

MICROCOPY

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM PUBLICATIONS

Microfilm Publication M976

RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RELATING TO POLITICAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN, 1930-1944

Roll 40

1930-39

793.94/10131-10430
Sept.-Oct. 1937



THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON: 1975

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM PUBLICATIONS

INTRODUCTION

On the 96 rolls of this microfilm publication are reproduced the records from the decimal file of the Department of State, 1930-44, that relate to political relations between China and Japan. The records are mostly instructions to and despatches from diplomatic and consular officials; the despatches are often accompanied by enclosures. Also included in these records are notes between the Department of State and foreign diplomatic representatives in the United States, memorandums prepared by officials of the Department, and correspondence with officials of other Government departments and with private firms and persons. The State Department divided the decimal file into chronological segments to retire inactive records. This division has been maintained in this microfilm publication. The records for the period 1930-39 are filmed on rolls 1-88 and those for 1940-44 on rolls 89-96.

The Lists of Documents or "purport lists" filmed on rolls 345 and 346 (1930-39), roll 532 (1940-June 1944), and roll 628 (July-Dec. 1944) of M973 give brief abstracts of the documents reproduced in this microfilm publication and serve as a finding aid to the documents themselves. The arrangement of the entries on these lists generally corresponds to the arrangement of the documents in the file.

From 1910 to 1963 the State Department used a decimal system for its central files, assembling and arranging individual documents according to subject and assigning decimal file numbers. The decimal file consists of nine primary classes numbered 0 through 8, each covering a broad subject area. The records reproduced in this microfilm publication are in Class 7, political relations of states. Each country had been assigned a two-digit number. The country numbers assigned to China and to Japan, for example, are 93 and 94, respectively. Thus, documents bearing the file number 793.94 concern political relations between China and Japan.

When one or more digits follow the second country number, they represent a specific subject. This number, in turn, may be followed by a slant mark (/). In such cases the numbers after the slant mark were assigned to individual documents as they were accumulated on a specific subject. For example, a decimal file number taken from a document reproduced in this microfilm publication is 793.943/5. The number 3 following the country number for Japan (94) signifies that the subject is extraterritoriality, and the number after the slant mark indicates the number of documents on this subject.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM PUBLICATIONS

The documents under one subject classification are generally in chronological order, coinciding with the assigned document number, which follows the slant mark. There are instances, however, when a document file number was not assigned until a date considerably later than the one on which the document was received.

In July 1944 the number after the slant mark began to reflect the date of the document instead of the number of documents; for example, a document dated November 20, 1944, would be numbered /11-2044. Documents dated as early as 1939 but not indexed until after July 1, 1944, also have been assigned date numbers.

Cross-reference sheets referring to related records under other subject classifications in the decimal file have been reproduced as they occur, and appropriate cross-reference notations appear in the Lists of Documents.

The file contains documents that were security classified by the State Department, as well as those received from and classified by foreign governments and other Federal agencies. Documents that have not been declassified are not available as part of this microfilm publication. The National Archives and Records Service (NARS) does not have authority to make reproductions of such documents available to searchers. Documents that remain classified have been removed from the file and replaced by a withdrawal notice that identifies the document and indicates the reason for its removal.

The records reproduced in this microfilm publication are part of General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, and are a continuation of the records concerning political relations between China and other states, 1910-29, which have been microfilmed as NARS M341.

In the same record group are several diplomatic correspondence series containing documents on relations between China and the United States. They are copies of instructions from the State Department to U.S. Ministers to China, 1843-1906 (rolls 38-43 of M77); notes to the Chinese Legation in the United States from the Department, 1868-1906 (rolls 13 and 14 of M99); despatches from U.S. Ministers to China to the Department, 1843-1906 (M92); and notes from the Chinese Legation in the United States to the Department, 1868-1906 (M98). Also related to matters concerning China are communications to special agents of the United States from the Department, 1852-86 (roll 154 of M77).

Several series of volumes contain material on relations between Japan and the United States. There are copies of instructions from the State Department to U.S. Ministers to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM PUBLICATIONS

Japan, 1855-1906 (rolls 104-108 of M77); despatches from U.S. Ministers to Japan to the Department, 1855-1906 (M133); notes to the Japanese Legation in the United States from the Department, 1860-1906 (rolls 66 and 67 of M99); and notes from the Japanese Legation in the United States to the Department, 1858-1906 (M163). Also related to matters concerning Japan are communications to special agents of the United States from the Department, 1823-86 (rolls 152 and 154 of M77); and despatches from special agents to the Department, 1794-1837 (roll 10 of M37).

Despatches from U.S. consular officials in China and Japan before 1906 are available as separate microfilm publications for each post. Complementary to the despatches from consuls are instructions to consuls.

The method of arranging the diplomatic and consular series cited above was discontinued in 1906, when the State Department adopted the practice of filing incoming and outgoing correspondence, memorandums, and other documents by subject in a single numerical series. Information on documents relating to China and Japan for the 1906-10 period may be found through the use of card indexes and Lists of Documents in the National Archives of the United States. The Numerical File is available as microfilm publication M862.

Several series in the State Department decimal file, 1910-29, that relate to Chinese and Japanese affairs are available as microfilm publications. In Class 7 there are two series regarding Chinese affairs: one concerning political relations between the United States and China (M339) and the other concerning political relations between China and other states (including Japan) (M341); and two series regarding Japanese affairs: one concerning political relations between the United States and Japan (M423) and the other concerning political relations between Japan and other states (M424). Class 8, internal affairs of states, has records concerning internal affairs of China (M329) and internal affairs of Japan (M422). Additional documents are in the remaining classes of the State Department decimal file:

- Class 0. General. Miscellaneous.
- Class 1. Administration, Government of the United States.
- Class 2. Extradition.
- Class 3. Protection of Interests.
- Class 4. Claims.
- Class 5. International Congresses and Conferences. Multi-lateral Treaties. League of Nations.
- Class 6. Commerce. Customs Administration. Commercial Relations, Treaties and Conventions. Commercial and Trade Agreements.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM PUBLICATIONS

In Records of Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations, Record Group 76, there are records relating to the Claims Commissions of 1858 and 1901 between the United States and China.

In Records of International Conferences, Commissions, and Expositions, Record Group 43, are records of several conferences in which the United States and Japan participated. There are records of the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, 1921-22, which met to consider the limitation of armaments and certain questions relating to Pacific and Far Eastern problems. There are also records of the Commission To Represent the United States at the Grand Exhibition of Japan, 1917. The exhibition was planned for 1912 but had been postponed, and the records relate mainly to the visit of U.S. Commissioners to Japan in 1908 and to their conferences with Japanese officials. Other relevant records in Record Group 43 are those concerning the Sino-Japanese Dispute, 1930-32 (documents gathered by Gen. Frank McCoy, U.S. representative on the Lytton Commission), those of the U.S. Element, Allied Council for Japan, 1946-52, and those of the Far Eastern Commission, 1945-51.

In Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group 84, are records originally kept at U.S. diplomatic and consular posts. Among these are records of the U.S. Legation (later Embassy) in China, 1843-1945, and of the U.S. Legation (later Embassy) in Japan, 1855-1936, as well as those of various consular posts in those countries.

The records reproduced in this microfilm publication were prepared for filming by Ralph E. Huss, who also wrote these introductory remarks.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

VM

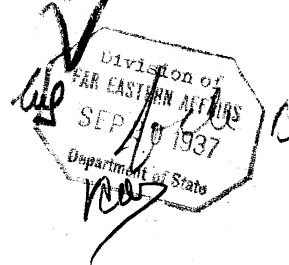
COMYANGPAT

FROM September 18, 1937

Rec'd 1:20 p.m.

From Naval Communications
For information of the
Department of State.

00188 Yangtze area quiet 2345



793.94

CSB

793.94/10131

FILED
F/FG
SEP 21 1937

0001

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

NTT
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

Chicago, Ill.

FROM

September 18, 1937

9:49 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

793.96
with
500 C112

I have noted that in answer to the appeal of China the council of the League of Nations has referred the Far Eastern crisis to the Advisory Committee created in 1933 on which the United States has a nonvoting membership. I earnestly hope that the United States will continue its membership on this committee as a means of consulting on the crisis and seeking a peaceful solution.

WALTER LICHTENSTEIN

RGC

First Nat Bank
Chicago, Ill.
(Who's Who)

SEP 22 1937
Division
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 20 1937
State

793.94/10132

SEP 23 1937

FILED

0001

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

WTT

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

Chicago, Ill.

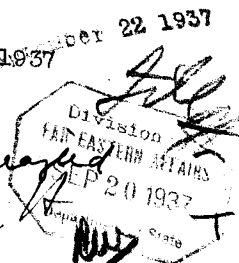
FROM September 18, 1937

9:49 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

Letter accepted
Sept 21
WTT



793.96
note
500 C112

I have noted that in answer to the appeal of China the council of the League of Nations has referred the Far Eastern crisis to the Advisory Committee created in 1933 on which the United States has a nonvoting membership. I earnestly hope that the United States will continue its membership on this committee as a means of consulting on the crisis and seeking a peaceful solution.

WALTER LICHTENSTEIN

RGC

First Nat Bank
Chicago, Ill.
(Who's who)

793.94/10132

FILED
SEP 23 1937

0002

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

SEP 22 1937

In reply refer to
FE 793.94/10132

My dear Mr. Lichtenstein:

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of
September 18, 1937, in which you express the hope that
the United States will continue to be represented on
the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations.

I take pleasure in enclosing a self-explanatory
statement issued to the press on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

793.94/10132

Enclosure:

Press release,
September 20, 1937.

Mr. Walter Lichtenstein,
First National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois.

A true copy of
the signed origi-
nal

SEP 22 1937

FE:WTT:SMJ

FE
9/21/37

9/21/37

F/A

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

64-1

NC

TELEGRAM RECEIVED COMM. IN CHIEF ASIATIC FLEET

September 18, 1937

FROM 7 p.m.

To Navy Dept.
From Naval Communications
For information of the
State Department.

Information
Amcongen Shanghai
Am Embassy, Peking

Division of
Far Eastern
Affairs
SEP 21 1937

B

0018 In view of attacks on lighthouse stations on South

China coast and capture of Chinese customs vessels by
Japanese Navy, operations of lighthouses has become
uncertain. This matter has been taken up with Admiral
Hasegawa by Admiral Little and myself and he has stated:
"I myself deem it necessary in the interest of navigation
in general that these lighthouses on the South China coast
should be kept functioning and will therefore take such
steps as to meet your request in consultation with the auth-
orities of the Chinese Maritime Customs".

The coast north of the Yangtze is being blockaded by
the second fleet under Admiral Yoshida and the same question
may arise there. It is recommended that the State Depart-
ment make strong representations to the Japanese Government
as to the necessity in the interest of neutral navigation of
not interfering with the operation of the Chinese Coastal
lights. Amcongen Shanghai repeat to Tokyo 2126

RGC

793.9d
note
893.822
793.94112

793.94/10133

SEP 14 1937

FILED

F/FG

0004

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1-1336

18wu pn 232 DL 73 Extra

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
FROM
OCT 22 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AV NewYork NY 1059a Sept 18 1937

Hon Cordell Hull

Washdc

793.94
The undersigned have noted that in answer to the appeal of China the council of the league of nations has referred the far eastern crisis to the advisory committee created in nineteen thirty three on which the United States has a nonvoting membership stop we earnestly hope the the United States will continue its membership on this committee as a means of consulting on the crisis and seeking a peaceful solution stop we feel that consultation would be supported by the american people as in harmony with your statement of august twenty third in which you reaffirmed your principles of july sixteenth and expressed the desire of the American Government to cooperate through peaceful means for their realization stop even if the deliberations of the committee should not be immediately effective there is urgent need at the present moment of maintaining the moral unity of the peace loving nations which may in the end find a practical solution for the problem

Charles G Fenwick Josephine Schain Chairman "ational Committee on the cause and cure of war: James T Shotwell President league of nations association; Henry Atkinson, general secretary World alliance for international friendship through the churches and church peace union; Alves Long,

793.94/10134

FILED
F/FG

0065
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1-1336

18Wu PN Sheet #2. Hull.

FROM

Chairman international relations department general federation
of womens clubs; Charles P Taft, Melvin D Hildreth, Doctor
Mary Woolley, Henrietta Roelofs, Executive of Public affairs
Committee national board of young womens christian association;
Clark M. Eichelberger.

124p

0006

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

28wu eb 105 DL

1-1330

FROM

AV Newyork NY 411p Sep 20

Mr Gray

Office of the Secy of State WDC

Please add the following additional names to our telegram of
saturday supporting consultation through advisory committee
of the league of nations on the far eastern crisis Richard R
Wood Secretary Friends Peace Committee Comma Charles F Boss
Jr Executive Secretary Commission on World Peace Methodist
Episcopal Church Comma Harole E Fey Secy Fellowship Of Reconciliation
comma Florence G Tyler Secy of the Foreign Mission Conference comma
Mrs Emmons Blaine Chicago Comma Mildred Scott Olmsted National
Organization Secy Womens International League for Peace and Freedom
comma Emily Hickman National Board Young Womens Christian Assn
and Mrs Kendall Emerson Chairman Public Affairs Committee Young
Womens Christian Assn

Clark M Eichelberger

554p

F.W. 793.94/10134

FP 2 2 1937

FILED

F/FV

0007

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

4 wu fs 19

1-1336

FROM

NewYork, Ny, 218pm Sept 19-37

Mr Gray,

Office of the Secretary of State, Washington Dc.

Please add names Frederick R. Conder, S. Van S. Nichols and

Mrs James Lees Laidlaw to telegram sent yesterday.

Clark M. Eichelberger.

330pm

FW-793.94/10134

F.W. 793.94/10134

SEP 20 1937

FILE
F/FG

0008

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huefner NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OCT 21 1937
FROM
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1-1336

17wu pn 68 D1

AV New York NY 1204p Sept 18

Hon Cordell Hull

793-94

Secty of State Washdc

This morning it was my pleasure to send you a telegram signed
by ten people active in the peace movement expressing their
hope that the United States will continue membership on leagues
advisory committee for far eastern dispute stop the following
have authorized their names be attached to this telegram Newton
D Baker Oswald Garrison Villard and Keener Frazer university of
North Carolina and director Southern council of foreign affairs
Clark M Eichelberger

110p

File
DIRECTOR OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 21 1937
Reply urgent
Sept 21
10134
September 23 1937

793.94/10135

F/FG
FILED
OCT 22 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94
 September 23, 1937.

My dear Mr. Eichelberger:

I wish to thank you for your telegram of September ^{10/3} eighteenth and ^{FW 10/3} nineteenth regarding the joint telegram sent to me on September eighteenth by several persons actively interested in the movement for international peace and in which the hope was expressed that the United States would continue to be represented on the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations. I was very glad to have the views of yourself and the other signers of the message and I would ask you to be good enough to express to them my appreciation of their courtesy in communicating with me on this subject.

As of possible interest, I am enclosing a self-explanatory statement issued to the press on September twentieth, setting forth the attitude of this Government with respect to the Advisory Committee.

It

Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger,
 8 West Fortieth Street,
 New York, New York.

793.94/10135

F/MR

10/35

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

It was a great pleasure for me to see you in New York last Sunday and I am very grateful for the many kindnesses and courtesies shown to me on that occasion by your associates and you.

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosure:

Press release.

A true copy of
the signed original.
A

S CWG:MA

✓
SAP 22 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

In reply refer to
 FE 793.94/10134-5

My dear Mr. Eichelberger:

The receipt is acknowledged of your telegrams of September 18 and September 19, 1937, in regard to another telegram addressed to me on September 18 in which several persons prominent in the movement for international peace expressed the hope that the United States would continue to be represented on the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations. Please regard this letter as an acknowledgment of all three messages.

I take pleasure in enclosing a self-explanatory statement issued to the press on this subject.

May I ask that you be so good as to inform the other signers of the message of September 18 of this acknowledgment?

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure:

Press release.

Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger,

8 West 40th Street
 New York, New York.

FE:WTT:NN
 9/22/37

FE

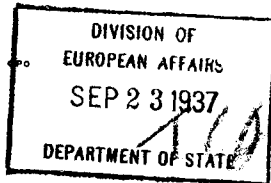
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

65-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RGC

GRAY



FROM Nanking via N.R.

Dated Sept. 19, 1937

Rec'd 1:15 p.m.



Secretary of State,
 Washington.

793.94
 note
 D.C. 112

685, September 19, 11 a.m.

During my conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday he asked me to say to you that he hoped that the United States would be represented at least as an observer when the League takes up China's appeal in regard to Sino-Japanese hostilities.

JOHNSON

RGC

793.94/10137

FILED
 EP 24 1937

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RGC

PLAIN AND GRAY

FROM Banking via N. R.

Dated Sept. 19, 1937

Rec'd 1:15 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

686, September 19, noon.

First aerial bombing since August 27 occurred this morning eight thirty to ten during raid by Japanese light bombers and pursuits believed to have come from Shanghai and to have numbered twenty-one. Objectives were apparently Chinese Government radio station and or water works, military air field, and arsenal. A number of bombs were dropped in various places but no significant damage reported. Chinese claim four Japanese planes brought down and admit unofficially loss of one Chinese pursuit plane.

Sent to Department. Repeated to Peiping.

JOHNSON

RGC

PIES SENT TO
AND M.I.D.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 22 1937
Department of State

792.94/10133

F/FG
FILED

SEP 22 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

66-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RGC

GRAY

NOTIFICATION SERVICE
DIVISION OF FOREIGN

Nanking via N. R.
FROM

Dated Sept. 19, 1937.

Rec'd 2:15 p.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

687, September 19, 11 p.m.

Warning of Japanese authorities is being communicated to American citizens in Nanking. Short time remaining before September 21, noon will not permit of measures to enforce safety of American Government quarter. While I am reluctant to face interruption to contact with Chinese Government and to abandon public and private property in the Embassy, I shall, unless otherwise instructed, endeavor to take refuge with my staff on the U. S.S. LUXON before the hour set. I request Department ascertain earliest date on which I may return to resume my duties which for the time being must obviously be largely discontinued.

JOHNSON

RGC

793.94/10139

F/FG
FILED

SEP 22 1937

001F

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

GRAY

Shanghai via N. R.

FROM

Dated September 18, 6 p.m.

Rec'd 2:00 p.m.

DIVISION OF FOREIGN
SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

Secretary of State

Washington

COPIES SENT TO
C.N.I. AND M.I.D.

793.94 #724, September 18, 6 p.m.

My 708, September 14, 8 p.m.

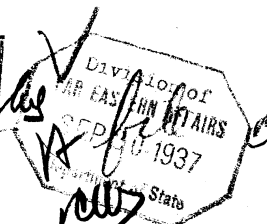
Military situation. The lines are substantially the same as reported in my 708. Constant rains for the past three days have held up operations but Japanese field artillery has been actively shelling Chapei and Markham road railway yards and an area southwest of Kiangwan village. At times artillery fire has been very heavy. Chinese are continuing to strengthen Chapei positions and are digging tank traps in streets. Japanese planes continue air bombing about Shanghai.

It is reported, but not confirmed, that Chiang Kai Shek is seriously considering further withdrawal of Chinese forces to stronger prepared positions farther inland and in such case that certain important Chinese regulars have been instructed to leave the foreign areas and move to Kunshan.

For the first time in weeks, Chinese flags were in evidence in Shanghai today as, half mast, they flew on anniversary of Mukden incident of 1931.

GAUSS

RGC
RBW



708.84/10140

FILED

F/FG

0017

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

67-1

FS

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

GRAY

Shanghai

Dated September 19, 1937

FROM

Rec'd 4:28a.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

RUSH

720, September 19, 1 p.m.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.

The Japanese Consul General has just handed me the following translation of a statement by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Third Fleet with the request that it be communicated to you for the information of our nationals and with the further request that you communicate it to other foreign embassies and legations at Nanking: "It being the objective of the Japanese operations to bring the present state of hostilities to an early conclusion by terminating hostile actions of the Chinese forces, and Nanking being the principal base of the Chinese military operations, the Japanese naval air force may, after twelve o'clock noon of September 21, 1937, have to resort to such offensive measures as bombing and otherwise upon the Chinese forces as well as all establishments pertaining to their military and activities, in and around the city of Nanking.

It needs no reiteration that the safety of the lives and property of nationals of friendly powers will be taken into full consideration during the projected offensive.

In

792.94/10141

F/16

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

167-2

FS 2-No. 728, September 19, 1 p.m. from Shanghai

In view, HOWEVER, of the possibility of such nationals becoming dangerously involved in the Sino-Japanese hostilities in spite of all precautions the Commander-in-Chief of the Third Fleet, Imperial Japanese Navy, is constrained to earnestly advise such officials and residents as are now living in and around Nanking to take adequate measures for voluntarily moving into areas of greater safety. The foreign warships as well as those who propose to avoid the danger on the Yangtse-kiang are advised to moor upstream from Hsiasanshan."

Sent to Nanking, repeated to Department, Commander-in-Chief informed.

GAUSS

0015

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER
Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

67-3
TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington,

1937 SEP 19 PM 1 09

Spec. Gray
TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL
PLAIN
Sept 19, 1937
2 p.m.

AmEmbassy

Nanking (China) *7/R*

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

✓ 250 Rush.
For your information.

Department has repeated Shanghai's 728, September 19, 1 p. m.
to Tokyo with request that Ambassador make immediate representations
in regard to the safety of the American Embassy and American nationals
at Nanking.

793.94/10141.

Hull
(m.m./d.)

793.94/10141

FE:MMH

F/A

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. O. R.—No. 50

1-1452 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

0020

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

FROM

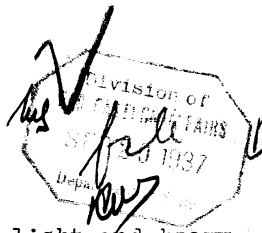
COMYANGPAT

September 19, 1937

Rec'd 7:30 a.m. 20th.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON FIVE
COMDESRON FIVE
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA PEIPING

793.94/10142



0019. Twenty-one planes including light and heavy bombers accompanied by pursuit planes raided Nanking at 0900 and 1600 today dropping several bombs. Apparent objectives were radio station, water works and commercial air field. Shrapnel fell on Standard Oil vessel MEI AN moored near Luzon. No injuries to personnel, Chinese claim four Japanese planes shot down. 2336

793.94/10142

EP 21 1937

FIFTH G

0 0 2 1

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MB0

PLAIN
FROM

Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 20, 1937

REC'd 7:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

688, September 20, 8 a.m.

Embassy's 686, September 19, noon. A second raid

793.94

occurred yesterday afternoon. According to official sources about the same number of Japanese planes participated as reported in morning raid with apparently same objectives at Nanking and some nearby military objective. Only damage concerning which we have obtained reports was suffered by civilian population in south city, a number of houses having been demolished and reportedly over fifty Chinese killed.

Sent to Department, repeated to Peiping.

JOHNSON

DDM

793.94/10143

F/FG
FILED
SEP 22 1937

0022

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

COMSOPAT

FROM

September 18, 1937

Rec'd 7:30 a.m. 20th

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: COMSUBRON FIVE
COMDESRON FIVE
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
FOURTH MARINES
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING

0119 South China area quiet 2200.

793.94

793.94/10144

F/AA
FILED
SEP 21 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Chute NARS, Date 12-18-75

JWB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

GRAY

FROM

Geneva

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 9:24 a.m.

793.9 d
mtb
500.C112

Secretary of State,
Washington.

314, September 20, 2 p.m.

FROM HARRISON.

Your 141, September 18, 3 p.m.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 20 1937
Department of State

Learn that Secretary General will deliver this
afternoon notice of convocation of the Advisory Committee
for tomorrow evening at 6 o'clock.

Upon the receipt of notice I will arrange to deliver
communication and also will advise you of date to be
inserted in the first paragraph and time of release to
press.

Am still awaiting confirmation requested in Consulate's
service for verification of group.

CSB

BUCKNELL

Note: Last paragraph answered
by service to Geneva.
Telegraph Section

793.94/10145

FYFED
EP 22 1937

4

0024

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

68-1

May

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL
PLAIN

Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

RECEIVED
Department of State

1937 SEP 18 PM 11 23

Washington,

September 18, 1937.

793.9
500.0
141
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS
AMERICAN CONSUL,
GENEVA (Switzerland)

38

For Harrison. On receipt of convocation to Advisory Commission, following instruction becomes applicable. Note last paragraph and advise urgently what date you insert for publication of note to Avenol.

One. As we have heretofore been represented at the meetings of the Advisory Committee, and as refusal now to be represented would be likely to occasion various ~~embarrassments~~ ^{misunderstandings}, you are authorized, upon the reconvening of the Committee, to attend on behalf of your Government in the character and under the conditions which attached to Mr. Hugh Wilson's attendance in the past. There was set forth in Mr. Wilson's note to the Secretary General of March 13, 1933, the following:

QUOTE The American Government is prepared to cooperate with the Advisory Committee in such manner as may be found appropriate and feasible. As it is necessary that the American Government exercise independence of judgment with regard to proposals which may be made and/or action which the Advisory Committee may recommend, it would seem that appointment by it of a representative to function as a member of the Committee would not be feasible. However,

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

793.94/10145A

F/A

0025

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Justesen NARS, Date 12-18-75

68-2

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR
 Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

- 2 -

Washington,

believing that participation by a representative of this Government in the deliberations of the Committee would be helpful, I am instructing the American Minister to Switzerland, Mr. Hugh R. Wilson, to be prepared so to participate, but without right to vote, if such participation is desired. UNQUOTE

Two. You will accordingly address to the Secretary General ~~General~~ the following communication:

QUOTE I am instructed by my Government to inform you that I have been authorized to attend the meeting of the Advisory Committee summoned for September in the same capacity and for the same purposes as those in and for which ^{Hugh} Mr. Wilson previously attended, which were indicated in a communication from Mr. ~~Wilson~~ Wilson to Sir Eric Drummond dated March 13, 1933.

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0026

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

68-3

TELEGRAM SENT

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department
 OR

Charge to
 \$

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

- 3 -

The American Government recalls that the Advisory Committee was created subsequent to and on the basis of a major decision in the field of policy arrived at by the Assembly in regard to a matter referred by the Council to the Assembly. In the understanding of the American Government, the Advisory Committee was created to aid the members of the League in concerting their action and their attitude among themselves and with non-member states for the carrying out of a policy recommended by the League. At present, until this Government is informed regarding the functions which the League will expect the Committee to perform, it is impossible for this Government to say to what extent it will be able ^{effectively to cooperate} ~~to continue this cooperation.~~

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0027

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department
 OR

Charge to
 \$

68-4
 TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

- 4 -

Washington,

In order that there may be no repeat no misunderstanding with regard to this Government's position and no repeat no confusion or delay flowing from uncertainty, this Government feels constrained to observe that it cannot take upon itself those responsibilities which devolve from the fact of their membership upon members of the League. It assumes that members of the League will arrive at their common decisions with regard to policy and possible courses of action by and through normal League procedure. This Government, believing thoroughly in the principle of collaboration among states of the world seeking to bring about peaceful solutions of international conflicts, will be prepared to give careful consideration to definite proposals which the League may address to it ~~suggesting action on parallel lines~~ but ~~it~~ will not repeat not, however, be prepared to state its position in regard to policies or plans submitted to it in terms of hypothetical inquiry. *End Encl.*

Three. In presenting this, you should say to Avenol, *Explanation* in ~~exploitation~~ of the concluding paragraph, that this Government feels that its position on the subject of peace, its commitments in various treaties, its views with regard to

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 80

1-2482 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

0028

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

68-5

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR

Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

- 5 -

Washington,

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTIAL
 PLAIN

principles which should govern in international relations,
 its general policy in regard to problems of the Far East,
 the course which it has followed in regard to the present
 conflict there, and provisions of law which govern its procedure
 are well known and should enable the members of the League
 readily to perceive the general trend of this country's policy,
 and accurately to estimate the likelihood of there being taken
 by this country action paralleling, supplementing or comple-
 menting courses of action which may be conceived by and decided
 upon by the League.

Also please say that we intend to release the text
 for appearance in the morning papers of September 11 and that
 we assume that the Secretariat will desire to make simultaneous
 release.

Handwritten signature
uRw

*President consulted
 and text approved
 by Secretary
 12/9/39 uRw*

PA/H:SKH:EJL:ZMK

FE

A-W

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 60

1-1402 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

0029

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

69-1

JWB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

GRAY

FROM

Shanghai via N.R.

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 9:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.L.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 20 1937
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE

731, September 20, 11 a.m.

My No. 711, September 15, 2 p.m.

Following is pertinent portion of reply of Japanese
Admiral dated September 18th:

"I am in complete agreement with you on the fact that
from humanitarian point of view it is most regrettable
that large numbers of noncombatants in the above districts
have been either killed or wounded by anti-aircraft
missiles. The Imperial Navy of Japan has so far ordered
its airplanes to refrain from flying over the International
Settlement south of Soochow Creek and the French Conces-
sion and has been and is doing all within its power for
taking every precaution as to the direction of its anti-
aircraft fire. Nevertheless, when confused with Chinese
airplanes making air raids from time to time, we have
occasions which we have no alternative but to protect
ourselves with gun fire. On such occasions we are placed
in a difficult position to exert sufficient consideration
as regards the direction of our high angle gun fire,
according to the moving progress of Chinese airplanes.

11

I

793.94/10146

F.F/FG

No 75
893.102 S

0030

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

69-2

FS 2-No. 731, September 20, 11 a.m. from Shanghai

I take it for granted that you would realize such possibility. In conclusion, I have to add that the contents of your letter has been duly transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Army."

Sent to the Department; repeated to Nanking and Tokyo.

CSB

GAUSS

0031

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1-138
PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
Charge Department
OR

Charge to
\$

70-1
TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PLAIN

Washington,

September 20, 1937.

11a

AMEMBASSY

LONDON

✓ 394

TRIPLE PRIORITY

Please inquire and report urgently any information
you can obtain from Foreign Office as to what the
British Government proposes to do in respect to notice
of Japanese Admiral ~~that~~ *relating to bombing of Nanking* ~~Nanking will be bombed on~~ *on 21st*
after 21st instant.

Moore

Acting.

WRW

793.94/10146A/

793.94/10146A/

A-W HRW/LM

JMD
FE
m.m.k.

E.U.

PM

F/A

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

Index Bu.—No. 50.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1935 1-138

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Hufsch NARS, Date 12-18-75

MB0

CORRECTED COPY

GRAY AND SPECIAL GRAY

Peiping via N.R.

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 7:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

10147

569, September 20, 11 a.m.

Embassy's 548, September 15, 4 p.m.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Divided
FAR EASTERN
SEP 21 1937

One. Local Chinese and certain Japanese, with associations which give them some knowledge of the political situation, certify that conversations with regard to a new political regime are in progress; that Wu Pei Fu is the man the Japanese want to head it; that he may yet accept, but not (repeat not) on the conditions now laid down by the Japanese; and that Han Fu Chu and Yen Hsi Shan are quite likely to be associated with the new regime. Tang Erh Ho and Hsu Lan Chou continue to be mentioned as possible alternatives for Wu.

Two. Some of these informants expect the regime to be established for the occupation of Paoting and Tsangchow. Others claim that Japanese military opinion is divided; that some want the early establishment of a North China Regime but that others want to wait until after an important victory

790.94/10147

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 569, September 20, from Peiping.

tory in the Yangtze valley has been achieved when a regime which can lay claim to being the government of all Chinese will be established with the capital at Peiping. Some of the informants think that a North China regime bounded by the Yellow River will be first established subsequently to be merged into a regime which would claim to be China.

Three. It is possible that a large part of the present political activities are being carried on by office seeking Chinese who formerly held office and that the Japanese Military have not yet arrived at definite decisions with regard to the political future. Major General Kita is reported to have informed a number of such Chinese recently at Peiping that the present is not (repeat not) the time for the establishment of a new regime.

Repeated to Nanking. Nanking repeat to Tokyo.

CSB

LOCKHART

0034

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huettem NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

FROM
GRAY AND SPECIAL GRAY

Peiping via N.R.

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 7:30 a.m.

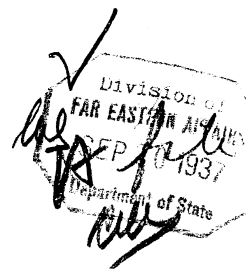
Secretary of State,

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

569, September 20, 11 a.m.

Embassy's 548, September 15, 4 p.m.



One. Local Chinese and certain Japanese with associations which give them some knowledge of the political situation, certify that conversations with regard to a new political regime are in progress; that Wu Pei Fu is the(?) the Japanese war head (?); that he may yet accept command but not (repeat not) on the conditions now laid down by the Japanese; and that Han Fu Chu and Yen Hsi Shan are quite likely to be associated with the new regime. Tang Erh Ho and Hsu Lan Chou are mentioned as (?) alternatives for Wu.

Two. Some of those informed expect the regime to be established (?) the occupation of Pacting and Tsangchow. Others claim that Japanese military opinion is divided; that some want the early establishment of a North China Regime but that others want to wait until after an important victory in the Yangtze valley has been achieved when

a regime

793.94/10147

FILED

F/FG

0035

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 569, September 20, from Peiping.

a regime which can lay (?) (?) only by all Chinese will be established with the capital at Peiping. Some of the informants think that a (?) China regime bounded by the Yellow River will be first established subsequently to be merged into a regime which would claim to be China.

Three. It is possible that a large part of the present political activities are being carried on by office seeking Chinese who formerly held office and that the Japanese Military have not yet arrived at definite decisions with regard to the political future. Major General Kita is reported to have informed a number of such Chinese recently at Peiping that the present is not (repeat not) the time for the establishment of a new regime.

Repeated to Nanking. Nanking repeat to Tokyo.

LOCKHART

CSB

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JWB

FC

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

GPO

FROM
Geneva

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 11:21 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

792.9d
note
500 C112

URGENT RUSH

316, September 20, 4 p.m.

FROM HARRISON

My 314, ¹⁰¹⁴⁵ September 20, 2 p.m. Notice of convocation
of the Advisory Committee for tomorrow evening at 6 o'clock
received.

Division of
Far Eastern Affairs
SEP 22 1937
Department of State
RAY

BUCKNELL

WWC

793.94/10148

F/PQED
EP 22 1937

0037

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

GPO

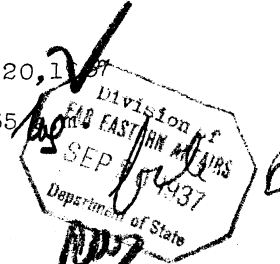
CINCAF

FROM

September 20, 1937

Rec'd 11:35

From Naval Communications
For information of the
State Department.



793.74

0020. Shanghai area quiet during last twenty four hours little military activity no confirmation Japanese reports slow progress Liuhang Lotien sectors where best units central army believed concentrated. Japanese lines claimed advance three kilometers West Lotien. No air activity Shanghai Japanese conducting extensive raids all important towns between Shanghai Nanking and bombing including non-military objectives threatened after twenty first. Japanese reported seizing fishing junks registered Hong Kong killing crews in several cases 1915

793.94/10149

FP 21 1937

FILED

F/FG

71

0038

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

71-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS
 This telegram must be
 closely paraphrased be-
 fore being communicated
 to anyone. (B)

FROM

Tokyo

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 10:40 a.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

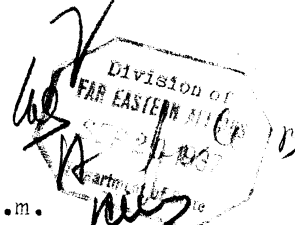
395, September 20, 8 p.m.

Department's 217, September 19, 2 p.m.

I called today on the Minister for Foreign Affairs
 and made to him the most earnest and emphatic representa-
 tions concerning the announced plans of the Japanese
 naval forces to bomb Nanking, pointing out the grave
 danger to the foreign diplomatic establishments and
 personnel and other noncombatants which would inevitably
 be involved if any such operations are carried out. I
 dwelt at length on the serious effect on American public
 opinion which some accident in connection with those
 operations would entail, and I spoke of the already mount-
 ing feeling against Japan in the United States and in the
 world at large and the fact that by her policy and course
 of action Japan is laying up for herself among the peoples
 of the world a liability of suspicion, distrust, popular
 antipathy and potential ostracism. I spoke earnestly of
 the responsibility which devolved on Hirota himself to
 guide Japan's foreign relations and to restrain the military
 and naval forces from action which is rapidly sacrificing

11

the



793.94/10150

FILED

OCT 2 1937

793.94
 note
 794.00

0035

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

71-2

FS 2-No. 395, September 20, 8 p.m. from Tokyo

the world's good will. Nothing whatever was left to Hirota's imagination in the directness and force of my statement's appeal.

The Minister listened gravely but made no effort to counter my observations. He said, however, that this afternoon orders had gone out from the Japanese Government to the naval command in China that in any bombing operations over Nanking the foreign diplomatic establishments and noncombatants were to be carefully avoided. He expressed the opinion that the bombing already reported in the press tonight was unimportant and not in the vicinity of the diplomatic establishments. He volunteered the opinion that the warning given by the navy that operations would commence tomorrow at noon was "too short".

My effort today was to try to bring home to the Minister, with maximum effect, the inevitable repercussion in the United States to so-called accidents in connection with Japanese bombing operations in Nanking and elsewhere in China. We must, I fear, reluctantly face the fact that the civil government in Tokyo wields very little influence with the military and naval forces where their general objectives are concerned and that even the strongest representations are insufficient to restrain them from incurring the grave risks of their present course of action.

Repeated to Shanghai for communication to the Commander-in-Chief and for relay to Nanking.

WWC

GREW

0040

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

71-3

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED

☒ CONFIDENTIAL CODE☐ NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE

PARTIAL

PLAIN

Collect

Charge Department

OR

Charge to

Department of State

This cable was sent in confidential Code
 It should be carefully paraphrased before
 being communicated to anyone. B-1

1937 SEP 20 PM 5 46

Washington,

September 20, 1937.

7 pm

AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

TOKYO (Japan).

219

Your 395, September 20, 8 p. m. / 10150

793.94/10150

One. I asked the Japanese Ambassador to call this afternoon. I pointed out to him that we were deeply concerned with regard to the announced plans of the Japanese naval forces to bomb Nanking. I told him that the notice gave insufficient time for the American Ambassador and other American nationals to arrange for measures toward ensuring the safety of the American Embassy and of American property. I stressed that the shortness of the notice was extremely regrettable. I told the Ambassador that we were seriously concerned not only with regard to the safety of the American Embassy and of American nationals at Nanking but also with regard to the unfortunate repercussions which would arise should the city of Nanking be subjected to a general bombing which would lay waste large sections of the city and kill and injure non-combatants. I said that regardless of whether such destruction was premeditated or accidental, the Japanese attack would arouse widespread and hostile criticism. I told the Ambassador that you had already approached the

793.94/10150

F/A 10150

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

0041

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department

OR

Charge to

\$

71-4
 TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

- 2 -

Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject. The Ambassador said that he had received a telegraphic report in regard to your conversation with the Foreign Minister and that according to his telegram the Foreign Minister had pointed out that Japanese bombing operations would be directed at Chinese military establishments and that the foreign diplomatic establishments and non-combatants were to be avoided. I pointed out to the Ambassador that it seemed highly desirable that, if the bombing attack were to be carried out, the bombing be postponed and that it be restricted in area. The Ambassador said that he would telegraph his Government tonight reporting this conversation and the American Government's concern.

Two. In reply to the Department's inquiry, the American Embassy at London telegraphs that the British Foreign Office is sending a telegram to the British Ambassador at Tokyo directing the British Ambassador to make representations to the Japanese Government. Please inform your British colleague of the action already taken by you and of my conversation here with the Japanese Ambassador.

FE:MMH:ZMK:REK

Enciphered by

FE

m.m.H.

Moore Acting
Approved by Mr. Wilson
m.m.H.

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0042

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM SENT

71-5

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED

CONFIDENTIAL CODE ☒

NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE

PARTAIR

PLAIN

This Charge is sent in confidential Code

If sending in confidential Code, please indicate whether

it is a confidential message or a confidential code

A.Y.

1937 SEP 21 PM 5 24

Washington, *Special Telegram*

September 21, 1937.

6 pm

AMEMBASSY,

TOKYO (Japan).

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS

221 Urgent and Confidential

Department's 217, September 19, 2 p.m., and your 395,

September 20, 8 p.m.

Please present as soon as possible to the Minister
 for Foreign Affairs as under instruction from the American
 Government a note reading as follows:

(Special Telegram) QUOTE The American Government refers to the statement
 by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Third Fleet which
 was handed to the American Consul General at Shanghai on
 September 19 announcing the ~~intention~~ *project* of the Japanese Naval
 Air Force, after twelve o'clock noon of September 21, 1937,
 to resort to bombing and other measures of offense in and
 around the city of Nanking, and warning the officials and
 nationals of third powers living there SUBQUOTE to take
 adequate measures for voluntary moving into areas of greater
 safety END SUBQUOTE.

The American Government objects both to ~~the~~ *such* jeopardizing
~~the intention~~ of the lives of its nationals and of non-combatants
 generally and to the suggestion that its officials and nationals
 now residing in and around Nanking should withdraw from the
 areas in which they are lawfully carrying on their legitimate
 Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 80

1-1402 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10150

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR
 Charge to
 \$

71-6
 TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
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 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

- 2 -

Washington.

activities.

Immediately upon being informed of the announcement under reference, the American Government gave instruction to the American Ambassador at Tokyo to express to the Japanese Government this Government's concern; and that instruction was carried out. On the same day, the concern of this Government was expressed by the ~~Assistant Secretary of State~~ ^{Vice Secretary of State} to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington.

This Government holds the view that any general bombing of an extensive area wherein there resides a large populace engaged in peaceful pursuits is unwarranted and contrary to principles of law and of humanity. Moreover, in the present instance the period allowed for withdrawal is inadequate, and, in view of the wide area over which Japanese bombing operations have prevailed, there can be no repeat no assurance that even in areas to which American nationals and non-combatants might withdraw they would be secure.

Notwithstanding the reiterated assurance that QUOTE the safety of the lives and property of nationals of friendly powers will be taken into full consideration during the projected offensive UNQUOTE, this Government is constrained to observe

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

71-7

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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 OR
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
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 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

- 3 -

Washington,

that/experience/has shown/that, when and where/aerial/ bomb-
 ing/operations/are engaged in, no/repeat/no/amount of/
 solicitude/on the part of/the authorities /responsible/therefor,
 is/effective/toward/ensuring/the/safety/of any/persons/or /
 any/property/within the/area/of such/operations/

Reports/of /bombing/operations/by/Japanese/planes/at /
 and/around/Nanking/both/before/and since the/issuance/of the/
 announcement/under reference/indicate/that these /operations/
 almost/invariably/result in/extensive/destruction/of/non-/
 combatant/life/and/non/military establishments./

In view of the fact/that/Nanking/is the/seat of govern-
 ment/in China/and that/there/the American Ambassador/and
 other/agencies/of the/American Government/carry on/their/
 essential/functions/, the American Government/~~just on Sept. 7, 1937~~
~~the creation of~~ a situation/~~created by the Japanese military~~
~~forced~~ in consequence of which/the American Ambassador/and
 other/agencies of this Government/are/confronted/with the/
 alternative/of/abandoning/their/establishments/or/being/
 exposed/to/ grave/hazards./

In the/light/of the/assurances/repeatedly/given by/the
 Japanese Government/that the/objectives/of/Japanese/military
 operations/are/limited/strictly/to/Chinese/military/agencies /

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0045

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

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 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

- 4 -

Washington.

and establishments and that the Japanese Government has no repeat no intention of making non-military property and non-combatants the direct objects of attack, and of the Japanese Government's expression of its desire to respect the Embassies, warships and merchant vessels of the powers at Nanking, the American Government cannot believe that the intimation that the whole Nanking area may be subjected to bombing operations represents the considered intent of the Japanese Government.

The American Government, therefore, reserving all rights on its own behalf and on behalf of American nationals in respect to damages which might result from Japanese military operations in the Nanking area, expresses the earnest hope that further bombing in and around the city of Nanking will be avoided. UNQUOTE.

Report by urgent cable when note is presented. 3.4.4.
 (End Special Duty) *Full*

FE:MMH:SKH/ZMK

FE

Enciphered by 6144Sent by operator M., 19

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Huefner NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

FROM

Peiping via N.R.

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 12:32 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

COPIES SENT

O.N.I. AND BUREAU

571, September 20, 5 p.m.

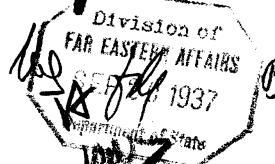
Embassy's 566, September 18, 5 p.m.

One. According to statements of the local Japanese military, the situation along the Peiping-Hankow Railway has changed since the above mentioned telegram as follows: Japanese forces have occupied Tinghsing and Kuchengchen on the Peiping-Hankow Railway and Laishui and Yichow on the branch railway running west from Kaopaitien; the Chinese forces continue to retreat in the direction of Paoting; and the Japanese expect no serious resistance until Paoting is reached.

Repeated to Nanking.

LOCKHART

RR



793.94/10151

FILED
SEP 24 1937

F/FG

004

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

72-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY
FROM
London

Dated September 20, 1937

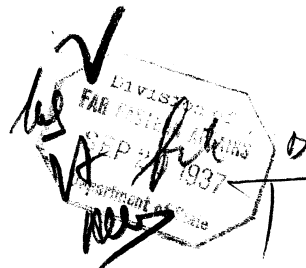
Rec'd 1:50 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

TRIPLE PRIORITY

601, September 20, 7 p.m.

Your 394, ^{N.C.} August 20, 11 a.m.



Foreign Office states that a telegram to the British Ambassador at Tokyo is now being encoded for immediate despatch. The Ambassador will be instructed to inform the Japanese Government immediately that the British Government cannot admit that Nanking in general, as distinct from military establishments outside the town, is a legitimate object for air attack. Any attack not confined to military establishments outside the town cannot help endangering civilian lives which the Japanese Government has declared that it does not desire. Nor can the British Government admit that the Japanese Government has any right to expect foreign diplomats and nationals to vacate Nanking in order to avoid danger of air attack or to move warships which may be there to protect their nationals and to maintain communications of the Embassy. The British Government

RESERVES

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0048
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

72-2

MBo 2- No. 601, September 20, from London.

reserves the right to hold the Japanese Government liable for any injury to British lives and property resulting from air attack.

British representatives at Washington, Paris, Berlin, and Rome will be instructed to advise the Governments to which they are accredited of this action.

JOHNSON

CSB

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JWB

7/17

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

GRAY

FROM Riga

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 2:32 p. m.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 24 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

793.94

Secretary of State

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.B.

128, September 20, 5 p. m.

Legation's despatch No. 790 / 9956 August 21st and previous.

Following is a summary of another interview with the Japanese Military Attache here published in the Riga SCHERUNDSCHAU of September 18th. Japan is not yet waging war since the Emperor has not yet declared war. Japanese weapons are not directed against the Chinese people. The present conflict will last until the Nanking Government is eliminated. Abandonment by present Chinese leaders of Pan-Asianism under influence of Communist International has disturbed former good relations of Chinese and Japanese. Communist International intends to weaken Japan. Chiang Kai Shek has four opponents: Japan, the generals, the Communist International and chauvinism.

While the present conflict will probably not last long Japan is ready for extended military action. If China complied with her anti-Asiatic policy the conflict can spread and take on an even more unpleasant aspect. China can not hold out long because of internal dissension and because

793.94/10153

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RB

-2-128, September 20, 5 p. m. from
Riga

because the Japanese blockade has tied up the import of arms and food. Japan does not want war with Russia but is always ready. A new government must be established in China friendly to Japan and unfriendly to the Communist International. Chiang Kai Shek is unfriendly to Japan and is supported by the Communist International. Despatch follows. Copies to London, Paris, Moscow.

PACKER

VWC

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

October 4, 1937.

~~MMB:~~

The enclosures to this despatch contain a chronological account of representations and inquiries made by the American, British and French Embassies to the Foreign Office on matters growing out of the Sino-Japanese conflict. These accounts are resums of matters already reported by telegraph. The subjects on which the American Embassy has made representations as described therein include (1) the blockade of Chinese shipping, (2) the American Government's request that Tsingtao not be made a theater for military operations, (3) the request of the American Government in connection with the non-interruption of the use of the Hankow-Canton Railway line, (4) the bombing of Nanking, and (5) the reservation of American rights with respect to damages resulting from military activities. There is also a resumé of the observations previously telegraphed by the Embassy to the Department with regard to the question of maintaining America's traditional friendship with both combatants and also of the considerations why it would be superfluous to appeal to the Japanese Government to avoid bombing at Tientsin.

Subjects dealt with in the British Embassy's representations were (1) the wounding of the British Ambassador to China,

and (2)

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quastler NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

-2-

and (2) the question of rendering the Hankow-Canton Railway immune from attack.

Subjects dealt with in the French Embassy's representations were (1) the Japanese blockade of Chinese shipping, and (2) the rendering of the Hankow-Canton Railway immune from attack.

COMMENT: The resumé is useful chiefly for purposes of convenient reference.


FE:JWB:SMJ

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 4, 1937.

MMH:

The enclosures to this despatch contain a chronological account of representations and inquiries made by the American, British and French Embassies to the Foreign Office on matters growing out of the Sino-Japanese conflict. These accounts are resumés of matters already reported by telegraph. The subjects on which the American Embassy has made representations as described therein include (1) the blockade of Chinese shipping, (2) the American Government's request that Tsingtao not be made a theater for military operations, (3) the request of the American Government in connection with the non-interruption of the use of the Hankow-Canton Railway line, (4) the bombing of Nanking, and (5) the reservation of American rights with respect to damages resulting from military activities. There is also a resumé of the observations previously telegraphed by the Embassy to the Department with regard to the question of maintaining America's traditional friendship with both combatants and also of the considerations why it would be superfluous to appeal to the Japanese Government to avoid bombing at Tientsin.

Subjects dealt with in the British Embassy's representations were (1) the wounding of the British Ambassador to China,

(2)

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

and (2) the question of rendering the
Hankow-Canton Railway immune from attack.

Subjects dealt with in the French Em-
bassy's representations were (1) the Japanese
blockade of Chinese shipping, and (2) the
rendering of the Hankow-Canton Railway immune
from attack.

COMMENT: The resumé is useful chiefly for
purposes of convenient reference.

FE:JWB:SMJ

0056

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Huefem NARS, Date 12-18-75



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
 OF THE
 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY
 Tokyo, September 3, 1937.

No. 2568.

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATIONS MADE AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE
 AMERICAN EMBASSY AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE BRITISH
 AND FRENCH EMBASSIES IN TOKYO WITH RESPECT TO THE
 SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT.

793.94

RECEIVED
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 SEP 20 AM 11 41

793.94/10156

Copy in FE
 [Handwritten initials and signatures]

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
 Washington.

Sir:

793.94/10048

With reference to my despatch No. 2556 of August 28,
 1937, I have the honor to enclose outlines prepared by a
 member of my staff on the following subject:

- I. Recommendations made and steps taken by the
 American Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the
 Sino-Japanese conflict from August 26 to
 September 2, 1937, inclusive.
- II. Steps taken by the British Embassy in Tokyo
 with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from
 August 26 to September 2, 1937, inclusive, (so far
 as is known to this Embassy.)

III.

FILED 10156

0057

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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III. Steps taken by the French Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from August 26 to September 2, 1937, inclusive, (so far as is known to this Embassy.)

Respectfully yours,



Joseph C. Grew.

710
GDA:C

3 Enclosures:

- I. Recommendations made and steps taken by the American Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from August 26 to September 2, 1937, inclusive.
- II. Steps taken by the British Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from August 26 to September 2, 1937, inclusive, (so far as is known to this Embassy).
- III. Steps taken by the French Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from August 26 to September 2, 1937, inclusive, so far as is known to this Embassy).

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch
 No. 2568 of Sept. 3, 1937 from the
 Embassy at Tokyo.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION I -- RECOMMENDATIONS MADE AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE
 AMERICAN EMBASSY IN TOKYO WITH RESPECT TO THE
 SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT FROM AUGUST 26 TO
 SEPTEMBER 2, 1937.

On August 26 Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Affairs Section of the Foreign Office, handed to Mr. Dooman, Counselor of the Embassy, a copy of the statement issued on that day by the Foreign Office regarding the decision of the Japanese naval authorities to close to traffic of Chinese vessels a portion of the Chinese sea coast. With reference to the last sentence of the statement to the effect that the Japanese Navy had no intention of interfering with "peaceful commerce" carried on by third Powers, Mr. Dooman inquired whether any consideration had been given to the status of Chinese vessels owned wholly or in substantial part by third party nationals and to the treatment of cargo so owned on arrested Chinese vessels. Mr. Yoshizawa declined to make any comment but stated that the Foreign Office would be glad to give sympathetic consideration to any case involving property rights of American nationals if and when such case should arise. (Embassy's telegrams No. 316, August 26, and No. 323 August 28, 1937).

On the following day the Embassy's Naval Attaché inquired of the Senior Aide to the Navy Minister as to the meaning of the Senior Aide's statements that "the blockade aims principally at destroying the fighting power of the Chinese and will not unnecessarily seize

Chinese

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

Chinese vessels and confiscate the cargoes aboard them" and that "the Japanese will duly respect peaceful commerce being carried on by third Powers and will never interfere with it". In reply, the Senior Aide stated that Chinese trade would be interfered with only to the extent of confiscating war supplies on Chinese ships and that by "peaceful commerce of third Powers" was meant ordinary commerce which now might include cargo of a warlike nature. When asked as to the status of Chinese vessels owned wholly or in part by a third party, the Senior Aide said that war supplies if on board would be confiscated but that the vessel and the remainder of the cargo would be subsequently freed. (Embassy's telegram No. 322, August 27, 1937).

In a telegram sent to the Department on August 27, the Ambassador reiterated his statement that he was in complete accord with Mr. Johnson's opposition to any American step which might be considered as urging China to purchase peace with the loss of sovereign rights. (telegram to the Department from the Embassy at Nanking, No. 410, August 12; and the Embassy's telegrams No. 261, August 13, and No. 321, August 27). The Ambassador stated that he was equally of the opinion that any attempt by the United States to thwart, by manifestation of disapprobation on legal or moral grounds, the development of Japan's China policy would have no beneficial effect and if persisted in would tend to obliterate the elements of friendship on the part of Japan towards the

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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the United States which had been and were daily being developed by the American Government's tactics, methods, and manner of procedure in the present conflict.

It was further stated in this telegram that in the Embassy's opinion the fundamental objectives of the United States should be: (1) to avoid involvement; (2) to protect to the uttermost the lives, property, and rights of American citizens; and (3) while reserving complete neutrality, to maintain America's traditional friendship with both combatants. The Ambassador added that it was the Embassy's belief that much might be accomplished by appealing, either alone or in concert with other Powers, for restraining or circumscribing military operations in specific localities where foreigners and foreign property are in danger but that until a stalemate had occurred or until military victory by one of the contestants had been achieved, moral intervention by the Powers which could be interpreted as partial to either contestant would have no good effect. Embassy's telegram No. 321, August 27, 1937).

In a conversation with the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs on August 28 Mr. Dooman informally and not under instruction urged the need for authoritative elucidation of the principles under which the "China blockade" would be carried out. Mr. Horinouchi replied that if the Embassy wished to set forth in a memorandum points with regard to which clarification was desired, he would undertake to have an authoritative statement prepared.

Accordingly

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 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Accordingly, the Ambassador recommended to the Department on August 28 that he be granted authorization to present to the Foreign Office as soon as possible a memorandum to the effect that the American Embassy would appreciate a statement by the Foreign Office with regard to the following points: (a) are vessels flying the Chinese flag owned wholly or in substantial part by third party nationals to be regarded for the purposes of the declaration as "Chinese vessels"?; (b) what action is proposed to be taken by the Japanese Navy with regard to any cargo wholly or in substantial part owned by third party nationals carried on vessels flying the Chinese flag and navigating the waters specified in the declaration?; (c) have instructions been given by the Japanese Government to Admiral Hasegawa to refrain from stopping, in order to verify documentation or for any other purpose, vessels flying the flag of third party countries?

On August 31, the Ambassador reported to the Department that in reply to inquiries received from the French Ambassador concerning the "China blockade", the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated that arms and ammunition carried on board the vessels of third Powers would not come within the scope of the present measure; that, however, the Japanese Government must inspect suspected ships for the identification of their nationality in view of the fact that after the issuance of the declaration

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Huelsman NARS, Date 12-18-75

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tion Chinese ships had been flying foreign flags; and that, since the importation of war supplies into China was bound to increase Chinese opposition against Japan, future developments might compel the Japanese Government "to devise more effective and suitable measures to stop all importation of arms and ammunitions into China". It was further stated in the Embassy's telegram to the Department that any inquiry from the American Embassy would probably draw forth a reply identic to that given to the French Ambassador and that no action would be taken by the Embassy in this matter until the Embassy's telegram had been received and acknowledged by the Department. (Embassy's telegram No. 329, August 31, 1937).

On August 31 the Department replied that it seemed to the Department that further inquiry would be neither helpful nor desirable in view of the statements made to the Embassy's Naval Attaché by the Senior Aide to the Navy Minister on August 27 and also in view of the contents of the Embassy's telegram reporting Mr. Horinouchi's reply of August 30 to the French Ambassador's inquiries of August 28 concerning the "China blockade". (Embassy's telegrams No. 322, August 27 and No. 329, August 31; and the Department's telegram No. 184 of August 31, 1937).

Pursuant to the Department's instructions, Mr. Dooman called on Mr. Horinouchi on August 28 and handed him a note to the effect that the American Government reserved all rights on its behalf and on behalf of

American

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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American nationals in respect to damages to or loss of American property or on account of death or injuries sustained by American nationals as a result of the activities of Japanese armed forces in the course of or incident to military operations in progress in China. Similar instructions were sent by the Department to the American Ambassador at Nanking regarding American lives and property as affected by the activities of Chinese armed forces. (Department's telegram No. 169, August 26, and Embassy's telegram No. 326, August 28, 1937).

At the time of presenting the above-mentioned note to the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and under the Department's instructions, Mr. Dooman asked Mr. Horinouchi whether reports of the evacuation of Japanese nationals from Tsingtao were correct and asked when the Embassy might expect a reply to its note of August 23 concerning the American Government's request that Tsingtao not be made a theatre or base of military operations. (Department's telegrams No. 159, of August 21, and No. 173 of August 27; and Embassy's telegram No. 297, August 23, 1937.)

In reply, Mr. Horinouchi confirmed reports of the evacuation of Japanese nationals from Tsingtao and stated that the Japanese Government would reply to the American Government's note of August 23 "within a day or two". He added that the reply had been withheld awaiting results of negotiations which had been taking
place

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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place between the Japanese Consul General and the Mayor of Tsingtao (Embassy's telegram No. 326, August 28, 1937).

On August 27 the American, German, British, French, and Italian Ambassadors at Nanking addressed a note to the Chinese Foreign Office urging that the Chinese Government give suitable assurances that aerial bombing in Tientsin would not be undertaken by the Chinese.

(Telegram to the Department from the Embassy at Nanking No. 549, August 28, 1937). In its telegram No. 178 of August 29, the Department instructed the Ambassador in Tokyo to associate himself with his interested colleagues in making an appropriate approach to the Japanese Government with regard to bombardment of Tientsin by Japanese airplanes (Department's instruction No. 178, August 29, 1937).

The Ambassador reported by telegram on August 31 that his concerned colleagues in Tokyo felt that since the Japanese were in complete control in Tientsin it would be superfluous and unwise to appeal to the Japanese Government to avoid aerial bombing there. It was added by the Ambassador that he and his interested colleagues felt that representations in this case would merely tend to weaken their representations in other cases where real danger is involved and that they did not propose to take action.

The Ambassador stated further that he would not make representations unless the Department desired him to take action alone. (Embassy's telegram No. 330,

August

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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August 31, 1937).

Acting under instructions received from the Department, the Ambassador addressed a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on August 31 inviting his attention to the fact that the railway which connected Hankow with Canton and Hong Kong was being used by foreign nationals who were being evacuated from China. The Embassy's note expressed the American Government's hope that every care would be used by Japanese military planes not to machine-gun or bomb trains or otherwise interrupt the use of that railway line for the evacuation of foreigners. In this note the Ambassador added that he was associating himself with similar representations which, according to his information, certain of his colleagues were submitting to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. (Telegram to the Department from the Embassy at Nanking, No. 554, August 29; Department's telegram No. 180, August 30, and Embassy's telegram No. 333, August 31, 1937).

On September 1 the Minister for Foreign Affairs handed to the Ambassador the Japanese Government's reply to the Embassy's note of August 27, which appealed for the avoidance of hostilities in Tsingtao. The gist of the Japanese Government's note was that in the Japanese Government's belief Chinese military activities in and around Tsingtao had been rendered absolutely unnecessary by reason of the "peaceful steps" taken by the Japanese Government, namely, the steps taken for the evacuation

of

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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of Japanese nationals from Tsingtao; that the Japanese Government had been conducting negotiations with the Chinese authorities with a view to obtaining a definite assurance from them that Chinese military activities in and around Tsingtao were unnecessary; that, however, the attitude of the Mayor of Tsingtao seemed to be extremely unsatisfactory; and that the Japanese Government was urging upon the Chinese authorities to refrain from "taxing unduly the patience of the Japanese Government by ignoring its friendly action and its most reasonable wishes". (Embassy's telegram No. 334, September 1, 1937.)

Incorporating the Department's two telegraphic instructions in one representation, on September 1 the Ambassador read aloud and handed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs an aide mémoire to the following effect: in view of the fact that the extensive bombing of Nanking on the night of August 26 and on previous occasions had placed in danger the lives and property of noncombatants, both foreign and Chinese, the Japanese authorities might desire to limit future action in accordance with the restraints which considerations of humanity and international comity usually impose on the bombing of the political capital of a country, especially when no state of war exists; basing its appeal on America's friendly relations with China and with Japan, the American Government requested the discontinuance of activities which, despite their military objectives, result actually

in

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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in the indiscriminate destruction of property used for educational and other non-military purposes and in the wounding and painful death of civilians; in general the American Government requested that the Japanese Government refrain from attacks upon defenseless cities, hospitals, trains, and motor cars, etc., inasmuch as widespread bombing operations were being carried out by the Japanese military throughout Chinese territory and as there were American citizens still scattered throughout China who would have to use the railways and motor roads as their only means of leaving for places of comparative safety; and Japan declared that it was not at war with China and yet its airplanes were conducting raids far in the interior, dropping deadly missiles with consequent serious damage to the rights of other nations. The Embassy's note ended with an expression of hope that appropriate instructions might be issued by the Japanese Government to its military forces in the field. (Embassy's telegram No. 335, September 1, 1937).

Expressing himself with strong emphasis, the Ambassador appealed orally to Mr. Hirota on the basis of humanity as well as practical wisdom to take steps to avoid the serious risk of injuring Japanese-American relations which would inevitably occur if American citizens should be injured by the apparently indiscriminate bombing operations then being carried on by Japanese forces in various parts of China. Furthermore, the Ambassador pointed out Mr. Hirota's responsibility for guiding the political relations

of

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
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of Japan, which might be considered as paramount to military considerations.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied to the Ambassador that it was the intention of the Japanese forces in China to attack only military establishments but that mistakes were unfortunately inevitable and that he would bring the American Embassy's representations to the attention of the War and Navy Ministries. (Embassy's telegram No. 335, September 1, 1937).

On September 2 the Embassy received a reply from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to its note of August 28, 1937, which stated that the American Government reserved all rights on its behalf and on behalf of American nationals in respect to damages to or loss of American property or on account of death or injuries sustained by American nationals as a result of the activities of Japanese armed forces in the course of or incident to military operations in progress in China. The Japanese Government's reply stated that the military operations which had been taken and were being taken by Japanese forces in China were "confined to measures of defense against illegal and provocative acts on the part of China" and that therefore the Japanese Government was not liable for damages or losses sustained by nationals of third countries as a result of fighting in that area. (Department's telegram No. 169, August 26, Embassy's telegrams No. 326, August 28, and No. 337, September 2, 1937).

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch
No 2568 of Sept. 3, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION II -- STEPS TAKEN BY THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN TOKYO
WITH RESPECT TO THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT
FROM AUGUST 26 TO SEPTEMBER 2, 1937, INCLUSIVE.
(SO FAR AS KNOWN TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY).

Under instructions from his Government, on August 29 the British Chargé d'Affaires presented a note to the Japanese Foreign Office concerning the wounding by the machine-gun fire of a Japanese airplane of Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, British Ambassador to China, while the latter was en route to Shanghai from Nanking by motor car. The note "requested" (1) a formal apology to be conveyed by the Japanese Government to the British Government; (2) suitable punishment of those responsible for the attack; and (3) an assurance by the Japanese authorities that the necessary measures would be taken to prevent the recurrence of incidents of such a character.

This note, couched in reasonably moderate terms, brought out the following points: that the attack was illegal because it was made on a noncombatant; that the foreign or diplomatic status of the occupants of the car was irrelevant; that the attack involved at best negligence and complete disregard of the safety of civilian life; that the Ambassador was travelling in a locality where there were no Chinese troops and no actual hostilities in progress; and that the absence of a declared state of war emphasized the inexcusable nature of the incident. (Embassy's telegram No. 327, August 29, 1937).

On

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On August 31 or soon thereafter, the British Chargé d'Affaires, under his Government's instructions and in association with his American and French colleagues, addressed a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the effect that the railway which connected Hankow with Canton and Hong Kōng was being used by foreign nationals who were being evacuated from China and that the British Government expressed the hope that every care would be used by Japanese military planes not to machine-gun or bomb trains or otherwise interrupt the use of that railway line for the evacuation of foreigners. The German and Italian Ambassador envisaged only an oral approach to the Foreign Office on this matter. (Embassy's telegram No. 333, August 31, 1937).

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 3 to despatch
 No. 2568 of September 3, 1937,
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

SECTION III -- STEPS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH EMBASSY WITH
 RESPECT TO THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT
 FROM AUGUST 26 TO SEPTEMBER 2, 1937,
 INCLUSIVE, (SO FAR AS IS KNOWN TO THE
 AMERICAN EMBASSY.)

On August 28 the French Ambassador sent his Counselor to the Foreign Office in connection with the China blockade announcement for the purpose of making "serious reservations" regarding the attitude of the French Government and of inquiring as to the interpretation of the term "peaceful commerce" mentioned in the announcement with reference to the Japanese Navy's intention not to interfere with such commerce carried on by third Powers. (Embassy's telegram No. 323, August 28, 1937).

According to what the French Ambassador told Mr. Grew, the Vice Minister professed "entire ignorance" of the announcement by the Navy, which gave the Ambassador the impression that the declaration had been made without consulting the Foreign Office. Presumably, the French Ambassador was somewhat confused concerning the Vice Minister's profession of "entire ignorance" of the Navy's announcement, inasmuch as on February 26 the Foreign Office itself had made an announcement covering the decision of the Japanese naval authorities and specifically stating that "peaceful commerce carried on by third Powers will be fully respected, the Japanese Navy having no intention of interfering with it." (Embassy's telegram No. 323, August 28, 1937).

Two days later the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs handed the French Ambassador as an "oral" reply a written statement to the effect that arms and munitions carried on board the vessels of third Powers did not come within the scope of the blockade measure; that, however, the Japanese Government must inspect suspected ships for the identification of their nationality in view of the fact that Chinese ships

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ships had been flying foreign flags in order to evade the application of the blockade declaration; and that, since the importation of war supplies into China was bound to increase Chinese opposition against Japan, future developments might compel the Japanese Government "to devise more effective and suitable measures to stop all importation of arms and ammunitions into China." (Embassy's telegram No. 329, August 31, 1937).

On August 31 or soon thereafter, the French Ambassador, under his Government's instructions and in association with his American and British colleagues, addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a note to the general effect that the railway which connected Hankow with Canton and Hong Kong was being used by foreign nationals who were being evacuated from China and that the French Government expressed the hope that every care would be used by Japanese military planes not to machine-gun or bomb trains or otherwise interrupt the use of that railway line for the evacuation of foreigners. (Embassy's telegram No. 333, August 31, 1937).

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

245 - to note in table for
JWB: assurances
JWB:
1007:
P.H.:

September 29, 1937.

The Embassy at Tokyo transmits, for the purpose of the records, copies of various notes, letters, memoranda, et cetera, relating to the Sino-Japanese conflict.

The pertinent portions of most of these documents have already been communicated to the Department. However, you will possibly wish to read No. 14 (indicated by marker).

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
 OF THE
 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Tokyo, September 3, 1937.

No. 2570

SUBJECT: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

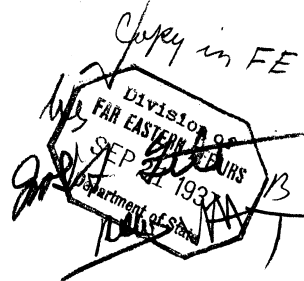
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SECTION
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS



793.94/10157

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
 Washington.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 2548 7957
 1 / 15 dated August 19, 1937, I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the purpose of the records, copies of various notes, letters, memoranda and other communications since August 27, 1937, relating to Sino-Japanese relations.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph C. Grew.

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 ESC:f

Annex:

List of enclosures.

15 enclosures

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F/FG

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LIST OF ENCLOSURES TRANSMITTED WITH DESPATCH NO. 2570,
 SEPTEMBER 3, 1937.

- 1/ The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, August 27, 1937.
- 2/ The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota, August 29, 1937.
- 3/ "Oral" reply from the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Horinouchi to the French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry, August 30, 1937.
- 4/ Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, the French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti, August 30, 1937.
- 5/ Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, the French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti, August 31, 1937.
- 6/ The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, August 31, 1937.
- 7/ Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, the French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti, August 31, 1937.
- 8/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota, August 31, 1937.
- 9/ Translation by the American Embassy, Tokyo, of a note in Japanese, August 31, 1937.
- 10/ Translation, in part by the Japanese Foreign Office, of note received by the American Embassy, Tokyo, August 31, 1937.
- 11/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota, September 1, 1937.
- 12/ Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, the French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti, September 1, 1937.
- 13/ The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, September 1, 1937.
- 14/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota, September 1, 1937.
- 15/ The German Ambassador, Mr. Von Dirksen to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, September 2, 1937.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch
No. 2570 of Sept. 3, 1937. from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

The British Chargé d' Affaires, Mr. Dodds,
to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.

(507/70/37)

BRITISH EMBASSY,
TOKYO.

27th August, 1937.

My dear Ambassador,

I beg leave to acknowledge with my thanks
your letter of 26th August regarding action taken by
the five Ambassadors at Nanking to obtain from the
Japanese and Chinese authorities an engagement that
hostilities should not take place in the River Wangpoo
above a line running from Soochow Creek to Pootung Point.

I have now received word from the British
Admiral at Shanghai to the effect that further dif-
ficulties having arisen in regard to the Japanese
position in this matter he does not consider it
worth while to pursue the question of the neutrali-
sation of this area any further.

In these circumstances, I do not propose
to take any action for the present.

Believe me, my dear Ambassador,

Yours very sincerely,

J. L. Dodds.

His Excellency
Mr. Joseph Clark Grew,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
for the United States of America at
TOKYO.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 2 to
despatch No. 2570 of 24.3, 1937.
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds,
to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.

COPY.

British Embassy,
TOKYO
August 29, 1937.

No. 125.

Your Excellency,

The Japanese Government will be aware of the injuries sustained by Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, His Majesty's Ambassador to China, as a result of shooting from Japanese military aeroplanes when motoring with members of his staff from Nanking to Shanghai on August 26th last. The facts were as follows:-

His Majesty's Ambassador was proceeding from Nanking to Shanghai on August 26th accompanied by the Military Attaché and the Financial Adviser to His Majesty's Embassy and a Chinese chauffeur. The party occupied two black saloon cars of obviously private character, each flying the Union Jack, approximately eighteen inches by twelve inches in size on the near side of the car projecting above the roof. At about 2.30 p.m. and about eight miles north-west of Taitsang, i.e., some forty miles from Shanghai, the cars were attacked by machine-gun fire from a Japanese aeroplane. The aeroplane which fired the machine-gun dived from the off-side of the car at a right angle to it. This was followed by a bomb attack from a second Japanese aeroplane from a height of about two hundred feet. The Ambassador was hit by a nickel steel bullet (subsequently found embedded in the car) which penetrated the side of the abdomen and grazed the spine.

His

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

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His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have received with deep distress and concern the news of this deplorable event in respect of which they must record their emphatic protest and request the fullest measure of redress.

Although non-combatants, including foreigners resident in the country concerned, must accept the inevitable risk of injury resulting indirectly from the normal conduct of hostilities, it is one of the oldest and best established rules of international law that direct or deliberate attacks on non-combatants are absolutely prohibited; whether inside or outside the area in which hostilities are taking place.

Aircraft are in no way exempt from this rule which applies as much to attack from the air as to any other form of attack.

Nor can the plea of accident be accepted where the facts are such as to show, at best negligence and a complete disregard for the sanctity of civilian life. In the present case the facts which have been recorded above make it clear that this was no accident resulting from any normal hostile operation and it should have been obvious to the aircraft that they were dealing with non-combatants.

The plea, should it be advanced, that the flags carried on the cars were too small to be visible is irrelevant. There would have been no justification for the attack even had the cars carried no flags at all. The foreign, even diplomatic, status of the occupants is also irrelevant. The real issue is that they were non-combatants. The aircraft no doubt did not intend to attack His Majesty's Ambassador as such. They apparently did intend to attack non-combatants and that suffices in itself to constitute an illegality.

It

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It is moreover pertinent to observe that in this particular case the Ambassador was travelling in a locality where there were no Chinese troops nor any actual hostilities in progress. No Chinese troops were in fact encountered by the Ambassadorial party until about an hour's drive from the scene of the attack.

His Majesty's Government feel that they must take this opportunity to emphasise the wider significance of this event. It is an outstanding example of the results to be expected from indiscriminate attack from the air. Such events are inseparable from the practice, as illegal as it is inhuman, of failing to draw that clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants in conducting hostilities which international law, no less than the conscience of mankind, has always enjoined.

The fact that in the present case no actual state of war has been declared or expressly recognised by either party to exist emphasises the inexcusable nature of what occurred.

His Majesty's Government must therefore request:-

1. A formal apology, to be conveyed by the Japanese Government to His Majesty's Government.
2. Suitable punishment of those responsible for the attack.
3. An assurance by the Japanese authorities that the necessary measures will be taken to prevent the recurrence of incidents of such a character.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(J.L. Dodds)

His Excellency
Mr. Koki Hirota,
H.I.J.M.'s Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 3 to despatch
No 2570 of Sept. 3, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

"Oral" reply from the Vice Minister for Foreign
Affairs, Mr. Horinouchi to the French Ambassador,
Mr. Arsène-Henry.

(1) The closing of the traffic applies, as clearly
stated in the declaration made on the 25th instant by
Admiral Hasegawa, only to Chinese vessels and does not
apply to the vessels of third Powers. Consequently, arms
and ammunitions carried on board the latter ships do not
come within the scope of the present measure. However,
since the above-mentioned declaration was issued, there
have been Chinese ships flying foreign flags in order to
evade the application of the declaration, and the Japanese
Government are faced with the necessity of inspecting the
suspected ships in order to identify their nationality.
The Japanese Government, of course, do not want to create
unnecessary misunderstanding with the ships of third Powers
and, so, they would find it convenient to have advance notice
of the ships entering the prescribed area, as to their names,
their captains, and the matters concerning the capital in-
vested in them.

(2) As you are aware the Japanese Government have
made it clear, in their statement of August 26, that in
the face of the present situation they were forced to adopt
this measure with a view to prompting China's reconsideration
and bringing about a speedy settlement. Under the present
circumstances, if large quantities of arms and ammunitions
were to be supplied to China from abroad, it would only
strengthen both morally and materially her antagonism toward
Japan, and thereby prolong and intensify the present conflict.
The Japanese Government, therefore, hope that the Governments

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of

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of the third Powers concerned will appreciate the delicate situation, and refrain, as much as possible, from doing anything which is likely to encourage China in this direction.

(3) The present declaration, as stated above, does not apply in the case of the ships of third Powers, and the Japanese Government do not, for the present, contemplate taking any action to prevent the importation of arms and ammunitions into China by foreign vessels. But in view of the fact that such importation of war supplies is bound to increase Chinese opposition against Japan, future developments may compel the Japanese Government to devise more effective and suitable measures to stop all importation of arms and ammunitions into China.

August 30, 1937.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 4 to
 despatch No. 2570 of 24.3.1937.
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew
 to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, the French
 Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German Ambassador, Mr.
 von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti.

Embassy of the
 United States of America

Tokyo, August 30, 1937.

My dear Colleague,

There is enclosed herewith a copy of a telegram
 received through my Government, embodying a message
 from my colleague at Nanking which Mr. Johnson has been
 requested by the British, French, German, and Italian
 diplomatic representatives at Nanking to bring through
 me to the attention of their respective colleagues in
 Tokyo. The message includes a copy of a note addressed
 to the Chinese Government, at the request of the con-
 sular representatives of their respective nationalities
 and of the Belgian Consul General at Tientsin, by
 the five representatives at Nanking, in which suitable
 assurances are sought of the Chinese Government that
 any aerial bombing of Tientsin may be prevented. It
 is proposed that we make a similar approach to the
 Japanese Government, and I have been authorized by my
 Government to associate myself with you and our other
 three colleagues in such a step.

Will you inform me if you decide to act?

I am, my dear Colleague, with cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew.

Enclosure:
 Copy of telegram.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Copy of a telegram received by the
American Embassy in Tokyo from the American Am-
bassador at Nanking, transmitted by way of Washington.

"Nanking, August 28, 7 p.m. "Acting upon request from
Tientsin the German British French and Italian representatives
and I addressed the following note to the Chinese Foreign
Office August 27 'We have the honor to state that a collective
message has been received from the consular representatives
of our respective nationalities and from the Belgian Consul
General at Tientsin stating that in view of the recent aerial
bombing of Shanghai and persistent rumors of contemplated
bombing of Tientsin which rumors cannot be confirmed there
but may nevertheless be of serious importance the consular
representatives have consulted together and have decided to
request that an approach be made both to the Chinese and to the
Japanese authorities in the hope of preventing any aerial bombing
of Tientsin. They point out that such bombing must inevitably
bring grave danger to all the foreign population of Tientsin.

We urge that the statements of the foreign consular
offices be given most serious consideration by the National
Government, in view of the gravity of the issues involved,
and that suitable assurances be given by the National Govern-
ment. We are communicating with our respective diplomatic
missions in Tokyo, asking that similar representations be
made by them and similar assurances be sought from the Japa-
nese authorities.'

My colleagues request that this telegram be repeated to the
American Ambassador at Tokyo for transmission to the diplomatic
missions of the nations listed in order that suitable repre-
sentations may be made by them."

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 5 to
despatch No. 2570 of Sept. 3, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew
to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, the
French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German Ambassador,
Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti.

Embassy of the
United States of America.
Tokyo, August 31, 1937.

My dear Colleague,

I am informed by my Government of the receipt of
the following message dated August 29 from the American
Ambassador in Nanking:

" The British, German, Italian, French Embassies
and I wish that our several Ambassadors at Tokyo
would represent to the Japanese Government that the
railway which connects Hankow with Canton and HongKong
is now being used by foreign nationals being eva-
cuated from China and that we hope that every care
will be used by Japanese military planes not to
machine gun or bomb trains or otherwise interrupt
use of that line for evacuation of foreigners."

My Government has approved my associating with in-
terested colleagues at Tokyo in making appropriate re-
presentations to the Japanese Government in regard to this
matter. Will you, therefore, kindly inform me of such
action as you may contemplate?

I am, my dear Colleague, with cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No 6 to despatch
No 2570 of Sept 3, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds
to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.

BRITISH EMBASSY
TOKYO

(572/70/37)

31st August 1937.

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter of today's
date regarding representations to the Japanese Govern-
ment in connection with the bombing etc. of the Hankow
Canton and Hongkong railway line. I have addressed
a note to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign
Affairs associating myself with the representations
which I understand certain of my Colleagues are making
on this matter.

Believe me,

My dear Ambassador,

Yours very sincerely,

J. L. DODDS.

His Excellency

Mr. Joseph Clark Grew,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
for the United States of America at TOKYO.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 7 to
despatch No. 2570 of 8/13, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Identic letter from the American Ambassador,
Mr. Grew to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr.
Dodds, the French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry,
the German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the
Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti.

Embassy of the
United States of America.
Tokyo, August 31, 1937

My dear Colleague,

I am informed by my Government of the receipt of the
following message dated August 30 from the American Am-
bassador at Nanking:

"1. On the morning of August 29 the diplomatic
representatives of Germany, Great Britain, France, and
Italy asked that I telegraph the following message to
the American Ambassador in Tokyo for transmission to
the diplomatic representatives with request for action
on our behalf.

2. 'The diplomatic representatives in Nanking of the
Five Powers and China have already asked that Japanese
bombing operations be excluded from an area in this city
wherein they and some of their nationals reside and where
foreign shipping is anchored. They feel however that
other aspects of the matter demand equal consideration.
For example the extensive bombing of the city on the
night of August 26 placed in danger the lives and property
of noncombatants both foreign and Chinese and it has seemed
to the same diplomatic representatives that the appropriate
Japanese authorities when this fact is brought to their
attention may desire to limit future action in accordance
with the restraints which considerations of humanity and of
international

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international comity usually impose on the bombing of the political capital of a country especially when no state of war exists. Both before and after the earlier request for the protection of a defined area was made there occurred bombing operations over the city which extensively damaged the buildings and killed and injured several of the employees of the National Central University and also resulted in the burning alive of numerous peaceful Chinese in one of the poorer quarters. These scenes of destruction have been visited by foreign diplomatic officers. The Governments and people of the nations of the indicated diplomatic representatives are in friendly relations with China as with Japan. Basing their appeal therefore on these friendly relations and on the principle of ordinary humanity they request the discontinuance of activities which despite their military objectives result actually in the indiscriminate destruction of property used for educational and other non-military purposes and in the wounding and painful death of civilians'."

I am authorized by my Government in association with interested colleagues in Tokyo to make appropriate representations to the Japanese Government in regard to this matter. Will you, therefore, very kindly inform me of such action as you may contemplate?

I am, my dear Colleague, with cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No 8 to despatch
 No 2570 of Sep 13, 1937 from the
 Embassy At Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister
 for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.

Embassy of the
 United States of America.
 Tokyo, August 31, 1937.

No. 785.

Excellency:

Under instruction from my Government I have the honor to invite the attention of Your Excellency to the fact that the railway which connects Hankow with Canton and HongKong is now being used by foreign nationals who are being evacuated from China. My Government accordingly expresses the hope that every care will be used by Japanese military planes not to machine-gun or bomb trains or otherwise interrupt the use of that line for the evacuation of foreigners.

In thus approaching Your Excellency I wish at the same time to associate myself with similar representations on this matter which I am informed certain of my colleagues are submitting to Your Excellency.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

JOSEPH C. GREW.

His Excellency

Mr. Koki Hirota,

His Imperial Japanese Majesty's

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

etc.,

etc.,

etc.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 9 to
despatch No. 2570
of Sept. 3, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Translation by the American Embassy, Tokyo, of a note in
Japanese received on September 2, 1937.
CC:f

No. 102 Asia I.

Department of Foreign Affairs,
Tokyo, August 31, 1937.

Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have duly
noted the contents of Your Excellency's note No. 781 of August
27.

As stated to the Government of the United States on several
occasions, the Japanese Government, keenly solicitous of the
safety of lives and property of Japanese and of other nationals
in China, has spared no effort to prevent the present incident
from assuming larger proportions. The military operations
which have been taken and are being taken by Japanese forces
in China are confined to measures of defense against illegal
and provocative attacks on the part of China. I therefore have
the honor to invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that,
in consequence, the Japanese Government is not liable for damages
or losses sustained by nationals of third countries as a result
of fighting in that area.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Ex-
cellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Koki Hirota, (Seal)
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency
Joseph Clark Grew,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the United States of America.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 10 to despatch
No. 2570 of 24 3, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Translation, in part by the Japanese Foreign Office,
of note received by the American Embassy, Tokyo, on
September 1, 1937.

CC:r

No. 103 Asiatic I.

Department of Foreign Affairs,
August 31, 1937.

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note No. 780 of August 23 requesting a specific formal assurance by the Japanese Government that the operations of the Japanese armed forces will not be directed against or into the city of Tsingtao.

The Japanese Government have always been solicitous of preserving tranquility in the Tsingtao district. Unfortunately, despite the fact that every effort has been exerted by the Japanese Government in order to forestall the occurrence of any untoward incidents in that district, the measures taken in this connection by the authorities of Tsingtao have not come up to the expectations of the Japanese Government. Consequently, the situation there grew worse rapidly so that the Japanese Government were at last forced to decide upon a complete evacuation of Japanese from that city with a view to forestalling any untoward events involving Japanese which might lead to the disturbance of peace and order in the district. In view of the fact that Japan possesses vast rights and interests there and that Japanese residents have established their business through efforts of many years, the above-mentioned action taken by the Japanese Government entailed the greatest of sacrifices on their part. This fact alone should be

sufficient

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sufficient to demonstrate the sincerity of the Japanese Government in their desire for the preservation of peace in the Tsingtao district.

Since, however, the Japanese Government have gone the length of ordering their nationals to evacuate the city at an immense sacrifice, they believe that the Chinese authorities should assume on their part full responsibility for the protection of the rights and interests as well as of the property of the Japanese which have been left in the district and also of the few Japanese who may have had to remain there under unavoidable circumstances. They believe also that inasmuch as Chinese military activities in and around Tsingtao have been rendered absolutely unnecessary by reason of the peaceful steps taken by the Japanese Government, the district should be restored to normal conditions. The Japanese Government, desirous of obtaining a definite assurance of the Chinese authorities on this point, have been conducting negotiations with them. However, according to reports received up to date from their Consul-General at Tsingtao, the attitude of the mayor of the city seems to be extremely unsatisfactory. Moreover, there are occurring already at sundry places lootings of Japanese property, and even the Japanese Consul-General himself cannot be assured of his personal safety in the event he remains in the city. Under these circumstances, the Japanese Government are urging upon the Chinese authorities to refrain from taxing unduly the patience of the Japanese Government by ignoring their friendly action and their most reasonable wishes.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to
Your Excellency the assurances of my highest con-
sideration.

Koki Hirota, (Seal)
Minister for Foreign Affairs,

His Excellency

Joseph Clark Grew,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the United States of America ,
Tokyo.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 11 to despatch
 No. 2570 of Sept. 3, 1937 from the
 Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister
 for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.

Embassy of the
 United States of America.

Aide-mémoire

The American Ambassador on August 23 brought orally to the attention of the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs the desire of the diplomatic representatives at Nanking of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy that Japanese bombing operations be excluded from an area in that city wherein they and some of their nationals reside and where foreign shipping is anchored. The American Government feels, however, that other aspects of the matter demand equal consideration. The extensive bombing of that city on the night of August 26 placed in danger the lives and property of noncombatants, both foreign and Chinese, and it has seemed to the American Government that the appropriate Japanese authorities, when this fact is brought to their attention, may desire to limit future action in accordance with the restraints which considerations of humanity and of international comity usually impose on the bombing of the political capital of a country, especially when no state of war exists. Both before and after the earlier request for the protection of a defined area, there occurred bombing operations over the city which extensively damaged the buildings and killed and injured several of the employees of the National Central University and also resulted in the burning alive of numerous peaceful

Chinese

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By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Chinese in one of the poorer quarters. These scenes of destruction have been visited by foreign diplomatic officers. The Government and people of the United States are in friendly relations with China as with Japan. Basing its appeal, therefore, on these friendly relations and on the principle of ordinary humanity, the American Government requests the discontinuance of activities which, despite their military objectives, result actually in the indiscriminate destruction of property used for educational and other non-military purposes and in the wounding and painful death of civilians.

The American Government is also greatly concerned over the fact that there are American citizens still scattered throughout China who will have to use the railways and motor roads as their only means of leaving for places of comparative safety. In view, therefore, of the widespread bombing operations now being carried out by the Japanese military throughout Chinese territory the American Government feels that it may properly make representations to the Japanese Government with a view to persuading it to refrain from attacks upon defenseless cities, hospitals, trains and motor cars, et cetera. There is grave risk that sooner or later some incident will take place resulting in the death or injury to American citizens who are going about their legitimate occupations within the interior of China where such dangers should not exist. Japan declares that it is not at war with China and yet its planes are conducting raids far in the interior, dropping deadly missiles with consequent serious damage to the rights of other nations.

The attention of the Japanese Government is invited to

the

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
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the situation described in the foregoing paragraphs in the hope that appropriate instructions may be issued to its military forces in the field.

Tokyo, September 1, 1937.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 12 to despatch
 No 2570 of Sept. 3, 1937 from the
 Embassy at Tokyo.

Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
 to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds, the
 French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German
 Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian
 Ambassador, Mr. Auriti.

Embassy of the
 United States of America.
 Tokyo, September 1, 1937.

My dear Colleague:

I am informed by my Government of the receipt of
 a message from the American Ambassador at Nanking read-
 ing substantially as follows:

In view of the fact that there are American citi-
 zens still scattered throughout the country who will
 have to use the railways and motor roads as their
 only means of leaving for places of comparative safety,
 and in view of widespread bombing operations now being
 carried out by the Japanese military throughout Chinese
 territory I wonder whether the several Governments
 could not properly make representations to the Japanese
 Government with a view to persuading it to refrain from
 these attacks upon defenseless cities, hospitals, trains
 and motor cars et cetera. Sooner or later some incident
 is going to happen resulting in the death or injury to
 American citizens going about their legitimate occupa-
 tions within the interior of China where such dangers
 should not exist. Japan declares that it is not at
 war with China and yet its planes are conducting raids
 far in the interior dropping deadly missiles in de-
 liberate disregard of the rights of other nations.

It

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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It is my intention to call upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs today for the purpose of bringing to his attention the situation above described, in the hope that the Japanese Government will cause appropriate instructions to be issued to its military forces in the field. I propose at the same time to include in my discussion of the matter, and in the aide-mémoire which I shall leave with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the subject of the message dated August 30 from the American Ambassador at Nanking concerning the desire of the diplomatic representatives of the Five Powers that representations be made in Tokyo regarding the bombing of that city, which was transmitted to you in my letter of August 31.

My Government desires me to inform my principally interested colleagues of the action I propose taking and to suggest for their consideration the advisability of taking action along similar lines. Will you, therefore, very kindly inform me of such action as you may contemplate?

I am, my dear Colleague, with cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH C. GREW.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 13 to despatch
 No. 2570 of Sept. 3, 1937 from the
 Embassy at Tokyo.

The British Chargé d' Affaires,
 Mr. Dodds, to the American Ambassador,
 Mr. Grew.

British Embassy,
 Tokyo.

(601/70/37)

1st September 1937.

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter of 30th August in which
 you very kindly sent me a copy of a telegram from the
 American Ambassador at Nanking about the danger of
 Tientsin being bombed.

In view of the de facto situation at Tientsin it
 may not appear opportune to make an approach to the
 Japanese Government at this stage, but it seemed to me
 that we should inform our colleagues at Nanking according-
 ly, in case they desired to make further suggestions. I
 believe you have done this already by a message to Washing-
 ton which will reach Mr. Nelson Johnson in due course and
 which he will communicate to his British and other interested
 colleagues, and I wish to thank you for the action you
 have taken.

Believe me,

My dear Ambassador,

Yours very sincerely,

His Excellency J. L. Dodds
 Mr. Joseph Clark Grew,
 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
 for the United States of America at Tokyo.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 14 to despatch
No. 2570 of September 3, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

September 1, 1937.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
with the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Mr. Hirota.

Japanese Bombing Operations in Nanking and Elsewhere.

Called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs by appointment at his official residence at 5 o'clock.

I began the interview by referring to our combined efforts during the past years to improve Japanese-American relations. It was my constant endeavor to see those relations maintained and consolidated. Now, however, I felt a daily dread that some serious incident might occur in China arising out of the indiscriminate bombing operations of the Japanese forces which might result in the injury or death of American citizens, and such an incident, as the Minister could well appreciate, would exert a most unfortunate effect on Japanese-American relations because it could not fail to enflame public opinion in the United States. My purpose today was to appeal to the Minister in the most earnest manner to take steps which would obviate the grave risks to which peaceful Americans in China, going about their daily occupations or perhaps on their way to places of greater safety, were now constantly subjected.

I spoke of the representations which, at the behest of the five Ambassadors in Nanking, I had made to the Vice Minister on August 23 requesting that all Japanese bombing
operations

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operations in a certain area in Nanking, where the foreign Embassies and foreign ships were situated, be avoided. In spite of these representations there had occurred soon afterwards, on August 26, further bombing by Japanese planes which had caused loss of life and property. Non-combatants, both foreign and Chinese, were placed in jeopardy and it is felt by the Ambassadors in Nanking that the appropriate Japanese authorities when this fact is brought to their attention may desire to limit future action in accordance with the restraints which considerations of humanity and of international comity usually impose on the bombing of the political capital of a country especially when no state of war exists. Both before and after the earlier request for the protection of a defined area was made there occurred bombing operations over the city which extensively damaged the buildings and killed and injured several of the employees of the National Central University and also resulted in the burning alive of numerous peaceful Chinese in one of the poorer quarters. These scenes of destruction have been visited by foreign diplomatic officers. The Governments and people of the nations of the indicated diplomatic representatives are in friendly relations with China as with Japan. Basing their appeal therefore on these friendly relations and on the principle of ordinary humanity they request the discontinuance of activities which despite their military objectives result actually in the indiscriminate destruction of property used for educational and other non-military purposes and in the wounding and painful death of civilians.

I then turned to the fact that there are American citizens still scattered throughout the country who will
have

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have to use the railways and motor roads as their only means of leaving for places of comparative safety. We feel very strongly that the Japanese forces should refrain from attacks upon defenseless cities, hospitals, trains, motor cars, et cetera. There is grave risk that sooner or later some incident will happen resulting in the death of or injury to American citizens going about their legitimate occupations within the interior of China where such dangers should not exist. Japan declares that it is not at war with China and yet its planes are conducting raids far in the interior dropping deadly missiles in deliberate disregard of the rights of other nations.

I then said to the Minister, after reading to him and leaving with him our Aide memoire of September 1, that he himself was responsible for the conduct of Japan's political relations with other countries and that these relations should be considered paramount to military considerations. I therefore appealed to him with great earnestness and strong emphasis to exert his authority in this direction having especially in mind the great importance of avoiding the risk of grave incidents which could injure the friendship between Japan and the United States for the maintenance and development of which we both had been constantly working during the past four years.

The Minister inquired whether the bombing on August 26 of which I had spoken, had taken place within the area mentioned in my representations to the Vice Minister on August 23. I replied that I believed this to be the case but whether this was so or not, it did not alter the humanitarian

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and other aspects of the situation which I had just brought out in my representations to him. Mr. Hirota said that it was the intention of the Japanese military forces to attack only military establishments but that sometimes the bombs failed to reach their precise objectives and accidents happened. He said that he would bring my representations to the attention of the War and Navy Ministries.

Tsingtao

The Minister then handed me his written reply accompanied by an official translation to the note which I had written and delivered to the Foreign Office on August 23, appealing for the avoidance of Japanese military operations in Tsingtao where many Americans and other foreigners are gathered. He said that practically all the Japanese residents in Tsingtao had now been evacuated and that this step had been taken for the specific purpose of avoiding hostilities and injury to foreign lives and property, but that since the evacuation there had been much looting of Japanese property by the Chinese and the Japanese Consul General and such other Japanese as had had to remain behind were in serious danger. The attitude of the Mayor of Tsingtao was far from satisfactory. The Minister said that he therefore hoped that the Powers which were now appealing to him would also make representations in Nanking with a view to restraining Chinese aggression and protecting Japanese lives and property in that city. I said that I would bring the matter to the attention of my Government and Ambassador Johnson.

Sino-Soviet

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 By Milton D. Hunt NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Sino-Soviet Relations

The Minister then turned to Sino-Soviet relations and said that the Chinese Ambassador had yesterday explained to him the nature of the recently concluded Sino-Soviet Pact. Two attempts on my part to draw him out as to the nature of the pact were unsuccessful. The Minister said that it seemed to him unfortunate that the Soviet Union and China, which could have concluded this pact at any time during recent years, had chosen this particular moment and situation to do so. He said he felt that there was grave danger of the communists getting control in China, that Chiang Kai-shek was weak and that the virile young men of the nation were at the front where they were fighting most bravely. In the meantime some 20,000 communist troops were moving towards Outer Mongolia. He felt that the communist menace was very real and that the communists undoubtedly aim to take over eventual complete control of the Government and country.

Outlook for Peace

The Minister then said that he had explained Japan's precise aims to the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hirota said to me, "if Chiang Kai-shek will accept these conditions I can stop the war immediately". These conditions, he said, are three in number: (1) Good relations with Manchuria. I said does that mean China's recognition of "Manchukuo". Mr. Hirota replied that juridical recognition might be very difficult for China and that it was not necessary. What Japan desired was good factual relations and the avoidance of the constant friction and trouble which China was creating. I said, "Then do you mean de facto recognition?" The Minister

smiled

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huxford NARS, Date 12-18-75

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smiled and said he thought that that was about it. He wanted China to recognize "Manchukuo's" existence. (2) The withdrawal of Chinese troops from North China. If the Chinese troops should withdraw from that area Mr. Hirota said that most of the Japanese troops would likewise withdraw. They simply wanted to ensure a zone of peace and quiet on the frontier of "Manchukuo". I said, "Does that mean Japanese control of North China?" The Minister said, "No, it does not," and he added that Japan visualized no political control but merely a state of peace and quiet. (3) The development of good relations between China and Japan. I asked him if by this he meant a cessation of anti-Japanese activities and propaganda. He replied that this was precisely what Japan wanted. "Chiang Kai-shek is weak" he said, "and he is in a very difficult position. If China possessed a single strong statesman today our troubles could be quickly solved. If Chiang Kai-shek will accept my conditions I can stop the war immediately."

J.C.G.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 15 to despatch
 No. 2570 of September 3, 1937, from the
 Embassy at Tokyo.

The German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen to
 the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.

DEUTSCHE BOTSCHAFT.

Tokyo, September 2, 1937.

My dear Colleague,

I thank you very much for your letter of
 August 30th concerning the aerial bombing of
 Tientsin and your two letters of August 31
 concerning the bombing of the Hankow-Canton
 Railway and the bombing of Nanking in general.

As to the two first questions I asked Dr.
 Kolb to telephone to Mr. Crocker in order to
 transmit an answer to you as soon as possible
 and I think that these matters are settled
 now.

As to the question of the bombing of
 Nanking which seemed to me to be a question of
 principle and a new departure because it pro-
 poses a onesided démarche in Tokyo and asks for
 the discontinuance of bombing in so large an
 area as the city of Nanking with its numerous
 military objectives, I have telegraphed to my
 Government asking for instructions. As soon as
 they arrive I shall immediately inform you.

I am, my dear Colleague, with cordial regards

Sincerely yours

von Dirksen

His Excellency
 Mr. Joseph Clark Grew,
 Ambassador of the United States of America,

T O K Y O.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 2573.

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Tokyo, September 4, 1937.

SUBJECT: RADIO BROADCAST BY VICE MINISTER HORINOUCHI.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

937 SEP 20 AM 11 23

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.



Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith the text of the address which was broadcast in the United States on the evening of September 1, 1937 (morning September 2 in Tokyo) by the Japanese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Kensuke Hori-nouchi. The Vice Minister has informed a member of my staff that the text as reported in the newspaper clipping herewith is accurate.

Enclosure:

Clipping, "Japan's Aim Peace,
U.S. Listeners Told",
JAPAN ADVERTISER, September 3, 1937.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph C. Grew.

710.
CC:r
Copy to Embassy, Nanking.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1, to despatch
No. 2573, dated Sept. 4, 1937.
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The Japan Advertiser.

Tokyo, Friday, September 3, 1937.

JAPAN'S AIM PEACE, U.S. LISTENERS TOLD

Unfriendly Agitation and Drift
Toward Communism Blamed
for Fighting on Big Scale

CRISIS BACKGROUND TRACED

Co-operation With Nanking
Vital for Security in East,
Horinouchi Affirms

Japanese intentions in the Sino-Japanese crisis are and always have been peaceful and the ultimate object of the present hostilities in North China and Shanghai is the realization of a state permitting genuine co-operation between the two countries. American radio listeners on Wednesday were told by Foreign Vice-Minister Kensuke Horinouchi in a speech he broadcast from Station JOAK yesterday morning. The Address, titled, Japan's Policy Toward China, was delivered here at 7:45 o'clock and was re-broadcast in the United States through an arrangement with the Columbia broadcasting system.

Mr. Horinouchi devoted a considerable portion of his talk to tracing the background of the Sino-Japanese fighting, which he attributed mainly to sustained anti-Japanese agitation in China and to the rapprochement of potential danger to Japan recently realized between Nanking and the Comintern. Deploping the "major conflict" which has developed between China and Japan, the speaker concluded by saying that "we have not lost hope for peace." Japan is deeply conscious of the need of living in harmony and co-operation with China, which is an indispensable condition for peace, not only between China and Japan, but for the whole of the Far East.

Text of Speech Given

The text of Mr. Horinouchi's speech, as received from Domei, follows:

"American Friends:

"In the few minutes at my disposal, I wish to speak to you on some of the fundamental aspects of Japan's policy toward China. I do so in the hope that our traditional friends, the people of the United States, with whom we have enjoyed 80 years of unbroken peace and amity, may obtain a better understanding of the present situation in the Far East.

"We are as strong in our desire for peace as you are. We believe that a nation should not only be animated by a desire for peace, but should realistically seek to establish those conditions which are essential for the maintenance of peace. This we have always endeavored to do.

"It is indeed unfortunate that our patient and persistent efforts toward establishing our relations with China on a firm and friendly basis had to

be interrupted by the present conflict. We still hope, however, that we shall be able to come speedily to terms with our next-door neighbor and stabilize our relations to our mutual benefit.

"Why, then, have we had to resort to arms? We must emphasize, first, that the expeditionary forces of Japan now in China have been sent there for no aggressive purposes and, secondly, that we have no territorial designs. Our forces are in China to safe-guard our legitimate interests, to protect our rights, and to secure the safety of our nationals. These forces will be withdrawn the very moment that their presence is no longer required.

Aim of Sending Troops

"And what, you may ask, necessitated the sending of such forces? In answering this question, let me summarize the main features of the present conflict. I shall first explain the immediate causes of the trouble which prompted our decision to dispatch reinforcements to China, and then the more far-reaching and underlying causes which have aggravated the situation to such serious proportions.

"The immediate cause of the present conflict was the firing by the Chinese soldiers upon a small unit of our garrison troops which were holding usual night maneuvers with blank cartridges in the outskirts of Peiping on the night of July 7. As a matter of fact, the troops of all Powers maintaining garrisons in China are entitled to hold these maneuvers under the Boxer agreement of 1901 with China. Japan immediately endeavored to minimize this incident by seeking a peaceful local settlement both on the spot and at Nanking through diplomatic channels. Refusing to accept this friendly overture, the Central Government of China at Nanking declared that any settlement concluded locally would not be recognized, and began to rush huge armies to North China. We had hoped, up to the last moment, for a speedy and peaceful settlement of this untoward incident, but, in view of the hostile measures taken by the Nanking Government, we were obliged eventually to take counter-measures so as to avert the danger of a complete wiping out of our garrison and residents in North China; so the Japanese Government decided to send re-enforcements.

"The theater of conflict has since extended to the densely populated international city of Shanghai, in which live many foreigners and with which are bound up rights and interests of many countries. Even before the North China affair, soldiers of the regular Chinese army were filtering into Shanghai under the guise of men belonging to an armed police-force known as the Peace Preservation Corps. This was in violation of the 1932 truce agreement signed by China and Japan and counter-signed by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy. This agreement, provides for a special zone in and around Shanghai within all and every form of hostile action is prohibited.

Chinese Forces Massed

"Willfully disregarding this agreement, the Chinese massed huge forces and erected military works around the Japanese quarter of the settlement, threatening the safety of our 30,000 residents there. Then, suddenly, the

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Chinese Peace Preservation Corps murdered an officer and a sailor of our landing party, which created a situation fraught with imminent danger.

"To cope with any possible emergency, our Government re-enforced the small naval force which was enormously outnumbered by the hostile Chinese troops.

"Earnestly solicitous as we are of the safety of the lives and property of foreigners, as well as Japanese in and around Shanghai, the Japanese Government has done everything possible to preserve those areas from the disaster of hostilities. Our landing parties were under strict orders to act with the utmost patience, while the Government expressed its readiness to restore them to their original positions provided the Chinese withdrew their forces, which were massed near the International Settlement. Far from withdrawing these troops, the Chinese took the offensive against our naval forces and precipitated the hostilities in Shanghai.

"I should add that when the atmosphere grew tense, following the murder of our naval men, the Japanese Government, faithful to its declared policy of non-aggravation, ordered the evacuation of our nationals in Hankow and other points in the interior of China. Although such evacuation amounted almost to a complete sacrifice of business interests built up by our nationals during years of arduous toil, this was deemed necessary as a precautionary measure to avoid untoward incidents.

"I should also add that, at the moment when our Government was giving its favorable consideration to the proposal made by foreign Powers to keep Shanghai free from hostilities, the Chinese launched a sudden attack upon the International Settlement, our consulate-general and our warships, bombing them indiscriminately from the air—and our forces were naturally compelled to return the fire.

American Step Cited

"The dispatch by your country of a regiment of marines to augment your regular marine forces stationed at Shanghai undoubtedly has brought home to you the gravity of the situation in that cosmopolitan city. In view of this character of the city, we want to take effective measures to stop once and for all the lawless activities of the Chinese forces and make the metropolis safe from the repetition of a similar misfortune in the future. I hope that our re-enforcements at Shanghai will soon succeed in restoring peace and security to the International Settlement.

"Let me now briefly explain the underlying causes of the conflict—the driving forces at work in China today—for an understanding of them will enable you to grasp the true nature of the issues involved, and thus clarify the stand now being taken by our Government.

"When I say driving forces, I mean those shaping China's national policy and program. The ultimate aim of those forces today as declared by the leaders of China is to unite and revitalize China into an organized nation. In that aim, the Japanese nation is sympathetic. We certainly hope to see such a China come into being, for then only can we enjoy real stability and security in the Far East. Unfortunately, however, these Chinese leaders have chosen the wrong means to

achieve their purpose. For several years past, they have carried on a relentless anti-Japanese campaign, adopting it as their policy—as a means of obtaining united national support for the Nanking Government. Extremist elements have during recent years combined their strength to push forward this anti-Japanese campaign.

Communists' Role Factor

"It is common knowledge that the Communists have been playing a significant role in the nation-wide agitation against Japan. It is also well known that these elements are supported by the Communist International, which aims at the destruction of the existing structure, both political and social, of the entire world. These elements are the forces directing the destinies of China today. These are the forces—one anti-Japanese, the other Communist—with which Japan must contend. These are the forces that underlie the fundamental causes of the present situation in China.

"For the sake of her own national security and for the sake of the peace of East Asia, Japan must eradicate this Communist menace. We have, therefore, repeatedly invited the attention of the Chinese Government to the danger of Communism, simultaneously requesting it to suppress effectively the anti-Japanese agitation. But, far from listening to us, the Chinese Government joined hands with the Communists in their campaign against Japan, which became increasingly violent, and, with this, all our efforts at readjusting Sino-Japanese relations proved futile.

"It is to be greatly deplored that a major conflict which we have striven to the last to avoid is now going on. But as I stated at the outset, we have not lost hope for peace. Japan is deeply conscious that she must live in harmony and co-operation with China, for, after all, we are close neighbors, who should co-operate on the friendliest of terms for our mutual well-being.

"Ties of many centuries bind the two nations together. Economically, if not politically, one cannot live without the other. This is a basic truth. As we sympathize with China's problems, so we ask her to understand and appreciate ours. We have to help each other. There is no alternative. Sino-Japanese understanding is the first essential for Japan to live, for China to live, for the entire Far East to live, in peace and security. This also is a basic truth.

"It is with these truths in mind that the Japanese Government is pursuing its policy in relation to the present conflict. We sincerely hope that China will come to realize these basic truths, and that peace will soon be restored. We ardently hope that the relations between Japan and China will thus be put on a new and enduring basis.

"In closing, I wish to express the appreciation of both the Government and people of Japan for the attitude which your country has maintained toward Japan during the present Sino-Japanese affair. The fair attitude taken by your Government and its offers of good offices are to us a source of deep gratitude. We are also grateful to your official representatives in China for the kind consideration they have accorded our officials and nationals in that country."

0109

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Division of
Consular Affairs
SEP 21 1937
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

This message was received
in Navy cipher and must be
paraphrased before being
made public.

ALUSMA PEIPING

September 20, 1937

Rec'd 9:40 p. m.

ROUTINE

To Navy Department.

Info: Second Brigade USMC COMSUBRON FIVE COMDESRON
FIVE CINCPAC AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING.

793194

0020 Japanese offensive moving southward slowly both
sides Pinhan railroad rectifying front against decreasing
resistance. Japanese front on arc of circle twenty miles
each side road radius thirty miles from Paotin is here
Chinese apparently planning make next stand. Activities
of irregulars greatly reduced. Nippon reinforcements
arriving inland sea four naught triple zero eight to fif-
teen making estimated total one ninety thousand although
French state one half greater. Tsinpu front inactive
about ten miles north Tsangchow local civil commissions
making strenuous efforts reestablish semblance normal
conditions much propaganda. 2145

SMS

793.94/10159

F/FG

0110

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

PLAIN

(Nanking)

FROM USS LUZON via N. R.

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 6:35 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 21 1937
Department of State

691, September 20, 2 p. m.

688, ¹⁰¹⁴³September 20, 8 a. m.

793.94
An unverified number of Japanese planes ^{dropped} rained

Nanking today from 10 am to 1:00 p. m. and dropped large number of bombs in various sections of city and environs some falling in central area not far from Shin Chieh Kou (known as the Circle). Objectives were apparently same as yesterday with some Government buildings as additional targets. Both sides suffered casualties and a number of local inhabitants were killed. Sent to Department. Repeated to Peiping.

JOHNSON

SMS

FILED
SEP 24 1937

FILED

F/FG

793.94/10160

0 1 1 1
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JOHNS

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

GPO

FROM GRAY

Geneva

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 4:20 p. m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

URGENT. RUSH.

320, September 20, 8 p. m.

Consulate's 316, ¹⁰¹⁴⁸ September 20, 4 p. m.

FROM HARRISON.

Have seen Avenol and delivered communication and informed him that text will be released in Washington for publication in morning papers of September 21. Avenol agrees to release to press here tomorrow morning at 9 a. m.

For date in first paragraph of my communication to Secretary General after words "summoned for" please insert "Tuesday September 21."

In second paragraph of my communication wherever "this government" occurs I have substituted "the American Government".

BUCKNELL

CSB

793.94/10161

FILED

F/FG

0112

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

73-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EDA

GRAY

FROM

GENEVA

Dated September 20, 1937

Received 4:35 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington

321, September 20, 9 p.m.

Consulates 320, September 20, 8 p.m.

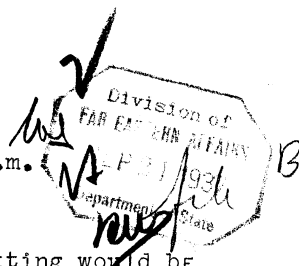
FROM HARRISON.

Avenol told me that tomorrow's meeting would be primarily to consider procedure; predicted Chinese request for participation and choice of President, who would be probably representative of a country not directly interested, possibly the representative of Latvia. He also told me that Amau, Japanese Minister to Switzerland, had called this afternoon evidently for the purpose of bringing pressure on the League. Amau had expressed the hope that the League would do nothing to complicate the situation and had stated categorically that if invited to take part in the Advisory Committee, Japan would either decline or ignore the invitation.

BUCKNELL

SNS:RGC

793.94
note
500 6112



793.94/10162

FILED

F/FG

0113

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75

74-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EDA

GRAY

FROM SHANGHAI VIA N.R.

Dated September 20, 1937

Received 8:33 p.m. SEP 24 1937

Secretary of State
 Washington

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND R.I.D.

738, September 20, 11 p.m.

My 724, September 18, 6 p.m.

Military Situation.

With clearing weather Japanese have renewed strong pressure in the vicinity of Lotien and are reliably reported to have made substantial gains. Shelling of Chapei and Kiangwan continues intermittently but no infantry attacks launched on these sectors during the past two days.

Spectacular Chinese air raids occurred nightfall 18th, planes attempting to bomb Japanese war ships, Japanese Consulate, and Japanese barracks in Shanghai. Objectives were undamaged but incendiary bombardment dropped in Hongkew district did much damage to neutral property, mainly British. Standard Vacuum Oil Company's property on the Pootung side was also damaged; three oil tanks being pierced, one ~~being~~ godown set afire and another badly damaged.

Japanese yesterday commenced extensive bombing operations

793.94/10163

F/FG
 FILED
 25 1937

393.115 S.V.O.

0 1 1 2

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

74-2

EDA - 2 - #738, September 20, 11 p.m. from Shanghai

operations between Shanghai and Nanking, dropping bombs on Sungkiang, Kashingkun, Shanghai, Soochow, and Kiangyin. Continued and more intensive bombing of interior points is anticipated.

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek visited Shanghai on the 18th and left for Soochow that night in company with T. V. Soong. Reliably reported that a military conference was convened at Soochow the following day at which the Generalissimo was present.

Sent to the Department. Repeated to Nanking and Peiping.

GAUSS

SMS

0115

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER
Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

74-3
TELEGRAM SENT

Good
TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE ✓
PARTIAL
PLAIN

Department of State

VIA NAVAL RADIO

Washington, 24

1937 SEP 24 PM 12 59

September 25, 1937.

AMEMBASSY

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

NANKING (China). *1 pm*

261

Reference Shanghai's 738, September 20, 11 p.m., second paragraph, last sentence.

The Department assumes that in cases in which American property is damaged as a result of the activities of the Chinese or the Japanese forces you are making, or causing to be made, whenever warranted, ^{and practicable} appropriate representations to the concerned authorities, Chinese or Japanese.

793.94/10163

note
393.115

✓
OR
SEP 24 1937

793.94/10163

FE
FE:MSM:VCI

FE
FE
m.m.d.

PNH

KE
ILW

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1482 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

10163
F-S

0116

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ALVA B. ADAMS, COLO., CHAIRMAN
KEV PITTMAN, NEV.
HENRY F. ASHURST, ARIZ.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
CARL A. HATCH, N. MEX.
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO.
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
PATRICK MCCARRAN, NEV.
C. D. ANDREWS, FLA.
HERBERT E. HITCHCOCK, S. DAK.
JOSH LEE, OKLA.

R. F. CAMALIER, CLERK

RECEIVED
United States Senate
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
COMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC LANDS AND SURVEYS

October 2 1937

1937 SEP 21 AM 9:00 September 20, 1937

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

WTT

793.94

Hon. Cordell Hull
Secretary of State
State Department

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Enclosed herewith is a communication
which I have just received from a Chinese
constituent of mine, Wong Sun, located at
Billings, Montana.

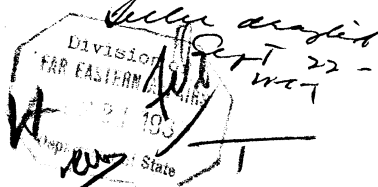
Mr. Wong desires to be advised as to
certain matters in connection with the Sino-
Japanese crisis and if you will favor me with
a commitment in this respect at your early
convenience, it will be much appreciated.

Kindly return the enclosure with your
reply and oblige.

Very sincerely yours,

James E. Murray

✓ encl.



793.94/10164

OCT 4 1937
H/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 2 1937

In reply refer to
FE 793.94/10164

My dear Senator Murray:

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 20, 1937, enclosing a letter from Mr. Wong Sun in which he expresses surprise and disappointment at the recent action taken by this Government in regard to certain kinds of shipments to China and Japan.

A cardinal principle of our foreign relations and one which is never lost sight of is to avoid being entangled in hostilities. Accordingly, if some action by our Government appears to be more favorable to one side than to the other in the present conflict, it should be borne in mind that such action was not taken for the purpose of affecting the course of the conflict but was taken primarily in pursuance of our general peace policy and in response to a universal demand in this country for assurance against being involved in war.

There

The Honorable

James E. Murray,

United States Senate.

793.94/10164

F/A

0118

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

There is enclosed, for possible transmission to Mr.
of exports from the United States to
Wong Sun, a copy of a table ~~which shows the exports of~~
China of arms, ammunition, et cetera during the month of
August. ~~greatly exceeds the exports of Japan for the same month~~
~~has existed during the past several years~~

The letter from Mr. Wong Sun is herewith returned.

Sincerely yours,

Gordell 911

Enclosures:

1. Press release of
September 4, 1937.
(Table of exports)
2. Letter to Senator
Murray from Mr.
Wong Sun.

OR
SEP 28 1937 PM

FE:WTT:NN
9/28/37

FE

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 393.115 Standard Vacuum Oil Company/5 FOR Telegram

FROM Navy Department () DATED September 19, 1937.
 TO NAME 1-1127 ..

REGARDING: Air raids by Chinese planes on Standard Vacuum Oil Company compound at Pootung. Reports damage done and asks that matter be brought to the attention of Chinese authorities as company dock is plainly marked both day and night.

with

793.94 / 10165

10165-

0120

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

CINCAF

September 19, 1937.

Rec'd 10:27 A.M.

From Naval Communications
For information of the
Department of State.

0019. During air raids by Chinese planes evening eighteen
September five incendiary and one fragmentation bomb were
dropped inside compound Standard Vacuum Oil Company at
Footang. Three oil tanks were pierced, one godown set
afire, another godown badly damaged and four company employees
slightly injured. This compound and the Destroyer alongside
the company dock are plainly marked with United States
colours both day and night. Request that this be brought
attention Chinese authorities with request that Chinese
planes be directed exercise greater care refrain from
dropping bombs U. S. property. 2015.

Noted
793,94

0121

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

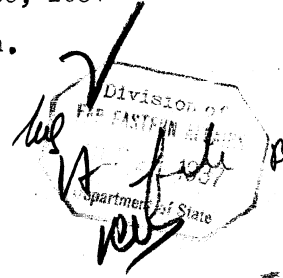
COMSOPAT

FROM

September 20, 1937

Rec'd 5 a.m.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON FIVE
COMDESRON FIVE
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
ALUSNA PEIPING



793.94

0121 Japanese bombers made a major air raid on Canton between 0630 and 0800 today. Ten heavy and one light bombers seen at one time but due to low lying clouds visibility was poor. Many heavy and light bombs dropped in various parts of city but none near foreign concessions or foreign gunboats. Chinese opposed bombers with anti-aircraft and machine gun fire and attacked with fighting planes. From Mindanao one plane was seen coming down in flames in vicinity of airfield. Results of attack not yet known 0830

793.94 / 10166

SEP 24 1937

FILED

F/F G

0122

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

GPO

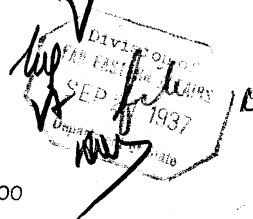
FROM

COMSOPAT

September 21, 1937

Rec'd 7 a.m.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON FIVE
COMDESRON FIVE
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
AMEMBASSY NANKING



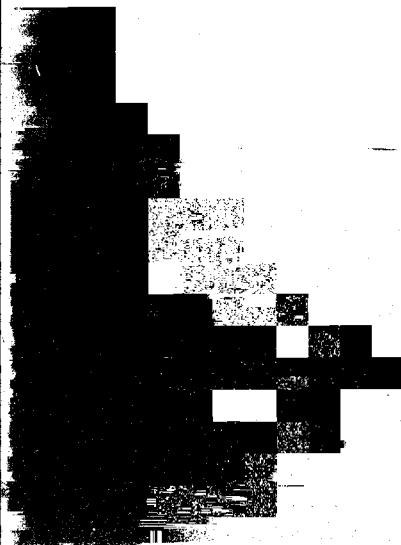
793.94

0120 South China area quiet 2100

793.94/10167

FILED
SEP 24 1937

F/FG



0123

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

75-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

COMYANGPAT

FROM

September 21, 1937

Rec'd 7 a.m.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE
USMC YANGPAT
COMSUBRON FIVE
COMDESRON FIVE
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
ALUSNA PEIPING

793.94

0020 Approximately thirty Japanese bombing planes
raided Nanking from 0930 to 1300 today dropping many bombs
in various parts of city. One bomb fell in river immediately
ahead of foreign man of war anchorages. Ambassador and
staff, less one secretary at Embassy, embarked on board
LUZON and GUAM departing tomorrow for anchorage near Wuhu.
All United States nationals except seventeen who intend
remain departing for up-river ports before noon September
twenty-first on river steamers. 2227

793.94/10168

MAR 24 1938

FILED

F/FG

0122

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

76-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

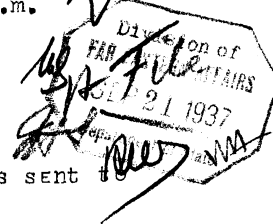
FROM

CINCAP

September 21, 1937

Rec'd 7 a.m.

ACTION: CONYANGPAT
INFO: OPNAV



793.94

0021. Yesterday the following letter was sent
Admiral Hasegawa.

"My Dear Admiral Hasegawa:

I have received the notice which was issued through
the Japanese Consulate General with reference to the pro-
posed bombing by Japanese Naval Air Force of Nanking, the
operations to begin after twelve o'clock noon on September
twenty-first.

This notice contained the advice that foreign warships
are advised to moor upstream from Hsiae-San-Shan.

The United States Navy has at Nanking two river gun
boats, the LUZON and the GUAM. These two ships are anchored
in the river abreast of the Butterfield and Swire Pontoon.

As long as the United States Embassy and any United
States nationals remain in Nanking, it is necessary for these
two vessels to remain there also. These two vessels are
distinguished by the United States flag being spread
horizontally on the upper works.

It is requested (SHEET TWO FOLLOWS) 1122

793.94/10169

F/FG

FILED

SEP 24 1937

0125

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

76-2

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FS

OPNAV

FROM

CINCAF

September 21, 1937

Rec'd 7 a.m.

ACTION: COMYANGPAT
INFO: OPNAV

0021 (SHEET TWO) that you issue the necessary instructions to the Japanese Naval Air Force to avoid dropping bombs in the vicinity of these vessels. In case Japanese army planes are bombing in this vicinity it is requested that they be issued similar instructions."

In view of the fact that your anchorage has been notified to the Japanese Admiral, CINCAF considers it the safest location in case of bombing attacks. 1123

DDM

0126

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

793.94/10170

SEE 711.00111 Armament Control/1493 FOR PRESS RELEASE

FROM (State Department) () DATED Sept. 14, 1937

tb/

NAME

1-1127

REGARDING:

Statement issued by the President on September 14th, 1937,
regarding: Transportation of arms and implements of war to China or
Japan by merchant vessels owned by the U. S. Government. Forbids the-

ML

10170

0127

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

77-1

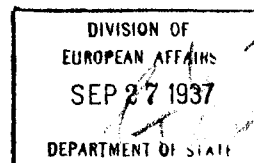
JWB

EU

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY
FROM
Geneva

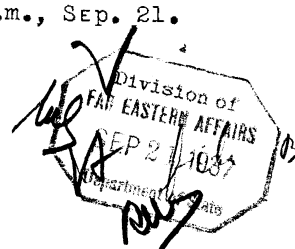


Dated September 17, 1937

Rec'd 6:15 a.m., Sep. 21.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

308, September 17, 7 p.m.
FROM HARRISON.



73-9-
ni
500 C112

The following is the text of a formal third person note on usual official league stationery which I have just received from the Secretary General under date of September 17: "His Excellency, the Minister of the United States to Switzerland. The Secretary General of the League of Nations has the honor to inform the governments represented on the advisory committee set up under a resolution adopted by the Assembly on February 24, 1933, that the Council, at its private meeting on September 16th, instructed him to take the necessary steps so that the committee 'may meet as soon as possible and proceed to examine the situation to which attention has been directed by China'.

The advisory committee is expected to meet on Monday or Tuesday next."

I have received at the same time under separate cover the same document described in the Consulate's 307, September 17, 3 p.m., under identical unsigned mimeographed sheet.

793.94/10171

FILED

SEP 23 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

77-2

MBo 2- No. 308, September 17, from Geneva.

sheet.

Please instruct.

BUCKNELL

RR:CSB

Note: This message was received after request was made
for missing serial number.

Telegraph Room.

0129

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

~~RA~~
~~FE~~
~~EU~~
~~H~~



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
San Salvador, September 10, 1937.

No. 1098

SUBJECT: Statement of the Policy of the United States in Present World Affairs.

1937 SEP 20 AM 11 29

BY SIGN OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

Handwritten initials

DIVISION OF
SEP 22 1937
THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

793.94

UNITED STATES OF STATE
SEP 23 1937
MR. WELLES

For Distribution	
YES	No
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	

793.94/10172

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

DIVISION OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 22 1937
Department of State

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a statement which appeared in the July 9th edition of "La Prensa" and which purports to define the attitude of the United States with respect to the situation in the Far East and the Mediterranean. As neither the source of, nor the authority for, this statement are

given

16 +

F/EGP:MD
11 22 1937

0130

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quateman NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

given, it is not known how faithfully it reflects the Administration's views, and hence it is being forwarded as of possible interest to the Department. It goes without saying that the Legation has neither been requested to give, nor has given, any opinion whatsoever on the subject.

Respectfully yours,



Walter W. Hoffmann,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosure:

Translation of Statement from
"La Prensa" of July 9, 1937.

711
WWH/let

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure to Despatch No. 1098 dated September 10, 1937.

"There Exists a Close Tie Between the Vigorous Policy of the United States in the Far East and the Dangerous Situation in Europe.

Giving Way to Japan Would Hearten the Leaders of Italy and Germany.

The attitude assumed with the regard to the Sino-Japanese happenings is the key to the Department of State's attitude towards the affairs of the Old World.

Washington. 8. (Service of "La Prensa") - High official centers here have revealed that a close tie exists between the vigorous attitude which the United States has today taken in the Far Eastern crisis and the dangerous European situation. Summed up the position of the government of the United States is as follows:

While the policy of the United States in the Far East is primarily concerned with avoiding any giving of ground before the Japanese aggression, a retreat which would imply forgiveness of this aggression, the Government is keeping constantly in mind the effect of this attitude in Japan, Italy and Germany. To retreat in the face of Japanese pressure would, in the opinion of the Chancery of the United States, encourage the ambitions of Italy and Germany which today are too evident to be ignored, while a continued insistence on the sanctity of treaties and non-intervention, is intended to make perfectly clear that the United States will never withdraw any obstacle which the maintenance of these doctrines may present to European aggression. The United States regards the world as a whole and refuses to accept the Japanese thesis that certain areas are exempt from the application of general policies. Its attitude in the Far East is the key to that in Europe. The sources of this information may not be revealed, but it may be said here that this is the point of view of those officials who are charged with formulating the foreign policy of the United States. Moreover it is a point of view which they think should be duly appreciated not only by the people of the United States but by all nations. It must not be thought that this point of view presupposes belligerent intentions. The tremendous desire of the people of the United States to remain aloof from every armed conflict is constantly kept in mind by the officials here, including President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull and other high functionaries of the Department of State. The recent decision not to reinforce the United States Asiatic fleet with three armored cruisers was taken in spite of the realisation of their value as protection and as a means of evacuating United States citizens from China, because it was believed that

such

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure to Despatch No. 1098 dated September 10, 1937.

such a step would be considered by Japan as a threatening gesture. In the military sense the United States does not threaten any aggressor nation; but the foreign policy of the United States is now firmly grounded upon ample principles of peaceful international dealings, which include non-aggression, non-intervention and the sanctity of treaties. Secretary Hull hopes that, in the end, these principles will prevail over force. However, he realizes that they have little chance of prevailing if they lack supporters and he therefore believes that it is today the particular function of Washington to advocate them constantly and insistently and to keep them alive. To accept the thesis of Japan, as expressed in Tokio's answer to the fourteen points of Cordell Hull's declaration, that they are not applicable to the Far East, would be to sacrifice whatever influence for peace the United States may have in Europe. The United States, on taking this diplomatic position, ~~may~~ well realizes the limitations of the neutrality laws as a means of preventing the United States from being drawn into any conflict. The only means of preventing northamerican participation in a war is to prevent the outbreak of wars. Therefore Hull believes that the prevention of war in the world is a thing that fundamentally concerns the United States and he works in favor of other more effective means than mere dependence upon the neutrality laws. The concise policy of the United States in the Far East, which has been drawn up with a consistent view to its affect upon the European situation, may be stated as follows; although the immediate function of the armed forces of the United States in the Far East is to provide protection and support for American citizens, they will not be withdrawn as long as the Sino-Japanese hostilities last. They represent the legitimate interests and obligations of the United States which may not be abandoned in the face of aggression. In no sense will the Government order the forced evacuation of American citizens in the Far East. The neutrality laws will not be made effective as long as there is no formal Japanese declaration of war. The volume of shipments of war material from the United States to the Far East are not considered sufficient to justify an embargo based on the consideration that national complication is caused by the traffic in arms and munitions. The normal and pacific commerce of the United States in the Orient is considered too important to permit it to be seriously hurt by the arms embargo. The nineteen airplanes which are today bound for some Chinese port, on the American SS. "Wichita", will possibly serve to test the so-called Japanese blockade of the Chinese Pacific coast; but Washington does not propose to anticipate events."

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

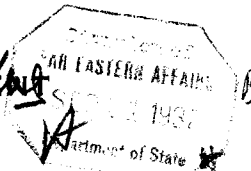
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 DEPT.

In reply refer to
 BIA.

1937 SEP 21 11 11

DIVISION
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

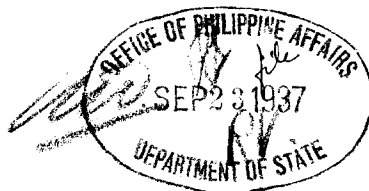
WAR DEPARTMENT
 WASHINGTON



September 18, 1937.

The Secretary of War presents his compliments to the Honorable the Secretary of State, and is pleased to quote a radiogram (No. 698, September 18th) received from the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, addressed to the Bureau of Insular Affairs of this Department, as follows:

"For the Secretary of State. The following radiogram dated Nanking, September 12th, was received by President Manuel Quizon: 'Japanese Militarist have accelerated their ambitious program of dominating Far East. Recent illegal activities Japanese navy along South China Coast threatened your country foreshadow Philippine Islands will be next victim here incessant aggression. China will spare no effort defend world peace her territorial integrity. We hope your government take effective measures intervene such wanton acts so as eliminate your future menace maintain stability orient. Signed Chu Chiahui President Chinese League Nations Union.' The radiogram was acknowledged by President Quizon and referred to this office. McNutt."

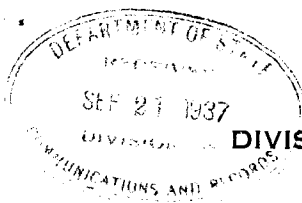


793.94/10173

F/FG

0134

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

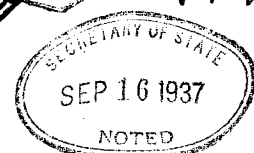


DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

September 13, 1937

RAH
S
FE
Copy taken
WH



Conversation:

Mr. Suma, Counselor of the
Japanese Embassy;

Mr. Hamilton.

193.9
-1
500.C112

Subject: The Sino-Japanese situation.

1. Mr. Suma called at his request. He said that he had noticed a statement in the press yesterday to the effect that the American Government had given the League of Nations a copy of the Secretary's statement of July 16. He said that according to one press report the American Government had indicated to the League that in case the League wished to discuss the principles set forth in the statement of July 16 the American Government would send an observer for that purpose but that according to another press account the American Government had given no indication as to whether or not it would send an observer.

I said that it was my understanding that the Secretary of State had asked the American Minister at Bern to file with the League of Nations a copy of the statement of July 16 and/of the replies made by other governments.

Mr. Suma then referred to the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Far Eastern matters and said that he assumed that if China presented to the League the present situation

793.94/10174

F/A
10174

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

situation in the Far East the League would then decide whether to handle the matter by referring it to the Advisory Committee or through some other means. Mr. Suma referred to the fact that at some League meetings when there was being considered the Manchurian question in 1931-1933 the American Government had been represented. He said that he did not know whether the League would now invite the American Government to send a representative or not. He said that in the opinion of his Government the present situation was quite different from the 1931-1933 situation and that his Government believed that the League would not follow in any consideration of the present situation the procedure which it had followed in 1931-1933. He said that Japan was not now a member of the League. I remarked that neither Japan nor the United States was a member of the League and that the League would of course decide for itself what procedure it considered advisable for it to follow.

2. Mr. Suma then referred to the fighting in various areas in China. He said that according to the Embassy's most recent information the Chinese at Shanghai were withdrawing slightly and were taking up their second line of defense. He said also that Chinese airplanes were not now appearing. He said that if these reports were true, the areas of refuge in the International

Settlement

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 3 -

Settlement and in the French Concession at Shanghai would be farther removed from the fighting and would not be exposed to the danger to which they had been during the past few weeks. With regard to fighting south of Tientsin, he said that the Embassy's information was to the effect that the Japanese had made some advances. With regard to fighting north of Peiping in the Chahar region, he said that the Embassy's information was to the effect that a few days ago the Japanese had consolidated their position.

M. O. Gustafson

FE:MMH:EJL

0137

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

CINCAF

FROM September 21, 1937

Rec'd 3:00 p.m.

ACTION: OPNAV INFORMATION 2ND BRIGADE
(USMC) American Consul-Shanghai China
Comsubron Five Comdesron Five
ComYangpat--
Comsopat --
American Embassy Nanking China
ALUSNA PEIPING China.



INFO: State Department, Washington.

0021. Military situation unchanged. Japanese at-
tacks Lotien, Liuhsang making little progress. Believe
next attack planned Kiangwan. Chapei quiet, intermittent
artillery, machine gun fire, Japanese artillery concen-
trating railroad west Markham Roads. At 1500, twenty
Japanese planes observed flying west probable destination
Nanking. Reliably reported general Feng Yu Hsiang ap-
pointed command armies North China 1925.

793.94/10175

SEP 21 1937
ZELER

F/FG

0138

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

78-1

JWB

LMS

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

GRAY

Geneva

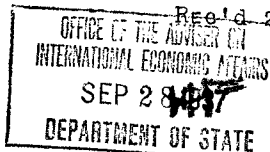
FROM

Dated September 21, 1937



Rec'd 2:35 p. m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.



323, September 21, 5 p. m.



In the assembly this morning Bruce, Australia, referred to the Chinese appeal which invoked articles 10, 11 and 17 of the Covenant and said:

"Nothing could be more fatal to the prestige and future welfare of the League than that we should attempt by some meaningless formula to postpone or side-step facing the issues involved and defining the League's attitude and position. Moreover, honor and the permanent interests of the League itself demand that China should not be misled into believing that she can rely on forms of assistance which may not be forthcoming".

He thought it was impractical for the League in its present condition to proceed under Article 17 but declared:

"The importance of Article 11 at the present juncture, however, is clear and great. It is a means by which immediately the League may transcend the limitations of its present membership. In the conflict now being waged in

East

Note
 500.c.112

792.94/10176

VLF/FG

0139

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

78-2

LMS 2-No. 323, September 21, 5 p. m., from Geneva.

East Asia not only League states but great states outside the League have direct and vital interests. Surely the action that would be, in the words of Article No. 11, 'wise and effective at this stage would be for the Council to endeavor to arrange for a conference of the powers most vitally concerned in the position in the Far East, whether members of the League or not, with a view to such conference getting in touch with the countries concerned in the dispute and endeavoring to arrange some settlement or concerting such measures as may be necessary and practicable. This would also be, in my view, the only immediately possible step under Article 10".

On economic questions he intimated that he would later in the second committee propose studies by the League (a) - of methods of bringing about an improvement in living standards (b) - of means of avoiding or ameliorating the "next depression" and (c) - of agricultural reorganization and credit particularly in Eastern Europe.

He also made the following reference to the United States:

"The League's work for economic improvement has been facilitated and will in the future be further helped by the cooperation of nations, not members of the League in particular I would refer to the active cooperation of the

United

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

78-3

LMS 3-No. 323, September 21, 5 p. m., from Geneva.

United States of America in the I L O and on the Technical Committees of the League. In all our efforts in this direction we have the full support of President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State Mr. Cordell Hull. In this sphere we have also the encouragement of the definite cooperative action which was and is being taken by the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom in the triple monetary agreement. And we are all awaiting with great interest the report of Monsieur Van Zeeland on the important mission which he undertook at the request of the Governments of Great Britain and France."

BUCKELL

WWC:CSB

0141
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

79-1

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

COMYANGPAT

FROM
September 21, 1937

Rec'd 5:06 p. m.



From: COMYANGPAT

Action: Opnav.

Information: 2nd Brigade USMC Comsubron 5-(Administrative) - Comdesron 5 Cincaf Comsopat Alusna Peiping.

State Department as information.

0521 Yangtze area quiet today though Nanking extremely apprehensive over expected severe bombing raid which did not materialize. Many foreign nationals and large number Chinese evacuated city during last night and forenoon today. Ambassador and Embassy officials are embarked in LUZON and GUAM. Both vessels shall remain Nanking 2230

SMS:RGC

793.94/10177

SEP 21 1937

FILED

F/FG

014

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

OPD

FROM GRAY

(Nanking)
LUZON via N. R.

Dated September 21, 1937

Rec'd 4:35 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

697
607, September 21, 1 p. m.



One. We have been informed by reliable source that Kwangsi troops number unknown are now on the Tsingpu front and that Li Tsung Jen is proceeding to Tsangchow to command them.

Two. Sent to the Department. Repeated to Peiping, Shanghai, Canton, Peiping mail to Tientsin.

JOHNSON

RGC:SMS

793.94/10178

SEP 24 1937

FILED

F/FG

014

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

CA

PLAIN GRAY. SPECIAL GRAY

CANTON VIA N.R.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED
 Dated Sept. 21, 1937

Recd 8:40 p.m.

1-1230
 Secretary of State,

FROM

Washington

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

September 21, 5 p.m.

Air raid on Canton at 7:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. yesterday

by about nine planes, with two airdromes as main objectives.

Hangars practically demolished but believed empty of planes.

Extent of the other damage unknown. Casualties reported slight
 Raiders had to be part of larger fleet which presumably bombed
 other points. Chinese aviator claims two Chinese planes downed
 at Canton and four Japanese at Whampoo in first raid. A student
 reports one Japanese downed in second.

Chinese circles and press increasingly indignant over
 American policy. Hong Kong Chinese paper with large local
 circulation bitterly accuses America of preaching open door
 and Chinese territorial integrity at the same time that she
 has been supplying Japan with munitions and asserts American
 policies are formulated solely with eye to expansion export
 trade.

Lingnan University opened 20th as usual with about
 sixty five Americans, including staff, families and students.
 Press reports and information from refugees indicates the dis-
 patch northward of several more Kwangsi divisions.

There appears to have been a recent drastic purge of
 traitor elements in Kwangsi Government charged with plot to
 seize control of province. (Mail copy to Hong Kong)
 SMS EDA Linnell



733.94/10179

SEP 27 1937

RECEIVED

F/FG

793.94
 no
 393.1164

0144

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

FROM Peiping via N.R.

Dated September 21, 1937

Rec'd 3:20 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



572, September 21, 6 p.m.

Embassy's 571, September 20, 5 p.m.

One. According to local press reports, Japanese forces have captured the important great wall pass Shahukow, which is half way between Tatung and Kueihwa on the main highway, and other Japanese troops are converging on Pingtichuan, on the Peiping Suiyuan railway, having taken Fengchen, Hsingho, and Shangtu. The press also reports that Japanese forces are attacking Tsangchow on the Tient-sin Pukow railway. According to the local Japanese military spokesman, the Japanese center and flanks on the Peiping Hankow Railway front had united by this morning and were along a line stretching from a point just south of Sushui (Ansuisien), which is less than 15 miles north of Paoting, to a point twelve miles northwest of Sushui. The informant also stated that Paoting was bombed afterward this morning;

Two

792.94/10180

FILED

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBO 2- No. 572, September 21, from Peiping.

Two. An officially inspired celebration in Peiping of the autumn moon festival showed only a slight decrease in the apprehension of the people in the present situation. Contrary to custom, there were few people on the streets in the evening, notwithstanding the official lighting of streets with myriads of lanterns, and there were almost no motor cars carrying Chinese passengers. Many shops remained closed. Participants in processions were paid for their participation.

Three. The names of a number of streets and places in Peiping have been changed because of their association with the National Government. For example, Sun Yat Sen (public) Park has been changed to Peiping park.

Four. Telephone communication between Peiping and Tientsin was resumed September 20, but only with telephones in the Japanese Concession in Tientsin. The two daily trains from Peiping to Tientsin continue to take nine or ten hours for the trip. Return trains take about six hours.

Five. The Commandant of the American forces at Tientsin reports that French intelligence officers estimate Japanese troops in all North China on September 15 as 290,000 while British and Italian estimates are 250,000 and the American estimate, based on daylight observations only, 175,000.

Repeated to Nanking.

CSB

LOCKHART

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

FROM GRAY

Tsingtao via N. R.

Dated September 21, 1937

Rec'd 4:20 p. m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 22 1937
Department of State

September 21, 1 p. m.

At ten minutes past ten today one Japanese aeroplane dropped bombs in Tsinanfu killing one Chinese and injuring several. No damage to foreigners or foreign property reported. Captain Dorn emphatically urging all Americans in Tsinanfu to leave.

This morning at 9:30 two Chinese sea planes made flight over Tsingtao for the first time in more than two months. These Chinese planes made their flight following the appearance off the coast of Tsingtao of unidentified planes believed to be Japanese.

Chinese in the past ten days have increased their vigilance from a military point of view; only local air field, formerly used for commercial purposes, has been rendered unfit for use while travel of foreigners on outskirts of city (?) restricted.

Censors appointed by central Tangpu at work in local Chinese post office supposedly censoring Chinese, Japanese, and German mail.

Sixty

793.94/10181

F/FG

793.94
note
393.1115
893.711

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LMS 2-From Tsingtao, September 21, 1 p. m.

Sixty American civilians have registered with this ✓
Consulate as passengers for Japan and Manila on naval
vessels leaving here between now and middle of October.
CANOPUS left yesterday for Manila with 18 naval personnel
dependents and civilians. Sent to the Department, Nanking,
Peiping.

SOKOBIN

SMS:RGC

0-1 4 8

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM

RR

GRAY

Tokyo

Dated September 22, 1937

Received 6:25 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

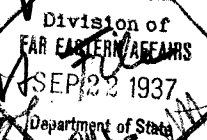
RUSH 403, September 22, 6 p. m.

Department's 221, ¹⁰¹⁵⁰September 21, 6 p. m.

Note delivered to the Minister for Foreign Affairs
at 5:30 this afternoon.

CE

GREW



75.94/10182

FILED
MAR 24 1938

F/FG

0145

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

TELEGRAM SENT *gray*

Department of State
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR
PLAIN

1937 SEP 22 PM 4 59

Washington,

September 22, 1937.
5pm

AMEMBASSY,

TOKYO (Japan). DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

223

Your 403, *10182* September 22, 6 p.m., and Department's
10150

221, September 21, 6 p.m.

In view partly of 'misrepresentation' in 'Japanese press'
of your 'and Acting Secretary's 'earlier approaches to'
'and partly of other considerations,'
Japanese Government on the same subject, Department 'made'
public today 'at 12:30 p.m.' the text of this Government's
note.

Hill
HRW

793.94/10182

✓
SEP 22 1937 PM

PA/H:SKH:ZMK
FE
m.m.H

ALW

CI
m2c

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. O. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10182

F/MR

/o/82

0150

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

80-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

This telegram must be
 closely paraphrased be-
 fore being communicated
 to anyone. (C)

1-1236

SEP 22 1937

FROM

GEORGE

WILSON

Dated September 21, 1937

Rec'd 6:09 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

SECRETARY OF STATE

SEP 22 1937

NOTED

2, September 21, 11 a.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY.

At the meeting of the Advisory Committee this evening, Delbos told me he intended at our next meeting to propose that the whole question be referred to a committee composed of representatives of states directly interested in the Far East. He gave me this, he said, as advance information in the most friendly spirit. He hoped that this plan would be agreeable to you. His purpose was to take the matter out of the Advisory Committee and have it handled by a more effective body as the Mediterranean question had been handled at Nyon. I asked him who would participate. He answered Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Australia, and Russia. He also suggested Germany but she might refuse to accept the invitation to participate in the work of the Advisory Committee, also Italy who was already a member of the Committee but was not represented at today's meeting.

After

NOTE
 500.2112

File
 pm

793.94/10183

FILED

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

80-2

MEO 2- No. 2, September 21, from Geneva.

After the meeting, I asked to see Cranborne who attended in lieu of Eden about the Delbos proposal. He has just telephoned me to say that Eden who particularly desired to work with us and who wished to present the matter himself to us, would be surprised should we be the first to mention it. Consequently, he wanted, he said, to communicate with Eden before he saw me and asked if I would delay informing you until I had seen him. I am to see him tomorrow morning at 12:30 and will report further.

HARRISON

SMS:EDA

0152

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

81-1

MBc

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

GRAY

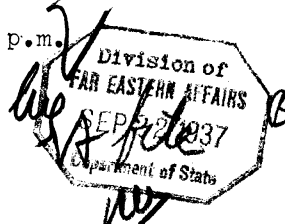
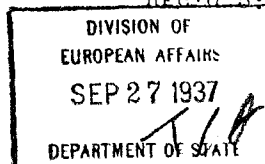
Geneva

1-1336

FROM Dated September 21, 1937

Rec'd 5:52 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.



NOTE
500-6112

1, September 21, 8 p.m.

At the meeting this afternoon of the Advisory committee of 23, since the Netherlands had had the chairmanship previously, Graeff mentioned the interest of his country in the question in view of the nearness of its colonies to the region of action and indicated the unwillingness of his government to retain the chairmanship. He suggested Munters of Latvia who was unanimously elected.

The chairman suggested inviting certain powers not represented thereon to participate in the work of the Committee. Cranborne suggested China and Japan who had not been included when the Committee was originally set up and added Germany. Dalbos seconded these proposals and suggested Australia. The Committee approved.

It was decided to hold the next meeting Monday unless all replies to the invitations are received before that date in which event the Committee will meet earlier.

After the meeting Munters informed me that if these four states accept the invitation they will be regarded as members of the Committee.

SMS:EDA

HARRISON

795.94/10184

F/EG
FILED
SEP 27 1937

015

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

This telegram was received in navy code and must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone.

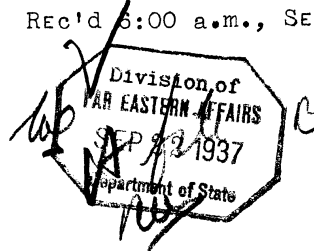
FROM

COMSOPAT

September 21, 1937

Rec'd 6:00 a.m., Sep. 22

FROM: COMSOPAT
TO: NAVY DEPARTMENT
INFO: SECOND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
AFEM NANKING



0021 Approximately seven Japanese bombers raided Canton airfield and cement works today at thirteen thirty to fourteen hundred. Two hangars destroyed at one airfield. Approach and departure of bombers at high altitudes, attack made by dive bombing in sections of three planes each. Rumors state Chinese lost total two planes and Japs five in the two raids 2215.

DDK

793.94/10185

FILED
SEP 24 1937

F/FG

0154

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

82-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

1-1536

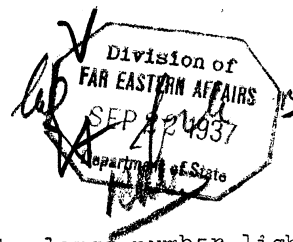
COMYANGPAT

FROM

REC'd September 22, 1937

9:03 a.m.

ACTION: OPNAV INFO 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA PEIPING



0022 Nanking raided at 1050 and 1345 today by large number light and heavy bombers. Many bombs dropped in various parts of city including vicinity railway station near water front. One shell apparently anti-aircraft exploded in American Embassy compound near Ambassador residence doing no damage. Two fires started in native city near water front. Chinese report casualty list small and consisting entirely of civilians. LUZON and GUAM with Ambassador and staff on board remained at usual anchorage. Ambassador returned to Embassy early afternoon and will remain there. Other members staff returning tonight or tomorrow morning 1756.

CSB

793.94/10186

SEP 27 1937

FILED

F/FG

0155

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

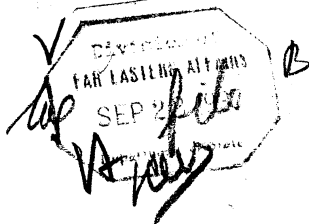
1-1335

FROMCINCAF

September 22, 1937

Rec'd 9:00 a.m.

ACTION: OPNAV
 INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
 COMSUBRON
 COMDESRON 5
 COMYANGPAT
 COMSOPAT
 AMEMBASSY-NANKING
 ALUSNA PEIPING
 COMDESRON 5



0022 Military situation unchanged. Japanese lines advanced certain sectors now about two miles east of Kianting and offensive Liuhang Kiangwan fronts continues. Unconfirmed reports Japanese intend try break present deadlock land above Liuho begin operations toward Soochow. Chinese troops continue strengthen Chapei sector, Japanese appear have no intention attempt major effort there. Considerable numbers Chinese troops still occupy Pootung believe none in Nantao. Two air attacks Nanking today extensive damage city forts railway numerous casualties no American reported killed or injured. Shanghai area quiet 1845.

CSB

793.94/10187

FILED
SEP 24 1937

F/FG

015F

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

83-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

PLAIN

1-1330

FROM Shanghai via N.R.

Dated September 21, 1937

Rec'd 8:55 p.m.

Secretary of State, *COPIES SENT TO*
 Washington, *O.N.I. AND M.I.D.*

739, September 21, 9 a.m.

Reference my No. 711, September 15, 2 p.m. and No.

731, September 20, 11 a.m. following is pertinent portion
 of reply of Mayor of Greater Shanghai, dated September 20:

"With Japan making use of the International Settlement and the heart of the Whangpoo River as the bases of her aggressive operations against China, the Chinese air force has been compelled to take defensive measures in our own aerial domain. This, the Chinese authorities are confident, should receive the sympathetic consideration of the friendly powers. The Chinese authorities also regard it as most deplorable that Chinese and foreign lives and properties in the International Settlement and the French Concession should have been thus endangered, and with a view to ensuring security to those areas, the military authorities have already issued strict orders to the air force as well as to other forces that care be taken to avoid, whenever possible, such action as may cause danger to the non-combatants in the Settlement and the Concession.

As

795.94/ 10133

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

83-2

MBo 2- No. 739, September 21, from Shanghai.

As the fundamental cause of the danger to the non-combatants in the Settlement and the Concession lies in fact that the Japanese forces are making use of the Settlement as the base of their hostile operations, I have the honor to request that the American, British, French, Italian, and Netherlands naval authorities will, in the interest of the areas involved, take such steps as will remove the fundamental cause of danger."

Sent to Department. Repeated to Nanking and Tokyo.

GAUSS

SMS:EDA

0158

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

84-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

1-1336

FROM Tokyo

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 8:40 a.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

RUSH.

404, September 22, 7 p.m.

Colonel Crane, Military Attache has submitted to me
 the following memorandum dated today.

"Memorandum for the Ambassador.

One. At the request of an officer in the War Department who has acted frequently as an official liaison officer with this office, I called at the War Department this morning and was told the following informally:

(A) - The Japanese army appreciates deeply the strictly neutral attitude maintained by the United States Government toward the 'China incident'.

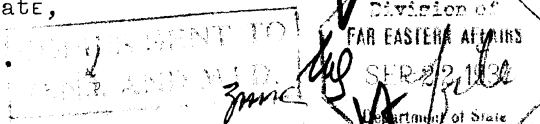
(B) - Intelligence has been received by the Japanese army that China plans to take advantage of the confusion incident to Japanese bombing of Nanking to have its own planes bomb foreign Embassies and Legations there and credit the attacks to Japan. My informant urged that planes attacking such embassies and legations be observed

carefully

793.94/10139

F/HG

note
 793.94118



0159

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

84-2

MBo 2- No. 404, September 22, from Tokyo.

carefully to determine their nationality so that Japan would not be accused unjustly as in the case of the recent firing on the British Ambassador.

(C) United States military observers with Japanese forces in China will be welcome if arranged for through this Embassy.

Two. My informant ended the interview as soon as he had delivered the above message without the customary discussion of the progress of events in China."

Repeated to Shanghai for Nanking.

GREW

WWC:CSB

0160

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

HL

CORRECTED COPY

GRAY

GPO

FROM

Tientsin

Dated Sept. 22, 1937

Rec'd 8:05 a.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

42, September 22, 5 p.m.

It is reported that during daylight hours from 15th to 21st 35,000 men, 46 field pieces, 200 trucks and 50 horses came in from Manchuria and 1200 casualties went out by ship from Chinwangtao. Reports which are not confirmed, continue of strenuous Japanese efforts to effect political settlement with local military authorities of Shantung, Hopei and Shansi. Doihara now reported to be in Peiping. Japanese report continued advance, apparently without strong Chinese opposition, on Tsingpu and Pinghan Railways and minor successes in North Shansi.

CALDWELL

R:WVC

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 22 1937
 Department of State

735.94/10190

FILED
 SEP 30 1937

0161

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MJD

1-1335

FROM GRAY

Tientsin

Dated September 22, 1937.

Rec'd. 8:05 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

42, September 22, 5 p. m.

It is reported that during daylight hours from 15th to 21st 35,000 men, 46 field pieces, 200 trucks and 50 horses came in from Manchuria and (?) hundred casualties went out by ship from Chinwangtao. Reports which are not confirmed, continue (to?) stress Japanese efforts to effect political settlement with local (?) of Shantung, Hopei and Shansi. Doihara now reported to be in Peiping. Japanese report continued advance, apparently without strong Chinese opposition, on Tsinpu and Pinghan Railways and minor successes in North Shansi.

CALDWELL

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793.94/10190

F/FG

FILED
SEP 27 1937

0162

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

85-1

JWB

#

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MJD

GRAY

1-1330

FROM Tokyo

Dated September 22, 1937.

Rec'd. 9:45 a. m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

SENT TO
 LONE AND M.I.D.
 JWC

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 22 1937
 Department of State
 B

RUSH.

405, September 22, 8 p. m.

Lieutenant Layton, Assistant Naval Attache, has submitted to me the following memorandum dated today:

"Memorandum for Ambassador.

The senior aide to the Navy Minister, Captain Kondo, called at 11:40 A. M. today and stated as follows:

The Japanese Navy Department has received a report from Admiral Hasegawa to the effect that reliable information indicates the Chinese are planning to bomb foreign embassies and legations in Nanking using a plane (or planes) painted and marked to resemble Japanese air craft in order to instigate foreign nations' participation in the present conflict.

When asked if such planes (being foreign models) would not be readily recognized as non-Japanese types he said some Chinese planes closely resembled Japanese models.

Comment: This is open to question."

Repeated to Shanghai for Nanking.

GW WWC

GREW

793.94/10191

FILED F/FG

793.94

0163

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

SEP 18 1937

No. 479

CONFIDENTIAL - STAFF USE ONLY.

The Honorable

Nelson T. Johnson,
American Ambassador,
Peiping.

Sir:

Referring to the Department's instruction No. 475 of September 7, 1937, there are enclosed for your confidential information copies of various documents, as listed below, in regard to the Chinese-Japanese situation.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum of conversation, August 25, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
2. Memorandum of conversation, August 27, between Mr. Wankowicz of the Polish Embassy and Mr. Hornbeck.
3. Memorandum of conversation, September 3, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.
4. Memorandum of statement made by Mr. Lucet of the French Embassy to Mr. Hamilton, September 4.
5. Memorandum of conversation, September 8, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.

795.94/10191A

10/19/1

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

6. Memorandum of conversation, September 8, between Mr. Tsui of the Chinese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
7. Aide-mémoire of September 9, from British Embassy.
8. Aide-mémoire of September 15, in reply to the above.
9. Memorandum of conversation, September 10, between the Secretary of State and the Chinese Ambassador.
10. Memorandum of conversation, September 11, between Mr. Mallet of the British Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
11. Aide-mémoire of September 11, from British Embassy.
12. Aide-mémoire of September 15, in reply to the above.
13. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
14. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
15. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Henry of the French Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
16. Memorandum of conversation, September 15, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.

Copy to Nanking.

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 9/17/37

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 SEP 14 1937

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

SEP 18 1937

No. 1337

CONFIDENTIAL - STAFF USE ONLY.

The Honorable

Joseph C. Grew,
 American Ambassador,
 Tokyo.

Sir:

Referring to the Department's instruction No. 1332 of September 7, 1937, there are enclosed for your confidential information copies of various documents, as listed below, in regard to the Chinese-Japanese situation.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum of conversation, August 25, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
2. Memorandum of conversation, August 27, between Mr. Wankowicz of the Polish Embassy and Mr. Hornbeck.
3. Memorandum of conversation, September 3, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.
4. Memorandum of statement made by Mr. Lucet of the French Embassy to Mr. Hamilton, September 4.
5. Memorandum of conversation, September 8, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.

793.94/101913

F/A

101913

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

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12. Aide-mémoire of September 15, in reply to the above.
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14. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
15. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Henry of the French Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
16. Memorandum of conversation, September 15, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.

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 9/17/37

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18 1937

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

SEP 18 1937

No. 464

CONFIDENTIAL - STAFF USE ONLY.

The Honorable

William C. Bullitt,
American Ambassador,
Paris.

Sir:

Referring to the Department's instruction No. 452 of September 7, 1937, there are enclosed for your confidential information copies of various documents, as listed below, in regard to the Chinese-Japanese situation.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:

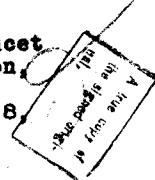
1. Memorandum of conversation, August 25, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
2. Memorandum of conversation, August 27, between Mr. Wankowicz of the Polish Embassy and Mr. Hornbeck.
3. Memorandum of conversation, September 3, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.
4. Memorandum of statement made by Mr. Lucet of the French Embassy to Mr. Hamilton, September 4.
5. Memorandum of conversation, September 6, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.

6. Memorandum

793.94/10191C

F/A

10191C



DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

6. Memorandum of conversation, September 8, between Mr. Tsui of the Chinese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
7. Aide-mémoire of September 9, from British Embassy.
8. Aide-mémoire of September 15, in reply to the above.
9. Memorandum of conversation, September 10, between the Secretary of State and the Chinese Ambassador.
10. Memorandum of conversation, September 11, between Mr. Mallet of the British Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
11. Aide-mémoire of September 11, from British Embassy.
12. Aide-mémoire of September 15, in reply to the above.
13. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
14. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
15. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Henry of the French Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
16. Memorandum of conversation, September 15, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.

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SEP 16 1937

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

SEP 18 1937

No. 1941

CONFIDENTIAL - STAFF USE ONLY.

Hersehel V. Johnson, Esquire,

American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
London.

Sir:

Referring to the Department's instruction No. 1930
of September 7, 1937, there are enclosed for your con-
fidential information copies of various documents, as
listed below, in regard to the Chinese-Japanese situa-
tion.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum of conversation, August 25,
between Mr. Suma of the Japanese
Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
2. Memorandum of conversation, August 27,
between Mr. Wankowicz of the Polish
Embassy and Mr. Hornbeck.
3. Memorandum of conversation, September 3,
between the Chinese Ambassador and
Mr. Hornbeck.
4. Memorandum of statement made by Mr. Lucet
of the French Embassy to Mr. Hamilton,
September 4.
5. Memorandum of conversation, September 8,
between Mr. Suma of the Japanese
Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.

6. Memorandum

795.94/10191D

F/A

101912

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

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8. Aide-mémoire of September 15, in reply to the above.
9. Memorandum of conversation, September 10, between the Secretary of State and the Chinese Ambassador.
10. Memorandum of conversation, September 11, between Mr. Mallet of the British Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
11. Aide-mémoire of September 11, from British Embassy.
12. Aide-mémoire of September 13, in reply to the above.
13. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
14. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
15. Memorandum of conversation, September 13, between Mr. Henry of the French Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
16. Memorandum of conversation, September 15, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.

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 9/17/37

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

SEP 18 1937

SEP 18 1937

No. 187

CONFIDENTIAL - STAFF USE ONLY.

Edward L. Reed, Esquire,

American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,

Rome.

Sir:

Referring to the Department's instruction No. 179
 of September 7, 1937, there are enclosed for your con-
 fidential information copies of various documents, as
 listed below, in regard to the Chinese-Japanese situation.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum of conversation, August 25,
between Mr. Suma of the Japanese
Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.
2. Memorandum of conversation, August 27,
between Mr. Wankowicz of the Polish
Embassy and Mr. Hornbeck.
3. Memorandum of conversation, September 3,
between the Chinese Ambassador and
Mr. Hornbeck.
4. Memorandum of statement made by Mr. Lucet
of the French Embassy to Mr. Hamilton,
September 4.
5. Memorandum of conversation, September 8,
between Mr. Suma of the Japanese
Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.

6. Memorandum

793.94/10191E

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10191E

0172

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

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16. Memorandum of conversation, September 15, between the Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Hornbeck.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

• GRAY

1-1336

FROM

Peiping via N. R.

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 8/a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

573, September 22, 5 p.m.

Embassy's 572, September 21, 6 p.m.

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One. The local Japanese military spokesman states that the main Japanese forces reached the Tsao River this morning, which is five miles north of Paoting and that the Japanese military are less certain now than previously of a strong Chinese resistance at Paoting because of preparations which are being made in the Shihkiachuang area south of Paoting. He also stated that the Japanese have occupied Malopo, six miles north of Tsangchow on the Tsinpu line and that the Japanese Navy bombed Lienyun Harbor at the eastern terminus of the Lunghai Railway.

Two. The press announces the inauguration from September 21 of a through train service between Peiping and Mukden, the journey to take twenty-two hours at the briefest.

Repeated to Nanking.

LOCKHART

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SEP 27 1937

FILED

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0174

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

86-1

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 JCV

~~FE~~

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

ML

GRAY

1-1320

Nanking via N. R.

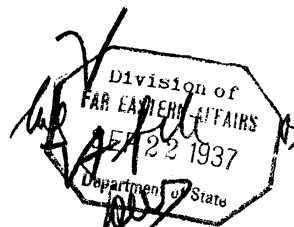
FROM Dated Sept. 21, 1937

Rec'd 6 a. m. 22nd

Secretary of State

Washington

COPIES SENT
 G.N.I. AND N.I.



696, September 21, 2 p. m.

Embassy's 615, September 6, 5 p. m.

One. The Embassy has been informed by a departmental head of the new but not yet completed organization that the National and Departmental scheme has been abandoned and the new organization is being made a rightful part of the Affairs Committee leaving regular party and governmental organs intact. The exact relation between the reorganized military affairs committee and the rest of the government do not appear to have been better; since the committee's activities are war time activities there will be no (repeat no) interference with some of the usual functions of the government but since war time activities are paramount it appears that the government in its executive branches, namely, the Executive Yuan which comprises most of the ministries, will be subservient to the committee. Chiang Kai Shek is as formerly head of the committee; Chang Chun has been named Secretary General; and departments corresponding in part to those which were being set up for the National Defense Government

793.94/10193

F/FG

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 793.94/9935
 893.00

0175

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

86-2

ML -2- Nanking via N. R. Sept. 21, 1937 6 a.m. 22nd #696

Government are beginning to function as follows: (one) Military Affairs, Huang Hsiao Hsiung; (two) General Affairs, Hsiung Shih Huang; (three) Heavy Industries, Wong Wen Hao; (four) War Economics, Wu Ting Chang; (five) Transportation and Communications, Yu Fei Peng; (six) People's Training, Chen Li Fu; (seven) Publicity, Chen Kung Po. Foreign Affairs and Finance which were included in both the first "Supreme War Council and the National Defense Government schemes are omitted, being left to the Foreign Office and the Finance Ministry. Other departments will possibly be added as the organization launches more fully upon its functions. According to the informant no (repeat no) Communist leaders have been given posts in this or any other department of the National Government.

Two. Sent to the Department, repeated to Peiping, Shanghai. Shanghai mail to Tokyo,

JOHNSON

CSB

017F
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1-1336

FROM

MBO
This message was received
in navy code and must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated to
anyone.

Alusna Peiping

September 22, 1937

Rec'd 10:35 a.m.

793.94
FROM: ALUSNA PEIPING
TO: NAVY DEPARTMENT
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE
COMSUBRON 5
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
AFEM NANKING



0022 report from Tsinan states general Fengiu Hsiang
passed through that city enroute Tsinpu front 1150.

CS

793.94/10194

FILED
SEP 27 1937

F/FG

0177

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1-1336

FROM

MBo

This telegram was received in navy code and must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone.

Alusna Peiping

September 22, 1937

Rec'd 10:35 a.m.

793.94
FROM: ALUSNA PEIPING
TO: NAVY DEPARTMENT
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
ANEMBASSY NANKING



0022 Chinese reinforcements possibly fifty thousand north through Tsinan in last few days presaging stiffer resistance to Jap offensive now reported within five miles of Paoting Japanese claim little opposition in Shansi 1650.

793.94/10195

SEP 27 1937

FILED

F/FG

0178

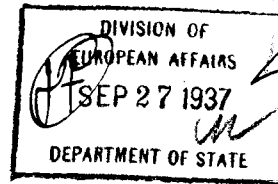
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

1-1336

GRAY

FROM
Berlin

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 8:50 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

232, September 22, 1 p.m.



The usually radical Nazi ANGRIFFF carries a leading article entitled "Sympathies in the balance" which however is in effect favorable to the Chinese cause and which is of interest as a counterbalance to previous pro-Japanese press reports and furthermore as a possible reflection of German policy in the Far East as outlined in the Embassy's telegram No. 202, August 26, 8 p.m.

It is stated that Germany is diplomatically detached in the conflict inasmuch as on the one hand the German-Japanese agreement relates only to the Comintern and as on the other hand the Chinese-Russian non-aggression pact is to be viewed merely as a kind of "standstill" agreement. The article then describes China's plight as being the same as Germany's in 1923 at the time of the Ruhr invasion and discusses sympathetically the Nationalist movement of Tchiang Ki Check putting the question whether in the long run any foreign power can master China.

RR:CSB

GILBERT

793.94/10196

FILED
F/FG
SEP 23 1937
FILED
SEP 23 1937

87-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBO

CORRECTED COPY

A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

Tokyo

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 10:02 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

400, September 22, noon.

(SPECIAL GRAY) CONFIDENTIAL.

Department's 219, September 20, 7 p.m., proposed bombing of Nanking.

Following are the instructions from London upon which my British colleague based his representations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday.

"Nanking telegram No. 466. (END SPECIAL GRAY)

Argument based on the absence of a state of war is open to the objection that the Japanese Government could meet it by declaring one which we do not wish to (? happen).

(GRAY) You should, however, inform the Japanese Government immediately that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom cannot accept the view that the city of Nanking in general as distinct from military establishments outside is a legitimate target for air attack. Any attack not confined strictly to military establishments outside cannot fail to endanger civilian lives which the Japanese Government state that they do not wish to do. Nor can

His



733.94/10197

OCT 9 1937
F. J. M. J.

0181

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

87-2

MBo 2- No. 400, September 22, from Tokyo. Corrected Copy.

His Majesty's Government admit that the Japanese Government have any right to expect foreign diplomatic representatives and other nationals to vacate Nanking in order to avoid such danger or to move warships which may be there for the purposes of protection of their nationals and to maintain essential communications of His Majesty's Embassy. They must reserve the right to hold the Japanese Government responsible for any injury to British lives and property as a result of any attack that may be made. Acting for the Secretary of State."

I have informed my British colleague of the action already taken by me and of Mr. Moore's conversation with Saito. We understand that Hirota called yesterday on the Emperor just before Craigie interview with the former and we are hopeful that the strong representations made in Washington and Tokyo may possibly prove to have some effect.

Repeated to Shanghai for Nanking.

GREW

WWC:CSB

Insertion furnished by Tokyo, October 5.

0181

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

87-3

~~MA SNA~~
~~SWB~~

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY AND SPECIAL GRAY

1-1336

Tokyo

FROM

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 10:08 a.m.

See
corrected
Copy

Secretary of State,
Washington.

400, September 22, noon.

CONFIDENTIAL

Department's 219, September 20, 7 p.m., proposed

bombing of Nanking.

Following are the instructions from London upon which
my British colleague based his representations to the
Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday.

"Nanking telegram No. 466.

(note: this paragraph will be sent as soon as cable
communication is restored.)

You should, however, inform the Japanese Government
immediately that His Majesty's Government in the United
Kingdom cannot accept the view that the city of Nanking
in general as distinct from military establishments out-
side is a legitimate target for air attack. Any attack
not confined strictly to military establishments outside
cannot fail to endanger civilian lives which the Japanese
Government state that they do not wish to do. Nor can

His



793.94

10150

793.94/10197

SEP 22 1937

FILED

F/F/G

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 400, September 22, from Tokyo.

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Repeated to Shanghai for Nanking.

GREW

WWC:CSB

018

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ASAM

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

1-1336

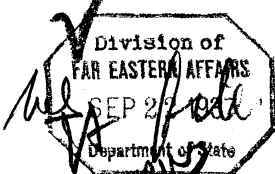
FROM Tsingtao via N.R.

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 10:50 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

September 22, 3 p.m.



With reference to my telegram of September 21, 3 p.m.

Captain Dorn telephoned today from Tsinanfu that what happened yesterday could hardly be described as an air raid or bombing expedition by the Japanese airplane. He stated bombs were probably no bigger than hand grenades. There are unofficial and unconfirmed reports that injuries and damage were caused by falling anti-aircraft shells.

Tsingtao remains quiet and news of Tsinanfu incident has not had noticeable repercussion here.

The following appears in a letter addressed to me yesterday by the Chinese clerk in the consulate at Tsinanfu "In an interview with one of the political advisers yesterday morning General Han expressed the opinion that there would be no trouble in Kiaotung and that Shantung would not be seriously affected on the Tsinpu line. According to the adviser the objective of the Japanese army in North China is to give up military operations after it has occupied Shihchiachuang on the Peiping-Hankow Railway and

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793.94/10198

SEP 27 1937
F/FG

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MB o 2- September 22, from Tsingtao.

and Tehhsien on the Tsinpu line, when it is hoped by the Japanese that certain Chinese Generals in the north (including General Han Fu Chu) will advocate the negotiation of peace."

Sent to the Department, Nanking, Peiping.

SOKOBIN

WWC:DEM

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBO

This telegram must be
 closely paraphrased be-
 fore being communicated
 to anyone. (C)

FROM GENERAL

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 9:32 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

RUSH.

3, September 22, noon.

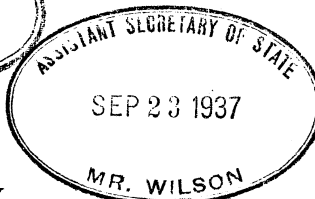
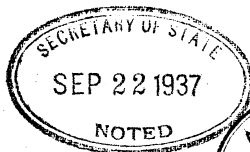
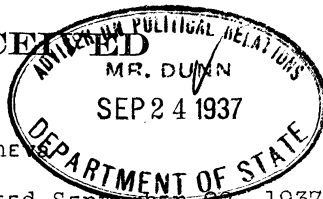
CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY

My 2, September 21, 11 p.m. / 10183 Dined last night with

Massigli and Lagarde. Former immediately asked if report
 of my conversation with Delbos had gone forward and ex-
 pressed earnest desire to have matter presented to you
 first by the French and British representatives in Wash-
 ington. Evidently Delbos had spoken out of turn in reply
 to their question what I thought of proposed pacific
 (Nyon?) Nion I asked whether they had any definite plan in mind.
 To this they could not or would not offer any suggestion.

Massigli added (#) and New Zealand to the list given
 me by Delbos. Lagarde also mentioned Portugal but
 (intimated?) intimated that the British had shown no great interest
 in her inclusion.

As I will continue to let them think that British and
 French Embassies will be first to present the matter to
 you



793.94/10199

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27 1937

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 3, September 22, from Geneva.

you, you may wish to give them same impression.

Craneborne has just postponed my appointment to seven o'clock this evening.

HARRISON

CSB

(#) omission.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841.00 P. R./507 FOR Despatch #3374

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED Sept. 6, 1937
 TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Sino- Japanese conflict. Articles in the London news-
 papers concerning,-- Editorial in the OBSERVER concerning
 American policy toward the Far East.

fp

793.94/10200

/0200

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-6-

The Sino-Japanese Conflict

Besides much news of the fighting between Chinese and Japanese forces, news in the British press in connection with the Sino-Japanese situation concerned, for the most part, in brief but numerous articles throughout the week, the failure of Japan to reply to the British note of protest over the attack on the British ambassador to China. Attention was drawn in the press here to the prompt action taken by China to make amends for the airplane attack on the American steamer FREIGHT HOOVER in contrast to the delay on the part of Japan.

Articles have also appeared in the London newspapers describing the greater unity in China that is resulting from the conflict and, with respect to Japan, the economic strain with which that country is faced. Expressions of opinion here that the conflict would be long appeared to be confirmed by statements made in the Japanese Diet and elsewhere in Japan at the end of the week. In the middle of the week there had been a feeling here of some hope with respect to the Far Eastern situation, owing to reports that the Chinese ambassador at Tokyo had had friendly conversations with the Japanese Foreign Minister concerning the recently announced non-aggression pact between China and Russia.

Brief articles, without expression of opinion, have appeared in London newspapers concerning the boarding of some British merchant ships en route to Chinese ports by

Japanese

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-7-

Japanese naval officers for verification of the ships' identity.

According to a press report from Tokyo published in the WASHINGTON OBSERVER of September 8, Mr. Hirota, the Japanese Foreign Minister, said in the Diet with reference to the British proposal for the withdrawal of both Chinese and Japanese forces from Shanghai:

"In their reply to the British proposal our Government explained in detail Japan's successive efforts towards a peaceful solution as well as the truth regarding the lawless Chinese attacks, and stated that hostilities at Shanghai could not be brought to an end save through the withdrawal of Chinese regular troops from the prohibited zone and of the Peace Preservation Corps from the front lines."

No previous reference has been seen in the British press to a formal reply by Japan to the proposal in question.

In regard to the note concerning the British Ambassador to China, the following comment was made in the OBSERVER of September 8:

"The British Note emphasized the circumstance that 'no actual state of war has been declared or expressly recognized by either party to exist.' A laugh -- if comic relief be unavoidable in the tragedy -- will do no harm. It is even probable that history has seen the end of declarations of war. No war was declared between Italy and Abyssinia. No war has been declared in Spain, though every Great Power in Europe is directly or indirectly engaged in it. Japan has been engaged in war with China for several years. Does it in the least matter that war has not been 'declared'?"

What does matter when the ice is thin is that we should keep off it. Sending protests is like putting up additional danger warnings. They do not make the ice less thin. Nor do wise men meddle in wars, European or Far Eastern unless they are prepared to fight."

Concerning American policy toward the Far East, an article by the Washington correspondent of the OBSERVER in

that

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton C. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-8-

test paper on September 8 began with the following paragraph:

"While President Roosevelt and most of his Cabinet are holiday-making Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and the State Department are working with a free hand to shape a vigorous American policy in regard to the Far East.

The policy, as it is emerging day by day from the State Department, is first based upon parallel, but not joint action with Britain. Mr. Hull is willing and eager to keep Downing Street fully informed of his actions and viewpoint, and is prepared to go along with most steps for parallel action toward the Far East suggested in London.

But he is not willing to accept full responsibility for coping with the Asiatic crisis so that Britain may have a free hand in Europe. Unlike the situation in 1931 and 1932 the United States does not want to get out in front, where it would antagonize Japan. It desires to remain in parallel alignment with Great Britain.

0191

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

793.94/10201

SEE 500.C 111/1033 FOR Tel 318 6pm Sections 1 and 2.

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED Sept. 20, 1937.
TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Warfare in the Far East, particularly the aerial warfare. .
Eden in an address before the Assembly of the League of Nations this morning,
stated that the delegate of China had given details of the appalling consequences of the -, and that it must unhappily be admitted that not one of the several efforts made by third parties to end or assuage this conflict had been of any avail.

G

193.94
/10201

0192
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo

GRAY

Geneva

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 4:05 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

318, September 20, 6 p.m.

This morning in the Assembly Eden delivered an address in which he covered a number of important aspects of British policy.

After referring to the "war being waged" in Spain and China he opened with a statement regarding British rearmament which reads in part as follows:

"At the present moment the aggregate tonnage of the principal types of warships actually building for the British Navy exceeds 450,000 tons. I take no account in this figure of ships already launched this year, nor of a further 55,000 tons which Parliament has sanctioned and which will shortly be put in hand. The last three naval programs partly completed or in actual execution in the United Kingdom at the present time represent a total expenditure 130,000,000 sterling. Naval personnel is being expanded at a rate without precedent in our country in time of peace. Only on rare occasions in our history has a comparable naval effort

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 318, September 20, from Geneva.

effort been made. At the same time the program of expansion and reequipment of our air force is going forward, with the result that a formidable increase of offensive as well as defensive power is being effected, while the equipment of our land forces has proceeded with increasing momentum since I last spoke, and a continuous growth in the capacity for production for all three services is taking place at vast expense.

I mention these facts and figures, not so much to indicate the determination which exists amongst all sections of my fellow countrymen to carry this program through, but rather as an illustration of the consequences, even for those countries whose nationals are not now engaged in conflict, of the deterioration in international relations which has taken place in recent years."

He emphasized the added risks which such a situation entails for everyone, declared that war is both wasteful and futile, that it lowers the standard of living everywhere, that aggression does not pay and that there is no dispute which cannot be settled by peaceful means. Until an agreement on armaments could be reached Britain would make the necessary expenditures for the defense of the Empire and for the fulfillment of her international obligations. "So far, however, as collective action is concerned,

WE

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 3- No. 318, September 20, from Geneva.

we must take account of the extent to which cooperation is forthcoming from those states, whether members of the League or not, whose aid is known to be indispensable. This, I submit, is the only criterion possible while the League's membership and its authority remains what it is today".

As regards Spain, he reiterated, British support of the policy of non-intervention which in spite of wide breaches in the agreement had thus far limited the conflict to Spain. "If the policy of non-intervention is abandoned, Europe will be swept into deeper and more dangerous waters. A leaky dam may yet serve its purpose, but we alone cannot decide the fate of this policy. Whatever that fate may be, there is one pledge that I can unequivocally give to this Assembly - that the government I represent will spare no endeavor to prevent war from engulfing Europe".

As regards the Nyon Conference he expressed the regret that all the Mediterranean powers were not present. Under the circumstances it was necessary to have a practical plan which could be put into operation without delay. This has been done, he said, and is now in operation. The arrangement contains provisions for its reconsideration and the signatories would certainly be glad to consider all suggestions in that connection.

Eden's

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 4- No. 318, September 20, from Geneva.

Eden's only statement on the Far East was as follows:

"The delegate of China in a speech which deeply moved the whole Assembly gave us details of the appalling consequences of the warfare and more particularly the aerial warfare in the Far East, details which must have shocked every one of us. He has in no respect exaggerated the horror felt by us all at this appalling loss of life. It must unhappily be admitted that not one of the several efforts made by third parties to end or assuage this conflict has been of any avail. It is especially tragic that these hostilities on a vast scale should have broken out in the Far East at a time when the omens seemed more auspicious than for some time past for cooperation between the nations in that part of the world. Can anyone doubt that if cooperation had been pursued benefit must have accrued where now there is untold suffering to millions, to say nothing of the blow to trade and prosperity through the Far East."

END

FINISHED

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo

GRAY

Geneva

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 2 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

318, September 20, 6 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

A large portion of the speech was devoted to economic questions. He defended the adoption of a policy of protection by the United Kingdom by emphasizing the importance of the British import market which not only remained open but which from 1933 onwards has taken a steadily increasing percentage of the world's imports. He then went on to state "throughout this period, we have taken whatever action has been open to us to assist in the removal of barriers to international trade, and in the pursuit of that policy during the last four years we have negotiated a number of bilateral agreements. It is not, I think, presumptuous to claim that these agreements have helped not a little in the general tendency towards the improvement of international trade.

The second great import market in the world is that of the United States, and it is a fact of the greatest importance that under the leadership of President Roosevelt and
of

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 318, September 20, from Geneva.

of Mr. Cordell Hull the United States Government has during these recent years, adopted a vigorous and consistent policy for the reduction of trade barriers. The import markets of our own country and of the United States are the greatest import markets of the world. Together they represent nearly 30% of the world's total import trade. Last year we took 18% and the United States over 11%. An agreement on a most-favored-nation basis between these two countries for the reduction of their customs duties would, we are convinced, be one of the most effective steps we could take, not only in our own interests but in those of the whole world."

Referring to the report of the Raw Materials Committee he emphasized that the problem of raw materials "is not primarily or even substantially one of colonial possessions." In this connection he made the following declaration respecting colonial preference:

"We have always deliberately refrained from pressing the preferential system beyond a certain limited point; and when last year we became free to introduce a preferential system in Nigeria (which is our largest African colonial market) we did not do so.

Sir, acting in the spirit which prompted our policy in this respect, and wishing to give effect to the recommendation of the committee on raw materials, His Majesty's Government

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 3- No. 318, September 20, from Geneva.

ernment are ready, as part of the efforts now being made to effect economic and political appeasement and to increase international trade, but without prejudice to the principle of colonial preference, we are ready, I repeat, to enter into discussion with any powers which may approach the United Kingdom Government for an abatement of particular preferences in non self governing colonial territories where these can be shown to place undue restriction on international trade.

This offer, must, of course, be made subject to such reservations as may be necessary to secure reciprocal advantages and pending colonial products and to meet the competition of excessively low cost producers. Let me add that this offer is merely an extension of the policy which has guided the United Kingdom in our commercial relations with foreign countries. We have always been ready, and are still ready, to discuss with any country any proposals which that country thinks likely to be of mutual benefit."

He went on to point out, however, that "no modification of the British or any other preferential system can provide any adequate remedy for the difficulties of those countries which, by maintaining exchange control, find themselves at a disadvantage in obtaining imports of raw materials and other things which they require." He said that the heart of our economic problem and the difficulties in regard to

the

0195

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 4- No. 318, September 20, from Geneva.

the payment for raw materials "are in large part bound up with the solution of wider economic problems which require concerted action to restore freer circulation in capital goods and labor." He pointed out that both the Raw Materials Committee and the Economic Committee starting from different premises reached the same conclusion "that only by a simultaneous progress in three different directions--economic, financial and political--can normal conditions of trade be restored, and therewith normal and unimpeded access to supplies of raw materials."

"His Majesty's Government are sincerely anxious to cooperate in a real effort to restore international trade and for this purpose they are prepared to make their contribution; but any such effort can be effective only if other countries, now in difficulties, are ready to modify their policies in such a way as to resume normal international trading relations and to restore confidence."

He (*) by saying "differences in politic ideology need not stultify economic cooperation or even prevent political tolerance; but there must be agreement on one point, and that is that the restoration of economic conditions should be regarded as the objective of policy, and so in the political as in the economic sphere the world must choose peace. By cooperation we can achieve much; in conflict we shall lose all." (END MESSAGE)

CSB
(*) Apparent omission.

BUCKNELL

0200

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 894a.20/12 FOR Desp.#-

FROM Taihoku (Rowe) DATED Aug. 27, 1937
#611 NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING: Developments in Taiwan reflecting the conflict in
China: Reports regarding -, with special reference
to fact that army airplanes leave Taihoku every
night, and are reported to participate in air raids
over China.

fpg

793.94/10202

/0202

0201

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

78-1

*Copies to Rome, Paris,
 London, Beijing. 4/7/77*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

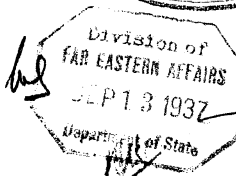
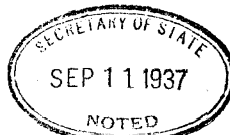
September 10, 1937.

Conversation: SEP 21 1937

The Secretary of State;

The Chinese Ambassador,
Dr. C. T. Wang.

Present: Mr. Hamilton.



The Chinese Ambassador called by request. The Secretary opened the conversation by asking the Ambassador what news he had as to the general situation and the progress of the fighting. The Ambassador replied that the Chinese were putting up a very stiff fight and that they were holding their own. The Ambassador continued that he was very appreciative of the facilities already extended to China by the American Government (the Ambassador did not explain what he meant by this); and that China could continue to wage a successful fight against Japan if it could continue to obtain the facilities with which to carry on the fight. The Ambassador said that he was particularly concerned at the moment with regard to shipping facilities and he said that while no test case had as yet arisen, such a case would very likely arise soon and he wished to know what attitude this Government would take in case the Japanese should stop an American

ship

793.94

note

793.9414

393.115

President

793.94/10203

F/RECORD

/0203

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

88-2

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ship and exercise the right of preemption and remove from the ship goods belonging to the Chinese Government.

The Secretary replied that we had not yet reached that point. The Secretary then explained to the Chinese Ambassador at some length the fact and the implications of the existence of the Neutrality Act, the public opinion and beliefs of certain sections of the American people which were responsible for enactment of that act; that we had constantly before us the question whether the act should be invoked; and that we were operating on a 24-hour basis in regard to the question of invoking the act and in fact in regard to the whole Far Eastern situation. The Secretary explained briefly what invocation of the act would mean. He then referred to the notice recently issued by the Chinese Government the effect of which would be to warn foreign merchant ships of the present dangers along the China coast. He said that this Government had not as yet gone so far as to issue any warning to American merchant ships but that in reference to this whole situation we had to keep in mind not only the Neutrality Act but public opinion in this country. The Secretary said that he was endeavoring patiently to educate the American people in general away from adoption of a rigorous, storm-cellular, isolationist attitude but that he wished the

Ambassador

020

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Ambassador and his Government to realize the general situation in this country and the fact that the Secretary of State could not take action which would run definitely counter to the general state of public opinion. The Secretary said that while we had not as yet issued any warning to American merchant vessels we were feeling our way in regard to that matter just as we were in regard to other aspects of the Far Eastern situation and we could not tell at what time we might have to make some further announcement of policy. The Secretary mentioned the procedure which the American Government had followed in the Italian-Ethiopian situation and pointed out that the administration had invoked the Neutrality Act, which represented the will of the people as expressed through Congress, and that invocation of the act put American merchant ships on notice that the American Government and the American people had no thought of sending armies or navies to protect American merchant ships. The Secretary said also that there was a very strong feeling in the United States opposed to the sale of munitions abroad and that if Congress were now in session it might very readily develop that Congress would pass a law prohibiting all sale of munitions abroad.

The Chinese Ambassador said that he realized the situation in the United States. He said that at the present
time

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time China was fighting for the principles of the open-door policy and China could put up a good fight on behalf of those principles and for its very existence if it could only continue to receive from friendly countries, especially the United States, the facilities with which to carry on the fight. The Secretary said that he was following the situation with the greatest sympathy. He stated again that the existence of the Neutrality Act and the pressure from various groups in the United States for immediate invocation of that act caused us to proceed on a 24-hour basis and we could not tell today whether some new indication of governmental policy might not be forthcoming at any moment.

393.115 *President*
Hooover

At one point during the conversation the Chinese Ambassador said that the Chinese Government's recent notice in regard to precautionary measures which merchant vessels of third countries should take when along the China coast was designed to prevent recurrence of such incidents as the unfortunate bombing of the PRESIDENT HOOVER; that in the case of the PRESIDENT HOOVER there were Japanese warships nearby and the Chinese aviators had unfortunately mistaken the PRESIDENT HOOVER for a Japanese troop ship. The Secretary remarked that without any thought of attempting to question the Ambassador's statement

0205

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statement as to what had occurred he wished the Ambassador to know that some other quarters advanced the view that the circumstances of the bombing of the PRESIDENT HOOVER were somewhat different from the circumstances which the Ambassador had described.

The Secretary asked Mr. Hamilton whether he had any comment to make and Mr. Hamilton said that he had none.

The conversation ended with expression by both the Secretary and the Chinese Ambassador of the helpfulness of such frank and informal discussions. The Secretary told the Chinese Ambassador that he would be glad to see him at any time.

Mr. W. W.

FE:MMH:EJL

0206

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1-1336

MBo

FROM

PLAIN

Nanking via N.R.

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 11:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.

701, September 22, 7 p.m.

Two raids on Nanking today, one in morning by large group of planes estimated by naval observer to number forty and one in afternoon by six bombers. Three areas were seemingly main objects of attack (one) in south city inside the wall where particular targets were presumably governmental offices and where number of Chinese civilians were killed; (two) area including part of so-called new residential district, Metropolitan Hotel, former Consulate General and party headquarters where material damage was slight; (three) area in Shaikwan outside the wall near river including railway station. A large number of bombs were dropped and over 100 Chinese civilians in refugee camp were killed in third area. An anti-aircraft shell fell in Embassy's east compound and exploded slightly scarring gate house. Sent to Department, repeated to Peiping, by mail to Shanghai.

CSB

JOHNSON

793.94/10204

FILE/FG
SEP 23 1937

793.94

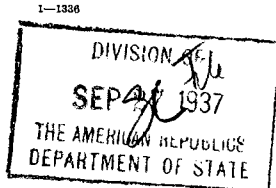
0207

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED



MBo



FROM GRAY

Geneva

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 1:00 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

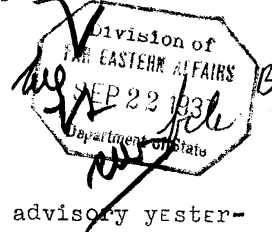
5, September 22, 5 p.m.

Augustin Edwards, who did not attend advisory yesterday as he failed so he said to receive notice of meeting, tells me that he has been instructed to take the least possible part in meeting's activities but that his government wished to maintain if possible present favorable conditions of Chile's exports of nitrate and copper to Japan. He also assured me that he desires to cooperate at all times in any possible manner. I expressed appropriate thanks.

HARRISON

CSB

793.9
not
500.6112



793.94/10205

F/FILED
SEP 27 1937

0208

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EG

1-1336

FROM GRAY

London

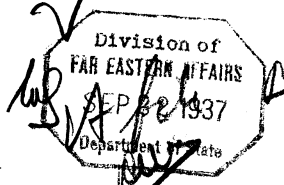
Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 1:46 P. M.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
N.E. AND M.I.D.

603, Sept. 22, 6 p. m.



793.94
note
701.4193

The Foreign Office states that up to six o'clock they had not received any official reports regarding Japanese threats against Nanking. They had no other news of specific importance except the fact that the Japanese reply to the note on the wounding of the British Ambassador in China has been received. General attitude of the Foreign Office officials and of the press regarding the Far Eastern situation continues pessimistic in the extreme.

JOHNSON

RR:CSB

792.94/10206

SEP 27 1937

FILED F/FG

209
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 690.6215/6 FOR Report #891

FROM Berlin (Rose) DATED Sept. 7, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: The Sino-Japanese conflict as affecting German
commerce in the Far East.

kfc

793.94/10207

F/...

/0207

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 891

QUINTUPPLICATE

VOLUNTARY REPORT

GERMAN COMMERCE IN THE FAR EAST
AND THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT

From Vice Consul
Halleck L. Rose

Consulate General,
Berlin, Germany.

Date of Completion: September 7, 1937

Date of Mailing: September 13, 1937

Approved:

.....
Douglas Jenkins
American Consul General

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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In view of the present disturbed conditions in the Far East, the interest of Germany in the present Sino-Japanese conflict and in the possible effect on German commerce in that area is reflected by various articles which have appeared recently in the German press.

A detailed study of German trade with the Far East is contained in voluntary report No. 59 of April 19, 1937, submitted by the American Consulate General in Hamburg.

AMOUNT OF DAMAGES TO GERMAN INTERESTS IN
 CHINESE FIGHTING ZONE NOT YET ESTIMATED

On August 27, 1937, representatives of German firms having commercial interests in China held a conference in the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce on the general subject of German trade with China in respect to the present conflict.

The conference in Hamburg, on the basis of telegrams received from their representatives in Shanghai, came to the conclusion that the situation in Shanghai was, at least for the moment, reassuring. No estimate was given of the amount of damages suffered so far by German firms in the Shanghai area, but it was learned that the forty German firms having branches in Shanghai have goods stored within the fighting zone which represent an investment of from 40 to 60 million RM¹.

POSSIBLE

¹ On Sept. 2, 1937, RM 1.00 was equal to 30.409 at the official rate of exchange.

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POSSIBLE USE OF MANILA HARBOR AS STORAGE
 PLACE FOR GERMAN GOODS NOW ENROUTE TO SHANGHAI

Shortly after the conference at Hamburg adjourned, it was announced that all German lines to the Far East would omit Shanghai as a port of call for their vessels until further notice. Doubtless in anticipation of this step, the conferees had announced that the juridical standpoint in regard to difficulties being encountered by German firms in respect to their business in China would be outweighed by "practical considerations". To avoid the possibility of losses on German goods now en route to Shanghai, the conference decided to consider making use of the harbor facilities in Manila and Singapore (it is understood that all available places of deposit in Hongkong have long since been reserved).

The Chamber of Commerce of Hamburg will arrange, to whatever degree it may be necessary, for cooperation between banks, shippers, and exporters for the protection of Germany's trade and interests in China.

An officer of the Consulate General was recently informed by a German Naval Officer on duty in Berlin that the Ministry of War had no intention of sending any German war vessels to Shanghai. This circumstance may account for the marked absence in the course of the recent Hamburg conference of any appeal for official protection.

GERMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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GERMAN INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENT OF FAR EASTERN MARKETS

A recent very interesting article in a German newspaper¹, after the introductory remark that war-like developments in China have again called attention to the Far East and to prevailing economic conditions in that area, opines that China, Japan, the Philippines, Netherland India, Malaya, Siam, and French Indo-China contain markets capable of consuming large amounts of industrial goods although they have as yet scarcely been touched in this respect. Japan, as the leading economic power in the Far East, considers these markets as her own particular domain and at least as her very best market. Long before the beginning of the Japanese "export offensive" the share of Japanese exports to East Asia amounted to approximately 58 percent of her total exports. This percentage, which has remained fairly stable for several years, indicates how important the markets of the Far East are to Japan.

GERMAN AND JAPANESE EXPORTS TO FAR EAST

The newspaper article in question emphasizes the inevitable reaction on Japanese exports of each of the penetrations of that country in the Far East. The following statistical table shows the respective amounts of Japanese and German exports to the Far Eastern area (excluding Japan) in the period 1925-1933

and

¹ Berliner Morgen-Zeitung, August 28, 1937.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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and the percentage of such exports in relation to the total amount of each country's exports.

EXPORTS TO THE FAR EAST
 (Excluding Japan)¹

Year	<u>GERMANY</u>		% of total exports	<u>JAPAN</u>		% of total exports
	Mill. M ²			Mill. Yen.	Mill. M ²	
1926	430	4.3		812	1730	35
1928	580	4.8		655	1400	33
1930	523	4.6		533	1140	35
1931	401	4.9		385	750	32
1932	229	4.7		540	680	32
1933	217	5.		520	560	33

* On September 1, 1937, 1M 1.00 was equal to \$0.409

DIFFERENT CHARACTER OF GERMAN AND JAPANESE
 ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST

While the Japanese regard their neighbors in the Far East as the principal consumers of the produce of Japanese industry, Germany looks on this area as an important source of raw materials for German manufacturers. The importance of China as a supplier of certain articles needed in German industry is reflected by the content of confidential despatch No. 1726 of August 30, 1937. The balance of Germany's trade with the Far East has always been passive. Only about 5 percent of German exports go to the Far East. While Japan has her own "domain" for exports in East Asia, Germany possesses no such "domain" which could be compared to the Japanese export market in China.

GERMAN

¹ Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, August 26, 1937.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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GERMAN EXPORTS TO CHINA AND JAPAN
IN RELATION TO TOTAL GERMAN EXPORTS
TO OVERSEAS COUNTRIES¹

German Exports to:

Year	<u>China (excl. Manchuria)</u>		<u>Japan</u>		<u>Other overseas countries</u>	
	Mill. DM	Per cent	Mill. DM	Per cent	Mill. DM	Per cent
1925	118	28	181	42	131	30
1928	170	33	213	38	177	29
1930	150	29	130	25	243	46
1931	141	36	144	36	116	28
1932	82	36	82	36	65	28
1933	80	36	76	36	61	29
1935	96	40	82	36	68	26

As is apparent from the foregoing table, German exports to the Far East can be divided into three groups: exports to China excluding Manchuria, to Japan, and to other countries in the Far East. The total exports for these three groups are approximately the same; each of the three takes about one-third of the total German exports to the Far East. The situation has changed very little in the last ten years.

JAPANESE EXPORTS TO CHINA GREATER IN
VALUE THAN GERMAN EXPORTS TO CHINA
DESPITE RECENT DECLINE IN VALUE

Although up to 1925 it is estimated that 67 percent of Japanese exports to other countries in East Asia went to China, this percentage has now declined to approximately 20 percent. During the same period the total Japanese exports to Manchuria excluding the Japanese zone of Kwantung increased from 13 percent

¹ Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, August 28, 1937.

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percent of the total Japanese exports to countries in East Asia to nearly 46 percent. The decline in Japanese exports to China can be directly traced to the Japanese action in Manchuria in 1931. The increases in Japanese exports to Manchuria, however, have been overbalanced by the losses in China proper, especially under the influence of the recent Sino-Japanese difficulties. Taking into consideration the devaluation of the yen, rendered into reichsmarks, total Japanese exports to the geographical area of China (including Manchuria and other zones not under the direct jurisdiction of the Nanking Government) amounted in 1935 to 139 million RM. This was 96 million RM greater than the amount of German exports to China in 1935. The Japanese exports to China were accordingly 46 percent greater in value than the German.

The following statistics give the total of Japanese exports to China, Manchuria, and other overseas countries in reichsmarks from 1925 to 1935.

Japanese Exports to:¹

Year	China			Manchuria		Other overseas Countries		
	Mill. Yen	Mill. RM	Per cent	Mill. Yen	Per cent	Mill. Yen	Per cent	
1925	542	1160	67	102	13	168	20	
1928	429	920	65	110	17	116	18	
1930	317	680	60	87	17	129	23	
1931	192	365	60	77	21	106	29	
1932	147	177	27	147	27	246	46	
1933	131	111	20	303	46	226	34	
1935	184	139	-	426	-	-	-	

Japan

¹ Berliner Koersen-Zeitung, August 28, 1937.

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Japan, as a great industrial power, is to a large degree dependent upon her sale of goods to China and must regard recent developments with great concern. Whereas the German exports to China from 1925 to 1935, in the midst of a crisis, decreased by only 18 percent, Japanese exports to China fell 66 percent during the same period.

COMMENT

The appearance of the foregoing information in the controlled German press at this time may well presage an increased activity by German industrialists to increase the export of German manufactured goods to China at the expense of Japan. The using of Manila and Singapore as "places of deposit" for German goods during the present troubled time would place no obstacle in the path of transshipment of such goods to China should any carrier be willing to undertake this.

The tone of the articles now appearing in organs of the German press would seem to lend some confirmation to the suggestion made in a recent edition of the London Times to the effect that the German Government finds itself seriously embarrassed in respect to the present Far Eastern situation by the existence of the Japanese-German Anti-Communist Agreement. Should Japan, with which country, to say the least, Germany is on the most friendly terms outwardly, gain a further foothold in China as the

outcome

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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outcome of the present conflict, Germany might not only lose her present markets there but the raw materials in which Germany is interested in China might well be pre-empted by the Japanese.

To the Department in quintuplicate;
Copy to Embassy, Berlin.

600
HLRinc

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- (1) Berliner Boersen-Zeitung of August 28, 1937;
- (2) Voelkischer Beobachter of August 28, 1937;
- (3) General observation.

one copy
sent to
MC

0221

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

COMSOPAT

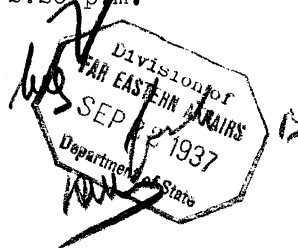
1-1338

FROM September 22, 1937

Rec'd 2:26 p.m.

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMDESRON 5
COMSUBRON 5
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
EMBASSY NANKING



0122 Canton bombed three times by heavy bombers in past 24 hours, first raid from 0300 to 0500 by approximately nine planes, second raid 0710 to 0745 by approximately twelve planes dive bombing, third raid 1300 to 1345 by approximately twelve planes flat bombing. Targets appeared to be military headquarters airfields and Canton-Hong Kong railroad station. One heavy bomb landed several hundred yards from railway station and another near Sun Yat Sen Memorial Hall. Chinese opposed raid by anti-aircraft guns only. Last three large bombers dropped bombs from a great height about five seconds after emerging from cloud bank. Reported many civilians killed and wounded and thousands of Cantonese left city. Harbor master reported all water ways to Canton blocked except at Boco Tigris 2120.

CSB

793.94/10203

F/FG

0221

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

EDM

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY
TELEGRAM RECEIVED
CANTON VIA N.R.

1-1326

Dated September 22, 1937

FROM
Received 9 p.m.

AMEMBASSY NANKING AMEMBASSY PEIPING AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMERICAN CONSUL SWATOW

Secretary of State

Washington

DIVISION OF
AFRICAN AFFAIRS
SEP 23 1937
Department of State

September 22, 4 p.m.

THIS SENT TO
C. L. AND M. L.

Canton raided 3 a.m., 7 a.m. and 1 a.m. today by

considerable force of bombers. First raid lasted over two hours, attackers repeatedly circling city and dropping many bombs at airdromes and number in Hachung factory and power house district. Also want only bombed main city attempting unsuccessfully to hit Sun Yat ^{San} Memorial Hall and police and other civil (repeat civil) government quarters. With resultant destruction many nearby private homes raided unsuccessful militarily but many human casualties. Active anti-aircraft gun reported to have shot down two planes. Second raid of similar character but shorter duration with aerodromes main target, damage reported slight, one Japanese plane reported shot down. Third raid included further bombing aerodrome and about five bombs in thickly populated district between Sun Yat Sen University and Kowloon Railway, wounding and killing many noncombatants, other results not yet learned.

LINNELL

EDM:SMS

793.94/10209

FILED F/FG
SEP 23 1937

793.94

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 393.4215/1 FOR Desp.#1617

FROM Canada (Armour) DATED Sept.15,1937.
#011 NAME 1-1127 o r o

REGARDING: Canadian Policy with respect to the Sino-Japanese
situation: Prime Minister's statement on general
outlook on -. Reports regarding -.

fpg

793.94/10210

F / F

10210

0223

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 600.0031 World Program/219 FOR #1

FROM Netherlands (Gordon) DATED Sept. 11, 1937
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Prime Minister of Netherlands, Dr. Colijn, said
no one seemed to know whether the Chinese would
present a case before the Council of the League
of Nations or bring their case before the Assem-
bly in the hope of arousing world public opinion.

kfc

793.94/10211

F/wR

10211

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 890.00/60 FOR Memorandum

State Department
 FROM Far Eastern Division (Bellantine) DATED Sept. 18, 1937.
 /144/ NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Situation in the Far East: Conflict between
 China and Japan: Reports developments in -,
 during past week.

fpg

793.94/10212

F/MR

10212

0225

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

1-1386

FROM CINCAF

September 23, 1937

Rec'd 10:54 a.m.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE (USMC)
AMERICAN CONSUL-SHANGHAI(CHINA)
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMYANGPAT
COMSOPAT
AMERICAN EMBASSY, NANKING(CHINA)
ALUSMA, PEIPING

✓
DIVISION OF
EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 23 1937
Department of State

793.94
393.0015

0023 Japanese have made small advances along entire front. Greatest effort continues at Kiangwan and toward Kiating meeting strong Chinese opposition. Japanese reinforcements estimated one division arrived. Little activity vicinity settlement, Potung area being shelled intermittently by Japanese ships. Air attacks Nanking Sochow KiangYin reported and unconfirmed report Japanese attack Yangtze barrier. Shanghai quiet. Four hundred persons mainly British women and children evacuated to Hong Kong in AUGUSTA returned Shanghai yesterday 1920.

NO SIGNATURE

CSB

793.94/ 10213

SEP 27 1937
F/FG

0226

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

1-1286

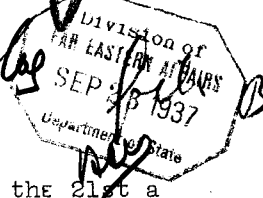
FROM Hankow via N.R.

Dated September 23, 1937

Rec'd 10:33 a.m.

Secretary of State
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
G.N.I. AND M.I.D.



September 23, 4 p.m.

I learn from railway sources that on the 21st a
seven span bridge on the Peiping Hankow railway between
Paoting and Shihchiachuang was bombed and 4 spans damaged.
Urgent repairs are now being undertaken.

JOSSELYN

CSB

793.94/10214

773.94
note
893.1541

F/FG
RUCSD
EF 27 1937

0227

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

89-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

1-1286

FROM Geneva
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (C)

Secretary of State
Washington.

URGENT

6, September 23, 10 a.m.

CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY.

Reference my No. 3, September 22, noon.

Saw Craneborne last evening. He explained he had been delayed in reaching Eden and had had to see Delbos. He reiterated Eden's desire to cooperate fully with you and to do nothing to cause us embarrassment. Consequently they had decided to propose at the next meeting of the Advisory Committee that a subcommittee be set up composed only of the representatives of states directly interested in the Far East. The Committee he felt was too large for effective discussion and had many members with no direct interest. He hoped that you would be willing to be represented on the subcommittee, he presumed, he said within the terms and on the conditions set forth in my communication of September 21. Eden he added thought that this procedure rather than the suggested separate Pacific conference would be the most agreeable to you.

Craneborne

JWP

Division of
AN EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 23 1937
Department of State

7-11
B
H/L

File
SEP 24 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 27 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SEP 23 1937
NOTED

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
SEP 23 1937
MR. WILSON

793.9
cc6.7

P.C.
cc6.7

7-3.94/10215

FILED

F/HG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

89-2

MBo 2- No. 6, September 23, from Geneva.

Craneborne therefore asked me to ascertain your views and also suggested that I get in touch with Delbos or Massigli who had a message for me.

Later I saw Massigli who stated that it had been decided to propose the creation of the subcommittee, that the idea of a Pacific Nyon has been discarded at least for the time being and that the matter would not be presented to you through the French and British Embassies at Washington.

The membership of proposed subcommittee would presumably consist of Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, the United States, France, New Zealand, Holland, Portugal, Russia, and Italy, if she takes her seat on the Committee, as well as the states invited to participate reported in paragraph two of my telegram of September 21, 8 p.m. I ^{asked} Craneborne if he knew whether Germany would accept the invitation. He said he did not know but added that the German press had reacted favorably and he hoped Germany would accept. He did not expect Japan to accept.

When I asked him what he thought the subcommittee ^{could accomplish}, Craneborne mentioned possible pressure for peace by joint appeal to both parties ^{also} (A) possibility that the time might come when Japan would welcome some form of mediation of which subcommittee might take advantage.

Please instruct.

CSB

HARRISON

(#) Apparent omission.

0229

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

8-9-3

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department
 OR

Charge to

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

This cable was sent in confidential Code.
 It should be carefully paraphrased before
 being communicated to anyone. CI

AMDELGAT

1937 SEP 23 PM 5 34

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

Washington,

September 23, 1937.

GENEVA (SWITZERLAND)

Your No. 6, September 23, 10 a. m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

We will give you an answer in due course. Mean-
 while, we will be interested to know if you can discover
 any further information with regard to ~~the~~ what the
 principal representatives of the important Governments
 concerned may be thinking of for ~~presentation~~ ^{consideration} to the
 Sub-committee you mention.

PA/D:JCD:NNB

FE

P/H

Sust

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10215

F/MR

10215

0231

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

89-4

PREPARING OFFICE
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PARTIAL

PLAIN

This change to a secret in confidential Code.
It should be carefully paraphrased before
being communicated to anyone. C-1

Department of State

Washington,

1937 SEP 24 PM 5 41

September 24, 1937.

6 pm

AMDELGAT

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

GENEVA (SWITZERLAND).

Paraphrase sent to
Ambassador Sherr
Tokyo, Japan
Oct. 18, 1937

Strictly Confidential

773.94/10215
not
193.945 more
Committee

2 Your 6, September 23, 10 a.m., reporting suggestion
that a subcommittee of the Advisory Committee be set up.
Provided that it is thoroughly understood that your
presence on such a subcommittee would be within the terms
and conditions under which you are attending the meetings
of the Advisory Committee you are authorized to accept
an invitation, if extended, to sit with the suggested
subcommittee.
In the light of all your telegrams and reports
according to press reports from Geneva we gain the
impression that some of the principal governments con-
cerned in the setting up of the subcommittee may have
in mind putting on the subcommittee representatives of
nations QUOTE most concerned UNQUOTE with the Pacific
area and, although not strictly limited to those nations
signatory to the Washington treaties, such as the Nine
Power Pact, that it might be largely made up of representatives of
governments

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-7462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

773.94/10215

F/FG

0231

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

89-5

PREPARING OFFICE
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Department of State

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 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

-2-

Washington,

governments party to that Pact. There is a question /
 in our minds here whether the confining of consideration
 of the present situation in the Far East in the first
 instance to a group limited in such a manner would not
 in itself take away from the universal character and
 broad effect of the attention which should be given to
 the developments now occurring there which, it is
 perfectly obvious, are of concern not only to those
 nations having an interest in the Pacific area but to
 all nations of the world. I revert to my statement of
 July 16, which you have already brought to the attention
 of the League. That statement gives the position of this
 Government with respect to international problems and
 situations of concern to this country and, I feel justi-
 fied in saying, is in accord with the position of most
 of the governments of the world as expressed in communi-
 cations from many of those governments which I have re-
 ceived in response to the issuance of that statement.
 On August 23 I made a public statement which was carried
 in radio bulletin no. 196 of that date. Therein I
 stated that this Government is firmly of the opinion
 that the principles summarized in the statement of

Enciphered by _____

(July

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____,

0232

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

89-6

PREPARING OFFICE
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 PARTIAL
 PLAIN

-3-

Washington,

July 16 should effectively govern international relations. I also stated that we consider applicable throughout the world, in the Pacific area as elsewhere, the principles set forth in the statement of July 16; that that statement of principles is comprehensive and basic, and that it embraces the principles embodied in many treaties, including the Washington treaties and the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

(Jo) This Government has taken an emphatic position with regard to the indiscriminate aerial bombing of Nanking and other unprotected and non-military places in China. Furthermore, we have offered to be of assistance in an effort to find some means of ~~putting~~ ^{bringing} the present hostilities to an end and of finding some peaceful method of composing the situation in the Far East.

I feel that there are certain principles upon which nations could take a position and upon which they could express themselves with regard to any particular situation or development which may arise, such as the developments now taking place in the Far East. Among those principles might be mentioned abstinence by all nations

from

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0233

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

89-7

PREPARING OFFICE
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Department of State

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 PARTIAL
 PLAIN

-4-

Washington,

from the use of force in the pursuit of policy and
 from interference in the internal affairs of other
 nations; adjustment of problems in international
 relations by process of peaceful negotiation and
 agreement; upholding of the principle of the sanctity
 of treaties; respect by all nations for the rights of
 others; and performance by all nations of established
 obligations. These are broad basic principles upon
 which international relationships should be governed
 if peace is to be maintained.

The developments occurring at present in China
 are and must be the concern of every nation in the
 world which hopes to base its relationships with other
 nations upon the principles set forth in my statement
 of July 16. I can see no reason why any and all
 nations could not take a position with regard to this
 conflict from the point of view of their own interest
 in the preservation of peace and the settlement of
 disputes by peaceful methods.

The foregoing is for your information and guidance.
 We do not wish to suggest or give the impression that
 this Government is attempting to take any initiative

Enciphered by _____

with

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

0234

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

89-8

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Department of State

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 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

-5-

Washington,

with regard to the shaping of the action which may be taken by the League. You may, in your talks with any of the representatives of governments in Geneva with whom you may consider it useful to discuss the matter, refer to the principles set forth in my statements of July 16 and August 23 and take the position that these developments are of a nature which would seem to be of concern to all nations rather than to those comprising any particular or special group. You should discretely foster the idea that this whole question should be dealt with on the broadest possible basis and from the point of view of general world concern and general interest.

Please keep Department fully and currently informed of developments, including conversations.

Full
HRU

Approved in
draft by S. & C.
LE. PA-H. EU. FE.
HRU

[Signature]

PA/D:JCD:CMS

PA/H

EU FE C A-W LE

Enciphered by

Sent by operator

M.

19

0235

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

In reply refer to:
G-2/2657-H-439

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON D C.

SEPTEMBER 30 1937

SEP 22 1937

1937 SEP 23 AM 10 41

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Tele. to V. 9/23/37
DIVISION OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 23 1937
Department of State

SEP 24 1937

I request that a radiogram in substance as follows
be transmitted in State Department code to the American Amba-
sador, Nanking, China:

"For Roberts from War Department.

Request detailed reports on bombing
raids, including to the extent practicable
numbers and types of planes employed, forma-
tions, altitude of attack, apparent objectives,
times of attack, sizes and types of bombs,
their effect, amount and effectiveness of anti-
aircraft, and type and effectiveness of pursuit
aviation on both sides.

Signed, Conley."

Sincerely yours,

Lucian Gray
Secretary of War.

793.94/10216

FILED

F/FG

0236

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

1937 SEP 24 PM 12 24

Washington,

September 25, 1937.

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR

PLAIN
NAVAL RADIO

AMEMBASSY

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

NANKING (China). *Wink*

760

The Secretary of War has requested the Department to transmit the following message to the Embassy;

QUOTE For Roberts from War Department.

Request detailed reports on bombing raids, including to the extent practicable numbers and types of planes employed, formations, altitude of attack, apparent objectives, times of attack, sizes and types of bombs, their effect, amount and effectiveness of anti-aircraft, and type and effectiveness of pursuit aviation on both sides.

Signed, Conley. UNQUOTE

*Shall
(Run)*

793.94/10216

FE JCV: VCI

SEP 24 1937.

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10216

/6216

0237

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

SEPTEMBER 30 1937

In reply refer to
FE 793.94/10216

My dear Mr. Secretary:

General Craig's
With reference to your letter of September 22,
requesting the Department to send a message by radio
to the American Ambassador at Nanking, China, the De-
partment forwarded the message quoted in your letter
under reference to our Embassy at Nanking and has now
received section one of a telegram in reply from the
American Ambassador. Copies of our message to the Em-
bassy at Nanking and the reply from the Ambassador are
enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:
Copy of telegram to
Nanking, September
24, 1937.
Copy of telegram from
Nanking, September
27, 1937.

The Honorable

Harry Hines Woodring,
Secretary of War.

SEP 30 1937

FE:JUV:VCI:SMJ

9/29/37

F/FG

0238

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton C. Huelskamp NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 5 1937

In reply refer to
FE 793.94/10216

My dear Mr. Secretary:

With further reference to General Craig's letter of September 22, 1937, requesting the Department to send a message by radio to the American Ambassador at Nanking, China, and to my reply of September 30 enclosing a copy of section one of a telegram in reply from the Ambassador, I am enclosing for your information a copy of the complete telegram comprising corrected copies of sections one, two, and three.

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosure:

From Nanking,
telegram No. 725,
September 27, 1937.

The Honorable

Harry H. Woodring,

Secretary of War.

FE:VCV:REK
10/4/37

CR
OCT 6 1937.
Routine

793.94/10216

F/A

0239

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

90-1

copies made
WTC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

September 21, 1937. ~~PAH~~

Conversation.

Mr. Kadono,
 Mr. Ballantine.

On September 19 I lunched with Mr. Kadono, Chairman of the Japanese Economic Mission, who is now on his way back to Europe from Japan. In the course of conversation Mr. Kadono said that when he was taking leave of Ambassador Yoshida at London, Yoshida remarked that he wished that he too could go back with Kadono. Kadono told me that he felt very sorry for Yoshida, whose position in London was now a most uncomfortable and difficult one.

Kadono also told me that he thought that Japan was fully prepared to take care of the huge negative balance up to the end of this year, but that he was not so sure how the situation would develop next year. He said the Japanese cotton importers had encountered difficulty with the exchange control authorities in obtaining the release of exchange to buy cotton to cover hedging operations which the Japanese importers had been carrying on to protect the price at which they had contracted last January for this year's cotton requirements.

I am inclined to believe, in view of the fact that

Kadono

793.94/10217

F/MR

10217

0240

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

90-2

-2-

Kadono avoided any discussion of the Far Eastern situation or any attempt to defend Japan's position, that he is out of sympathy with the Japanese Government's actions. This opinion is strengthened by certain remarks made to my wife by Mrs. Kadono who was too ill to appear at luncheon. Mrs. Kadono said "Why should our people have to add to the troubles of the world and engage in such wholesale killing of people? The pictures and press articles are so very terrible. I cannot bear to see people except our old friends who know us".

SMJ
FE:JWB:SMJ

0241

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

1-1336

FROM GRAY

Peiping via N.R.

Dated September 23, 1937

Rec'd 11:20 a.m.

Secretary of State, COPIES SENT TO
Washington. O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

577, September 23, 9 p.m.

Embassy's 573 / 10192, September 22, 5 p.m.

One. The local Japanese military spokesman states that the center of the Japanese forces was one kilometer north of Paoting this morning; that the fall of Tsangchow is expected to occur prior to the fall of Paoting; that there are no reports of progress on the Peiping Suiyuan Railway front; and that the Japanese navy has bombed the airdrome at Tsining in southwest Shantung. Repeated to Nanking.

LOCKHART

WWC:CSB

EP 2 1937

E/EG
FILED

793.94/10213

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 23 1937
Department of State

0242

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

91-1

JAB

FL
EU

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

HJD

Berlin

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

Dated September 23, 1937

FROM

Rec'd. 3:03 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.



793.94

233, September 23, 6 p. m.

. With the American note to Tokyo of September 22 in my mind as background, I called today on the Chief of the Far Eastern Section of the Foreign Office and gave him a copy of that note (radio bulletin number 221) making clear that I did so solely for his information and as an act of friendly courtesy. He said that he was very glad to have it as "he himself was just about to compose a note to Tokyo". He added that Germany had already protested formally to Japan over the proposed bombing of Nanking. He believed that the Japanese objective in such an action was to present a visible disruption of Chinese relations with the powers.

Von Schmieden asserted that the German policy of "neutrality" had in no way changed, that the most extended position Berlin had taken was formally to notify China and Japan that they would be held responsible for destruction of German life or property. I asked him if the ANGRIFFF article (Embassy's 232, September 22, 10 a. m.) correctly interpreted German policy. While not formally admitting

793.94/10219

F/FILED

EP 29 1937

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

91-2

MJD -2- No. 233, September 23, 6 p. m. from Berlin

admitting this he replied that "he was very glad to see the article appear". He added that the Japanese were causing considerable annoyance by radio propaganda in China to the effect that the German-Japanese treaty meant that Germany stood with Japan in the latter's activities.

The British Ambassador had intimated to me that the British Government was officially keeping the German Government informed respecting British action in the Far East which might have aspects of a certain concert in action. Von Schmieden was noncommittal on this score but said that contacts were maintained between representatives of the powers at Tokyo and showed me as an example copies of certain correspondence between Ambassadors at that post.

With respect to the invitation extended to Germany to participate in the League Advisory Committee, Von Schmieden informed me that Germany's refusal had been transmitted in the usual oral manner through the German Consul General at Geneva and was based on the customary reason of this being a League activity. I told him that I assumed that whether or not Germany would be willing to cooperate in any manner other than with a League body was purely hypothetical which he said was the case.

Copies by mail to London, Geneva, Paris.

GILBERT

WVC

0244

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1w

1-1336

PLAIN AND GRAY

FROM
 Hong Kong via N.R.

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 3:03 p.m., 23rd

Secretary of State
 Washington

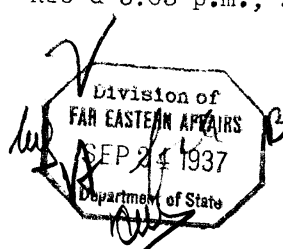
September 22, 10 a.m.

Referring to my telegram of September 10, 7 p.m.,
 regarding President's warning to Americans to leave
 China.

Recent Hong Kong press comment on American policy
 in China has been until today mild from editorial stand-
 point. HONG KONG DAILY PRESS of September twenty-second
 in an editorial headed "American-knave or fool" comments
 as follows on American policy in China: "cabled messages
 which we publish today indicate that the decision of the
 Government of the United States as expressed by the Amba-
 sador to China is not quite in sweet harmony with the more
 venturesome and courageous spirit of the nationals of that
 country in this part of the world. Even the Admiral of
 third fleet is reported to be out of sympathy with the
 policy of the Government which owns the ships he directs.
 As far as American prestige is concerned it is a sorry

state

4



793.94
 393.1115
 124.93

793.94/10220

SEP 23 1937

F/FG
 FILED

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

lw 2, September 22, 10 a.m., from Hong Kong

state of affairs, and we feel constrained to put the question--knave or fool?". Also "yet the plain fact remains, America has decided, for the time being at least, to retreat before the increasing storm which is being made by Japan in Asia. We feel that we are reflecting the opinion of American citizens domiciled in this part of the world when we say that there is a definite feeling that their government has let them down. What the Chinese feel about the policy of the United States is even more detrimental to that nation than the views of America's own citizens. Reduced to its logical conclusion, the United States of America policy is calculated to facilitate Japan's dictatorial terrorism rather than to help China's defence of democracy in Asia."

Reactions in Hong Kong to the removal of Embassy at Nanking to the U.S.S. LUZON are as follows: consensus of responsible American opinion is that such action is damaging in the extreme to American dignity and prestige in the Far East; responsible Chinese opinion reflects disappointment at such action from "a power held in higher esteem in China than all others" and amazement that a first class power could be so indifferent to its prestige and dignity; British circles have said nothing, a fact

which

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

lw 3, September 22, 10 a.m. from Hong Kong

which is sufficiently indicative of their feelings on the subject since heretofore they have discussed frankly with the Consulate General all aspects of American policy in China.

The following Reuter press despatch dated Shanghai September twenty-first appeared in Hong Kong South China MORNING POST September twenty-second "there is a deep bitterness in American military naval and civilian circles over Mr. N. T. Johnson's decision to evacuate the American Embassy. There is a feeling that American prestige and dignity has suffered a severe blow especially as Mr. Johnson is the Doyen of the diplomatic corps. It is no secret that Admiral H. E. Yarnell, Commander-in-Chief of the American Asiatic Fleet disapproved the evacuation of the Embassy staff but as a compromise the gunboat LUZON is remaining off Nanking instead of going up the river."

One of the most prominent well informed and well balanced British residents in Hong Kong commented as follows on American policy in China during the past two months "the policy of Great Britain, France and the United States are similar in China in that none of the three will go to war unaided to protect their interests.

This

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

lw 4, September 22, 10 a.m., from Hong Kong

This fact is well known to everyone. However, the United States has indirectly strengthened Japan's hand by too many public pronouncements regarding the withdrawal of the Americans from China, statements that the cost of protection of American nationals abroad was too costly, and too many repetitions of the statement that the United States would not use force to protect its nationals abroad. American policy, which appears to be negative only, could more easily be accomplished with fewer official statements on the subject, necessary though some of them may be for home consumption, a method which France and Great Britain are now pursuing".

Responsible Americans in Hong Kong concur in the opinion expressed by one of the leaders of the American community that "Great Britain and France, neither of which is taking any more positive policy than the United States in the present crisis, have so far managed to do so with considerable less loss in prestige and dignity than the United States."

These comments may be considered as an objective summary of public opinion in Hong Kong on the points mentioned.

DONOVAN

CSB

0248

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

92-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

SPECIAL GRAY

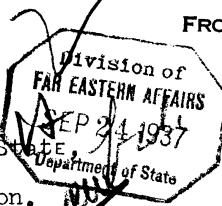
1-1386

FROM

Peiping via N.R.

Dated September 23, 1937

Rec'd 4:55 p.m.



Secretary of State,
 Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND A.I.D.

574, September 23, 3 p.m.

In the knowledge that what is set forth below may already be well-known to the Department, I submit the following observations on the combination of circumstances that have led to the present invasion of China by the Japanese military:

One. It is becoming increasingly evident that the Japanese objective is not only completely to destroy as quickly as possible the authority of the Central Government north of the Yellow River, and perhaps north of the Lung-hai Railway, but also to impair the political, financial and military strength of the Central Government throughout the entire country to the point where a complete new government at Nanking will be found to be necessary if peace is to be restored, the new government to be so weak that it will be impotent against any independent regime or autonomous state that might be set up in the North.

Two. The Japanese military have long harbored the

belief

793.94/10221

FILED F/FG

EP 2 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

92-2

MBo 2- No. 574, September 23, from Peiping.

belief that the Chinese program of unity, economic development and military advancement, which has been moving forward for several years with marked success, constituted a threat to the future security of Japan and that a postponement of the present process of destroying that program would only mean that its destruction would be all the more hard to achieve later.

Three. The threat of Communism in North China was believed by the Japanese military to be real, especially after the merging of the Communists' forces in the northwest with the National Government Army as the result of the compromise to effect the release of Chiang Kai-Shek from his captors last December. The Japanese are determined, in common with Germany and Italy, to prevent the spread of Communism, and this was an important factor in the decision of the Japanese military to go ahead now as described in paragraphs one and two rather than wait for more complete preparations or, alternately, for a better justification than the Marco Polo Bridge incident or the killing of the two Japanese near the airdrome in Shanghai on August 9. In any event, what is now taking place was inevitable, but it has come sooner than expected and before Japan had completed all its plans. Its opportuneness has been questioned also because it has brought tremendous

Economic

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

92-3

CORRECTED THIRD PAGE

793.94/10221

MEMO -3- No. 574 September 23, from Peiping.

economic and financial loss to Japan at a time when it could ill afford such a loss.

Four. Another determining factor has been the prospective, if not the real, loss of markets in other parts of the world for Japanese manufactured products. A firm grip on the market of a consuming population much greater in numbers than the domestic market in Japan has not been overlooked as an ultimate gain to accrue from the present aggression.

Five. The ease with which the control over Manchuria and Jehol was acquired imbued the Japanese military with the idea that further aggressions might be as easily accomplished, but in this they have been greatly disappointed, as the heavy casualty lists must now convince them.

Six. To the above combination of circumstances may be added Japan's desires to fortify itself in every possible way against the Soviet Union which is now being done by acquiring control over an immense territory which would not only be of strategic importance but would also provide natural resources and almost unlimited man power (largely lacking) if the need should arise. (It is amazing the extent to which Chinese impressed labor has been utilized by the Japanese in the present military operations in North China.)

Seven. The merging of the transportation system of North China with that of Manchuria is an important link in the

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

92-4

MBo 4- No. 574, September 23, from Peiping.

the whole general plan/^{of}complete control in North China.
It is not unlikely that the Lunghai Railway may be included and that it will constitute the southern boundary of the extensive transportation system now in contemplation.

Eight. Lastly, the political and military confusion in Europe and the internal political disturbances in the Soviet Union have not been overlooked since preoccupation in that direction would tend to minimize the possibility of any intervention on the part of a third power in any conflict in China. Ultimately, the reason or the objective, the present conflict, in its far reaching consequences, its military strength, its effect on foreign interests, and perhaps even in loss of life and property, may be found to rank with the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905.

Repeated to Nanking.

LOCKHART

(#) Apparent omission.

SJS:RGC

0252

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

1-1336

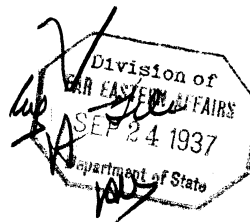
This message was received
 in navy code and must be
 closely paraphrased before
 being communicated to any-
 one.

FROM Alusna Peiping

September 23, 1937

Rec'd 8:30 a.m., Sep. 24

FROM: ALUSNA PEIPING
 TO: NAVY DEPARTMENT
 INFO: SECOND BRIGADE USMC
 COMSUBRON FIVE
 COMDESRON FIVE
 CINCAF
 COMYANGPAT
 AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING



793.94

0023 Japs expect capture Peoting today and Tsangchow
 within few days. Feng Yuh Siang reported assumed com-
 mand Tsinpu forces with five divisions on front line.
 Very little Japanese aerial activity Peiping area indi-
 cating transfer of planes 1705.

793.94/10222

DDM

EP 2 3 1937

F/FG
FILED

0253

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

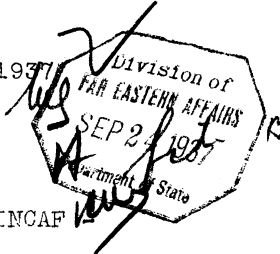
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MP

COMSOPAT

1-1286

September 24, 1937
FROM
Rec'd 8 a.m.



Action Opnav

Info: 2nd Brigade USMC - COMDESRON 5 - CINCAF
COMYANGPAT - ALUSNA PEIPING

793.94

0123 Last twenty four hours Canton bombed three times,
first raid 0100 to 0215 by approximately six planes,
second 0345 to 0500 by approximately two planes, third
0700 to 0815 by twelve bombers and three fighting.
Objectives apparently military headquarters and airfields.
First two raids unopposed, third raid Chinese used anti-
aircraft guns and had two fighters in air one of which
was forced down when attacked by two Japanese fighting
planes. After dropping bombs during last raid northern
part of city bombers disappeared to north apparently
intending to attack Hankow-Canton Railroad. Exodus of
Cantonese continues in large numbers. Foochow, Amoy and
Swatow quiet 2230.

793.94/10225

F/FG
FILED
SEP 25 1937

0254

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

lw

1-1236

GRAY
FROM

Hankow via N.R.

Dated September 24, 1937

Rec'd 8:50 a.m.

Secretary of State

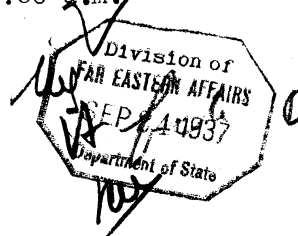
Washington

September 24, 7 p.m.

This area raided by about ten planes at 5 o'clock
p.m. today. Previous reports state five bombs dropped
in Hankow native city and Hanyang. Extent damage un-
known. All clear at 5:45 p.m.

JOSSELYN

RR
WVWC



793.94/10224

F / FG
FILED
SEP 29 1937

025

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

lw

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CINCAP

September 24, 1937

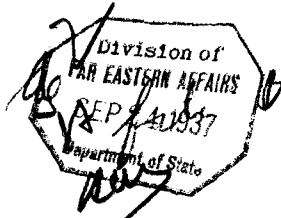
SEP 24 1937

FROM
REC'd 9:24 a.m.

DIVISION OF FOREIGN
SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: SECOND BRIGADE USMC
AMERICAN CONSUL - SHANGHAI (CHINA)
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMYANGPAT
COMSOPAT
AMEMBASSY NANKING (CHINA)
ALUSNA PEIPING (CHINA)

793.94
note
093.11.5



0024 Newly arrived Japanese units concentrating
Kiangwan, another drive that sector expected. No change
other sectors. Shanghai area quiet except occasional
shelling Chapai by batteries in Hongkew one hundred one
Americans evacuated via Ningpo arrived Shanghai safely.
1933

793.94/10225

F/EEG
EP 28 1937

0256

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JWP

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF
 EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
 SEP 27 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MBo

1-1335

FROM GRAY

Geneva (part air)

Dated September 22, 1937

Rec'd 6:20 a.m., Sep. 24

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

DIVISION OF
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 24 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

*793.94
 note
 500. C112*

4, September 22, 4 p.m.

Yesterday there were submitted to the Advisory Committee the documents mentioned in the Consulate's telegram No. 262, ⁹⁸¹⁶ August 30, 8 p.m. despatch No. 1, ¹⁰⁰¹⁴ Political September 1, telegram No. 292, ¹⁰⁰⁵⁴ September 13, 9 p.m. lists 175 and 177, telegram No. 297, ¹⁰⁰⁷⁹ September 15, 3 p.m. 298, ¹⁰⁰⁸⁰ September 15, 4 p.m. list 182, telegram No. 307, ¹⁰¹¹⁸ September 17, 3 p.m. (document being forwarded as soon as possible) telegram No. 308, ¹⁰¹⁷¹ September 17, 7 p.m., my note, and an appeal from the China Institute of International Relations at Shanghai to curb aggression (list 182).

Committee was also given Koo's note of September 21 to the Secretary General protesting Nanking bombings and requesting that the note be transmitted "to the Advisory for consideration with a view to taking urgent measures to stop such illegal inhuman practice." The note was also communicated to the members of the Council and the Assembly for their information.

RR:

HARRISON

793.94/10226

FILED

SEP 28 1937

0257

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

93-1

JWB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 28 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

lw

1-1335

FROM GRAY

Geneva

Dated September 23, 1937

Rec'd 6:43 a.m., 24th

Secretary of State

Washington

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 24 1937
Department of State

793.94
into
500.0112

325, September 23, 5 p.m.

Minister's telegram No. 1, / 10184 September 21, 8 p.m.

I learn from a member of the Secretariat that the German Consul this morning informed the Secretary General that "in view of the general situation" Germany was unable to participate in the work of the Advisory Committee of the Assembly.

BUCKNELL

RR

793.94/10227

EP 28 1937

FILED

F/FG

0258

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

D

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY

1-1288

FROM Canton via N.R.

Dated September 23, 1937

Rec'd 8:00 a.m., Sep. 24

Secretary of State

Washington, D.C. AND ALBANY

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SEP 24 1937

Department of State

September 23, 3 p.m.

793.94
 395.116

Canton raided 1 a.m. and 7 a.m. at least 12 Japanese bombers and other planes participated in second. (SPECIAL GRAY) Officially reported that water works hit but damage already repaired. Two direct hits on Sunyaku ^{YAT SEN} Memorial Hall. (END SPECIAL GRAY) Attempts made to bomb arsenal and a military academy. (SPECIAL GRAY) Apparently unsuccessful attempt ^{Reported} ~~reported~~ that one Chinese and one Japanese plane shot down. Antiaircraft defense seemed fairly effective in turning Japanese planes from some objectives.

(SPECIAL GRAY) Raids thus far have not seriously endangered American lives because of concentration of bombarding in areas devoid of resident Americans (END SPECIAL GRAY) and no American property reported damaged.

Mailed Hong Kong.

LINNELL

RR:KLP

793.94/10223

F/A

1937

0255

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 SEP 24 AM 9 43

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1937
DIVISION OF
RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

DIVISION OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 23 1937
Department of State

HA
RO

Williamsville, New York

September 22, 1937

October 11 1937

793.94

Secretary of State

Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

HISTORICAL ADVISER
SEP 28 1937
DEPT. OF STATE

My 30th 31,
1937
(Current Hist,
July 1933,
p. 569)

I will be very grateful if you
furnish me information regarding the activities
of Japan in China since the signing of the "Tan-
gku truce", and the exchange of notes between
Japan and the United States as well as other west-
ern powers.

Thanking you, I am

Very truly yours,

Harry J. Green

Harry J Green

793.94/10229

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 9 - 1937
Department of State

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 7 - 1937
Department of State

F/F GLEB 229
OCT 11 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



Secretary of State
Washington
D.C.

Harry F. Green
Wallachsville
N.Y.

0261

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 11 1937

In reply refer to
RP 793.94/10229

Mr. Harry J. Green,
Williamsville, New York.

Sir:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of September 22, 1937 in which you request "information regarding the activities of Japan in China since the signing of the 'Tangku truce', and the exchange of notes between Japan and the United States as well as other western powers".

There are enclosed, as of possible service to you, copies of the issues of the weekly printed Press Releases for July 17, August 21 and 28, and September 4, 11, and 18, 1937, and of the Department's mimeographed press releases of September 20, 22, 28, and 30 and October 6, 1937 which contain information regarding the Chinese-Japanese situation.

It is not clear to the Department to what particular exchange of notes you have reference. The texts of certain exchanges of communications between the Governments of the United States and Japan will be found in the enclosed

793.94/10229

F/MR

10229

0262

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

enclosed copies of the March 24, 1934 and January 5, 1935 issues of Press Releases, in the mimeographed releases of September 22 and 30, 1937 referred to above, and in the enclosed copy of Executive Agreement Series No. 104.

While the Department can assume no responsibility for the accuracy of statements contained in publications which are not official, it is suggested that you may care to consult The China Year Book, published annually at Shanghai, and the 1933 to 1935 volumes of the Survey of International Affairs, by Arnold J. Toynbee, published at London by the Oxford University Press under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. These publications are available in certain of the larger public and university libraries.

The titles of publications issued by the Department since October 1, 1929 are enumerated in the enclosed copy of the pamphlet entitled Publications of the Department of State, which contains on page 1 a statement regarding the method of distributing the Department's publications.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

E. Wilder Spaulding
Assistant Chief, Division of
Research and Publication

(For enclosures,
see following page.)

0263

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-3-

Enclosures:

1. Press Releases (Publications
Nos. 571, 682, 1044, 1056, 1080,
1063, 1086, and 1087).
2. Press releases of September 20,
23 (2 releases), 28, and 30 and
October 6, 1937.
3. Executive Agreement Series No. 104.
4. Publications of the Department of
State.

OCT 11 1937

A true copy of
the signature
na!

RP:WG:MG 10/8 *gms*

FE
204 ha

0264

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

Peiping via N.R.

1-1226

FROM Dated September 24, 1937

Rec'd 10:45 a.m.

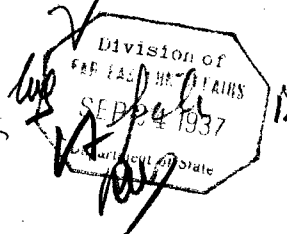
Secretary of State,

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

579, September 24, 5 p.m.

Embassy's 577, September 23, 9 p.m.



One. The local Japanese military spokesman stated this morning that the left wing of the Japanese forces completely surrounded Paoting yesterday, attacked this morning and occupied one section of the city wall; that 12,000 National Government troops are cut off in the city; that other Chinese forces are retreating toward Shihkiachwang; and that Yenchow in southwest Shantung was bombed yesterday.

Two. Presumably Paoting has now fallen as parades are in progress in Peiping (three p.m.) in celebration of the fall. The parade includes local Japanese civilians and Chinese students, shop employees and the like who have been ordered by the Chinese police to participate. Pamphlets have just been dropped from an airplane in the Legation quarter announcing the fall of Paoting, referring to the fleeing Chinese armies on the three railways, and predicting

793.94/10230

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 SEP 24 1937

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 579, September 24, from Peiping.

predicting the imminent fall of the National Government
and the Kuomintang.

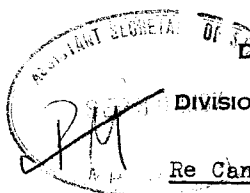
Three. The Japanese military are now reported as
contemplating having Hsu Shihchang as head of a new re-
gime for North China or "all China". The Japanese alleg-
edly believe that if Hsu would become nominal head then
Wu Pei Fu would participate in the regime.

Repeated to Nanking.

LOCKHART

KLP:CSB

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

September 29, 1937.

Re Canton Bombardments

Reference: Canton's September 23, 3 p. m.;
 London's 606, September 24,
 6 p. m.

In view of the fact that this Government has recently in specific protests to the Japanese Government in regard to the latter's announced intention of bombarding Hankow (Department's 221 to Tokyo of September 21, 6 p.m.); the bombardment of the French Catholic Mission at Sienhsien (Department's 47 to Tientsin, September 23, 7 p.m.; Department's 225 to Tokyo, September 23, 7 p. m., and Department's 230, to Tokyo, September 25, 3 p. m.) and possible bombardment of the Hankow-Canton Railway (Department's 216 to Tokyo, September 18, 6 p. m.; Department's September 19 to Tokyo plain, and Department's 227 to Tokyo, September 24, 6 p.m.), based such protests on the broad general ground of the immunity from attack of noncombatants, it would appear unnecessary at the present time to repeat such representations in regard to the bombardments at Canton, especially in view of the fact that the British have not as yet approached the Department along the lines indicated in paragraph 2 of London's 606, of September 24, 6 p. m.

JHS:REK

0267

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

London

FROM Dated September 24, 1937

Rec'd 1:13 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

RUSH.

606, September 24, 6 p.m.

My 604 September 23, 5 p.m.

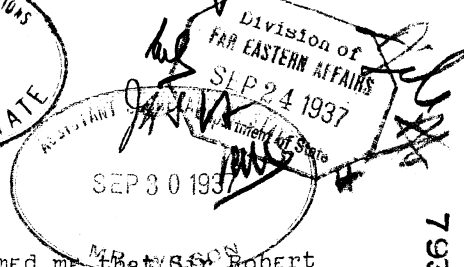
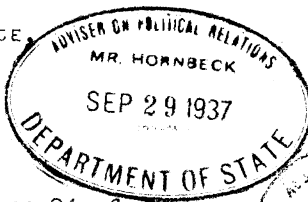
The Foreign Office has informed me that Sir Robert
 Craigie is being instructed today to make strong repre-
 sentations to the Japanese against their bombing of non
 military objectives and to express also the horror felt
 in this country at the tremendous loss of life in Canton
 caused by the Japanese attacks. Whether these represen-
 tations will be conveyed in a note or orally to the Japan-
 ese Foreign Secretary is to be left to the discretion of
 the British Ambassador.

I understand that the British Embassy in Washington
 will be instructed to convey the foregoing to the Depart-
 ment and to express the hope that the United States may
 find possible to make similar representations.

Foreign Office officials again mentioned with expres-
 sions of satisfaction and approval the American note to
 Japan regarding Nanking, the major portion of which has been
 widely published here.

CSB

JOHNSON



793.94/10231

F/EG
1937

0268

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Hufton NARS, Date 12-18-75

95-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GPO

FROM

PLAIN

Hankow via N.R.

Dated September 24, 1937

Rec'd 1:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



September 24, 4 p.m.

Hankow vernacular press has published manifesto re-
ported issued by Central Committee of Chinese Communist
Party in Shensi declaring that Communist Party objectives
are to resist invasion; bring about popular government and
improve welfare of people. Communist Party will now co-
operate with whole nation in furthering these objectives.
Party declared its support of three principles of Sun Yat
Sen; declares it has cancelled all movements for over-
throwing political power of Kuomintang including forcible
confiscation of land and abolished all existing Soviet
governments. The Red Army is reorganized into National
Revolutional Army under command of Military Council of
the National Government. Army is awaiting orders to under-
take duty at the front.

JOSSELYN

CSB

EP 2 3 1937

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F/FG

793.94/10232

793.94
note
893.00

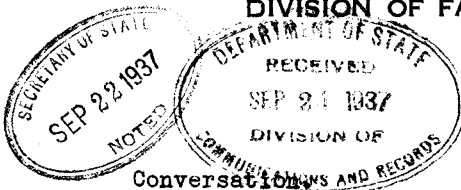
0265

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huefner NARS, Date 12-18-75

96-1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

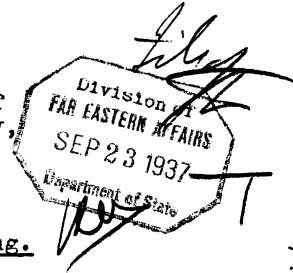


September 21, 1937.

Conversation

Mr. Tsui, Second Secretary of
the Chinese Embassy,

Mr. Hamilton.



Subject: Japanese Bombing of Nanking.

793.94

Mr. Tsui called at his request. He said that the Chinese Ambassador wished him to inquire whether the Department had made any representations to Japan in regard to the Japanese announcement of intent to bomb Nanking. I replied that the Secretary had announced at the press conference today that this Government had made representations through our Ambassador in Japan and also to the Japanese Ambassador here.

W. M. H.

793.94/10233

F/MR

FE:MMH:SMJ

10233

0270

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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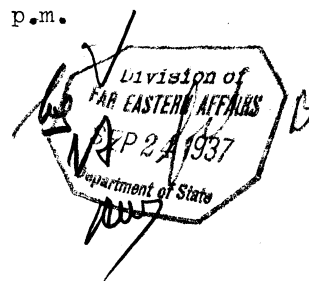
MBo

COMYANGPAT

FROM September 24, 1937

Rec'd 2:50 p.m.

FROM: COMYANGPAT
TO: OPNAV
NAVY DEPARTMENT
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
YANGTZE PATROL
COMSUBRON FIVE
COMDESRON FIVE
COMSUBRON FIVE
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING CHINA
ALUSNA PEIPING



0024 Hankow bombed by seven heavy bombers 1630 today.
One bomb dropped in river abreast American Consulate, others
in Hanyang. No bombing in Nanking during past two days
due probably to unfavorable weather 2219.

793.94/10234

F/FG
FILED
EP 2 8 1937

0271

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

1-1236

Commander in Chief,
Asiatic Fleet via N. R.

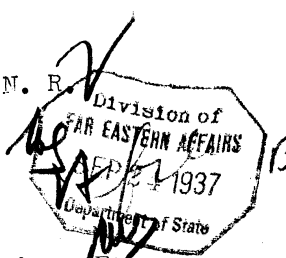
FROM

September 24, 1937

Rec'd 3:25 p. m.

Action: Opanv Navy Department.

Info: Second Brigade USMC Amcon Shanghai Comsubron Five
Comyangpat Comsopat Amembassy Nanking China
Alusnia Peiping.



793.94

0022 Japanese have made small advances along entire front. Greatest effort continues at Kiangwan and toward Kiating meeting strong Chinese opposition. Japanese reenforcements estimated one division arrived. Little activity vicinity Settlement. Potung area being shelled intermittently by Japanese ships. Air attacks Nanking Sochow Kiangyan reported and unconfirmed report Japanese attack Yangtze Barrier. Shanghai quiet four hundred persons mainly British women and children evacuated to Hong Kong in August returned Shanghai yesterday 1920

CSB

793.94/10135

EP 28 1937

FT/FTG

0272

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

993 94

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 852.00/6543 FOR Tel., noon

FROM Malta (Green) DATED Sept. 24, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 020

REGARDING: Japanese activities in China. Malta newspaper reports are
extremely bitter against -.

ge

793.94/10236

F/MR

10236.

027

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MEo

GRAY

FROM

Tokyo

Dated September 25, 1937

Rec'd 6:05 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

409, September 25, 11 a.m.

793.94

One. The JAPAN ADVERTISER this morning carries two despatches from Washington discussing American attitude with regard to the bombing of Nanking. The first is marked International News Service and states that American public opinion criticises the note to the Japanese Government (Department's 221, ¹⁰¹⁵⁰ September 21, 6 p.m.) as "weak-kneed", and that the Secretary is considering the sending of a second note. The second is a Domei despatch and suggests in effect that a "sharply worded note" was sent to Japan to offset the effect on American public opinion of the administration's statement warning American citizens in China that they remain there at their own risk and of the withdrawal of Johnson from Nanking.

Two. The vernacular press carries no despatch on American attitude, except for a brief Washington despatch in the ASAHI reporting that the American Government maintains a cautious attitude toward a suggestion from Geneva that there be held a conference of the Pacific region

powers

JWB

FE

Tel. to Tokyo
Sept 27, 1937
Division of
Far Eastern Affairs
SEP 25 1937
Department of State

793.94/10237

FILE/FG
EP 8 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 409, September 25, from Tokyo.

POWERS.

Three. We have now available practically no (repeat no) source of telegraphic information with regard to trends ✓
of American public opinion. We would, therefore, appreciate receiving from time to time from the Department brief telegrams on that subject. The ninth paragraph of the Secretary's telegram 187, ⁹⁷³² September 2, 2 p.m., was extremely helpful.

Four. We have received nothing (repeat nothing) from Johnson describing the effects of the bombing at Nanking and the press reports here have been brief and vague.

GREW

WWC:

0275

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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Charge Department
 OR

Charge to

\$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE ✓

PARTIAL
 PLAIN

1937 SEP 27 PM 6 27

Washington,

September 27, 1937.

AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 RECORDS

TOKYO, (JAPAN).

231

793.94/10237

Referring to your 409, September 25, 11 a.m., para-
 graph three.

An Associated Press report today states in part
 that QUOTE The United States Government clung warily/
 yesterday to a middle course amid conflicting demands that/
 it invoke the Neutrality Act in the Chinese-Japanese conflict
 and that it refrain from doing so.

Vigorously advocating imposition of the law are six/
 recognized peace societies which contend that the alternative
 is eventual American involvement in the undeclared war.
 They have made repeated pleas to President Roosevelt that
 he apply the statute.

Opposing such action are numerous groups in this
 country and China which argue that the invocation of the
 law would weaken China and strengthen Japan with consequent
 damage to American interests and prestige in the Far East.
 UNQUOTE

Japan's actions in air bombardments of non-military
 objectives in China have aroused wide-spread denunciation

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

793.94/10237

F/MR

0276

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

-2-

in the American press. Philadelphia Inquirer observes that
 QUOTE With yesterday's ruthless bombardment of Nanking from
 the skies, Japan virtually served notice of her withdrawal
 from the family of civilized nations and her utmost contempt
 for their humanitarian protests. UNQUOTE. After referring
 to the protests made by the American and other governments,
 against these air attacks, the Inquirer concludes QUOTE This
 exhibition of Japanese war-making at its worst should not
 and will not alter the resolve of ^{the} American people to keep
 out of war. UNQUOTE. New York Times, after dwelling upon
 the lasting ^{hatred among} ~~effect upon~~ the Chinese people which Japan's
 brutal measures will produce, notes QUOTE Every bomb that
 falls on Nanking or Canton destroys something of what remains
 in the western world of friendliness and admiration for the
 present rulers of Japan. UNQUOTE. Christian Science Monitor
 declares that QUOTE Consultation becomes more and more
 imperative as Japan's methods of warfare in China violate
 ever more blatantly all legal and humanitarian precepts.
 The carrying of the war to helpless civilians, the destruction
 of homes and public buildings, and the shocking slaughter of
 non-combatant victims must be opposed by civilized people
 the world over. The removal of the American diplomatic staff

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0277

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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 Charge Department
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 Charge to
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Department of State

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 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington.

-3-

from Nanking indicates no lessening of American interest in consultation to check terrorism in the Far East. It bespeaks an unwillingness however to risk American peace while such risk seems only to encourage postponement of definite international action. UNQUOTE. Washington Post, referring to the American note on the bombing of Nanking and to Ambassador Johnson's temporary withdrawal from the Embassy premises, observes QUOTE 'If the note to Japan has any meaning at all, it means that we are not prepared to stand by with folded hands while Japan not only makes a shambles out of China ^{and of} ~~and~~ international law but recklessly destroys our own interests as well. UNQUOTE.'

The foregoing comments are fairly typical of opinion upon this phase of the Chinese-Japanese conflict. There has been no ^{observed} ~~press~~ comment anywhere in the United States attempting to defend Japan's course of action in China.

The Department will endeavor to telegraph the Embassy from time to time summaries of significant press comment.

SEP 27 1937 PM
 CH

FE: JWB: SMJ

FE

PA/H

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

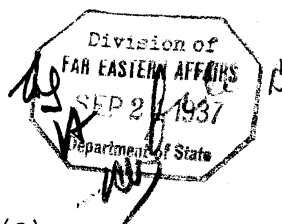
0278

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Chute NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo
 This message was re- Alusna Peiping
 ceived in navy code and
 must be closely paraphras- FROM September 24, 1937
 ed before being communi-
 cated to anyone. Rec'd 3:40 p.m.

FROM: ALUSNA PEIPING
 TO: NAVY DEPARTMENT
 INFO: 2ND BRIGADE (USMC)
 COMSUBRON 5
 COMDESRON 5
 CINCAF
 COIYANGPAT
 AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING



793.94

0024 Japs announce capture (Paotung(?)) Japanese
Paotung.
 propaganda leaflets showered on Peiping announcing fall.
 Indications point continued rapid advance with Shihkiach-
 proves(?)
 wang objective quick retreat Chinese pluists impossibility
 concentrate on any line prior reaching that place. Ru-
 mored Generalissimo would give personal attention northern
 front one train load Chinese at Hsuchow. Thirty-five
 thousand Nippon men two hundred trucks forty field pieces
 reached Tientsin between fifteenth and twenty-first 1937.

CSB

793.94/10233

SEP 28 1937
 64EE9

0279

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED
GRAY

LMS

Hankow via N. R.

FROM Dated September 24, 1937

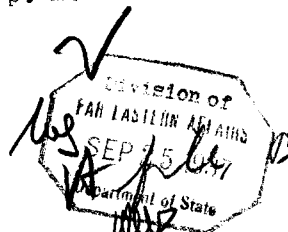
Rec'd 5:33 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

September 24, 4 p. m.

793.94

An American just arrived from Shansi, who seems to be conversant with conditions there, expresses the opinion that Yen Hsi Shan's forces are unable to stem the Japanese advance and that Shansi may be expected to fall into the latter's hands at an early date. He deplores the failure of the Nanking Government to send troops and supplies to Shansi and also an able military commander to supplant Yen Hsi Shan whom he considers extremely ill-fitted to undertake the task of leading in the defense of that province. He is of the opinion that Shansi provincial troops cannot be relied upon and that any hope of a successful defense of Shansi lies in the Communist troops under Chung Te. He states that between August 20 and September 15 eight divisions of Communist troops passed from Shensi through Shansi to Yenmenkuan, a strategic pass about half-way between Taiyuan and Tatung, and that they will assist in the defense of that pass. He also reported that



793.94/10239

EP 3 0 1937

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2281
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LMS 2-From Hankow, September 24, 4 p. m.

that a squadron of Chinese planes is now based at Feng-
yang, Shansi.

Sent to Nanking. Repeated to Department and Peiping.

JOSSELYN

SMS

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

PLAIN AND GRAY

Canton via N. R.
FROM

Dated September 24, 1937

Rec'd 5:41 p. m.

Amembassy Nanking, Amembassy Peiping, Amconsul Shanghai,
 American Consul Swatow.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

September 24, 4 p. m.

Raid on Canton 4:00 a. m. today apparently confined
 to dropping two bombs in Saichuen section by one plane
 with unimportant damage.

Officially informed that yesterday raiding included
 bomb in Chinese refugees camp estimated to have killed
 about forty. American doctor also reports that planes
 bombing factory district turned machine guns on escaping
 population and that he is treating two such cases.

Reuters estimate many thousands killed in Canton
 raids believed exaggerated. Official Chinese sources
 estimating casualties as about 200 killed and 800 wounded.
 Planes raiding here in past 48 hours officially reported
 to have come from carriers lying near Macao.

American protest bombing of Nanking and non-evacuation
 Embassy have had excellent local reaction serving to restore
 considerably Chinese faith in American policy,

PLEASE

793.94/10240

F/AFG
3
1937

793.94
 note
 124193

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LMS 2-From Canton, September 24, 4 p. m.

Please forward confirmation text of Embassy circular,
August 30, 11 a. m., regarding American claims, no copy
having been received.

Mailed Hong Kong.

LINNELL

SMS

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

ML

GRAY

GPO

FROM Tsingtao via N. R.

Dated Sept. 25, 1937

Rec'd 8 a. m.

Secretary of State

Washington

September 25, noon.

A missionary who was in Yenchowfu, Shantung, when Japanese air planes bombed that place on September 22nd, called this Consulate today and stated that little damage was done. Main track of Tientsin Pukow Railway damaged but traffic normal through side tracks. At Tsining railroad station and a small air field were the objects of air attack. Sent to the Department, Peiping, Nanking.

Division of
SOUTH EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 25 1937
Department of State

793.94/10241

SOKOBIN

CSB

FILED
F/FG
SEP 26 1937

793.94

0284

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MJD

PLAIN

FROM

Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 25, 1937.

Rec'd. 8:18 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

710, September 25, noon.

One. Approximately thirty Japanese planes in two flights attacked Nanking for one hour this morning, first flight consisting of twelve bombers and two pursuits all believed to be army planes. Bombs were dropped in (one) South City area containing various government offices including Legislative Yuan, Municipal Government, Ministry of Interior and (two) in Hsiakwan area containing electric power plant and railway station. No information yet as to damage in South City. Three bombs fell directly on Hsiakwan Electric Power plant, near which LUZON, GUAM and British and French gunboats are moored, and plant is now out of commission. Both flights employed power diving tactics diving from height of about ten thousand feet down to three thousand feet before unloading bombs. We saw three Japanese planes come down, two in flames. Chinese pursuit planes went up at first warning signal but were not in sight during bombing operations.

Two. Reliably reported Nanchow was also bombed

this

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 25 1937
Department of State

793.9410242

EP 3 1937

EP 3 1937

793.94

28
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MJD -2- No. 710, September 25, noon from Nanking

this morning resulting in considerable damage.

Sent to Department. Repeated to Peiping, Shanghai.

JOHNSON

DDM

0286

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT
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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

HL

PLAIN

opo

FROM

Nanking via N. R.

Dated Sept. 25, 1937

Rec'd 8:25 a. m.

Secretary of State

Washington

711, September 25, 3 p. m.

Embassy's 710, September 25, noon.

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 25 1937
 Department of State

793.94

One. Two more raids occurred beginning 12:50 p. m., and two p. m. Twentythree planes were observed in second raid and bombs were dropped in (one) banking circle (Tsing Chief Kou) area and east thereof (two) Hansi Gate area including Central Broadcasting Station and Chinese Government Radio. Several bombs fell in neighborhood Ministry of Finance and one demolished offices of semi-official Central News Agency injuring the one staff member present. Natural Economic Council was reportedly struck and eight bombs fell behind Central Hospital one going through Ministry of Health and others damaging Ministry's Public Health Training Institute subsidized by Rockefeller. Other bombs fell near Officers Moral Endeavor Association. In second area radio station is believed to have been main target, street water main near Hansi Gate was broken by a bomb leaving us temporarily without water supply. In the third raid conducted by six planes bombs were dropped outside South Gate presumably at military targets there and southwest.

Two.

793.94/10243

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ML -2- Nanking via N.R. Sept. 25, 1937 8:25 a.m. #711

Two. Fourth raid has already been signalled.

Sent to Department. Repeated to Peiping, Shanghai.

JOHNSON

DDM

0288

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

97-1

JWS

H

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

COPIES SENT TO
 D.N.I. AND M.I.

lw

GPO

PLAIN
 FROM

Hankin via N.R.

Dated September 25, 1937

Rec'd 7 a.m.

793.94
 note
 793.94/118

Secretary of State
 Washington

*Telegram to
 Hankin 6:11
 OCT 1 1937*

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 26 1937
 Department of State

712, September 25, 4 p.m.

Under instructions from the Military Attache, Captain
 Roberts asked the General Staff to obtain permission from
 the Field Commander at the Shanghai Front for Captain
 Sutherland to visit Shanghai hostilities as a military
 observer. Field Commander refused. On September
 thirteen I wrote informally to General Chiang strongly
 urging reconsideration. I received no reply even though
 I indirectly brought influence to bear. On September
 twenty-three I brought the matter again to the attention
 of General Chiang through Donald but latter informed me
 by letter that Chiang replied Chinese officers at the
 front could not assume risk of possible injuries to a
 foreign officer and refusal was definite. Unless De-
 partment instructs otherwise I shall not renew attempt.

793.94/10244

FILED
 SEP 1 1938

F/FG

JOHNSON

DDM

0289

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

ML

GPO

FROM

GRAY

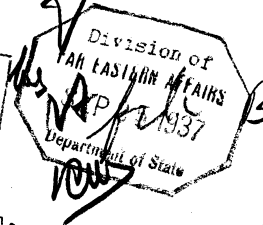
Peiping via N. R.

Dated Sept. 25, 1937

Rec'd 8 a. m.

Secretary of State
Washington

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



587, September 25, 2 p. m.

Embassy's 579, September 24, 5 p. m.

One. Japanese military spokesman stated this morning that Pingtichuen on the Peiping-Suiyuan railway and Tsangchow on the Tientsin-Pukow railway fell September 24 to the Japanese and that an advance southward from Tsangchow and Paoting will be delayed to see if the Japanese campaign has as yet had an "ameliorating effect on the Chinese attitude toward Japan."

Two. Nanking claimed over the radio last night that Japanese forces in Suiyuan had suffered a SEVERE REVERSE. The Tokyo broadcast last night referred to Chinese reports of success on the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, did not deny them but referred to them as an indication of Chinese Communist cooperation.

Repeated to Nanking.

LOCKHART

CSB

793.94/10245

FILED/FG
SEP 26 1937

0290

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

98-1

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

IL

GPO

FROM

SPECIAL GRAY

Tokyo

Dated Sept. 25, 1937

Rec'd 6:26 a. m.

Secretary of State

Washington

413, September 25, 2 p. m.

The French Ambassador informed me today that when he went to see the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday afternoon regarding the reported bombing by the Japanese Navy of Hainan, the Ambassador sought assurances that there was no intention to occupy the island. He said that the Vice Minister was noncommittal and was disposed to give no reply until the Ambassador informed him that the War and Navy Departments had that morning given explicit assurances respectively to the French Military and Naval Attaches that the island would not be occupied whereupon, the very modest Minister hastened to corroborate the fact and to give his assurances in addition.

The French Ambassador related this incident to me as what he termed another example of the fact that the Foreign Office is uninformed as to decisions made by the military.

GREW

DDH:CSB

RECEIVED
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 25 1937
Department of State

793.94/10246

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F/FG

0291

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

99-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

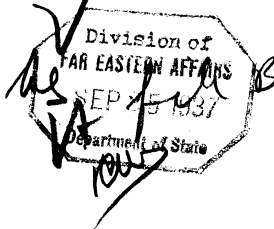
This message was received
in navy code and must be
closely paraphrased before
being communicated to any-
one.

FROM COMSOPAT

September 24, 1937

Rec'd 10:30 a.m., Sep. 25

FROM: COMSOPAT
TO :: NAVY DEPARTMENT
INFO: 2nd BRIGADE
COMDESRON 5
CONSUBRON 5
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
AMEMBASSY NANKING



0024 Foochow Amoy Swatow quiet, air raid Canton zero
four forty five one plane, one explosion heard. Reliable
estimate only seventy percent bombs last few days exploded.
Damage slight. Rumored approximately half population left
Canton 2230.

CSB

793.94

793.94/10247

SEP 25 1937

0292

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 852.00/6545 FOR Tel. #1339, 1 pm

FROM France (Bullitt) DATED Sept. 24, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY.

REGARDING: Chinese - Japanese relations. Views expressed by Leger with regard to the situation in the Far East; that Japan knowing that neither the Soviet, England, France or the United States would not intervene there is nothing to restrain the barbarity of the Japanese military authorities.

ge

793.94 / 10248

Confidential File

10248

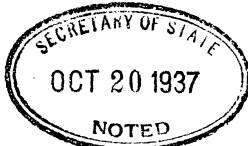
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO
 CHICAGO ILLINOIS

WALTER LICHTENSTEIN
 VICE PRESIDENT

1937 SEP 25 AM 11 19

September 24, 1937



DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

In re: FE 793.94/10132

act ch
9/30/37

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I appreciate very much your communication of September 22 enclosing the release dated September 20 confirming the newspaper reports that our country is continuing its representation on the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations.

As you will understand, I sent this telegram at the request of the League of Nations Association. As a matter of fact I am not a member of that association, but I so thoroughly concurred in the view expressed in the request of the League of Nations Association that I broke my somewhat invariable rule and sent you the wire as requested. I am not a believer in flooding officials of the government with stereotyped telegrams. All the more I thank you for having taken the trouble to have written to me.

According to present plans, I expect to reach Washington on October 5 and shall be there several days. I may avail myself of the opportunity of asking your secretary after I reach Washington whether I may be permitted to call on you.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Lichtenstein

Honorable Cordell Hull,
 Secretary of State,
 Washington, D. C.

793.94/10249

SEP 21 1937

FILED

F/FG

10249

0294

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

September 30, 1937.

793.94/10249

My dear Mr. Lichtenstein:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of September twenty-fourth.

I am very glad to know that you expect to visit Washington next week and I shall be very happy to see you while you are here, provided that I am not hopelessly tied up with emergency matters at the time of your call. I would suggest that you call my office upon arrival, and every effort will be made to arrange an appointment at a time convenient to us both.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter Lichtenstein,
Vice President, First National
Bank of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

S GWR:MA

793.94/10249

F/MR

029

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MM

CINCAF

FROM

Rec'd. September 25, 1937

11:11am.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE (USMC)
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI CHINA
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMYANGPAT
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING CHINA
ALUSNA PEIPING



793.94

0025 Military situation unchanged, all sectors relatively quiet. Japanese conducted air raids on Nanking Soochow and other lower Yangtze cities during day bombed Chapei Kiangwan and Pootung in Shanghai area. Chinese in Chapei have blown up two bridges across Soochow Creek preparing blow up others. No explanation. Shanghai quiet 1923.

csb

793.94/10250

F/FG
FILED

0296

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

1394

SEE 711.00111 Armament Control /14351 FOR State Dept. Memo.

FROM Arms and Munit- (Yost) DATED July 29, 1937.
TO ions Control NAME 1-1127 *o

REGARDING: Relations between China and Japan.

Quotes provisions of the Neutrality Act which would become effective immediately and automatically upon the proclamation by the President that a state of war exists in the Far East as cited in Sections 1, 3, 6, 9, 10 and 11. The power delegated by the President to issue regulations in regard to travel by American citizens on Spanish vessels has not been exercised by the Secretary of State.

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793.94/10251

/0251

0297

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

NO. 15 Political.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Geneva, Switzerland, September 17, 1937.

793.94
 500 C
 DIVISION OF
 EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
 OCT 8 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

For Distribution-Check			
Grade	For	Yes	No
	M		
In U.S.A.			

SUBJECT: Transmitting Speech of Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo, Appealing to the League on Behalf of China.

RECEIVED
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 SEP 25 1937
 THE HONORABLE
 SECRETARY OF STATE
 WASHINGTON

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 27 1937
 Department of State

SIR:

With reference to my telegrams Nos. 297 and 298, dated respectively 3 and 4 p.m., September 15, 1937, I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the speech delivered on that date before the Assembly of the League of Nations by Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo. Dr. Koo outlined the situation existing between China and Japan, called for urgent action by the League, and called attention to the formal appeal of the Chinese Government to the Council, pointing out that the Council must decide whether (1) to proceed itself, (2) to seize the Assembly of the matter at the same time, or (3) to refer it first to the Advisory Committee set up in 1933.

Respectfully yours,

Howard Bucknell, Jr.
 Howard Bucknell, Jr.
 American Consul.

Enclosure:
 No. 1: Copy of Speech.
 LVB/EW
 Original and five copies to Department of State.
 One copy to American Legation, Bern.

793.94/10252

F/HG

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SEP 18 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1

with No. 15 of

Seq. 17 19 37

Speech by His Excellency Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo
 First Delegate of China to the Assembly of the League of Nations
 September 15, 1937.

In the general discussion of the Secretary-General's annual report in the past, it has been a custom for the delegates to refer to the important events of world interest or international concern taking place in the year under review. Following this custom I wish to invite your attention to a situation of the gravest kind which has recently arisen in the Far East. Indeed I feel it my duty to inform you of it because of its utmost gravity pregnant with dire consequences to the peace of the world.

Since two months ago my country has been once more subjected to armed aggression from Japan. The Japanese Government has despatched to China more than 300,000 troops, scores of warships, and hundreds of military aeroplanes in pursuit of political domination and territorial conquest. The Japanese Army, equipped with the most deadly instruments of war, have attacked and occupied Tientsin, Peiping, Nankow and Kalgan in the North, and are continuing to penetrate further into the interior of the country. In the South it has been attempting, with the aid of Japan's mighty fleet, to seize Shanghai, the great metropolis of the Far East. The Japanese Navy has declared an illegal blockade of the entire coast of China and the Japanese warplanes have systematically been carrying out air raids on cities and towns in thirteen provinces, some of which lie hundreds of miles inland. China, notwithstanding all her handicaps, has found herself obliged to resist this renewed armed invasion. A bitter conflict between the ruthless invaders who seek to impose their will by force and the determined defenders who wish to save their country and protect their people is raging at this very moment. Peace has been and remains gravely disturbed.

The systematic destruction of life and property by the

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Japanese invaders has been appalling. I do not wish to weary you with details but let me emphasize the horrible character of the deliberate attacks by Japanese warplanes on unarmed civilians.

In Tientsin the most crowded parts of the Chinese city were bombed by Japanese aeroplanes killing hundreds of people at a time for no reason other than to terrify the civilians. The sight of the mangled bodies and the cries of the maimed and wounded were so sickening to the hearts of the foreign Red Cross doctors that they voiced their fervent wish that the Governments of the civilized Powers would make an effort to stop the carnage.

The bombing of the civilian population in the South has been even more frequent and horrible than in North China. One Japanese air raid on a Chinese railway station south of the French Concession in Shanghai killed ^{hundreds of} ~~over 600~~ Chinese refugees, mostly women and children, waiting for a train to take them to their homes in the interior of the country for safety. The place was not a military base, nor were there troops present. *Insert -*

Page 2 at the end of Paragraph 3. add:

"Here is a brief description of a foreign witness, correspondent of the Daily Mail, who cabled to his paper under date of September 9, less than a week ago: 'The shrieks and cries of Chinese mothers rent the air yesterday at Sungkiang, near Shanghai, as, with tear filled eyes and dazed mien, they stumbled among the charred wreckage of a bombed refuge train, hunting for the mangled corpses of their children. At least three hundred people were killed and 400 more wounded when Japanese warplanes swooped down and bombed the train wrecking five carriages!'"

As a result of the Japanese making use of the International Settlement as the base of their military operations to attack the Chinese in Shanghai, foreign life and property have also suffered and are still suffering grievous losses. Scores of innocent foreigners have been killed or wounded. Foreign ships of commerce and war have been hit and damaged by bombs or shrapnels. Foreign

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-2-

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The bombing of the unprotected city of Changshu, 80 miles from the coast, killed 2,000 civilians. Nanking, the capital, has been subjected to almost daily raids by the Japanese air force, levying a frightful toll of deaths among the civilian population.

The systematic burning and demolition of schools, colleges, hospitals, Red cross units and other cultural and humanitarian centres is sheer vandalism. As an illustration, let me refer to the case of Nankai University, one of the largest and best known private endowed educational institutions in North China. Japanese artillery wantonly turned its fire on the buildings of the University and Japanese warplanes dropped incendiary bombs on them. When the Japanese military authorities saw that the concrete structures had not been entirely razed to the ground, they burned them with oil and blew them up with dynamite.

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By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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plants, mills, warehouses and office buildings have been occupied by Japanese troops. Seventy thousand foreign residents have been obliged to evacuate the city. The illegal blockade of the Chinese coast proclaimed by the Japanese fleet has been interfering with foreign as well as Chinese ships entering Chinese ports for lawful trade. The menace of Japanese aggression to life and property has been so serious that even the Ambassador of a great and friendly Power travelling on business in a private automobile at a distance of 50 miles from Shanghai was bombed and machine-gunned by two Japanese warplanes.

In a word, the situation in the Far East to-day is one of the gravest character. Japan in the grip of a ruthless war party has openly resorted to force as an instrument of policy and let loose its gigantic, powerful war machine to seek domination and conquest of China on the Asiatic mainland.

It may be asked what were the circumstances which had led to the outbreak of the present hostilities between China and Japan. A full answer is given in two statements which the Chinese Government sent to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on August 30th and September 12th, and which have been distributed to the Governments of the Member States of the League and to the Advisory Committee of the Assembly on the Far Eastern situation, including the United States. It is unnecessary for me to go into details here ; let me merely point out the fact that the Lukouchiao incident, which the Japanese seized as a pretext for starting large-scale military operations in North China, was not much different from many other incidents of Japanese provocation, including the one by which the Japanese claimed to justify their attack on Mukden in the night of September 18th, 1931, and their subsequent occupation of whole Manchuria.

Briefly, the facts are these. In the evening of July 7th Japanese troops held illegal manoeuvres at Lukouchiao, a railway junction of strategic importance ten miles south of Peiping, where their presence could not be defended under any existing treaty or agreement. Alleging that one of their soldiers was missing, the Japanese troops demanded after midnight to enter an adjacent garrisoned city of Wanping to conduct a search. When

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permission was refused by Chinese authorities, the Japanese suddenly opened an attack on Wanping with infantry and artillery forces. When the Chinese garrison offered resistance in self-defence the Japanese at once resorted to large-scale operations against the Chinese troops in order, to quote their own words, "to punish the Chinese army" and to "uphold the Japanese military prestige."

From that moment on the Chinese local authorities made repeated efforts to effect a peaceful settlement with Japan and, though the responsibility did not rest with Chinese authorities, went out of their way to accept the Japanese demands for an apology, punishment of the officers involved in the conflict and guarantee against recurrence of similar incidents, the replacement of Chinese regular troops at designated points by the ^{ation/}Peace Preservation Corps, and effective suppression of the so-called anti-Japanese and Communist organizations in Hopei Province.

The Chinese Government itself repeatedly proposed simultaneous withdrawal of Chinese and Japanese troops. Seeing that Japan insisted upon the so-called non-interference on its part in the local settlement, it went so far in the interest of peace as to refrain from raising objections to its terms. But each concession and every act of forbearance on the part of the Chinese Government or the local authorities was taken by the Japanese military authorities as a sign of weakness and fear and was followed by sending more Japanese troops to Hopei Province for the purpose of pressing forward the plan of conquering North China.

The real object of the Japanese policy was disclosed when the Japanese Army, after large reinforcements had arrived, attacked and occupied not only Tientsin but also Peiping, the ancient capital and the leading cultural centre of China. No sooner had they effected their occupation of these two principal cities in North China than they extended their operations into southern Hopei and northward into Chahar Province. Fierce attacks were made on the strategic Nankow Pass and Kulgan, an important city north of the Great Wall. To-day the Japanese troops in North China total more than 200,000 strong and are continuing their

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invasion southward, northward and westward into the interior.

In the hope of coercing the Chinese Government to submission, Japan has invaded Shanghai, the financial and economic centre of China, as she did in 1932 following her occupation of Manchuria. Here again, in order to have a pretext the Japanese naval authorities provoked an incident on August 9th. One Japanese naval officer and one Japanese seaman attempted to approach the Chinese military aerodrome in the suburb of Shanghai in spite of the Chinese warning. When they were stopped by a Chinese guard, a clash took place in which the two Japanese and a member of the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps were killed.

While the Chinese local authorities immediately proposed a settlement through diplomatic channels, the Japanese Navy concentrated thirty warships in Shanghai within forty-eight hours and increased their naval forces by several thousand marines. On August 13th, four days after the incident, the Japanese naval forces, both ashore and afloat, using the International Settlement as a base for operations, attacked the Chinese districts of Kiangwan and Chapei. In defence of her territory and independence China has been obliged, here as in North China, to resist force with force.

The incidents, which appeared to have been the immediate causes of the armed conflict in North China and in Shanghai, are referred to here only for the reason that they have been exploited by the Japanese as convenient pretexts for resorting to armed aggression against China. In both these places where hostilities have been raging in the past weeks, the original incidents were provoked by the Japanese and have since been forgotten by them. If these had not taken place, others would have been created by them.

The important fact is that Japan has been pursuing a fixed program of territorial expansion on the Asiatic mainland, and consecrates the use of force as an instrument to achieve her policy. When the Japanese Army was attacking and occupying Manchuria in 1931, the official spokesman of Japan sought to justify the action by claiming that these three Chinese provinces

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constituted Japan's life line essential to her security. When the military occupation of this vast region was completed, Japanese military authorities deemed it necessary to seize Jehol in order to ensure the security of Manchuria. No sooner had they occupied Jehol than North China, Chahar and Suiyuan became the life-line of the Japanese Empire. In the name of assuring strategic and economic security for Japan, the Japanese Army has started a large scale military campaign on China in these regions for the obvious purpose of domination and conquest. The lust for territorial aggrandizement has been the real motive force behind all her military adventures.

It has often been claimed that the pressure of over-population in Japan, increasing at the rate of 800,000 souls a year, has driven her to seek new territories as an outlet. This is, however, only a pretext put forward to enlist sympathy and confound public opinion abroad. Forty years of control of Formosa induced less than a quarter of a million of Japanese immigrants to settle there. Korea, thirty years after her conquest and annexation by Japan, has only 500,000 Japanese residents. For a quarter of a century Japan has been exercising a predominant influence in South Manchuria, and yet hardly 300,000 Japanese have chosen to live there, and a considerable part of this number is composed of the military forces, railway guards, the employees of the South Manchuria Railway and the Japanese Consular service. The truth is that the density of population per square mile in Japan is not as great as some countries in Europe, notably Belgium, nor does it equal the density of a Chinese Province like Hopei. And the Japanese people themselves, on account of the highly industrialized state of their own country, do not feel the necessity of leaving their homes and settling abroad.

The fact that Japan lacks raw materials within the borders of her Empire and depends upon supplies from abroad is certainly no justification for resorting to armed aggression against a peaceful neighbor. Besides, most of her needs are supplied not from China but principally from other countries such as cotton from the United States, oil from America and the Netherland Indies, iron from India and Malaya, wool from Australia, and wood-pulp

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from Canada and the Scandinavian countries. As to coal and soya beans of Manchuria, the former had already been under Japan's control and the latter had always been available to her in the open market before its occupation by her armed forces.

China, on her part, had on more than one occasion demonstrated her willingness and readiness to enter into economic co-operation with Japan, but the Chinese good intentions have always been frustrated by the Japanese policy of the mailed fist. It is Japan's preference to plunder at the point of the pistol to cordial co-operation between two free and equal partners which has destroyed the prospect of an economic understanding between the two countries.

There are not lacking in Japan liberal-minded statesmen who see clearly that the future of their country lies in peaceful collaboration with other nations, more particularly with her neighbors in Asia, but public opinion as well as the Press have been muzzled for a long time by the war clan. It is not unnatural that after several series of political assassinations, Japanese statesmen are terror-stricken and no longer attempt to lift their voice and make it heard.

Japan is once more in the grip of the war party which revels in keeping the people in a fearful state of war psychosis in order to usurp political power at home and achieve territorial conquest abroad. It exalts Might and recognizes no Right except that which is backed by the sword ; it consecrates force as the arbiter of the destiny of nations ; it glorifies war as an instrument of empire-building. Its idea of peace in the Far East is the "Pax Japonica", and its conception of order, abject acceptance of Japanese domination.

What will be the consequence and effect of this endless Japanese armed aggression in China ? To answer this question, it is necessary to understand first the scope of Japan's Continental policy. Let it be recalled that this policy aims not only at the political domination and conquest of China, but also at the elimination of foreign interests wherever the Japanese sword holds sway and the eventual expulsion of Europe and America from their territorial possessions in Asia.

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This statement is not made here with a view to alarming you but it is borne out in public declarations of Japanese statesmen and in the secret documents in the Japanese archives. The experience of the Western nations in Formosa and Korea, and now in Manchuria and Jehol has given ample warning in the past. European and American interests are already feeling the menace from the occupation of Tientsin and Peiping by the Japanese Army. If Japan should succeed in her attempt to dominate Shanghai as well, the end of the vast financial and commercial interests there of Europe and America could be easily foreseen.

It is clear that China in vigorously resisting the Japanese armed aggression is not only trying to defend her own territory and sovereignty, but in effect also to safeguard the rights and interests of the foreign Powers within her borders. If China's efforts should fail for want of adequate support from this great institution dedicated to the cause of peace and security among nations or from those foreign Powers whose special as well as general interests in the circumstances are common with her own, then the menace of Japanese aggression will soon fall upon them and the burden of defence will have to be borne by themselves.

To-day Japan still bemoans the fact that her national resources are unequal to her appetite for conquest and handicap her ambition to be the warlord of Asia. If the day should come, which God forbid, when she would be able to lay her hands even on a great part of what China possesses in man-power and natural resources, then she would feel herself so much stronger as to challenge the treaty rights and territorial possessions of Europe and America in the South Seas and the Pacific as well as on the mainland of Asia. History bears testimony to the fact that the ambition for territorial conquests rises in proportion as the means to achieve it grow just as the human appetite for food increases as the power of digestion strengthens.

The effect of continued Japanese aggression, however, is not limited to the menace to the territorial integrity and political independence of China, nor to the injury to the material interests of a few foreign Powers. The moral and spiritual

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aspect of the situation is equally, if not more, significant. It is a challenge to law and order in international relations which have taken three centuries to establish for the common benefit of the community of nations. Such chaos, if prolonged for want of timely checks, will nullify all the past work and present efforts to organize peace and security, and throw the entire world into the pandemonium of a general conflagration with all its horrors of killing and destruction.

In the face of this extraordinary situation, what should be done? Can international law and treaty obligations be always disregarded with impunity? Do we accept lawlessness as inevitable, and are we prepared to see it extend its tentacles unchecked to destroy peace and order in the world? It seems to me that something can be done if we ourselves still respect the treaties we have signed and the Covenant which we have solemnly declared to uphold.

For one thing this policy of continued armed aggression in flagrant violation of international law and treaty obligations should be clearly denounced. As our honourable President has alluded to in his brief but eloquent address, in the supremacy of law lies the sole escape from the anarchy of force. For another thing, the illegal blockade of the coast of China jeopardizing the established rights of navigation and commerce should be expressly repudiated. It is the thin end of the wedge against the freedom of the seas.

Furthermore, I hope that the horrors of deliberate and indiscriminate bombing from the air by the Japanese warplanes of Chinese and foreign non-combatants in disregard of the sanctity of civilian life have not escaped your attention and that every voice will be lifted in this Assembly to condemn its practice. As the recent British note sent by Mr. Eden to the Japanese Government has given expression to a universal feeling in the civilized world, the practice is, to use the words of the note itself, "as illegal as it is inhuman", as it constitutes a failure "to draw that clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants in the conduct of hostilities which international law no less

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than the conscience of mankind has **always enjoined.**"

It may be claimed that the times are difficult and that there are preoccupations in Europe where the situation is anything but reassuring. But the situation in Europe to-day is really not unconnected with the situation in the Far East. It is a natural consequence of the failure to enforce the obligations of the Covenant at the time of the Manchurian crisis before the League. Peace is indivisible ; and its maintenance is of common interest to us all. As recently stated by the Secretary of State of the great Republic of the United States, "Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or threatened is a situation in which the rights and interests of all nations are or may be affected." Our own Covenant says : "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League." These statements are not mere academic assertions but are based upon the practical experience of great statesmen and diplomats. If the problem of the Far East created by the repeated Japanese aggression is satisfactorily solved by the application of the principles of the Covenant, it is bound to have a most salutary effect upon Europe and will have the way for an equally satisfactory solution of its own problem.

The League of Nations embodies an ideal and represents an order of international life which must be made to prevail if nations are to feel a sense of security and the world is to be a livable place for all. It is the only priceless issue of the great ordeal of the world which took place twenty years ago, which engulfed so many million human souls, and which has entailed generations of suffering and a train of problems from which the world has not yet fully recovered.

The principle of collective security, which underlies the Covenant and which we have all accepted, is beyond question the only logical and sound basis for any system of organized peace in the world. It is the same principle which has enabled every modern State to evolve peace and maintain order within borders. International life, if it is to be blessed with peace and order,

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By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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no less depends upon its full application.

I hope it will be generally realized that self-interest in the maintenance of peace as well as considerations of justice and the conscience of mankind, dictate that we should co-operate fully and sincerely to devise ways and means to check armed aggression and reduce lawlessness wherever they arise in the world. It is in the loyal and joint discharge of our obligations under the Covenant and other treaties to which we are parties that lies the hope of extinguishing the conflagration in the Far East and reinforcing the peace of the Pacific and Europe. *Present*

Page 11, at the end of Paragraph 2, add:

"The rapid success of the Nyon Conference dealing with the Mediterranean problem, though limited in membership, is a striking example of what could be done where there was a will to co-operate."
to the Advisory Committee on the Sino-Japanese conflict set up by the Assembly of February 24, 1933.

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In short, the Far Eastern situation, on account of its utmost gravity, calls for urgent action by the League.

The Chinese Government has formally appealed to the Council, invoking articles 10, 11 and 17 of the Covenant. It is now for the

at one Council to decide whether to proceed itself to consideration *at the same time* and action *or* to seize the Assembly of the question or to refer it *first* to the Advisory Committee on the Sino-Japanese conflict set up by the Assembly of February 24, 1933.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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GRAY

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

Hankow via N.R.

Dated September 25, 1937

FROM Rec'd. 11:34am.

Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

September 25, 5pm.

My September 24, 7pm.

193.94

10224

An officer from the Consulate General today visited the districts that were bombed by Japanese airplanes in the air raid of yesterday afternoon. Five bombs exploded on the right bank of the Han River between the arsenal and the Yangtze River, and three in the native city on the left bank of the Han River, all in crowded neighborhoods inhabited by Chinese of the poorer class, wrecking many houses and causing many casualties, the exact number of which is not yet known; 160 dead bodies have been recovered from the ruins, which are still being searched. Three bombs are reported to have fallen in Hanyang also, which the Consulate General's representative did not visit. One bomb fell in the Yangtze 500 yards from HMS CRICKET. A small powder dump near the arsenal is reported to have been set on fire but no other military objective was touched. The number of Japanese airplanes participating in the raid is given officially as thirteen. Their approach was greatly facilitated by the cloudy weather.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND
 N.R.

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 25 1937
 Department of State

793.94/10253

SEP 30 1937

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MM September 25, 5pm. from Hankow. -2-

weather. They retired as soon as they had dropped their
bombs. The Chinese planes did little against them.
Sent to the Department, Nanking, Peiping.

JOSSLYN

GW:WWC

0316

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Chusafem NARS, Date 12-18-75

100-1

MM

GRAY

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

London

Dated September 25, 1937

FROM: Rec'd. 11am.

Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

611, September 25, 3pm.

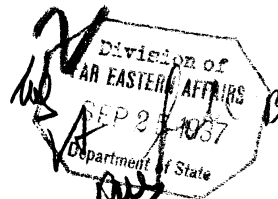
My 606, September 24, 6pm. / 10231

CONFIDENTIAL. Cadogan informed me this morning that

while Mr. Eden would not attend the meeting of the League Advisory Committee on Monday that the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Cranbourne, would be there and that they were very desirous that some sort of resolution deploring Japanese action in China on grounds of international morality might be quickly produced. Cadogan seemed to feel that such a resolution might have a beneficial effect on the Japanese. He also mentioned demonstrations which took place before the Japanese Embassy last night and the night before and said that as long as they did not get out of hand he could not say that he was sorry that they took place as he believed that such an indication of honest indignation on the part of certain private citizens might make an impression on the Japanese.

He said that they are keeping Berlin as well as Paris and ourselves informed of their various representations at Tokyo.

He had



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SEP 25 1937

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793.94
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 Committee

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By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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MM 611, September 25, 3pm. from London. -2-

He had no further specific information, he said, but he mentioned the growing disgust and horror in this country at the indiscriminate slaughter of inoffensive civilians by the Japanese and I gather that the Foreign Office deplores that there is nothing apparently which can be done to stop it.

JOHNSON

GW:WWC

0315

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

CONSOPAT

FROM

Rec'd September 25, 1937

1:32 p. m.

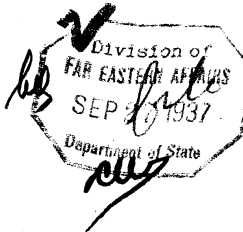
Action: Opnav

Info: 2nd Brigade, Comsubron 5, Conderson 5, Comsubron 5,
Cincaf, Comyangpat, Amembassy Nanking, China

0125 All South China ports quiet 2210

793.94

csb



793.94/10255

FP/FG
EP 29 1937

0316

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

EE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

COMSOPAT via N. R.

FROM

September 26, 1937

Rec'd 11:32 a.m.

From: COMSOPAT

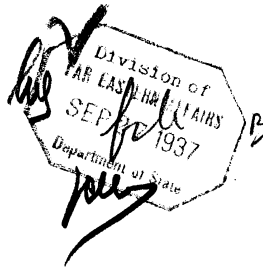
Action: Opnav

Info: 2nd Brigusmc, Comsubron 5, Comdesron 5, Comsubron 5,
Cincaf, Comyangpat, Amembassy Nanking.

793.94

0126 South China ports quiet 2130

WWC



793.94/10256

FILED
F/FG
EP 29 1937

0317

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D. *RBK*

FROM

RB

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY

CANTON VIA N. R.

Dated September 25, 1937

Rec'd 4:04 p. m.

Amembassy Nanking, Amembassy Peiping, American Consul
Shanghai, Amconsul Hankow, Amconsul Hong Kong, American
Consul, Swatow

Secretary of State

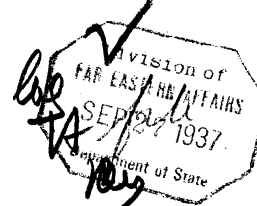
Washington.

September 25, 6 p. m.

Two air raids on Canton last night officially
reported that no bombs dropped but Japanese planes
machine gunned eastern sections of city, wounding and
killing some civilians and police. Tremendous Chinese
exodus has probably reduced city to less than half
normal population.

Heavy northward troop movements, presumably
Kwangsi troops, reported by refugees coming to Canton
from Hankow. Press reports that September 18 was
marked by mass demonstrations in every district of
Kwangsi and taking of anti-Japanese oath by entire
population.

Passenger arriving Clipper plane Thursday reports
that



793.94/10257

SEP 28 1937

FILED F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RB

-2-September 25, 6 p.m. from
Canton

that plane had clear view of large Japanese aircraft
carrier and four destroyers about fifteen miles from
Macao, steaming east parallel coast.

LINNELL

SMS

EDA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

(NOT FOR THE PRESS)
 (FOR DEPARTMENTAL USE ONLY)

Department of State
 Division of Current Information No. 172

MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE, TUESDAY, SEPT. 21, 1937

TRADE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At the press conference this afternoon the Secretary said that he had met about twenty very energetic members of the press yesterday in Boston. The first subject which they raised was to the effect that it was being reported generally in New England that we proposed virtually to destroy the shoe industry in New England by the proposed Czechoslovak Trade Agreement. The Secretary said that he had told the correspondents that in all probability if they ran down that persistent report they would find that it was some systematic propaganda which the old champions of Smoot-Hawleyism were circulating in New England in order to divert attention from the trade agreement program and what it is really doing and what it is intended to do. He said that they were the same gentlemen who were guaranteeing New England perpetual prosperity under the operation of the embargo provisions of the Smoot-Hawley Act and that they didn't know any better until the whole country was plunged over the bluff. He said that their predictions fell down and that they were now seeking to divert attention, although they had nothing to offer except to go back to Smoot-Hawleyism with its aggravated features. He said that he had told the Boston newspapermen that the sixteen trade agreements thus far negotiated speak for themselves and they guarantee future trade agreements as related to our policy of dealing with tariff rates, and that no business has been destroyed so far, or injured. He added that as a matter of fact all business in a general way had been helped and will be helped in the future. He further added that it was very interesting to get out of Washington and pick up these types of propaganda which are being worked overtime.

A correspondent inquired whether the Secretary had apparently succeeded in converting the energetic members of the press in Boston. The Secretary replied that he could not say about that but he thought that he did get some ideas and information before them which would entirely refute the propaganda being circulated through that section.

A correspondent asked whether the Secretary had facts with him concerning the importation of Czechoslovak shoes into New England. The Secretary replied that he did not have detailed facts but only general information. One correspondent remarked that he happened to be from New England and had received information that it was suffering from the importation of low cost shoes. The Secretary replied that unless we wished to impose an absolute embargo so that other nations in turn embargo everything we sell, we would not want to take a microscope and look around and see how many dozen pair of shoes are coming in.

FAR EAST

A correspondent inquired whether there was anything that could be said about the Far Eastern situation today, particularly regarding Nanking. The Secretary replied that he had nothing special unless there was some particular phase which the correspondent had in mind in which case he would be glad to give him anything that he knew.

793.94/10258

FILED

SEP 24 1937

DIVISION OF

F/FG

0321

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

Stating that the Secretary's recent speeches in New York and Boston seemed to indicate between the lines a stiffening of our attitude in opposition to the militaristic nations running amuck, while at the same time Ambassador Johnson was receiving instructions to evacuate the Embassy at Nanking, a correspondent said that he wondered if one situation did not balance the other or overbalance it. The Secretary replied that it would be unfortunate if some purely mechanical phase of our Embassy operation in China should eclipse and destroy the broad question of basic policy.

A correspondent asked if the Department had made any representations to Tokyo within the last twenty-four hours. The Secretary replied that perhaps twenty-four hours or more ago Ambassador Grew at Tokyo and the Department here made very earnest representations in opposition to the bombing of Nanking. He said that it will be recalled that the policy of the Department in Spain and other countries is being carried along in the Chinese situation. This policy he said was based on the theory that we need not expect our representatives abroad to expose themselves to serious and imminent danger or loss of life or serious physical injury which it is so easy to do in connection with some more or less unimportant duty which might be performed just as easily by the safeguarding of themselves from serious and imminent danger. He said that we would have a great deal of trouble if our representatives or our nationals get killed or seriously injured so that it is the policy of this Government which we carried out in Spain that our representatives are not expected to expose themselves to serious and imminent danger and whenever we ascertain that they are in that condition we tell them as a matter of discretion that they should undertake to avoid it. He said that if they report those kind of conditions, we always approve in advance or at any time any reasonable discretion they exercise to avoid continuing in places of serious and imminent danger. If they remained where those conditions do persist, then our other nationals are disposed to remain and soon a number of them are getting hurt. He added that we are carrying on our relations in China at Nanking just as if each member of the Embassy were back in the Embassy building. This, he said, is the main point. He said it has been exemplified in the case of Spain where another government kept its officials in Madrid for two or three days and one of them got killed after which that government moved its Embassy. He added that this illustrates that we are simply exercising reasonable precaution which it is possible to do with perfect consistency while carrying on our full official relations with the Chinese Government.

A correspondent asked whether in this Government's representations we protested against the threatened bombing of Nanking or against the possible danger that might be done to American property and lives in that bombing. The Secretary answered that both were involved in the representations. Asked whether these representations were acknowledged either to the Department or to Ambassador Grew in any formal way, the Secretary said that he had received no formal answer. In answer to the question whether there had been any informal assurances, the Secretary said that there was nothing definite enough thus far for him to repeat.

A correspondent remarked that press despatches so far indicated that the threatened bombing had not taken place.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-3-

The Secretary commented that that was another thing. He said that it might not take place or that it might take place at any hour. He said he assumed entirely that it would not take place and that if it should take place somebody would be raw-hiding somebody else back here in Washington.

A correspondent asked if it would be possible to clarify the situation at present in Nanking in regard to Ambassador Johnson and the members of his staff, saying that press despatches indicated that the U.S.S. Luzon with the Ambassador and his party aboard had not moved away from Nanking but had remained tied at its moorings. The correspondent said that at the same time, Admiral Yarnell had stated in Shanghai that the Luzon and the Guam would not move unless they came in direct line of artillery fire or bombs from airplanes while there were also persistent reports that Ambassador Johnson was to leave the city at a certain hour and go up to Wuhu where he would establish headquarters. The correspondent then asked if any communication had gone to Ambassador Johnson to determine just what was the status of the situation in Nanking. The Secretary replied that he had not been concerned about the exact movements or arrangements there so long as full and uninterrupted relations are being carried on with the Chinese Government by our Embassy force, which is what is being done by Mr. Johnson and his associates. He said that they may be back at the Embassy or that they may be somewhere else by tonight and in still another place by tomorrow morning; but in any case the official relations are continuously being carried on.

Asked whether this Government was aware at the time of our protest that the British Government was making similar representation, the Secretary answered not to his knowledge.

In answer to a request to state the grounds on which the representations were made to Japan, the Secretary said that when the Japanese official over there gave out notice of the bombing and suggested that nationals of other governments might take precautions should they see fit, we then made these representations. He added that they were naturally based on what we considered lack of authority under any law and one or two other phases such as are generally found in connection with complaints of this kind. He said that if the correspondents would review the disarmament conference at Geneva some years ago, where the question of bombing from the air was discussed, they would find all the reasons pro and con set out with respect to that question.

A correspondent asked whether there was also raised the point that the bombing would interfere with our constant communication with the Chinese Government and contact with them. The Secretary said that naturally this would not be overlooked.

SPAIN

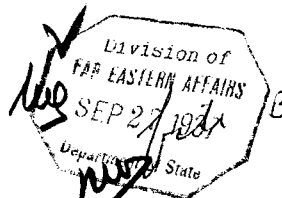
A correspondent inquired about Ambassador Bowers. The Secretary said that the Ambassador, as well as the ambassadors and ministers of a number of other governments accredited to Spain, is in France just over the border near San Sebastian. He said that there are in the Department many despatches and telegrams from Ambassador Bowers covering all phases of the Spanish situation, just as it would be found that the ambassadors and ministers of other countries located there are carrying on their official duties from that point.

M. J. McDermott

0322

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED



NC

CINCAF via N. R.

GPO

FROM

September 26, 1937

Rec'd 11:25 a.m.

From: CINCAF

Action: Opnav

Infor: Sec. Brigusmc, Amcon Shanghai, Comsubron 5,
Comdesron 5, Comyangpat, Comsopat, USS Marblehead,
Amembassy Nanking, Alusina Peiping

793.94

0026 Heavy shelling of Chinese lines and rear at Kiangwan continued throughout night and of Chapei during day Japanese claim gains there and in Liunang sector unconfirmed Japanese reinforcements six transports arrived. Japanese planes active Shanghai throughout day bombing Chapei Kiangwan and Chinese troop concentrations to west Shanghai. Two Chinese air raids during night. General military situation unchanged Shanghai quiet 1940

793.94/10259

EP-29 1937

E/100

0323

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

101-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

GRAY and SPECIAL GRAY

FROM Shanghai via N. R.

Dated September 25, 1937

Rec'd 7:45 p. m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

762, September 25, 4 p. m.

Reference paragraph one of the Department's 321,

September 3, concerning the use of the International Settlement by the Japanese as a military base. In a letter to me dated yesterday the Commander-in-Chief suggests that the time has arrived for definite representations ^{EITHER BY} ~~(?)~~ the ambassadors or their governments concerning this matter. He points out that since the arrival of the Japanese Army on August 23 the wharves of the Hongkew section have been the main base for unloading supplies and troops and evacuating wounded, that on September 23 five transports landed 4,000 troops and that it is understood fifteen transports have used the docks in the past three days. He points to the fact that the Chinese authorities in replying to protests concerning danger to neutrals and their ships in the river stress the point that the Settlement is being used as a Japanese base.

Two. The record shows that on the 15th the consular body caused oral representations to be made on the subject to the Japanese Consul General who replied that

the

793.94/10260

FILED

F/FG

793.94
 793.1028

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 27 1937
 Department of State

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

101-2

LMS 2-No. 762, September 25, 4 p. m., from Shanghai.

the Japanese naval landing party, being stationed here for the protection of Japanese interests, had the right to use portions of the Settlement for the landing of supplies and reinforcements the same as other foreign military units and that the landing party or any other Japanese armed force was or would be acting only in self-defense.

Three. Neither the Council nor other authorities have requested or suggested further protests and I do not think that the Department would wish me to initiate them. All protests will be futile, of course, but the Department may wish to consider a protest at Tokyo. I understand from the Commander-in-Chief that he has brought the matter to the attention of the British Commander-in-Chief who has referred it to London.

Four. While it is, of course, important that the principle be maintained that no armed forces should use the Settlement as a base for hostile military operations, as a practical matter I consider it more important that we should insist that the foreign areas south of Soochow Creek now protected by the neutral foreign forces shall be respected and that neither Chinese nor Japanese troops shall enter such enclosed areas. It is pertinent to record in this connection that while Chinese and Japanese troops

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

101-3

LMS 3-No. 762, September 25, 4 p. m., from Shanghai.

troops are not permitted to enter these areas a ~~++~~ ^{CONSTANT}
of 5,000 wounded Chinese soldiers is being hospitalized
here and when discharged they are passed out to the
Chinese lines. National Government administrative offices
^{PURCHASING AGENCIES}
and ~~++~~ may possibly continue to function in these areas.

Sent to the Department. Repeated to Nanking.

GAUSS

SMS

0326

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR

Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Department of State

937 SEP 28 PM 6 39

Washington,

September 27, 1937.

793.94/10260
 793.1028

AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AIR RECORDS

LONDON, (ENGLAND).

399

Shanghai's telegram No. 762, September 25, 4 p.m.,

reads as follows (final paragraph omitted):

QUOTE Reference paragraph one of the Department's 321, September 3, 7 p.m., concerning the use of the International Settlement by the Japanese as a military base. In a letter to me dated yesterday the Commander-in-Chief suggests that the time has arrived for definite representations (by) the ambassadors or their governments concerning this matter. He points out that since the arrival of the Japanese Army on August 23 the wharves of the Hongkew section have been the main base for unloading supplies and troops and evacuating wounded, that on September 23 five transports landed 4,000 troops and that it is understood fifteen transports have used the docks in the past three days. He points to the fact that the Chinese authorities in replying to protests concerning danger to neutrals and their ships in the river stress the point that the Settlement is being used as a Japanese base.

Two. The record shows that on the 15th ~~(August)~~ the consular body caused oral representations to be made

Enciphered by on the subject to the Japanese Consul General who replied

Sent by operator M., 19

793.94/10260 FV/MR

0327

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR
 Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

- 2 -

Washington,

that the Japanese naval landing party, being stationed here for the protection of Japanese interests, had the right to use portions of the Settlement for the landing of supplies and reinforcements the same as other foreign military units and that the landing party or any other Japanese armed force was or would be acting only in self-defense.

Three. Neither the Council nor other authorities have requested or suggested further protests and I do not think that the Department would wish me to initiate them. All protests will be futile, of course, but the Department may wish to consider a protest at Tokyo. I understand from the Commander-in-Chief that he has brought the matter to the attention of the British Commander-in-Chief who has referred it to London. END QUOTE

The Department has under consideration the advisability of instructing our Ambassador at Tokyo to make representations to the Japanese Government in regard to the continued use of sections of the International Settlement as a base for Japanese military operations. Aside from any question of the effectiveness of such representations, the Department inclines to the view that representations would be warranted if for no other reason than for purposes of record.

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0328

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department
OR

Charge to
\$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL
PLAIN

Washington,

- 3 -

Please consult with the British Foreign Office, using
Shanghai's telegram as a basis for your approach, and
endeavor to ascertain the views and proposed action, if any,
of the British Government in the matter.

Hul
P.H.

KBT
SEP 28 1937 PM

fel
FE:JCV:VCI/EJL

KUP
FE

PA/H

AW *u S*
H.R.

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0329

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER
Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

101-4
TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL
PLAIN

NAVAL RADIO

Washington.

1937 SEP 28 PM 6 39

September 28, 1937.

AMERICAN CONSUL, DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
SHANGHAI (China)

427

Your 762, September 25, 4 p.m.

The Department has repeated your telegram/under
reference, with the exception of paragraph/four, to our
Embassy at London, and has instructed the Ambassador as
follows:

QUOTE/The Department has under consideration the
advisability of instructing our Ambassador at Tokyo to make
representations to the Japanese Government in regard to the
continued use of sections of the International Settlement as a
base for Japanese military operations. Aside from any question
of the effectiveness of such representations, the Department
inclines to the view that representations would be warranted
if for no other reason than for purposes of record.

Please consult with the British Foreign Office, using
Shanghai's telegram as a basis for your approach, and en-
deavor to ascertain the views and proposed action, if any,
of the British Government in the matter. END QUOTE.

28 1937.FM

FE JCV:SMJ/EJL

FE

PA/N
SEA

AW
HRW

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19

D. C. R.—No. 53

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

762.94/10260 F/MR

10260

0331

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND A.I.I.

RB

GRAY

GPO

FROM

Shanghai via N. R.

Dated September 25, 1937

Rec'd 12:59 p. m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

793.90
763, September 25, 5 p. m.

My 738, September 20, 11 p. m., military situation.

Japanese pressure on the Lotien front has resulted in advances to within two miles of the walled city of Kiating. HOWEVER, Japanese efforts to capture Liuhang to the south of Kiating have been unsuccessful thus far, the Chinese offering very strong resistance in spite of heavy shelling and bombing. No strong Japanese attacks on other fronts but they are reported to have concentrated approximately 20,000 men in the Kiangwan sector and offensive operations in that sector are believed imminent.

Two. With clearer weather today Japanese planes resumed bombing operations in the Kiangwan area with the result that a few Chinese anti-aircraft shells fell south of Soochow Creek causing ten Chinese civilian casualties. On September 22nd over fifty Japanese planes bombed and are believed to have done some damage to the forts at Kiangyin on the south bank of the Yangtze River. No

Chinese

793.94/10261

SEP 27 1937
 F7/FED
 SEP 27 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RB

-2-#763, September 25, 5 p.m. from
Shanghai

Chinese air raids for the past four days.

Three. Foreign military estimates of Japanese strength in the Shanghai area is 100,000 men; Chinese 150,000 in the front lines with 180,000 in reserve. Killed and wounded in the Shanghai area since commencement of operations on August 13th estimated to be Chinese 35,000, Japanese 9,000.

GAUSS

WVC

CSB

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

102-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED COPIES SENT
O.N.I. AND A

RB

GRAY

FROM

Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 25, 1937

Rec'd 3:55 p. m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

716, September 25, 8 p. m.

I called upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs this evening at a small residence to which he had moved to be near a bombproof. I found him cheerful. He again stated that he had no criticism to make of the policy of the United States Government in the present matter, his criticism being directed solely at the Neutrality Act. He expressed himself as grateful that it had not been enforced and his belief that this indicated an attitude on the part of the administration favorable to China. He told us that China had circularized signatories (except China and Japan) of Nine Power Treaty and Germany and Soviet Russia, inviting attention to indiscriminate bombing of non-combatant population.

JOHNSON

SMS

EDA

SEP 27 1937

FILED

F/FG

793.94/10262

793.94
note
793.9411



0335

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 894.5151/521 FOR Memo

FROM State Department (EA) (Jones) DATED Sept. 22, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING: Japanese foreign exchange resources: report on same.

793.94/10262
1-2

wb

0334

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

PLAIN

FROM

Nanking via N. R.

COPIES SENT
 O.N.I. AND

Dated September 25, 1937

Rec'd 4:17 p. m.

American Consul Shanghai, Peiping
 Secretary of State
 Washington.



717, September 25, 6 p. m.

Embassy's 710 and 711, September 25, noon and 3. p.m.

Eighteen planes appeared at 3:40 p. m. in today's fourth raid and dropped bombs in Ministry of Health and near Shinkwan at some places as yet undetermined. Upon investigation we find that twelve bombs fell today in Health Ministry compound just behind Central Hospital. Main building of Public Health Training Institute was damaged by concussion and fragments and auditorium connected therewith was struck and damaged. Main building of Ministry was not hit directly but suffered broken windows and minor damage. Several small buildings, including Ministry's gas plant, were hit and partially demolished. Two of the bomb holes were believed to have been made by at least 1000 kilo bombs and were within 100 feet of Central Hospital, laundry immediately behind hospital

793.94
 note
 393.1164

793.94/10263

SEP 30 1937

FF/EG

11

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RB

-2-717, September 25, 6 p.m. from
 Nanking

hospital was hit and one of hospital's adjacent laboratories was demolished. Because Central Military Academy in the neighborhood early assumption was that academy was the target but since twelve bombs were dropped in the Ministry's compound in two different raids and academy is some distance away present assumption is that Ministry itself was the target. We have also verified that National Economic Council offices were struck by three bombs and that bombs fell on Chung Shan East Road near Ministry of Finance. Only one man was killed at Health Ministry and deaths at other places, except South City concerning which^(*) is lacking and which is a crowded section, are reported to have been comparatively few. Among places stated by official sources to have been hit during the day were also Kingmingys Hospital and Canton Middle School in South City and the commercial airfield.

Sent to Department. Repeated to Shanghai, Peiping.

JOHNSON

SMS

(*) apparent omission

033F

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

PLAIN

FROM

Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 26, 1937

Rec'd 11:32 a.m.

Secretary of State
 Washington

COMM. SEC.
 O.N.I. AND M.I.

793.94

718 September 26, 11 a.m.

Embassy's 710, 711, 717 September 26.

Chinese official sources state that 96 Japanese

planes participated in yesterday's raids here (we counted 77), over 200 bombs were dropped, five Japanese planes were brought down mostly by anti-aircraft guns, and two Chinese planes were damaged. According to competent sources some 250 persons were killed and 350 wounded nearly all being civilians. Among places damaged by bombing not previously reported were central broadcasting station, municipal party headquarters in south city, salt administration building contiguous to Finance Ministry, Kwangtung hospital on Chungshan Road not far from Finance Ministry, Saupailou clinic of municipal health station, some forty small residences in south city, lumber yards and number of small residences in railway station district, offices of United Press, Tarnsocioan and Havas News agencies near banking circle.

Water

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 27 1937

793.94/10264

FILED

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

NC -2- #718 September 26, 1937 from Nanking.

Water main broken by bombing has been repaired and
some street lighting has been resumed through power
supplied by a small station which was not damaged.

Sent to Department. Repeated to Shanghai, Peiping.

JOHNSON

WWC

0338

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

103-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

GRAY

NC

Geneva

GPO

FROM

Dated September 25, 1937

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Rec'd 2:26 p.m.

OCT 1 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State

Washington

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 27 1937
Department of State

8, September 25, 6 p.m.

The body of the reply by the Japanese Government dated today at Tokyo to the Advisory Committee's invitation reads:

"The maintenance of peace in Eastern Asia by harmonious co-operation between Japan and China is the aim which the Imperial Government has always had before it and to which it has devoted every effort. The Chinese Government has, however, made opposition to Japan and anti-Japanese agitation the bases of its national policy; acts of provocation have continued to be committed throughout its territory, thus bringing about the present unhappy affair. The Japanese Government can therefore only express the hope that the Chinese Government, realizing this state of affairs, will soon change its sentiments.

As regards the settlement of the present affair, the Imperial Government, as it has stated on many occasions, is firmly convinced that a just, equitable and practical solution of the questions concerning Japan and China can be found by the two countries.

Consequently

793.94/10265

FILED

F/FG

793.94
note
793.94 Advisory
Committee

1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

103-2

NO -2-#8, September 25, 1937 from Geneva

Consequently, the Japanese Government, seeing no reason to depart from the line of conduct it has hitherto followed with regard to the political activities of the League of Nations, regrets that it is unable to accept the Advisory Committee's invitation".

HARRISON

SMS

0340

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Huie NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

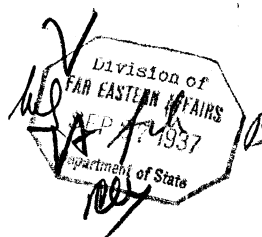
FROM COMYANGPAT

This message was received
 in navy code and must be
 closely paraphrased before
 being communicated to anyone.

September 26, 1937

Rec'd 8:00 a.m., Sept. 27,

FROM: COM YANGPAT
 TO: NAVY DEPARTMENT
 INFO: 2ND BRIGUSMC
 YANGPAT
 COMSUBRON 5
 COMLESRON 5
 CINCAF
 COMSOPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AMEMBASSY NANKING
 ALUSNA PEIPING



0025 Approximately one hundred Jap planes bombed

Nanking from ten hundred to sixteen hundred today. In a series of dive attacks hundreds of bombs were dropped on all parts of the city doing considerable damage to power plant at Drail terminal on water front, also water works, Central Broadcasting Station and governmental buildings. Power plant out of commission and city is in darkness. Water mains damaged and water supply cut off. Two Jap planes came down in flames and one blown up in air over power plant. Chinese report five Jap planes brought down. Hundreds of civilians killed but as far as known no foreigners killed or injured. Results of yesterday's air raid on Hankow indicate no military damage, most bombs falling in sections of Chinese city of Nankow, Hankang, killing over one hundred noncombatants 2140.

DDI:

793.94/10266

F/FG
FILED

OCT 2 1937

0341

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBO

FROM

COMYANGPAT

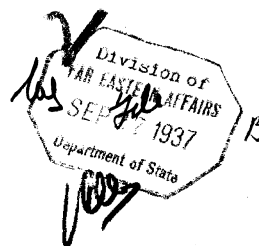
September 27, 1937

Rec'd 8:00 a.m.

FROM: COMYANGPAT

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
YANGTZE PATROL
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
(COMSUBRON 5 - PERSONAL CALL)
CINC ASIATIC FLEET
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING CHINA
ALUSNA PEIPING CHINA



793.04/10267

0026 No further bombing Nanking today weather un-
favorable. Other Yangtze ports quiet 2158.

DDM

F/FILED
SEP 29 1937

0342

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GPO

PLAIN
FROM

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Nanking via N.R.

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 8:00 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

723, September 27, 10 a.m.

Embassy's 721 / September 27, 7 a.m.

Tel to Tokyo
JWS

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 27 1937
Department of State

In regard to report that bomb fell near Ministry of War we are informed by Secretary, French Embassy, that there were four such bombs but that they were nearer French Embassy and Consulate offices than Ministry, fell on four sides of the French establishment not 100 yards distant, and were 500 pound bombs.

Sent to Department. Repeated to Peiping, Shanghai.

JOHNSON

DDK:

793.94/10268

F/FG
FILED
SEP 27 1937

793.94
not
701.5193

0343

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER
Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

104-1
TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR
PLAIN

1937 SEP 27 PM 6 34

Washington,
September 27, 1937.
8pm

AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

TOKYO (Japan).

233

Nanking reports that in Japanese bombing there on
September 25, 500 pound bombs fell on four sides of
French Embassy not 100 yards distant

793.94/10268

Fl-ee
stop

793.94/10268

F/M

PA/H:SKH:EJL

FE
m.m. 14

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0344

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

Peiping via N.R.

FROM

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 7:00 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



793.94

589, September 27, 4 p.m.

Embassy's 537 / 10245 September 25, 2 p.m.

One. The military situation on the three fronts in North China seems not(repeat not) to have changed from that reported in the above mentioned telegram. Domei, however, claims that the Japanese force which went from South Chahar to Lei yuan in west Hopei is proceeding into Shansi via Lingchin and the Great Wall pass of Pinghsingkuan to cut off from the south Chinese forces at Yenmenkuan pass.

Two. It is of possible interest that the Tokyo broadcast in English the past two evenings has made no (repeat no) reference to bombings of Nanking although the broadcast in Chinese, which is supposed to be a translation of the English, refers to them.

Repeated to Nanking.

LOCKHART

RR:KLP

793.94/10269

F/EG
FILED
SEP 28 1937

034

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Hunsaker NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBO

apo

FROM PLAIN

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Nanking via N.R.

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 8:00 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

793197
721, September 27, 7 a.m.

Embassy's 717, September 25, 6 p.m.

Central University was also bombed during fourth
raid September twenty-fifth, two bombs falling in compound
and demolishing College of Liberal Arts and a clinic oper-
ated jointly by Medical College and Municipal Government.
This is third time this institution has been bombed.
During that raid one bomb reportedly fell in vicinity War
Ministry and check of bombs dropped during day in Central
Hospital Health Ministry compound has brought total from
twelve to fifteen.

Sent to Department. Repeated to Shanghai, Peiping.

JOHNSON

DDP:



793.94/10270

SEP 27 1937
F/Pg

0346

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

105-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

FROM GRAY & SPECIAL GRAY

Tokyo

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 6:55 a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

421, September 27, 5 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

Embassy's 420, September 27, 4 P.M.

One. My British colleague tells me that in his talk today with the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs the latter informed him definitely that there would be no further bombing of Nanking after September 25 (repeat 25). Horinouchi also said that a Japanese admiral had been sent from Tokyo a few days ago to caution the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Shanghai to issue more explicit orders to navy plane pilots that only Chinese military establishments should be attacked and that all non-military points must be scrupulously avoided. Another Japanese naval officer has been sent on the same mission to the Commander of the Japanese Third Flotilla in South China.

Two. This information considered in connection with Hirota's interview with the Emperor on the morning after my oral representations to the former on September 20 convinces both Craigie and myself that the Japanese Government

is



793.94/10271

F/FG
FILED

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

105-2

NC -2- #421, September 27, 1937 from Tokyo

is becoming increasingly disturbed by the impressions
created in our respective countries by the indiscriminate
bombing operations on the part of irresponsible Japanese
pilots in China.

Repeated to Shanghai.

GREW

KLP

RR

0348

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

185-3

TELEGRAM SENT

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department

OR

Charge to

\$

Department of State
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PART AIR
PLAIN

Washington,

1937 SEP 29 PM 4 49

September 29, 1937.

AMEMBASSY,

TOKYO (Japan).

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

238

Your 421, September 27, 5 p.m., first sentence.

Telegram received this morning from authoritative
source states that on September 28 eleven Japanese bombers
raided Nanking and dropped bombs in the vicinity of the
Commercial Air Field.

Hull

SKB

793-94

793-94/10271

F/MR

10271

PA/H:SNH:ZMK

Enciphered by

Sent by operator

M.,

19

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1482 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

0349

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

FROM GRAY

Tokyo

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 8:55 a.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

425, September 27, 9 P.M.

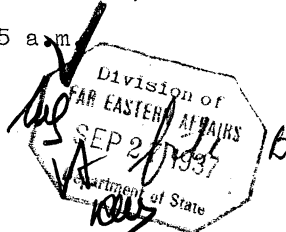
Following telegram has been sent to the Embassy at
Nanking.

"September 27, 5 P.M. Our first information concern-
ing the detailed results of the Japanese bombing of Nanking
was received from the British Embassy here today. It would
be helpful if you would keep us directly informed by tele-
graph or radio of such important developments.

Repeated to the Department.

GREW

RR
WWC



793.94/10272

F/FG
FILED
SEP 28 1937

0350

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton C. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

September 29 1937

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

OPD

SPECIAL GRAY

FROM Shanghai via N. R.

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 7:00 a.m.

Secretary of State
 Washington

COPIES SENT TO
 G.N.I. AND M.I.D.
 DIVISION OF
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 27 1937
 Department of State

765, September 27, 11 a.m.

793.94

With reference to paragraph four of my 762, September 25, 4 P.M., there are constantly in the settlement south of Soochow Creek and in the French concession about 5,000 wounded Chinese soldiers in regular and emergency hospitals under the Chinese Red Cross. About 150 per day are discharged and taken out of these areas by the Chinese Red Cross. It is assumed that they are taken to recuperation centers or go back into the lines. They are not (repeat not) armed."

Sent to the Department, repeated to Nanking.

RR
 WWC

GAUSS

793.94/10273

OCT 1 1937
 RECEIVED
 OCT 1 1937

0351

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

September 29 1937

My dear Mr. Swift:

With reference to previous correspondence in regard to the situation at Shanghai, we have received from the American Consul General at Shanghai a telegram under date September 27, the substantive portion of which reads as follows:

"...there are constantly in the settlement south of Soochow Creek and in the French concession about 5,000 wounded Chinese soldiers in regular and emergency hospitals under the Chinese Red Cross. About 150 per day are discharged and taken out of these areas by the Chinese Red Cross. It is assumed that they are taken to recuperation centers or go back into the lines. They are not (repeat not) armed."

Sincerely yours,

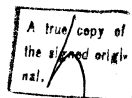
M. H.
Maxwell M. Hamilton,
Chief,
Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

Mr. Ernest J. Swift,
Vice Chairman, American National Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.

CR ✓
SEP 28 1937
FE:ROM:SMJ

FE

9/28/37



793.94/10273

F/117

0356

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

106-1

72

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

apo

FROM SPECIAL GRAY

Tokyo

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 9:01 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

423, September 27, 7 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

Our 421, September 27, 5 p.m.



793.94/10274

As indicative of one of the considerations entering into the decision to cease bombing of Nanking, we are informed by an entirely reliable Japanese source that the Foreign Office has been "deluged" with telegrams from Japanese diplomatic missions in various parts of the world, including the United States, reporting on movements to boycott Japanese goods.

Repeated to Shanghai.

GREW

KLP:RR

FILED
SEP 27 1937

035

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

lw

GRAY

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MOSCOW

Dated September 27, 1937

FROM Rec'd 10:15 a.m.

GPO

Secretary of State

Washington

248, September 27, 4 p.m.

The Soviet press published today the following

notes:

One. A note from the Chinese Embassy in Moscow to the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs dated September 25, in which after referring to the bombardments of Shanghai, Nanking and Canton states that the Embassy according to instructions of the Government of the Chinese Republic calls "the attention of the Soviet Government to the serious consequences ensuing from the barbarous nature of the Japanese military action in China which affects entire mankind, and to request that the Soviet Government take such measures which would facilitate the rapid cessation of such ruthless and inhuman action".

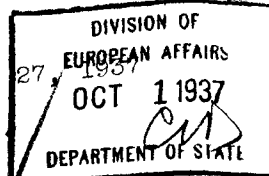
Two. A note from the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs dated September 26 which states in part as follows: "Considering the actions of the Japanese military authorities with regard

to

OCT 1 1937

F/EG
FILED

795.94/10275



COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



793.94
 note

701.6193

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1-2

lw 2, No. 248, September 27, 4 p.m., from Moscow

to Nanking and the unlawful demand presented by them regarding the evacuation from Nanking of the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. as unlawful and contrary to the universally recognized principles of international law, the Soviet Government declares its resolute protest against these actions of the Japanese military forces which are unprecedented in the history of international relations and reiterates that the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China has been given instructions to continue to remain at its post and warns the Japanese Government that it will consider it fully responsible for all the consequences from these unlawful actions."

Three. The Soviet press contains no comment thus far with respect to these notes.

HEIDERSON

RR
WWC

0355

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

107-1

MJD

GRAY
TELEGRAM RECEIVED
 Tokyo

Dated September 27, 1937.

FROM
 Rec'd. 11:17 a. m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

420, September 27, 4 p. m.

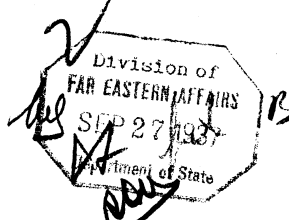
Our 403, ¹⁰¹⁸²September 22, 6 p. m.

The British Ambassador called upon the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs on Saturday 25th concerning the bombing of Nanking and on the following day he addressed the following letter to the Vice Minister.

"My Dear Mr. Horinouchi, as promised in our interview yesterday I send you the substance of the telegram from our Charge d'Affaires at Nanking which I read to you yesterday when we were discussing the bombing of that city. Some parts of the telegram are not very clear but the enclosed memorandum may be taken as an accurate summary of the major portion of it.

I should like to add that in the course of their duty His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires and the staff of His Majesty's Embassy must necessarily remain at Nanking as long as the Chinese Government remain in the city and I believe that this consideration should weigh with the Japanese Government in taking what I sincerely hope will

be



793.94/10276

OCT 1 1937

F/EG
FILED

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

107-2

MJD -2- No. 420, September 27, 4 p. m. from Tokyo

be their decision to send definite instructions to avoid in future bombing of the northern section of the city. Believe me, my dear Mr. Horinouchi, yours very sincerely. Signed R. L. Craigie. (Enclosure) memorandum. According to telegrams received from His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Nanking, Japanese aircraft had up to September 22nd confined their activities mostly to the southern part of the city but on that day bombs fell mostly on the northern section where the bulk of foreign interests are concentrated including the foreign diplomatic missions. British property has been damaged (reference is presumably to the International Export Company's property) and employees of a British company have been killed.

It further appears that the bombers flew at such a height over Nanking in the first of the raids on September 22 as to make it seemingly impossible to guarantee that the bombs should hit their objectives. It is in evidence that most of the bombs fell at considerable distances from what must have been their targets. His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires believes that it is merely a matter of good fortune that foreign lives and property have escaped so lightly up to the present.

Finally Mr. Howe observes that the main point to be remembered is that Japanese aircraft can not bomb the northern

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

107-3

MBo 3- No. 420, September 27, from Tokyo.

northern section of the city without endangering foreigners and foreign missions and he adds that there are few establishments of military value within that area."

Upon receipt of the news of the further bombarding of Nanking yesterday the British Ambassador again called upon the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs today and left with him the following extract from a telegram from the British Charge d'Affaires at Nanking dated 25th September: "Nanking was subjected to five successive raids today by Japanese aircraft which bombed the city continuously from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m. Light and power station very badly damaged and put completely out of action and Nanking was in darkness until 9 p.m. when the authorities succeeded in restoring street lighting only probably from some sub-power house. Bombs also dropped on or near the wireless station, railway station at Hsiakuan, Ministry of Railways (400 yards from the Embassy) and the civil aerodrome. I understand that the telegraph office was also hit as well as the water works as the water supply was out of action but is now again functioning. A number of very big bombs fell in the center of buildings composing the Central Hospital and the Central Health Administration. It is estimated that something approaching 100 machines took part in the raids. In some cases machines power dived on to their objectives. In other cases machines maintained a height of about 8000 feet."

CSB:

GREW

0358

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

gpo

FROM

MBo

CINCAF

September 27, 1937

Rec'd 11:50 a.m.

FROM: CINCAF
 ACTION: OPNAV
 INFO: 2ND BRIG. (USMC)
 ANCONSHANGHAI CHINA
 CO'SUBRON 5
 COMDESRON 5
 COIYANGPAT
 COMSOPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING CHINA
 ALUSNA PEIPING

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 27 1937
 Department of State

0027. Heavy shelling bombing Chapei and Kianwan areas conducted throughout day. Japanese infantry advances reported in Kiangwan. Chinese expecting next Japanese offensive between Hongkew and Kiangwan using large numbers troops now concentrated Yangtzepoo. Heavy fighting reported Lotien, other sections quiet. Japanese bombing concentrated on roads railways important junctions between Shanghai Nanking Hangchow. Shanghai quiet 1937.

CSB:

793.94/10277

SEP 30 1937
 F/FG
 FILED

0359

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JNB *EL*

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

FROM Geneva

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 11:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

10, September 27, 4 p.m.

My telegram 4, September 22, 4 p.m.

Koo has addressed a note dated September 24th to the Secretary General reporting details of the bombardment of Soochow, Nanking and Canton and air reconnoitring over Shantung, which latter he states foreshadows further extension of bombing operations in North China. He requests transmission of the note to the Advisory Committee and members of the Council and Assembly for their information and consideration.

This note is one of several on which I have reported which Koo has transmitted protesting against Japanese aggression, the bombardment of open towns and similar acts. They appear to contain no new information but merely serve to place events currently on record. Since it is expected that the transmission of such notes will probably continue for some time I shall not, unless otherwise instructed, report by telegraph on each individual note of this character unless some new element of significance is presented.

CSB:

HARRISON



793.94/10278

F/FG
FILED

793.94
 into
 793.94 Advisory Committee

0361

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841.504/572 FOR # 3390

FROM Great Britain (.....Johnson.....) DATED September 14, 1937.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Sixty-Ninth Trades Union Congress at Norwich agreed upon an
emergency resolution, expressing the sympathy of British
Trade Unionists with the Chinese people and government.

793.94/10279

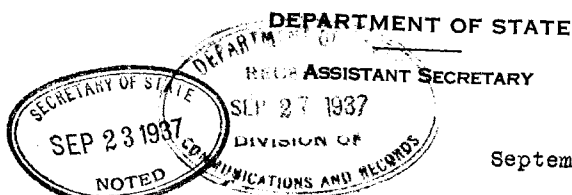
F/MR

10279

0361

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

108-1



September 22, 1937.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR.

The Chinese Ambassador called on me and stated that he had desired to make a visit of courtesy, but after some conversation he got down to business.

He stated that he wanted to keep his Government as closely informed as possible of our attitude and that he had summarized it as follows:

That the American Government felt that it desired to cooperate, but wanted to know what the British and French Governments were doing; he learned from their missions in those two countries that those countries wanted to know what we contemplate; all three seemed to be desirous of cooperation, but none of putting forward suggestions. I stated that there was an additional form of cooperation, which was now coming into line, which was that of the Advisory Committee. He asked for information in respect to this; I told him that only one meeting had been held and that it had been proposed to augment the membership by inviting Japan, China, Australia and Germany; the next meeting was set for

793.94/10280

F/MR

FILED

/0280

0362

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quatefen NARS, Date 12-18-75

108-2

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

2

for Monday, but would be held earlier in the event that all the replies were in.

The Ambassador then said that he would recapitulate our attitude as follows:

That we were heartily in favor and would do what we could for the maintenance of the sanctity of treaties and orderly relations between states, ^{and} that we would cooperate to the maximum with any effort that the other states might initiate. I replied that the Secretary's statements of July 16th and August 23rd were convincing evidence of our faith in and desire to maintain the sanctity of treaties and orderly intercourse between states, that our willingness to maintain our membership on the Advisory Committee showed that we were desirous of cooperating in finding a method for a peaceful solution. I added that he must, however, realize that our efforts were limited by the state of our public opinion and by our existing legislation.

He then said he knew we hated to talk on hypothetical questions. I agreed. He said he had seen in the papers that Great Britain was contemplating withdrawing its Ambassador as a protest against the bombing of Nanking and

0363

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

108-3

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

3

and asked whether we might consider similar action if approached by Great Britain. I told him that when I had read this item in the papers I had had a thought, which was not at all official, but I would tell it to him as man to man. The scene had occurred to me of Craigie visiting Hirota and telling him that the British Ambassador was retiring because of the bombing of Nanking, whereupon Hirota smiled and stated that the Chinese Ambassador had had no such scruples with regard to the bombing of Nanking and was remaining at his post in the normal way. I said, of course, I could not give him any views as to what we would reply if we were approached by the British in this connection.

The question then came up of Chinese maintenance of diplomatic relations with Japan. I asked the Ambassador to elucidate, for my own information only, why China had not declared war, assuring him that I was not urging such a step, but was merely interested. Wang replied that China had not felt it necessary to declare war against marauders since a declaration of war might, to some extent, legalize their activities, just as you don't declare war against burglars assaulting in your house; that there was a further reason - the Japanese Government

had

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quatefen NARS, Date 12-18-75

108-4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

4

had no control over the military, but that it was hoped that at some time it could establish such control; it was possible that the maintenance of a Chinese Embassy might help the Japanese Government to gain authority with the military people.

HRW

Hugh R. Wilson.

A-W HRW/AB

036

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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O.N.I. AND M.I.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY

Canton

FROM

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 1:05 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

September 27, 6 p.m.

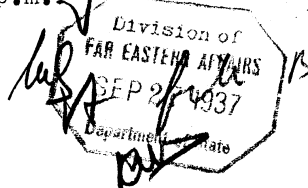
Four raids since midnight today by about fourteen
planes presumably from carrier with main objective Canton-
Hankow Railway at Canton and points north. Several build-
ings damaged but railway intact at Canton, impossible yet
ascertain whether damaged at other points.

Official sources confirm bombing Hoihow and Pakho
September twenty-fourth with unimportant consequences.

Informed by Kwangsi military representative that
Kwangsi troops recently sent north are 48th army composed
three divisions; that more will follow; that Litsung
Jen has not yet gone north but will soon do so.

LINNELL

RR:WWC



793.94/10281

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F-FG
OCT 1 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

*I concur in view that no action
 was taken 7/24/72*
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

~~SECRET~~
 DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Re: Painting of Chinese National
 Emblem on Wings of Two Japanese
 Monoplanes.

Reference: Nanking's 722, Septem-
 ber 27, 9 a.m.

In calling the attention of this Government to the purported act of Japanese aviators of painting the Chinese national emblem on the wings of two Japanese monoplanes, the Chinese Government states that "In an armed conflict the use of the national insignia of the opponent is always considered a treacherous and therefore unlawful act".

The international law on this point is contained in paragraph (f.) of Article XXIII of the Hague Convention IV of 1907. That paragraph reads (it is especially forbidden) "to make improper use of...the national flag ...". (Underscoring added)

In as much as the convention in question does not absolutely prohibit the use by one of the belligerents of the national insignia of the other, but only improper use, it is clear (1) that the question as to the use of the national insignia of one of the belligerents by another belligerent

remains

743.94/1028

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

-3-

remains an open question and (2) that the question as to the lawfulness of such act is to be determined on the basis of deciding whether such an act is to be considered a ruse of war which, according to article XXIV of the same convention, is permissible, or whether it is an act of perfidy which, under the general rules of international law, is prohibited and which would make such use of national insignia "improper".

The use of enemy insignia is considered a ruse of war and therefore permissible when an attempt is being made to escape an attack. A case in point during the World War was, for example, the flying by the Lusitania of an American flag. However, the use of enemy insignia for the purpose of covering an attack is, generally, considered to be not a ruse of war but to be perfidy and therefore illegal.

It is not stated in the telegram under reference whether the two Japanese monoplanes were attacking Chinese military objectives or were attempting to effect an escape from Chinese territory. Consequently, it is impossible to state definitely whether the use of Chinese national insignia was a ruse or an act of perfidy. The presumption,

however,

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

-3-

however, would undoubtedly be that such use was made for the purpose of effecting an attack.

In the light of the above considerations and of those mentioned below, it is suggested that the Department take no action in the matter under reference. In as much as American interests are not at stake, it would be advisable for this Government to refrain from any involvement in discussions on questions of belligerent rights. Moreover, the Department is not in possession of sufficient information to take any action in the matter even if such action were advisable. Finally, it is to be observed that the memorandum of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been communicated to the American Embassy, undoubtedly for the purpose of affording a possible basis of evading future claims on the ground that attacks were made by disguised Japanese planes. This probability is clearly indicated in the second half of the first sentence of paragraph 2 of the telegram under reference. Moreover, a similar accusation was made by the Japanese in regard to Chinese planes. See Tokyo's 405, September 22, 8 p.m. Therefore, by acknowledging the memorandum of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

this

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

-4-

this Government would be affording the Chinese Government the possibility of evading responsibility for certain future attacks upon American lives and property.

gxr
FE:JHS:DMZ:SS

0371

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

109-1
JHS
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LEGAL ADVISER

OCT 10 1937

FROM DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Nanking via

Dated September 27

Rec'd 12:01 p.m.

MBo obo

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

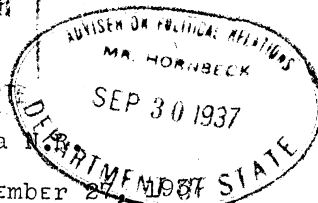
722, September 27, 9 a.m.

Tokyo's 404, September 22, 7 p.m.

Following is memorandum in English dated September 26 received from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs September 26: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the American Embassy and has the honor to inform the Embassy that on September 26th, 1937, at 10:10 o'clock a.m. two Japanese monoplanes were seen flying low over Kwangteh, Anhwei, with the Chinese national emblem distinctly painted on their wings. They dropped two bombs before they left.

In an armed conflict the use of the national insignia of the opponent is always considered a treacherous and therefore unlawful act, and it is doubly dangerous in the present case as Japan would evidently shift her responsibility to China should any action done under such a camouflage result in the loss of foreign lives or damage to foreign property. The Chinese Government desires to take

this

LEGAL ADVISER
OCT 7 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Division
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SEP 27 1937

Department of State

793.94/10282

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FILED

OCT 15 1937

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

109-2

MBo 2- No. 722, September 27, from Nanking.

this opportunity to affirm most positively that the Chinese forces have never used and have no intention of using the Japanese national flag or emblem as a ruse of war in the present hostilities. Much less will they use such an unlawful stratagem (?) causing personal injury or property damage to third parties. The Chinese Government, however, feels it necessary to draw the serious attention of the American Embassy to the use of the Chinese national emblem by Japanese aircraft and requests that this be immediately made known to the American Government in the hope that, in the interest of law and justice as well as for the safety of all third parties, such unlawful action on the part of Japan might be put an end to."

Sent to the Department, repeated to Shanghai for relay to Tokyo and Commander in Chief.

JOHNSON

CSB:

0372

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBO

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

London

FROM Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 2:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

617, September 27, 7 p.m.

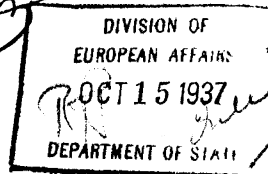
Cadogan (*) to me late this afternoon that he had no

news of importance bearing on the Far Eastern situation
nor has the Foreign Office yet received any report of to-
day's proceedings at Geneva. There is a Reuter's despatch
this afternoon from Geneva to the effect that the United
States has signified its willingness to attend a Confer-
ence of Pacific Powers to be held in London early next
month. I am unable to ascertain the origin of this report
and Cadogan said that he knew nothing of it.

JOHNSON

DDM:WWC

(*) Apparent omission.



793.94/10283

F/EG

SEP 27 1937

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DIVISION OF
 EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
 OCT 4 1937

110-1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM RECEIVED

SEP 28 1937

MBo

This telegram must be
 closely paraphrased be-
 fore being communicated
 to anyone. (B)

Geneva

FROM Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 1:32 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

SEP 28 1937

9, September 27, 3 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

Your 2, September 24, 7 p.m. saw Cranbourne last

evening. Gave him your reply respecting acceptance invita-
 tion to sit on subcommittee if set up and explained your
 views as to proposed membership of subcommittee and de-
 sirability that question be dealt with on broadest possible
 basis. Cranbourne said he particularly appreciated this in-
 formation and was impressed with force thereof.

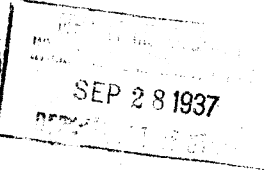
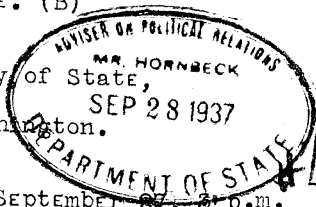
Chinese, he said, would make statement before subcom-
 mittee this afternoon and might themselves propose setting
 up subcommittee. I said that I had heard that Chinese were
 going to demand that Japanese be formally declared aggres-
 sors. Would this not be first step along road to article
 17 which Eden had wished to avoid, see Consulate's 302
 September 16, 5 p.m.? What did he think would be terms
 of reference to subcommittee? Would it be along the lines
 of general statement of broad principles as contained in
 your statements of July 16 and August 23 and I mentioned
 briefly

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F/G

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793.94
Committee

Telegram to London

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-2

MBo 2- No. 9, September 27, from Geneva.

briefly those stated in paragraph six of your telegram under reference. He seemed to favor the idea^{of} such a broad general position. It occurred to me, I said, that if subcommittee were merely to carry out directives of full committee then in that event a small drafting committee might suffice.

Cranbourne also said that the advisory committee might this afternoon consider some declaration respecting Japanese bombardment of unfortified cities. However, most of meeting would be taken up with Chinese statement and general discussion.

Have seen Delbos. He was, he said, in entire accord with your views but in private meeting just concluded with the British and Chinese, Koo had insisted on some positive action with a view to restricting shipment of certain raw materials and credit facilities to Japan. They had persuaded Koo not to make demand although Koo would probably touch upon that point in his statement this afternoon. They had agreed to set up the subcommittee where it would be (?) that such suggestions should be considered. Delbos explained that subcommittee would expedite work and report in every case to full committee where final action would be taken. Delbos also told me that if it can be done Koo would propose resolution by committee condemning Japanese bombardment

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-3

MBo 3- No. 9, September 27, from Geneva.

bombardment of undefended towns, that French and British would support such a resolution, that a text would be immediately prepared and voted by the committee. I referred to the position taken in your note to Japan but explained that I did not vote.

HARRISON

CSB:

0376

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
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This cable was sent in confidential Code.
 Previous be carefully paraphrased before
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED

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NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE

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Amdelegat
 AMERICAN CONSUL,

1937 SEP 28 PM 9 09

Washington,

"B1"

Paraphrase sent September 28, 1937.

GENEVA (Switzerland),

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

FOR HARRISON.

Department's 2, September 24, 6 p.m.; and 5, September 27,
 9 p.m.

In my reply of September 24 to your 6, September 23,
 10 a.m., the subject immediately under consideration was
 that of a step then in contemplation by the League, namely,
 the setting up of a subcommittee of the Advisory Committee,
 together with the question whether the Chinese-Japanese
 situation should be considered as peculiarly a Far Eastern
 question or be considered as a question of general world
 interest and concern. I indicated to you our view and
 asked you discreetly to foster the view that the whole
 question should be dealt with on the broadest possible
 basis and from point of view of general world concern and
 interest.

In the same and in other telegrams, I have informed
 you that we feel that the League should chart its own course;
 that we will be prepared to consider concrete proposals
 which it may present to us, and that we do not repeat not

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10284

F/MR

613

0377

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-5

PREPARING OFFICE
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- 2 -

Washington,

desire to suggest either the direction of or limits to
 action which it might consider and decide upon.

Inasmuch, however, as we associate ourselves with
 its deliberations through authorizing you to sit with the
 Advisory Committee and the subcommittee, it is desirable
 that our thought be known to and be understood by you in
 connection with the contributions which you may be able to make toward
 enabling your associates to arrive at decisions which may
 have some practical ^{beneficial} effect in regard to objectives which
 are common to the members of the League and to this country.

When, in July, Japan embarked upon military activities
 in China, this Government, taking full account of evidence
 presented then and in the past indicative of Japan's
 political objectives, made public on July 16 a statement
 of basic principles which in its opinion must underlie
 peaceful and normal international relationships.

On August 23, this Government more specifically, in
 a statement referring especially to the armed conflict
 between Japan and China, reiterated various of the principles
 comprised in its statement of July 16 and emphasized the
 view that they applied to the Pacific area as well as

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Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

620

0378

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-6

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Washington,

- 3 -

elsewhere. "Inter alia, it called attention expressly to the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. By this we definitely took exception to the course which Japan was following."

In addition, in support of our general position, we have taken several definite steps: (1) we have directly appealed to Japan and China to refrain or desist from hostilities; (2) we have repeatedly stated to both parties that our good offices would be available to them in connection with any suggestions which they might make for resort to processes of conciliation; (3) we have repeatedly protested to the Japanese Government against bombing of non-combatants from the air and we have in one instance made public a note addressed by us to the Government of Japan objecting to and condemning such bombing and in another instance, today, made a public statement on that subject."

Certain other Governments have on several occasions approached us with suggestions for QUOTE joint action UNQUOTE. We have regularly indicated that, while we believe in and wish to practice cooperation, we are not repeat not prepared to engage in joint action but will consider the possibility of taking parallel action. In every case where we have regarded as intrinsically meritorious possible action also thought of by other governments we have taken action, several times in advance of and sometimes in

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Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

0379

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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110-7

PREPARING OFFICE
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Washington,

- 4 -

the absence of parallel action by ^{any other power.} ~~the powers.~~ In general,
 we feel that spontaneous ^{separate} action, if and where two or more
 powers feel moved thereto, on parallel lines, is more strongly
 indicative of serious feeling in regard to matters under con-
 sideration and more likely to serve effectively toward attain-
 ment of the objectives sought than would be inspired joint
 action.

As the situation unfolds, the military operations of Japan
 have increased in extent and in intensity. The Chinese Govern-
 ment has amplified its charges that Japan is violating inter-
 national law and treaty provisions. The Chinese have affirmed
 their willingness to resort to processes of conciliation.
 The Japanese, however, have announced that they intend to
 destroy China's will and capacity to resist ^{even} and to overthrow
 the present Chinese Government. In refusing the invitation of
 the Advisory Committee they have declined even to confer with
 other powers with a view to composing the difficulties between
 Japan and China.

It is our feeling that this situation is definitely of
 universal world concern. The questions involved no longer
 relate merely to violations of specific provisions of particular
 treaties; they are questions of war and of peace, of international
 Enciphered by

616

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0380

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-8

PREPARING OFFICE
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 PLAIN

Washington,

- 5 -

law and of principles of humanity. It is of course true that they involve violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security, and world humanity. I do not believe it possible on a basis of realism to confine consideration of them to any one ~~political instrumentality~~ ^{Forum} or to bring them within the focus exclusively of any one existing agreement. Nor do I think it expedient to attempt to say what might be the limit of action which might be taken by the nations which desire peace toward expressing themselves in ~~objection to~~ ^{opposition to} ~~or resistance to~~ the activities which are being engaged in, in connection with the situation under reference, in breach of the peace and with jeopardy to the rights and the security of all nations.

We feel that, in action thus far taken, this Government has gone further in the field of efforts calculated to support the general principles of world peace and security and toward indicating disapprobation and disapproval of disregard thereof than has any other nation or group of nations. We therefore feel that efforts of other nations might well be directed now toward going as far as or farther than we have thus far gone

Enciphered by along those lines.

Sent by operator M., 19

0381

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-9

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- 6 -

Washington,

You should, while making it clear that we do not
 repeat not desire to incite the League to action and that
 we decline to attempt to chart a course for the League
 members either individually or collectively, endeavor
 discreetly to ~~make known~~ ^{cultivate} within restricted circles where
 confidence will be respected ~~but views as outlined above~~
thinking along these lines!

Hull

PA/H:SKH:ZMK:REK

FE

A-W

Enciphered *by* SKH

m.m.H

Sent by operator M., 19

0382

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-10

TELEGRAM SENT

PREPARING OFFICE
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Department of State

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1937 SEP 27 PM 8 09

Washington,

This cable was sent in confidential Code.
 It should be carefully paraphrased before
 being communicated to anyone. B-1

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

September 27, 1937.

9pm

AMDELGAT

GENEVA.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL FOR HARRISON.

Your No. 9, September 27, 3 p. m. just received.

I note in the second paragraph thereof question
 presumably put by you to Cranborne QUOTE Would this not
 be first step along road to Article 17 which Eden had wished /
 to avoid UNQUOTE.

The considerations contained in my No. 2, September
 24, 6 p. m. were in the nature of suggestions which I believe
 might contribute to helpful action. They were not repeat not
 intended as any indication of what I considered should be
 a limitation of the scope of League action. The American
 Government has no desire to suggest in any way the limits
 to the action which League states may feel they are obligated
 under the Covenant to undertake.

I know that you will feel as I do that it would
 be unfortunate if any impression should get abroad, even if

it

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 60

1-1482 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10284

F/MR

10284

0383

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

110-11

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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Department of State

Washington,

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 PLAIN

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it arises from misinterpretation of an informal conversation,
 that this Government was endeavoring in any way to restrain
 the action which League states might otherwise feel bound to
 take. I do not repeat not assume that Cranbourne might have
 gained a contrary impression from what you said, but if you
 feel that there is any possibility that he might have, I
 would wish that you make sure that he understands my position
 as outlined to you in the second paragraph above.

Free

A-W HRW/AB

HRW

FE

m.w.

PA/H

SK

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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RB

PLAIN

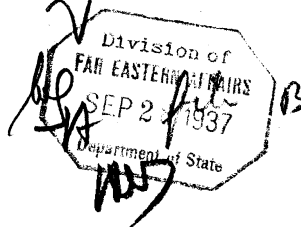
FROM COMDR YANGTZE PATROL

Rec'd September 27, 1937

7:32 p. m.

ACTION: Opnav Navy Department

INFO: 2nd Brigade
 USS MCCONDR
 Destroyer Sqdn Five
 Comdr Submarine Sqdn Five
 Comdr in chief Asiatic Fleet
 Comdr South China Patrol
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 Amembassy, Nanking



793.94/10285

0027 Nine Jap bombing planes accompanied by
 three pursuit planes bombed Yunghi Chemical Works on
 northern Yangtze five miles below Nanking at 10:30
 today. Nine bombers at 12:45 attacked railway station
 on Fukow side opposite Nanking at 12:25 several bombs
 fell in native congested district one half mile from
 station probably with heavy casualties to civilians.1148

OCT 1 1937

F/EG
FILED

793.94

038

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EG

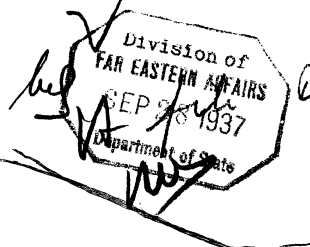
This message was received
in navy code and must be
closely paraphrased before **FROM**
being communicated to anyone.

Alusna Peiping

September 27, 1937

Rec'd 3:35 p. m.

FROM: ALUSNA PEIPING
TO: NAVY DEPARTMENT
INFO: SECOND BRIGADE USMC
COMDESRON FIVE
COMSUBRON FIVE
CINCPAC
COMYANGPAT
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING



0026 Large number Jap troops and supplies arriving
Tientsin daily. French estimate total North China in
thousands three hundred forty five, American two hundred
twenty five. Nippon trying persuade Han Fu Chu remain
neutral; latter probably continue uncertain, to gain time
until December take positive action against Japanese along
Tsinpu. General Wu Pei Fu, mentioned as head new five
province government, declined unless Japanese military
forces entirely withdrawn on confirmation Chinese successes
South-east Tatung.

793.94

793.94 / 10286

F / FG
FILED
OCT 1 1937

0386

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

FROM COMDR SOUTH CHINA PATROL

Rec'd September 27, 1937

3:27 p. m.

ACTION: Opanav Navy Department

INFO: 2nd Frigate USMC
Comsubron Five
Comdesron Five
Cincaf
Comyangpat
USS MARBLEHEAD
American Embassy, Nanking, China



793.94

0127 at 0200 today six Japanese bombers seen flying north to westward of Canton. At 0945 fourteen bombers seen flying south. Between 0945 and 1000 three dive bombing attacks made near Hankow-Canton Railway station situated eleven hundred yards from Mindanao. Houses in vicinity of station demolished and set on fire. Anti-aircraft guns not effective. No Chinese planes in air. At 1400 five bombers and two fighters were observed headed north flying high and started west edge of Canton at 1445 eight bombers passed over western part of city headed south. Foochow, Amoy, Swatow quiet. 2200

PEG

HPD

793.94/10287

OCT 1 1937
FILED
F/P/G

038

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

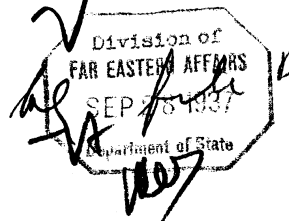
MBo GPO

FROM CONYANGPAT

September 28, 1937

Rec'd 7:35 a.m.

FROM: CONYANGPAT
ACTION: OPNAV
2ND BRIG USMC
COMSUBRON 5
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING



793.94

0027. 9 Japanese bombing planes accompanied by 3 pursuit planes bombed Yunghi Chemical Works on northern Yangtze five miles below Nanking at 10:30 today. Nine bombers at 12:45 attacked railway station on Pukow side opposite Nanking. At 12:45 several bombs fell in native congested district one half mile from station probably with heavy casualties to civilians 1148.

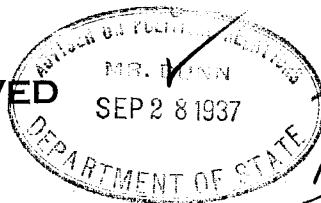
DDA:

793.94/10288

FILED
F/FG
OCT 1 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED



AW
PA/O

MJD GPO

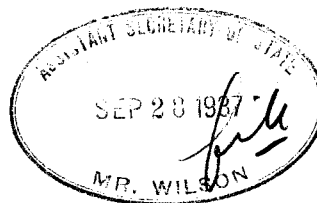
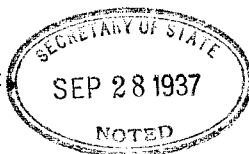
FROM Geneva

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

Dated September 28, 1937.

Rec'd. 9 a. m.

Secretary of State
Washington.



September 28, 11 a. m.

FOR THE SECRETARY.

See 793.94/10217

Am confident Cranbourne gained no (repeat no) such
impression. Fully appreciate your position.

RR
WWC

HARRISON

793.94/10289

SEP 30 1937

FILED

F/FG

0385

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR
 Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE

RECEIVED
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 SEP 26 PM 1 59

Washington,

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS

SEP 26 1937

2 PM

ANDELGAT

✓ GENEVA

APPROVED
 This cable was sent in confidential Code.
 It should be carefully paraphrased before
 being communicated to anyone. C

4. PRIVATE FOR HARRISON FROM WILSON

Quote, Your reports, much appreciated, so far. Now that we enter active phases of Advisory Committee, I suggest you keep reporting on day by day trend of events, even though negative.

Please, permit suggestion, as to strategy. Reference Dept's telegram No. 2, September 24, 3 p.m. All ^{discussing} debates on Committee, even in secret session, inevitably become public property. You will, probably, find it, more, convenient, and, ^{safe} ~~efficient~~ to do most of your work, through, private conversation Endquote

793.94
 note
 793.94 Advisory Committee
 approved
 Sec.
 by HPR

Hull
 HPR

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1482 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10289A

F/FG

0390

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NC

GPO

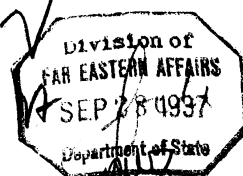
PLAIN
 FROM
 Hankow

Undated

Rec'd 8:23 a.m. September 28,
 1937

Secretary of State
 Washington

RECEIVED TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



*reply to Hankow
 Consul General
 Sept 10/2/37
 OCT 2 1937 V.*

The American Chamber of Commerce of Hankow hereby
 record their horror and indignation at the deliberate and
 continued mass massacre of the Chinese civilian population
 by an aggressor nation. In the name of civilized humanity
 we ask that the moral pressure and economic sanctions of
 sacred treaties shall be unfalteringly applied to curb
 barbarism.

(Signed) American Chamber of Commerce, Hankow.

HPD:

793.94/10290

OCT 5 1937

F/EG
FILED

0391

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR

Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT *Gray*Department of State
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTIAL
 PLAIN

Washington, *Novel News*1937 OCT 2 PM 4 17 October 2, 1937.
4P

AMERICAN CONSUL,
 HANKOW (China).

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

on September 28

I ~~was~~ received a telegraphic message signed by the
 American Chamber of Commerce, Hankow, of which you no doubt
 have or can obtain knowledge.

Please inform the Chamber of Commerce that I appreciate
 the spirit and motives which prompted the Chamber to address its
 message to me and that the Department gives appropriate
 consideration to expressions of views which are presented
 suggesting courses the Government might pursue with regard to
 the situation in China. You may also, in your discretion,
 invite their attention to the fact that the American Government
 has expressed to the Japanese Government its disapproval in
 emphatic terms of Japanese aerial bombing of noncombatants
 and that the administration, constantly following with the
 closest attention developments in the Far East, is according
 careful consideration to every practicable course which might
 lead to a satisfactory adjustment of the unfortunate situation
 in China and contribute toward making effective this Govern-
 ment's policies, especially the policy of peace.

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. O. R. No. 50

1-1402 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

FE:JCV:REK

FE:m.m.15

PA/H

793.94/10290

F/15

0392

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

111-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MJD

GRAY

FROM Geneva

Dated September 28, 1937.

Rec'd SEP 28 8 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

September 28, 8 a. m.

My telegram No. 9, September 27, 3 p. m.

At the meeting of the Advisory Committee last evening the Chairman announced that Germany and Japan had refused the invitation to participate and Australia and China had accepted. Two further Chinese notes on bombing were communicated.

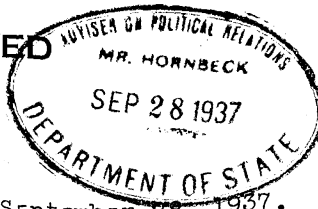
Koo in public meeting urged denunciation of aggression, aerial bombardment, violation of international law and treaty obligations. He referred to American and British statements against bombing non-combatants, denied that the Chinese had used gas and asked the Committee to study measures which could be recommended under the League.

An immediate expression on bombing was therefore strongly proposed by Cranbourne, fully seconded by Delbos and supported by Sandler, Sweden, and Litvinov. The resolution as adopted was as follows:

"The Advisory (*),

Taking into urgent consideration the question of

the



753.94/10291

F/EG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huston NARS, Date 12-18-75

111-2

793.94/10291

CORRECTED SECOND PAGE

//
MBo 2- No. ~~0~~, September 28, 8 a.m., from Geneva

the aerial bombardment by Japanese aircraft of open towns in China, expresses its profound distress at the loss of life caused to innocent civilians, including great numbers of women and children, as a result of such bombardments, and declares that no excuse can be made for such acts which have aroused horror and indignation throughout the world, and solemnly condemns them."

The chairman will forward the resolution to the President of the Assembly with a view to its adoption also by that body.

HARRISON

MPD

(*) Apparent omission.

0394

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department

OR

Charge to

\$

TELEGRAM SENT *Gray*

TO BE TRANSMITTED

CONFIDENTIAL CODE

✓ NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE ✓

PARTIAL

PLAIN

Department of State

1937 SEP 28 PM 5 55

Washington.

September 28, 1937.

793.94/10291
 AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 RECORDS

TOKYO (Japan)

234 Geneva's telegram No. 8, September 28, 8 ^{A.M.} P.M., is repeated for your information.

QUOTE. At the meeting of the Advisory Committee last evening the Chairman announced that Germany and Japan had refused the invitation to participate and Australia and China had accepted. Two further Chinese notes on bombing were communicated.

Koo in public meeting urged denunciation of aggression, aerial bombardment, violation of international law and treaty obligations. He referred to American and British statements against bombing non-combatants, denied that the Chinese had used gas and asked the Committee to study measures which could be recommended under the League.

An immediate expression on bombing was therefore strongly proposed by Cranpoune, fully seconded by Delbos and supported by Sandler, Sweden, and Litvinov. The resolution as adopted was as follows:

SUBQUOTE The Advisory Committee taking into urgent

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

793.94/10291

F/R

10291

0395

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
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Charge Department
 OR

Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

-2-

consideration/ the question/ of the/ aerial/ bombardment/
 by/ Japanese/ aircraft/ of/ open/ towns/ in China,/ expresses/
 its/ profound/ distress/ at the/ loss of life/ caused/ to/
 innocent/ civilians,/ as a result/ of/ such bombardments,/ and
 declares/ that no/ excuse/ can be made/ for/ such/ acts/
 which have/ aroused/ horror/ and/ indignation/ throughout/
 the world,/ and/ solemnly/ condemns them./ END SUBQUOTE./

The/ chairman/ will forward/ the resolution/ to the/
 President of the/ Assembly/ with a view to/ its/ adoption/
 also/ by that/ body. END QUOTE./

The Department/ has/ today/ issued/ the following/
 statement/ to the/ press:/

QUOTE/ The Department of State/ has been informed/
 by the American Minister/ to Switzerland/ of the/ text of
 the/ resolution/ unanimously/ adopted/ on September/ 27/ by
 the/ Advisory/ Committee of/ the/ League of Nations/ on the
 subject/ of/ aerial/ bombardment/ by/ Japanese/ air/ forces/ of/
 open/ towns/ in China./

The American Government/, as has been/ set forth/ to

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0396

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect

Charge Department

OR

Charge to

\$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR
PLAIN

Washington,

-3-

the Japanese Government/repeatedly/and especially/in
this Government's/note of/September/22,/holds/ the view/
that any/general/bombing/of an/extensive/area/wherein/
there/resides/a large/populace/engaged in/peaceful/
pursuits/is unwarranted/and contrary to/principles of/
law/and of/humanity. END QUOTE.

H-ee
Sack

SEP 28 1937

JWB:NN

FE

PA/H

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 890.00/61 FOR Memorandum

State Department
 Far Eastern Division

FROM (Ballantine) DATED Sept 25, 1937

TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Situation in the Far East; developments of the past week.

FRG.

793.94/10292

F/MR

10292

0398

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

D

MBo

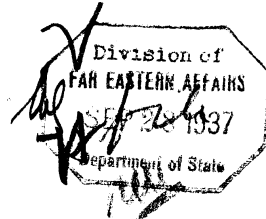
CINCAF
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

September 28, 1937

Rec'd 12:00 noon

FROM

FROM: ^{GPO} CINCAF
 ACTION: OPNAV
 INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 AFCONSUL SHANGHAI (CHINA)
 COMSUBRON 5
 COMDESRON 5
 COMYANGPAT
 COMSOPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AIEMBASSY NANKING (CHINA)
 ALUSNA PEIPING



793.94

0028 Japanese admit last two days attacks Lotain
 Liuhang sectors resulted very small gains. Offensives
 those areas and Kiangwan being continued with intense
 bombing shelling Chapai Kiangwan. Usual Japanese air
 activity in Shanghai area bombing concentrated on Chinese
 Lines railways roads. No change conditions Settlement.
Foreigners continue return considerable numbers 1930.

CSB:

793.94/10293

OCT 2 1937

FILED/FG

0399

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.

MBo

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY

Canton via N.R.

Dated September 28, 1937

FROM

Rec'd 11:55 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

September 28, 3 p.m.

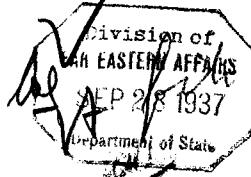
Damage done Canton Hankow Railway by yesterday's bombing has disrupted through traffic but is reported not serious. Authorities believe necessary repairs can be made in week or less if no further effective bombing.

Another attack on Bocca Tigris forts by destroyers and planes made yesterday. Officially claimed that forts were undamaged but adjacent village demolished.

In interview with Associated Press representative yesterday Mayer stated that: (one) air raids in Kwangtung during past week included bombing several towns near Canton and along railways in crowded civilian section devoid of military establishments and caused total civilian casualties of about one thousand killed two thousand seriously wounded; (two) Japanese had lost thirty two planes in raids this area; (three) attempts recently made by Japanese Marines to land at various points in Kwangtung had all failed; (four) foreign medical supplies and services would be welcome here; (five) there was no (repeat no) possibility of South China making separate peace with Japan.

CSB:

LINNELL



793.94/10294

FILED/FG

SEP 28 1937

793.94
note
793.77

0400

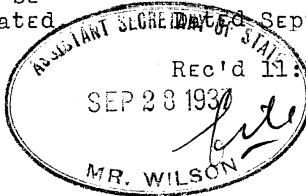
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

A-W

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM Geneva
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)
September 28, 1937

Secretary of State,
Washington.



Rec'd 11:11 a.m.

12, September 28, 3 p.m.

PRIVATE FOR WILSON FROM HARRISON

Many thanks your number 4 September 26, 2 p.m.,
will carefully comply. Great difficulty and delay in
deciphering Department's 2 September 24, 6 p.m. When
possible suggest use B-1. Regards.

HARRISON

CSB:

793.94
note
119.256

793.94/10295

FILED
F/F6
SEP 30 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

FROM

GRAY

Tsingtao via N.R.

Dated September 28, 1937

Rec'd 12:35 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

September 28, 4 p.m.

With reference to the Reuter report that General Doi-hara flew to Tsinanfu to negotiate a separate northern peace with Han Fu Chu, the Mayor of Tsingtao states that General Han informed him over the telephone from Tsinanfu that there was absolutely no truth in this report.

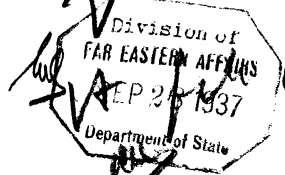
It is reported that there is considerable dissatisfaction among Chinese in Shantung peninsula because of the behavior of General Han's troops in this ^{report} (*).

Situation in Tsingtao remains quiet. Few departures of American civilians in naval vessels ⁽⁻⁾ of (*). One of the extraordinary features of the situation is the noteworthy ingress to Tsingtao and its hinterland of Chinese ^{classes} of all (A) from the Tientsin area.

SOKOBIN

CSB:

~~(*) Omissions.~~



793.94/10297

0312 1937
 F/EG
 FILED

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.E.

MBo ope

FROM PLAIN

Nanking via N.R.

Dated September 28, 1937

Rec'd 12:43 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

731, September 28, 3 p.m.

Eleven planes appeared over south suburbs twelve
forty p.m. today and dropped about ten bombs in area of
military airfield and military objectives outside South
Gate reportedly causing little damage. At one thirty p.m.
another flight said to number 12 approached Nanking but
did not fly over the city and reportedly dropped bombs at
Supu, Chuyung and Juaiying (Tsingyangpu) Kiangsui, one
Japanese bomber reportedly being brought down at Kiahsing
Kiangsu on the return.

Embassy has instructed Peiping to send to Tokyo by
air mail copies of Embassy's telegrams on this subject of
September twenty-fifth, sixth and seventh and hereafter
to send to Tokyo by some means copies of paraphrases of
our messages on political developments not in confidential
code and not sent direct.

Sent to Department; repeated to Peiping, Shanghai.
Peiping mail Tokyo.

HPD:

JOHNSON

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 28 1937
Department of State

793.94/10298

F/F G
FILED

1937

793.94

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

112-1

~~IND~~

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo
A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

FROM Geneva

Dated September 28, 1937

Rec'd 12:23 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

13, September 28, 4 p.m.

(GRAY) My telegram 11, September 28, 8 a.m.

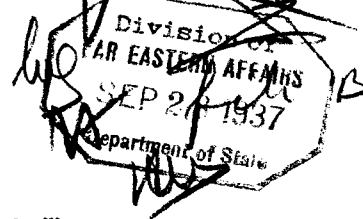
At this morning's Assembly Munters informed it of the resolution adopted by the Advisory Committee and proposed that the Assembly adopt it as its own resolution in order to permit delegations not represented on the committee to adhere to it.

Delvayo declared ~~Spain's~~ ^{SPAIN} in defense of peace in the struggle against the aggressor condemns the bombardment of Nanking as well as of Madrid and warmly expressed solidarity with China in the struggle for independence.

The President of the Assembly stated that the Advisory Committee as an organ dependent on the Assembly was entitled to submit proposals to it. The Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution with warm applause.

Koo expressed his appreciation for prompt and unanimous adoption as indicating the League's devotion to the cause of humanity and the principles of international law.

This



793.94
note
793.94 Ad. Low

793.94/10299

SEP 28 1937

FILED FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

112-2

MBo 2- No. 13, September 28, from Geneva.

This approval would be received with satisfaction by the whole civilized world.

No meeting of the Advisory Committee will be held today but there probably will be one tomorrow. (END GRAY)

CONFIDENTIAL. A secretary of the British delegation today informed me that at the next meeting of the Advisory Committee a general discussion will occur on all phases followed by a summing up. In his opinion designation of the aggressor will be carefully avoided. The subcommittee would then be proposed and set up. Care would be taken, however, that the subcommittee have the same terms of reference as the full committee.

HARRISON

*RR:CSB

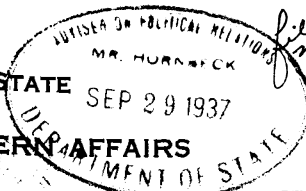
(#) Apparent omission.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

September 28, 1937.



DCR

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In view of what appears on the second page of
 (copy attached)
 Harrison's telegram from Geneva, No. 13, received this
 afternoon, we feel that it might be definitely advan-
 tageous to get an instruction, on the lines of the draft
 here attached, to Harrison by telegram tonight.

The suggestion which you embodied in the draft
 which you made on Sunday that Harrison in some way suggest
 to his confidants that the League elaborate an ^a issue
~~the~~ dynamic statement in denunciation of Japan has been
 deliberately omitted from this draft, it being our
 view that we should be cautious about volunteering
 such a "lead", and that we might to advantage at least
 wait for a day or two until we see in what direction
 the deliberations of the subcommittee may be heading
 before we take it upon ourselves to make, if it proves
 necessary, so definite a suggestion. We have always in
 mind the fact that almost inevitably anything which we
 definitely urge will be made (over there) promptly and
 more or less completely a matter of public knowledge.

Mr. Hugh Wilson will be at home, telephone No.
 Columbia 1779; Mr. Hornbeck will be at his apartment,
 telephone No. North 2042, from 7:30 on.

H. Wilson
 H. Hornbeck

FW 793.94/10299

NOV 22 1944
 FILMED

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

K

Switzerland
from Harrison
 ✓ GENEVA

MBo
 A portion of this tele-
 gram must be closely
 paraphrased before being
 communicated to anyone. (B)

Dated September 28, 1937

Rec'd 12:23 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

✓ 793.94/10299
 13, September 28, 4 p.m.

(GRAY) My telegram 11, September 28, 8 a.m.

At this morning's Assembly Munters informed it of the resolution adopted by the Advisory Committee and proposed that the Assembly adopt it as its own resolution in order to permit delegations not represented on the committee to adhere to it.

Delvayo declared Spain's (#) in defense of peace in the struggle against the aggressor condemns the bombardment of Nanking as well as of Madrid and warmly expressed solidarity with China in the struggle for independence.

The President of the Assembly stated that the Advisory Committee as an organ dependant on the Assembly was entitled to submit proposals to it. The Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution with warm applause.

Koo expressed his appreciation for prompt and unanimous adoption as indicating the League's devotion to the cause of humanity and the principles of international law.

This

040

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 13, September 28, from Geneva.

This approval would be received with satisfaction by the whole civilized world.

No meeting of the Advisory Committee will be held today but there probably will be one tomorrow. (END GRAY)

CONFIDENTIAL. A secretary of the British delegation today informed me that at the next meeting of the Advisory Committee a general discussion will occur on all phases followed by a summing up. In his opinion designation of the aggressor will be carefully avoided. The subcommittee would then be proposed and set up. Care would be taken, however, that the subcommittee have the same terms of reference as the full committee.

HARRISON

RR:CSB

(#) Apparent omission.

0408

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

1-1336

FROM

Tsingtao via N.R.

Dated September 28, 1937

Rec'd 1:17 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

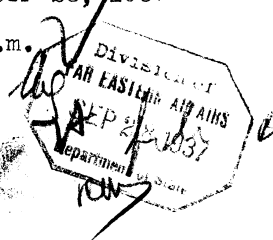
September 28, 6 p.m.

A report is circulating in Tsingtao that Ko Kuang
Ting, Chairman of the Board of Management of the Tsingtao-
Tsinanfu Railway, was killed in Tsinanfu by Chinese be-
cause of his reputed pro-Japanese attitude.

Sent to the Department, Nanking, Peiping.

SOKOBIN

KLP:CSB



793.94/10300

FILED/FG
OCT 2 1937

0409

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
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 OR

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Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
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 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

1937 SEP 28 PM 1 29 September 28, 1937.

793.94
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 AMDELGAT,

GENEVA (Switzerland).
 DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 RECORDS

TRIPLE PRIORITY. 6

FOR HARRISON.

Please immediately communicate to the Secretary General of the League of Nations and suggest to him that he may care to inform the Assembly at its meeting today of the text of a statement which I am making public today reading as follows:

QUOTE The Department of State has been informed by the American Minister to Switzerland of the text of the resolution unanimously adopted on September 27 by the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on the subject of aerial bombardment by Japanese air forces of open towns in China.

The American Government, as has been set forth to the Japanese Government repeatedly and especially in this Government's note of September 22, holds the view that any general bombing of an extensive area wherein there resides a large populace engaged in peaceful pursuits is unwarranted and contrary to principles of law and of humanity. UNQUOTE.

If before there is an opportunity to have the statement quoted above presented to the Assembly there should occur a

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 80

1—1402 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10300A

F/FG

0410

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

113-2

PREPARING OFFICE
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR
PLAIN

- 2 -

Washington,

meeting of the Advisory Committee you should read the
statement to the Advisory Committee.

Hue

m.m.H.
FE:MMH:EJL

PA/H

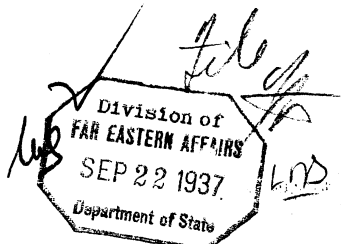
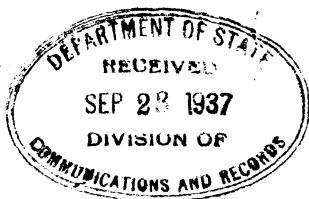
Sick

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

0411

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



148
JV

For Your Own Information.

Dairen, August 6th, 1937.

REGARDING THE OUTRAGES COMMITTED BY ARMED
 CHINESE ON JAPANESE CIVILIANS IN TUNGCHOW

793.94

You are, I am sure, aware of the fact that in Tungchow, capital of the East Hopei Autonomous Government, located east of Peiping, scores of unarmed Japanese civilians were cruelly murdered by the Chinese East Hopei Peace Preservation Corps (also termed, the Chinese Public Safety Corps) on July 29th. Official reports received by this office from an absolutely reliable Japanese source state that about 2,000 armed members of the Tungchow Public Safety Corps were in the city to protect all foreigners and to see that peace and safety reigned there. There were among the foreigners over 400 Japanese civilians, as many of them had come from the country districts which were considered unsafe for them to remain. To assist these 2,000 Chinese to preserve peace and order in Tungchow approximately 100 Japanese soldiers were left in the town.

Suddenly the Chinese members of the Safety Corps, fully armed, rebelled and started attacking the Japanese residents there beginning with the civilians who included old men, women and children. Many were taken from their homes or refuges and roughly placed on the streets and, it is reported, that some of the women had their breasts cut off, others, including children, their ears ripped off and eyes poked out by bayonets. Other fiendish means were also employed, such as kicking and spitting,

793.94/10301

F/LR

1-50

10301

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

For Your Own Information.

Dairen, August 6th, 1937.

- 2 -

especially at the old men. They were then stabbed by bayonets or shot and were left on the streets or in their homes to die. It seems that the main purpose of these Chinese was to massacre the Japanese civilians as well as to kill the few Japanese soldiers located there. The Japanese soldiers who were not fully prepared at the time of the incident, did what they could to save their countrymen. They were, however, outnumbered by about twenty to one and although they put up a wonderful fight, they were in the end annihilated. The latest news received states that a little more than two thirds of the civilians, who then numbered approximately 400, were found dead or mortally wounded. About a third, many of whom received serious or minor wounds, are reported to be safe and are now in the hands of the Japanese authorities.

The news of this incident was naturally a great shock to the Japanese, for the Japanese army in many of its statements and actually on the field of battle, always warns the Chinese civilians that an attack might be made at a certain place. Japanese airplanes have flown over Peiping and the surrounding country assuring the Chinese civilian populace that the Japanese army will not attack them as long as they do not aid the anti-Japanese Chinese troops who are the enemies of Japan. Even before an attack is carried out the Japanese army, on coming to

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

For Your Own Information.

Dairen, August 6th, 1937.

- 3 -

a village or field where several Chinese farms are located, informs villagers and farmers to remove to safety and ample time is given to these country folk to escape. In doing this the Japanese army has naturally suffered several handicaps. In any battle time is an important factor. The time lost in the attempt to save Chinese civilians from death gives the Chinese troops an opportunity to make preparations for the skirmish or battle with the Japanese troops.

The point that I am trying to emphasize is the fact that the Japanese troops warn all civilians, especially the Chinese, to remove themselves to safety, whereas the Chinese troops as well as the Peace Preservation Corps wait for an opportunity to murder by foul means innocent Japanese civilians. The Japanese army has come to the conclusion that the Chinese troops are at war not only with the Japanese army but also with all innocent unarmed Japanese civilians and those include old men, women and children.

- - - - -

Unfortunately the famous and well-known Nankai University (Chinese) located in Tientsin, has been almost completely destroyed by Japanese guns. Rumors are spreading that this University was marked by the Japanese army for destruction as the faculty and students of the University were known to be very much against

0414

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

For Your Own Information.

Dairen, August 6th, 1937.

- 4 -

Japan. The fact is that the Japanese army warned the few members of the faculty and students who remained there to escape as the Chinese army was located very close to the University. Most of them followed the Japanese suggestion. No sooner had they left, the Chinese army occupied the buildings and forced the remaining civilians to stay. From the University buildings and grounds the Chinese army opened fire on the Japanese troops who remained waiting patiently, hoping that all the civilians had by this time left for safety. The Japanese army knowing the value of the University did not wish to destroy it as some Chinese reports have it, and as the Chinese army fired shells from trench mortars the Japanese troops at first did their best to dislodge them without destroying the buildings. However the fight became so fierce and disadvantageous to the Japanese, that they were compelled against their wishes to attack the Chinese army in the University premises. As a result the University was almost completely destroyed.

Charles Bishop Kinney,
Head Office,
South Manchuria Railway Co.,
Dairen, Manchuria.

0415

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

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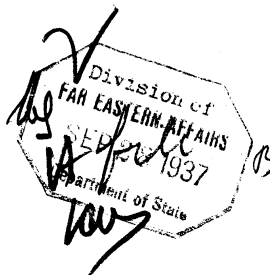
1-1326

FROM COMSOPAT

September 28, 1937

Rec'd 2:43 p.m.

FROM: COMSOPAT
ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON FIVE
COMDESRON FIVE
CINCAF
CONYANGPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING CHINA



0128. At 1000 today one Japanese plane bombed place several miles east of Canton, two Japanese destroyers are in Peal River near British waters. Mayor of Canton stated that air raids recently made in Kwangtung Province resulted in death of about 1000 and wounding of about 2000, raids made on towns and along railroad in crowded civilian section devoid of military establishments; also that Japanese had lost 32 planes during these raids. Other ports South China quiet 2240.

HPD:

793.94/10302

F/FILED
OCT 2 1937

041F

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

1-1280

FROM COMYANGPAT

September 28, 1937

Rec'd 5:24 p. m.

COMYANGPAT

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
YANGPAT
CONDESON 5
COMSUBRON 5
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA
PEIPING

793.94

Tel to Tokyo



793.94/10303

0028 Eleven bombers raided Nanking 1230 today
and dropped bombs vicinity Commercial Air Field.
Twelve Jap bombers also bombed air field Wuhu today.
Other Yangtze ports quiet. 2240

F/PG
FILED
OCT 2 1937

0417

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

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 O.N.I. AND MILITARY

LMS

1-1230

FROM GRAY

Shanghai via N. R.

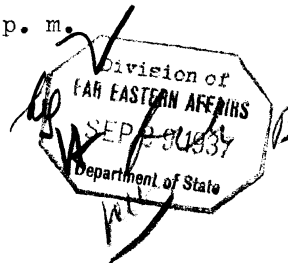
Dated September 28, 1937

Rec'd 2:43 p. m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

776, September 28, 6 p. m.

My 763, September 25, 5 p. m.



793.94

Japanese have subjected Kiangwan and Chapei fronts to heavy and almost continuous shelling during the past two days which in conjunction with the fact that the East Hongkew area has been closed by the Japanese military authorities and that there is much military activity in that area has given rise to the belief that determined offensive operations on the Kiangwan and possibly Chapei fronts are imminent. Strong Japanese pressure continues on the Lotien--Liuhang front but the lines remain substantially as indicated in my last report. Japanese planes have subjected Chinese positions in Chapei and Kiangwan to repeated bombings and are systematically bombing railways and other lines of communication leading out of Shanghai. Considerable number of stray shells and bullets have fallen in the Settlement during the past two days but civilian casualties have been few.

GAUSS

793.94/10304

FILED
 F/FG
 OCT 2 1937

0418

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBO

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

FROM Geneva

Dated September 28, 1937

Rec'd 9:25 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

14, September 28, 12 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Koo spoke to me at the meeting of the Advisory Committee yesterday and asked me to call this afternoon. In reply to his question as to our views respecting proposed subcommittee and our eventual participation I replied that if subcommittee were set up and I was invited ~~to~~ authorized to sit on same terms as on full committee. I emphasized that I could make no suggestions as to any line of action to be taken by the League. I explained that in general the question should be dealt with on the broadest possible basis from the point of view of world peace and general interests and I referred to your statements of July 16 and August 23. Koo said he had been reading your statements and had thought that some declaration or resolution might well be made along the lines of the comprehensive principles set forth therein. As regards the proposal to set up a subcommittee he had made it clear to the British and French that he had no objection provided the



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793.94/IC305

793.94/IC305

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1-2

MBo 2- No. 14, September 28, from Geneva

the subcommittee were not used to replace the full committee. He understood his view had been accepted and that the subcommittee would be set up to facilitate discussion, expedite action and report to the full committee. In this connection Koo explained that he wished to safeguard his appeal to the Council and he did not wish to have it canceled by having the matter brought before the Assembly under Article Three of the Covenant. As to the composition of the proposed subcommittee he said that he had to admit that if it were to be kept a small and effective body, there would be little room for representatives of governments with lesser interest.

Koo assured me that he did not seek the imposition of sanctions but that he did desire; first, that Japanese aggression be recognized; second, no assistance to Japan and third, assistance for China. He then let me read a draft of a resolution in which he had set down his maxima desiderata. By what body it should be considered remained to be determined and was immaterial so long as the Chinese appeal to the Council was properly preserved. After reciting a number of "whereases" amongst which Koo had slipped in a virtual naming of Japan the aggressor, the draft resolution recommended (in spite of his disclaimer regarding sanctions) (the?) that that members of the League undertake: (one) to prohibit

it

0421

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1-3

MBo 3- No. 14, September 28, from Geneva.

it the export or permit the transshipment of arms, munitions of war and oil to Japan as well as a list of raw materials including iron, steel, rubber, cotton, wool, motors, and magnetos; (two), ~~to refuse~~ ^{to refuse} credits to Japan; and (three), facilitate the furnishing of such arms, materials and credits to China. It was also provided that the resolution was to be communicated to non-member states.

Koo explained that oil had been put in the first category as it enabled Japan to bombard undefended towns and noncombatants from the air. He also named Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Holland, and Belgium as the countries which he had had particularly in mind in connection with this proposed resolution.

END SECTION ONE.

HARRISON

(#) Apparent omission

NPL:RGC

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1-4

JR **TELEGRAM RECEIVED**

This telegram must be
 closely paraphrased ~~BE-~~
 fore being communicated
 to anyone. (B)

Geneva

Dated September 28, 1937

FROM

Rec'd 10:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

14, September 28, 12 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

Koo then asked me what would be our views. I replied that I could express no opinion whatsoever on that point and recalled the reference to "hypothetical inquiry" in my letter to Avenol. Koo observed that he supposed he would have to wait and see what others would agree to do. He said that he was to see Delbos this afternoon and would keep me informed of developments.

Two. Later this afternoon I paid my first call upon my Japanese colleague from Berne. During the conversation Amav^U pointed out that China and Japan had not been invited to participate in Advisory Committee of 1932. He wondered (*) Germany had been invited this time. He expressed interest in a newspaper report to the effect that we would participate in a conference in London of the signatories of the Nine Power Pact emphasizing that in that event Russia would not participate. He said that he had urged his Government to reply to and not ignore the invitation to the Advisory Committee. Also that the League resolution against bombing would have an unfortunate effect

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1-5

JR -2- #14, September 28, 12 p.m., Section Two from Geneva:

effect on Japanese public opinion. He compared the British and American attitudes to our favor and expressed the view China was now looking to Great Britain for assistance. She was already being assisted by Russia and that any interference by the League would only serve to complicate the situation and delay a settlement which he thought might not be far off. A settlement would have to comprise Inner Mongolia, Northern China and Shanghai. Lastly, he expressed the fear that any interference by the League, that is, virtually Britain, France and Russia would force Japan into the other ideological camp -- Germany and Italy.

Three. If at tomorrow's meeting the subcommittee is set up and I am invited to participate I propose to state that "I have been authorized to attend the meetings of the subcommittee within the terms and conditions under which I am attending the meetings of the Advisory Committee".

Four. From information now available it would appear that while the British and French do not wish to name Japan as the aggressor, they will set up the proposed subcommittee and that they are even apparently prepared to discuss if not restrictions against Japan, some form of assistance to China.

END OF MESSAGE.

HARRISON

RGC:NPL

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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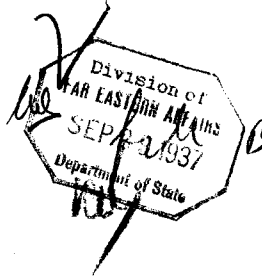
1-1236

FROM

From: COMSOPAT

Action: Opnav

Info: 2nd Brigade,
 Comsubron 5,
 Comdesron 5,
 Comsubron 5,
 Cincaf,
 Comyangpat,
 Amembassy, Nanking, China.



793.94

0125. All South China ports quiet. 2210.

HPD

793.94/10306

F/FIG/D
 OCT 1 1937

793.94

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State Letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Silverstein MARS, Date 12-18-75

0421

0425

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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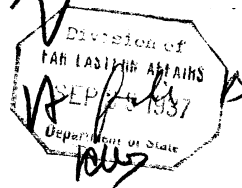
1-1226

FROM Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 27, 1937

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
C.N.I. AND M.I.D.



793.74

724, September 27, 1 p.m.

Two air raid warnings so far today but attack was directed at Yung Lee Chemical Works some six miles down river and at Pukow and not at Nanking. First raid ten-thirty a.m., nine bombers and three pursuits dropped nine bombs at Yang Lee Works but main buildings looked intact afterwards. Second raid twelve-thirty p.m., nine bombers attacked Pukow-Tientsin Railway terminal at Pukow dropping nine bombs including two duds. Buildings in short from station were blown up but main station building was apparently not hit.

793.94/10303

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SEP 28 1937

JOHNSON

HPD

F/FG

0426

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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1-1336

PLAIN

FROM

Nanking via N.R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 7:00 a.m.

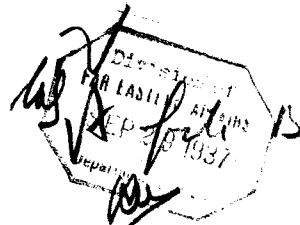
Secretary of State

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

732, September 29, 7 a.m.

Embassy's 731, September 28, 3 p.m.



793.94

There was no bombing at Wuhu City but at military air-field five miles therefrom where twelve bombs were dropped destroying four Chinese training planes on the ground. Chinese claim the Japanese bombers eleven in number were preceded by a scouting plane having Chinese insignia which came down to 1500 feet when flying over the field. Same bombers dropped similar number of bombs on Chuyung air-field reportedly without causing damage. Chinese claim that after yesterday's raids a second Japanese bomber was brought down near Huaiying.

Sent to Department, repeated to Shanghai, Peiping.
Peiping mail Tokyo.

JOHNSON

WPD:

793.94/10309

FILED
F/F/G
OCT 6 1937

0427

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

1-1286

GRAY

FROM
Geneva

Dated September 29, 1937

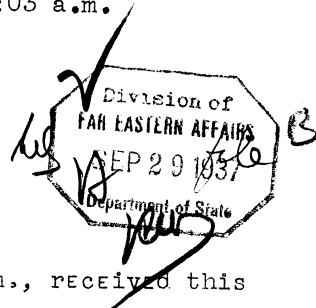
Rec'd 11:03 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

URGENT.

15, September 29, 3 p.m.

Your number 6, ^{10300 a}September 28, 2 p.m., received this morning. Statement communicated at 1 p.m., to Avenol who suggested that he circulate statement, that I read it at Advisory Committee meeting scheduled for this afternoon at 5:30 p.m., and that he communicate to Assembly at its next meeting.



793.94/10310

HARRISON

OSB

FILED
OCT 2 1937

0428

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

2-1

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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Department of State

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1937 SEP 27 PM 5 38

Washington, September 27, 1937.
7 pm

193.94
note
193.94
✓
232

AMEMBASSY,
TOKYO (Japan).
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

On September 25 the Counselor of the Japanese Embassy called on an officer of the Department in regard to another matter and on his own initiative mentioned the notice issued by the Japanese admiral at Shanghai of the project to bomb Nanking. The Counselor said that the Japanese naval and military authorities had no intention of bombing other than military objectives. Comment was made to the Counselor that we had received a number of assurances from the Japanese Government to that effect but the fact remained that the Japanese bombing operations were resulting in the killing of large numbers of non-combatants; and that this killing of non-combatants not only at Nanking but at Canton, at Hankow and other places in China could not but create the most deplorable impression in this and in other countries. The Counselor said that there were of course a number of Chinese military fortifications and organizations in Nanking, both inside and outside the city wall. In comment on this, the Counselor was informed that although this might be the case, there were large areas in the city which were non-military

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10310 A

F/FG

0425

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

2-2

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER
 Collect
 Charge Department
 OR
 Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

- 2 -

in character and the Japanese bombing operations were causing the death of non-combatants in those areas. The comment was repeated that this whole matter of bombing non-combatants was deplorable and was creating a most unfortunate impression.

H. H. Lee

Sept 27

(NOTE: Telegraph Section: Please send same telegram to AMEMBASSY, Nanking.) as Sept's No. 269, 7pm

m.m.H.
 FE:MMH:REK

FE
 m.m.H.

PA/H

See
 AW
 H. H. Lee

SEP 27 1937 PM 5:20

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

0436

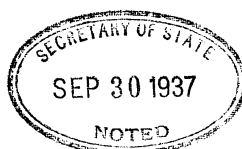
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY



AW
AW
FE



September 29, 1937.

Mr. Secretary:

I telephoned Ambassador Saito in respect to No. 431 from Tokyo and possible publication of the note.

I told him that a correspondent had had reports that we had received an answer to the note, that I had told him that we had received an answer and that we would have to consult with the Japanese Government as to publication.

Saito said he had not the text in front of him, but that he saw no objection to publication. I replied that, in that event, we felt it would be advisable also to publish their 102 referred to in the last paragraph of the note and our two notes in reference thereto. Saito said that, in that event, he would like to consult his Government and would send them a despatch immediately and advise me of the answer.

793.94/10311

FILED

F/FG

F.W. 793.94/10311

H. R. Wilson
Hugh R. Wilson.



A-W HRW/AB

0431

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

3-1

JWB

K

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

GRAY

1-1286

FROM Tokyo

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 10:13 a.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

RUSH.

431, September 29, 8 p.m.

Our 403, ¹⁰¹⁸²September 22, 6 p.m. Bombing of Nanking.

The following reply to our note of September 22 has
 today been received from the Foreign Office.

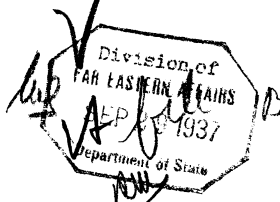
"Number 121, September 29, 1937.

Excellency: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency
 that I have duly noted the contents of Your Excellency's
 note number 780 of September 22 regarding the bombing of
 Nanking by Japanese forces.

As Your Excellency's Government is well aware,
 Nanking is exceptionally strongly fortified and it is the
 most important strategic base of military operations for
 the Chinese forces. The bombing of the military facilities
 and equipment located in and around the said city is a
 necessary and unavoidable measure for the attainment of
 the military objectives of the Japanese forces. It goes
 without saying that bombing operations by Japanese forces
 will be strictly confined to such scope and will not be
 aimed at noncombatants, as evidenced by the fact that
 warning was given even to Chinese noncombatants.

4

The



793.64/10311

 FILED F/FG
 OCT 14 1937

0432

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

3-2

JR -2- #431, September 29, 8 p.m., from Tokyo.

The frequently stated policy of the Imperial Japanese Government to respect as far as possible the rights and interests of third countries and the safety of the lives and property of the nationals thereof remains unaltered in the present bombing operations. The recent proposal of the Imperial Japanese Government that the officials, citizens, and vessels of Your Excellency's country take refuge was the result of the desire to avoid if possible the occurrence of injury to nationals of third countries, which might be unavoidable notwithstanding the greatest precautions which may be taken by the Japanese forces.

It is hoped that Your Excellency's Government will understand that the Imperial Japanese Government has desired the safety of the nationals of third countries in spite of the fact that the Japanese forces are restricted in their strategic movements by reason of the giving of advance warnings, and it is earnestly hoped that Your Excellency's Government, with full appreciation of the circumstances, will co-operate with the measures taken by the Imperial Japanese Government. Furthermore, the view of the Imperial Japanese Government with regard to damages sustained by nationals of third countries as a result of the present hostilities in China remains as stated in my note number 102, Asia 1, under date of August 31.

I avail myself, et cetera, signed Koki Hirota".

Repeated to Shanghai.

GREW

CSB

043

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

PLAIN

1-1336

FROM

Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 7 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

735, September 29, 10 a.m.

Embassy's 28th.

Following sent Tokyo in reply their 27th, 5 p.m.

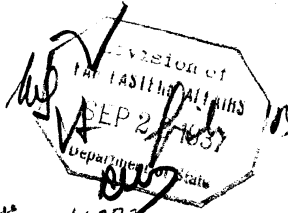
"29th. Your 27th. Embassy has already asked

Peiping to air mail you copies because we have had no means direct communication. Due to continuing uncertainty communications we will now instruct Peiping to repeat such messages to you in urgent cases by telegraph or radio after putting them in code if you think plain messages would be delayed in transmission. Please inform Peiping this point. Sent to Peiping. To Department.

JOHNSON

KLP:WWC

note
124.936
124.946



735.94/10312

F/HG
FILED
OCT 1 1937

0434

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER
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OR
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR
PLAIN

Washington,
1937 SEP 29 PM 10 45

September 29, 1937.

AMEMBASSY,

NANKING (China).

283

Your 735/ September 29, 10 a.m.

In deciding what telegrams should be repeated to Tokyo by telegraph or radio, you should have in mind the importance of Tokyo's being promptly and fully informed of political and military developments, including results of air attacks as well as matters directly affecting American interests which may become the subject of representations to the Japanese Government.

H-lee

SKH

FE:JWB:NN

FE

m.m./d.

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1482 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10312

F/MR

/03/2

0435

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER
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 Charge Department
 OR
 Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

1937 SEP 29 PM 10 45

Washington.

September 29, 1937.

AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

TOKYO (Japan).

140

Nanking's 735, September 29, 10 a.m.

The Department has telegraphed Nanking as follows:

QUOTE In deciding what telegrams should be repeated
 to Tokyo by telegraph or radio, you should have in mind
 the importance of Tokyo's being promptly and fully in-
 formed of political and military developments, including
 results of air attacks as well as matters directly
 affecting American interests which may become the sub-
 ject of representations to the Japanese Government. UNQUOTE.

The Department notes from your 420, September 27,
 4 p.m., that the British Embassy at Tokyo is taking action
 on the basis of telegrams received from the British Embassy at
 Nanking. The Department authorizes you in your discretion
 to make representations to the Japanese Government on the
 basis of telegrams repeated from Nanking in cases where
 you consider that ²useful purpose would be served
 thereby. You should in each instance inform the Depart-
 ment of the action taken by you.

FE:JWB:NN

Enciphered by

FE

m.m/h.

PA/H

SKH

Sent by operator M., 19

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10312

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

1-1286

FROM

SPECIAL GRAY

Nanking via N. R.

October 5 1937

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd September 28, 1937

S: OPA Pacific Affairs

SEP 29 1937

Department of State

Secretary of State COPIES SENT TO

Washington. ~~COPIES SENT TO~~

725, September 27, 2 p. m.

Reference Department's 260, September 24, 1 p. m.

FROM ROBERTS FOR SECRETARY OF WAR.

"Report on bombing raids required by War Department's SCATO. Precise and detailed information very difficult to obtain. Following is best available information from Chinese military and foreign sources and personal observation and investigation.

Numbers and types planes employed: from 6 to 30 planes all types in each raid. Heavy bombers Heinkel type made in Japan with Pratt-Whitney motors made in Germany flew from Formosa for first raids August 15 to 26. Also some raids during August and September raids made by navy light bombers said by Chinese Ordnance to be Nakaji McNeil 9011 B and also seaplanes same type 9011 and army medium bombers Mitsubishi 903 B. In latest raids bombers have been accompanied by two or more pursuit each raid.

Method

FILED

OCT 5 1937

793.94/10313

To M. J. S.
Sept. 29.Letter to
Secy of War.
10/2/37
Letter to
Sec. of War
10/2/37

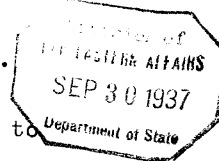
793.94

0437

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

CORRECTED COPY SECOND PAGE

JR -2- #725, September 27, 2 p.m., from Nanking.



Method of attack: planes fly in at twelve to fifteen thousand feet using a 2-2-3-3 or similar formation with accompanying pursuit on flank or in rear. Medium and heavy bombers use flat bombing at altitude of eight to ten thousand feet. Light bombers and pursuit form column 500 to 1000 yards distance and dive to three to 8000 using about forty-five degree angle dive but not wing over which Chinese use. With altitude regained planes fly off usually without formation.

Objectives: air fields, arsenals, military and government headquarters offices and installations for example military academy, general staff headquarters, party headquarters, medical bureaus, broadcasting stations, utilities installations especially power and water works, railroad stations, tracks and bridges, anti-aircraft batteries, soldiery hospitals, and general and promiscuous bombing to terrorize population. So far as military objectives are concerned it is fair to say that Japanese air raids have been almost complete failures in Nanking area. Objectives hit include one small arms ammunition dump at military academy and a workshop at the main air field and craters on flying field itself, several planes damaged or destroyed on the ground. In September 25 raid, two bombs struck powerhouse and one hit Central Broadcasting Station.

(END SECTION ONE).

NPL:RGC

JOHNSON

0438

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Huston NARS, Date 12-18-75

Two
 COPIES SENT TO
~~██████████~~ M.L.D. *[initials]*

TELEGRAM RECEIVED
 CORRECTED COPY

lw

SPECIAL GRAY

One
 COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. ~~██████████~~ *[initials]*

FROM: Nanking via N.R.

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 7:55 p.m., 29th

Secretary of State *79.94/10313*
 Washington

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 OCT 4 1937
 Department of State
[initials]

725, September 27, 2 p.m. (SECTION TWO).

In view of the high altitudes from which bombs are dropped it is obvious that definite targets such as buildings will be hit only by chance. However, destruction of private property has been considerable and several hundred non-combatants have been killed and thousands wounded.

Time of raids: except for the week August 26 where full moon, all raids by daylight usually from nine o'clock to three o'clock but have occurred at eight o'clock and as late as five p.m. During rainy weather, Japanese planes apparently have been unable to get off the ground at Shanghai temporary fields.

Sizes and types of bombs and effect; some thousand pounds high explosive have been used, making craters about twenty feet diameter and twelve to fifteen feet deep. Most used are five hundred pound high explosive with crater
 diameter

FILED
 OCT 12 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

lw 2, No. 725, September 27, 2 p.m. from Nanking (Section Two)

diameter 15 feet depth 6 to 8 feet. In some recent raids small high explosive bombs of 50 kilograms have been used. Incendiary white phosphorus of about two kilograms have been used on several occasions very effectively. The high explosive used is picric acid. Detonations of these bombs in general is poor and fragmentation unsatisfactory, with about ten per cent duds. No type used is as good as American or even Chinese types according to opinion Chief of Ordnance. For detailed results of individual raids, see Embassy reports to Secretary of State especially September 25th flights. Examples of destructive effect: (One): a 500 pound bomb struck a two story private hospital with a frontage of about forty feet and depth of eighty with point of impact about sixty feet back from street parapet to ground and exploded. Front thirty feet of building considerably damaged but walls remained standing. Remainder of building completely demolished, Chinese brick construction falling into rubble. (Two): same size bomb struck an iron hangar at a commercial air field, penetrated roof and exploded, blowing out windows and one door and part of one wall and damaged other walls. Other damage to building inconsiderable. Amount and effectiveness of anti-aircraft in first states large amount but wild and ineffective.

Only

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

lw 3, No. 725, September 27, 2 p.m. from Nanking (Section
Two)

Only one plane known to have been shot down during first
week although bombers flew very low. There has been gradual
improvement, especially noticeable during raids of last
few days, for example those of September 25th, when five
or six planes were shot down two in flames. Improvement
is evident in direction and range, and a great improvement
in the fire control. Definite data on number of anti-
aircraft guns (END OF SECTION TWO)

JOHNSON

NPL:RGC

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

CORRECTED COPY

SPECIAL GRAM

MBo

Nanking via N.R.

Dated September 27, 1937

Rec'd 8:10 p.m., 29th.

One

FROM

COPY SENT TO
O.N.I.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

725, September 27, 2 p.m. (SECTION THREE).

defending Nanking is hard to get, although following estimate is believed approximately correct. Eight point eight centimetre guns, twelve seventy-fives sixteen point twenty two and thirty-seven millimeter guns about 140. Number of machine guns impossible to estimate. Tracer bullets used at dusk and at night had effectively. Searchlight work during raids excellent. Note of Captain Carlinton, United States Marine Corps, reports that at Shanghai Japanese navy anti-aircraft fire was ineffective and fire control very poor.

Types and numbers pursuit both sides; Chinese use Curtis Hawkes models one and two. Personally observed fifty or more at one field and eight at another in Nanking area. Said not to be so maneuverable as Japanese pursuit and faster at low altitudes but slower at higher around fifteen thousand. Bosings very satisfactory. Personally observed seven which were formerly at Canton. Shrikes also used but none observed here. At beginning of raids over

hundred

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quastler NARS, Date 12-18-75

MBo 2- No. 725, September 27, from Nanking. (Corrected Copy)

hundred pursuit planes were stationed in immediate vicinity of Nanking but lately squadrons have been scattered over wider areas to escape bombing. Chinese pursuit shot down at least 28 Formosa heavy bombers in Nanking Hangchow area and at least forty more planes of other types. This is conservative estimate. Figures are difficult to check and both sides exaggerate, especially Japanese. Japanese pursuit types have not been positively identified but thought to be of French type similar to Devotine. Possibly because of better work by pilots, Chinese pursuit has been much more effective than Japanese. Chinese have shot down about twice as many planes as the Japanese. American reports from Shanghai say Japanese pursuit there has been very ineffective.

Request instructions if Department desires direct report of additional information as it becomes available or if reports should be made through Peiping office."
(END OF MESSAGE)

JOHNSON

HPD

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

5-1

MBo

GRAY
TELEGRAM RECEIVED
Tokyo

Dated September 20, 1937

FROM
Rec'd 12:39 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

432, September 29, 10 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL.

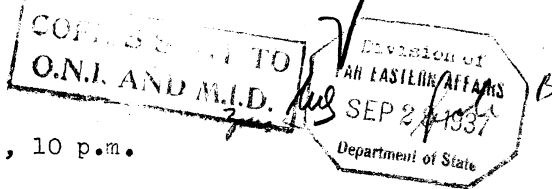
The Military Attache has today submitted to me the following memorandum:

"The following information was gathered last night by officers of this office in the course of conversation with well informed Japanese officers who hold responsible positions in the War Department and General Staff headquarters.

(a) The Japanese army is very anxious to have the United States understand that all Japanese operations in China are aimed at military objectives. No intentional attacks have been or will be made on non-military Chinese or foreign property or persons.

(b) Responsibility for the destruction of foreign property or lives in the course of military operations is not admitted, but in the case of the bombing of the American Mission School at Tungchow, a solatium of fifteen hundred yen has been given.

(c) The army approves the sending abroad of unofficial distinguished



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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

5-2

MBo 2- No. 432, September 29, from Tokyo.

distinguished Japanese to explain to foreign countries Japan's intentions in China, and particularly the absence of any territorial ambitions there. Mr. Matsukata goes to the United States prepared to make large purchases from American firms.

(d) Japanese army forces in the Shanghai area will be limited to the four divisions now there and are considered sufficient to force the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the vicinity of Shanghai. A more extensive operation in that theatre is not contemplated.

(e) Troop movements to North China and the Shanghai area will in future be limited to the replacements necessary to maintain units in the field at the prescribed strength.

(f) The possibility that Soviet Russia may ally itself openly with China is considered serious and steps have been taken to reenforce the Kwangtung army as a protective measure. There is a strong feeling among the younger army officers that, as Russia will have to be fought sometime, the war might just as well come soon. However, plans to bring on another Russo-Japanese war soon have not been made.

GREW

HPD:

M. K. J. 10

0445

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

FROM

CINCAF via NR

September 29, 1937

Rec'd 2:25 p.m.

793.94

FROM: CINCAF
ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
AMCONSUL AT SHANGHAI
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMYANGPAT
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA PEIPING



0029 Japanese attacks Chapei Kiangwan Liuhan Lotien
unable penetrate Chinese lines although eight hundred yards
advance claimed at Liuhan, no change other sector. Japan-
ese state general offensive not started. Bombing of Chi-
nese lines and area continued through day. Chinese float-
ing mine exploded hundred yards from IDZUMO, vessel un-
damaged. Conditions settlement unchanged 1930.

CSB:

793.94/10315

6

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FILED
SEP 4 1937

044F

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huelsen NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

FROM

GRAY

Tientsin via N.R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 2:57 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 29 1937
Department of State

46, September 29, 5 p.m.

It is reported that during daylight hours from 22nd
to 28th 30,000 men, 60 field pieces and 250 trucks came in
from Manchuria and 800 casualties went out by ship from
Chinwangtao.

CALDWELL

WWC:MPD

793.94/10316

F/EG
FILED
21 7 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

1-1836

MBo

FROM

GRAY

Hankow via N.R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 12:57 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

September 29, 4 p.m.

I learn from a reliable source that preparations are
 under way by Chinese so that if need be Yangtze river may
 be blocked at a point below Kiukiang near Kiangsi Anhui
 border. No immediate prospect such blockade the placing
 of which will no doubt depend on military developments in
 lower river.

Sent to Nanking, repeated to the Department and
 Peiping.

JOSSELYN

CSB:

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 30 1937
 Department of State

793.94/10317

F/EG

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793.94
 note
 793.94/12

448
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JNB
FE
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

GPO

FROM

GRAY

Tokyo

Dated September 30, 1937

Rec'd 1:15 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

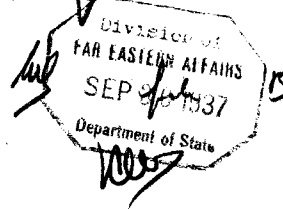
434, September 30, noon.

Our 431, ¹⁰³¹¹September 29, 8 p.m.

The Foreign Office informs us that note is being
released here this morning.

GREW

RR



793.94/10218

F/FAITH
OCT 5 1937

0445

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

GPO

FROM

PLAIN

COMDR SOUTH CHINA PATROL

Rec'd September 29, 1937

5:01 p. m.

ACTION: OPNAV NAVY DEPARTMENT

IMIN: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON 5
CONDESRON 5
CINCAF
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY, NANKING, CHINA.



793.94

0129. At 0900 1300 and 1600 today three air raids,
two planes each, made on area east of Canton bombs dropped
on first two raids. South China ports quiet. 2200

793.94/10319

0214 1937

FILED

F/FG

0450

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

MSA
JCV

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

FROM

GRAY

Hankow via N. R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 4:10 p. m.

Secretary of State
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
Far Eastern Affairs
EXP 30 1937
Department of State

793.94

September 29, 3 p. m.

An American traveller who left Taiyuan Shansi
September twenty-fifth and arrived here today reports
that Taiyuan was subjected to numerous indiscriminate
air raids during the ten days preceding her departure
but that little damage had been inflicted. She stated
that Chinese troops along the Pinghan line were falling
back on Shihkiachuang when she passed through latter
city on September 27th. She understands that railway
travel from Shansi to Hankow via Shihkiachuang was
suspended after September 27th. Sent to Nanking,
repeated to the Department, Peiping, Tientsin.

JOSSELYN

793.94/10320

FILED
OCT 4 1937

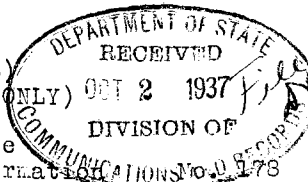
CSB

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

(NOT FOR THE PRESS)
 (FOR DEPARTMENTAL USE ONLY)

Department of State
 Division of Current Information



MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE, TUESDAY, SEPT. 23, 1937

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

At the press conference this afternoon, the Secretary said that in view of some enquiries by members of the press he wished to read a statement as follows:

The Department of State has been informed by the American Minister to Switzerland of the text of the resolution unanimously adopted on September 27 by the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on the subject of aerial bombardment by Japanese air forces of open towns in China.

The American Government, as has been set forth to the Japanese Government repeatedly and especially in this Government's note of September 23, holds the view that any general bombing of an extensive area wherein there resides a large populace engaged in peaceful pursuits is unwarranted and contrary to principles of law and humanity.

A correspondent called attention to a press report from Geneva today to the effect that intimations had been received in Geneva that the American Government has discouraged the idea of a special conference of powers on the Far East, adhering to the view that the question of peace is world-wide in scope and therefore treatment of it should not be restricted to nations having special interests in China. The Secretary commented that there are naturally coming out of Geneva a great many views, ideas, suggestions, reports, and rumors. He said that the only thing of a tangible nature which it was possible for him to discuss today was the statement which he had just read to the correspondents. He added that if and as tangible developments occur in Geneva from day to day in which this Government is interested or about which he might be able to talk, he would be glad to discuss them. He concluded by saying that that was really about all he could say so far concerning developments.

A correspondent asked whether any recent instruction had been sent to the American Minister at Switzerland in connection with his participation in the Advisory Committee of the League. The correspondent went on to say that this Government previously indicated the possibility that if some definite, concrete plan were developed in which we might concur we might possibly be willing to participate further with the Advisory Committee. Asked whether there was any indication from the American Minister or from any other source that the Committee had any such concrete or definite plan for a conference of powers interested in the Far East, the Secretary replied that there was nothing else for him to add to what he had already said in connection with the above statement. He added that that was sufficiently tangible in its nature to justify his trying to base a statement on it.

A correspondent asked whether the statement had been communicated to Mr. Harrison for the purpose of having it trans-

793.94/10420

F/A

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

mitted to the League. The Secretary replied that this has been made public and naturally it would be entirely agreeable for Mr. Harrison to lay it before the Committee of which he is a member. Asked whether it would also be communicated to Japan, the Secretary said that of course Japan has our official communication of September 22 referred to in the above statement.

FAR EAST

A correspondent asked whether there had been any indication as yet that the Japanese Government would or intended to reply to this Government's note of September 22. The Secretary said that no reply had been received thus far and that was all he could say.

A correspondent asked whether Japan, in the present situation, had re-affirmed a statement made on January 16, 1933, to the effect that Japan entertained in Manchuria no territorial aims or ambitions. The Secretary replied that he does not undertake to keep up with all the publicity that is taking place in connection with the Far Eastern controversy. In reference to the particular enquiry, he said that he had not seen the statement and did not care to comment without checking on it.

Asked whether he cared to comment on the action taken by the Maritime Commission recently in voting bonuses to American seamen aboard vessels entering the Far Eastern war zone, the Secretary replied that he was not concerned about that, officially speaking.

M. J. McDermott

045
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

FROM

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY
CANTON VIA N. R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 5:08 p. m.

AMEMBASSY, PEIPING
AMEMBASSY, NANKING
AMERICAN CONSUL, SHANGHAI
AMERICAN CONSUL, HONG KONG
AMERICAN CONSUL, SWATOW

Secretary of State
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



793.94

September 29, 8 p. m.

Air raids twentyeighth now reported to have included first attack on Chinese gunboat and Danes Island at Whampoa. Second bombing of Chung Fa believed to have caused some military damage. Details unobtainable. Third bombing of Chinese gunboat near Bocca Tigris no serious damage. Also reported that in unsuccessful attack on Lockhang Railway Bridge twentyseventh three Japanese planes were shot down. Four raids near Canton today, details not yet obtainable. Press reports arrival Chen Chi tank at Hong Kong.

LINNELL

CSB

793.94/10321

OCT 4 1937

F/H/9

0454

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB apo

FROM GRAY

Peiping via N. R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 5:24 p. m.

Secretary of State
 Washington. COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

601, September 29, 5 p. m.

Embassy's 589, September 24, 4 p. m.

One. The local Japanese military spokesman has given out no (repeat no) military information during the past two days. With reference to the force referred to in the above mentioned telegram as proceeding toward Pinghsingkuan Pass in the Great Wall in Shansi, Domei reports that a Japanese force, presumably a different force, has taken (?) Yuehkov, a pass in the Great Wall between Pinghsingkuan and Yenmenkuan. The purpose of such a move would be to threaten the Chinese forces reportedly massed south of the Yenmenyuan Pass. With regard to the Tientsin-Fukow front, the Japanese claim to have advanced 25 miles south of Tsangchow to Poto (?), while the only information with regard to activities south of Paoting on the Peiping-Hankow front is the reported advance, for a considerable distance, of an armored train toward Shihkiachwang. According to the Japanese



793.94/10322

F-116
 OCT 4 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RB -2- No. 601, September 29, 5 p.m. from Peiping
the Japanese Embassy, General Terauchi, Commander of
the Japanese armies indicated Chinese army is now in
Paoting.

Repeated to Nanking. By mail to Tokyo.

LOCKHART

NPL

RGC

045F

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

6-1

SEF
JLS

JR

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

Paris

Dated September 29, 1937

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

Rec'd 7:05 p.m.

Secretary of State
 Washington.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
 NOV 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 30 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

793.9d

393.1163
 793.9412

1363, September 29, 10 p.m. (SECTION ONE).

In the course of a conversation today with the Chief of the Far Eastern Division at the Foreign Office he said that the French Government had recently protested against the bombing of an area and foreign territory where there were French hospitals and against the bombing of a hospital under the direction of a French religious order at a point sixty miles south of Tientsin; no reply had been received from the Japanese Government to either protest.

He said that the French Government had received "informal assurances" from the Japanese Government that Hainan would not (repeat not) be occupied by the Japanese.

There have been two minor incidents affecting French shipping arising out of the Japanese blockade of the coast: a liner the CHENONCEAUX was hailed by a small Japanese naval vessel but refused to permit anyone to go on board; the Japanese admiral later explained to the French admiral that there had been a mistake. A smaller French vessel the PAUL DOUMER was stopped by a Japanese naval vessel and boarded; the Japanese admiral later explained that a mistake had occurred.

The French Ambassador at Tokyo has just

RGC:NFL

WILSON

793.94/10323

F/FG

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

6-2

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF
 EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
 NOV 1 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JR

This telegram must be
 closely paraphrased be-
 fore being communicated
 to anyone. (A)

FROM

Paris

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 5:43 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington,

1363, September 29, 10 p.m. (SECTION TWO).

reported that the first engagement has taken place between
 Japanese troops and troops of the Chinese Communist army
 in Northern China and that a Japanese detachment had been
 defeated. My informant said that he thought the fact
 that the Japanese Government was handing out this information
 was of some interest, as perhaps indicating that they
 intended to attach importance to the activities of this
 Chinese Communist army.

I asked whether there was any indication that the
 Soviet Government might take a more active interest in
 the course of events in China. Hoppenot said no, that
 while the Soviet Ambassador to China had recently left
 by plane for Moscow, there was no indication of any change
 in the attitude of the Soviet Government; the Soviets
 were furnishing some munitions to China but difficulties
 of transportation made it impossible for them to do very
 much in this way.

He remarked that Italy was selling important quantities
 of munitions to the Chinese Government which were being
 transported

0458
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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JR -2- #1363, September 29, 10 p.m. (SECTION TWO) from
Paris.

transported on Italian vessels. He also said that Kung
had informed French officials that when in Berlin recently
the German Government had urged him to purchase munitions
there.

Copies to London, Rome, Berlin. END OF MESSAGE.

WILSON

RGC:NPL

0459

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

FROM

GRAY AND SPECIAL GRAY

Hong Kong via N.R.

Dated September 29, 1937

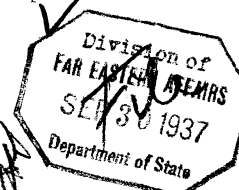
Rec'd 9:50 p.m.

793.94
note
773.94/116

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

September 29, 4 p.m.



German steamship SCHARNHORST on September 27 landed ten Chinese survivors of a fishing fleet of twelve junks attacked on September 22 by a Japanese submarine off (?) lung Light about 70 miles from Hong Kong. Each junk carried about 30 persons and the number of survivors is believed to be small.

The reported conduct of the submarine in shelling the junks and leaving survivors to drown, as reported in the SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST of September 28, has aroused considerable feeling in Hong Kong. The harbor master has informed the Consulate General that the account of the incident as published in the SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST is correct. SEE my despatch No. 631 of September 29, 1937.

Repeated to Department, Nanking. By mail to Tokyo, London.

DONOVAN

RGCEPL

793.94/10324

F/FG

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

7-1

SHS

F-E

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

GRAY

FROM

Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 5:52 p. m.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Secretary of State

Washington.

737, September 29, 2 p. m.

Department's 269, September 27, 7 p. m.

One. So far as we know the only establishments

at Nanking which could be considered with propriety to

be bases for military operations are establishments

such as the military airfield, arsenal and barracks

outside the walls. The term military establishment

can not with any legal or moral propriety be applied

to such establishments as the Central University, the

Central Hospital, the Ministry of Health, the Legisla-

tive Yuan, Ministry of Finance, National Minister of

Police Council, Ministry of Education and the electric

light plant all of which have apparently been the targets

of Japanese bombers and some of which have been hit and

damaged by bombs. (The Central University has been

bombed three times.)

Two. In addition to and exclusive of these con-

siderations the question of the bombing of Nanking

resolves

Division of
Far Eastern Affairs
SEP 30 1937
Department of State

793.94

793.94/10325

FILED

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

7-2

-2-

RB No. 737, September 29, 2 p. m. from Nanking

resolves itself into the question of the propriety, moral or legal, of bombing the capital of a country against which the attackers' Government has not declared war and with which that government maintains diplomatic relations through the Chinese Ambassador in Tokyo and in theory at least through the Japanese Ambassador now at Shanghai. In these circumstances the Japanese bombing of Nanking has no more legal than moral justification..

Three. Incidentally, only the most negligible military purpose has been served by the numerous raids on Nanking officially counted as forty-six including raids which were frustrated. Three military planes have been destroyed here, three or four have been brought down in air combat, damage has been done to a small building on the military (X) air field and a hangar, a workshop in the arsenal, and a section of the compound wall of the Central Military Academy. According to Chinese official sources, the ^{aerial} (X) warfare inland and ^{August} at Shanghai resulted by the end of (X) in the loss of 60 Japanese planes as against 30 Chinese losses of which 20 were irreparable and Japanese losses included 26 of the 52 heavy bombers which were based on Formosa and which

WBS
3/26/38

0462

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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RB No. 737, September 29, 2 p. m. from Nanking

which made first attacks upon this city and Hankow.

The Embassy feels strongly that the diplomatic representatives of countries which are in no way parties to the present conflict have a right to conduct relations with the Chinese Government undisturbed and certainly without being subjected to a (?) which in some instances have fallen within one and a half yards of their official residences.

Sent to the Department. Repeated to Tokyo, Peiping.

JOHNSON

~~(*) Apparent omission~~

NPL

RGC

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

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ALUSNA PEIPING

FROM ALUSNA PEIPING

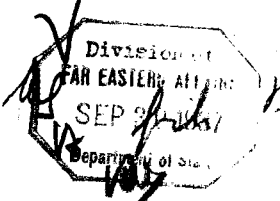
FROM

September 30, 1937

TO NAVY DEPARTMENT

Rec'd 7:30 a.m.

INFO 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 COMSUBRON 5, COMDESRON 5
 AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING,
 CINCPAC, COMYANGPAT



793.94

0030 Chinese retreating rapidly. Tsinpu front reinforce-
 ments being rushed up but little resistance expected.
 General Han admits Jap overtures but holding off
 generally expected at proper time he will obey Feng
 Yuxiang's orders and join Nanking regardless personal
 wishes. Opinion here time is ripe for Japanese trial
 peace balloons endeavor affect settlement before other
 powers intervene and prospect further reverse Shanghai
 area 1015.

HPD

793.94/10326

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 1016 1937

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841.00 P. R./508 FOR Despatch #3380

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED Sept. 13, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 ope

REGARDING:

Sino- Japanese conflict. London newspapers continue to
publish much news of the fighting between the Chinese and
Japanese forces in China. General feeling in England toward
the conflict.

fp

793.94/10327

F/MR

10327

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

The Sino-Japanese Conflict

London newspapers during the past week continued to publish much news of the fighting between Chinese and Japanese forces in China. The general feeling in England toward the conflict is believed to have been exemplified by a resolution adopted by the Trades Union Congress, which was meeting last week, expressing sympathy for China and condemning Japan.

On September 6 an interim reply was received by the British Government to its protest to Japan because of the wounding of the British Ambassador to China. The reply expressed regret at the misfortune and stated that Japanese forces were instructed to take precautions against harming non-combatants and that instructions to that effect were being renewed. However, it offered no apology, no punishment of the guilty parties, and no

acceptance

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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acceptance of responsibility for the incident. In this regard it was stated in an editorial in THE TIMES of September 8:

"Of the Note as a whole it may be said that if it were anything but an interim reply it would be anything but satisfactory."

The SUNDAY TIMES on September 12 stated:

"British opinion is surprised, and not pleased, by what it considered the quibbling and evasive character of the Japanese reply, and sincerely hopes that the final answer to the British protest will be less inadequate."

Some editorials in London newspapers recently have given the impression of endeavoring to persuade Japan to show her better side in relations with England by referring to Anglo-Japanese friendship in past years.

Regarding the Japanese blockade of the Chinese coast, the following article appeared in THE TIMES of September 13:

"The Japanese Government recently announced, in connexion with their blockade of the China coast, that Chinese ships had been flying foreign colours, and that they were faced with the necessity of inspecting ships suspected of adopting this course in order to identify their nationality. The Board of Trade have now advised masters of British ships in the Far East bound for Chinese ports that, if requested to stop by a Japanese warship, and if no British warship is present, they should allow the Japanese naval officers to board and examine the certificate of registry. The Japanese warship will make an immediate report to the British naval authorities, and a report should also be made by the merchantman.

Should a British warship be present, she will, at the request of the Japanese warship, undertake to verify the identity of the merchant vessel."

Please see the Embassy's despatch No. 3367 of September 8; and its telegrams No. 588 of September 9, 10 p.m.; No. 590 of September 10, 6 p.m.; and No. 592 of September 11, 1 p.m.

Release

0467

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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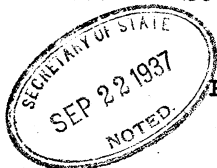
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

September 20, 1937.

1937 SEP 30 AM 9 29
 Conversation:

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS



The Acting Secretary of State,
 Mr. Moore;

The Japanese Ambassador,
 Mr. Saito;

Present: Assistant Secretary of State,
 Mr. Wilson;

Mr. Hamilton.

Subject: Proposed Japanese bombing of Nanking

The Japanese Ambassador called by request of the
 Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Moore.

The Acting Secretary said that he had asked the
 Ambassador to call in regard to the proposed Japanese
 bombing of Nanking.

The Acting Secretary said that the announced plans
 of the Japanese naval forces had been brought to our
 notice only 48 hours before the actual bombing might
 commence, and the Acting Secretary stressed that the
 shortness of the notice was extremely regrettable. The
 Acting Secretary referred to the fact that according to
 a report which we had received from our Ambassador at
 Nanking the notice did not give sufficient time for the
 Ambassador and other American nationals to arrange for
 precautionary measures to insure the safety of the

American

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SEP 21 1937
 MOORE
 DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 22 1937
 793.94/10328
 F/MR

793.94

10328

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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American Embassy and of American nationals and property. The Acting Secretary said that we were very much concerned about the whole matter. He referred to the fact that the Japanese Admiral's notice stated that the nationals of third countries should withdraw from Nanking and its vicinity to areas of greater safety but did not specify in any way where such areas of greater safety might be.

Mr. Wilson informed the Ambassador that in addition to our serious concern with regard to the safety of the American Embassy and of American nationals at Nanking we also were concerned with regard to the very unfortunate repercussions which would be bound to arise should large sections of the city of Nanking be laid waste as a result of a general bombing. Mr. Wilson pointed out that the killing and injuring of non-combatants which would inevitably result therefrom would be a shock to the world and that, whether or not such destruction was accidental or premeditated, wide-spread and hostile criticism would inevitably result from any such Japanese attack.

The Acting Secretary told the Japanese Ambassador that Mr. Grew at Tokyo had already made representations to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject. The Ambassador commented that the Japanese Foreign Minister had sent him a telegraphic report covering

Mr. Grew's

465

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 3 -

Mr. Grew's conversation with Mr. Hirota and that the Foreign Minister had informed Mr. Grew that foreign diplomatic establishments and non-combatants were to be avoided and that the Japanese bombing operations would be directed at Chinese military establishments. The Acting Secretary emphasized to the Ambassador that if the bombing attack were to be carried out it seemed highly desirable that the attack be restricted in area and that the bombing be postponed in order to afford the nationals of third powers reasonable opportunity to take precautionary measures.

The Japanese Ambassador said that he would send a telegram to his Government that evening reporting the conversation and the fact that the American Government viewed the announced plans of the Japanese to bomb Nanking with deep concern.

(NOTE: It was agreed that in reply to inquiries from the press both the Japanese Ambassador and officers of the Department would state that the Ambassador had called to discuss the Chinese-Japanese situation. The Acting Secretary told the Ambassador, however, that developments overnight or later might cause the Department to make known the fact that the Acting Secretary had asked the Ambassador to call in order to express to the Ambassador this Government's deep concern in regard to the proposed Japanese bombing of Nanking.)

m. w. /

FE:MMH:EJL

0476

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1937 Conversation.

September 23, 1937.

The Secretary of State.

The Chinese Ambassador,
Dr. C. T. Wang.

Present: Mr. Hornbeck.

Subject: China-Japan Situation

SECRETARY'S DIVISION
COMMUNICATIONS
SEP 25 1937
NOTED

DIVISION OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 25 1937
Department of State

793.94

The Chinese Ambassador called this morning at his own request.

The Ambassador opened the conversation with reference to the Secretary's recent trip to Boston and New York; pleasantries were exchanged.

The Ambassador said that he had come to express appreciation of the American Government's "vigorous protest" against the inhuman Japanese bombing of Chinese citizens. He spoke especially of the bombing yesterday at Canton.

The Ambassador said that he had come seeking "light." It had been reported to him that if the League of Nations declared Japan an aggressor the United States would be forced to apply the Neutrality Act. He did not see why this was so. He wondered about it. -- The Secretary mentioned authority given by Congress in connection with the Chaco dispute, enabling this country to impose an embargo. He said that the controversy over the League of Nations question in this country had been bitter and

had

793.94/10329

F/MR

10329

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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 - 2 -

had revolved around the question of the aggressor and sanctions. President Wilson's administration had been swept out of office and opponents of the League had come into control. A part of the question had been the question of imposing embargoes. Here in the Department we have stood for the principle of executive discretion. Extreme nationalists have opposed the principle (of sanctions) which appears in the League machinery. The sentiment grew up with reference to Europe. In confidence, he himself had not been a supporter of it.

The Ambassador said that he understood that Mr. Bruce of Australia had put forward the idea of a conference of powers which have interests in the Pacific "basin." There followed some discussion of what powers this might comprise. The Ambassador said that he thought eight or nine had been mentioned. He said the idea had been supported by Great Britain and France. He wished to know what would be the attitude of this Government. -- The Secretary replied that we had not heard anything of it as yet. -- The Ambassador asked that when the Secretary has word of it he call him (the Ambassador) in.

The Ambassador said that the situation was growing very "hot" in China. He said that the Chinese were confident: the bombing raids do more damage to civilians than otherwise. He felt that the Chinese had stopped the

the

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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- 3 -

the Japanese at Shanghai (in fact, he spoke of their having "driven them away"). In the north, however, things had not gone so well. He did not know exactly what was the strategy, but apparently the idea is in the north to lead the Japanese into the interior and draw them away from their bases of supply.

The Secretary inquired how reports get into circulation among the Chinese that this country is favoring Japan. -- The Ambassador replied that it was not done by Chinese officials. He suggested that the American Ambassador in China might furnish the facts to the Chinese press: he (Wang) was furnishing them to the Chinese Foreign Office. -- The Secretary said that there are times when it was important to get the facts before the public.--The Ambassador said that this was one of the reasons why he had come to express appreciation this morning.

The Secretary inquired whether Mr. Hornbeck would care to say anything. -- Mr. Hornbeck said that he had been wondering when the Ambassador mentioned a report that in case the League declared Japan an aggressor the United States would have to apply the Neutrality Act, -- he was wondering from what source the Ambassador had received that report. The Ambassador said that it came from the Chinese representation at Geneva. The Secretary remarked that action by the League would not make compulsory any course of action on our part. The Ambassador said that he understood that.

The

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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The Secretary inquired with regard to the members of the Ambassador's family and the Ambassador gave information with regard to various members; and the conversation there ended.



PA/H:SKH:ZMK

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

3
 DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

September 25, 1937

1937 SEP 30 AM 9 29
 Conversation.

Mr. Wakichiro Suma, Counselor of the
 COMMUNICATIONS Japanese Embassy,
 AND RECORDS
 and Mr. Hamilton.

Subject: The Japanese Admiral's Notice of a
 Project to Bomb Nanking.

793.94

Mr. Suma called at his own request on another matter and, referring to the notice issued by the Japanese admiral at Shanghai of the project to bomb Nanking, said that he was sorry that the notice had caused so much misunderstanding. He said that in his opinion the notice should have contained a more adequate explanation of the Japanese admiral's motive in issuing the notice and that the Japanese naval and military authorities had no intention of bombing other than military objectives. I said that we had received a number of assurances from the Japanese Government to that effect but the fact remained that the Japanese bombing operations were, according to our reports and reports contained in the press, resulting in the killing of large numbers of non-combatants. I referred to the recent Japanese bombing operations at Canton where, according to the reports, some 2,000 non-combatants had been killed. I said that I had noticed a statement in some newspaper to the effect that the Japanese military were very much surprised that reports were being sent from China to the effect

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 28 1937

SEP 28 1937
 Note

793.94/10650

F / M

SEP 30 1937

/0330

0475

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

effect that Japanese military operations were resulting in the death of non-combatants. I said that this killing of non-combatants at Canton, at Hankow, at Nanking and at various other places in China could not but create the most deplorable impression in this country and in other countries. Mr. Suma said that there were of course a number of Chinese military fortifications and organizations in Nanking. I inquired whether most of such Chinese military organizations and activities were not located outside the city wall. Mr. Suma said that most of them were but that in addition there were a number of Chinese military organs inside the city. To this I commented that while there might be some Chinese military organs within the city of Nanking, there were large areas in the city which were entirely non-military in character and yet the Japanese bombing operations were causing the death of non-combatants in those areas. I said again that this whole matter of bombing non-combatants was deplorable and was creating a most unfortunate impression.

m. m. / d.

MMH/REK

0478

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

9-1

JWB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

lw

GRAY

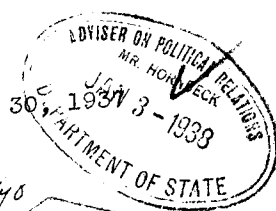
1-1330

Tokyo

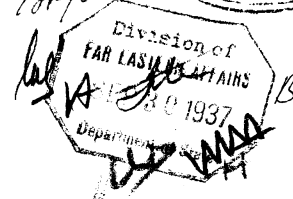
FROM

Dated September 30, 1937

Rec'd 7:33 a.m.



Tel to Tokyo



Secretary of State

Washington

793.96
393.1103

435, September 30, 1 p.m.

793.96/9504

Shanghai's August 19, 3 p.m., to the Department.

Reference bombing operations.

One. The following is the text in translation of a memorandum received today from the Foreign Office.

"Tokyo. September 29, 1937, number 30- memorandum. With a view to cooperating with the Japanese forces in their desire not to cause damage to the property of nationals of third countries, especially to eleemosynary institutions, during attacks on military establishments and facilities, the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs has the honor to express to the American Embassy the hope that a list will be supplied, as soon and in as much detail as possible, indicating the location of the hospitals, churches, schools, and other eleemosynary establishments belonging to the United States and to nationals of the

United

793.94/10331

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

9-2

lw 2, 435, September 30, 1 p.m., from Tokyo

United States, preferably accompanied by maps and photographs."

Two. I suggest that the Department instruct Nanking whether or not the Department desires that the information requested by the Foreign Office be supplied.

Repeated to Shanghai.

GREW

RR

0478

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

9-3 DDM
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Department of State
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, 5
1937 OCT 5 PM 6 46 October 5, 1937.
7pm

AMEMBASSY,

TOKYO (Japan). DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS
Your 485, September 30, 1 p.m.

250
793.94/10331
note
393.115
393.1163

The Department desires that you reply to the Foreign
Office substantially as follows:

In the light of the assurances repeatedly given by the
Japanese Government that the objectives of Japanese military
operations are limited to Chinese military agencies and es-
tablishments and that the Japanese Government has no repeat
no intention of making non-military property and noncombatants
the objects of attack, it is not repeat not perceived that
there is need for the supplying of a list and the indicating
of the locations of American properties, with the possible
exception of properties located in the immediate vicinity
of Chinese military agencies and establishments.

Although it has been our procedure, for the purpose of
safeguarding and serving the American interests involved,
to inform both the Japanese and the Chinese authorities of
the location of American institutions endangered by their
proximity to places in the range of military operations when
and so far as practicable, Japanese bombing operations
have now been extended

Enciphered by
Sent by operator M., 19.....

793.94/10331
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0475

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

9-4

TELEGRAM SENT

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Washington,

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to a vast area and have been directed against objectives where it is often not repeat not apparent that any military purpose is to be served thereby. Consequently no reliable indication is afforded as to what places are likely to come next within the range of Japanese military operations. Furthermore, American institutions generally, so far as this Government has been informed, have been adopting the practice of plainly displaying on their buildings clear nationality marking, and the location of such buildings is usually described in published directories, maps, et cetera, which are doubtless available to the Japanese military authorities. It would thus appear to the American Government that the Japanese military authorities are in better position than are the American authorities to determine what American institutions will be endangered by virtue of their proximity to Japanese military objectives, and to take adequate precautions accordingly.

In the event that Japanese authorities request information to supplement that which is already available in regard to a particular point where American property may be located near to a Chinese military establishment which the Japanese

Enciphered by

Sent by operator, M.,, 19.....

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

9-5

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Washington,

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authorities contemplate attacking, the American authorities would be prepared as heretofore to give such information as may be practicable in regard to the location of American property and institutions. However, in giving any such information, the American Government does so only for the purpose of protecting American life and property; it reserves entirely its declared attitude and position in regard to the hostilities in which Japanese and Chinese armed forces are engaged; and its reservation of rights in regard to destruction of American life or property which may arise therefrom will in no repeat no way be altered by the fact of its having given or not repeat not having given such information.

Two: A supplementary instruction follows.

FE:JWB:VCI:SMJ:NN
 5101

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PA/H

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

0481

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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1937 OCT 5 PM 10 34

October 5, 1937.

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

8 pm

AMEMBASSY

NANKING (China).

299

Tokyo's 435, September 30, 1 p.m. ~~which was reported to Tokyo~~
and your 745, October 1, 3 p.m.

The Department has telegraphed Tokyo as follows:

QUOTE Telegraph Section: Please insert here the text
of the attached telegram to Tokyo. UNQUOTE

Please be guided accordingly.

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793.94/10331

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DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

1937 OCT 5 PM 6 46

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Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

0482

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Composed of the following Organizations

NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA
 SOCIÉTÉ BELGE DE MISSIONS PROTESTANTES AU CONGO
 CONFEDERAÇÃO EVANGÉLICA DO BRASIL
 NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF CHINA
 CONSEIL PROTESTANT DU CONGO
 DANSEK MISSIONSRAAD
 DEUTSCHER EVANGELISCHER MISSIONSVERBAND
 SOCIÉTÉ DES MISSIONS PROTESTANTES DE PARIS
 CONFERENCE OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF INDIA, BURMA, AND CEYLON
 NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF JAPAN
 KOREAN NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
 COMMITTEE ON COÖPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA
 CONCILIO NACIONAL DE IGLESIAS EVANGÉLICAS (MEXICO)
 NEAR EAST CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
 NEDERLANDSCHE ZENDINGSRAAD
 NETHERLANDS INDIA
 NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF NEW ZEALAND
 NORSK MISJONSRAAD

FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA (UNITED STATES AND CANADA)
 NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
 NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF SIAM
 CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA
 SUOMEN LÄHETYSNEUVOSTO
 SVENSKA MISSIONSRÅDET
 ASSOCIATION OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN SWITZERLAND

CABLEGRAMS: INTMISSION, NEW YORK
 MISSIONS CODE
 TELEPHONE: CHelsea 3-0973

Chairman: JOHN R. MOTT, 230 Park Avenue, New York City
 Secretaries: L. H. OLDHAM; WILLIAM PATON, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1
 L. L. WARNSHUIS, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City
 Assistant Secretaries: Miss GIBSON, Miss STANDLEY, Miss STRONG

SUITE 1219
 156 FIFTH AVENUE
 NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Hon. Cordell Hull
 Secretary of State
 Washington, D.C.

Sir:

For your information I enclose copy of the statement adopted by the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference with reference to the Far Eastern situation.

Yours faithfully,

A.L. Warnshuis
 A.L. WARNSHUIS

ALW*1
 Encl

September 27, 1937

October 7 1937

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 29 1937
 Department of State

793.94/10332

SEP 8 1937

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/0332

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

A MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN CHURCHES ON THE FAR EASTERN SITUATION

This statement was adopted by the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, and by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America on September 23 and 24, 1937.

The hostilities in the Far East as well as in Europe compel the Christian Church to give most serious consideration to the present state of the world and to the Church's own responsibility. Whether "war" be "declared" or "undeclared" is a question of legal definition, but the actualities of the situation make impossible any attempt to evade the real issues of war. Navies are mobilized to convoy merchantmen and to blockade the coasts of other nations. Armies invade the territories of other countries. Unfortified cities are bombarded from the air. Non-combatant civilians are compelled to flee from their homes, and refugees are cruelly attacked and murdered even when trying to flee from the vicinity of military activity. The nationals of other countries, engaged in legitimate business or in philanthropic service, and even the diplomatic representatives of other governments are forced to leave in order to avoid peril in the face of the combatant forces of one nation as they invade and destroy the homes and lives of the people of another country. Nor does this fully describe the terrifying state of the world today. At a time of widespread unemployment twenty millions of men around the world are kept alive by the wages earned in manufacturing instruments of death in a mad race of armaments for future wars. It is high time that the Christian Churches of the world should fearlessly and honestly confront themselves with the facts of the present desperate state of the world, which continues from day to day in a rapid deterioration of the relationships between the nations.

It is a responsibility of the Church to define standards by which the actions of governments may be judged. The Church cannot stand aside from the affairs of the world in the vain hope of keeping itself and its people out of trouble while unrighteousness and injustice prevail. A policy of irresponsible isolation is futile as well as ignoble and un-Christian. Furthermore, any attempt to better the condition of the world by an even greater use of armed force should be recognized as foolish. "Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles." (Emerson)

The members of our Churches in a spirit of humble contrition and penitence, must confess their own share of responsibility "in the common guilt of mankind for the continuance of war and the spirit of war among the nations." Notwithstanding the notable efforts for peace which have been made within the Church, clergy and laity alike have not done what they ought to have done to remove the causes of war by raising their voices against attitudes and policies making for war, and have not proclaimed with boldness the Word of Truth in time of war. Moreover, they have often been guilty of greed, selfishness, distrust, and pride of race and nation, thus contributing to the embittering of relations among the nations." More particularly with reference to the Far Eastern problems and the relations of the United States, we as Americans share in the responsibility for discriminatory immigration laws, a threatening naval policy, irritating tariff walls, extraterritorial privileges and aloofness from international agencies working toward the establishment of a just and orderly world community. Only as we sincerely confess our own shortcomings and misdoings, may we call upon others to change their ways.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

"The Church herself is the leaven by which Christ transforms the life of society and nations." It "devolves upon Christians to devote themselves to securing by voluntary action of their nations such changes in the international order as are from time to time required to avoid injustice and to promote equality of opportunity throughout the world. The Christian influence to this end cannot be made effective without adequate factual knowledge. To meet this initial need Christians should take measures to obtain information on world conditions more adequate and reliable than that now furnished by the secular and nationalistic agencies, which are too prone to ignore or belittle the needs of alien peoples, or to express them in terms of sacrifice which should be made by nations other than their own."

With such more complete knowledge, Christians may discover many practical measures that they may advocate for adoption by the governments of the nations. Meanwhile, there are some steps that may be taken without delay.

1. The Church should align itself with the condemnation of the practices of war as described in the words of the recent World Conference in Oxford. "Wars, the occasions of war, and all situations which conceal the fact of conflict under the guise of outward peace, are events in a world to which the Church is charged to proclaim the Gospel of redemption. War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human personality, and a wanton distortion of the truth. War is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world, and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him crucified. No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize this fact."

2. The Church should declare its horror that in these days any government should resort to war "declared" or "undeclared" as a means of obtaining political or economic advantage, or as a punitive measure. No claim that such has been the practice of nations in former times can be permitted to obscure the fact that practically all nations have solemnly pledged themselves to use only the reasonable ways of peaceful negotiation for the righting of wrongs. We may ask the nations of the world to unite in finding ways of establishing international morality and respect for treaty commitments. We should raise our voices in condemnation of ruthless slaughter of innocent men, women and children with the purpose of terrorizing peoples into submission to alien governments.

3. The Church should lead in arousing public opinion to support the government in transforming a policy of irresponsible isolationism into one of active participation in the organizing of the political and economic forces of the world for the purpose of establishing justice and goodwill. In urging such a proposal, we repudiate the thought that it involves reliance upon military or naval force or such measures as are apt to lead to war. We strongly endorse the principles upon which right international relations may be maintained as described in the statement issued by the American Secretary of State on July 16. We view with gratitude the willingness of the American government to collaborate with the Advisory Committee of the Far East appointed by the League of Nations.

4. The Church should recognize the difficult position in which its members in Japan and China find themselves today. To strengthen the bonds of Christian fellowship throughout the world should be our earnest effort, and in those days we should not fail to demonstrate the reality of our sympathy with those suffering the terrors of war. To their support, Christians everywhere should devote all practical aid. In our prayers to God they should constantly be remembered.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

23-

5. The Church should understand more clearly the importance of its missionary enterprise and provide more adequately for its support. This is a time in which missions everywhere and especially in Japan and China should have the loyal and undiminished cooperation of every Christian. The failure of Christians to witness effectively throughout the world to the realities of their faith is one of the causes of our present distress. The Gospel is the word of God to suffering, distraught humanity. To witness to that Gospel now in every land with renewed devotion is a call to all the followers of Jesus Christ.

6. The Church must translate its testimony into deeds of mercy. The suffering cries of multitudes of children, of wounded men, of homeless refugees, of sick and hungry people must be answered not only by words of pity but by the self-sacrificing pouring out of the resources of love and service. The Churches should make an effective appeal for relief funds to be administered through their own and other appropriate agencies.

7. The Church must testify to its faith in the reality of the Kingdom of God. In these days of grievous trouble we are not without hope, for we believe in God. To Him we turn in earnest prayer and in faith that the world belongs to God. "To believe in His power and love is not to escape from reality but to stand upon the rock of the only certainty that is offered to men." There comes a call to the Church "to work for the manifestation of the new divine order which appeared in the Cross and Resurrection of the Son of God."

The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference and the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America strongly commend these proposals to the churches for their serious consideration. They will become effective only when embodied in the purposes and actions of individual Christians and of the churches to which they belong.

(Unidentified quotations in the above statement are from the report of the recent Oxford Conference, which is commended for the thoughtful study of all Christians.)

0486

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 7 1937

In reply refer to
FE 793.94/10332

My dear Dr. Warnshuis:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of
September 27, 1937, enclosing for the information of
the Department a copy of a statement entitled "A Mes-
sage to the American Churches on the Far Eastern
Situation".

Your courtesy in sending a copy of this statement
to the Department is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

M. M. Hamilton
Maxwell M. Hamilton,
Chief,
Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

Dr. A. L. Warnshuis,
Secretary, International Missionary Council,
Suite 1219,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.

OK ✓ *sum?*
Oct 7 1937.

W. H. M.
FE:MSM:HES:REK
10/6/37

W. H. M.
FE

A true copy of
the signed origi-
nal.

793.94/10332

F/HR

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

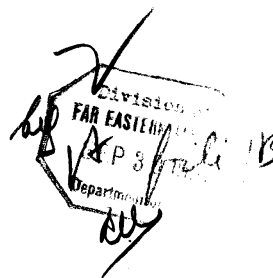
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COMYANGPAT

FROM September 30, 1937

Rec'd 7:30 a.m.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
YANGTZE PATROL
COMDESRON 5
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CINCAF
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ALUSNA PEIPING



0029 Yangtze ports quiet today. Weather unfavorable
for aircraft operations 2210.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

10-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

FROM

Tokyo

Dated September 30, 1937

Rec'd 7:58 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

436, September 30, 2 p.m.

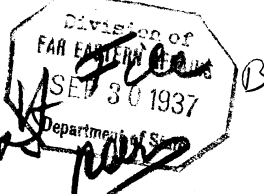
My British colleague has just given me for my confidential information a copy of a letter which he today addressed to the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs regarding the bombing of Canton, as follows:

"Immediate. Confidential. My dear Vice Minister, I am sending you, enclosed in this letter, the substance of a telegram which I have just received from His Majesty's Consul General at Canton regarding the bombing of that town by Japanese airplanes. I particularly wish to call your attention to the third paragraph, which shows the extent to which the civilian population suffers as the result of these bombings. Believe me, my dear Vice Minister, yours very sincerely, (signed R. L. Craigie).

Enclosure: Information based on a telegram received from His Majesty's Consul General at Canton.

Between midnight of the 21st-22nd September and 1:30 p.m. on the 22nd September about 21 Japanese airplanes

made



793.94/10334

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

10-2

MBo 2- No. 436, September 30, from Tokyo.

made three separate raids on Canton and dropped about 130 bombs. The main objectives were ~~airdromes~~ but numerous attempts were made at other military or industrial objectives in the east and northern suburbs where about 7 bombs were scattered about the city. In addition to these 7 bombs, another 4 were dropped in a crowded, poor neighborhood not far from the Canton-Kowloon Railway. These bombs demolished about 200 houses and caused civilian casualties variously estimated from a few hundreds to one thousand. The airplane responsible had been hit and fell shortly afterwards, and may therefore have got rid of her bombs to save herself.

Two. There were further severe raids at 7 a.m. on the 23rd September and at 8:45 a.m. on the 27th September. In the latter raid the Wongsha terminus of the Canton-Hankow Railway, which is only 400 yards from the foreign concession, Shameen, was bombed. This is a danger to British lives and property, which have fortunately not hitherto suffered damage.

Three. The objectives of Japanese aviators appear to have been military or industrial, but unfortunately they seem to consider any official residence or Government building, whether or not situated in a crowded area, as a legitimate objective. The real objective is, according to

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

10-3

MBo 3- No. 436, September 30, from Tokyo.

His Majesty's Consul General, rarely hit, with the result that neighboring innocent civilians have suffered and continue to suffer in raids made on an average of from three to five times every twenty-four hours. On at least two occasions, moreover, bombs have been dropped on wholly undefended and unoffending villages, causing a few casualties."

Repeated to Shanghai.

GREW

KLP:GW

0491

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TO BE TRANSMITTED
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NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL
PLAIN

Washington,

1937 OCT 1 PM 1 32

OCT 1 1937
~~September 30, 1937.~~

AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
10312

NANKING (China)

286 Department's 283, September 29, 1937.

Telegrams to be repeated to Tokyo should not be
confined necessarily to messages originating in the
Embassy but should include important telegrams received
by the Embassy from consular offices in China.

H-ee

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793.94/70334

793.94/10334

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OCT 1 1937 PM

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F.A.H.

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Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

0492

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
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PLAIN

Department of State

1937 OCT 1 PM 1 32

Washington,

September 30, 1937.

OCT 1 1937

AMEMBASSY,

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

242 TOKYO (Japan).

Your 436, September 30, 2 p.m., and the Department's
240, September 29, 12 p.m. // 0312

The Department has telegraphed the Embassy at Nanking
as follows:

QUOTE Telegrams to be repeated to Tokyo should not
be confined necessarily to messages originating in the
Embassy but should include important telegrams received
by the Embassy from consular offices in China. UNQUOTE.

793.94/10334

Hall

OCT 1 1937 PM

FB:JWB:NN

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Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10334

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

11-1

JWS

K

JR

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

GRAY

Nanking via N. R.

Dated September 30, 1937

FROM

Rec'd 10:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

RECEIVED
EX-100
SEP 30 1937
Department of State

741, September 30, 6 p.m.

Commander-in-Chief reported in his despatch 0024-1610
attacks upon Chinese fishing fleets off southern coast.
Further details are reported in Hong Kong's telegram of
September 29, 4 p.m. This action, it seems to me, merits
some comment by us in any case and representations that
effect made to the Japanese Government as being contrary
to ordinary international practice.

JOHNSON

CSB

793.94/10335

F/FG

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note
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0494

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

12-1

MSM

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

GPO

FROM

Geneva

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 9:20 a.m., Sep. 30

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH.

16, September 29, 10 p.m.

Advisory met in public session this afternoon. I

read your public statement of yesterday. French delegate then proposed that subcommittee be set up to facilitate and expedite work of the Committee. His proposal was seconded by Cranbourne who in set speech outlined attitude and action of the British Government during the present controversy based on policy of maintaining peace which "calls essentially for the fullest international cooperation" and "which demands above all the establishment of a friendly understanding between China and Japan." British Government could not "accept the thesis that this is a matter affecting only the parties to the conflict." It is a matter affecting "in greater or less degree many powers with interests in the Far East, whether members of the League or not." British Government has made continued efforts to bring about settlement of the dispute. Since the



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committee

793.94/10336

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

12-2

MBo 2- No. 16, September 29, from Geneva.

the beginning "there has been close and constant communication" with other powers specially interested in the Far East "and in many of the steps which were taken the cooperation of other powers was in greater or lesser degree secured." Efforts to secure the cessation or moderation of the conflict have failed. "It would do no good, it would indeed do harm if the Committee gave the impression that it contemplated action which it was not in fact able to carry out." But efforts must not be relaxed, a vigilant watch must be kept. Bruce's proposal for a conference of Pacific powers should be kept constantly in mind, Consulate's 323, ^{10/76} September 21, 5 p.m. The British Government "would certainly be ready to concur in it if all other powers principally interested were also ready to agree." In conclusion Cranbourne proposed that the subcommittee should have the same terms of reference as the Advisory Committee.

Koo requested that aggression should be dealt with by the full committee and that measures to discourage aggression and to encourage resistance should be considered by the subcommittee which he accepted, provided it was not used to replace the full committee. He suggested that the subcommittee should not be too large or too reduced in view of the world-wide importance of the question. He also

asked

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By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

12-3

MBo 3- No. 16, September 29, from Geneva.

asked that it be as representative as possible of the full committee and that it should not be purely regional in character.

The committee then voted to set up a subcommittee, the representative of Canada abstaining from voting in the absence, he said, of instructions.

A discussion then ensued respecting the terms of reference for the subcommittee. No agreement was reached and it was decided to lay down instructions for the subcommittee at the next meeting tomorrow when the chairman said he would also submit proposals as to its composition.

END SECTION ONE.

HARRISON

KLP:GW

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

12-4

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

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

Geneva

Dated September 29, 1937

GPO

FROM

Rec'd 9:49 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

RUSH.

16, September 29, 10 p.m. (SECTION TWO).

CONFIDENTIAL. After the meeting chairman Munters asked me privately if I would sit on the subcommittee. I replied that if I were invited to do so, I had been authorized to attend on the same terms and conditions under which I am attending the meetings of the committee. He then asked for my views respecting the composition of the subcommittee. I replied that naturally I felt some hesitation as I did not wish to give the least impression that I was making any suggestion regarding the action to be taken by the committee. This he said he fully understood and that he wished to know for his own information how I felt with regard to Koo's suggestion. I then referred to the broad principles set forth in your statements and said that since obviously the matter was of general interest and concerned general world peace it might be thought preferable to have if possible the subcommittee composed of a group representative of general rather than of particular interests. Munters then

said

0498

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

12-5

JR -2- #16, September 29, 10 p.m., section two from
Geneva.

said he agreed but Great Britain, France and Russia would
he felt sure, have to be on the subcommittee; that there
was also the question of the inclusion of China as well
as other powers with direct interest and consequently
he foresaw considerable difficulty in keeping the
membership within a working limit.

END OF MESSAGE.

HARRISON

KLP:CSB

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

JR

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

_____ Tsingtao via N. R.

1-1236

FROM Dated September 30, 1937

Rec'd 10:50 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

September 30, 9 a.m.

Referring to my telegram of September 29, 4 p.m.,

reporting the denial of the report that General Doihara went to Tsinanfu to negotiate separate northern peace, the Tsingtao TIMES received the following unsigned telegram purporting to come from General Han Fu Chu. "Foreign papers recently published the statement that the Japanese General Doihara came to Tsinanfu to discuss adherence of Shantung to a North China five province autonomous federation, et cetera. This is a rumor entirely false and without foundation, and certainly could not be believed by any sensible person because our country's resistance to Japanese aggression is a struggle for existence and is the only way out for China. All of we military people are defending the country and protecting the people, and this is our duty. Personally am carrying the heavy responsibility for civil as well as for military affairs in the matter of resisting the encroachments of the enemy.

I implicitly obey the orders of the Central Government and submit absolutely to the directions of the Generalissimo.

The



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0500

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JR -2- September 30, 9 a.m., from T_singtao via N. R.

The enemy at this critical time are again using their old tricks in order to cause dissension and to create suspicion, and by such rumors are confusing the minds of the people so that they can neither see nor hear clearly. All this I deeply regret and sincerely abominate. It will be fortunate for our nation if our fellow countrymen and our friends from foreign lands do not fall in this trap by believing such false and groundless rumors." Sent to the Department, Nanking, Peiping.

SOKOBIN

CSB

0501

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

1-1336

FROM CINCAF

September 30, 1937

Rec'd 10:53 a.m.

FROM: CINCAF

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIGADE (USMC)

AMCONSUL SHANGHAI CHINA

COMSUBRON 5

COMDESRON 5

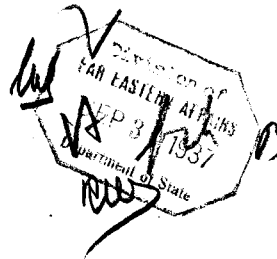
COMYANGPAT

COMSOPAT

USS MARBLEHEAD

AMERICAN EMBASSY- NANKING (CHINA)

ALUSNA-PEIPING (CHINA)



793.94/10358

1630. Continued shelling and bombing Chinese lines have enabled Japanese make minor gains in Lihag, Lotien, Chapei sectors, attacks continue. No change in general military situation. 1830.

HFD

F/FG

FILED
SEP 30 1937

0502

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

FROM PLAIN

Canton via N. R.

Dated September 30, 1937

Rec'd 2:11 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

September 30, 9

COPIES SENT TO
 P.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 SEP 30 1937
 Department of State

Japanese seaplane visited Canton several times today

dropping no bombs. Planes and warships again engaged
 Bocca Tigris forts, details not yet obtained.

After several hours bombing yesterday seaplanes
 finally sunk Chinese cruiser Chao Ho near Whampoa and
 smaller gunboat at River Barrier. Whampoa Naval College
 and Sun Yat Sen University also bombed yesterday; damage
 reported slight.

Reports coming in from numerous points evidence
 raiding over extensive areas Kwantung during past three
 days, Posits including Pakhoi, Hoihow and many towns and
 villages near Canton and along Canton-Hankow Railway.

LINNELL

KLP:VWC

793.94/10339

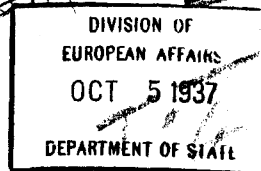
OCT 7 1937

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0503

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED



MBo ^{GPO}
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (E)

FROM

Geneva

Dated September 30, 1937

Rec'd 1:45 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

URGENT.

17, September 30, 4 p.m.

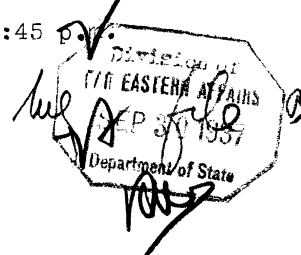
CONFIDENTIAL.

Reference my telegram No. 16, / 10336 September 29, 10 a.m.

Learn from Secretary of the Canadian delegation that Dandurand had received definite instructions not (repeat not) to sit on the subcommittee but is now pressed to do so and is consulting Ottawa; that the subcommittee will be composed of two dominions (in the following order of preference Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India) the United Kingdom, France, Russia, the United States, the Netherlands, Latvia, Portugal, Chile and Mexico; and that tonight's agenda will consist of Chinese demand for denouncement of Japan as aggressor, organization of the subcommittee and its terms of reference comprising instructions to report back to the full committee so that latter may report to the Assembly before the close of this session.

HARRISON

RR:WWC



793.94/10340

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY

September 28, 1937.

RECEIVED

Mr. Wilson: SEP 24 1937

DIVISION OF

Mr. Warren D. Mullin of

the National Council for
Prevention of War left the
attached papers saying that
he thought they would be of
interest to you. S

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 28 1937
Department of State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Sept 22

RM:

Mr. Wilson's
office states that
these papers require
no acknowledgment.

Am.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

THE BREWERY WORKER
 Cincinnati, Ohio
 September 11, 1937

International events take their course with the causes thereof so complex that most of us can have but very little knowledge about them. Governments, of course, having far better means of obtaining information, should be much better conversant with the facts.

But in this instance of the undeclared war between China and Japan, the causes which make for the conflict are not so important to us as our desire to steer clear from foreign entanglements which may land us in the midst of war without our hardly knowing it.

To protect us from being drawn into a conflict not of our choosing Congress passed the neutrality law. If that is so, then why not apply it?

MINNESOTA LEADER
 St. Paul, Minnesota
 August 28, 1937

KEEPS HIS HEAD

Not so many years ago, an incident such as the shelling of the U.S.S. Augusta in Shanghai Harbor, which resulted in the killing of a United States sailor and the wounding of more than a score of others, would have resulted in open hostilities.

During the flurry of excitement which prevailed following the incident, President Roosevelt calmly announced that the matter will be treated as an "unfortunate accident" and will have no effect in altering the Far East policy of this government.

Many a war has followed just such "unfortunate accidents." The President is to be complimented on his attitude, which indicates that he will not permit hysteria or a false sense of national honor to cause us to draw the sword.

That the Sino-Japanese conflict has now assumed the stage of actual warfare between these two countries nobody longer doubts, even though their armies are fighting without an actual declaration of war. The battlefields are far-flung,

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

and major battles are in progress in at least three widely separated points. It is no longer a localized affair.

In view of this fact, it is rather puzzling why the United States does not invoke its neutrality laws against both sides to the conflict. Are there business considerations which prevent our doing so?

OHIO VALLEY LABOR NEWS
 Wheeling, West Virginia
 September 3, 1937

KEEPING OUT OF THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

One of the great contributing factors to our entrance into the World War was the Lusitania disaster. That incident was used later by the jingoists to arouse the war hysteria in our people. Now again a similar situation presents itself. Our own ship, the "Augusta," has been fired on and one of our sailors killed. This is bound to happen in any war if we have our battleships in the war zone as targets, and thousands of our marines actually within reach of the guns of both contestants.

True, there are many Americans in China, but they went at their own risk, most of them for commercial reasons. Anyone in China during the past five years knows only too well that the powder barrel was ready to explode, but, now that it has exploded, they cry to Uncle Sam to come to their rescue. Our marines did go to the rescue, but several weeks have elapsed since hostilities began, enough time to evacuate all who intend leaving.

We have no right to risk American involvement in a Pacific war to protect a few individuals in the war zone; and, more important, we must not fight to save the investments of corporations which hold immense concessions in China, protected, at the present time, by American gunboats. In 1917, the workers of the United States fought to protect the money loaned to the Allies that was in danger of being lost. Are American workers going to be duped again into fighting supposedly for the integrity of China, but in actuality for the protection of the investments of powerful industrial groups?

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Since we are to do the fighting, let us have the deciding of our fate in our own hands. Now is the time to withdraw all marines and ships from Chinese waters, before a few more accidental bombings involve us in war with Japan. President Roosevelt is commander-in-chief of the armed forces of this nation, and has the right to order American ships back into home waters. This he should do at once. Up to now nothing has been done, either to withdraw our forces or to make our neutrality law effective. A great popular demand should be making itself heard immediately so as to force the President to do all in his power to keep us out of another useless war.

KERN COUNTY UNION LABOR JOURNAL
 Bakersfield, California
 September 10, 1937

THE WORLD FACES WHOLESALF MURDER

Far be it from me to urge the United States to embark on another quixotic venture to make the world safe for democracy. But if we are serious about this neutrality business, we'd better draw into our shell, let American investors assume their own risks in foreign countries, and prepare to get along without about fifty per cent of the foreign trade we are now enjoying. For the old world is on the brink of fratricide, and unless we clear out of the danger zones COMPLETELY we will be in it up to our necks. You can't have neutrality and still assume responsibility for the protection of property, lives and investments in countries involved in war. And we had better make up our minds pretty quick.

It is not a question of when the war will "start." The world war has been getting under way for some time.....

BRADFORD UNION
 Bradford, Pa.
 August 27, 1937

U. S. INVADES CHINA?

The State Department announced that 1200 Marines have been ordered from California to Shanghai "to protect American lives and property."

It will take these marines FIVE WEEKS to land at their destination. It

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would take the Americans in Shanghai only a few days to get out.

Yet our State Department plans to move 1200 marines to reinforce our troops in China (in addition to the 39 U. S. warships now in Chinese waters) rather than tell 2500 Americans to clear out of the danger zone.

What are our military service for? When appropriations are requested, the story is that we are preparing to defend our shores. But here we send troops, ships and Marines to a foreign country, 6,400 miles away, to take part in a quarrel that doesn't concern us.

For what? To protect a handful of American business men, adventurers and thrill seekers, all of whom knew perfectly well when they went there that Shanghai is not the safest place on the map.

If they want to take those chances, that's O. K. But they have no right to endanger the lives of our soldiers or the peace of 130,000,000 people who are neither interested in Shanghai profits nor Shanghai night life.

Americans will no longer subscribe to the costly and dangerous theory that we keep an army and navy for the purpose of protecting any reckless American anywhere on earth under any circumstances.

What will our marines do when they arrive? Presumably, protect the international settlement, where Americans, English and Japanese live, against the Chinese, who merely happen to be the inhabitants of the country, the "natives" as they so condescendingly say in the swank Shanghai clubs.

Why should we help Japan conquer China or help China to defend itself against Japan? Why should we put ourselves in a position where friction with the Japanese can easily lead us into a war with that nation -- for the sake of 2500 obstinate American nationals in Shanghai who refuse to get out?

In the five weeks it would take the Marines to reach China, every American could be evacuated. As for American property, we could lose all of it in Shanghai and not miss it. The total U. S. investment in all China is less than the price of four battleships.

Let the State Department rescind its order for an invasion of a friendly

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nation and instead tell the Americans in Shanghai to be out of there in one week or accept the consequences.

And if the State Department won't, Congress should step into the picture and forbid the transfer of American military forces to foreign soil.

LABOR
 Washington, D. C.
 September 14, 1937

"KEEP OUT!" URGE WAR-WEARY VETERANS

Former Service Men, in Message to Roosevelt, Voice Feelings
 on American People Concerning Foreign Entanglements

Believing that "the peace of the United States is as seriously threatened today as it was in 1914," 4,000 delegates to the national encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, meeting in Buffalo, last week demanded that the Roosevelt administration keep this country out of Old War controversies. There was just one dissenting vote -- one in 4,000!

LABOR ventures the assertion that the American people stand back of the plea in about the same proportion. **

"We know war and we hate war," the veterans declared, in a telegram to the President in which they outlined the following specific program:

"We demand mandatory neutrality legislation.

"We demand that the existence of war be recognized, whether formalities of declaration have been made or not.

"We demand the protection of American lives with the full power of the American navy, within a definite, limited period of time for them to evacuate themselves from war zones, and upon their failure to do so to accept the responsibility of the situation into which they have put themselves.

"We demand that the principles of mandatory neutrality should be invoked even to the extent of not permitting the use of the American flag on any vessel violating any of the rules of the American government, pertaining to trading with belligerents.

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"We demand that the armed forces of the United States be withdrawn from all foreign soil except such as are needed, at a minimum, to protect American government property."

The veterans pointed out that we tried "discretionary neutrality" in 1914, with the result that we became involved in the World War, and they insisted we must not risk a repetition of that experience. "So long as neutrality is discretionary there can be no neutrality," they told Mr. Roosevelt, and they concluded with the following "resolve":

"That this encampment go on record as declaring the first and primary purpose of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to be the unceasing efforts on behalf of the peace of the American people, and that preparedness shall be used only to prevent foreign aggression against the American nation."

While there is not the slightest doubt that the veterans voice the sentiments of the American people, unfortunately there is also not the slightest doubt that powerful foreign influences are at work to make Uncle Sam the "goat" in another overseas war, in China or in Europe, and possibly in both.

And those foreign influences have the support of our militarists, our professional diplomats and many of our international bankers.

We now know that five years ago, during the Hoover administration, Secretary of State Stimson, without consulting the people or the Congress, assured the British and other European governments that we were prepared to take "strong measures" -- another name for war -- in order to prevent the taking over of Manchuria by Japan. The only thing that saved us then was the refusal of the British government to go along with Stimson's mad scheme.

The fact that we had such a narrow escape from catastrophe five years ago emphasizes the need of being on the alert now.

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SHEBOYGAN TIMES (reprinted from
 Sheboygan, Wisconsin (Milwaukee Leader)
 September 9, 1937

WHEN WAR WILL CEASE

Raymond Clapper appears to think that Secretary of State Hull has the solution of the problem of war and that he is a pathetic figure all alone in the universe seeking the application of that solution.

Mr. Hull is an earnest gentleman whose efforts to make trade treaties with other countries have been mainly to the good. It is desirable that there should not be drastic trade barriers between nations. It is even possible that the removal of such barriers might prevent a war or two. But to look upon this as "the" solution of the problem of war is nonsense.

Mr. Hull's own statement of the foreign policy of the United States in the present administration, issued last June, was not so harmless as his trade treaties. Although advocating peaceful measures, the statement made the pointed assertion that "there can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country." This looks like a very harmless recital of an obvious fact, but it was made right at the time when the Japan-Chinese situation began to become critical, and some Washington correspondents took it as a warning to Japan that the United States would go to war rather than have its commercial interests in China in any way damaged.

If it should do so, our boys would die for the benefit of oil companies and other industries. And now our country is in the midst of the jam. If it is not seeking trouble, what is it doing?

The recent warning, by the administration, that Americans should come out of China or stay there at their own risk, was timely. Now let it be followed by withdrawal of marines and war vessels.

THE LABOR UNION
 Dayton, Ohio
 September 17, 1937

Of course, the people of the United States believe in peace. Didn't they reelect Woodrow Wilson in 1916 because

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By Milton D. Gustafson, NARS, Date 12-18-75

THE
LABOR
VIEWPOINT

he kept us out of the war that we made him go into in 1917?

And make no mistake about the fact that the country forced the

President into that war.

Today, the wars offer fresh markets that will restore foreign trade to American cotton, and grains; markets for our machinery and war materials; markets that will re-employ every unemployed man in the United States.

We repel the very thought, hold in contempt the very suggestion of yielding to the tempting bait of trade.

Aren't we fine idealists and a great people?

Yes, we are!

But it took only three years to change a copy of the present picture, back in 1914-17.

Watch your step when the war-whoopers develop loud voices -- and swat 'em!

0513

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PHILADELPHIA RECORD
September 21, 1937

THE NEUTRALITY ACT GOES INTO THE WASTERBASKET

Congress has been overruled by the State Department.

Mullified is the neutrality act which it passed, and which the President signed.

That is made only too clear by the persistent refusal of the Administration to invoke that act in the Chinese-Japanese war -- which has been going on now for almost three months, and which reaches a new high point in the air barrage of Nanking.

But Secretary of State Hull made the nullification even clearer in his speech to the American Legion Convention, when he declared that the United States Government -- regardless of the will of Congress or the wishes of the people -- is going to pursue a policy half way between isolation and aggression.

That is, we'll be half neutral -- and half belligerent.

No wonder European nations hail the Hull speech, look forward to American support of the piracy farce now going on in the Mediterranean.

The United States can't be a "little bit neutral."

It's impossible. Either we don't take sides, or we do.

We are taking sides in Spain. We are taking sides in China. And in each case we are taking the same side as the British Foreign Office. All in direct violation of the letter and spirit of the neutrality act.

* * *

How does Mr. Hull explain this ignoring of the law? He declares:

"We must make our contribution toward the realization of the conditions upon which peace everywhere can be maintained, or ultimately we shall have to sustain and protect ourselves amidst an outside world ridden by war and force."

Aside from the fact that the American people made a mighty contribution to that end, in 1917-1919; aside from the fact that America tried to save Europe from

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Phila. Record -- 9/21/37

-- 2 --

herself and that Europe is in worse shape now than ever before; aside from the fact that democracy faces as grave problems in this hemisphere as in the other -- as evidenced by suppression of President Roosevelt's Constitution Day speech by our "good neighbor" in Central America --

Aside from all these, we still face the reality -- that we ARE amidst "an outside world ridden by war and force," and that to pretend that our own submergence in that chaos will be an immediate solvent is to fool ourselves at frightful cost.

Force of arms?

Much of the British empire today is held together only by force of arms. At this very moment, British troops are warring on native troops along the northwest frontier of India, in precisely the same fashion as Il Duce's troops warred on the natives of Ethiopia. French Morocco is held by the sword. And why deceive ourselves that the whole present concern of British and France in the Mediterranean is anything save the retention of colonial possessions seized -- by force of arms?

Why, indeed, do we have marines in China? Should China have troops in the U. S. A.? It would be as logical to "protect Chinese interests here."

Why, above all, do we have more warships in the Far East than any other nation -- when our stake is smaller by far than that of England?

Why are we sending in 1400 more marines?

These facts stare us in the face. That is why Mr. Hull's confusion of the peace ideal with maintenance of the status quo, especially the British status quo, is both unrealistic and dangerous to the best interests of this country.

Yet, so determined is our State Department upon its own will -- that the will of the people lies in its wastebasket,

Let us admit that we no longer have a neutrality act. It is not enforced. It is not even noticed.

It is one more "scrap of paper."

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
 September 21, 1937

ISOLATION IS BETTER THAN WAR

Secretary of State Hull unquestionably meant well when he declared, in an international peace broadcast on Sunday, that for the United States "a policy of complete isolation from the outside world would, in its ultimate effects, be as ineffective as the opposite extreme of ill-advised and unnecessary intervention in the affairs of the outside world would be unwise."

He was doubtless speaking in broad terms when he asserted that "we must make our contribution toward the realization of the conditions upon which peace everywhere can be maintained."

But the promptness with which his remarks have been seized upon by the British press as holding out the possibility of American aid in tracking down "pirate" submarines in the Mediterranean demonstrates the danger of academic statements on peace and war by ranking officials of a nation that is resolutely committed, by law and by public opinion, to remain strictly neutral in all foreign quarrels.

The people of this country know, and the whole world knows, that a policy of complete isolation is impossible for the United States. Americans can't build four walls around them and stuff their ears with cotton so that they cannot know what is going on in the world. Nor is it conceivable that they would fail to heed the pleas of distressed and suffering humanity. They never have yet.

But what, exactly, does Secretary Hull's statement that "we must make our contribution" mean as it concerns the unfaltering resolve of the American people to keep out of foreign wars?

It must be open to confusing interpretation or it would not have inspired the London News Chronicle to exult that "if those words mean action — and Mr. Roosevelt's Administration does not usually speak unless action is intended — they are the most hopeful that have come across the Atlantic in many a year." The paper then suggests that "the United States may be preparing to range itself with other democracies in determination to withstand Fascist aggression."

It is not to be imagined that Secretary Hull had any such idea in mind. He stands for "national and international patience and self-restraint; avoidance of

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force in the pursuit of policy; the use of peaceful methods to adjust differences" and "cooperation and interchange in the economic field." He has been a persistent worker for peace. His trade treaties with other countries have helped to level off provocative economic inequalities.

None the less, his broadcast declaration against isolation for America was cryptic. There is little danger that this country's solemn commitment to neutrality would ever imprison us in extreme nationalism, such as Germany's. There is little danger that our refusal to help fight other nations' wars would make us blind and deaf to humanitarian needs the world over.

But it is plain that the slightest indication of a modification of our aloofness is hailed with delight in Europe. Of course Great Britain and France would welcome us, and with rousing cheers, to participate in the anti-"piracy" campaign. Of course they would greet us with open arms if we went "over there" once more, with our men and our dollars, to help fight their battles.

Before we entered the World War in 1917 we were wooed with saccharine words by England and France. They appealed to our loftiest impulses. They told us that we, and only we, could save civilization from destruction. We responded to their pleas,-- to our everlasting sorrow. It doesn't take much to start them off again. Secretary Hull's disapproval of complete isolation was enough.

A concept of complete isolation for America may not be practicable. But if worse came to worst, complete isolation would be infinitely preferable to involvement in another foreign war. We could afford isolation. WE COULDN'T AFFORD ANOTHER WORLD WAR.

With due regard for Mr. Hull's good intentions, this is not the time to make academic statements and cryptic utterances about relaxing our isolation policy. The Secretary would be better occupied if he kept silently to his tasks, without giving our former Allies or other nations wrong impressions.

The people of the United States are dead set, irrevocably resolved, never again to get mixed up in a foreign war.

###

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Emporia Gazette (William Allen White)
 Emporia, Kansas
 September 8, 1937

"Sticking Out Our Neck"

The American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai is agonizing because America does not do something about the Japanese invasion of Shanghai. Passengers coming home from the Orient are indignant that American warships are not dispatched to convoy them through the danger zone. So much for that war. In the eastern part of the United States a number of humanitarian citizens are very properly deeply agitated over the fate of the Spanish loyalists in the town of Santander which has fallen into Spanish rebel hands. These Americans fear mass executions and are memorializing the President to protest.

The world seems to be on the verge of a tremendous war. It will be hard at best to keep out of it. War is the essence of injustice. The declaration of war suspends all justice, all humanity. It is murder, looting and rapine in the mass, and of course our feelings as Americans will be deeply stirred.

But we have two choices in the matter: We can let the injustice go, let our business men in the war-torn areas save their lives and lose their property, let travelers get out the best way they can and let injustice, however rank and horrible, flout itself in every war zone. The other alternative is to get America into the wars. There is no middle course. We cannot protest unless we expect to back our protest. In time of war moral suasion of an outside country has no effect unless that moral suasion is backed by blood and iron. At home we must settle this question: Are the lives of our young men, are the tremendous debts that will pile up on posterity following war, worth the cost of a protest, either to save our own people in the war zone or to stop the injustice inevitable to war?

Shall we stick out our neck and take the common ax of war or shall we shut our eyes to evils even to the loss of the property and possibly the lives

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Emporia Gazette (cont.)

of our own people who are in the war to make money? Or on the other hand shall we save ourselves and posterity and American civilization? This new world war will be no pink tea. America may be the only section of modern civilization that will be saved when the war is started.

##

Sacramento (Calif.) Bee
 August 19, 1937

"American Retirement from China Is Desirable"

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Washington,

the president is known to believe that the American marines and soldiers stationed in China since the Boxer rebellion should be withdrawn completely as soon as it is practical to do so.

The country will be glad to know the president holds to such convictions respecting the withdrawal of American troops from the Oriental war zone.

And that withdrawal principle should be applied to our naval vessels and nationals as well...

##

Kansas City Kansan
 August 24, 1937

"U.S. Ships in China"

General Smedley D. Butler is quoted by a Philadelphia paper as saying the United States ought to withdraw its "warships, soldiers, and marines from the Chinese war zone." He says, "We have no business in China," and that we ought to get out "unless our government wants to get into trouble."

The familiarly outspoken retired officer reflects the sentiment of most of the people in this statement...

##

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Portland (Ore.) News-Telegram
 September 15, 1937

"President Must Go the Full Limit"

Finally, President Roosevelt realizes there is an actual, even though undeclared, war in China.

With this awakening late Tuesday, the president placed into effect a modified form of the neutrality law prohibiting any vessel owned by the federal government to carry arms, ammunition or implements of war to either Japan or China and that privately-owned ships flying the American flag carry such cargoes at their own risk.

Chinese officials are reported as dismayed over the ruling, stating that this order "will help Japan so hurt China."

On the other hand, Japanese officials are jubilant over the order.

The effect of America's policy on the combatants is not an important consideration. We are not refereeing their war. The sooner both sides find that out, the better.

The duty of our government is to keep the United States out of the war.

But the government will not keep the United States out of the war by resorting to halfway measures. A full route course must be taken to insure our safety.

Under the provisions of the neutrality law, it becomes the duty of the president -- when he is convinced there exists a state of war -- even though undeclared -- immediately to invoke the neutrality law, which makes mandatory embargoes on munitions to the warring powers.

By his modified order, President Roosevelt admits he is convinced a state of war exists between China and Japan, still he tosses aside his official responsibility and goes only part of the way in invoking the power and authority of the American neutrality laws, which were set up by Congress -- at his direction -- for the express purpose of keeping this nation out of foreign war

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Portland (Ore.) News-Telegram (cont.)

entanglements.

Having by presidential action tentatively admitted his belief that an actual state of war exists in the Orient, the chief executive should without further delay "crack down" on all arms and munitions shipments from this country.

Thereby he would let the whole world know that America will have no part, be it ever so remote, in any more wars of foreign manufacture.

##

Portland (Ore.) News-Telegram
 September 8, 1937

"The Hero Cry of Selfish People"

So "Shanghai Americans are not quitters!"

For stubborn impudence and selfishness this boast takes the cake.

These United States citizens left their own country of their own free will and for their own personal advantage.

They may like to pose as pioneers laying foundations for America's foreign trade, but the plain truth is that they expected to collect for themselves a generous commission on the transaction.

They were after money for themselves, and any advantage gained for American business as a whole was a secondary consideration.

Now that danger threatens, they strike a noble attitude and try to appear heroes, while they holler to high heaven for help.

We once saw a small boy take his stand on a stump which already was occupied by a nest of yellowjackets.

When the yellowjackets swarmed out to fight the intruder, that child proved to be a "quitter." Instead of demanding that alarmed and sympathetic relatives

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Portland News-Telegram
 September 8. (cont.)

come to his rescue by killing off the insects so he could remain in undisputed possession of the stump, he climbed down as fast as he could. He had a number of stings to show for his adventure, but he was mightl glad to get off as well as he did.

Americans in Shangaai may suffer some financial loss if they heed repeated warnings and obey definite orders to get out of war-torn China, but they ought to thank their lucky stars that American ships are at hand to help their escape.

The boy who "stood on the burning deck" has been hailed as a martyr to obedience, but a grown man, who insists on sticking to a burning deck of his own free will, is a fool.

If he demands that millions of his fellow citizens come and stand there with him, he is a selfish coward.

That's the best way we can describe the Americans who persist in staying in Shanghai and war-torn China, demanding United States warships and men to protect them and their selfish interests.

##

Portland (Ore.) Oregonian
 September 8, 1937

"Let Them Get Out"

The protest of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai is not impressive. President Roosevelt was right when he warned Americans in the war zone that if they remained there it must be at their own risk. It is a dictum in accord with the sentiment of the country.

Americans in China who went there on their own initiative, for their own profit, have no right to stay in the middle of the fray and then demand protection from their government. It is the government's duty to help those get

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Oregonian
 September 8 (cont.)

out who want to come out. Any who reject this opportunity and service should expect to remain only at their own risk and on their own responsibility.

The American Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai tells Secretary of State Hull that the president's warning is damaging to the prestige of the United States. Any such damage will not be permanent. It is not a consideration important enough to risk war over. The United States has shown in the past what it can do in an emergency. It knows what it can do again in case of need. Other nations know it, too, including Japan and China.

Let Americans in the Shanghai area, including the gentlemen of the American Chamber of Commerce, come away from the scene of hostilities. If they do not, they cannot expect that the rest of us will risk being drawn into war on their account.

##

Portland (Ore.) News-Telegram
 September 9, 1937

"Men Speak Openly
 Money Whispers"

Members of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, trapped between rival armies, have cabled Cordell Hull, secretary of state, demanding that the United States government "adopt a foreign policy with a strong front and keep the American flag waving."

Compared to the great body of 130,000,000 home-staying, home-loving, home-defending people living within the United States, these voluntary exiles are few. However loud they shout, their selfish appeals will not be clearly heard in far-off Washington, because the 130,000,000 of us will drown out their distant clamor.

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Portland New -Telegram
 September 9. (cont.)

But the great danger to our national peace lies in the whispers that may carry secret orders to men in responsible positions in our government. There are powerful corporations that have big stakes in China. They have sent active, ambitious men into the Orient to develop their business. The success of these agents has been registered in profits which have made these foreign investments valuable.

It will be to protect these foreign properties that America will be asked to go to war. And the demand will not be shouted from the housetops, but will filter confidentially through capitol corridors.

This idea of keeping the American flag waving over a handful of expatriates makes nice patriotic reading, but let us not overlook the real purpose, which is to wrap the American flag around well-filled safety deposit boxes.

In this emergency, the American people must keep their heads. War thrives on ballyhoo. We must resist an epidemic of emotional "patriotism" that would sacrifice the many for the few. Remember that men speak openly, but money talks in whispers.

##

Labor
 August 31, 1937

(Opening paragraphs oppose Stimson doctrine. Editorial continues:)

One of the appalling aspects of Stimson's conduct was that the American people didn't have the slightest inkling of what he was up to. Had they known, a protest would have gone up from every section of this country. The American people have no desire to sacrifice their sons in the defense of China or any other country outside the Western Hemisphere. If any public official doubts that statement, he should go out among the people for a few days.

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Labor
 August 31. (cont.)

While we are on the subject of this war in the Orient, there is another point that should be emphasized. It is this: Why do we rush warships and Marines to China whenever there is trouble in that region? It's all right to assist Americans to get out of a war zone, but that's as far as we should go...

Let's keep our army and navy at home and stop messing around in Old World feuds.

####

Faterson (N.J.) Call
 August 21, 1937

...Without doubt the most certain preventative measure for this country against involvement in the Sino-Japanese war, is the removal of our warships from the danger zone in Shanghai just as soon as our nationals are evacuated.

##

Springfield (Mass.) Republican
 September 8, 1937

"Americans Who Demand Protection"

.....

The predominant sentiment in America sustains the Government in notifying its nationals at Shanghai and elsewhere in China that if they do not leave that country while the going is good, they must stay there at their own risk. This means - whether it is heroic or not - that the United States will not fight Japan in order that China may be made safe for American traders and missionaries.

##

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Detroit (Mich.) News
 September 8, 1937

"U.S. Property in China"

It is hard to imagine sympathetically the state of mind of those making up the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai (in their opposition to the President's warning to get out.)

Americans at home overwhelmingly oppose any step that would risk involvement in the Asiatic war.

##

Flint (Mich.) Journal
 September 8, 1937

"What Kind of Protection for Americans in China"

(Americans in China are entitled to protection but) It would be calamitous if the United States landed an army or attempted to maintain a fleet in the Chinese waters at this time. It would mean war.

##

Wichita (Kan.) Eagle
 August 24, 1937

...Modern warfare is too costly in every way to be undertaken in protection of nationals abroad...

##

St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch
 August 23, 1937

...if the Government continues to guarantee American lives and property in China the danger of further, more serious incidents is probable.

##

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Baltimore (Md.) Sun
 August 21, 1937

....The most vocative sentiment....favors a speedier withdrawal of Americans from the area and an application of the neutrality laws....our ships of war and our military forces should be withdrawn from China and kept as far from the scene of conflict as possible.

##

Milwaukee (Wis.) Leader
 July 31, 1937

....the war and navy departments have already requested the state department to approve the withdrawal of the United States troops and marines now in China...

That is sheer common sense....

##

Washington (D.C.) Herald
 September 6, 1937

"Get the Hell Out"

....Our stake in the whole Far East, so General Smedley Butler told the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Buffalo, is eight billion dollars....

General Butler does us a good turn in giving us a slant at war on a cash basis. And probably he is right in saying of our "interests" in China:

"It would be cheaper to pay them off and get them to hell out of there rather than risk a war."

##

Houston (Texas) Post
 August 23, 1937

....The job of evacuation now should be completed as speedily as possible. American warships should be removed from the danger zone as soon as that work is done....

##

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Dubuque (Iowa) Telegraph-Herald
 August 18, 1937

"Costly Miscalculation"

...we can strongly endorse the current move to evacuate Americans from the area. It may be a tremendous task, and costly -- but less costly than a war.

##

Philadelphia Record
 August 27, 1937

...The U. S. can pull out of China completely, compensating various businesses for their losses, and not be seriously damaged.

##

Philadelphia Inquirer
 August 29, 1937

...for the moment a single outstanding duty confronts the United States Government. It is to bring every American man, woman and child out of the death zone of China and then to recall our warships and soldiers to places where they will no longer run the risk of becoming unwilling participants in an undeclared war that is fast breaking all records for the reckless slaughter of foreigners and other non-combatants....

##

Rutland (Vt.) Herald
 August 21, 1937

...the State Department is left with only one course of action: it must warn Americans to leave China at once or remain absolutely at their own risk.
 ...Nothing this country has in China is worth the risk (of war)....

##

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Cedar Rapids (Mich.) Gazette
 September 7, 1937

"More Than Considerate"

(President Roosevelt has told Americans they remain in China at their own risk.)

From where we sit (this announcement) appears the only sound position to be taken by an administration that presumably is serious in its desire to keep the United States out of the Sino-Japanese war...

We believe that the national honor is not in the custody of private citizens who choose to leave the area in which an effort is made to maintain responsible American government. We believe further that popular sentiment in this country would not approve armed intervention to protect Americans who have neglected opportunities to remove themselves from areas where armed protection is or may be necessary.

...One hears occasional remarks about the necessity of protecting the American investments in China. In our opinion those investments are not worth protecting, when the probable cost of protection is considered.

...Unless we badly misinterpret the facts of the situation, therefore, nothing but maudlin sentimentality could drag the United States into that Oriental war. The administration is right in trying to keep the Americans in China from supplying the stimulus for any such foolishness. If there are 7500 Americans in China who wish to stay there, that should not be permitted to obscure the fact that there are some 125,000,000 Americans in this country who wish to stay here.

##

Newark (N.J.) Evening News
 September 8, 1937

"Americans at Shanghai"

...There can be no doubt that Mr. Roosevelt's attitude (on getting

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Americans out of Shanghai) will commend itself to the sanction of American opinion.

##

Hagerstown (Md.) Daily Mail
 September 9, 1937

"At Their Own Risk"

...The United States had done its full duty by its citizens in distant and troubled lands when it has warned them repeatedly of their danger, urged them to leave and placed at their disposal the facilities for their evacuation. When they ignore warnings and appeals, and insist upon going their own way, they have only themselves to blame when their lives are placed in jeopardy...

This course will meet with the approval of thoughtful public opinion. Under the influence of events of recent years, Americans have become more realistic and have put away their pseudo-patriotism of a more naive day that called for the clanging of arms and the waving of a flag whenever an American oil concession was jeopardized or an indiscreet citizen became involved in difficulties with foreign authorities. It is something to have learned not to risk the danger of war without adequate cause, if there is such a thing as "adequate cause."

##

Wilmington (Del.) Morning News
 September 6, 1937

"No End In Sight"

....Under the circumstances (Japan cannot now compromise) the efforts of the State Department to persuade Americans to leave China are more than justified. There is no prospect that the situation there will return to normal in the near future.

##

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Brooklyn (N.Y.) Daily Eagle
 September 8, 1937

"The Protest of Americans in China"

What the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai wants is the sort of direct protection by American guns that would be almost certain to involve us in hostilities sooner or later. For such a course there is no demand here and probably little sympathy. So far as public opinion has made itself vocal, Americans generally want the Administration to steer a course that will at all costs keep us out of war.

##

Trenton (N.J.) Times
 September 7, 1937

"Still Going On"

...The United States stands as a huge isolated nation between the two fires (of Asia and Europe). Fortunately there are oceans on either side and peaceful nations above us and below us. Let us remain in this position. Keep 1917 well in mind.

##

Raleigh (N.C.) News Observer
 September 9, 1937

"Extraterritoriality Is Out"

(Americans have no right to demand protection)

...The President is justified in feeling anxiety but he is also justified in keeping cool and refusing to wave the big stick. Americans can feel thankful in this crisis that their Chief Executive is a Roosevelt who can keep his riding boots in the closet.

##

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Peoria (Ill.) Star

(Quoted in Champaign-Urbana Ill. News Gazette of September 9, 1937)

"Get Out Of The Way"

...There has been no declaration of war... A war is on, however, and everyone knows it. The best thing for Americans and American interests to do under the circumstances is to get out and stay out.

##

Bangor (Me.) Commercial
 September 8, 1937

From "Comment on Current News"

...We enacted the neutrality law to take a step that would tend to keep us from war. At least that was the argument of the statesmen who advocated it. Well, as we have it and as there is a robust war in the Orient, why not put the act in operation and see if it works out according to specifications?

##

Wichita (Kan.) Eagle
 September 7, 1937

"Critical Days"

...There is warrant for believing that if America does not take definite steps to get out of China at once it will soon be in up to its neck. Getting out is difficult. (It means withdrawing protection to missionaries, loss of trade, letting Britain down, etc.)

...But if Britain fights she will fight alone if America gets out, as a majority sentiment in this country undoubtedly now insists.

##

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Leavenworth(Kan.) Times
 September 3, 1937

"Keeping Out Of War"

...It would be far better to sacrifice commerce than it would be to sacrifice the lives of thousands of American boys to preserve our trade with (Japan) or any foreign country...

It was understood when the law was prepared that there would be hardships to encounter in the strict enforcement of American neutrality; but the people of the United States do not want war. The only way they can be certain of avoiding it is to keep our ships from the danger zone and by the government refusing responsibility for protecting the lives and property of those who for reasons of their own selfishly refuse to stay away from the scene of trouble...

##

Portland (Me.) Press Herald
 September 8, 1937

"Not Too Difficult"

(Business men and missionaries should not ask American protection in China.)

##

Louisville (Ky.) Courier Journal
 September 9, 1937

"Not A Time For 'Saving Face'"

The \$200,000,000 investment which represents their (American citizens in China) labors can be weighed against the expense of becoming embroiled in another war on the other side of a still broader ocean.

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Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune
 September 7, 1937

"Americans in the Far East"

The longer application of the neutrality law is delayed, the greater are the hazards we run that American shipping, or our nationals, will become involved in a serious incident.

##

Oakland (Calif.) Tribune
 September 4, 1937

"War and War Scares May Force Changes in Newly Formulated American Policies"

.....

As a world war moved in to upset the program which Woodrow Wilson planned, we now have affairs in China and Europe which would weaken or nullify policies and projects which have been close to the heart of the New Deal....

##

New Haven (Conn.) Journal Courier
 September 8, 1937

"Might and Right"

(Quotes New York Times)

.....

...If as the Times informant suggests we want to reinstruct the have-not powers in the sanctity of international agreements, we have got to make up our mind to talk their idiom. And that idiom, brutal and direct, is force.

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Boise (Idaho) Capital News
 September 2, 1937

"Let's Keep Out of Asia and Asia's Wars."

The Capital News believes it is time that practical plans for the perservation of peace be made before it is too late.....

The flood of propaganda to draw us into the Spanish conflict is as nothing compared with what impends now. This propaganda will be so strong that only loudly voiced strictly national views of Americans will be heard above the din....

..Political leaders and our state department have issued statements condemning aggressions and invasions.

This continuous cry of protest has had no noticeable effect on the aggressive nations and the answer isn't hard to find. The area of Japan proper, not including Korea, Formosa, Manchukuo, or outlying islands, is 148,756 square miles. It is smaller than California. In that area there are more than 70,000,000 people.

These are facts. Our own history of national expansion and aggression is also a fact...

The Capital News believes that American citizens definitely do not want to be drawn into military conflict with Japan, Germany and Italy in the Old World, that they will not be "sold" the idea that they should oppose the poorer, more crowded peoples on the field of battle to preserve the boundaries established by the fat ex-aggressor nations....

##

Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser
 September 8, 1937

"Protection of U.S. Nationals"

While the State Department's policy in the Sino-Japanese war has not been enunciated as clearly as it was at the outbreak of the Spanish revolution, President Roosevelt took pains a few days ago to emphasize the fact that the Americans

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have been warned to get out of the Chinese war zone.....It represents only a common-sense recognition that there are conditions which demand a higher regard than protection for a few Americans abroad. It is also a timely recognition of the nature of present-day warfare in which there is little distinction between the combatants and non-combatants of the countries at war.

##

Birmingham (Ala.) Age-Herald
September 8, 1937

"Americans in China"

Mr. Roosevelt having voiced the American policy that our citizens in China remain there at their own risk, it is to be assumed not only that no extraordinary measures will be taken in behalf of their safety beyond a reasonable effort to assist their evacuation....

American business men and missionaries in Shanghai do not like the President's attitude. One can understand their feeling and wish it were possible to do more for them without running the risk of losing more lives than were saved.....

But the cooler view best obtained at some distance from the struggle, is that the President is taking the wiser course.

##

San Jose (Calif.) Mercury Herald
September 4, 1937

"An International Outlaw"

So far as we are concerned there is nothing to do but meekly submit to Japanese dictatorship, for our interests in the Far East do not justify force to protect them.

##

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San Diego (Calif.) Union
 September 2, 1937

"The Wise Course"

(Approves the President's announcement not to send more ships to China).....
 To detach more modern ships from the fleet in order to strengthen our forces in China would be unnecessary and viewed from the Japanese point of view, possibly provocative. The fleet is where it belongs, at home -- and assembled in a body.

That being the case, moving ships about, or for that matter unnecessary talk of moving ships, would be both unnecessary and unwise.

##

Port Huron (Mich.) Times-Herald
 September 8, 1937

"None of Our Business"

.....And whether we ought to apply the provisions of the neutrality law to China and Japan is something to be decided according to its probable effect upon ourselves; and not what effect it may have upon the results of the war between those two nations.

##

Idaho Statesman
 September 6, 1937

(Gives size of navy and federal agencies in China) At first blush it seems a matter of supreme unconcern to America whether or not pirates infest the upper stretches of the Yangtze river; and certainly not a reason for spending time and money and risking American lives in patrolling the stream. And it has possibilities of international dynamite all neatly wrapped up in it.

##

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Weonsocket (R.I.) Call
August 23, 1937

"Get Out - Stay Out"

It is a very general feeling that after American warships and privately owned liners have taken the American citizens out of the war zone in China, this country should get out and stay out; that it should withdraw its naval and privately owned vessels and let the Chinese and Japanese fight it out amongst themselves, regardless of all this talk about freedom of the seas, etc.

The longer American-owned ships, whether naval or private, remain in the waters adjacent to the scene of the conflict the more opportunity there is for trouble.

There is nothing we want in the Orient. We should have no part in the quarrel between China and Japan, even though American munition makers may attempt to convince us that we have a sacred duty to perform.....

Chairman David I. Walsh (Massachusetts Democrat) of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee in Washington has suggested that the American Government withdraw all naval and other forces from the war zone as soon as American citizens can be taken to safety. The suggestion is an excellent one. Let us get, and stay out! We want no part in this struggle in the Orient. We should have no part in it.

If American citizens in China, officially warned to leave the arena of war in China, will not quiet and be removed to places of safety, that is their fault, not that of the American Government or the American people. If our battleships remain on the scene, it is to be expected that stray shells and shots may wreck them and take American lives. If all of our citizens in China leave that territory, and our naval craft sail for home, there can be but few, if any, international complications which might involve us in this conflict. If they do not, they are courting trouble, trouble the American people as a whole cannot be expected to approve.....

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Let the United States get out, and stay out of China! Let other nations meddle if they desire, but let us keep our skirts clean!

If we persist in remaining on the scene, it will be our own fault when something happens, not that of either the Chinese or the Japanese. Let us not court trouble above all! These are days when sanity should prevail, at least on the part of the peaceful citizens of these United States.

##

Trenton (N.J.) Evening Times
 September 9, 1937

"The Second World War"

While Americans find their way everywhere, either on business or on pleasure, and our trade penetrates to the far corners of the earth, we cannot remain remote and aloof. But we can, and should, resist the lures, the enticements and the temptations that are designed to carry us into the second world war, which even now is in the making.

It seems incredible, hopeful though we may continue to be, that the present crisis, which holds all the potentialities of war, can pass without the falling of the spark into the awaiting tinder box.

As the crisis becomes increasingly acute, our duty becomes more clearly apparent. We must be more judicious and more determined, regardless of provocation, and hold steadfast to the purpose of remaining out of it. Our slogan, now and forever, is this: "Never again for Uncle Sam."

##

Trenton (N.J.) State Gazette
 September 7, 1937

"At Their Own Risk"

In the past there have been essentially obdurate and selfish Americans who have insisted, for purely personal reasons, in remaining in foreign lands under conditions of grave danger and then have called piteously for the help of their

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

government when they became involved in trouble. The old theory that the flag follows every American and every American dollar, regardless of circumstances, has now happily been discarded in favor of the more enlightened and just rule that national welfare shall have precedence over individual interests.

With respect to Americans in China, President Roosevelt has laid down a policy similar to that applied to Americans in Ethiopia in 1935 and in Spain a year ago....The United States Government cannot assume responsibility for those who choose to remain.

This course will meet with the approval of thoughtful public opinion. Under the influence of events of recent years, Americans have become more realistic and have put aside the pseudo-patriotism of a more naive day that called for the clang of arms and the waving of the flag whenever an American oil concession was jeopardized or an indiscreet citizen became involved in difficulties with foreign authorities. It is something to have learned not to risk the danger of war without adequate cause, if there is such a thing as adequate cause.

##

0540

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
 Charge Department
 OR

Charge to
 \$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington,

1937 SEP 30 PM 7 02

September 30, 1937.

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE

NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE

PARTAIR

PLAIN

AMEMBASSY,

LONDON (England).

410 The text of this Government's formal representations to the Japanese Government in regard to the bombing of Nanking and the Japanese Government's reply to this Government have now appeared in the public press. Please ask the British Foreign Office whether it would be agreeable to furnishing you for transmission to the Department for its immediate consideration the text or the substantive portions thereof of such reply as the Japanese Government may have made to the British Government's representations on this subject. Please report by cable.

793.94/10041A

F/MR

FE:MMH:REK:FD

FE
 m.m/h.

PA/H

SKH

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1482 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1034/2

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

COMYANGPAT

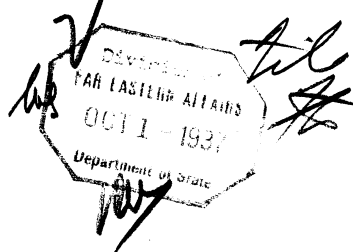
GPO

FROM Rec'd September 30, 1937

8:10 p. m.

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 COMSUBRON 5
 COMDESECON 5
 COMSUB DIV SIX
 CINCAF
 COMSOPAT
 AMEMBASSY NANKING
 ALUSNA
 PEIPING



0001 Yangtze area quiet. 0645

793.94

793.94/10342

OCT 6 1937

FILED F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

13-1

MSM

EU

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (B)

FROM

Geneva

Dated September 30, 1937

Rec'd 5:50 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

RUSH.

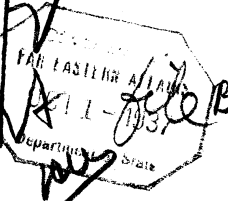
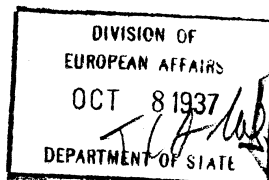
18, September 30, 8 p.m.

By 17.

Koo has just taken the trouble to call to tell me
that at meeting of Advisory Committee tonight he will
present a draft resolution denouncing Japan as aggressor.
If the Committee refers his proposal to the subcommittee
he will not object.

Koo also told me that this afternoon Munters sounded
him out as to Chinese membership in the subcommittee saying
that several delegations felt that as Japan would not
(repeat not) be present, China should not participate.
Koo pointed out to Munters that it was not China's fault
if Japan were not present. In fact China would be glad
to have Japanese present. But if China were to be excluded
from the subcommittee Koo would then withdraw entirely from
the Advisory Committee. I merely thanked Koo for the infor-
mation.

Nine



793.94/10343

OCT 9 1937

RECEIVED

793.94
with
793.94
Adm. Comm.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

13-2

RB -2- #18, September 30, 8 p. m. from Geneva

Nine thirty P. M. meeting has just been postponed
to Friday morning.

HARRISON

NPL

RGC

0544

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

14-1

JWB
JHS

PE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

GRAY

Tokyo

FROM

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 7:25 a.m.

Ad
SEP 1 1937
Department of State
OFFICE OF EASTERN AFFAIRS

Secretary of State,
Washington.

743.94

438, October 1, noon.

One. Under the general authorization contained in the Department's 240, September 29, 1 p.m., I have today addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a semi-formal note as follows:

"My Dear Minister: With reference to the assurances, both written and oral, which from time to time have been conveyed by Your Excellency to my Government to the effect that the bombing operations of the Japanese forces in China are aimed exclusively at Chinese military establishments, and that strict orders have been issued officers in the field that noncombatants as well as humanitarian and other non-military establishments are to be scrupulously and solicitously avoided, I consider it pertinent to bring to Your Excellency's attention the substance of a telegram which I have received from the American Ambassador in Nanking reporting the bombing of that capital, as follows: So far as the American Embassy at Nanking is aware, the only establishments at Nanking which can warrantably be regarded as bases for Chinese military operations are establishments

705.94/10344

FILED
F/FG
1937

0545

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

14-2

JR -2- #438, October 1, noon from Tokyo.

establishments such as the military air field, arsenal and barracks outside the walls of Nanking. The term "military establishment" cannot properly be applied to the Central University, the Central Hospital, the Ministry of Health, the Legislative Yuan, the Ministry of Finance, the National Economic Council, the Ministry of Education, and the electric light plant, all of which have apparently been the targets of Japanese bombing and some of which have been hit and damaged by bombs. The Central University has been bombed three times. It is also to be emphasized that bombs in certain instances have fallen within a hundred yards of the official residence of certain of the foreign diplomatic representatives in Nanking.

I am ~~My~~ Dear Minister, very sincerely yours, Joseph C. Grew".

Two. Having received no (repeat no) information from Canton I am unable to bring to the Minister's attention the facts concerning the bombing of that city conveyed by the British Ambassador to the Vice Minister (see our 436, September 30, 2 p.m.).

Repeated to Shanghai.

GREW

RR

0546

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

15-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MEMO

FROM GRAY

Canton via N.R.

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 9:03 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

PRIORITY.

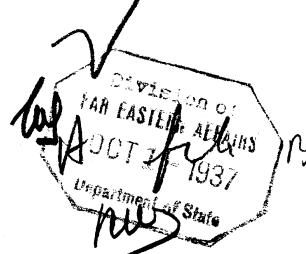
October 1, 9 a.m.

Canton River closed to navigation from 6 a.m. today by order of Military Headquarters. While river continues closed Canton-Hong Kong Railway offers only means of transportation between the two cities. It is officially stated, however, that a motor road is being constructed and is expected to be completed soon.

Hong Kong mail to Swatow.

LINWEIL.

DDM:RR



793.94/10345

FILED / FG
OCT 7 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MEBo apo

FROM GRAY

Hong Kong via H.R.
Dated September 30, 1937
Rec'd 7:50 a.m., Oct. 1

Secretary of State,
Washington.

FAH EASTERN
OCT 1 1937
Department of State

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

793-94

September 30, 5 p.m.

Referring to my telegram of September 17, 9 a.m.,
General Chan Chai Tong arrived in Hong Kong September
26th from Europe. According to well informed Chinese
sources he will be requested by Chiang Kai Shek to assume
a position under the Nanking Government.

Repeated to Department, Nanking.

DOHOVAN

JLS:NLP

793.94/10346

F/FG
FILED
OCT 7 1937

0548

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ask'd CH
7/16/37

DIVISION OF
 EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
 SEP 13 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RECEIVED
 OCT 1 1937
 DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS FROM

✓ *FE*
✓ *FE*
✓ *FE*
✓ *FE*

38wu fs, 20
 Av NewYork, Ny, 134pm July 13-37
 Hon. Cordell Hull,

Secretary of State - Washington DC.

Sincerely hope you will seriously consider Anglo American
 joint declaration on Far East I am extremely worried about
 the situation.

Raymond Leslie Buell Foreign Policy Assn
 223pm-

793.94/10347

F/MR

793.94

SEP 1 1937

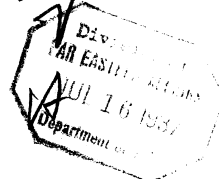
FILED

10347

0549

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

July 15, 1937.



My dear Mr. Buell:

I am indeed very grateful to you for your kindness in telegraphing me regarding your apprehension over the unfortunate events which have been taking place in North China. I welcome at all times any suggestion which you may care to make, and I thank you again for your courtesy in this instance.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Raymond Leslie Buell,
Foreign Policy Association,
8 West Fortieth Street,
New York, New York.

S GWR:MA

793.94/10347

F/MR

0550

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 893.20/627 FOR Tel. #779, 1 pm

FROM Shanghai (Gauss) DATED September 29, 1937.
TO NAME 1-1127 670

REGARDING: Robert W. Martin.

Civilian instructor-, reported that his connection with the Chinese
Air Commission had been severed for refusal to fly in combat. He
also reported that there are many foreigners flying for China. It
is rumored that bonuses are being offered.

hc

793.94/10343

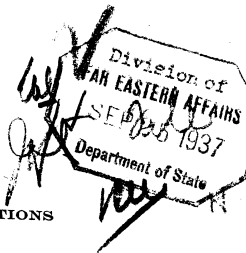
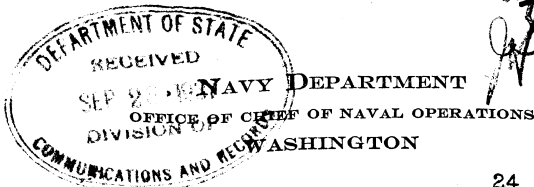
F/air

10348

0551

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

In reply refer to initials
 and No.



24 September 1937

Dear Dr. Hornbeck:

Referring to our conversation this morning I have sent the following quoted despatch to Admiral Yarnell:



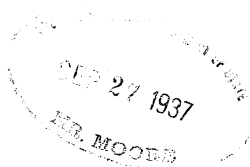
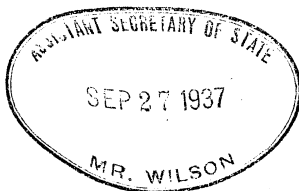
"Reference your 1422-1830 regarding quote policy of CinCaf during the present emergency unquote it is desired that hereafter any statement regarding quote policy unquote contemplated by the commander in chief Asiatic Fleet be referred to the Secretary of the Navy for approval"

Yours sincerely,

William D. Leahy

793.94
 note
 8/11/30

Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck,
 Division of Far Eastern Affairs,
 State Department
 Washington, D.C.



FILED
 SEP 27 1937

793.94/10349 F/JR

10349

0552

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

NAVAL MESSAGE
(NAVY DEPARTMENT)

OP-13B/PS

BR 212

From SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Released by W. D. L.

Date 23 SEPTEMBER 1937

NITE to

ROUTINE to CINCAF

PRIORITY to

To

CINC ASIATIC

T

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SEP 24 1937

Department of State

Confidential

793.94/10349

0023 POLICIES BY WHICH YOU ARE TO BE GUIDED ARE CONTAINED
IN STATE DEPARTMENT NUMBER FOUR HUNDRED OF TWENTY TWO SEP-
TEMBER TO AMERICAN CONSUL SHANGHAI PERIOD TEXT OF ABOVE-
MENTIONED SERIAL ANSWERS THE QUESTIONS CONTAINED IN YOUR
0020 0954 AND 0020 2342 1335

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FILE

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)

OSD letter, May 3, 1972

By [Signature] NARS Date 3/9/73

4-7028

U. S. NAVY

PARAPHRASE

F.W. 793.94/10349

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quatefen NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

CINCAF

aro

FROM

October 1, 1937

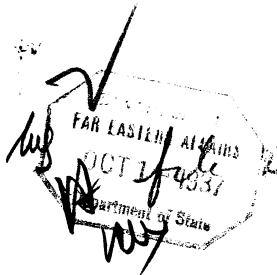
Rec'd 10:34 a.m.

FROM: CINCAF

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIG USMC
 AMN CONSUL SHANGHAI
 COMSUBRON 5
 COMDESRON 5
 COMYANGPAT
 COMSOPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AMEMBASSY NANKING
 ALUSIA PEIPING

793.94



0001. No change military situation Settlement quiet.
 Chinese reported transferring troops from Shanghai, Nanking
 to North China 1930.

KLP

793.94/10350

F/FG
 FILED
 OCT 7 1937

0554

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MB

apo

FROM

GRAY

Shanghai via N.R.

Dated September 29, 1937

Rec'd 9:11 a.m.
October 1, 1937

Secretary of State

Washington.

784

785, September 29, 7 p.m.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
Far Eastern Affairs
OCT 1 1937
Department of State

Japanese have continued heavy artillery bombardment of entire Chapei front including the Chinese troop concentration to the rear. Japanese planes reported to have dropped 75 bombs in two hours in that area this morning. Japanese military spokesman announced launching of strong Japanese attack on Chapei early this morning but no reliable reports received yet as to progress made if any.

GAUSS

RR:KLP

793.94/10361

F/FG

FILED

OCT 7 1937

61

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE
 NOTE

SEE 124.93/357 FOR Tel. 690, 10am

FROM China (Nanking) (Johnson) DATED Sept. 20, 1937
 TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

The American Embassy and other diplomatic missions and foreign nationals have been advised by the Commander of the Third Japanese Fleet to leave Nanking in order to avoid possible involvement in contemplated military measures.

M

793.94/10352

F/R

10352
 793.94

0556

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LMS

PLAIN

(Nanking)
USS LUZON via N. R.

Dated September 20, 1937

Rec'd 6:43 p. m.

Amconsul Shanghai Tientsin Chefoo Tsingtao Hankow Canton
Amoy Hong Kong Amembassy Peiping.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

600, September 20, 10 a. m.

CIRCULAR.

193.941

One. (The American Embassy and other diplomatic missions and foreign nationals have been advised by the Commander of the Third Japanese Fleet to leave Nanking in order to avoid possible involvement in contemplated military measures,) this Embassy will in near future take temporary offices and quarters aboard the USS LUZON and the Embassy's radiographic address will be in care of that ship. It is expected that the LUZON will remain near Nanking in order that the Embassy may do everything possible under these conditions to maintain contact with the National Government and to return to the Embassy premises at the earliest opportunity. Instructions concerning mail for the Embassy will be issued later.

124.93/357

Two. Sent to Consuls in Amoy, Hong Kong, Peiping.

Repeated

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LMS 2-No. 690, September 20, 10 a. m., from (Nanking)
USS LUZON via M. R.

Repeated to Department. Peiping repeat to Dairen, Mukden,
Harbin. Amoy repeat to Foochow. Canton repeat to Yunnan-
fu.

JOHNSON

SMS

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 493.94/18 FOR Telegram #789, 4 pm.

FROM Shanghai (Gauss) DATED September 30, 1937.
 TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Impounding of Boxer indemnity fund. Reports that Japanese portion of the fund due today has been impounded by Chinese government in a neutral bank and the Japanese so notified.

with

793.94/10353

F/MR

//10353

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE

JR
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (A)

Shanghai via N. R.
Dated September 30, 1937
Rec'd 2:24 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

*noted
793.94*

789, September 30, 4 p.m.

We are reliably informed that the Japanese portion
of Boxer indemnity due today has been impounded by Chinese
Government in a neutral bank and the Japanese so notified.

193.94/18

GAUSS

WWC:HFD

0560

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

BETHESDA-CHEVY CHASE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
 BETHESDA, MARYLAND
 September 30, 1937

1937 SEP 30 PM 3 14

THOMAS W. PYLE
 PRINCIPAL

Hon. Cordell Hull, DIVISION OF
 Secretary of State, COMMUNICATIONS
 Washington, D. C. AND RECORDS

Dear Sir:

The social studies classes of our high school are showing great interest in the struggle now going on in China. Many of the pupils have expressed the desire to use the proximity of the Chinese and Japanese embassies as an excuse for inviting some member of the staff of each to present the two sides of the struggle at different times. Naturally the teaching staff has wondered if this would not be contrary to the wishes of your department. It is certainly presuming to ask you for an opinion as to the propriety of this move, but it would show the pupils the seriousness of the situation if they had word from your office that such a thing would not be desirable.

It is our goal to help the children in our classes become better citizens in the future by being good citizens now. Requests like the one they have made are perfectly natural from their standpoint as we have trained them to ask questions about what they did not know and together we have worked out the answers to many problems. At least we have presented all the sides of questions that were still unsettled. That is the spirit behind this request.

If you think that the procedure outlined above would tend to embarrass your department in any way, please feel that we will accept your statement to this effect as final.

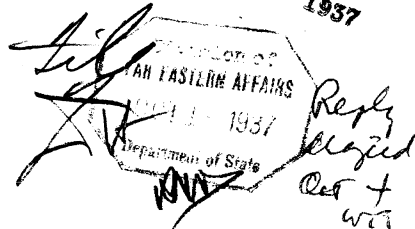
Is there a member of your staff who would be able to present both sides of the question to us, and also give us the background of our dealings with either side? This might answer the problem and keep the discussion entirely at home.

Thank you for any attention you might give to this letter which is written purely in an attempt to make more lifelike the study of history by our pupils.

Sincerely yours,

J. F. Barnard
 J. F. Barnard
 Teacher of United States History.

October 9 1937



793.94/10254

OCT 12 1937

FILED

F/FGN

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 9 1937

In reply refer to
FE 793.94/10354

My dear Mr. Barnard:

The Department has received your letter of September 30, 1937, in which you inquire in regard to the propriety of inviting representatives from the Chinese and Japanese Embassies to present before the pupils of your school the two sides of the present conflict in the Far East.

The Department cannot undertake to pass upon the propriety of your proceeding in the manner indicated. Although the decision in such matters and the responsibility therefor must of course rest with the individual concerned, it may be questioned whether issuance of the invitations which you have in mind would serve a useful purpose.

Your courtesy in bringing this matter to the attention of the Department is very much appreciated.

It

Mr. J. F. Barnard,

Bethesda-Chevy Chase Senior High School,
Bethesda, Maryland.

793.94/10354

F/MR

10354

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

The foregoing comment is of course for your own
 personal consideration.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

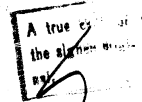
M. M. H.
 Maxwell M. Hamilton,
 Chief,
 Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

Wm
 FE:WTH:EJL

FE

10/8/37

CR
10
 OCT 9 1937.



DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 265



AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL

Singapore, S.S., September 2, 1937.

SUBJECT: Malayan Opinion on Sino-Japanese Situation.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

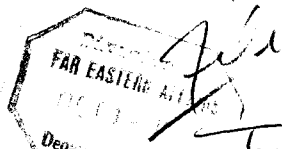
SIR:

793.94
 I have the honor, with reference to despatches 254 and 263 of August 18 and 28, 1937, respectively, on the above subject, to submit a summary of opinion in northern Malaya prepared by Vice Consul John Peabody Palmer under date of August 31, 1937. It will be observed that the newspapers of Penang are not only outspoken in their criticism of Japan, but one of their number the Pinang Gazette goes a step further and becomes definitely critical of the British Government for not taking a more determined stand, describing the British note regarding the wounding of Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen as a further chapter in the history of British "scuttle" before the aggressiveness of Fascist powers.

Respectfully yours,

Monnett B. Davis
 Monnett B. Davis
 American Consul General

(For enclosure, see following page.)



19754

793.94/10355

F/F/G
 FILED
 OCT 5 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

Enclosure:

Excerpt from report of August 31, 1937
by Vice Consul John Peabody Palmer.

Distribution:

Original and four copies to the Department.
One copy to the Embassy, London.
One copy to the Embassy, Nanking.
One copy to the Consulate, Penang.

File No. 800
MBD.pt

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure no. 1 to despatch no. 265, dated September 2, 1937, from Monnett B. Davis, American Consul General at Singapore, S.S., on the subject of "Malayan Opinion on Sino-Japanese Situation".

American Consulate General,
 Singapore, S.S., September 2, 1937.

Excerpt from report of August 31, 1937 by Vice Consul John Peabody Palmer

The British Note. Sino-Japanese Situation

The British note to Japan concerning the wounding of the British Ambassador to China is both praised and condemned here. There is agreement that Great Britain should be taking a "strong stand", but just how forcible the note really is is a matter of various interpretations.

The "Times of Malaya" of August 31, 1937 stated that Japan's primary excuse was absolutely disposed of by the declaration that ".... This was no accident resulting from any hostile operation" A strong statement, contemptuously dismissing Japan's most plausible explanation is, according to this paper, the portion of the note which reads, "The plea, should it be advanced, that the flags carried on the two cars involved were too small to be visible is irrelevant". The "Times of Malaya" ended its editorial by saying that Japan must realize that the note is the strongest that Great Britain has seen fit to serve on any Power for some years now.

The "Pinang Gazette" said editorially on August 30 that the note "cannot be interpreted in any light except that of a further chapter in the history of British scuttles before the aggressiveness of Fascist powers" and that it "amounts to nothing more than a little homily on Japan's inhuman methods". This strong criticism terminates in an observation that a concerted and rigid boycott of Japan's exports would soon make a continuation of her military activities an impossibility. (This is the first occasion upon which a boycott has been sponsored by a north Malayan newspaper. The "Pinang Gazette" has lately been so disdainful of "conservative" British policies, i.e. those which are not belligerently anti-Fascist, that it has verged on the irresponsible. (Perhaps due to the change of editors.) However, public opinion here is almost unanimous in the belief that the Italians were one hundred percent wrong in the Abyssinian affair, and therefore the influence of the "Gazette" in linking Japan with the Fascists is a factor in hardening local thought against the Japanese and into a wish that the British Government this time be firm.

Biting criticism of the British Official Wireless was made by the "Pinang Gazette" of August 6. British Official Wireless' terming as "journalistic ingenuity" the newspaper guessing at the significance of the exchange of personal letters between the heads of the British and Italian Governments was considered "decided impertinence" by the "Gazette" which delivered a broadside at the British Official Wireless to the effect that: (1) the service is not free to subscribers

in

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

in Malaya, though it is in other countries; (2) it is severely edited and displays no sense of news values; (3) it is frequently hours behind other sources of information; (4) it "hedges" when it is unnecessary to do so because all its news is authenticated; and, finally (5) it indulges in clichés which would be scorned by a cub reporter.

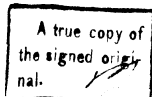
The "Straits Echo" has labelled Japan "The World's Public Enemy No. 1". An editorial in the same paper on August 21 said, ".... Japan's refusal to consider the proposed "Peace Plan" for Shanghai lays the responsibility for the loss of British property in that area directly on her and it will be interesting to see what will be Tokio's reply to the British demand for compensation for losses sustained "

On August 25 and 27 the "Pinang Gazette" stated that, " ... So far as the conflict is concerned, the Powers are neutral but unnecessary reiteration of policy cannot fail to encourage Japan in the belief that the Powers are determined not to lift a finger in defence of their huge interests and in the cause of the safety of their nationals ... " and added that Great Britain must now make her position plain and either: (1) protect, (2) withdraw, or (3) abandon to their fate, British subjects at Shanghai.

No comment on American vis à vis British policy in the Shanghai affair has been offered by the press. Britishers talked to seem to wish that they might blame the American Government for failure to take concerted action. They are, of course, unable to do so.

Chinese Fund Contributions

Chinese in Perak are understood to have contributed about \$75,000 in Chinese currency for the "Red Cross Fund". Donations from \$10,000 to \$50,000 (Chinese currency) have been made by wealthy Penang Chinese. In addition to the turnover assessment of 3¢ per bag of copra which has been collected for some time, a similar levy of 5¢ per bag of rice is now providing additional revenue to be sent to China.



DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

COMSOPAT

GPO

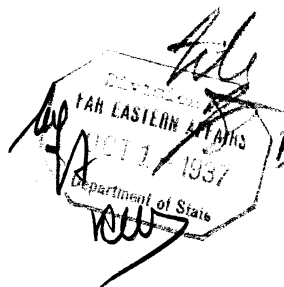
FROM October 1, 1937

Rec'd 12:11 p.m.

FROM: COMSOPAT

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIGADE, USMC
 COMSUBRON 5
 COMDESRON 5
 CINCAF
 COMYANGPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING CHINA



793.94

0101. On 29 September small Chinese gunboat at river barrier sunk. Sun Yat Sen University and Naval Academy at Whampoa bombed. At 0705 today two seaplanes attacked Whampoa area east of Canton. Anti-aircraft guns opened fire and planes retired to south at 0715. Past four days extensive air raids made in Kwangtung Province including Pakhoi Hoipog on Hainin Island and towns near Canton and along Hankow-Canton Railway which is in commission, coast ports quiet 2011.

CSB

793.94/10356

101 5 1337

SAFE/FG

0568

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

VIA AIR MAIL

No. 627

American Consulate General,

Hong Kong, September 22, 1937.

Subject: Transmission of clipping from the
HONG KONG DAILY PRESS.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegram of September 22, 1937, 10:00 a.m., regarding Hong Kong reactions to American policy in China and to enclose herewith the full text of the editorial from the HONG KONG DAILY PRESS of September 22, 1937, excerpts from which were quoted in my telegram under reference.

Respectfully yours,

Howard Donovan
Howard Donovan
American Consul

Enclosure:

1. Clipping from the HONG KONG DAILY PRESS dated September 22, 1937.

800
HD/g

Distribution:

- In quadruplicate to the Department, original by air mail.
- Copy to Embassy, London.
- Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.
- Copy to Embassy, Nanking.

793.94/10357

FILED
OCT 9 1937
F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

AMERICA — KNAVE OR FOOL?

Impatience at the attitude of the United States of America in connection with the Sino-Japanese undeclared war is simply a dissipation of energy. It must be obvious that a nation of the standing of America would not act in haste to repent at leisure. History has shown that, where warfare is concerned, the United States of America can at least be relied upon to take very deliberate action. In fact there has been at least one instance where and when the action was so deliberate that it was almost too late.

Cabled messages which we publish to-day indicate that the decision of the Government of the United States as expressed by the Ambassador to China is not quite in sweet harmony with the more venturesome and courageous spirit of the nationals of that country in this part of the world. Even the Admiral of their fleet is reported to be out of sympathy with the policy of the Government which owns the ships he directs.

As far as American prestige is concerned it is a sorry state of affairs, and we feel constrained to put the question—Knave or Fool? Even admitting the reasonability of the Monroe Doctrine, which is as doctrinaire as the facetious pronouncements of George Bernard Shaw, surely it cannot be contended that America can apply her isolationist policy to the Pacific? The commitments of that nation outside the boundaries of her States are great and far-reaching. It is unthinkable that America should fail to honour what are actually her honourable obligations in the Far East. Yet the plain fact

remains. America has decided, for the time being at least, to retreat before the increasing storm which is being made by Japan in Asia. We feel that we are reflecting the opinion of American citizens domiciled in this part of the world when we say that there is a definite feeling that their Government has let them down.

What the Chinese feel about the policy of the United States is even more detrimental to that nation than the views of America's own citizens. Reduced to its logical conclusion, the U.S.A. policy is calculated to facilitate Japan's dictatorial terrorism rather than to help China's defence of Democracy in Asia.

It seems that the matter must go much further than merely criticism of one nation. There must be speculation about others, and, from our point of view, Britain is in the forefront. Now that Japan has succeeded in diverting America from the course of responsibility, it is to be presumed that similar efforts will be made by Japan in regard to British policy. It is most devoutly hoped by us that in this connection Britain will not crawl away from her obligations in Asia. China has every reason to expect that Britain will do her duty.

She did in 1914.

0570

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

~~DER~~
~~EE~~

MBo

GPO

FROM

COMSOPAT

September 30, 1937

Rec'd 3:07 p.m.

FROM: COMSOPAT
 ACTION: OPNAV
 INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 COMSUBRON FIVE
 COMDESRON FIVE
 CINCAF
 COMYANGPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AMEMBASSY NANKING



0130 The Commander, Fourth Route Army has just issued orders stopping all navigation on Pearl River between Bocca Tigris and Canton beginning 0600 first October. As all other exits from Canton are closed, this means that foreign gunboats are blocked in. 2335

KLP:WWC

793.94/10358

F/FG
 FILED
 OCT 5 1937

0571

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

EE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MB0

GPO

FROM

GRAY

Peiping via N.R.

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 12:05 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 OCT 4 - 1937
 Department of State

608, October 1, 4 p.m.

/0322

Embassy's 601, September 29, 5 p.m.

One. The local Japanese military spokesman announced this morning that the Japanese force which took Juyushkou, the pass in the Great Wall east of Yenmenkuan, has advanced and occupied Taichow, which is about ten miles south of Yenmenkuan and is on the main road to Taiyuanfu, and that the Chinese forces are retreating in confusion. If this report is authentic, it would seem to be only a question of time until Taiyuan falls to the Japanese.

Two. The spokesman also announced that Japanese forces occupied September 29 Sienhsien, 28 miles west of Tsangluca, and that other forces occupied September 30 Lienchen, on the Tientsin Pukow railway 24 miles north of Tachow. The taking of Sienhsien may be an early stage in a flanking movement directed against Shihkiachwang on Peiping Hankow railway.

Repeated to Nanking and Tokyo.

CSB:

LOCKHART

793.94/10359

F/HG
 FILED

OCT 7 1937

0572

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON
SEP 30 1937
CHIEF CLERK AND
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1937 OCT 1 PM 1 46 September 29 1937

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS
Respectfully referred to the State
Department for consideration and appro-
priate acknowledgment.

Stephen Early
STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

793.94

File
Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 2 - 1937
Department of State
File
OCT 6 1937
October 9 1937

0573

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

"NEW YORK TIMES"

Sept. 26, 1937

THE NEW YORK

EDITOR OF THE

Policy Protested

Withdrawal of Ambassador From Nanking Decried

To the Editor of The New York Times:

As one who has lived and worked in China and in Nanking, I wish to add my protest to other expressions of opinion against the withdrawal of the American Ambassador to China from the Embassy at Nanking. This step is in line with, and is the logical successor of, the statement of President Roosevelt two weeks ago on the situation in China. I protest against the President's statement and the Ambassador's action on two grounds: First, they will fail to achieve their purpose of avoiding danger to American citizens; secondly, they run directly counter to the principles and traditions of American and international policy built up through the course of years in support of the peace of the Far East and of world peace.

President Roosevelt's statement that Americans who remain in China would do so at their own risk was doubtless intended for home consumption. But in China and Japan his words have been interpreted as an official announcement by the head of the American State that America would not protect the lives and property of American citizens, and by that very statement he has placed their investments and property built up through over three generations, and even their lives, in increased jeopardy. No one wants war, and there is no American sentiment in favor of going to war in China.

Safety Not Furthered

Further, the Ambassador's flight to a gunboat on the Yangtze River, apparently on instructions from Washington, was obviously taken as a means of safety to him and his staff and to Americans who went with them. Practically, the effects of this step may be directly the reverse of what was intended.

The American Embassy is two blocks from my home in Nanking. It has well constructed dugouts in the base of the hill on which the Embassy stands, where the Embassy staff would be safe during a bombardment. They would be much safer there than on a small gunboat in the river. The fact that the Ambassador has left may not only increase the danger to his own staff but will certainly bring increased jeopardy to the inhabitants of Nanking who cannot leave. By the Japanese, the departure may be interpreted as indifference to, or tacit assent to, the bombardment of the city.

In the second place, the statement of the President (and the action of the Ambassador) runs counter to the principles and traditions of American and international policy in the Far East and to the maintenance of world peace. This statement has been made before, but it needs reiteration.

Principles Abdicated

The principles associated with the name of the former American Secretary of State, John Hay, of the Open Door and the territorial integrity and independence of China, the Nine-power treaty, the Kellogg pact, all initiated by American statesmen, helped to achieve and maintain stability and peace in China. That stability and peace are now the object of a merciless and unprincipled assault by one of the signatories of all those treaties and agreements. The statement of the President and the action of the Ambassador are being interpreted in the Far East as an abandonment of those principles and an abdication of the position built up during past years. Peace and stability are not to be achieved by such abdication.

The issues in China are not local; they are national and international. They must and they will be settled ultimately on a basis of international justice and equity. In that settlement the friendship and good-will of the great mass of the Chinese people, and of the liberals in Japan, will count for more than the

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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The issues in China are not local; they are national and international. They must and they will be settled ultimately on a basis of international justice and equity. In that settlement the friendship and good-will of the great mass of the Chinese people, and of the liberals in Japan, will count for more than the favor of a military group in Japan which cannot achieve their purpose of subduing China, and who will in due time be ousted by their own countrymen.

W. REGINALD WHEELER.

New York, Sept. 22, 1937.

0575

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton C. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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 AND ASSISTANT TREASURER
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 ASSISTANT TREASURER

DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 September 28, 1937

His Excellency Franklin D. Roosevelt
 President of the United States
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a clipping from the "New York Times" of September 26, reporting a copy of a letter which I wrote to the "Times" on the Far Eastern policy of this Government, insofar as it was expressed by your statement earlier this month, and by the decision of the American Ambassador to leave Nanking when the threat was made to bomb the city.

I believe what I have written expresses the sentiments of nearly all the Americans who have lived and worked in the Far East, and of a large number of people who know the realities of the situation there.

The letter enclosed was written on the day it was announced that Mr. Johnson was leaving Nanking. We were glad to read later that he had returned to the city. Many of us do not believe that the problems in the Far East, and of world peace, can be solved by running away from them; and we do look to you for wise and brave leadership in these difficult times.

Yours respectfully,

W. Reginald Wheeler

W. Reginald Wheeler

WRW:VW
 Enc.

793.94/10360

FILED

OCT 12 1937

F/HG

0576

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 9 1937

In reply refer to
 FE 793.94/10360.

My dear Mr. Wheeler:

The Department has received, by reference from the White House, your letter of September 28, 1937, addressed to the President, with which you enclosed a clipping from the New York Times of a letter to the editor written by you in regard to the Far Eastern policy of this Government.

Your courtesy in sending the clipping is appreciated very much.

With reference to the mention of the departure of Mr. Johnson from Nanking, made in your letter, there is enclosed as of possible interest a copy of a press release issued on September 22 by the Department in regard to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

M. M. Hamilton
 Maxwell M. Hamilton
 Chief
 Division of Far Eastern Affairs

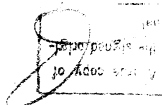
Enclosure:
 Press release of
 September 22, 1937.

Mr. W. Reginald Wheeler,
 University of Nanking, New York Office,
 150 Fifth Avenue,
 New York, New York.

OCT 9 1937

FE:WTT:HES
 10-6, 8

FE



793.94/10360

F / MHR

10360

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

To the "nth" assistant to the Secretary of State that will probably open ^{this} personal letter
 Just let me say that I want ~~Hull~~ to read it -
 not you - and that I'm paying you wages ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~it~~
 Hull needs some grapevines and spine stiffener and
 he apparently is not getting it from his daily contacts
 with his staff. It's time you remembered that
 Hull will learn the temper of the American people
 from the people not from ~~your~~ ^{your} letter enemies like you.
 793-94

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 RECEIVED
 MAR 21 1941
 DIVISION OF
 INFORMATION AND RESEARCH
 MAR 21 1937

Walter D. Lenz.

793-94

MA 21 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

0578

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Sept, 24, 1937
 55 Varnum St.,
 Lowell, Mass.

3
 RECEIVED
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 OCT 1 AM 10 41

Honorable Cordell Hull

Secretary of State
 DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS
 Washington, D.C.

Letter arrived
 Sept 26
 1937.

W

T
 H

Dear Sir:-

793.94/10482

The depths to which the
 world's respect for the United States of
 America has been allowed to reach,
 occasions me, a man who rarely writes
 a letter to anyone and never before to
 a Secretary of State to acquaint you with
 the fact that the ordinary everyday
 American is about fed up with Japan
 thumbing its nose at this country and
 ignoring all our known and vested rights.

I do not own stock in any
 capital threatened by Japan, nor do I
 have any interest in business located in China.

793.94/10361

OCT 4 1937

10361

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

but I am a reader of American and world history and I have never seen or heard of a country in our present position, where we do not even intend to make a move to grab apparently a country which has temporarily lost its balance, and ignored its sacred agreements.

If, you, Cordell Hull was in your own back yard at home, and quietly smoking after supper, after a day spent in quietly and carefully arranging to have all dogs which were running wild ~~or~~ restrained, because of an epidemic of mad dogs - what would you do as you watched a dog in a mad rage jump fence after fence and tearing women and children apart in each yard, and much to your surprise and indignation you saw the owner of the dog watching its progress of destruction and calling his previous friends on the telephone warning them to get out of the neighborhood or they might get hurt, and much to your further astonishment

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

you found that ³ the owner was one who had helped frame the regulations for the restraining of mad dogs that afternoon in your company? How long Mr Hull do you suppose it would take for it to dawn upon you that here was a man that did not intend to do the right thing in the neighborhood and how long do you suppose it would be before you decided that the fences between the dog and your family were no higher nor built upon no firmer ground than those the dog was jumping over. And Mr Hull how long do you suppose it would be before you threw the telephone across the room when the owner refused to listen to your protests and start out of the house with a shotgun?

Now, I'm no person to advise war, nor I'm no person to start trouble, but I've never seen the American Flag pulled down off our own possessions and running behind the flag of John Bull or others (except in

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Ethiopia or was it ⁴there) you ought to know for these things seem by chance to all have happened in your time and only in your time.

Of what good is it to speak of our Monroe Doctrine and our Pan-American protectorship of this hemisphere? - why the South American countries are looking upon our timidity with dealing with Japan as an indication as to how much protection we can promise anyone. It is a curious fact that weakness in high places has never brought about a wild cheering in this country. We have a great desire to mind our own business but we have difficulty believing that it is not our business when we are told to go home, get out of China or get shot. Why Al Capone never denied the victims of his warfare the right to stay and live in their homes if they didn't bother him, and see where we had to put him.

Why Teddy Roosevelt "may God hold him down in his coffin" would have had this ~~Japanese~~ ^{Japanese} problem well in hand in two weeks

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and the whole country⁴ would have been behind him. Even the U.P.A. workers, and the Lord knows there are plenty of non-citizens in their ranks.

What we need in our diplomatic corps is a few meat-eaters, a few strong language men, a few poker players and the whole world would cool off pretty damn fast. England and Canada would back up the move and Soviet Russia and France would at once feel better.

It is time the police department at least walked out of the alley and showed it was still standing for law and order.

If the universal brotherhood of man means only white people not Chinese babies and mothers maybe your right but if we are all human beings and are supposed to act as such, then it is time the United States took the stand that China is for the Chinese and Japan had better look out for the American and British Fleets were going on a trip around the world - 1st stop Japan.

You would damn soon see no more China bombings and maybe Mr. Mussolini and Mr. Hitler

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would sit up and take notice as well.

How about a little less discussion of incidents and a little more forceful reminder to Japan that we are primarily interested in peace but not at the loss of our self respect or the loss of our prestige in this continent or elsewhere?

I'm just a common middleclass citizen and I don't mean much to you or F.D.R. but there are several million more of the same mind and ~~the~~ the growing rumble is perfectly ~~auditable~~ audible to everyone but you apparently. If we were in the wrong it wouldn't matter how much Japan thumbed her nose, we'd need it. But we are in the right and you know it. - that being the case one more thumbing should be enough.

For God's sake point out to the world one instance which warrants ~~to~~ turning the other cheek to a nation slaughtering non-combatants in non military sections. Stand up in your shoes or boots and remember for the moment you represent 150 million people and that they stand for fair play in all respects.

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

If you do not reflect a very glorious picture to the world you certainly don't to me or the real americans who are disgusted with you slinking away in the bushes everytime Japan claps her hands.

We don't want trouble ~~at~~ but it was never avoided for long cutting through back alleys and wooded patches because there was a mad man down the traveled road we were afraid might not like it if ~~we~~ we continued about our regular daily routine.

Signed

Walter B. French.

No I'm not a Democrat and if this recent attitude of this Govt is continued there won't be a Democrat left in the country. Use Americans first and that don't mean people who can be "pushed around." There 200000 soldiers as 5th ave and the millions watching and listening should have told you so. We never had the name of picking a quarrel but we never have walked around one that was centered around a few or a lot of bleeding women and children, at least not yet.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 1 1937

In reply refer to
FE

My dear Mr. French:

By direction of Secretary Hull, I wish to acknowledge your letter of September 24, 1937, in regard to the situation in the Far East.

The Secretary has asked me to say that he personally has read and given careful attention to your comment. He appreciates the frank and forthright way in which you have set forth your views in regard to this Government's course of action. He feels, however, that some of the basic facts of the situation may not have been entirely clear to you and with this thought in mind, the Secretary has directed me to point out that American official agencies are assisting in every feasible way American individuals and firms in China in their efforts to safeguard their interests. The American Government maintains troops and warships at several places in China

to

Mr. Walter B. French,
55 Varnum Street,
Lowell, Massachusetts.

733.94/10361

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

to assist in providing protection to American citizens, principally in respect of mob violence.

The American Government has informed the Governments of China and of Japan that it reserves all rights on its own behalf and on behalf of American citizens in respect of damages which might result from military operations. Furthermore, this Government has informed the Japanese Government that it objects to the jeopardizing of the lives of American citizens and of non-combatants in general by the bombing operations of Japanese planes. Statements which the Secretary made public on September 22 and September 28 in this regard are enclosed.

The Secretary feels that this Government, confronted by an emergency situation which is attended by unusual hazards to everyone in the affected areas, has accorded all appropriate and practicable protection to American nationals, as this Government always has done. The American Government has also continued to uphold the principles of international law and of the sanctity of treaties, as it has always done. It has shown that it demands respect for the rights and safety of our people, and at the same time it has avoided involvement in the disputes

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 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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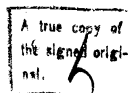
disputes of others. Bearing these facts in mind, it would seem that the only logical deduction which can be drawn from some of the statements contained in your letter is that you favor the use by the American Government of force in the settlement of international problems.

The Secretary specifically requested me to state that the foregoing comment is in no way to be construed as a criticism of your viewpoint and he trusts you will appreciate and understand that he at all times welcomes views from all sources on any phase of our foreign relations.

Sincerely yours,

M. M. H.
 Maxwell M. Hamilton,
 Chief,
 Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

Enclosures:
 Press releases of
 September 22 and 28,
 1937.



W.H.
 FE:WIT:EJL

S CWG

9/30/37

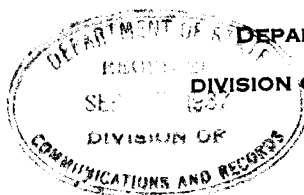
SEP 28 1937

FE

*Approved by the
 Secretary
 M. M. H.*

0588

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

SEP 24 1937

DIVISION OF

COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

MEMORANDUM



September 24, 1937.

Mr. Secretary:

The Belgian Ambassador is probably calling today to discuss the Far Eastern situation. Belgium has large interests in China. However, there are rumors of the impending resignation of Van Zeeland. It is probable, therefore, that he may wish to discuss the affect of Van Zeeland's resignation upon the economic study which he has been making.

793.94/10362

F/WR

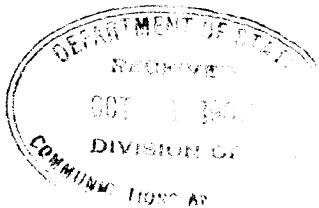
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Eu:LC:AMR. *PTC**40*

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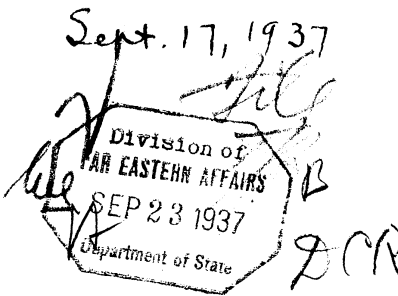
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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75



PART IV

MISCELLANEOUS

SINO--JAPANESE SITUATION:

Developments September 1 to 14, 1937 (Map Accompanying) -

North China Theater. The Japanese have organized the "North China District" in this theater, with General Count Terauchi, former Minister of War, in command. Under him are the "1st Northern Army," commanded by Lieut. Gen. Katsuki to operate on the Tsin-Pu front, and the "2d Northern Army," under Lieut. Gen. Nishio, to operate on the Ping-Han front. The assignment to this area of other important general officers, among them General Kita and the well-known General Doihara, emphasizes the political and military importance the Japanese place on this region. It is estimated that there are now over 140,000 Japanese troops in the two armies, with 24,000 additional including a mechanized brigade in the Ping-Sui sector; a total of 164,000 troops. The opposing Chinese forces are arranged in three general groups. On the Tsin-Pu line, under Han Fu-chu with Yu Hsueh-chung as Vice Commander, are 140,000 troops with 160,000 more available in Shantung. On the Ping-Han line there are 200,000 troops commanded by Liu Chih with Shang Chen as Vice Commander. Both lines are under Hsu Yung-chang. On the Ping-Sui front in Shansi, Suiyuan, and Chahar, there are 385,000 Chinese troops, including Chu Teh's ex-communist army numbering 100,000. This sector is commanded by Yen Hsi-shan, with Fu Tso-yi as Vice Commander.

The principal action in this theater consisted of a continued Japanese penetration westward along the Ping-Sui Railroad. The railroad tunnels at Nankow Pass, damaged by the retreating Chinese, have been repaired and partial train service was resumed on September 12. Meanwhile, the Japanese column from Kalgan pushed on against apparently weak resistance and on September 14 entered Tatung, Shansi, 120 miles from Kalgan. Fu Tso-yi is reported massing his forces on the railroad north of Tatung to oppose further movement west, while Yen Hsi-shan with Chu Teh is prepared to dispute Japanese movement south from Tatung. The Japanese push on this line would appear attenuated and their line of communications vulnerable. A resolute and active Chinese leader, if he were available, could cause the Japanese much trouble here.

Japanese movement to the south from Peiping and Tientsin has been held up by strong Chinese resistance, aided in no small measure by unusual rains. These rains have flooded the countryside and have made the roads practically impassable to the mechanized Japanese forces. Reliance for transport has had to be placed on Chinese carts hired locally. Chinese irregulars operating in the Peiping area have become increasingly troublesome to the Japanese. The Chinese main line of resistance is reported to run through Paoting on the Ping-Han Railway to Tsangchow on the Tsin-Pu line, then east toward the Gulf of Chihli.

On the Ping-Han line there has been little activity on the railroad. The opposing troops face each other in the vicinity of Lianghsiang, 15 miles southwest of Peiping. A Chinese force has moved

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

up through the mountains west of the line and is now engaged by Japanese troops near Montoukou, 15 miles west of Peiping. On September 14 the Japanese were reported to be massing troops and supplies on the Yungting River opposite Kuan, 30 miles south of Peiping, with the object of forcing a crossing and outflanking the Chinese entrenched on the railroad.

The Tsin-Pu line has borne the brunt of the Japanese pressure south. Machang was captured September 11 after severe fighting, and the Japanese have pushed on to Tingsien, 45 miles south of Tientsin. Stiff Chinese resistance may be expected when the Japanese reach Tsangchow, 15 miles farther south. By cutting the dikes of the Grand Canal in this region, the Chinese have flooded large areas and have hampered Japanese movements.

Some foreign observers regard fresh reports of Japanese naval activity in the vicinity of Haichow, the eastern terminus of the Lunghai Railway, as indications of a probable Japanese landing there, to cut across the Tsin-Pu line south of Shantung Province. It is believed that the Chinese are making preparation to repel such a movement. Landing and operating on a hostile shore against a determined enemy has proved costly, as the Japanese have found in Shanghai. The Japanese may make a feint there to draw Chinese forces from the Tsin-Pu, but it is doubted that a landing in force will be made at this point. In good weather the Japanese have been using their aircraft freely in bombing operations throughout the North China theater. Most of the targets have been Chinese defense lines and troop concentrations. There has been comparatively little deliberate bombing of civilians. There are no reports of Chinese air activity in this area.

Yangtze Theater. Despite savage attacks, and heavy air and naval bombardment, the Chinese in the Shanghai area have held the Japanese forces at bay for weeks. The Chinese have been active both in initiating attacks and in counterattack. Both sides have suffered severe casualties. Pressure has finally caused the Chinese to move their lines to the west. They are now engaged in making an orderly withdrawal to a strongly organized and prepared switch position running from a point northwest of Liuho through Kiating and Nanziang to Chenju. The new line pivots near Liuho and at Nanziang is about 10 miles in rear of the present positions in Chapei. Chinese are still holding Tazang and Chapei. The retirement will probably be completed in a few days. The distance of the new line from the Whangpoo River will reduce the effect of Japanese naval guns considerably. On the other hand it will permit the Japanese to land reinforcements and equipment with but little interference. It is stated that the Chinese withdrawal was insisted upon by Nanking's German advisers, who from the start were against a stand in a position so exposed to naval gun fire.

The retirement will ease the situation in the International Settlement considerably, but it will not solve the Japanese problem in Shanghai. Cholera has appeared among Japanese soldiers in the Paoshan area and among civilians in the International Settlement. There has been little Chinese air activity in this area. Most of it has been confined to night attacks. The Japanese have complete air superiority. They have made large use of this arm and have strafed wide areas. Many of their targets have been defenseless towns and refugee centers of little or no military value. The death toll among

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civilians has been heavy.

General Matsui has 80,000 Japanese soldiers ashore in the Shanghai area and 20,000 more on transports who no doubt will be landed soon. In addition there are several thousand Japanese sailors in the landing force. These sailors are holding the Japanese lines from Chapei to Kiangwan. The Chinese have 140,000 troops in the line with 200,000 more available nearby. It is reported that Feng Yu-hsiang, the one-time "Christian General," commands the Chinese forces in the Shanghai area. His Vice Commander is Ku Chu-tung. Chang Fa-kuei, Chang Chi-chung, and Chen Cheng command the Chinese right wing, center, and left wing, respectively.

South China Theater. With the extension of the blockade the Japanese Navy has been increasingly active in South China. Ships and planes have repeatedly bombed and bombarded Swatow, Amoy, Foochow, and the Canton area. The Pratas Islands, an important Chinese customs station, 200 miles southeast of Hong Kong, has been occupied by the Japanese Navy. The Chinese have blocked the Min River near Foochow and the Pearl River near Canton. The ship channel at Swatow has also been mined.

General. Both the Japanese and Chinese Governments are preparing for a prolonged struggle. The Japanese have put into operation their National Mobilization Act. This act provides for complete governmental control of all national resources. All existing military units have been increased to war strength. New units are rapidly being created from training cadres, reservists of selected classes. A very large proportion of her military strength has been dispatched to Manchoukuo and the two theaters in China.

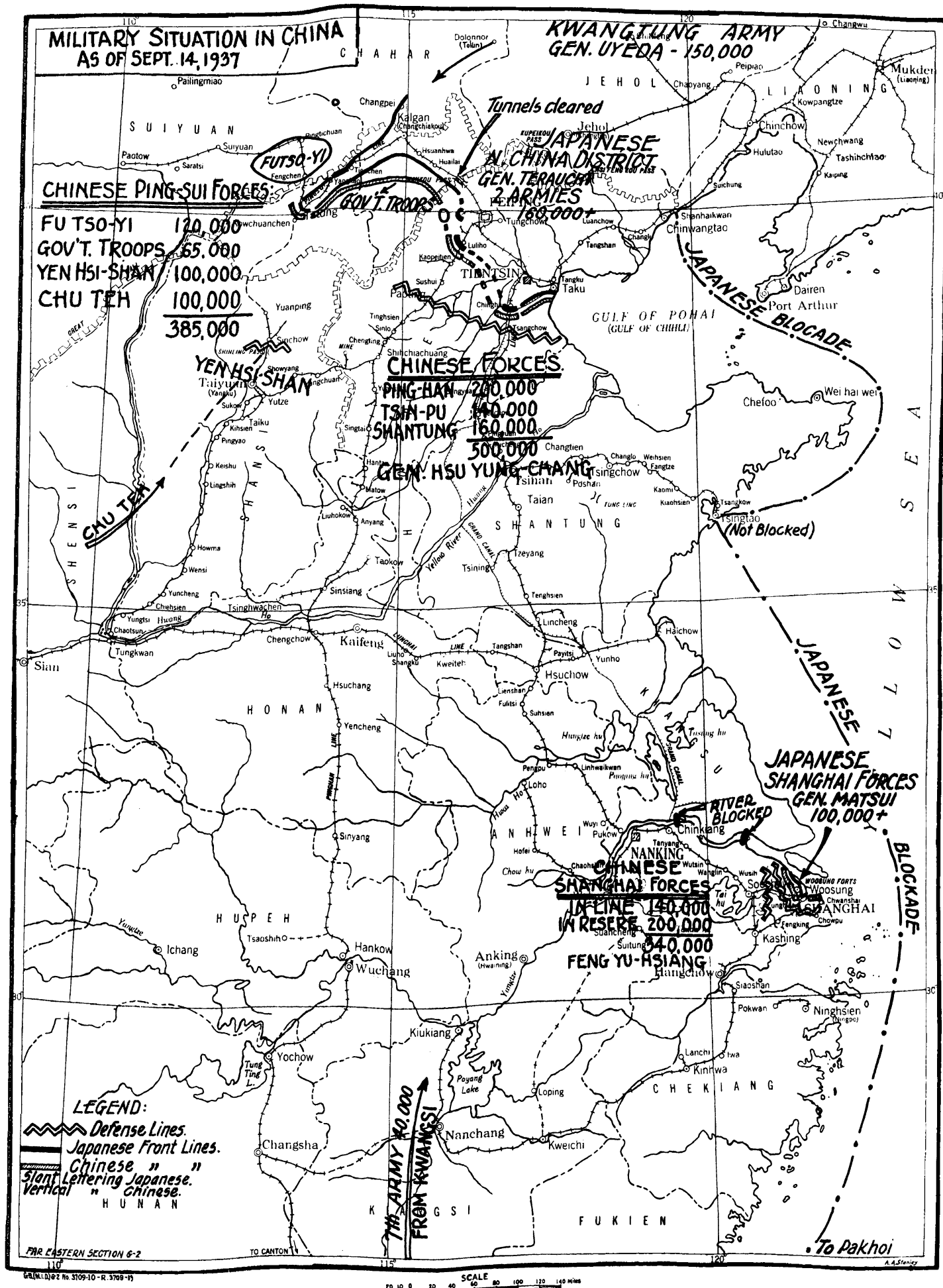
Similarly, China has established a War Council to mobilize all the military and economic resources of the country for war. This council, headed by Chiang Kai-shek as virtual dictator, will be superior to all Government organs for the duration of hostilities. All the antagonistic factions in China have been taken into the governmental fold. Chu Teh's ex-communist army has been incorporated into the Chinese Army as the 8th Route Army. Pai Chung-hsi, long a bitter enemy of Chiang, is now chief of staff of the Chinese field forces. Many other recalcitrant leaders are now in important military and political positions in what appears to be a unified China for the time.

There have been a number of reports of mutinies among the Manchoukuo troops. These are Chinese, officered by Japanese. Friction between Manchoukuo and Japan on one side and the Russian Far Eastern authorities on the other appears to be increasing. Manchoukuo and Korean fishing vessels and a Manchoukuo gunboat, have been seized by Soviet forces.

On September 7 the Japanese extended their blockade to include the entire China coast with the exception of Tsingtao and territorial waters of third powers. The latter provision excludes Hong Kong and Macao. The blockade, as announced, applies only to Chinese bottoms but foreign vessels continue to be halted and inspected by Japanese men of war.

Seventy-two Soviet planes were reported to have arrived at Sian, Shensi, with more on the way. Russian sources have both admitted and denied this report.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RE

GRAY

FROM

Shanghai via N. R.

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 4:04 p. m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

796, October 1, 6 p. m.

By September 29, 7 p. m.

Japanese continue intense shelling and bombing of
 entire Chinese line from Chapei to Liuho but have not
 yet launched a general offensive. Slight Japanese ad-
 vances made in Chapei on September 29th were not consolidated
 and Japanese have now withdrawn to their original positions.
 Sent to the Department, repeated to Nanking, Peiping.

GAUSS

CSE

793.94/10364

F/FEED
OCT 7 1937

0594

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

16-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

IBBo

GRAY

London

FROM

Dated October 1, 1937

FE/3-1

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

REC'D 3:25 p.m.
 ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
 MR. HORNBECK
 OCT - 8 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 OCT 2 1937
 Department of State

624, October 1, 8 p.m. / 10260

Your 399 September 28, 7 p.m. was taken up orally with

Cadogan on September 29. At the time the Foreign Office had not received any direct information from its representatives at Shanghai. Cadogan said that he appreciated the information and agreed with your view expressed in penultimate paragraph. He said that he would consult immediately with the Foreign Secretary as to what action might be taken by the British. The Foreign Office informed me today that after my talk with Cadogan a communication had been received from the British commander in chief at Shanghai somewhat similar to the one from Consul General Gauss. Foreign Office further stated that last night an instruction was sent to the British Ambassador at Tokyo to inform the Japanese Government that His Majesty's Government took strong exception to the presence of Japanese troops in International Settlement, and that the presence of these troops in International Settlement had no justification except as a measure of defense of an area in which foreign countries

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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HBo 2- No. 624, October 1, from London.

countries generally are concerned; to go beyond this brings into question the whole status of the Settlement and jeopardizes immense interests of other countries; the British Government therefore must strongly protest against the continued use by the Japanese Government of the International Settlement as a base for military operations. The British Ambassador was at the same time instructed to consult with his American colleague and, if possible, to make representations on the same day. If the American Ambassador had not received instructions to make such representations the British Ambassador was to make his alone.

The telegram to the Ambassador at Tokyo was reported to Washington and instructions sent to the British Charge d'Affaires to communicate it to the Department and to ask if the United States might be able to make similar representations.

JOHNSON

CSB:

0596

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

GRAY

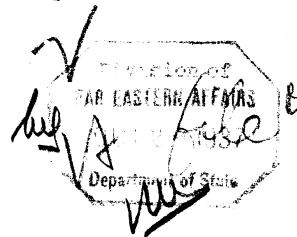
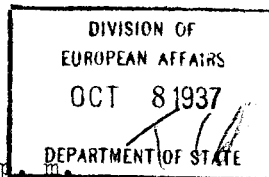
GPO

FROM Geneva

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 3:48 p. m.

Secretary of State
 Washington.



19, October 1, 7 p. m.
 By 18, /10343 September 30, 8 p. m.

793.94

Advisory Committee held public session this morning:

Cranbourne seconded by de Tesson proposed the following terms of reference for the Subcommittee.

(one) to examine situation in China; (two) discuss the questions involved; (three) and submit to the Committee such proposals as it might find fit. The Committee agreed to Cranbourne's proposal with an amendment by Koo that point one read "to examine the situation arising out of the Sino-Japanese conflict in the Far East".

The Chairman then proposed that the Subcommittee be composed of the representatives of Australia, Belgium, United Kingdom, China, Ecuador, France, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Russia and of the United States whose representative would sit on the same conditions as govern his participation in the Full Committee. Cranbourne and Koo proposed that Latvia be included and Munters act as Chairman of the Subcommittee. Litvinoff proposed New Zealand. With these amendments

793.94/10366

F/FG

OCT 9 1937

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17-2

RB -2- No. 19, October 1, 7 p. m. from Geneva

amendments the Chairman's proposal was approved, the Polish representative stating that he would refrain from sitting pending receipt of instructions from his Government. The Chinese delegation moved the following resolution:

Whereas, Japan has taken the initiative of sending to China powerful armies which have invaded large portions of Chinese territory,

Whereas, Japan has proclaimed a maritime blockade of China, and her fleet has bombarded various Chinese ports,

Whereas, the Japanese air force has also proceeded in Chinese territory to aerial bombardment, the illegal character of which has been condemned by a resolution of this Committee dated September 27, 1937, which was endorsed by the Assembly at its meeting on September 28,

Whereas, Japan has rejected the overtures made to her with a view to arriving at a pacific settlement of the dispute,

Whereas, she has in particular declined the invitation made to her on September 21 to participate in the work of the Advisory Committee,

Whereas, Japan has undertaken hostilities in defiance of the provision of the Washington Treaty of February 22, 1922, and of the Pact of Paris of April 27, 1928, of which she is a signatory

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RB -3- No. 19, October 1, 7 p. m. from Geneva

a signatory, and of the fundamental rules of international law,

The Advisory Committee condemns these violations of international law and of contractual obligations,

Condemns the illegal blockade of the Chinese coasts,

And declares that the facts noted above constitute a case of external aggression against a member of the League of Nations under Article 10 of the Covenant."

In the course of his remarks supporting his resolution Koo declared that the facts were incontestable and established a clear case of aggression under Article 10 of the Covenant. In view of the League's unsatisfactory experience in the past and present world conditions, China did not ask the members of the League carry out all their obligations under the Covenant but he did ask a study of definite steps to restore peace in the Far East. There could be no hesitation when it was merely a question of re-affirming the principles of the Covenant.

After some discussion it was decided to refer the Chinese resolution to the Subcommittee with instructions to report back to the full Committee so that the full Committee might report to the Assembly before the close of this session.

A meeting of the Subcommittee immediately followed.

Munters

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

17-4

RB -4- No. 19, October 1, 7 p. m. from Geneva

Hunters invited suggestions as to procedure. A discussion ensued in which Litvinoff supported the acceptance of Koo's resolution as it stood. De Tessen requested a juridicial and factual analysis of the situation referring to the Boxer and 1932 Shanghai arrangements. Unden pointed out the difficulty owing to the absence of Japan. Cranbourne urged the importance of having a complete expose of the facts with full consideration given to all sides of the question so that a suitable resolution could be prepared for adoption by the Assembly. "For the Subcommittee to go through Koo's resolution point by point and express agreement on that and that point was not a proper procedure for the League of Nations". After further discussion among the representatives of Russia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, the Secretary General agreed to prepare and if possible deliver to the delegates this evening a summary expose of the facts. Bruce summed up his understanding of what the Committee desired it should deal with the matter impartially with an open mind so that the Committee could go before the Assembly and the world with a suitable document. He suggested that such presentation of the case should contain first an outline of the original incident and of the extension of hostilities with the probable finding that these were not justified, secondly a careful examination of the

0600

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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RB -5- No. 19, October 1, 7 p. m. from Geneva

of the public statements and justifications which the Japanese Government and Japanese statesmen have made, and thirdly an examination of Japan's treaty obligations with other powers in respect to China such as the Washington Treaty and the Pact of Paris. The conclusion to be drawn from these studies would, he felt sure, result in establishing the fact of a clear breach of Japan's international obligations. There need be no detailed examination of vast obligations of League members under the Covenant but broad conclusions could be reached.

Koo then rose to speak but as the hour was late he stated that he would withhold his remarks with respect to the various views that have been expressed until the next meeting of the Subcommittee tentatively set for tomorrow morning at ten.

HARRISON

HPD

CSB

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

2ND BRIGADE USMC

Rec'd October 1, 1937

GPO

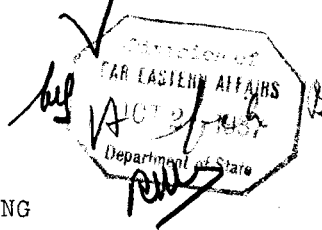
FROM

7:40 p. m.

FROM: 2ND BRIGADE USMC

ACTION: CINCAF

INFO: COMSUBRON 5
 COMDESRON 5
 COMYANGPAT
 OPNAV
 AMEMBASSY NANKING, ALUSNA, PEIPING



8601 Digest Friday press. Local press reports Japanese Army and Navy communique claim further gains 30 September stating Chinese position sector bounded by Range Road, Poashan Road, Pangpang Bridge and naval troops. Chinese driven from Haskell Road and Japanese North Szechuen Road occupied by Japanese naval units advanced westward in Chapei. Chinese reports state troops remain entrenched and lines intact Japanese attacks merely position testing raids and easily repelled. According Chinese communique Japanese driven from Ankuo Girls School morning 30 September later Chinese troops penetrated Japanese positions Range Road area to within 1 block North Szechuen Road. Japanese continued intensive artillery and aerial bombardment Chapei area planes reported using larger bombs than before. Liuhan sector shelled during morning and fire answered by Chinese artillery from Liuhan, Lotien and Taziang sectors. Chinese artillery shelled Hongkew evening 30 September. Japanese planes bombed Pootung morning and afternoon 30 September.

Japanese

790.34/10367

F/EGP

1017 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RB -2- October 1, 7:40 p. m. from 2ND BRIGADE USMC

Japanese Army communique states Japanese troops penetrated Chinese lines at Chutang, Yachinachai and Chichianchai and in afternoon reached Tching Creek. Other units completed occupation Chenchachai and Tuchianchai and continued advance westward. Chinese reports state Japanese failed advance any sector although tanks used Hsichienche, Swangtche and Taochiache. Reuter Tinstao reports General Han Lu Chu, Shangtung Government, made statement pledging himself resist Japanese invasion and submit to leadership Chiang Kai Shek. Chinese reports state Japanese plane 22 September dropped letter over Thin for General Han, Admiral Shen Hung Lieh and General Yu Hisun Chung asking for attitude regarding autonomous federation Charha, Siyuam, Shansi, Hopei and Shantung. Central Chengchow reports Major General Doishara in hospital near Tsingsin recuperating from wounds. Domei Tinsin reports Japanese forces 29 September occupied Tungkwan-Tsinpu Railway and Sienhsien advancing to within 30 kilometers Shantung border. Japanese military authorities reports General Han Fu Chu planning move capital to town on Kiaochow Railway. Domei Tatung reports Japanese forces occupied several strategic positions Shansi province past few days including Fangtse inside inner Great Wall and now advancing towards Senti northwestern Shansi. Reuter

Canton

0607
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

RB -3- October 1, 7:40 p. m. from 2ND BRIGADE USMC

Canton reports Japanese planes bombed Whampao morning
30 September. Central Canton reports 1 Japanese plane
shot down near Canton afternoon 30 September. Reuter
London reports Japanese sending heavy reinforcements
PanchuOako believed in for anti-Japanese uprising or
possible Soviet intervention present conflict. 1001

RGC

EDA

0604

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

18-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RB

GRAY

London

FROM

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 4:11 p. m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

625, October 1, 9 p. m.

Your 403, 1034/a
September 30, 8 p. m.

The Foreign Office informs me that they have received only a resume of the Japanese Government's reply to their representations regarding the bombing of Nanking. The TIMES of this morning, however, carries under a Tokyo despatch what purports to be the full text of the note in an official English translation furnished by the Japanese Foreign Office. The despatch states that the replies made to the British, American and French Ambassadors regarding the bombing of Nanking were identic. The telegram from the British Ambassador to the Foreign Office did not state that his reply was identic with any other. The British Ambassador's resume, however, checks with the text published in the TIMES this morning which I presume has appeared today in the American press. Following is resume of note as published in the TIMES:

Since Nanking is central base Chinese military operations it is unavoidable for attaining military aims of Japanese

✓
 1034/a
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 EASTERN AFFAIRS
 10012-1001
 10/1/37

793.94/10363

F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

18-2

RB -2- No. 625, October 1, 9 p.m. from London

Japanese forces that military establishments and aerodromes should be bombed. They are not directed indiscriminately at noncombatants. Warning issued in advance to noncombatants is testimony to above statement. Japanese Government hoped British Government fully understanding that Japanese forces are greatly handicapped in operations by giving advance notice requesting nationals of third powers to seek refuge, would be good enough to cooperate with Japanese Government. All responsibility for damages suffered by nationals of third powers as result of hostilities in China is repudiated.

JOHNSON

CSB

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MEMO

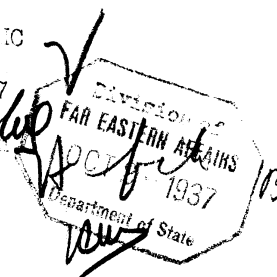
This message was received in navy code and must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone.

2nd Brigade USMC

October 1, 1937

Rec'd 11:40 p.m.

FROM: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 ADDRESS: ALUSNA PEIPING
 INFO: NAVY DEPARTMENT



0001 Have been informed by Carlson that Nanking officials are both cheerful and confident, that communication lines between Nanking and Shanghai are in perfect order, that many new military roads have been built, and civilian citizens are not perturbed by plane attacks. Have heard that the Nanking Government has contracted with France for 70 million francs worth of airplanes and has other contracts for planes with England and the Soviet Government, a contract with the Nazi Government for ammunition, and one with Russia for tanks. It has been learned from rather reliable origin in Siberia that Outer Mongolia would soon be recognized as Chinese territory so that China would be able to receive help without implicating the Soviet regime. Artillery munitions have been shipped to Lanchow from (Kutsunchen) Kutsungnan and from Lanchow they will be convoyed overland. From other sources it was reported that there are one hundred Russian planes at Loyang now in the process of being repainted. Despite the heavy artillery and bombing attacks, the Chinese lines in this area remain firm.

193.94
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 893.248
 893.24

793.94/10369

OCT 7 1937

F/EG

0607

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

EE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBO

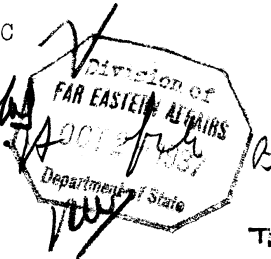
This message was received in navy code and must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone.

FROM

2nd Brigade USMC

October 1, 1937

Rec'd 11:10 a.m.



FROM: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 ACTION: ALUSNA PEIPING
 INFO: NAVY DEPARTMENT

0001 Have been informed by Carlson that Nanking officials are both optimistic and confident also that communication lines between Nanking and Shanghai are in perfect order, that many new military roads have been built and civilians are not perturbed by plane attacks. Chinese lines in this area are firm despite heavy bombardment at Loyang. One hundred Russian planes are reported being repainted. Have heard from reliable source that the Nanking Government has contracted with France for 78 million francs worth of airplanes and has other contracts for planes with England and Russia, also contracts with Russia for tanks, munitions and artillery and one with Germany for munitions. It is reported that Hut Sung Nan has departed for Lanchow and will provide overland convoy for shipment from Siberia. It has been learned from another fairly reliable origin that Outer Mongolia may soon be recognized as Chinese territory so that China will be able to receive help without implicating Soviet regime 1325.

F.W.

793.94/10369

(31 7 1937

F/HQ

CSB:

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

INFO

This message was received
 in navy code and must be **FROM**
 closely paraphrased before
 being communicated to anyone.

Alusna Peiping

October 1, 1937

Rec'd 11:40 p.m.

FROM: ALUSNA PEIPING
 ACTION: NAVY DEPARTMENT
 INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
 COMDESRON 5
 COMSUBRON 5
 AMEMBASSY NANKING
 CINCAF
 COMYANGPAT



793.94

0001 Japanese advanced to Tachow in Shantung; approx-
 imately 70,000 North Eastern Chinese troops have refused to
 fight demoralizing Tsingpu front. General Feng urgently
 requested assistance of Nanking or lose all North China,
 reported receiving reply, tanks, artillery, planes on way
 but doubted reliable. Jap source states no reverses in
 Shansi. Apparently Lunghai Railway next resistance line
 but unless strong reinforcements arrive believe Nippon-
 ese advance will carry to Yellow River. Little opposi-
 tion expected on Pinhan Front following Nippon reinforce-
 ments arrived Chinwangtao last couple days: 30,000 troops,
 60 artillery pieces, 250 trucks, 11 cars ammunition. Ja-
 panese troops outside Peiping pointed out by their spokes-
 man as between 40 and 50 years of age. 2045

793.94/10370

OCT 7 1937

F/E/9

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 859.9111/168 FOR Despatch #27

FROM Denmark (Owsley) DATED Sept. 18, 1937
 TO NAME 1-1127 670

REGARDING: Sino- Japanese conflict. Reprints telegram from Washington under heading "B.T." regarding alleged participation of U. S. banks in financing of,--.

"U.S.A. Banks finance Japan in war on China."

Under the above three-column heading "B.T." reprints the following telegram from Washington:

"Wednesday morning.

"According to what the United States press learns from well-informed sources, American banks are participating in the financing of the Japanese war. Large American banking corporations continue to extend mounting credits to Japan, while at the same time, according to the existing agreement between the Treasury Department of the United States and the Chinese Minister for Finance, extensive credits are obtained for the Chinese Government.

"In this way American dollars are contributing to the war on both sides."

793.94/10371

10371

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 892.00 P.R./101 FOR Desp.#596

FROM Siam (Chapman) DATED Sept. 18, 1937
 NAME 1-1127 070
 //H6//

REGARDING: Sino-Japanese hostilities: Reports regarding
 effects of -, on Siamese affairs - especially
 trade and cost of living. Gives summary of
 press comment.

fpg

793.94/10372

F/MR

10372

0611

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

19-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GPO

GRAY

FROM

Geneva

Dated October 2, 1937

Rec'd 11:18 a.m.

DIVISION OF
 EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
 OCT 9 1937
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

20, October 2, 3 p.m.

My telegram 19, October 1, 7 p.m.

Subcommittee met this morning and agreed on the following procedure: to examine (one) question of Japanese forces in Chinese territory, (two) Japan's treaty obligations in the matter; (three) whether there is any justification of Japanese action. It proceeded to the consideration paragraph by paragraph of the expose on point one above prepared by the Secretary General restricting itself strictly to a discussion of facts as from July 7.

Subcommittee will meet at 3:30 this afternoon to continue with the study of the expose on point two.

HARRISON

RR:GSB

793.94/ 10373

OCT 11 1937
 FILED
 F/FG

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MM

COMSOPAT

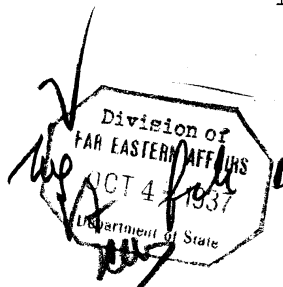
Rec'd. 10:32pm. October 2,

TO: ^{OP}NAVY DEPT.

FROM

1937.

INFO: 2nd BRIGADE USMC
 COMSUBRON 5
 COMDESRON 5
 CINCAF
 COMYANGPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AMEMBASSY NANKING



0002. Usually reliable source states blocking Pearl River because military authorities heard Japs intend send large naval force South China Ortghainan Island. Other South China ports quiet. Recent bombing Thampoa caused sinking one Chinese transport and two small gunboats. Two seaplanes observed over Whampoa today at fifteen hours. Two Chinese pursuit planes took air and bombers retired. 2250

793.94/10374

OCT 7 1937

F/FG
FILE

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MM

COMYANGPAT

FROM: Rec'd. 10:33pm. October 2,

1937

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2nd BRIGADE USMC
YANGPAT
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMSUBRON 5 ADMINISTRATIVE
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA PEIPING



0002 Yangtze area quiet 2050

793.94 / 10375

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0614

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

FROM

COMYANGPAT

October 2, 1937

Rec'd 12:45 p.m.

FROM: COMYANGPAT
ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
COMSUBRON 5
CINCAF
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA PEIPING CHINA



0001 Five Jap planes bombed vicinity Lishui thirty
miles southeast of Nanking at 1000 today 2320.

CSB:

793.94/10376

F/PEB
OCT 7 1937

0615
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

CINCAF via N. R.

FROM
October 2, 1937

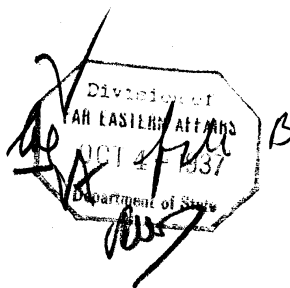
Rec'd 3:25 p. m.

CINCAF

Action: Opanav

Info:

Comsubron 5
Comyangpat
Comsopat
Amembassy Nanking
Alusna
Peiping



8602 Digest Saturday press local reports Japanese
communique claims further gains Chapei area stating naval
landing party units advanced along line between Range
Road and Wangpang Bridge with severe hand-to-hand fight-
ing area around north Szechuen and Paoshan roads. Chinese
spokesman states Japanese attempts enter Chapei failed
with heavy casualties. Chinese claim attack night 30
September drove Japanese troops from houses between
north Kiangsi and north Szechuen roads north of range
road. Artillery and aerial bombardment Chapei continued
1 October. Pootung bombed by Japanese plane at inter-
vals 1 October following artillery bombardment night
30 September. Chinese planes made five raids Yangtzepoo
district

793.64/10377

FILED
E/EG
OCT 7 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

IMS 2-From CINCAF, October 2, 1937

district night October between 2140 and 0035. One American injured when bomb struck Borden Company factory Tung-yueh road. Japanese used searchlights newly installed ashore. Chinese reports claim Manchukuo bandits and irregulars being used Yangtze front reinforced by Japanese troops. Shells reported found which were manufactured in Fengtien before Japanese occupation 1931. Japanese spokesman stated Japanese troops occupied southern section Liuhang morning 1 October bringing entire village under Japanese control. Other units advanced toward Kiating with lines now 3000 meters beyond Lotien. Japanese detachments 1 October reported crossed Liuho Shanghai highway attacked Chuedai and Tapingchiao. Lotien Liuhang section Liupo Shanghai highway reported under Japanese control. Chinese spokesman denied capture southern section Liuhang and stated Japanese assault at Mengwan Kookache and Changche areas 2000 meters southeast Liuhang repelled with about 500 Japanese casualties. Chinese reports state Japanese Amempog break line Liuhang to Ssisiangkungmiao northwest Lotien but Chinese troops remain in positions. Reuter Canton reports Chinese Fourth Route Army issued orders not vessels allowed pass Bocca Tigris forts and all traffic Pearl River stopped. Several foreign merchant and naval vessels shut in by reported

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LMS 3-From GINCAF, October 2, 1937.

reported obstruction. Central Nanchang reports Japanese planes raided Nanchang and two other cities Kiangsi Province afternoon 1 October. Reuter Peiping reports Japanese claim capture Yenmen Pass occupation Taichow 86 miles north Tayuan Shanghai 30 September. Domei Shanghai reports Japanese detachments 30 September occupied Ningwu 140 kilometers southwest Taung and Tayingchen 120 kilometers southeast Tatung. Chinese troops attempted enter Suiyuan through Peinkwan but halted by Japanese forces at Ningwu. 6000 Chinese regular and communist troops reported enveloped in Taichow plain. General Yen Hsi Shan Shansi and Suiyuan Pacification Commissioner reported transferring government to Linfen 300 kilometers southwest Taung 1027.

CSB

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

20-1

FL

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JLS

CINCAF

GPO

FROM October 3, 1937

Rec'd. 1:20 p. m.

FROM: CINCAF
ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2nd. BRIGADE USMC
ANCON AT SHANGHAI
CONSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMYANGPAT
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING

77

2
Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 4 1937
Department of State
W

793.94/10378

0003 Japanese attacks now centered Lotien Liuhang front and Chapri section making small advances aided heavy artillery intensive bombing other sections quiet. Nineteen shells Japanese batteries Hongkew struck American sector evening second no marine casualties. During last two Chinese air raids Socony Pootung installation and Fordern Company building Yangtzepoo struck several bombs no casualties believed Japanese airfield undamaged. 1945

1017 1937
E/FG
FILED

0615

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

~~PASAT~~

FE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

October 7 1937

JR

GPO

FROM CINCAF

October 3, 1937

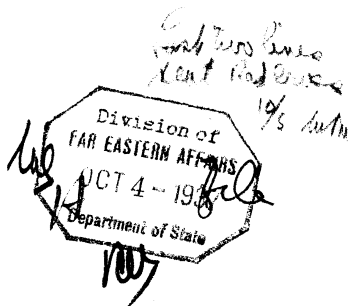
Rec'd 8:45 p.m.

FROM: CINCAF

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
AMCON SHANGHAI
COMSU
COMDESCON
COMYAGPAT
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA PEIPING

793.94



793.94/10379

Red
Cross

0002. Japanese report small gains in Lotien Liuhang
sectors Chinese report small gains in Kaingwan other
sectors unchanged thirteen Japanese transports have
arrived in last three days Chinese planes made three
raids Yangtzepoo during night otherwise settlement quiet
(number Chinese wounded in settlement hospitals now reduced
to thirty-two hundred. 1955.

JLS

FILED
OCT 8 1937

0620

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

10379

October 7 1937

793.94/10379.

My dear Mr. Swift:

With reference to previous correspondence in regard to the situation at Shanghai, there is given below an excerpt from a telegram of October 3 from the Commander-in-Chief of the Asiatic Fleet at Shanghai which may interest you:

Number Chinese wounded in settlement hospitals now reduced to thirty-two hundred.

Sincerely yours,

M. M. H.

Maxwell M. Hamilton
Chief
Division of Far Eastern Affairs

793.94/10379

F/MR

Mr. Ernest J. Swift,

Vice Chairman, American National Red Cross,

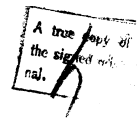
Washington, D. C.

lrm
FE:MSM:HES

10-5

CR *✓* *guy*

OCT 6 1937. PM



0621

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

21-1

JWB

EV

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

GRAY

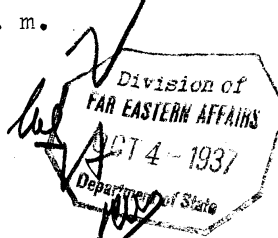
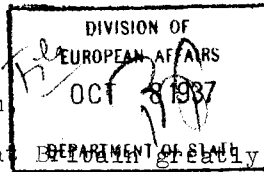
FROM London

Dated October 2, 1937

Rec'd 12:10 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

628, October 2, 4 p. m.



793.94/10380

Public opinion in Great Britain is greatly shocked by the bombardment of defenseless civilians in China is gradually consolidating and resentment against the Japanese is being translated into various forms of protest. Business interests with investments in China are of course vocative in urging the Government to prevent further losses to British trade. A national protest meeting organized by Sir Arthur Salter through the NEWS CHRONICLE is to be held on October 5, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Liberal, Socialist and Labor leaders and papers are vociferously demanding a national and international boycott of Japanese goods and the National Council of Labor has publicly endorsed this scheme.

At the present time the Government is letting it be known that it disapproves of the boycott idea and hence the conservative press is playing it down. There is frequent reference to the desirability of the United States joining

ST 8 1937

FILED

F/EG

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

21-2

LNS 2-No. 628, October 2, 4 p. m., from London.

joining in the boycott and it is realized by the advocates of this measure that no embargo could be effective without United States cooperation. The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN suggests that in order not to have the United States think "that we intend to have her pull the chestnut out of the fire for us" action should be taken through the League without making it contingent upon the United States taking similar action. It is announced that the Labor party will press the Government for an immediate convening of Parliament for the purpose of discussing the Far Eastern situation.

CONFIDENTIAL. While I have no intimation of the Government's point of view regarding any possible international economic boycott of Japan, it may be pointed out that the foreign nations in commenting to me on the agitation for a British boycott of Japan, although entirely sympathizing with the motives of the proposal, say it is an indication of how "irresponsible" public opinion can be. The proposers of the boycott have no conception, it is said, of how easily their recommendations, if translated into action, could land Great Britain in a war with Japan.

JOHNSON

RR:CSB

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

~~11-5-44~~

~~1~~
~~EU~~

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MM

GRAY

Geneva

FROM

Dated October 2, 1937

Rec'd. 6:40am. 3rd.

Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OCT 8 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 4 - 1937
Department of State

22, October 2, midnight

My 21, ^{11:00} October 2, 5pm.

Subcommittee tonight completed preliminary examination of the expose which includes the question of Japanese forces in China, Japanese treaty obligations in the matter and official statements and justifications made by the Japanese. The rewritten expose will be briefly reconsidered Monday morning. The chairman will then present draft conclusions as a basis for a resolution or resolutions to the full committee.

HARRISON

RR

793.94/10381

F/REG
OCT 9 1937

0624

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 893.00 P.R. Yunnan/107 FOR Despatch #3

FROM Yunnanfu (Meyer) DATED Sept. 7, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Sino-Japanese relations: Departure of Japanese
Consul and closing of the Japanese Consulate at
Yunnanfu: Report on-, for month of August, 1937.

793.94/10382

aa

10382

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1. Japan.

(a) Departure of the Japanese Consul and
Closing of the Japanese Consulate at
Yunnanfu.

Under date of August 4, 1957, the Japanese Consul at Yunnanfu informed the American Consul that "under special circumstances" he was leaving for Hanoi on August 5 and that during his absence the consulate would be closed. The Japanese Consul took his archives with him and stated that he would establish his office temporarily in Hanoi pending the receipt of further instructions. After his departure there remained a Japanese barber and two Koreans who departed on August 20. A

Japanese

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-3-

Japanese woman, formerly married to an Italian, and not usually considered as belonging to the Japanese community, is still in Kunming. It is understood that she also has been asked to leave. The Japanese Consul, before his departure, informed Consul Kenfield that goods belonging to Japanese had been sealed up, but just where and by whom is not clear.

(b) Organized Japanese Agitation.

During August the work of organizing anti-Japanese agitation in the province of Yunnan progressed under the sponsorship of the "Resist the Enemy Support the Nation Association of Yunnan". Mr. Chang Han-han, (張邦翰) Provincial Commissioner of Reconstruction and an official in the Kuomintang, was appointed Chairman of the Association, and Mr. Hsiao Hsun-fan (蕭存藩), a member of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Tangpu, was appointed Chief Clerk. An elaborate organization has been set up to carry on the work of the Association. The following additional similar organizations were set up during the month: "Yunnan Anti-Aircraft Federation", a "National Supporting Association" organized by students, a "Women's National Supporting Association" and a branch of the "National Committee for Collecting and Receiving National Salvation Bonds". These organizations and others such as the Tangpu and the Educational Association were active during the month in working up anti-Japanese feeling and support for the National Government. Efforts are being made to establish branches of these organizations in outlying districts.

(10)

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-4-

(a) Boycott of Japanese Goods

strenuous efforts were made during the month (especially after the departure of Japanese nationals) to make effective a strict enforcement of the boycott of Japanese goods. Even the foreign consulates were notified by the "Resist the Enemy Support the Nation Association of Tunis", through the special delegate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the boycott and of the necessity for foreign merchants to cease dealing in Japanese goods and to have their stocks of Japanese goods sealed up.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JS

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

PEIPING Via N.R.

Dated October 2, 1937

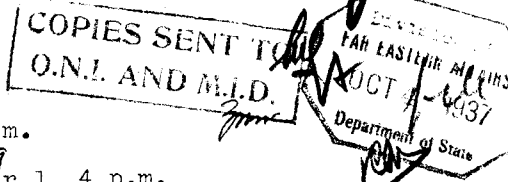
FROM

Rec'd 5:28 p.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington, D.C.

613, October 2, 3 p.m.

Embassy's 608, October 1, 4 p.m.



One. The local Japanese military spokesman gave out this morning no statement other than that Japanese forces occupied, October 1, Sangyuen which is fifteen miles north of Tientsin-Pukow on the Tientsin-Pukow miles north of Techow/Railway and just within the Shantung border.

Two. According to Domei reports, three Japanese units are apparently proceeding toward Taiyuanfu from the north; namely, the force on the main road which took Laichow, a force to the west of it, which has taken Ningwu granaries, and a force to the east which took the pass of Pinghsingkuan (Embassy's 589, September 27, 4p.m)

Three. Tientsin reports that the estimates of intelligence officers at Tientsin with regard to the number of Japanese troops in North China as of September 29 are as follows: French, 375,000; British 355,000; Italian, 340,000; the American, 255,000; that these estimates except Manchukuo and Mongol troops; and that the average estimate of Japanese planes in North China is 233.

Repeated to Nanking. Repeated to Tokyo.

LOCKHART

RGC NPL

795.94/10333

F/FG

0629

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FA

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JS Plain and Gray and
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE Special Gray.

FROM CANTON

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 4:35 p.m., 2nd.

DIVISION OF FOREIGN
 SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

October 1, 2 p.m.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
 Far Eastern Affairs
 OCT 1 1937
 Department of State

Train leaving Hankow September 27 arrived Canton
 September 30, 6:45 p.m. brought P. H. Noble and E X
 Alinaqb, Filipino, his Russian wife and son. Noble
 reported only damage noted on railroad was at two
 bridges about 25 miles north of Canton where slight
 damage to one end of bridge. This had just been repaired
 and train crossed late afternoon 30th.

American missionary travelling by junk near Kongmon
 yesterday reports that Japanese seaplanes bombed large
 passenger junk nearby wounding several passengers.

Refugees leaving Hankow September 27th train report
 northward movement of estimated ten thousand troops about
 half of them well equipped. Information indicates most
 if not all were Kwangsi troops entraining at Hengchow.

Officially informed that Bocca Tigris forts not
 seriously damaged by recent bombardments; that yesterday
 two Japanese planes attacking forts and Japanese plane
 near Canton were brought down.

LINNELL

NPL RGC

793.94/10384

OCT 1 1937

F/EE9

0631

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JHS

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LIS

—GRAY and SPECIAL GRAY

Hong Kong via N. R.

FROM

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 2:46 p. m., 2nd

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



October 1, 7 a. m.

Referring to my telegram of September 29, 4 p. m.,
 and September 30, 7 p. m., regarding activities of
 Japanese submarines near Hong Kong. Harbor office at
 Hong Kong has issued warning to mariners that at least
 a dozen abandoned junks, some partially submerged and
 some burning, are drifting near Hong Kong. Harbor office
 states that there are probably even more than that num-
 ber of junks adrift, some as a result of the typhoon of
 September 2. Harbor master states that on basis of
 evidence presented to him by survivors there is no doubt
 that a Japanese submarine did attack junks near Cheelong
 Light on September 22. Cheelong Light is about midway
 between Hong Kong and Swatow and is mentioned on British
 Admiralty Chart No. 1962 as Chillang Light. British
 naval headquarters state it is also given as Chelang
 Light on some charts.

According to a Reuter telegram dated London Septem-
 ber 30 and received at Hong Kong October 1, the Japanese
 Embassy

793.94/10335

F/HG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LMS 2-From Hong Kong, October 1, 7 a. m.

Embassy Embassy at London stated that "as Japanese submarines are strictly forbidden to attack merchantmen, junks and other craft, and as no Japanese submarine was operating in the locality, it was absolutely impossible that any attack such as that alleged to have occurred near Hong Kong on September 22 could ever have been made".

Repeated to Department, Nanking. By mail to Tokyo, London.

DONOVAN

NPL

0632

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

GRAY

FROM

Hong Kong via N. R.

Dated October 1, 1937

Rec'd 1:25 p. m., 2nd

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 OCT 4 - 1937
 Department of State

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

October 1, 1 p. m.

River steamers from Hong Kong this morning suspended sailings to Canton due to the closing of navigation between Bocca Tigris and Canton by the Fourth Route army.

Chinese steamship companies believe that the order will (in one or two days as it is vitally important for Canton to keep the) be rescinded ~~the~~ river open as long as possible.

Manager of the British section of the Kowloon Canton Railway states he is informed from reliable Chinese sources that traffic was resumed on the Canton Hankow Railway September 13th. He further states that reports of the damage done by air raids were deliberately magnified by the Chinese authorities in order to deceive the Japanese military, and that the damage actually done by bombing was small.

Repeated to the Department, Nanking, Hankow.

DONOVAN

CSB

793.94/10306

OCT 8 1937

FILE F/EG

MB
 3-2-38

063

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

22-1

JHS

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LEE

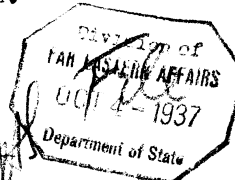
GRAY

FROM Hong Kong via N. R.
 Dated Sept. 30,
October 2, 1937
 Rec'd 4:20 p. m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

Sept. 30, 7 p. m.
October 2, 7 a. m.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.



American motor ship JEFF DAVIS reported by radio that on September 27 "~~the~~ ^{Japanese} submarine with number 7 on bow and number 3 on conning tower circled ship close by in latitude 20 degrees 49 minutes north, longitude 115 degrees 25 minutes east then headed north. At the same time Japanese seaplane No. 9 circled ship twice then headed westward. Identification positive".

Above message from master received today was sent in reply to radio inquiry from this office which was prompted by Hong Kong newspaper reports of the incident.

This information should be considered in connection with my telegram of September 29, 4 p. m. regarding action of the German steamship SCHARNHORST in picking up survivors of Chinese junks, who claimed that they had been shelled by a submarine. A United Press despatch dated Tokyo September 28 states that "the Japanese Admiralty has categorically denied the Hong Kong newspaper reports that a Japanese submarine torpedoed a Chinese

793.94/10337

F/FG

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

22-2

LMS 2-From Hong Kong, October 2, 7 a. m.

Chinese junk fleet on September 22".

British ^{Naval} headquarters state that no British submarines have been operating outside Hong Kong territorial waters for the past few days.

Repeated to Department, Nanking. By mail to Tokyo, London.

DONOVAN

RGC:MP

0635

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

23-1

ASAM

EV

This telegram must be
carefully paraphrased
before being commu-
cated to any one (B)

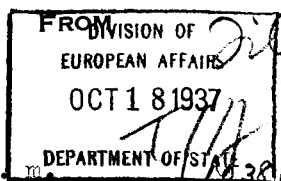
GENEVA

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

October 3, 1937

Rec'd. 1:26 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington



23, October 3, 4 p. m.

Reference my telegram No. 22, October 2, midnight.

CONFIDENTIAL.

One. As discussion proceeds it appears not im-
probable that subcommittee will find that Japan's action
was not justified and that she has broken her treaty
obligations. If so, it is felt that it may be difficult
however to give substantial satisfaction to Chinese
demand respecting aggression. As the time is so short
the report of the committee to the "assembly" will probably
be confined to that phase of the matter. Koo, however,
will undoubtedly continue to press for his second and
third points, namely, measures to discourage aggression
and to encourage resistance. Committee may refer the
demands to the subcommittee which would then be kept
in being.

Two. Koo has told me that he has not yet presented
to the British and French his draft resolution reported
in the second paragraph of my telegram No. 14, September
28, midnight.

Three. As we left the meeting last night a prominent
member of the British delegation remarked that while in

1932

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OCT 20 1937

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793.94 Air Comm.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

23-2

23, October 3, 4 p. m. from GENEVA -2-

1932 the governments were attempting to lead public opinion, in the present case it was public opinion which was ahead of the governments and he referred to the increasing interest evidenced in England and in the English press demanding a strong line of action on the part of the British Government. In this connection he mentioned specifically, in addition to bombing from the air, the indignation aroused by the complete destruction of the leading Chinese university in Tientsin and the ruthless sinking by Japanese men of war of junks owned by Chinese residents of Hong Kong.

Four. Chinese privately express satisfaction with success of their efforts so far. Evidently it has been greater than they had expected.

HARRISON

RR

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94/10389

See 393.1164 Tungchow/10

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 4 1937

486
 The Honorable

Nelson T. Johnson,
 American Ambassador,
 Peiping.

Sir:

With reference to the Department's telegram No. 289, September 29, noon, and to previous telegrams on the subject of payment for damages to the buildings of the American missionary school at Tungehow, Hopei Province, caused by Japanese aerial bombing, there are enclosed copies of a memorandum of conversation on September 25 between the Counselor of the Japanese Embassy and an officer of the Department in regard to the subject under reference.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Enclosure:

10390
 Three copies of
 Memorandum of conversation,
 September 25, 1937, between
 Mr. Suma of the Japanese
 Embassy and Mr. Hamilton.

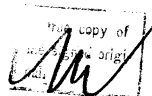
(Copy to Nanking)

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OCT 1937.]

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F/A

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0639

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 4 1937

No. 1346

The Honorable

Joseph C. Grew,
American Ambassador,
Tokyo.

Sir:

With reference to your telegram No. 432, September 29,
10 p. m., sub-paragraph (b), there are enclosed for your
information a copy of a memorandum of conversation on
September 25 between the Counselor of the Japanese Embassy
and an officer of the Department and a copy of the Depart-
ment's telegram No. 289, September 29, noon, to the Embassy
at Peiping, in regard to payment for damages to the American
mission school at Tungchow, Hopei Province, caused by
Japanese aerial bombing.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

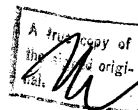
Hugh R. Wilson

Enclosures:

Memorandum of conversation,
September 25, 1937, between
Mr. Suma of the Japanese
Embassy and Mr. Hamilton;
To the Embassy, Peiping,
telegram No. 289, September 29,
noon.

OCT 4 1937

FE:JCV:NN:REK
10/4/37



10390
F/A

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94/10390A

See 393.1164 Tungchow/13

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hunter NARS, Date 12-18-75



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bern, September 17, 1937

No. 14

L. N. No. 5

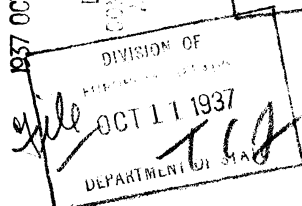
Subject: Transmitting text of statement from
Chinese Government, supplementing
statement of August 30, 1937.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 OCT 2 AM 11 41

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS

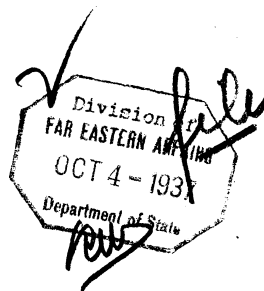
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For			



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:



I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch No. 5106 of August 31, 1937, and to report that the Legation received in the mail this morning, under a covering note from the Secretary General of the League of Nations, the text of a supplementary statement which the Chinese Government has also requested the Secretary General to have transmitted to the members of the League and to the Advisory Committee set up under the Assembly's resolution of February 24, 1933.

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OCT 11 1937

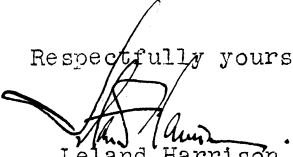
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

The text of this supplementary statement and of the covering letter to the Secretary General from Mr. Wellington Koo, First Delegate of the Chinese Delegation, dated September 12, 1937, is contained in League Document No. C.376.M.253.1937.VII. A copy of this document, together with an undated and unsigned transmitting communication from the Secretary General, is enclosed herewith.

It will be noted that the form and language of the covering note from the Secretary General is identical with that of his note communicating to the Advisory Committee the Chinese Government's statement of August 30.

Respectfully yours,


Leland Harrison

Enclosures:
Communication, undated;
C.376.M.253.1937.VII.,
September 13, 1937.

File No. 711
DFB/mk

In quintuplicate to Department
Copy to American Consulate, Geneva

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Communication from the Chinese Government.

In accordance with the request contained therein, the Secretary-General has the honour to communicate herewith to the Advisory Committee set up by the Special Assembly convened in virtue of Article 15 of the Covenant at the request of the Chinese Government a letter from the Director of the Permanent Office of the Chinese Delegation to the League, together with the statement enclosed therewith.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Communicated to
the Council and
Members of the League.

C.376.M.253.1937.VII.
Geneva, September 13th, 1937.

COMMUNICATION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

Geneva, September 12th, 1937.

To the Secretary-General.

Acting on the instructions of my Government I have the honour to forward to you herewith its Statement on the Japanese aggression in China supplementary to that which Dr. Hoo Chi-Tsai, Director of the Permanent Office of the Chinese Delegation, had the honour of forwarding to you on August 30th, 1937.*

I should be grateful if you would be good enough to communicate this Supplementary Statement to the Members of the League of Nations and to the Advisory Committee set up under the Resolution adopted on February 24th, 1933, by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

I have the honour etc.

(Signed) V.K. WELLINGTON KOO.

First Delegate
of the Chinese Delegation.

* See document C.342.M.232.1937.VII.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

Supplementary Statement of the Chinese Government.

"Since the presentation of the last statement to the League under date of August 10th, 1937, Japan's aggression in China has developed in further intensity and ruthlessness resulting in much wanton destruction of non-combatant life and property including those of third powers. The gravity of the situation calls for a supplementary statement in which the Chinese Government wishes to draw special attention to the following outstanding events:

"(1) Military and political aspects. The fighting in the Shanghai area which was started on August 10th, 1937, by the Japanese landing party has been intensified with the continual arrival of Japanese military naval and air reinforcements. It is estimated that in addition to over ten thousand marines, Japan has brought five army divisions to Shanghai with a formidable array of modern war weapons including scores of military aeroplanes. Determined to bring under her control the premier seaport of China, Japan has flatly rejected the proposal advanced by the representatives of third powers for the mutual withdrawal of the forces including the Japanese warships from Shanghai, which proposal China accepts in principle. Hostilities in Shanghai have already exacted an enormous toll in life and property, and with two huge opposing armies locked in a life-and-death encounter, the fighting is likely to be prolonged.

"In North China the Chinese troops defending Nankow, after having valiantly held out about a fortnight against fierce Japanese onslaughts were eventually forced to withdraw when subjected to gas attacks and threatened with flanking movement by units of the Japanese Kwantung army from Jehol. Advancing westward the Japanese forces have occupied various cities on the Peiping-Suiyuan railway as far as Kalgan the capital of Chahar which was evacuated by Chinese troops on August 27th. The Japanese sources announced on September 4th that a puppet regime styled "South Chahar Autonomous Government" was being formed at Kalgan.

"Fighting has continued along northern sections on the Peiping-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow railways where the Japanese military strength has reached nine divisions totalling no less than one hundred fifty thousand men. Meanwhile, confusion and terror reign in the Peiping and Tientsin area which is completely under Japanese control. Ten foreign missionaries were reported to have been kidnapped in Peiping where the Japanese military have admitted that they are facing the problem of preventing looting by their own soldiers.

"With a view to devastating all Chinese seaports, Japanese activity in the air has been extended towards South China. A formation of six or seven Japanese military planes bombed Canton on August 11st, while Swatow and Changchow (Fukien) were raided the same day. Two Japanese seaplanes bombed Amoy on September 3rd shortly after the bombardment of the Chinese forts there by Japanese warships and Swatow was bombed for the second time on September 6th. With the exception of a few provinces, Japanese air activity has now been extended throughout the length and breadth of China. In carrying out their deathdealing mission, the Japanese airmen have shown most spiteful disregard for distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Details of this sordid aspect of Japan's aggressions will be given presently.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

"(2) Japan's declaration of the naval blockade. The Japanese Navy declared on August 25th a blockade against Chinese shipping from Shanghai to a point to the south of Swatow. While it was declared from Tokyo that 'peaceful trade' would not be interfered with, the legal adviser to the Japanese Third Fleet operating in Chinese waters, Dr. Jumpei Shinobu, told the foreign Press that foreign ships might be hailed by Japanese warships patrolling the blockaded area. He also intimated the possibility of the Japanese exercising the privilege of preemption toward foreign bottoms found to be carrying cargo which in their view would constitute wartime contraband.

"On September fifth the blockade was further extended to include an area from Chinwangtao in the North to Pakhoi in the South covering virtually the entire length of the Chinese coast. Simultaneously the Japanese naval authorities announced that they reserved the right to hail all merchantmen in Chinese waters in order to ascertain their identity and also asked all foreign shipping companies to inform them of the movement of their ships in Chinese waters.

"(3) Japanese bombing of red cross units. Flagrantly violating the Geneva Convention of 1929 to which Japan is a signatory the Japanese forces have repeatedly committed outrages against Red Cross units engaged in humanitarian tasks attending wounded soldiers. Interviewed by the Press on August 29th, Doctor F.C. Yen, a responsible executive of the Chinese Red Cross Society, revealed that seven of thirty Red Cross vans were disabled by Japanese bombs. In many cases Japanese aeroplanes gave chase to these vehicles despite easily discernible insignia. Sometimes bombs were dropped on them.

"On August 18th, the Red Cross hospital at Chenju was bombed. Fortunately most of the patients had been removed to another place. The stretcher bearer was killed while one doctor and three others were wounded. The following day the Red Cross ambulance corps at Nansiang was likewise bombed by Japanese raiders. Two wounded soldiers were killed while four members of the corps were wounded.

"Perhaps the most horrible of the outrages was staged in a cold-blooded manner by the Japanese soldiers at Lotien on August 23rd. The ambulance corps of forty-three members were rescuing the wounded when they were surrounded by Japanese troops. Having torn off the Red Cross insignia on their white uniform the Japanese soldiers made them kneel down and then shot at them. One doctor and four nurses were killed outright while three nurses managed to escape. The rest were still missing and were believed to have been killed. Of the three nurses one was shot at while running away from the Japanese and succumbed to injuries the next day.

"These horrible acts rendered Red Cross work most difficult. Presently all those working behind the front lines were obliged to carry on duties in the evening when they were less exposed to the danger of possible death. The Japanese allegation that the Red Cross carried war materials was completely groundless. Great care was exercised by the Chinese Red Cross Society in using Red Cross flags. Each of the thirty vans to which special permits were granted by the International Settlement or French

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 4 -

Concession authorities at Shanghai to pass through their respective territory was thoroughly inspected before it left for the war zone. There is absolutely no excuse for the Japanese deliberately to bomb the Red Cross ambulances and lorries.

"(4) Indiscriminate attacks on non-combatants. Of numerous instances of indiscriminate Japanese attacks from air, few tragic examples serve to illustrate the inexcusable and heinous crimes that have been committed against non-combatants.

"On August 17th about ten Japanese planes appeared over Nantungchow approximately eighty miles west of Shanghai and dropped six bombs on the American Mission Hospital there. One bomb hit the main building which caught fire and was destroyed. Several Chinese doctors and two nurses were among those killed while scores were wounded including two American nurses on duty.

"On August 28th twelve Japanese planes raided Nantao, a densely populated Chinese city in Shanghai, which was entirely devoid of Chinese troops or military positions. The bombs which dropped in the vicinity of the South Railway Station resulted in the death of over two hundred civilians and injury to five hundred others. The victims including an exceedingly large percentage of women and children were mostly refugees waiting en train for regions of comparative safety.

"Over two hundred wounded soldiers and refugees were killed when an omnibus station at Tachang few miles from Woosung was bombed by Japanese aircraft on August 31st. Similar tragedy occurred on the same day at Tsangchow approximately seventy miles south of Tientsin where hundreds of civilians were killed and wounded by Japanese air bombs.

"In the early morning of September 5th, sixteen Japanese planes raided the village of Peihsingching on the Western fringe of the International Settlement at Shanghai where no fighting had occurred. Numerous houses were destroyed and a large number of villagers were killed and wounded. While flying over that area, the Japanese planes saw two junks sailing in the Soochow Creek both laden with war refugees. One junk was immediately bombed resulting in forty killed and sixty wounded while many panic-stricken refugees in the second junk were machine-gunned and killed.

"(5) Wanton destruction of educational and cultural institutions. Since the outbreak of hostilities educational and cultural institutions received special attention of Japanese as objects for their wanton destruction.

"One of the first acts of Japanese soldiers after the occupation of Tientsin was to deliberately set on fire with large quantities of oil the well-known Nankai university and the affiliated Middle School. Since then many other colleges and schools were either partially or totally destroyed by Japanese airbombs. These included the Tsonging Girls School at Nantungchow; the Balwin School for

0648

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

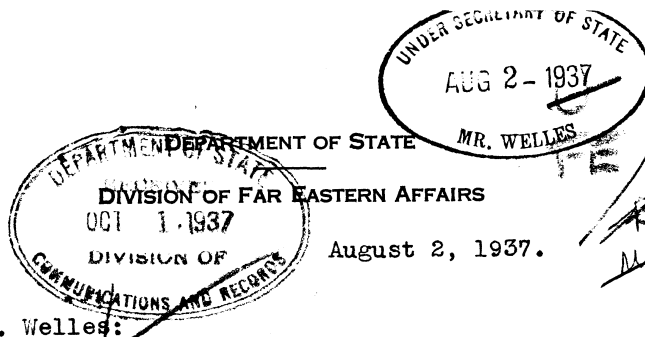
- 5 -

Girls of Kiangsi, the Agricultural Institute and the Normal School for Rural Education at Nanchang; the National Central University, its Experimental High School and the School for Children of the Revolutionary Martyrs at Nanking and the National Tungchi University at Woosung. It is noteworthy that all these institutions were attacked from air and, with the exception of the National Tungchi University, were situated hundreds of miles away from the scene of hostilities. Even the latter did not lie within the area of actual conflict nor was it occupied by Chinese troops at the time when it was destroyed.

"The above sketch of what the Japanese armed forces have done on the Chinese territory in the last two weeks shows clearly that Japan is determined to extend her aggressive action to the length and breadth of this country, with the object, as the Japanese themselves have admitted, of destroying the body politic of China and wiping out the very civilization of the Chinese nation thereby realizing Japan's long cherished dream of continental conquest.

"It is further demonstrated by the above-mentioned facts that the Japanese armed forces in invading China's territory show an utter disregard for all rules of international law, all provisions of treaties, and all precepts of humanity. Law and morality give place to violence and anarchy. Intoxicated by the lust for conquest the invader is bent upon ruthless slaughter and wanton destruction. The lives of four hundred and fifty million people are at stake; the civilization and the security of the whole world are in the balance."

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



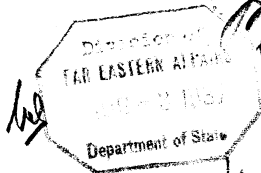
U.
 Mr. Welles:

Referring to the final paragraph of
 this memorandum (pages 2-3), --

As you now know, the Department received a telegram from London on July 27, at 9:30 a.m., stating that Vansittart had shown to Bingham a telegram received from the British Embassy at Peiping stating that Japanese liaison had informed the senior commandant that the Japanese would launch at noon a general attack against all Chinese forces both within and without Peiping; and, acting on the assumption that that information was or might be authentic, the Department telegraphed on July 27, at noon, to Peiping and, at one o'clock, to Tokyo giving instruction to try to discourage the launching of such an attack.

793.94

SKH
 SKH



FE:SKH/ZMK

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

CONFIDENTIAL

Conversation.



July 27, 1937.

The British Ambassador called to see me this morning. He asked, in the first place, if Major R. L. Benson, a British subject and a relative of the Ambassador, could have an interview with the Chief of the Division of the American Republics about the affairs of the Nahualito Company in the Laguna District of Mexico, on July 29th, when Major Benson would be in Washington. The purpose of the visit, the Ambassador said, would be to ask, in view of the fact that some of the stock of the Company was owned in the United States, whether the State Department would not give diplomatic support to the representations being made by the Company to the Mexican Government. The Ambassador frankly said that this request, made frequently in the past by Major Benson, had always been refused by the Department; that he did not ask that Major Benson's request be granted, but merely that he be afforded an opportunity of talking with the Department. I told the Ambassador I would be very glad to ask Mr. Duggan to see Major Benson.

The Ambassador then referred to my recent conversation with him on the subject of the desirability of cooperation

768.94/10392

F/111

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

4.1

-2-

between Great Britain and the United States in the Far East, as expressed in the first paragraph of the last aide memoire given the Ambassador. He said that he was advised by his Foreign Office that Mr. Eden fully understood that the reason why the Government of the United States had not adopted the British proposal for "joint representations" in Tokyo was because of its belief that parallel action would be more liable to produce beneficial results because of the peculiar situation existing in Japan, and that Mr. Eden was entirely satisfied that the spirit of cooperation made manifest by the two Governments since the outbreak of the present Far Eastern crisis, had been entirely satisfactory and helpful to Great Britain and the United States.

The Ambassador then said that he had just received a cable from London advising him that Ambassador Bingham had been informed that the British Ambassador at Tokyo was instructed to advise the Japanese Foreign Minister that any active hostilities in and around Peiping would undoubtedly jeopardize the lives of British and other foreign residents in that area and that, for that reason, the British Government hoped that the Japanese Government would conduct itself with the utmost measure of discretion because of these circumstances. I told the Ambassador that I had not seen any

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-3-

report from Mr. Bingham on this subject, but that at first sight it seemed to me that this Government could properly make representations to the Japanese Government along the same lines in the interest of its own nationals in the North of China.

U:SW:MW

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

FE
X

JR

GRAY

London

Dated July 27, 1937

Rec'd 9:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH.

505. July 27, 1 p.m.

I have just seen Vansittart at his request and he showed me a telegram received this morning from the British Embassy at Peiping stating that the Japanese liaison officer has informed the senior commandant that the Japanese would launch at noon a general attack against all Chinese forces both within and without the city irrespective of whether or not the withdrawal of the 37th Division is proceeding satisfactorily. The British Embassy in Peiping has instructed its representative at Tientsin to call on the Japanese Ambassador and to strongly urge upon him that Japan should refrain from any unnecessary violence and to point out that if at noon the 37th Division is in fact withdrawing, an attack by the Japanese military can only be regarded by the civilized world as without any possible justification. The British Embassy at Peiping understands that the Japanese have given assurance that no bombs or artillery will be directed against the city but

Vansittart

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

JR #505, July 27, 1 p.m., from London.

Vansittart points out that any form of attack would endanger foreigners.

The Foreign Office is very much concerned about this situation in view of the possible danger to British lives and Vansittart stated that an instruction would go out immediately to the British Embassy at Tokyo to urge the Japanese Government to refrain from any precipitate action and to emphasize the danger to which any form of attack on Peiping would subject the foreign communities, while expressing the hope that the report from Peiping of Japanese intentions is untrue. The Foreign Office feels that the presence of large numbers of British nationals in Peiping gives them a very strong locus standi for pressing moderation upon the Japanese and Vansittart said that they earnestly hope you will be able to make similar recommendations to the Japanese.

BINGHAM

HPD

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

COMSOPAT

FROM October 4, 1937

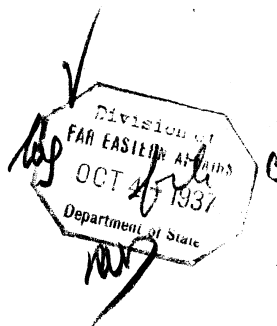
Rec'd 7:30 a.m.

FROM: COMSOPAT

ACTION: OPNAV

INFO: SECOND BRIGADE USMC
 COMDESROM FIVE
 COMSUBRON FIVE
 COMYANGPAT
 USS MARBLEHEAD
 AMEMBASSY NANKING

0103. South China quiet. 2200.



793.94/10393

F/FILED

OCT 7 1937

0656

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

JVC *FE*
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

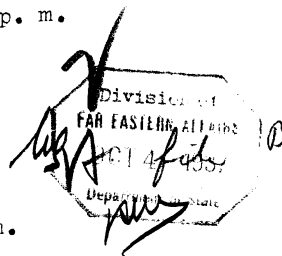
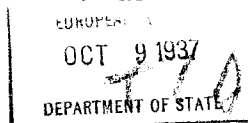
GRAY

FROM Geneva

Dated October 2, 1937

Rec'd 2:14 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.



21, October 2, 5 p. m.

My telegram No. 20, October 2 3 p. m.

At this afternoon's meeting subcommittee completed
consideration of the expose on point 2 and began con-
sideration point 3 which will be continued at the meeting
tonight.

HARRISON

RR:CSB

793.94/10394

793.94
793.94 add comment

F/FG
FILED
OCT 11 1937

0657

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Hunsicker NARS, Date 12-18-75

24-1

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED

CONFIDENTIAL CODE

NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE

PARTIAL

PLAIN

Collect

Charge Department

OR

Department of State

Charge to

\$

1937 OCT 2 PM 1 49

Washington,

October 2, 1937.

3P

AMEMBASSY

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS

TOKYO (Japan).

245

One. Under date September 25, 4 p.m., Shanghai telegraphed
substantially as follows:

QUOTE Reference paragraph one of the Department's 321,
September 3, 7 p.m., concerning the use of the International
Settlement by the Japanese as a military base. In a letter
to me dated yesterday the Commander-in-Chief suggests that the
time has arrived for definite representations (by) the ambassa-
dors or their governments concerning this matter. He points
out that since the arrival of the Japanese Army on August 23,
the wharves of the Hongkew section have been the main base
for unloading supplies and troops and evacuating wounded, that
on September 23 five transports landed 4,000 troops and that
it is understood fifteen transports have used the docks in
the past three days. He points to the fact that the Chinese
authorities in replying to protests concerning danger to neu-
trals and their ships in the river stress the point that the
Settlement is being used as a Japanese base.

The record shows that on the 15th the consular body caused
oral representations to be made on the subject to the Japanese

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1402 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

793.94/10394A

F/FG

0658

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

24-2

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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 Charge Department
 OR

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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

-2-

Washington,

Consul General who replied that the Japanese naval landing party, being stationed here for the protection of Japanese interests, had the right to use portions of the Settlement for the landing of supplies and reenforcements the same as other foreign military units and that the landing party or any other Japanese armed force was or would be acting only in self-defense.

Neither the Council nor other authorities have requested or suggested further protests and I do not think that the Department would wish me to initiate them but the Department may wish to consider a protest at Tokyo. I understand from the Commander-in-Chief that he has brought the matter to the attention of the British Commander-in-Chief who has referred it to London. END QUOTE

Two. On September 28 the Department repeated to London Shanghai's telegram of September 25, stating that the Department inclined to the view that representations would be warranted and asking our Embassy to consult with the British Foreign Office and endeavor to ascertain the views and proposed action, if any, of the British Government in the matter.

Three. According to an aide-mémoire of October 1 from the British Embassy here, the British Government has directed the British Ambassador at Tokyo to make representations against

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M., _____, 19____

0659

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

24-3

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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 Charge Department
 OR
 Charge to
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

-3-

Japanese use of the International Settlement as a base of military operations. The British Ambassador is under instruction to consult with you prior to taking such action.

Four. The Department desires that you, ^{after consultation} ~~in association~~ ^{HPR} with your British colleague, make appropriate representations to the Japanese Government. The Department feels that your approach should be oral, supported by an aide-mémoire or memorandum, and suggests that you inform the Japanese Government (1) that your Government has, since the initiation of hostilities at Shanghai, viewed with concern the action of the Japanese armed forces in making use of portions of the International Settlement as a base for military operations against the Chinese; (2) that you understand that the Japanese Consul General at Shanghai, replying to representations made by the Senior Consul at Shanghai acting on behalf of his interested colleagues, stated that any Japanese armed force in the Settlement was or would be acting only in self-defense; (3) that in the opinion of your Government the present Japanese military operations at Shanghai - their extent, place, and seeming objectives - cannot with warrant be construed as a measure of defense of the Settlement; (4) that you are authoritatively informed that portions of the Settlement, particularly the

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

066C

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

24-4

PREPARING OFFICE
 WILL INDICATE WHETHER

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 Charge Department
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TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
 CONFIDENTIAL CODE
 NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
 PARTAIR
 PLAIN

Washington,

-4-

Hongkew section, are being extensively and continuously used as a main base for debarking Japanese troops and unloading military supplies to be employed outside the Settlement in major operations against Chinese troops; (5) that your Government feels strongly that the Japanese military forces should refrain from use of the Settlement in any way as a base or channel for military operations of any character except such as are exclusively for the protection and defense of the Settlement; (6) that the Settlement is an area in which, by treaties and agreements, a number of foreign countries, including Japan and the United States, and their nationals, have common rights and interests; (7) that use by the Japanese military of portions of the Settlement as a base for major military operations which are being conducted outside the Settlement against Chinese troops is not in keeping with the spirit of those agreements; and (8) that such use unwarrantedly endangers the rights and interests of all other countries including the United States which possess in common those rights and interests."

Enciphered by FE:CV:VCI

Sent by operator M., 19 mmh

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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S-100

P-2/H

A-41

S-100

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0661

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

25-1

~~SECRET~~

FL

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GRAY

ofo

FROM Tokyo

Dated October 4, 1937

Rec'd 6:50 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

444, October 4, 2 p.m.

Department's 245, October 2, 3 p.m. - use of International Settlement Shanghai as military base.

One. I called today on the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and made oral representations leaving with him an aide memoire embodying all of the points in paragraph number 4 of the Department's telegram.

Two. The Vice Minister's only comment was that the Chinese forces are endangering Japanese lives and property in the International Settlement by fire from Pootung and Chapel and that the Japanese have landed a very small number of troops in the Settlement, their principal forces having been disembarked elsewhere. The Foreign Office will report to our representations in due course.

Three. My British colleague will make similar representations to the Vice Minister this afternoon as he is instructed to act on the same lines as myself.

Repeated to Shanghai.

GREW

RR:

Division of
FOR EASTERN AFFAIRS
1014-1937
Department of State

793.94/10395

NOT RECORDED

NOTED

F/FG

0662

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

~~DASHA~~

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MEMO

FROM CINCAF

October 4, 1937

Rec'd 9:11 a.m.

FROM: CINCAF
ACTION: OPNAL
INFO: 2ND BRIG USMC
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMYANGPAT
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMEMBASSY NANKING
ALUSNA PEIPING



0004 Japanese have advanced three miles South Lieukang in direction Aalang, have made small gains West Lotien, attacks continue throughout day, unconfirmed report Chinese withdrawing troops, stores from Chiangwan, Chapel sectors. Settlement quiet, one hundred twenty seven Europeans, Americans returned Shanghai yesterday 1825.

MPD:

793.94/10396

091 8 1937
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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CINCAF

GPO

OCT 4 1937 FROM

October 4, 1937

DIVISION OF FOREIGN
SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

Rec'd 9:14 a.m.

FROM: CINCAF
 ACTION: AMEMBASSY NANKING
 INFO: AMCONS TIENTSIN
 COMDESRON 5
 AMEMBASSY PEIPING
 OPNAV NITE WP

Division of
 FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
 OCT 4 1937
 Department of State

0003. Owing weather conditions destroyer PEITAI SHO
 will be withdrawn end of October. Reports indicate situation
 is stabilized with no threatened danger United States
 nationals. In case necessity vessel can be sent from
 Chefoo, 1015.

HPD

793.94/10397

FILE
 F/FG
 OCT 9 1937

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

793.94/10398

See 393.1164 Tungchow/16
17

0665

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo

GPO

FROM

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY

Canton via N.R.

Dated October 2, 1937

Rec'd 7:50 a.m., Oct. 4

Secretary of State,

Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
ONE AND M.I.D.

October 2, 2 p.m.



I have been informed by unquestionable authority that the military closed Pearl River Plate because they believe a large Japanese naval force is proceeding to South China. The military is in doubt whether the objective of this force is the Pearl River Plate or Hainan Island, but is taking precautions by closing River Plate.

Central news reports Japanese cruiser lying off Yulin Harbor, Southern Hainan.

Reliable confirmation has been received of the bombing of Sun Yat Sen University and the completely undefended city of Chingyuen fifty miles north of Canton and off railway, and the press reports bombing of numerous other undefended towns in past few days.

Yesterday's raids included bombing of Whampoa and Bocca Tigris and reportedly Shiuchow details not obtainable, alarms continuing today whereabouts of raiding unknown.

WVC:RR

LINNELL

793.94/10399

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FILED
OCT 4 1937

0666

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Huston NARS, Date 12-18-75

26-1

JR

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

Geneva

Dated October 4, 1937

FROM

Rec'd 11:05 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

OCT 9 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

URGENT. RUSH.

24, October 4, 2 p.m.

My 22, October 2, midnight.

Last night Munters circulated the following: "First

draft of the general conclusions to be adopted by the
 Subcommittee" reading as follows:

"Section I.

The present situation in China is a matter of concern
 not only to the two states in conflict, but, to a
 greater or less degree, to all states. Many powers are
 already directly affected in their material interests,
 and in the lives of their nationals. But even more
 important than this is the interest which all states
 must feel in the restoration and maintenance of peace.
 Members of the League have agreed that any war or threat
 of war is a matter of concern to the whole League; and
 those who are not members are not less aware that any
 situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or
 are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests
 of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. The
 members of the League could not admit that the imposition

by

793.94/10400

FILED E/FG

OCT 11 1937

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 793.94
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 10381

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

26-2

JR -2- #24, October 4, 2 p.m., from Geneva.

by force of measures affecting the lives and possessions of Chinese nationals or of foreigners could in any way be recognized as creating the basis of future rights.

Section II.

It is clear that the two countries take very different views as to the underlying grounds of the dispute and as to the incident which led to the first outbreak of hostilities.

It cannot, however, be challenged that powerful Japanese armies are advancing into Chinese territory and are in military control of large areas, including Peiping itself; that the Japanese Government has proclaimed, and the Japanese fleet is enforcing, a blockade of Chinese shipping on Chinese coasts; and that Japanese air craft are carrying out bombardments over widely separated regions of the country.

The action taken by Japan has been out of all proportion to the incident that occasioned the dispute. Further, it cannot possibly facilitate or promote the friendly cooperation between the two nations that Japanese statesmen have affirmed to be the aim of their policy.

After examination of the facts laid before it, the Committee is bound to take the view that Japan has invaded the territory of China, submitted her shipping to blockade, and carried on military operations against her by land,

SEA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75

26-3

JR -3- #24, October 4, 2 p.m., from Geneva.

sea and air; that these actions can be justified neither on the basis of existent legal instruments nor on that of the right of self-defense, and that they are in contravention of Japan's obligations under the Washington Treaty of February 22, 1922, and of the Pact of Paris of April 27, 1928.

Section III.

It is the right as well as the duty of the members of the League and of the powers possessing special interests in the Far East to attempt to bring about the reestablishment of peace in conformity with the principles of international law; and they will naturally seek, in the public statements made by both parties at various times since the incident of July 7, for such evidence as may be found of the possibility of taking action in this sense.

China has declared that she is prepared to accept any pacific means known to international law or treaties. Japan, although she has stated that she desires to settle the conflict by peaceful means, has in fact not shown herself willing up to the present to give practical effect to this aim, either by direct negotiations with China, or by the mediation of third parties, or of advisory Committee of the League of Nations.

Nevertheless it would seem possible to suppose that if at any time even a temporary cessation of hostilities could

0669

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

26-4
JR -4- #24, October 4, 2 p.m., from Geneva.

could be arranged, and if purely military considerations should thus cease for a moment to be the predominant factor, some hope might appear that means could be found of giving effect to the expressed desire of both China and Japan".

Inasmuch as the wording of the first sentence of the third section seemed to me susceptible of misunderstanding and that it could possibly be interpreted as implying some association by us in the proposed conclusions or in any resolution which might ensue later, I called the matter privately to Munters' attention before the meeting this morning. He promised me that when his draft comes up for consideration he would say that upon rereading his draft and considering the conditions on which I sat on the Committee he would propose in order to avoid any misunderstanding that the first paragraph of the third section be amended to read as follows:

"It is the right as well as the duty of the members of the League and in fact of all the powers possessing special interests in the Far East to attempt to bring about the reestablishment of peace in conformity with the principles of international law. The Committee **will** naturally seek, et cetera".

Please instruct if you have any other **suggestions**.

The meeting this morning was entirely taken up with the consideration and revision of the **first section** of the expose which deals with the developments of **events**. The Subcommittee will meet this afternoon and probably tonight also.

HARRISON

HPD

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

October 14, 1937.

PA/H

~~Mr. Hornbeck:~~

U

Mr. Welles:

The attached despatch from Shanghai forwards a copy of a police report of the testimony of a British eye-witness to the shooting of a Japanese officer (and enlisted man) near the Chinese airdrome on August 9. It would appear from the statements of this eye-witness that Chinese soldiers at least started the shooting.

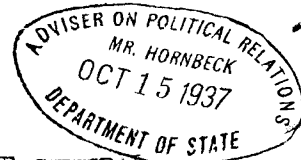
It will be recalled that this incident started a chain of events which resulted in the outbreak of fighting at Shanghai on August 13 between Japanese and Chinese forces.

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1937/10/14
10401/46866

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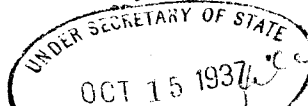
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 943

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL

537 OCT 4 PM 12 54

Shanghai, China, August 29, 1937.

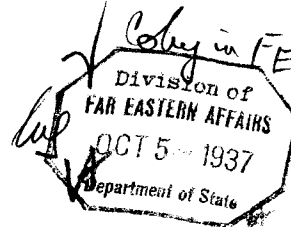
STRICTLY
CONFIDENTIALDIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

Subject: British eye-witness to the shooting of
 Japanese officer and Marine at the Hungjao
 Aerodrome on August 9th, 1937.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON.



Sir:

With reference to my telegram of August 9, 11 P.M. (No. 444) reporting the shooting of a Japanese officer at the terminus of Hungjao Road, about 6 miles from the western boundary of the Settlement, I have the honor to enclose for the confidential information of the Department a copy of a police report of the testimony of a British eye witness to the shooting.

Subsequent to my telegram it was learned that there were two occupants of the Japanese car, an officer and a Marine driver. Both were killed.

The confidential police report was sent to me privately by the Secretary General of the Shanghai Municipal Council. The British Acting Consul General recently remarked to me and one or two of my colleagues who were standing with me that there was a British eye-witness to the shooting and that he, the Acting Consul General, had sent copies of the eye-witness' statement to both the Chinese and Japanese sides.

Respectfully yours,

Inclosure.

Four copies to Dept.
 Copies to Nanking and
 Peiping by courier.
 CEG

C.E. Gauss
 American Consul General.

3 Carbon Copies
 Received

F/FG

793.34/10401

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

27-2

The following is the statement of a British subject who asks that his name be not disclosed.

I was driving along Hungjao Road at about 5.25 p.m. on Monday, the 9th inst. in the direction of the aerodrome. As I was passing Hungjao Gold Club a car passed me, going in the same direction, driven by a Japanese wearing a steel helmet. I saw no other occupant of the car. As I approached the aerodrome I saw the Chinese sentry outside the gates shouting and pointing along Monument Road. As I was turning round I saw several soldiers running down Monument Road away from the gates. I also saw the car which had previously passed me parked on the left hand side of Monument Road about 50 or 60 yards away from the gates and facing away from the gates. I stopped my car and stayed there to watch. As the Chinese soldiers drew nearer the car they started shouting in the direction of the occupants, and then, when within about 10 yards of it they opened fire. At the same time the car started moving, pursuing a very zig-zag course for about 30 yards until it finally left the road completely and stopped in a field on the right hand side of the road. The Chinese were firing at it the whole time. I then thought it would be wiser to move and drove back away from the gates for a hundred yards or so. I stopped and got out of the car and watched from the side of the road. There was still firing going on and I heard two fairly heavy explosions. After about five minutes or so there was quite a heavy burst of firing some distance away to the right of the car. I then got into my car and drove away.

QUESTIONS.

1. Did you observe any cause for the car stopping at this point?
No.
2. Were there any persons near the car at the time you first saw it?
The only people I saw were the Chinese soldiers running towards it.
3. Could you tell if the engine was running?
No.
4. Did you see any Japanese alight before or after the shots were fired?
No.
5. Did you stop before turning around?
Yes.
6. From whence did the "soldiers" appear?
When I first saw the car the soldiers were running along the road towards it while others appeared to come from the field leading from the aerodrome.
7. How far were they from you when they opened fire?
40 or 50 yards.
8. How were they armed?
Rifles
9. How many were there?
About a dozen.
10. Did you hear any order given?
No.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75

27-3

-2-

11. Did they appear to be under the control of anyone?
I didn't notice any officer.
12. How soon after fire was opened did the car move?
I am not sure if the car moved immediately before or immediately after the shots were fired.
13. Were there any soldiers to the North of where the car stopped?
None that I could see.
14. Could you see the car from where you stopped on Hungjao Road?
Yes.
15. Could you see any "soldiers"?
Yes, occasionally.
16. Can you say if the car could have been struck on the side during the shooting.
Yes, when the car was zig-zagging across the road.
17. Did you hear any shots prior to the shooting by the "soldiers"?
No.
18. Did you notice the Japanese officer in the car at any time?
No.

 RE SHOOTING ON MONUMENT ROAD, O.O.L.

--
 At 8.15 p.m. on 10:8:37, D.I. Toon received a telephone message from Insp. West O.l/c, to the effect that Mr. R. C. Aiers, D.C. (Divisions) had instructed that a witness of the shooting be interviewed in connection with the shooting on Monument Road on 9:8:37.

By arrangement D/I. Toon interviewed the witness at 9 p.m. on 10:8:37 at his residence, when the following statement was ascertained:

At about 4.55 p.m. on 9:8:37, witness and his wife left their home in their private car for a drive out to the aerodrome, and when only a short distance away from the aerodrome they observed a motor car with a Japanese in uniform at the wheel pass them travelling fast.

The witness slowed down a little owing to the dust, and on arriving at the corner of Hungjao and Monument Roads with the intention of turning around, observed the above mentioned car stationary by the side of the road, a short distance along Monument Road.

The witness states that before he realized what was happening he saw some Chinese soldiers kneel down and open fire and then the car moved away in a zig-zag fashion for a few yards and land in a ditch on the right hand (East) side of the road.

He then turned his car round and proceeded East along Hungjao Road for a short distance and again stopped (out of curiosity) to try and ascertain the cause of the firing.

Shortly afterwards he heard a rather long burst of fire coming from the Northern direction and also heard a couple of loud bangs, like bomb explosions, after which he thought he had better leave, so started his car and proceeded home arriving about 6 p.m. on 9:8:37.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

27-4

-3-

The witness questioned whether he had heard any shots prior to seeing the car stationary on Monument Road stated he was almost positive that there was none; after thinking for a while he stated definitely that he had not heard any shots prior to seeing the soldiers kneeling down and firing along Monument Road.

It should be noted that the witness was only a short distance behind the Japanese car and would no doubt have heard the reports if any firearms had been fired.

0675

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Peiping, July 20, 1937.

No, 1351.

Subject: Memorandum of Conversation with the
French Ambassador on Conditions in
North China.

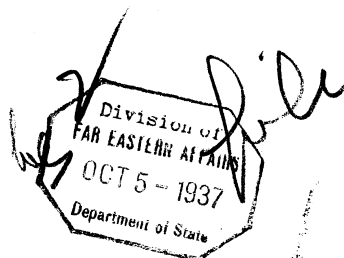
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Grade	For	Yes	No

In U.S.A.

1937 OCT 4 PM 1 59

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS



793.94/10402

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to enclose, as of possible
interest to the Department, a copy of a memorandum
of conversation between myself and the French Am-
bassador on July 13, 1937, on the above mentioned
subject.

The principal matter discussed was the desire
of the Chinese Government that the British and
American Ambassadors should proceed to Nanking. It
will be observed that I told the French Ambassador
that


F/FG

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

that no direct request had been received by me from the Nanking Government for my presence in Nanking; that the suggestion had come indirectly through Mr. Timperley, a newspaper man. I also stated that I had telegraphed the information to Washington and had stated that, in view of the delicacy of the situation in Peiping, I was not disposed to pay attention to the indirect invitation but that, if a direct intimation should come, I would think differently of the matter and would doubtless proceed to Nanking.

Respectfully yours,


Nelson Trusler Johnson.

✓
Enclosure:

1/ Copy of memorandum of
conversation July 13,
1937.

710.
FPL/js.

Original and four copies to Department.
One copy to American Embassy, Nanking.
One copy to American Embassy, Tokyo.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 13, 1937.

Mr. P.E. Naggiar, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Conditions in North China. Possibility of necessity of Chief of Mission being present in Nanking.

Mr. Naggiar came to see me to-day and we had a long conversation about conditions in North China. We agreed that the situation was very serious; that the Chinese and Japanese were in a situation now from which it seemed almost impossible that either side could extricate itself with honor. It seemed to us that Japan may perhaps now be determined to take such measures as may be necessary to establish herself firmly in this area.

Mr. Naggiar referred to the fact that the British Ambassador was going to Nanking. I told Mr. Naggiar that I had received a telegram from Nanking indicating that the Press Bureau of the Foreign Office had stated to Mr. Timperley, a newspaper man, that the Chinese Government desired the presence in Nanking of the British and American Ambassadors; that I had not been approached directly in the matter, although I had been given to understand by the British Embassy that a direct request had gone to Sir Hughe.

I stated that I had telegraphed to Washington, sending to the Department copies of the telegrams which I had received from Nanking, and had stated in my telegram that, in view of the delicacy of the situation here, I was not disposed

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huston NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

posed to pay any attention to this indirect approach;
but that of course if a direct intimation should come
I would think differently of the matter and would doubt-
less go to Nanking.

Mr. Naggiar stated that he was referring the matter
to his Government for such instructions as it might wish
to give to him.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador.

Copy to Nanking.

NTJ:EA

0679

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



EMBASSY OF THE
 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 Peiping, July 20, 1937.

No. 1352.

Subject: Moderating Action at Tokyo and Nanking.

793.94

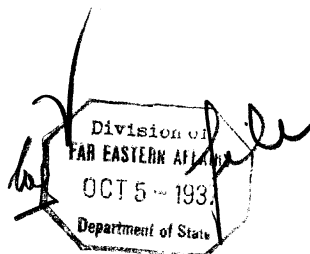
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1937 OCT 4 PM 2 00

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

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The Honorable
 The Secretary of State,
 Washington, D.C.



793.94/10403

Sir:

1/2/ I have the honor to enclose, as of possible interest to the Department, copies of two memoranda of conversations with the French Ambassador dated July 13 and July 14, 1937, respectively, on the above-mentioned subject. It will be observed that the French Ambassador said that he had noticed a Reuter report which indicated that the Secretary of State had urged moderation upon the Japanese Ambassador

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OCT 11 1937
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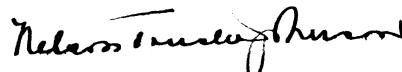
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

sador and the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in Washington. I informed the French Ambassador that this appeared to be the case, although I had not received any confirmation of this fact.

The French Ambassador further stated that he had been instructed by Paris to take moderating action in Nanking; that the French Ambassador in Tokyo had received similar instructions, but that both were to take such action after consultation with and in cooperation with their American colleagues, the assumption being that the same action would be taken by their British colleagues.

Respectfully yours,


Nelson Trusler Johnson.

Enclosures: ✓

- 1/ Copy of memorandum of conversation,
July 13, 1937.
- 2/ Copy of memorandum of conversation,
July 14, 1937.

710.
FPL/js.

Original and four copies to Department.
One copy to American Embassy, Nanking.
One copy to American Embassy, Tokyo.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch
 No. 1352 July 20, 1937.

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 13, 1937.

Mr. F.E. Nassier, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Moderating action at Tokyo and Nanking.

In conversation with the French Ambassador to-day, reference was made to our discussion the other day of the feasibility of the powers making some moderating representations at Tokyo and at Nanking. I told the French Ambassador that I had transmitted this information to Washington, with the comment that neither of us felt that such action would be of any value, but that perhaps no harm would be done.

The French Ambassador stated that he had noticed a Reuter report which indicated that the Secretary of State had urged moderation upon the Japanese Ambassador and the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in Washington. I told him that this appeared to be the case, although I had not yet received any confirmation of this.

The French Ambassador told me that he had been instructed by Paris to take moderating action in Nanking, and he said the French Ambassador at Tokyo had received similar instructions, but that both were to take such action after consultation with and in cooperation with their American colleagues, and, I assume, their British colleagues.

Nelson Trumler Johnson
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:EA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure^{VR} No. 2 to despatch
No. 1352 July 20, 1937.

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 14, 1937.

Mr. P. E. Maggier, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Conditions in North China.

I saw Mr. Maggier at the French Embassy this noon and he told me that he had just received a telegram from Paris to the effect that the Japanese Ambassador at Paris had left a memorandum with the French Foreign Office to the effect that, with regard to this North China situation, Japan could no longer countenance the anti-Japanese situation existing here; that the nation was behind the Government in its determination to take such steps as might be necessary to eliminate anti-Japanese feeling here. He said that the memorandum stated that Japan had no intention whatever of taking any action in South China.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador.

Copy to Hanking.

NTJ:EA

0686

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1355

Peiping, July 23, 1937.

Subject: The Question of the Ambassadors'
Proceeding to Nanking.

CONFIDENTIAL

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For		

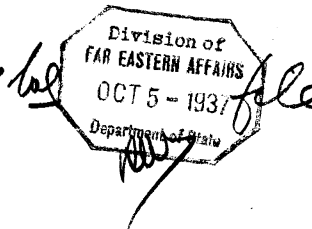
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1937 OCT 4 PM 2 11

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.



Sir:

793.94/8827

I have the honor to refer to paragraph 1 of my telegram No. 256 of July 18, 3 p.m., reporting that the French Ambassador to China, Mr. Paul Emile Naggiar, had informed me that he had received instructions to go to Nanking, and to enclose a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had with him on July 20, 1937, in which he told me that he had subsequently been instructed to use his own judgment in the matter of going to Nanking.

1/

There

F/FILED

OCT 14 1937

793.94/10404

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

2/

There is also enclosed a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had on July 19, 1937, with the Counselor of the Italian Embassy, Mr. A. Alessandrini, during which he informed me that the Italian Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Nanking but had finally decided to remain in Peitaiho, as Italy had no interests at stake and as the matter was purely a local one between China and Japan. Mr. Alessandrini added that the German Ambassador, Dr. Oscar P. Trautmann, who is also at Peitaiho, was of the same opinion.

Respectfully yours,

Nelson Trusler Johnson

Nelson Trusler Johnson

Enclosures:

Memorandum dated July 20, 1937.
Memorandum dated July 19, 1937.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.
Copy to Embassy, Nanking.

710

LES-SC

4 CARBON COPIES
Received EP

0685

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. 1
TO DESPATCH No. 1353

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 20, 1937.

Mr. P. E. Naggier, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Question of going to Nanking.

The French Ambassador called. He stated that he had received instructions from Paris, in reply to his recommendation regarding his proceeding to Nanking, to the effect that he should use his own judgment in the matter; and that he had been authorized to request the French Admiral to furnish him transportation in case other transportation was not available.

I told him that I had communicated to Washington our conversation of the other day and his suggestion that we might coordinate our plans in regard to our going to Nanking, and that I was still of the opinion that it was wiser for me to remain here for the moment; that I felt that sooner or later we must go down, and that when the moment arrived I would communicate with him and with Washington.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:EA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE NO. 2
TO DESPATCH NO. 1338

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 19, 1937.

Mr. A. Alessandrini, Counselor of the Italian
Embassy, and Mr. Johnson.

Present: Mr. Lockhart.

Subject: Sino-Japanese dispute.

Mr. Alessandrini called, with Commandant Del Greco. Mr. Alessandrini stated that he had been sent to Peiping by his Ambassador who is now staying at Peitaiho, for the purpose of looking into Italian interests in view of the present situation. He stated that in the course of conversation regarding conditions here, his Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Nanking, but had finally decided to remain in Peitaiho, as Italy had no interests at stake, and the matter was purely a local one between Japan and China. He said that the German Ambassador, who was now also at Peitaiho, was of the same opinion. He stated that his own Ambassador felt that there was no call for Italy to intervene in the matter.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:EA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 1358

Peiping, July 27, 1937.

Subject: The Question of the Ambassador's
Proceeding to Nanking.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
 Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to paragraph 1 of my telegram No. 1358 of July 18, 3 p.m., reporting that the French Ambassador to China, Mr. Paul Emile Nagler, had informed me that he had received instructions to go to Nanking, and to enclose a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had with him on July 20, 1937, in which he told me that he had subsequently been instructed to use his own judgment in the matter of going to Nanking.

There

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

There is also enclosed a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had on July 19, 1947 with the Counselor of the Italian Embassy, Mr. A. Alessandrini, during which he informed me that the Italian Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Nanking but had finally decided to remain in Peking as Italy has no interests at stake and as the matter was purely a local one between China and Japan. Mr. Alessandrini added that the German Ambassador, Mr. Oscar F. Trautman, who is also in Peking, was of the same opinion.

Respectfully yours,

Nelson Trusler Johnson

Enclosures:

Memorandum dated July 30, 1947.
 Memorandum dated July 19, 1947.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
 Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.
 Copy to Embassy, Nanking.

710

100-30



DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. 1
 TO DESTROYED No. 1355

Memorandum of Conversation.

Beiping, July 26, 1937.

Mr. G. S. Nessler, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Question of going to Nanking.

The French Ambassador called. He stated that he had received instructions from Paris, in reply to his recommendation regarding his proceeding to Nanking, to the effect that he should use his own judgment in the matter; and that he had been authorized to request the French Admiral to furnish him transportation in case other transportation was not available.

I told him that I had communicated to Washington our conversation of the other day and his suggestion that we might coordinate our plans in regard to our going to Nanking, and that I was still of the opinion that it was wiser for me to remain here for the moment; that I felt that sooner or later we must go down, and that when the moment arrived I would communicate with him and with Washington.

Nelson Frusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:2A

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. ²
 TO DESPATCH No. 4355

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 19, 1937.

Mr. A. Alessandrini, Counselor of the Italian
Embassy, and Mr. Johnson.

Present: Mr. Lockhart.

Subject: Sino-Japanese dispute.

Mr. Alessandrini called, with Comandant Del Greco. Mr. Alessandrini stated that he had been sent to Peiping by his Ambassador who is now staying at Peitaiho, for the purpose of looking into Italian interests in view of the present situation. He stated that in the course of conversation regarding conditions here, his Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Nanking, but had finally decided to remain in Peitaiho, as Italy had no interests at stake, and the matter was purely a local one between Japan and China. He said that the German Ambassador, who was now also at Peitaiho, was of the same opinion. He stated that his own Ambassador felt that there was no call for Italy to intervene in the matter.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:LA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 1365

Peiping, July 28, 1937.

Subject: The Question of the Ambassador's
Proceeding to Hankow.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to paragraph 1 of my telegram No. 456 of July 18, 1937, reporting that the French Ambassador to China, Mr. Paul Heile Nagler, has informed me that he had received instructions to go to Hankow, and to enclose a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had with him on July 20, 1937, in which he told me that he had subsequently been instructed to use his own judgment in the matter of policy to Hankow.

There

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Justesen NARS, Date 12-18-75

There is also enclosed a copy of a memorandum
 2/ of a conversation which I had on July 10, 1937
 with the Counselor of the Italian Embassy, Mr. A.
 Alessandrini, during which he informed me that the
 Italian ambassador has at one time thought of going
 to Nanking but has finally decided to remain in Pei-
 tainho, as Italy has no interests at stake and as the
 matter was purely a local one between China and Japan.
 Mr. Alessandrini added that the German Ambassador,
 Mr. Oscar E. Trautmann, who is also at Peitainho, was
 of the same opinion.

Respectfully yours,

Nelson Trusler Johnson

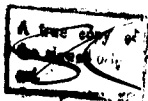
Enclosures:

Memorandum dated July 30, 1937.
 Memorandum dated July 19, 1937.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
 Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.
 Copy to Embassy, Nanking.

710

LHS-70



DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. 1
 TO BE CAPTIONED IN 1355-

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 20, 1937.

Mr. A. L. Nagler, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Question of going to Nanking.

The French Ambassador called. He stated that he had received instructions from Paris, in reply to his recommendation regarding his proceeding to Nanking, to the effect that he should use his own judgment in the matter; and that he had been authorized to request the French Admiral to furnish him transportation in case other transportation was not available.

I told him that I had communicated to Washington our conversation of the other day and his suggestion that we might coordinate our plans in regard to our going to Nanking, and that I was still of the opinion that it was wiser for me to remain here for the moment; that I felt that sooner or later we must go down, and that when the moment arrived I would communicate with him and with Washington.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:ZA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. ²
 TO DESPATCH No. 1355

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 19, 1937.

Mr. A. Alessandrini, Counselor of the Italian
Embassy, and Mr. Johnson.

Present: Mr. Lookhart.

Subject: Sino-Japanese dispute.

Mr. Alessandrini called, with Commandant Del Greco. Mr. Alessandrini stated that he had been sent to Peiping by his Ambassador who is now staying at Peitaiho, for the purpose of looking into Italian interests in view of the present situation. He stated that in the course of conversation regarding conditions here, his Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Nanking, but had finally decided to remain in Peitaiho, as Italy had no interests at stake, and the matter was purely a local one between Japan and China. He said that the German Ambassador, who was now also at Peitaiho, was of the same opinion. He stated that his own Ambassador felt that there was no call for Italy to intervene in the matter.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:SA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 1355

Peking, July 23, 1937.

Subject: The Question of the Achang case!
Proceeding to Nanking.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
 Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to paragraph 1 of my telegram No. 256 of July 18, 3 p.m., reporting that the French Ambassador to China, Mr. Paul Esling Nagler, had informed me that he had received instructions to go to Nanking, and to enclose a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had with him on July 20, 1937, in which he told me that he had subsequently been instructed to use his own judgment in the matter of going to Nanking.

Truce

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

There is also enclosed a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had on July 10, 1947 with the Counselor of the Italian Embassy, Mr. A. Alessandrini, during which he informed me that the Italian Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Hankow but had finally decided to remain in Peking as Italy has no interests at stake and the matter was purely a local one between China and Japan. Mr. Alessandrini noted that the German Ambassador, Dr. Oscar T. Trautmann, who is also at Peking, was of the same opinion.

Respectfully yours,

Nelson Trusler Johnson

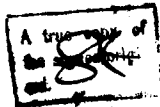
Enclosures:

Memorandum dated July 10, 1947.
 Memorandum dated July 19, 1947.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
 Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.
 Copy to Embassy, Hankow.

710

LYN-50



DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quatefen NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. 1
 TO DESPATCH No. 1353

Memorandum of Conversation.

Beiping, July 20, 1937.

Mr. P. H. Nagliar, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Question of going to Nanking.

The French Ambassador called. He stated that he had received instructions from Paris, in reply to his recommendation regarding his proceeding to Nanking, to the effect that he should use his own judgment in the matter; and that he had been authorized to request the French Admiral to furnish him transportation in case other transportation was not available.

I told him that I had communicated to Washington our conversation of the other day and his suggestion that we might coordinate our plans in regard to our going to Nanking, and that I was still of the opinion that it was wiser for me to remain here for the moment; that I felt that sooner or later we must go down, and that when the moment arrived I would communicate with him and with Washington.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:ZA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huefner NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No.
TO DESPATCH No.

2
(25)

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 19, 1937.

Mr. A. Alessandrini, Counselor of the Italian
Embassy, and Mr. Johnson.

Present: Mr. Lockhart.

Subject: Sino-Japanese dispute.

Mr. Alessandrini called, with Commandant Del Greco. Mr. Alessandrini stated that he had been sent to Peiping by his Ambassador who is now staying at Peitaiho, for the purpose of looking into Italian interests in view of the present situation. He stated that in the course of conversation regarding conditions here, his Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Nanking, but had finally decided to remain in Peitaiho, as Italy had no interests at stake, and the matter was purely a local one between Japan and China. He said that the German Ambassador, who was now also at Peitaiho, was of the same opinion. He stated that his own Ambassador felt that there was no call for Italy to intervene in the matter.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:SA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 1355

Peiping, July 27, 1937.

Subject: The Question of the Ambassadors'
Proceeding to Nanking.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to paragraph 1 of my telegram No. 356 of July 18, 3 p.m., reporting that the French Ambassador to China, Mr. Paul Eschig Nagier, had informed me that he had received instructions to go to Nanking, and to enclose a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had with him on July 20, 1937, in which he told me that he had subsequently been instructed to use his own judgment in the matter of going to Nanking.

There

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

There is also enclosed a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had on July 12, 1947 with the Counselor of the Italian Embassy, Mr. A. Alessandrini, during which he informed me that the Italian Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Hanking but had finally decided to remain in Peking as Italy has no interests at stake and as the matter was purely local one between China and Japan. Mr. Alessandrini added that the German Ambassador, Dr. Oscar K. Trantmann, who is also at Peking, was of the same opinion.

Respectfully yours.

Nelson Traylor Johnson

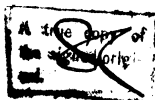
Enclosures:

Memorandum dated July 20, 1947.
 Memorandum dated July 19, 1947.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
 Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.
 Copy to Embassy, Hankow.

710

100-10



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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. 1
 TO DESPATCH No. 1353-

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 20, 1937.

Mr. P. E. Maggier, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson.

Subject: Question of going to Nanking.

The French Ambassador called. He stated that he had received instructions from Paris, in reply to his recommendation regarding his proceeding to Nanking, to the effect that he should use his own judgment in the matter; and that he had been authorized to request the French Admiral to furnish him transportation in case other transportation was not available.

I told him that I had communicated to Washington our conversation of the other day and his suggestion that we might coordinate our plans in regard to our going to Nanking, and that I was still of the opinion that it was wiser for me to remain here for the moment; that I felt that sooner or later we must go down, and that when the moment arrived I would communicate with him and with Washington.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:EA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. ²
TO DESPATCH No. 1355

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 19, 1937.

Mr. A. Alessandrini, Counselor of the Italian
Embassy, and Mr. Johnson.

Present: Mr. Lockhart.

Subject: Sino-Japanese dispute.

Mr. Alessandrini called, with Commandant Del Greco. Mr. Alessandrini stated that he had been sent to Peiping by his Ambassador who is now staying at Peitaiho, for the purpose of looking into Italian interests in view of the present situation. He stated that in the course of conversation regarding conditions here, his Ambassador had at one time thought of going to Nanking, but had finally decided to remain in Peitaiho, as Italy had no interests at stake, and the matter was purely a local one between Japan and China. He said that the German Ambassador, who was now also at Peitaiho, was of the same opinion. He stated that his own Ambassador felt that there was no call for Italy to intervene in the matter.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanking.

NTJ:EA

0703

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

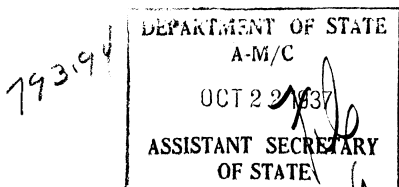


EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1369

Peiping, July 31, 1937.

Subject: False Sensational Report about
the Situation in Swatow.



Ketcham

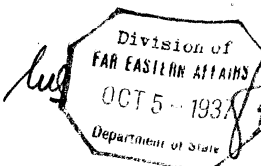
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Commercial Office (A-M/C)
To



793.94/10405

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a copy of despatch
1/ No. 43 of July 24, 1937, addressed to the Embassy by
the Consul at Swatow, reporting that, notwithstanding
a sensational press report of Sino-Japanese friction
in Swatow, the situation there was quiet.

Mr. Ketcham describes the present situation to
be as follows: coolie longshoremen have refused to
work for Japanese vessels but the Chinese authorities
are attempting to persuade them to alter their attitude;
one or two societies have been formed for the purpose of

preventing

F/FG 111/10405

2 5 1937

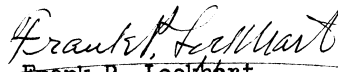
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

preventing the sale of Japanese-made goods, but apparently without official support; the situation has not been affected by the outbreak of hostilities in North China other than that 40 Japanese women and children have left Swatow for Formosa; these nationals left of their own volition and not under orders.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:


Frank P. Lockhart,
Counselor of Embassy.

✓
✓
Enclosure:

Swatow's No. 43,
July 24, 1937.

Original 4 copies to Department.
Copy to Embassy, Nanking.
Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.

710

LES-SC

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 43

Copy for Embassy, Peiping

ENCLOSURE No. 1
 TO DESPATCH No. 1369

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Swatow, China, July 24, 1937.

Subject:- Sensational Headlines in Hong Kong South
 China Morning Post Are Unfounded.

The Honorable

Nelson Trusler Johnson

American Ambassador,

Peiping.

Sir:-

I have the honor to enclose herewith page 13 of the South China Morning Post of Hong Kong for July 22, 1937, which prints in large headlines "FRICITION LIKELY IN SWATOW", and in smaller type "TROOPS ASKED TO LEAVE".

This newspaper was only just received in the mail this morning together with the edition for the following day, July 23, 1937. There is enclosed a small article appearing on page 13 of the South China Morning Post for July 23, 1937, by which it will be seen that the sensational story appearing the previous day, relative to the demand for withdrawal of troops was denied, and that the situation is normal.

General Li Pan-hun's 158th division is quartered in Chaochowfu, thirty miles north of Swatow, and there are not more than 200 to 500 of his troops stationed in Swatow.

Actually the only truth in the reports regarding Swatow in the newspaper of July 22 was that on Tuesday, July 20, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha steamer "Canton Maru" and the Nishin Nissen Kaisha steamer "Tushan Maru" were in Swatow harbor and the

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

coolie longshoremen refused to load or discharge cargo on these vessels.

The Japanese Consul, Mr. Yamasaki, called at the Mayor's office yesterday requesting that steps be taken to force the coolies to work the vessels. While the Consul was assured that the local authorities would co-operate in urging the coolies to work Japanese ships, they had no power to force them to work against their will. However, this morning the police received orders from the Mayor to persuade the coolies if possible to refrain from boycotting any Japanese vessels. As reported in despatch No. 40 of July 17, 1937, the Municipality has received orders from Canton to afford special protection to all Japanese subjects, and that no incidents of any kind should be allowed to occur. The local press reports the formation of one or two associations for the prevention of the sale of illicit i.e. Japanese goods, but it is not thought that these boycott societies have received official support.

In a conversation with Mr. Yamasaki yesterday he stated that about forty Japanese women and children had left Swatow for Formosa of their own volition, but that he had issued no evacuation orders. There were rumors that Mrs. Yamasaki had already departed, but Mr. Yamasaki denied this. It will be noted that the newspaper reported that one hundred women and children had left Swatow.

The local situation is quiet at present, and has remained so ever since the outbreak of hostilities in North China, and the publication of such sensational headlines in the reputed reliable South China Morning Post is to be regretted. It will be recalled that that newspaper also printed exaggerated

reports

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-3-

reports of the so called Swatow Aoyama incident.

This morning a tour party of 75 Americans, consisting of 51 women and 14 men, arrived in Swatow from Hong Kong on the S.S. Haitan, of the Douglas Line, under the leadership of Dr. William Campbell of the University of Southern California. The party will continue on to Foochow returning via ports to Hong Kong on the same vessel.

Mr. Campbell informed me that he had read the South China Morning Post of July 22, but had decided to continue with the tour regardless. However, such a sensational story might easily have led the party to cancel the trip and caused needless inconvenience to these Americans.

Respectfully yours,

John B. Ketcham,
 American Consul.

File No. 800
 JBK/ght

enclosures:-

Clippings from South China
 Morning Post of July 22
 and July 23, 1957.

Original and five copies
 to the Embassy, Peiping.
 Copy to the Embassy, Nanking.
 Copy to Consulate General, Canton.

BMH

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

No:1
 Enclosure to Despatch No. 43 to the Embassy, Peiping,
 dated July 24, 1937.

South China Morning Post, July 22, 1937.

FRICTION LIKELY IN SWATOW

Troops Asked to Leave

Japanese Demands

Coolies' Refusal to Handle Cargo.

Japanese Demand in Swatow.

Withdrawal of Troops From City.

"Causing Trouble".

Canton, July 21, 1937.

Reliable, but as yet unconfirmed, reports state that the Japanese Consul has demanded from the Mayor of Canton the immediate withdrawal of General Li Hon-wen's 155th Division from Swatow on the grounds that the army chapter of the Kuomintang there is stirring up trouble against Japan.

This is stated to be a sequel of the refusal of Chinese coolies to handle cargo from Japanese ships.

Canton officials are reported to have rejected the request, but have ordered the 153rd Division from Shiuchow (Shiukwan) to go to Swatow. These troops entrained for Canton this morning, en route to Swatow.

It is also reported that 100 Japanese women and children have left Swatow.

Later.

The Japanese Consul denied the report that the withdrawal of the troops had been requested, but admitted that he was asking for protection for the coolies from intimidation.

Coolies Declare Strike.

Canton, July 21, 1937.

Longshoremen at Swatow are sticking together, and yesterday they would not load or unload Japanese ships, nor will they under existing circumstances. Shipping companies offered handsome wages to outsiders, but could not get together gangs of coolies to move cargoes.-----

0709

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 43 to the Embassy, Peiping,
dated July 24, 1937.

South China Morning Post, July 23, 1937.

CANTON QUIET

155th Division Troops To Remain in Swatow.

AGITATION NOT TRUE

No Troop Withdrawal

Canton, July 22, 1937.

Chinese officials strongly deny the report that the Japanese Consul General requested the withdrawal of the 155th Division under General Li Hon-wen from Swatow on the ground that there was anti-Japanese agitation.

The story is entirely without foundation and the situation in Swatow is normal. - Reuter.

0710

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1370

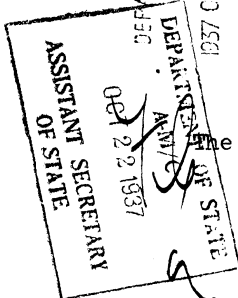
Peiping, August 2, 1937.

Subject: Tsinan Reaction to North
China Conflict.

793.94

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1937 OCT 4 PM 2 00



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The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.



793.94/10406

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to enclose a copy of despatch
No. 61 of July 14, 1937, addressed to the Embassy by
the Consulate at Tsinan, with regard to reaction in
Tsinan to the Sino-Japanese conflict in North China.

The despatch may be summarized as follows: there
was no cause for immediate alarm at the time of writing;
both Chinese and Japanese authorities were taking appro-
priate measures for maintaining quiet; the Japanese
Vice Consul in charge of the Japanese Consulate General
expressed opposition to the idea of requesting the

despatch

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FILED
OCT 25 1937


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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

despatch to Tsinan of Japanese troops because they would create misunderstanding; military preparations by Chinese at various points in Shantung caused some alarm among Japanese; General Han Fu-chu had allegedly received orders from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to hasten defense works in eastern Shantung; if trouble should arise in Shantung, it would probably be inspired from without rather than from within the province.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:


Frank P. Lockhart,
Counselor of Embassy.

✓
Enclosure:

Tsinan's No. 61,
July 14, 1937.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
Copy to Embassy, Nanking.
Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.

710

LES-SC

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Mitten D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 61.

ENCLOSURE No. 1
 TO DESPATCH No. 1370

AMERICAN CONSULATE,

Tsinan, China, July 14, 1937.

Subject: Tsinan Reaction to North China Clash.

The Honorable

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador,
 Peiping.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that there has been no evidence of undue excitement in Tainan caused by the present fighting between Chinese and Japanese troops in the vicinity of Lukouchiao. Orders have been issued by General Han Fu-chu to the press, officials and the public to refrain from spreading inflammatory rumors while Japanese subjects have been cautioned by their consulate general to maintain a calm attitude and not to do anything which might aggravate the situation.

I called upon the Vice Consul in charge of the Japanese Consulate General yesterday in order to make inquiries about the general situation in North China and its possible repercussions in this district. Mr. Mochizuki, who has but recently arrived in Tainan from Bombay, seems to be able to look at the matter more objectively than the average Japanese official and he stated that he did not believe the trouble would spread unless "some of the younger soldiers on one

side

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quastgen NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

side or the other get out of hand." He said that he had been assured by General Han that Japanese subjects would be adequately protected, and that, at present, he had no intention of seeking further aid. A few members of the local Japanese community had advocated requesting Japanese troops, according to Mr. Mochizuki, but it was his opinion that the presence of troops would cause more harm than good and that as long as there were no Japanese troops the responsibility for protection of his subjects was up to General Han. If troops came they would only cause misunderstanding, and anyway he didn't believe General Han would peacefully allow troops to be brought to Tsinan. Upon being asked my opinion I stated that I thought his attitude was eminently sensible. The local Japanese owned newspaper has been warned not to publish rumors and to "play down" all news of the fighting.

In response to a question concerning the general situation in this district, Mr. Mochizuki said that the military preparations at various points in the province had occasioned some alarm, particularly those along the eastern coast of Shantung and along the Kiao-Tsi Railway. General Han had stated to him that these military preparations did not have his approval but that they were being done on orders from Nanking. It is extremely doubtful that this represents the true attitude of General Han.

That Chinese officials still believe there is danger of large scale military action by the Japanese in Shantung and other parts of North China is indicated by the following further telegrams which, the Consulate has been confidentially informed, have recently been exchanged between

General

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 3 -

General Han and the Generalissimo. Reference is made to this consulate's confidential despatch No. 60, of July 9, 1937, for information received from the same source regarding previous telegrams of a similar nature.

On July 8th or 9th, General Han despatched a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek requesting the supply of additional arms and ammunition.

The Generalissimo replied that the telegram of General Han had been referred to the Ministry of War for consideration and action.

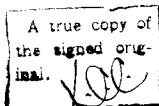
On the 10th, the Generalissimo informed General Han by telegram that due to the danger of further Japanese action the Central Government had despatched 7 or 8 divisions of troops to Luoting (保定) and Shihohiackwang (石家莊).

On the morning of July 12th, another telegram came from Chiang instructing Han to hasten the defensive works in eastern Chantung and to take precautions against the work being disclosed.

This last precaution would seem to be useless inasmuch as the Japanese authorities appear to be fully informed as to the extent of Chinese military activities in all parts of Chantung.

It may be said in conclusion that nothing in the local situation gives cause for immediate alarm. The local Japanese officials are evincing a cooperative spirit while the Chinese authorities are maintaining an attitude of "wait and see." If trouble should arise in this district as a result of the North China clash it is believed that its inspiration will probably be from without rather than from within.

Respectfully yours,



John M. Allison,
 American Consul.

Original and 5 copies
 to Embassy, Peking.
 Single copy to Embassy, Hanking.
 Single copy for information of
 consulates, Tsingtao and Chefoo.
 800
 JMA:KCC

0715

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

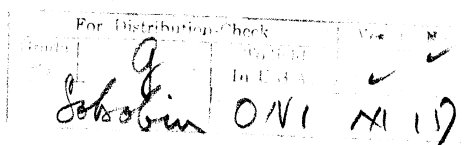
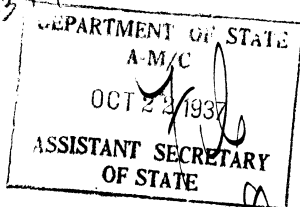


EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1371

Peiping, August 2, 1937.

Subject: Sino-Japanese Situation
in Tsingtao.



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O.N.I. AND C.I.D.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 4 PM 2 00

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.



793.94/10407

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a copy of despatch
 1/ No. 215 of July 15, 1937, addressed to the Embassy by
 the Consulate at Tsingtao, with regard to the Sino-
 Japanese situation at Tsingtao.

The despatch may be summarized as follows: a
 local Japanese newspaper reported that the Japanese
 Consul General obtained on July 11 from the Mayor of
 Tsingtao promises of strict control over publications,
 cotton mill workers, and Revenue Guards and Chinese
 Marines; the Consulate believes that the Japanese

Consul

F/FG FILED

OCT 25 1937

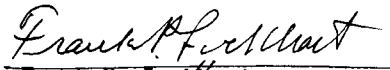
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

Consul General indicated to the Mayor that the Revenue Guards would be dealt with severely in case there were the slightest move of hostility by Chinese in the Tsingtao region; and the situation in Tsingtao at the time of writing is quiet.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:


Frank P. Lockhart,
Counselor of Embassy.

✓
Enclosure:

Tsingtao's No. 215,
July 15, 1937.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
Copy to Embassy, Nanking.
Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.

710

LES-SC

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE NO. 1
 TO DESPATCH NO. 1371

No. 215

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Tsingtao, China, July 15, 1937.

Subject: Japanese Consul General Obtains Important Promises from Mayor of Tsingtao.

The Honorable

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador,
 Peiping, China.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the local Japanese daily, the TSINGTAO SHIMPO, in its issue of July 14, gives prominence to a report of an interview of considerable duration between the Japanese Consul General and the Mayor of Tsingtao on Sunday, July 11. The newspaper report states that at this interview the Japanese Consul General obtained a promise from Mayor Shen that he would:

- (1) Maintain strict control of newspaper articles, editorials and other newspaper material and publications in general, to prevent the insertion of anti-Japanese propaganda.
- (2) Maintain a strict watch over the "bad elements" among cotton mill workers employed and unemployed.
- (3) Endeavor to his utmost ability to prevent the Revenue Guards and the Chinese marines giving rise to "misunderstandings".

It should be noted that the interview between the Japanese Consul General and the Mayor took place on July 11 which is the date on which took place the interview referred to in this consulate's despatch no. 212 of July 12, 1937, file no. 800, subject: Japanese Consul General's

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

General's Discussion of North China Clash and Anti-Nipponism. It will be recalled that the Consul General dwelt at length with feeling on the presence of the Revenue Guards which he indicated constituted a threat against the peace and order of Tsingtao, and consequently a danger to Japanese lives and property. His attitude in respect to the Revenue Guards is apparently that entertained in Tokyo, which according to a recent telegram, condemned the recent North China incident as an example of "Chinese armed resistance to Japan". In other words it would appear that the Japanese regard the stationing of Chinese troops on their own soil as an audacious act of effrontery.

This consulate is inclined to believe that the Japanese Consul General indicated to the Mayor that the Revenue Guards would be dealt with severely by a Japanese armed force if there was the slightest move of hostility by the Chinese in this region.

The situation in Tsingtao continues very quiet. The Japanese Consulate General on July 13, advised his nationals to remain calm and to attend to their pursuits as usual. He added that the Japanese Consulate General was taking every step necessary to cope with the situation in close cooperation with both the Japanese military authorities and naval authorities at Tsingtao.

Respectfully yours,

800
 SS/AD

Samuel Sokobin,
 American Consul.

Original and 5 copies to Embassy, Peiping.
 Copy to Embassy, Nanking.
 Copy to C in C, U.S. Asiatic Fleet.
 Copy to Tsinan-Chefoo.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

October 6, 1937.

Tokyo's despatch no. 2589 of September 17, 1937, encloses copies of notes, memoranda, et cetera, relating to the Sino-Japanese conflict. Their substance has already been reported by telegraph, and the despatch is useful chiefly for purposes of record. There is one point, however, worthy of note, as follows:

Enclosure no. 8. The German Ambassador informed Mr. Grew that he had been instructed by his Government not to participate in eventual "démarches collectives" of his colleagues.

793.94/10408

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DIVISION OF
EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 12 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 2589.

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Tokyo, September 17, 1937.

SUBJECT: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

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1937 OCT 4 PM 2 35

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

793.94/10403
Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 15 - 1937
Department of State

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 2570 dated September 3, 1937, I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the purpose of the records, further copies of various notes, letters, memoranda and other communications relating to Sino-Japanese relations.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph C. Grew

Joseph C. Grew.

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ESC:g

Annex:
List of enclosures.

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OCT 13 1937
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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

LIST OF ENCLOSURES TRANSMITTED WITH DESPATCH NO. 2589
 SEPTEMBER 17, 1937.

- 1/ Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Bureau, the Foreign Office, with Mr. Coville.
- 2/ Mr. Seijiro Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Bureau of the Foreign Office, with Mr. Coville.
- 3/ Mr. H. Ashley Clarke, First Secretary of the British Embassy, with Mr. Coville.
- 4/ Mr. J. L. Dodds, British Chargé d'Affaires, with Mr. Coville.
- 5/ Col. Ott, German Military Attaché, with Mr. Crocker.
- 6/ The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew. (Translation).
- 7/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.
- 8/ The German Ambassador, Mr. Von Dirksen to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.
- 9/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds.
- 10/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry.
- 11/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.
- 12/ The British First Secretary, Mr. Clarke, to the American Counselor, Mr. Dooman.
- 13/ Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the British Ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie, the French Ambassador, M. Arsène-Henry, the German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti.
- 14/ Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Bureau of the Foreign Office, with Mr. Crocker.
- 15/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.
- 16/ Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Section, Foreign Office, with Mr. Crocker, Second Secretary.
- 17/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.
- 18/ The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew. (Translation).
- 19/ The French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry, to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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- 20/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.
- 21/ The British Ambassador, Sir R.L. Craigie, to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.
- 22/ Mr. Seijiyo Yoshizawa, Chief of the Bureau of American Affairs, the Foreign Office, with Mr. Coville.
- 23/ The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy. (Translation).
- 24/ Mr. Seijiyo Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Bureau of the Foreign Office, with Mr. Crocker.
- 25/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.
- 26/ Mr. Seijiyo Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Bureau of the Foreign Office, with Mr. Crocker.
- 27/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota. Aide-mémoire.
- 28/ The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.
- 29/ The American Counselor, Mr. Dooman, to Mr. Yoshizawa, Director of the American Bureau of the Foreign Office.

072

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosur No. 1 to despatch
No. 2589 of Sept. 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

August 20, 1937.

Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Bureau,
the Foreign Office.

Mr. Coville.

Subject: Bombing at Nantungchow.

By appointment, at eleven o'clock this morning I saw Mr. Yoshizawa and delivered to him copies of the telegrams from the American Consul General at Shanghai of August 19, 2 p.m., and August 19, 3 p.m., on the subject of bombing of the Central China Christian Mission at Nantungchow by a Japanese plane. The second telegram embodies a list of places where American missionaries are resident.

Mr. Yoshizawa told me that the strong protest of our Consul General at Shanghai to the Japanese Consul General there had already been received by the Foreign Office.

He informed me that when the Foreign Office brought the protest to the attention of the Japanese Navy Department the Navy Department had replied that the mission at Nantungchow is located close to the flying field there, that the target of the Japanese plane was the flying field and hangers, and that low flying clouds were responsible for the accident to the mission. He told me that the damage to a hospital building, a school building, and a residence of the mission had fortunately not resulted in injury to any American citizen.

Mr. Yoshizawa went on to say that because the protest had originally been made at Shanghai the formal reply would be conveyed through the Japanese authorities at Shanghai.

Mr.

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By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Mr. Yoshizawa mentioned that Mr. Dooman had also spoken to him by telephone with regard to the presence of a large number of Americans at the Kuling resort, requesting that Japanese armed forces be so advised in order to avoid any bombing which might injure Americans there. When Mr. Yoshizawa communicated that message to the Navy Department, he informed me, the Navy Department had replied that Kuling is not on the list of places which has been drawn up for Japanese attack by air raid, and that although it is situated on the way to Nanchang (where he says there is a powerful Chinese air base which must be demolished) and planes must consequently fly over the vicinity of Kuling, the Navy will instruct its fliers to avoid disturbance at Kuling.

C.C.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure 2 to despatch
 No 2587 of Sept 17, 1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

August 23, 1937.

Mr. Seijiro Yoshizawa, Chief of the American
 Bureau of the Foreign Office.

Mr. Coville.

Subject: List of American properties in
 Yangtze region.

Mr. Yoshizawa asked me to call at the Foreign Office at
 11 a.m. to receive the reply to my conversational communica-
 tion to him of August 20 (See memorandum of conversation on
 the subject of the bombing in Mantungchow).

Mr. Yoshizawa made to me an oral statement the contents
 of which were approximately as follows:

Desiring as Japan does to avoid harm to Americans or
 American property the Japanese Navy has issued orders to
 that effect, and the list received from the American Embassy
 has been transmitted to the Japanese officers in command.
 The Navy hopes that American properties will be conspicuously
 marked. The Navy suggests that Americans be advised to evacuate
 such properties as may become occupied by Chinese forces.
 It is also the hope of the Navy that the American authorities
 will continuously feel free to convey any additional information
 about such properties, which might add to the effectiveness of
 Japan's desire to keep American interests unharmed.

(This reply was incorporated in the Embassy's telegram
 299, August 23, 5 p.m.)

C.C.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 3 to despatch
 No. 2587 of Sept. 17, 1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

August 24, 1937.

Mr. H. Ashley Clarke, First Secretary
 of the British Embassy.

Mr. Coville.

Mr. Clarke called me up by telephone this morning and asked if he might come and tell me something which Mr. Dodds omitted from our conversation of 6:00 p.m. yesterday. Mr. Clarke then came to my office and said that Mr. Dodds asked him to add the following to yesterday's conversation:

When Mr. Dodds saw Vice Minister Horinouchi late in the afternoon on August 23 the Vice Minister remarked that the British proposal for neutralization of Shanghai had been supported by the French Government but had not been supported by the American Government. Mr. Horinouchi asked Mr. Dodds why the American Government had not participated in the action. To this remark Mr. Dodds replied that Ambassador Grew would be the person from whom to obtain an answer to that question; but that Mr. Dodds believed that the American lack of action in the matter was because it appeared to the American Government that rejection by the Japanese of the proposal had already been determined.

Mr. Clarke stated that Mr. Dodds wished this information brought to Ambassador Grew's attention. He pointed out that Mr. Dodds' comment to the Vice Minister was believed to be in accordance with what Ambassador Grew had stated to Mr. Dodds early the same afternoon, but that in conversation with the Vice Minister Mr. Dodds had not attributed the information to the Ambassador.

C.C.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 4 to despatch
 No 2587 of Sept 11, 1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

August 24, 1937.

Mr. J. L. Dodds, British Chargé d'Affaires.

Mr. Coville.

In conversation with Ambassador Grew earlier in the afternoon Mr. Dodds promised to give to me copies of his notes of August 21 to the Foreign Minister if I should call upon Mr. Dodds at the end of the afternoon. I called at six o'clock and received from Mr. Dodds the attached copies which have been incorporated into the Embassy's telegrams 300, August 23, 6 p.m., and 301, August 23, 7 p.m.

I commented on the fact that the Japanese seem to have been making some of their replies to British communications through the channel of the press. Mr. Dodds said that he had considered mentioning that fact in his conversation with the Vice Minister on the afternoon of August 23 but that a statement released by the Foreign Office spokesman the same morning had been moderating in tone, and therefore he had not brought up the subject to Mr. Horinouchi.

Mr. Dodds said that Mr. Horinouchi had shown him a document, not quite completed, in reply to the recommendation of the five Ambassadors in Nanking in support of the issue of an instruction to Japanese bombers to avoid operating in a specified area of Nanking. Mr. Horinouchi had told Mr. Dodds that the reply would be completed and sent out by that evening. (See Embassy's 302, August 23, 9 p.m.)

The

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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The Chargé mentioned the fact that he had just been conversing at some length with Mr. Dietzman of the Soviet Embassy, who effectively disposed of Tokyo rumors of an imminent Japanese attack upon the Soviet Union. After that conversation Mr. Dodds seemed to be of opinion that there might be the usual border incidents but that Japan is conscious of the fact that the Soviet Union will not bring on war, and Japan on its part is not going to manufacture one. Mr. Dodds closed the conversation with a few statements to the effect that, by a few serious mistakes of judgment at the present time, Japan is wrecking the fruits of her commendable progress in past years.

C.C.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 5 to despatch
No. 2587 of Sept 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

September 2, 1937.

Col. Ott, German Military Attaché .

Mr. Crocker.

Bombing of Nanking.

Col. Ott sought out Captain Bemis and Lt. Col. Crane before luncheon today at the New Grand restaurant in order to tell them of the action he had taken, upon instruction of his Ambassador, in regard to the question of bombing of Nanking and the more general question of bombing China. Upon being informed that I was handling the matter here, Col. Ott explained that they had received instructions from their Foreign Office and that he had called both at the War Ministry and the Navy Ministry here to make oral representations; that the War Ministry was, of course, not interested as the bombing was being done by the Navy; and that his were the main representations, to be backed up by an oral approach to the Foreign Office by the German Counsellor. I asked whether he had left any sort of memorandum or aide-mémoire and he said that he had not.

E.S.C.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure 1. 6 of despatch
 No. 2589 of Sept 17 1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota
 to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew
 (Translation)

No. 108, Asia I.

Department of Foreign Affairs,
 Tokyo, September 3, 1937.

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note No. 785 of August 31.

In the present incident the Japanese Government has taken, and is still taking, all possible measures for the prevention of injury and loss of lives and property of both Japanese and foreigners, as the United States Government must already be aware. Japanese forces have no intention of interrupting evacuation of nationals of third countries by machine-gun fire or the dropping of bombs. However, the railway connecting Hankow with the Canton area is now being used by China for military purposes including the transportation of troops and munitions of war. I desire to invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that so long as the railway is used for such purpose the Japanese Government cannot guarantee to refrain from interrupting its operations.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Koki Hirota (seal)
 Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency

Joseph Clark Grew,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
 of the United States of America.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 3 of despatch
No. 2589 of Sept 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota

Embassy of the
United States of America

Tokyo, September 4, 1937

No. 787

Excellency:

I have the honor to state, acting under instructions from my Government, that a communication has been received from the American Ambassador at Nanking requesting me, in view of the bombing of the hospital at Nantung, to communicate the following to Your Excellency for the information of the appropriate authorities:

The American mission hospital at Tsingkiangpu in northern Kiangsu is located in the extreme northeastern section of the city of Tsingkiangpu outside the city wall and in the corner of the outer earth wall. It is entirely separated from all strategic points and is two miles from the local air field. The roofs of the buildings are painted red and are plainly marked U.S.A. and in Chinese characters eight feet high "AMERICAN HOSPITAL". In addition the hospital is flying an American flag from the flagstaff. The hospital is being advised to have an American flag painted on the roof.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Joseph C. Grew

His Excellency

Mr. Koki Hirota,

His Imperial Japanese Majesty's

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

etc., etc.

Tokyo

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 8 to
 despatch No. 2589 of Sept 17/1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen to
 the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.

DEUTSCHE BOTSCHAFT

Karuizawa, September 4th 1937.

My dear Colleague,

With reference to my letter of September 2nd concerning the question of representations to the Japanese Government regarding the bombing of Nanking in general may I inform you that in the meantime I have received instructions from my government saying that I should refrain from participating in eventual "démarches collectives" of my colleagues, but authorizing me to draw the attention of the Japanese Government on the fact that also German interests might be threatened by the bombing of Nanking and other cities which would be most undesirable from the German point of view.

In this sense I shall take up the Nanking-question in my next conversation with the Foreign Minister. At the same time I shall draw the attention of Mr. Hirota on the bombing of cities, hospitals, trains and motor-cars which are mentioned in your esteemed letter of September 1st.

I remain, dear Colleague,

Yours sincerely,

vonDirksen

His Excellency
 Mr. Joseph Clark Grew,
 Ambassador of the United States of America,
T o k y o .

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure . 9 to despatch
No. 2589 of Sept 11/1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Dodds.

Tokyo, September 5, 1937

My dear Mr. Dodds:

I am informed by the American Consul General at Shanghai that yesterday the American, British, and French Commanders-in-Chief directed communications to the Japanese Admiral and to the Chinese military commander in the Pootung area calling attention to the consequence of an artillery duel which took place about midday on September 3d between Chinese guns in Pootung and Japanese warships in sections 5, 6, and 7 of the Shanghai harbor. They point out that several shells fell in the International Settlement south of Soochow Creek and in the French Concession, causing forty or fifty casualties, and that serious damage was caused to property in Pootung. They consider that if these engagements continue and possibly become more general the safety of the foreign areas will be seriously involved and life and property further endangered. They therefore recommend and request that in order to avoid this state of affairs and in order to preserve the safety of the foreign areas under their protection, the Chinese and Japanese forces should be withdrawn as follows: (1) Japanese naval forces to withdraw below section 7 of the river, (2) Chinese forces in Pootung to withdraw to the eastward of Pootung Road and south of Changkadu Creek.

It is desired by my Government that I, in association with my British and French colleagues, bring the matter to the attention of the Japanese Foreign

Office

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Office, expressing the earnest hope that the recommendations will be acted upon favorably and stating that a similar approach is being made to the Chinese Foreign Office. I would appreciate your informing me whether you are prepared to make the desired representations in association with the French Ambassador and myself.

I am, my dear Colleague, with cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew

J. L. Dodds, Esquire,

British Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,

Tokyo

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 10 to
 despatch No. 2689 of Sept 17, 1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
 to the French Ambassador, Mr. Arsène-Henry

Tokyo, September 5, 1937

My dear Colleague:

I am informed by the American Consul General at Shanghai that yesterday the American, British, and French Commanders-in-Chief directed communications to the Japanese Admiral and to the Chinese military commander in the Pootung area calling attention to the consequence of an artillery duel which took place about midday on September 3d between Chinese guns in Pootung and Japanese warships in sections 5, 6, and 7 of the Shanghai harbor. They point out that several shells fell in the International Settlement south of Soochow Creek and in the French Concession, causing forty or fifty casualties, and that serious damage was caused to property in Pootung. They consider that if these engagements continue and possibly become more general the safety of the foreign areas will be seriously involved and life and property further endangered. They therefore recommend and request that in order to avoid this state of affairs and in order to preserve the safety of the foreign areas under their protection, the Chinese and Japanese forces should be withdrawn as follows: (1) Japanese naval forces to withdraw below section 7 of the river, (2) Chinese forces in Pootung to withdraw to the eastward of Pootung Road and south of Changkadu Creek.

It is desired by my Government that I, in association with my British and French colleagues, bring the
matter

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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matter to the attention of the Japanese Foreign Office, expressing the earnest hope that the recommendations will be acted upon favorably and stating that a similar approach is being made to the Chinese Foreign Office. I would appreciate your informing me whether you are prepared to make the desired representations in association with the British Chargé d'Affaires and myself.

I am, my dear Colleague, with cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew

His Excellency

Mr. Charles Arsène-Henry

French Ambassador,

Tokyo.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 11 to despatch
No. 2589 of Sep 11/1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.

Embassy of the
United States of America

Tokyo, September 6, 1937

No. 788

Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that on September 4 the commanders-in-chief of the American, British and French naval forces at Shanghai addressed communications respectively to the commander of the Japanese naval forces at Shanghai and to the commander of the Chinese military forces in the Pootung area, calling attention to the consequence of an artillery duel which took place about midday on September 3d between Chinese guns in Pootung and Japanese warships in sections 5, 6, and 7 of the Shanghai harbor. They point out that several shells fell in the International Settlement south of Soochow Creek and in the French Concession, causing forty or fifty casualties, and that serious damage was caused to property in Pootung. They consider that if these engagements continue and possibly become more general the safety of the foreign areas will be seriously involved and life and property further endangered. They therefore recommend and request that in order to avoid this state of affairs and in order to preserve the safety of the foreign areas under their protection, the Chinese and Japanese forces should be withdrawn as follows:

(1) Japanese naval forces to withdraw below section 7 of the river, (2) Chinese forces in Pootung to withdraw to the eastward of Pootung Road and south of Changkadu Creek.

In

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Hufschmidt NARS, Date 12-18-75

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In bringing this matter to Your Excellency's attention, I most earnestly hope that the recommendations of the commanders-in-chief of the American, British, and French naval forces will be acted upon favorably.

The American Ambassador to China is addressing a communication in the foregoing sense to the Chinese Government.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Joseph C. Grew

His Excellency

Mr. Koki Hirota,

His Imperial Japanese Majesty's

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

etc.,

etc.,

etc.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 12 to despatch
No. 2187 of Sept 17, 1937. from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

The British First Secretary, Mr. Clarke,
to the American Counselor, Mr. Dooman.

British Embassy,
Tokyo.

7th September 1937.

Dear Dooman,

This is to confirm that in Dodds' temporary absence
from Tokyo we ventured to open the letter of the 5th September
from Mr. Grew regarding the joint letter addressed by the
American, British and French Commanders-in-Chief to the Japanese
Admiral and the Chinese military Commander in Pootung area on
4th September.

Would you please inform His Excellency that Sir Robert
Craigie has to-day addressed a Note to the Japanese Government
recommending the request of the Commanders-in-Chief for their
favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) Ashley Clarke.

Mr. Eugene H. Dooman,
Counsellor,
American Embassy,
TOKYO.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 13 to despatch
 No. 2589 of Sept 17, 1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Identic letter from the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew, to the British Ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie, the French Ambassador, M. Arsene-Henry, the German Ambassador, Mr. von Dirksen, and the Italian Ambassador, Mr. Auriti.

Tokyo, September 9, 1937.

My dear Colleague,

The American Consul General at Shanghai, under date of September 7, informed my Government that American businessmen in Shanghai are becoming impatient because the Japanese authorities will not permit them to enter the northern district of Shanghai and bring out their goods stored there. Recently, after repeated representations, the Japanese authorities established a system of passes to permit foreigners to enter the northern district to inspect their cargo and property, but the number of applications was very heavy and several hundred foreigners were in the district when the Chinese renewed their shelling. The Japanese naval authorities thereupon discontinued the pass system until the situation improved. It is the opinion of the Consul General that very little can be done locally at present, and he suggests that I urge that facilities be given to Americans to remove cargo and inspect property in the northern district as soon as the situation reasonably permits.

I am disposed to bring informally the conditions above set forth to the attention of the Foreign Office but before so doing I would appreciate your being so good as to inform me whether you are disposed to take similar action.

I am, my dear Colleague,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 14 to despatch
No. 2487 of Sept 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

September 10, 1937.

Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Bureau of
the Foreign Office.

Mr. Crocker.

I called on Mr. Yoshizawa by appointment this morning and left with him an aide-mémoire concerning the question of obtaining passes or permits for American businessmen at Shanghai to enter the northern section of that city to attend to their cargoes and property. After explaining the contents I handed Mr. Yoshizawa the aide-mémoire.

He said that he would communicate with the Japanese Consul-General at Shanghai and would also take it up with the Navy Department here. He said that he doubted whether the Navy Department would be willing to bring any influence to bear upon the authorities at Shanghai because Admiral Hasegawa had full command of the situation and it was not their (the Navy Department's) policy to interfere.

I said that I quite understood the reluctance of the Japanese to let individuals into the area where they would be exposed to great danger but I pointed out that the businessmen had property which had to be looked after and that I hoped the authorities would be able to find suitable occasions from time to time when they could permit Americans to have access to their cargoes and property. He said he would do what he could.

E.S.C.

0 7 4 c

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huse NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 15 to despatch
No. 2587 of Sept 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
to the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Mr. Hirota.

Aide-mémoire .

Embassy of the
United States of America.

The American Consul General at Shanghai, under date of September 7, informed his Government that American business men in Shanghai are becoming impatient because the Japanese authorities will not permit them to enter the northern district of Shanghai and bring out their goods stored there. Recently, after repeated representations, the Japanese authorities established a system of passes to permit foreigners to enter the northern district to inspect their cargo and property, but the number of applications was very heavy and several hundred foreigners were in the district when the Chinese renewed their shelling. The Japanese naval authorities thereupon discontinued the pass system until the situation improves.

The American Embassy accordingly urges that facilities be given to Americans to remove cargo and inspect property as soon as the situation reasonably permits.

Tokyo, September 10, 1937.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 16 to despatch
No. 2587 of Sept 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation.

September 10, 1937.

Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the
American Section, Foreign Office.

Mr. Crocker, Second Secretary.

By appointment I called upon Mr. Yoshizawa this morning and left with him an aide-mémoire, dated today, concerning the evacuation of Americans through Haichow.

He made no comment except to say that he assumed no reply would be required and that he would bring the matter to the attention of the Navy Department.

I replied that I did not believe a reply would be required.

E.S.C.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 17 to
despatch No. 2557 of Sept 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
to the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Mr. Hirota.

Embassy of the
United States of America.

Aide-mémoire

The American Embassy is requested by the American Consul General at Shanghai to inform the appropriate Japanese authorities that Americans are officially proceeding to Haichow and will be evacuated from the port of entry Laoyao at the terminus of the Lunghai railway on September 19 and September 27, and that an American destroyer will proceed from Tsingtau to Laoyao to evacuate Americans on the dates mentioned.

It is requested that the Japanese authorities take all necessary measures to safeguard these American citizens.

Tokyo, September 10, 1937.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 18 to despatch
 No. 256, of Sept 17, 1937
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota,
 to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.
 (Translation)

No. 112, Asia I.

Department of Foreign Affairs,
 Tokyo, September 10, 1937.

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your
 Excellency's note No. 788 of September 6.

The Japanese Government is of opinion that arrange-
 ments of the kind proposed require first of all practical
 study by officers on the spot. With regard to the present
 proposal a reply has been received from the officer in
 command of Japanese naval forces at Shanghai stating that
 he has already informed the senior officers of the American,
 French, and British naval forces at Shanghai to the effect that
 even though Japan and China should mutually withdraw their
 respective warships and troops from the areas specified, it
 is very likely that Chinese forces would launch attacks
 from points outside those areas, and in that event Japanese
 warships would inevitably be obliged to respond, thus
 endangering quarters where nationals of third countries
 are residing in the concessions, although Japan desires
 to avoid that danger. It is therefore deemed imperative
 that all Chinese troops, including plain clothes corps,
 be withdrawn from the areas of Pootung and Nanshih which
 are within a six-kilometer curve with Pootung Point as
 center, in which the right bank of the Whangpoo includes
 an area from the vicinity of the Hai Feng shipyard to the south-
 ern boundary of the French Concession. If such withdrawal
 be carried out, the commander is ready to give consideration
 to

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

to cessation of bombardment of Footung and Nanshin by
Japanese war vessels from above Section 7 of the river.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your
Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Koki Hirota(Seal)
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His Excellency

Joseph Clark Grew,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the United States of America.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 19 to despatch
No. 2587 of Sept 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The French Ambassador, Mr. Arsene-Henry
to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.

Tokyo le 10 ^{se}bre
37

Ambassade de France
au Japon

Mon Cher Collègue,

Votre lettre d'hier vient de me parvenir. C'est la première fois que j'entends parler de cette question de laissez-passer pour les étrangers de Shanghai et j'ignore absolument s'il y a eu dehors de la Concession Française des entrepôts appartenant à mes compatriotes. Je ne vois donc guère quel argument je pourrais fournir au Gaimusho pour étayer ma demande. Je vais faire demander des renseignements à notre Consulat-Général et je vous tiendrai au courant de sa réponse éventuelle.

Bien amicalement à vous.

Charles Arsène-Henry (signed)

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 20 to despatch
 No. 2589 of Sept 17, 1937.
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the
 Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.

Tokyo, September 11, 1937.

No. 791.

Excellency:

I have the honor, in accordance with instructions from my Government, to inform Your Excellency that Pan American Airways Company is continuing its operations between Manila and Macao and HongKong as an integral part of the trans-pacific route which it now operates under the provisions of the foreign air mail contract number 14 between that company and the United States Post Office Department. The type of aircraft used is the Sikorsky S-42 B which is being prominently identified as an American aircraft by painting an American flag on both the upper and lower surfaces of the wing as well as upon the sides of the cabin.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Joseph C. Grew.

His Excellency

Mr. Koki Hirota,

His Imperial Japanese Majesty's

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

etc., etc., etc.

0 7 4 5

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 21 to despatch
No. 2389 of September 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

British Embassy,
Tokyo.
12th September, 1937.

The British Ambassador, Sir R. L. Craigie,
to the American Ambassador, Mr. Grew.

My dear Ambassador and Colleague,

I have been instructed by my Government to make an inquiry of the Japanese Government on a point arising out of their oral reply made when the Representatives of the United States of America, France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain approached them on the 23rd August last with a proposal for a safety zone at Nanking.

The enquiry arises out of the Japanese Government's request to the Powers to mark their merchant vessels plainly so that they may be easily identified from the air in anticipation of possible raids by Japanese bombers. I am instructed to point out to the Japanese Government that, if there is no war, an attack on merchant ships would be illegal. If there is a war, the position under international law is that no merchant ship, whether enemy or neutral, may be attacked unless she fails to comply with a lawful request

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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to stop in order that she may be visited and her identity established or unless she thereafter resists lawful capture. In any case it is only permissible to use such force as is absolutely necessary to ensure compliance. Nor is it permissible to sink the vessel (if at all) unless the crew has been first placed in safety except when such sinking has been rendered inevitable by the conduct of the merchant ship herself in offering resistance and when no less use of force will suffice. Aircraft are in no way exempt from these rules and must refrain from action against merchant ships unless they can comply with them.

In bringing these considerations to the notice of the Japanese Government, I am to remind them of the submarine protocol which in common with other Governments they signed last year and inform them that, in the view of my Government, indiscriminate attack from the air which does not comply with the above rules is as illegal as in the case of submarines.

My Government would be compelled to take a very serious view of any attacks on British merchant vessels, and I am therefore instructed to ask for an explanation and a clarification of the Japanese Government's request insofar as it relates to merchant vessels.

I am proposing to wait until tomorrow (15th September) before carrying out these instructions in view of the possibility of your receiving instructions from your Government to take parallel action, in which case may I

ask

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

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ask you to be so good as to inform me accordingly?

Believe me,

My dear Ambassador and Colleague,

Yours very sincerely,

R.L. Craigie

His Excellency

Joseph Clark Grew,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

of the United States of America at Tokyo.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 22 to
Despatch No. 2589 of Sept. 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation

September 14, 1937

Mr. Sejiro Yoshizawa, Chief of the Bureau of
American Affairs, the Foreign Office

Mr. Coville.

When I saw Mr. Yoshizawa at the Foreign Office this afternoon at 4:30, he stated that he would like to review, for the Embassy's information, further developments in the matter of possible evacuation of Americans over the Hankow-Canton railway, covered by subsequent conversations between Mr. Suma and Mr. Hamilton in Washington. (Foreign Minister's note No. 108, September 3, 1937, transmitted in the Embassy's telegram No. 353, September 7, 3 p.m.) The substance of what Mr. Yoshizawa told me was as follows:

On September 8 Mr. Hamilton told Mr. Suma that the Department very much regretted the Japanese Government's inability to give fuller assurances of protection to American refugees evacuating by the railway from Hankow to Canton, the only route of possible evacuation of refugees from the Hankow district. On September 13 Mr. Suma again saw Mr. Hamilton and told him that, while the first request was of a general nature and Japan could not make general assurances of not interfering with the railway, the Japanese Government would undertake to respect any special trains of American refugees which might be despatched from Hankow to Canton. Mr. Suma requested that the trains be clearly marked and that advance information of their despatch be communicated to the Japanese Government. At the same time Mr. Suma took occasion to point out that the

Hankow-

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Hankow-Canton railway is not the sole route of evacuation from the Hankow district inasmuch as it is, even under present conditions, possible to go by rail from Hankow to Tsinan and thence to Tsingtao, a port which is not within the area under blockade. He also pointed out that the usual route of egress, by the Yangtze river, has been blocked by the Chinese and not by the Japanese.

I thanked Mr. Yoshizawa for conveying to us this information for the benefit of the Embassy.

C.C.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 23 to despatch
No. 2589 dated Sept. 17, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the
American Embassy.
(Translation)

Department of Foreign Affairs,
Tokyo, September 14, 1937.

Memorandum.

Notice that American residents in China will evacuate from Laoyao, port of Haichow, on September 19 and September 27, and that an American destroyer will be despatched from Tsingtao to Laoyao, was communicated to the Japanese Squadron and other Japanese authorities in China on the evening of September 11. Instructions were also issued to facilitate and protect the withdrawal.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 24 to despatch
No. 2589 dated Sept. 17, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation

September 15, 1937.

Mr. Seijiro Yoshizawa, Chief of the American
Bureau of the Foreign Office.

Mr. Crocker.

Subject: Evacuation of Americans
through Haichow.

I called upon Mr. Yoshizawa by appointment this
morning and left with him the aide-mémoire attached
hereto concerning the abandonment of the proposed
evacuation of Americans through Haichow.

He made no comment other than to say that he would
inform the appropriate authorities.

E.S.C.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 25 to despatch
No. 2589 of Sept. 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
to the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Mr. Hirota.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Aide-mémoire

The American Embassy has been informed by the
American Ambassador at Nanking that the proposed
evacuation of Americans through Haichow which was
to have taken place on September 19 and September 27
has been abandoned.

Tokyo, September 15, 1937.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 26 to despatch
No. 2589 dated Sept. 17, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation

September 15, 1937.

Mr. Seijiro Yoshizawa, Chief of the American
Bureau of the Foreign Office.

Mr. Crocker.

SUBJECT: Evacuation of Americans from Mokanshan.

I called upon Mr. Yoshizawa by appointment this morning and after taking up another matter I informed him of the contents of Shanghai's telegram to the Department No. 703, September 14, 3 p.m., regarding the proposed evacuation of Americans from Mokanshan, and left with him an aide-mémoire on the subject.

He made no comment other than to state that he would inform the appropriate authorities.

E.S.C.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 27 to despatch
No. 2589 of Sept. 17, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew,
to the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Mr. Hirota.

Aide-mémoire

The American Embassy is requested by the American Consul at Shanghai to inform the appropriate Japanese authorities that approximately 150 Americans, principally women and children, will be evacuated from Mokanshan, a summer resort in Chekiang Province near Hangchow, on September 22. They will travel by motor busses from Mokanshan to Ningpo via Hangchow; due at Ningpo on the evening of September 22 when they will embark on the British steamer HSINPEKING due to arrive at Shanghai on September 23.

It is requested that the Japanese authorities take all necessary measures to safeguard these American citizens.

Tokyo, September 15, 1937.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 28 to despatch
No. 2589 dated Sep. 17, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Grew to the
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hirota.

Tokyo, September 15, 1937.

No. 794.

Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of
Your Excellency's note No. 102, dated August 31, 1937,
in which it is stated that the Japanese Government is
not liable for damages or losses sustained by nationals
of third countries as a result of military operations
in China.

My Government cannot accept the position of the
Japanese Government that, under the circumstances of the
military operations which have been and are now being
conducted by Japanese forces in China, it is not liable
for damages or losses sustained by nationals of third
countries as a result of fighting in that area; and my
Government will be under the necessity of looking to the
Japanese Government for compensation for such damage and
loss suffered either by the American Government or by
American nationals to the extent that liability therefor
exists under international law.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your
Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Joseph C. Grew

His Excellency

Mr. Koki Hirota,

His Imperial Japanese Majesty's

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

etc.,

etc.,

etc.

0766

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 29 to despatch
No. 2589 dated Sept. 17, 1937 from the
Embassy at Tokyo.

The American Counselor, Mr. Dooman, to
Mr. Yoshizawa, Director of the American
Bureau of the Foreign Office.

Tokyo, September 16, 1937.

Dear Mr. Yoshizawa:

I confirm the information which I telephoned to you yesterday evening, to the effect that, as it had been found impossible to run a special train for foreign nationals from Hankow to Canton, arrangements have been made to evacuate American nationals to Canton on regular trains leaving Hankow on September 20th, 22nd and 24th.

In requesting that the foregoing information be brought to the attention of the appropriate Japanese military authorities, we earnestly hope that the Foreign Office will emphasize to the responsible Japanese military authorities the urgency and importance of exercising every precaution to the end that the route and trains by which American citizens evacuate from Hankow via Canton shall not be subjected to air bombing or to any other form of military action which might endanger the lives of those Americans.

The Ambassador has telegraphically requested the American Consul General at Shanghai to obtain, if possible, the scheduled time of departure from Hankow of the trains on which American nationals are to be evacuated, and, as time presses, to furnish such information to the Japanese military

commander

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Huefner NARS, Date 12-18-75

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commander at Shanghai. We expect to be in position also to communicate the information to the Foreign Office, but we hope that in the course of instructing the military commander at Shanghai in the sense of this letter the appropriate authorities will inform him of the probable approach to him on this matter of the American Consul General at Shanghai.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Eugene H. Dooman
Counselor of Embassy.

0766

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

lw

COMSOPAT

FROM October 4, 1937
Rec'd 12:07 p.m.

ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE U.S.M.C.
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
CINCAF
COMYANGPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMERICAN EMBASSY NANKING, CHINA

0104 South China area quiet 2220.

HFD



793.94/10409

F/FILED
OCT 7 1937

076

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

28-1

FE

MBo

GRAY
TELEGRAM RECEIVED
Shanghai via N.R.

Dated October 4, 1937

FROM Rec'd 1:24 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 4 1937
Department of State

810, October 4, 8 p.m.

My No. ~~896~~ 796 / 10364, October 1, 6 p.m.

793.94

Japanese attacks supported by extremely heavy artillery fire and heavy bombing resulted last night in the capture of Liuhang and Chinese withdrawal from that area to new positions five to seven miles farther west. Withdrawal extended along a front commencing approximately three miles northwest of Lotien south to the strategic village of Tachang which if taken by the Japanese may result in Chinese withdrawal from Kiangwan and possibly Chapei sectors. Chinese stubbornly contested Japanese advance in spite of intense and sustained artillery bombardment resulting in many Chinese casualties. Japanese casualties during the last three days have been unusually heavy. Shelling and bombing of Kiangwan, Chapei and Pootung continues. Nineteen Japanese shells fell in the American sector Saturday night killing one Chinese and injuring twelve others; the Japanese chief of staff yesterday called on General Beaumont and apologized.

Sent to Nanking, Peiping.

RR:WVC

GAUSS

793.94/10410

111 1937
F/FG

0764

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1356

Peiping, July 23, 1937.

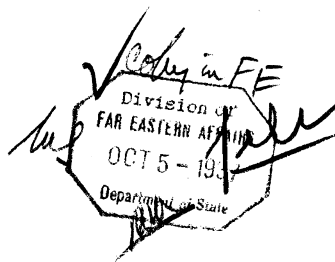
Subject: French Ambassador's Proposal of
Common Action on Basis of the
Boxer Protocol.

CONFIDENTIAL

For Distribution Check		V.	M.
Grade	For	Ex. 11	In U.S.A.
		X	X

RECEIVED STATE
 1937 OCT 4 PM 2 11
 DIVISION OF
 COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS

The Honorable
 The Secretary of State,
 Washington, D. C.



793.94/10411

Sir:

793.94/8827 I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 256
 of July 18, 3 p.m., reporting the suggestion made on
 July 17, 1937, to me by the French Ambassador to China,
 Mr. Paul Emile Naggiar, that insistence by the Boxer
 Protocol Powers on the maintaining of communication be-
 tween Peiping and the sea would put a stop to fighting
 between Chinese and Japanese troops, and to enclose a
 copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had on
 July 18, 1937, with Mr. Francis Lacoste, Secretary of
 the French Embassy, who called under instructions of

Mr. Naggiar

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 18477
 OCT 11 1937

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Mr. Naggiar to communicate to me the draft of a note which Mr. Naggiar had prepared along the above-indicated lines and which he suggested that the Boxer Protocol Powers address to Mr. Shigeru Kawagoe, the Japanese Ambassador, and to General Sung Che-yuan, the Chairman of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. I expressed the opinion that such a note would not accomplish the purpose which the French Ambassador had in mind, as Japan, which is one of the Boxer Protocol Powers, could well reply that their intention was to keep communication open between Peiping and the sea and that the Chinese could well reply that they had no intention of interrupting communication and that the railway was in control of one of the Protocol Powers which might use it outside the scope of the Protocol for purposes hostile to the Chinese.

2/ There is also enclosed a copy of a memorandum of a conversation which I had on July 20, 1937, with the French Ambassador, during which he informed me that he had been telegraphically informed that the French Government had approached the American and British Governments in regard to his project but that his Government had not commented to him as to its own views. He added that the Counselor of the Italian Embassy, Mr. A. Allesandrini, had informed him that the Italian Ambassador was preparing to join the French Ambassador in addressing the proposed note, the Italian Ambassador not feeling that it was necessary to refer the matter to his Government.

Respectfully yours,



Nelson Trusler Johnson

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Enclosures:

Memorandum of conversation,
July 18, 1937.

Memorandum of conversation,
July 20, 1937.

Original and 4 copies to Department.
Copy to Embassy, Nanking.
Copy to Embassy, Tokyo.

710

LES-SC

4 Carbon copies
Received FP

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75

Memorandum of Conversation.

ENCLOSURE No. 1
 TO DESPATCH ON 1356

Peiping, July 18, 1937.

Mr. F. Lacoste, Secretary of the French Embassy, and
Mr. Johnson.

Present: Mr. Lockhart.

Subject: Maintaining communications between Peiping
and the sea under the Boxer Protocol.

Mr. Lacoste came to see me and stated that his Ambassador had instructed him to call and communicate to me the draft of a note which he had prepared and which he suggested that the Protocol powers - including the Italians, British, French and ourselves - address to the Japanese Ambassador and to General Sung Che-yuan, on the basis of the provision in the Protocol for the maintenance of communication between Peiping and the sea. Mr. Lacoste translated the draft to me and stated that it was the hope of his Ambassador that such a note, based as it was upon the only agreement which all of the powers concerned were party to, might help to clear the ground for a peaceful settlement of the situation; that both sides could properly agree to maintain communications between Peiping and the sea. He said it was the French Ambassador's belief that if communications were maintained there would be no fighting here.

I told Mr. Lacoste that I had talked some with the French Ambassador about this matter the other day. I said that before joining in such a note I must get in-

structions

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Huston NARS, Date 12-18-75

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structions from my Government; that it was my belief that such a note would not accomplish the purpose which he had in mind; that I felt the Japanese could very well reply that their intention was to keep communication between Peiping and the sea open, and that after all they were one of the Protocol Powers and were now in control of the railway between Peiping and Tientsin. I stated that the Chinese could very well reply that they had no intention of interrupting communication between Peiping and the sea; that the railway was in control of one of the Protocol powers which might use it for purposes hostile to the Chinese outside the scope of the Protocol. I said, however, that I would refer the matter to Washington for instructions and would communicate later with his Ambassador.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador.

Copy to Nanking

Copy to Tokyo

NTJ:EA

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

ENCLOSURE No. 2
 TO DESPATCH No. 1356

Memorandum of Conversation.

Peiping, July 20, 1937.

Mr. P. E. Naggiar, French Ambassador, and Mr. Johnson

Subject: Keeping open communications with the sea.

With reference to the draft note which Mr. Naggiar sent to me the other day with the idea that it be used by us jointly or identically with the British and the Italians in inviting the attention of the Japanese and Chinese to the necessity of keeping open communication between Peiping and the sea under the Protocol, the French Ambassador in conversation with me to-day mentioned that he had received a telegram from Paris stating that the French Government had got in touch with the British and American Governments in regard to the matter; that Paris had not commented as to its own views.

He said that Mr. Alessandrini, Counselor of the Italian Embassy, had called on him yesterday and had stated that his Ambassador was preparing to join the French Ambassador in addressing such a note, not feeling that it was necessary to refer the matter to Rome. Mr. Naggiar stated that he had told the Italian Counselor that he himself was not prepared to proceed with the matter unless the British and American Governments were also in accord.

I told the French Ambassador that I had referred the matter to Washington and was still awaiting a reply.

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
 American Ambassador.

Copies to Tokyo and Nanjing.

NTJ:EA

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM
MBO COMDRYANGTZE PATROL
October 4, 1937
Rec'd 3:00 p.m.

FROM: COMDRYANGTZE PATROL
ACTION: OPNAV
INFO: 2ND BRIGADE USMC
YANGTZE PATROL
COMSUBRON 5
COMDESRON 5
COMSOPAT
USS MARBLEHEAD
AMN EMBASSY NANKING CHINA
ALUSKA PEIPING CHINA



0004. Yangtze area quiet 2131.

EPD:

793.94/10412

F/EGD
OCT 7 1937

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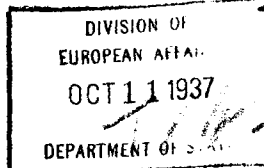
DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

29-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

GRAY



GENEVA

FROM

Dated October 4, 1937

Rec'd 3:57 p. m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

793.94
not

793.94 Adm. Comm.

25, October 4, 8 p. m.

My 24, /October 4, 2 p. m.



Parts two and three of the expose were adopted in final form at meetings this afternoon.

Subcommittee then proceeded to consider section two of the draft conclusions presented by the Chairman. It was decided that if and when adopted this will constitute the conclusions drawn from the facts set forth in the expose and form part four of the report to the full Committee.

At the close of the discussion this afternoon it was proposed to hold over sections one and three of the Chairman's draft conclusions for distribution in the event that the subcommittee should decide to print and present in a separate report any recommendations it might find fit to the full Committee.

Subcommittee will meet again tonight.

HARRISON

HPD

793.94/10413

FILED
OCT 11 1937

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER
Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

29-2
TELEGRAM SENT *Gray*

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR
PLAIN

Department of State

Washington.

1937 OCT 4 PM 6 39

October 4, 1937.

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

7pm

793.94

AMDELGAT

GENEVA (SWITZERLAND)

✓ 8 Your 25, ¹⁰⁴¹³October 4, 8 p.m.

Telegraph texts of (a) 'sections' of the 'expose' as 'and
when adopted by the 'Subcommittee'; (b) 'any changes' in the
general 'conclusions' as adopted by the Subcommittee; and
(c) 'any subsequent changes' in 'any of the 'texts' as 'later'
adopted by the 'Advisory Committee' and the 'Assembly.'

Hull
4pm

793.94/10413

F/EG

✓
OCT 1937

[Signature]

PA/D:JCD:AMW

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

D. C. R.—No. 50

1-1462 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

30-1

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 942

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,

Shanghai, China, August 28, 1937.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Subject: Chinese bombing operations in the
Settlement area.

793.94
893.102
THE HONORABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

COPIES SENT TO
O.N.I. AND A.I.E.

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 5 - 1937
Department of State

Sir:

With reference to my telegram No. 548 of August 24th,
5 P.M., in which I stated that after discussion with the
Commander-in-Chief, U. S. Asiatic Fleet, we were agreed that
the weight of available information suggests that the Chinese
air force was responsible for the bombing of the Sincere and
the On department store area and for the dud-bombing of the
U. S. Navy warehouse, within 100 yards of this Consulate Gen-
eral, I have the honor to enclose for the confidential infor-
mation of the Department copies of the reports of the U. S.
Marine and U. S. Navy intelligence officers with supporting
reports from Marine and Navy observers who saw the bombing
plane and saw it drop one or more bombs.

It was our feeling that, while we could not positively
identify the bomber as Chinese, the weight of the evidence
points in that direction, and the attention of the Chinese
Government authorities at Nanking should be drawn to that fact.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
OCT 2 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

793.94/10414

FILED
OCT 26 1937
10414

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-2-

It is a matter of comment that the serious bombing of the foreign area on what is known here as "Bloody Saturday" - August 14th - was by Chinese planes. One can accept the explanation of the Chinese Government authorities that the plane which released its bombs over the area at Avenue Edward VII and Yu Ya Ching (formerly Thibet) Road had been hit by antiaircraft fire which had damaged the bomb-racks, and while the explanation has not been advanced, I would be willing to accept the statement that the pilot found it necessary to drop his bombs and sought to put them into the open area of the Race Course about a block away. His operations cost the lives of hundreds of Chinese (a late estimate is 1000 Chinese killed and wounded) and the death of the American citizens Rawlinson and Honigsberg (and Honigsberg's alien wife).

But it is difficult to accept any satisfactory explanation of the bombing of the Cathay and Palace Hotels. There the planes were flying in formation headed toward the Japanese Consulate General and the Japanese flagship IDEUMO. The bombs of all planes were released on signal from the leading plane; the bombs from the outer planes dropped into the river, while a bomb or bombs from the inner planes of the formation dropped in the Cathay-Palace hotel areas causing death, injury and panic to the hundreds of Chinese refugees who were then roaming the streets of the Settlement.

It is of interest to note that a foreign pilot of the China National Aviation Company has stated that he was at the Nanking field when this expedition took off for Shanghai and that the pilots were well fortified with liquor for their exploit.

It

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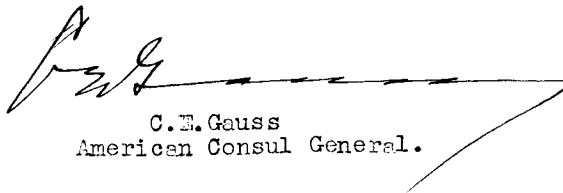
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

30-3

-3-

It should be recorded, in connection with the enclosures submitted by this report, that (1) the Douglas DC-2 twin motor monoplanes of the China National Aviation Corporation - and also one formerly used by General Chen Chi-tang at Canton which is believed to have been taken over by the National Government, are silver colored; also (2) that the Chinese air force insignia is a white many-pointed star on a circular blue field.

Respectfully yours,

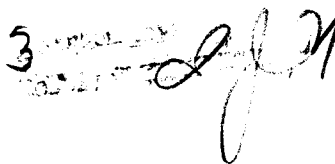


C. E. Gauss
American Consul General.

Despatch in quadruplicate.
Copy to Embassy at Nanking by first safe hand
CEG/ceg

Enclosures:

Report from U.S. Navy authorities.
Report from U.S. Marine authorities.

3-11-72
105-11-72


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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

30-4

United States Asiatic Fleet

U. S. S. Augusta, Flagship

00/jse

Shanghai, China
26 August 1937

MEMORANDUM FOR CONSUL GENERAL:

With regard to the bombing that took place on 23 August on the International Settlement, I enclose herewith one copy of a statement of the signalman on the bridge of the AUGUSTA and also a copy of the report made by Lieutenant Phelan, Assistant Fleet Intelligence Officer on this matter.

H. E. YARNELL
ADMIRAL, U.S. NAVY
COMMANDER IN CHIEF
U.S. ASIATIC FLEET

Mr. C. E. Gauss
American Consul General
Shanghai, China

Copied by
DTM

United States Asiatic Fleet

U.S.S. Augusta (Flagship)

Shanghai, China
23 August 1937

Memorandum for Commander in Chief.

Subject: Investigation of Bombing of Sincere Company and
the U.S. Navy Godown at 1256, 23 August 1937.

1. At 1256, 23 August, a large silver monoplane identified by the signal bridge as a Douglas passenger plane, was observed flying over the International Settlement, altitude 10,000 feet, course approximately northwest. This plane was observed to release two bombs which lit in the direction of Nanking Road.

2. At 1256 a projectile penetrated the U.S. Navy Godown at Szechuen Road between Canton and Foochow Roads. This projectile entered the roof, pierced the third and second floors, and broke into pieces on the ground floor without exploding. The horizontal component of the trajectory was approximately west. The fragments showed that the projectile was loaded with ammonium picrate and the booster was tetral. The projectile measured 18 inches. The walls of the projectile which contained the charge were about one inch thick. There were several pieces of aluminum which looked like bomb tail pieces among the fragments. The projectile was marked with yellow bands, Roman characters and arabic numerals which are being studied. The Gunnery Officer and the Gunner of the AUGUSTA were of the opinion that it weighed about 500 pounds and was a built up airplane bomb.

3. At about 1256, a projectile fell on the southeast part of the second floor cornice of Sincere and Company's department store, where it exploded and killed approximately 300 people. Wing On's department store and adjacent buildings were seriously damaged. The horizontal component of this bomb's angle of fall was approximately west. The fragments of this projectile were examined at the police station. These fragments contained several aluminum pieces and the part containing the explosive seemed one inch thick.

4. An American who has been flying for the Chinese viewed the fragments of the godown bomb and stated that it was a Chinese 800-kilogram bomb of Italian manufacture. He was of the opinion that it was dropped from a Northrup plane.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

5. A CNAC pilot stated that the Chinese had seized the two Douglas transport planes of that company, crashed up one and that the other was at Hankow, further that it was probably fitted with bomb racks. He said that these planes could easily carry two 500-pound bombs, and that he thought the Northrops would be considerably overloaded with this weight.

6. The bridge watch, YACEVICH, Signalman second class, stated that he had the long glass on the plane, that it was a large two-motored monoplane with retractable landing gear, Chinese markings, and was faster than the usual Chinese planes heretofore observed. He thinks it was a Douglas DC2 which the CNAC uses and with which he is familiar. An Austrian doctor on the other side of the scene of the accident - from the river - confirms in a statement to the police, that it was a large silver two-motored monoplane which dropped the bombs.

7. It is the opinion of this investigator: That at 1256, a Chinese Douglas DC2 transport plane (probably belonging to CNAC) flew over the International Settlement and dropped two bombs of approximately 500 pounds weight, one of which hit the Navy Godown and did not explode, and the other hitting Sincere's and causing a large loss of life and property..

8. The shell theory, advanced by the newspapers, is untenable, as the base diameter, the general built-up structure of the projectile, and the presence of aluminum tail pieces easily disproves the shell theory. Further, all evidence of sight observers is that it was a Douglas plane. If the bomb weighed 800 kilograms, it would have to be six feet long which the fragments do not bear out, so consequently the 500 pound weight seems more correct.

Respectfully,

G.R. Phelan,
 Assistant Fleet Intelligence Officer

Copy to:

COS
 Cmdr. Deyo
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

U. S. S. Augusta

Shanghai, China
26 August, 1937

Statement of Commander C. E. Braine, U.S.N. regarding
bombing on 23 August, 1937.

At about 1300 on 23 August, 1937, I was on the well deck of the U.S.S. AUGUSTA. The officer-of-the-deck drew my attention to a large silver plane flying high up in the clouds. It was flying in a north-westerly direction over the International Settlement and about abeam of the ship. I did not order the "take cover" signal as the plane was well clear and not flying in our direction: also there was no firing, but I continued to watch it, without glasses. When it was a few points forward of our beam I heard an explosion and saw the smoke. Being sure it was in the Settlement, I called up the foretop and asked where the bomb had landed. The plane was in a position to have bombed the spot hit.

C. E. Braine

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

U. S. S. Augusta

STATEMENT OF JOHN YACEVICH. SM2c IN REGARD TO THE SINCERES

BOMBING

1. At 1255 I just sighted plane directly in line with Japan China Spinning & Weaving Co., Ltd., Pootung side, about one point abaft starboard beam flying at very high altitude. It could not be identified with the naked eye. I immediately put a high powered glass on it and identified it as a twin motored monoplane having two white stars, one underneath each wing tip. It was silver in color. Supervisor manned navigating bridge ladder to pass word.

2. Conn reported to foretop Chinese plane directly overhead. Word was never received to sound whistle or pass the word.. Heard bombs falling when plane had passed overhead. At 1256 heard explosion on port beam. Hawkins, seaman signalman on watch sighted plane after explosion but could not identify it. The plane was travelling at a high rate of speed.

JOHN YACEVICH

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

HEADQUARTERS, FOURTH MARINES
SHANGHAI, CHINA

INT/RAB-emd

24 August, 1937.

FOURTH MARINES EYE-WITNESS REPORTS CONCERNING BOMBING
23 August, 1937.

The Fourth Marines observation post at Second Battalion Headquarters reported the following:

At 1255 the observers saw a silver colored monoplane flying very low, approaching their post (corner of Chengtu and Bubbling Well Roads) at an azimuth of 60 degrees. One man saw the plane drop a bomb, followed the bomb down with his glasses, and recorded the time of explosion as 1255. A line drawn at 60 degrees from the observation post in question passes over the Sincere Building. This line extended passes very close to the Japanese Consulate.

At the same time observers noted three Japanese planes flying in the general vicinity, at a much lower altitude.

An enlisted Marine who was at the time near the Sinza Police Station saw the high flying plane drop a bomb. Numerous observers throughout our sector saw the three Japanese planes mentioned, but none saw them drop any bombs.

The investigation into the bombing of the Navy Godown is being conducted by officers from the USS Augusta.

(Signed) R. A. BOONE,
Captain, U. S. Marine Corps,
Regimental Intelligence Officer

Copy to Amer. Con. Gen., Shanghai.
File

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

EXTRACT FROM U.S.M.C. INTELLIGENCE REPORT

3. Bombs Fall in Settlement

At about 1255 two airplane bombs fell on the International Settlement. One entered the U.S. Navy Godown at Lane 125 No. 30 Szechuen Road and failed to explode. The other struck the Sincere Building at 690 Nanking Road and exploded. Some observers are of the opinion that these missiles were shells from naval guns. We believe they were aerial bombs for the following reasons: The unexploded shell at the Navy Godown is a 500 pound (or over) aerial bomb. Concerning the Sincere explosion (dead at hour of writing 300 and far from complete) observations from two widely separated points establish the following facts:

The Fourth Marine observers at Second Battalion Headquarters Post noted a silver colored monoplane flying very high approaching their post (corner of Chengtu and Bubbling Well Road) at an azimuth of 60 degrees. One man saw the bomb drop, and immediately afterwards came the explosion. A line drawn at 60 degrees from the Observation Post in question passes over the Sincere Building. Time of explosion noted as 1255.

The signalmen on the bridge of the USS Augusta noted a 2 motor cabin monoplane with distinctive Chinese markings flying very high, saw this plane drop a bomb and noted the explosion. Bearing of explosion, due west of Augusta, time 1256. A line drawn due west from the Augusta intersects with the line drawn from the Marine Observation Post, near the Sincere Tower. Both bearings were taken hastily and a small error is possible in each. However the fact that two independent observations check so closely seems definite proof that the bomb which fell on the Sincere Building came from this plane. The line from the Marine O. P. extended passes very close to the Japanese Consulate. Grant a small error in the Marine bearing and move the line of flight slightly more to the southeast, then the bomb which fell on the Navy Godown might easily have come from the same plane. The Marine Observation Post saw three Japanese planes in the air some 2000 feet below the monoplane (numerous other observers throughout our sector noted these three planes).

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75



5
THE FOREIGN SERVICE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1937 OCT 4 PM 2 35

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Tokyo, September 16, 1937

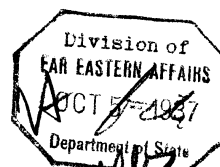
No. 2586

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATIONS MADE AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE
AMERICAN EMBASSY AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE BRITISH
AND FRENCH EMBASSIES IN TOKYO WITH RESPECT TO
THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT.



793.94/10415

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.



93.94/10048 Sir:

With reference to my despatches No. 2556 of August 28, 1937, and No. 2568 of September 3, 1937, I have the honor to enclose outlines prepared by a member of my staff on the following subject:

- I. Recommendations made and steps taken by the American Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from September 3 to September 16, 1937, inclusive.
- II. Steps taken by the British Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from September 3 to September 16, 1937, inclusive (so far as known to this Embassy).

III.

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FILED
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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

III. Steps taken by the French Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from September 3 to September 16, 1937, inclusive (so far as known to this Embassy).

Respectfully yours,



Joseph C. Grew

✓
Enclosures:

- I. Recommendations made and steps taken by the American Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from September 3 to September 16, 1937, inclusive.
- II. Steps taken by the British Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from September 3 to September 16, 1937, inclusive (so far as known to the American Embassy).
- III. Steps taken by the French Embassy in Tokyo with respect to the Sino-Japanese conflict from September 3 to September 16, 1937, inclusive (so far as known to the American Embassy).

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch
 No. 2586 of September 16, 1937,
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION I -- RECOMMENDATIONS MADE AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE
 AMERICAN EMBASSY IN TOKYO WITH RESPECT TO THE
 SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT FROM SEPTEMBER 3 TO
 SEPTEMBER 16, 1937, INCLUSIVE.

On September 4 the Commanders-in-Chief of the American, British, and French naval forces at Shanghai addressed communications to Admiral Hasegawa, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Third Fleet, and ^{to} the Chinese military commander in the Pootung area recommending and requesting that in order to avoid endangering foreign lives and property the Japanese naval forces and the Chinese land forces withdraw from certain areas near the International Settlement. (Telegram to the Department from the American Consulate General at Shanghai No. 648, September 4).

Under the Department's instructions and in association with the British and French Ambassadors in Tokyo, on September 6 the American Ambassador presented a note to the Foreign Office calling to its attention the steps taken by the Commanders-in-Chief in Shanghai and expressing the earnest hope that their recommendations would be acted upon favorably. It was pointed out in the Embassy's note that a similar approach was being made to the Chinese Foreign Office. (Department's telegram No. 191, September 4, and Embassy's telegram No. 351, September 6, 1937).

In reply to its note of August 31 concerning possible machine-gunning and bombing by Japanese military planes of trains on the railway connecting Hankow with Canton and Hong Kong, on September 7 the Embassy received from the Foreign Office a note dated September 3. The Foreign Office's reply stated that so long as the railway connecting Hankow with the Canton area was used by China for the transportation

of

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-2-

of troops and munitions of war the Japanese Government could not guarantee to refrain from interrupting the operations of the railway. (Department's telegram No. 180, August 30, and Embassy's telegrams No. 333, August 31, and No. 353, September 7, 1937).

By its telegram No. 192 of September 6 the Department requested, among other things, the Ambassador's comment on the question of the advisability of the invocation by the American Government of the initial provision or more of the Neutrality Resolution of May 1, 1937. In reply, the Ambassador telegraphed to the Department on September 7 to the effect that he believed that invocation of the initial provision or more of the Neutrality Resolution was now advisable in view of the desire of the American Government to reduce the chances of the United States becoming involved in the Sino-Japanese hostilities. The Ambassador based his belief on the following considerations: in connection with its "China blockade" the Japanese Government had indicated that circumstances might compel it to resort to drastic measures for the prevention of the supply of arms to China; that even if such circumstances should not arise, there was grave risk of action being taken by the Japanese naval forces, whether intentional or otherwise, which would constitute unlawful restriction of American sovereign rights; that, in the Ambassador's belief, the prospects of continued American trade with China were being rapidly diminished; and that the benefits to the United States resulting from continuously diminishing sales to China of arms and munitions were not commensurate with the risks involved. (Department's telegram No. 192, September 6, and Embassy's telegram No. 354, September 7, 1937).

Under

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Hueston NARS, Date 12-18-75

-3-

Under the Department's instructions and after the Ambassador had consulted with his interested colleagues, on September 10 the Counselor of the Embassy presented to Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Affairs section of the Foreign Office, an aide-mémoire urging that the Japanese authorities give facilities to American businessmen in Shanghai to inspect their property in and to remove their cargo from the northern district of Shanghai. (Department's telegram No. 194, September 8, and Embassy's telegram No. 361, September 11, 1937).

In accordance with a request received from the Consulate-General at Shanghai, on September 10 the Embassy presented an aide-mémoire to the Foreign Office stating that Americans were officially proceeding to Haichow and would be evacuated from the port of entry Laoyao at the terminus of the Lunghai railway on September 19 and September 27, and that an American destroyer would proceed from Tsingtao to Laoyao to evacuate Americans on the dates mentioned. The aide-mémoire requested that the Japanese authorities take all necessary measures to safeguard these American citizens. (Telegram from the Consulate-General at Shanghai No. 675, September 9, and Embassy's telegram No. 367, September 13, 1937).

Pursuant to the Department's instructions, the Ambassador addressed a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on September 11 stating that Pan-American Airways Company was continuing its operations between Manila and Macao and Hong Kong with Sikorsky S-42 B airplanes prominently identified as American aircraft by paintings of the American flag on both the upper and lower surfaces of the wing as well as upon the sides of the cabin. (Department's telegram No. 198, September 10, 1937).

In

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quisenberry NARS, Date 12-18-75

-4-

In reply to its note of September 6, which expressed the hope that Japanese and Chinese forces ^{be} withdrawn from certain areas in Shanghai, on September 11 the Embassy received a note from the Foreign Office dated September 10 to the effect that even though Japan and China should mutually withdraw their respective warships and troops from the areas specified, it was very likely that Chinese forces would launch attacks from points outside those areas, and in that event Japanese warships would inevitably be obliged to respond, thus endangering quarters where nationals of third countries were residing in the concessions, although Japan desired to avoid that danger.

In its note the Japanese Government put forth a counter proposal to the effect that all Chinese troops be withdrawn from certain areas, in which case the commander of the Japanese naval forces would be ready to give consideration to cessation of bombardment of Pootung and Nanshih by Japanese war vessels from above section 7 of the river. (Department's telegram No. 191, September 4, and Embassy's telegrams No. 351, September 6, and No. 362, September 11, 1937).

Acting under his government's instructions, Sir Robert Craigie, the British Ambassador, called on the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs on September 13 and presented a memorandum requesting an explanation and a clarification of the Japanese Government's request of August 23 to the Powers to mark their merchant vessels at Nanking plainly so that they might be easily identified from the air in anticipation of possible raids by Japanese bombers. In addition, the British memorandum brought up certain points of international law relating

to

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

-5-

to the status of merchant vessels and stating that the British Government would be compelled to take a very serious view of attacks by Japanese airplanes on British merchant vessels. The Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that, while he took no exception to the Ambassador's raising these points of international law, nevertheless the action appeared superfluous because the Japanese forces had no intention of attacking neutral merchant ships whether marked or not, the Japanese Government having recommended plain marking merely to make assurance doubly sure. (Embassy's telegrams No. 363, September 12, and No. 368, September 14, 1937).

In his telegram to the Department dated September 14 the Ambassador stated that in view of the oral reply of the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs to the British Ambassador concerning merchant ships, the Department might consider action by the Embassy unnecessary. In a telegram to the Embassy dated September 15 the Department stated that in its opinion the taking by the American Government at that time of action parallel to that taken by the British in this matter would be inopportune, especially in view of the reply of the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Japanese forces had no intention of attacking merchant ships of third Powers whether marked or not. (Embassy's telegram No. 368, September 14, Department's telegram No. 208, September 15, 1937).

On September 15, the Embassy handed a note to the Foreign Office stating that according to information received

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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received from the American Ambassador at Nanking the proposed evacuation of Americans through Haichow, which was to have taken place on September 19 and September 27, had been abandoned. (Telegram from the Consul General at Shanghai No. 675, September 9, and Embassy's telegram No. 367, September 13, 1937).

Following a request from the American Consulate General at Shanghai, on September 15 the Embassy addressed a note to the Foreign Office stating that approximately 150 Americans would be evacuated from Mokanshun on September 22 and would travel by motor buses to Ningpo via Hangchow, embarking at Ningpo on September 22 on the British steamer HSINPEKING due to arrive at Shanghai on September 23. The Embassy's note requested that the Japanese authorities take all necessary measures to safeguard these American citizens. (Telegram from the Consulate General at Shanghai No. 703, September 14, 1937). On the following day the Embassy received a memorandum from the Foreign Office which stated that the Japanese Government had completed necessary arrangements to safeguard these American nationals. (Embassy's telegram No. 378, September 16, repeating telegram to Shanghai dated September 16, 6 p.m.).

Under the Department's instructions, on September 15 the Embassy delivered a note to the Foreign Office to the effect that the American Government could not accept the position of the Japanese Government, as set forth in its note of August 31, that under the circumstances of the military operations which had been and were being taken

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taken by Japanese forces in China it was not liable for damages or losses sustained by nationals of third countries as a result of fighting in China; and that the American Government would be under the necessity of looking to the Japanese Government for compensation for such damage and loss suffered either by the American Government or its nationals to the extent that liability therefore exists under international law. (Embassy's telegram No. 337, September 2; Department's telegram No. 205, September 14, and Embassy's telegram No. 371, September 15, 1937).

In a telephone conversation with the Counselor of the Embassy on September 15 Mr. Yoshizawa, Chief of the American Affairs Section of the Foreign Office, said that he wondered whether the American Government would be embarrassed if the spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office were to make any statement reflective of the satisfaction felt by the Foreign Office over the proclamation of the President prohibiting the carrying of arms and munitions to China and Japan on vessels owned by the American Government. Mr. Dooman replied that, since the President's action was primarily a domestic American matter, he would assume that the Japanese Government would refrain from commenting publicly. Mr. Yoshizawa agreed and said that he would warn the Foreign Office spokesman to avoid making any comment on the matter to press representatives.

The Japanese Embassy in Washington informed the Department on September 13 that it had received a telegram from Tokyo that if arrangements could be made for a train carrying

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ing exclusively American and other foreign refugees from Hankow to Canton the Japanese would be willing to undertake not to bomb the train or the tracks. (Embassy's telegram No. 353, September 7, and Department's telegram No. 202, September 13, 1937).

On September 14 the American Consul at Hankow telegraphed to the Department that he had seen a responsible official of the Canton-Hankow Railway who had stated that owing to lack of equipment it would be impossible to run a special train for the evacuation of Americans. The Consul stated to the Department that he had therefore taken 20 places each for Americans on regular trains leaving Hankow on September 20, 22, and 24. (Telegram to the Department from the Consulate at Hankow, dated September 14, 4 p.m.).

Consequently the Department instructed the Embassy in Tokyo promptly to communicate to the Japanese Foreign Office the information contained in the telegram from Hankow; to request that the information be brought at once to the attention of the appropriate Japanese military authorities; to impress upon the Foreign Office the urgency and importance that the responsible Japanese military authorities be directed to exercise every precaution to the end that the route and trains by which American citizens would evacuate from Hankow via Canton should not be subject to air bombing or to any other form of military action which might endanger the lives of those Americans. (Department's telegram No. 207, September 14, 1937).

The Embassy carried out the Department's instructions by telephone on September 15 immediately upon their receipt and on the following day addressed a note to the Foreign Office in confirmation.

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confirmation. On September 16 the Foreign Office informed the Embassy that the Japanese Navy Department had agreed to take no action against trains leaving Hankow with American refugees on September 20, 22, and 24, but that such undertaking would not hold with regard to operations which might be contemplated at any point between Canton and Hankow after midnight of September 24. The Foreign Office suggested, therefore, that in view of probable delays in departure from Hankow and en route all Americans planning to leave on September 24 make arrangements to leave Hankow on the September 22 train. (Embassy's telegram No. 375, September 16, repeated to Shanghai, and Embassy's telegram No. 377 of September 16, repeating telegram to Shanghai dated September 16, 5 p.m.)

In reply to the Embassy's representations of September 1 regarding bombing operations in Nanking and elsewhere in China, on September 16 the Embassy received from the Foreign Office an aide-mémoire dated September 15 the substance of which was ^{that} the Japanese must continue bombing operations against Chinese military organs and establishments in Nanking; that the Japanese Government regretted deeply that in spite of caution exercised by the Japanese, non-combatants should sometimes be made victims of the hostilities; that in parallel to the caution exercised by the Japanese the Chinese should take appropriate measures, such as the evacuation of non-combatants from the neighborhood of their military organs and establishments; that the Japanese Government was prepared to do whatever lay in its power to facilitate the withdrawal of nationals of third countries from China in general and to afford protection to their property

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property; and that nothing was farther from the thought of the Japanese forces than to make attacks in China, such as those referred to in the American aide-mémoire, upon defenseless cities, hospitals, trains, and motor-cars not used by the Chinese for military purposes. (Embassy's telegram No. 379, September 16, 1937).

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Enclosure No. 2 to despatch
 No. 2586 of September 16, 1937,
 from the Embassy at Tokyo.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION II -- STEPS TAKEN BY THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN TOKYO
 WITH RESPECT TO THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT FROM
 SEPTEMBER 3 TO SEPTEMBER 16, 1937, INCLUSIVE
 (SO FAR AS KNOWN TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY).

Under instructions from London and in association with the American and French Ambassadors, on September 7 the British Embassy presented a note to the Foreign Office expressing the hope that the recommendations of the British, American, and French Commanders-in-Chief in Shanghai for the withdrawal of Japanese naval and Chinese military forces from certain areas near the International Settlement would be acted upon favorably by the Japanese Government. (Telegram to the Department from the Consulate General at Shanghai, No. 648, September 4; Department's telegram No. 191, September 4; and Embassy's telegram No. 352, September 7, 1937).

On September 6 the Foreign Office handed to the British Embassy an "ad interim" reply to the British Embassy's note of August 29 concerning the wounding of Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull Hugessen, British Ambassador to China. The Japanese reply was to the effect that up to the present investigations had failed to produce any evidence that the shooting was done by a Japanese plane and that consequently it was still impossible to determine whether the responsibility rested with Japan. The note expressed the Japanese Government's profound regret that Sir Hughe should have met with such a misfortune "incidentally to the hostilities that were actually in progress in the region of Taitsang" and also expressed the hope that the British authorities would cooperate with the Japanese authorities with a view to forestalling the recurrence of a similar event by taking such measures as giving notice in advance to the Japanese authorities on the spot when entering a zone of danger. (Embassy's telegram No. 327, August 29,

and

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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and No. 356, September 7, 1937).

On or after September 10 the British Embassy addressed a note to the Foreign Office urging that the Japanese authorities give facilities to British businessmen in Shanghai to inspect their property in and to remove their cargo from the northern district of the city. (Department's telegram No. 194, September 8, and Embassy's telegram No. 361, September 11, 1937).

Acting under his government's instructions, Sir Robert Craigie, the British Ambassador, called on the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs on September 13 and presented a memorandum requesting an explanation and a clarification of the Japanese Government's request of August 23 to the Powers to mark their merchant vessels at Nanking plainly so that they might be easily identified from the air in anticipation of possible raids by Japanese bombers. In addition, the British memorandum brought up certain points of international law relating to the status of merchant vessels and stating that the British Government would be compelled to take a very serious view of attacks by Japanese airplanes on British merchant vessels. The Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that, while he took no exception to the Ambassador's raising these points of international law, nevertheless the action appeared superfluous because the Japanese forces had no intention of attacking neutral merchant ships whether marked or not, the Japanese Government having recommended plain marking merely to make assurance doubly sure. (Embassy's telegrams No. 363, September 12, and No. 368, September 14, 1937).

The British Ambassador addressed a communication to the Foreign Office on September 11 stating that while the British Government would not recognize the Japanese Government's right to take the measures contemplated in its statements

of

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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of August 26 and September 5 concerning the "China blockade", the British Government would in practice agree to the verification of ships flying the British flag on the following two conditions: that if a British man-of-war should be present the Japanese man-of-war should ask her to verify the right of the ship to fly the British flag and (2) that if no British man-of-war should be present the British Government would not stand on its rights but would permit a Japanese officer to board the ship suspected of not being entitled to fly the British flag and examine the certificates of registry, provided that the Japanese man-of-war simultaneously made an immediate report to the British naval authorities. The British Ambassador added that his Government could acquiesce in no further interference and reserved the right to claim compensation for damage sustained by the owners of British ships delayed or stopped under the procedure mentioned above. (Embassy's telegram No. 373, September 15, 1937).

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 3 to despatch
No. 2586 of September 16, 1937
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION III -- STEPS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN TOKYO
WITH RESPECT TO THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT
FROM SEPTEMBER 3 TO SEPTEMBER 16, 1937,
INCLUSIVE (SO FAR AS KNOWN TO THE AMERICAN
EMBASSY).

Under his Government's instructions and in association with the American and British Ambassadors, on September 6 the French Ambassador presented a note to the Foreign Office expressing the hope that the recommendations of the French, American, and British Commanders-in-Chief in Shanghai for the withdrawal of Japanese naval and Chinese military forces from certain areas near the International Settlement would be acted upon favorably by the Japanese Government. (Telegram to the Department from the Consulate General at Shanghai, No. 648, September 4; Department's telegram No. 191, September 4; and the Embassy's telegram No. 351, September 6, 1937).

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

October 9, 1937

~~TOP SECRET~~

Reference Tokyo despatches:

No. 2593, September 17, 1937
No. 2586, September 16, 1937
No. 2568, September 3, 1937

All of these despatches concern representations and inquiries directed to the Japanese Government by the American and certain other foreign representatives in Tokyo concerning matters arising out of the Sino-Japanese conflict.

As an enclosure to No. 2593 there is a convenient chart indicating the type of action taken by the respective Embassies of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy in connection with the ~~several~~ several questions of mutual interest which have arisen since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese hostilities. Outstanding matters which were the subject of representation and not included in the chart were:

(1) The American note of August 28 reserving all rights on the part of the United States Government and its nationals in respect to damages or loss of American lives or property as result of Japanese military operations in China; (2) A British note on the same subject; (3) A British note pro-

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

testing the shooting of the British Ambassador to China; (4) The French representations concerning the China blockade.

The two reports Nos. 2586 and 2568 give brief descriptions of the inquiries and representations of the American, British, and French Governments for the period August 26-Sept. 16, inclusive. These descriptions are too brief to allow any comparison of the tone of the American representations with the tone of similar British and French representations. They are resumes of matters already reported by telegraph and useful chiefly for reference.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Tokyo, September 17, 1937.

No. 2593.

SUBJECT: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

793.94

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 OCT 4 PM 2 10

For Distribution Check		NO. 11	Mr.
Grade	For	In U.S.A.	

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Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 5 - 1937
Department of State

793.94/10416

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

- 1/ I have the honor to enclose herewith for ready reference copies of a chart prepared in this office indicating the action taken by the Embassies of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy in connection with the several questions of mutual interest which have arisen since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese hostilities.

Respectfully yours,
Joseph C. Grew
Joseph C. Grew.

Enclosure:
1/ As stated above.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 2593
 September 17, 1937 from the Embassy at
 Tokyo

A - Aide-mémoire:	Date and num- ber of Dept's telegram	US	GB	F	G	I	Action Reported
N - Note							
P - Pro-memoria							
O - Oral							
X - No action							
Ref. - Referred to own F.O.							
- Not included:							
Neutralization of Shanghai	142 Aug. 9, 7 p.m.	X	O	N	X	X	263 Aug. 13.
Proposal to with- draw forces from Shanghai	149 Aug. 14, 10 p.m.	N	P	O	-	-	272 Aug. 16. 274 Aug. 16. 279 Aug. 18. 287 Aug. 20.
Safety Embassies in Nanking	158 Aug. 21, 10 p.m.	O	O	O	O	O	302 Aug. 23.
Foreigners in Tsingtao	159 Aug. 21, 11 p.m.	N	N	N	O	O	297 Aug. 23. 317 Aug. 26.
Foreigners in Tientsin	178 Aug. 29, 2 p.m.	X	X	X	X	X	330 Aug. 31.
Hankow-Canton Railway	180 Aug. 30, 2 p.m.	N	N	N	O	O	333 Aug. 31.
Nanking Non-combatants	182 Aug. 30, 7 p.m.	A	Ref O	Ref O	Ref O	O	335 Sept. 1.
General bombing operations	183 Aug. 30, 8 p.m.	A	Ref O	O	Ref O	O	335 Sept. 1.
Shanghai: Request to withdraw forces to other areas	191 Sept. 4, 4 p.m.	N	Ref N	Ref N	-	-	350 Sept. 6. 351 Sept. 6.
Shanghai: Access to Northern District	194 Sept. 8, 7 p.m.	A	A		O	O	361 Sept. 11.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

October 6, 1937.

Tokyo's despatch no. 2598 of September 17, 1937, encloses a memorandum of conversation between Mr. Dooman and Mr. Yoshisawa, previously reported by telegram, regarding Pratas Reef and Non Alienation by Japan of Chinese Territory. It should be observed that Mr. Yoshisawa in talking to Mr. Dooman said he believed it to be the policy of the Japanese Government not to seize Pratas Reef or any other part of China, but asserted that he had no authority to give any such assurance officially on behalf of the Japanese Government; and that later Yoshisawa telephoned to say that the areas under Japanese occupation in China are being occupied by the Japanese forces for necessary military operations and that such occupation does not prejudice previous declarations of the Japanese Government that Japan has no territorial ambitions in China.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tokyo, September 17, 1937.

No. 2598.

Subject: PRATAS REEF AND NON-ALIENATION BY JAPAN OF
CHINESE TERRITORY.

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37 OCT 4 PM 2 15

Mr. Tolson	Mr. E.A. Tamm	Mr. Clegg	Mr. Glavin	Mr. Ladd	Mr. Nichols	Mr. Rosen	Mr. Tracy	Mr. Carson	Mr. Egan	Mr. Gurnea	Mr. Harbo	Mr. Hendon	Mr. Jones	Mr. Quinn	Mr. Nease	Mr. Gandy

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Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 5 - 1937
Department of State

Copy in FE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to our telegram No. 381 of
September 17, 4 p.m. and to enclose a copy of a memorandum
of conversation which the Counselor had today with Mr.
Yoshizawa, Director of the American Bureau of the Foreign
Office, with regard to the recent occupation by Japanese naval
forces of Pratas Reef and the non-alienation by Japan of
Chinese territory.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph C. Grew

✓
Enclosure:

Copy of a memorandum of
conversation as stated.

Joseph C. Grew.

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Copy to Nanking.

793.94/10417

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No. 1 of despatch
No. 2598 of September 17, 1937,
from the Embassy at Tokyo.

Conversation

September 17, 1937.

Mr. Seijiyo Yoshizawa, Director of the
American Bureau, Foreign Office.

Mr. Dooman.

Subject: Pratas Reef and Non-Alienation by
Japan of Chinese Territory.

I asked Mr. Yoshizawa whether he were familiar with representations made at the Foreign Office within the last day or two by the British Ambassador and the French Ambassador with regard to certain Chinese Islands off the southern coast of China. Mr. Yoshizawa said that he was aware that the British Ambassador had referred to the action of the Japanese Navy in closing down the meteorological station and radio station on Pratas Reef and had urged that, in view of the importance of the stations to navigation, they be permitted to be operated again without delay (by the Chinese Government, Mr. Yoshizawa thought). The French Ambassador, Mr. Yoshizawa said, had referred to representations made last year by the French Government when a Japanese fleet was operating in waters off the island of Hainan, and he had emphasized the interest of the French Government in the present status of Hainan being maintained.

I told Mr. Yoshizawa that the American Government also has been concerned over reports that Japanese forces had occupied Pratas Reef and had dismantled the meteorological station. The station was an important aid to navigation along the coast of China and its closing down had needlessly increased the hazards of navigation. I recalled statements made by responsible officials of the Japanese Government that Japan has no territorial ambitions in China, and I added

that

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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that we felt confident that the Japanese Government would not alienate from China Pratas Reef or any other part of China. I added that, as Pratas Reef is remote from any area of conflict, we supposed that the Japanese landing force would soon be withdrawn.

Mr. Yoshizawa said that he could state emphatically that the action of the Japanese naval force on Pratas Reef was due solely to the fact that the radio station was not confining itself to the sending of weather reports, but was radioing to Chinese vessels attempting to run the coastwise blockade reports of the movements of Japanese warships and was also sending reports on Japanese airplanes flying near the station on their way to and from China. He said that the Japanese Government realized the importance of the Pratas Reef station as a navigational aid, and he understood that it was planned to put the station again into operation in the near future.

With regard to my reference to declarations of Japanese officials that Japan has no territorial ambitions in China, Mr. Yoshizawa could only say that he believed it to be the policy of the Japanese Government not to seize Pratas Reef or any other part of China, but he had no authority to give any such assurance officially on behalf of the Japanese Government. He promised to make inquiries in appropriate quarters and to reply to me later.

Mr. Yoshizawa called me on the telephone later in the afternoon and said that he could confirm officially that:

(1) The Japanese Navy took possession of Pratas Reef solely because the Chinese radio station was sending out military information, but the Navy will shortly operate the meteorological station; and (2) the areas under Japanese occupation in China are being occupied by the Japanese military and naval forces for necessary military and naval operations against Chinese forces

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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forces, and such occupation does not prejudice previous
declarations of the Japanese Government that Japan has
no territorial ambitions in China.

E.H.D.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

~~THE SECRETARY~~

~~PAH~~

Mr. Hamilton 11:55 am

Mr. Levi brought
in this statement
The Chinese Ambassador
is going to press
at 12 noon today.
He said he was sorry
for delay in getting it to
you.

0809

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Division
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 25 1937
Department of State

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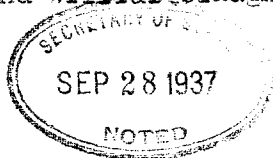
The Japanese campaign of conquest in China has entered the tenth week. Throughout this interval the Japanese war machine continuously brought death and devastation on China, which are so cruel and outrageous that history furnishes no parallel. The authors who have willfully perpetrated such infamous deeds can in no wise escape the responsibility of having grossly violated the principles of humanity and the pertinent canons of international law.

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COMMUNICATIONS

The atrocity of the Japanese army is manifested in their indiscriminate bombing of open and undefended towns and villages and the willful slaughter of non-combatants, in their culpable destruction of the Chinese Red Cross units; and in their use of asphyxiating and deleterious gases.

493.94 Ferocious aerial bombardment is the keynote of Japanese strategy. Japanese aircrafts deliberately and systematically bombed wide areas throughout China, often far remote from the theatres of hostilities. Wherever the armed forces of Japan visited, they mercilessly brought death and havoc to the innocent populace, historical places and cultural and charitable institutions where refugees and the sick and wounded are collected.

Even in distant places far away from theatres of actual fighting, high-power explosive and incendiary projectiles discharged from Japanese aircrafts create a reign of horror. In fact their attacks are directed purposely at the defenseless and innocent masses, who do not take part in and in no way connected with the fighting. The indiscriminate and willful slaughter of non-combatant civilians in



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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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open and undefended populated places and in localities where refugees gather for shelter or evacuation cannot but be condemned as iniquitous and criminal; and the conditions resulting from such atrocious acts are abhorrent.

The way the Japanese war machine brought ruin to institutions of learning and hospitals in China confounds the decency of mankind. International law and practise generally observed by civilized nations do not permit their destruction; but the Japanese capriciously subjected them to bombardment. The incredulous public can find ample evidences as regards this aspect of the unrighteous behavior of the Japanese militarists, if they will but casually go into the circumstances under which the Nankai University at Tientsin, the Tung-chi University at Shanghai, and the hospital at Nantungchow were completely demolished, while similar institutions like the University of Shanghai, the Chungshan University at Canton, and scores of others were partially but irredeemably ruined.

The fact that the Japanese forces intentionally attacked the Chinese Red Cross deserves special mention, for it constitutes an equally grave offence against international law and conventions, and the principles of humanity. While clearly no military purpose could be served, they brought ruin to the Chinese Red Cross by razing its hospitals, demolishing the ambulances, and killing the doctors, nurses, and the sick and wounded. Reliable reports have it that they purposely inflicted superfluous injuries on the wounded soldiers in the ambulances. It has been quite apparent that the heraldic Geneva Cross is not respected by the Japanese army, and that the sanitary formations and the establishments of China with their personnel and material have been brutally destroyed.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Further violating international law and conventions and the principles of humanity, the Japanese militarists have resorted to the use of asphyxiating and poisonous gases. As far as the Chinese army could detect, the Japanese army in the northern provinces of China had already employed as a weapon of war asphyxiating and noxious gases in two places: one of these places is the historic Nankou ^{Pass} ~~Pass~~ the fall of which was chiefly attributed to the use of such a weapon; the other being Ku-An in Hopei Province on the southern bank of Hun River, south of Changsintien. These incidents demonstrate adequately that the Japanese army has ignored the rules of warfare observed by civilized nations, and international conventions to which the Government of Japan had solemnly subscribed. The declaration in advance by General Katsuki, Japanese Commander in North China that no quarter will be given to the Chinese soldiers is another illegal act, which civilized nations invariably avoid.

In view of these facts one cannot but conclude that the Japanese army in China has violated every pertinent principle of the law of nations and on account of its iniquitous treatment of the innocent and the sick and wounded has put itself beyond the pale of humanity.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Handed to Mr. H. H. H. by Mr. Mallet Oct 1, 1937

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DIVISION OF
His Majesty's Government in the

United Kingdom have instructed His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokyo to inform the Japanese Government that His Majesty's Government must take strong exception to the use of the International Settlement as a base of operations. Sir Robert Craigie has been asked to point out that the presence of Japanese troops in the Settlement has no justification except as a measure of defence of an area in which foreign countries generally are concerned. To go beyond this brings into question the whole status of the Settlement and jeopardises the immense interests of other countries in it. His Majesty's Government must therefore protest against any action of the kind.

Sir Robert Craigie has been instructed to consult with his United States colleague before taking action, and His Majesty's Government would be glad to learn whether the United States Government would be prepared to instruct the United States Ambassador at Tokyo to make similar representations.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
October 1st, 1937.

✓ *Telegraph*
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 1 1937
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Tel. to Tokyo
Aide-Memoire
to Brit. Emb.
October 1 1937

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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AIDE-MÉMOIRE

The receipt is acknowledged of the British Embassy's aide-mémoire of October 1, 1937, on the subject of representations to the Japanese Government in regard to the use of the International Settlement at Shanghai as a base for Japanese military operations.

The American Government, in reply to the British Government's inquiry whether or not the American Government would be prepared to instruct the American Ambassador at Tokyo to make representations in the matter similar to those which the British Ambassador has been instructed to make, informs the British Government that the American Ambassador has been authorized to make, in association with his British colleague, appropriate representations against the use of the International Settlement as a base for Japanese military operations.

793.94/10419

Department of State,

October 2 1937

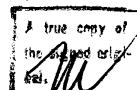
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Washington,

OCT 2 1937.

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Shusterman NARS, Date 12-18-75

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

In Reply Refer
 T. No.

UNITED STATES ASIATIC FLEET

U. S. S. AUGUSTA (Flagship)

Shanghai, China
 22 August 1937

RECEIVED
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

00/jse

DIVISION OF
 ASIAN AFFAIRS

Department of State

My dear Admiral Hasegawa:

For several nights it has been the practice for a Japanese destroyer to anchor near the AUGUSTA. Last night for some time this destroyer was almost abreast of the bow of the AUGUSTA. On the night of August 20th this destroyer opened fire on some buildings on the Pootung side of the river, the shells passing close to the bow of this vessel.

As you are doubtless aware, the Chinese government demanded of the neutral powers on August 19th that they remove all of their men-of-war and merchant vessels at least five nautical miles from Japanese naval vessels, or to require the Japanese vessels to move five miles from neutral vessels. If this demand was not complied with within 12 hours from date of notification the Chinese government refused to assume any responsibility for any damages which might be caused to the men-of-war or merchant vessels of neutral countries during the engagements taking place between the Chinese and Japanese forces.

Due to the necessity of evacuating the nationals of the several countries from the International Settlement and for other obvious reasons, this demand can not be complied with.

On August 20th, several shell fell in the water in the immediate vicinity of the AUGUSTA. One fell on the deck of the Augusta killing one man and wounding 18 others. Three large shell passed over the LAMOTTE-PICQUET and SACRAMENTO striking a Chinese Customs vessel and a building in the French Concession. The danger to which the neutral vessels are placed by this gunfire of the opposing forces in their immediate vicinity is apparent.

The neutral men-of-war must remain in this vicinity to have access to their sectors in the perimeter of the Settlement and to protect their nationals. They cannot be withdrawn.

In order to reduce the danger to neutral vessels, at the naval buoys it is strongly urged that Japanese men-of-war be kept below Hongkew Creek at all times in order that as

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DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

1, Reply Refer

7 No.

UNITED STATES ASIATIC FLEET

U. S. S. AUGUSTA (Flagship)

great an interval as possible be kept between the vessels under your command and those of the neutral powers. It is observed that the Japanese Naval buoys have now been vacated and it is hoped that this berth will be left vacant as long as the present situation continues.

You have clearly expressed your understanding of our position in the present unfortunate situation and your desire to refrain from any military operations tending to embarrass the fulfillment of our difficult task. We therefore do not hesitate to bring this matter to your attention and know you will appreciate that occurrences such as the above no matter what their significance can only tend toward a complication of the existing situation.

We have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

H. E. YARNELL
 ADMIRAL, U.S. NAVY
 COMMANDER IN CHIEF
 U.S. ASIATIC FLEET

C.J.C. LITTLE, K.C.B.
 ADMIRAL, ROYAL NAVY
 COMMANDER IN CHIEF
 BRITISH NAVAL FORCES, CHINA STATION

LE BIGOT
 VICE-ADMIRAL, FRENCH NAVY
 COMMANDER IN CHIEF
 FRENCH NAVAL FORCES IN THE FAR EAST

Vice-Admiral K. Hasegawa, I.J.N.
 Commanding Third Battle Fleet
 H.I.J.M.S. IDZUMO, Flagship
 Shanghai, China

Copy Sec Sta

*Envelope attached
 Received first from 155 1/1*

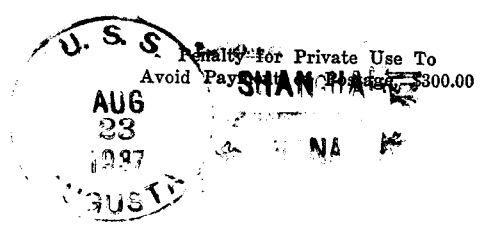
NAVY DEPARTMENT

U. S. S. AUGUSTA, (Flagship)
Asiatic Station
Via San Francisco, California

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

0817

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Silverstein NABs, Date 12-18-75



The Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

March 31, 1938.

~~MSM~~

This despatch having been written on October 1, 1937, it is of little present use to the Department. Anyhow, Han Fu-chu is ~~dead~~.

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0815

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 229

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Tsingtao, China, October 1, 1937.

Subject: General Han Fu-chu's Denial of Negotiations
for Separate Peace With Japanese.

The Honorable

Nelson Trusler Johnson,
American Ambassador,
Nanking, China.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this consulate's
telegrams of September 28, 4 P.M. and of September 30,
9 A.M. with regard to the alleged journey of General
Doihara to Tsinan to negotiate with Han Fu-chu a settle-
ment involving the northern provinces. There are en-
closed a copy of the original REUTER report of Septem-
ber 27, together with a copy of the alleged statement
of Han Fu-chu which appeared in the TSINGTAO TIMES of
September 30.

This consulate questioned the authenticity of the
statement by General Han Fu-chu and for that reason in
its telegram of September 30, 9 A.M. referred to it
as "purporting to come from General Han Fu-chu". Enquir-
ies were made of the TSINGTAO TIMES and of REUTER'S
agent who stated that the statement was delivered in the
form of a telegram to the TSINGTAO TIMES without any
signature, and that subsequently when the TSINGTAO TIMES
inquired as to the identity of the sender of the tele-
gram, the telegraph office informed this newspaper that
"the statement has been made by General Han Fu-chu."

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 2 -

The telegraph office did not state that General Han Fu-chu had despatched the telegram.

The following is now quoted from a letter which Captain Frank Dorn, U.S.A., the American language officer now in Tsinan, addressed to me on September 30:

"When I talked to Han Fu-ch'u on the 28th about the article in the Tsingtao Times, he said that he did not consider an official statement from him was necessary. The patriotic blurb you read with your morning coffee was not an "official statement" in the strict sense of the word. It was sent in the form of a letter to Liu, the president of Cheloo Univ. with the request that its contents be made known to the foreign press which had misjudged the governor's intentions, or at least which had published what amounted to a damaging estimate of his attitude."

It is of interest to report that the Chinese officials in Tsingtao were not at all pleased with the report which appeared in the TSINGTAO TIMES of September 28, with a headline JAPANESE OFFER PEACE TO HAN FU-CHU. The displeasure apparently was so great that it is understood pressure was brought to bear on the Chinese employees of the paper with the result that no issue of the paper appeared this morning. It should be stated that other items which have appeared in the TSINGTAO TIMES also contributed to the displeasure of the Chinese authorities, and that probably the headline and the REUTER report which appeared on September 28, capped the climax.

In Tsingtao it is not an easy matter for the consulate to speculate as to the real intentions of General

Han Fu-chu, nevertheless there are numerous circumstances which make the possibility of General Han's declining to engage in hostilities with the Japanese, not altogether remote. General Han is not pleased with the stationing

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quatefen NARS, Date 12-18-75

- 3 -

stationing of Yu Hsueh Chung's Central Government troops in Shantung. Furthermore, upon the appearance of the REUTER report it is known that the Mayor of Tsingtao proceeded immediately to Tsinan. The Mayor, while as loyal a Chinese as can be found, is, in the politico-military sphere, an adherent of a party which has been submerged and which possibly would avail itself of an opportunity to establish itself in the north.

In spite of the great national feeling which has developed among the Chinese people, there is nevertheless present the hope that Shantung may be spared from hostilities. An invasion of Shantung by the Japanese however, will not in our opinion arouse among the masses the same degree of hostility that would be observed in other countries (non-Chinese). It is believed that there is still a great enough gulf between Chinese provincial armies (such as General Han's) and the people to prevent Chinese farmers and business men from giving their wholehearted support to the army.

Respectfully yours,

Samuel Sokobin,
 American Consul.

✓
 Enclosures:

1. Reuter report of Sept. 27,
2. Statement of Han Fu-chu

File 800
 SS/AD

Original and 5 copies to Embassy, Nanking,
 Copy to Embassy, Peiping,
 Copy to Captain Dorn,
 Copy to Captain, U.S.S. MARBLEHEAD.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton O. Justen NARS, Date 12-18-75

Source: THE TSINGTAO TIMES
 September 28, 1937.
 Tsingtao, China.

JAPANESE OFFER PEACE TO HAN FU-CHU

SHANTUNG'S ADHERENCE TO AUTONOMOUS FEDERATION SOUGHT

JAPANESE ADVANCE IN HOPEI HALTED

PEIPING, Monday -- The Japanese army has halted its advance in Hopei at two points just south of Pao-tingfu and Tsangchow.

It is understood that Mr. DoiHara flew to Tsinanfu immediately after the Japanese victory at Pao-tingfu to offer peace terms to General Han Fu-chu, Governor of Shantung, which is the next Province in the path of the Japanese advance. The future action of the Japanese troops depends upon General Han Fu-chu's answer. The Japanese are evidently very anxious to spare Shantung from hostilities in view of the large Japanese interests there. Moreover, Japanese military authorities for many years have sought General Han Fu-chu's adherence to the idea of an autonomous federation of the five northern Provinces and they consider the time ripe to realize the agreement thereanent.

The Japanese have also approached General Yen Hsi-shen, over lord of Shansi and Suiyuan Provinces. However, General Yen Hsi-shen lost the power of initiative when the Chinese Central Government troops arrived at Taiyuanfu. The Kwantung Army, therefore, is continuing its offensive in those Provinces.

Meanwhile, Reuter learns that Major-General Kita, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese forces in North China, is making slow progress in the formation of a "Shadow Government", which is to take office immediately the conquest of North China is completed. The post of Chief Executive was refused by several notables, including General Wu Pei-fu. However, Major-General Kita's problem will be solved if General Han Fu-chu adheres to the idea of an autonomous federation.

-- Reuter.

Copied by CHS.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

(C O P Y)

Source: THE TSINGTAO TIMES
September 30, 1937
Tsingtao, China.

STATEMENT BY GENERAL HAN FU-CHU

* * * * *

"Implicitly Obeys Central Government"

Foreign papers recently published the statement that the Japanese General Doihara came to Tsinan to discuss Shantung's adherence to a North China Five Province Autonomous Federation, etc.. This is a rumour entirely false and without foundation, and certainly could not be believed by any sensible person because our country's resistance to Japanese aggression is a struggle for existence and is the only way out for China. All of we military people are defending the country and protecting the people, and this is our duty. I personally am carrying the heavy responsibility for civil as well as for military affairs in the matter of resisting the encroachments of the enemy.

I implicitly obey the orders of the Central Government and submit absolutely to the directions of the Generalissimo. The enemy at this critical time are again using their old tricks in order to cause dissension and to create suspicion, and by such rumours are confusing the minds of the people so that they can neither see nor hear clearly. All this I deeply regret and sincerely abominate. It will be fortunate for our nation if our fellow-countrymen and our friends from foreign lands do not fall into this trap by believing such false and groundless rumours.

Copied by CHS.

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

(NOT FOR THE PRESS)
 (FOR DEPARTMENTAL USE ONLY)

Department of State
 Division of Current Information No. 180

MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1937

CANADA

At the press conference this afternoon, the Secretary made the following comment:

"I have long been anxious to pay a visit to Canada. Mrs. Hull and I have recently accepted an invitation from the Governor General and Lady Tweedsmuir to visit them at Ottawa October 20 and 21 and to proceed to Toronto, where we shall spend the day of October 22 and I shall speak at the University of Toronto. This will enable me to renew my acquaintanceship with Lord Tweedsmuir and to return the visit made to Washington by the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. MacKenzie King."

In answer to enquiries, the Secretary stated that this is of course a courtesy visit and that he does not plan to take up any official questions.

A correspondent enquired whether he might draw the conclusion that inasmuch as the Secretary had visited our neighbors in South America he now wished also to visit our neighbors to the north. The Secretary replied that that was true, naturally, and also as they are very close neighbors and their officials visited this country most recently.

JAPAN

793.9-1 A correspondent enquired whether the Secretary had any comments to make on the reply (published today) from Japan to this Government's note of September 22 regarding bombing in China. The Secretary answered in the negative, adding that he thought it was best to let the note of this Government to the Government of Japan and the reply of the latter to this Government speak for themselves.

A correspondent, referring to this Government's protest against bombing activities in China, enquired whether the reply just received from Japan concluded for the time being any further discussion on the subject of bombardments. The Secretary replied that he had nothing new to say on the matter today. Asked whether this Government would be disposed to "cooperate" with the Japanese Government, as it requested us to do in the above-mentioned note, the Secretary answered he could not undertake to speak on that point unless he knew more about its meaning.

A correspondent called attention to the last sentence of the Japanese reply reading, "Furthermore, the view of the Imperial Japanese Government with regard to damages sustained by nationals of third countries as a result of the present hostilities in China is as stated in my note of August 31," and said that he did not remember the last mentioned note. The Secretary recalled that he had previously told the correspondents that this Government had communicated with the Japanese Government safeguarding our rights in respect to damages for the destruction of life and property of our nationals, and that the Japanese Government, in replying, took an adverse position whereupon the American Government again communicated

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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with the Japanese Government safeguarding our rights in respect to damages for the destruction of life and property of our nationals, and that the Japanese Government, in replying took an adverse position whereupon the American Government again communicated with the Japanese Government adhering to its original position. A correspondent asked whether the Secretary, in saying that the Japanese reply in respect to damages was adverse, meant that Japan took the position that they would not pay. The Secretary answered that their reply was unfavorable, generally speaking, that is, unfavorable to the position expressed by this Government. Asked whether there was some continuation of the exchanges between the two Governments and some effort to work out the problem, the Secretary reminded the correspondents that he had told them that this was a matter which is usually a little long drawn out during and following a war.

M. J. McDermott

0826

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

NO. 22 Political.

RECEIVED
AMERICAN CONSULATE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Geneva, Switzerland, September 22, 1937.

1937 OCT 5 PM 12 25

SUBJECT: Address delivered by Mr. S.M. Bruce

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before the Assembly of the League of Nations.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

SIR:

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With reference to my telegram No. 323 of September 21, 5 p.m., I have the honor to transmit herewith the complete text of the address delivered on September 21 by Mr. S.M. Bruce, first delegate of Australia, before the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Respectfully yours,

Howard Bucknell, Jr.
Howard Bucknell, Jr.
American Consul.

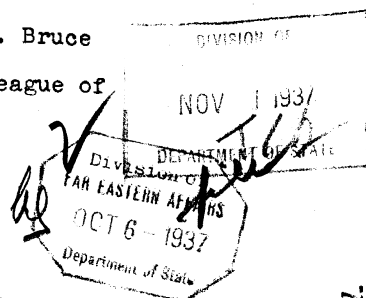
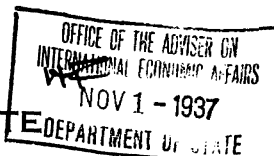
Enclosure:

No.1: Text of Address,
as above.

CTE/EW

Original and five copies to Department of State.

One copy to American Legation, Bern.



793.94/10423

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure No 1
with No 22 of
Sep. 22 1977

18th ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE S.M. BRUCE, C.H., M.C.

- AUSTRALIA -

The President in his opening address urged us to face reality unflinchingly. That was sage counsel and I trust that in the interests of the League and of the future of world peace we will be prepared to do so.

The experiences of the last few years must have convinced even the most optimistic that for reasons which need not now be specified the system contained in the Covenant of obligations for the preservation of security and the maintenance of peace has not succeeded as its initiators hoped.

Recognising this position the Assembly last year set up a Committee to consider the position and to make recommendations as to the means whereby the ideals embodied in the Covenant might be more effectually realised. That Committee is now actively engaged upon the work entrusted to it and it is greatly to be hoped that as a result of its labours a way will be found to restore the prestige of the League and to achieve the objects for which it was founded.

In these circumstances it might have been hoped that during this period of re-examination no major international conflict would have emerged and that this 18th Assembly might have been able to concentrate its attention upon the constructive and indeed indispensable work in the financial, economic and humanitarian fields in which the League has already achieved so much and where there is so great an opportunity for bringing about further international co-operation.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

2.

Of these things I will have something to say later.

The hostilities which have broken out in East Asia, however, make necessary some immediate and explicit consideration of the function of the League as a political organisation.

The Australian Delegation reaffirms the declaration that it made in the Assembly a year ago of its faith in the principles of the Covenant. They represent, so far as men can see, a necessary stage in the creation of world order.

On the other hand, the experience of the League in recent years has indisputably disclosed the practical impossibility of putting into full operation the principles of the Covenant by the action of a League from which some of the greatest States in the world abstain.

When the Covenant is closely examined, however, it is seen that it provides for action along two different lines.

One line we may trace through Articles 12, 13, 15, 16 and 17. In these Articles is contained the detailed system of obligations resting upon Members in regard to international disputes. It is upon these Articles that hitherto the League and the world have concentrated attention. These however are precisely the Articles the effectiveness of which has been most gravely impaired by the absence of great States from the councils of the League.

Let me however direct your attention to the other line of action envisaged in the Covenant.

I refer especially to Article 11.

This Article does not limit itself to the mutual rights and duties of Members.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

3.

Its concern is the world's peace, and the sphere of action that it permits is unlimited.

Under it it is never too early or too late for action to be taken with regard to a dispute between nations.

No detailed procedure is prescribed, but no procedure is excluded.

The central words are simple and flexible : "The League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations".

Under this Article any investigation can be made, any consultation can take place, any conciliation can be attempted and any measure of constraint can be agreed upon.

The co-operation of non-Members can be freely sought, and availed of, any stage.

Let me now apply these considerations to the political questions which China by her appeal to the League has raised. She has invoked three of the vital political Articles of the Covenant : Articles 10, 11 and 17. It is imperative that we should face unflinchingly the reality with which this action confronts us.

Nothing could be more fatal to the prestige and future welfare of the League than that we should attempt by some meaningless formula to postpone or side-step facing the issues involved and defining the League's attitude and position. Moreover, honour and the permanent interests of the League itself demand that China should not be misled into believing that she can rely forms of assistance which may not be forthcoming.

Let me take Article 17 first. How it is to be applied

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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in a case in which hostilities have already reached an advanced stage is not altogether free from difficulty. Further, even if the Article is legally applicable, to process under it would inevitably, in my view, confront the members of the League with the necessity of determining whether they are prepared to take action under Article 16 - and to do so in the geographical area in which the limited membership of the League would be most crippling. I suggest that from a practical point of view the League cannot in its present condition proceed under Article 17.

The importance of Article 11 at the present juncture however is clear and great. It is a means by which immediately the League may transcend the limitations of its present membership. In the conflict now being waged in East Asia not only League States but great States outside the League have direct and vital interests. Surely the action that would be, in the words of Article 11, "wise and effectual" at this stage would be for the Council to endeavour to arrange for a Conference of the Powers most vitally concerned in the position in the Far East, whether Members of the League or not, with a view to such Conference getting in touch with the countries concerned in the dispute and endeavouring to arrange some settlement or concerting such measures as may necessary and practicable. This would also be, in my view, the only immediately possible step under Article 10.

I sincerely trust that the Council will determine to adopt the course which I have suggested.

I now desire to turn from the political side of the League's activities to the financial and economic side. I do not accept

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

5.

the view that political appeasement must be achieved before any progress can be made towards economic co-operation. I suggest it has been falsified by the actual events of recent years. Indeed, our political difficulties arise indirectly, if not directly, in a considerable measure from economic causes. With poor and insecure living standards, with low incomes, a poor scale of consumption, with the fear of unemployment ever present, individual and family life becomes depressed and hopeless.

In these circumstances unrest and dis-satisfaction are prevalent. People are driven to seek distraction or inspiration in exaggerated forms of nationalism and in dreams of national aggrandisement. If, however, we can by international co-operation improve living standards, bring about a higher standard of nutrition, lessen disease, increase health and remove the haunting fear of unemployment, I believe we shall change the whole world atmosphere, allay much of the unrest that exists to-day and pave the way for the solution of the political problems that confront us. In attempting this task we can derive great encouragement from the excellent work which the League has already accomplished in the economic and social fields.

During the last few years the Economic Committee, the Financial Committee, and the associated sections of the Secretariat have performed an invaluable service in clarifying the economic and financial problems confronting the world. I need only remind you at this stage, of the important documents which have recently been published, such as the reports of the Raw Materials Committee, the report of the Economic Committee on the Present Phase of

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

6.

International Economic Relations, the Note by the Secretary-General on the Economic Situation and, what is perhaps the most important document of all, the final report of the Mixed Committee on Nutrition. One evidence of the success of the League in this direction may be found in the continually growing demand all over the world for its publications on special subjects such as those I have just mentioned.

The League's work for economic improvement has been facilitated and will in the future be further helped by the co-operation of Nations, not Members of the League. In particular I would refer to the active co-operation of the United States of America in the I.L.O. and on the technical Committees of the League. In all our efforts in this direction we have the full support of President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull. In this sphere we have also the encouragement of the definite co-operative action which was, and is being, taken by the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom in the Tripartite Monetary Agreement. And we are all awaiting with great interest the report of Monsieur van Zeeland on the important mission which he undertook at the request of the Governments of Great Britain and France.

Although the League has considerable achievements to its credit in the economic sphere all that has been accomplished so far may prove to be but the preliminary to immeasurably greater things. I believe we stand on the threshold of important changes which may have the most profound effect upon the lives and well-being of the general mass of the people of all countries. Here is a

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

7.

great part for the League of Nations to play and thus to realise one of the great objects for which it was founded.

We must ever bear in mind in our discussions on economic and financial questions, that these problems are only of interest and importance because of their bearing upon the lives of the people. The problems of monetary policy, international trade, raw materials and even trade cycles derive their significance from their influence upon the livelihood of men and women, from their bearing upon the way which human beings are fed, clothed and housed and on the quality of health and general welfare which is possible for them.

It is with these fundamental human problems that the economic work of the League of Nations is, in the last analysis concerned. The *raison d'être* of international economic co-operation lies in the fact that such co-operation is necessary if we are successfully to improve economic conditions throughout the world and to better the lot of the general mass of the people.

Never was there a greater opportunity for achieving these things. Science has placed at our disposal an almost unlimited power of increased production. The obstacles in the way are not those which in the past have been imposed by a lack of raw material, productive technique, or man power. Our problem to-day arises from our failure to organise and to employ to the greatest advantage the remarkable resources at our disposal. Viewed from the angle of what already is physically possible and scientifically probable, we hold in our hands the means to a potential increase in the production and consumption of goods and services such as would make the world a far more healthy and happy place.

The possibilities of improvement are brought home most vividly by the results of the enquiry into Nutrition, the report of which is before you. It is now two years since I invited the Assembly to take up this question. The response has exceeded anything I had hoped for, and many countries are now devoting careful attention to the problem of raising nutritional standards.

One result of the enquiry has been a realisation of the

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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deplorable malnutrition which exists to a smaller or greater degree in all countries of the world. In this connection the findings of the Committee have been a revelation, both with regard to the extent of malnutrition and with regard to its effects upon health and human welfare. In the final report which is now before us these words occur.

"The malnutrition which exists in all countries is at once a challenge and an opportunity : a challenge to men's consciences and an opportunity to eradicate a social evil by methods which will increase economic prosperity." I am convinced that as a result of the interest aroused by the League's work on Nutrition the nations will take up this challenge and we shall see a progressive improvement in standards of nutrition with a consequent benefit to agriculture and the general economic position.

This enquiry has demonstrated in a remarkable manner the fact that malnutrition cannot be eliminated without a general improvement in the standard of living. The solution of the problem requires the full utilisation of the opportunities that science and technical progress has placed at our disposal.

Vital statistics show clearly the connection between poverty on the one hand and ill-health and premature death on the other. Even in advanced countries death rates are 50 % higher in poor areas than in well-to-do. Infantile mortality is as 2 to 1, while the death rate from tuberculosis is as 4 to 1. Can we reconcile it with our consciences that such contrasts should continue to exist ? Will the general mass of the people continue to tolerate them. The spread of education, popular broadcasting and all the other means of information that are now available to the people, are awaking the minds of the masses to the possibilities of higher standards of living, and are rendering all too obvious the contradiction between our accomplishments in the realms of science, and the extent to which ordinary men and women are able to benefit from this scientific progress.

I believe the practical measures of transforming these potentialities into realities can be found, if we keep in the foreground the fundamental purpose of raising living standards and

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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if we utilise to the full the facilities for international economic co-operation which the League of Nations and the I.L.O. can provide.

The Australian Delegation will take up this matter in more detail in the Second Committee but I desire to indicate briefly some pressing problems to which I suggest the League should give immediate attention with, I believe, considerable prospects of success.

In the first place I desire to suggest that the Assembly should regard the report of the Mixed Committee on Nutrition as only a first step towards the general objective of improved standards of living. The Nutrition report shows how much can be accomplished through an International enquiry and how the nations can be given a clear lead through the instrumentality of the League. The Nutrition Committee has finished its task but in its place I suggest that the Assembly should request the Council to set up another ad hoc enquiry to consider methods both national and international for bringing about a progressive improvement in living standards.

In the second place there is the problem of avoiding or at least ameliorating what some authorities refer to as "the next depression". There has been a widespread recognition, in the last year, of the possibility of the recent improvement in economic conditions being reversed in the not very distant future. I would direct your attention to the interesting discussion of this matter in the Secretary General's Note on the Economic situation. The Economic Intelligence section of the League has already been engaged on intensive analytical research into the causes of depressions and the time has now come for the League to study the question as to what practical measures should be taken to prevent the recurrence of conditions such as those which shook the world in the years following 1929.

With regard to this question I propose to suggest to the Second Committee that a joint Committee composed of some members of the Economic Committee and of the Financial Committee,

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together with certain other persons selected by the Council, should prepare a report containing proposals for the consideration of Governments.

A third definite proposal which I desire to mention to the Plenary Meeting of the Assembly is connected with the position of the agricultural populations of Eastern Europe. The Nutrition report has shown how serious is the general poverty of certain parts of Eastern Europe. This poverty has its adverse repercussions on the trade and welfare of other countries.

It appears that if the peasant is to be properly fed and clothed he must improve his agricultural methods and diversify his agricultural production. For this purpose, however, he needs to have access to some capital for re-equipment, for stock or for seed.

Here is a problem in which the technical organs of the League might greatly assist. I understand that the Financial Committee has decided to reintroduce Agricultural Credit on to its Agenda. This is a move in the right direction but I suggest that the problem of the Agricultural re-organisation and its allied problem of credit should be regarded as an urgent matter and one suited for special enquiry.

In my view the time has also arrived when certain other enquiries might very usefully be undertaken in both the economic and financial spheres. The emergence of standards of living as one of the main objectives of Government economic policy will provide a new approach to the problem of trade barriers.

In referring to trade barriers it is well for me to remind

11.

I

the Assembly that I stand here as the representative of Australia -a country which has regarded, and will continue to regard Protection as a part of its national policy. In past attempts to secure moderation in trade barriers it has not been sufficiently recognised that the nations are all determined to secure a balanced economy and for this purpose will insist upon retaining protective tariffs.

But a sound policy of scientific protection need not and should not imply a refusal to utilise the advantages of economic co-operation by the exchange of goods between countries which are differently endowed in natural resources, capital equipment and industrial experience.

I suggest that we have a sure guide to the desirability or undesirability of particular developments of protective policies in their effects upon the standards of living of the masses of the country in question, and that if we keep before us the goal of raising living standards we shall find it possible to make substantial progress in the reduction of obstacles to trade, without forfeiting the benefits of a scientific tariff policy.

Again, in financial and monetary affairs new tendencies have manifested themselves in recent years. It is for the Economic and Financial Committees of the League to consider how far these tendencies should affect the commercial and financial policies of Governments. I will however reserve definite proposals for discussion in the Second Committee of the Assembly.

What in all this, is the proper role of the League ? Some

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of the action to be taken is national, some international. To concert international action in the spheres I have indicated is plainly within the League's competence. Even where the action to be taken is national only, there are many matters in which such action cannot in practice be taken effectively, or indeed at all, unless other nations will co-operate in taking similar action. To promote the necessary measure of agreement -as within its sphere the International Labour Organisation does- is also plainly a matter for the League. Again, there are many matters in which the League can, by instituting expert investigations, give a valuable lead by indicating those directions in which international co-operation is required, and those directions on the other hand in which the only action needed can be taken by each nation separately.

What I have suggested to-day is action by the League on the widest possible basis. I foresee from such action consequences of the greatest significance for the future of International relations.

Every achievement in co-operation between nations leading to greater economic activity has effects which benefit not only the countries actually co-operating but also those which say not have found joint action to be practicable. The Tripartite Monetary Agreement proved, as the Economic Committee, has pointed out, such a case.

If we can increase the range of economic co-operation we shall improve the welfare not only of the State Members of the

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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League but also that of other countries.

This would be Economic appeasement of a very real character and should lead all nations towards co-operation with the League.

Mr. President I have endeavoured to make clear the attitude of Australia to the political, economic and social problems that confront the League at the present time. On the political problems I trust we shall have the courage to face realities and declare to the world where we stand. With regard to the economic and social questions, I am convinced there is a great opportunity for constructive and heartening leadership. My sincere hope is that we shall not fail to take advantage of it. By these means we shall best restore the prestige of the League in the eyes of the world and carry out the great responsibilities that rest upon us.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

MJD

PLAIN AND SPECIAL GRAY

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

Canton via N. R.

Dated October 4, 1937.

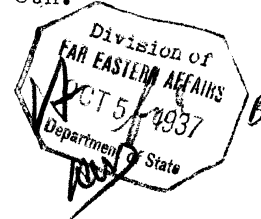
GPO

FROM: d. 7 a. m., 5th.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

ONE AND M.I.D.

October 4, 6 p. m.



Except for raids on Whampoa and Bocca Tigris October second and third with reported unimportant consequence, Japanese activities in Kwantung past four days have been practically confined to reconnoitering over river and railways. Local air force (?) reinforced by number pursuit planes.

Reports of heavy Japanese naval concentration below Bocca Tigris impossible to confirm owing to interrupted river communication but believed unlikely. Reliable sources report river blocked (?) but in (?) manner British authorities energetically pressing for reopening river.

Press reports Kiewhow divisions under Hish Yo proceeding North China and transfer to North China of Kwangtung and Kwangshi forces from Shanghai. Informed by Kwangsi military representative that accompanied by (?) latest information a week ago all Kwangsi troops sent north consisting of Nationalist divisions were then in Kiangsi. He doubts (?) reported appointment Pai Chung Hsi to command North China front.

Mailed Swatow.
 HPD

LINNELL

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FILED

F/FG

OCT 9 1937

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 322.

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL

Hankow, China, August 9, 1937

Subject: Evacuation of Japanese Nationals
 from Hankow: Interview of Acting
 Japanese Consul General.

COPIES SENT TO
 O.N.I. AND M.I.D.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy,
 in quintuplicate, of my despatch to the Embassy at
 Peiping, No. 479, of August 7, 1937, concerning
 evacuation of Japanese nationals from Hankow, as
 is described in an interview of the Acting Japanese
 Consul General.

Respectfully yours,

P. R. Josselyn
 Consul General

Enclosure:

Despatch to Embassy, Peiping, No. 479, August 7,
 1937, with sub-enclosure.

In quintuplicate.

800

EFD:TMC

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
 OF STATE

OCT 2 1937

PM 1 26

COMMUNICATIONS
 AND RECORDS



793.94/10425

OCT 25 1937

File 5410425

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

No. 479

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,

Hankow, China, August 7, 1937

Subject: Evacuation of Japanese Nationals
 from Hankow: Interview of Acting
 Japanese Consul General.

The Honorable Nelson T. Johnson,

American Ambassador,

Peiping.

Sir:

With reference to my telegram of August 6, 3 p.m., in regard to an interview granted by the Acting Japanese Consul General, Mr. T. Matsudaira, to a reporter of THE CENTRAL CHINA POST (British) relative to possible local repercussions as the result of the hostilities in North China, I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the interview as published in the August 6, 1937, edition of the journal indicated above.

It will be observed that Mr. Matsudaira, who has confirmed to me that his statements as set forth in the interview are substantially correct, expressed freely his opinions on various subjects pertinent to developments in central China arising from the Sino-Japanese clash in Hopei. Particular attention is directed to that part of the interview describing the disastrous effects on Japanese business of a boycott that is "more spontaneous and therefore more thorough and effective than any similar movement recorded heretofore". It is believed that while there is an increasing antipathy in this area toward Japanese products, yet it is difficult to believe that it is as yet so intensive or well

organized

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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organized as the boycott of 1931 and 1932. Overt anti-Japanese activities have been remarkably few since the incidence of the Lukouchiao incident. There have been no attacks on Japanese individuals or property, and even the wharf coolies have continued to work for the Japanese while the hostilities have been in progress in North China.

But with the wholesale withdrawal of Japanese trading interests from west and central China, it is to be expected that Japanese trading interests, leaving aside the question of the imposition of an effective boycott, will suffer heavy losses pending the resumption of peaceful political and economic relations between the two nations.

Respectfully yours,

P. R. Josselyn
Consul General

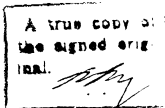
Enclosure:

Clipping from THE CENTRAL CHINA POST, dated August 6, 1937.

Single copy
Copy to Nanking
In quintuplicate to Department

800

EFD:IMC



DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

Enclosure to despatch No. 479, August 7, 1937, from P. R. Josselyn, Consul General, Hankow, China, to the Embassy, Peiping, on the subject of Evacuation of Japanese Nationals from Hankow: Interview of Acting Japanese Consul General.

JAPANESE CONSUL-GENERAL'S STATEMENT ON THE LOCAL SITUATION

Mr. Matsudaira Says Official Relations Are Satisfactory;
 Both Sides Have Declared That Neither Has Any
 Intention Of Attacking The Other

In an interview given by Mr. T. Matsudaira, acting Consul-General for Japan, yesterday afternoon to a representative of "The Central China Post" relative to the local position from the Japanese point of view and possible repercussions along this part of the Yangtze arising from the recent serious outbreak of hostilities between Chinese and Japanese troops in the North this courteous official stated that he felt it necessary to classify the position as it stands at the moment under three headings, each con-

nected of course and having bearing on the others, but each having its special significance.

Official Relations

This was Mr. Matsudaira's first heading and it pleased him obviously to be able to state that his relations with Chinese officialdom in this district are very satisfactory. He had felt, in view of what has been happening in the North, that it was advisable to call upon the Chinese officials and ask that due protection be given to Japanese subjects and this had been agreed to without hesitation. So far all his conversations with the officials had been conducted in a normal manner by both sides.

Economic Outlook

The economic side of the present situation, which was Mr. Matsudaira's second point, is a very serious one from the Japanese point of view and that which is largely responsible for the decision of many of the Japanese firms to close up their businesses, for the time being at least, and return to Japan. In the present instance it had become increasingly obvious that the Chinese boycott of the Japanese was more spontaneous and therefore more thorough and effective than any similar movement recorded heretofore. Not only had it meant that ordinary commerce between the two nationals had practically ceased, but it went further into private life by affecting the house servants who had already partly left their Japanese employers, either on their own initiative or else under outside pressure or fear of the consequences should they attempt to remain in their masters' houses.

This feeling among the ordinary civilian population is, in the opinion of the Consul-General, a very strong factor in the present crisis and is no doubt largely due to strained feelings arising from the happenings in the North which are kept fanned by the outward signs of preparations on both sides for further possible and more serious warlike action.

Relations Between the Chinese Army and Japanese Navy

To this last factor Mr. Matsudaira attributes the constant feeling of anxiety for nationals of both countries. Meetings have taken place between representatives of both forces and the Japanese Commander-in-Chief has interviewed General Ho Cheng-chun. During that interview both officials made it clear that neither had any intention of attacking the forces or people of the other, each being prepared to do his duty in the way of protection of his nationals should occasion arise. For all that there remains a great feeling of tension among the civilian population and doubt as to what either side will do, but Mr. Matsudaira assured the interviewer that the Japanese have strict orders from Tokyo to abide by the decision of the Cabinet and not to do anything on their own initiative which is contrary to the Japanese Government's decision to localize the trouble to North China and to effect a peaceful settlement if at all possible.

Asked whether it was their intention to defend their Concession should the Chinese change their mind and attempt to take it suddenly by force, Mr. Matsudaira declared emphatically that there need be no doubt on that point.

Although, in order not to add to local feelings of tension, they had not erected any barricades or sandbag defences they had made all necessary preparations for such an event and would resist with all the forces at their disposal any such attempt on the part of the Chinese—should it be made, which, in view of the official understanding arrived at, he trusted would not be the case.

On the subject of evacuation of women and children from Hankow and other river ports, the Consul General stated that it was being done purely from choice on the part of those leaving and not on any official instructions. It was, after all, a somewhat natural precaution in view of the considerable anti-Japanese feeling, but it had been brought about very largely by the stopping of trade in the various ports.

With regard to the Chinese troops on the outskirts of the Japanese Concession, the Japanese authorities were aware that they exist in considerable numbers but they had the satisfaction of knowing that they are a different division to that which were in the same district last year and who were known then to be strongly anti-Japanese and who, therefore, from some points of view, might have been more dangerous in such circumstances as the present.

To the final question as to what local action he proposed to take in the event of Nanking declaring war on Japan, Mr. Matsudaira stated that he would do his utmost to endeavour to arrange for a truce to allow for the complete peaceful evacuation of the Concession and would also do what he could to arrange to keep hostilities from this area if at all possible.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 893.20/629 FOR Tel #805, 3pm

FROM Shanghai (Gauss) DATED Oct. 4, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 000

REGARDING: Military affairs -- China.

Military affairs around Shanghai: Comments on-, attempts of Chinese to get foreign pilots for their planes, approach of Chinese over neutral area when attempting raids over Shanghai. Expresses opinion China has deliberately made Shanghai main theatre of resistance hoping thus to focus world attention on China and possibly involve foreign powers to disadvantage of Japan.

mr

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

J. BRADEN THOMPSON, M.D.
E. L. M. DICKSON, M.D.
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1800 REAR MAIN AVENUE
NEEDHAM, MASS.

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 OCT 5 AM 11 07

September 23, 1937

OCT 1 1937

793 94
Stanley K. Hornbeck Esq.
Dept. of State,
Washington, D. C.

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RELATIONS

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Chas. D. Jones

Del. J.

Dear Mr. Hornbeck:

Yesterday in conversation with Mason Sears, who was at one time connected with the consular service in Peking, he suggested your name as one to whom I might write in regard to the China-Japan situation. I have lived in China for twenty years and am familiar with many of the international aspects of the situation, and know something of its complexities.

I am puzzled, of course, at the way our hands seem to be tied in spite of the fact that we are one of the members of the Nine Power Treaty and have advocated the Open Door policy in China, which is now being definitely shut. I suppose that the government's hands are largely tied by public opinion. In other words, people here are so scared of war that they have no righteous convictions on international affairs that mean anything.

With the spread of what we might term "international immorality" in different parts of the world, it would seem that we will be forced, sooner or later, to make some very serious decisions which today we are side-stepping.

I feel strongly that, in dealing with a power like Japan, the only consistent move our government can make is to sever diplomatic relations, even going so far as to invoking economic sanctions.

This morning I received a letter from Ex-President Lowell of Harvard in which he states:

"If we had been willing to face the small risks involved in asserting our treaty and other rights (especially jointly with other powers) I believe that Japan-financially weak as she is and with Russia ready to spring at her-would not be carrying on her present policy. Of course every case of protesting and backing down makes it harder to do anything else next time; but surely this is our biggest back-down yet."

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OCT 12 1937

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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Of course the reason I am writing is because I am keenly interested in the situation, and wish to support in every possible way I can the efforts of the State Department in calling Japan to account for the ruthless warfare she is conducting at present.

It would seem that to invoke the Neutrality Act would be a hard blow at China, but if we sever diplomatic relations with Japan or cooperate with other powers in invoking the Nine Power Treaty, and have the conviction to support them as I have suggested with economic sanctions, there may be some hope of bringing her to terms and this at a very small risk of war.

I would appreciate any advice that you might give me in order that I might give the group of Chinese friends who live around Boston an idea of how they might support the hands of the State Department in their efforts.

I must say that the work of your department so far has been a great credit to the administration.

Thanking you, I am

Yours truly,

E. J. M. Dickson

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 1, 1937.

My dear Dr. Dickson:

Your letter of September 23 is before me. We welcome inquiries and suggestions, and we naturally read with gratification expressions of opinion such as that with which you conclude your letter under acknowledgment.

You will of course realize that it is impossible for us to enter into a detailed exposition of our reasoning in regard to various of the problems which confront us and courses of action which are suggested. Our general course must be shaped with due regard for principles and rules of law, treaty commitments, public opinion, our estimate of practicability, opportuneness, etc. It is our first duty, of course, to safeguard the interests and promote the welfare of the United States, that is, of the whole nation, in the light of the best judgment that we can exercise and the best use that we can make, in the situations which develop, of the instrumentalities and agencies available. In last analysis, in connection with every

E. J. M. Dickson, M.D.,
888 Great Plain Avenue,
Needham, Massachusetts.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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every effort that we make, our success or failure depends upon the attitude and opinion of the American public.

You express your wish to support the efforts of the Department of State; and you request suggestion as to methods by which efforts of the Department may be supported. I assume that you are already familiar with the statement of principles which the Secretary of State issued on July 16 and the statement in reference to the Far Eastern situation which he made on August 23, last, but for your convenience of reference I enclose copies of both. Believing, as I have frequently stated in public, that in a democracy such as ours an administration cannot move far in advance of and cannot lag far behind public opinion, I would suggest to any and to all who approach us in the spirit of your letter that one of the first and best contributions that can be made by those who wish to be helpful may be to give intensive consideration to the substance of those statements and to the character and the known devotion to his work of their author. These statements clearly indicate the spirit in which Mr. Hull approaches the difficult problems which arise out of and are presented by the current developments in the Far East. The situation is exceedingly complex. The task of applying sound principles and of effectively formulating and proceeding with sound courses of action calls for conscientious weighing of many facts and

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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and consideration of many possibilities. You will be interested to know that, in addition to what appears in the press, we receive every day from many sources letters, sometimes several hundred, expressing all shades of opinion, suggesting and frequently "demanding" a great diversity of procedures. Of necessity, we have to deal with the important problems involved both from point of view of the short swing and from point of view of the long swing. We have to consider not alone the present situation, not alone relations with China and with Japan and with both, but relations with all countries of the world. We have to consider not only what this country can, may, might, and should do, but what other countries can, may, might, should, and will or will not do. And we have to consider, first, last and all the time, what the American public thinks, wishes, and will or would support or not support. We cannot work with the scientific precision, the sureness of technique, the comparative exclusiveness of authority, the promptness, etc., with which the physician or the surgeon proceed. At some moments and in some situations our hands are forced by factors over which we have no control. At other moments and in other situations we cannot move until an opportunity (which often we cannot create) develops. All the time, however, we are being guided by the principles to which I have called attention and we are working with the objective
of

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton O. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

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of keeping those principles alive, showing respect for them, applying them in this country's actions and doing what we can to cause them to be respected and to be applied by other nations.

If you should feel moved to bring some or all of these points to the attention of the friends to whom you refer I feel that you would be doing much toward supporting "the hands of the State Department in their efforts."

With appreciation of your inquiry, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Enclosures:

Press releases of July 16
and August 23, 1937.

PA/H:SKH:ZMK

FE
m.m.H

DECLASSIFIED: E.O. 11652, Sec. 3(E) and 5(D) or (E)
Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

NO. 937

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,

Shanghai, China, August 26, 1937.

1937 OCT 5 AM 11 36

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

For Distribution Check
In U.S.A.

October 14 1937

SUBJECT: American Units, Shanghai Volunteer
Corps, Participation of, in the
Present Shanghai Incident.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to invite the Department's
attention to the attached newspaper clippings which
are descriptive of the activities of the Shanghai
Volunteer Corps and especially of the American Units
thereof.

In view of the somewhat large amount of ordnance
and ammunition supplied principally by the War Depart-
ment to these Units, it is believed that Department
might be very interested in receiving a copy of this
despatch with attached newspaper commendations of the
local American Units' general usefulness and effi-
ciency.

Respectfully yours,

C. E. Gauss,
American Consul General.

Enclosure:

1/- Newspaper clippings,
in duplicate.

824.2
CV:Hcc
Despatch in triplicate

1-1221
670

*Letter to Hon. Sec. of State
drafted 10/10*
Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 6 - 1937
Department of State
Calhoun
Tilly

795.94/10428

FILED

F/FG

10428

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

THE SHANGHAI EVENING POST & MERCURY

Shanghai, China, Aug. 26,

1937

American Units Of SVC Maintaining Tradition Of Service To Shanghai

Machine Gun, American Companies, Troop
 Include Many Other Nationalities Besides
 Americans, Forming A "Foreign Legion"

Men Serve City As Boundary Patrols

THEIR wives, sweethearts and other womenfolk may have evacuated Shanghai for safer climes but the men of the men of the American community have remained here to protect the city that has given them a means of livelihood. In all, three detachments of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, each doing hearty work in these troubled times when the spirit of service to the community is at its highest, have been formed by Americans in Shanghai.

These are the Machine Gun Company, the American Company and the American Troop, and although not all composed of United States citizenry, members of the three groups present a concrete, efficient force that has proved its worth in the present crisis. However, a call for more recruits has been issued, especially by the American Machine Gunners and the American Troop. There is much work to be done, and the assistance of people who could give of their time to the SVC is urgently sought.

Begun 1906

Each, though varying in length of time, has a fine record. The American Company was established back in 1906, the first of the U.S. units. The history of this company would make interesting reading, but achievements have been so numerous that space forbids. But its beginning bears mention.

At that time the Shanghai garrison of American troops was extremely limited. So much so, in fact, that the then authorities were forced to take two prisoners out of jail to guard the consulate. The local community rebelled at this, and passing some time formed the group.

At present Captain W. C. Farnham, assisted by Lieutenants W. Awad, W. M. Portrude and 1st Sergeant C. E. Ollerddessen, heads the company. Much has been done by them since the beginning of the mobilization. There is another officer, who although not directly attached to the company has been rendering aid from his post as recruiting officer at Central Headquarters.

On Patrol

Some 100 men,—there were only 50 prior to the trouble—have been doing their part as its members. Patrol work has been their lot most of the time, dangerous at times when they were stationed at Settlement boundaries. But following the last Nanking Road explosion they were on the scene together with the Machine Gun Company, working with a will among those gruesome sights,

Both these units did fine work that day.

Together with their commanding officer, Captain J. G. Houghton, Lieutenants L. Bright and G. M. Babbit have the 75 men forming their company. Their work has been much the same as that of the American Troop, patrol duty taking up most of their time. But to go back to the Nanking Road slaughter, these men were the first to arrive there, having been immediately called out.

Separate Unit

Although organized in 1932 under the name that it now bears, the company really existed before that time. From 1927 on it was known as the Lewis gun section of the American Troop. Recruitment of more members made it possible to have a separate unit.

There are eight machine guns now, able to be manned with the highest efficiency. The start of the troubles here found many anxious to join up. Numbers in this company jumped remarkably. But nearly all of the new recruits knew nothing of machine guns, so now classes, sometimes as much as six hours a day, are held. The Machine Gun section has a reputation for efficiency and means to keep it.

Members refer to the company as the "Foreign Legion." With recruits pouring in, a check of nationalities revealed that 13 countries were represented. Now they are looking for a fourteenth to do way with the unlucky number.

Contributions

Stationed at the Pakhoi Road billets they are members of the "B" Battalion. Major J. M. Neal, helped by Captain C. J. Doughty, have lead their men. Major Neal is well-known to the S.V.C. as one of their ablest members.

Thanks to his intervention, and also to the public-spiritedness of various firms in Shanghai, much

(Please Turn to Page 3)

has been done to make the life of a "B" Battalion volunteer comfortable. Mr. Leon Britton of the Peacock Motion Picture Company has donated a portable movie set, operators for the machine, and pictures. Mr. Norman Westwood of United Artists Mr. P. S. Chung of Columbia, Mr. LeRoy Brauer of Universal, Mr. Schwartz of M.G.M., Mr. Kao of Paramount and Mr. Alex Caplan of Warner Brothers have all given films to the Battalion. The Union Brewery supplied beer, Yee Tsong Tobacco Company cigarettes, the National Carbon Company flashlights and batteries and Anderson Meyer electric water coolers. Major Neal, voicing the sentiments of the whole Battalion, wishes to thank all these people, as well as Mr. A. W. Martin of Gestetner Ltd., and Mr. Jack Kohler of the Film Board for his services in the arrangement of programs. Many voluntarily donated of what they could, many gladly gave even more than asked for when approached with requests.

One Casualty

Part of the "A" Battalion, the American Troop is stationed at the Race Club. They too, have been doing work similar to other companies. At present they are more or less mobilized, there not being much to do for the cavalry. Captain N. F. Allman, who has been with the troop ever since its inauguration in 1923, is their commanding officer. The second in command, Major H. D. Rodger, the only other charter member, is now attached to the Corps Cavalry headquarters and thus does not actively participate in Troop movements.

However, Lieutenants W. A. Adams, J. D. Hawkesworth, and W. L. Painter, and reserve officer L. K. Taylor, all men of long practices, the assisting their commanding officer.

The American section of the SVC have suffered one casualty. Mr. Syl Honisberg, who went to his death on "Bloody Saturday," was a member of the Machine Gun Company. In fact he had drawn his equipment that very same day, promising to come back that afternoon.

Neither this, nor the fact that bullets and shrapnel camp dangerously close when each of these units were on duty at Settlement

boundaries, have deterred the men. A cheerful spirit pervades all their quarters.

Philippine Company

Perhaps the only Company whose membership has decreased instead of rising—for an excellent reason, the Philippine Company is at present composed of 75 men, whereas at the beginning 80 answered to the roll-call. Unfortunately join up is that the Filipino community in Shanghai is extremely limited. Nearly all of its young men are already limited. Organized in 1926 with 35 men, it has seen service in the three times that trouble came to Shanghai. '27, '32, and now in '37.

This company, too, is stationed at Pakhoi Road, and is a member of Major Neal's "B" Battalion. Due to this fact their work has again been like that of the other two American companies. Distribution of duties in "B" Battalion is very even, each company coming in for its share. Captain H. C. Evangelista, Lieutenants J. W. Templo, A. Y. Cecil, and C. E. Luchangco are officers in charge.

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Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

THE CHINA PRESS

Shanghai, China, Aug. 26, 1937

Council Praises Work Of S.V.C.

In an official statement issued yesterday afternoon, the Shanghai Municipal Council continued to praise the efforts of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps during the present crisis.

"The full tale of the services which the S.V.C. has rendered to the Settlement can never be adequately described," says the S.M.C.

"In addition to holding the S.V.C. sector of the boundaries until relieved by the Royal Welch Fusiliers, all sorts of extraordinary and unusual jobs of work were most cheerfully undertaken by different sections of the S.V.C. right from the beginning of the trouble.

"It figured conspicuously side by side with other municipal departments and various organizations in the heart-rending work caused by the Palace Hotel, Yu Ya Ching Road and Sincere-Wing On corner tragedies."

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 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

October 14 1937

In reply refer to
 FE 793.94/10428

The Secretary of State presents his compliments
 to the Honorable the Secretary of War and encloses
 for his information a copy of a despatch from the
 American Consul General at Shanghai forwarding a news-
 paper clipping in regard to the American units of the
 Shanghai Volunteer Corps.

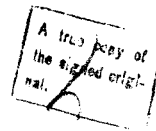
Enclosure:

Copy of despatch
 No. 937, August 26,
 1937, from the
 American Consul
 General, Shanghai,
 China.

CR / 1007
 OCT 14 1937.

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

32-1

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

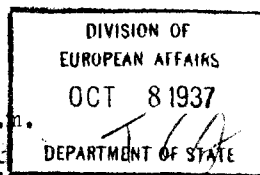
Geneva

GPO

FROM October 5, 1937

Rec'd 11:20 a.m.

Secretary of State,
 Washington.



26, October 5, 11 a.m.

My October 4, 8 p.m.

Subcommittee last night adopted in rewritten

Part ~~Five~~ ^{Four} of its report. This is based on Section two
 of the provisions in my 24, ¹⁰⁴⁰⁰ October 4, 2 p.m., and subject to
 final drafting changes will read substantially as follows:

"Paragraph one unchanged.

Paragraph two. It cannot, however, be challenged
 that powerful Japanese armies have invaded Chinese
 territory and are in military control of large areas
 including Peiping itself; that the Japanese Government
 has taken naval measures to close the Chinese coast to
 Chinese shipping; and that Japanese aircraft are carrying
 out bombing over widely separated regions of the country.

Paragraph three. After examination of the facts
 laid before it the Committee is bound to take the view
 that the action taken by Japan has been out of all proportion
 to the incident that occasioned the conflict; that it cannot
 possibly facilitate or promote the friendly cooperation
 between the two nations that Japanese statesmen have

affirmed

793.94/10429

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Quatefen NARS, Date 12-18-75

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JR -2- #26, October 5, 11 a.m., from Geneva.

affirmed to be the aim of their policy; that these actions can be justified neither on the basis of existing legal instruments nor on that of the right of self defense, and that they are in contravention of Japan's obligations under the Washington Treaty of February 6, 1922 and of the pact of Paris of August 27, 1928".

It was decided this morning section one and section three of the chairman's draft conclusions in connection with the discussion of any recommendations and not allowed to constitute part five.

Discussion was then opened on part five. Koo submitted the following proposal.

"The situation thus created in the Far East constitutes a case of external aggression against China, a member of the League of Nations, under Article X of the Covenant and calls for a consideration of what feasible steps may be taken in the present circumstances with a view to bringing about its early termination and the preservation of China's territorial integrity and political independence. The Advisory Committee will, of course, in conformity with its terms of reference, aid the members of the League in concerting their action and their attitude among themselves and with non-member states".

Cranbourne stated that there were two ways of proceeding, one under Article X of the Covenant through the

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JR -3- #26, October 5, 11 a.m., from Geneva.

the Council and the other under Article XI, or the alternative Article III, paragraph 3, through the Assembly. He then circulated the following proposal:

"The establishment of the ^{understandings} (A) of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments and the maintenance of a respect for treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another are among the fundamental purposes of the League. It has thus the duty, as well as the right, to attempt to bring about a speedy restoration of peace in the Far East. The powers who are signatories of the Nine Power Washington Treaty of February 22, 1922 and the Pact of Paris of April 27, 1928, whether they be members of the League or not have an evident interest in the observance of those treaties. They cannot, therefore, admit that the present dispute in the Far East which has been shown to constitute an infringement of those treaties, is one which can as of right only be settled by direct methods between the Chinese and Japanese Governments. They are bound on the contrary to take the whole situation into the fullest consideration and, in particular, to examine any appropriate means by which peace may be reestablished in conformity with the principles of international law and the provisions of the treaties to which they are parties.

The

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The question is what action would be -- in the words of Article No. XI of the Covenant -- wise and effectual towards this end.

The answer to this question by the Assembly which acts under Article III (3), might at the same time be regarded as rendering unnecessary any further recommendations under Articles X or XI. In this connection it may be observed that Articles X and XI in no way limit the discretion of the League in the selection of the means to be adopted to carry out its provisions.

The Committee notes that under the Nine Power Washington Treaty, the contracting powers, other than China, agreed inter alia to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China, and that all contracting powers, including China, agreed that whenever a situation should arise which involved the application of the stipulations of the treaty and rendered desirable the discussion of such application, there should be full and frank communication between the powers concerned. It appears, therefore, to the Committee that the most effective immediate step which the Assembly could take in the name of the League would be to invite those members of the League who are signatories of the Nine Power Washington Treaty to initiate such consultation.

The

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The Committee would further express the hope that the states concerned would be able to associate with their work other states which have special interests in the Far East, to seek a method of putting an end to the conflict by agreement and, failing such a solution, to make other proposals to the Assembly should they consider it possible and desirable". (END SECTION ONE).

HARRISON

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By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75

32-6

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

GRAY

GPO

FROM Geneva

Dated October 5, 1937

Rec'd 12:46 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

26, October 5, 11 p.m. (SECTION TWO).

A long discussion then ensued.

One Koo pointed to Covenant obligations of League members. Peace had been disturbed and aggression occurred. He felt Article X applied with particular relevancy and that both proposals should be taken into consideration.

A consultation of the signatories and adherents of the Nine Power Treaty was an excellent idea and one of the ways which he hoped would prove effective but not the only way even for the present. The Washington Treaty cannot relieve League members of their obligations under the Covenant; certain members were parties to the Treaty but not all and the Covenant cannot be superseded so far as the League and its members are concerned. He had therefore advanced his proposal as a practical method of dealing with the situation and hoped that it would supplement Cranbourne's.

China, he said, does not expect all pertinent articles
of

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JR -2- #26, October 5, 11 p.m., (SECTION TWO) from Geneva.

of the Covenant to be enforced in the present condition of the world and in the light of Chinese experience. China realizes that the situation makes it inadvisable for the League to discharge all obligations now. Still the League can help recommend to members, (one) not to extend Japan any aid in aggression against China and, (two), not to take any steps to weaken China in action against Japan. Such recommendations might not lead to action by all League states but at least by a few.

While China favored consultation with Washington Treaty Powers, preparation he feared would involve too much delay in the face of the grave and immediate situation. He upheld action on both proposals.

Lagarde supported Cranbourne. He was opposed to procedure by two contradictory methods.

Litvinoff pointed out that under Cranbourne's proposal League states not parties to Washington Treaty would be freed from further obligation; that in similar situations Washington Treaty signatories had taken no action; that interests of several signatories in the Far East had changed since 1922; and that he feared proposal involved merely delay and the eventual return of the problem to the Assembly. He strongly supported Koo's proposal but would not object if parallel action by the League and Washington Treaty signatories were properly concerted.

Bruce

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Bruce supported Cranbourne's proposal. Peace was a matter of concern to League members and all others. Specific course of action was provided in Article XVII alone but Japan would refuse to accept invitation under sub article section three of that article and Articles XII to XVI would come into effect. Chinese delegation realized that Article XVII as a practical matter afforded no solution. If the Washington Treaty signatories should fail to put an end to the situation through agreement the Advisory Committee could make other proposals to the Assembly. The League remained seized of the problem. It must pledge its support for conciliation and its co-operation in any measures that may be proposed. Therefore the Advisory Committee and the Subcommittee must be kept in being. Consultation by the Treaty Powers offered the sole practical means of some prospect for possible assistance to China in the present circumstances.

Van der Straten urged consideration from a practical standpoint. The League was "absolutely powerless". He supported Cranbourne. He also accepted Koo's proposal not to take any steps to weaken China but could not accept Koo's other proposal as this was tantamount to a prohibition of exports to Japan.

The

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The Swedish and Belgian representatives also agreed to take no steps to weaken China. Lagarde undertook to examine this sympathetically.

On further discussion Cranbourne pointed to success at Nyon. In this case he said League was not best body to handle the matter. Litvinoff pointed out that League members seemed to think that sanctions must be universal. In certain cases sanctions, he said, could be effective if put into effect by part of the League members only. Bruce insisted that League itself can do nothing. The cooperation of certain non-member powers, he believed, was absolutely necessary and more likely if the procedure occurred outside the League. Cranbourne suggested that before the close of this session, if instructed by the President of the Assembly, the League members signatory of the Washington Treaty could agree on their invitations to non-member signatories before the close of the present session. Koo agreed to Cranbourne's proposal but insisted that it be parallel and merely supplementary of League action. Article X was a specific obligation of League members and he insisted on some action. If the League did nothing it would be a pathetic confession of importance, a disappointment to China and to the millions supporting the League".

It was then agreed to charge a drafting committee
 composed

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composed of the Chairman and the representatives of
Great Britain, China, France, Russia and Austria to draft
proposals for part V of the Committee's report based on the
suggestions made by the British and Chinese delegations
including the Chinese draft resolution (my telegram 19, /10366
October 1, 7 p.m.). The Drafting Committee will also
have to pass on the final texts of parts I, II, III and IV.

The Drafting Committee is meeting this morning with
instructions to report as soon as possible so that the
(to?)
Full Committee may meet and report by the Assembly.
(END MESSAGE).

HARRISON

HPD

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 Department of State letter, August 10, 1972
 By Milton D. Gustafson NARS, Date 12-18-75



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

London, September 25, 1937.

No. 3420

SUBJECT: Japanese Air Attacks on Chinese Cities.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1937 OCT 5 PM 2 02

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 DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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 OCT 11 1937
 ASSISTANT SECRETARY
 OF STATE
 The Honorable



793.94/10430

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to present a brief survey of press comments on the Japanese air attacks on Chinese cities, quoting extracts from editorials published in the newspapers of the dates indicated:

The Times of September 23 -

"Modern war inevitably inflicts vast suffering on non-combatants: Nanking as a garrisoned city and the headquarters of the Chinese Government cannot be regarded as an 'open town.' But the published intention of the Japanese High Command to lay it in ruins in order to bring

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China to her knees is in flat contradiction to their Government's instructions that they should 'exercise the greatest care in safeguarding non-combatants.' It has aroused indignation and disgust in many countries, not least in the United States, where it has been roundly condemned by an influential section of the Press as a stupid display of barbarity, and has evoked a formal protest from the State Department. Their protest records the American Government's objection 'to the jeopardizing of the lives of its nationals' and insists that the general bombing of a city full of peaceful inhabitants 'is unwarranted and contrary to the principles of law and humanity.' British opinion is equally outraged by these strange methods of compelling the Chinese to 'display sincerity' in their relations with Japan."

The Daily Telegraph of September 24 -

"Unless the conscience of civilisation is an idle phrase, it cannot fail to be deeply stirred by the appalling tales of death and devastation from Nanking and Canton." "Unless, therefore, the Governments of Europe and America protest to the Japanese Government in adequately impressive terms, Nanking and Canton are doomed to be the scenes of the most ruthless massacres of huge civilian populations on record. If sufficient foreign residents are among the victims the various Governments will be driven to protect their nationals by the irresistible force of public opinion. But it would be more to the honour of civilisation and humanity if, before that happened, the nations of the West and the United States entered a collective and effective protest."

"Canton's lurid fate should be taken to heart by the great capitals of Europe. This raid by heavy bombers is not aerial warfare: it is just promiscuous murder and massacre from the air. Nor are these the horrors of legitimate warfare. They are in flagrant violation of the spirit and - so far as there is a letter - of the letter of the rules of war."

The Manchester Guardian of September 24 -

"In truth, the Japanese hope that by bombing the great Chinese cities and their inhabitants into dust they will destroy the centres of Governmental authority and weaken the moral of the civilian population. It is the doctrine now preached by

General/

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General Ludendorff and given the high-sounding title of 'totalitarian war,' but for all that it would still be recognised by the Tartars, the Mongols, the Goths, and the Huns.

"For us the warning is clear. Who can doubt that if war were to break out in Europe the same things which are now happening in Canton and Nanking would happen in London, Paris, and Berlin? The only difference is that the wretched Chinese have not even the satisfaction of being able to strike back. Who can doubt that, if necessary, every European nation will follow the Japanese back to barbarism? No one, not even the most desperate adventurer, the most discontented bully, can read of these things without a shiver of apprehension. That the world has been shocked out of its dangerous complacency is certain."

The Daily Mail of September 24 -

"Japan's action in raiding her adversary's crowded towns is widely condemned, and has inevitably called forth protests from the Powers chiefly interested in China. These protests are not merely because of the material loss which has been incurred or which threatens. They are prompted by revulsion of feeling and based on the broad ground of humanity."

The Daily Herald of September 24 -

"The hideous Japanese air raids upon Canton and Nanking are a plain challenge to the conscience of mankind, to the authority of all the peaceful nations."

"Already all the more orthodox methods of applying diplomatic pressure to Japan have failed."

"The British, United States and French Governments have expressed their hopes for peaceful settlement. They have offered to mediate. They have protested against the inhumanity of attacks upon civilians."

"They have refused to remove their Embassies from Nanking in the hope that their presence might have some effect in restraining the Japanese from the extremities of barbarism."

"None of these steps has had any effect

whatever/

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whatever. The innocent dead in the streets of Canton are piled as high as if Britain and France and the United States did not exist.

"Are there further, effective steps that could be taken?

"It is the world which is shocked at Japan's savagery which is making that savagery possible: by freely selling to Japan the essential raw materials of war, by buying from Japan and so helping to finance the war."

The News Chronicle of September 24 -

"The news from China's shambles is horror piled on horror. Yesterday's reports of Japan's murder of civilians were shocking enough: they are eclipsed this morning by descriptions of further bomb attacks on Canton and Nanking which make some of the most humiliating reading it has ever been the duty of a newspaper to print."

"China's agony today will be Europe's tomorrow, unless we bestir ourselves to stop it. Do you accept that the innocent homes of English town and village must be smashed in fragments by bombs? Or that you and your family will in the end be gainers if German or some other towns and villages are obliterated in revenge?"

"Then make your voice heard now. There is still time. Resolute initiative by the British people may still prevent the slaughterhouse from coming into your own back garden. Others, millions of them the world over - in dictator countries as well as in the democracies - are waiting to join their voices to ours, if only we can give them the encouragement to raise them."

Respectfully yours,

Herschel V. Johnson

Herschel V. Johnson
 Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

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END

