

EXHIBIT NO. 161A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS

21-30-41

To: The Secretary of War

from: The Secretary of State

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS

Colonel Stevenson:

This is just
as it stood at noon
yesterday: it has not
been passed upon, edited
or revised.

Wm. H. S. M.

[The first document inclosed was a copy of the draft of
a proposed message to Congress which is included in
Exhibit 19.]

2^d Review Copy

OPENING OF THE ADDRESS:

I have come before you to report to you on the serious danger which is threatening this country and its interests in the Far East.

(here introduce such further opening matter as desired)

Our interest in the safety of the
Philippines, the Netherlands and
Malaya.

For over forty years our government has been conducting the unprecedented experiment of training an Asiatic people in the methods of freedom and self-government as practiced by our own republic. While our immediate aim has been the development of this dependent Philippine people, thrown into our guardianship by the accident of war, into a self-governing and independent commonwealth, nevertheless we have other far-reaching interests in the success of that farsighted experiment. It is of the utmost value to the material welfare of the United States that there should be in that portion of the world a friendly nation bound to us by the ties of association and gratitude which our long partnership in government has created. It has brought home to the nations and peoples of the Orient the name, the credit and the possibility of extensive commerce with the United States. It has helped to establish and stabilize close

relations on our part with that portion of the Pacific, including particularly Malaysia and the New Netherlands, which secure for us supplies of indispensable materials for our requirements both in time of peace and in war. Thus for every reason, both spiritual and material, it is of vital importance that the purpose which we undertook four decades ago should be carried out to its intended logical fruition and that the people of the Philippines should achieve their ultimate position in the family of nations, bound to us by such ties of origin.

Our relations to China

The American policy which was thus put into effect in regard to the Philippines was in essence of the same far-sighted character as that which during the same period we applied to our relations with China. We were the founders of the policy of the Open Door, - the policy which was subsequently legalized in the so-called Nine Power Treaty, and which endeavored to preserve for that great nation its territorial and administrative integrity and to permit it to develop without molestation its sovereignty and independence according to the modern and enlightened standards believed to obtain among the peoples of this earth.

The Axis attack upon this American policy
in the Far East

During the past decade, however, these enlightened policies of the American government, exemplified by our attitude towards China and the Philippines, have been endangered by a scheme of world conquest set on foot by the so-called Axis powers - Germany, Italy, and Japan. These nations have without provocation or excuse attacked and conquered and reduced to economic and political slavery most of the free governments of Europe. In the Far East their Axis has been represented by the government of Japan which in 1940 joined with Germany and Italy in a covenant avowedly aimed at the interests in the Orient of the government of the United States. Japan has for over five years been attempting to carry out such a scheme of conquest and spoliation in the Far East. In flat defiance of its own covenants in the Nine Power Treaty it has invaded and sought to overthrow the government of China. Step by step the fleets and forces of Japan, passing through the China Sea in the immediate proximity of the Philippine Islands, have also invaded and taken possession of Indo China. Today its forces are proposing to go further southward and are openly threatening an extension of this conquest into the territory of Thailand. This step would directly menace

the port and Straits of Singapore through which gateway runs the commerce of the world, including our own, between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean.

On the eastern side of the Philippines, Japan has also been extending its threatening activities through the Caroline and Marshall Islands where, in violation of the mandate under which it received the custody of those islands, it has been secretly establishing naval and air bases and fortifications directly on the line between the United States and the Philippine Islands.

By these steps Japan has placed itself in a position which encircles the western, northern, and eastern approaches to our territory and interests in the Philippines. Should it go further, it will completely encircle and dangerously menace the vital interests of the United States.

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Our efforts to peacefully persuade Japan to abandon such a policy of conquest in our neighborhood in the southwestern Pacific and the failure of that attempt

(Here describe the negotiations carried on by Secretary Hull and their failure)

The danger to our vital interests which now confronts the United States on the failure of these negotiations.

(In summary only)

First: Japanese 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.

It has devastated and has sought to conquer the nation which for many centuries by its devotion to the arts of peace and commerce has been the most stabilizing influence on the western side of the Pacific Ocean.

The Japanese policy threatens to transform a peaceful continent into one devoting itself to the practice of war and dominated by the military and leadership of Japan.

Second: This Japanese campaign of conquest and exploitation is now approaching and encircling the Philippine Islands. It threatens the commerce of those Islands and endangers their physical safety.

If it is successful, it will destroy the farsighted experiment which America has been conducting in those Islands and terminate their hope of independence and their peaceful democratic government.

It will destroy the mutually profitable commerce which exists between those Islands and the United States and upon which the high standard of living of the Filipinos now depends.

It will 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 will forever terminate the prestige and influence of the United States which the American experiment in the Philippine Islands has been establishing throughout the Orient.

Third: It will threaten to cut off and destroy our commerce with the Netherlands East Indies and the Malayan Settlements.

If the Japanese are permitted to carry out their threat to attack and conquer these friendly countries,

our imports from these countries will be interrupted and destroyed.

These imports, principally rubber, are vital to our welfare both in time of peace and war.

From these countries we receive our chief supplies of rubber. (Here add other items)

In time of war, with the spirit of exploitation and destruction of commerce which exists in the world today, such an interruption of our trade with the Netherlands East Indies and the Malayan States would be catastrophic.

Additional paragraphs
supplied by Colonel Knox.

Turner

If the Nazi power is to be defeated, the United Kingdom must not be overwhelmed. British military power is the gate which holds back from the Americas the flood of German military strength. The supports of British power extend to all parts of the world. Weakening one support weakens the strength of the entire structure. A particularly important, possibly an essential part of that structure is Singapore, which, with the Philippines and the Netherlands Indies, furnishes great quantities of the raw materials required for the success of the American and British defense effort. The Southwest Pacific, important as it is to our economy, may be even more important as a military position, because it links together vital units of the British Commonwealth. Were Japan established in Singapore or the Netherlands Indies, the security of the British Isles themselves would be endangered, and thus the security of the United States threatened. Should this region fall, we would find that the brave troops of Australia, New Zealand, and India would necessarily be required at home to defend their own territories, and thus no longer could take part in checking the Nazi thrust to the east and to the south. The British position in the Near East would be undermined. Vichy France probably would fall completely under Nazi domination. Under Nazi control would then fall all the territories and bases of that part of Africa which we see posed like a bludgeon over our friends in South America.

Japan

Japan has faithfully followed the familiar pattern of German aggression. Each proclaims a burning wish for peace, and each seeks that peace by making war on its neighbors, one by one. The united strength of these neighbors might once have checked this aggression, but each has faced his doom alone. Step by step, country by country, the sinister military power of Germany and Japan has advanced forward until now, each betting the other, both stand as remorseless threats to all remaining free peoples.

During the past ten years, Japanese military power has moved westward into Manchuria; and then has moved southward through China into Indo-China and the islands of the sea. Today Japan has strong military, naval, and air bases which enclose three parts of the circle around the Philippine Islands, and directly front the British and Dutch in the southern respect. Were the Malay States and the Netherlands Indies to pass under Japanese military domination, two of our strong friends in the Far East would disappear. Standing alone, we then would see, surrounded and in a desperate plight, our territory in the Philippine Islands, and our friends, the Philippine people. We could not accept so intolerable a state of affairs.

This situation holds unmistakable threats to our vital interests. The successful defense of the United States, in a military sense, is dependent upon supplies of vital materials which we import in large quantities from that region of the world. To permit Japanese domination and control of the major sources of world supplies of tin and rubber is a menace to our safety which cannot be tolerated.

Unless the present course of events in the Far East is halted, and considerations of justice, humanity and the principle of equality between nations 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.

The progress and results of our patient negotiations with the Japanese Government demonstrate that Japan will not accept conditions which are fair, and which we believe are fundamental if peace and prosperity in the Pacific area are to endure. It is clear that the Japanese Government has determined on immediate further military adventures. They have enlarged the sphere of the so-called "New Order" until now it even includes India, Australia, and New Zealand. Months ago Japan proclaimed total national mobilization. Their every available resource is devoted to military purposes. The Premier and other leaders, again and again, have appealed for Japanese unity in order (and I quote) "To tide over the gravest crisis that Japan has faced in all her glorious 1000 years

years of history" (end quote). Their leaders assure the Japanese people there is no hope of peace, and that large-scale war is directly ahead.

Information has reached us of dependable character that Japan contemplates further measures of aggression. She has assembled both land, sea and air forces for new conquests. She can go no further without seriously threatening the vital interests of Great Britain, the Netherlands Indies, Australia and ourselves. Unless Japan renounces such purposes and withdraws this threat of further conquest by force, the four nations involved must resort to force to prevent this aggression, since arguments appear to have failed.