Canada's Road to the Pacific War
Intelligence, Strategy, and the Far East Crisis

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Studies in Canadian Military History
Series editor: Dean F. Oliver, Canadian War Museum

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I know that with supplies cut off, Japan must lose in the end

but there will be again an appalling sacrifice of life before she does,

and a world left more than ever in ashes.

William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada,

27 November 1941

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Preface

The Pacific War, also known as "The War against Japan" during the Second World War, was waged throughout the Far East and the Pacific in regions as diverse as the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, Australia, the mid-Pacific, and the North American coastline. In recent times, however, it has sometimes been called "the forgotten war." One military museum I visited not long ago used that very expression in its information card on the conflict. It is difficult to imagine that anyone could ever forget a conflict that claimed millions of lives, ended in nuclear attacks, and gave rise to several new political regimes in the Far East. The Pacific War transformed the conflict that the Allies first faced in 1939. It created conditions that led to the formation of the Grand Alliance between the United States, the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, and a host of other "United Nations." It led to the destruction of the Japanese Empire. It was instrumental in America's rise as a global power. Most certainly, the Pacific War and its origins are worthy of study.

If the Pacific War is fading from memory, then Canada's participation in that conflict is likely altogether forgotten in some quarters. Canada is not usually seen as a Pacific power, and yet it collected Pacific intelligence for the Allies, immediately declared war on Japan when hostilities broke out, sacrificed many men in the defence of Hong Kong, participated in Allied campaigns against Japan in the Far East, and interned the entire Japanese Canadian community. For these reasons, the Pacific War is an important part of Canadian history.

This study of Canada and the Far East crisis in 1941 originated with several questions that I had about Canadian intelligence operations in the Pacific, Canada's role as Britain's senior ally, its relations with Japan, and its treatment of the Japanese Canadian community. Having completed several studies on pre-Pearl Harbor intelligence, with a particular emphasis on the Anglo-American dimension, I wanted to know more about Canadian intelligence and strategy during the Far East crisis. This book attempts to show how Canada became involved in the Pacific War. It looks closely at how Canada formed its Far East policies with respect to domestic issues. It also examines Canada's role within the British Commonwealth and within the Anglo-American alliance that emerged in 1941.

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In this book, I argue that Canada was better prepared for the Pacific War than was previously thought, due to effective intelligence reporting, careful strategic assessments, and full participation in the emerging Anglo-American alliance. As we shall see, Canada planned for action in both Southeast Asia and the North Pacific. In support of its central thesis, this book draws on a wide range of archival sources from Canada, Britain, and the United States. Relevant testimony and accounts from former participants in wartime covert and intelligence operations have also been considered. The views of other historians are examined, and suggestions for further research as well as comments on methodological problems facing historians of the Second World War are offered. The principal object of this book, however, is to show how Canada, a minor Pacific power, maintained a high level of awareness and met its Allied commitments during a crisis that ultimately led to war in the Pacific.

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Acknowledgments

Several people have greatly assisted me in my endeavours. I wish to thank the many archivists who offered their assistance during my pursuit of documents concerning Canada, the Far East crisis, wartime intelligence operations, and Allied strategic planning. In particular, I wish to thank archivists at Library and Archives Canada (Ottawa, Ontario), the Directorate of History and Heritage (Ottawa, Ontario), the Queen's University Archives (Kingston, Ontario), the St. Catharines Museum (St. Catharines, Ontario), the Public Record Office (Kew, Surrey, UK), the Churchill Archives Centre (Cambridge, UK), the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum (Hyde Park, New York), and the National Archives and Records Administration (College Park, Maryland).

I have also benefited from conversations and correspondence with several scholars and veterans who shared their views. In particular, I wish to thank historians Richard Aldrich, Antony Best, Douglas Ford, Stephen Harris, Gerhard Krebs, Tosh Minohara, Dean Oliver, and Galen Perras. Furthermore, I wish to offer my gratitude to several Canadian, British, and American veterans of wartime intelligence who spoke to me about their experiences.

This book, though completed as a new project over the past two years, originated from doctoral research conducted at the University of Ottawa. Once again, I wish to thank my thesis examiners, including Antony Best from the London School of Economics, as well as Richard Connors, Jeffrey Keshen, Eda Kranakis, and Brian Villa, all from the University of Ottawa. Their helpful comments and observations formed the basis of several revisions that I made to the original manuscript. Special thanks are extended to Professor Villa, who not only assisted in guiding that earlier project to its successful completion but also offered the benefit of his expertise and experience. On many occasions, he generously discussed his own research into prewar intelligence and the origins of the Pacific War. His helpful insights, as well as our two co-authored articles, have been cited in this book.

I wish to thank the Taylor and Francis Group for its permission to draw on my published article "Watching the North Pacific: British and Commonwealth Intelligence before Pearl Harbor," *Intelligence and National Security* 17, 4 (Winter 2002): 131-64.

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Illustrations add lustre to any historical work. I express my gratitude to Library and Archives Canada, the US Naval History and Heritage Command, and the US National Archives and Records Administration for their superb photographs. I also thank the Russian Archives for its momentous photograph of Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke signing the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact. Adrian Simpson of Communications Security Establishment, Canada, generously provided a rare wartime photograph of Canadian codebreakers at work. Stephen Harris and his team at the Directorate of History and Heritage did me a similar service when they located two photographs of Canadian servicemen important to this study.

Funding is vital to the arts, and this project could not have proceeded without institutional support from within Canada. I am grateful to the Canadian War Museum for accepting my work as part of its military history series and for providing financial assistance.

Terry Binnersley brought the benefit of her extensive editing experience to this project when she carefully examined an earlier draft of the manuscript. I offer my thanks for her poignant observations and suggestions regarding style, form, and clarity.

I am indebted to the editorial team at UBC Press for its assistance in guiding this work to publication. Emily Andrew, in her capacity as senior editor, provided tremendous support during the commissioning of this project. The two peer reviewers selected by the Press offered many helpful suggestions for improvement, all of which were used to enhance the final manuscript. At the last stage of the publishing process, the production editorial team, including Megan Brand, editor; Frank Chow, copy editor; and Dianne Tiefensee, proofreader; worked diligently to improve the presentation of the book.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Laura, and our children, William and Elizabeth, for their steadfast support during the completion of this book.

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A Note on Names

Whenever Japanese names are cited in this book, the family name precedes the given name, as is common in Japanese usage. For example, Tojo Hideki became Prime Minister of Japan in October 1941. The same applies to Chinese names. Asian place names follow the usage common to English-speaking commentators of the period, so, for example, Chungking and Tientsin are used instead of the more recent Chongqing and Tianjin. Similarly, "the Far East" is used to denote the region now known more commonly as East Asia.

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Abbreviations

ABC-1	American-British Conversations, signed 27 March 1941 in Washington, DC
ABC-22	American-Canadian extension of ABC-1, signed 28 July 1941 in Montreal
ADA Plan	Anglo-Dutch-Australian Plan, created in February 1941
ADB	American-Dutch-British Conversations, signed 27 April 1941 in Singapore
ABCD powers	American, British, Chinese, and Dutch powers
BAD	British Admiralty Delegation (Washington, DC)
BCATP	British Commonwealth Air Training Plan
BSC	British Security Coordination
CHATFOLD	Canadian reporting system for shipping intelligence
CNO	Chief of Naval Operations, USN (Washington, DC)
COI	Coordinator of Information (Washington, DC)
COPC	Commanding Officer Pacific Coast, RCN (Esquimalt)
D/F	Direction finding
DMO & I	Director of Military Operations and Intelligence, Canadian Army (Ottawa)
DND	Department of National Defence (Ottawa)
DNI	Director of Naval Intelligence (British and Commonwealth)
DOT	Department of Transport (Ottawa)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation (US)
FECB	Far East Combined Bureau (Singapore)
FEDO	Far East Direction-finding Organisation (British Commonwealth)
FEI	Far Eastern Intelligence (a section of FIS)
FIS	Foreign Intelligence Section (RCN)
GC&CS	Government Code and Cypher School (Bletchley Park and London)
GNP	Gross national product

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HF/DF	High-frequency direction finding
IJA	Imperial Japanese Army
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy
JAE	A Japanese consular code
JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee (British)
JN-25B	The principal Japanese naval operational code, known also as the 5-Numeral code or AN-1 code
MI5	British home-security intelligence
MI6	British foreign intelligence
NEI	Netherlands East Indies
NID	Naval Intelligence Division (British and Commonwealth)
NRC	National Research Council (Canada)
NRMA	National Resources Mobilization Act (Canada)
NSHQ	Naval Service Headquarters, RCN (Ottawa)
NEI	Netherlands East Indies
ONI	Office of Naval Intelligence, USN (Washington, DC)
OPNAV	Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, USN (Washington, DC)
OP-20-G	Intelligence Section of the USN Office of Naval Communications
OSS	Office of Strategic Services (Washington, DC)
PJBD	Permanent Joint Board on Defence (US-Canadian)
PNIO	Pacific Naval Intelligence Organisation (British Commonwealth)
PURPLE	The American term for the principal Japanese diplomatic code
Radar	Radio detecting and ranging
RAF	Royal Air Force
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RCCS	Royal Canadian Corps of Signals
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RCN	Royal Canadian Navy
RCNVR	Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve
R/E	Range estimation
RFP	Radio fingerprinting
RN	Royal Navy
RNR	Royal Naval Reserve

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RNVR	Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve
SIS	Secret Intelligence Service (MI6)
SOE	Special Operations Executive (British)
TINA	An operator-analysis technique whereby an operator's Morse-keying style is recorded for use in later reidentification
ULTRA	British term for intelligence derived from cryptanalysis
USN	United States Navy
VESCA	British and Commonwealth reporting system for shipping intelligence
W/T	Wireless telegraphy
"Y" Station	British or Commonwealth cryptanalysis centre

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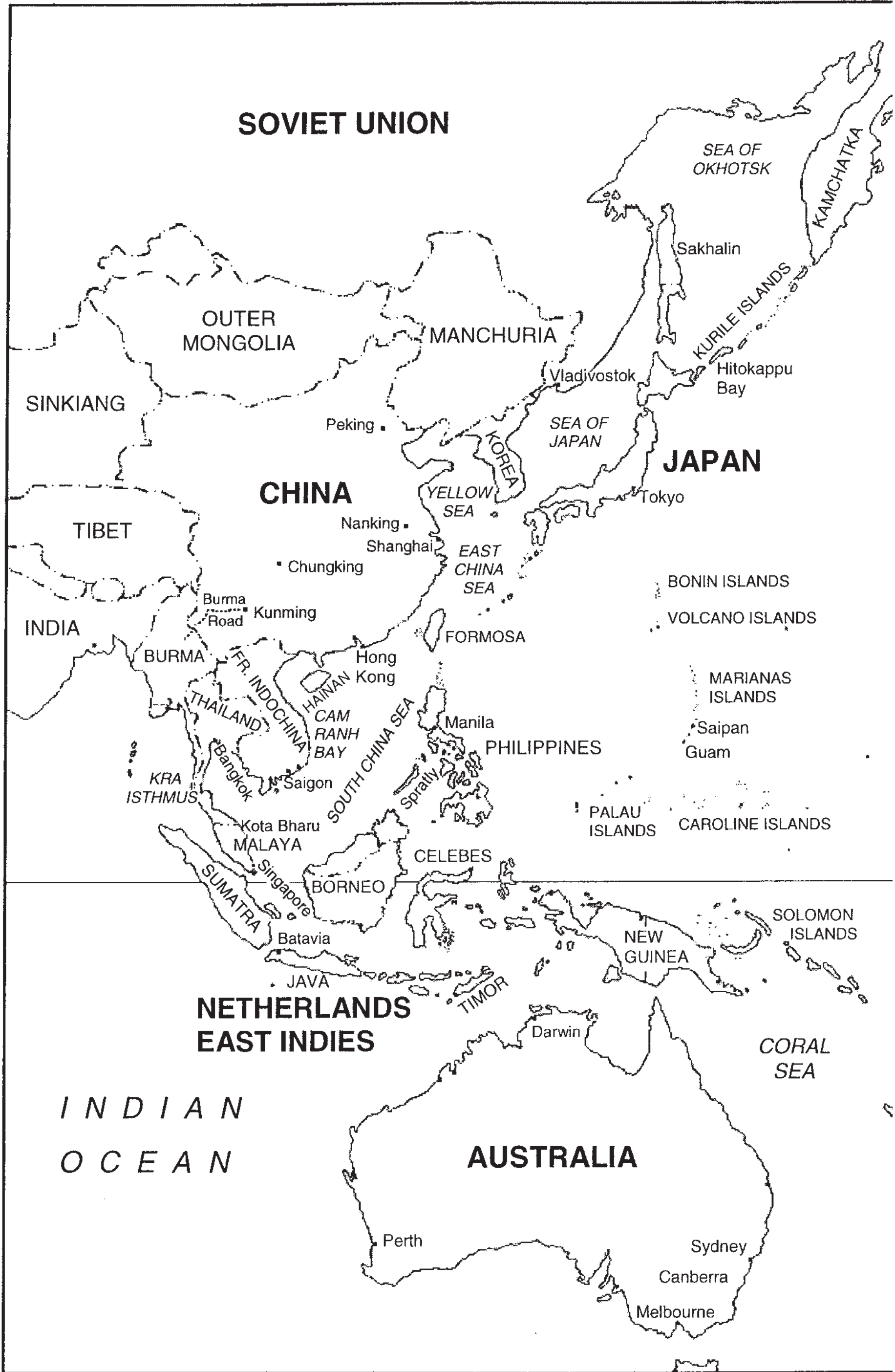

Map of the Far East and the Pacific, 1941

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Introduction

On 7 December 1941, Canada was immediately drawn into the Pacific War following Japan's devastating attacks on Malaya, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Wake Island, Guam, and Pearl Harbor. Its battalions in Hong Kong represented commitment to the British Commonwealth and Empire. The disaster in the Far East suggested that Canada and its allies were quite unprepared, yet on the very first day of the Pacific War, Canada became the first nation in the world to declare war against Japan. A week earlier, according to one account, Canada had also made plans to close down its air force recruiting program in the United States in anticipation of a Japanese air strike against Pearl Harbor. As well, Ottawa had considered the "wholesale" internment of Japanese Canadians well before the Far East crisis. As a minor Pacific power, it is possible that Canada received sufficient incoming intelligence to make strategic decisions with confidence. Perhaps the Dominion was not at all indifferent to Far East affairs, even though Britain had long ago turned over to the United States most responsibility for delicate diplomatic negotiations with Japan. Canada's position within the emerging Anglo-American alliance also paved the way for its timely reaction to the mounting crisis with Japan.

Historians specializing in the Second World War have often characterized Canada as an Atlantic power and have tended to ignore its role in the Pacific. Indeed, Canada has often been characterized as a very minor component of the Anglo-American alliance that emerged in 1941. In fact, however, a range of primary sources, including contemporaneous war records, internal histories, memoirs, and postwar accounts from former participants in wartime intelligence operations, suggest that Canada was better prepared for the Pacific War than was previously thought.

In 1941, Canadian intelligence staff and strategists worked closely with their Allied and American counterparts to prepare for war with Japan. Canada monitored Japan's preparations for war and participated in Allied-American conferences on the Far East crisis, using multiple intelligence sources to optimize strategic planning. As the Far East crisis developed, Canada sought to avoid conflict with Japan until American participation was assured, but it fully anticipated action in Southeast Asia and the North Pacific, and made various preparations for national and imperial defence.

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Diplomatic tensions between Japan and the West had their origins in disagreement over the destiny of China and the control of resources in the Far East. Japan had begun its conquest of Manchuria in 1931 and its lengthy war in China in 1937. Although Canada, along with other members of the League of Nations, failed to intervene in the Sino-Japanese War, tensions escalated after war broke out in Europe in 1939. The new conflict created dangerous alliances: on 27 September 1940, Japan joined the Axis powers in the Tripartite Pact, and on 13 April 1941 entered into a neutrality pact with the Soviet Union. Following Germany's attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June, some Japanese militarists considered launching their own attack against that country, but an Imperial Conference on 2 July favoured waiting to see the war's outcome. On 24 July, however, Japan occupied southern French Indochina, and two days later Canada participated in an Allied-American freeze of Japanese assets, supposedly to deter further aggression.

Yet Japan would not withdraw from either French Indochina or China and saw the asset freeze as a provocation. Loss of access to all of its assets held in the US and Allied nations deprived it of about 75 percent of its overseas trade and nearly 90 percent of its imported oil. In August, Japanese military officials decided to forgo operations against the Soviets, but began planning for a possible southward advance against European colonial possessions, notably the oil-rich Netherlands East Indies.[1] They prepared plans to neutralize the only two obstacles to Japanese expansion: the British base at Singapore, which could be attacked via Malaya, and the American base at Pearl Harbor, which could be attacked with aircraft carriers.

Despite these plans, Japan continued diplomatic engagement with the West. Prince Konoye, who had served as Japan's "moderate" Prime Minister since July 1940, sought a rapprochement with the American, British, Chinese, and Dutch (ABCD) powers but was rebuffed in Washington. Consequently, on 17 October, General Tojo Hideki, representing the interests of Japanese militarists, replaced Konoye as Prime Minister. An Imperial Conference on 5 November called for the continuation of war plans but set 25 November as a deadline for negotiations, a deadline that was later extended to 2 December. Accordingly, the Tojo government sent special envoy Kurusu Saburo to Washington, where he joined Japanese Ambassador Nomura Kichisaburo in a final attempt to prevent conflict between Japan and America. The Kurusu Mission offered US Secretary of State Cordell Hull two different plans as compromise solutions.[2] On 22 November, Hull drafted a *modus vivendi* (temporary accord) based on the second plan, but Washington rejected it after consulting with the Allies. Finally, on 26 November, Hull issued a note to Japan that contained terms unacceptable to the Tojo government: an end to hostilities in Asia, recognition of China, and international

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access to Asian markets. On 7 December, Japan offered its deadly response, launching multiple attacks across Southeast Asia and the North Pacific.

Meanwhile, throughout the Far East crisis in 1941, Canada and the Allies had strengthened economic and military ties with the US. In March, the US Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act, which ensured that American material aid would reach Britain and the Allies, and in April the Hyde Park Declaration, a US-Canadian economic agreement, provided a means for the Allies to pay for such material.[3] The US also provided Atlantic convoy patrols to help protect supply shipments to the Allies. Several joint-defence agreements between American and Allied staff officers followed, all of which contained provisions for a war against Japan: the American-British Conversations (ABC-1); the American-Dutch-British (ADB) Conversations; and the US-Canadian ABC-22 agreement, which built on ABC-1. Furthermore, US President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met in August aboard warships off Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, and decided on mutual war aims, which formed the basis of the Atlantic Charter. By the time hostilities broke out in the Pacific, Allied and American interests had become inextricably bound.[4]

Besides participating in Allied-American conferences, Canada's preparations for a possible war in the Pacific included collecting shipping intelligence for the Commonwealth, improving its coastal defences, registering Japanese Canadians, and sending troops to Hong Kong. Despite these preparations, Canada and its allies found themselves at a great disadvantage when the failure of American-Japanese diplomacy led to Japan's attacks throughout Southeast Asia and the Pacific. It is still unclear to what extent these attacks might have been anticipated. Historians continue to discuss what Allied intelligence services knew before the Pacific War, how the Far East crisis developed, and why it led to the Japanese onslaught of 7 December 1941.

Other Historians' Views

Canada's response to the Far East crisis may be best understood through a detailed study of the intelligence operations and strategic planning that preceded the outbreak of war. The intelligence dimension is a field of inquiry that expands with each new archival release. Historians studying British intelligence have tended to favour the view that incoming reports pointed to a Japanese first strike on targets in Southeast Asia rather than in the North Pacific. These accounts also show that the Allies underestimated Japanese capabilities due to inaccurate strategic presumptions and a belief that the Japanese were racially inferior. One dissenting work argues that British intelligence predicted the Pearl Harbor attack but that Churchill withheld the information from Roosevelt to ensure America's entry into the war. Another work considered anecdotal

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sources pointing to British foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack and the likelihood that London warned Washington, but concluded that the attack was still a surprise due to overwhelming intelligence pointing to a first strike in Southeast Asia.[5]

Works studying American intelligence collected before Pearl Harbor are prolific, to say the least. Traditional interpretations range from the belief that Pearl Harbor was not a predictable event to the more nuanced view that some incoming reports pointed to the attack but were overlooked in the face of numerous reports about Japanese interest in Southeast Asia. Revisionist works, drawing on recent archival releases and anecdotal accounts, argue that American intelligence, derived principally from intercepted Japanese communications, did reveal the plan to attack Pearl Harbor. The revisionists appear to have built a more convincing case, given that most of the current traditionalist writing on the subject is mere rebuttal and is not usually based on original research.[6]

Canadian intelligence operations have received comparatively less attention, but have been skillfully surveyed in some works. The Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) intelligence network has been examined in specialist studies. The reinforcement of Hong Kong with Canadian battalions has been portrayed not only as a politically expedient decision but also as a failure in British intelligence that resulted in unnecessary tragedy. Some works have explored the origins of Canadian signals intelligence, concluding that these operations were quite undeveloped at the war's beginning, but later improved as they were integrated into Allied networks. Historians have also studied the wartime role of British Security Coordination (BSC), which conducted intelligence operations in both Canada and the United States under the leadership of William Stephenson. They have shown how Canada supported BSC in its staffing, field operations, and activities at Camp X, the covert training facility near Whitby, Ontario.[7]

Allied strategy during the Far East crisis has also been the subject of numerous studies. British policy has often been seen as an exercise in avoiding conflict with Japan until American participation could be assured. To this end, historians have emphasized how Britain withdrew from negotiations with Japan after the asset freeze so that the US could assume greater responsibility for the outcome of the talks. Many historians have analyzed British and American deterrent measures against Japan, arguing that economic sanctions and Allied troop placements in Southeast Asia were intended to prevent war rather than to precipitate it. In contrast, one study argues that Roosevelt viewed Soviet participation as vital to the war's outcome, and that he baited Japan to drive south for resources, thereby preventing it from attacking northern objectives in Siberia.[8]

Canadian strategy has been explored in both specialist and general works. Historians have noted that Canada avoided entering into Anglo-American

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power struggles over the destiny of the Far East, but supported Allied deterrent measures against Japan. Indeed, Ottawa's decision to reinforce Hong Kong has been seen as an expression of Allied solidarity – a political move that appeared to have deterrent value at the time. Historians have also explained how Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King planned for a war of limited liability and often relied on his civilian ministers rather than the Chiefs of Staff to define military policy. Some have observed that as the Far East crisis developed, the Prime Minister considered using Pacific Coast defence as a means of avoiding a conscription crisis at home: conscript troops could be sent to British Columbia rather than to battlefields overseas. Military studies have not only commented on Canada's air, naval, and land preparations on the Pacific Coast but have also critiqued the long-held Allied view that Japan could "island-hop" through the Aleutians and attack the North American coast. Furthermore, historians have considered the plight of Japanese Canadians who were interned after the outbreak of war in the Pacific, even though they were innocent of any misconduct. This action has been attributed to the racist attitudes that prevailed in wartime Canada.[9]

Many historical works have provided an excellent overview of Canada's wartime intelligence capabilities and strategic planning. Canadian intelligence in the early war years, however, is usually characterized as having been in its formative phase. Although a few studies have considered Canada's role as a Pacific power, they have not focused on Canadian decision making on the eve of the Pacific War. With the benefit of recent archival releases, a more detailed account of Canada's response to the Far East crisis in 1941 may now be offered to complement existing studies.

The Methodology of This Book

This book offers a new interpretation of Canada's response to the Far East crisis through an examination of Canadian intelligence operations and strategic planning from December 1940 to December 1941, the period during which Japan's relations with the West rapidly deteriorated. During that time, Canada collected important intelligence concerning Far East affairs from several domestic and external sources. Apart from assessing the capabilities of intelligence networks that operated in Canada, it is essential to examine any incoming intelligence that informed Canadian decision makers, with respect to its veracity, completeness, timeliness, compatibility with other Allied sources, and racial biases. The intelligence reports considered in this book include not only those pertaining to Japan and Southeast Asia but also those pertaining to the United States and its support for the Allies. The Allies regarded American intervention as crucial to resolving both the Far East crisis and the European

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War. Furthermore, for a better understanding of Canada's role within the developing Anglo-American alliance, Canadian strategies and observations concerning the Far East – including diplomatic, political, economic, and military decisions – must be examined in relation to Allied-American planning.

This book also raises questions about the selection of evidence. At present, historians of the Second World War are still not privy to the entire range of relevant documents. A great number of papers have been released, but some file collections remain closed and others are censored. Personal testimony and accounts from veterans of wartime operations offer further historical insight, but are they an acceptable substitute for withheld contemporaneous documents? It is important to discuss why certain documents continue to be withheld and how historians may deal with the evidence available.

Some wartime intelligence documents may be related to current national security issues. A Canadian military report made that point in August 1945 when it justified the need to preserve all wartime codebreaking secrets, or "ULTRA":

> No possible excuse must be given to the Germans or the Japanese to explain away their complete defeat by force of arms ... the uncanny success of ULTRA would offer them just such an excuse ... We need ULTRA for knowledge of German and Japanese Underground and Diplomatic activities ... Other enemies may arise in the future – were they to know what had been achieved by ULTRA in this war they would be on their guard lest the same thing befall them.[10]

The report also emphasized how the development of the atomic bomb made communications intelligence even more vital as a means of preventing catastrophe. Clearly, government authorities were not going to release documents concerning wartime intelligence activities for some time. These activities were not regarded as "history" but, rather, as ongoing current affairs.

A Canadian research report written in October 1946 also underscored the importance of wartime communications intelligence, explaining how success in reading "large parts of the enemy's most secret communications" affected the war's outcome: "As a result, it is no exaggeration to say (in fact it has been said by Winston Churchill and other allied leaders) that the war was materially shortened and thousands of lives saved by this means."[11] Communications intelligence was no doubt essential to Allied success, and government authorities wished to protect their intelligence secrets. For historians of the Second World War, however, the task is daunting. When do wartime secrets cease to have value in current affairs? When do wartime secrets become "history"? If recent archival releases are any guide, we may observe that, although many documents are

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released after fifty years, the most sensitive may be withheld on a discretionary basis for some time to come.

One explanation for official policy regarding archival releases is offered in the Radcliffe Report, prepared by a British government committee in 1976: "Government is not to be conducted in the interests of history. That is an obvious proposition. But if that is so, the historian cannot have as of right a smooth highway constructed for him through the intricate paths of public administration and statecraft. He must make the most of his sources as he can find them." Implicit in these remarks is the prospect that government documents are not always released to provide the most complete account of past events, but rather to provide an acceptable record for public consumption, one that ratifies or justifies past decisions. In his book *Reflections on Intelligence,* R.V. Jones, a British scientist and intelligence specialist, comments on archival practices and offers a partial solution to the historian's difficulty by suggesting that memoirs could be used to complement the uneven release of government documents.[12]

Memoirs and testimony are essential elements of any historical inquiry, but they appear to take on greater importance in inquiries concerning sensitive wartime topics. Quite often, historians approach their subject with a deeply ingrained belief in the superiority of the document in the archives and the comparatively low status of personal testimony, especially if the latter is reliant on long-term memory, which is imperfect. Sophisticated historians, however, have accepted that there are occasions when personal testimony might well be preferred to the official record. David Reynolds, one of the foremost historians of our time, has made that point elegantly. He described a British Cabinet meeting attended, most unusually, by Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's personal envoy. With the Cabinet meeting seemingly over, everyone rose, collected their hats and coats, and began to leave. Hopkins was swept onward to his next venue. The British Cabinet members then sat down, minus Hopkins, to discuss sensitive issues, including the Far East, that were kept from the ears of their American guest. Reynolds described the Cabinet agenda as "bogus" and the conclusions as "terse," since they do not record the deception, whereas personal records apparently illuminate what really happened. In this case, the personal testimony of two witnesses, Hugh Dalton and Alexander Cadogan, appears to offer greater insight than the material from the archives.[13]

It is important that historians studying wartime events compare and contrast archival material with all relevant anecdotal sources. With certain topics, however, we are unlikely to be in a position to choose between archives and recollection for some time. For example, considering the controversial question of whether or not British intelligence predicted the Pearl Harbor attack, any British

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warnings would probably have been passed to the Canadians and the Americans through BSC, but the relevant archives are currently closed. It is therefore essential for historians to consider testimony from veterans of wartime intelligence and covert operations.

In terms of primary sources, which form the basis of this study, material has been drawn from archives in Canada, Britain, and the United States. These sources include wartime government documents, intelligence reports, and personal papers, as well as postwar internal histories, personal correspondence, and memoirs. Canadian archival sources include Department of National Defence (DND) files; Canadian army, navy, and air force intelligence summaries; External Affairs files; the W.L. Mackenzie King papers/diaries; the C.G. Power papers; and the Murton A. Seymour papers. In particular, the ministerial papers of W.L. Mackenzie King, C.G. Power, J. Ralston, N. Robertson, and O.D. Skelton have been considered, along with Mackenzie King's correspondence with Churchill and Roosevelt. Some references have also been drawn from Vancouver newspapers published in 1941, and the author has had other Canadian wartime documents declassified under the Access to Information Act (Canada). British archival material is drawn from Admiralty papers, Intelligence records, Cabinet papers, the Winston S. Churchill papers, the Julian E. Ridsdale papers, and the Stephen Roskill papers. American archival sources include several collections of United States Navy records, as well as the Franklin D. Roosevelt papers and the John Toland papers.

Published collections of primary sources have also been considered. Government publications include *The Canada Year Book 1941* (1941) and *Documents on Canadian External Relations, 1939-41* (1976). Japanese plans have been consulted in *The Pearl Harbor Papers: Inside the Japanese Plans,* ed. Donald Goldstein and Katherine Dillon (2000). Useful references for the study of Mackenzie King's diaries were found in *The Mackenzie King Record: Volume 1: 1939-44,* ed. J.W. Pickersgill (1960). Besides examining correspondence files in archival collections, the author has made use of the wartime correspondence of Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt provided in *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence,* ed. Warren F. Kimball (1984).

Along with the many secondary sources that have been consulted, several general histories of the Second World War have been used as reference texts. These include Akira Iriye's *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (1987); Peter Calvocoressi, Guy Wint, and John Pritchard's *Total War: The Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (1989); Gerhard L. Weinberg's *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (1994); *Oxford Companion to World War II,* ed. I.C.B. Dear (1995); and Robert Smith Thompson's *Empires on the Pacific: World War II and the Struggle for the Mastery of Asia* (2001).

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The chapters of this book emphasize different elements of the Canadian experience during the Far East crisis. Chapter 1 surveys the relationship between the Pacific powers from 1922 to 1940, discusses Canada's response to Far East affairs during this period, and provides a historical context for the chapters that follow. Chapter 2 assesses the capabilities of the Allied intelligence networks that operated in Canada before the Pacific War. Chapter 3 explains how Canada developed its initial Far East strategy in the context of Allied discussions over the containment of Japan during the eventful months of December 1940 through July 1941. Chapter 4 discusses specific diplomatic and deterrent actions that Canada took to avoid confrontation with Japan throughout 1941. Chapter 5 relates how Canada reassessed the Far East crisis in the aftermath of the American-led freeze of Japanese assets, an action that could either deter or provoke Japan. Chapter 6 considers Canada's defence strategy with respect to its own coastline and the North Pacific. Chapter 7 provides a comprehensive study of Canada's observations and strategy during November 1941, when diplomacy failed and the Pacific powers made further preparations for war. Chapter 8 explores Canada's final observations and strategy on the eve of the Pacific War, and comments on the immediate aftermath of Japan's decision to strike. The conclusion to this book discusses the significance of Canada's response to the Far East crisis and addresses new findings, the relationship between intelligence and strategy, the extent of Canada's participation in Allied strategy, alternative traditionalist and revisionist interpretations, and suggestions for further archival research.

Now, however, we must turn to the very origins of the Far East crisis in order to provide a broader context. It is important to understand the relationship between the Pacific powers in the eventful years following the Great War of 1914-18, for in this period, crucial decisions that affected arms limitations, defence spending, territorial expansion, and international trade also led to a crisis of epic proportions.

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1
Prelude to War: Canada and the Pacific Powers, 1922-40

Years of rivalry between Japan and the Western powers preceded the outbreak of war in the Pacific. Until the end of the Great War, Britain courted Japan and even supported the development of its navy. In the aftermath of that conflict, however, both Britain and the United States sought to limit Japan's naval power and to curb its influence in the Far East. Throughout the 1930s, when Japan waged brutal wars of conquest in Manchuria and China, its alienation from the West became almost complete. With the outbreak of the Second World War, Britain's commitments in Europe compelled the US to assume responsibility for limiting Japan's expansionism.

Many factors contributed to the crisis that preceded the Pacific War. Although a complete history of prewar diplomacy and strategy is beyond the scope of this book, it is important to understand the origins of the conflict that resulted in the Far East crisis in 1941.[1] To that end, this chapter begins with a portrait of the Pacific powers – Japan, China, the Netherlands East Indies (NEI), the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and the Commonwealth. Japan is considered in the context of Far East affairs from 1922 to 1940 in order to establish a foundation for the portraits that follow. Next, Canada's response to Far East affairs during this time period is surveyed. As we shall see, conflict between Japan and the democracies resulted from a long-festering diplomatic crisis over the destiny of China and the control of resources in Southeast Asia.

A Portrait of the Pacific Powers

Early on, Japan had impressed the Great Powers with its new imperial might. In 1895, it demonstrated its military strength when it successfully fought China over control of Korea, although the resulting treaty, which the Great Powers moderated, limited Japan's territorial acquisitions to Port Arthur, Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands.[2] Britain wanted Japan as an ally to check German and Russian aspirations in the Far East, and in 1902 the two countries formed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan subsequently received British support for the development of the Imperial Japanese Navy, which in 1904-5 impressed the Great Powers with its victory over Russian forces at Port Arthur. In 1910, Japan was able to

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annex Korea, perhaps as a result of its victory over Russia in the Far East. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed in 1911, and the British Empire traded with Japan under the terms of an Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. Japan sided with Britain in the Great War, and in 1919 received German concessions in the Pacific, known as the "Mandated Islands," including the Caroline, Marianas, Marshall, and Palau Islands. In 1920, Japan took control of Sakhalin south of latitude 50°N. To foreign observers, the Japanese Empire was expanding at an alarming rate.

At that point, Britain and the United States sought to limit Japan's naval power and territorial ambitions. In 1922, at a naval conference held in Washington, Britain, the US, Japan, France, and Italy signed the Washington Naval Treaty, which fixed British, American, and Japanese naval tonnages in a 5:5:3 ratio, meaning that Japan could expand its navy to only 60 percent of the size of either the Royal Navy (RN) or the United States Navy (USN). Essentially, the treaty replaced the old Anglo-Japanese Alliance with international naval arms limitations. Japanese strategists criticized the new arrangement, particularly when they later discovered that during the negotiations leading up to it, the Americans had decrypted Japanese messages revealing how much Japan was willing to concede in terms of naval power. Herbert Yardley, head of the "Black Chamber," an American cryptanalysis unit funded by the US Army and State Department, revealed those decryption successes in his book *The American Black Chamber.*[3] At the same naval conference in 1922, Britain, the US, Japan, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and China signed the Nine-Power Treaty, which guaranteed that China would not be invaded. Furthermore, in 1930, Japan, the US, Britain, France, and Italy signed the London Naval Treaty, which regulated submarine warfare and limited naval shipbuilding. Japan would now be watched quite carefully.

On the domestic front, Japan had gradually evolved into a centralized military state. Its 1889 Meiji Constitution had established a constitutional monarchy, but Japanese militarists loyal to Emperor Hirohito, who came to power in 1926, now appeared to be exerting increasing influence over the Tokyo Diet (parliament). Political assassinations occurred throughout the 1930s and the Japanese Army sought to create a "national defence state," known as *Kokubo Kokka*. Between 1934 and 1937, electricity, oil, rice production, and shipbuilding came under government control. In March 1938, Japan invoked the National General Mobilization Law, which was a total war measures act. In August 1939, it enacted the Major Industries Association Ordinance to control strategic industries. In October 1940, Japanese militarists created the Imperial Rule Assistance

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Association as a Nazi-style organization, although civilian politicians moderated its influence, and in the following January the Greater Japan Youth Corps was formed to offer military training to youth.[4]

Building a military state also taxed Japan's economy. From 1931 to 1939, the country's military spending increased from 29 percent of its total expenditures to 72 percent. Between 1936 and 1940, its inflation rate was 75 percent, compared with 25 percent in Britain and 2 percent in the US. It was self-sufficient in rice, importing only a fifth of the total amount required for its 70 million people, but not in strategic materials such as nickel, tin, bauxite, rubber, and oil. Notably, Japan's annual petroleum production was about the same as the *daily* production of the US. Consequently, it had to import nearly 70 percent of its oil from the US. It was also dependent on American trade in other respects: over 40 percent of its exports went to the United States and over half of its imports came from there. Thus, the Japanese Empire faced a currency crisis, relied on imported strategic materials, and could also have a potential trade deficit, depending on the US response to its expansionist policies. Japanese militarists believed, however, that wars of conquest would provide the necessary resources for independence. They eschewed free trade with all nations, which the US advocated under its "Open Door" economic policy. From the militarists' perspective, the US advanced such a policy only because it could compete easily in a free market, having already secured its continental resources; Japan would now do the same.[5]

To build its empire, Japan expanded into Southeast Asia while shifting its alliances. In September 1931, the Japanese staged an incident at Mukden in northern China as a pretext to invade Manchuria, which it subsequently conquered and renamed "Manchukuo." This violated the Nine-Power Treaty, which protected China from invasion, but control of Manchuria offered Japan mineral resources, a strategic buffer against the Soviet Union, and, more grimly, a remote place where it could develop chemical and biological weapons. In March 1933, following the Manchurian Incident, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations; in 1934, it abrogated its naval treaties with the West, notably the Washington Naval Treaty that had placed Japan in an inferior naval position with respect to Britain and the US. In November 1936, Japan joined Germany and Italy in signing the Anti-Comintern Pact, ostensibly as a means of containing the Soviet Union, which had offered increasing support to China.[6]

Next, Japan sought control over China. In July 1937, Japanese troops attacked Chinese forces at the Marco Polo Bridge southwest of Peking in an action known as the China Incident, thus beginning the lengthy Sino-Japanese war. Japanese strategists had long seen territorial expansion in Southeast Asia as a means of providing national security and economic benefits.[7] China could "buffer" Japan

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against Soviet threats and also provide iron, coal, and agriculture. Japan's war in China was both costly and brutal: Western commentators were shocked at the Rape of Nanking and other atrocities.[8] China attempted to improve its security with the 1937 Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, but what it really needed was supplies. Britain kept the Burma Road open as a route for Western aid to reach China, since Japan controlled the coastal areas and ports. The United States, in the midst of the Great Depression, showed restraint in its response, but it deplored Japan's actions in China and expressed outrage in December that year when a Japanese plane bombed the American gunboat USS *Panay* on the Yangtze River. The US responded with speeches and economic sanctions, but its efforts at peaceful coercion succeeded only in convincing Japanese militarists that it lacked the will to wage a lengthy war in the Far East.[9] Ultimately, nearly a million Japanese and about 10 million Chinese would perish in the eight-year war.

In addition to its war in China, Japan embarked on other imperial adventures in the region. In 1939, it acquired Hainan and the Spratly Islands without much effort. During the Tientsin Crisis of June to August 1939, Japanese forces successfully blockaded the British Concession at Tientsin in protest over Chinese assassinations of Japanese officials.[10] Japan was also displeased that China's Nationalist government had deposited its silver reserves in banks at Tientsin. Japan and Britain finally came to terms over Tientsin, but Japan had demonstrated its ability to intervene in European-controlled areas of China. From May to September 1939, however, Japan became embroiled in a costly campaign against Soviet forces along the Manchurian border in the Nomonhan Incident, which the Soviets referred to as the Battle of Khalkhin Gol. Under any name, the border clash ended in defeat for Japan: Mongolia remained unconquered, Japanese forces sustained about 28,000 casualties compared with the Soviets' 9,000, and Japan was left with more military debt. Japan temporarily redirected its efforts to the south.

On the eve of the Second World War, Japan possessed powerful armed forces, with about 5 million people in service. The Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) consisted of six separate armies: the General Defence Army, the Korean Army, the Kwantung Army (based in northern China), the China Expeditionary Army, the South Expeditionary Army, and the Formosan Army. Japanese troops were also supported by about 1,500 army combat aircraft. The Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), third-largest in the world, consisted of the Combined Fleet, the China Area Fleet, and the Naval Stations. Before the Pacific War, the IJN had 10 battleships, 10 aircraft carriers, 38 cruisers, 112 destroyers, 65 submarines, and 156 other vessels, in all nearly 1.5 million tons of shipping.[11] Over 1,500 navy combat aircraft supported its operations, and the IJN had developed the most advanced

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oxygen-fuelled torpedoes in the world. In overall offensive capability, the Japanese Fleet temporarily eclipsed that of the US. As an expansionist power, Japan had invested heavily in naval development at a time when the US had limited its peacetime defence spending. Indeed, throughout the 1930s, Congress often failed to approve President Roosevelt's requests for naval funding.[12] It is likely that this lack of political resolve to increase US naval power further emboldened Japan.

For Japan, the war in Europe not only created new alliances but presented new opportunities for continued expansion in the Far East. After June 1940, when Germany defeated the Allies in Western Europe, Japan considered acquiring more influence and territory. In July, it put pressure on Britain to close the Burma Road, which stayed closed until October: Britain wished to avoid provoking Japan while facing Germany alone in Europe. During an Imperial Conference that month, General Tojo Hideki proposed cutting off all Western aid to China and absorbing European Far East possessions into Japan's "New Order," although Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku cautioned that such expansion would bring war with America. In August, Japan advanced the idea of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" to legitimize its imperial designs over Southeast Asia. On 23 September, it occupied bases in northern French Indochina, strategically threatening Western supply lines to China via the Burma Road. When the United States imposed an embargo on iron and scrap steel against Japan three days later, Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke responded by bringing Japan into the Axis orbit. On 27 September, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, pledging mutual defence in the event of an attack on any member by a neutral country, except the Soviet Union. Japan hoped that the pact would deter Britain and the US from blocking Japanese expansionism, but in response the US expanded its navy, provided more funding to the Chinese Nationalists, and strengthened its unofficial alliance with Britain and the Netherlands East Indies. In Japanese eyes, those actions constituted provocation.[13]

China deserves due consideration as a Pacific power because it tied up so many Japanese forces that might otherwise have been deployed elsewhere across the Far East and the Pacific. In 1937, when the China Incident began, China had a population of 480 million people, 85 percent of whom lived in rural areas, a gross national product (GNP) that was less than a quarter of the United States', and two ruling factions – the Chinese Nationalists, or Kuomintang, under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese Communist Party under Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Before the Japanese invasion, the Nationalists had been fighting a bitter struggle against the Communists, who in 1934-35 had

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retreated in the six-thousand-mile "Long March" to Shensi province. This civil war was interrupted by the Japanese onslaught: in 1937, Chiang's coalition forces of 1.5 million men and Mao's forces of 40,000 (a number that would grow to over 760,000 by 1941) faced a common enemy. In 1938, Chiang moved his government from Nanking to Hankow and finally to Chungking, while Japan installed a puppet regime in Nanking under Wang Ching-wei. From 1937 to 1941, China suffered nearly 2.5 million casualties, but tied up at least 2 million Japanese troops.[14]

In terms of aid for China's cause, Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, offered material support to Chiang (rather than Mao, whom he distrusted) until about 1940, when Stalin became concerned about inciting Japan and weakening his own resources. Prior to the Pacific War, China began to receive American Lend-Lease aid, mostly through the Burma Road, which Britain kept open except for the period from July to October 1940. China's strategy relied on maintaining material support from the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain; keeping the Burma Road open; and coaxing the Great Powers into a formal alliance or declaration of war against Japan.

The Netherlands East Indies, an archipelago colony of about 70 million people, exerted a disproportionate influence over Far East affairs due to its material resources, strategic location, and intelligence activities. Existing as a separate Dutch entity after the fall of the Netherlands in Europe, it was rich in rubber, tin, and oil, making it an important Allied resource but a potential Japanese target. In terms of its strategic location, the NEI included territory located across the Strait of Malacca from Singapore, along with an island chain extending east to the north Australian coastline. It had an important intelligence centre in Bandung, Java, known as *Kamer* 14, which broke Japanese codes and produced direction-finding reports on Japanese vessels operating in the Far East.[15] In support of its intelligence activities, it had a submarine fleet that could monitor Japanese naval activity. After the outbreak of the European War, the NEI participated in all Allied conferences on Far East affairs and shared intelligence estimates with Anglo-American authorities through its representatives in Washington and London. The NEI sought formal assurances of active support from the Allies and the Americans in the event of war with Japan.

The Soviet Union posed a direct challenge to Japan's aspirations, although events in Europe would later direct most of its resources away from the Far East. The Soviet Union's GNP was about a third of America's, but it had over 8 million square miles of territory, eleven republics, and 170 million citizens. It could potentially place and support large armed forces in its Far East provinces,

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W.L. Mackenzie King and Franklin D. Roosevelt at a meeting in Quebec, 31 July 1936. King courted the favour of the US President in the prewar years, but always kept a watchful eye on Canadian sovereignty. *Library and Archives Canada, C-016768.*

provided it was not engaged along its European frontiers. In 1939, the Red Army was 3 million strong. The Soviet Navy, though not nearly as large as the Imperial Japanese Navy, consisted of four fleets: the Pacific, Polar, Baltic, and Black Sea Fleets. On the eve of the Pacific War, Soviet coal, oil, and steel production far eclipsed Japan's domestic output. Soviet strategy involved containing Japan, which it did in 1939 when Soviet forces checked Japan's attempted advance into Mongolia. The Soviet Union faced a serious threat from Nazi Germany, however, and commitments to the European War would subsequently demand a Soviet détente with Japan.[16]

The United States was the Pacific power that many counted on to resolve the Far East crisis. In terms of prewar national strength, it had a population of 133 million, armed forces of over 1.3 million, and a GNP of about $120 billion, about six times greater than Japan's national income.[17] Its production figures were far higher: US steel production was five times greater, coal production seven times greater, and automobile production eighty times greater than Japan's.[18] The US supplied Japan with nearly 70 percent of the oil it needed. In addition, it produced

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nearly five times more merchant ships and over five times more aircraft than Japan in 1941. Both American and Japanese strategists knew that the US could defeat Japan in a long-term conflict due to its superior resources and production capacity.

Even so, the United States' avowed neutrality and limited defence development during peacetime had suggested that it might stay out of a long-term conflict, a prospect that Japanese strategists depended on in their planning. US Neutrality Acts had been passed in 1935-37 to maintain US neutrality and to prevent the sale of US arms to belligerents. A powerful isolationist lobby opposed President Roosevelt's increasing support for the Allied cause. The lobby, led by organizations such as aviator Charles Lindbergh's America First committee and congressmen such as Senator Burton K. Wheeler, argued against American participation in the war. As late as October 1941, one opinion poll showed that 79 percent of those polled wanted the US to stay out of the European War, while 43 percent believed that it should not act against Japan unless that nation attacked US territory or interfered with US supplies.[19] Furthermore, the United States had not developed its full military capability. Roosevelt had failed to attain his defence-spending goals throughout the 1930s due to the effects of the Great Depression and isolationist pressures. On the eve of the Pacific War, the US spent about 10 percent of its GNP on defence, compared with Japan's expenditure of over 70 percent. US forces had only about a quarter of the number of service personnel that Japan had. Although the US Navy was a two-ocean force of nearly 2,000 ships, it had fewer aircraft carriers than the Japanese Navy. Until the outbreak of the Pacific War, US economic leverage appeared to influence Japan more than any threat of US military power, which had yet to reach its potential.

Meanwhile, the Roosevelt administration tried to achieve its objectives through economic sanctions and deterrent measures. Economic measures had been considered as early as 1938, when US military officials switched their "Orange Plan" concerning Japan from a defensive to an offensive strategy, which included a military and economic blockade of the country.[20] In January 1940, the US allowed its commercial treaty with Japan to expire, and nine months later imposed an embargo on iron and scrap steel.

Roosevelt and his team also took actions that benefited the entire Allied community. In August 1940, Roosevelt and Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King concluded the Ogdensburg Agreement, which pledged their two nations to create a Permanent Joint Board on Defence (PJBD) for continental defence.[21] Through Ogdensburg, the US extended its Monroe Doctrine to Canada: European infringement, particularly by the Axis powers, would not be tolerated

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anywhere in the Americas. That year, the US Neutrality Acts were also modified to permit "cash-and-carry" sales, which meant that the Allies could purchase US arms if they arranged their own shipping. Particularly displeasing to the Axis powers and Japan, the US and Britain concluded the "destroyers-for-bases" deal on 3 September 1940.[22] Under the deal, Britain would receive fifty US destroyers in exchange for leasing various British bases located in the Caribbean, Atlantic, and Newfoundland to the United States. Later that month, the Roosevelt administration introduced peacetime conscription through the Selective Service System (the draft). The US armed forces would now expand in preparation for possible conflict.

Unlike America, Britain could not afford to face Japan alone because of its commitments in Europe. On the eve of the Pacific War, Britain had a population of 47 million, over 3 million of whom were serving in its armed forces, and a GNP about a third that of the United States.[23] Britain's aircraft production trebled in 1940-41 and its Royal Navy was still the largest in the world, but its hold over its global empire was tenuous at best because its armed forces were committed to European and Atlantic operations. None knew this better than Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who had assumed office in May 1940. Accordingly, Britain's Far East strategy adapted to the new conditions of total war. In the past, its strategy in the event of war with Japan had involved diverting warships to the Far East for a decisive confrontation with the Japanese Fleet while containing the German Navy in Europe. Following the fall of France, however, Britain had to adopt a defensive strategy, avoiding conflict with Japan because it could no longer dispatch significant naval forces to the Far East.[24] Moreover, some British strategists realized that the strength of Singapore was overrated. A War Cabinet report of 5 August 1940 revealed Britain's vulnerability in the Far East, but worse yet, a copy of that report reached Japan after the sinking of the SS *Automedon,* a British merchant ship carrying important documents to Singapore.[25] On 11 November, a German merchant raider sank the ship and captured the documents, which the Germans shared with the Japanese a month later. Britain's opponents were now aware of its weakness in the Far East.

British strategy with regard to Japan appeared to involve a combination of deterrence, encirclement, and US participation. In November 1940, the British Ministry of Economic Warfare produced a report concerning Japan's economic position in the event of war.[26] Notably, the report considered the possible impact of economic sanctions and active participation by the US. In December, British officials invited their US and Allied counterparts to participate in secret discussions about the economic encirclement of Japan. For Allied commentators of the period, encirclement referred to the complete economic or strategic isolation of Japan as a means of forcing it to terms, or possibly to war. A precarious policy

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at best, encirclement straddled the fine line between deterrence and provocation. In the same month, British and US staff officers planned an Anglo-American Naval Conference to discuss cooperation in the Pacific.[27]

The British Commonwealth of Nations also tried to fulfill British strategic requirements in the Far East, but remained very cautious. Apart from Eire (known as the Irish Free State until 1937), the Dominions supported Britain's war effort: Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada each had something to offer in terms of strategic planning, material support, or defence responsibilities in the Far East. Australia feared Japanese expansionism and had every reason to support Britain. Before the Pacific War, it had a population of 7 million, several hundred thousand soldiers, and a GNP of over $4 billion.[28] When the war began, it had nearly two hundred combat aircraft and a navy consisting of six cruisers, five destroyers, and two sloops. Australian troops later reinforced Singapore, Malaya, and several South Pacific islands. Prior to conflict with Japan, Australia had created a Combined Operational Intelligence Centre and operated naval radio monitoring stations at Canberra, Darwin, and Melbourne. Robert Menzies, who led the United Australia Party and served as Australia's Prime Minister from April 1939 to August 1941, advocated full support for British defence in the Far East, and also invited American participation. His successors, Arthur Fadden and then John Curtin, also adopted this position. All told, Australia's contribution to British defence in the Far East included troop reinforcements, naval and air patrols, and intelligence gathering.

New Zealand, Australia's close ally in wartime, had a population of 1.63 million, about 80,000 servicemen, and a proportionately smaller GNP. It began the war with a navy consisting of two cruisers, two escort vessels, and one minesweeper. It had, however, contributed significant funds to the construction of the Singapore naval base and later sent airmen to Malaya. It also sent troops to Fiji and Fanning Island, a cable station located between Hawaii and the Cook Islands. New Zealand maintained close contact with Britain and its allies, although it had no legations in Canberra, Washington, or Ottawa until 1942. Peter Fraser, who led the Labour Party and became Prime Minister in March 1940, pledged his country's full support for Britain's cause. Like Australia, New Zealand provided troop reinforcements and participated in naval patrols and intelligence gathering.[29]

South Africa played a minor role in supporting Britain's Far East operations through its participation in strategic planning and intelligence gathering. It did not commit troops to the Far East because it was already supporting the Allied armed forces in Egypt and the Middle East.[30] While not a Pacific power in its own right, South Africa had two useful resources with respect to the Far East crisis: Prime Minister Jan Smuts and an intelligence network. Jan Smuts had

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been one of Britain's principal adversaries in the Boer War, but through the course of two world wars proved to be a staunch ally. Commonwealth leaders, notably Churchill, respected Smuts's long political experience and his informed opinion on strategic matters. In terms of intelligence gathering, South Africa was part of Britain's Pacific Naval Intelligence Organisation and collected information on ship movements, particularly with regard to vessels bound for the Far East.

Canada, the principal subject of this study, served as Britain's senior ally until the United States entered the war. By 1941, Canada had a population of about 11.5 million, about 490,000 serving in its armed forces with 100,000 abroad (when the war in Europe began, there had been fewer than 9,000 regular service personnel), and a GNP of $8.28 billion, which was about fourteen times less than that of the United States.[31] The war had greatly affected Canada's economy: from 1939 to 1941, the GNP increased by almost 50 percent, steel production almost doubled, imports and exports approximately doubled, and the cost of living increased by nearly 18 percent. Canada had financed $905 million of Britain's war expenditures, an amount that would continue to increase under the Hyde Park Declaration. As of August 1941, Canada was producing about 40 aircraft per week (over 2,000 per year) and had built 800 infantry tanks, 1,000 cruiser tanks, and over 130,000 army vehicles. The Dominion had spent $320 million on shipbuilding, specializing in corvettes and minesweepers, which substantially increased its naval strength. Indeed, the RCN had begun the European war with only six destroyers and four minesweepers, but could now look forward to having over a hundred corvettes for convoy duty. Canada's Pacific naval forces prior to the war with Japan included two armed merchant cruisers, three corvettes, six minesweepers, one battle-class trawler, four armed yachts, and twenty-nine "Fishermen's Reserve" vessels.[32] Canada also operated the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP), which in September 1941 had 90 schools, 124 establishments, and about a hundred airfields across Canada. At that time, Canada paid nearly two-thirds of the plan's total costs and supplied 80 percent of its trainees. The circumstances of war had compelled Canada to abandon its normal role as a minor power.

Even so, William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada and leader of the ruling Liberal Party, was determined to fight a war of limited liability. In contrast, the opposition Conservative Party campaigned for a total war effort, a position that Mackenzie King's own Department of National Defence privately accepted.[33] Mackenzie King, however, who served as his own Secretary of State for External Affairs, exerted great control over Canada's foreign policy, which he usually formulated with an eye on domestic palatability. Notably, the National Resources Mobilization Act (NRMA), introduced in March 1940, established

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conscription for home defence but not for overseas duty, which was still voluntary. The Prime Minister had to placate Quebec, where many French Canadians opposed serving overseas in a British war. His powerful "Quebec lieutenants," Associate Defence Minister C.G. "Chubby" Power and Justice Minister Ernest Lapointe, worked tirelessly to keep Quebec on board with the Dominion war program. In addition, King and his civilian advisors often emphasized the need for home defence to avoid a confrontation over conscription for overseas service. The Prime Minister famously declared: "Conscription if necessary, but not necessarily conscription." This is not to say that Canadians failed to volunteer for overseas service: eventually hundreds of thousands did so. As the crisis in the Far East developed, however, defending the Pacific Coast provided another excuse to keep troops in Canada.[34] In terms of Far East strategy, the Mackenzie King government offered tacit support for Britain's defence of the Far East and the Pacific, but for the moment wished to avoid war with Japan.[35]

The Pacific powers were locked into a pattern of alliances and strategies that made conflict in the Far East a likely outcome. Japan wanted to end the China Incident on its own terms while acquiring resources in Southeast Asia that did not depend on trade with the democracies. To that end, it increased ties to the Axis powers and later adopted a policy of non-aggression with the Soviet Union. China encouraged the US and the Allies to provide it with material aid and to declare war on Japan, while it was in Allied interests to keep China in the war because it tied up so many Japanese forces. The Soviet Union first sought to contain Japanese expansionism but later pursued détente as the war in Europe advanced eastward: the democracies would have to check Japanese expansionism on their own. The NEI needed assurances of Allied support in the likely event that Japan invaded its territory to take its oil and other resources. Isolationist sentiment compelled the American leadership to avoid direct intervention unless the Japanese struck first against US targets. Britain desperately required active US participation in the European war and now considered the Far East crisis as a possible means of achieving that objective. To that end, encirclement and provocation of Japan would be more effective than deterrence. The Dominions supported Britain in the interests of imperial solidarity and collective security in the Far East. The stage was set for an international contest over mastery of the region.

Canada and Far East Affairs, 1922-40

Well before the start of the Pacific War, Canada had approached Far East affairs with caution, as it approached foreign affairs in general. In 1922, Mackenzie King, as the newly elected Liberal Prime Minister, minimized Canada's role at the Washington conference on naval arms reduction because he was more

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focused on Canadian unity than on Canada's role as a partner in a reformed British Empire. In 1925, he appointed Dr. Oscar D. Skelton, who embraced isolationism and nationalism as twin ideals, as Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, a position Skelton held until his death in January 1941. Between 1927 and 1929, the Mackenzie King government established legations in Washington, Paris, and Tokyo, but in 1932, during the single term of Conservative Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, caution prevailed again when Canadian delegates at the League of Nations avoided criticizing Japan's actions in Manchuria and supported compromise over punitive measures. Canadian delegate C.H. Cahan delivered a speech that was somewhat sympathetic to Japan, in agreement with current British policy and Bennett's own views. Furthermore, Canada refrained from supporting Britain's short-lived arms embargo against Japan in 1933.[36]

When Mackenzie King returned to power in 1935, he continued to avoid confrontation in foreign affairs and formed policy with due consideration for both British and US views. Lester B. Pearson, at that time an External Affairs official who worked with the League of Nations, perhaps best explained the reasons for such an approach to Canadian policy making when he wrote in 1935: "Canada's position becomes impossible if Great Britain and the United States drift apart on any major [Far Eastern] issue ... Canada is a British Dominion. She is also an American State. She cannot permit herself to be put in a position where she has to choose between these two destinies. Either choice would be fateful to her unity; indeed to her very existence as a State."[37]

Mackenzie King did not have to make difficult choices, however: Britain, the US, and other members of the League of Nations dared not intervene in the Sino-Japanese War in the age of appeasement leading up to the European War. Indeed, in response to the rise of military regimes in Germany, Italy, and Japan, King supported British-sponsored appeasement in Europe. Although he expressed some concern over Japan's growing power, in 1937 his government refrained from imposing sanctions against that country over its war in China.[38] In June of that year, Canada participated in British talks concerning a proposed "Pacific non-aggression pact," but the initiative came to nothing.[39]

Yet, discussions did ensue over the need to defend the Pacific Coast. In August 1936, at Chautauqua, New York, President Roosevelt gave his "Good Neighbour" speech, which King believed was meant to warn Japan away from North America. Roosevelt later spoke to King about an Alaska Highway project to improve Pacific Coast defences in case of war with Japan, but the Prime Minister's military advisors rejected the idea because it compromised Canada's neutrality in the event of a US-Japanese war. Undaunted, Roosevelt met with BC Premier T.D. Pattullo in September 1937 to discuss Pacific Coast defence. Although Pattullo favoured the Alaska Highway project, the Dominion government still

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Staff of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo, 1929. From left to right: Kenneth Kirkwood, Hugh Keenleyside, Herbert Marler (Canadian Minister), J.A. Langley. Keenleyside served as Canada's first chargé d'affaires in Tokyo and later advised External Affairs on matters of Far East policy. *Makita Kogabo, Ueno, Library and Archives Canada, PA-120407.*

said no. In August 1938, during a speech at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Roosevelt even pledged US support for Canada if another empire attacked it – some thought that the President had Japan on his mind as much as Germany. Ottawa did not completely neglect the issue, however: in 1936, Canadian military officials gave defence of the Pacific Coast a higher priority than defence of the Atlantic Coast. In February 1938, they planned to provide strong air/land/naval defences on the Pacific Coast as a deterrent measure that would enable Canada to remain neutral in the event of a US-Japanese war. That year, King expressed the need to reinforce the Pacific Coast with more destroyers, and in 1939 four of Canada's six destroyers were based on the Pacific Coast. According to Canadian strategists, the growing menace of Japan necessitated strong defences along the Pacific Coast, whereas Britain's Royal Navy could adequately defend all approaches to Canada in the Atlantic.[40]

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In the summer of 1939, when the Tientsin Crisis heightened the possibility of war between Britain and Japan, Canadian intelligence staff prepared for increased surveillance of Japanese transmissions. In late July, Canadian naval authorities in Esquimalt, BC, informed Ottawa that the "Mexican Government W/T Station" had recently transmitted messages to Tokyo in "Japanese Morse," which the Esquimalt station would attempt to intercept. In view of this, the British Admiralty reminded intelligence staff in Ottawa and Hong Kong that the installation of a "high speed recorder" at Esquimalt would enable the station to intercept important traffic between Japan and North America. The Admiralty also requested that Esquimalt forward any Japanese military traffic not required in London to Hong Kong. On 1 August, British intelligence staff in Hong Kong informed Esquimalt and other Pacific monitoring stations that Japanese naval call signs had changed but that several had already been identified; all Pacific stations were requested to identify the new call signs of Japanese warships. The Esquimalt station, eager to participate, requested that the Admiralty identify which "Japanese military frequencies" it was to monitor. Furthermore, in mid-August, British intelligence staff in Hong Kong sent the entire Pacific intelligence community a report that included a Japanese call sign list as well as information on Japanese ships, bases, air squadrons, and naval intelligence. On the eve of the Second World War, Canada and the Allies were monitoring all activities in the Pacific region quite carefully.[41]

Canadian officials also considered defence strategy. On 24 August 1939, not long before Canada declared war on Germany, Skelton sent King a note concerning "Canadian War Policy," in which he emphasized the need to defend Canada's coasts: "The defence of Canada should be put in the foreground ... We cannot in this war ignore the Pacific as we did in the last."[42] Skelton also prioritized the deployment of the armed forces: wherever possible, air power would be deployed first, followed by naval power and then by land forces. Skelton wanted to minimize both casualties and public criticism. His note foreshadowed the approach that the Mackenzie King government would take in determining Canada's war policy: domestic defence would be used as a means of keeping some troops in Canada, and the Department of External Affairs, rather than the Chiefs of Staff, would often set war policy.

Some officials wanted to cultivate Japan as an ally. On 3 September, Hugh L. Keenleyside, a policy advisor in External Affairs who had formerly served as Canada's first chargé d'affaires in Tokyo, shared his own views on the forthcoming war in a memorandum to Skelton. Keenleyside believed that the Allies had to obtain either the "benevolent neutrality" or the "active assistance" of every nation not associated with the enemy powers, particularly the United States and Japan. He emphasized Japan's new position in the world:

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> The importance of Japan as the possessor of the third largest navy in the world, as the only major power in Asia and the Western Pacific, as the home of one of the greatest merchant fleets in existence, as a strong industrial nation, as the possessor of a highly efficient army, based on a healthy population of over seventy million people, and as the inveterate opponent of the U.S.S.R., (which is now apparently prepared to cooperate with Germany) can hardly be exaggerated.[43]

Keenleyside recommended appointing a new Canadian minister to Japan, since almost two years had passed since the former minister returned to Canada. Ultimately, Canada relied on a chargé d'affaires at its legation in Tokyo, although some correspondence continued to refer to that individual as "Minister."

During the period of the "Phoney War," when Canada and the Allies were officially at war with Germany but faced no immediate threats in Western Europe, Far East issues continued to command attention. In January 1940, Canada restricted nickel and wheat shipments to the Soviet Union, and in April restricted nickel shipments to Japan. Economic sanctions were imposed because those powers were regarded as potential enemies. British authorities also wanted to hold up shipments to Japan as a "bargaining counter" in negotiations with Japan over the creation of British "contraband-control bases" throughout the Pacific. In March 1940, however, Canada rejected Britain's request for the RCN to board and examine a Soviet vessel suspected of carrying war materials to Germany via Vladivostok because such action might provoke the Pacific powers. Mackenzie King was concerned that the Soviet Union, possibly in combination with Japan, might threaten Canada's Pacific Coast in the event of war. In April, Canadian officials even had to consider the impact on Far East affairs when they met a British request to establish a base in Greenland to protect its cryolite mines, which were essential for aluminum production. US authorities argued that Japan might regard such an action as an excuse to occupy the NEI. Despite King's assurance to Roosevelt that Canada had little interest in Greenland, Canadian defence ministers planned to use a civilian vessel to transport a paramilitary force there, so as not to alarm the Americans. Two months later, however, when the plan was executed, the US State Department protested on other grounds: Adolf A. Berle Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, did not want Canadian economic influence over Greenland. Perhaps the Americans had used Japanese encroachment in Southeast Asia only as a pretext.[44]

As early as February 1940, Canadian officials had noted that Japan appeared to be making special preparations in anticipation of war in the Pacific. They intercepted a message from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo to the Japanese Consul in Vancouver that contained the following text (according to one translation):

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> We are concerned over possible eventualities in Japanese-American relations as they affect the disposition to be made of Japanese nationals and persons of Japanese descent residing in Hawaii and the coast states. All things considered, the prospect is not promising. In the case of Japanese among those residing in the localities mentioned who desire to remove elsewhere, it will of course be appropriate at some time to comply (with that desire).[45]

If Japan was considering evacuating Japanese nationals resident in Hawaii and along the Pacific Coast, then war might be near. At Skelton's request, External Affairs sent a copy of the message to the Canadian Legation in Washington, where it was passed on to the US State Department for comment.[46] The State Department, however, "was not inclined to take the matter very seriously."[47] For the moment, Canadian officials would wait and see.

The fall of France in June 1940 placed Far East affairs in quite a different light. Until then, British strategists believed that three checks against Japanese aggression were already in place: the war in China, the Soviet Union, and the presence of the US Navy in the Pacific.[48] Now they feared that the German defeat of the Allies in Western Europe would incite the Japanese to further encroachment in Southeast Asia. Indeed, Japan now demanded that Britain withdraw its troops from Shanghai and close both the Burma Road and the Hong Kong frontier, cutting off supply routes to Nationalist China. Worse yet, in late June, Canadian officials received a British aide-memoire that not only revealed Britain's vulnerability in the Far East but also suggested two possible courses of action: negotiate a new Far East settlement with Japan or impose a full US-led embargo against Japan and dispatch ships to Singapore.[49] The latter action could either deter Japan or cause war. British Ambassador to Japan Sir Robert Craigie believed that a joint Anglo-American initiative might restore peace to China and keep Japan neutral in the present war. In contrast, a Foreign Office report suggested that economic sanctions might provoke Japan into attacking targets throughout Southeast Asia to seize resources.[50] All told, the reports reaching Canada indicated that defeat in Europe had placed the Allies in a precarious position in the Far East.[51]

In July, Canadian officials spoke with their British counterparts about the new Far East crisis. Early in the month, Skelton learned from the Canadian Legation in Washington that Cordell Hull had assured British Ambassador Lord Lothian that the USN would not move its Pacific Fleet to the Atlantic without informing Britain in advance.[52] Three weeks later, Keenleyside informed Skelton that he regarded Lord Lothian's proposed Allied-American oil embargo against Japan as "absurd": "If the United States placed an embargo on oil, the Japanese would move into the Netherlands Indies at once. The British would be in no

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position to do anything, and the Americans would probably do nothing except express moral disapproval."[53] Keenleyside emphasized that Canada and Britain must *not* participate in such an action. Similarly, Mackenzie King did not comply with Britain's request for further Canadian economic sanctions against Japan as long as the Burma Road remained closed. Canadian officials would not consider any action that could precipitate war in the Pacific without full Anglo-American support.

The new crisis prompted External Affairs to produce a report called "Notes on Far Eastern Situation" and to draw several conclusions. At present, Japan remained deterred by the US Pacific Fleet and stalemate in China, but in the event of war would probably attack the Malay Straits Settlements, Indochina, Hong Kong, and possibly the NEI. Canadian strategists did not think it likely that the Japanese would land on the Pacific Coast of North America. Britain did not want war with Japan because it wished to retain Singapore and Hong Kong. The United States was sympathetic to China but, because of isolationist sentiment, would not protect Singapore, Hong Kong, or even the Philippines, a US possession. Australia was exposed in the Far East and might be willing to make concessions to Japan. In Canada, there was public sympathy for China and resentment of the fact that Japan still received limited shipments of Canadian nickel, zinc, and lead used in its war against China, including attacks against Canadian missionaries. The report concluded that Canada and the British Commonwealth could not fight a two-front war without US support, and that the Allies therefore had to avoid war with Japan lest they face further defeat in Europe.[54]

As autumn approached, Canada faced two more developments in the Far East. On 14 September, near the island of Oshima, a Japanese naval plane accidentally dropped a "practice bomb" on the Canadian Pacific liner *Empress of Asia,* injuring four Chinese seamen and slightly damaging the ship.[55] Yoshizawa Seijiro, who had replaced Baron Tomii Shu as Japanese Minister to Canada, offered profuse apologies on behalf of Tokyo: the incident was not akin to the bombing of the USS *Panay* three years earlier. Skelton briefly considered how opposition parties in Ottawa might exploit the incident: "We will have some bright C.C.F. man saying that this bomb was made out of Canadian copper or nickel."[56] The incident was quickly forgotten, however, in light of a more serious development: on 27 September, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. In response, Prime Minister King strongly urged British authorities to reopen the Burma Road when the temporary Anglo-Japanese agreement expired on 18 October.[57] In his correspondence with London, King usually refrained from commenting on Far East affairs or other elements of grand strategy, but, in his estimation, Japan had gone far enough.

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Canada and the Allies discussed several contingency plans in response to the Tripartite Pact. On 2 October, Canadian officials learned that Cordell Hull believed that the new alignment would "inevitably" draw the United States into the war, although not in the Far East in the near future.[58] Hull could foresee a long-distance US blockade against Japan. The next day, Canadian officials received a British report on reactions to the Tripartite Pact.[59] According to the report, the US pledged to resist Japanese aggression and maintain its material support for Britain, whereas China believed that Japan would push southward and urged Britain to allow the Burma Road agreement to expire. Britain advocated further economic sanctions against Japan and planned to impose a full economic blockade against Japan in the event of war.

Canadian officials who supported Allied objectives could take pride in the fact that Canada had already imposed the strictest sanctions against Japan. Not only had it restricted shipments of aluminum, cobalt, copper, lead, and nickel to Japan but it was also considering imposing a wheat embargo in the near future[60] and had steadily reduced its imports from Japan. In addition, Ottawa considered the prospect of a declaration of war. On 11 October, Prime Minister King responded to a British query about Canada's intentions and assured British officials that Canada, like Britain, would declare war against Japan in the event of a US-Japanese war.[61] The Prime Minister had sent instructions to the Canadian Legation in Tokyo regarding steps to be taken in the event of war with Japan, and he learned on 19 October that "Anglo-Dutch-American technical conversations" would be held to discuss the possibility of joint defence against Japanese aggression.[62] In brief, Canada did not seek war with Japan at this point, but fully anticipated that eventuality.

Canadian officials had also examined the "problem" of the Japanese Canadians on the Pacific Coast. Discrimination against all Asians had long been practised in Canada, particularly in British Columbia, where many had settled.[63] In 1858, the first Chinese "coolies" arrived in the province to work on mines and railways, but in 1886 anti-Chinese riots broke out and a head tax was imposed on Chinese immigrants. The first generation of Japanese immigrants to Canada, the *Issei,* arrived as early as 1877 and settled mainly on Vancouver Island and in the Fraser Valley area of British Columbia, working as labourers in several industries but principally as fishermen. Chinese and Japanese workers were not allowed to vote and were excluded from most professions. Restrictions were imposed on Japanese immigration in 1907. Worse yet, in July that year, the Trades and Labour Council in Vancouver established the Asiatic Exclusion League, committed to driving Asians out of the province: a month later, league members attacked Asian-owned businesses in Vancouver's Chinatown and Japantown, resulting in several violent riots. East Indians fared no better at the time. In 1908, an

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amended Immigration Act imposed a head tax on Sikhs in British Columbia and required immigrants travelling from India to Canada to arrive by continuous ocean passage, an impossible feat at the time. Anti-Sikh racism reached its peak in 1914 when Sikhs arriving by ship were denied entry to the Vancouver harbour: their ship, the *Komagata Maru,* was later towed out to sea by a Royal Canadian Navy vessel while thousands of Anglo-Canadians cheered from the shore. Finally, in 1923 the Chinese Immigration Act effectively ended Chinese immigration to Canada, and in 1928 further immigration restrictions were imposed on the Japanese.

By 1940, however, Japan's war against China had made the Japanese community a particular object of contempt in British Columbia, where about 22,000 Japanese and 45,000 Chinese resided: all Japanese immigration to Canada was halted that year. In June, Baron Tomii, the Japanese Minister to Canada, complained to Skelton about anti-Japanese remarks made by Alderman Halford D. Wilson of Vancouver.[64] During a speech, Wilson had claimed that Japanese residents would be a greater menace than other "aliens" on the Pacific Coast in the event of a US-Japanese war. Keenleyside later sent Skelton a memorandum on the subject, complaining that Wilson was simply using racism to gain "political favours." According to Keenleyside, the RCMP and local city council in Vancouver could deal with any potential problem. He had also advised Vancouver Mayor James Telford, a socialist, to avoid confrontation with Wilson on the city council because Wilson might offer a racist response, such as claiming that "the Socialists and the C.C.F. are in favour of having white girls raped by the 'Japs and Chinks.'"[65] In essence, External Affairs had to balance the rights of Japanese and Chinese Canadians against the reality of racist sentiment among the public and its elected provincial politicians.

Later in the year, Canadian officials made other decisions with respect to the Asian community. In September, the Cabinet War Committee acceded to BC Premier Pattullo's request that Canadians of Japanese and Chinese origin not participate in military training. In a memorandum prepared for Skelton, Keenleyside protested the decision, noting that Pattullo's primary concern was that "Orientals" might become eligible for other rights and privileges of citizenship. Keenleyside believed that a great majority of Asians were good citizens and wanted to serve their country, a view that Skelton shared, according to a memorandum he later sent to Mackenzie King. Despite such opposition within External Affairs, in late October the Prime Minister informed Pattullo that Japanese and Chinese Canadians were to be excluded from compulsory military training. External Affairs continued to work for some basic rights, however. Throughout October, there was much discussion over the prospect of removing Japanese Canadians through compulsory or voluntary repatriation, but the

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O.D. Skelton (left) and Lester B. Pearson return to Canada from Britain aboard a Cunard ship in the early 1930s. Skelton, who upheld Canadian isolationism and nationalism as twin ideals, served as Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1925 until his death in early 1941. Pearson, who later liaised with Allied intelligence services on behalf of External Affairs, was one of Skelton's first recruits. *Cunard Steamship Co. Ltd., Library and Archives Canada, PA-117595.*

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Dominion government would not give in to provincial demands. On 30 October, for example, Skelton informed the mayor of Nanaimo, BC, that he rejected the mayor's suggestion that all people of Japanese origin in Canada be deported. Instead, Skelton wanted to encourage good citizenship among Japanese Canadians. In November, Keenleyside even sent a three-man commission to the Pacific Coast to study the Japanese Canadian situation. By late 1940, Canadian officials had considered the "problem" of Japanese Canadians in the event of war, but had shown restraint with respect to repatriation and internment.[66]

In terms of Canadian decision making, by early 1941 an expanded team of statesmen and officers was helping the Mackenzie King government face the challenge of war. The Prime Minister corresponded regularly with the British High Commissioner in Canada (Sir Gerald Campbell and, after March 1941, Malcolm MacDonald), who passed on important updates from the Dominions Office in London. Norman Robertson took over as Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs after Skelton's death in January 1941. Within External Affairs, Hugh Keenleyside served as a policy advisor, while Lester Pearson supported intelligence activities and liaised with the armed services. C.D. Howe, an American industrialist, served as Minister of Munitions and Supply. Colonel J.L. Ralston served as Minister of National Defence, with support from several Associate and Deputy Ministers: C.G. "Chubby" Power served as Associate Minister of National Defence and Minister of National Defence for Air, while Angus L. Macdonald served as Minister of National Defence for Naval Services. Like Britain, Canada had three Chiefs of Staff: Air Marshal L.S. Breadner, Chief of Air Staff; Rear-Admiral P.W. Nelles, Chief of Naval Staff; and Lieutenant-General H.D.G. Crerar, Chief of General Staff.

The Dominion could also count on its staff serving abroad. In Washington, several diplomats and officers represented Ottawa, including Leighton McCarthy, Canadian Minister to the United States; H. Hume Wrong, Counsellor to the Canadian Minister; and attachés from all three Canadian armed forces. In London, Vincent Massey served as High Commissioner for Canada in Great Britain and passed on important information from British officials, including Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, and Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary. Lester Pearson also served in London until his recall to Ottawa in early 1941. More controversially, Pierre Dupuy served as Canadian chargé d'affaires in Vichy France: the Allies wanted to maintain "back-channel" communications with the Vichy government. In Tokyo, E. D'Arcy McGreer served as the Canadian chargé d'affaires and acting Minister to Japan. With respect to the Far East crisis, the team awaited incoming reports about ongoing discussions with the Allies and the Americans.[67]

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To summarize Canada's response to Far East affairs in the interwar period from 1922 to 1940, Canada, like its partners in the League of Nations, avoided responsibility and adopted an appeasement strategy with respect to Japan. Throughout the 1930s, as Japan consolidated its control over Manchuria and coastal China, Canada failed to impose economic sanctions or other punitive measures. It did, however, adopt a new defensive strategy with respect to its Pacific Coast and, at Britain's request, also monitored Japanese naval and military communications at its Esquimalt station. Clearly, emphasizing Pacific Coast defence and undertaking intelligence measures were more politically convenient and cost-effective than direct intervention in the Far East.

With the outbreak of war in Europe, however, the Far East commanded more attention, particularly after the Allied defeat in Western Europe in June 1940. The Mackenzie King government favoured a war of limited liability that would retain some troops for domestic defence along the coasts and reduce casualties through the use of air and naval power before large land forces were committed. Yet Canada participated in Allied economic sanctions against Japan, notably trade restrictions on strategic metals. In response to the Tripartite Pact, Canada also prepared contingency plans for a possible war with Japan and, in October 1940, considered a declaration of war, withdrawal of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo, and the future treatment of Japanese Canadians. The Prime Minister himself believed that war with Japan was increasingly likely. Canada exhibited anxiety over the Far East crisis and could not remain indifferent to its outcome. Significantly, Canada and the Allies realized that they had to avoid conflict with Japan until active US support was assured, but in late 1940 there was still no sign of such support.

Conclusions

Questions regarding Canada's response to the developing Far East crisis may now be considered in a broader historical context. It is clear that by 1941 the Pacific powers were locked into a pattern of alliances and strategies that made war in the Pacific very likely. Japan refused to withdraw from China and continued to develop its weapons arsenal and pursue expansionist policies. In response, the United States and the Allies imposed trade sanctions against Japan, which Japanese leaders saw as a provocation. These sanctions also sharpened Japan's awareness that the necessary resources might be obtained from the vulnerable colonial regimes in Southeast Asia, notably the Netherlands East Indies. The Soviet Union pursued a containment policy against Japan until the European War impaired its ability to intervene in the Far East. Britain accepted US leadership in Far East affairs because it could no longer defend its possessions there, and sought active US participation in the war against the Axis. For

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Britain, early deterrent measures against Japan bought time, but encirclement of Japan might be more effective in provoking a confrontation and bringing the full might of the United States into the war on the Allied side. Canada sought to avoid entanglement in Far East affairs, particularly before active US participation was assured, but was committed to cooperation with the British Commonwealth and to imperial defence.

The Far East crisis raised certain questions that Canadian and Allied intelligence staff sought to answer. Would economic sanctions deter Japan from further expansionism or encourage it to go to war? What was the nature of Japan's relationship with the Axis powers and the Soviet Union? Would Japan pursue northern or southern objectives? What military targets would Japan attack in the event of hostilities with the democracies? How could the US be persuaded to support the Allies as a co-belligerent? Canadian officials required current information in order to analyze these pressing issues and to develop effective strategies. To determine whether informed decision making was even a possibility, it is important to examine the intelligence framework that existed in Canada in 1941.

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20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in Canada on FSC-certified ancient-forest-free paper
(100% post-consumer recycled) that is processed chlorine- and acid-free.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Wilford, Timothy,
Canada's road to the Pacific War : intelligence, strategy, and the Far East crisis / Timothy Wilford.

(Studies in Canadian military history, 1499-6251)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-7748-2121-6

1. World War, 1939-1945 – Military intelligence – Canada. 2. World War, 1939-1945 – Pacific Area. 3. Military intelligence – Canada – History – 20th century. 4. Canada – Military policy – History – 20th century. I. Title. II. Series: Studies in Canadian military history

DS810.S7W54 2011 940.54'8671 C2011-903961-3

Canada

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada (through the Canada Book Fund), the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

Publication of this book has been financially supported by the Canadian War Museum.

Printed and bound in Canada by Friesens
Set in Helvetica Condensed and Minion by Artegraphica Design Co. Ltd.
Copy editor: Frank Chow
Proofreader: Dianne Tiefensee

UBC Press
The University of British Columbia
2029 West Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2
www.ubcpress.ca

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