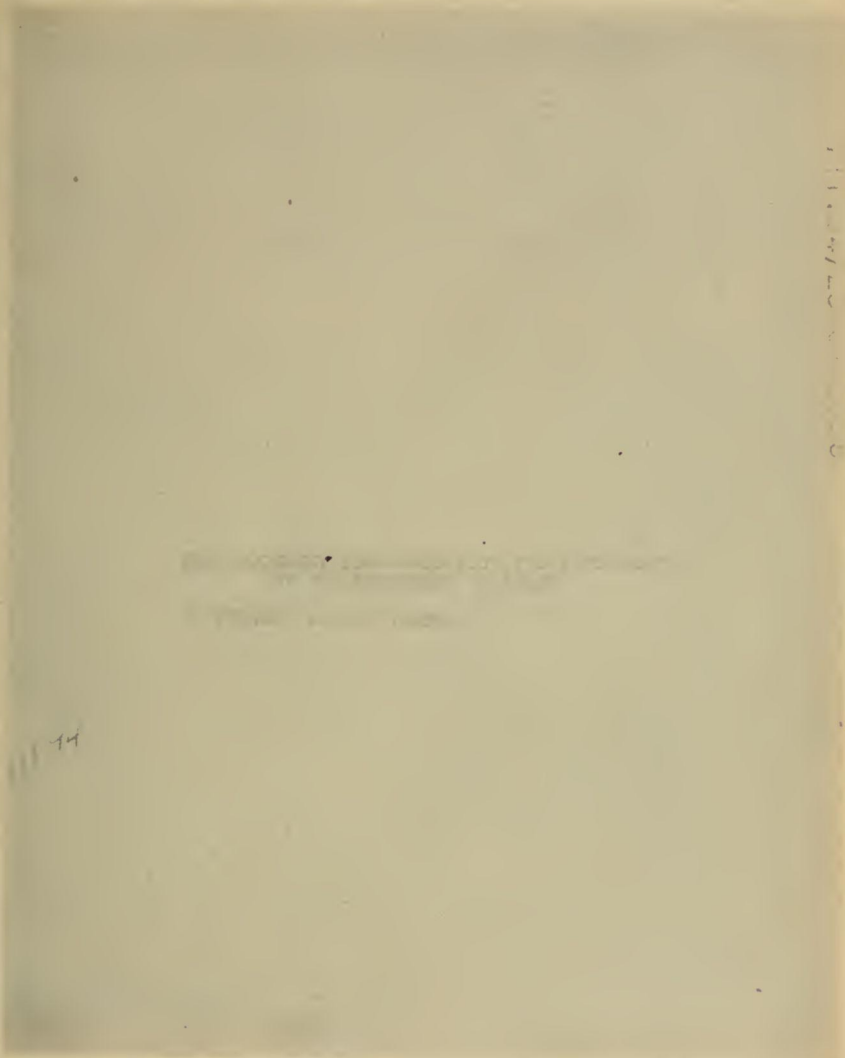


EXHIBIT NO. 19



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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 22, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

There is attached a draft of a proposed message to Congress, to which draft the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War made material contributions, and the officers of the Department made further contributions, which together comprise the draft of the proposed message.

In order to get this to you today it has not been possible carefully to go over this draft a second time. In fact, I myself have not had time to read it at all critically, but expect to do so over the week-end and give you the benefit of any further comment or suggestions.

I also enclose a draft by the Far Eastern officials of a possible message from you to the Emperor of Japan. My personal view continues as on yesterday to be that its sending will be of doubtful efficacy, except for the purpose of making a record. It might even cause such

complications

communications as Col. Buisson and I referred to on yesterday.

If you could send this message to the Emperor it would be advisable to defer your message to Congress until we see whether the message to the Emperor effects any improvement in the situation. I think we agree that you will not send message to Congress until the best state of our relations, existing to actual hostility, has been reached.

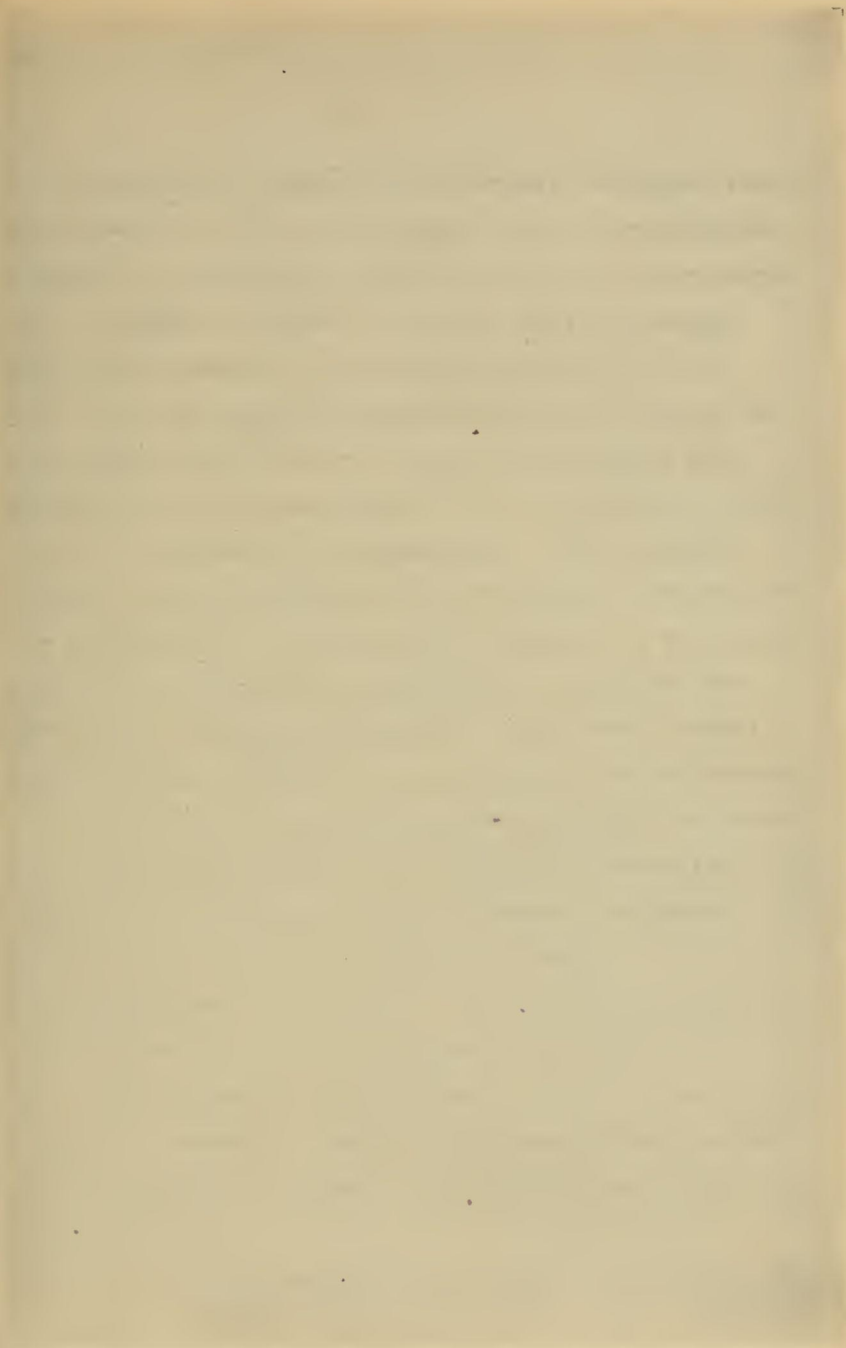
I think you will desire to have any message to the Emperor transmitted in code to Ambassador Brew for communication by him to the Emperor through appropriate channels.

ATTACHED TO THE REPORT

I could not but say it seemed to me to be almost certain
that it was intended that country and its interests in the
Far East. Relations between the United States and the
Japanese Empire were strained & tense when I considered it
important from me to see before you the essential facts
of the situation and cover statements without impositions.

In the various aspects of the international economy
American industry seems to be developing at an almost
unprecedented rate. It is necessary to mention that
in 1933, the United States exported more than
the entire output of the United Kingdom. This
fact has been verified by the statistics of the
Department of Commerce. The United States
Department of Commerce has shown that the
value of our exports has increased by 50%
since 1929. This increase has been accompanied by
a corresponding increase in our production.
The United States has become a world power
in many respects. Our military and naval
strength is second to none. Our economic
power is also second to none. Our
scientific and technological achievements
are also second to none. Our
cultural and artistic contributions
are also second to none. Our
political and social progress
is also second to none. Our
achievements are a source of
pride and inspiration to all
Americans.

Continued



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

Since 1898, the American Government has been conducting in the Philippines the unprecedented experiment of acquainting an Asiatic people with the methods of personal freedom and national self-government that are practiced by our own Republic. Our constant aim has been to develop the Filipino people into a self-governing and independent commonwealth. At the same time, this farsighted experiment has been and is of far reaching importance to us and to other peoples. It is important to the material welfare of the United States that there should exist in the western Pacific a nation friendly to us by virtue of close association and profitable relations with us. Our presence in the Philippines has helped make known to the peoples of the Orient the name, the culture, the commerce and the good repute of the United States. It has helped to establish and to stabilize our relations in general with those regions

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and for tests. These two categories of operations in character and magnitude upon the Pacific were continued. Especially important among these were the two fleet exercises which contained elements to respect the requirements of the and the maintenance of naval superiority in the waters of the Pacific. The operations were conducted in the form of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan in imitation of naval operations.

In 1921 the nations of the world entered into a treaty—the Pact of Paris, or Kellogg Pact—wherein all agreed to resolve controversies among and between themselves by open but peaceful means.

In 1921, the Japanese army began its seizure of Manchuria. The Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations endeavored to induce Japan to revert to peaceful objectives, and the Government of the United States took the measures to that effect. While the operation of Manchuria by Japanese army troops was still in progress, the Government of the United States was no less endeavoring and inducing Governments on January 7, 1922, advised those reflecting that the United States would not regard as legal and did not intend to recognize any acquisition, treaty or agreement which might be made, which by such authority to the provisions of the said treaty.

In 1922, the League of Nations adopted an agreement which by the League's resolution in the case of a friendly war, in which there is a Minister of the United States, and in which the League of Nations is called upon to mediate between the two governments, that the United States Government is not bound to recognize any treaty or agreement which might be made, which by such authority to the provisions of the said treaty.

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WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 1941

... of the ...

... the ...

In July 1937 the armed forces of Japan ... upon large-scale military operations ... Japan's leaders were openly declaring that it was their determination to achieve and maintain for Japan a dominant position in the entire Pacific of eastern Asia, the western Pacific and the Southern Pacific. If they achieved this they would be masters of an area containing almost one half of the population of the world and they would have arbitrary control of the sea lanes and the trade routes of an enormous area.

In the process of their military operations against ... and in China, Japan's armed forces have taken American lives, wounded or otherwise physically abused American citizens (men, women and children), sunk American vessels--including a naval vessel--incriminated other

American

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American vessels, bombed American hospitals and churches and schools, destroyed a great deal of American property, ruined much American business, greatly interfered with American trade, and, in general, shown utter disregard for our rights--in law and under treaties: all this over and above and in addition to the incalculable damage that they have done to China and the suffering which they have caused to the Chinese people, is but nothing of the injuries which they have done to other nations and to civilization and to the cause of peace and good will among men.

During the past decade the deliberate policies of the American Government, as exemplified in the record in the Far East, have been characterized by a worldwide scheme of deliberate injury inflicted by the so-called League of Nations, the United States, Italy, Japan, China, and other nations, and the concerted and organized effort of these nations to injure some sixteen other nations. The American Government is the only nation that has not joined in this effort. It is a deliberate and organized effort of sixteen nations to injure some sixteen other nations. The American Government is the only nation that has not joined in this effort.

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The first of these is the fact that the Commission has not yet received any information from the Government as to the results of its investigation into the activities of the Communist Party in the United States. It is therefore impossible to say whether or not the Commission has any evidence to support its charges against the Party. The second of these is the fact that the Commission has not yet received any information from the Government as to the results of its investigation into the activities of the Communist Party in the United States. It is therefore impossible to say whether or not the Commission has any evidence to support its charges against the Party. The third of these is the fact that the Commission has not yet received any information from the Government as to the results of its investigation into the activities of the Communist Party in the United States. It is therefore impossible to say whether or not the Commission has any evidence to support its charges against the Party.

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And while all this is going on, Japan, bound to Germany and Italy in a treaty wherein those three powers pledged one another that if any one of them is "attacked" by an outside power not already at war, the other allies will assist that one of their members by economic, political and military means; and Japan's militant leaders declare that they will interpret their obligations under this commitment in whatever manner they may deem best suited to their own needs and purposes.

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Simply stated, what we are confronted with in the Far East is a repetition of the tactics pursued by Hitler in Europe. The methods which Hitler has used with temporary success and which are being faithfully imitated by Japan, consist of a gradual expansion of power and control over neighboring peoples by a carefully planned and executed progressive infiltration, penetration and encirclement through which one nation after another is subdued and enslaved either by actual force or by threats of force.

After this fashion and pursuing this policy of conquest by force, Japan established herself in Korea; worked her way into and finally seized Manchuria; has sought for the past four and a half years to subjugate China; has, during the period of our negotiations with her, invaded Indochina; and now, threatens with imminent attack various neighboring areas including even the Philippines.

This situation, precipitated solely by Japanese aggression, holds unmistakable threats to our interests especially our interest in peace and in peaceful trade, and to our responsibility for the security of the Philippine Archipelago. The successful defense of the United States, in a military sense, is dependent upon

supplies

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supplies of vital materials which we import in large quantities from this region of the world. To permit Japanese domination and control of the major sources of world supplies of tin and rubber and tungsten would jeopardize our safety in a manner and to an extent that cannot be tolerated. Along with this would go practical Japanese control of the Pacific.

Unless the present course of events in the Far East is halted and considerations of justice, humanity and fair dealing are restored, we will witness in that region of the world precisely what has already transpired throughout the continental limits of Europe where Hitler seeks dominion by ruthless force.

A program on the part of any country for subjugation and exploitation of a huge population and a vast portion of the world is of incalculable concern to every other nation.

Throughout the period in which Japan has been making it clear that such is her program, the Government of the United States had endeavored to persuade the Government of Japan that Japan's best interests lie in maintaining and cultivating friendly relations with the United States and with all other countries that believe in orderly and peaceful processes.

For

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

Throughout this entire period, the Government of the United States has been steadfast in its support of basic principles which should govern international relations. The principles for which we have stood in these discussions may be summarized as follows:

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--The principle of inviolability of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each and all nations; the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity and treatment; and the principle of reliance upon international cooperation and conciliation for the prevention and pacific settlement of controversies and for improvement of international conditions by peaceful methods and processes. Basically these are the principles of peace, law and order and fair dealing among nations.

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this country and Nazi Germany. Concisely stated, it is an issue of autocracy versus self-determination, an issue of master and slave relationship among the peoples of the earth versus independence of nations and freedom of peoples.

The whole world is presented with the issue whether Germany, Italy and Japan are to conquer and rule the earth or are to be dissuaded or prevented, by whatever processes may be necessary, from pursuit of policies of conquest.

The question immediately presented in our Far Eastern affairs is whether the United States is or is not to stand by while Japan goes forward with a program of conquest by force--in disregard of law, in disregard of treaties, in disregard of others' rights and interest, in disregard of any and all conventions or considerations of morality and of humanity--now in eastern Asia and the western Pacific, ultimately further afield. In our own councils there are a ^{variety} ~~diversity~~ and a composite of issues:

There are issues between principles and opportunism; between confidence and fear; between reality and illusion; between clear understanding and confused misunderstanding; between wisdom and folly; between being farsighted and

being

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being shortsighted; between the concept of peace at any price and a concept of peace at a price commensurate with the value of peace; between accurate appraisal and inaccurate appraisal of our own strength; between full use and fractional use of our material and moral resources.

Japan's policy of conquest and exploitation which is now being carried out in China has already utterly destroyed in the portions of China occupied by Japan the peaceful and profitable commercial relations which the United States had previously enjoyed there. It has devastated a nation which for many centuries by its devotion to the arts of peace and commerce was the most stabilizing influence on the western side of the Pacific Ocean. It threatens to transform a peaceful continent into one dominated by the military and militarism of Japan and devoted to the practice of war.

The Japanese procedure of conquest and exploitation is now being carried out in the Philippines. It threatens the lives and property of our citizens and their physical safety.

At present, it is reported, it would destroy the United States' interests which have been conducting in the Philippines. It would destroy the lives and property of our citizens and their physical safety. It would destroy the lives and property of our citizens and their physical safety.

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of the Filipinos now depends. It would ruin the lifelong efforts and investments of thousands of American citizens who have transferred their homes and business activities to the Philippines on the faith that American principles of freedom and American methods of government would continue in those Islands. It would forever terminate the prestige and influence of the United States which the American experiment in the Philippine Islands has been establishing throughout the Orient.

If the Japanese should carry out their now threatened attacks upon and were to succeed in conquering the regions which they are menacing in the southwestern Pacific, our commerce with the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya would be at their mercy and probably be cut off. Our imports from those regions are of vital importance to us. We need those imports in time of peace. With the spirit of exploitation and destruction of commerce which prevails among the partners in the Axis Alliance, and with our needs what they are now in this period of emergency, an interruption of our trade with that area would be catastrophic.

We do not want war with Japan, and Japan does not want war with this country. If, however, war should come, the fault and the responsibility will be those of Japan. The primary cause will have been pursuit by Japan of a
policy

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policy of aggression--in the course of which Japan's militant militaristic leadership has disregarded law, violated treaties, impaired rights, destroyed property and lives of our nationals, inflicted horrible sufferings upon peoples who are our friends, interfered with our trade, ruined the legitimate business of many of our nationals, compelled us to make huge expenditures for defensive armament, made threats against us, put and kept many of our people in a constant state of anxiety, and, in general, made Japan a world nuisance and made of Japan a menace to our security and to the cause of peace, of freedom and of justice.

Our policy in relations with Japan should be and is influenced not by fear of what attacks Japan, acting unlawfully and with resort to force may make upon us but by determination on our part to give the utmost support of which we are reasonably capable to the fundamental principles of order and security and justice to which we have been and are committed, with confidence that it is within our capacity to withstand any attack which anyone may make upon us because of our pursuit of that course.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

November 29, 1941

PROPOSED MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE
EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Almost a century ago the President of the United States addressed to the Emperor of Japan a message extending the offer of friendship of the people of the United States to the people of Japan. That offer was accepted, and in the long period of unbroken peace and friendship which has followed, our respective nations, through the virtues of their peoples, the sound character of their respective institutions and national structures, and the wisdom of their leaders and rulers -- especially in Japan your illustrious grandfather the Emperor Meiji -- have prospered and risen to a position of being able substantially to influence humanity.

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

Developments are occurring in the Pacific area which threaten to deprive each of our nations and all
humanity

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humanity of the beneficial influence of the long peace between our two countries. Those developments contain tragic possibilities.

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

Feeling deeply concerned over the present trend of events, I address myself to Your Majesty at this moment in the fervent hope that Your Majesty may, as I am doing, give thought to ways of dispelling the dark clouds which loom over the relations between our two countries and of restoring and maintaining the traditional state of amity wherein both our peoples may contribute to lasting peace and security throughout the Pacific area.