ambassador Widon Bagge in Tokyo, asking him "to ascertain what peace terms the United States and Britain had in mind." But he emphasized that unconditional surrender was unacceptable, and that "the Emperor must not be touched." Bagge relayed the message to the United States, but Secretary of State Stettinius told the US Ambassador in Sweden to "show no interest or take any initiative in pursuit of the matter." Similar Japanese peace signals through Portugal, on May 7, and again through Sweden, on the 10th, proved similarly fruitless.

By mid-June, six members of Japan's Supreme War Council had secretly charged Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo with the task of approaching Soviet Russia's leaders "with a view to terminating the war if possible by September." On June 22 the Emperor called a meeting of the Supreme War Council, which included the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the leading military figures. "We have heard enough of this determination of yours to fight to the last soldiers," said Emperor Hirohito. "We wish that you, leaders of Japan, will strive now to study the ways and the means to conclude the war. In doing so, try not to be bound by the decisions you have made in the past."

By early July the US had intercepted messages from Togo to the Japanese ambassador in Moscow, Naotake Sato, showing that the Emperor himself was taking a personal hand in the peace effort, and had directed that the Soviet Union be asked to help end the war. US officials also knew that the key obstacle to ending the war was American insistence on "unconditional surrender," a demand that precluded any negotiations. The Japanese were willing to accept nearly everything, except turning over their semi-divine Emperor. Heir of a 2,600-year-old dynasty, Hirohito was regarded by his people as a "living god" who personified the nation. (Until the August 15 radio broadcast of his surrender announcement, the Japanese people had never heard his voice.) Japanese particularly feared that the Americans would humiliate the Emperor, and even execute him as a war criminal.

On July 12, Hirohito summoned Fumimaro Konoye, who had served as prime minister in 1940-41. Explaining that "it will be necessary to terminate the war without delay," the Emperor said that he wished Konoye to secure peace with the Americans and British through the Soviets. As Prince Konoye later recalled, the Emperor instructed him "to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity."

The next day, July 13, Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo wired ambassador Naotake Sato in Moscow: "See [Soviet foreign minister] Molotov before his departure for Potsdam ... Convey His Majesty's strong desire to secure a termination of the war ... Unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace ..."

On July 17, another intercepted Japanese message revealed that although Japan's leaders felt that the unconditional surrender formula involved an unacceptable dishonor, they were convinced that "the demands of the times" made Soviet mediation to terminate the war absolutely essential. Further diplomatic messages indicated that the only condition asked by the Japanese was preservation of "our form of government." The only "difficult point," a July 25 message disclosed, "is the ... formality of unconditional surrender."

Summarizing the messages between Togo and Sato, US naval intelligence said that Japan's leaders, "though still balking at the term unconditional surrender," recognized that the war was lost, and had reached the point where they have "no objection to the restoration of peace on the basis of the [1941] Atlantic Charter." These messages, said Assistant Secretary of the Navy Lewis Strauss, "indeed stipulated only that the integrity of the Japanese Royal Family be preserved."

Navy Secretary James Forrestal termed the intercepted messages "real evidence of a Japanese desire to get out of the war." "With the interception of these messages," notes historian Alperovitz (p. 177), "there could no longer be any real doubt as to the Japanese intentions; the maneuvers were overt and explicit and, most of all, official acts. Koichi Kido, Japan's Lord Privy Seal and a close advisor to the Emperor, later affirmed: "Our decision to seek a way out of this war, was made in early June before any atomic bomb had been dropped and Russia had not entered the war. It was already our decision."

In spite of this, on July 26 the leaders of the United States and Britain issued the Potsdam declaration, which included this grim ultimatum: "We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide proper and adequate assurance of good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

Commenting on this draconian either-or proclamation, British historian J.F.C. Fuller wrote: "Not a word was said about the Emperor, because it would be unacceptable to the propaganda-fed American masses." (*A Military History of the Western World* [1987], p. 675.)

America's leaders understood Japan's desperate position: the Japanese were willing to end the war on any terms, as long as the Emperor was not molested. If the US leadership had not insisted on unconditional surrender -- that is, if they had made clear a willingness to permit the Emperor to remain in place -- the Japanese very likely would have surrendered immediately, thus saving many thousands of lives.

The sad irony is that, as it actually turned out, the American leaders decided anyway to retain the Emperor as a symbol of authority and continuity. They realized, correctly, that Hirohito was useful as a figurehead prop for their own occupation authority in postwar Japan.

## **Justifications**

President Truman steadfastly defended his use of the atomic bomb, claiming that it "saved millions of lives" by bringing the war to a quick end. Justifying his decision, he

went so far as to declare: "The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

This was a preposterous statement. In fact, almost all of the victims were civilians, and the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (issued in 1946) stated in its official report: "Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets because of their concentration of activities and population."

If the atomic bomb was dropped to impress the Japanese leaders with the immense destructive power of a new weapon, this could have been accomplished by deploying it on an isolated military base. It was not necessary to destroy a large city. And whatever the justification for the Hiroshima blast, it is much more difficult to defend the second bombing of Nagasaki.

All the same, most Americans accepted, and continue to accept, the official justifications for the bombings. Accustomed to crude propagandistic portrayals of the "Japs" as virtually subhuman beasts, most Americans in 1945 heartily welcomed any new weapon that would wipe out more of the detested Asians, and help avenge the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. For the young Americans who were fighting the Japanese in bitter combat, the attitude was "Thank God for the atom bomb." Almost to a man, they were grateful for a weapon whose deployment seemed to end the war and thus allow them to return home.

After the July 1943 firestorm destruction of Hamburg, the mid-February 1945 holocaust of Dresden, and the fire-bombings of Tokyo and other Japanese cities, America's leaders -- as US Army General Leslie Groves later commented -- "were generally inured to the mass killing of civilians." For President Harry Truman, the killing of tens of thousands of Japanese civilians was simply not a consideration in his decision to use the atom bomb.

## **Critical Voices**

Amid the general clamor of enthusiasm, there were some who had grave misgivings. "We are the inheritors to the mantle of Genghis Khan," wrote New York Times editorial writer Hanson Baldwin, "and of all those in history who have justified the use of utter ruthlessness in war." Norman Thomas called Nagasaki "the greatest single atrocity of a very cruel war." Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the President, was similarly appalled.

A leading voice of American Protestantism, *Christian Century*, strongly condemned the bombings. An editorial entitled "America's Atomic Atrocity" in the issue of August 29, 1945, told readers:

“The atomic bomb was used at a time when Japan's navy was sunk, her air force virtually destroyed, her homeland surrounded, her supplies cut off, and our forces poised for the final stroke ... Our leaders seem not to have weighed the moral considerations involved. No sooner was the bomb ready than it was rushed to the front and dropped on two helpless cities ... The atomic bomb can fairly be said to have struck Christianity itself ... The churches of America must dissociate themselves and their faith from this inhuman and reckless act of the American Government.”

A leading American Catholic voice, *Commonweal*, took a similar view. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the magazine editorialized, "are names for American guilt and shame."

Pope Pius XII likewise condemned the bombings, expressing a view in keeping with the traditional Roman Catholic position that "every act of war directed to the indiscriminate destruction of whole cities or vast areas with their inhabitants is a crime against God and man." The Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* commented in its August 7, 1945, issue: "This war provides a catastrophic conclusion. Incredibly this destructive weapon remains as a temptation for posterity, which, we know by bitter experience, learns so little from history."

### **Authoritative Voices of Dissent**

American leaders who were in a position to know the facts did not believe, either at the time or later, that the atomic bombings were needed to end the war.

When he was informed in mid-July 1945 by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson of the decision to use the atomic bomb, General Dwight Eisenhower was deeply troubled. He disclosed his strong reservations about using the new weapon in his 1963 memoir, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (pp. 312-313):

"During his [Stimson's] recitation of the relevant facts, I had been conscious of a feeling of depression and so I voiced to him my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of "face.""

"The Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing ... I hated to see our country be the first to use such a weapon," Eisenhower said in 1963.

Shortly after "V-J Day," the end of the Pacific war, Brig. General Bonnie Fellers summed up in a memo for General MacArthur: "Neither the atomic bombing nor the entry of the Soviet Union into the war forced Japan's unconditional surrender. She was defeated before either these events took place."

Similarly, Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to presidents Roosevelt and Truman, later commented:

"It is my opinion that the use of the barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan ... The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons ... My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I

was not taught to make war in that fashion, and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children.”

If the United States had been willing to wait, said Admiral Ernest King, US Chief of Naval Operations, "the effective naval blockade would, in the course of time, have starved the Japanese into submission through lack of oil, rice, medicines, and other essential materials."

Leo Szilard, a Hungarian-born scientist who played a major role in the development of the atomic bomb, argued against its use. "Japan was essentially defeated," he said, and "it would be wrong to attack its cities with atomic bombs as if atomic bombs were simply another military weapon." In a 1960 magazine article, Szilard wrote: "If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."

### **US Strategic Bombing Survey Verdict**

After studying this matter in great detail, the United States Strategic Bombing Survey rejected the notion that Japan gave up because of the atomic bombings. In its authoritative 1946 report, the Survey concluded:

“The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender. The Emperor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the Navy Minister had decided as early as May of 1945 that the war should be ended even if it meant acceptance of defeat on allied terms ...”

The mission of the Suzuki government, appointed 7 April 1945, was to make peace. An appearance of negotiating for terms less onerous than unconditional surrender was maintained in order to contain the military and bureaucratic elements still determined on a final Bushido defense, and perhaps even more importantly to obtain freedom to create peace with a minimum of personal danger and internal obstruction. It seems clear, however, that in extremis the peacemakers would have peace, and peace on any terms. This was the gist of advice given to Hirohito by the Jushin in February, the declared conclusion of Kido in April, the underlying reason for Koiso's fall in April, the specific injunction of the Emperor to Suzuki on becoming premier which was known to all members of his cabinet.

Negotiations for Russia to intercede began the forepart of May 1945 in both Tokyo and Moscow. Konoye, the intended emissary to the Soviets, stated to the Survey that while ostensibly he was to negotiate, he received direct and secret instructions from the Emperor to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity.

It seems clear ... that air supremacy and its later exploitation over Japan proper was the major factor which determined the timing of Japan's surrender and obviated any need for invasion.

Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31



December 1945 and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945 [the date of the planned American invasion], Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.

### **Historians' Views**

In a 1986 study, historian and journalist Edwin P. Hoyt nailed the "great myth, perpetuated by well-meaning people throughout the world," that "the atomic bomb caused the surrender of Japan." In *Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict* (p. 420), he explained:

“The fact is that as far as the Japanese militarists were concerned, the atomic bomb was just another weapon. The two atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were icing on the cake, and did not do as much damage as the fire-bombings of Japanese cities. The B-29 fire-bombing campaign had brought the destruction of 3,100,000 homes, leaving 15 million people homeless, and killing about a million of them. It was the ruthless firebombing, and Hirohito's realization that if necessary the Allies would completely destroy Japan and kill every Japanese to achieve "unconditional surrender" that persuaded him to the decision to end the war. The atomic bomb is indeed a fearsome weapon, but it was not the cause of Japan's surrender, even though the myth persists even to this day.”

In a trenchant new book, *The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb* (Praeger, 1996), historian Dennis D. Wainstock concludes that the bombings were not only unnecessary, but were based on a vengeful policy that actually harmed American interests. He writes (pp. 124, 132):

“By April 1945, Japan's leaders realized that the war was lost. Their main stumbling block to surrender was the United States' insistence on unconditional surrender. They specifically needed to know whether the United States would allow Hirohito to remain on the throne. They feared that the United States would depose him, try him as a war criminal, or even execute him ...”

Unconditional surrender was a policy of revenge, and it hurt America's national self-interest. It prolonged the war in both Europe and East Asia, and it helped to expand Soviet power in those areas.

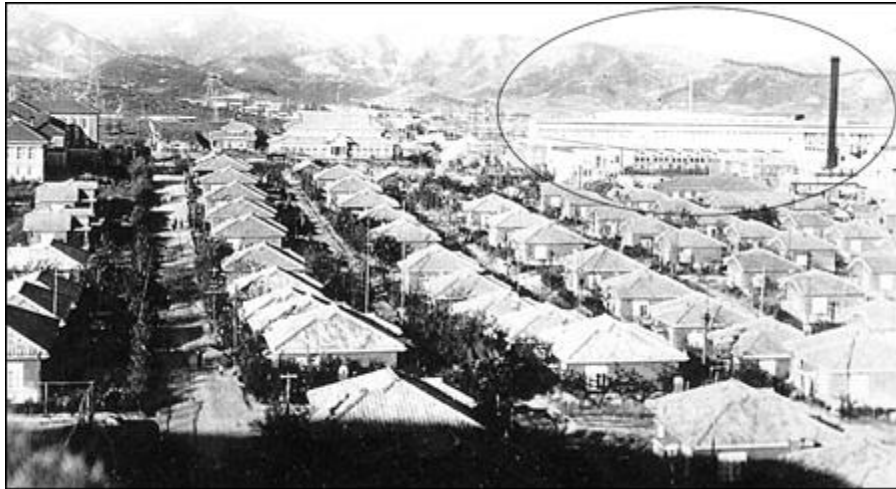
General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of US Army forces in the Pacific, stated on numerous occasions before his death that the atomic bomb was completely unnecessary from a military point of view: "My staff was unanimous in believing that Japan was on the point of collapse and surrender."

General Curtis Le May, who had pioneered precision bombing of Germany and Japan (and who later headed the Strategic Air Command and served as Air Force chief of staff), put it most succinctly: "The atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war."

## APPENDIX IV

### Japan Tested Atomic Bomb in NK Before End of WWII?

Robert Neff,  
The Korea Times, December 4, 2009



A debate is still under way as to whether Japan tested a nuclear bomb in Korea during the Second World War. This photograph depicts the area, previously called Konan, but now known as Hamheung, in northeast North Korea. This is where the bomb is said to have been built. More specifically, in the factories seen in the top right hand corner of this photo. The bomb is also supposed to have been tested in the surrounding area, on the morning of August 12, 1945. / Courtesy of Robert Neff.

It is common knowledge that on October 9, 2006 North Korea tested a small nuclear bomb. But there is debate as to whether or not this was the first atomic bomb test done in Korea. Ever since the end of World War II there have been rumors that Japan, just days before its surrender, tested a small atomic bomb off the coast of modern Hamheung.

Allegedly, on the evening of August 11, 1945, a number of ancient ships, junks and fishing boats were anchored near a small inlet by the Japanese. Just before dawn on August 12, a remote controlled launch carrying the atomic bomb known as "genzai bakudan" (greatest fighter), slowly made its way through the assembled fleet and beached itself.

Nearly twenty miles away, observers wearing welders' glasses were blinded by the bomb's terrific blast. "The ball of fire was estimated to be 1,000 yards in diameter. A multicolored cloud of vapors boiled towards the heavens then mushroomed in the stratosphere. The churn of water and vapor obscured the vessels directly under the burst. Ships and junks on the fringe burned fiercely at anchor. When the atmosphere cleared slightly the observers could detect several vessels had vanished."

David Snell, an American journalist, broke the story and published his article on October 2, 1946 in the Atlanta Constitution. The article was based primarily on an

interview Snell had with Captain Tsetusuo Wakabayashi (pseudonym), a Japanese counter-intelligence officer, near a Shinto shrine overlooking Seoul (probably near present day Namsan Tower).

This account has been controversial since it was first published and continues to remain the subject of books and documentaries. Few question Snell's integrity as a journalist and, as an investigator attached to the 24th Criminal Investigation Department in Seoul, he clearly had access to Japanese officers and scientists but there are many inaccuracies in his account.

The 2002 discovery of blueprints for a 20-kiloton bomb clearly indicates that the Japanese were trying to develop an atomic weapon at the end of the war. But how close were they?

Wakabayashi claimed the Japanese atomic bomb project was moved from Japan to Hamheung, at the time the largest industrial center in East Asia, following bombing attacks by American B-29 bombers in April 1945. "We lost three months in the transfer," declared Wakabayashi. "We would have had genzai bakudan three months earlier if it had not been for the B-29." Recent accounts support Wakabayashi's account of the damage done by the B-29s to the research center in Japan but disagree on how close atomic bomb was to production.

According to Tatsusaburo Suzuki, a Japanese physicist who served as a lieutenant colonel in the Japanese army during World War II: "We believed in 1945 that we could build a bomb but we had to work much harder...I was confident at the time we could have built a bomb if we had better equipment."

Nakane Ryohei who worked on enriching uranium for Japan's atomic bomb efforts said, "We were carrying out our research so leisurely. None of us thought we would finish before the war ended."

Wakabayashi claimed that the Japanese, shortly after successfully testing genzai bakudan, realized that the Russians would soon occupy Hamheung and tried to hide or erase the project. They smashed much of the machinery, burned documents and destroyed "several partially completed genzai bakudan." They also dynamited shut the cave entrance leading into the underground bunker that served as their secret laboratory.

The Russians advanced so quickly that they captured seven key scientists and immediately began to torture them by thrusting burning slivers under their fingertips and pouring water into their nasal passages. One scientist managed to escape to the American zone but the others were reportedly taken back to Moscow where they were further tortured for their secrets.

Many modern researchers find fault with Wakabayashi's claims including Walter E. Grunden who compared the American plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee (93 square miles with 82,000 personnel all dedicated to the production of U-235) to Hamheung, a mere 15 square miles, which at its peak probably had about 45,000 personnel, many of them "Korean laborers, conscripted students, convicts, and prisoners of war," who were primarily involved in "manufacturing synthetic fuel, explosives, and industrial chemicals." Grunden also claims that there were only five buildings in Hamheung that the United States was unsure of their purpose.

There were, however, reports in October 1950 that the South Korean army captured a large underground bunker and complex in the Hamheung area believed to be a Russian uranium processing plant but the next month the United States military refuted the story.

Further damning is Wakabayashi's claim that the Russians captured Hamheung only a day or so following the test. The Russian actually occupied the city on August 22 about ten days after the test.

Wakabayashi claimed that seven unnamed leading Japanese scientists who helped build the bomb were captured and six of them were sent to Moscow but Grunden names them. According to him they were "Oishi Takeo, Wakabayashi Tadashi, Takahashi Rikizo, Sato Sei, Fukuda Koken and Tsuchida Meiro, none were physicists, but some were chemists" and were under the command of Captain Hasegawa Hideo.

By September 29 they were all arrested and charged with the destruction of Russian government property and eventually found guilty and were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor in Siberia for 5 to 7 years.

According to one American newspaper, the rapid Russian seizure of the "security shrouded industrial development gnawed at the curiosity of America's top intelligence officials." When Edwin Pauley, a member of the War Reparations Committee, inspected northern Korea he was restricted to certain areas and was under constant Russian supervision. Even the Red Cross was not allowed to travel into the Hamheung area.

Snell claimed that the Russians were so concerned with maintaining secrecy in the region that on August 29, 1945, they shot down an American B-29 attempting to drop provisions and medical supplies at an allied prisoner of war camp near the city. They later claimed they thought the aircraft might have been a Japanese bomber even though it had American markings and the war had ended nearly two weeks earlier.

But even this is not completely correct. According to Bill Streifer, the co-author of *The Flight of the Hog Wild*, there were three B-29s sent out on a "mercy mission" to provide food and supplies for the 302 British and 52 Australian POWs held near Hamheung. While the first two B-29s may have been legitimate, the third B-29, known as the Hog Wild, was probably on a photo recon mission.

The Hog Wild was one of the newest B-29s and was equipped with the most sophisticated radar and a high-precision K-20 camera. Unlike the first two B-29s, the Hog Wild circled Hamheung several times before the suspicious Russians sent four fighters that intercepted and ordered it to land at a nearby Russian-controlled airfield.

When the Hog Wild declined it was attacked and forced to land. The crew was held for 18 days before being released. Streifer doesn't believe an atomic bomb was ever tested in Hamheung. In an email correspondence he wrote,

"I have personally interviewed an allied prisoner of war who was about five miles away at the time. He didn't recall an explosion at sea. I also read the diaries of other POWs, and they make no mention of an explosion at sea. If an atomic bomb explodes five miles away, you'll know it!"

The possibility of Japan having conducted an atomic test in Hamheung continues to be a subject for debate. Articles supporting and disproving the possibility have appeared in prestigious journals such as *Science and Intelligence* and *National Security*. It has even been made into a documentary by the Discovery Channel.

Grunden asserted that stories such as this, once they have become historical myths are almost impossible to dispel and suggested that the allegations of Japan's testing of the bomb in Hamheung was, as Snell had concluded, "...the answer to moralists who question the decision of the United States to drop an atomic bomb."

## **APPENDIX V**

### **WHY DID JAPAN ATTACK US?**

Patrick J. Buchanan

December 11, 2001

Of all the days that will "live in infamy" in American history, two stand out: September 11, 2001, and December 7, 1941.

But why did Japan, with a 10th of our industrial power, launch a sneak attack on the USA fleet at Pearl Harbor, an act of state terror that must ignite a war to the death it could not win? Were they insane? No, the Japanese were desperate.

To understand why Japan lashed out, we must go back to World War I. Japan had been our ally. But when she tried to collect her share of the booty at Versailles, she ran into an obdurate Woodrow Wilson.

Wilson rejected Japan's claim to German concessions in Shantung, home of Confucius, which Japan had captured at a price in blood. Tokyo threatened a walkout if denied what she had been promised by the British. "They are not bluffing," warned Wilson, as he capitulated. "We gave them what they should not have."

In 1921, at the Washington Naval Conference, the United States pressured the British to end their 20-year alliance with Japan. By appeasing the Americans, the British enraged and alienated a proud nation that had been a loyal friend.

Japan was now isolated, with Stalin's brooding empire to the north, a rising China to the east and, to the south, Western imperial powers that detested and distrusted her.

When civil war broke out in China, Japan in 1931 occupied Manchuria as a buffer state. This was the way the Europeans had collected their empires. Yet, the West was "shocked, shocked" that Japan would embark upon a course of "aggression." Said one Japanese diplomat, "Just when we learn how to play poker, they change the game to bridge."

Japan now decided to create in China what the British had in India – a vast colony to exploit that would place her among the world powers. In 1937, after a clash at Marco Polo Bridge near Peking, Japan invaded and, after four years of fighting, including the horrific Rape of Nanking, Japan controlled the coastal cities, but not the interior.

When France capitulated in June 1940, Japan moved into northern French Indochina. And though the United States had no interest there, we imposed an embargo on steel and scrap metal. After Hitler invaded Russia in June 1941, Japan moved into southern Indochina. FDR ordered all Japanese assets frozen.

But FDR did not want to cut off oil. As he told his Cabinet on July 18, an embargo meant war, for that would force oil-starved Japan to seize the oil fields of the Dutch East Indies. But a State Department lawyer named Dean Acheson drew up the sanctions in such a way as to block any Japanese purchases of USA oil. By the time FDR found out, in September, he could not back down.

Tokyo was now split between a War Party and a Peace Party, with the latter in power. Prime Minister Konoye called in Ambassador Joseph Grew and secretly offered to meet FDR in Juneau or anywhere in the Pacific. According to Grew, Konoye was willing

to give up Indochina and China, except a buffer region in the north to protect her from Stalin, in return for the USA brokering a peace with China and opening up the oil pipeline. Konoye told Grew that Emperor Hirohito knew of his initiative and was ready to give the order for Japan's retreat.

Fearful of a "second Munich," America spurned the offer. Konoye fell from power and was replaced by Hideki Tojo. Still, war was not inevitable. USA diplomats prepared to offer Japan a "modus vivendi." If Japan withdrew from southern Indochina, the United States would partially lift the oil embargo. But Chiang Kai-shek became "hysterical," and his American adviser, one Owen Lattimore, intervened to abort the proposal.

Facing a choice between death of the empire or fighting for its life, Japan decided to seize the oil fields of the Indies. And the only force capable of interfering was the USA fleet that FDR had conveniently moved from San Diego out to Honolulu.

And so Japan attacked. And so she was crushed and forced out of Vietnam, out of China, out of Manchuria. And so they fell to Stalin, Mao and Ho Chi Minh. And so it was that American boys, not Japanese boys, would die fighting Koreans, Chinese and Vietnamese to try to block the aggressions of a barbaric Asian communism.

Now Japan is disarmed and China is an Asian giant whose military boasts of pushing the Americans back across the Pacific. Had FDR met Prince Konoye, there might have been no Pearl Harbor, no Pacific war, no Hiroshima, no Nagasaki, no Korea, no Vietnam. How many of our fathers and uncles, brothers and friends, might still be alive?

"For of all sad words of tongue or pen, the saddest are these: 'It might have been.'"  
A few thoughts as the War Party pounds the drum for an all-out American war on Iraq and radical Islam. "